

ACROSS THE FENCE, BUT A WORLD APART:  
THE COLEMAN SITE, 1796-1907

T.B. McCord, Jr.



Occasional Papers in Alexandria Archaeology

**ACROSS THE FENCE , BUT A WORLD APART:  
THE COLEMAN SITE, 1796-1907**

An Historical Analysis  
Of the Socioeconomic Changes on the  
400 Block Between South Royal  
And South Fairfax Streets

by  
T.B. McCord, Jr.

**Alexandria Archaeology Publications  
Number 126**



Alexandria Archaeology  
Office of Historic Alexandria  
Alexandria, Virginia

©1985  
Reprinted 2006

ALBANY, N.Y.  
JAN 10 1891

ALBANY, N.Y.

THE  
NEW YORK  
PUBLIC LIBRARY  
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION  
100 N. 4TH ST.  
NEW YORK

ALBANY, N.Y.  
JAN 10 1891



ALBANY, N.Y.  
JAN 10 1891

**ALEXANDRIA CITY COUNCIL**

Kerry J. Donley, Mayor

William C. Cleveland, Vice Mayor

Claire M. Eberwein

William D. Euille

Redella S. Pepper

David G. Speck

Joyce Woodson

**CITY MANAGER**

Philip G. Sunderland

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1000 S. MICHIGAN AVE.

CHICAGO, ILL.

60607

1960

1961

1962

1963

1964

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	i
Foreward .....	1
Introduction .....	3
Across the Fence, But A World Apart .....	8
● The Early Years: 1796-1810 .....	12
South Fairfax Street .....	12
Wilkes Street .....	13
South Royal Street .....	14
● Block Patterns are Established Amid	
Recession and Turmoil: 1815-1840 .....	17
South Fairfax Street .....	18
Wilkes Street .....	20
Wolfe Street .....	21
South Royal Street .....	23
The Coleman Site: 418 South Royal .....	27
The Coleman Family .....	29
The Coleman Site: 420 South Royal .....	30
The Coleman Site: 422 South Royal .....	30
● Years of Boom and Bust: 1845-1860 .....	34
South Fairfax Street .....	34
Wolfe Street .....	35
Wilkes Street .....	36
South Royal Street .....	38
The Coleman Site: 418 South Royal .....	40
The Coleman Site: 420 South Royal .....	41
The Coleman Site: 422 South Royal .....	42
● Reconstruction, the rise of Industry, and Ethnic	
Separation: 1866-1907 .....	46
South Fairfax Street .....	46
Wolfe Street .....	48
Wilkes Street .....	49
South Royal Street .....	50
The Coleman and Knight Families .....	53
The Coleman Site: 418 South Royal .....	55
The Coleman Site: 420 South Royal .....	56
The Coleman Site: 422 South Royal .....	57
● Concluding Summary .....	61
Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters .....	67
Appendix II: Coleman Black Maps .....	75
Appendix III: Street Profile Percentage Charts .....	87
Methodological Essay .....	93
Bibliographical Essay .....	104
Bibliography .....	107
Index of African Americans .....	109
Index of European Americans .....	112
Errata .....	115

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project of this nature requires the assistance of many people. I am indebted foremost to Pamela J. Cressey, director of the Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program without whom the very concept of such a study would not have developed. At every stage, from first draft to final editing, her encouragement and assistance was vital.

Other members of the Alexandria Archaeology staff have also given valuable aid. At the beginning of the project, former staff member, John F. Stephens, offered useful suggestions while Darcie MacMahon and C. J. Sotera spent many hours on the graphics. I would like to give special thanks to Steven Shephard whose advice and patience was unsurpassed through numerous drafts.

Of the many libraries and public record offices which I visited, no staff was more helpful and friendly than the librarians at the Lloyd House in Alexandria. Alan Robbins and Sandra O'Keefe always lent eager assistance while T. Michael Miller even contributed sources from his own research including the earliest reference to Hayti in an 1860 edition of the *Alexandria Gazette*.

## FOREWORD

The Coleman Site has been the focal point of research by Alexandria Archaeology since 1980. A partially vacant and overgrown parcel of land in a historic urban setting, the Site had few obvious attributes that would draw anyone to conduct an intensive study. Yet, in the Spring of 1979 our preservation archaeologists discovered that the 400 block of South Royal Street was the nucleus of a free black neighborhood which began to take shape between 1810 and 1830. This finding was made while mapping historic tax assessment and census records in order to create an archaeological preservation plan for Alexandria. The survey team of Terry Klein, Sue Henry, Ellis Coleman, and John Stephens deserve the credit for locating the Royal Street neighborhood from the written records and verifying the excellent state of preservation in the Coleman Site itself. The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission funded this preservation project as well as the Coleman Site artifact, architectural, and oral history studies. Although the Coleman Site never looked attractive, it was in fact a perfect location to study the development of Alexandria's black community.

After determining the value of the Site for archaeological investigation, we found out that construction was imminent. This situation necessitated quick action to excavate the large land parcel which once was occupied by four separate households. Rodger DiGilio of OTV, Inc. gave speedy and much appreciated permission to work on the site. Field schools from the George Washington University and George Mason University worked throughout the Summer of 1980 with Alexandria Archaeology volunteers to record house foundation information and to preserve artifacts. Tom Davidson and Rick Napoli assisted us in supervising the excavation process.

A later class project in the George Washington University course in Historical Archaeology initiated Ted McCord's research into the Coleman Site history. The project became so interesting that Ted's research expanded to encompass the block. This block, straddling the boundary between two neighborhoods, ultimately fit into the city-wide study that we conducted through the City Survey Project funded between 1981 and 1984 by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Royal Street side of the Coleman Site may still not look historic, significant, or attractive. Yet, we now know a great deal about the people that once lived on the Coleman Site and their neighbors due to Ted's research. It is

through this historical study that the significance of the Royal Street black neighborhood called "Hayti" can be appreciated in 1985. We are pleased to share the results of his endeavor and thank Jean Taylor Federico, Director of the Office of Historic Alexandria, for believing in the quality of this work. We appreciate her support as well as that of Bradford Hammer and Henry Howard in facilitating the production of this publication. Our thanks also are given to Jean Federico and Jere Gibber for providing excellent editing of the manuscript. Karen Murley's beautiful cover illustration re-creates the neighborhood based on our research. We thank her for this expression of creativity and interest in our work.

Finally, we extend our appreciation to the Alexandria Archaeological Commission, the Alexandria City Council, and Mayor Charles E. Beatley, Jr. for continuing to support our inquiry into Alexandria's heritage.

*Pamela J. Cressey  
Steven J. Shephard  
February 1985*

## INTRODUCTION

In 1796 Joseph Coleman, a skilled cooper, bought a house and lot on the 400 block of South Fairfax Street which remained in his family for 106 years. His property extended across the block to Royal Street where three tenant households resided by 1832. Before the Civil War, parts of two distinct neighborhoods emerged on the property. The Colemans were members of the white skilled craft community along Fairfax Street, and their tenants were among the free black community along Royal Street. Because the property was undivided and remained virtually undisturbed until 1981, it was a favorable location for archaeological investigation. During the summers of 1980, 1981 and 1983, Alexandria Archaeology conducted extensive digs on both the free black site and in the Coleman's immediate back yard. The purpose was to determine whether artifacts from the two locations revealed material differences in the residents' lives.

But in the historical era, archaeology does not have to rely only upon artifacts, for there are archival documents which help corroborate the artifactual evidence and which aid in the excavation process. Consequently, this study provides an extensive documentary history of the site and of the people who lived upon it.

Covering the years 1796 to 1907, this work describes the residential patterns and socioeconomic changes that occur on the 400 block between South Royal and South Fairfax Streets. The main focus is upon the free blacks who rented the three Coleman Site houses, and upon their socioeconomic status as compared with other residents on the street. At various times, parts of Wolfe and Wilkes Streets also were included within the black neighborhood, a neighborhood which was itself a part of Hayti, one of the oldest black communities in Alexandria which extended along Royal Street from Wilkes to Duke. Thus, the Coleman Site study reveals a microcosm of the greater Hayti free black community.

The origin of the term "Hayti" is not fully known. It is probably a derivation of Haiti where, in 1804, black slaves conducted the first successful revolution in Latin America. But the earliest known usage of the name in Alexandria is found in the *Alexandria Gazette* in 1860.

On the other side of the 400 block was a white neighborhood where the Colemans lived. The nature of this community along Fairfax Street, and along the transitional streets of Wolfe and Wilkes, is also important to the

study. Not only does the white neighborhood provide a context in which the Coleman family artifacts may be evaluated, but it also provides a contrast with the people on Royal Street.

A primary goal of this study is to show the ethnic and socioeconomic changes that take place over time on each street face, and how the Coleman Site people reflect these changes. Conversely, the stability and continuity of these streets also must be evaluated. Important factors in this evaluation include whether people owned or rented their houses, the value of their real and personal property, their occupations, and their social mobility.

It is also important to reveal the development of distinct neighborhoods on the block. Having completed archaeological excavations in the Coleman's back yard, a detailed study of this white middle class family on Fairfax Street provides a contrast with the Royal Street residents. Focusing on the Colemans, one can trace not only the property development, but, to some extent, whether they maintained a close relationship with their tenants.

In a study of this nature, the analytical framework depends upon certain working hypotheses. Generally, in American cities, the use of industrial capitalism corresponds to the decline of free blacks into more menial jobs. Also, industrial growth and the urban migration of blacks after the Civil War accelerated the formation of geographically distinct black neighborhoods. In both cases, these theories are supported on the 400 block, although the people of Hayti held tenaciously to the higher status of skilled craftsmen.

During the recession of 1820-1840, more people dropped into working class jobs, and more renters appeared in the city. According to one hypothesis, the recession produced job shortages that forced blacks out of skilled positions and into the working class. For the same reason, both blacks and whites were forced to seek rental homes because they could not afford to buy. Concomitant with this, one may expect to find more wealthy landholders constructing houses on their vacant lots to increase their rental incomes.

But for Hayti, there are additional interpretations of recession dynamics. Other factors were at work during these years that had as much bearing upon black status as the doldrums of economic recession. Not only did this com-

munity of free craftsmen maintain its stability, but the recession may have helped some blacks to leave rental status and to purchase their own homes. It is also not clear that white landlords constructed tenant houses for purely monetary gains.

Another hypothesis asserts that free blacks tended to be mulatto, or, that color helped to determine one's freedom. Unfortunately, public records do not always indicate whether a person was a mulatto, but on the 400 block between the years 1840 and 1861, there was a high correlation between a man being mulatto and his being free.

Research methodology for this study does not involve complex statistical analysis; rather, computations are based upon straightforward counting and percentages. But because so many people lived on the block over the span of 112 years, the methodological essay is included at the end of the text. It is also necessary, before reading the text, to clarify the use of percentages and tax deciles, as well as to provide a short glossary.

All percentages, whether they reflect home ownership, racial distribution, or occupation, are based upon whites and blacks, respectively, unless otherwise stated. For example, to show the general occupational level of black people on a particular street face it is necessary to compare the percentage of black skilled craftsmen (60% ) with the percentage of black laborers (5% ).

The tax decile is the most useful device for comparing real estate values. Starting in 1790, decile ranking is based on a 15 percent random sample taken at twenty year intervals across the whole city. The first decile reflects the highest values, and the tenth decile the lowest. The scales for each period vary depending upon changes in assessments, and upon home improvements.

Some of the less familiar words and terms follow:

Household:	represented by the adult head of a family under one roof.
Aggregate:	refers to all adults in the population, whether they are additional family members or renters.

Occupational levels:	1 — professional/entrepreneurial/ high white-collar: doctors, lawyers, ministers, factory owners.
	2 — proprietary/lower white- collar: grocers, shopkeepers, clerks, accountants, tobac- conists.
	3 — skilled craftsmen: carpenters, cabinetmakers, coopers, machinests, dressmakers, tailors.
	4 — service/unskilled: wagon driv- ers, washerwomen, sailors.
	5 — unskilled laborers.
Working class:	the two lower rungs of the occu- pational hierarchy which include laborers and those people in such unskilled service positions as wagon drivers, stevedores, porters, sailors, washerwomen, and policemen.
Cooper:	a barrel maker.
Hostler:	one who takes care of horses or mules.
Moulder:	one who casts or shapes molten iron in a foundry.

When evaluating large groups of people, most of whom left no personal records, both the reader and the historian should be wary of impressionistic conclusions. For most 400 block residents, the knowledge of their very existence comes only through public records. Such records provide mostly economic information: personal property and real estate assessments, the financial details of house purchases, the division of property at death. Economic factors are further emphasized through archaeological data in an effort to analyze the people's material culture. Artifacts taken from the ground, which are evaluated on the basis of their quality, price, and availability, help to determine economic

status. Carried further, one may interpret the differences in socioeconomic groups as revealing conflict between those groups.

The risk of relying on such evidence is for the historian to be branded either a leftist, or, at best, an economic determinist. The great problem is that the available data lends itself to these interpretations because the historian cannot penetrate the minds and determine the attitudes of people who did not leave diaries, tracts, or personal letters. Consequently, the residents of the 400 block do not come to life as one would wish, and we are left with only glimpses of their social, political, and intellectual existence.

As with all projects of this nature, time and energy dictate what is accomplished. There is much more that could be done to improve the analysis of the 400 block, especially in the realm of social history. The history of the Colemans, themselves, may provide an interesting and revealing story of a middle class family which included merchants, skilled workers, a saloon keeper, a political office holder, a police superintendent, a ship captain, and two Civil war heroes.

It is hoped that future historians may continue the quest for a better understanding of average Alexandrians' daily lives, a quest that hinges greatly upon the meaningful and balanced interpretations of historical archaeologists.

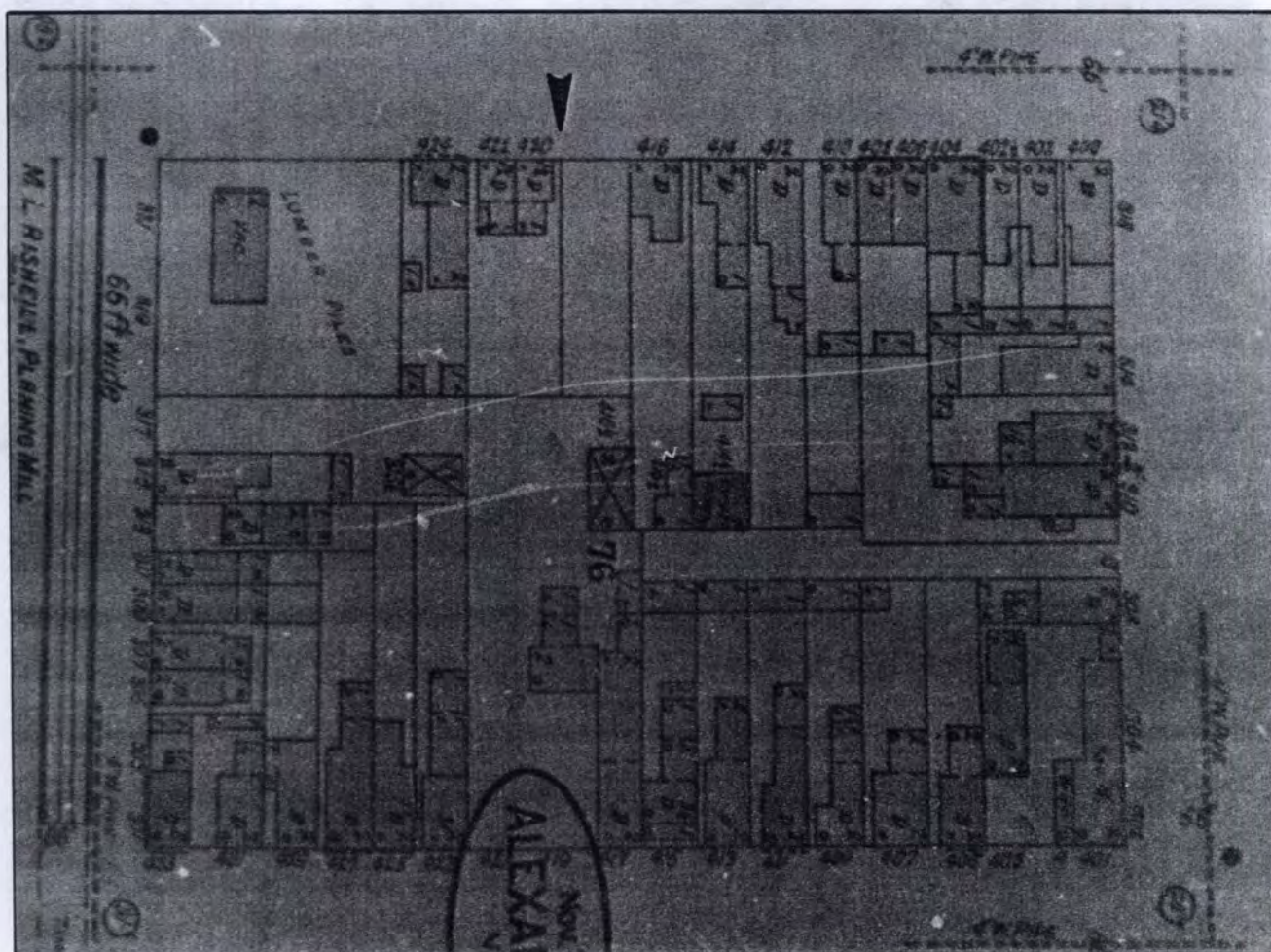
## **ACROSS THE FENCE, BUT A WORLD APART**

On a May morning in 1871, John Credit was "BADLY HURT." As reported in the *Alexandria Gazette*, Credit was "a very respectable colored man" who drove an ice wagon for M. Eldridge & Co. On this unfortunate morning he "had his nose broken and his face otherwise injured" when a large ice box lid tumbled upon him at the market square. Nine months earlier, the *Gazette* reported another accident that had befallen a white man: "Mr. Samuel Coleman, an employee at the foundry of Jamieson & Collins, had his foot severely injured . . . by moulten iron."<sup>1</sup> These incidents, although unrelated, reflect the different working worlds of two men who had been back fence neighbors for twenty-five years. One, a skilled iron moulder, capitalized on the opportunities of the industrial age. The other was an unskilled wagon driver, whose limited opportunities relegated him to the working class. Both men survived their injuries to achieve some prominence within their respective communities — communities that transcended geographical closeness — communities based on occupational status and on ethnic background.

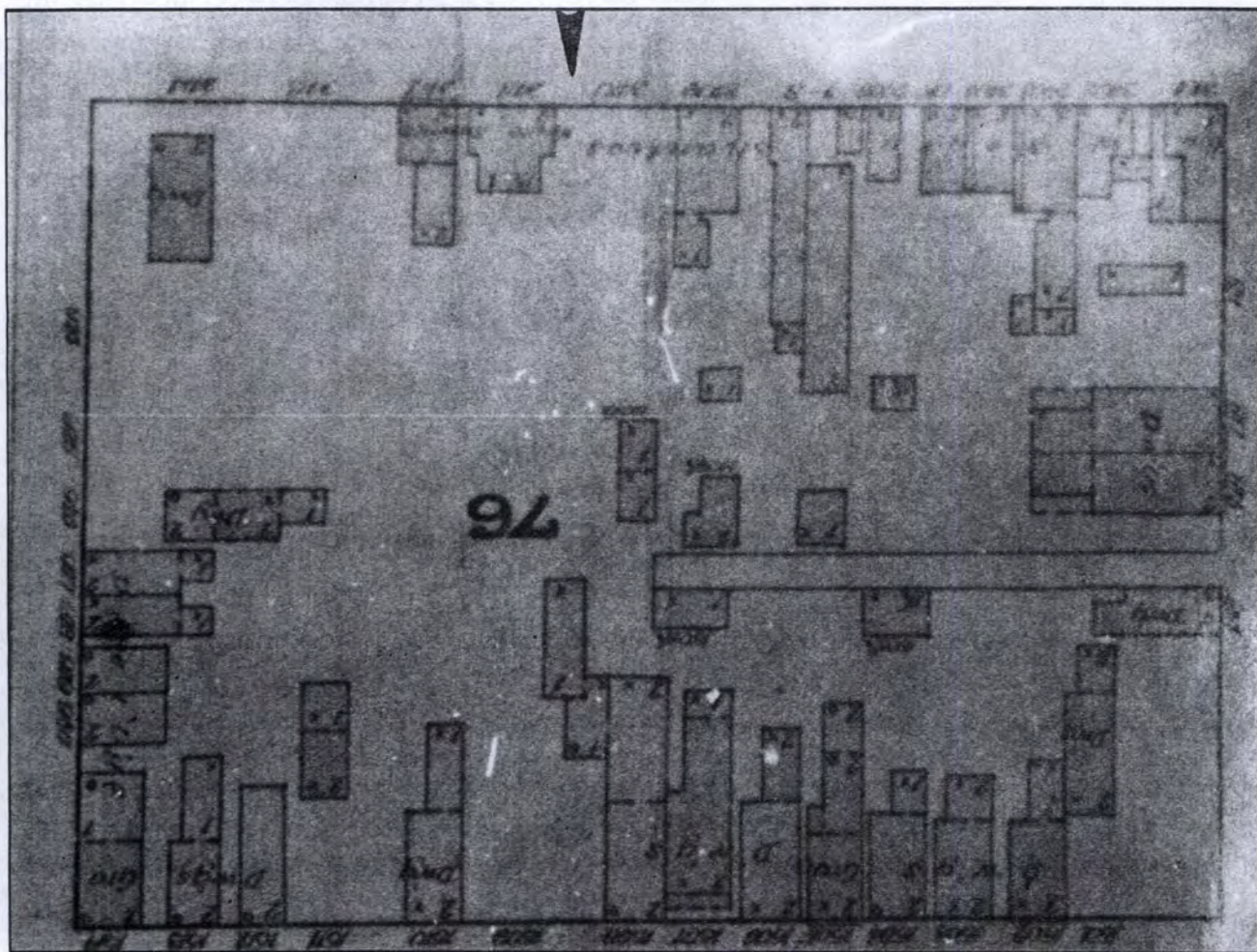
John Credit's neighborhood, known as Hayti, extended along Royal Street from Wilkes to Duke. Living on the 400 block of South Royal for sixty years, Credit exemplifies many of the other people living on the street. He was a free born mulatto who achieved some status among the black community. Not only did his job status rise from laborer to driver, he acquired personal property, and he eventually purchased his own home. Having been a Coleman Site tenant without personal property, he also reflected the upward mobility achieved by some of these occupants. Before the Civil War, and into the twentieth century, the Credit family contributed stability and continuity to the block.

On the other side of the block, Samuel Coleman also reflected the ethnic and occupational stability of Fairfax Street. The Coleman family occupied their frame house for 102 years on a street that was dominated by white skilled craftsmen. (The family owned their house for 106 years, but they moved to Prince Street for four years before returning to their old home in 1854). Although some members of the family reached lower level white-collar status, Samuel, as a skilled moulder, was more representative of the local residents. From a family of slave owners, Samuel was also a Confederate hero at the Battle of Second Manassas.

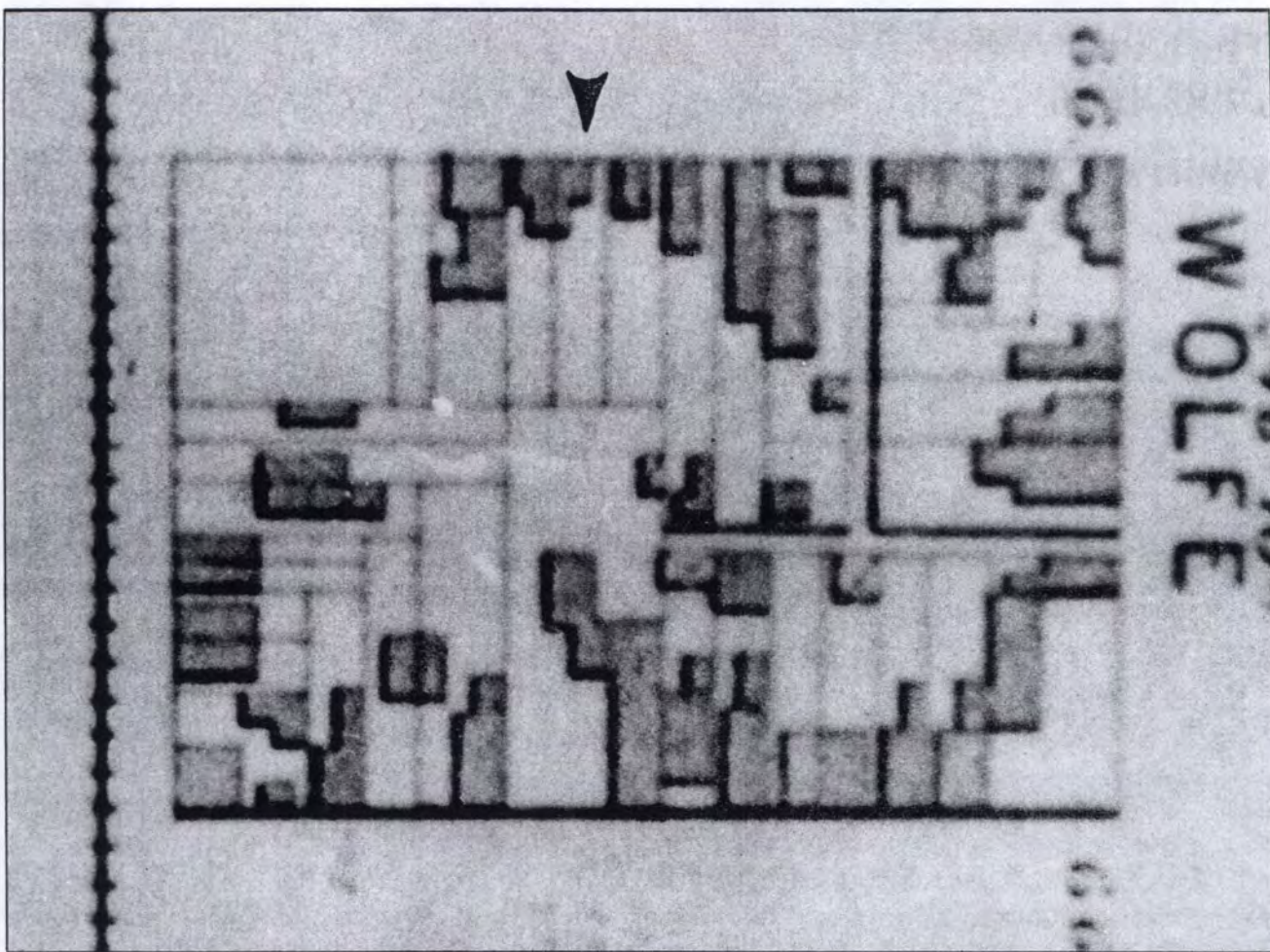
Thus, there was sharp contrast between people living on different sides of the same block. The contrast, however, was not always clear. Before the rise of industrial America, and before the Civil War, ethnic and occupational separation was less pronounced. The roots of these distinctions on the 400 block go back to 1796 and can be traced into the twentieth century.



The Coleman Site block, bounded by Wolfe, South Royal, Wilkes, and South Fairfax Streets, in 1877. G.M. Hopkins. *City Atlas of Alexandria, Va.* North is to the right and the Coleman site is noted by the arrow.



The Coleman Site block, in 1885. *Alexandria, Virginia*, Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. North is to the right and the Coleman Site is noted by the arrow. The structure at 418 South Royal Street depicted in the 1877 map is no longer extant.



The Coleman Site block, in 1907. *Insurance Maps of Alexandria, Virginia*, Sanborn Map Co. The duplex at 420 and 422 South Royal Street is shown for the last time before 1910 demolition. North is to the right and the Coleman Site is noted by the arrow.

## **THE EARLY YEARS: 1796-1810**

### **South Fairfax Street**

When Joseph Coleman, an Alexandria cooper, bought his property on the 400 block of South Fairfax Street in 1796, only one other family resided on the block. John Yost, a blacksmith, had owned a house on the south side of the Coleman lot since at least 1787, where he continued to live until 1798. It is probable that a portion of the Coleman house existed as early as 1790, for, according to the tax records, Coleman rented a house on Fairfax Street from William Hartshorne at that time. In 1792 Mordecai Lewis of Philadelphia bought the property from Hartshorne who retained most of the block including all of lots 98 and 99. These lots, which comprised the northern half of the entire block, had been auctioned by the City trustees to John Orr in 1763. They came into possession of the Hartshornes by 1785, and remained largely undeveloped through 1810. The Coleman property, just south of lots 98 and 99, was a double lot which extended to Royal Street, and which remained undivided until 1981.<sup>2</sup>

Through four owners, the property boundary remained intact for 186 years. The original frame dwelling on Fairfax Street was enlarged twice over the years, but the record does not reveal when the structure was expanded. The flounder section is the oldest, as revealed in November, 1981, when a portion of the house was razed. With the demolition of the south wing, the original siding of the flounder came into view. It was the same wide beaded siding found on the oldest frame houses in Alexandria. Some of the original paint was also preserved indicating that the color of the flounder was at various times mustard yellow and barn red. This is probably the house that Coleman rented in 1790, but it is certainly the one he bought in 1796. That the tax assessments for the property were the same (400 pounds) in 1790 as in 1796, further indicates that the flounder existed by 1790.

