

# Building and Property History of the Millan & Grigsby Slave Pen at 1207 Duke Street Alexandria, Virginia



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OFFICE OF HISTORIC ALEXANDRIA  
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## Forward

The City of Alexandria is built upon its past. The ground beneath modern Alexandria is a record of this past and contains an array of archaeological sites, features, and artifacts. Recognizing the importance and uniqueness of these historic resources, the City of Alexandria established a formal archaeology program in 1977.

Alexandria Archaeology, a division of the Office of Historic Alexandria, City of Alexandria, Virginia, is dedicated to preserving and studying the City's rich archaeological heritage. We seek to foster within residents and visitors a connection between the past and present by sharing our interpretations of Alexandria's history. We do this in many ways – in our Alexandria Archaeology Museum on the third floor of the Torpedo Factory Arts Center, through lessons based on archaeological sites and collections, at events throughout the City, and through partnerships with the community. The Alexandria Archaeology Publications Series is another way we make history accessible and is composed of papers on aspects of research conducted under the auspices of Alexandria Archaeology. The authors include historians, archaeologists, students, and Alexandria Archaeology volunteers. Editing of the papers has been kept to a minimum. Publications vary in tone and level of technicality depending on the intended audience.

Each publication began with a question about the past. Each conclusion gets us closer to understanding Alexandria's past. We are pleased to share the papers within this series – including professional conference papers, background documentary studies, student course papers, and volunteer research papers – to professionals and public alike.

I anticipate that the reader will take away two important points from this historical documentary study of 1207 Duke St. First, historical accuracy matters and is something worth continually striving for. Through this effort towards accuracy, the photograph of a Black woman holding a basket and standing in front of a tree previously attributed to the Alexandria Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street is now known to have been taken against the backdrop of another site associated with the trafficking of people in the domestic slave trade one block to the east. Second, we are still working to understand what it meant for Alexandria to be complicit in and a major site of the domestic slave trade and how it affected generations of enslaved and free people. That research continues through this report and ongoing work in Alexandria Archaeology and the Office of Historic Alexandria.

Eleanor Breen, PhD, RPA  
City Archaeologist

2026



## Contents

|                                                                                           |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Forward</b> .....                                                                      | 3  |
| <b>Introduction</b> .....                                                                 | 5  |
| <b>History of 1207 Duke Street</b> .....                                                  | 8  |
| Charles LeCount Nevitt (1809-1815).....                                                   | 8  |
| Anderson & Preston (1815-1820).....                                                       | 16 |
| Thomas Preston (1820-1834).....                                                           | 19 |
| The Estate of Thomas Preston (1834-1847) .....                                            | 21 |
| George Kephart and Robert N. Windsor (1847-1852).....                                     | 23 |
| George Kephart and the Estate of Robert N. Windsor (1852-1854).....                       | 29 |
| The Windsor Sisters (Rosanna, Elizabeth, Mary Jane, Susan, and Martha) (1854-1859) .....  | 38 |
| Walker R. Millan and Alexander S. Grigsby (1859-1861).....                                | 43 |
| The Civil War (1861-1865) .....                                                           | 56 |
| Confusing the Slave Pens at 1315 Duke Street, 1207 Duke Street, and 1707 Duke Street..... | 66 |
| Post-Civil War and into the Present (1865-present).....                                   | 71 |
| <b>Conclusion</b> .....                                                                   | 73 |
| <b>Bibliography</b> .....                                                                 | 74 |
| <b>Appendix 1</b> .....                                                                   | 82 |
| <b>Appendix 2</b> .....                                                                   | 87 |

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## Introduction

This building and property history report presents a partial property history of 1207 Duke Street, located in Alexandria, Virginia (Figure 1). The building at 1207 Duke Street was built between 1809 and 1811 as a two-story, Federal-style detached brick dwelling located on the north side of Duke Street and on the block bounded by Duke, Prince, Fayette, and Payne Streets. Located one block to the east of the better-known slave-trading offices and jail at 1315 Duke Street, this report will show that 1207 Duke Street was also used as a site of the domestic slave trade to traffic enslaved individuals from the Chesapeake to the Deep South. The building was gutted by a fire that broke out early in the morning October 21, 1862, and while the interior (especially in the main block) was likely a total loss, the brick exterior appears to have survived with relatively minor changes.

This work has been prompted by the positive identification of a Civil War-era photograph frequently misattributed to 1315 Duke Street and the Price, Birch & Co slave pen located there (see cover image and Figure 32). This parcel, one block east of 1315 Duke Street, was briefly discussed at several points in the 1315 Duke Street Building History report (Skolnik 2021), but the significance of the property at 1207 Duke Street was not then recognized, nor was its history detailed in that report, nor were the



Figure 1. 1207 Duke Street, July 2026.

connections between 1207 and 1315 Duke Street explored therein.<sup>1</sup> This report serves as a research addendum to this larger history of the slave jail at 1315 Duke Street.

Like 1315 Duke Street, the two-story brick building at 1207 Duke Street was originally built in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as a Federal-style residence on the outskirts of town. It became entangled with the domestic slave trade on July 3, 1847 when it was put up for sale at public auction by court order and purchased by Alexandria-based slave trader George Kephart (with his clerk and bookkeeper Robert N. Windsor acting as the purchasing agent for the transaction).<sup>2</sup> The specific uses of this building and property by slave traders Kephart and Windsor are not clearly understood at this time, but Windsor (and possibly also Kephart) likely used it as a residence until Windsor's death in February 1852. Between 1852 and 1859, no association between this property and the domestic slave trade has been uncovered except that it continued to be owned by Windsor's heirs. From 1859 (possibly as early as March 1, 1859, but certainly by August 27, 1859) to the start of the Civil War, 1207 Duke Street was used by slave traders Walker R. Millan (and likely his business partner Alexander S. Grigsby) as a slave pen or jail, much like 1315 Duke Street, where Millan operated between 1855 and early 1859. The property was still associated with Windsor, Millan, and Grigsby when the *Alexandria Gazette* reported the building had burned on October 21, 1862, ten years after Windsor's death.<sup>3</sup>

Given the association of at least four known slave traders with this site and the presence of an enclosed brick yard secured with an iron-grated door in several Civil War-era photographs (one of which is frequently captioned with the words "Alexandria" and "slave pen"), it is almost certain that this location was used as a site of the domestic slave trade. The best known of these photographs is a stereographic photograph attributed to Civil War photographer Mathew Brady (or his studio, catalog number 2300) and depicts an African American woman standing against a tree in front of a two-story brick building. Behind her is also a one-and-a-half-story brick-enclosed yard with an iron grated door, behind which are two Union army soldiers, posed and visible through the door. The caption associated with this glass plate held by the Library of Congress is, "Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Exterior view", and the accompanying notes specifically associate (erroneously) this photograph with the slave jail at 1315 Duke Street.<sup>4</sup> At least two other extant prints of this photograph title this scene "Slave Pens, Alexandria, VA." and provide a date of 1862.<sup>5</sup>

Placing this photograph at 1315 Duke Street is difficult. Given the two-story wing behind the woman and the placement of the window openings, the only place at 1315 Duke Street this photograph could have been taken is from the yard to the east of the central passageway; however, no other evidence for the

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Cover Image: Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Exterior view, LC-B811- 2300, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670637/>.

<sup>1</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021.

<https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> "Sheriff's Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 31, 1847, p. 4; Alexandria County Deed Book I3, p. 149-150.

<sup>3</sup> "Fire", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 21, 1862, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Exterior view", Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670637/>.

<sup>5</sup> "Slave Pens, Alexandria, VA", Historical Society of Pennsylvania, <https://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/objects/11250>; "Slave Pens, Alexandria, VA, 1862", Swann Auction Galleries, Sale 2377 – Lot 388, [https://catalogue.swanngalleries.com/Lots/auction-lot/\(MILITARY--CIVIL-WAR\)-PHOTOGRAPHY-BY-ALEXANDER-GARDNER-AND-M?saleno=2377&lotNo=388&refNo=700357](https://catalogue.swanngalleries.com/Lots/auction-lot/(MILITARY--CIVIL-WAR)-PHOTOGRAPHY-BY-ALEXANDER-GARDNER-AND-M?saleno=2377&lotNo=388&refNo=700357).

one-and-a-half-story brick-enclosed yard to the right of the woman or the protruding brick block to the left of the woman exists at 1315 Duke Street.<sup>6</sup> Locating this photograph at 1207 Duke Street resolves issues with this photograph identified in the 1315 Duke Street Building and Property History report and the Historic Structures Report. The one-and-a-half-story brick yard visible in the Civil War-era photographs of the site no longer survives, but much of the original architecture is still present at 1207 Duke Street and evidence of the former doorway leading from the rear ell to this yard is clearly visible at the back of the structure.

This report documents the early history of the building, from its construction by Charles LeCount Nevitt sometime between 1809 and 1811, to its gutting in a fire in the early hours of October 21, 1862. It pays special attention to the property's involvement in the domestic slave trade through its associations with four known slave traders, George Kephart, Robert N. Windsor, Walker R. Millan, and Alexandria S. Grigsby.

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<sup>6</sup> For more analysis of this photograph, see Skolnik 2021, pp. 145-147 and SmithGroup, *1315 Duke Street: Historic Structures Report*, 2021, <https://media.alexandriava.gov/content/oha/HSR1315DukeReport2021.pdf>, p. 551.

## History of 1207 Duke Street

### Charles LeCount Nevitt (1809-1815)

By 1796, the western limits of the town of Alexandria had been extended to half of a block to the west of West Street, and this included the future site of 1207 Duke Street (Figure 2).<sup>7</sup> The first owner to build on this parcel was Charles LeCount Nevitt. In *Historic Alexandria, Virginia: Street by Street*, historian Ethelyn Cox suggests Nevitt built the present structure “around 1809”.<sup>8</sup> An earlier draft of this passage suggests “around 1810” and her initial notes describe it as an “early 19<sup>th</sup> [century]” structure.<sup>9</sup> The Phase III archaeology report for the mitigation of the nearby Bontz Site (44AX103) and the United States Military Railroad Station (44AX105) by T. Ted Cromwell and Timothy J. Hills also suggests Nevitt started construction of this structure sometime after he purchased the property in May 1809 and that it was completed by the time the 1811 City tax assessment was conducted.<sup>10</sup>

The 1807 and 1808 Alexandria tax lists assess Nevitt for a two-story building somewhere in the city, however, as Nevitt did not purchase this property on Duke Street until May 31, 1809, these earlier entries were most likely not for 1207 Duke.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the terms of the sale from James Keith to Nevitt included a provision requiring Nevitt to:

...[erect] upon the front part of the said piece of Ground before the first Day of January next ensuing the Date of the presents a Brick Dwelling House at least two Stories high of such front not less than eighteen feet and such depth as he may think proper to make it and covering in the same and before the first Day of January one thousand eight Hundred and eleven finishing the whole inside of the said House



Figure 2. Location of 1207 Duke Street. Plan of the town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia, George Gilpin, 1798, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/91681006>.

<sup>7</sup> Shepherd, Samuel, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia: From October Session 1792, to December Session 1806, Inclusive...*, 1835, pp. 40-1, Chapter 32 – An ACT adding to the town of Alexandria, certain lots contiguous thereto, and for other purposes therein mentioned, [passed December 13, 1796].

<sup>8</sup> Cox, Ethelyn, *Historic Alexandria, Virginia: Street by Street*, 1976, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> See Ethelyn Cox Collection, MS287, Series I, Box 3, Alexandria Library Local History and Special Collections Branch.

<sup>10</sup> Cromwell, T. Ted and Timothy J. Hills, with contributions by Donna G. Akers, Bruce A. Hunter, and David L. Miller, *The Phase III Mitigation of the Bontz Site (44AX103) and the United States Military Railroad Station (44AX105) Located on the South Side of Duke Street (Route 236) in the City of Alexandria, Virginia*, James Madison University Archaeological Research Center, October 1989, <https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/sitereportcromwell1989dukestphase3bontzax103and105.pdf>, pp. 81-82.

<sup>11</sup> 1807 Alexandria city tax list, p. 19; 1808 Alexandria city tax list, p. 13; Alexandria County Deed Book R, page 305.

in such Style as may best suit him so as to be habitable...<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, the dates of initial construction for 1207 Duke Street can be bracketed by this May 31, 1809 deed from Keith to Nevitt and the January 1, 1811 date provided for in that deed. The 1810 City tax assessment is more specific than the 1807 or 1808 assessments (and organized geographically instead of alphabetically) and list Nevitt with a vacant house and lot on Duke Street valued at only \$1,000.<sup>13</sup> Given the property is listed as vacant and that the assessed value more than doubles the following year (see below), it would appear that the structure at 1207 Duke Street was still under construction at the time of this 1810 assessment.

Several months later after this sale of this property on Duke Street to Nevitt, in October 1809, Keith sold to Nevitt another parcel on the same block, this time at the corner of Prince and Fayette. As a part of this transaction, Nevitt used the property at 1207 Duke to secure the ground rent due to William Thorton Alexander.<sup>14</sup>

Until Nevitt completed the construction of 1207 Duke Street, he appears to have lived across Duke Street on property owned by William Hartshorne. A public sale notice that appeared in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette* on April 11, 1810 placed Charles L. Nevitt's residence in a frame dwelling on Duke Street between Fayette and Payne, but on the south side, not the north.<sup>15</sup> Cromwell and Hills state Nevitt was living in this frame house owned by William Hartshorne on the south side of the 1200 block of Duke Street until he could complete the two-story brick building now at 1207 Duke Street, which was supposed to have been completed sometime prior to January 1, 1811 as per the deed between Keith and Nevitt. They suggest Nevitt then continued to use this frame structure on the south side of Duke after construction finished at 1207 Duke as either an office or tenement.<sup>16</sup> In 1810, the trustees of William Hartshorne were assessed for a house and one square of ground (one block) valued at \$1,600 located between Duke and Wolfe (between Fayette and Payne) and on which Nevitt was listed as the occupant.<sup>17</sup> However, the tax list does not include an entry on the line below where Nevitt is listed as an occupant of this lot as is typical of these tax lists. Rather, Nevitt can be found on the previous page, residing in a two-story house, with seven tithables, two horses, one cow, one cart, and a two-wheeled carriage somewhere on Duke Street, but the specific location on Duke is not recorded. The other entries above and below Nevitt on this page of the tax list suggest between Washington and Columbus Streets and not Fayette and Payne Streets.<sup>18</sup> In any case, from the notation here, it is not clear which of these specific addresses Nevitt was residing in 1810.

Sometime prior to June 1810, Nevitt borrowed \$2,800 in banknotes (\$1,400 from the Bank of Alexandria and \$1,400 from the Bank of Potomac) which were endorsed by Thomas Preston. Nevitt then used his lot on the north side of the 1200 block of Duke Street (as well as another parcel at Fayette and

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<sup>12</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book R, page 305.

<sup>13</sup> 1810 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book R, page 509.

<sup>15</sup> "Public Sale", *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, April 11, 1810, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Cromwell and Hills, pp. 81-82.

<sup>17</sup> 1810 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 13; note, William Hartshorne did not die until December 13, 1816, so it is not clear why the property is being assessed to the trustees of his estate, see "DIED", *Alexandria Herald*, December 16, 1816, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*, p. 12.

Commerce Streets, Bloomfield Farm on Four Mile Run in Fairfax County, a lot in the Town of Nottingham in Prince George's County, Maryland, and a tract of land on Ten Mile Creek in Morrice Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania) as part of the collateral to secure this loan.<sup>19</sup> In addition to these pieces of land and “all houses buildings streets lanes alleys woods trees water water-courses profits commodities and hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said premises”, Nevitt also secured this loan with “also eight slaves to wit David, Abraham, Mesheck, Abeanego, Nace, Abigail, and Priss. And the further increase of the said Abigail and Priss” (Figure 3). It should be noted that this instrument states “eight slaves” but only lists seven in addition to any future children had by Abigail or Priss. In addition to the \$2,800 already borrowed, this instrument authorized Nevitt to borrow up to another \$2,200 if “[he] may in the course of his business find it necessary to procure further accommodation from the said Bank”. Cromwell and Hills suggest this loan paid for the tools, material, and enslaved labor necessary for brick manufacturing. The deed of trust further stipulated that in the event Nevitt was unable to pay his debts, Keith was empowered to place these listed properties (and people) held by Nevitt for sale at public auction in order to secure payment.

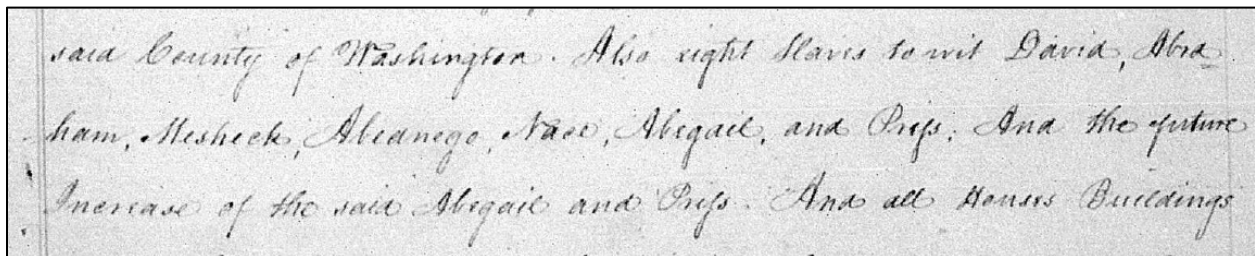


Figure 3. List of eight people enslaved by Charles L. Nevitt used to secure a loan. Alexandria County Deed Book T, p. 85.

The 1810 Alexandria City census lists Nevitt as a merchant and places in his household two white males under the age of 16, three white males over the age of 16, four white females under the age of 16, one white female over the age of 16, two free Black males over the age of 16, four enslaved Black males over the age of 16, nine enslaved Black males under the age of 16, and three enslaved Black females over the age of 16. Cromwell and Hill call this document a city directory and describe those people tallied under each row as employees, but this document appears to be an internal City census of all residents within each of the four City wards and is organized with one head of household on each row with their occupation and the members of their households (free and enslaved) and “employees” (again, free and enslaved) listed.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the corresponding Federal decennial census returns for the District of Columbia (of which Alexandria became a part in 1801) for the 1810 census no longer exist.<sup>21</sup> As described above, the 1810 City tax list records Nevitt with seven tithables at a location on Duke Street, but it is not entirely clear which property on Duke this records.<sup>22</sup>

Five days after the agreement described in the deed of trust that secured up to \$5,000 in loans for Charles Nevitt was reached, on July 3, 1810, Nevitt and his business partner Benjamin Baden placed a

<sup>19</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book T, page 81.

<sup>20</sup> 1810 Alexandria City Census, Ward IV, page 8, Alexandria Library Special Collections, microfilm roll 00025; note, this is the local census, not the federal census.

<sup>21</sup> “Early Census Schedules for the District of Columbia, 1790-1840”, National Archives and Records Administration, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/census/reference-reports/dc-1790-1840.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> Alexandria City tax list, Ward IV, page 10.

notice in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette* that announced their partnership, Nevitt and Baden, was “this day dissolved, by mutual consent”.<sup>23</sup> Their notice further stated that all outstanding transactions would be settled by Nevitt. Cromwell and Hills point to an advertisement in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette* suggesting Nevitt and Baden were flour merchants prior to this dissolution, operating out of Thomas Preston’s flour warehouse on King Street.<sup>24</sup> Another notice from October 1809 also placed their store on King Street.<sup>25</sup> Cromwell and Hills point to a June 2, 1809 agreement between Nevitt & Baden and brickmaker Richard Lewis regarding a previous debt from Lewis to Nevitt and a property on Washington Street between King and Cameron as the possible beginning of their [Nevitt and Baden] involvement in the brickmaking trade.<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Baden is of additional interest to the intertwined histories of 1315 Duke Street and 1207 Duke Street because thirteen years later in the 1823 City tax assessment, he was listed as the occupant of the former, the future slave pen of Franklin & Armfield, Kephart, and Price, Birch & Co.

In the 1811 tax assessment, the assessed value of Nevitt’s property on Duke Street more than doubled to \$2,500 and instead of being listed as vacant, Nevitt is listed as the occupant.<sup>27</sup> The assessed value of this property remained at \$2,500 through 1826, suggesting the initial phase of construction was completed by the time the 1811 tax assessment was conducted. Furthermore, the 1813 City land tax assesses Nevitt with a brickyard and places it here on the north side of the 1200 block of Duke Street.<sup>28</sup> In 1813, the City again assessed Nevitt’s two-story structure at Fayette and Duke at \$2,500, but also included the notation “27”, indicating Nevitt’s property fronted 27 feet along Duke Street (in subsequent years, this “27” would be replaced by a “26” in the 1814 tax assessment, which is the measurement found in the deed to the property; see below).<sup>29</sup> That same year, Nevitt also advertised for sale 300 casks of “1<sup>st</sup> quality Stone Lime” and noted he could be found at the “Upper end of Duke street”, suggesting ongoing brickmaking activity at the west end of town and Nevitt’s continued occupation of both sides of the 1200 block of Duke Street (see below).<sup>30</sup>

The City tax assessments continued to list Nevitt as residing on Duke Street in the two-story house valued at \$2,500, but by 1814, Nevitt appears to have run into financial difficulties.<sup>31</sup> The first hints came in March 1814, William Hartshorne advertised for rent or sale the lot “where Chas. L. Nevitt had a Brick Yard”, most likely indicating Nevitt was no longer in the brickmaking business at this point (or at least would no longer be operating the brickyard on Hartshorne’s property on the south side of Duke Street as soon as he sold it).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “Notice”, *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, July 3, 1810, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Cromwell and Hills, p. 81; “To Rent”, *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, April 8, 1809, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> “Lost”, *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, October 19, 1809, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 81-82. Alexandria County Deed Book S, page 139.

<sup>27</sup> 1811 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10; 1812 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> Cited in Cromwell and Hills, p. 82-83; however, it is possible Nevitt’s brickyard was located on the south side of the 1200 block of Duke Street on William Hartshorne’s property.

<sup>29</sup> 1813 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10; The notation indicating the property fronts 27 feet along Duke Street is probably in error. The following year it is listed as 26 feet and that is the current width of the property.

<sup>30</sup> “Lime”, *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, April 15, 1813, 3.

<sup>31</sup> 1814 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> “For Sale”, *Alexandria Gazette*, March 24, 1814, p. 4.

On May 18, 1814, James Keith and his wife Elizabeth sold to Thomas Preston and James Anderson the parcel adjacent to the east of 1207 Duke Street. This parcel measured 69 feet from the corner of Duke and Fayette Streets to the east line of Nevitt's property at 1207 Duke Street and 100 feet back to the same alley that ran along the north side of Nevitt's property. In this deed, Keith also laid out the two ten-foot-wide alleys on this block (one offset 100 feet from Duke and the other offset 100 feet from Prince) and the 46-foot-wide alley or court at the center of the block between them. Perhaps as a coincidence, Robert N. Windsor (see below) witnessed the signing of this deed.<sup>33</sup>

Then, on August 26, 1814, the clearest signs of Nevitt's financial problems became visible as he faced the loss of his property on the north side of Duke Street between Fayette and Payne (1207 Duke Street). The house and lot, as well as "several" (likely eight) enslaved people, were put up for sale by James Keith "by virtue of Deed of Trust"<sup>34</sup>. The following advertisement announced the sale on the pages of the *Alexandria Gazette* beginning a month prior, on July 26, 1814 (Figure 4):

#### NOTICE

By virtue of a Deed of Trust from Charles Le count Nevitt to the Subscriber, will be exposed to sale on Friday the 26<sup>th</sup> day of August, upon a credit which will then be made known,

*A Lot of GROUND,*

Lying on the North side of Duke Street, extending 26 feet upon Duke Street, and running back 100 feet to A 10 feet Alley. There is a well built Two story brick Dwelling House with Convenient back Buildings on the Ground.—The sale will commence at 12 o'clock upon the premises:

ALSO

At the same time and place, several SLAVES, for ready money, and on Saturday the 27<sup>th</sup> of the month will be sold also, upon a credit, a small FARM, containing 12 Acres, in Fairfax County—the sale at 12 o'clock On the premises. The public is cautioned against purchasing any Slaves of Charles L. C. Nevitt, his Slaves being all included in the Trust.

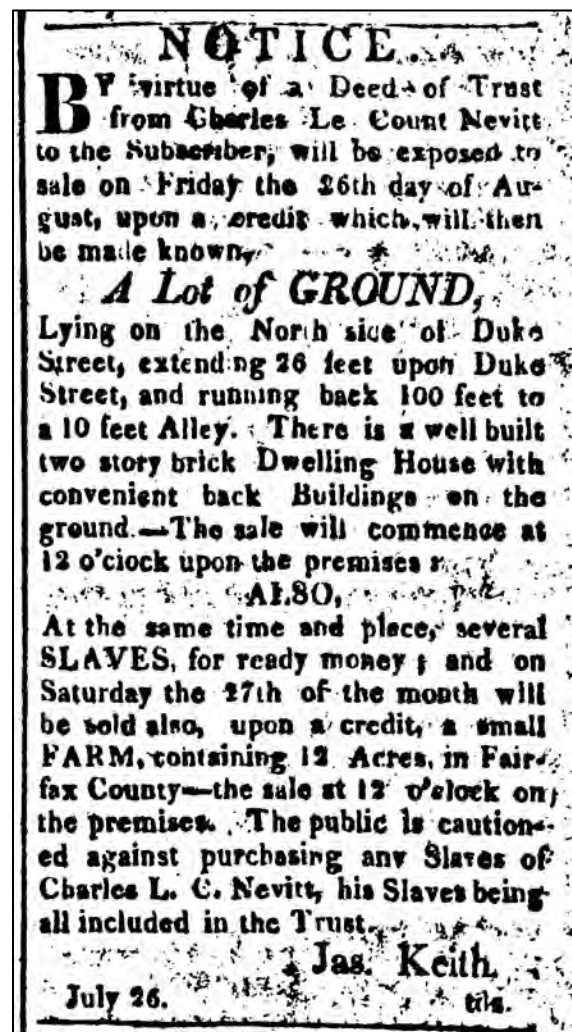


Figure 4. "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 26, 1814, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book B2, page 472.

<sup>34</sup> Not stated here, but almost this sale almost certainly stems from the deed recorded in Alexandria County Deed Book T, page 81 and discussed above.

Jas. Keith.<sup>35</sup>

This advertisement announcing the sale ran for a month prior to the auction. It included a description of the lot that matches the dimensions of the current lot (“A Lot of GROUND, Lying on the North side of Duke Street, extending 26 feet upon Duke Street, and running back 100 feet to A 10 feet Alley”), described a building that matches the present structure at 1207 Duke Street (“a well built Two story brick Dwelling House”), and also included several enslaved people for sale as a part of this public sale. These enslaved people were likely a part of Nevitt’s enslaved brickmaking workforce, at least some of whom were named in the original deed of trust<sup>36</sup> (Alexandria County Deed Book T:81).

It does not appear that Nevitt’s property on Duke Street was sold at auction as per the deed of trust in August 1814 (perhaps the proximity of the British naval fleet under Commodore James Alexander Gordon, which was on the Potomac River just below Fort Washington on the day the sale was supposed to take place, caused the trustees to reconsider), because the 1815 City tax assessment continued to place Nevitt at 1207 Duke Street.<sup>37</sup> He also posted another notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* that spring that noted he wished “to sell the *House & Lot* whereon [he] now lived” (Figure 5):

*Notice*

I WISH to sell the *House & Lot*  
Whereon I now live, and a small  
*Farm* on the Leesburg road, about two  
Miles from Alexandria—Also a *House*  
& *Lot* in the Town of Nottingham on  
The Patuxent River, on accommodating  
Terms—Possession to be had immediately.

Chas. L. Nevitt,  
Upper end of Duke Street<sup>38</sup>

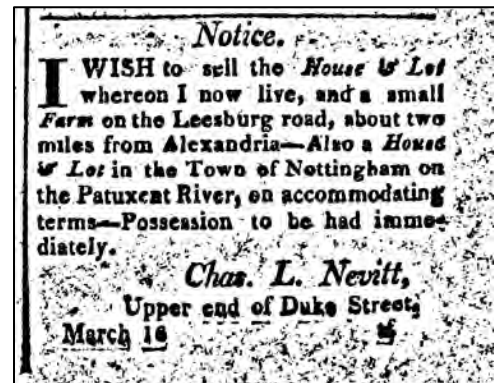


Figure 5. "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 21, 1815, p. 2.

Around the same time, James Keith also began running a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* that was similar to the one he ran the previous summer (Figure 6):

PUBLIC SALE.

On FRIDAY the 12<sup>th</sup> day of May next,  
Will be exposed to sale on the premises,  
A PIECE of GROUND lying on the  
north side of Duke-street and to  
the westward of Fayette-street, fronting  
26 feet upon Duke-street and running  
back 100 feet to a 10 foot alley. Upon  
the ground is erected a convenient two

<sup>35</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 26, 1814, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book T, p. 81.

<sup>37</sup> 1815 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 21, 1815, p. 2.

story brick house with back buildings. Also, a small tract of Land in Fairfax county, containing about 12 acres, known by the name of Bloomfield Farm—one-fourth of the purchase money to be paid in hand, and the balance payable in six, twelve and eighteen months by securing the payments in a satisfactory manner. *At the same time will be sold for Cash, SEVERAL SLAVES.*

This sale is made by virtue of a deed of trust from Charles L. Nevitt, to secure the payment of certain sums of money to Thomas Preston.

JAMES KEITH, Trustee.<sup>39</sup>

As the May 12<sup>th</sup> date of the sale approached, Keith added to the sale notice a tract of land in Washington County, Pennsylvania and another in Prince George's County, Maryland, one to pay Thomas Preston and the other Ephraim Gilman. As before, these properties and the enslaved people listed in these notices again do not appear to have been sold at public auction on May 12, 1815, as evidenced by the fact Keith placed another similar notice in the newspaper on July 25, 1815 (Figure 7):

#### NOTICE

BY virtue of a Deed of Trust from Chas. L. Count Nevitt to the subscriber, will be exposed to sale at public auction for ready money, on Monday the 28<sup>th</sup> day of August next,  
A piece of Ground lying upon the north side of Duke street and to the westward of Fayette street, fronting 26 feet upon Duke street, and running back 100 feet to a 10 feet alley:  
Upon this ground is erected a convenient two story brick dwelling house with back buildings—the sale to be on the premises:  
--at the same time and place will be sold

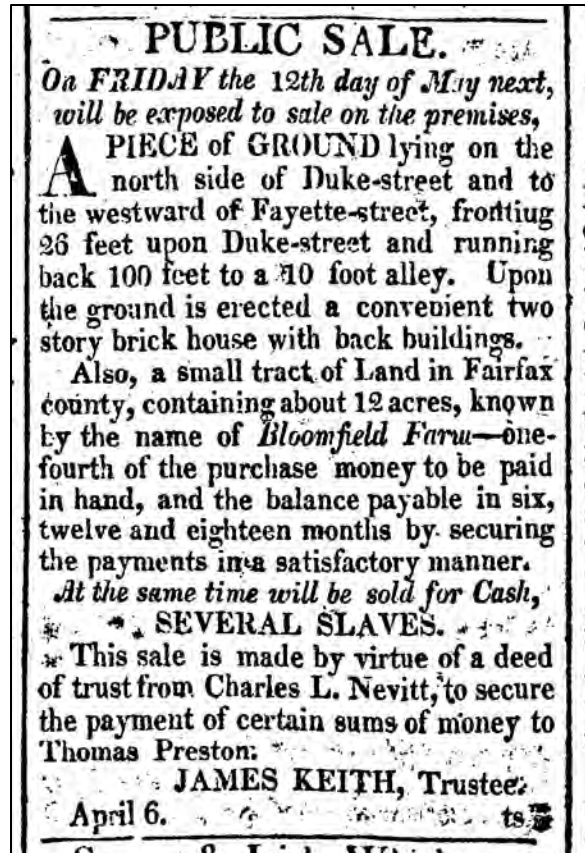


Figure 6. "Public Sale", Alexandria Gazette, April 6, 1815, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> "Public Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 6, 1815, p. 4.

a small tract of land lying in Fairfax county, containing about 12 acres known by the name of Bloomfield Farm.

ALSO

*At the same time and place*

Eight Valuable Slaves

ALSO, at the same time and place by virtue of a Deed of Trust from Charles L. Count Nevitt to the subscriber and Robert Gray, will be sold a *Tract of LAND* in Morris Township, Washington county, Pennsylvania, containing nearly 500 acres—ALSO, a *Lot of Ground and House* in Nottingham, state of Maryland.

JAMES KEITH<sup>40</sup>

In this version of the sale notice, Keith specifies eight enslaved people to be included in the sale. Keith does not name these eight individuals, but the original 1810 deed of trust provides for eight enslaved people (but names only seven individuals) as a part of that legal instrument (David, Abraham, Mesheck, Abeanego, Nace, Abegail, and Priss). It also included any future children of Abegail and Priss, but it is not clear if one of their children was included in this sale of enslaved people, or even if these original seven were still enslaved by Nevitt in 1815. The property on Duke Street was either sold on August 28, 1815 at this third sale to pay Charles L. Nevitt's debts or Thomas Preston was able to legally take ownership of the property by some other method to satisfy those debts. Cromwell and Hills report no deed was recorded for this transaction from Nevitt to Preston, nor could this author find one in the Alexandria County deed books. Preston already owned property in the vicinity of 1207 Duke. Just several years prior, in 1812, Thomas Preston and James Anderson together purchased property across the street from Pattison and Richard Hartshorne with William Hartshorne acting on their behalf, measuring 125 feet by 130 feet, on the southeast corner of Duke and Payne Streets.<sup>41</sup>

To highlight the extent of Nevitt's financial troubles, a week after the public auction on August 28, 1815, a notice ran in the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer* that announced Charles L. Nevitt as an insolvent debtor who was "confined in the prison of Washington county for debt".<sup>42</sup> The item in the paper gave notice to Nevitt's creditors that a trustee would be appointed and the oath prescribed by

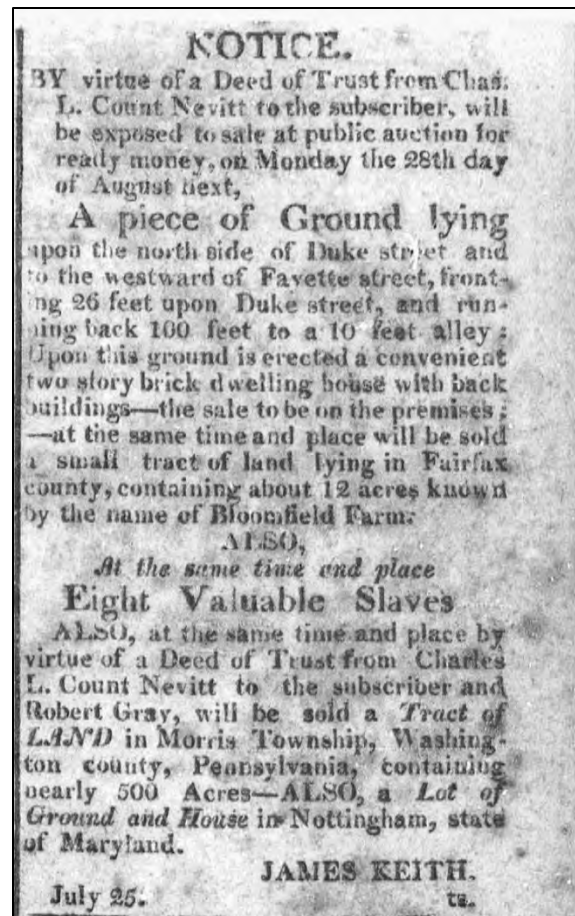


Figure 7. "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 25, 1815, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 25, 1815, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book W, p. 386.

<sup>42</sup> "In the case of Charles L. Nevitt", *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 4, 1815, p. 3.

“An act for the relief of insolvent debtors within the District of Columbia” would be administered. Passed in 1803, this oath reads:

I [name] do swear (or solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm) that I will deliver up, convey and transfer for the use of my creditors all my property that I have any title to or claim any interest in possession, remainder or reversion, and all claims, rights and credits that I have or am in any manner entitled to; and that I have not at any time sold, conveyed, lessened or disposed of for the use or benefit of any person or persons, any part of my money or other property, claims, rights or credits, thereby to defraud my creditors or any of them, or to secure the same with a view or expectation to receive any profit, benefit or advantage thereby.”<sup>43</sup>

From this sequence of events (Nevitt’s loan, the deed of trust to secure this loan that included the property at 1207 Duke Street and enslaved people as collateral, the series of public sales held by virtue of that deed of trust, and then Nevitt’s incarceration as a debtor and the administration of the debtor’s oath and the appointment of a trustee), it would appear that Nevitt continued to experience financial difficulties, attempted (or was forced) to sell this property in order to pay his creditors, but was unable to raise the full sum, resulting in his incarceration and status as an insolvent debtor. This was not the first time Nevitt ran into problems because of his debt, nor would it be his last. A similar notice ran in the *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* a decade prior on August 23, 1804, and would again several years in the future on January 29, 1822.<sup>44</sup>

The same month that Nevitt found himself in the Washington county jail for the second time (September 1815), James Keith advertised several other lots for rent on this same block.<sup>45</sup> He noted, “In the center of this square there is a spacious Aræ which will be forever kept open, several convenient allies lead into it—in this Aræ there is a well of excellent water, with a pump in it, the water no way inferior to the diagonal.” The lot at 1207 Duke Street, formerly owned by Nevitt, backed up to one of these convenient alleys which bordered this area, and it was partially on this space “which will be forever kept open” that the Contraband Barracks would be built in 1862 (see below).

### Anderson & Preston (1815-1820)

Following Nevitt’s loss of the property (whether by sale at public auction on August 28, 1815 or by unrecorded court order shortly thereafter), the 1816 City tax list records the firm of Anderson & Preston as the new owners of the house and lot at 1207 Duke Street.<sup>46</sup> The tax list also confirms this is the lot that measures 26 feet on Duke Street. Cromwell and Hills note Anderson & Preston (sometimes listed as Preston & Anderson) likely took over Nevitt’s brickyard in 1812.<sup>47</sup> They also note Preston was a founding member of the *Benevolent Society of Alexandria for ameliorating and improving the condition of the*

<sup>43</sup> *Acts Passed at the Second Session of the Sixth Congress of the United States: The Laws of the United States of America*, Vol. V, Samuel Harrison Smith, Washington City, p. 295.

<sup>44</sup> “In the case of Charles Nevitt”, *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, August 23, 1804, p. 4 and “On the petitions of Ebenezer Stout”, *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 29, 1822, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> “Notice”, *Alexandria Gazette*, September 16, 1815, 3.

<sup>46</sup> 1816 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> Cromwell and Hills, p. 83.

*People of Color* and conclude therefore would likely not have used enslaved labor in their brickyards.<sup>48</sup> The communicated views of the Benevolent Society clearly stated they had “no intention of interfering with the constitutional rights of slave-holders” and argued rather for a “course of gradual manumission and colonization”. Far from being staunch abolitionists in the mold of Arthur Tappan or William Lloyd Garrison, it was in their opinion “premature, in this stage of the investigation [1827], to propose a remedy for the evil [slavery].”<sup>49</sup> The 1820 U.S. Census records Thomas Preston enslaving three people in that year, a man 26-44 years of age, and two women, one 14-25 years of age and the other over 45 years of age.<sup>50</sup> The 1830 U.S. Census records Preston enslaving one person in that year, a male 10-24 years of age, and records two free African Americans in his household, another male 10-24 years of age and a female 24-36 years of age.<sup>51</sup> Membership in the Benevolent Society (and apparently also status as a founding member) was not a guarantee one would not use enslaved labor.

The 1816 City tax list also notes that the new tenant of the two-story brick house at 1207 Duke Street was Rebecca Neil [or possibly Nut]. Despite the change in ownership, the assessed value of the property remained at \$2,500. Anderson & Preston are also listed in this tax list as the owners of the corner lot adjacent to the east at the northwest corner of Duke and Fayette Streets. They had purchased this lot in 1814 (see Alexandria County Deed Book B2:472). Their lot here measured 69’ along Duke and 100’ back to the same alley described in the 1207 Duke Street property description. From the City tax lists and their deed to the property, their ownership of this corner lot goes back to 1814, but the 1813 City tax list records them as the owners of a property with the same dimensions (69 feet by 100 feet) located on the corner of Henry and Duke Streets, not Fayette and Duke Streets.

For the next four years, Thomas Preston is listed in the City tax lists as the sole owner of the house and lot on Duke Street; however, James Anderson seems to retain partial legal ownership of this property until early 1820 when his half-interest in the property was sold at auction (see below). Starting in 1817, Preston’s tenant at 1207 Duke Street changed annually, starting with Rebecca Neil [or possibly Nut] still residing there in 1817, then Daniel McPherson (1818), then William Ballanger (1819), and lastly Agnes Dundas (1820).<sup>52</sup> On May 23, 1820, Agnes Dundas, died “in the 50<sup>th</sup> year of her age”, and her funeral

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<sup>48</sup> For more on the views of the Benevolent Society in Alexandria, see a series of letters published in the *Alexandria Gazette* in the spring and summer of 1827 that touch on a wide range of the topics related to the institution of slavery; “Communicated. Views Of the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for ameliorating and improving the condition of the People of Color. No. 1.”, *Alexandria Gazette*, April 30, 1827, 2; “...No. 2. On the Comparative Cost of Free and Slave Labor”, AG, May 7, 1827, 2; “...No. III. Of the Causes Why Slave Labour is Dearer Than Free Labor”, AG, May 14, 1827, 2; “...No. 4. On the Political Tendency of Slavery in the United States”, AG, May 22, 1827, 2; “...No. 5. On the Effects of Slavery Upon the Education of Youth”, AG, May 28, 1827, 2; “...No. 6. On the Slave Trade in the U. States”, AG, June 22, 1827, 2; “...No. 7. On the Treatment and Manumission of Slaves in South America”, AG, June 27, 1827, 2; “...No. 8. On the Causes and Effects of the Revolution in Saint Domingo”, AG, June 30, 1827, 2; “No. 9.” AG, July 4, 1827, 2; “No. 10. On the Means of preparing Slaves for Emancipation”, AG, July 18, 1827, 2; “No. 11. On the Gradual Abolition of Slavery”, AG, July 21, 1827, 2.

<sup>49</sup> “Communicated. Views Of the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for ameliorating and improving the condition of the People of Color. No. 1.”, *Alexandria Gazette*, April 30, 1827, 2.

<sup>50</sup> 1830 US Census, Alexandria, Alexandria, District of Columbia.

<sup>51</sup> 1830 US Census, Alexandria, Alexandria, District of Columbia.

<sup>52</sup> 1817 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9; 1818 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9; 1819 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8; 1820 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

was held the following day at “her late residence, upper end of Duke-street” (which as evidenced by the tax lists, was located at 1207 Duke Street).<sup>53</sup>

Like Charles L. Nevitt before him, by the late 1810s James Anderson also ran into financial difficulties. And like Nevitt, Anderson was also confined to jail for unpaid debts (in this case, in Alexandria County, DC). A public notice similar to Nevitt’s appeared in the *Alexandria Gazette & Daily Advertiser* May 24, 1819 informing the public that Anderson would be administered the insolvent debtors’ oath and a trustee would be appointed for Anderson to sell his property in order to pay his creditors.<sup>54</sup> Despite not appearing in the City tax lists as the co-owner of the house and lot at 1207 Duke Street for these years, his interest in the lot was not sold until early January, 1820 when it was put up for sale at public auction in order to pay his creditors (Figure 8):

#### Public Sale

ON MONDAY, January 3, 1820, if fair, if not, on the next fair day, will be sold at the Exchange Coffee-House, James Anderson’s undivided moiety of a house and lot of ground, now occupied by Mrs. Dundas, at the North side of Duke street; the lot commencing 69 ft. west of Fayette-street, running thence Westwardly 26 ft. and then Northwardly 100 ft. to a 10 ft. alley. On this lot are an excellent two story brick dwelling house, a stable, a carriage house and a smoke house; the property being subject to an encumbrance which will be stated at the sale. Also, said Anderson’s undivided moiety of a house and lot of ground on the South side of Duke-street, the lot commencing at the intersection of Duke and Payne-streets; fronting 120 ft. 5 in. on Duke-street, extending 130 ft. back to a 20 ft. alley, and chargeable with an annual ground rent, for ever, of 125 dollars. On this lot is a two story frame house, and next it is a pump, which is supposed to yield the best water in town. Also, said Anderson’s undivided moiety of a house and lot on the north side of Duke Street, commencing at the intersection of Duke and Fayette streets, fronting on Duke street 69 feet, and extending 100 feet back to

**Public Sale.**  
**O**N MONDAY, January 3, 1820, if fair, if not, on the next fair day, will be sold at the Exchange Coffee-House, James Anderson’s undivided moiety of a house and lot of ground, now occupied by Mrs. Dundas, at the North side of Duke street; the lot commencing 69 ft. west of Fayette-street, running thence Westwardly 26 ft. and thence Northwardly 100 ft. to a 10 ft. alley. On this lot are an excellent two story brick dwelling house, a stable, a carriage house and a smoke house; the property being subject to an encumbrance which will be stated at the sale.  
 Also, said Anderson’s undivided moiety of a house and lot of ground on the South side of Duke-street, the lot commencing at the intersection of Duke and Payne-streets; fronting 120 ft. 5 in. on Duke-street, extending 130 ft. back to a 20 ft. alley, and chargeable with an annual ground rent, for ever, of 125 dollars. On this lot is a two story frame house, and next it is a pump, which is supposed to yield the best water in town.  
 Also, said Anderson’s undivided moiety of a house and lot on the north side of Duke street, commencing at the intersection of Duke and Fayette streets, fronting on Duke street 69 feet, and extending 100 feet back to a 10 foot alley. On this lot is a one story frame house in two tenements, and it is chargeable with an annual ground rent forever of 86 dolls. 25 cts.  
 Terms of sale CASH—and the purchaser to pay the back rents.  
 P. R. FENDALL, Trustee.  
 N. B. The creditors of Mr. Anderson are requested to exhibit their claims, and his debtors to make speedy payment to the trustee.  
 S. A. MARSTELLER, auct’r  
 Dec. 17 1819

Figure 8. “Public Sale”, *Alexandria Gazette*, December 30, 1819, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> “Died”, *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, May 24, 1820, 2.

<sup>54</sup> “District of Columbia, County of Alexandria to Wit”, *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, May 24, 1819, 3.

a 10 foot alley. On this lot is a one story frame house in two tenements, and it is chargeable with an annual ground rent forever of 86 dolls. 25 cts.

Terms of sale Cash—and the purchaser to pay the back rents.

P.R. FENDALL, Trustee.

N. B. The creditors of Mr. Anderson are requested to exhibit their claims, and his debtors to make speedy payment to the trustee. S.A. MARSTELLER auct'r.<sup>55</sup>

The notice listed the date of the sale as “January 3, 1820, if fair, if not, on the next fair day” but continued to run until at least January 10.<sup>56</sup> From the timing and details in the sale notice, it is likely this sale was required by the court-appointed trustee in order to pay Anderson’s debts, and it would seem that Preston was able to purchase his business partner’s half-interest in the property and structure at 1207 Duke Street, although no deed for this transaction has been found.

### Thomas Preston (1820-1834)

For the next 27 years (between 1820 and 1847), Thomas Preston (or after his death in 1834, his estate) owned the house and lot at 1207 Duke Street, along with the larger, 69-foot-wide lot adjacent to the east, situated at the corner of Duke and Fayette, and another 25-foot-wide lot adjacent to the west. These lots were occupied by a number of tenants, very few of which stayed at these properties for more than one or two years. The property and building at 1207 Duke Street can be differentiated from one or two other adjacent structures on the block being rented by Preston or his estate by the fact 1207 Duke is usually listed as a two-story building, whereas the other building or buildings on the property are only listed as one-story buildings. Furthermore, there is generally consistency between years in the assessed value for the 1207 Duke Street with several downward revisions as the assessed value decreased from \$2,500 in 1820 to just \$600 by 1847. Adding to some confusion here, the recorded location of this property is sometimes recorded as just Duke Street, sometimes as the corner of Duke and Fayette (especially beginning with the 1826 tax assessment), and sometimes (for reasons that are not entirely clear) at Fayette and Prince (1833) or Duke and Henry (1834, 1839, 1842). In these last two cases, the assessed value of the property does not change between the adjacent years and some tenants remain in the property between years despite the recorded location changing, suggesting the tax assessor made a mistake in recording the location of the property, or perhaps was grouping the 1207 Duke Street property with another property owned by Preston or his estate at that other location. In some years, it appears that multiple tenants occupy 1207 Duke Street, listed in the tax assessment lists with one story each.

See Appendix 1 for a summary of the occupants of these lots as recorded in the annual City tax lists.

<sup>55</sup> “Public Sale”, *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, December 30, 1819, 3.

<sup>56</sup> “Public Sale”, *Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, January 10, 1820, 3.

The following year, the 1821 City tax list notes Preston's house and lot on Duke as "empty".<sup>57</sup> In 1822 and 1823, the tenant at Preston's property was listed as Samuel A. Marsteller, the same auctioneer who conducted the sale of Anderson's moiety at 1207 Duke Street in early 1820.<sup>58</sup>

Charles L. Nevitt, former owner and builder of the house at 1207 Duke Street, died of "a pulmonary complaint, which he bore with manly fortitude" on April 2, 1823, just over a year after his third stay in jail as an insolvent debtor.<sup>59</sup> He had a wife and six children. Later that same year on September 19, James Anderson, former co-owner of 1207 Duke Street with Thomas Preston, also died.<sup>60</sup> From 1824 through 1826, the tenant at 1207 Duke is listed variously as "Mrs. Anderson", "Widow of Js Anderson" and "Widdow Anderson", possibly Leah Anderson.<sup>61</sup>

In 1827, Thomas Preston had two tenants at his two houses located at Fayette and Duke, which were listed with an assessed value of \$2,900 (likely a combined figure for the two separate houses and lots).<sup>62</sup> Both Hannah Harris and Nace Minor are noted as living in single stories and it's not possible to determine which (if either, or both) is in 1207 Duke Street. The following year (1828), Harris and Minor show up again on Preston's property here at Fayette and Duke Streets, each in a single story, but a Gerard Simpson is listed as the tenant of the two-story structure, suggesting the property at 1207 Duke Street was perhaps empty for the 1827 tax assessment.<sup>63</sup>

Of particular importance to OHA's research here and in regards to the domestic slave trade in the City of Alexandria, on May 15, 1828, one block west at 1315 Duke Street, slave traders Isaac Franklin and John Armfield advertise in the *Alexandria Gazette* for the first time that they have "leased for a term of years the large three-story brick house on Duke street, in the town of Alexandria, D.C. formerly occupied by Gen. Young".<sup>64</sup> They had leased from the Mechanic's Bank the former dwelling at 1315 Duke Street (possibly five days earlier on May 10, 1828), located one block west of 1207 Duke Street. For more on this property, see *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia* by Skolnik (2021) and *1315 Duke Street: Historic Structures Report* by SmithGroup (2021).<sup>65</sup>

In the 1829 City tax assessment, there is no tenant recorded as occupying a two-story structure on Preston's lot at Fayette and Duke and the assessed value of Preston's two lots decreased to \$2,300.<sup>66</sup> Instead, the tax list records four individuals as tenants on Preston's property, each occupying a single story. These tenants were Jaret Simpson, Sandy Bickerton (Colored), Nace Miner (Colored), and Sophy

<sup>57</sup> 1821 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> 1822 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9; 1823 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> "Died", *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, April 9, 1823, 3; see "Washington County, District of Columbia, to wit:", *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, January 29, 1822, 3.

<sup>60</sup> "Died", *Alexandria Gazette*, September 26, 1823, 3.

<sup>61</sup> 1824 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8; 1825 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9; 1826 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9; see also "Virginia to wit:", *Winchester Gazette*, June 14, 1823, 4.

<sup>62</sup> 1827 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>63</sup> 1828 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021.

<https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, SmithGroup, *1315 Duke Street: Historic Structures Report*, 2021, <https://media.alexandriava.gov/content/oha/HSR1315DukeReport2021.pdf>.

<sup>66</sup> 1829 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

Barnes. Jaret Simpson, possibly an alternate spelling of Gerard Simpson (the occupant of two-stories at 1207 Duke Street the previous year), is the most likely occupant at 1207 Duke in 1829, but he may have only occupied a single floor of that structure.

In the 1830 City tax assessment, Preston's tenant in the two-story structure at 1207 Duke Street is listed as Richard House and Nace Minor is still recorded at the property in a one-story.<sup>67</sup> In 1831, it was Edward Goodwin who was the occupant of 1207 Duke Street and Patrick Alexander in a single story on Preston's lot.<sup>68</sup> In 1832, it was William G. [or possibly C.] Spilman renting 1207 Duke from Thomas Preston and Sophia Ebb in a single story.<sup>69</sup> The occupant of 1207 Duke in 1833 could have been Samuel Tucker (the "Stories" field in the 1833 tax list which records how tall a building is appears to have originally been recorded as a "1" but overwritten to read "2").<sup>70</sup> Sophia Ebb (colored) was still present as a tenant of one story along with James Lee who rented another story from Preston.

### The Estate of Thomas Preston (1834-1847)

On April 6, 1834, Thomas Preston died at the age of 66.<sup>71</sup> After his death, it took more than a decade to resolve outstanding issues surrounding Preston's estate, possibly because of an 1823 lawsuit filed by the Bank of Potomac against Preston and Keith.<sup>72</sup> In the end, in 1847, the Sheriff of the County of Alexandria was ultimately directed to sell Preston's property at 1207 Duke Street (see below).<sup>73</sup> During this 13 year period, the annual City of Alexandria tax lists record the owner of the property at 1207 Duke Street as the estate Thomas Preston (or just "Thomas Preston est.") and capture the names of a number of tenants as they occupy the site.

In 1834, the owner assessed for the property here is recorded as either "Thos. Preston Jr." or "Thos. Preston Est.", suggesting the list was compiled (or at least updated) after Preston's death in April.<sup>74</sup> The tax assessor records three houses here for the first time but the assessed value of those houses and the lot remained at \$2,300. There are four tenants recorded here in 1834, each occupying just a single story: James Lee and Samuel Tucker both appear here again as well as Nelson Keen and Henry Broadback. Given that Samuel Tucker was recorded as occupying two stories the previous year and would again be recorded as occupying two stories the following year, it is possible he continued to reside in the two-story brick dwelling at 1207 Duke Street but reduced his footprint there to just one of the two stories with one of the other tenants residing in the other story, or, it is possible this is just an oversight on the part of the tax assessor.

In 1835, the estate of Thomas Preston was again assessed for three houses and a lot at Duke and Fayette Streets valued at \$2,300.<sup>75</sup> Samuel Tucker was again recorded as a tenant but returned to

<sup>67</sup> 1830 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> 1831 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> 1832 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>70</sup> 1833 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>71</sup> "Obituary", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 8, 1834, 3.

<sup>72</sup> See Arlington County Chancery Case 1842-004 Bank of Potomac vs. John Saunders Preston, ETC. [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1842-004](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1842-004).

<sup>73</sup> "Sheriff's Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 31, 1847, 4.

<sup>74</sup> 1834 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>75</sup> 1835 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

occupying two stories, suggesting he was in the two-story brick dwelling at 1207 Duke Street. Nelson Keene (colored) still resided in one-story on the lot and was joined here by Francis William (colored), who was also recorded as occupying one story. The 1836 tax list still records Samuel Tucker as renting the two-story structure from the estate of Thomas Preston and Nelson Keene (Colored) as renting one story on the same lot. Also residing in one story here was George Deck[et] (colored).<sup>76</sup>

In 1837, the assessed value of the property decreased again to \$2,000, perhaps a consequence of the general economic downturn caused by the Panic of 1837.<sup>77</sup> Samuel Tucker was again recorded as renting the two-story building and George Deck[et] (colored) in one story. In 1838, Tucker was still renting the two-story brick dwelling at 1207 Duke Street from the estate of Thomas Preston, but there were no other recorded tenants.<sup>78</sup> In 1839 and 1840, Tucker was again the only tenant at the 1207 Duke Street property belonging to the Preston estate, and it had decreased in value again to \$1,800.<sup>79</sup> Tucker was still there in 1841 but so was Amy Bushby, who had rented a single story from the Preston estate.<sup>80</sup>

By the 1842 tax assessment, Samuel Tucker was still residing in the two-story building at 1207 Duke Street and the assessed value of the property had decreased yet again, this time to only \$1,100.<sup>81</sup> Amy Bushby continued to rent a single story on the same lot from the Preston estate. In 1843, the assessed value of the property increased briefly for an unknown reason to \$1,500 and was occupied only by Betsey Colson [or Colton] (colored), who resided in just one story.<sup>82</sup> Given that Betsey Colson [or Colton] continued to reside in just one story the following year while the two-story structure was recorded as being occupied, it seems likely that the two-story brick dwelling at 1207 Duke Street was unoccupied at the time of the 1843 assessment and that Colson [or Colton] was in one of the one story dwellings (see below).