Little is known of Joseph Coleman, who first appears in the tax assessments in 1789, as the owner of a lot on Water (Lee) Street for which he paid a ground rent of three pounds. By 1790, he paid four pounds rent for a lot on Union Street, while he rented his residence from William Hartshorne. When he bought the Fairfax Street house from Mordecai Lewis, he also paid a ground rent of 4.3 pounds to the heirs of John Alexander.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1796 and 1810, Fairfax and Wilkes were essentially the only improved street faces on the block. Households along Fairfax were ninety-two percent white with only a few free blacks and slaves among the population.

Among the occupational levels almost all (93%) of the whites were skilled craftsmen and sea captains. Besides Coleman, a cooper, and Yost, a blacksmith, there were Richard Libby and Josiah Speake, both sea captains. Half of the jobs related to the sea trade, which reflects the importance of Alexandria as a port city. All were white sea captains, except for Robert Hunt, a free black sailor. The only white-collar worker to appear in the sample is Edward Stabler, a druggist, who in 1800 rented from Josiah Speake at the former Yost residence. Although the 1810 real estate tax assessments were near the bottom, at the ninth decile, there were indications of neighborhood stability. Not only did the Coleman family begin a span of 106 consecutive years ownership, but the number of owners (71%) exceeded the number of renters on the street and established a pattern of residential ownership that persisted.

The Coleman household during these years was extensive, numbering between nine and thirteen people. Joseph and his wife, Alice, had six children (four boys and two girls), numerous apprentice coopers, and by 1808 at least one male slave under sixteen years of age. At this time, personal property was measured mostly in cows and horses, but before his death on January 22, 1810 (age 64), Joseph had acquired a modest amount of both personal property and real estate.<sup>4</sup> To his eldest son, Joseph, he left his cooper's shop on Union Street with its contents. He also willed that his other house on Union, which he rented to Mr. Butt, the cigar maker, be sold at public auction to cover his debts. An inventory of his estate shows that his family possessed such fineries as china, queens ware, silver plate, two carpets, a looking glass, and several pieces of mahogany furniture, for a total value of \$110.25.<sup>5</sup> At various times throughout the period, he possessed cows, dogs, a horse, and a four wheeled carriage.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of the sea trade to Alexandria's coopers is also shown through the inventory of his shop. Among other items, there were 72 half barrels, 56 flour barrels, and 30 cracker barrels. Flour, along with tobacco and wheat, was the most vital export to the city's merchants, while crackers were a necessary part of the sailor's diet.

## **Wilkes Street**

During these years Wilkes Street paralleled the development of South Fairfax, for most of the residents were white (67%), and most owned their own homes. Although

the average tax assessment for 1810 was within the ninth decile, three of the four properties dipped into the tenth. Wilkes Street had a high percentage of skilled craftsmen (carpenters, sea captains) which continued into the twentieth century, but there were greater fluxuations along Wilkes as the number of free blacks and renters increased. Some stability is reflected by the presence of James Rector Magruder Lowe, who lived on the corner of Wilkes and Royal from 1805 through 1816. As a law clerk, he was one of the few lower white-collar workers during the early period. He was also the son-in-law of Richard Arell, a prominent merchant, and one of the largest property owners in Alexandria. Later, Lowe rented his Wilkes Street property, but his family retained ownership for about fifty years.<sup>7</sup>

## **South Royal Street**

The development along South Royal Street is not clear during these years. William Hartshorne still owned half the block on which he built a house that he rented to free blacks. The exact location of the house is uncertain. It could have been on Wolfe Street, but probably it was along Royal just north of the Coleman property, for this is the location of the first black households that are clearly identified by 1813. All that is known is that Ben Dawson, a laborer, and Elizabeth Dice, a seamstress, resided somewhere on that half of the block before 1810.

Located on the Coleman property was probably the oldest structure on the Royal Street side of the block. According to the city assessment for 1797, Joseph Coleman was taxed for his Fairfax Street property "including a shop on Royal Street."<sup>8</sup> Because the tax assessor customarily listed properties as he came to them, Coleman's cooper shop was evidently behind his residence. More conclusive evidence of the shop's location appears in the 1800 tax record where Richard Arell is assessed for a lot "near Coleman's cooper shop."<sup>9</sup> One of Arell's lots was on the corner of South Royal and Wilkes adjacent to Coleman's Royal Street property.

The shop's location was at 418 South Royal where Alexandria Archaeology staff and volunteers uncovered a half-cellar and fireplace in August 1981. It is not known how long Coleman maintained his shop at this address, but he moved it to Union Street sometime before 1810. Be-

cause the records do not mention the shop earlier than 1797, Coleman probably built it soon after purchasing the property in 1796.

Joseph Coleman left another puzzle regarding his former shop. Why was it not mentioned in his 1810 will, along with his other houses? Upon Coleman's death, his property was divided between his wife and children. He parcelled his Royal Street land into four lots, giving one to each of his sons, Joseph, Thomas, James, and William.<sup>10</sup> To divide his property into four equal lots required that the boundaries go through the existing structure. Thus, rather than split the small shop into sections, perhaps he thought it best to leave the shop unmentioned.

Upon her husband's death, Alice received the family home, its furnishings, and one adjacent lot along Fairfax Street. His daughters, Rachael and Susanne, each received the two remaining lots on Fairfax. The only members of the family who had future bearing on the property were Alice, and her sons James and William. Indeed, the lot divisions outlined by Joseph's will were more imaginary than real, because all of the property continued to be taxed as part of the Coleman Estate, and also because it was consolidated under James's ownership within the next forty years.

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>*Alexandria Gazette*, May 23, 1871, p. 3; August 8, 1870, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Alexandria, Virginia, Alexandria City Land and Personal Property Tax Assessments, 1790–98 (hereafter cited as Tax). Alexandria City Court House, Deed Book S, 1809, pp. 334–37, August 31, 1796 (hereafter cited as Deed Book).

<sup>3</sup>Tax, 1789–90.

<sup>4</sup>Federal Census 1800, 1810. *Alexandria Gazette*, January 24, 1810, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Alexandria City Court House, Will Book C, pp. 344–46, 352. This is only the total of his household items; with his shop inventory added, the total comes to \$201.25.

<sup>6</sup>Tax, 1797–98, 1800–13, 1805–07.

<sup>7</sup>Tax, 1805, 1810, 1815, 1816.

<sup>8</sup>Tax, 1797.

<sup>9</sup>Tax, 1800.

<sup>10</sup>Will Book C, January 19, 1810, pp. 344–46.

## **BLOCK PATTERNS ARE ESTABLISHED AMID RECESSION AND TURMOIL: 1815-1840**

Alexandria's economy, having survived the embargo of 1808 and a second war with England, showed signs of reviving in 1815. When American trade with England halted during the Napoleonic Era, Alexandria's local manufacturers actually flourished, as flour and grain merchants sold food to European armies. But unfortunately for Alexandria, several factors soon produced a recession which lasted from 1820 to about 1843. This was a period of virtually no growth as the population stabilized around 8,230.<sup>1</sup> Britain's imposition of the Corn Laws between 1815 and 1846 prohibited the export of foodstuffs to that island nation. Already the British had severely damaged Alexandria's money supply when, in 1814, \$100,000 was demanded in lieu of destroying the city by naval attack.<sup>2</sup> Also, the 1827 fire, which began in James Green's furniture factory, burned forty houses, stores, and warehouses. Most importantly, Alexandria was losing the competitive race with Baltimore and Richmond for the vital trade of the back country farmers. Added to this, President Andrew Jackson deliberately strangled the Bank of the United States out of existence, which, in 1834, also doomed the Bank of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Faced with these problems, the City leaders launched an ambitious canal building project which they hoped would stimulate commerce, but which, as much as anything, merely created debt and raised taxes.<sup>4</sup>

From the standpoint of Alexandria's free blacks, the period also brought troubles. Economically, the free black craftsmen, such as numerous coopers who depended upon commerce, faced diminished opportunities for skilled work, and, consequently, also faced the possibility of falling into the lower working classes. Free blacks were also threatened by the resurgence of the internal slave trade, for the Alexandria firm of Franklin and Armfield became the largest slave dealers in the South. They, along with the fish trade, were the only flourishing businesses during the recession years. Because Alexandria was a part of the District of Columbia from 1791 to 1846, the free blacks residing there were somewhat protected. In this environment there were congressmen, government leaders, and visitors who opposed slavery and who lamented the plight of Southern blacks. However, with the closing of their bank, Alexandrians began petitioning for retrocession into Virginia to secure a local bank charter. Retrocession into the slave state also threatened the status of free blacks.

Throughout the South, planters were disquieted by the rising intensity of the abolition movement. Indeed, Virgi-

nians were struck with the fear of slave revolts following Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831. Until this time, Alexandria had an active emancipation society which included such Quakers as Mordecai and Robert H. Miller both of whom owned extensive property on the 400 block. Under these unsettling conditions, the society waned, for many Virginians thought free blacks were a potentially disruptive force that should be removed from the State. A law actually was passed which permitted the enslavement of free blacks convicted of crime.<sup>5</sup> Since 1793, free blacks were required to register in Virginia, but in Alexandria enforcement was lax as only fifty blacks registered by 1820.<sup>6</sup> Only in times of crisis, such as following retrocession, did registration increase.

To some extent the Coleman block reflected these economic and social travails, but, usually its development was not retarded by them. The changes that did occur at this time, and especially the changes during the period leading up to the Civil War, resulted largely from such factors as the Quaker influence, the District of Columbia connection, and the socioeconomic stability of the resident free black.

## **South Fairfax Street**

During these years there was still some degree of ethnic mixing along South Fairfax Street, but white residents continued to dominate (90% ), most of whom (72% ) were skilled craftsmen. Some of these white craftsmen were:

George W. Pollock—hatter  
Ann Harley—seamstress  
Samuel Simmons—tailor  
James Lyles—cooper  
John Bishop—ladies shoemaker  
John Lymburn—ship captain

The number of skilled people dropped slightly from the previous period because of the rise in lower white-collar jobs. Among this group (22% ) were James P. Coleman, a grocer, and the tobacconists, William Mills and Charles P. Shaw. However, the number of people at this level did not significantly change the occupational character of the street until the 1890s. Coleman was virtually the only white-collar worker on the street until his death in 1870, and even he lived elsewhere for a few years.<sup>7</sup>

As new people moved onto Fairfax Street, it maintained its socioeconomic stability. Besides the Colemans, other longtime residents appeared: the families of Laughlin Masterson and John Wiggs each began fifty years of residency, while John Lymburn lived there over twenty years. Also, the average real estate assessment for 1830 remained in the ninth decile, although three properties crept into the eighth, including that of the Colemans.

The recession of 1820–1840 did not have a great impact upon Fairfax Street residents. Although the number of white household owners dropped by nine percent, they still dominated (65%). More significantly, there was virtually no change in the aggregate number of renters (46%–48%) on the street from 1796 to 1861. Thus, homeowners took in no more renters during the recession than they did either before or after it. Among the few blacks who lived on South Fairfax Street, everyone rented; indeed, no black owner ever appeared.

Nor was there a significant rise among the white working class. The only such worker identified in the sample was John Wiggs, a cartman, who not only owned his own house at 407 South Fairfax, but whose family began a fifty-five year residency in 1827. This property has been excavated by Alexandria Archaeology as part of the City Survey Project.

Following the recession, South Fairfax Street's white working class rose slightly (11%), but following the Civil War, until 1885, it peaked at thirty percent. At no time in the sample does a white laborer appear on the street before the Civil War. Thus, the recession of 1820 did not stimulate a rise in the white working class along Fairfax Street. Rather, it resulted from a natural increase within a growing population, and from later post-war conditions.

The Coleman family, however, underwent changes during these years. After the death of her husband, Alice appears to have handled family business capably, for whenever she borrowed money she paid it back promptly. She was also responsible for lifting the family's occupational level from skilled craft to lower white-collar. According to the tax records, she operated a shop, probably from her home. In 1820 she advertised for a renter who would be given access to her "large and productive garden" on Fairfax Street.<sup>8</sup> This garden might have been the source of the family grocery business, for her third son, James, was a grocer who, until 1830, was listed as both a

retail merchant and a shopkeeper.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Alice might have started the grocery business which James possibly inherited. Her two older sons, Joseph and Thomas moved away from Alexandria, for they never appear on the tax rolls. Her daughters married well — Rachel to Major James W. Johnston, and Susanne to William Greer of Washington, who printed the Congressional Record.<sup>10</sup>

Alice's youngest son, William, concerned her greatly, for he seems to have been either mentally ill, retarded, or possibly epileptic. There is evidence that she tried to give William some responsibility because he was listed, for a while, as a shopkeeper — possibly in the Coleman grocery. Between 1819 and 1822, he apparently boarded at J. R. M. Lowe's house on the corner of Wilkes and Royal, but the reasons for this are unknown.<sup>11</sup> By 1818, Alice's other children permitted her to take possession of the lot that her husband had left to William, because he was "in a State of natural Idiocy" with little hope of recovery.<sup>12</sup> In her 1828 will, Alice wrote that "it has pleased God to give to me a son who is an idiot, William Coleman, intirely unfit to maintain, or take care of himself." She left her property to James under the stipulation that he furnish William "with board and lodging [and] with all the necessary clothing as long as the said William shall live."<sup>13</sup> Accepting this responsibility, James was well on his way to consolidating the family property, which he accomplished in 1851 by purchasing Susanne's lot for one hundred dollars.<sup>14</sup> But what became of William is a mystery.

## **Wilkes Street**

During the recession, the residential patterns along Wilkes Street were similar to those of South Fairfax Street in some ways. Among the ethnic population, white householders (64%) still dominated, as did the skilled craft occupations (89%). Such skilled men included Ignatious Ratcliffe, a carpenter, William Cox, a cigar maker, and James Cosgrove, a sea captain. Like Fairfax Street, there was no great increase in the working class, for the sample revealed no such white workers on Wilkes until 1850. Although Wilkes maintained a high number of sea related jobs (43%) until 1825, almost all of them disappeared in the face of declining commerce.

Among the black residents, most (64%) can be clearly identified as free, but the figure is undoubtedly higher. Of the free blacks whose jobs can be determined, one was

Luke Lee, a seventeen year renter and a skilled caulker. Another was Alexander Douglass, a mulatto ship carpenter who had moved from the Coleman Site after 1838. Other free blacks, including Nancy Banks, a washerwoman, and Harry Davis, a sailor, held unskilled service jobs.<sup>15</sup> Throughout the recession years, as before, every black family along Wilkes rented their home.

Although the 1830 real estate values on Wilkes continues at the ninth decile, there was a significant increase in the number of renters. During the recession, on given years, the number of renters ranged from eighty to one hundred percent. But after 1840, until the Civil War, the number fell to about fifty-six percent.

Thus, Wilkes and Fairfax Street showed some similar trends during the recession. Both maintained a high number of skilled craftsmen, and neither increased in the number of working class jobs. Likewise, the number of seamen dropped considerably after 1825. But there were also differences. Although both showed an increase in renters, Wilkes had more renters, and maintained a higher percentage throughout the period. Also, Wilkes was more racially mixed than Fairfax, due, partially, to its close proximity to Hayti, and partially because ethnic mixing traditionally was more pronounced in the early nineteenth century.

## **Wolfe Street**

No houses appear on Wolfe Street in 1815, but by 1830 there are four. These houses were located between a twelve foot alley, which opened on Wolfe, and the corner of Royal. (See 1825 Block Map). Just east of the alley was the Samuel Baggett property at the corner of Fairfax Street. The Baggetts owned a brick house on Fairfax, but no house appears on their Wolfe Street lot until the early 1850s. The corner remained vacant until the 1890s. West of the alley was an ethnic mixture as blacks occupied the two houses nearest Royal Street and whites occupied the others. Consequently, although blacks and whites were neighbors, there was a quasi separation. Likewise, the tax deciles reveal this separation, for the white properties reach the seventh decile, and the black homes drop into the tenth. This disparity remains consistent through most of the nineteenth century and greatly skews the average tax assessment for Wolfe Street.<sup>16</sup>

There were slightly more white households (53%) than black on Wolfe Street, but there was a greater variety of occupational levels than found elsewhere on the block. Skilled whites included Peter Barret, a sea captain, Walter Ross, a bricklayer, and Thomas Mansfield, a house carpenter. In the professional and white-collar brackets were Henry Slicer, a Methodist minister, and Robert H. Miller, a china store merchant. Miller, trained as a house joiner, was the son of Mordecai Miller, a silversmith who had become a wealthy and prominent merchant. Robert lived on the street for a few years, but after he inherited portions of his father's extensive real estate in 1833, he moved to another part of Alexandria.

Among the Wolfe Street blacks, almost all (92%) are free, while only a few (30%) can be identified as mulatto. Occupational levels were evenly distributed from skilled craftsmen to laborers. William Freeman was a cartman, while Levi Lewis and William Weaver were laborers. Although Alexander Bryan's occupation is not specified, he was probably a craftsman because the tax records indicate that he maintained a shop.<sup>17</sup> Bryan and his wife Ann rented from Robert H. Miller for sixteen years until, in 1834, they acquired a house from Miller on Royal Street. In 1839 Bryan bought another house on the Wilkes Street side of the block, but, by 1848, he was forced to sell all of his property for back debts.<sup>18</sup>

Other longtime residents on Wolfe Street during these years were the Alexander and Amanda Boudin family which lived on the corner of Royal until 1918. Alexander, a "very bright mulatto," was a cooper; one of his sons was a baker, and one was a laborer. In 1839 the Boudins and Martha Dandridge purchased their house from R. H. Miller for \$700. By the time Alexander died in 1864, he had acquired two other houses on the western end of Queen Street, and he had also attained extensive personal property which included a horse and a gold watch, each valued at \$100.<sup>19</sup>

It is questionable whether the recession had a similar effect upon the Wolfe Street renters as it did upon those on Wilkes. In 1825 only one house on Wolfe was rented, but by 1835 every house was rented. While the recession might have influenced the increase in renters, it does not explain why Wolfe housed predominantly renters until the Civil War. Indeed, individual circumstances seem to be more compelling reasons for this development even

during the recession. Robert H. Miller moved away after achieving greater affluence, thus he rented his old house. And Rachael Hewes, a widow, was probably too elderly to maintain her own home. Although Miller built a tenant house on the corner of Royal during these years, he might have been motivated as much by his concern for emancipated slaves as he was for profit.

As with Wilkes Street, there were no working class whites in the sample along Wolfe, which may indicate that lower level occupations were generally the domain of slaves and some free blacks. Sea related jobs also were well represented (30%) on Wolfe. But where such jobs disappeared on Wilkes after 1825, one sea captain, Peter Barret, lived on Wolfe through 1835.<sup>20</sup>

### **South Royal Street**

The development of Royal Street is most crucial in the study of the Coleman Site because it is the immediate neighborhood of the site residents. During these years South Royal is occupied almost entirely by black households (90%), and mostly by free blacks (79%). This block was part of a free black corridor along Royal Street which extended from Wilkes to Duke. Known as Hayti, it was one of the two oldest black communities in Alexandria (See Alexandria Archaeology City Survey Report.) In this period it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a black is free or slave because the records are unclear. Not until 1827 do the tax records begin to indicate their status, and often this information is either incomplete or inaccurate. Likewise, the Free Negro Register provides only limited information because most free blacks did not register. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that during these years there were more slaves on the block (18%-26%) than at any other time. However, most of these slaves were clearly emancipated by 1840.

Many of the slaves along Royal were related to Phillip and Catherine Hamilton, and most were owned by the Herbert family of Alexandria. Philip Hamilton, who lived at the home of Monica Bell in 1825 (424 S. Royal), was "a slave to Colin Auld," but by 1827 he was free. Never listed as anything other than a laborer, Hamilton was still able to leave considerable real estate to his family in 1963, which included his house at 410 South Royal. His wife, Catherine, was listed as a renter in this same house from 1819 to 1841, thus, they apparently lived apart. In 1820, William

Roberts emancipated Catherine whom he described as "my slave and my sister."<sup>21</sup> Roberts, a free black engaged in "manufacturing," lived next door at 412 Royal. Catherine's children, Ellen and Prince, were both slaves to Mrs. Herbert in 1824 and 1825.

Hannah Jackson was also Catherine Hamilton's neighbor on the lot immediately north. Jackson, a black washerwoman, owned her son, Solomon, as a slave in 1827, but he was free the following year. Thus, it was not uncommon for free blacks to actually own their relatives as slaves, and to eventually emancipate them. According to historian Elsa Rosenthal, plates were sometimes passed in church to raise funds with which to purchase friends and relatives still enslaved.<sup>22</sup>

Another longtime resident of Royal Street, Edward Pleasants, appears to have been free, unless he was a slave who hired out his time. Evidence of his freedom centers upon the house lease he signed with J. R. M. Lowe as early as 1816, although not until 1827 does the Free Negro Register clearly show his free status.<sup>23</sup> In 1808 Pleasants is listed as a laborer; by 1820 he is engaged in some kind of "commerce." He lived in the same house (now destroyed, near the corner of Wilkes and Royal) until he died in 1839, and where his wife continued to live until 1844.

From the sample evidence of this period, only Robert Roderick was clearly born free.<sup>24</sup> Luke Lee was freed by John Hunter before moving onto the block, but eight others appear to have been emancipated while they lived there.<sup>25</sup> These emancipated blacks included Ann and Alexander Bryan, Wesley Hamilton, Cassey Yeates, and Dennis Carpenter, the latter appearing on Wolfe Street only once, the same year that he was freed by Robert Jamieson.<sup>26</sup>

Of the free blacks along Royal Street, only thirty-two percent can be identified as mulatto, but it is very likely that the percentage is higher. More significant is the occupational distribution which consisted mostly of skilled craftsmen (56%), followed by washerwomen and wagon drivers (31%) in the unskilled service jobs. Most importantly, laborers amounted to only thirteen percent of the known occupations. These figures show that the 400 block of South Royal Street housed mostly higher status skilled craftsmen and very few laborers during this early period. None of the occupations sampled related to the sea trade,

unless one includes the coopers who were numerous among both whites and blacks.

By this time, Royal Street began to show signs of stability and continuity. Not only were there a large number of craftsmen, but people began to move onto the block whose families would remain for many years. The families of William Waugh, Philip Hamilton, William Roberts, and Edward Plesants resided on the block from twenty-five to fifty years.<sup>27</sup> Although the real estate values for 1830 were at the lowest decile, some families acquired a modest amount of personal property. Hannah Jackson and Philip Hamilton each had a cow, while William Waugh, a cooper, owned a horse and a cow.

Nor did the recession devastate these people. There was a rise in the working class between 1820 and 1840 (to 38%), but because the street was so sparsely populated before that time, comparisons are risky. Before 1810, three of the four blacks with identified jobs were skilled: Elizabeth Dice, a seamstress, William Waugh, a cooper, and William Roberts, who was engaged in some kind of manufacturing. During the recession, skilled craftsmen on Royal Street still outnumbered (62%) all other occupational levels, but among the black population on the whole block, nearly half (47%) held working class jobs.<sup>28</sup> This disparity between Royal Street and the rest of the block can be partially explained. As shall be seen, the free blacks on Royal were beginning to purchase their own homes, while free blacks elsewhere on the block continued to rent. One's ability to finance a house may be dependent upon higher occupational skills. Also, as ethnic separation became more pronounced, blacks were more likely to buy homes at a distance from white neighborhoods rather than in such transitional areas as Wolfe and Wilkes Streets. Most importantly, this was the section of Hayti where Robert H. Miller made homes available to free blacks.

After the recession, the black working class rose steadily soaring to sixty-three percent in 1850. The recession might have set the trend in motion, but a rising population and greater job competition were more important factors behind the decline in black occupational status, a decline that continued long after the recession. Between 1820 and 1840, the free black population more than doubled, which resulted partially from the oppression of free blacks in southern states following Turner's Rebellion. Also, more slaves were gaining their freedom and Alexandria offered not only more safety, but more job opportunities as well.

The hypothesis that a recession causes an upsurge in house renters is not a useful analytical devise on Royal Street. Because every resident was a renter before the recession, there was no measured increase during the recession. In fact, the recession might have enabled some blacks to purchase their own property. By 1840, all of the black homeowners on the block had purchased their houses from Robert H. Miller. In 1834, Ann and Alexander Bryan acquired both their home and their rights to the ground rent from Miller. In 1839, not only did Amanda and Alexander Boudin purchase their house on the corner of Wolfe and Royal, but Mary Waugh and Edward Evans, her son-in-law, also bought their lots at 414 and 416 South Royal, respectively. Mary Waugh, widow of William, had lived in her house since 1813. The Evans family maintained their residence until 1880.

Robert H. Miller, a Quaker merchant and one-time resident of Wolfe Street, is a central figure in the upward mobility of his former black neighbors. His willingness to make real estate available to free blacks corresponds to the rising abolition sentiment which was being voiced in America. Miller's father, Mordecai, was a prosperous merchant who, before 1819, helped to create Hayti as a free black community. Before the recession, Mordecai built seven houses on the block which were occupied by free blacks. Between 1820 and his death in 1832, Mordecai constructed two more houses, while Robert added only one more during the next decade — all of which housed free blacks. Erecting these last three houses during lean years cannot be attributed to the Miller's cold pursuit of profit. Rather, it represented the continuation of a plan spawned before the recession and supported by other Quakers who had humanitarian concern for the plight of black Americans.

As sensible businessmen, the Millers rented primarily to black craftsmen who were less likely to default on rent. But most significantly, they provided the land for an upwardly mobile black neighborhood that existed for 150 years. Under Mordecai, the community of free black renters was established, and under Robert, in 1834, it advanced toward a community of homeowners. The Millers' role in the abolition movement and, specifically, their influence upon the creation of Hayti as a free black enclave are subjects worthy of greater investigation. But whatever their role, it is clear that Hayti, and especially Royal Street, did not follow the recession norm, because home ownership did not decline, it rose.

## **The Coleman Site: 418 South Royal Street**

The oldest house on the Coleman's Royal Street property probably existed as a shop as early as 1797, but the first verifiable resident does not appear until 1815. John Cassin, a white "manufacturer" actually lived on the block in 1814, but there is confusion about his exact location. In the tax records for 1814–1815, he is listed as a tenant at the J. R. M. Lowe house on the corner of Royal and Wilkes, but he is also shown to occupy the Coleman property. This leads to the suspicion that he might have used one location for a shop. Unfortunately, his actual occupation is never revealed because the Federal Census describes him only as a "manufacturer."

During the five or six years that Cassin resided on the Coleman lot, he was the only white person on South Royal Street. Undoubtedly, his household was too large for the small frame dwelling in which he lived. Besides his wife, Ann, he had four children and two slaves. His personal property, besides his slaves, consisted of one cow in 1815. The house, at this time, might have been a better structure than some of the others on the street, but its assessed value is hard to determine because all of the Coleman property was assessed together. In 1821, Cassin moved his family directly across the street where he rented from Edmund Edmunds, which, from the assessment, was probably a better house than the Coleman's.<sup>29</sup> Whatever his specific job might have been, Cassin was prosperous and upwardly mobile, for in 1822 he bought a 110 acre farm "at the southern juncture of the Alexandria Road and the Washington gravelled Road."<sup>30</sup> The price was \$2,195 which, by 1831, he had paid in full.<sup>31</sup> When he died in 1837, he bequeathed his farm and four slaves to Ann, he left another farm to his son, and he gave cash to one of his daughters.<sup>32</sup>

The same year that Cassin moved across the street, Alice Coleman secured her family's full rights to their property. By purchasing the rights to ground rents from Alexander Hooe for \$138.90, she not only ended this annual feudal obligation, but in so doing she allowed her heirs to maximize rental returns on the property.<sup>33</sup> Whether this had an immediate effect upon the renters in her Royal Street house is unknown, but in 1832 it undoubtedly made the construction of two new houses a more lucrative venture.