In 1844, the value of the property decreased yet again to \$1,000.<sup>83</sup> Betsey Colton (colored, and likely an alternative spelling of Betsey Colson who occupied the site the previous year) still resided in one story here. The two-story building at 1207 Duke Street was occupied by a tenant only identified in the tax list as “Wests”. In 1845, Betsey Colton (colored) continued to occupy a single story on the property of the Preston estate at Duke and Fayette Streets.<sup>84</sup> She was joined on this lot by Robert Lumbey (colored) and the Widow Tyler, each occupying one story each. Beneath Betsey Colton’s record in the 1845 tax list is a man named Simon Bailey (colored), with a notation that he was a “Slave to Benj. Hughes”. It is possible that Simon and Betsey were married and living together on the Preston estate’s lot despite Simon’s enslavement by Hughes. Both the 1846 and 1847 tax assessment list the property belonging to Thomas Preston’s estate at Duke and Fayette Streets as being vacant.<sup>85</sup> The assessed value in both years had dropped to only \$600.

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<sup>76</sup> 1836 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>77</sup> 1837 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>78</sup> 1838 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8.

<sup>79</sup> 1839 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9; 1840 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> 1841 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p.[9].

<sup>81</sup> 1842 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> 1843 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 7.

<sup>83</sup> 1844 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> 1845 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8.

<sup>85</sup> 1846 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8; 1847 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 8.

After Thomas Preston died in 1834, it took more than 13 years to untangle and resolve his estate. The disposition of his property at 1207 Duke Street was resolved as a result of an 1847 court ruling in *Bank of Potomac vs. Thomas Preston's Heirs*. William Minor, the sheriff of Alexandria County was directed to place Preston's property at 1207 Duke Street up for auction and did so on July 3, 1847.<sup>86</sup> The proceeds of this sale were to pay several debts accrued by Thomas dating as far back as 1820 totaling \$2,670 plus interest.<sup>87</sup> The notice that appeared in the paper announcing the sale read (Figure 9):

SHERIFF'S SALE.—By virtue of a writ of *fi. fa.*, which issued from the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery for the County of Alexandria, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1847, in the name of the Bank of Potomac vs. Thomas Preston's heirs, and to the Sheriff of the said county directed, I shall offer at public auction on the premises, *on Saturday the 3d day of July, 1847, at 12 o'clock*, for cash, all the right title and interest of Thomas Preston's heirs, in and to the following property, to wit:— A lot or tract of land lying on the Middle Turnpike road, adjoining the toll gate in the county of Alexandria. Also, on the same day, at three o'clock, on the premises, a brick house and lot on the north side of Duke-street, in the town of Alexandria, 69 feet west of Fayette-street, 26 feet front by 100 feet deep, with a ten feet alley in the rear. Also a lot of ground on the west side of Henry street, 100 feet north of King-street, 66 feet 7 inches front, and 27 feet with the right to a ten feet alley on the south.— Also a lot of ground on the north side of the last mentioned alley, binding on the alley to the middle of the square 58 feet 5 inches, and extending northwardly 66 feet 7 inches.

E. SANGSTER, D.S.

For W. Minor, Shf, Alex. Cy

SHERIFF'S SALE.—By virtue of a writ of *fi. fa.*, which issued from the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Superior Court of Law and Chancery for the County of Alexandria, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1847, in the name of the Bank of Potomac vs. Thomas Preston's heirs, and to the Sheriff of the said county directed, I shall offer at public auction on the premises, *on Saturday the 3d day of July, 1847, at 12 o'clock*, for cash, all the right title and interest of Thomas Preston's heirs, in and to the following property, to wit:— A lot or tract of land lying on the Middle Turnpike road, adjoining the toll gate in the county of Alexandria. Also, on the same day, at three o'clock, on the premises, a brick house and lot on the north side of Duke-street, in the town of Alexandria, 69 feet west of Fayette-street, 26 feet front by 100 feet deep, with a ten feet alley in the rear. Also a lot of ground on the west side of Henry street, 100 feet north of King-street, 66 feet 7 inches front, and 27 feet with the right to a ten feet alley on the south.— Also a lot of ground on the north side of the last mentioned alley, binding on the alley to the middle of the square 58 feet 5 inches, and extending northwardly 66 feet 7 inches. E. SANGSTER, D. S. my 31—eots For W. Minor, Shf, Alex. Cy.

Figure 9. "Sheriff's Sale", Alexandria Gazette, May 31, 1847, p. 4.

### George Kephart and Robert N. Windsor (1847-1852)

The highest bid offered for the 1207 Duke Street property at auction on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1847 was \$180 and made by Robert N. Windsor, acting in his capacity as the representative and agent for slave trader George Kephart. The deed made out to Kephart bounds the property as follows (Figure 10):

<sup>86</sup> "Sheriff's Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 31, 1847, 4.

<sup>87</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book I3, page 149-150.

...the tenement and lot of ground...being situated in the town of Alexandria + bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning on the north side of Duke Street sixty nine feet westerly from Fayette Street, + running westerly with Duke Street, twenty six feet, then northerly, parallel to Fayette Street, one hundred feet to a ten feet alley, then easterly, with said alley, + parallel to Duke Street, twenty six feet, then with a straight line to the beginning, with the right of way over the said alley + all other rights + appurtenances to the said lot of ground belonging.<sup>88</sup>

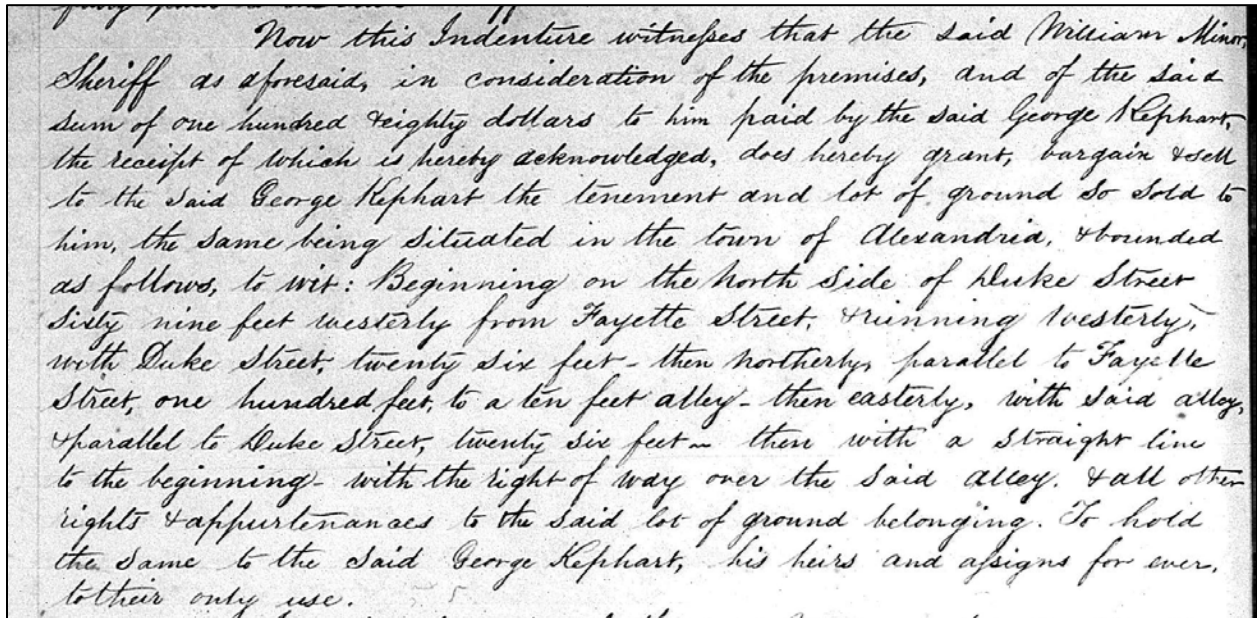


Figure 10. Description of the property sold to George Kephart, July 3, 1847. Alexandria County Deed Book 13, p. 150.

A week later, on July 10, 1847, the deed for the sale was made out and on September 6, 1847, it was recorded with the Alexandria court.<sup>89</sup> From the time of this purchase on July 3, 1847 by a pair of slave traders, the two-story brick dwelling at 1207 Duke Street would be entangled in the domestic slave trade until its liberation by the Union Army on May 24, 1861.

At present, it is not immediately clear how Kephart and Windsor used this specific property and how it functioned in regards to Kephart's slave jail at 1315 Duke Street, located just one block to the west. A number of sources between 1847 and 1859 connect Kephart and/or Windsor and his family to this property, but do not explicitly connect the property to the domestic slave trade except through its association with the slave traders Kephart and Windsor. It is currently unknown if the slave jail architecture visible in the Civil War-era photographs (iron bars, bricked-in doors and windows, and the tall, open brick yard) was built at this time (1847-1859) or during Millan's period of ownership between 1859 and 1861. There is no evidence to suggest this slave jail architecture was built at any point prior to 1847. From the available evidence, we can consider a range of possible uses, including: 1) an overflow or satellite jail that was fully integrated into Kephart's slave trading business at 1315 Duke Street; 2) a separate, but loosely affiliated slave trading business managed by Windsor; 3) short or long term housing for the employees and/or customers of Kephart's business; 4) Kephart and/or Windsor's

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

Alexandria residence and dwelling; or 5) a rental property completely unaffiliated with the slave trade except in so much it was also owned by a slave trader. Matters are also further complicated because it is sometimes extremely difficult to separate or differentiate these two properties from each other.

In the early summer of 1847, Robert N. Windsor was likely still in the direct employ of Alexandria slave trader George Kephart as his agent and bookkeeper. In addition to the language in the 1847 deed that describes Windsor “acting as agent for the said George Kephart”, Windsor and others testified in several court cases to this point, either directly or indirectly, having first worked for Franklin & Armfield and then stayed on with the business after Kephart took over in March 1837.<sup>90</sup> Windsor’s presence managing these businesses can be seen in surviving business correspondence.<sup>91</sup> Windsor can also be found listed as the slave holder or shipper on a number of slave ship manifests, although in some cases it is not clear if he is listed here in his capacity as the agent for Franklin & Armfield or Kephart or if he is trading on his own under his own name.<sup>92</sup>

In late October 1847, Horatio Harbin, then Kephart’s partner in the slave trading business Kephart & Harbin based at 1315 Duke Street, just one block west of 1207 Duke Street, placed a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* stating (Figure 11):

NOTICE—This is to notify all whom it may concern, that Robert N. Windsor is no longer the agent of Kephart & Harbin, nor is he any longer authorized to sign my name either as Kephart & Harbin, or as H. G. Harbin.  
H. G. HARBIN.<sup>93</sup>

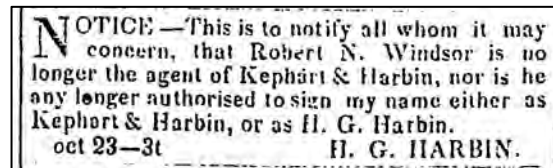


Figure 11. "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 23, 1847, p. 3.

The specifics behind what prompted Harbin to place this notice in the newspaper on behalf of himself and Kephart are not immediately clear; however, it helps to further establish that Windsor was working

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 150; see 013\_1835\_018 George Kephart vs. Thomas N. Davis &c, p. 3 for Windsor as the agent of Franklin & Armfield prior to working for Kephart; 059\_1846\_033 p. 9 George Kephart vs. Joseph Bruin for Windsor as agent and bookkeeper for Kephart in July 1842; 013\_1848\_013 Joseph Bruin vs. Nathaniel Gray &c, p. 14; 0040-0044 for Windsor being in the employ of Kephart since March 1837 as agent and bookkeeper, working as Kephart’s agent in September 1844.

<sup>91</sup> See for example letter from Robert Windsor to George Kephart dated July 26, 1839, Raritan Bay Union and Eagleswood Military Academy Collection, 1809-1973, box 1, folder 2. MG285.

<sup>92</sup> For manifests listing Robert N. Windsor as the slave holder or shipper, see *Schooner Susan Miller*, 11-29-1822, NARA; *Brig Uncas*, 9-29-1835, NARA; *Brig Isaac Franklin*, 11-20-1837, NYHS; *Katherine Jackson*, 11-13-1838, NARA; *Ship Potomac*, 11-26-1838, NARA; *Brig Isaac Franklin*, 12-22-1838, NARA; *Katherine Jackson*, 12-23-1839, NARA; *Schooner Thames*, 4-5-1842, NYHS; *Brig Lancet*, 2-18-1843, NARA; *Ship Alexandria*, 11-4-1843, NARA; *Ship Pioneer*, 12-2-1843, NARA; *Steamer Powhatan*, 7-9-1845, NYHS; *Steamer Powhatan*, 5-20-1846, NYHS; *Steam Boat Powhatan*, 09-25-1846, NYHS; *Steamer Powhatan*, 10-21-1846, NYHS; *Steam Boat Joseph Johnson*, 2-15-1847, NYHS; *Steamer Augusta*, 7-23-1847, NYHS. Many of these manifests are for ships owned by Windsor’s employers (the *Isaac Franklin* and the *Uncas*) or involve their known business partners (Thomas Boudar, Horatio Harbin, Robert Brashear, Thomas Jones, Nathaniel Boush, and others) and the contexts suggests Windsor is listed here in his capacity as an agent. Other cases, like the *Susan Millar*, predate Windsor’s employment with Franklin & Armfield or Kephart and suggest he may be acting in his own capacity. No manifests that list Windsor have yet been found that postdate the October 23, 1847 notice placed in the newspaper by Horatio Harbin, suggesting Windsor may have left the slave trade (or at least changed his role) on or around this date.

<sup>93</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 23, 1847, 3.

for Kephart prior to October 1847 and that going forward the working relationship between Windsor and Kephart had changed in some capacity. It is not clear if this was a fundamental reorganization of the business without Windsor or if Windsor continued with Kephart and Harbin with a change in duties and responsibilities. This took place in the context of several ongoing legal disputes between Kephart and his former employee Joseph Bruin, who had by that point left the employ of Kephart and established his own slave trading business at what is now 1707 Duke Street, and may or may not be related to these court cases or strained relationships between the parties.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps in response to the initial fallout from these lawsuits, Kephart placed a similar advertisement in the newspaper disavowing his previous employees, writing, “Bear in mind, all former agents, are not doing business for me,” but the timing in this instance suggests Kephart is singling out Bruin and not Windsor.<sup>95</sup>

The partnership between Harbin and Kephart continued until May 1, 1848, but it is not clear if Windsor was still employed with the firm or if he was operating independently at this time.<sup>96</sup> While Windsor appears to have signed some of the ship manifests on behalf of his employers, only one manifest with Windsor’s name on it has been identified that dates to after Windsor’s acquisition of 1207 Duke Street on behalf of Kephart, and no manifests have yet been identified with Windsor’s name after the summer of 1847, suggesting that Harbin’s advertisement might correspond with Windsor’s departure from the slave trade.

So while Kephart’s name is on the deed for 1207 Duke Street from Alexandria County Sheriff William Minor and while Windsor was no longer authorized to act as the agent for Harbin or Kephart & Harbin, the 1848 city tax list records Robert Windsor as the proprietor of the two-story house and lot at Duke and Fayette Streets for which Kephart holds the deed.<sup>97</sup> The assessed value of the property doubled from the previous year to \$1,200. Furthermore, there is an additional notation on the tax list that indicates “House to G. Kephart [sic]”, but Kephart is not listed on the following line as a tenant, nor are either here noted to be slave dealers the way the tax assessor indicates for Harbin & Kephart at 1315 Duke Street.

This increase in assessed value of the property marks the beginning of a period between 1847 and 1854 that saw the assessed value of the 1207 Duke Street increase fivefold from \$600 to \$3,000. While this study has not uncovered any positive evidence that Kephart and Windsor were using this property to conduct their domestic slave trading business that was also being conducted one block to the west at 1315 Duke Street (the only exception being a singular reference to a “brick yard” in Windsor’s estate inventory [see below]), the possibility exists that this increase represented their construction of slave jail infrastructure at 1207 Duke Street like the tall brick walls, iron-grated doors, and barred and bricked-in windows visible in the Civil War-era photographs of the site. A similar, sudden increase in the assessed value of 1315 Duke Street occurs between 1833 and 1836 when it almost doubles from \$3,600 to \$7,000.<sup>98</sup> Perhaps not coincidentally, that increase corresponds to a period that also sees interest in the

<sup>94</sup> See especially 059\_1846\_033 George Kephart vs. Joseph Bruin and 013\_1848\_013 Joseph Bruin vs. Nathaniel Gray &c.

<sup>95</sup> “Negroes Wanted”, *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1843, p. 4.

<sup>96</sup> “Public Sale of Valuable Property”, *Alexandria Gazette*, April 14, 1848, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> 1848 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>98</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021.

<https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>; pp. 46-47.

slave jail at 1315 Duke Street by northern abolitionists and foreign visitors, a number of whom who wrote about their visits to the jail (no similar accounts of this jail at 1207 Duke have been found that predate the Civil War). One interpretation is that the increase in assessed value was a result of the construction of the slave jail infrastructure visible in the 1836 broadside image of 1315 Duke Street and subsequent Civil War-era photography. It is possible that this fivefold increase in assessed value at 1207 Duke Street between 1847 and 1854 represents a similar investment in slave jail architecture there, but no other supporting evidence of a building phase has been found, nor do any of the owners or tenants at the site between 1854 and 1859 have any known connection to the domestic slave trade (beyond Robert N. Windsor's daughters connection to the trade by virtue of being the daughters of a slave trader). The City tax lists for this period specifically note that George Kephart and the occupants of 1315 Duke Street are slave dealers whereas they do not for Windsor at 1207 Duke Street.

In the 1849 and 1850 City tax lists, Windsor is again listed as the proprietor of this house and lot at Fayette and Duke (the 1850 tax assessment uses a ditto mark here that seems to indicate Fayette and Henry, which are two parallel streets that do not cross and is likely an error) despite the previous deed made out in Kephart's name in 1847.<sup>99</sup> Again, there is a notation that indicates the "House to Kephart" but Kephart is not listed on the following line as a tenant. The assessed value of the house and lot increased again to \$1,500 these two years.

In the 1850 United States Census, the household of Robert N. Windsor can be found directly above James G. Cobb and Cornelius Martin (Figure 12).<sup>100</sup> These two men are listed as "Agents for George Kephart/Dealers in Slaves" and the value of the real estate here is listed as \$7000. This is the same value assessed for 1315 Duke Street in the 1850 City tax assessment, in which Martin is also listed as the occupant.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, these two men are almost certainly residing at Kephart's slave jail located at 1315 Duke Street at the time of the 1850 Census, possibly in the rooms on the second or third floor of the main block. Listed two households above Windsor's is the household of William B. Richards, who had a house on the 1100 block of Duke Street.<sup>102</sup> This would place Robert N. Windsor's household in between, on the 1200 block of Duke Street, where the 1207 Duke Street property is located. Listed in Windsor's household are two of his unmarried daughters, Josephine C. and Martha F.A. Windsor. His daughter's presence here would seem to suggest that Windsor is using this property as a residence and

|    |     |     |                      |    |   |  |                           |
|----|-----|-----|----------------------|----|---|--|---------------------------|
| 18 | 537 | 537 | Robert N. Windsor    | 65 | W |  |                           |
| 19 |     |     | Josephine C. Windsor | 21 | S |  |                           |
| 20 |     |     | Martha F.A. Windsor  | 13 | S |  |                           |
| 21 | 538 | 570 | James G. Cobb        | 60 | W |  | Agents for George Kephart |
| 22 |     |     | Cornelius Martin     | 19 | W |  | Slave dealer              |

Figure 12. 1850 U.S. Census, Alexandria Virginia.

<sup>99</sup> 1849 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.; 1850 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>100</sup> 1850 US Census, Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>101</sup> 1850 Alexandria Ward IV tax list p. 9.

<sup>102</sup> Richards' dwelling is labeled on "Map of the U.S. Military Railroad Station at Alexandria, Va.", National Archives: <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/305670>.

not solely as a business. Kephart, however, is not found in the 1850 Census returns for Alexandria, Virginia. Rather, he was recorded on June 1, 1850 as residing on his plantation in the Buckeystown District, in Frederick County, MD.<sup>103</sup> Kephart would frequently travel between his house outside Frederick, Maryland and a dwelling somewhere in Alexandria, Virginia, staying several weeks before traveling back.<sup>104</sup>

The United States 1850 slave census for 1850 listed Robert N. Windsor as enslaving one Black woman, aged 24 (Figure 13).<sup>105</sup> From the inventory of Windsor's estate taken two years later, this may be Cornelia. Windsor appears here on this census again between William B. Richards (1100 block of Duke Street) and George Kephart (1300 Block of Duke Street), strongly suggesting he is residing at 1207 Duke Street. Kephart is listed in this census twice, once as enslaving 40 people adjacent to Windsor, likely all being held at 1315 Duke Street when the census was taken on July 22, 1850 and again several pages later with 9 additional enslaved people, possibly at Kephart's residence when he was in Alexandria, the location of which is currently unknown.

In the 1851 City tax assessment, the assessed value increased again to \$1,700, but Kephart and Windsor switch roles and Kephart is recorded as the owner and Windsor is noted as his agent (but again, not listed on the following line as his tenant).<sup>106</sup> In May 1851, an advertisement ran in the *Alexandria Gazette* announcing the sale of two lots in the City as directed by the Alexandria County Circuit Court of Law and Chancery.<sup>107</sup> The sale was to take place on June 11, 1851 and the second of these lots was directly adjacent to 1207 Duke Street and was described as follows:

No. 2. A lot of ground on the north side of Duke street, beginning 95 feet west of Fayette street, and at the west wall of the brick HOUSE, occupied by Robert N. Windsor, and running west with Duke street 25 feet; thence north parallel to Fayette street 100 feet, to an alley 10 feet wide; thence east with said alley, and parallel to Duke street 25 feet; thence south, with a straight line to the beginning, with the right of way on

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 | 101 | 102 | 103 | 104 | 105 | 106 | 107 | 108 | 109 | 110 | 111 | 112 | 113 | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 | 120 | 121 | 122 | 123 | 124 | 125 | 126 | 127 | 128 | 129 | 130 | 131 | 132 | 133 | 134 | 135 | 136 | 137 | 138 | 139 | 140 | 141 | 142 | 143 | 144 | 145 | 146 | 147 | 148 | 149 | 150 | 151 | 152 | 153 | 154 | 155 | 156 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 160 | 161 | 162 | 163 | 164 | 165 | 166 | 167 | 168 | 169 | 170 | 171 | 172 | 173 | 174 | 175 | 176 | 177 | 178 | 179 | 180 | 181 | 182 | 183 | 184 | 185 | 186 | 187 | 188 | 189 | 190 | 191 | 192 | 193 | 194 | 195 | 196 | 197 | 198 | 199 | 200 | 201 | 202 | 203 | 204 | 205 | 206 | 207 | 208 | 209 | 210 | 211 | 212 | 213 | 214 | 215 | 216 | 217 | 218 | 219 | 220 | 221 | 222 | 223 | 224 | 225 | 226 | 227 | 228 | 229 | 230 | 231 | 232 | 233</ |
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Figure 13. 1850 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Alexandria Virginia.

<sup>103</sup> 1850 US Census, Buckeystown District, Frederick, Maryland.

<sup>104</sup> See some of the depositions taken in 013 1848 013 Joseph Bruin vs. Nathaniel Gray &c.

<sup>105</sup> 1850 US Census, enslaved schedule, Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>106</sup> 1851 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 9.

<sup>107</sup> "Auction Sales", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 5, 1851, p. 4.

said alley-subject to a rent charge of \$13.74 per annum, forever, and all arrears thereof and of taxes.

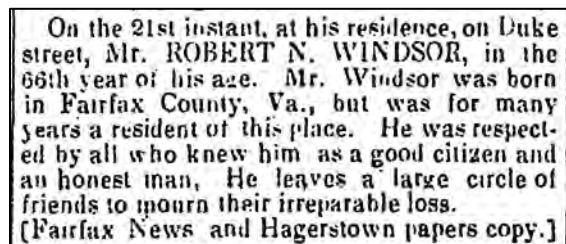
While this description does not technically confirm Robert Windsor was *living* next door to property number two at 1207 Duke Street, it does call the building a house (as opposed to a tenement [like the first property in the advertisement], store, jail, office, or some other description), says it was then occupied by Windsor, and confirms the location of the property by including a measurement of the western edge of this structure as 95 feet west of Fayette street (69 feet to the eastern edge of the 1207 Duke Street property plus 26 feet in width along Duke Street is 95 feet west of Fayette Street).

Also beginning in 1851, Kephart took several actions that together appear to have been an attempt to transition himself out of the slave trade. In April 1851, Kephart purchased Belmont, a Loudoun County plantation formerly owned by Margaret Mercer, and before her, Ludwell Lee.<sup>108</sup> On May 1, 1851, Kephart's ongoing business partnership in the slave trade with Benjamin O. Sheckell expired.<sup>109</sup> On May 29, 1851, Kephart purchased a property on Water Street between Princess and Oronoco Streets that he then operated as a lumber merchant jointly with Ulam Barker.<sup>110</sup> In October, he advertised the slave jail and several of his other Alexandria properties for sale in the *Alexandria Gazette*, but it does not appear that he sold the property at this time.<sup>111</sup> In the advertisement, Robert N. Windsor is noted as residing on Duke Street near one of the lots (the lot referenced is Kephart's slave jail at 1315 Duke Street, which would put Windsor's residence somewhere on Duke Street near 1315 Duke Street but not at 1315 Duke Street) and Windsor is listed as Kephart's point of contact for any interested parties. This also suggests that Windsor is likely using 1207 Duke as his residence, or at least a place of business. Furthermore, if Windsor is no longer working for Kephart at this time, the two are on good enough terms that Kephart felt comfortable with Windsor acting as his representative, showing prospective buyers his property and facilitating a potential sale.

### George Kephart and the Estate of Robert N. Windsor (1852-1854)

On February 21, 1852, Robert N. Windsor died at his residence on Duke Street at the age of 66 (Figure 14):

On the 21st instant, at his residence, on Duke street, Mr. Robert N. Windsor, in the 66th year of his age. Mr. Windsor was born in Fairfax County, Va., but was for many years a resident of this place. He was respected by all who knew him as a good citizen and an honest man. He leaves a large circle of friends to mourn their irreparable loss.



On the 21st instant, at his residence, on Duke street, Mr. ROBERT N. WINDSOR, in the 66th year of his age. Mr. Windsor was born in Fairfax County, Va., but was for many years a resident of this place. He was respected by all who knew him as a good citizen and an honest man. He leaves a large circle of friends to mourn their irreparable loss. [Fairfax News and Hagerstown papers copy.]

Figure 14. "Died", *Alexandria Gazette*, February 25, 1852, p.2.

<sup>108</sup> [no title], *Alexandria Gazette*, April 28, 1851, p. 2.

<sup>109</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 3, 1851, p. 3; note, Sheckell's last name has been variously spelled "Sheckle", "Sheckell", "Sheckles", "Sheckells", "Seckell", and "Sceckell". For consistency, here it will be spelled "Sheckell", as that's the name signed to this co-partnership dissolution notice.

<sup>110</sup> [no title], *Alexandria Gazette*, May 30, 1851, p. 2; "New Lumber Yard", *Alexandria Gazette*, September 12, 1851, p. 2; "Kephart & Barker", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 3, 1852, p. 2.

<sup>111</sup> "A Rare Chance for Speculations", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 11, 1851, p. 3.

[Fairfax News and Hagerstown papers copy.]<sup>112</sup>

It is not explicitly stated in the news report that this is at 1207 Duke Street, but from the above evidence it is a strong possibility. His death notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* noted, “he was respected by all who knew him as a good citizen and an honest man.” His profession and trade went unmentioned.

A month later, on March 23, 1852, Reuben Johnston, the administrator of Windsor’s estate, along with William B. Richards and James W. Atkinson, walked through Windsor’s residence and created an inventory of his personal property (Figure 15).<sup>113</sup> The entry in the Alexandria Will Book does not state exactly where Windsor’s residence was, but from the evidence presented here, it would appear that Windsor’s residence was at 1207 Duke Street and an analysis of this inventory generally conforms with the layout of this structure.

From the list of items in Windsor’s residence and knowledge of the physical building provided by later Civil War-era maps and photographs, the interior arrangement of Windsor’s residence can be deduced. The main block of the building appears to have been built as a common side hall and double room floor plan with the hall along the west side of the structure and the rooms on the east. Johnston, Richards, and Atkinson started in the front room of the main block, located in the southeast corner of the building, which was likely a sitting room or parlor. This room was heated by a hearth and two stoves. It was carpeted and had a sofa (not valued, but perhaps belonging to a person only identified as Jones [Thomas M. Jones was an agent for Franklin & Armfield based out of Easton, MD and it is possible this is the Jones referred to here]<sup>114</sup>), two clawfoot tables, two card tables, a dozen mahogany chairs, two gilt framed mirrors, and a spittoon. Also listed in this room are three window shades, although there are only two windows facing Duke Street on the south wall of this room and none on the east wall. It is possible these window treatments are not designed with one shade per window, but either in pairs or singly for aesthetic reasons.

From the parlor, the men stepped out into the stair hall or passage, located along the western wall of the house, which contained a hat rack, a lamp, and carpet, oil cloth, and a mat. Recorded later in the inventory as the party moves upstairs is carpet on the stairs and stair rods holding it in place. From the stair hall/passage, they move back into the dining room, located in the northeast corner of the main block, behind the parlor. This room is also carpeted and heated by a stove and a coal hod. The Civil War-era photographs of the building clearly show two chimney stacks, but the dining room does not seem to have hearth rugs or fireplace hardware like brass andirons, fenders, shovel, and tongs, the way that the parlor does. The room had two mahogany tables and covers, six cane seat chairs, a mahogany mirror, a secretary, a bookcase, and a lounge. There was also a clock and a pair of spittoons. The room was lit with both a pair of candle sticks and a pair of lamps. The inventory records two small window shades in this room, but there was likely only one exterior window at the rear of this room given the presence of the attached kitchen wing. At the end of this list of dining room furnishings appears crockery, glass, and

<sup>112</sup> “Died”, *Alexandria Gazette*, February 25, 1852, p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Alexandria Will Book No. 6, 1851-1855, pp. 78-79.

<sup>114</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021.

<https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>; p. 28.

| Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Robert N. Windsor, dec'd.<br>shown to us this 23 <sup>rd</sup> day of March 1852, by W. Richardson, Adm'r |                                       |      |  |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|--|--|
| Parlor                                                                                                                                           | 2 Parlor Carpets                      | \$25 |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Hearth Rugs                         | 7    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 1 Bg. Mahog. Chair                    | 16   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 gilt framed Mirrors                 | 7    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Pair W. Curtains & Pictures           | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 3 Window Shades                       | 1 50 |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Franklin Stoves                     | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Pn. bnf. Andirons                   | 5    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Tenders, shovel & tongs             |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Spittoons                           | 8    |  |  |
| Passage/ 1 <sup>st</sup><br>floor stairhall                                                                                                      | Sofa (Jones's)                        |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Claw foot B. Sables                 | 20   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Pair Card do                          | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Hat Rack                              | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Uphage Carpet Oil cloth & mat         | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | do Lamp                               | 1    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Dining room carpet                    | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | " " Rug                               | 50   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Secretary & Book case                 | 15   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Dining Room stove                     | 3    |  |  |
| Dining Room                                                                                                                                      | do clock                              | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 4 Waiters                             |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Candle sticks                       | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Lamps                               |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Coal Hod & 2 spittoons                | 50   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 6 Chair seat Chairs                   | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Mahog. Tables & covers              | 6    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Mahogany mirror                       | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 small Window shades                 | 1    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Lounge                                | 6    |  |  |
| Kitchen                                                                                                                                          | Set of Crockery, Clap & Britania Ware | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 1 doz Desert spoons                   |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Sugar Tongs & Punch Ladles          | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Kitchen Furniture & Utensils          | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Slave Cornelia                        | 550  |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Cooking & Washing apparatus           |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | & brick Yard & smoke House            | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
| Outside/yard/<br>outbuildings                                                                                                                    | Bee Hives, Coop, old Lumber           | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | old Iron, Jars &c. in cellar          | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Flour about 1/2 a barrel              | 1 50 |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | stair Carpet & Rugs                   | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 4th Stairs                            |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Front Room Carpet                     | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Bedstead, Bed, & Bedding              | 40   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Mahog. Dressing Bureau                | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Curtains & shades                   | 1    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Washstand & Furniture                 | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 6 rush bottom Chairs                  | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Dressing Bureau, back round           | 10   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Carpet                                | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Chair seat Rockers                  | 1    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Mahog. Washstand & Furniture          | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Bed, Bedstead & Bedding               | 20   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Mattress, Blankets &c                 | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 Window shades                       | 50   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Bedstead & Mattress                   | 4    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 3 Chairs                              | 75   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Writing Chair                         | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Bedstead & 2 Matt.                    | 4    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | a small Secretary                     | 5    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 2 beds, bedstead &c                   | 30   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Ladies Washstand                      | 1    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Wash stand & Crockery                 | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Rocking Chair &c                      | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 3 Curtains                            | 2    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Bedstead                              | 3    |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | Small Table & Mirror                  | 50   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  | 3 Chairs                              | 75   |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
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|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
| Given under our hands this 23 <sup>rd</sup> of March                                                                                             |                                       |      |  |  |
| W. B. Richards                                                                                                                                   |                                       |      |  |  |
| James W. Atkinson                                                                                                                                |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |
|                                                                                                                                                  |                                       |      |  |  |

Figure 15. Inventory and Appraisal of Robert N. Windsor's estate, annotated with possible room designations, Alexandria Will Book 6, p. 79.

Britania ware (pewter), six des[s]ert spoons, two sugar tongs, and a silver punch ladle. It is not clear if these were recorded in the dining room or if they were in the next room the men went to, the kitchen.

From the dining room, they appear to have walked north, out of the main block of the dwelling and into the attached kitchen wing. If the crockery, glass, pewter, desert spoons, sugar tongs, and silver punch ladle were not in the dining room, they were here in the kitchen. Also recorded in the kitchen was kitchen furniture and utensils and the enslaved woman Cornelia. From the kitchen, they go outside and into the basement under the main block of the building, recording a "cooking + washing apparatus + brick yard + smoke house" all as a single item, a bee hive, coop, and old lumber as a second entry, "old iron, jars. &c. in cellar" as a third entry, and about half a barrel of flour as a fourth entry. While the phrase "brick yard" could be used to describe the enclosed brick space seen in the Civil War-era photographs of the site that was used by Millan to hold enslaved people here, the available evidence

suggests Windsor was using this space as his residence and not a slave jail. Likewise, no subsequent tenants at 1207 Duke Street between Windsor's death in 1852 and 1859 have any known association with the domestic slave trade.

Furthermore, there are no other items in this inventory that suggest institutional use of this structure such as numerous plates or cups or bowls, chains, handcuffs, locks, iron doors, bedding material, blankets, clothing, or excess food beyond half a barrel of flour.<sup>115</sup> As a point of comparison, one can compare this inventory of items in the Windsor household to the items purchased by Rice C. Ballard for the operation of his Franklin & Armfield-linked slave jail in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>116</sup>

Alternatively, the Civil War-era photographs show a paved brick side yard to the east of the kitchen of 1207 Duke Street, or perhaps there was literally a small yard for making bricks at the rear of the property, left on the site by Nevitt and his brick making business. Furthermore, together, the cooking and washing apparatus, brick yard, and smoke house were only valued at \$10. Period estimates of the cost of brick in the 1850s are in the range of \$3-\$8.75 per thousand bricks.<sup>117</sup> Using the Brady photograph of the woman in front of the brick pen at 1207 Duke Street, we can very roughly estimate the number of bricks in that yard as follows.

Three approximately equal walls (the fourth (southern) wall of this yard is mostly formed by the north wall of the kitchen wing and is pierced by an iron-grated door on the part that is not part of the kitchen, and therefore contains much fewer bricks than the other three walls and will be ignored here to arrive at a conservative estimate) that are approximately 26 feet long (an average brick length of 7 5/8" plus a 3/8" mortar gives a dimension of approximately 39 bricks long), times sixty bricks high, times two bricks courses deep (looking at depth of the door frame, the wall may be thicker than this, but again, the resulting figure will be on the low end). This yields a conservative estimate of approximately 14,000 bricks that comprise this yard. As a point of comparison, the following year George Kephart estimated that the brick walls of the twin yards at the prison at 1315 Duke Street consisted of at least 150,000 bricks.<sup>118</sup> Using the low end of the period brick prices (\$3 per thousand) times 14,000 bricks yields a value of \$42. Granted, labor would be required to disassemble these brick walls and prepare them for reuse, but the combined assessed value of only \$10 for not just Windsor's "brick yard", but also his cooking and washing apparatus and a smoke house would seem to suggest the "brick yard" listed on Windsor's inventory is not the same brick yard (or pen) visible in the Civil War-era photographs, but perhaps referring to the paved brick yard space visible behind the woman in the Brady photograph or even a small backyard industrial brickmaking space leftover from Nevitt's occupation here.

<sup>115</sup> For list of material culture related to the operation of a slave jail, see Rice C. Ballard's expense book for his Richmond jail, Rice C. Ballard Papers, 1822-1888, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 04850\_0425.

<sup>116</sup> Expense Book, Rice C. Ballard & Co., Folder 0425, in the Rice C. Ballard Papers, 1822-1888 #4850, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>117</sup> \$3 per thousand, "New Building Material", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 19, 1855, p. 2; between \$5 and \$5.50 per thousand, "Brick Making", *Boston Recorder*, September 16, 1847, p. 148; between \$5.88 and \$14.50 per thousand, "A Brick Story", *Connecticut Courant*, January 7, 1854, p. 1; \$6.25 per thousand, "The Philadelphia News", *Pensacola Gazette*, December 8, 1849, p. 2; \$7 per thousand, "Brick Making", *Richmond Whig*, April 24, 1857, p. 1; \$8 per thousand, "To Architects", *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1857, p. 3; \$8.75 per thousand, "Forty Millions of Brick", *Baltimore Sun*, January 28, 1854, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> "Lot No. 1.", *Alexandria Gazette*, December 23, 1853, p. 3.

From the cellar, the estate appraisers went upstairs to the second floor to record a carpeted bedroom in the front of the main block with a bedstead, bed, and bedding, a mahogany dressing bureau, washstand and furniture, and six rush bottom chairs. In this room are also two curtains and shades for the windows. Behind this room is another carpeted bedroom with a bedstead, bed, and bedding, a mattress and blankets, two cane seat rockers, and a dressing bureau, and two window shades, even though this rear room only has one window because of the rear kitchen wing behind it.

From here, the remainder of Windsor's inventory appears to record between one and four additional bedrooms, at least one of which would have been located over the kitchen in the rear addition to the building, and possibly a second in the attic above the second floor of the house (although it is not known if the dormers and window in the gable end of the attic space were present here before the October 1862 fire). Included are five bedsteads, three mattresses, six chairs, a writing chair, a rocking chair, a small secretary, a ladies workstand, a washstand, a small table, a mirror, additional crockery, and three curtains. While the interior of the building was gutted by a fire in October 1862, perhaps future architectural research could determine how many additional bedrooms were located on the second floor of 1207 Duke Street. Robert N. Windsor's wife Sarah H. Windsor died in 1848, and his daughter Josephine was married to Lester Lloyd in 1852, leaving only Robert N. Windsor, his daughter Martha, and the enslaved woman Cornelia as the only known residents of 1207 at the time of Windsor's death.<sup>119</sup> The estate of Robert N. Windsor would not be settled until November 1858.<sup>120</sup>

Two days later after Johnston, Richards, and Atkinson inventoried Windsor's estate, an advertisement appeared in the newspaper announcing Windsor's "HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE &c." would be sold at auction at the end of the month.<sup>121</sup> The sale was held at "the late residence of Robert N. Windsor, deceased, upper end of Duke street, opposite the Rail Road Depot". The depot was located on the block bounded by Duke, Henry, Wolfe, and Fayette Streets and this description also points toward 1207 Duke Street as the location of the Windsor residence. The ad further specified the auction would encompass "all [Windsor's] HOUSEHOLD AND KITCEHN FURNITURE, comprising the usual variety, and generally in excellent condition".

On July 7, 1852, an item appeared in the newspaper advertising a crop of oats ready to harvest, "lying on Duke Street, west of the residence of the late Robert N. Windsor."<sup>122</sup> No additional location information is provided in the advertisement, but it further specifies the crop sat on a lot approximately one and a quarter acres in size, or 62.5% of a standard City block, suggesting a large open space to the west of Windsor's residence, which is consistent with what is known about this block. While the advertisement does not further specify where these 1.25 acres were except that they were on Duke Street to the west of Windsor's former residence, extending the western property line of 1207 Duke

<sup>119</sup> See "Died", *Alexandria Gazette*, August 21, 1848, p. 3; 1850 US Census; "Married", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 20, 1852, p. 3; and Robert N. Windsor's list of personal property located in Alexandria Will Book No. 6, 1851-1855, pp. 78-79.

<sup>120</sup> Arlington County (Va.) Chancery Causes, William H. Miller, ETC vs. ADMR of Robert N. Windsor, ETC, 013-1858-028, Local Government Records Collection, Arlington Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1858-028](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1858-028), p. 6; see also "In Alexandria Circuit Court", *Alexandria Gazette*, August 21, 1856, p. 2; "Commissioner's Office", *Alexandria Gazette*, February 5, 1857, p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> "Auction Sales", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 25, 1852, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> "Oats at Auction", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 7, 1852, p. 3.

Street north through the rest of the block divides the block into two unequal halves, the western of which measures 1.258 acres in area, or 62.9% of the block, just over what the advertisement estimated.

In that year's tax assessment (1852), the assessed value of the property increased yet again to \$2,000 and Kephart was again listed as the owner of the property at 1207 Duke Street. Windsor was listed to the right on the page as his "Late agent".<sup>123</sup> Also listed as a tenant in the two-story structure was John Crockford. Given Windsor's death in February 1852 and the sale of his household furniture in March, it would appear likely that "late" here is in reference to Windsor himself and not just his employment as Kephart's former agent. Also given Crockford's inclusion as the tenant and not Windsor or Kephart as had been the case since Kephart's purchase in 1847, it would further suggest this tax list was compiled after Windsor's death and reflects the building's new use as Crockford's residence.

John Crockford first appears in Alexandria as early as March 31, 1851 when his name is included in a list of letters remaining in the post office.<sup>124</sup> Several weeks later, it was announced that Crockford had begun the work laying rails on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, starting on Union Street and proceeding west and south toward Culpeper Court House.<sup>125</sup> By June 21, 1851, six miles of track had been laid and cars began departing Alexandria Station.<sup>126</sup> Given this employment, 1207 Duke Street, located across Duke from the railroad depot, would have been a convenient location for Crockford to reside. The line from Alexandria was complete to within a half mile of Culpeper by the end of October 1852 and trains were arriving and departing Culpeper station by January 1853.<sup>127</sup> It was later reported that Crockford's work on the Orange and Alexandria [and Manassas Gap] Railroad "gave entire satisfaction, having fulfilled his engagements in the most prompt and energetic manner".<sup>128</sup> All available evidence suggests that during his time in Alexandria (including while renting 1207 Duke Street from the estate of Robert Windsor), Crockford was engaged as an engineer for the railroad. No evidence yet uncovered points to any involvement on his part in the domestic slave trade.

The following year, in 1853, George Kephart was originally written in as the owner of the lot at Duke and Fayette, but his name was crossed out and replaced with "Robt Windsor Est.". To the right is a notation that simply reads "Agent". Crockford again appears here as a tenant in two stories and the assessed value increased to \$2,400.<sup>129</sup>

Also in 1853, Kephart appears to renew his efforts to get out of the slave trade and again listed some of his property in Alexandria for sale (Figures 16 and 17).<sup>130</sup> The advertisement that appeared in the newspaper subdivided this property into 23 separate lots across at least two blocks, however, there are some discrepancies here that cannot immediately be resolved. This advertisement places Kephart's property for sale as being between Fayette and West Streets and on the block west of West Street, an area that encompasses the 1200, 1300, and 1400 blocks of Duke Street.

<sup>123</sup> 1852 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10.

<sup>124</sup> "List of Letters", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 1, 1851, p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> "Alexandria", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 9, 1851, p. 2; [no title], *Alexandria Gazette*, April 11, 1851, p. 2.

<sup>126</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, June 21, 1851, p. 4.

<sup>127</sup> "Local Items", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 30, 1852, p. 3; "Orange and Alexandria Railroad", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 20, 1853, p. 4.

<sup>128</sup> [no title], *Alexandria Gazette*, March 4, 1857, p. 2.

<sup>129</sup> 1853 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 11.

<sup>130</sup> "Valuable Property at Auction", *Alexandria Gazette*, December 12, 1853, p. 3.

## VALUABLE PROPERTY AT AUCTION.

Will be sold on the premises, on Wednesday, the 28th instant, at 12 o'clock, the following valuable Lots of Ground, in the city of Alexandria, viz:

Lot No. 1. That valuable two-story brick DWELLING HOUSE and LOT of GROUND, situated at the upper end of Duke Street between West and Fayette streets, belonging to Mr. George Kephart, in front on Duke street, 122 feet and running back 100 feet to a 15 feet [foot?] alley and court of 46 feet, together with all the

extensive stables and out houses, fine pump of water in the yard, &c., &c., with several brick walls attached, estimated to contain at least 150,000 brick. This property affords a rare chance to any one wanting a comfortable residence, or from its proximity to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Depot, it might readily be converted into a valuable Tavern. Also at the same time and place the following valuable lots, viz:

Lot No 2. At the intersection of West and Duke streets, in front on Duke 20 feet, and running back on West 100 feet to a 15 feet [foot?] alley.

Nos. 3, 4, and 5, east of No. 2, each fronting on Duke street 19 feet, and in depth the same as No. 2, and to same alley.

No 6. At the intersection of Duke and Fayette streets, in front on Duke 24 feet, and running back 100 feet to the aforesaid alley.

No. 7 west of No. 6 and of the same dimensions.

Nos. 8, 9, and 10, each fronting on east side of West street 20 feet 7 inches, and running back 100 feet to a court 46 feet 11 inches wide.

Nos. 11, 12, and 13 on Fayette street, of same dimensions as 8, 9, and 10, and running back to same court.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, each 22 feet in front on Duke street, and to the westward of

**VALUABLE PROPERTY AT AUCTION.**  
Will be sold on the premises, on Wednesday, the 28th instant, at 12 o'clock, the following valuable Lots of Ground, in the city of Alexandria, viz:

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Lot No. 2. At the intersection of West and Duke streets, in front on Duke 20 feet, and running back on West 100 feet to a 15 feet alley.

Nos. 3, 4, and 5, east of No. 2, each fronting on Duke street 19 feet, and in depth the same as No. 2, and to same alley.

No 6. At the intersection of Duke and Fayette streets, in front on Duke 24 feet, and running back 100 feet to the aforesaid alley.

No. 7 west of No. 6 and of the same dimensions.

Nos. 8, 9, and 10, each fronting on east side of West street 20 feet 7 inches, and running back 100 feet to a court 46 feet 11 inches wide.

Nos. 11, 12, and 13, on Fayette street, of same dimensions as 8, 9, and 10, and running back to same court.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, each 22 feet in front on Duke street, and to the westward of West street, running back 100 feet to a 15 feet alley.

Nos. 20, 21 and 22 each in front on West street 21 feet and running back 100 feet to a court 23 feet 5 inches wide.

No. 23 adjoining No. 22 on the north, in front on West street 21 feet, and running back 123 feet 5 inches to the centre of the square.

**Terms of Sale.**—One fourth of the purchase money will be required in hand, the residue in three equal annual payments at one, two and three years, for notes bearing interest, secured by a lien on the premises.

dec 12—1853 GEO WHITE, Auctioneer.

Figure 16. "Valuable Property at Auction", Alexandria Gazette, December 12, 1853, p. 3.

West street, running back 100 feet to a 15 feet [foot?] alley.

Nos. 20, 21 and 22 each in front on West street 21 feet and running back 100 feet to a court 23 feet 5 inches wide.

No. 23 adjoining No. 22 on the north, in front on West street 21 feet, and running back 123 feet 5 inches to the centre of the square.

Terms of Sale.—One fourth of the purchase money will be required in hand, the residue in three equal annual payments at one, two and three years, for notes bearing interest, secured by a lien on the premises.

GEO WHITE, Auctioneer.

When the *Building and Property History* report for 1315 Duke Street was initially prepared, this description that includes property along Fayette Street was interpreted as a mistake on the part of the

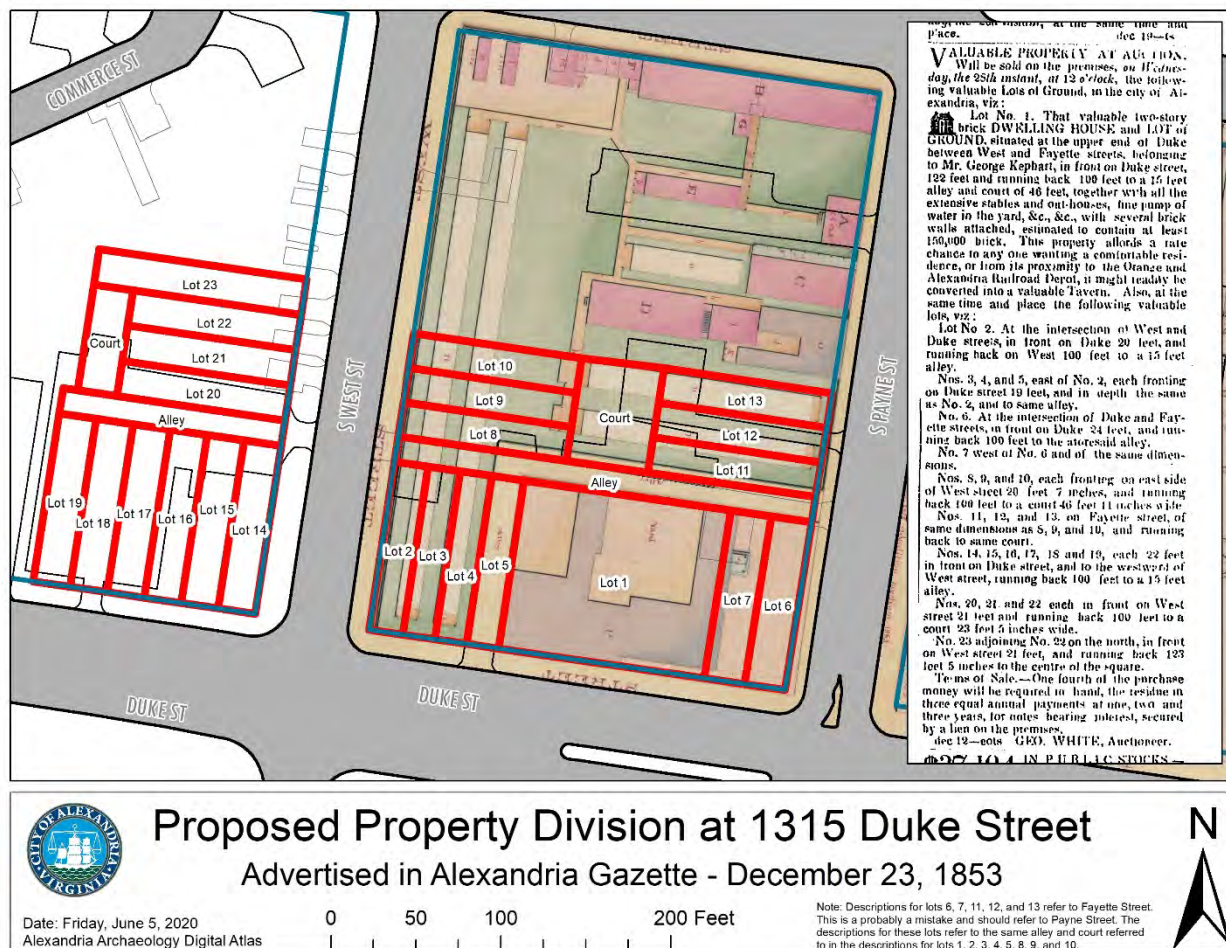


Figure 17. Proposed property division at 1315 Duke Street, December 23, 1853, mapped. From *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, Skolnik 2021.

printer or perhaps a miscommunication between Kephart and the auctioneer, but given the existence of Kephart's property on the 1200 block of Duke Street, the possibility that the inclusion of Fayette Street in this advertisement was not erroneous should be examined.

Of primary importance to this study is lot 1, which Kephart describes as fronting on Duke Street between West and Fayette streets and measuring 122' along Duke by 100' deep to a 15' alley. Unfortunately, between West and Fayette streets is Payne Street (which measures 66 feet wide) and Kephart does not tell us here which side of Payne Street lot 1 sits. The advertisement describes the primary building for sale on lot number 1 as a "valuable two-story brick DWELLING HOUSE and LOT of GROUND, situated at the upper end of Duke Street between West and Fayette streets." 1315 Duke Street was three stories tall at that time whereas 1207 Duke was only two stories tall, suggesting that this advertisement may in fact be describing 1207 Duke Street and not 1315 Duke Street. The advertisement also notes the presence of "extensive stables and out-houses", and "several brick walls attached, estimated to contain at least 150,000 brick." The above estimate (albeit conservative estimate) for the number of bricks comprising the jail walls at 1207 is approximately one-tenth that number. The length of this lot does not correspond to the width of the 1207 Duke Street property, however, it does appear to be the approximate length and placement of the main block at 1315 Duke Street along with the two prison yards on either side of that structure and as depicted on Civil War-era maps.

The language in the advertisement places lots 2, 3, 4, 5 on the 1300 block of Duke Street at the intersection of Duke and West. Behind these lots runs a 15' alley, and behind these, fronting on the east side of West Street, are lots 8, 9, and 10. Together, these lots on the east side of West Street measure 176' 9", to the halfway point of the block (within 2" of the parcel owned by Kephart, which according to his deed was only 176' 7"). Kephart describes lots 6 and 7 as being at the intersection of Duke and Fayette Streets, and lot 1 as being between Fayette and West, which is two separate blocks interrupted by Payne Street. Together, lots 2, 3, 4, and 5 (Duke and West), lot 1 (between Fayette and West), and lots 6 and 7 (Duke and Fayette) measure 247 feet, which is just two inches shy of the width of a standard City block (246' 10").

Lots 11, 12, and 13 are described as being the same size as lots 8, 9, and 10, but are listed as fronting on Fayette Street, one block to the east of Payne Street. The use of Fayette Street here is most likely in error and should be Payne Street. Perhaps most telling and key to understanding on which block these lots can be found, the description for lots 11, 12, and 13 explicitly states they run "back to the same court" as lots 8, 9, and 10. That court is described as being only 46' 11" wide, and if lots 8, 9, and 10 were on West Street and 11, 12, and 13 on Fayette as is literally written, this court would measure more than 350 feet wide and cross over Payne Street. It would appear from the description that lots 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 are all supposed to be on the same block, even if Kephart confusingly uses Fayette and West streets as his boundaries instead of Payne and West streets. Furthermore, if one reads the 1853 advertisement and assumes Kephart meant Payne where he states Fayette, then all of these parcels (lots 1 through 13) fit neatly together Kephart's a single half block with no overlap and no unaccounted for space. While a chain of title has not been prepared for the parcels along the 200 block of S. Fayette Street, no known deeds for these parcels were encountered when searching for parcels linked to Kephart.

So while this 1853 advertisement is difficult to parse, it would appear more likely than not that Kephart (or perhaps one of his agents or employees) mistakenly listed Fayette Street here in place of Payne Street. Not only does the inclusion of Fayette Street directly contradict the statement that lots 8, 9, and 10 are on the same block as lots 11, 12, and 13, but lot 1 does not fit into the known lot boundaries at 1207 Duke Street, and by assuming Payne Street instead of Fayette in the descriptions, the parcels can all be made to fit neatly together into the southern half of a single city block, which is precisely the amount of land owned by Kephart on the 1300 block of Duke Street. That being said, it should be acknowledged here that when read literally, the advertisement describes a two-story building for sale owned by Kephart (1207 Duke Street, not 1315 Duke Street) and includes the 1200 block of Duke Street within its geographic extents.

For the first time since he purchased the property in 1847, the 1854 tax assessment does not list George Kephart at 1207 Duke Street in any capacity.<sup>131</sup> Instead, the proprietor of the property is listed as “Robt. N. Windsor Est.” and is valued at \$3000. John Crockford continued to reside at 1207 Duke Street as a tenant in both stories, but also listed is a James Martin [or possibly Muster], who does not have a number of stories recorded in this tax list.

In May 1854, the lot adjacent to the west of 1207 Duke Street came up for sale again.<sup>132</sup> Similar to the 1851 sale of this lot, the newspaper advertisement describes that lot as “a lot of ground on the north side of Duke Street, opposite the Depot, and adjoining the west wall of the dwelling of J. W. Crockford [sic], 23 feet front and 100 deep, to a 10 feet alley, subject to a ground rent of \$13.75”. The property was advertised for sale in May and June, and then again with a slightly different advertisement in August 1854.<sup>133</sup>

### The Windsor Sisters (Rosanna, Elizabeth, Mary Jane, Susan, and Martha) (1854-1859)

On July 14, 1854, George Kephart and his wife Margaret Ann conveyed the property at 1207 Duke Street to the surviving five of Windsor’s six daughters.<sup>134</sup> The five Windsor sisters named in the deed were Rosanna Cline (widow of William H. Cline), Elizabeth Zimmerman (wife of John H. Zimmerman), Mary Jane Fout (wife of David P. Fout), Susan Crook (wife of Bernard C. Crook), and Martha F.A. Windsor (unmarried). In part, the deed read:

The said parties of the first part [George and Margaret Ann Kephart] and, in consideration of the sum of five dollars, to the said George Kephart in hand paid at and before the sealing, and delivery hereof do hereby grant, with special warranty to the said parties of the second part [the Windsor sisters] a tenement and lot of ground in the City of Alexandria and State of Virginia, and bounded as follows, to Wit: Beginning on the north side of Duke street sixty nine feet westerly from Fayette street, and running westerly with Duke street twenty six feet, then northerly parallel to Fayette street one hundred feet to a ten feet alley, then easterly with said alley and parallel to Duke street twenty six feet, then with a straight line to the beginning with the right of way over the said alley, and all other rights and appurtenances to the said lot of ground....To

<sup>131</sup> 1854 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10.