The first free black to live on the Coleman property was twenty-two year old William Savoy (1823–1824), a free born dark mulatto who was probably unmarried at that

time.<sup>34</sup> By 1830, Savoy lived in Ward Two with Mary, his wife, and one young child. But in 1839, they moved back to Royal Street, just three houses north of the Coleman Site, where they rented from Robert H. Miller. William appeared on every census from 1830 through 1850, but nowhere is his occupation recorded. After William's death, Mary, a free born black is listed as a grocer in 1860, but whether she operated a store from her house, or whether she worked for someone else is unclear.<sup>35</sup>

In 1851 Mary was the recipient of a curious gift. Reuben Johnston, a prominent white Alexandrian, bought Mary's lot from R. H. Miller for \$300 (plus a \$20 yearly rent) to be held in trust for Mary and her descendants. According to the deed, the lot was for Mary's "exclusive use . . . free from the debts, influence, power, or control of her present or any future husband" and that she could dispose of it as she deemed proper.<sup>36</sup> The motivation behind this generous gift remains to be explained, but Mary seems to have made good use of her windfall. By 1858 she was assessed for furniture valued at \$50, and in 1871 she was able to purchase an adjoining back lot from Miller for \$125.<sup>37</sup> Thus, Mary Savoy appears to have been upwardly mobile, but William remains shrouded in mystery. When Mary died in 1884, she ended forty-six continuous years residence in her house, which also reflects the stability of the neighborhood. The Savoy lot was excavated by Alexandria Archaeology as part of the City Survey Project. Its selection was based in large part on this continuity.

Following William Savoy as a renter on the Coleman lot was William Mills, a white tobacconist — the last white to reside there for twenty-six years. Mills is an anomaly not only because he is one of the few whites to live on the street during this period, but also because he had the only white-collar level position before the Civil War. After leaving the Coleman Site in 1828, he appears on the Fairfax side of the block as a boarder at the Masterson's where another tobacconist, Charles P. Shaw, also rented. As late as 1840 he still rented elsewhere on Royal Street.<sup>38</sup>

During this period each of the last three occupants of 418 South Royal had distinctive characteristics. Fanny Campbell, who lived there from 1828 to 1835 with one other black woman, owned one cow, but her occupation is not known. Henry Roman, a twenty-two year old slave during his two year occupancy (1836-37), was freed in 1839 by George A. Smith.<sup>39</sup> Finally, in 1838, Alexander Douglass, a free mulatto, lived there for one year with his

wife and two or three children. In 1839, Douglass, a skilled ship carpenter, moved near the corner of Wilkes and Fairfax where he stayed for several years as a renter. Always a renter, Douglass can still be said to be upwardly mobile. Although he could not write, he acquired a hundred dollars worth of personal property by 1870, and was a trustee and steward at Robert's Chapel, the black Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>40</sup> Each of these Coleman renters reflects what was happening to blacks at this time. Skilled craftsmen were becoming more economically affluent, slaves were on the verge of emancipation, and families were beginning long periods of residency as indicated by Fanny Campbell's eight years at 418 South Royal.

## **The Coleman Family**

After Alice Coleman's death in 1828, her son, James, became the most prominent member of the family. He was a successful grocer who, by the 1840s, rented a store from Charles McKnight on Royal Street between King and Market Alley.<sup>41</sup> From the public record it is hard to glean personal attitudes, but it appears that James, although a slave holder, had a benevolent nature which he might have inherited from his mother. In 1819 Alice certified before the court that she had freed her servant, Cloe Rhodes, and that Rhodes' daughter, Susan, was therefore also free.<sup>42</sup> On various occasions James signed affidavits attesting to the free born status of the Savoy and the Waughs, all of whom lived behind him on Royal Street. Interestingly, one Savoy daughter was named Laura Virginia, the same name as James' own daughter. In 1829, a year after Alice's death, James emancipated his "negro woman by the name of Harriet Dyson aged about 17 years" because of various reasons including his intention to move.<sup>43</sup> Whether he intended to move away from Alexandria as his two older brothers had done is uncertain, but he soon found good reason to stay.

In 1832 James was elected to the Board of Trustees of the "Young Men's Bible Society," but another event occurred a month later that probably had more impact both upon his attitude toward slavery and upon his decision to stay in Alexandria.<sup>44</sup> On May 18, he married Caroline Carolin in a Baptist ceremony conducted by the Reverend Samuel Cornelius.<sup>45</sup> Caroline's father, Hugh Carolin, was a prosperous brickmaker who opposed slavery. It is reported that on one occasion Carolin emancipated slaves that had been given to him in lieu of cash.<sup>46</sup> Whatever humanitarian influence the Carolins might have had upon James, it is clear that they provided a positive financial

influence. When Hugh died in 1843, while living with the Colemans, he left them abundant real estate throughout Alexandria.<sup>47</sup>

Also in 1832, James constructed two new houses on his lots at 420 and 422 South Royal Street. This frame structure was actually a story and a half duplex with a common wall. These homes were built when Alexandria was near the peak of recession, and when landowners sought to maximize their assets; indeed, the foresight of James' mother in 1821 made it possible for him to receive the full rent without having to pay a ground rent to a third party.

### **The Coleman Site: 420 South Royal Street**

The occupants of the Coleman duplex entered a period of great stability, just as other black families were beginning long periods of residency on the block. In 1832 the first renter at 420 South Royal was George Brooks, whose family began forty-two consecutive years residence in the house. Although information about Brooks is limited, he appears to have been owned as a slave by his first wife, Harriet, until she freed him. According to the record, she bought George from John Wiggs in 1834, two years after moving into the house.<sup>48</sup> Wiggs, a homeowner on the Fairfax side of the block, was a cartman, who probably influenced Brooks' occupation. George, also a cartman, was described at various times as a carter, a drayman, and a driver.

It is curious to note that according to the 1840 census, both George and Harriet are recorded as free. Although the deed indicates that George was freed in 1848, it is likely that Harriet had given her husband virtual freedom soon after buying him. It is also possible that because of retrocession in 1846, George thought it prudent to secure his legal freedom.

The size of the Brooks' household cannot be clearly established during these early years on the site, but in the census it never numbered more than three. His personal property was slightly more than many others on the street, being assessed for one cart, one dray, and one horse, all of which were required for his work.

### **The Coleman Site: 422 South Royal Street**

In the second duplex, at 422 South Royal, William and Nancy Dudley had a large household ranging from six to ten members with at least three children — two girls and a boy. William, who was in his middle thirties, was a free

born mulatto with hazel eyes. His occupation was that of a cooper and he appears to have been a successful one. He is described in the *Free Negro Register* as having a scar "on his right leg occasioned by an axe," undoubtedly the result of his trade.<sup>49</sup> Nancy Dudley, also free born, was a "very bright mulatto," implying that she was very light in color. In fact, her mother, Mary Ann Cole, was a white woman.<sup>50</sup> During the Dudleys' twelve years on the Coleman Site, their assessable wealth was never greater than one cow, but as shall be seen, they prospered and were upwardly mobile.

In August 1831, following Nat Turner's Rebellion in southern Virginia, Dudley signed a petition circulated by Alexandria's free blacks which was intended to allay the fears of whites. Fears of slave insurrection swept the South and harsh restrictions were imposed upon slaves and free blacks as well. The free black community of Alexandria also feared that they might be forced to leave the city. With this in mind, they wrote a petition promising to "unite heart and hand in defending the authorities of this town and community against whatsoever enemy should rise up against them."<sup>51</sup> Among the signers were other familiar names to the block: Luke Lee, Michael Morris, William Roberts, Philip Hamilton, and Dennis Carpenter. These years must have been uneasy ones for Alexandria's black population as the slavery issue began to split local churches, and as the slave dealers, Franklin and Armfield, continued to operate in their midst.

In conclusion, the three Coleman houses reflected many of the patterns found along Royal Street and along those parts of Wilkes and Wolfe Streets that approached Royal. The site was a microcosm of the greater street face where slaves were freed, where family members purchased enslaved relatives, where some residents moved in for decades, while others quickly departed. Of the six heads of households, four were free and the others soon gained their freedom. Skilled craftsmen comprised two out of the three identified occupations, and mulattos were highly represented. Their personal property, however, fell below many of the others on the street, with the possible exception of George Brooks. And even the presence of two white families within this highly black neighborhood was not uncommon in the early nineteenth century.

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>G. Terry Sharrer, "Commerce and Industry" edited by John D. Macoll, *Alexandria A Town In Transition 1800–1900*, Alexandria Bicentennial Commission, Alexandria Historical Society, 1977, p. 27 (hereafter cited as Sharrer). The population in 1820 was 8,218, in 1830 it was 8,241, and in 1850 it was 8,734.

<sup>2</sup>George J. Stansfield, "Banks and Banking," *ibid.*, p. 44 (hereafter cited as Stansfield).

<sup>3</sup>Sharrer, pp. 21–22.

<sup>4</sup>William B. Fraley, "Government," edited by John D. Macoll, *Alexandria A Town In Transition 1800–1900*, Alexandria Bicentennial Commission, Alexandria Historical Society, 1977, p. 3 (hereafter cited as Fraley).

<sup>5</sup>Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*, Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, New York, 1956, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup>Elsa S. Rosenthal, "1970 Names — 1970 Faces; A Short History of Alexandria's Slave and Free Black Community," edited by Elizabeth Hambleton and Marian Van Landingham, *A Composite History of Alexandria*, Vol. 1, 1975, p. 83.

<sup>7</sup>Tax, 1815, 1820, 1825, 1830, 1835.

<sup>8</sup>*Alexandria Gazette*, August 18, 1820.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 1815–28.

<sup>10</sup>*Our Town 1749–1865 at Gadsby's Tavern*, Alexandria, 1956, pp. 50–51.

<sup>11</sup>Tax, 1819–22.

<sup>12</sup>Deed Book I-2, p. 380, February 23, 1819.

<sup>13</sup>Alexandria City Court House, Will Book No. 3, Orphan's Court, pp. 313–14, May 4, 1828.

<sup>14</sup>Deed Book M-3, 1850–52, p. 370, March 1, 1851.

<sup>15</sup>Tax, 1815, 1820, 1825, 1830, 1835.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 1835.

<sup>18</sup>Deed Books C-3, p. 36; K-3, pp. 231, 236.

<sup>19</sup>Deed Book Z-2, p. 203. Will Book 8, Corporation Court, pp. 214–15.

<sup>20</sup>Tax, 1820, 1825, 1830, 1836.

<sup>21</sup>Tax, 1825, 1827. Deed Book 8, Corporation Court, p. 175, Deed Book L-2, p. 325.

<sup>22</sup>Rosenthal, p. 83.

<sup>23</sup>Arlington County Court Records, Free Negro Register 1797–1841, p. 137. Alexandria City Census 1808, 1810. Federal Census 1820. Tax, 1817.

<sup>24</sup>Free Negro Register 1797–1841, p. 59.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>27</sup>A list of longtime residents 1815–40 as found in the

Tax records:

William Roberts Family 1814– 39

William Waugh Family 1814– 54

Philip Hamilton Family 1819– 66

Edward Pleasants Family 1817– 44

William Dogan Family 1828– 40

Alexander Bryan Family 1830– 48

<sup>28</sup>Tax, 1815, 1820, 1825, 1830, 1835, 1840. Of the whites on the block, only 7% held working class jobs.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 1814– 21. Federal Census 1820.

<sup>30</sup>Deed Book L-2, 1821– 22, pp. 406– 10.

<sup>31</sup>Deed Book M-2, 1822– 23, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup>Deed Book 4, Orphan's Court, pp. 138– 40.

<sup>33</sup>Deed Book L-2, 1821– 22, p. 84. Hooe had gained the rights in 1806 from William Thornton Alexander — the Alexanders having been the original owners when the town was formed.

<sup>34</sup>Free Negro Register, 1797– 1841, p. 241.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 1847– 61, p. 104.

<sup>36</sup>Deed Book M-3, p. 669.

<sup>37</sup>Deed Book 1, 1871, pp. 310, 579.

<sup>38</sup>Tax, 1825– 27, 1830. Federal Census 1850, 1860.

<sup>39</sup>Tax 1828– 35. Deed Book Z-2, 1838– 39, p. 259.

<sup>40</sup>Tax 1838– 41, 1845, 1850, 1874, 1978. Federal Census 1840– 80. Record of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Robert's Chapel, Mss., Lloyd House Library.

<sup>41</sup>Tax, Ward II, 1848– 55.

<sup>42</sup>Deed Book I-2, 1819, p. 380.

<sup>43</sup>Deed Book R No. 2, 1928, p. 176.

<sup>44</sup>*Alexandria Gazette*, April 25, 1832, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, May 18, 1832, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup>*Our Town*, p. 51.

<sup>47</sup>*Cary White Avery, Genealogical Records*, compiled by Jane Peake Kirkpatrick Wall, p. 84, 1925. Federal Census 1840.

<sup>48</sup>Deed Book K No. 3, 1848– 49, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup>Free Negro Register 1797– 1841, p. 136.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 1847– 61, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup>Rosenthal, p. 90.

## **YEARS OF BOOM AND BUST: 1845-1861**

These were some of Alexandria's most prosperous years. With recession at an end, and with the retrocession of the city back into the State of Virginia in 1846, the stage was set for the business boom of the 1850s. In 1852 the city achieved independent municipal status with the right to elect its mayor, its aldermen, and its common council. The population, unchanged throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, suddenly jumped between thirty and forty-five percent to 12,650. Likewise, the number of manufacturers rose to ninety-six which included a railway car construction firm, a stone quarry, a tannery, and ship-yards.<sup>1</sup> By 1843 canal construction was complete, although the debt persisted. Between 1849 and 1853, the city issued railroad construction stock which further increased the debt until by 1855 taxes reached 90¢ on every \$100 of real estate assessment. Also, slave holders paid \$2.50 for every slave they owned over twelve years of age.<sup>2</sup> The boom, however, was short-lived. Between the Panic of 1857 and the Civil War, Alexandria again tumbled into dismal times.

### **South Fairfax Street**

During these years the density of white population along South Fairfax Street (96%) continued to rise, while the percentage of skilled craftsmen and sea captains (74%) remained the same. Skilled occupations maintained their supremacy as fluctuations occurred in other job brackets. White-collar workers fell from twenty-two to twelve percent and service jobs rose from six to fourteen percent. There were two primary reasons for these shifts. First, sea related jobs (24%) increased because of the boom, and, secondly, James P. Coleman rented his old family home to Captain Joseph C. Moore, Harbor Master for the Port of Alexandria, whose son was also a mariner. While Coleman's departure reduced the number of white-collar workers, the upsurge in sea trade brought more sailors onto the block and increased unskilled service level positions. As fluctuations in the white-collar and unskilled categories counterbalanced each other, the character of skilled occupations slowly began to change. Toward the end of the period, just before the Civil War, there appeared a few skilled industrial workers (9%) among whom was a machinist, a moulder, and a steam engineer.<sup>3</sup>

The boom years are reflected in several ways on Fairfax Street other than by the rise in industry and the surge in sea trade. The number of renters reached an all-time high (46%) in 1850 due to the population growth, and because

the Colemans rented their home and moved to Prince Street from 1848 to 1852. Also, real estate assessments in 1855 zoomed to their highest level, the result of the City's canal and railroad debt. The tax levels for 1850 still placed most properties at the ninth decile, but two reached the eighth, while the Colemans were on the borderline of the seventh. But even with the greater number of renters, stable influences still prevailed, for during these years two new long-term owners moved onto the street: William Grymes, a shoemaker, and his family, began a forty year residency, and the family of George Swain, a carpenter, began a twenty year span of residency.<sup>4</sup>

Of the five black people in the sample who lived on Fairfax Street, the only free black whose job can be identified is Robert Hawkins, a hostler, who in 1855 boarded at Sarah Talbot's near the corner of South Fairfax and Wilkes Streets. Three others who rented at Talbot's were slaves. Phyllis Payne, a slave to "Miss Dade" resided there from about 1845 to 1850. She was followed in 1852 by Lucy Logan and Hannah Middleton, both slaves of John Brent. That these slaves lived on a street front that was overwhelmingly white, further indicates that some degree of heterogeneity existed in neighborhoods before the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Coleman Family**

For the Coleman family these years did not open on a bright note. In 1839 James and Caroline lost their two-year-old daughter, Caroline, and in 1841 their one-year-old, Alice Ophelia, also died. Caroline's father, Hugh Carolin, who had lived with them for several years, passed away in 1843 at age sixty.<sup>6</sup> With Hugh's death, much of his real estate fell into Coleman hands, although some of it was held jointly with Caroline's sister, Julia — Mrs. John Eveleth. For the rest of his life, James augmented his grocery business through real estate transactions in Alexandria. In 1850 his total real estate assessment was over \$5000, his grocery stock amounted to \$1000, and his personal property reached \$250. Not only were these boom years for Alexandria, but they also marked the socio-economic peak for the Coleman family. Between 1848 and 1853 James and his family rented a house on Prince Street that was assessed well above his own home.

In 1840, before they moved, there were eleven people in the Coleman household including three sons, four daughters, one free black female, and one male slave.

Whether these blacks lived in the Coleman house is uncertain, for without their names they cannot be traced. Until 1858, Coleman owned no more than one slave who was valued at \$240, but in that year he possessed three slaves. In 1857 his other personal property included silver valued at \$20, a piano assessed at \$150, and \$200 worth of furniture. Itemizing these possessions did not necessarily indicate a sudden increase in personal wealth, but rather, that the City government merely widened the tax base to ease its debt. Nevertheless, when considering all upwardly mobile factors, the acquisition of a piano and three slaves reflected his rising affluence. Coleman was taxed for his piano until his death, but by 1860 he owned no slaves.<sup>7</sup>

Between 1848 and 1853 Captain Joseph C. Moore rented the Coleman house. Moore, the fifth-three year old Harbor Master and his wife, Mary, had three sons. In 1850 Joseph, Junior (age 25) was a mariner like his father, and Cornelius (age 16) was a machinist. Also boarding with the Moores in 1851 was a carpenter named William Chrisman. Thus, this single household on Fairfax Street contributed significantly to the rise in such skilled occupations as sea captains, carpenters, and industrial workers, the latter also reflecting Alexandria's growth in manufacturing.<sup>8</sup>

The reasons for the Colemans' return to 417 Fairfax Street in 1854 are unknown, but there they remained until 1902. According to the Census of 1860, there were nine members in the immediate family including seven children. Joseph, the eldest (age 26) was a clerk of some description, James (age 22) was a house carpenter, and Samuel (age 21) was a moulder. The three youngest, Laura, Kate, and Eschol, attended school. By this time James, Senior, had entered politics as the appointed wood measurer for the City. It was not an especially prestigious position, but it had traditionally been a lucrative one. The duty of the "Measurer of Wood and Bark" was to insure that wood dealers sold uniform cords and did not short-change the buyer.<sup>9</sup>

## **Wolfe Street**

During much of this period, Caroline's sister, Julia Eveleth, lived on the block. She and her husband, John, rented the Baggett house on Fairfax Street near the Corner of Wolfe, before they moved into a house owned by Edward McLaughlin at 310 Wolfe Street. John, having been listed as both a miller and a flour merchant, presents an

occupational quandry. Either he was a skilled craftsman, or he was a white-collar merchant. Indeed, he may have been both. The white residents on Wolfe often had been of a higher status, but half of them during these years had such skilled crafts as tailor, butcher, and chairmaker. Thus, the Eveleths fit the occupational character of Wolfe Street in either case. The Eveleths, like the Colemans, were upwardly mobile at this time, aided, in part, by their inheritance from Hugh Carolin.

Wolfe Street also had a number ( 11% ) of whites in such sea related jobs as shipsmith, caulker, and sailor.

The population distribution remained about half white and half black for the entire street face although there were more white households ( 69% ). The settlement pattern remained the same as whites lived on the eastern end and blacks on the western. Reflecting this division are the tax assessments for 1850 which reach the seventh and eighth deciles toward Fairfax Street and dip into the ninth and tenth toward Royal Street.

By now, all the blacks along Wolfe Street appear to be free, of whom ninety-two percent are mulatto. Their occupational levels are evenly distributed at the skilled, service, and laboring positions. Even though all of the service jobs in the sample are housekeepers, the trend toward a greater number of laborers and working class people is beginning.

Although blacks living on the west end of Wolfe are only a small segment of the black neighborhood, they do reveal trends. Older established craftsmen, such as Alexander Boudin, are purchasing their homes and acquiring personal property, while, simultaneously, the working class begins to rise. Also, for the first time, a high correlation between free black and mulattos is clearly shown.

## **Wilkes Street**

Along Wilkes Street, black households ( 52% ) exceeded white households for the only time in the street's history. Although most blacks concentrated near the corner of Wilkes and Royal, Wilkes was the most ethnically mixed street on the entire block. Some of the homeowners included Dennis Bourbon, a free mulatto, Richard Ratcliffe, a white cabinetmaker, and Charles McKnight, a white entrepreneur and absentee landlord. Bourbon actually owned two houses, one of which he rented to both blacks and whites. Many whites rented on the street, but all of the free blacks rented with the exception of Bourbon. As con-

struction began on the Wilkes Street Railroad Tunnel in the early 1850s, it must have been a noisy and dusty street on which to live. Probably for this reason, Wilkes Street had vacant houses in 1850 and 1855, at a time when the demand for housing was generally high. Throughout the period there were almost as many renters as owners.<sup>10</sup>

More skilled occupations were still found on Wilkes as most whites (67%) and half of the blacks were craftsmen. This did, however, represent a drop among skilled workers from the previous period as the number of working class people rose for both ethnic groups. Prior to the Civil War, Wilkes Street began to house white working class people, including laborers. The occupational divergence between Wilkes and Fairfax Streets began during these years. White craftsmen, besides Ratcliffe, included John Hall, a shoemaker, and James Mills, a bricklayer. Skilled blacks were Luke and Henry Lee, both ship caulkers, and Bourbon, a ship carpenter. In a dramatic rise from the recession years, over half (54%) of the occupations were related to the sea trade, the majority being free black. Neither Wilkes nor Wolfe Streets had any blacks in industrial jobs; indeed, only one white machinist lived on Wilkes during the entire period.<sup>11</sup>

The percentage of mulattos (86%) on Wilkes was lower than along Wolfe, but this may be due to the higher number of blacks for whom there was no record of exact color; but, regardless of shade, all of the blacks in the sample for these years were free, although Dennis Bourbon had recently purchased Rachael Lyles, his wife, in 1839. He paid William Harper \$88 for Rachael, a very bright mulatto, "nearly white," freeing her two weeks later.<sup>12</sup> Bourbon was prosperous and upwardly mobile, for after he bought his house and lot in 1844, he constructed a second house which he rented to others. As a seventeen year resident, he also reflects the stability of the free black craftsmen on the block. But following the Civil War, a dramatic ethnic change occurred on Wilkes Street that was foreshadowed by the arrival of R. H. Warder, a white carpenter, whose family began a span of forty consecutive years residence.

### **South Royal Street**

For the black households of South Royal Street (91%), two statistics rose significantly from the previous period. Free blacks (93%) dominated the street, of whom most (67%) were mulatto, again showing a high correlation be-

tween manumission and color. The number of free born greatly increased as the children of both former slaves and older free blacks reached maturity.

Occupational levels also reflect significant changes that were taking place within the black community. The percentage of skilled craftsmen dropped to a little more than a third (37%) of the total jobs among blacks. But many of these prosperous older residents were now buying their own homes and establishing themselves even more firmly on the block. The Boudins bought their lot on the corner of Royal and Wolfe in 1839, the same year that Edward Evans purchased both his lot and ground rents from R. H. Miller. By 1850, owners and renters were almost in equal number as the Hamiltons, Duvalls, Waughs, and Bryans came into clear ownership. With real estate values along Royal Street still at the very bottom, free blacks probably found it easier to negotiate deals with landlords. William Dudley, after moving from the Coleman Site to 424 South Royal Street, secured an extended lease of ninety-nine years from Christianna Lowe which amounted to virtual ownership. Dudley probably found his \$18 annual rent easier to pay than to make a large capital outlay to purchase the house and, furthermore, his lease provided adequate security.<sup>13</sup>

Royal Street maintained stability and continuity as it had from the start, for new black families appeared who would long remain. The family of Edward Evans, a brickmaker turned baker, began a forty year residency in 1839; William Weaver, a laborer, lived on the street for nineteen years after having lived on Wolfe for six.<sup>14</sup>

This section of Hayti, however, was not immune to the forces that were changing the status of blacks elsewhere. The percentage of semi-skilled service occupations (26%) remained about the same as in the earlier period and consisted to draymen, porters, and domestics. Most significantly, the number of laborers rose from thirteen percent to thirty-two percent, pulling even with skilled jobs for the first time. Taken together, the working class reached almost sixty percent and it continued to rise thereafter. Status and stability within the black community depended less and less upon acquiring skills, for as widows of these craftsmen continued to dwell in their houses, their children and their boarders fell increasingly into the working class. As the Civil War approached, the number of black renters also rose, until, by 1861, renters again reached sixty-seven percent.<sup>15</sup>

Sea related jobs, never high along Royal, were still low (7%), and no one in the sample held an industrial position. Thus, the boom of the 1850s, and possibly retrocession, seemed to have a greater impact upon the black population than had the recession of 1820–1843. The influx of whites crowded blacks out of higher skilled levels, and the specialized skills required by industry went to whites. But some industries, especially the railroad, demanded more construction labor, just as an increase in the sea trade required more shipyard laborers and stevedores.

### **The Coleman Site: 418 South Royal Street**

From 1840 to 1847 John Smith and his family lived at 418 South Royal Street on the Coleman Site. This was apparently his first home after he was emancipated by Sarah Waters. According to an 1837 deed, Waters sold Smith to Mary Cole of Alexandria “for the term of three years, and then to be free,” as was stipulated by her father’s will, and “for consideration of one hundred dollars.”<sup>16</sup> Smith, with a brown complexion and just barely five feet in height, was about twenty-eight years old in 1840.<sup>17</sup> In that year his household consisted of seven free blacks including two boys and two girls all under ten years of age.<sup>18</sup> Without a clear indication of where they moved after 1847, one cannot evaluate social mobility. His occupation was never given, but his personal property assessment was never more than one dollar for furniture.

Following Smith at 418 South Royal was Harriet Jasper, a mulatto, who had been free since 1837.<sup>19</sup> She lived in the house from 1849 through 1851, but her occupation is also unknown, and she apparently had no personal property. Nor is anything known of Harriet Posey, who lived there in 1852. It is possible that the two Harriets may be the same person with the name changed by marriage.

Between 1854 and 1861 three white males occupied the house. John Lawson lived there from 1854 through 1856, William Hilton in 1859, and Henry Hicks in 1861. Virtually nothing is known about these people, except that Hilton possessed two dollars worth of personal property. However, their presence does reflect a period of rapid growth in Alexandria. The rise in population meant a shortage in housing, thus whites moved into some former black areas. Not until 1863 is there again a record of black occupancy. At that time Henry Cavins, a free born mulatto and his family resided there. He and his wife, Mary, had three children, but it is unlikely that they lived with their

parents, because they were all over twenty-four years old. Cavins did, however, possess furniture assessed at fifty dollars, the second highest of any Coleman Site occupant.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Coleman Site: 420 South Royal Street**

Residing at 420 South Royal, George Brooks saw his neighbors on either side come and go over the years. The Brooks' household was not large, but it was diverse. In 1840 the three occupants included Harriet, his free black wife, and one male slave under ten years of age. Whether this was their son, or just a child they raised, is undetermined. By 1847, Henry Davis, identified only as a tithable, also lived with the Brooks. Davis, however, provides a good example of the difficulty of tracing many of the Coleman Site occupants.

In 1847 a Henry Davis registered as being the "son of Elizabeth Davis, a free woman," and, consequently, was himself born free.<sup>21</sup> In 1863 one Henry Davis (age 40), a laborer and a widower, married Emily Lucas (age 30), both of whom were born in Stafford County, Virginia.<sup>22</sup> One year later, a Henry Davis, with the same age and occupation, but described as single, married Betty Hawkins (age 30), a widow.<sup>23</sup> There is no certainty that these are all the same person. By 1850, George and Harriet Brooks were caring for five-year-old Lewis Davis, probably one of Henry's relatives.

The Brooks' personal property during these years was mainly assessed on George's horses and carts. In 1847 he owned two horses and two carts, but from 1849 until he died he owned only one of each. In 1860, at seventy years of age, he possessed furniture worth \$20, and by 1862 his total personal property reached a high of \$100.

The assessed value of the three Coleman rentals also peaked at \$2000 in 1854–1855, or at about \$666 each—a direct result of the City's overall tax increases, and not an indication that the property had really appreciated. In 1856, these houses were assessed separately for the first time. Each duplex was valued at \$500 and the older house (418) at \$400. By 1861, they dropped to \$400 and \$300 respectively, the latter being among the very lowest on a street face that averaged at the tenth decile.<sup>24</sup>

**The Coleman Site:  
422 South Royal Street**

In 1844, William and Nancy Dudley moved out of their rented duplex at 422 South Royal Street after twelve years of residence. But they did not move far — only next door to 424 South Royal, the same house previously occupied by Monica Bell and Philip Hamilton. William, a cooper, signed a lease with Christianna Lowe for ninety-nine years which stated that the property was to pass first to Nancy, and then to their children. For an annual rent of \$18, Dudley had the right to use the property for “demise and to farm let.”<sup>25</sup> Paying only a modest rent, and not being taxed on the property, Dudley’s ability to accumulate considerable personal property was enhanced. Not only did the Dudleys acquire five cows, but the value of their furniture reached \$150, the highest on the street. Indeed, by 1861, Dudley owned another house and lot on Wythe Street assessed at \$1,300, which might have been his cooper shop. This further indicates that after leaving the Coleman Site, the Dudleys were upwardly mobile.

In 1860 the Dudley household included ten people. Besides the three Dudley children, there were two Credit children and three Hewits. Two of the three Hewit girls, Ada (age 7) and Maggie (age 3) were born in Canada, implying that their family, like many other blacks who fled to Canada, might have experienced rampant discrimination north of the border, causing them to return to the United States.<sup>26</sup>

After the Dudleys left the house on the Coleman property in 1844, they were replaced by two white brothers, John and Joseph Nightingill. Joseph, a thirty-one year old shoemaker, and John, a thirty year old ship carpenter, resided there for no more than a year. Their presence on the site was an anomaly because they lived there too early to have been forced into sub-par housing by the 1850 boom. By 1850 both men had large families — Joseph with six children, and John with five; thus, between the two, there were probably several young children living at 422 South Royal Street in 1844. Joseph eventually acquired his own house, but in his later years he became a gravedigger. John later joined the City police force and gained a reputation for heavy-handedness. In 1870, James P. Coleman, Jr. complained of Nightingill’s “vigorous application of his billy” while subduing a man in his custody. Because of his cruelty to the prisoner, Nightingill “was admonished to be more careful in the future.” Two months later, while on duty, he killed a mad dog by beating him to death with his billy stick.<sup>27</sup> John Nightingill never owned his own home,

but the downward mobility of these two brothers is best reflected by their drop from the skilled craft level into unskilled service positions.

For nine years (1846–1854), John Credit and his family lived at 422 South Royal Street, and Credit, himself, was to reside on the street for sixty-one years. Credit, who was twenty-seven in 1850, was a free born “bright mulatto” whose mother was apparently Nancy Dudley by a former marriage. Of the free blacks on the street who registered, Credit, at six feet in height, was one of the tallest.<sup>28</sup> Before the Civil War, his occupation was that of a laborer, but after the war he moved up to drive an ice wagon for M. Eldridge & Company. In 1850, while living on the Coleman Site, his household included four people: his wife, Sarah E. (Sally), his son William G. (age 4), and his daughter Sarah E. (age 2). Their personal property while at 422 South Royal was never greater than one cow.<sup>29</sup>

After leaving the Coleman Site, Credit moved into the house next door (424 South Royal) with the Dudleys. In 1856, his wife died of consumption at the age of thirty-two, as reported by her mother-in-law, Nancy Dudley.<sup>30</sup> Thereafter, the Credits and Dudleys resided together, although as separate households. In 1860, Credit is taxed for furniture assessed at \$50, and in 1867 the value of each family's furniture is \$100.

The Coleman Site residents reflect both the socio-economic activity of Royal Street and of greater Alexandria. The Brooks family, just as the Hamiltons and Weavers, were working class people whose long residency contributed to the stability of the street. On the whole, however, the site residents did not appear to be as affluent as others on the street. No occupations are recorded for any of the antebellum black residents of 418 South Royal Street, and their total personal property came to only one dollar. The Brooks' personal property was about average for the street, but, except for \$20 worth of furniture, it was measured in horses and wagons, not in luxury items such as watches and clocks. John Credit and William Dudley acquired personal property only after they left the site. Although Credit was the only black resident on the site to eventually own his own home, he and Dudley were clearly upwardly mobile. That the Credits and their relatives, the Dudleys, should move into the same house was also common, for the Hamiltons and the Triplett did the same.

Three of the five Coleman residents who can be identified were mulattos. The blacks, John Smith and George Brooks, were recently freed slaves, who did not appear to rise above the working class. But the mulattos, William Dudley and John Credit, achieved greater economic success.

For the most part, the whites on the site lived there only for a short time and their presence reflected the population surge during Alexandria's golden days of the 1850s. They appeared to be young single men who were just getting a foothold, because the total value of their personal property came to only two dollars.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Sharrer, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Fraley, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Tax, 1840, 1845, 1850, 1855, 1861.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Tax, 1845, 1850, 1852, 1855.

<sup>6</sup>*Avery Genealogical Records*, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup>Tax, 1840–61. Federal Census 1840–60. Slave Schedule 1850–60.

<sup>8</sup>Tax, 1848–53. Federal Census 1850.

<sup>9</sup>Edward Perlman, "Fire and Police Protection," edited by John D. Macoll, *Alexandria A Town In Transition 1800–1900*, Alexandria Bicentennial Commission, Alexandria Historical Society, 1977, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup>Tax, 1840, 1845, 1850, 1855.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Deed Book Z-2, p. 299.

<sup>13</sup>Deed Book C-3, p. 90. Deed Book E No. 3, p. 47.

<sup>14</sup>Edward Evans was listed as a brickmaker in 1850. The Evans family on Prince Street had been brickmakers since at least 1810. Edward may have been a relative who decided to use his skills in another venture (Rosenthal, p.87).

<sup>15</sup>Federal Census 1840–60.

<sup>16</sup>Deed Book X-2, 1836, p. 202.

<sup>17</sup>Free Negro Register 1842–47, p. 72.

<sup>18</sup>Federal Census 1840.

<sup>19</sup>Free Negro Register 1847–61, p. 113; 1841–47, p. 87. She was freed by George Brooks.

<sup>20</sup>Tax 1854–61, 1863–64. Free Negro Register 1847–61, p. 35. Federal Census 1850.

<sup>21</sup>Free Negro Register 1847–61, p. 77.

<sup>22</sup>Alexandria County Register of Marriages 1853–1879, p. 15, Lloyd House Library.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>24</sup>Tax, 1840–61.

<sup>25</sup>Deed Book E No. 3, p. 47.

<sup>26</sup>Tax, 1840–61. Federal Census 1840–60. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery To Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, Third Edition, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1967.

<sup>27</sup>Tax, 1843–45, 1856–57, 1860, 1877–78. Federal Census 1840–80. *Alexandria City Directory 1870*, p. 427. Chataigne's *Alexandria City Directory 1876–77*, p. 117; 1881–82, p. 11. *Alexandria Gazette*, August 10, 1870; October 20, 1870.

<sup>28</sup>Free Negro Register 1847–61, pp. 8, 198. Nancy Dudley was the daughter of Mary Ann Cole, and Credit was Cole's grandson.

<sup>29</sup>Federal Census 1850.

<sup>30</sup>Alexandria County Register of Deaths 1853–1896, p. 8, Lloyd House Library.

## **RECONSTRUCTION, THE RISE OF INDUSTRY, AND ETHNIC SEPARATION: 1866-1907**

In the decade of the Civil War, which included Alexandria's short Reconstruction Period (1867-1870), the economy came to a virtual halt. The white citizens of the city, having voted 958 to 48 for secession, soon found themselves under control of the Federal Army. Railroads converted to military use, the canal was drained, the Mount Vernon Cotton Factory and the Pioneer Flour Mill closed, and local merchants faced stiff competition from Northern interlopers. After the war, only the railroad offered economic hope, although such small businesses as shoemakers and tinsmiths flourished due to the demands of peddlers.<sup>1</sup>

By the mid-1870s, there were some signs of recovery, for the Cotton Factory and the Flour Mill reopened, the Jamieson & Collins Foundry turned out its steam engines, Robert Portner's Brewery grew to regional prominence, and the coal and tanning businesses flourished. Also, public service increased as telegraph and telephone wires went up around the city, and, by 1889, there was electricity. With the 1880s came the demand for such home improvements as indoor plumbing and tin roofs. But also by the mid-1880s, Alexandria clearly had ceased to be an important seaport, as Baltimore and even reconstructed Richmond dominated local trade. With the closing of the canal, the City became virtually a railroad stop as her population grew by less than a thousand during the thirty year period before 1900.<sup>2</sup>

The impact of post-Civil War policies upon the blacks of Alexandria has yet to be thoroughly studied, however, certain generalizations can be made. Economically and politically, a few black leaders prospered as exemplified by George L. Seaton, a well-to-do master carpenter who was elected to the State Legislature in 1869-1871.<sup>3</sup> But, for the most part, blacks found themselves reduced to day labor and consolidated more tightly into specific black residential areas. Although this trend started in the 1850s, neighborhoods became increasingly homogeneous with less and less ethnic mixing in the late nineteenth century.

### **South Fairfax Street**

The pattern of development along the 400 block of South Fairfax Street resembled other parts of the city. The street became virtually all white (99%) as only two black laborers rented in 1891. Skilled craftsmen fell from seventy-four percent before the war to fifty-two percent afterwards, dropping most noticeably after 1880 and declining stead-

ily into the twentieth century. Although the number of unskilled whites in the service positions rose slightly to seventeen percent over the whole period, these policemen, sailors and drivers virtually disappeared from the street between 1891 and 1902. Thus neighborhoods were becoming more homogenous, not only by color, but also by occupational status.

Contrasting the decrease in service jobs was the dramatic rise in low white-collar positions which, by 1891, equaled the number of skilled craftsmen and, by the turn of the century, surpassed them. Among these dominant white-collar occupations were railroad car inspectors, grocers, oil and oyster dealers, commissioners of the revenue, a stationer, and a real estate agent. Sea related occupations dropped from the previous period (24% to 15%) and industrial workers rose slightly (3% to 6%). These figures indicate the overall decline in the port of Alexandria and the modest rise in manufacturing.<sup>4</sup>

The residents of South Fairfax Street maintained their stability throughout the period as only a third of the households rented. The lowest number of renters (17%) appeared in 1902, and, curiously, the highest (46%) appeared in 1907. This increase resulted when Robert E. Knight and Thomas Scott acquired five houses between them and rented to the growing number of white-collar workers. Scott, a carpenter, who also owned lots on Royal Street, lived next door to the Colemans at 415 South Fairfax Street for thirty-eight years, while George Duffey, a jeweler, was their immediate neighbor to the south for twenty-one years. Other longtime residents included Charles E. Evans, a railroad car inspector (28 years) and Knight, a stationer and dry goods merchant who lived there for more than seventeen years. Real estate assessments, which reflected the instability of the Civil War and Reconstruction, were more varied in 1870 than at any other time, ranging between deciles eight, nine, and ten. But by 1891, the houses along Fairfax attained their highest overall ranking. Both the average and the median assessments rose to the eighth decile and almost half of the homes reached decile seven.

This rise can be explained in several ways. Having become an exclusively white neighborhood, and having had wings and other improvements added to some houses, it is understandable why Fairfax Street began to attract white-collar workers. Also, the rising quality of the street might have been attributed, in some part, to Thomas Scott, a

master carpenter, who acquired several of these houses, and who probably took a personal interest in their upkeep.<sup>5</sup>

## **Wolfe Street**

Following the Civil War, Wolfe and Wilkes were pivotal streets in a pattern of ever increasing ethnic and occupational separation. As Wilkes became increasingly white, Wolfe became increasingly black. Black occupants, however, were never exclusive residents on Wolfe because whites continued to live toward the corner at Fairfax Street. Although black households equaled whites for the whole period, blacks exceeded whites ( 56% ) after 1885. Almost half the blacks ( 44% ) on Wolfe were laborers, while thirty-six percent were laundresses, porters, waiters, and wagon drivers. Taken together, most of these people ( 80% ) fell into the working class. The only people with skilled positions were Lizzie Maguire, a nurse, and Reuben Maguire, a carpenter. No blacks held industrial jobs and only one was employed in the shipping industry, and he was employed as a shipyard laborer.

Within the black community along Wolfe, there was only one long-term resident. Amanda Boudin's family, which lived on the corner of Royal, acquired the lot jointly in 1839, but in 1859 Amanda gained full title. After marrying Amos Thompson, a tanner, she continued to live on the property for about twenty-four years before Amos died around 1885. Amanda then married William Gray, a prosperous butcher, until he, too, passed away. Although Amanda moved into one of the newer houses on the lot, she lived on the original property for more than seventy years.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Wolfe Street whites, about half held such skilled positions as machinists, carpenters, and painters. Thirty-eight percent, however, were low white-collar workers including grocers, clerks, and, in 1870, a law reporter named William F. Carne who would eventually write the earliest known history of Alexandria. Industrial jobs ( 5% ) were held by two white machinists, and of the three sea related occupations ( 8% ), one was a ship carpenter and one was a river pilot.

Frank M. Adams, a grocer, lived on the corner of Wolfe and South Fairfax Streets for at least seventeen years, while Sarah Churchman lived two houses west of Adams for twenty-five years. For the entire period, 1866– 1907, most

of the householders (65% ) rented. However, after 1885, the figure rose to seventy-five percent as the black working class moved up the street. Among blacks alone, ninety-three percent rented after 1885. As with Fairfax Street, a reason for the high percentage of renters can be explained by multiple ownership. Sarah Churchman owned three houses along Wolfe as well as two on Royal. This also indicates where investors were putting their money, for with Alexandria having gone through so many political and economic crises, real estate provided some security.

The real estate values in 1870 were at the ninth decile all along Wolfe which was uncharacteristic of this historically variegated street. By 1891, when property values elsewhere were rising, Wolfe remained mostly in the ninth decile and only Sarah Churchman's houses crept into decile seven. The increase in renting laborers reflected Wolfe's overall decline in property values.<sup>7</sup>

### **Wilkes Street**

The most radical changes after the Civil War occurred on Wilkes Street which went from fifty-two percent black households to ninety-three percent white. In 1872, the Reverend John Dawson, who rented from the heirs of Dennis Bourbon, was the last black in the sample to reside on Wilkes. Although the Bourbons were black owners until 1885, they rented to whites. Renters dominated the street through 1880 (54% ) reaching seventy percent at the turn of the century. Just as on Fairfax and Wolfe streets, some people owned more than one lot. Besides the Bourbons, Richard Warder owned two houses and J. Frank Taylor owned three. With railroad trains rattling through the Wilkes Street Tunnel, this was not the most desirable place to live, but some families remained there for years. The Warders were there for almost forty years, Charles W. Nowland, a grocer, lived for at least fifteen years on the street (1866–1880), and James Webster, the City police captain, resided there from 1870 to 1885.<sup>8</sup>

Of the occupational levels, skilled craftsmen maintained their dominance (63% ) on Wilkes Street after their number declined elsewhere. One reason for this was the exceptionally high number of people in the building industry. Nowhere else on the block is the impact of home modernization greater, for carpenters, joiners, tanners, painters, bricklayers, and stone cutters amounted to thirty-seven percent of the total occupations. Undoubtedly, many of them were lured to Wilkes Street by the

availability of rental homes. Also, Wilkes housed more industrial workers ( 11% ) than were found elsewhere on the block. These moulders, machine shop engineers, foundrymen, and iron workers lived directly across from the Jamieson & Collins Axle Iron & Brass Works. Between the noisy clanging of the factory and the shaking rumble of passing trains, it is not surprising that Wilkes Street tax assessments remained in the two bottom deciles. Although property values rose from the very bottom decile in 1870 to the ninth decile in 1891, it was not a dramatic change, because the 1891 assessments were at the lower end of the ninth scale.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, Wilkes was an active street that clearly reflected Alexandria's modest economic development in the late nineteenth century. This development was manifested through moderate industrial growth and by a demand for home improvements. But the occupations of the residents also reflect the decline in the sea trade. A number of people were still employed in sea related jobs ( 15% ), but there was a significant drop from before the Civil War when over half the jobs supported some aspect of shipping.

Finally, the ethnic development of Wilkes Street indicates the trend toward homogeneous neighborhoods. With the tax values for these rental homes near the lowest decile, they might have attracted black laborers, or at least black craftsmen. But after 1872 no blacks lived on Wilkes, showing that blacks and whites were being separated not by the value of their property, but by occupation and especially by color.

## **South Royal Street**

Very few whites ( 5% ) appear on this part of Royal Street after the Civil War. Only James E. McCracken, the captain of a river vessel, lived in his own home for two years. Whites usually resided on the street for a short time, most of whom rented from Amos and Amanda Thompson, the black owners of three houses on the corner of Wolfe and South Royal Streets. However, Lawrence Bayne, a white grocer, rented from the Thompsons for more than ten years. Most were either employed in the river trade, or as laborers, although in 1907 the last white in the sample to appear on Royal was Otis Allen, a blacksmith.

But, primarily, South Royal Street, remained a black community ( 95% ) as it has since 1815. And, for the first

time in the history of the block, black laborers outnumbered (37%) all other single jobholders. Although the percentage of unskilled service positions rose slightly (29%), the two groups together comprised sixty-six percent of black occupations. This was a rise in the working class of eight percent above the previous period which ended in 1861. And the trend continued upward, for after 1885 the working class reached at least seventy-one percent of the black jobs along South Royal Street. Among the skilled craftsmen (31%) there was James Dudley, a plasterer, Edward Evans, a baker, and George L. Seaton, a master carpenter. Indeed, further study may show that this section of Hayti maintained a higher socioeconomic level longer than other black communities, for, until about 1885, most blacks still worked at non-laboring jobs. Not only did the 400 block retain a respectable number of skilled craftsmen, it also provided members of the black leadership: the Seatons, Credits, Simms, and Grays.<sup>10</sup>

Another indication that the street was a stable and respectable black neighborhood is revealed by the increase in home ownership to forty-nine percent and the use in tax decile. In 1870, all of the properties along Royal were in the tenth decile, except George Seaton's house which was very close to the eighth. By 1891, only three houses remained in decile ten and two of them included the Coleman shanties. The average assessment (\$426) ranked in the ninth decile. Four properties rose into the eighth decile including the Seatons, the Simms, the Credits, and one of Thomas Scott's rental homes.

Also, families continued to live on the street for many years. In 1880 the Evans ended a forty year residency; the Triplettes, who had inherited Philip Hamilton's house in 1863, continued their residency of at least forty-eight years; and Moses Simms, a stevedore, lived there for at least seventeen years. Most significantly, George L. Seaton, a master carpenter and the most prominent black leader in Alexandria, chose to live his later years at 404 South Royal Street, rather than at any of his other houses. Seaton, a great promoter of black education, who served in the House of Delegates (1869–1871), died in 1881. His widow, Catherine, remained there beyond 1910 for a total occupancy of about forty years.

Certain people also had taxable personal property that was well above others on the street. The Seatons and

Dudleys owned furniture assessed at \$100, and the Credits had furniture assessed at \$50, while Edward Evans possessed a horse and wagon valued at \$125.<sup>11</sup>

In 1877 the *Alexandria Gazette* reported the death of "Nancy Dudley, an old and well known colored woman."<sup>12</sup> Nancy had inherited her house at 424 South Royal Street after William died during the war. Among the court appointed executors of her estate were John Credit and Alexander Douglass, the later being the same ship carpenter who had lived at 418 South Royal Street, on the Coleman Site, in 1838.<sup>13</sup> For some reason, the heirs of Christianna Lowe, from whom Dudley leased the house, decided to sell it at public auction. On October 16, 1878, Credit offered the winning bid at \$210, and in so doing gained a house assessed at \$800. Shortly afterwards, he paid \$135 for rights to the ground rent, thus ridding himself of this ancient custom and firmly securing full title and right to 424 South Royal Street.<sup>14</sup>

Not only can Credit's upward mobility be measured through his acquisition of real and personal property, and through his moving out of the laboring class, but also through his status in the black community. In 1869 he was one of the original trustees for The Odd Fellows Joint Stock Company of Alexandria. He served as trustee until 1896 when he and the two other surviving trustees gave the company clear title to the land and buildings.<sup>15</sup> Also, Credit was a pillar of the Methodist Episcopal Church known as Robert's Chapel on the 600 block of South Washington Street. Although unable to write, he was both church steward and a class leader. He even served on the education committee. In 1883, his son, William, was on the committee to provide housing for 168 ministers attending the Annual Conference in Alexandria.<sup>16</sup>

When John died in 1906 at 83 years of age, he left his house jointly to his son and to his wife, Emma, both of whom continued to live there after 1910. William, a waiter and laborer, had lived on the Coleman Site with his father and mother until he was eight years old; thus, from 1844 until at least 1910, 424 South Royal Street was either leased or owned by former Coleman Site renters at 422 South Royal. One of the witnesses of John's will was Moses Simms, who had resided for many years three houses north of the Coleman lot at 412 South Royal. The relationship between the blacks on the Coleman Site and others on the

street is more clear when one sees the Credits, the Dudleys, Alexander Douglass, and Moses Simms maintaining close ties over the years.

## **The Coleman and Knight Families**

Throughout the Civil War, James and Caroline Coleman remained in their house, as Southern sympathizers. Their eldest son, Joseph, is reported to have been in the Confederate Secret Service, and their third son, Samuel, distinguished himself in 1862 at the Second Battle of Manassas. As a member of the Mount Vernon Guard, Samuel "took the colors from the enemy's color-bearer, and handed them to Col. [Montgomery] Corse, who, waving them in front of the brigade, added new vigor to his comrades."<sup>18</sup> In 1870, at the end of Virginia's Reconstruction Period, James P. Coleman, Sr. was elected to his customary pre-Civil War position of wood manager. With the return of self-government, there was great celebration in Alexandria as the homes of many successful candidates were illuminated, which probably included the Colemans'. When the speeches were over, James P. Coleman, Jr., then thirty-two years old, prepared "a sumptuous collation" at his Prince Street restaurant. As reported in the *Alexandria Gazette*, a large crowd attended the collation which was "evidently enjoyed."<sup>19</sup>

In October of that year, James P. Coleman, Sr., died at age seventy-two. When the City Council met the following July, it heard nominations for the position of wood measurer. John A. Seaton, a black member, and the brother of George L. Seaton who had recently moved onto the Coleman block, nominated James Sr., only to be informed that Coleman had been dead for a year. Seaton acknowledged his ignorance of the fact, thus indicating that he did not know Coleman very well. However, his reputation as an honest measurer must have been recognized.<sup>20</sup>

In 1874, Caroline's daughter, Laura, and her husband, Alonzo Houck, moved into the family home with their two children. Four of Caroline's other children, Joseph, Samuel, Eschol, and Kate never married, and they all continued to live at home. During these years, their personal property was maintained at about \$300, plus a \$100 piano, and a variety of clocks and watches. When Caroline died in 1879, at age seventy, Joseph apparently became the head of the family. Joseph was the captain of his own schooner which was assessed at \$450, but little is known of this

former Confederate Secret Service Agent. When he died in 1894, at age sixty, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported only that the funeral service was private.<sup>21</sup>

After the war, Samuel continued his trade as an iron moulder, first with Jamieson & Collins, and then with the Virginia Midland Railway. Described as having a "powerful physique," he also had leadership quality, for he was elected president of the First Ward Workingmen in 1877. But in 1886, at forty-eight years of age, he died suddenly in his home of an apparent heart ailment. According to the *Gazette*, he had been seen outside the previous day and that "no one dreamed the sands of life had so nearly run out."<sup>22</sup>

James P. Coleman, Jr., who moved out of the old home place after the Civil War, appears to have been the most prominent of Caroline's children. Not only did he own and operate a restaurant and saloon on Union Street, he also served on the Board of Fire Wardens, he joined the police force in the early 1880s, and he later became Superintendent of Police. His role during the Civil War is unknown, but after the war, according to the *Alexandria Gazette*, "he materially assisted many returning Confederates who remembered his kindness to them." In 1897, at age sixty-five, he was in apparently good health when one day, while seated on the steps of the City Hotel, he was suddenly struck by apoplexy. Taken to his boarding house, he soon died.<sup>23</sup>

Two years before his death, James deeded his portion of the Fairfax Street property to his sister, Kate, and to his other sister, Laura Houck and her husband Alonzo, who was a clerk in the Commissary Department.<sup>24</sup> As the size of the family diminished, the Houcks and Kate Coleman took in Harry F. Wheat, a real estate agent, and his granddaughter, Virginia. In 1902 they sold the property to Robert E. Knight, and moved to 414 Duke Street, thus ending 106 consecutive years of ownership.

Knight was a stationer, newsdealer, and sporting goods merchant who had lived on the Fairfax block for some years with his family. His household at 417 Fairfax Street included his wife, Elizabeth and three sons: Clinton (age 11), Leonard (age 9), and Robert E. Jr., (age 6). They also had a daughter, Helen (age 3), and in 1908 another daughter, Marian, was born in the house. Besides his store on

King Street, Knight's personal property was assessed at \$100 for furniture, and \$50 respectively for a horse and vehicle.<sup>25</sup>

### **The Coleman Site: 418 South Royal Street**

Following the Civil War, it is difficult to locate the Royal Street tenants in their specific houses. With the departure of the Brooks family in the middle house, and with the turnover in renters, it is hard to corroborate names with locations. Also, the tax records of the 1880s do not always list occupants, thus, creating gaps. Likewise, the burning of the 1890 census greatly impairs identification during this period. Even in the records that exist, many of these people were overlooked, consequently, occupations are also elusive.

From 1866 to 1869 it appears that 418 South Royal Street, the oldest Coleman house, was occupied by four black men and presumably their families. John Thomas and Frank Freeman lived there in 1866, but nothing is known of Freeman. Thomas may or may not have been the same John Thomas, laborer, who lived on Alfred Street in 1877, or he might have been the John Thomas who was a fourteen year old sailor in 1860. In 1867 William Williams lived in the house, but there were too many William Williamses in Alexandria to guess where he moved. It is probable, however, that John Williams, who lived there in 1868–69 was the same one who lived on Wilkes Street in 1870. If so, he was a laborer, whose wife, Tena, worked outside the home, but who would have had no children while on the Coleman Site. The only thing that can be said for certain is that these were black people who had no assessable property.<sup>26</sup>

The first undisputed resident of this house after the war is Barbara (Babby) Newton, a seventy year old washer-woman who lived there in 1870–71. Residing in the same house was twenty-seven year old Nathan Garret, a laborer from North Carolina. His wife, Mary, kept house and raised two small children, aged two years and six months.<sup>27</sup> Not until 1876 does another occupant clearly emerge in the person of the Reverend George Adams, a black Baptist minister who, by the next year, was living in Fairfax Court House.<sup>28</sup> The last residents in the house are also reasonably clear as indicated in *Chataigne's Alexandria City Directory 1881–1882*. Between 1878 and 1882, Roy Reynolds lived there with his wife, Catherine, their five children, aged one to fourteen, and also with his brother, Thomas.

Catherine kept house, and the brothers were unemployed laborers. They were assessed for no personal property while on the Coleman Site, nor were they assessed when they later rented on Washington Street, and then on Gibbon Street. Shortly after the Reynolds vacated 418 South Royal Street, this oldest Coleman house was razed for some unknown reason. At an assessment of \$200, it was no lower than other low quality shanties which remained standing.

### **The Coleman Site: 420 South Royal Street**

In the middle house at 420 South Royal Street, George Brooks finally died of "old age" in 1867 in his eighty-first year. According to the death record, neither his parents nor his place of birth were known.<sup>29</sup> In his last years of life, Brooks still possessed a horse and dray. He was survived by his second wife, Cordelia, who left the house in 1873, thus ending forty-two years of Brooks family residency, the longest on the Coleman's South Royal Street lot.

According to the Alexandria Directory of 1876, a black laborer named William Lee resided at 420 South Royal Street—nothing else is known. In 1878–79, Nat Turner lived in one of the duplexes, but it is uncertain which one. Turner, age forty-six, and his wife, Mary, had lived in a house valued at \$50 on the corner of Washington and Jefferson Streets before moving onto the Coleman lot where the duplexes were assessed at \$300 each. If this was upward mobility, it was short-lived, for by 1889 he was in an alley house at Wilkes and Union valued at \$100.