<sup>132</sup> “Lots of Ground for Sale”, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 6, 1854, p. 4.

<sup>133</sup> “Sale This Day”, *Alexandria Gazette*, June 14, 1854, p. 4; “Real Estate Sale”, *Alexandria Gazette*, August 25, 1854, p. 4.

<sup>134</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book Q3, pages 311-312.

have an to hold the said lot of ground, to the said parties of the second part as tenants in common and not as joint tenants, their heirs and assigns forever.<sup>135</sup>

From this deed, each of the five named sisters was granted one-fifth ownership of the property at 1207 Duke Street. Josephine C. Lloyd (wife of Lester Lloyd), the fifth of Windsor's six daughters, died "in the first part of February 1853", and is therefore not included in this transaction. The complaint filed as early as February 1856 in *William H. Miller vs the administrators of Robert N. Windsor*, confirmed that Josephine was "since dead".<sup>136</sup>

On October 13, 1854, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported that John Crockford had purchased a three-story brick house and brick office at the corner of Cameron and St. Asaph Streets. It would appear he then moved out of 1207 Duke Street because he no longer appears there in the 1855 City tax assessment. The 1855 assessment continued to list the estate of Robert N. Windsor as the owner of 1207 Duke Street, despite the transfer of the property from Kephart to the five Windsor daughters, not to the Windsor estate. The assessed value of the property decreased to \$2700. Listed as tenants on the property were Fairfax Whiting and Harrison Wright, each listed as occupying one story. Whiting was also assessed for \$500 in furniture.<sup>137</sup>

Harrison D. Wright appears frequently in the *Alexandria Gazette* during this period, but none of the available evidence links him to the domestic slave trade. Rather, he appears to be engaged as a plaster merchant. In August 1853, Fowle & Co. listed a four-story brick warehouse on the east side of Union Street between Prince and Duke Streets for rent and Wright was listed as their point of contact.<sup>138</sup> This advertisement continued to run into 1854 and eventually also included an additional three-story brick warehouse on the Prince Street dock.<sup>139</sup> Beginning in September 1854, Wright's name appears along with T. J. Skinker's and R. H. Reynolds' at the top of the Skinker, Reynolds, & Co. advertisement for fine ground plaster.<sup>140</sup> Skinker, Reynolds & Co. was dissolved January 4, 1855 and reformed without Reynolds under the name Skinker & Wright that same day.<sup>141</sup> They continued to run a very similar advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette*, just with the new name of the firm and without Reynolds' name at the top of the advertisement.<sup>142</sup> They continued in the plaster business together, their advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* appearing frequently until late January 1857.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Arlington County (Va.) Chancery Causes, Lester Lloyd vs. Martha F. A. Windsor ETC, 013-1855-022, Local Government Records Collection, Arlington Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full\\_case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1855-022](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full_case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1855-022), p. 19, 23-24, 31; and Arlington County (Va.) Chancery Causes, William H. Miller, ETC vs. ADMR of Robert N. Windsor, ETC, 013-1858-028, Local Government Records Collection, Arlington Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1858-028](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1858-028), p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> 1855 Alexandria Ward IV tax list, p. 10.

<sup>138</sup> "For Rent", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 17, 1853, p. 2.

<sup>139</sup> See for example "For Rent", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 2, 1854, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> "Skinker, Reynolds & Co.", *Alexandria Gazette*, September 25, 1854, p. 3.

<sup>141</sup> "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 4, 1855, p. 2; "Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 4, 1855, p. 2 (the item below the first "Notice").

<sup>142</sup> "Skinker & Wright", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 23, 1855, p. 3.

<sup>143</sup> "Skinker & Wright", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 26, 1857, p. 1.

Then, on May 27, 1857, Skinker and Wright dissolved their partnership by mutual consent. At the same time, Skinker's interest in their plaster mill was purchased by Wright and Fairfax H. Whiting, who continued the business under the name Whiting & Wright.<sup>144</sup> Prior to his partnership with Harrison D. Wright, not much is known about Fairfax H. Whiting. He was listed as a point of contact for the sale of land in Fairfax County, was the manager for the 1840 Birth Night Ball held at the City Hotel, sold his farm in Berkeley County in 1850 and a "valuable building lot" on the corner of Cameron and Water [now Lee] Streets in 1855, named as a defendant in the lawsuit *John P. Dulany vs. Selden, Withers & Co.*, and served as a commissioner in several sales held as a result of that suit.<sup>145</sup> Of particular note here to this report detailing a property's use in service of the domestic slave trade, Whiting, along with co-commissioners Thomas M. Monroe and David Funsten, were ordered by the court in *Dulany vs. Selden, Withers & Co.* to sell twelve enslaved people (six men, two women, and four children) at public auction. The sale was held in front of Catt's Tavern in the West End on March 29, 1856.<sup>146</sup> This sale was reported to the court as a part of *Dulany vs. Selden, Withers & Co.* and records Richard H. Dulany as the purchaser of Maria, George, Thomas, Stephen, Frank, and Moses, and John Withers as the purchaser of Josiah, Lilly, and her five children.<sup>147</sup>

While this was clearly a sale of enslaved people, Whiting's role as commissioner of this court-directed sale appears to have been a one-time occurrence and generally not what slave traders like Franklin, Armfield, Kephart, Windsor, or Millan were doing at 1315 Duke Street. To be clear, local sales like this one were common and contributed to larger patterns of forced relocation within and across the American South (and were frequently the source of enslaved people trafficked through the domestic slave trade and sites like 1315 Duke Street), but this specific sale and Whiting's participation generally fall outside of the scope of what is generally referred to as the domestic slave trade, nor does Whiting's professional activities fit the description of a professional slave trader. The sale was stated to have happened at Catt's Tavern (located today in the vicinity of where Callahan Drive and Diagonal Road intersect with Duke Street) and not at 1207 Duke Street.

In July 1855, the Windsor sisters tried to sell their property at 1207 Duke. Johnston advertised in the *Alexandria Gazette* a "Valuable Dwelling for Sale".<sup>148</sup> He described the building as "the handsome and convenient two-story house, belonging to the heirs of R. N. Windsor, situated on Duke street, opposite the Rail Road Depot, and now occupied by H. D. Wright, Esq." He continued the description and listed the dimensions of the lot as "26 by 100 feet", and included the presence of "a 10 feet alley in the rear". The description, size, owners, and location make it clear Johnston is describing 1207 Duke Street. The

<sup>144</sup> "The Co-Partnership", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 27, 1857, p. 3.

<sup>145</sup> "Fairfax Land for Sale", *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, August 21, 1837, p. 3; "Birth Night Ball", *Alexandria Gazette*, February 15, 1840, p. 3; "A Valuable Farm for Sale", *Shepherdstown Register*, February 5, 1850, p. 4; "Auction Sales", *Alexandria Gazette*, November 10, 1855, p. 3; "Virginia", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 12, 1855, p. 2; "Commissioners' Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, September 15, 1855, p. 3; "Sale This Day", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 29, 1856, p. 3.

<sup>146</sup> "Sale This Day", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 29, 1856, p. 3; see Arlington County (Va.) Chancery Causes, John P. Dulany and Richard H. Dulany vs. John P. Dulany ETC and Selden, Withers, & Co., 013-1870-042, Local Government Records Collection, Arlington Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1870-042](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1870-042).

<sup>147</sup> John P. Dulany and Richard H. Dulany vs. John P. Dulany ETC and Selden, Withers, & Co., 013-1870-042, pp. 64-66, 78, [https://old.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1870-042](https://old.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1870-042).

<sup>148</sup> "Valuable Dwelling for Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 13, 1855, p. 3.

advertisement ran several times that week, with the last appearance on July 18, 1855. It would appear that the property did not sell at this time, because the Windsor sisters appear in a series of transactions linked to 1207 Duke recorded in the County's deed books over the next four years.

Unfortunately, neither Alexandria Archaeology nor the Alexandria Library Special Collections branch has the geographically organized tax assessment lists for the years starting in 1856. Special Collections does have running ledgers for these years recording tax payments as they were paid to the City, but this makes it difficult to identify specific properties in the City and compare them across years and makes the dataset less useful to researchers as the clerk recording the payments does not record the same kinds of standardized information about each property that make the earlier tax lists so useful.<sup>149</sup> It is possible the Library of Virginia has the original tax assessment lists for these years (perhaps filed under City of Alexandria or either Alexandria or Arlington County). Given these years cover the period when 1207 Duke Street was used as a slave jail, future research should confirm whether or not the geographically organized tax lists for these years exist. Despite this limitation, we are able to document the owners and occupants at 1207 Duke Street for this period from other sources.

Between October 1854 and August 1859, the Windsor sisters and their husbands, along with their uncle Richard Windsor, and cousin Virginia A. Miner (formerly Windsor) and her husband Gilbert S. Miner, made a number of property transactions involving the sisters' five one-fifth interests in the 1207 Duke Street property, and which are recorded in the Alexandria County Deed Books.

On October 10, 1854, Susan Crook and her husband Bernard C. Crook sold to William B. Price their undivided fifth part of the property at 1207 Duke Street.<sup>150</sup> While this transaction is dated several months after the deed from Kephart to the Windsor sisters, it is recorded immediately before that deed in the Alexandria County deed books. Price served the City of Alexandria in various official capacities, including collector, assessor, justice of the county court, justice of the peace and was the mayor between 1860 and 1861.<sup>151</sup> Susan's husband, Bernard C. Crook and William B. Price cast the 82<sup>nd</sup> and 83<sup>rd</sup> votes for retrocession in a published list of voters on the *Act to Retrocede the County of Alexandria*, but it is difficult to read into any social relationship between the two men based on this list.<sup>152</sup> It is possible Price was acting here in an official capacity for the City and the Crook's one fifth ownership in 1207 Duke Street had been taken by the City for unpaid or delinquent taxes; however, the property does not appear on published lists of lots exposed for sale by the City.<sup>153</sup> It should be noted here that

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<sup>149</sup> See Alexandria City – Tax & Fiscal – Tax Ledgers 1856-1899, Alexandria Library Special Collections, Microfilm Call Number 00027.

<sup>150</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book Q3, pages 310-311.

<sup>151</sup> "Corporation Accounts", *Alexandria Gazette*, February 28, 1850, p. 5; "Assessors' Notice", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 26, 1855, p. 3; "County Court", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 11, 1855, p. 3; "Virginia Elections", *Alexandria Gazette*, May 24, 1856, p. 2; "In Common Council", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 10, 1860, p. 4.

<sup>152</sup> Virginia, General Assembly, House of Delegates, *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, Richmond, 1844, p. 331; <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112107102136&seq=331>.

<sup>153</sup> Two published lists of property exposed for sale by the City in this period between 1854 and 1859 when Susan Crook would have owned her one fifth portion of the property have been found. If additional lists published in 1854, 1856, 1857, and 1859 could be found, they should be checked to see if the property is listed there. "A List of Lands in the County of Alexandria", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 21, 1855, p. 3; Sale of Lots Returned Delinquent for Non-Payment of City Taxes", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 8, 1858, p. 4. The property does seem to appear in the 1861

William B. Price is not Charles M. Price, of Price, Birch & Co., the slave trading firm that began operating out of 1315 Duke Street beginning in 1859.

Then, on November 14, 1855, William B. Price and his wife Sarah P. Price sold to Virginia A. Miner, wife of Gilbert S. Miner, that one fifth interest in 1207 Duke Street originally belonging to Susan Crook.<sup>154</sup> Gilbert S. Miner was a lawyer in Alexandria and would go on to serve as Alexandria's delegate to the war-time meeting of the Restored House of Delegates held in Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia).<sup>155</sup> One week later, on November 20, 1855, Rosanna N. Cline and Elizabeth Zimmerman each also sold their one-fifth interests in the 1207 Duke Street to Virginia A. Miner, bringing Miner's total interest in the property to three-fifths.

On August 7, 1857, William Francis McLean and Martha F.A. McLean (formerly Windsor) executed a deed of trust with James H. McLean for the one fifth part Martha's ownership of a "certain lot of ground...lying...on the north side of Duke Street, between Fayette and Payne streets".<sup>156</sup>

Martha "Mattie" F.A. McLean died on October 19, 1858.<sup>157</sup> The terms of the deed of trust with James H. McLean specified that in the event Martha died before her husband, James McLean would convey the property back to William Francis McLean. This transaction was recorded on November 8, 1858.<sup>158</sup> The next day, on November 9, 1858, William Francis McLean conveyed to Mary Jane Fout, (Martha's sister) the one-fifth part of the property that originally belonged to Martha for \$375.<sup>159</sup> At this point, Mary Jane Fout's interest in the property amounted two one-fifth portions, or two-fifths.

On August 7, 1859, Gilbert S. Miner and his wife Virginia A. Miner transferred to Richard Windsor their three undivided fifths of the property for \$5.<sup>160</sup> Richard Windsor and Robert N. Windsor were brothers, both the sons of Richard S. Windsor.<sup>161</sup> Gilbert S. Miner married Virginia A. Windsor, daughter of Richard Windsor on June 26, 1851.<sup>162</sup> The deed notes that these three undivided fifths were the same transferred to Richard Windsor by William B. Price (the one fifth interest originally owned by Susan Crook), Elizabeth Zimmerman, and Rosanna Cline for the price of \$1,500 (but does not provide a date for this earlier transaction), and that that earlier deed was recorded by the County Clerk's office. As of November 1855, these three-fifths of the property were already owned by the Miners, and this reference to Richard Windsor is either in error or there are another pair of transactions between the Miners and Richard Windsor and back again that have not yet been found, perhaps a deed of trust. In any case, after this August 1859 deed was executed, Richard Windsor was in possession of three of the

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list assessed to Gilbert S. Miner for \$24.00 in unpaid tax from 1858, see "Sale of Lots Returned Delinquent for Non-Payment of City Taxes", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 3, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>154</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book R3, pages 198-199.

<sup>155</sup> Virginia. General Assembly. House of Delegates. *Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia*. Wheeling: Daily Press Book and Job Office, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.78113810>, p. 49.

<sup>156</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book S3, pages 316-318.

<sup>157</sup> "Died", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 22, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>158</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book T3, pages 302-303.

<sup>159</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book T3, pages 303-304.

<sup>160</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book U3, pages 158-159.

<sup>161</sup> Fairfax County (Va.) Chancery Causes, Robert N. Windsor ETC vs. Fanny Windsor Infant ETC, 059-1854-036, Local Government Records Collection, Fairfax Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full\\_case\\_detail.asp?CFN=059-1854-036](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full_case_detail.asp?CFN=059-1854-036), p. 3.

<sup>162</sup> "Married", *Alexandria Gazette*, June 27, 1851, p.2.

original five fifths of the property at 1207 Duke Street and Mary Jane Fout possessed the remaining two fifths of the property.

While the City tax lists for the period 1856 through 1861 could not be consulted for this study, these deeds record the occupant of 1207 Duke Street for much of this period. The August 7, 1857 deed from William Francis McLean and his wife Martha FA McLean (formerly Windsor) to James H. McLean also notes that the resident at the property at that time was Gilbert S. Miner (and also likely his wife Virginia A. Miner, daughter of Richard Windsor, niece of Robert N. Windsor). Miner appears again listed as the resident at 1207 Duke Street in the November 8, 1858 deed from James H. McLean back to William Francis McLean after Martha's death and on the deed from William Francis McLean to Mary Jane Fout (formerly Windsor) dated the following day. Miner had been appointed the U.S. Consul at Amapola, Honduras in June 1858, and his continued presence in these deeds suggests the Miners maintained an Alexandria residence while stationed in Honduras or perhaps Virginia stayed in Alexandria while Gilbert was abroad.<sup>163</sup> This leaves just the occupants for 1207 Duke Street for the periods that would be covered by the 1856 tax assessment, part of 1857, and part of 1859 unaccounted for, at least some of which is likely still Gilbert and Virginia Miner.

Consideration of the use of this property during this period (1847-1859) is complicated by two factors. First, Kephart appears to have considered removing himself from the slave trade starting sometime around 1851. While he may have ceased participation in the day-to-day operations of the slave trade in Alexandria, he remained the owner of 1315 Duke Street and received rental income from the slave traders operating there, including Cook & Sheckles and W.R. Millan & Co. Despite his claims to have "quit the business" in 1852, Kephart remained listed as a partner in the firms "W. R. Millan & Co. and Price, Birch & Co."<sup>164</sup> Even after Kephart sells the 1315 Duke Street property to Charles M. Prince and John C. Cook, he remained a partner in the slave trading business Price, Birch & Co. until the end of 1859.<sup>165</sup> Kephart's varying, shifting, and self-contradictory levels of engagement in the domestic slave trade during this period make it difficult to establish a baseline use of the property at 1207 Duke Street against which to determine when it began being used in service of the domestic slave trade. The second complication is that Robert N. Windsor died on February 21, 1852. The available evidence seems to point toward Windsor using the property at 1207 Duke Street as a residence and not necessarily as a slave jail the way Kephart and others used 1315 Duke Street, at least during his lifetime. Following Windsor's death, the tenants at the property do not appear to be engaged in the domestic slave trade, and it would seem as if the property at 1207 Duke Street was not used as a slave jail during this period, although this interpretation could change if new information is identified.

### Walker R. Millan and Alexander S. Grigsby (1859-1861)

Several weeks after Gilbert and Virginia Miner deed three undivided fifths of 1207 Duke Street to Richard Windsor, on August 27, 1859, Richard Windsor and his wife Ann M. transfer those three

<sup>163</sup> [no title], *Alexandria Gazette*, June 15, 1858, p. 3.

<sup>164</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021. <https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>; p. 82, 86.

<sup>165</sup> "Dissolution of Copartnership", *Alexandria Gazette*, December 14, 1859, p. 2.

undivided fifths to Walker R. Millan and his wife Columbia A. Millan for \$1,650 (Figure 18).<sup>166</sup> The boundaries of this property were described as follows:

Beginning on the north side of Duke street, sixty nine feet westerly from Fayette street and running westerly with Duke Street, twenty six feet, thence northerly parallel to Fayette street, one hundred feet to a ten foot alley, thence easterly with said Alley, and parallel to Duke street, Twenty six feet, thence with a straight line to the beginning, with the right of way over said alley, and all other rights and appurtenances to the said Lot of ground belonging.”<sup>167</sup>

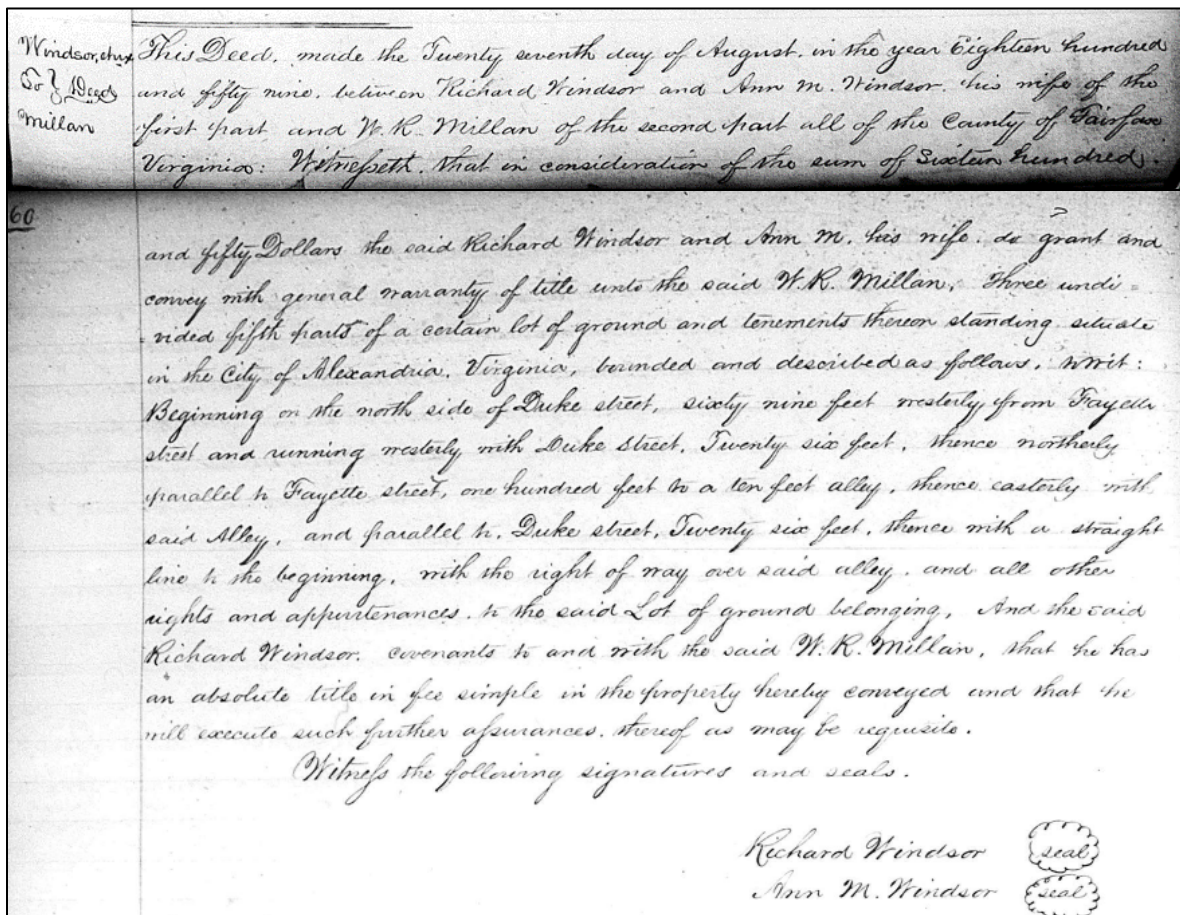


Figure 18. Deed between Richard Windsor and Walker R. Millan, Alexandria County Deed Book U3, pp. 159-160.

Millan, on the same day, deeded the property in trust to Gilbert S. Miner in order to secure \$1,000 of the purchase price to Richard Windsor.<sup>168</sup> This \$1,000 was in the form of two promissory notes of \$500 each, payable at one and two years from the date of sale. From all of the available evidence, it is by this date (August 27, 1859) that 1207 Duke Street becomes actively (and not just tangentially) engaged in the domestic slave trade, although as will be seen below, it seems possible this date could be from March 1, 1859 when Millan's lease at 1315 Duke Street expired.

<sup>166</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book U3, pages 159-160.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book U3, pages 161-162.

Like George Kephart and Robert N. Windsor before him, Walker Reid Millan was a known slave trader with connections to both 1315 and 1207 Duke Street. Prior to purchasing 1207 Duke Street, Millan rented 1315 Duke from George Kephart and operated his slave trading business there. Because of this connection between Millan, Kephart, and Windsor and between 1315 Duke Street and 1207 Duke Street, relevant portions of the history of 1315 Duke Street beginning in 1855 when Millan began renting the slave jail there from Kephart are presented below.

In March 1855, Kephart placed a notice in the newspaper announcing to the public that he had in fact “quit the business” (the slave trade) in June 1852 (despite the fact that Kephart continues to rent his property at 1315 Duke Street to slave traders and appears listed as a partner in at least two slave trading firms after this date), and that Millan was then engaged in “the Trade” and could be found at Kephart’s jail on Duke Street (the 1855 Alexandria tax list places W R Millan at 1315 Duke Street and not at 1207 Duke, which by 1855, is no longer owned by Kephart). Kephart again informed the public that the property (1315 Duke Street) was for sale and any interested parties could contact Millan. In that earlier period between June 1852 (when Kephart supposedly “quit the business”) and March 1855 (when he reminded people with his notice in the newspaper that he had “quit the business”), Kephart rented 1315 Duke Street to Cook & Sheckles (the slave trading firm of John C. Cook and Benjamin O. Sheckells).<sup>169</sup> John C. Cook would join Price, Birch & Co. (also at 1315 Duke Street) several years later and Kephart had previously partnered with Sheckell under the firm of B. O. Sheckell’s & Co. or Sheckell’s and Kephart.<sup>170</sup> Kephart then rented 1315 Duke Street to Millan for a period of four years starting March 1, 1855 and which was supposed to end March 1, 1859.<sup>171</sup>

The 1855 City tax assessment places Walker R. Millan at 1315 Duke Street as a tenant of George Kephart, and the tax assessment includes the notation “Slave Dealer” after Millan’s name (not Kephart’s).<sup>172</sup> Below Millan in this tax list is Geo.[George] W. Cooper. Millan married Cooper’s younger sister Columbianna Cooper on June 6, 1855, and it would appear that George W. Cooper was here at 1315 Duke Street working for his slave trader brother-in-law.<sup>173</sup>

An August 1855 advertisement for “valuable family servants” notes that an enslaved woman and her two children and another enslaved woman and her son “can be seen at Mr. Millan’s, lately Mr. Kephart’s”, that is, 1315 Duke Street (Figure 19):

VALUABLE FAMILY SERVANTS FOR  
SALE.—A very likely WOMAN, (good  
Cook, Washer, Ironer, and House Servant), aged

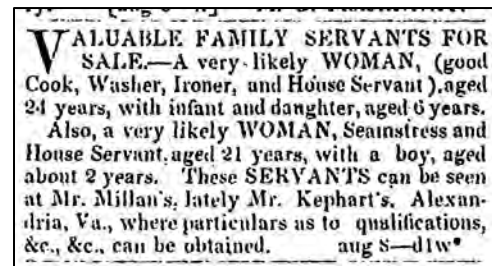


Figure 19. “Valuable Family Servants for Sale”, Alexandria Gazette, August 8, 1855.

<sup>169</sup> Kephart v. Sheckells and Cook, Chancery Case, Arlington Co., 013\_1856\_002.

[https://old.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1856-002](https://old.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1856-002); see also Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021. <https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>, pp. 67-82.

<sup>170</sup> See “Notice”, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 3, 1851, p. 3.

<sup>171</sup> “Notice”, *Alexandria Gazette*, March 5, 1855, p. 3; Millan v. Kephart, Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, October Term, 1867, see Grattan 1868, pp. 1-12.

<sup>172</sup> 1855 Alexandria Ward IV tax list p. 11.

<sup>173</sup> “Married”, *Alexandria Gazette*, June 18, 1855, p. 4; see also 1850 US Census, Culpeper County Virginia.

24 years, with infant and daughter, aged 6 years.  
Also, a very likely WOMAN, Seamstress and  
House Servant aged 21 years, with a boy, aged  
about 2 years. These SERVANTS can be seen  
at Mr. Millan's, lately Mr. Kephart's, Alexan-  
dria, Va., where particulars as to qualifications,  
&c., &c., can be obtained.<sup>174</sup>

In November 1855, John Millan granted Walker R. Millan power of attorney to buy and sell enslaved people on his behalf.<sup>175</sup>

Whether from March 1, 1855 when Walker R. Millan moves into 1315 Duke Street or from some later date, he, Charles M. Price (later of Price, Birch & Co.), Benjamin O. Sheckell, and George Kephart form and operate the firm W. R. Millan & Co. While the date of the start of this partnership is not currently known, it was dissolved by mutual consent July 7, 1857.<sup>176</sup> Millan's lease at 1315 Duke Street continued beyond this date and it appears that he continued to operate the slave jail at 1315 Duke Street after the dissolution of this version of W. R. Millan & Co.

Then, on May 1, 1858, Kephart entered into an agreement with Charles M. Price and John C. Cook (then both of Price, Birch & Co.) to sell to them the slave jail and lot at 1315 Duke Street, which was then occupied by Walker R. Millan as "a dwelling and negro jail".<sup>177</sup> Their agreement specified that Kephart was to deliver the property to Price and Cook within twenty days or on or before May 20, 1858, or else he would forfeit to Price and Cook the sum of \$500. Unfortunately for Kephart, Millan's lease ran through March of the following year and it would appear that Millan did not move out "on or before the 20<sup>th</sup> day of May 1858" because Kephart sued Millan in August 1858 in order to recover his house and lot on Duke Street.<sup>178</sup> This case ultimately made it to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia (Figure 20).