In 1880–81, Patrick Henry and his wife, Julia, occupied 420 South Royal Street. Henry, as all the others, was a laborer who had no personal property. At fifty years of age in 1880, he had been unemployed three months when the census was taken. Except for an anecdote reported in the *Alexandria Gazette*, little is known of Patrick Henry. It seems that on the Fourth of July, 1877, one "John Jackson, alias William Throckmorton, colored, was accused of striking Patrick Henry. . . . The Mayor considered the offense of striking such a man on such a day as an aggravated one, and continued the case, in order to determine upon some adequate punishment."<sup>30</sup>

The last known resident of 420 South Royal was Edward Frye, a former laborer turned shoemaker. Frye had lived on the west side of South Royal Street for twenty years before

moving across the street onto the Coleman Site in 1893. Having been a shoemaker since 1876, he operated his shop from the house, but he, too, was not taxed for personal property. Apparently never marrying, he lived in the house until 1905, after it had come into the possession of Robert E. Knight. According to Helen Knight, who remembered the street as a young girl, the shoe cobbler was called "Uncle Frye" whom her father charged a rent of about 50¢ a month.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Coleman Site: 422 South Royal Street**

Following the war, the first family to establish a residence at 422 South Royal Street was that of Grandison Cook (age 45). He and his wife, Elizabeth (age 43), lived there for six years (1870–75) with their six children who ranged in ages from eighteen years to six months. Both Grandison and his son, Oscar, were laborers, a daughter, Ann, worked out of the house probably as a domestic, and Elizabeth kept house. Another son, Charles, attended school. In 1874–75, one John Harris also lived with them, about whom nothing is known. Thus, a household of nine members lived in this small story and a half shanty. As with every family moving onto the Coleman property following the war, they had no assessable personal property.<sup>32</sup>

In 1881, James E. Marshall, a laborer, is listed in the City Directory as living at 422 South Royal Street, but his ethnic background is uncertain. Not again until 1895 do the records clearly indicate the occupants of the house. In that year, William Harris, a black laborer, and his wife, Martha, a domestic servant, resided there.<sup>33</sup> Following the Harris at 422 South Royal Street was Reuben Redd (1896–98). Redd had lived either on or around the block for over twenty years, moving from shanty to shanty before arriving at the Coleman Site. At various times he appears to have lived with the Credits, with Patrick Henry, and with George Washington. As with all of the post-war residents, there is no indication that he ever owned a house, either before or after living in the Coleman shanty.

Peter Johnson (age 53), a wood sawyer, and his wife, Martha (age 43), a laundress, lived at 422 South Royal Street from 1899 to 1901. Only four of their eleven children were living, and none of them lived on the Coleman Site with their parents. Only Ida Harris, their twenty year old stepdaughter, who worked as a servant, lived with them. Born in Florida, Johnson had been unemployed

seven months when the census was taken. Martha, who was born in Maryland, had been unemployed for four months. While they lived next door to Edward Frye in the adjacent duplex, the Coleman Site reached its highest occupational level after the Civil War. Frye was a skilled shoemaker, and the three workers in the Johnson family were in service level occupations. It is probable, however, that Peter would have turned to manual labor if he found no wood sawing employment.<sup>34</sup>

One of the last residents on the site was William Turner, a black laborer, who lived at 422 South Royal Street from 1902 to 1904, but nothing else is known of him. Following Turner was Daniel Jones and his family who resided there between 1904 and 1907. Also a day laborer, Jones (age 53) and his wife, Fanny (age 48), had four children whose ages ranged from seventeen to ten. At least one child, Sally, the oldest, attended school in 1900. Moving from a Gibbon Street house assessed at \$50, they lived in the Coleman house also assessed at \$50. (The tax records by now specify the value of both the house and the lot.) As the last known occupants of the Coleman Site in 1907, they moved into a South Columbus Street home valued at \$400, a move slightly upward, although they shared the house with another family. By 1910, Robert E. Knight razed the duplex bringing to a close the history of family life on that part of Royal Street that had existed for ninety-two years.<sup>35</sup>

With the exception of Edward Frye and, possibly, of Peter Johnson, the residents of the Coleman Site after the Civil War were black laborers who remained laborers. They often came from shanties of poor quality to the Coleman shanties of less quality, and moved, again, to homes of similar value. They possessed no assessable personal property. Their households were sometimes large, but more often they consisted of older couples whose families had grown. The turnover in renters was more rapid than in previous years, as only the Cooks, the Reynolds, and Frye remained over four years. Generally, the socioeconomic level of the residents was below that of others on the street, many of whom owned their own homes, acquired personal property, and were leaders in their community. By the time the shanties were demolished, their values had fallen to the bottom of the lowest decile.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Sharrer, p. 31; Stansfield, pp. 7–8.

<sup>2</sup>Sharrer, pp. 32–34; Stansfield, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Penny Morrill, *Who Built Alexandria? Architects in Alexandria 1750–1900*, Carlyle House Historic Park, Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, 1979, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup>Alexandria City Directories, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1876–77, 1881–82, 1888–89, 1895–96, 1900, 1903. Federal Census 1870–80, 1900.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.* Alexandria City Tax Ledgers, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; 1866, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1885 (hereafter cited as Tax Ledgers). Alexandria City Land and Personal Property Tax Assessment Book 1891, The Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program; 1895, 1902, 1907, The Lloyd House Library.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.* Deed Book 60, p. 322.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>Alexandria Gazette, February 27, 1877, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, May 7, 1877, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Deed Book 7, pp. 400, 402.

<sup>15</sup>Deed Book A–4, p. 15. Deed Book 37, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup>Record of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Robert's Chapel, Ms., Lloyd House Library.

<sup>17</sup>Will Book No. 3, Corporation Court, 1905–21, pp. 95–96.

<sup>18</sup>F. L. Brockett and George W. Rock, *A Concise History of the City of Alexandria, Virginia from 1669 to 1883 with a Directory of Reliable Business Houses in the City. Alexandria, Virginia, Printed by the Gazette Book and Job Office, 1883*, p. 38.

<sup>19</sup>Alexandria Gazette, May 31, 1870, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, July 12, 1871, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, February 16, 1894.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, September 15, 1877, p. 3; June 26, 1886, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, September 23, 1897, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>Deed Book 35, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>Tax, 1902–07.

<sup>26</sup>Tax Ledgers, 1866–77. Federal Census 1860–70.

<sup>27</sup>Alexandria City Directory 1870–71. Federal Census 1870.

<sup>28</sup>Alexandria City Directory 1876–77. Alexandria Gazette, February 17, 1877, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup>Alexandria County Register of Deaths 1853–96, p. 24.

<sup>30</sup>Alexandria City Directory 1876–77. Tax Ledgers 1878–81. Alexandria Gazette, July 6, 1877, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup>Conversation with Helen Knight on February 26, 1982 in the Alexandria Archaeology offices.

<sup>32</sup>Tax Ledgers 1870–75. Federal Census 1870.

<sup>33</sup>Alexandria City Directory 1881–82, pp. 111, 128. Tax, 1895–98.

<sup>34</sup>Tax, 1899–1901. Federal Census 1900.

<sup>35</sup>Tax, 1902–04, 1910. Alexandria City Directory 1895–96, p. 194.

## CONCLUDING SUMMARY

With few exceptions, the basic character of the 400 block of South Royal Street was established by 1815. There was some ethnic mixing until the Civil War, but clear homogeneous neighborhoods appeared by 1825. South Fairfax and South Royal Streets maintained their respective ethnic characters from the start, although Royal was more solidly black before the war than Fairfax was white. The side streets of Wilkes and Wolfe were the pivots between the white neighborhood on Fairfax and the black community on South Royal Street. Wilkes, the most mixed street before the war, became completely white by 1872. Along Wolfe Street, there was a clearer division between the groups as whites lived toward Fairfax and blacks lived toward Royal. After 1885, blacks dominated Wolfe Street as the only white residents continued to reside across the alley on the corner of Fairfax and Wolfe.

Besides ethnic separation, the development of distinct neighborhoods also can be shown through occupational distributions over time. From the beginning, Fairfax Street was overwhelmingly dominated by white craftsmen and by those engaged in the sea trade. But in the 1890s, lower level white-collar workers surpassed craftsmen as industrialization brought changes in employment patterns.

Alexandria was never a great industrial city, but, by 1861, a few factory workers appeared on the block. After the Civil War, the industrial impact was greatest upon Wilkes Street where such workers comprised eleven percent of the total jobs. But not one black person in the sample held an industrial job.

Wilkes Street, like Fairfax, primarily housed skilled craftsmen and people in sea related jobs through the nineteenth century. Prior to the Civil War, 1845–1861, most of the Wilkes Street residents were free blacks, most of whom were also craftsmen. The difference between Fairfax and Wilkes Streets was that Wilkes continued to house skilled artisans into the twentieth century when Fairfax Street became a white-collar community. This persistence of Wilkes Street craftsmen resulted from the large number of residents engaged in the building trades. In the late nineteenth century, Alexandria homeowners were installing modern conveniences and generally upgrading their houses. Also, with the Jamieson & Collins Iron Works across the street, it was a convenient place for industrial workers to live.

On Wolfe Street, whites also held mostly skilled jobs,

but there was greater occupational diversity here than elsewhere on the block. Between several merchants and a minister, Wolfe Street had a higher percentage of professionals and entrepreneurs due, in part, to the smaller number of houses on the street. After the war, almost half of the whites were still in skilled positions on Wolfe, which, along with Wilkes, maintained the traditional skilled character of the block.

From the Civil War to 1910, the number of black residents on Wolfe Street increased steadily west of the alley, toward Royal, where houses were primarily rentals. Most significantly, however, black laborers dominated Wolfe Street after 1885. Until that time, the street has been about half black with an even distribution of craftsmen, service level jobs, and laborers. The Wolfe Street record before 1835 is too sparse to make generalizations, primarily because there were only a few houses. However, the declining status of blacks following the Civil War is reflected on Wolfe as it is on South Royal Street.

Along South Royal Street, the occupational shifts among blacks reflect trends that are steady, but not always dramatic. Over half of the black residents (56%) practiced skilled crafts before 1845, while relatively few (13%) were laborers. But between 1845 and 1861, laborers (32%) nearly rose to the same level as craftsmen in the most dramatic occupational shift on South Royal Street. This indicates that the influx of whites during the boom of the 1850s, and the simultaneous political tensions arising prior to the Civil War, caused a greater impact upon black status than had the recession of 1820.

Unskilled service jobs on South Royal Street remained stable through 1885, ranging between a third and a quarter of the population. Notwithstanding the surge in laborers, the black working class stabilized at about sixty percent through 1880. But after 1885, the working class rose to seventy-one percent as blacks assumed more service level jobs such as porters, waiters, stevedores and janitors. With whites monopolizing industrial and white-collar occupations, and with technological advancement reducing the need for small craftsmen, black opportunities were even more limited. Under these conditions, it is remarkable that a quarter of South Royal Street's black residents maintained skilled positions.

Although blacks on the 400 block of South Royal were losing their occupational status, they appear to have main-

tained this part of Hayti as a respectable black community. Stability and continuity were reflected by the longtime residents of 50, 60, and even 70 years, by the relatively high number of skilled workers who persisted on the street, by the amount of personal property which some residents attained, and by the appearance of black community leaders. Also, within the forty years following the war, half of the homes on South Royal were owned by blacks, a trend that had its roots in the recession of 1820–1840.

According to one hypothesis, two trends may be seen during an extended recession. First, more renters appear, and, secondly, more people fall into the service and laboring occupational levels—the working class. On the 400 block of South Royal Street, the number of renters did rise significantly along Wolfe and Wilkes. Wolfe Street, for example, had no rented households in 1825, but by 1835 every house was rented. Along South Fairfax Street, house rentals increased only nine percent. But more significantly, the aggregate number of renters remained virtually unchanged through 1861, again indicating that the recession had no perceivable impact upon renter patterns on Fairfax Street. However, on Royal, where the residents had always rented, the recession had a reverse impact, for by 1840, several free blacks had actually purchased their homes.

Another theory maintains that recessions prompt landlords to construct more rental houses, thereby increasing their incomes. Although a City-wide trend cannot be asserted from the evidence of one block, it appears that James P. Coleman did construct his duplex in 1832 for such a purpose. Between 1820 and 1840, Mordecai Miller and his son, Robert, also built three rental units on their unimproved lots. As good businessmen, the Millers minimized their risks by renting primarily to skilled craftsmen. Although the Millers realized monetary profits from such dealings, they provided terms which enabled free blacks to buy their homes as early as 1834. This Quaker family's abolition sentiment was a force that deserves more historical analysis. Such sentiment probably motivated the placement of the free black community on Miller's land where seven families lived before 1819. Thus, the construction of three new houses during the twenty year recession was not the result of recession as much as it was the natural growth of an older free black neighborhood.

Before the war, the Coleman Site residents were a microcosm of the black community on the block. Through the 1820s, the site reflected the mixed ethnic character of the time. At least one of the white residents, John Cassin, was upwardly mobile, while two other whites in 1844 moved downwards. The last whites on the site appeared between 1854 and 1861 when the population growth in Alexandria forced some whites into substandard housing. These were mostly young single men with no personal property and with no specific jobs indicated.

Among the antebellum black residents there were slaves, there were recently emancipated blacks, and there were those born free. Just as most slaves on South Royal Street were clearly emancipated by 1840, so too were the slaves who occupied the Coleman Site. Of the three mulatto heads of households whose occupations can be identified, two were skilled craftsmen and one was a laborer. Although having little or no personal property while on the site, each of the mulattos was upwardly mobile when he moved, for each acquired personal property, each became a community leader, and at least two acquired real estate. Of the two blacks with known jobs, one was a skilled caulker and the other was a wagon driver. The craftsman acquired substantial personal property after leaving the site. The other black, George Brooks, lived on the site for 36 years, acquired personal property, and contributed to black stability on the street.

This evidence also reflects the high correlation between being a mulatto and being free. However, mulattos had no monopoly on upper status jobs, for in this section of Hayti some blacks were also craftsmen. Indeed, some black laborers such as Philip Hamilton gained substantial real estate. All that can be said with certainty is that this was mostly a free mulatto neighborhood in which upwardly mobile blacks also lived. Thus, prior to the Civil War, the Coleman Site tenants compared favorably with other households on the street.

However, the post-war years contrasted sharply with the antebellum era. Although the tax assessments for the Coleman tenant houses were always in the lowest decile, as the twentieth century neared they fell to the very bottom of decile ten. The decline in property value paralleled the decline in the socioeconomic status of the Coleman occupants. From 1866 to 1907, almost all (88%) were in the working class, of which laborers comprised the largest

group (60%). Except for George Brooks, not one person after the war was assessed for personal property. And when they moved to other locations, they usually went into housing equal to, or below, the value of the Coleman shanties.

Thus, the post-war Coleman Site reflected one trend within the black community—that most were falling into the working class. However, the site did not otherwise resemble the rest of the South Royal Street community. Most other houses were assessed higher—some reaching the eighth decile, some residents owned extensive personal property, and many owned their own homes. Indeed, such leading black citizens as George L. Seaton and John Credit resided on the street.

The personal relationships between the black community on South Royal Street and the whites on South Fairfax Street are hard to assess without memoirs of the people. But, from an impressionistic evaluation, there were connections between whites and blacks on the 400 block of South Royal. Before the war, the relationships were undoubtedly closer because of the more ethnically mixed neighborhoods. George Brooks and his former owner, John Wiggs, were both cartmen. Such longtime residents as the Brookes, Dudleys, Savoy, and Credits indicate that relations must have been cordial, if not close. James P. Coleman, Sr. often signed affidavits for the Savoy and Waughs, attesting to their free status. One of the Savoy daughters was given the same name as Coleman's daughter, Laura Virginia. That John A. Seaton, a black leader, recommended Coleman for the post of wood measurer further reflects his good reputation among blacks.

Finally, the Coleman Site residents on both Royal and Fairfax Streets provide some insight into the dynamic forces that formed their respective neighborhoods. There were the usual anomalies that are part of the human experience, but trends were evident from the start. This study has attempted to describe and, in some instances, to explain these trends in neighborhood formation as they evolved amidst a political, social, and economic backdrop. It is to be lamented that individuals do not "come alive" as one would wish. But it is also hoped that in the future they may.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY  
1207 EAST 58TH STREET  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY  
1207 EAST 58TH STREET  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY  
1207 EAST 58TH STREET  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY  
1207 EAST 58TH STREET  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

**APPENDIX I:  
COLEMAN SITE RENTERS**



Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters

**RENTERS AT 418 SO. ROYAL STREET  
1815-1861  
STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED C. 1797, RAZED 1882/83**

HOUSEHOLD	YEAR	ETHNIC	SEX	AGE	FREE OR SLAVE	OCCUPATION	# CHILDREN/ # HOUSEHOLD	PERSONAL PROPERTY	REAL ESTATE VALUE/DECILE	MISCELLANEOUS
John Cassin	1815	W	M				4/6	2 Slaves		He might have lived here in 1814.
	1820	W	M	26-45		Manufacturing	5/7			In 1822 he bought a 110 acre farm for \$2195
Anne ( wife)	1820	W	F	26-45						
William Savoy	1823-24	B	M		F					In 1830 he and his wife, Mary, are between 24 and 36 years old with a daughter under 10. By 1839 they moved back to Royal at 412. He and Mary were born free.
William Mills	1825-27	W	M			Tobacconist (1850)		1 Cart	\$400/10	By 1830 living on Fairfax side of block at Mastersons with Chas. P. Shaw, another tobacconist (1860).
Fanny Campbell	1828-33	B	F	24-36 (1830)	F		0/2	Cow (1828)	\$400/10	In 1830 she lives with one other free black female between 10 and 24 years.
Henry Roman	1836-37	B	M	c. 25	S				3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$1000/10	In 1839 Roman freed by George A. Smith
Alexander Douglas	1838	M	M	c. 28	F	Ship Carpenter (1850)				Freed by John Hunter. By 1840 he rented on block at Fairfax & Wilkes with 8 free blacks in household including 5 children. A "bright mulatto."
John Smith	1840-47	B/M	M	36-55	F		3/5	Furniture \$1.00 (1840)		Freed by Sarah Waters 1840. Household of 7 free blacks: 2 males under 10; 2 females under 10; 1 female 24-36; 1 female 36-55.
Harriet Jasper	1849-51	M	F	40-50	F		0/1		3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$1000/10	Freed along with her daughter, Martha by George Brooks in 1837.
Harriet Posey	1852	B	F		F					
John Lawson	1854-56	W	M						\$400/10	
William Hilton	1859	W	M					\$2.00		
Henry Hicks	1861	W	M							

Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters

RENTERS AT 420 SO. ROYAL STREET

1823-1873

STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED C. 1832, RAZED C. 1910

HOUSEHOLD	YEAR	ETHNIC	SEX	AGE	FREE OR SLAVE	OCCUPATION	# CHILDREN/ # HOUSEHOLD	PERSONAL PROPERTY	REAL ESTATE VALUE/DECILE	MISCELLANEOUS
George Brooks	1832	B	M	c. 42	S	Carter			3 Houses at \$1000/10	
George Brooks	1840	B	M	36-55	*F				3 Houses at \$1000/10	
Harriet Brooks ( wife)	1840	B	F	36-55	F		1/3	1 Horse, 1 Dray		In 1834 Harriet, George's wife, bought him from John Wiggs.* Listed as free in 1840 census, he was not formally freed until 1848 by Harriet.
Male slave	1840	B	M	under 10	S					
George Brooks	1847	B	M		F/S			2 Carts, 2 Horses	3 Houses at \$1300/10	Born free.
Henry Davis	1847	B	M		F					
George Brooks	1850	B	M	c. 65	F	Cartman	1/3	1 Horse, 1 Cart	3 Houses at \$1200/10	Va. born.
Harriet Brooks	1850	B	F	50	F					Md. born.
Lewis Davis	1850	B	M	5	F					Va. born.
George Brooks	1862	B	M	c. 72	F	Drayman		\$100		1861 furniture valued at \$20, and a horse at \$50. Brooks died in 1867 of "old age" as reported by his second wife Cordelia.
Cordelia Brooks	C. 1867-73	B	F	50 in 1870		Keeps House			3 Houses at \$800/10	Va. born.

Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters

**RENTERS AT 422 SO. ROYAL STREET  
1832-1859  
STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED C. 1832, RAZED C. 1910**

HOUSEHOLD	YEAR	ETHNIC	SEX	AGE	FREE OR SLAVE	OCCUPATION	# CHILDREN/ # HOUSEHOLD	PERSONAL PROPERTY	REAL ESTATE VALUE/DECILE	MISCELLANEOUS
William Dudley	1832	M	M	35	F	Cooper	3/6 (1830)		3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$1000/10	Born free. In 1830, he had 2 girls and a boy under 10 years of age. (Very bright mulatto, born free.)
Nancy (wife)		M	F	37	F					
Henry (brother?)		M	M	24-36	F					
William Dudley	1843	M	M	46	F	Cooper	5/10 (1840)	1 Horse (1839)	3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$1200/10	10 free blacks listed in 1840 census — 2 males, 3 females under 10; 1 male, 2 females between 10 and 24. In 1844 they secured a 99 year lease to 424 S. Royal where Nancy lived until she died in 1878.
Joseph Nightingill	1844	W	M	31		Shoemaker (1850)			3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$1350/10	Had 6 children in 1850. By 1860 he was a grave digger.
John (brother)		W	M	30		Manufacturing & Trades (1840)				Had 5 children in 1850. In 1850 he was a laborer; in 1853, a ship carpenter; in 1870, a policeman.
Mrs. Patterson	1845	W	F							
John Credit	1846	M	M	23		Laborer	2/4		3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$1350/10	D.C. born (Alexandria).
Sarah E. (wife)	1850	M	F	19				1 Cow		D.C. born (Alexandria).
William G. (s.)		M	M	4						D.C. born (Alexandria).
Sarah E. (d.)		M	F	2						Va. born.
John Credit	1854								3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$2000	Later drove an ice wagon. By 1856, living next door with Dudleys. Nancy was his mother. Bought the house in 1878 where he lived until his death in 1906.
Henry Beach	1855	W	M	22				1 Clock \$2.00		In 1880, Henry Beach, a 47 year old machinist is listed on Queen Street.
Richard Deavers	1856-57	W	M							
Craven Deavers	1858-59	W	M			Foreman				Deavers a foreman sometime between 1853-96.

Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters

RENTERS AT 418 SO. ROYAL STREET

1863-1882

STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED C. 1797, RAZED 1882/83

HOUSEHOLD	YEAR	ETHNIC	SEX	AGE	FREE OR SLAVE	OCCUPATION	# CHILDREN/ # HOUSEHOLD	PERSONAL PROPERTY	REAL ESTATE VALUE/DECILE	MISCELLANEOUS
Henry Cavins	1863-64	M	M	41	F		0/2	\$50		Born free. Mary (wife) c. 43; of their 3 children in 1850, the youngest would be c. 23 and probably not at home.
John Thomas Frank Freeman	1866	B	M			Laborer				In 1870 John Thomas, a black laborer, lived on Union near Wilkes S.
William Williams	1867	B	M						\$300/10	
James Haney (or 422)	1867	B	M							
Robert Jackson (or 422)	1868	B	M						\$200/10	In 1871 Robert Jackson, a black fisherman, lived on Wilkes near Pitt but there are too many people with this name to trace with certainty.
John Williams (or 422)	1868-69	B	M						\$200/10	
Barbara Newton	1870-71	B	F	70		Washerwoman/ Keeps House	2/5			Widow of Osborn Newton; born in Md.
Nathan Garret		B	M	27		Laborer				Born in N.C.
Mary A. Garret		B	F	30		Keeps House				Born in Md.
Mary S. Garret		B	F	2						Born in Va.
Wm. H. Garret		B	M	1 mo.						Born in Va.
Rev. George Adams	1876	B	M			Baptist Minister				In 1877 he was living at Fairfax Court House. Va. Born.
Roy Reynolds	1878-82	B	M	36 (1880)		Laborer	5/7		3 Houses at 418, 420, 422, @ \$600/10	
Catherine (wife)		B	F	32		Keeps House				
Emily (d.)		B	F	14		At Home				
Richard (s.)		B	M	10		At Home				
John (s.)		B	M	9		At Home				
Lettie (d.)		B	F	7		At Home				
Lindy (s.)		B	M	1		At Home				
Thomas (brother)		B	M	21		Laborer				

Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters

**RENTERS AT 420 SO. ROYAL STREET  
1876-1905  
STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED C. 1832, RAZED C. 1910**

HOUSEHOLD	YEAR	ETHNIC	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION	# CHILDREN/ # HOUSEHOLD	PERSONAL PROPERTY	REAL ESTATE VALUE/DECILE	MISCELLANEOUS
William Lee	1876	B	M		Laborer		—	3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$600/10	
Nat Turner (or 422)	1878-79	B	M	48	Laborer	0/2	—		Va. born.
Julia (wife)		B	F	43	Keeps House				Va. born.
Patrick Henry	1880-81	B	M	50	Laborer	0/2	—	3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$600/10	Va. born.
Julia (wife)			B	F					Md. born.
Keeps House				39					
William Jackson (or 422)	1892	B	M	49	Laborer	1/3	—	2 Houses at 420, 422, @ \$300/10	*Information on Jane and James taken from 1880 census, assuming that Jane is still living and that their youngest of 3 children is still at home.
Jane (wife)*		B	F	38	Keeps House				
James (son)		B	M	12					
Edward Frye	1893	B	M	44	Shoemaker	0/1	—	2 Houses at 420, 422 @ \$300/10	The house valued at \$50, the lot at \$200. Va. born, literate. Rental at about 50¢ a month.
	1905	B	M	56				2 Houses at 420, 422 @ \$500/10	

Appendix I: Coleman Site Renters

**RENTERS AT 422 SO. ROYAL STREET  
1860-1907  
STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTED C. 1832, RAZED 1910**

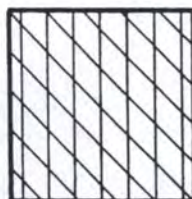
HOUSEHOLD	YEAR	ETHNIC	SEX	AGE	FREE OR SLAVE	OCCUPATION	# CHILDREN/ # HOUSEHOLD	PERSONAL PROPERTY	REAL ESTATE VALUE/DECILE	MISCELLANEOUS
Henry Lee	1860-61	B	M	42		Shipcaulker	0/2	Furniture \$20	3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$800/10	Va. born.
Rebecca ( wife		M	F	29						Va. born. Bright mulatto born free.
Benjamin Fone	1866	B	M							
Grandison Cook	1870-75	B	M	45 (1870)		Laborer	4/8		3 Houses at 418, 420, 422 @ \$800/10	All were born in Va.
Elizabeth ( wife )		B	F	43		Keeps House				
Ann ( dau. )		B	F	16		Works Out				
Oscar ( son )		B	M	18		Laborer				
Charles ( son )		B	M	13		At School				
Sarah ( dau. )		B	F	8						
Robert ( son )		B	M	2						
Mary ( dau. )		B	F	6 mos.						
Dennis Cook	1873	B	M			Laborer				
John Harris	1874-75	B	M	22		Baker	4/9			In 1870, John Harris, an 18 year old baker lived at 416 S. Royal with baker Edward Evans. He is also listed as either "deaf & dumb, blind insane or idiotic."
James E. Marshall	1881	?	M			Laborer				
William Harris	1895	B	M			Laborer	0/2			
Martha ( wife )	1895	B	F			Domestic				
Reuben Redd	1896-98	M	M	49		Laborer			2 Houses at 420, 422 @ \$500/10	Va. born
Peter Johnson	1899-1901	B	M	52		Woodsawyer	1/4		2 Houses at 420, 422 @ \$500/10	Fla. born
Martha A. ( wife )		B	F	42		Laundress				Md. born.
Ida Harris ( step-dau. )		B	F	19		Servant				Va. born, single.
William Turner	1902-04	B	M			Laborer ( 1893 )			2 Houses at 420, 422 @ \$500/10	
Daniel Jones	1904-07	B	M	52		Day Laborer	2/6		2 Houses at 420, 422 @ \$500/10	All are Va. born. Family members reflect 1900 census, some of the children have probably left home by 1904.
Fannie ( wife )		B	F	48						
Daniel ( son )		B	M	16						
Clarence ( son )		B	M	11						
Lewis ( son )		B	M	10						
Sally ( dau. )		B	F	17		At School in 1900				

**APPENDIX II:  
COLEMAN BLOCK MAPS**

## KEY TO BLOCK MAPS



**Black occupants**



**Mulatto occupants**



**White occupants**

\* Owner residing on lot

### OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS:

1. Professional/entrepreneurial/high white collar
2. Proprietary/low white collar
3. Skilled craft
4. Service/unskilled specified
5. Unskilled unspecified (laborer)

A widow's occupation level refers to the husband's level. If her level is different than husband's, widow's number is listed first, husband's second (e.g., 2-3).