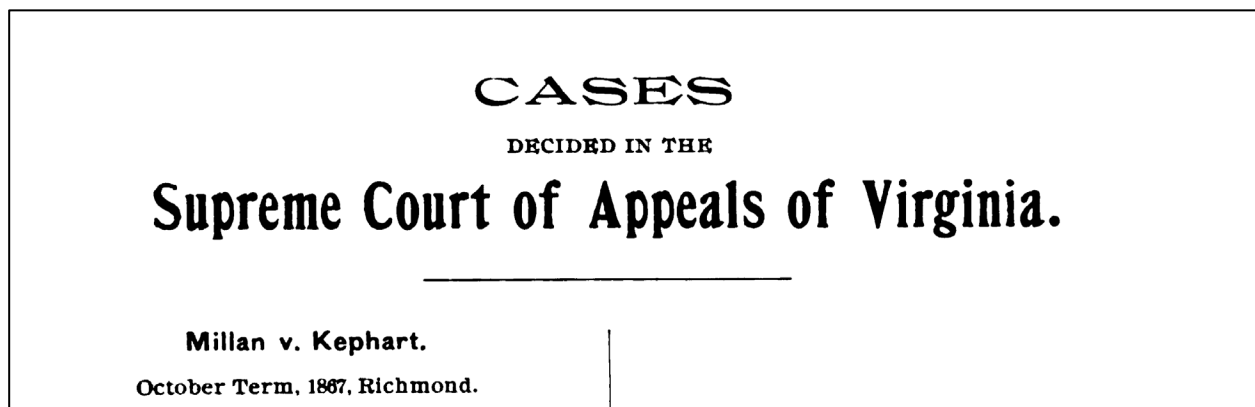


Figure 20. Decision in *Millan v. Kephart*, Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, 1867

<sup>174</sup> "Valuable Family Servants for Sale", *Alexandria Gazette*, August 8, 1855, p. 3.

<sup>175</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book R3, pp. 199-200.

<sup>176</sup> [no title], *Alexandria Gazette*, July 7, 1857, p. 4.

<sup>177</sup> Alexandria County Deed Book T3, pp. 353-354.

<sup>178</sup> *Millan v. Kephart*, Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, October Term, 1867.

According to Kephart's lawsuit (which first came before the local court on September 6, 1858), there was a stipulation in the original lease to Millan that stated if Kephart sold the property prior to the end of Millan's lease (March 1, 1859), Millan was required to vacate the property once given proper notice.<sup>179</sup> Kephart provided Millan with this written notice of his intention to sell the property and to have it vacated by May 1, 1858 in a letter from Mobile, Alabama dated January 15, 1858. As described above, Kephart sold the property to Price and Cook on May 1, 1858. On June 5, 1858 (after the May 20<sup>th</sup> date given to Price and Cook by Kephart in their agreement), Kephart gave to Millan the following written statement:

To Walker R. Millan, Esq.:

Sir,--I hereby notify you to give and deliver up possession of the house, jail, land and premises, with the appurtenances, situate on the north side of Duke street, between Fayette and West streets, in the city of Alexandria, Va., which you hold of me as tenant thereof, on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1858, as by the terms of your tenancy you are obliged to do; I having bona fide sold the said premises, with an agreement to deliver possession of the same. Witness my hand this 5<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1858.

George Kephart.<sup>180</sup>

The jury delivered their verdict in favor of Kephart to recover the premises from the defendant on January 7, 1859.<sup>181</sup> Millan appealed the verdict a week later and the initial verdict was suspended.<sup>182</sup> The case eventually reached its way to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and was *finally* decided in October 1867, well after the end of Millan's four-year lease which had ended March 1, 1859. The 1315 Duke Street property was officially transferred over from Kephart to Price and Cook in a deed dated November 24, 1859, but it seems likely they took possession on or just after March 1, 1859 at the expiration of Millan's lease.

From the available evidence, it would appear that Millan had moved out of 1315 Duke Street prior to this transfer (and likely by the end of his original lease March 1, 1859). Price, Birch & Co. (of which George Kephart was also listed as a partner) moved into 1315 Duke Street by August 1859 when their first advertisements began appearing in the *Alexandria Gazette*. They had likely moved in somewhat earlier than their first advertisements, as they noted that by that point they had already refitted the jail at 1315 Duke Street "to make it one of the most healthy and comfortable Depot for NEGROES". They

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<sup>179</sup> See Arlington [Alexandria] County Court Minute Book 1855-1858, p. 432, 453, 464; "Local Items, County Court Yesterday", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 8, 1858, p. 3; "Local Items, County Court Yesterday", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 9, 1858, p. 3; "Local Items, County Court Yesterday", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 7, 1859, p. 3; "Local Items, County Court Yesterday", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 8, 1859, p. 4.

<sup>180</sup> Here, Kephart again describes 1315 Duke Street as being between Fayette and West Streets, not as between Payne and West Streets. This occurs several other times, including in the 1834 E. A. Cohen & Company *Directory of Alexandria, D.C.*, the December 1853 proposed property division, and in various City tax assessments. The most likely reading of Kephart's proposed 1853 property division and the chain of title for 1207 Duke Street suggests Fayette Street is used here in error and is intended to be Payne Street.

<sup>181</sup> Arlington [Alexandria] County Court Minute Book, 1858-1862, p. 30.

<sup>182</sup> Arlington [Alexandria] County Court Minute Book, 1858-1862, p. 44.

further specified they had “bought the establishment lately occupied by Millan & Grigsby, West and Duke Street”. This full advertisement reads (Figure 21):

NEGROES WANTED.—We wish to purchase any quantity of NEGROES, of both sexes, for cash. All letters addressed to us at this place, will receive prompt attention. Having bought the establishment, lately occupied by Millan & Grigsby, West end Duke street, and having refitted it to make it one of the most healthy and comfortable Depot for NEGROES, we will receive them on board on the usual terms.

PRICE, BIRCH & CO.<sup>183</sup>

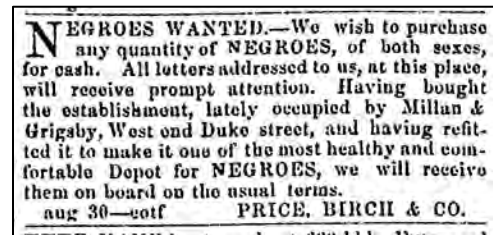


Figure 21. "Negroes Wanted", *Alexandria Gazette*, August 30, 1859.

Having vacated 1315 Duke Street sometime in 1859 (possibly on principle on March 1, 1859 when his original lease expired), Walker R. Millan purchased three undivided fifths of 1207 Duke Street from Gilbert S. Miner and Virginia A. Miner in August 1859, where he appears to have relocated his and Grigsby's slave trading operation. As evidenced by a newspaper report dated October 21, 1862 describing a fire that had consumed 1207 Duke Street, 1207 Duke Street was then still connected with Millan and Grigsby (likely Centreville-based slave trader Alexander S. Grigsby), as well as the estate of the late Robert N. Windsor.<sup>184</sup> It should be noted this item lists "Millan & Grigsby" and the ampersand would seem to imply their firm and not the two men individually or separately.

Additional research is needed to document and connect the slave trading careers of Walker R. Millan and Alexander S. Grigsby. Historian Donald M. Sweig published a brief, speculative article on Grigsby in the *Fairfax Chronicles* in 1983.<sup>185</sup> Sweig connects Grigsby to other local slave traders Samuel Torbert and Robert M. Whaley. Grigsby's house in Centreville, Virginia (sometimes called the Four Chimney House), from which it is believed he ran much of his slave trading operation, was used as the headquarters of Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston during the first battle of Bull Run/Manassas.<sup>186</sup> Several Civil War-era photographs show the Grigsby House, including bars over the basement windows (Figure 22).<sup>187</sup>

The newspaper advertisements placed by Price, Birch & Co. beginning in August 1859 place Millan and Grigsby together at 1315 Duke Street, prior to March 1, 1859 when Millan's lease expired. Prior to 1859, Millan and Grigsby appear in newspapers separately as slave traders. A runaway advertisement placed

<sup>183</sup> "Negroes Wanted", *Alexandria Gazette*, August 30, 1859, p. 2. See "Dissolution of Copartnership", *Alexandria Gazette*, December 14, 1859, p. 2 for Kephart's participation in Price, Birch & Co.

<sup>184</sup> "Fire", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 21, 1862, p. 2. For more on Alexander S. Grigsby, see "Alexander Grigsby: A Slave breeder of Old Centerville?", Sweig, Donald M., *Fairfax Chronicles*, Vol. VII, No 2., May-July 1983, pp. 1-3.

<sup>185</sup> "Alexander Grigsby: A Slave breeder of Old Centerville?", Sweig, Donald M., *Fairfax Chronicles*, Vol. VII, No 2., May-July 1983, pp. 1-3.

<sup>186</sup> "The House of Shattered Dreams", Karl Reiner, September 29, 2004, <http://www.connectionnewspapers.com/news/2004/sep/29/the-house-of-shattered-dreams/>;

<sup>187</sup> See "Grigsby House", National Archives, NAID: 529283, Local ID: 111-B-5178, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/529283>; and "Centreville, Virginia. Grigsby house, headquarters of General Joseph E. Johnston", Library of Congress, LC-B811- 303 [P&P] LOT 4170, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670953/>;



Figure 22. Grigsby House, Centreville, Virginia, Medford Historical Society & Museum, <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:h128s849z>, note the bars over the basement windows.

by Millan in March 1856 offered a \$100 reward for the return of a man named Sawney who Millan had purchased from the estate of N. V. Clopton of Fauquier County and sold to A. B. Dearing of Petersburg. No reference to any trading partners was made in this advertisement (Figure 23):

\$100 REWARD.—Ranaway from A.B. Dearing, at Petersburg, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January last, negro boy SAWNEY. He is about 24 years of age, dark copper color, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high; clothes not recollected. SAWNEY was purchased by me from the estate of N. V. Clopton, of Fauquier, and is supposed to be lurking in that County. I will give \$100 for his delivery to me at Alexandria  
W. R. MILLAN<sup>188</sup>

**\$100** REWARD.—Ranaway from A. B. Dearing, at Petersburg, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January last, negro boy SAWNEY. He is about 24 years of age, dark copper color, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high; clothes not recollected. SAWNEY was purchased by me from the estate of N. V. Clopton, of Fauquier, and is supposed to be lurking in that County. I will give \$100 for his delivery to me at Alexandria.  
mh 4—eolm W. R. MILLAN.

Figure 23. "\$100 Reward", Alexandria Gazette, March 4, 1856, p. 2.

A runaway advertisement placed by Charles F. Johnston in the *Alexandria Gazette* on December 3, 1856 notes that an enslaved man named Humprey "formerly belonged to A. S. Grigsby, of Centreville". He

does not state that Grigsby was acting as a slave trader when he sold Humphrey, but it seems likely. Millan or any other partner is not mentioned (Figure 24).<sup>189</sup>

\$100 Reward.—Ranaway from the subscriber, residing in Fairfax co., near Alexandria, on Monday, December 1<sup>st</sup>, negro man HUMPHREY, about twenty years old, a bright mulatto, five feet eight inches high, had on when he left a full cloth coat, black pants, and black cloth cap. He formerly belonged to A. S. Grigsby, of Centreville, and has relations in Loudoun county. I will give fifty dollars if taken in the State, or one hundred dollars if taken out of the State, in either case to be secured so that I can get him. Humphrey has a very full suit of black hair, and he always wears it long. Address me at Alexandria.

CHAS. F. JOHNSTON.

**\$100** REWARD.—Ranaway from the subscriber, residing in Fairfax co., near Alexandria, on Monday, December 1<sup>st</sup>, negro man HUMPHREY, about twenty years old, a bright mulatto, five feet eight inches high, had on when he left a full cloth coat, black pants, and black cloth cap. He formerly belonged to A. S. Grigsby, of Centreville, and has relations in Loudoun county. I will give fifty dollars if taken in the State, or one hundred dollars if taken out of the State, in either case to be secured so that I can get him. Humphrey has a very full suit of black hair, and he always wears it long. Address me at Alexandria.  
dec 3—eotf CHAS. F. JOHNSTON.

Figure 24. "\$100 Reward", Alexandria Gazette, December 3, 1856, p. 4.

Another runaway advertisement was placed in November 1857, this time by Grigsby himself, for a woman named Harriet. He noted that she ran away from his farm near Centreville and that he had purchased her from the slave trading firm Dickinson & Hill, based out of Richmond, Virginia.<sup>190</sup> Like Kephart, Grigsby appears to operate a plantation as well as a slave trading firm. Again, Millan is not mentioned (Figure 25):

\$50 REWARD.—Ranaway from the farm of the subscriber, near Centreville, Fairfax County, Va., on the night of 5<sup>th</sup> instant, Negro woman HARRIET, about 35 years of age, black, 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, and tolerably likely. She was purchased by me of Messrs. Dickinson & Hill, in Richmond, and formerly came from King George County. I will give the above reward if returned to me, or secured so that I can get her. A.S. GRIGSBY  
Fairfax County, VA.

**\$50** REWARD.—Ranaway from the farm of the subscriber, near Centreville, Fairfax County, Va., on the night of 5<sup>th</sup> instant, negro woman HARRIET, about 35 years of age, black, 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, and tolerably likely. She was purchased by me of Messrs. Dickinson & Hill, in Richmond, and formerly came from King George County. I will give the above reward if returned to me, or secured so that I can get her. A. S. GRIGSBY.  
Fairfax County, Va., nov 25—eotf

Figure 25. "\$50 Reward", Alexandria Gazette, November 28, 1857, p. 3.

By early April 1858, Harriet had not yet been caught as evidenced by the fact that the advertisement was still appearing in the newspaper and that Grigsby increased the promised reward from \$50 to \$100

<sup>188</sup> "\$100 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 4, 1856, p. 3.

<sup>189</sup> "\$100 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, December 3, 1856, p. 4.

<sup>190</sup> "\$50 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, November 28, 1857, p. 3.

(Figure 26).<sup>191</sup> The advertisement continued to run until the end of July 1858.<sup>192</sup> It is not known if Harriett was ever captured.

In September 1858, Grigsby placed another runaway advertisement, this time for a 15- or 16-year-old named Bennett, but did not specify anything about how he came to hold the young man captive, nor did he mention Millan (Figure 27):

**\$200 REWARD!**—Ranaway from the subscriber on the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, a negro boy called BENNETT, a mulatto, about 15 or 16 years old, 5 feet 5 inches in height, thin, and quite good looking, and very polite. He was well dressed when he left, but the clothes he had on are not remembered. I will give the above reward of \$200 for him if taken out of the state, and secured so that I get him again. He left in company with two other negro boys. A. S. GRIGSBY.<sup>193</sup>

Figure 26. "\$100 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 5, 1858, p. 3.

Figure 27. "\$200 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, September 22, 1858, p. 2.

On May 17, 1859, Millan and Grigsby both witnessed and signed a slave certificate, a statement required by law to sell enslaved people in Mississippi, including in Natchez, on behalf of fellow slave trader Edward Herndon (Figure 28). Herndon appears to have been based out of Mississippi.<sup>194</sup> It is not known if Millan and Grigsby were operating under the same model as other Alexandria-based slave traders and Herndon was acting as their southern business partner. In part, the certificate reads, "We the undersigned do hereby certify that the slaves named James Anna Lucinda Sarah and Barbary have not been guilty of felony or any other crime + that Edward Herndon came lawfully in possession thereof. Given under our hands + seals this 17<sup>th</sup> day of May Eighteen hundred + fifty nine," and is signed "W R Millan" and "A S Grigsby". The statement is also signed by the clerk of the Alexandria County court. Herndon appears frequently in this book of slave certificates, but these five enslaved people are the only ones for which Millan and Grigsby attest to their good character.

Also in May 1859, Millan testified as a part of a lawsuit against himself and Benjamin O. Sheckells that Sheckells had acted as an employee and agent of Grigsby & Co., "of which firm your respondent [Millan] is one of the copartners".<sup>195</sup> From this, it would appear that Millan was no longer operating by this date under the name "W. R. Walker & Co.", but that of his partner, Grigsby. Additional research is needed to

<sup>191</sup> "\$100 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, April 5, 1858, p. 3.

<sup>192</sup> "\$100 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, July 29, 1858, p. 3.

<sup>193</sup> "\$200 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, September 22, 1858, p. 2.

<sup>194</sup> Adams County, Mississippi, Slave Certificates, 1858-1861, p. 114; see also "Negroes for Sale!", *Port Gibson Southern Reville*, December 8, 1852, p. 3; "Register of Runaways", *Concordia Intelligencer*, April 28, 1854, p. 3.

<sup>195</sup> Arlington County (Va.) Chancery Causes, William H. Tuck vs. Benjamin O. Sheckells, ETC, 013-1865-022, Local Government Records Collection, Arlington Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full\\_case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1865-022](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full_case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1865-022), p. 6.

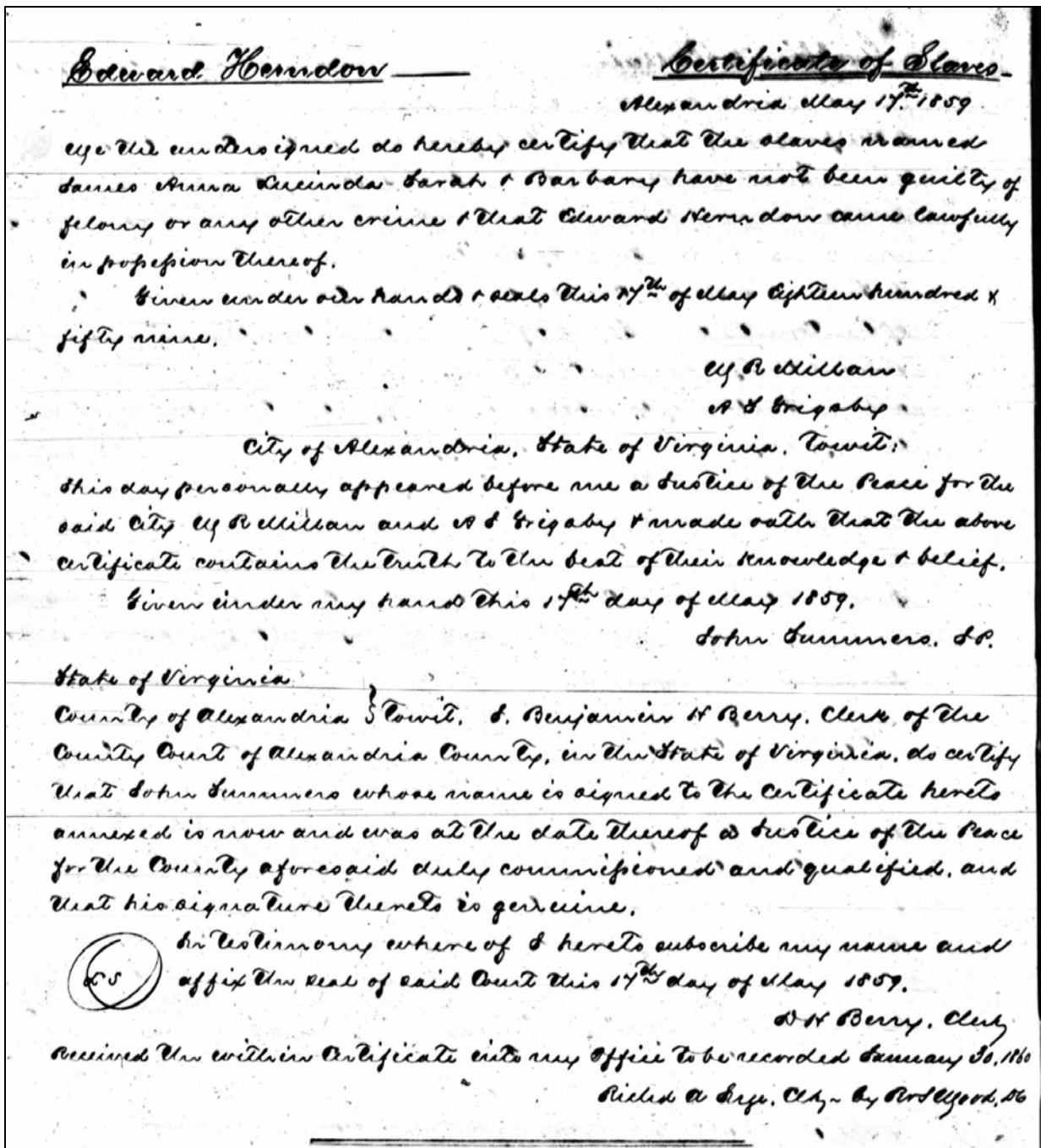


Figure 28. Slave Certificate signed by Millan and Grigsby, Adams County, Mississippi, Slave Certificates, 1858-1861, p. 114.

better document this change between naming the business for Millan and naming it for Grigsby. Furthermore, Millan specified that Sheckells employment with the firm extended "several years past", suggesting that Grigsby & Co. (or at least the partnership of Millan and Grigsby, if not that specific name) predated their move to 1207 Duke Street and existed while they were still operating at 1315 Duke Street.

On November 1, 1859, Millan was granted permit number 797 from the Alexandria Water Company to connect 1207 Duke Street to the City's piped water supply.<sup>196</sup> On the same date, Price and Birch of Price, Birch & Co. were granted permit number 788 to supply water to their slave jail at 1315 Duke Street, perhaps the source of their claim that their site was the "most healthy and comfortable Depot".<sup>197</sup>

On December 20, 1859, the firm of A.S. Grigsby & Co. (presumably the same firm described by Millan as Grigsby & Co.) placed a runaway advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* for a man named David Musy (Figure 29). Musy had run away from the firm in Alexandria (presumably from their jail at 1207 Duke Street) on the night of October 20, 1859. This advertisement ran until at least February 28, 1860:

\$250 REWARD.—Ranaway from the subscribers, at Alexandria, Va., on the night of the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, a negro man named DAVID MUSY. Said negro is black, about five feet seven inches high, weight about one hundred and fifty pounds, and is twenty-one or two years of age: full suit of hair; a scar or mark on the right cheek; likely, with good teeth. He is doubtless making his way to a free state. We will give the above reward for taking and securing him so that we get him again. A. S. GRIGSBY & CO.<sup>198</sup>

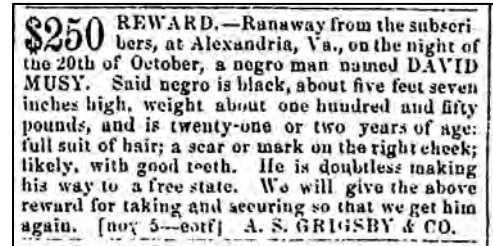


Figure 29. "\$250 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, November 5, 1859, p. 3.

On March 24, 1860, Millan sold an enslaved man at an auction held at Catt's Tavern. The advertisement for the sale noted that the slave holder "does not wish him to go South", so Millan specified that "he will not be sold to the trade" (Figure 30). Presumably, Millan found a local buyer and this man was not trafficked south as a result of this sale, but instead sold locally.

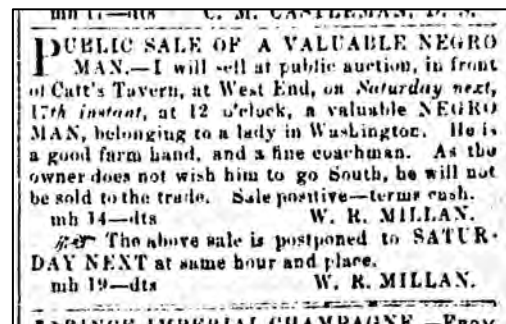


Figure 30. "Public Sale of a Valuable Negro Man", *Alexandria Gazette*, March 20, 1860.

<sup>196</sup> *Alexandria Water Company Permits: The First 1000 "Pipers"*, Alexandria Archaeology Publication Number 8, Compiled by Cdr. Philip M. Erickson, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, City of Alexandria, Virginia, 1988. Note: Erickson transcribes the recipient of permit number 797 at 1207 Duke Street as "Millard, Walker R." and the date of the permit as "11-01-54" (November 1, 1854). Given from the above evidence that Millan was not at 1207 Duke Street (nor even at 1315 Duke Street) in 1854, I believe Erickson's transcription of "54" to be in error and I suspect he interpreted 9, the final digit in the year, as a 4, and that this permit should be dated to November 1, 1859. The original water company permits appear to be filed roughly in chronological order, with permits from 1854 found between permit numbers 329 and 494 and permits for 1859 generally found in the range between permit numbers 758 and 805, which is where Millan's permit for 1207 Duke Street falls. Furthermore, the date on Price and Birch's water company permit on Kephart's property at 1315 Duke Street (permit number 788 and listed here as 1313 Duke) is also November 1, 1859. The original permit should still be in the possession of Virginia American Water Company and future research should revisit this original permit and confirm the recipient of the permit as Walker R. Millan and the date of the permit as November 1, 1859..

<sup>197</sup> <sup>197</sup> "Negroes Wanted", *Alexandria Gazette*, August 30, 1859, p. 2

<sup>198</sup> "\$250 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, November 5, 1859, p. 3; "\$250 Reward", *Alexandria Gazette*, February 28, 1860, p. 5.

PUBLIC SALE OF A VALUABLE NEGRO

MAN.—I will sell at public auction, in front of Catt's Tavern, at West End, on *Saturday next*, 17<sup>th</sup> *instant*, at 12 o'clock, a valuable NEGRO MAN, belonging to a lady in Washington. He is A good farm hand, and a fine coachman. As the owner does not wish him to go South, he will not be sold to the trade. Sale positive—terms cash.

W. R. MILLAN.

The above sale is postponed to SATURDAY NEXT at same hour and place.

W. R. MILLAN.<sup>199</sup>

The 1860 United States slave census records a Walter R Millen as enslaving two people in Alexandria, Virginia; a 30-year-old Mulatto woman and a 12-year-old Black girl.<sup>200</sup> It is not clear if this is supposed to be Walker R. Millan, but it is a likely possibility. In the same year, Alexander S. Grigsby is listed as enslaving 42 people, but these individuals are recorded in Fairfax County and were probably held at Grigsby's farm in Centreville, which he likely used in service of the domestic slave trade.<sup>201</sup>

In addition to runaway advertisements placed in the local newspaper, Grigsby also used larger broadside notices to be displayed in town. One such broadside reads, "300 DOLLARS REWARD!" and is signed "A. S. Grigsby & Co." (Figure 31):

300 DOLLARS REWARD!

RANAWAY from the subscriber, at Alexandria, on the night of the 18<sup>th</sup> inst., three negro men, named JOHN FLETCHER, ALBERT, and CHARLES.

JOHN is about 35 years of age, stout built, about five feet six inches high—dark copper color—was formerly owned at Bladensburg, and is a Blacksmith by trade.

ALBERT is about 23 years of age, 5 feet 10 in., and black, and was purchased of a Mr. Colvin, in Fauquier County, Va.

CHARLES is about 20 years of age, and is Owned by a Mr. Keech, at Upper Marlboro, Md. He is about five feet four inches high, copper color. Clothes not recollected.

I will give the above reward for the apprehension of JOHN and ALBERT, if delivered to me at Alexandria, or secured in jail so that I get them.

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<sup>199</sup> *Alexandria Gazette*, March 20, 1860, p. 3.

<sup>200</sup> 1860 US Census, enslaved schedule, Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>201</sup> "Alexander Grigsby: A Slave breeder of Old Centerville?", Sweig, Donald M., *Fairfax Chronicles*, Vol. VII, No 2., May-July 1983, pp. 1-3; "The House of Shattered Dreams", Karl Reiner, September 29, 2004,

A. S. GRIGSBY & CO.

ALEXANDRIA, JUNE 19, 1860 [PRINTED AT THE ALEXANDRIA GAZETTE OFFICE]<sup>202</sup>

**300 DOLLARS REWARD!**

**R**ANAWAY from the subscriber, at Alexandria, on the night of the 18th inst., three negro men, named  
**JOHN FLETCHER, ALBERT, and CHARLES.**

**JOHN** is about 35 years of age, stout built, about five feet six inches high—dark copper color—was formerly owned at Bladensburg, and is a Blacksmith by trade.

**ALBERT** is about 23 years of age, 5 feet 10 in., and black, and was purchased of a Mr. Colvin, in Fauquier County, Va.

**CHARLES** is about 20 years of age, and is owned by a Mr. Keech, at Upper Marlboro', Md. He is about five feet four inches high, copper color. Clothes not recollected.

**I** will give the above reward for the apprehension of **JOHN** and **ALBERT**, if delivered to me at Alexandria, or secured in jail so that I get them.

**A. S. GRIGSBY & CO.**

ALEXANDRIA, JUNE 19, 1860. [PRINTED AT THE ALEXANDRIA GAZETTE OFFICE.]

Figure 31. "300 Dollars Reward!", A. S. Grigsby & Co., Broadside

It describes three men enslaved men, John Fletcher, Albert, and Charles, who ran away from Grigsby on the night of June 18, 1860 (quite possibly from his jail at 1207 Duke Street). The notice was printed the following day at the Alexandria Gazette office in Alexandria. While the notice provides ages and physical descriptions for these men, it also notes the reward was not applicable for the return of Charles, who was enslaved by a Mr. Keech of Upper Marlboro, Maryland and not Grigsby.