Two numbers after an individual's name indicates different occupations at different times (e.g., 3/5).

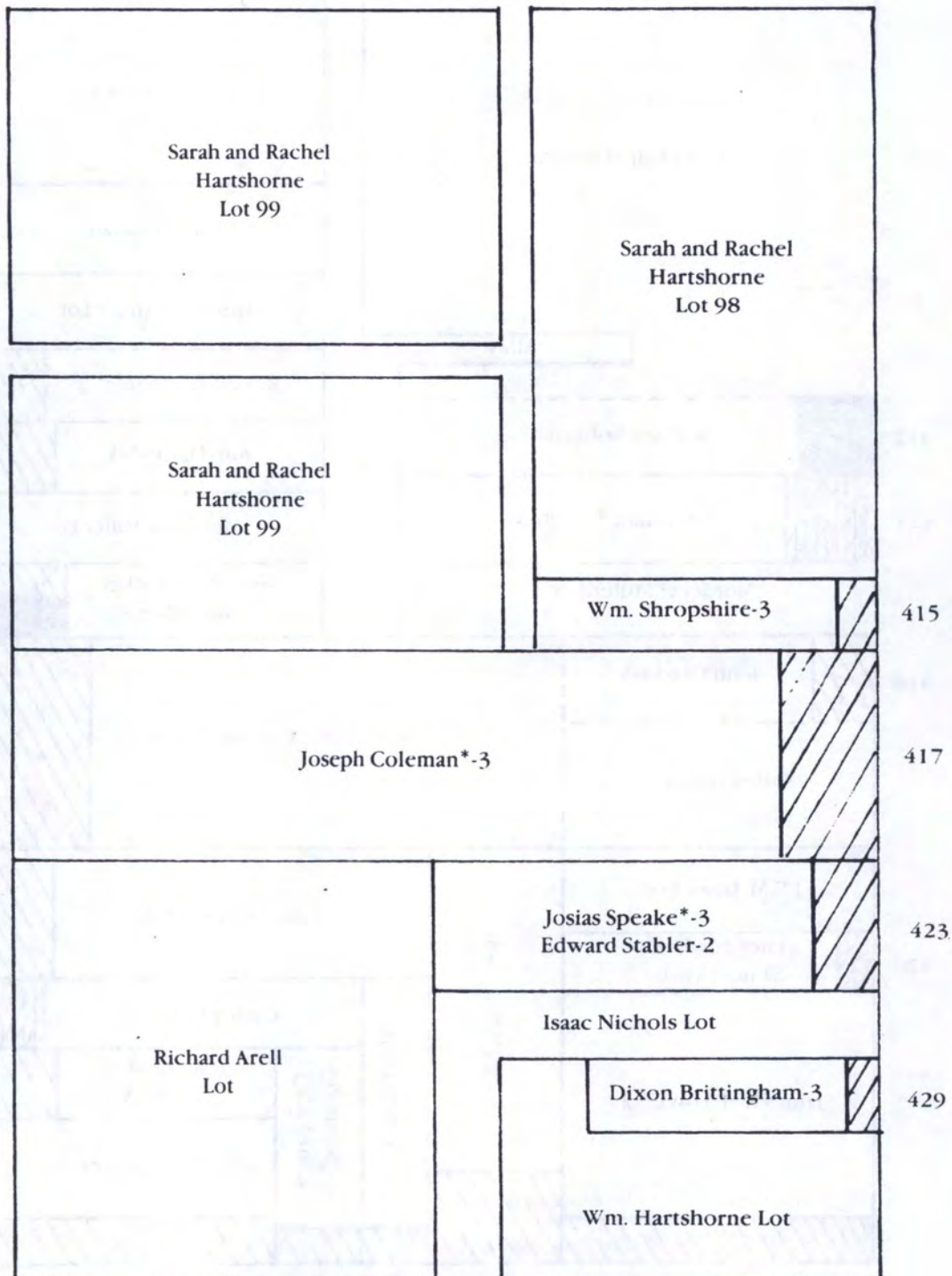
Note: The block maps delineate accurate lot boundaries and residents for the designated year. However, occupational levels and skin color may be derived from various sources over a number of years.