Unlike more notorious counterparts such as Franklin & Armfield, Kephart, Bruin, or Price, Birch & Co, Millan & Grigsby do not seem to advertise their services as slave traders often in the newspapers, making it difficult to reconstruct their activities in that business. Hopefully future research can add additional details to the tenure of Millan and Grigsby at both 1207 and 1315 Duke Street.

In 1861, Gilbert S. Miner, perhaps still on assignment in Honduras, or perhaps as a result of some confusion over who would be responsible for paying the City tax on the property, is listed as owing \$24.00 in unpaid tax on the lot and improvement on his property on Duke Street and on the block bounded by Duke, Prince, Fayette, and Payne Streets (the 1207 Duke Street property) for the year

<sup>202</sup> "300 Dollars Reward!", A. S. Grigsby & Co., Broadside 1860 .A18, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

1858.<sup>203</sup> Miner also owed taxes on several other properties in that same vicinity for that same year. The tax sale to recover this \$24 was to take place on April 3, 1861.

### The Civil War (1861-1865)

The use of 1207 Duke Street as a slave jail ceased on or before May 24, 1861. Without regular advertisements from Millan and Grigsby in the newspaper, it is difficult to determine exactly when they abandoned their slave jail. The final Price, Birch & Co. (operating at 1315 Duke Street) advertisement appears in the *Alexandria Gazette* on April 29, 1861, almost a month prior to Virginia seceding from the Union whereas the final advertisement placed by Joseph Bruin (operating at 1707 Duke Street) ran on the morning of May 24, 1861, hours after the United States Army had crossed over the Potomac River and entered Alexandria. The City of Alexandria was occupied (or perhaps liberated, depending on one's point of view) for the rest of the war.

Much of what we know about the physical structure of the better-documented slave pen at 1315 Duke Street comes from Civil War-era documentation and has been reported in the *Building and Property History* report and elsewhere.<sup>204</sup> The rediscovery of the existence of the slave pen at 1207 Duke Street requires some of the analysis in that report to be revisited and additional Civil War-era documentation relevant to 1207 Duke Street can be presented.

When that report was written, it was speculated that the well-known photograph taken by Mathew Brady or his studio (actually a stereoscopic pair of photographs) of a woman holding a basket standing in front of an Alexandria slave pen was taken at 1315 Duke Street (Figure 32).<sup>205</sup> The original glass plates for these two photographs are held by the Library of Congress.<sup>206</sup> It had been assumed that this photograph showed 1315 Duke Street (even the catalog entry at the Library of Congress claims as much), and the *Building and Property History* report concluded that if this photograph was taken at 1315 Duke Street, it had to have been taken in front of the east face of the rear kitchen wing looking northwest with the photographer's back to the north wall of the women's yard. The report then continues to note features present in the photograph for which no historic or contemporary evidence exists at 1315 Duke Street such as the brick structure in the foreground on the left of the image, a possible cellar door, vent holes at ground level in the brick wing behind the woman, and the brick dogtooth cornice at the top of this brick wing. See the *Historic Structures Report*, Appendix C, Image C for a detailed analysis of this photograph.<sup>207</sup> When these analyses were conducted, the slave jail at 1207

<sup>203</sup> "Sale of Lots Returned Delinquent for Non-Payment of City Taxes", *Alexandria Gazette*, January 3, 1861, p. 1.

<sup>204</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021.

<https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/1315dukestbuildinghistoryskolnik2021.pdf>; pp. 91-161; Skolnik, Benjamin A., "Photographic Presentments of Them Will Be Accepted By Posterity With An Undoubting Faith": Correcting Two Civil War-Era Photographs of Alexandria, Virginia Attributed to William R. Pywell and Published in Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War (1866), Part I: The Slave Pen", *Alexandria Chronicle*, Winter 2023-2024, and "Part II: The Marshall House", *Alexandria Chronicle*, Fall 2024; "Exposing the Alexandria Slave Pen", lecture, Benjamin A. Skolnik, Alexandria Lyceum, February 13, 2023, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0hMETfp-Z\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0hMETfp-Z_s).

<sup>205</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., *Building and Property History: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia*, 2021, pp. 145-147.

<sup>206</sup> "Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Exterior view", Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2018670637/>.

<sup>207</sup> SmithGroup, *1315 Duke Street: Historic Structures Report*, 2021, <https://media.alexandriava.gov/content/oha/HSR1315DukeReport2021.pdf>, p. 551.



Figure 32. Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Exterior view. Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670637/>.

Duke Street had not yet been identified and while there were many similarities, the image could not positively be identified as having been taken at 1315 Duke Street.

The other Brady photographs of 1315 Duke Street (catalog numbers 2296, 2297, 2298, and 2299) can be positively located to 1315 Duke Street and can be attributed to a narrow window of time sometime between February 4, 1862 and the last week or two in April when the trees would have shown signs of new leaf growth, with late March to early April as being the most likely.<sup>208</sup> There is nothing visible in the image to suggest that the photograph of the woman in front of 1207 Duke Street (catalog number 2300) was not taken at the same time as the other four images of the slave pen located one block to the west.<sup>209</sup>

Examining the photograph in isolation for a moment, the subject of the photograph is the African American woman holding a basket, standing against a small tree in the center of the frame. She is standing in an open space, in front of a brick building or buildings. The brick structure has three discernable elements to it. On the left, a mostly-featureless wall with only a small horizontal strip of

<sup>208</sup> For a much more in-depth analysis of these photographs, see Skolnik, Benjamin A., “Photographic Presentments of Them Will Be Accepted By Posterity With An Undoubting Faith”: Correcting Two Civil War-Era Photographs of Alexandria, Virginia Attributed to William R. Pywell and Published in Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book of the War (1866), Part I: The Slave Pen”, *Alexandria Chronicle*, Winter 2023-2024, and “Part II: The Marshall House”, *Alexandria Chronicle*, Fall 2024. “Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. (Price, Birch & Co. dealers in slaves)”, LC-B811-2296, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670631/>; Alexandria, Virginia; Slave pen. Interior view, LC-B811-2297, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670632/>; Alexandria, Virginia; Slave pen. Interior view, LC-B811-2298, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670633/> (there are actually two different versions of this scene that can be differentiated by the poses of the two soldiers in the center of the frame; see <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/107FZ7>); Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Interior view, LC-B811-2299 Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670634/>.

<sup>209</sup> Alexandria, Virginia. Slave pen. Exterior view, LC-B811-2300, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670637/>.

wood about eight or nine feet above the ground. Mostly-obstructed from view by the corner of this structure is what appears to be a cellar bulkhead entrance.

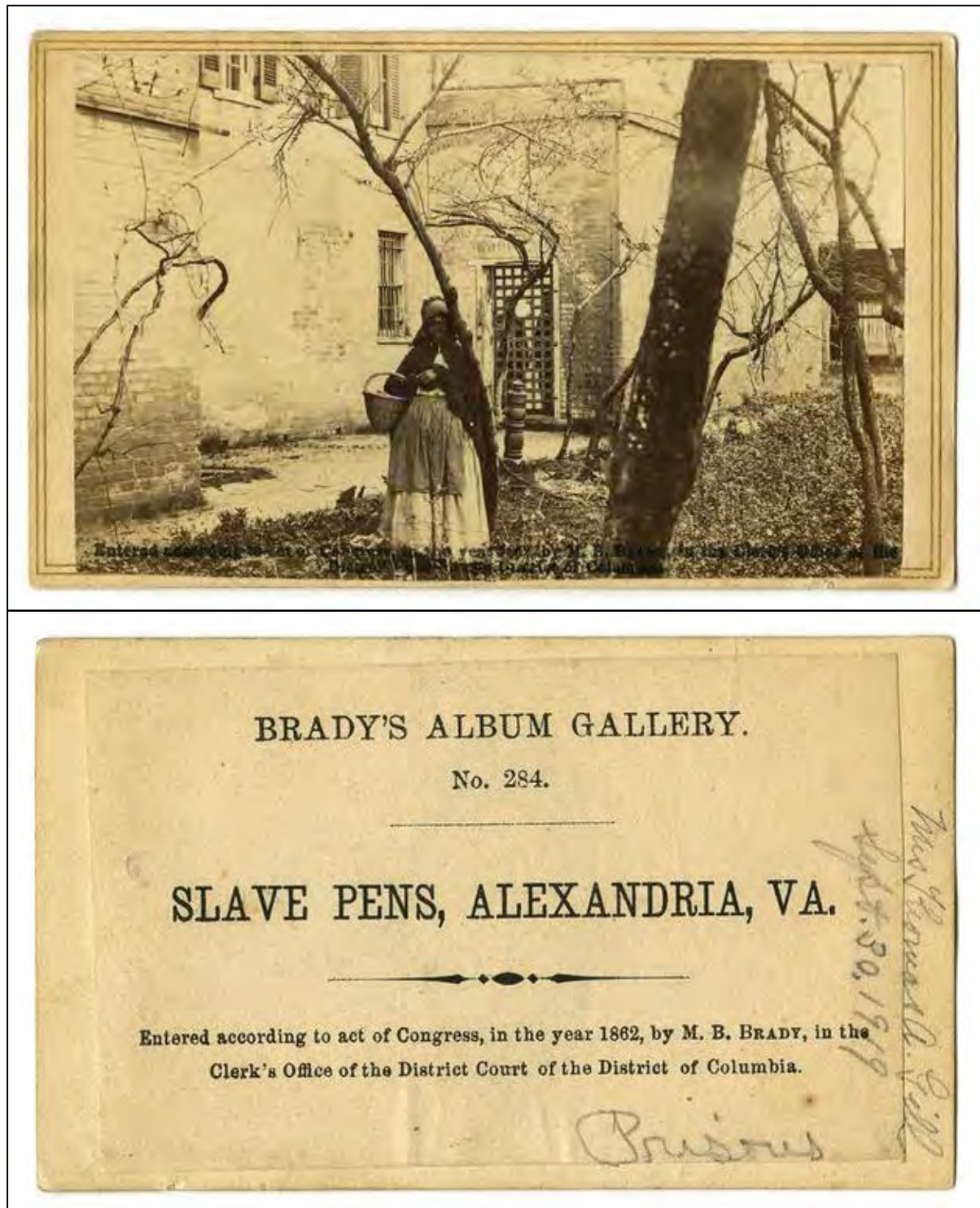


Figure 33. Slave Pens, Alexandria, VA, front and rear, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, <https://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/objects/11250>.

In the center of the brick building is what appears to have been a residential structure, although with modifications in its service as a slave jail. Visible on the two-story elevation are three bays (a fourth and a fifth bay are blocked from view by the brick massing on the left). The upper windows appear to be double-hung sash, and each has a pair of wooden shutters. Visible above these windows is a dog tooth brick cornice. The visible lower openings all appear to have been modified from their original form. The window on the far right has had iron bars installed over it. The window to the left of it has obviously been bricked-in, as evidenced by the remaining jack arch directly below the corresponding window on the floor above and discoloration in the brickwork under the jack arch. To the left of this second window is another bricked-in opening, another window or possibly a door, given its central location on this wall. The brickwork here is the same color as the wall surrounding it, but this former opening can be identified by the remaining jack arch directly below the window above it. At the bottom at ground level are small vent holes and no windows, suggesting there is no basement under this part of the structure in contrast to the previous section with its bulkhead entrance..

At the rear of the brick structure is a one and a half story brick pen or yard. The most prominent feature visible from this view is the iron grated door. We can note the presence of uniformed soldiers (given the context, almost certainly Union) behind this door to the right of the woman and conclude it had to have been taken after May 24, 1861 (which we could have already reasonably concluded given this wartime image is attributed to Mathew Brady or his studio). Given the brightness of the area behind the soldiers, the brick pen or yard is uncovered. The righthand image of this stereopair also shows a fence, fences, or open shed with a lean-to roof in the yard behind this brick pen.

An extant published print of the Brady photograph is stamped front and back with the words, “Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1862, by M. B. Brady, in the Clerk’s Office of the District Court of the District of Columbia.”<sup>210</sup> The title on this image is “Slave Pens, Alexandria, Virginia” (Figure 33). A July 19, 1862 report in the *New York Daily Tribune* titled “Brady’s Photographs of the War” described Brady’s attempts at documenting the first year of the Civil War. While it does not explicitly mention this photograph, it does mention Brady had been to and documented the slave pens in Alexandria at some point prior.<sup>211</sup> Later in August, a merchant in Providence, Rhode Island published a list of photographic prints for sale in his shop, at least most of which were images from Brady’s studio, including “View of Alexandria, 1862” (the photograph of 1315 Duke Street with the wagon, catalog number 2296) and “Slave Pens, Alexandria” (this photograph of the woman, catalog



Figure 34. “Card Photographs Of----”, Providence Evening Press, August 23, 1862, p.4.

<sup>210</sup> <https://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/objects/11250> and

<sup>211</sup> “Brady’s Photographs of the War”, *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1862, pp. 3-4.

number 2300) (Figure 34).<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, the leaves visible in the photograph appear to be in the process of leafing out, a process that occurs when trees grow new leaves in the spring.

Because we can account for this photograph by the summer of 1862, because the state of the new leaf growth visible in the photograph suggests sometime in the spring, and because these leaves would have been in a more advanced state of growth by May 24, 1861 when the army crossed the Potomac River from Washington, D.C. and liberated the site, we can conclude that this photograph had to have been taken sometime in the late winter or early spring of 1862, quite possibly on the same day Brady's studio came to Alexandria to photograph 1315 Duke Street. In any case, 1207 Duke Street was consumed by fire on October 21, 1862 (see below), so we can conclude that this photograph must predate that fire.

On October 21, 1862, the brick former-slave pen at 1207 Duke Street was severely damaged by a fire (Figure 35).<sup>213</sup> The interior and the roof were "consumed":

Fire.—The brick dwelling on Duke Street, Opposite the Orange and Alexandria railroad Depot, belonging to the estate of the late Robert Windsor and Messrs. Grigsby and Millan, Caught fire to-day about one o'clock, and the Roof and interior were consumed. The house Was at the time used as quarters for "contrabands. The fire originated in one of the upper rooms, in which there was a stove, a coal of fire from which fell on the floor during the absence of the occupants of the room.

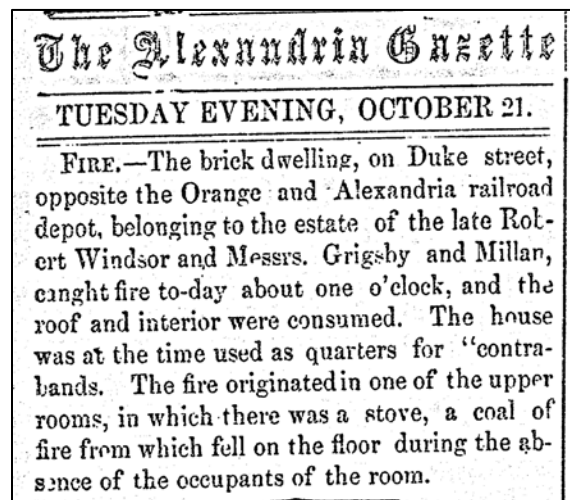


Figure 35. "FIRE", Alexandria Gazette, October 21, 1862, p. 3.

Later photographic evidence shows the main block of the structure was completely gutted by the fire, while the rear wing may have been salvageable (see below). At the time, the site was used as housing for so-called "contrabands", formerly enslaved African Americans who came to Alexandria and the Union army for their freedom. Also on this same block were the "Contraband Barracks", which were a series of three long, two-story barracks structures built as "contraband" housing at some point in 1862.<sup>214</sup> The ruins of 1207 Duke can be seen behind these barracks in at least one Civil War-era photograph, behind the Orange & Alexandria Roundhouse in another Civil War-era photograph, and in a map of the U.S. Military Railroad Depot at Alexandria dated September 1865.<sup>215</sup>

A structure resembling 1207 Duke Street appears on the 1863 Charles Magnus "Birds Eye View of Alexandria, Va" (Figure 36). The building here along the 1200 block of Duke Street has double chimneys along the east wall like 1207 Duke Street; however, the brickwork of the east wall of 1207 should be

<sup>212</sup> "Card Photographs of—", *Providence Evening Press*, August 23, 1862, p. 4.

<sup>213</sup> "Fire", *Alexandria Gazette*, October 21, 1862, p. 2.

<sup>214</sup> "L'Overture Hospital, Contraband Barracks, etc." <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/109182952>.

<sup>215</sup> <https://www.loc.gov/item/2014645753/>; <https://www.loc.gov/item/2022654776/>; "Map of the U.S. Military Railroad Station at Alexandria, Va.", Wm. M. Merrick, National Archives; Record Group 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Civil War Maps File, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/305670>;



Figure 36. Detail of Magnus' "Birds eye view of Alexandria, Va., 1863. View is facing west. Duke Street is running vertically along the left side of the image here, Commerce Street is running diagonally at the top right, Fayette Street is running horizontally at the bottom, Payne Street is running horizontally in the middle, and West Street is running horizontally at the top. Visible here are the long "Contraband" barracks along Payne Street (center), 1207 Duke Street (far left, but on the right [north] side of Duke Street)), and 1315 Duke Street (top left)

sloped to match the roof gable and not square or parapeted as shown by Magnus. Furthermore, the kitchen wing and brick yard at the rear of the main block do not appear in this depiction.<sup>216</sup> Therefore, this depiction should be interpreted to be only representational of the building at 1207 Duke Street.

The best views of 1207 Duke Street were captured in two separate frames taken by Captain Andrew J. Russell from the top of the roundhouse of the Orange & Alexandria Railroad (then operating as the United States Military Railroad) sometime during or after the spring of 1863, but before the main L'Ouverture Hospital building was built at some point later that year on the north half of the block bounded by Duke, Prince, Payne, and West Streets (Figures 37 and 38).<sup>217</sup> The first patients were admitted to L'Ouverture Hospital on February 15, 1864, and given the visible leaves on the trees in this photograph, Russell's photographs must therefore date to the spring, summer, or fall of 1863.<sup>218</sup> The arrangement of the trains in the foreground, ladder against the long contraband barrack visible behind

<sup>216</sup> Magnus, Charles, "Birds eye view of Alexandria, Va.", 1863, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/81694373/>.

<sup>217</sup> See "No. 119 Commissary Department, Alexandria Slave Pen, Fort Ellsworth, Seminary Hospital, Camps, etc. in distance", Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106RVR>, and "No. 89 Alexandria, From Round House looking North-showing contraband quarters", Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106RVP>. The Huntington Library also holds prints of these two images: "View from Round House, Alexandria, Va." The Huntington Library, <https://cdm16003.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16003coll6/id/346>, and "View from Round House, Alexandria, Va., looking north showing contraband quarters", The Huntington Library, <https://cdm16003.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16003coll6/id/345>.

<sup>218</sup> Captain Russell did not learn how to operate a camera until February 1863 and is not detached from the 141<sup>th</sup> New York until March 1, 1863; see Williams 2002, pp. 444-445; dates of construction for the buildings comprising L'Ouverture Hospital are provided on "L'Ouverture Hospital, Contraband Barracks, etc.", Map 111, Sheet 20, War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, Post and, Reservation Maps 1820-1905, Record Group 92320, National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/109182952>; Register 578, L'Ouverture Hospital, Field Records of Hospitals, RG 94, National Archives, L'Ouverture Hospital Records database, on file, Alexandria Archaeology,



Figure 38. Left: No. 119 Commissary Department, Alexandria Slave Pen, Fort Ellsworth, Seminary Hospital, Camps, etc. in distance”, Andrew J. Russell, Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106RVR> and Right: No. 89 Alexandria, From Round House looking North—showing contraband quarters”, Andrew J. Russell, Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106RVP>.

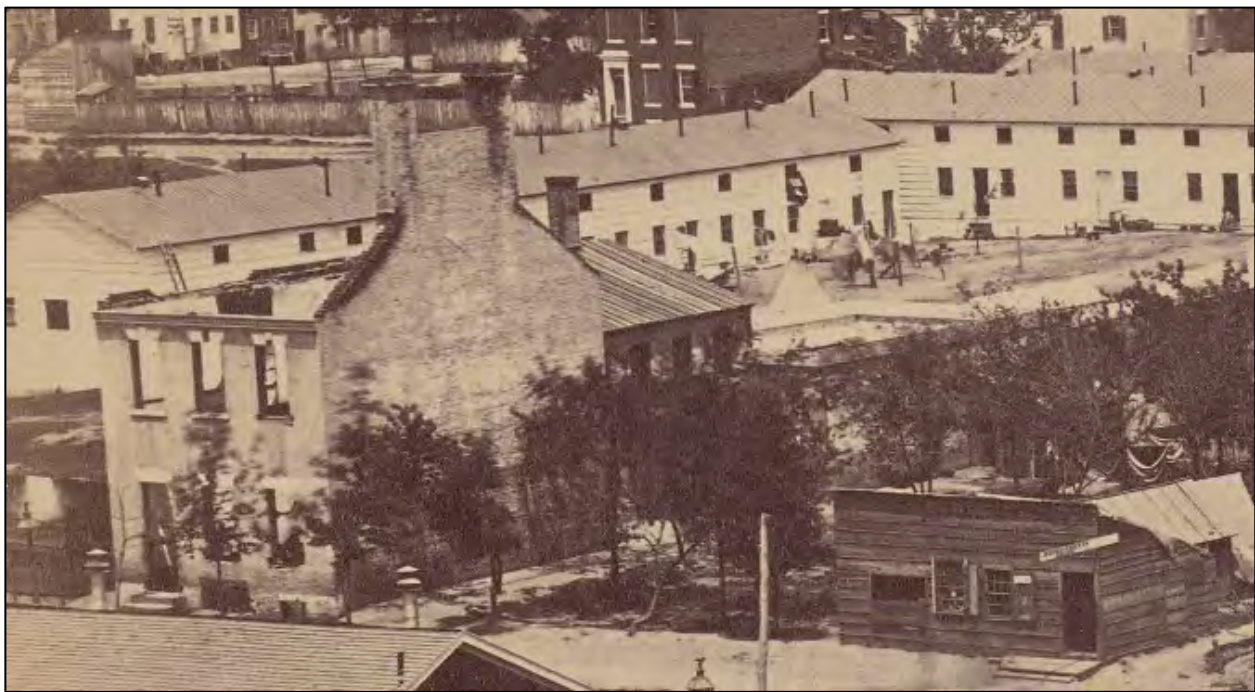


Figure 37. 1207 Duke Street, sometime in the spring, summer, or fall of 1863. Detail from No. 89 Alexandria, From Round House looking North—showing contraband quarters”, Getty Museum Collection, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106RVP>.

1207 Duke Street, and some of the other details suggest that these two photographs were taken close together in time, perhaps on the same day; however, the angle of the shadows would suggest that if these two photographs were taken on the same day, they were taken minutes-to-hours apart and not seconds-to-minutes apart.

At the far right of the lefthand frame and at the far left of the righthand frame (in the center of the combined panorama), Russell’s photograph shows the ruin of the house and slave pen at 1207 Duke

Street. The gable roof over the main block is gone and the interior appears to have been completely gutted by the fire. Scorching is evident in the brickwork, which appears to have survived the fire mostly intact. The roof over the rear kitchen wing appears to be a standing seam metal roof and does not appear to be damaged in this photograph; however, an earlier image (see below) reveals this roof was originally covered with wood shingles and had been replaced (or at least heavily repaired) since the fire. Because the structure was being used housing for “contrabands” when it burned in October 1862, it would appear that this section of the building was repaired in order to make the rear portion habitable again. Visible at the rear of the kitchen wing (and likely accessible from the back of it) is the same one and a half story brick slave pen visible in the Brady photograph of the woman holding a basket (catalog number 2300). It appears to be roughly square and whitewashed like the rest of the brickwork at 1207 Duke Street.

In addition to these two images showing the streetscape along Duke Street, Russell captured the slave pen at 1207 Duke Street at some earlier point in 1863, possibly around March, from the same vantage point on top of the roundhouse (Figure 39).<sup>219</sup> Like the other two Russell photographs, this previously unpublished photograph, captioned “Old Slave Pen – Alexandria, Va”, is taken from generally the same



*Figure 39. Detail of “Old Slave Pen – Alexandria, Va”, photograph by Andrew J. Russell, c. 1863; image reproduced courtesy of Walton Owen.*

<sup>219</sup> Detail of “Old Slave Pen – Alexandria, Va”, photograph by Andrew J. Russell, c. 1863; image reproduced courtesy of Walton Owen.

angle as the 1862 Brady photograph, just from higher up and farther away. With fewer leaves blocking the structure at 1207 Duke Street, this image reveals more of the structure at 1207 Duke Street, especially the one-and-a-half-story rectangular brick pen or yard and the kitchen wing. Visible in this image but not the other two is the same iron grated door visible in the Brady photograph as well as a thin wooden strip installed about eight or nine feet above the ground on the east wall of the main block of the house, also visible in the Brady photograph. The roof over the kitchen wing is not standing seam metal like in the other two Russell photographs; in this earlier photograph it appears to still be covered with wood shingles and still shows damage from the October 1862 fire. Also visible through the windows of the rear kitchen block is what appears to be extensive damage to the interior of this wing. Given the replacement of the roof, it would suggest that the rear of the building was repaired at some point in 1863 and continued to be occupied as quarters for “contrabands”, even if the front wing sat as a ruin until it was documented as such in a September 1865 map of the adjacent railroad depot. Just barely visible in the side yard, near the northeast corner of the main block of 1207 Duke is the small, curved tree against which Brady captured the woman standing against the previous year.

1207 Duke Street is visible in at least one more Civil War-era photograph (Figures 40 and 41).<sup>220</sup> For a detailed discussion regarding the photographer and date of this photograph, see the writeup by this



Figure 40. "View of town, probably Alexandria, Va", photograph likely by Andrew J. Russell, likely dated between April 18-29, 1864, National Archive, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/529200>.

<sup>220</sup> "View of town, probably Alexandria, Va", photograph likely by Andrew J. Russell, likely dated between April 18-29, 1864, National Archive, NAID 529200, Local ID 111-B-5095, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/529200>.



Figure 41. Ruins of 1207 Duke Street, visible from Shuter's Hill. Detail of "View of town, probably Alexandria, Va", photograph likely by Andrew J. Russell, likely taken between April 18-29, 1864, National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/529200>.

author in the Winter 2023-2024 issue of the *Alexandria Chronicle* (Skolnik, 2024a, pp. 28-30).<sup>221</sup> In short, it appears likely that this photograph was also taken by Andrew J. Russell, and while he dates a panoramic exposure of this scene to April 15, 1864, they can be dated to sometime after April 18, 1864 (a documented house fire occurred on this date and its ruin is visible in the photograph) but before April 29, 1864 (when the 44<sup>th</sup> New York leaves their camp on Shuter's Hill, which is visible in the wider-angle view). This photograph shows 1207 Duke Street from the west, capturing it in profile. The west profile appears whitewashed. On the right is the main, southern block of the building. The western gable above the second story has collapsed, but the red brick interior of the eastern gable with its double, parapeted chimneys is visible. Immediately to the left (north) of the main block is the two-story kitchen addition. Clearly visible here, its roofline is a sloped shed roof, typical of the flounder style found elsewhere in Alexandria. This block has two chimneys. To the left (north) of the kitchen wing is the one-story, uncovered, brick pen or yard.

Comparing these Russell photographs taken from the top of the roundhouse and from Shuter's Hill to the Brady photograph of the woman holding a basket, it is clear that these photographs show the same slave pen, allowing us to place Brady's photograph at 1207 Duke Street.

<sup>221</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., "Photographic Presentments of Them Will Be Accepted By Posterity With An Undoubting Faith": Correcting Two Civil War-Era Photographs of Alexandria, Virginia Attributed to William R. Pywell and Published in Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War (1866), Part I: The Slave Pen", *Alexandria Chronicle*, Winter 2023-2024

## Confusing the Slave Pens at 1315 Duke Street, 1207 Duke Street, and 1707 Duke Street

The slave pen at 1315 Duke Street was a major point of interest for soldiers and civilians moving through Alexandria during the war. Many descriptions of the building appear in newspapers across the country as soldiers and war correspondents wrote home with descriptions of what they saw in Alexandria. A few of the descriptions note the presence of multiple slave pens in the City, and of these, many focus their attention on the one at 1315 Duke Street, as it was the largest, most notorious, and still being used as a prison during the war. When the initial building and property history report for 1315 Duke Street was written, it was assumed that any reference to more than one slave pen was referring to the Price, Birch & Co. slave pen at 1315 Duke Street and the Bruin slave pen at 1707 Duke Street; however, with the discovery of the Millan and Grigsby slave pen at 1207 Duke Street, these references need to be revisited. In some cases, the description is specific enough to suggest the writer is describing the former slave pens at 1315 Duke Street and 1207 Duke Street, but in others, either it is not clear if the writer is describing 1207 Duke or 1707 Duke or if they are conflating multiple sites in a single description. Of particular importance here in trying to determine which sites the writers were describing are the provided locations of the slave pens, their uses at the time of the account, and the physical description of the site (especially the number of stories and the configuration or layout of the jail). Further complicating this analysis is these authors use of the plural noun “pens” to describe both one and more than one of these sites.