1800

WOLFE

S. ROYAL

S. FAIRFAX



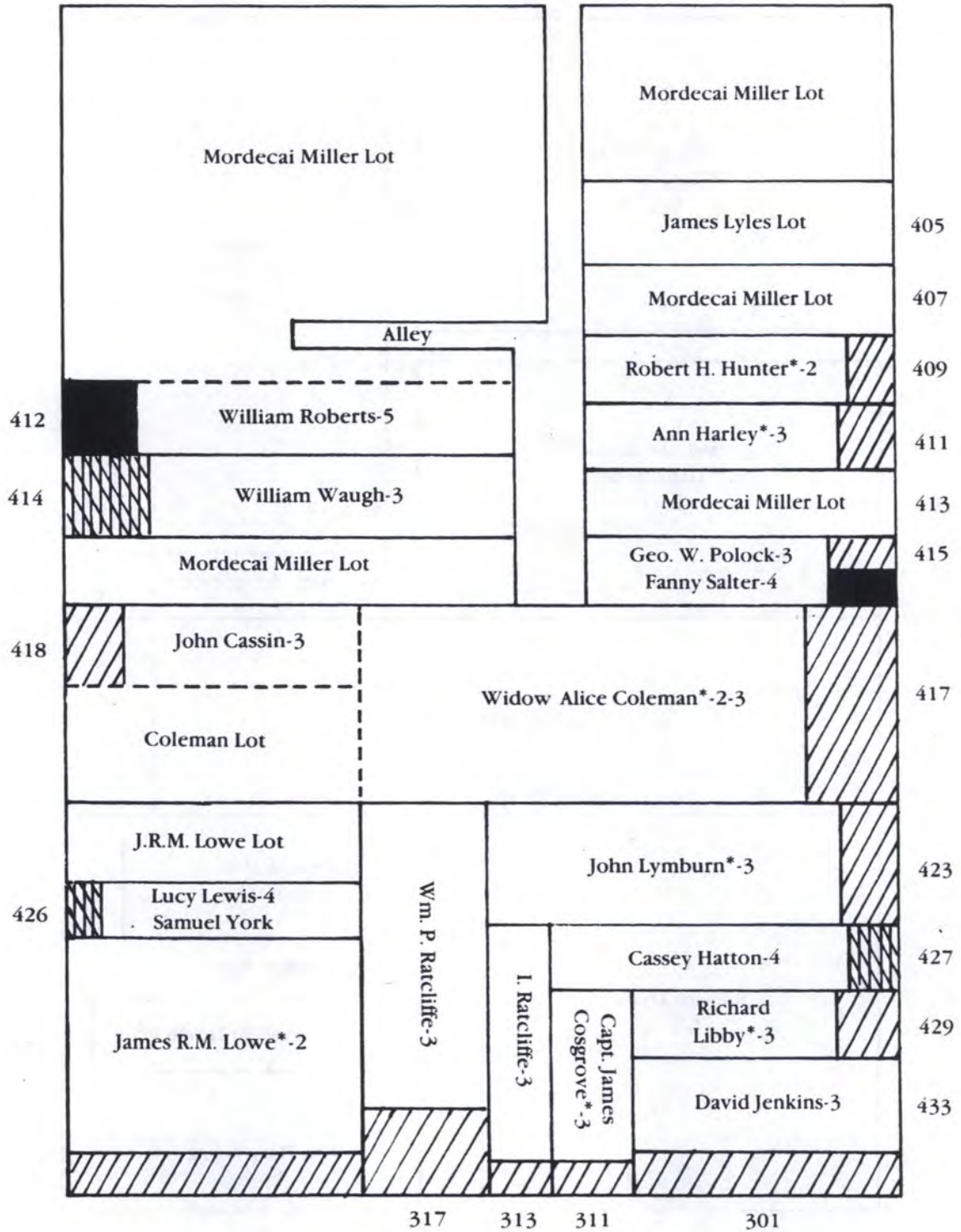
WILKES

1815

WOLFE

S. ROYAL

S. FAIRFAX



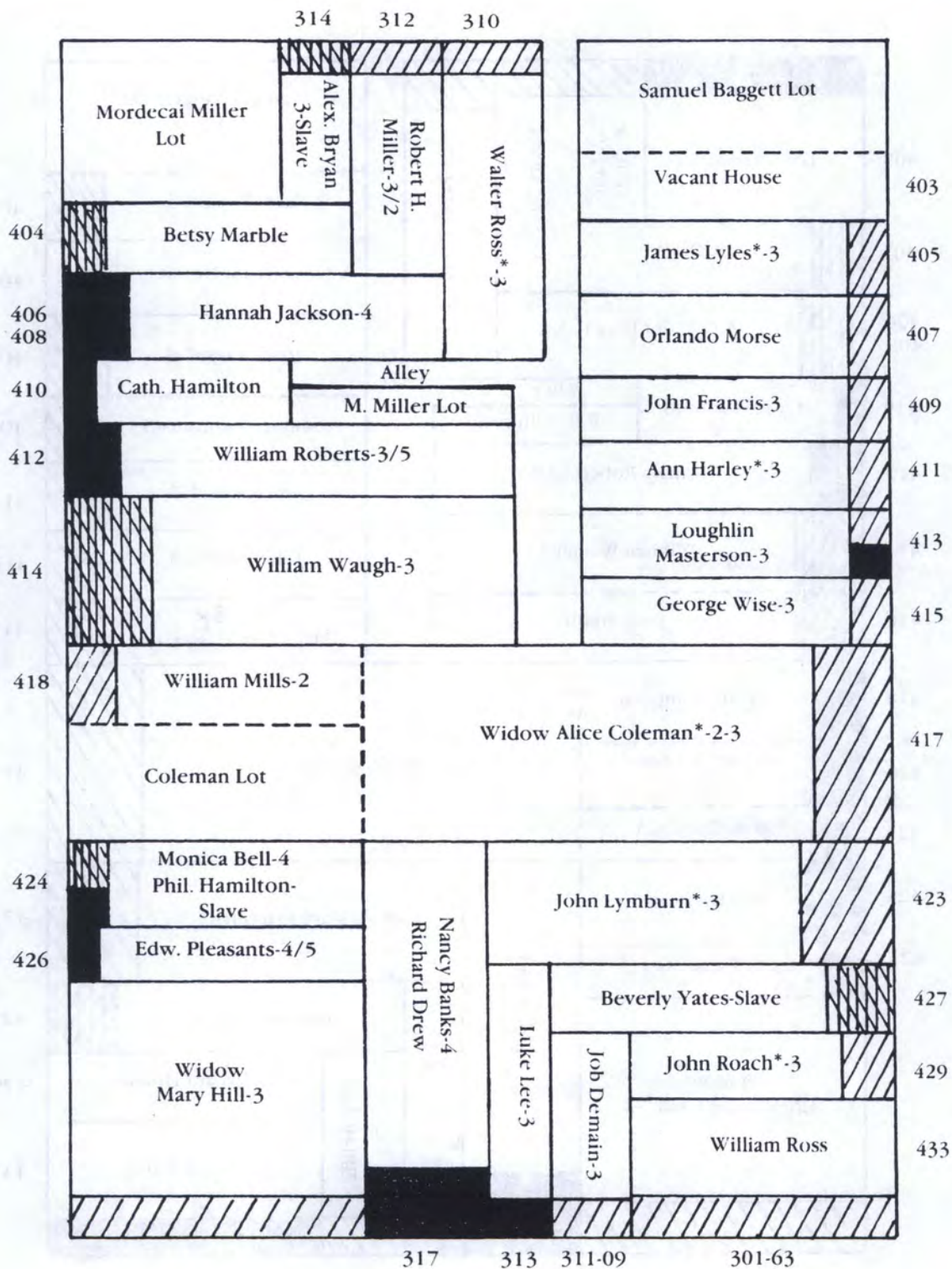
WILKES

1825

WOLFE

S. ROYAL

S. FAIRFAX



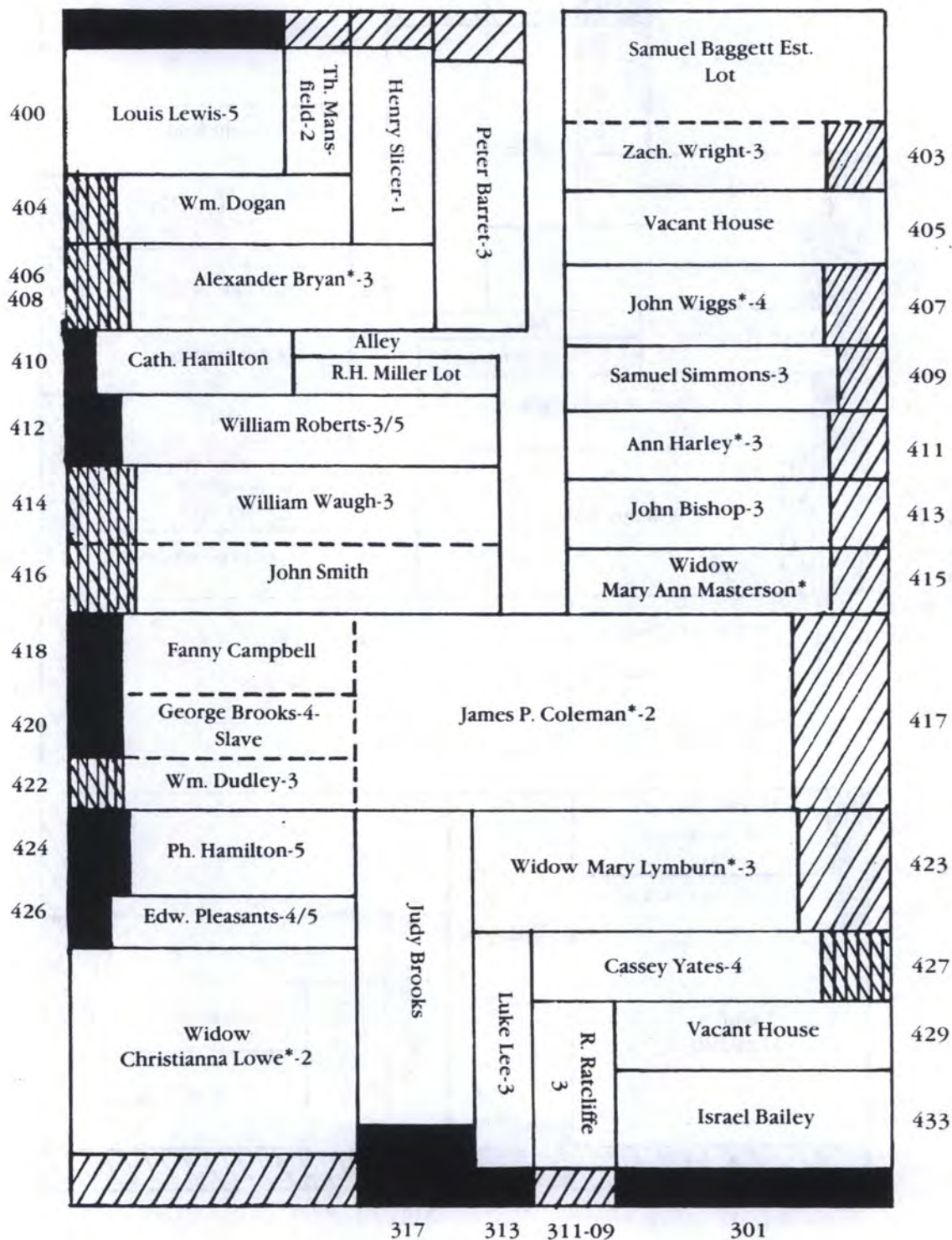
WILKES

1835

WOLFE

S. ROYAL

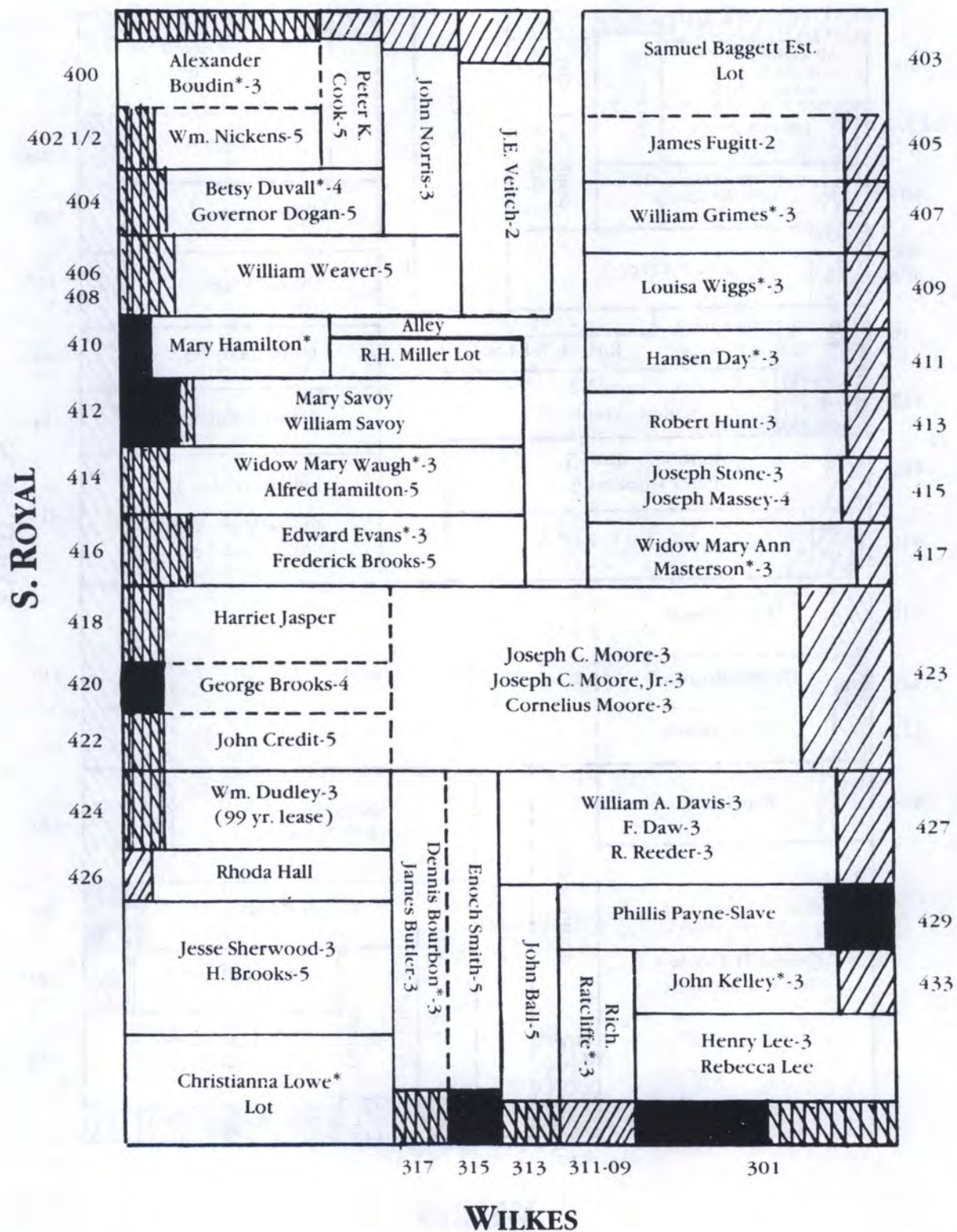
S. FAIRFAX



WILKES

1850

WOLFE

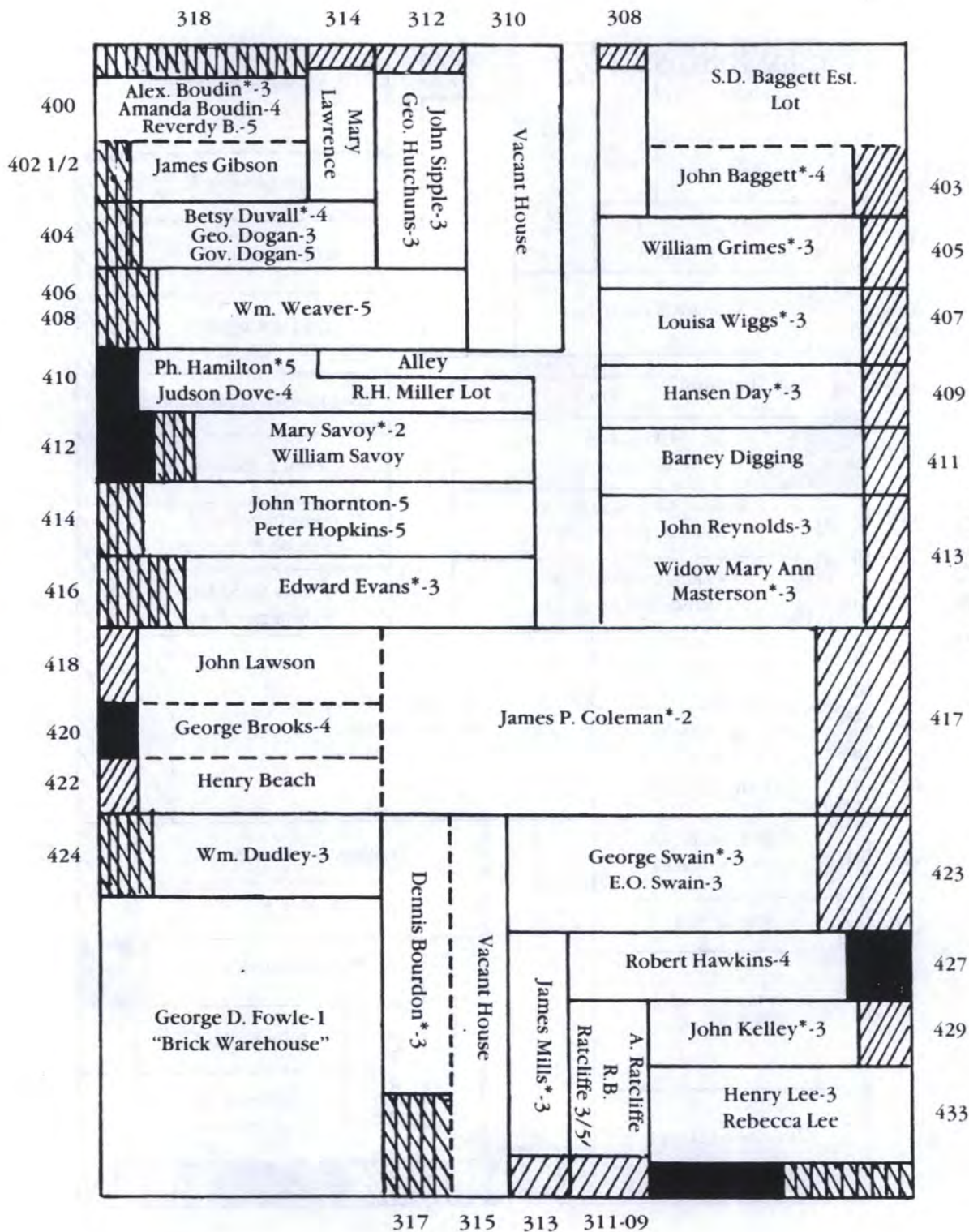


1855

WOLFE

S. ROYAL

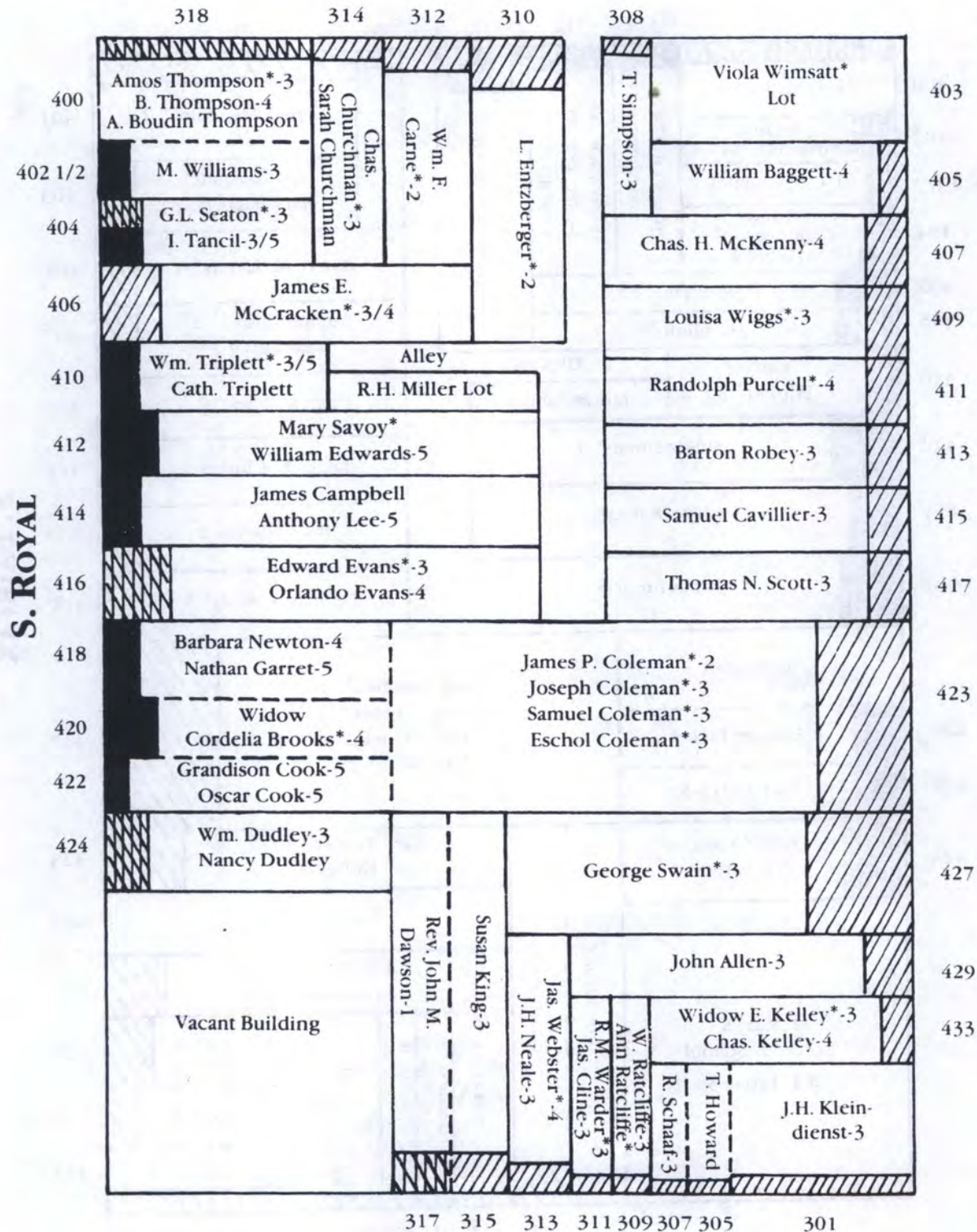
S. FAIRFAX



WILKES

1870

WOLFE



S. FAIRFAX

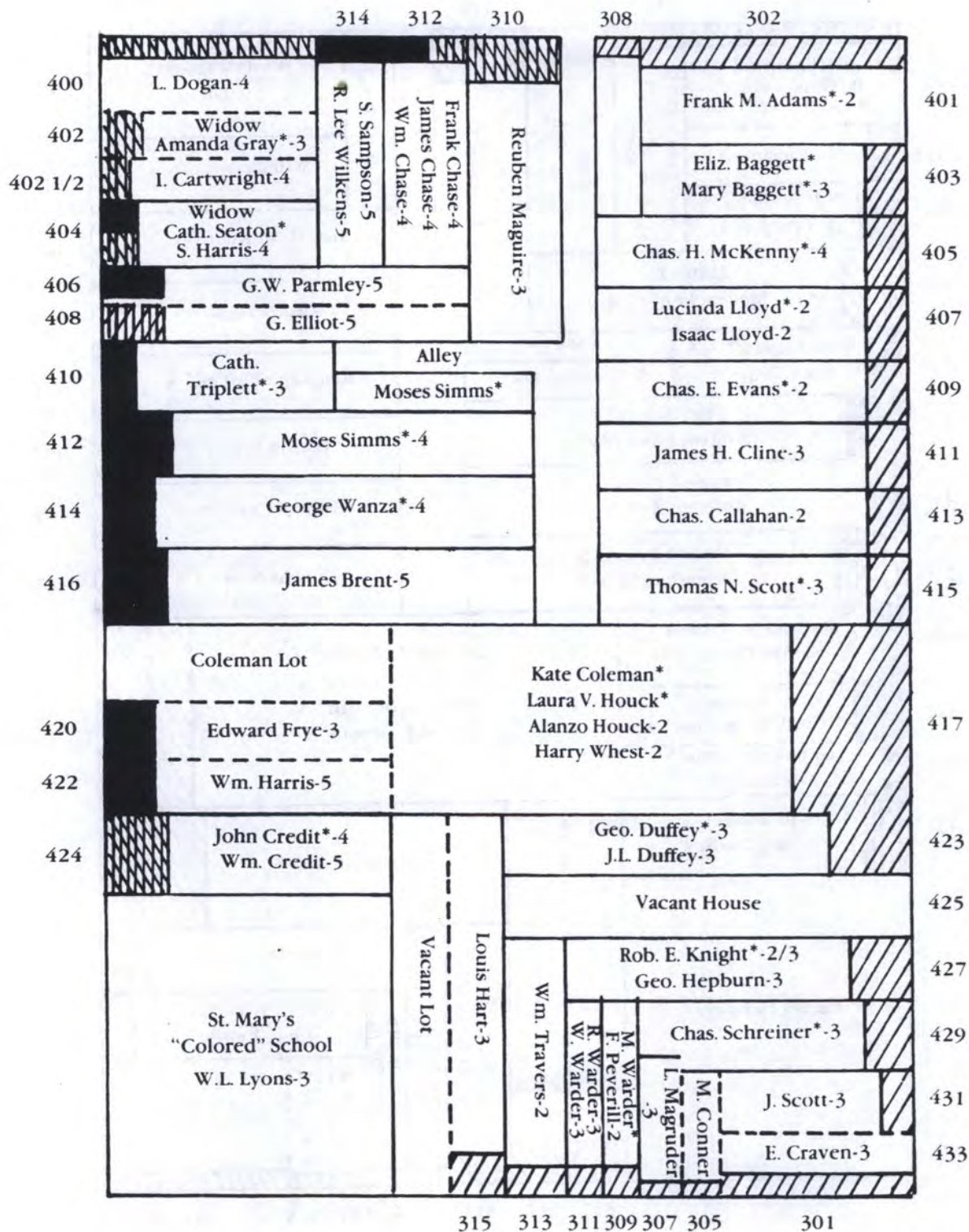
WILKES

1895

WOLFE

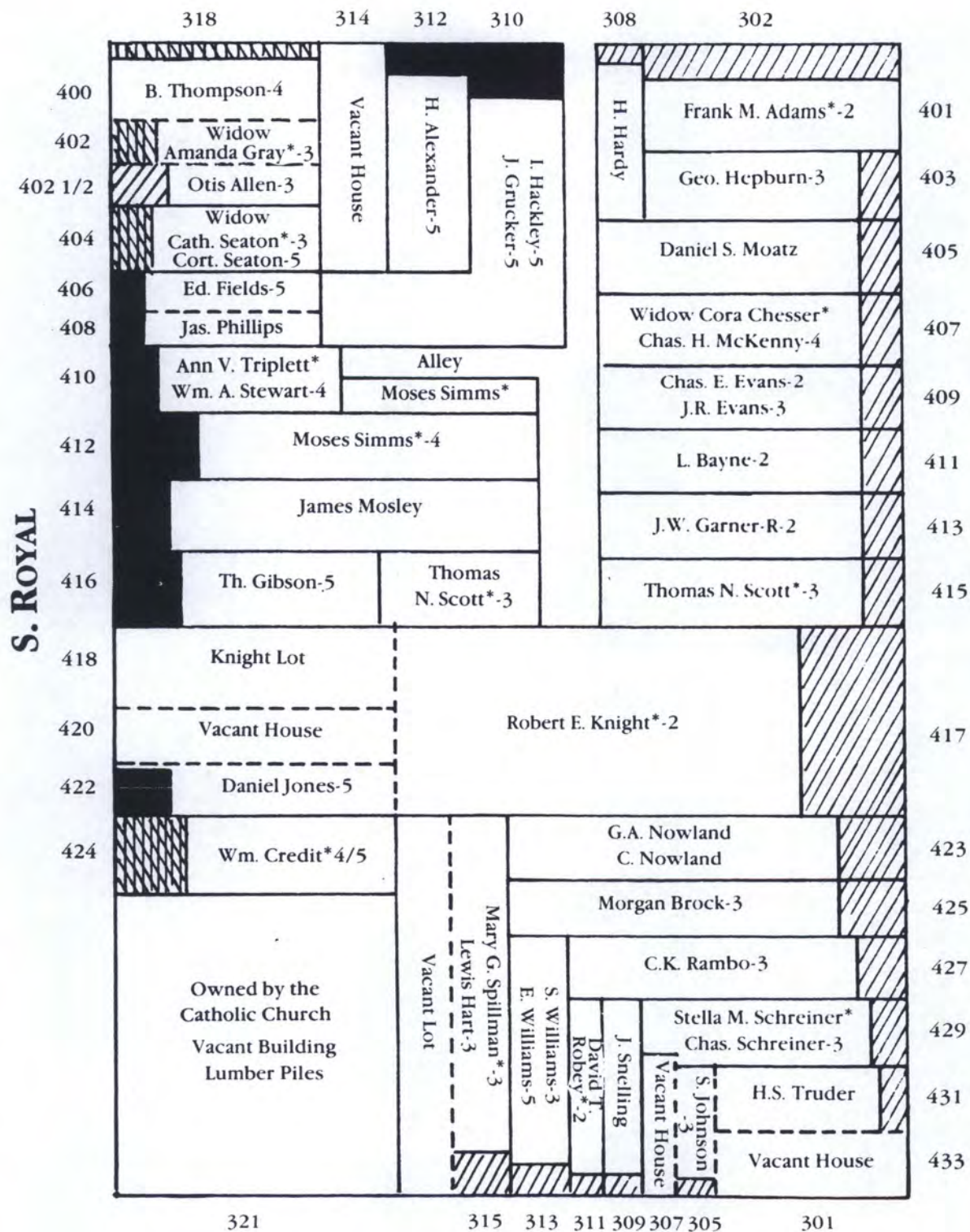
S. ROYAL

S. FAIRFAX



1907

WOLFE





**APPENDIX III:  
STREET PROFILE PERCENTAGE CHARTS**

## REAL ESTATE TAX DECILES AND ASSESSED VALUES

Compiled by John F. Stephens

Figures shown in dollars

Deciles	1810	1830	1850	1870	1890
1	4525+	5000+	5000+	5450+	2275+
2	4500-4025	4950-4425	4950-4425	5400-4850	2250-2025
3	4000-3525	4400-3875	4400-3875	4800-4250	2000-1775
4	3500-3025	3850-3325	3850-3325	4200-3625	1750-1525
5	3000-2525	3300-2775	3300-2775	3600-3025	1500-1275
6	2500-2025	2750-2225	2750-2225	3000-2450	1250-1025
7	2000-1525	2200-1675	2200-1675	2400-1850	1000-775
8	1500-1025	1650-1125	1650-1125	1800-1250	750-525
9	1000-525	1100-575	1100-575	1200-650	500-275
10	500-	550-	550-	600-	250-

## ETHNIC POPULATION PERCENTAGES, 1796–1907

Period	Head of Household Figures			Aggregate Figures		
	Street	White	Black	White	Black	Mulatto
1796–1810	Fairfax	92	8 (1)	88	12 (2)	—
	Wilkes	67 (2)	33 (1)	67 (3)	33 (1)	—
	Royal	—	100 (1)	—	100 (2)	—
1815–1840	Fairfax	90	10	90	10	—
	Wilkes	64	36	59	41	8 (1)
	Royal	6 (3)	94	6 (3)	94	31
	Wolfe	53	47	53	47	30 (3)
1845–1861	Fairfax	93	7 (3)	96	4 (3)	—
	Wilkes	48	52	53	47	86
	Royal	9 (4)	91	7 (4)	93	67
	Wolfe	69	31 (5)	57	43	92
1866–1907	Fairfax	100	—	99	1 (2)	—
	Wilkes	93	7 (4)	95	5 (4)	—
	Royal	5 (5)	95	5	95	—
	Wolfe	53	47	44	56	—
1866–1880	Fairfax	100	—	100	—	—
	Wilkes	89	11 (3)	92	8 (3)	—
	Royal	2 (1)	98	4 (3)	96	—
	Wolfe	75	25 (5)	64	36	—
1885–1907	Fairfax	100	—	98	2 (2)	—
	Wilkes	96	4 (1)	97	3 (1)	—
	Royal	8 (4)	92	6 (4)	94	—
	Wolfe	44	56	27	73	—

Parentheses indicate five or fewer individuals counted.

# **OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION PERCENTAGES, 1796–1907**

		WHITES					AFRO-AMERICANS				
Period	Street	1 Pro- fessional	2 Pro- prietary	3 Skilled Craft	4 Service	5 Laborer	1 Pro- fessional	2 Pro- prietary	3 Skilled Craft	4 Service	5 Laborer
1796–1810	Fairfax	0	7 (1)	93	0	0	0	0	0	100 (1)	0
	Wilkes	0	50 (2)	50 (2)	0	0	0	0	0	100 (1)	0
	Royal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50 (1)	0	50 (1)
1815–1840	Fairfax	0	22	72	6 (3)	0	0	25 (1)	75 (3)	0	0
	Wilkes	0	14 (2)	86	0	0	0	0	71 (5)	29 (2)	0
	Royal	0	33 (1)	67 (2)	0	0	0	0	56	31	13 (4)
	Wolfe	17 (1)	33 (2)	50 (3)	0	0	0	0	33 (2)	33 (2)	33 (2)
1845–1861	Fairfax	0	12	74	14	0	0	0	0	100 (1)	0
	Wilkes	0	8 (1)	67	8 (1)	17 (2)	0	0	50	25 (3)	25 (3)
	Royal	0	0	0	0	0	0	5 (2)	37	26	32
	Wolfe	0	11 (1)	78	0	11 (1)	0	0	40 (4)	20 (2)	40 (4)
1866–1907	Fairfax	0	30	52	17	7/10 (1)	0	0	0	0	100 (2)
	Wilkes	0	11	63	16	10	50 (2)	0	25 (1)	0	25 (1)
	Royal	0	0	13 (1)	50 (4)	37 (3)	0	3 (4)	31	29	37
	Wolfe	0	38	42	13 (3)	7 (2)	0	0	20	36	44
1796–1815 Pre- Recession	Fairfax	0	19 (4)	81	0	0	0	0	0	100 (3)	0
	Wilkes	0	33 (3)	67	0	0	0	0	0	100 (1)	0
	Royal	0	0	100 (1)	0	0	0	0	75 (3)	0	25 (1)
1820–1840 Recession	Fairfax	0	19	74	7 (3)	0	0	0	100 (1)	0	0
	Wilkes	0	11 (1)	89	0	0	0	0	71 (5)	29 (2)	0
	Royal	0	50 (1)	50 (1)	0	0	0	0	62	34	4 (4)
	Wolfe	20 (1)	40 (2)	40 (2)	0	0	0	0	33 (2)	33 (2)	33 (2)

Based on aggregate adult occupations, not on household heads.

## STREET PROFILE, 1866-1907

		% WHITES OCCUPATIONS					% BLACK OCCUPATIONS				
Period	Street	1 Pro- fessional	2 Pro- prietary	3 Skilled Craft	4 Service	5 Laborer	1 Pro- fessional	2 Pro- prietary	3 Skilled Craft	4 Service	5 Laborer
1866-1880	Fairfax	0	8 (5)	62	28	2 (1)	0	0	0	0	0
	Wilkes	0	10 (3)	67	20	3 (1)	66 (2)	0	34 (1)	0	0
	Royal	0	0	0	100 (4)	0	0	5 (3)	35	22	38
	Wolfe	0	25 (4)	56	19 (3)	0	0	0	50 (3)	17 (1)	33 (2)
1885-1907	Fairfax	0	51	43	6 (4)	0	0	0	0	0	100 (2)
	Wilkes	0	13 (4)	58	13 (4)	16 (5)	0	0	0	0	100 (1)
	Royal	0	0	25 (1)	0	75 (3)	0	2 (1)	27	38	33
	Wolfe	0	62 (5)	13 (1)	0	25 (2)	0	0	14 (3)	41	45

HOUSEHOLD FIGURES							
Period	Street	% OWNERS			% RENTERS		
		White	Black	All	White	Black	All
1866-1880	Fairfax	60	0	60	40	0	40
	Wilkes	52	0	46	48	100 (3)	54
	Royal	34 (1)	46	43	66 (2)	54	57
	Wolfe	42 (5)	57 (4)	47	68	43 (3)	53
1885-1907	Fairfax	72	0	71	28	100 (1)	29
	Wilkes	31	0	30	69	100 (1)	70
	Royal	0	52	49	100 (3)	48	51
	Wolfe	56 (5)	7 (1)	25	44 (4)	93	75

AVERAGE REAL ESTATE TAX DECILES	
White	Black
9	
10	9
10	10
9	9
8	
9	
	9
8	9

# OWNERSHIP STATUS AND REAL ESTATE TAX DECILES, 1796–1907

Period	Street	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD FIGURES						AGGREGATE FIGURES						AVERAGE TAX DECILE	
		% OWNERS			% RENTERS			% OWNERS			% RENTERS			White	Black
		White	Black	All	White	Black	All	White	Black	All	White	Black	All		
1796–1810	Fairfax	71	0	67	29 (4)	100 (1)	33 (5)	62	0	56	38	100 (2)	44	9	9
	Wilkes	75 (3)	0	75 (3)	25 (1)	0	25 (1)	75 (3)	0	60 (3)	25 (1)	100 (1)	40 (2)	10	9
	Royal	0	0	0	0	100 (1)	100 (1)	0	0	0	0	100 (2)	100 (2)	—	—
1815–1840	Fairfax	67	0	60	33	100	40	57	0	48	43	100	52	9	9
	Wilkes	26 (5)	0	17 (5)	74	100	83	24 (4)	0	18 (5)	76	100	82	9	9
	Royal	0	8 (3)	7 (3)	100 (3)	92	93	0	7 (3)	6 (3)	100 (3)	97	94	—	10
	Wolfe	44 (4)	14 (1)	31 (5)	56 (5)	86	69	50 (4)	13 (1)	31 (5)	50 (4)	87	69	8	10
1845–1861	Fairfax	74	0	69	26	100 (3)	31	57	0	54	43	100 (3)	46	9	9
	Wilkes	75	33 (4)	50	25 (2)	67	50	55	29 (4)	40	45 (5)	71	60	10	10
	Royal	0	38	35	100 (4)	62	65	0	30	28	100 (4)	70	72	—	10
	Wolfe	0	80 (4)	24	100	20 (1)	76	0	80 (4)	18 (4)	100	20 (1)	82	8	10
1866–1907	Fairfax	67	0	66	33	100 (1)	34	67	0	67	43	100 (1)	43	8/9	—
	Wilkes	41	0	37	59	100 (4)	63	35	0	33	65	100 (4)	67	9/10	9
	Royal	14 (1)	49	47	86	51	53	11 (1)	36	32	89	64	68	10	9/10
	Wolfe	48	23	35	52	77	65	43	15 (5)	27	57	85	73	8	9
1796–1815	Fairfax	74	0	67	26 (5)	100 (2)	33	64	0	54	36	100 (4)	46	—	—
	Pre- Recession Royal	56 (5)	0	56 (5)	44 (4)	0	44 (4)	50 (5)	0	50 (5)	50 (5)	0	50 (5)	—	—
1820–1840	Fairfax	65	0	59	35	100 (5)	41	53	0	52	47	100	48	—	—
Recession	Wilkes	21 (3)	0	12 (3)	79	100	88	21 (3)	0	11 (3)	79	100	89	—	—
	Royal	0	7 (3)	7 (3)	100 (1)	93	93	0	6 (3)	6 (3)	100 (1)	94	94	—	—
	Wolfe	44 (4)	14 (1)	31	56 (5)	86	69	44 (4)	11 (1)	27 (5)	56 (5)	89	73	—	—

## METHODOLOGICAL ESSAY

In such an extended time frame as 1796 to 1907, the first task is to determine the best way to extract information and organize it meaningfully. Hundreds of people lived on the 400 block between South Fairfax and South Royal Streets during these years, and it would demand months of added research to evaluate them all. Indeed, it is not necessary to evaluate every resident who lived on the block, because the trends and changes that occurred can be shown just as validly through a systematic sampling. For the purpose of this study it is only necessary to use five year intervals beginning in 1796 and ending in 1907. Although the history of the block begins prior to 1796, not until after 1800 does it really begin to take shape.

In a few instances, I depart from the strict five year pattern for specific reasons. The year 1861 is the first departure, for not only does it mark the beginning of the Civil War, but it is the last year before the war for which the records are reasonably complete. Located at the State Library in Richmond, Alexandria's real estate and personal property tax assessments during the war are incomplete and inconsistently recorded. Thus, 1861, instead of 1860, is a logical choice. Likewise, 1866 is chosen next as the five year interval because it is the first full year after the war for which the assessments are more accurately recorded. The next departure appears in 1891 because there is no surviving census for 1890, and because the original tax records for 1891 are available in Alexandria. Before explaining the selection of 1902 as a sample year, it is necessary to explain why 1907 was chosen as the terminal year. The main focus of the study is upon the residents of the Coleman Site, the last of whom appears on the tax rolls in 1907. Consequently, 1902 is chosen because it falls about midway between 1895 and 1907.

To obtain a profile of the four street faces of this block—Fairfax, Royal, Wolfe, and Wilkes—the following categories are used in the analysis:

1. Ethnic population: showing the percentages of white and black residents. One should note that two sets of figures are computed for ethnic population, one based upon households, and the other upon aggregate population. A household is represented by the adult head of a family under one roof. If the adult head is black, the entire household is counted as one black unit, regardless of the total number of people living under

that roof. The aggregate, or total population, on the other hand, includes all known adults living on a street face.

2. Legal status: the percentage of blacks who were slave or free.
3. Number of mulattos: the percentage of mulattos among the black population.
4. Occupational levels:
  - 1) professional/entrepreneurial/high white-collar
  - 2) proprietary/low white-collar
  - 3) skilled craft
  - 4) service/unskilled specified
  - 5) unskilled unspecified (laborer)

(This is a modification of the scale devised by Michael Katz for the Philadelphia Social History Project.)

It is important to note the definition of the "working class," a term used throughout the text. It refers to the two lower rungs of the occupational hierarchy which includes laborers and those people in such unskilled service positions as wagon drivers, stevedores, porters, sailors, washerwomen, and policemen.

For this study it is often most useful to describe these occupations in percentage form. To show the general occupational level of the people on a particular street face, it is necessary to compare, for example, the percentage of skilled craftsmen (60%) with the percentage of laborers (5%). Percentages indicated within the text are based upon whites and blacks respectively, unless otherwise stated.

5. Sea related jobs: showing the percentage of such jobs as ship carpenters, ship captains, sailors, stevedores, and shipyard laborers. In the early years a cooper's business often relied heavily upon the demands of shipping, but they are not included within this category because barrels were required as much for other things.

6. Industry related jobs: appearing on the block only after 1855, these jobs (also in percentage form) include machinists, iron moulders, steam engineers, and foundrymen.
7. Building related jobs: although carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, and painters appear at all times, not until the 1880s is there a significant surge in these occupations which reflects home modernization in Alexandria.
8. It is necessary to show the percentage of renters versus the percentage of home owners living on a street face, for this indicates possible socio-economic status of individuals and the nature of the street. As with the percentages calculated for the ethnic population, two sets of figures are also used to clarify owner-renter patterns. One set is based upon households which indicates that the owner and his family reside under that specific roof without consideration of non-family renters who may also live there. The second set of figures, however, reflect the total percentage of adult renters on a street face even if they rent from a resident owner. Thus, in the aggregate figures, the number of owners remains constant, while the number of renters increases.  
There is a complication regarding ownership of houses through most of the nineteenth century because of the custom of charging ground rents even though a person may otherwise own his house. For clear and unrestricted title, one usually had to purchase the rights to ground rents as well as buy the house and lot. However, the homeowner was taxed for the property even if someone else owned the ground rents. Thus, for this study, it is assumed that an individual is the property owner even if he pays a ground rent.
9. Another factor in this analysis is the length of time a family resides on the street. This helps reflect occupational stability and continuity of the neighborhood.
10. The real estate values of houses and lots in graph form show the street average for each five year interval. Although separate assessments for houses and lots appear in later tax books, for the

sake of consistency, house and lot values are calculated together because until near the turn of the twentieth century, assessments were not delineated.

The most useful devise for comparing real estate values is through decile ranking based on a fifteen percent random sample taken at twenty year intervals across the whole City: 1790, 1810, 1830, 1850, 1870, 1890, and 1910. The first decile reflects the highest values, and the tenth decile the lowest. The scales for each period vary depending upon changes in assessments, and upon home improvements. This system was devised by John F. Stephens for the Alexandria City Survey Project (see secondary sources).

11. Personal property assessments reflect family wealth and, for this study, personal property focuses mostly on the South Royal Street people.
12. The evaluation of the recession years, 1820–1840, is based on the following: (1) whether the number of renters increased along a street face, and (2) whether more people fell into working class jobs (levels 4 and 5) during the recession years.
13. The social mobility of the Coleman Site residents is based upon their personal and real wealth, as well as upon their occupational and leadership status both before arriving on the site after leaving it.

In addition to the five year sample analysis of the entire block, it is necessary to study both the Coleman family and the Coleman Site tenants in detail. Such an intensive study requires a year to year evaluation, applying the same categories as those used for the five year sample. In an effort to understand the daily lives of these people, a more thorough search through deeds, wills, and tax records is vital. To find out where people moved requires extensive investigation through City directories and tax assessment books. Although very few of these people left wills, those who did greatly aided the evaluation of their financial status. Many of the deeds were invaluable guides, not only to their real estate transactions, but also to their status as free blacks. At this level of research, it is also necessary to

incorporate other sources such as church records, secondary accounts, and especially the *Alexandria Gazette*, in an attempt to add vignettes of their daily lives.

To maximize efficiency in recording information, it was necessary to design two tabulation forms, one for the five year sample and one for the Coleman Site residents. In this way, data pertaining to both the five year sample and to the Coleman Site individuals can be recorded uniformly. An advantage to the five year form is in compiling vital information on a single sheet of paper so that changes and trends come more readily to view. On the five year form all of the data for that interval appears on one sheet, making it easy both to follow the occupants around the block and to view the different property values among neighbors. Likewise, it is easier to determine ethnic and occupational patterns along streets and to associate them as either homogeneous or mixed neighborhoods.

## FIVE Y

[illegible]

# YEARLY HOUSEHOLD TABULATION

Name
Year
Race
Male/Female
Age
Free/Slave
Street
Lot
Own or Rent
Tax Value/Decile
Stories
Amount of Rent
Occupation/Decile
Servant/apprentice
Illiterate
# of children living at home
Tithables
Slaves owned
Personal property value
Furniture value
Carriages
Carts
Horses
Cows
Dogs
Watches
Clocks
Silver
Buckets
Misc.

The other form was designed to record all of the available public record information about each family who lived on the Coleman Site, including the Colemans themselves. It includes spaces for every family member's name, legal status, occupation, and various categories of personal property. Information that is too extensive for the front of the form is summarized on the back with proper citations. Whenever possible, these families are recorded wherever they live in the City, both before they arrive on the Coleman Site and after they leave it. In this way, one can determine whether social mobility was a factor precipitating the move. But unlike the street face form, it is impossible to relegate all of the information about some families to one page. Tracing the large Coleman family through 114 years requires fourteen pages. Nevertheless, this kind of organization makes it easier to follow the changes that take place over many years.

Another important methodological feature is the structural organization of the paper. Pamela J. Cressey and John F. Stephens (1982) of the Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program have used three general time periods in their city-wide study of Alexandria. The first is the period of mercantile capitalism (1749–1790) during which America was a part of England's colonial system and maintained a mercantile economic relationship with the mother country. The second period is one of indigenous commercial capitalism (1790–1843), reflecting Alexandria's dependence upon commerce in the tobacco, wheat, and flour supplied by inland farmers. It was also a time when Alexandria sank into an extended recession (1820–1843), and when American and European wars affected her sea trade. The last period is that of industrial capitalism (1843–1910) which began after the construction of the C & O Canal and which was characterized by the expansion of industry and its accompanying social, political, and economic changes, not only in Alexandria, but across America.

Because the time frame of this study does not begin intensively until 1796, the first of these general periods does not apply. But the last two periods do apply, with modifications. I have found it useful to incorporate two additional time frames, one in each of the general periods created by Cressey and Stephens. There are three reasons for these additions. First, it is necessary to show changes in the status of free blacks before the Civil War, and, without constructing other time periods, statistical comparisons are impossible. Secondly, it is necessary to reveal the im-

pact of the recession, and, without statistics from the periods before and after the recession, a comparison cannot be made. Finally, the two additional time periods also reflect patterns as they unfolded during these years on this specific block. The time frames and their general characteristics are as follows:

### **Indigenous Capitalism**

1796– 1810: The block had not yet developed with clear patterns, and the statistical information is too sparse to provide a meaningful analysis, except through impressionistic means.

1815– 1840: During these years the block takes the shape which it more or less maintains throughout the years under study. It is a time when black skilled craftsmen dominate among black occupants of the block. This period also includes the recession, toward the end of which some blacks emerge as homeowners.

### **Industrial Capitalism**

1845– 1861: These years reflect the recovery from recession, and also one of Alexandria's greatest periods of growth during the 1850s. During these years it becomes clear that blacks on the block are free, for prior to 1845 there are uncertainties about the legal status of many. Also, the number of skilled free black homeowners rises significantly; but as their widows inherit the homes, more working class boarders and renters move onto these streets. Also, the appearance of industrial jobs on the block is minimal until after the Civil War.

1866– 1907: There is a clear concentration of blacks and whites in their respective areas with very little mixing. The number of low white-collar jobs rises significantly on South Fairfax Street, while black laborers dominate on South Royal Street. Because the last residents of the Coleman Site appeared in 1907, this is the terminal date of the study.

For the purposes of this work, the long period following the Civil War may be viewed as one of steady decline in the status of blacks and one of steady growth in homogeneous neighborhoods. However, a more thorough study may reveal that a delineation may occur around 1885. Statistical evidence for the 400 block after 1885 indicates sharper trends toward homogeneous neighborhoods, toward more working class blacks, and toward sig-

nificant increases in the lower white-collar occupations among Anglo-Americans. Fragmented public documents of the 1870s and 1880s prevent a clear picture of these changes, but it is reasonable to conclude that such changes occurred.

With the growth of government and industry, one finds an increase in such white-collar jobs as clerks, accountants, and railroad car inspectors. New technology also introduced such home improvements as electricity and indoor plumbing. Occupations connected with this modernization were dominated by whites, while blacks fell steadily into the lower working classes. By the 1880s, the impact of these changes became more apparent.

With justification I could have created another time period within the structure of the text. However, I chose not to do so, because, in most cases, the post-1885 figures are only greater manifestations of trends that began earlier. To avoid redundancy, significant post-1885 trends are incorporated into the text.

Having established these time periods as the structural framework for the project, the Coleman Site occupants will also be evaluated within this framework. Whether these residents compare favorably with others on the block, or whether they differ significantly is paramount to the study.

It may be helpful, at this point, to clarify the house numbering system. All of the house numbers used in the text are current numbers which came into use around 1888. The Colemans' house number is 417 South Fairfax Street (formerly 99), and the tenant houses on South Royal Street are numbered, north to south, 418, 420, and 422 (formerly 106, 108, and 110).

Determining the exact house on Royal Street in which each Coleman Site resident lived is sometimes a problem. Tax assessment records are the basic source of this information, but they can be misleading because assessors were not always careful to list households as they came to them, and sometimes they skipped houses altogether. Also, house numbers are not included on the tax rolls until 1866, and even then they are sometimes omitted. In most cases, however, the tax rolls do follow logical order. The Coleman residents were always listed under the Coleman Estate, and usually in order of the first house the assessor approached, although the order is sometimes mixed. Be-

cause so many of the Coleman people lived on the property for a long time, it is easier to go through the tax rolls year by year to establish a pattern.

Before 1832, there is less difficulty because only one house stood on the site. However, there are specific problems pertaining to this house, such as its construction date, how it is first used, and when it became a dwelling. Both John Cassin and Joshua Riddle are listed as occupants in 1815, but, at the same time, Cassin is listed on the corner of South Royal and Wilkes, and Riddle on Fairfax. Because Riddle was a bank clerk and Cassin was a "manufacturer" of some sort, it is not likely that they shared the Coleman house as a shop. This is a point of confusion that may never be unraveled, but by 1816 Cassin is indicated only as a renter at the Colemans' Royal Street house.

With the construction of the duplex in 1832, the potential for confusion is greater. However, one can be thankful that the George Brooks family lived on the site for 42 years from 1832 to 1873, and always in the middle house. Regardless of the direction from which the tax assessor walked, the Brooks' household was the second one recorded. Further corroboration of this is through the City Directory of 1870 which gives the exact address. The only existing general directory before 1870 is one for 1834, but it does not give specific addresses—only the cross streets. The census records can also be used to corroborate household location, although they apply to only one year. Again, the Brooks maintained their residence over four decades which makes it easier to identify the people living on either side of them. Thus, up to the Civil War, with the help of George Brooks, matching houses and occupants is fairly reliable.

During the Civil War the exact location of Henry Cavins is uncertain, even with George Brooks in the middle house. Apparently only one of the other Coleman houses was occupied during these years, which means Cavin could have lived at either 418 or 422 South Royal. Due to inconsistent record keeping, no pattern of occupancy emerges.

After George Brooks's death in 1867, his widow, Cordelia, is not listed on the tax rolls because she was neither a tithable, nor a property holder. Only the City Directory confirms her continued residence at 420 South Royal Street. However, without her appearance on the tax books, it becomes a guessing game as to which residents lived in

the other two houses. At this point, the City directories are most valuable because after 1870 they are more numerous. The 1870 Directory clearly establishes Barbara Newton at 418 South Royal Street, and Grandison Cook at 422 South Royal Street. Between the directories and the 1870 census, many of the households can be pinpointed up to 1883. Even though the tax records by this time include exact addresses for most people, they do not help identify the Coleman residents, because the house numbers are all listed beside Coleman's name and not by the name of the renter. The problem is reduced, however, in 1882 when 418 South Royal is demolished.

From 1883 until about 1894, virtually no record of the Coleman occupants exists, other than a few directory references. For some reason, the tax ledgers at the State Library in Richmond omit the Coleman renters, and until the actual tax roll books for that period are found, these people shall remain anonymous.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY**

Because this project covers 112 years, the most vital sources are the Alexandria City Tax Assessment books, which, with varying degrees of reliability, indicate the owners and occupants of houses, along with real estate and personal property values. Also, prior to the Civil War, they often indicate whether a black man or woman is free or slave. The tax books from 1787 through 1855 are on microfilm in the Lloyd House, the manuscript division of the Alexandria City Public Library. Also in the Lloyd House are the original tax books after 1895, which give clear house addresses, which enumerate different items of personal property, and which even delineate the value of the house from the value of the lot. These books, however, are brittle and should not be handled except for serious research. The tax records for the middle period, 1856–1894, are located in the State Library in Richmond, Virginia, but they take different forms. Copies of the original tax books through 1869 are there, although certain words are missing. From 1870, the records are in the form of Tax Ledgers which are compilations of real estate and personal property into smaller books, but which omit some information that is otherwise obtained from the original books. Serious omissions from about 1883 through 1894 include the occupants of the Coleman Site, for during these years the homeowners throughout the City were recorded, but not the tenants, unless they owned taxable personal property. Thus, there is a ten year gap in the names of the Coleman

residents. For this study, due to library policy and time restrictions, the Tax Ledgers are used even when the actual tax roll book exists. The State Library provides only one tax book at a time, while it provides several Tax Ledgers at once.

From 1850 through 1900, the Federal Census for Alexandria is vitally important, except for the nonexistent 1890 Census which burned in the Commerce Department fire of 1927. Located in the Lloyd House on microfilm, it lists the specific household members with their ethnic background, whether they were mulatto or black, as well as their age, sex, occupation, place of birth, and literacy. The Federal Census before 1850 is less helpful because it lists only heads of the family, and it gives vague occupations such as merely being engaged in "commerce" or in "manufacturing." Although these census records do indicate the number in the household, they do not provide specific ages; rather, they may report two females between the ages of 40 and 50. Of much more help in the early years are the independent census records compiled by Alexandria between 1799 and 1810, because specific occupations are often included. However, the independent censuses from 1816–1830 are in the same form as the Federal Census and are of no more help, except that they may provide certain names omitted in the Federal Census.

To locate property boundaries and to establish chains of title, the deed room in the Alexandria City Court House is most important. Occasionally, a deed will also give an individual's occupation. Among the different kinds of deeds are those outlining lease arrangements, those for which the property is put up as collateral on a loan, those transferring only ground rents, and those which acknowledge the freedom of slaves. To locate Alexandria deeds prior to 1786, one must go to the Colonial Records Room in the Fairfax County Court House.

Also located in the Alexandria Court House are will books, but unless the individual is prominent, he may not have recorded a will. Indeed, even prominent citizens sometimes died intestate. The only wills located for the Coleman Site people were those of John Credit, who died in 1906, Joseph Coleman, who died in 1810, and his wife, Alice, who died in 1828. Sometimes accompanying wills are estate inventories which may not be listed in the Index, but which may be recorded several days after the will. Only the 1810 inventory of Joseph Coleman's property has been found for people living on the site.

The Alexandria City Directories also are helpful in pinpointing an individual's address and occupation. From 1870 to 1917 there are ten directories which list citizens alphabetically, and which help fill the gap left by the incomplete tax records for the 1880s. The only directory prior to 1870 is for 1834, but it is incomplete. Indeed, one must be wary of all the directories because their information is inconsistent and sometimes inaccurate. They are most useful for occupations and for corroboration of other sources. There are also numerous business directories which list merchants and stores, but they are of minor help in locating working class people.

Very important sources for the study of blacks in Alexandria are the Arlington County Free Negro Registers. Copies of the three registers are also located in the Lloyd House and are dated 1797–1841, 1841–1847, and 1847–1861. They provide individual descriptions of blacks who were either emancipated slaves or who were born free. They carefully describe the color of free blacks as being either light or dark mulatto, or black; they give the age, height and any distinguishing marks. They almost always indicate whether the individual was born free, and sometimes they will state the former owner's name and give the date of emancipation. Often, too, the white person who signs the affidavit attesting to the person's freedom also is recorded. But the great problem with this source is that most free blacks simply did not register.

Another useful source is the Alexandria County Register of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1853–1896. Located in the Lloyd House on microfilm, these records include occupations, ages, whether a widow or widower, and the cause of death. The main drawback is that the source is often useless because the microfilm is so poor that much of it cannot be read.

Finally, the *Alexandria Gazette* provides practically the only glimpses into the daily lives of people who are otherwise numbered among the inarticulate masses. Obituaries may be helpful for the white residents, but in the early years very few black deaths were even mentioned—only the most prominent. Blacks who most often made it into the local news of the *Gazette* were leaders like the Sea-tons, who sat on the Council, or ministers whose sermon schedules were reported. Sometimes other blacks were mentioned if they were involved in a controversy, or if an accident befell them. But most often, blacks could be found in the Police Report as being arrested for fighting or

for being involved in some disturbance. There is, undoubtedly, much more that can be gleaned from the *Gazette*, but to do so takes an incredible amount of time reading newspapers on microfilm—a deterrent to their extensive use.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Primary Sources and Their Locations**

Alexandria, Virginia. *The Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program*:

Alexandria City Land and Personal Property Tax Assessments: 1873–74, 1891, 1910.

Alexandria, Virginia. *Alexandria City Court House*: Records of Deeds and Wills.

Alexandria, Virginia. *The Lloyd House Library, City of Alexandria*:

Alexandria City Census: 1799, 1808, 1810, 1816, 1830. Microfilm.

Alexandria City Land and Personal Property Tax Assessments: 1789–1855. Microfilm.

Alexandria City land and Personal Property Tax Assessments: 1895–1909.

Alexandria City Directories: 1834, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1876, 1881, 1888, 1895, 1900, 1903.

Alexandria Register of Marriages, Births, and Deaths, 1853–1896. Microfilm.

*Alexandria Gazette*. Microfilm.

Arlington County. Free Negro Register, 3 vols.: 1797–1841, 1841–47, 1847–61. Photocopy.

*Cary White Avery, Genealogical Records*.

Compiled by Jane Peake Kirkpatrick Wall, 1925.

Record of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Robert's Chapel. Unpublished manuscript.

U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Alexandria: 1800–1880, 1900. Microfilm.

Richmond, Virginia. *The Virginia State Library*:

Alexandria City Tax Ledgers: 1856–1894.

## Secondary Sources

- Brockett, F.L. and George W. Rock. *A Concise History of the City of Alexandria, Virginia from 1669 to 1883 with a Directory of Reliable Business Houses in the City*. Alexandria, Virginia: Printed by the Gazette Book and Job Office, 1883.
- Cressey, Pamela J. and John F. Stephens. The City Site Approach to Urban Archaeology in Alexandria, Virginia. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, R.S. Dickens, Jr., editor, pp. 41–61. Academic Press, New York, 1982.
- Cressey, Pamela J., John F. Stephens, Steven J. Shephard and Barbara H. Magid. The Core-Periphery Relationship and the Archaeological Record. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, R.S. Dickens, Jr., editor, pp. 143–173. Academic Press, New York, 1982.
- Cressey, Pamela J., Barbara H. Magid and Steven J. Shephard. *Urban Development in North America: Status, Distance, and Material Differences in Alexandria, Virginia*. Final grant report for the Alexandria City Survey Project to the National Endowment for the Humanities. Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program, Alexandria, Virginia, 1984.
- Hambleton, Elizabeth and Marian Van Landingham, eds. *A Composite History of Alexandria*, 1975.
- Macoll, John D., ed. *Alexandria A Town In Transition 1800–1900*. Alexandria Bicentennial Commission. Alexandria Historical Society, 1977.
- Morrill, Penny. *Who Built Alexandria? Architects in Alexandria 1750–1900*. Carlyle House Historic Park. Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, 1979.
- Our Town 1749–1865 at Gadsby's Tavern*. The Alexandria Association, 1956.
- Stephens, John F. *Historical Methods in Urban Preservation Planning*. Alexandria Papers in Urban Archaeology, Planning Series, Number 3. Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program, Alexandria, Virginia, 1981.
- Stephens, John F. *Geographical Methods in Urban Preservation Planning*. Alexandria Papers in Urban Archaeology, Planning Series, Number 2. Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program, Alexandria, Virginia, 1981.

Index of Alexandria African Americans  
Compiled by Sara Revis

**Adams, George** Rev. 5, 72  
**Alexander, H.** 85

**Bailey, Israel** 80  
**Ball, John**  
**Banks, Nancy** 21, 79  
**Bell, Monica** 23, 42, 79  
**Boudin, Alexander** 22, 26, 37, 89, 81, 82  
    Amanda 22, 26, 39 (See also under  
    Gray and Thompson)  
    Reverdy 82

**Brent, James** 84  
**Brooks, George** 30, 31, 41, 44, 55, 56,  
    64, 65, 69, 70, 80, 81, 82  
    Harriet 30, 41  
    Judy 80  
    Cordelia 56, 70, 83  
    Frederick 81

**Brooks family** 43, 55, 65  
**Bryan, Alexander** 22, 24, 26, 79, 80  
    Ann 22, 24, 26  
**Bryan family** 39  
**Buckner, J.** 85  
**Butler, James** 81  
**Byram, Alexander** 79

**Campbell, Fanny** 28-29, 69, 80  
    James 83

**Carpenter, Dennis** 24, 31  
**Cartwright, I.** 84

**Cavins, Henry** 40-41, 72  
    Mary 40-41, 72

**Cook, Grandison** 57, 74, 83  
    Elizabeth 57, 74  
    Oscar 57, 74  
    Ann 57, 74  
    Charles 57, 74  
    Sarah 74  
    Robert 74  
    Mary 74  
    Dennis 74

**Cook family** 58

**Credit, John** 8, 43, 44, 52, 53, 57, 65, 71  
    81, 84  
    Sarah 43, 71

Emma 52  
William G. 43, 52, 71, 84, 85

**Credit family** 42, 43, 51, 53, 57, 65

**Dandridge, Martha** 22

**Davis, Elizabeth** 41

Harry 21  
Henry 41, 70  
Lewis 41, 70

**Dawson, John, Rev.** 49, 83  
    Ben 14

**Dice, Elizabeth** 14, 25

**Dogan, William** 80, 82  
    Governor 81, 82  
    L. 84

**Douglass, Alexander** 21, 28-29, 52, 53, 69

**Dove, Judson** 82

**Drew, Richard** 79

**Dudley, James** 51  
    Henry 71  
    William 30-31, 39, 42, 44, 52, 53  
    65, 71, 80, 82, 83  
    Nancy 30-31, 39, 42, 43, 52, 71,  
    83

**Dudley family** 42, 43, 52, 53, 65

**Duvall, Betsy** 81, 82

**Duvall family** 39

**Dyson, Harriet** 29

**Edwards, William** 83

**Elliot, G.** 84

**Evans, Edward** 26, 39, 51, 52, 74, 81, 82,  
    83  
    Orlando 83

**Evans family** 51

**Fields, Ed** 85

**Fone, Benjamin** 74

**Freeman, William** 22  
    Frank 55, 72

**Frye, Edward** 56-57, 58, 73, 84

**Frye family** 58

**Garret, Nathan** 55, 72, 83

Mary 55, 72  
William 72

- Gibson**, James 82  
Thomas 85
- Gray**, Amanda 84, 85 (see also under Boudin)  
William 48, 51
- Gray family** 51
- Hackley**, I. 85
- Hamilton**, Philip 23, 25, 31, 42, 51, 64, 79, 80, 82  
Catherine 23, 24, 79, 80  
Ellen 24  
Prince 24  
Mary 81  
Alfred 81  
Wesley 24
- Hamilton family** 39, 43
- Haney**, James 72
- Harris**, John 57, 74  
Martha 57, 74  
William 57, 74, 84  
Ida 57, 84  
S. 84
- Hatton**, Casey 78
- Hawkins**, Betty 41  
Robert 35, 82
- Henry**, Patrick 56, 57, 73  
Julia 56, 73
- Hewit**, Ada 42  
Maggie 42
- Hopkins**, Peter 82
- Hunt**, Robert 13
- Jackson**, Martha 69  
Hanna 24, 25, 79  
John 56  
Robert 72  
Solomon 24  
William 73  
Jane 73  
James 73
- Jasper**, Harriet 40, 69, 81
- Johnson**, Peter 57-58, 74  
Martha 57-58, 74  
Clarence 74  
Lewis 74  
Daniel, Jr. 74
- Jones**, Daniel 58, 74, 85  
Fanny 58, 74  
Sally 58, 74
- Lee**, Luke 21, 24, 31, 38, 79, 80  
Henry 38, 74, 81, 82
- William 56, 73  
Anthony 83  
Rebecca 73, 81, 82
- Lewis**, Levi 22  
Lewis 80  
Lucy 78
- Logan**, Lucy 35
- Lucus**, Emily 41
- Lyles**, Rachel 38
- Marble**, Betsy 79
- Marshall**, James E. 57, 74
- McGuire**, Lizzie 48  
Reuben 48
- Middleton**, Hannah 35
- Morris**, Michael 31
- Mosley**, James
- Newton**, Barbara 55, 72, 83  
Osborn 72
- Nickens**, William 81
- Parmley**, G.W. 84
- Payne**, Phyllis 35, 81
- Phillips**, James 85
- Pleasants**, Edward 24, 25, 79, 80
- Posey**, Harriet 40, 69
- Redd**, Reuben 57, 74
- Reynolds**, Roy 55-56, 72  
Catherine 55-56  
Thomas 55-56  
Emily 72  
Richard 72  
John 72  
Lettie 72  
Lindy 72
- Reynolds family** 58
- Rhodes**, Cloe 29  
Susan 29
- Roberts**, William 23, 24, 25, 31, 78, 79, 80
- Roderick**, Robert 24
- Roman**, Henry 28, 69
- Salter**, Fanny 78
- Savoy**, William 27-28, 65, 69, 81  
Mary 28, 69, 81, 82, 83  
Laura Virginia 29, 65
- Savoy family** 29, 65

**Seaton**, George L. 46, 51, 65, 83

Catherine 51, 84, 85

John A. 53, 65

Cort. 85

**Seaton family** 51

**Simms**, Mosses 51, 52, 53, 84, 85

**Simms family** 51

**Smith**, John 40, 44, 69, 80

Enoch 81

**St. Mary's School**

**Stewart**, Wm. A. 85

**Talbot**, Sarah (?) 35

**Tancil**, I. 83

**Thomas**, John 55, 72

**Thompson**, B. 83, 85

Amanda 50 (see also under

Boudin)

Amos 48, 50, 83

A. Boudin 83

**Thornton**, John 82

**Throckmorton**, Wm. 56

**Triplett**, Wm. 83

Catherine 83, 84

Ann V. 85

**Triplett family** 43, 51

**Turner**, Wm. 58, 74

Nat 56, 73

Julia 73

Mary 56

**Wango**, Geo. 84

**Washington**, Geo. 57

**Waugh**, William 25, 26, 39, 78, 79, 80

Mary 26, 81

**Waugh family** 29, 39, 65

**Weaver**, William 22, 39, 43, 81, 82

**Williams**, William 55, 72

John 55, 72

Lena 55

M. 83

**Yates**, Samuel 78

**Yeates**, Casey 24, 80

**York**, Samuel 78

**Index of Alexandria European-Americans**  
**Compiled by Sara Revis**

- Adams**, Frank M. 48, 84, 85  
**Alexander**, John 12  
**Allen**, Otis 50  
     John 83  
**Arell**, Richard 74, 77  
**Auld**, Colin 23  
**Armfield** (see Franklin & Armfield)
- Beach**, Henry 71, 82  
**Bishop**, John 18, 80  
**Barrett**, Peter 22, 23, 80  
**Baggett** 36  
**Baggett**, John 82  
     Mary 84  
     Elizabeth 84  
     Samuel 21, 79, 80, 81  
     William 83  
**Brent**, John 35  
**Bayne**, Lawrence 50, 85  
**Brittingham** 77  
**Brooks**, H. 81  
**Brock**, Morgan 85
- Cassin**, Ann 27, 69  
     John 27, 28, 64, 69  
**Coleman**, Alice 13, 15, 19-20, 29, 78, 79  
     Alice Ophelia 35  
     Joseph 12-13, 14, 15, 36, 53-54, 77, 83  
     James (see James P.)  
     James P. 15, 17, 18, 29, 30, 34, 35-36, 53, 63, 65, 80, 82, 83  
     James P., Jr. 42, 53, 54  
     Caroline 29, 35, 53  
     Eschol 36, 53, 83  
     Kate 36, 53, 54, 84  
     Laura 36, 53  
     Rachael 15, 20  
     Samuel 36, 53, 54, 83  
     Susanne 15, 20  
     William 15, 20  
**Cox**, William 20  
**Cosgrove**, James 20, 78
- Carolyn**, Caroline 29  
     Hugh 29-30, 35  
     Julia 35 (see also under Eveleth)  
**Cole**, Mary (Ann) 31, 40  
**Cornelius**, Samuel, Rev. 29  
**Chrisman**, William 36  
**Carne**, William F 48, 83  
**Churchman**, Charles 83  
     Sarah 48, 49, 83  
**Cline**, James 83, 84  
**Cavillier**, Samuel 83  
**Conner**, M. 84  
**Craver**, E. 84  
**Callahan**, Charles 84  
**Chesser**, Cora 85
- Dade**, Miss 35  
**Day**, Hansen 81, 82  
**Digging**, Barney 82  
**Duffrey**, George 47, 84  
     J.L. 84  
**Deavers**, Craven 71  
     Richard 71  
**Deamin**, Job 79  
**Davis**, William A. 81  
**Daw**, F. 81
- Edmunds**, Edmund 27  
**Eveleth**, John 36-37  
     Julia (Mrs. John) 35, 36  
**Evans**, Charles E. 47, 84, 85  
**Entzberger**, I. 83
- Fugitt**, James 81  
**Fowle**, George D. 82  
**Franklin & Armfield** 31  
**Francis**, John 79
- Garner**, J.W. 85  
**Grimes**, William 81, 82  
**Green**, James 17
- Hartshorne**, William 12, 14, 77  
**Hart**, Louis 84, 85  
**Harley**, Ann 18, 78, 79, 80

**Hunt**, Robert 81  
**Hutchins**, George 82  
**Herbert family** 23-24  
**Hunter**, John 24, 69  
     Robert H. 78  
**Hooe**, Alexander 27  
**Hall**, John 38  
     Rhoda 81  
**Harper**, William 38  
**Hicks**, Henry 40, 69  
**Hilton**, William 40, 69  
**Houck**, Alonzo 53, 54, 84  
     Laura 54  
**Hill**, Mary 79  
**Hepburn**, George 84, 85  
**Hewes**, Rachel 23  
**Howard**, T. 83  
  
**Jamieson**, Robert 24  
**Johnson**, S. 85  
**Johnston**, Reuben 28  
**Jenkins**, David 78  
  
**Kleindienst**, J.H. 83  
**King**, Susan 83  
**Kelley**, E. 83  
     John 81, 82  
     Charles 83  
**Knight**, Clinton 54  
     Elizabeth 54  
     Helen 54, 57  
     Leonard 54  
     Robert E. 47, 54-55, 57, 58, 84, 85  
     Robert E., Jr. 54  
     Marian 54  
  
**Lawrence**, Mary 82  
**Lewis**, Mordecai 12  
**Libby**, Richard 13, 78  
**Lowe**, Christianna 39, 42, 54, 81  
     James Rector Magruder 14, 20, 24  
         27, 78  
**Lyles**, James 18, 78, 79  
**Lymburn**, John 18, 19, 78, 79  
     Mary 80  
**Lawson**, John 40, 69, 82  
**Lloyd**, Isaac 84  
     Lucinda 84  
**Lyons**, W.L. 84  
  
**Miller**, Mordecai 18, 22, 26, 63, 78, 79  
     Robert H. 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 63,  
         79, 80, 81, 82, 83  
  
**Mills**, William 18, 28, 69, 79  
     James 38, 82  
**Mansfield**, Thomas 22, 80  
**McCracken**, James E. 50, 83  
**McKnight**, Charles 37  
**McKenny**, Charles H. 83, 84, 85  
**McLaughlin**, Edward 36  
**Moore**, Cornelius 36, 81  
     Joseph 81  
     Joseph, Jr. 36, 81  
     Joseph C., Capt. 34, 36  
     Mary 36  
**Marshall**, James E. 57  
**Morse**, Orlando 79  
**Massey**, Joseph 81  
**Magruder**, L. 84  
**Moatz**, Daniel S. 85  
**Masterson**, Laughlin 19, 28, 79  
     Mary Ann 80, 81, 82  
  
**Neale**, J.H. 83  
**Nightgill**, John 42, 71  
     Joseph 42, 71  
**Nowland**, Charles W. 49, 85  
**Nichols**, Isaac 77  
**Norris**, John 81  
  
**Patterson**, Mrs. 71  
**Peverill**, F. 84  
**Polack**, George W. 18, 78  
**Purcell**, Randolph 83  
  
**Rambo**, C.K. 85  
**Ratcliffe**, A. 82, 83  
     Ignatius 20, 78  
     Richard 37, 38, 81  
     R. 80  
     R.B. 82  
     William P. 78, 83  
**Reeder**, R. 81  
**Reynolds**, John 82  
**Roach**, John 79  
**Robey**, Barton 83  
     David 85  
**Ross**, Walter 22, 79  
  
**Schaaf**, R. 83  
**Schreiner**, Charles 84, 85  
     Stella M. 85  
**Scott**, J. 84  
     Thomas 47-48, 51, 83, 84, 85  
**Shaw**, Charles P. 18, 28, 69  
**Sherwood**, Jesse 81

**Shropshire, Willaim** 77  
**Simmons, Samuel** 18, 80  
**Simpson, T.** 83  
**Sipple, John** 82  
**Slicer, Henry** 22, 80  
**Smith, George A.** 28, 69  
**Speake, Josiah** 13, 77  
**Stabler, Edward** 13, 77  
**Stone, Joseph** 81  
**Swain, George** 35, 82, 83  
    E.O. 82  
**Spillman, Mary G.** 85  
**Snelling, L.** 85

**Talbot, Sarah** 35  
**Taylor, J. Frank** 49  
**Travers, William** 84  
**Truder, H.S.** 85

**Veitch, J.E.** 81

**Warder, M.** 84  
    R.H. 38  
    R.M. 83, 84  
    Richard 49  
    W. 84

**Waters, Sarah** 40, 69  
**Webster, James** 49, 83  
**Wise, George** 79  
**Wheat, Harry F.** 54  
    Virginia 54

**Wright, Zach** 81  
**Wiggs, John** 19, 30, 65, 70, 80  
**Williams, E.** 85  
    S. 85  
**Wimsatt, Viola** 83  
**West, Harry** 84

**Yost, John** 12, 13

## ERRATA

### Page

- 4. 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph, second sentence: "use" should read "rise"
- 6. last paragraph, third sentence: "and" should be inserted after "purchases,"
- 7. 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph, last line: "war" should be capitalized
- 8. 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph, first line: "entended" should read "extended"
- 9 & 11. The map on page 9 dates to 1907 and should be on page 11; the map on page 11 dates to 1877 and should be on page 9.
- 20. 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph: quotation marks should be added before footnote #13
- 23. 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph: "1963" should read "1863"
- 25. 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph, fourth line: "Before 1810" should read "Before 1815"
- 32. Note #2: George Stansfield misspelled "Standfield" in parentheses.
- 36. 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph, next to the last line: "rising" should read "rising"
- 39. Third paragraph, fifth sentence, "to" should read "of"
- 50. Last line: "has" should read "had"
- 51. 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph, first sentence: "use" should read "rise"
- 53. 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph: quotation marks should be added before footnote #18
- 56. Third paragraph, last sentence: "If this was upward mobility..." should read "if this were upward mobility..."
- 62. 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph, line five: "of South Royal Street" should be omitted
- 63. 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph, line five: "of South Royal Street" should be omitted
- 63. 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph, lines six through eight: the whole sentence should be omitted  
"Wolfe Street, for example, had no rented households in 1825, but by 1835 every house was rented."
- 65. 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph, lines five & six: "of Royal Street" should be omitted and period added after "block"
- 70. title: "1823-1873" should read "1832-1873"
- 96. 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph, line four: "and" should be inserted between "site" and "after"
- 103. "Cavin" should read "Cavins"
- 107. Bibliography: The Alexandria Urban Archaeology Program, Alexandria City Court House, and The Lloyd House Library, City of Alexandria should not be italicized.
- 107. Seventh sentence from the bottom: "Compiled by Jane Peake Kirkpatrick Wall, 1925" should be indented.
- 194. 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph, tenth line from the bottom: "words" should read "wards"

### Block Maps

- 1800: 429 Fairfax: Dixon Brittingham is the owner, "\*" should be added
- 1825: 312 Wolfe: R.H. Miller is the owner, "\*" should be added  
413 Fairfax: "Fanny Nolan - Slave" should be added; "Loughlin" should read "Laughlin"  
301 Wilkes: "63" should be omitted
- 1835: Wolfe Street house numbers should be added, see page 79
- 1850: Wolfe Street house numbers should be added, see page 79  
Fairfax Street house numbers should be shifted down one lot all along the street, p.81  
Corner of Royal and Wilkes: Lot should not be divided; "Christianna Lowe\* Lot" should be omitted; Sherwood and Brooks should be shown to be white in color
- 1855: 301 Wilkes house number should be added  
413 & 415 Fairfax lots are not properly divided; house number 415, the Mastersons, should be added  
308 Wolfe: Wm. Conklin and P. Lynch should be added  
317 Wilkes: "Bourdon" should read "Bourbon"  
410 Royal: R. H. Miller's Lot divider should be added
- 1870: 420 Royal: Cordelia Brooks is not the owner, "\*" should be omitted  
311 Wilkes: "R.M. Warder" should read "R.H. Warder"  
Fairfax Street house numbers should be shifted down one lot all along the street, p. 83

- 1895: 318 Wolfe house number should be added  
308 Wolfe: "W.L. Lyons-3" should be added  
Lot at the corner of s. royal and Wolfe: "W.L. Lyons-3" should be omitted  
417 Fairfax: "Harry Whest" should read "Harry Wheat"  
417-423 Fairfax: line dividing property should be extended to the street  
At the bottom of the page "Wolfe" should read "Wilkes"
- 1907: 423 Fairfax: Nowland's occupations, 2&3 respectively, should be added  
413 Fairfax: "J.W. Garner-R-2" should read "J.W. Garner-2"  
310 Wolfe: "Grucker" should read "Buckner"