A correspondent for the *Boston Morning Journal* provided the following account of the slave pens at Alexandria:

“The headquarters of the guard of the Massachusetts Fifth are at the slave pens, near the depot of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The slave pens proved quite a curiosity to our Massachusetts men. A partial description might not be uninteresting to your readers. The houses in front of the pens, large, old fashioned structures, were apparently used as hotels or boarding houses for slave dealers. The largest (there are but two pens in Alexandria) has the following sign over the door: “Price, Birch & Co, Dealers in Slaves”.<sup>222</sup>

The description of this largest slave pen continued for several more lines and clearly describes the slave pen at 1315 Duke Street. The correspondent concluded this description and only briefly noted that, “the other house and pen is nearly the same in appearance, but much smaller.” Given its proximity to the rail depot, it seems likely this second, smaller pen is 1207 Duke Street and not 1707 Duke Street.

In June 1861, an item titled “The Slave Pens” appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.<sup>223</sup> It begins:

The slave pens are only a square from the depot and office of the Manassas Gap Railroad. They are still the object of curiosity of a number of people who daily visit Alexandria from Washington. Passes having been procured from the Provost Marshal, you can readily pass the guard which are stationed around them. On the lower one is painted in large letters upon the wall, “Price, Burch & Co, Dealers in Slaves.”

<sup>222</sup> “Our Army Correspondence”, *Boston Morning Journal*, June 13, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>223</sup> “The Slave Pens”, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 24, 1861, p. 1.

The description here of the location of the pens as being within a block of the rail depot fits both 1207 and 1315 Duke Street, but not 1707 Duke Street, but 1315 Duke is described as the lower one, which may suggest the upper one is located further up Duke Street at 1707 Duke.

Three weeks after the slave pens of Alexandria were liberated, Lieutenant Charles Bowers of the 5<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment Volunteer Militia, wrote in a letter to his wife, Lydia E. Bowers, in Concord, Massachusetts:

My order was to report at headquarters Alexandria at 10 o'clock and perform the [picket] duty twenty four hours. At that hour I was ready for duty. We were quartered in a large building very near the Alex. And Wash. [railroad] depot. The sign over the door read as follows, "W. R. Millan Dealer in Slaves." In the rear of the house was a slave pen, yard, + prison. The pen was a long, narrow, low building looking very much like a pig pen. It had a roof and the floor was littered with dirt and straw. The yard was a space about fifty feet square surrounded with a brick wall 20 ft high, entrance from the pens and through the house. The prison a low brick room with two windows and two doors all grated with strong iron bars. I could hardly realize that I was in a veritable slave pen but I could not be mistaken. Here the sighing of the bondman has been heard and here the unutterable was endured thus have brought down the retribution of that impartial God who has declared thus "the wailings of the Captive and the stripes of the oppressed and of him who hath none to help him shall be avenged". For these wrongs and sufferings and outrages inflicted by professing republicans + Christians upon the poor, trembling, enduring here one [of] the real causes thus have convulsed the Country and brought the present terrible calamities upon us. I was confined exclusively to my duties, and did not ever have time to write you. I did not go to bed last night. The house was deserted by its occupants when our troops entered Alexandria, and in so much haste that much of the furniture was left. The parlor was a handsome room and well furnished. Two mahogany [mahogany] chairs and a large sofa remain there yet. That the other part of the house was as dirty as it well could be. Lice [lice] and bed bugs were crawling [crawling] on the mattress and the odor from the kitchen + pens terribly offensive. I did not lay down at all but if I have escaped contagion + vermin I shall think myself fortunate. We made no arrests and the city is as quiet as old Concord can be.<sup>224</sup>

The proximity of the building to the railroad depot would seem to rule out 1707 Duke Street. Lt. Bowers' description of the sign over the door, in contrast to the more infamous "Price, Birch & Co. Dealers in Slaves" sign reported by numerous Civil War witnesses and in multiple photographs of 1315 Duke Street, identifies this site as the slave pen recently abandoned by Walker R. Millan at 1207 Duke Street. It is possible one of Millan's signs still survived at 1315 Duke Street, which he had occupied until around March 1, 1859, but Bowers also correctly identifies the pen at the rear of the house at 1207 Duke in contrast to the sides at 1315 Duke. It should also be noted that he switches between describing one pen and multiple pens in this passage. While no known map records the exact configuration of this slave pen, Civil War-era photographs of the site suggest Bowers slightly overestimated the dimensions and

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<sup>224</sup> Charles Bowers to Lydia E. Bowers, June 12, 1861, Charles Bowers letters, 1835-1864, Ms. N-1906, Massachusetts Historical Society; *History and Complete Roster of the Massachusetts Regiments, Minute Men of '61 who responded to the First Call of President Lincoln, April 15, 1861, to defend the Flag and Constitution of the United States, Together with Photographs and Biographical Sketches of Minute Men of Massachusetts*, George W. Nason, Smith & McCance, Boston, 1910, p. 137.

height of the yard (see discussions of the Brady and Russell photographs below). This account suggests Millan (and possibly Grigsby) were at 1207 Duke until shortly before May 24, 1861, as evidenced by the inadequate evacuation of the furnishings. In several similar accounts of troops at 1315 Duke Street, the presence of the firm's business papers (letters, account books, etc.) was noted, but Bowers is silent on their presence or absence here.

Also in June 1861, an item in the *Janesville Daily Gazette* clearly described the slave pen at 1315 Duke Street, but described the main block as a “comfortable house of brick, two stories high”, perhaps conflating the two-story brick structure at 1207 Duke Street with the one at 1315 Duke Street.<sup>225</sup>

A correspondent with the *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* wrote of a short visit to Washington and Alexandria in July 1861 and included a description of the slave pens.<sup>226</sup> They wrote:

“I went all over two slave pens, and saw the places where the poor black men had been offered up at auction like so many dumb beasts. The largest one still bears upon its front the following sign: “Price, Birch & Co., Dealers in Slaves.” These pens are connected with the residence of the owner, who occupied with his family the front of the building. In the rear is a large court yard, together with sleeping rooms, all secured by massive locks and bars. But these places will no more be used for such purposes, for the approach of the northmen will sweep away every vestige of slavery from one of the finest countries in the world.”

It is not clear if the description of “these pens” is in reference to both 1315 Duke Street and the second pen visited (likely either 1207 Duke or 1707 Duke), or just the two brick yards on either side of 1315 Duke Street.

Just a month prior to the October 21, 1862 fire, a correspondent for a New York newspaper reported, “At Alexandria, Washington, there are over a thousand deserted and neglected negroes. There is a nominal care over them; but, in reality, it is next to none. They are huddled together in old slave pens, in the rudest kind of shanties, under trees and ragged canvas coverings, many times without food, necessary clothing or beds.”<sup>227</sup> This connection of contrabands and an Alexandria slave pen came up multiple times when preparing the 1315 Duke Street property history report. At the time, it was difficult to understand the use of that building as both a military prison and as contraband housing, but not entirely surprising given the proximity of the Contraband barracks across Prince Street and L’Ouverture Hospital on the north half of the same block. However, in light of this explicit connection of contraband housing and 1207 Duke Street (including in the report about the October 21, 1862 fire), one workable explanation is that these references confuse the identities of these two slave pens (1207 and 1315 Duke) and misidentify the activities happening at each one.

In an account titled “A Drive Through the Confederate Pickets to the Tomb of Washington”, a correspondent for the *Montreal Gazette* briefly describes what is most likely 1315 Duke Street. While they describe a sign reading “----- & Co., Dealers in Slaves”, enclosed yards, 30 foot high walls, a cellar, and cellar doors against the building, they describe it as a “common two-story building”, and not a three-story building. The account from Lt. Bowers omits any “& Co.” from the sign over 1207 Duke and

<sup>225</sup> “A Slave Pen”, *Janesville Daily Gazette*, June 17, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>226</sup> “Correspondence of the Citizen and News”, *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, July 18, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>227</sup> “Exchange of Slavery for Freedom”, *New York Evening Express*, September 27, 1862, p. 2.

accounts for only one dealer in slaves on the sign, not multiple. After this description, they note that “there are several [slave pens] of this description here, but none now open, of course”, likely referencing the Millan & Grigsby slave pen at 1207 Duke Street and possibly the Bruin slave pen at 1707 Duke Street.<sup>228</sup>

On September 3, 1862, Robert Knox Sneden of the 40<sup>th</sup> New York Regiment sketched a scene from the head of King Street (Figure 42).<sup>229</sup> On the righthand side of this image, he draws a building or complex of buildings that he labeled “Slave pen (deserted)”. Unfortunately, this depiction does not match the known configuration of any of the slave pens on Duke Street (1315, 1207, or 1707 Duke Street). Given the way Sneden frames this scene, this would show the rear or north side of any slave pen on Duke Street. While the long brick building in the center of the complex generally matches the rear kitchen wings at 1315 Duke and 1207 Duke, the building mass to the right appears to be the same height and does not match the three and two-story main blocks at those sites. The lower structure on the left of the complex is positioned at the corner of the structure in much the same way that the brick yard at 1207 Duke is positioned relative to the kitchen wing, but Sneden shows it with a gable roof whereas the known photographs of 1207 Duke show it as uncovered. There also appears to be a tall brick wall surrounding the perimeter of the complex that does not correspond to any known wall or

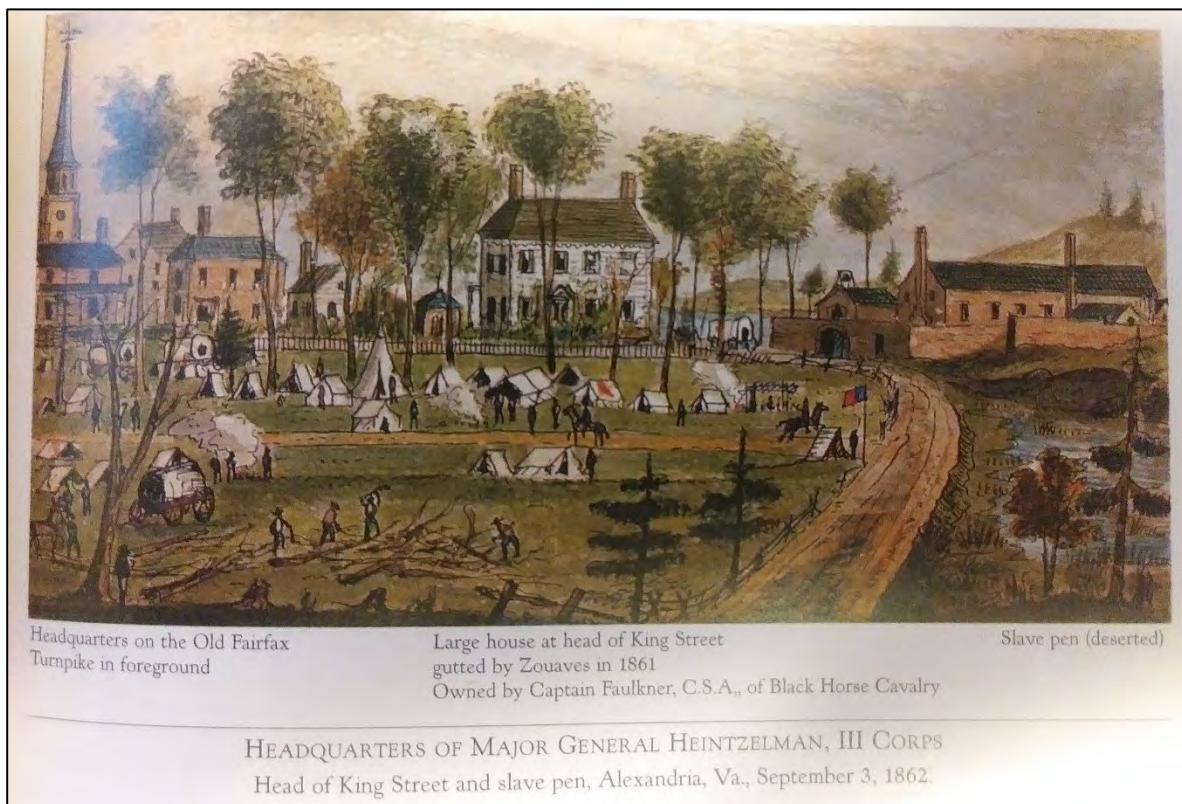


Figure 42. Headquarters of Major General Heintzelman, III Corps, Robert Knox Sneden, 1862.

<sup>228</sup> “United States Affairs”, *Baltimore American*, August 27, 1861, p. 4.

<sup>229</sup> “Headquarters of Major General Heintzelman, III Corps”, Robert Knox Sneden, 1862; see Bryan, Charles F. and Nelson D. Lankford, *Eye of the Storm: A Civil War Odyssey*, 2000.

fence that would have existed in September 1862. It is still not clear what structure Sneden is depicting here.

Four days after the fire that gutted 1207 Duke Street, a group of soldiers from the 4<sup>th</sup> New York Regiment unsuccessfully attempted to free some of their colleagues imprisoned at 1315 Duke Street, which was then being used as a military prison.<sup>230</sup> The report in the *Alexandria Gazette* notes they “marched to the guard-house (Millan’s slave jail), with the avowed intention of taking possession of it, and, as they declared, to liberate their own men confined there”, which would indicate the target of the soldiers’ attack was the military prison at 1315 Duke Street, but also describes it as “Millan’s slave jail”. Because 1207 Duke had just suffered a catastrophic fire and because it was being used as quarters for “contrabands” at the time of the fire and not as a military prison, it would seem most likely that the association here with Millan dates to his 1855-1859 occupation of 1315 Duke Street and not his 1859-1861 occupation of 1207 Duke Street.

After describing the Price, Birch & Co. slave pen at 1315 Duke Street, the unnamed author of an item dated October 30, 1863 and appearing in the *Coos Republican* writes, “Further up the street was formerly a similar structure, but it is partially destroyed by fire, and its large unroofed pen is now the retreat of numerous families of slaves who escaped on the advance of our armies.”<sup>231</sup> The description here to include the fire, the unroofed pen, the its association with “contrabands” would seem to suggest that this second site was the former slave pen at 1207 Duke Street and not the one at 1707 Duke Street.

On February 29, 1864, a lot (but not also a house) owned by Walker R. Millan and located at Payne and Duke Streets was sold at auction under the U.S. Direct Tax Law.<sup>232</sup> The property was assessed at \$300 and sold to W. A. Duncan for \$150. It is not immediately clear which parcel this is, but because it does not include a house with the lot, is probably not the 1207 Duke Street parcel.

One additional set of Civil War-era accounts that are potentially relevant to 1207 Duke Street are found in the diaries of Julia Wilbur.<sup>233</sup> Wilbur, an abolitionist from New York with connections to the Rochester Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society, came to Alexandria in 1862 to provide humanitarian aid as “a sort of missionary-at-large, a woman-of-all-work”.<sup>234</sup> Wilbur did not arrive in Washington until October 23, 1862, two days after 1207 Duke Street burned, and did not make it to Alexandria until October 28, 1862, and for this reason, her accounts are largely outside the scope of this report. That being said, her diaries contain *numerous* entries related to the slave pens of Alexandria. A cursory read of her diaries would suggest most of these references are to the Price, Birch & Co. jail at 1315 Duke Street, then used as a military prison, but at least one explicitly refers to Bruin’s jail at 1707 Duke, and on May 1, 1864, she makes a reference to a regiment of African American soldiers marching through Alexandria and past a

<sup>230</sup> “Threatened Attack on the Guard House”, *Alexandria Gazette*, October 25, 1862, p. 2.

<sup>231</sup> “Editorial Correspondence”, *Coos Republican*, November 3, 1863, p. 2.

<sup>232</sup> “Sales Under U.S. Direct Tax Law”, *Alexandria Gazette*, March 1, 1864, p. 2; while not consulted for this study, see possibly Alexandria County Deed Book X3 p. 480 (Mary J. Fout to Richard Windsor, October 26, 1866) and Y3 p. 284 (Walker R. Millan to Richard Windsor, November 4, 1867) for property transactions back to Richard Windsor.

<sup>233</sup> Diaries of Julia Wilbur, March 1860 to July 1866, transcriptions by volunteers at Alexandria Archaeology, <https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/civilwar/juliawilburdiary1860to1866.pdf>.

<sup>234</sup> Whitacre, Paula Tarnpol, *A Civil Life in an Uncivil Time: Julia Wilbur’s Struggle for Purpose*, Potomac Books, 2017, pp. 4-5.

pair of slave pens, “one in ruins & the other occupied by Union soldiers”.<sup>235</sup> From the information presented in this report, it seems likely this ruinous slave pen is 1207 Duke Street and not 1707 Duke Street. Future work should analyze these references to one or multiple slave pens in Alexandria in Wilbur’s diaries and attempt to identify which references, if any, are to the former Millan & Grigsby slave pen at 1207 Duke Street.

### Post-Civil War and into the Present (1865-present)

For the purposes of this research report documenting the use of 1207 Duke Street as a slave pen, this narrative ends here during the Civil War. The history of 1207 Duke Street following the October 21, 1862 fire is largely outside the scope of this report documenting its use as a slave jail. By this point, the structure had not been used as a slave pen for a year and a half and would not be used as such again. Future research should bring this property history up through to the present. The following is a *brief* sketch of the property as revealed through available maps and aerial imagery (See Appendix 2).

A map of the U.S. Military Railroad Station at Alexandria created by William Merrick and dated September 1865 shows the main block and kitchen wing, but not the brick prison yard behind 1207 Duke Street.<sup>236</sup> While Russell’s photographs taken between the fire and the preparation of this map show that the building had been at least partially repaired, Merrick’s map labels the structure “Ruins”. The 1877 Hopkins atlas shows 1207 Duke Street on the west half of its lot and the two buildings to the west (1209 and 1211 Duke) as having been built by that date.<sup>237</sup> Hopkins shows no indication that 1207 Duke Street stood as a ruin at this time, and it seems likely that repairs to the house had been made by this point and it again functioned as a residence.

An 1878 plat of the block labels the property as being in the possession of “Windsor”.<sup>238</sup> This is possibly Richard Windsor, who in 1866 and 1867 received property from both Mary J. Fout and Walker R. Millan, who owned two-fifths and three-fifths of the 1207 Duke Street property, respectively. Alternatively, on October 7, 1871, Richard H. Windsor purchased “the two-story brick house on the north side of Duke, between Fayette and Pyane streets” from auctioneer F. A. Kerby.<sup>239</sup> Future research should continue this research and verify whether or not these deeds convey the 1207 Duke Street property. After the Civil War, Walker R. Millan served as the Sheriff of Fairfax County between 1867 and 1869.<sup>240</sup>

The 1885, 1891, and 1896 Sanborn atlases do not extend far enough west along Duke Street to map 1207 Duke Street, but by 1902, a one-story square brick addition had been added at the rear of the kitchen wing and a two-story frame addition, possibly a porch with an open balcony above, had been

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, Wednesday April 22, 1863, pp. 284-285, Sunday May 1, 1864, p. 420.

<sup>236</sup> Map of the U.S. Military Railroad Station at Alexandria, VA From Actual Survey by Wm. M. Merrick. War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/305670>.

<sup>237</sup> City Atlas of Alexandria Va: From Official Records, Private Plans, and Actual Surveys, Based Upon Plans Deposited in the Dept. of Surveys, Griffith Morgan Hopkins, Jr., 1877.

<sup>238</sup> Arlington County (Va.) Chancery Causes, Mary E. Keith vs. Catherine Keith, 013-1878-033, Local Government Records Collection, Arlington Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia, [https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case\\_detail.asp?CFN=013-1878-033](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1878-033), p. 35.

<sup>239</sup> “Property Sales”, *Alexandria Gazette*, October 7, 1871, p. 3.

<sup>240</sup> “Sheriffs of Fairfax County Since 1742”, Sherriff’s Office, Fairfax County, Virginia. <https://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/sheriff/sheriffs-fairfax-county-since-1742>

added to part of the east wall of the kitchen wing.<sup>241</sup> To the back of the property, there also appears to be a small one-story frame shed or perhaps a privy. The main block is mapped as a two-story building.

By 1912, the two-story frame addition had been removed and the one-story square brick addition had been replaced by two, smaller one-story brick and brick and frame additions or sheds on the rear of the kitchen wing.<sup>242</sup> Despite disappearing in later editions of the Sanborn atlas, these two small additions appear similar to what exists at 1207 Duke Street today and these may date to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The small shed or privy toward the rear of the property is depicted as being smaller in 1912 than it did in 1902. The main block of the house is mapped as a two-story building with an attic.

The 1921 Sanborn atlas maps 1207 Duke Street as it appeared in the 1912 Sanborn atlas except the main block is now mapped as a 2 ½ story dwelling, and while difficult to discern any detail, appears to be what is captured in 1927 aerial imagery of the City.<sup>243</sup> The 1931 Sanborn atlas suggests all of the additions north of the original kitchen wing had been removed, but 1937 aerial imagery suggests a small addition may have remained.<sup>244</sup>

A historic house tour brochure from 1937 briefly describes the history of the property thusly: “Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bucknell, 1207 Duke Street. This house was built about 150 years ago. The neighborhood legend is that it was built by a slave importer who had amassed a fortune in that activity. It is near the buildings in which the slaves were housed prior to their sale at auction.”<sup>245</sup> The legend here correctly recalls the property’s association with Kephart, Windsor, Millan, and Grigsby, even if it does not name them or go into specifics as well as the nearby slave jail at 1315 Duke Street. This text overestimates the age of the house, misattributes its construction to these slave traders, and suggests 1207 Duke was only a residence and the slave trading business was conducted nearby, whereas the above research would suggest otherwise (at least for the period between 1859 and 1861).

A one-story frame porch across the east side of the kitchen wing depicted on the 1941 Sanborn atlas also appears on the 1937 aerial photograph.<sup>246</sup> A building permit requesting permission to build a one-story porch here was filed with the City Engineer, initially denied, and ultimately approved by the Zoning Board of Appeals in August 1935.<sup>247</sup> This porch appears to be the porch currently along the east side of the kitchen wing and is the most notable visual difference between the 1862 Brady studio photograph of the side yard of 1207 Duke Street and the same scene today.

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<sup>241</sup> 1902 Sanborn Map Co. Atlas of Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>242</sup> 1912 Sanborn Map Company Atlas, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>243</sup> 1921 Sanborn Map Company Atlas, Alexandria, Virginia; 1927 Aerial Imagery, National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Record Group 328, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/305955>, on file with Alexandria Archaeology.

<sup>244</sup> 1931 Sanborn Map Company atlas, Alexandria, Virginia.; 1937 Aerial Imagery. Farm Service Agency, FG Series. National Archives, RG 145.8.

<sup>245</sup> Brochure, 1207 Duke Street, on file with City of Alexandria Department of Planning & Zoning.

<sup>246</sup> 1941 Sanborn Map Company atlas, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>247</sup> Permit Number 1309, 1207 Duke Street, Application for Permit for Repairs, Alterations, etc., Office of the City Engineer, City of Alexandria, Virginia, on file with City of Alexandria Department of Planning & Zoning.

## Conclusion

While the available evidence is far from conclusive, the property at 1207 Duke Street appears to become entangled in the domestic slave trade beginning on July 3, 1847 when it was purchased at auction by Robert N. Windsor, acting in his capacity as the representative and agent for slave trader George Kephart. This study has not uncovered any positive evidence to suggest that Kephart and Windsor were actively using 1207 Duke Street as a slave jail in the same manner as they were using 1315 Duke Street, located just one block to the west. Rather, it would appear likely that Windsor and his family were using this property as a residence and a dwelling, and perhaps Kephart was also staying here when in town on business. After Windsor's death in 1852, his daughters became the owners of the property, and in turn, they rented it to individuals with no documented connection to the domestic slave trade. In 1858, Kephart unsuccessfully attempted to evict known slave trader Walker R. Millan from 1315 Duke Street (Millan's lease ended in March 1859 and he probably left 1315 Duke Street at that point). In August 1859, Millan purchased three fifths interest in the property at 1207 Duke Street which by then had come into the possession of the Windsors' sisters' cousin and her husband. At that point in August 1859 (if he had not already begun when he left 1315 Duke Street in March), Millan, together with Grigsby, began to operate their domestic slave trading business out of 1207 Duke Street until he likely fled the City in advance of the Union Army, which crossed the Potomac River into Alexandria May 24, 1861.

Future research should further document the slave trading activities of Millan and Grigsby (both singly and in partnership together), as well as those of Kephart and Windsor. Attention should also be paid to the Civil War-era use of the property as quarters for "Contrabands." The chain of title and property history should be extended from Civil War up through the present. Future research should also include a detailed architectural survey of the standing building with attention to identifying surviving elements from its use as a slave jail as well as a preliminary archaeological assessment to determine if archaeological resources may still exist.

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## Appendix 1

### Annual City of Alexandria Tax Assessment for 1207 Duke Street

| Year | Page #                                       | Proprietors            | House & Lots    | Streets       | Occupants  | Assessed Value | Tytables | Furniture | Stories | Horses | Cows | Carts | 2 Wheel Carriages | Male Dog |
|------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|----------------|----------|-----------|---------|--------|------|-------|-------------------|----------|
| 1807 | 30                                           | James Keith            | L 1 Square      | Prince + Duke | Vacant     | 1600           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1808 | No personal property tax list for this year? |                        |                 |               |            |                |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1809 | No tax list for this year                    |                        |                 |               |            |                |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1810 | 10                                           | Chas. L Nevitt         | H L             | Duke          | Vacant     | 1000           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1811 | 10                                           | C. L Nevitt            | H L             | Duke          | Self       | 2500           | 6        |           | 2       | 1      |      | 1     |                   |          |
| 1812 | 11                                           | Charles L Nevitt       | H + Lott 27     | Duke          | Self       | 2500           | 6        |           | 2       | 2      | 1    | 2     | 1                 |          |
| 1813 | 10                                           | Charles L. Nevitt      | H + Lott 27     | Fayett + Duke | Self       | 2500           | 3        |           | 2       | 1      | 1    |       | 0                 |          |
| 1814 | 10                                           | Charles L. Nevitt      | H + 2 Lots      | Duke 26       | Self       | 2500           | 5        |           | 2       |        | 2    |       |                   |          |
| 1815 | 10                                           | Charles L. Nevitt      | H + Lot 26 feet | Duke          | Self       | 2500           | 1        |           | 2       | 1      |      |       | 1                 |          |
| 1816 | 9                                            | Anderson & Preston     | H + Lot 26 ft   | Duke          | Neil       | 2500           |          |           | 0       |        |      |       |                   |          |
|      | 9                                            | Rebecca Neil [or Nut?] |                 |               |            |                |          |           | 2       |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1817 | 9                                            | Thomas Preston         | H & Lot         | Duke          | Neil       | 2500           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
|      | 9                                            | Rebecca Neil           |                 |               |            |                |          |           | 2       |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1818 | 9                                            | Thomas Preston         | H & Lot         | Duke          | McPherson  | 2500           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
|      | 9                                            | Daniel McPherson       |                 |               |            |                | 1        |           | 2       |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1819 | 8                                            | Thomas Preston         | H & Lot         | Duke          |            | 2500           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
|      | 8                                            | Wm Ballenger           |                 |               |            |                | 1        |           | 1       |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1820 | 9                                            | Thomas Preston         | H & Ls          | Duke          | Dundass    | 2500           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
|      | 9                                            | Agnes Dundass          |                 |               |            |                |          |           | 2       |        | 1    |       |                   |          |
| 1821 | 9                                            | Thomas Preston         | H & Lot         | Duke          | Empty      | 2500           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |
| 1822 | 9                                            | Thomas Preston         | H & Lot         | Duke          | Marsteller | 2500           |          |           |         |        |      |       |                   |          |

Appendix 1 - Annual City of Alexandria Tax Assessment for 1207 Duke Street

|      |   |                                      |             |                    |            |      |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|------|---|--------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|------|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|--|---|--|
|      | 9 | Samuel A. Marsteller                 |             |                    |            |      | 3 |  | 2 | 1 | 1 |  |   |  | 1 |  |
| 1823 | 8 | Thos. Preston                        | H & Lot     | Duke               | Marsteller | 2500 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 8 | S. A. Marsteller                     |             |                    |            |      | 2 |  | 2 | 1 |   |  | 1 |  | 1 |  |
| 1824 | 8 | Thos. Preston                        | H & Lt      | Duke               | M Anderson | 2500 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 8 | Mrs. Anderson                        |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 2 |   | 1 |  |   |  |   |  |
| 1825 | 9 | Thos. Preston                        | H & Lt      | Duke               | Anderson   | 2500 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Widow of Js. Anderson                |             |                    |            |      |   |  | 2 |   | 1 |  |   |  |   |  |
| 1826 | 9 | Thos Preston                         | H & Lot     | do [Duke & Fayet]  |            | 2500 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Widdow Anderson                      |             |                    |            |      |   |  | 2 |   | 1 |  |   |  |   |  |
| 1827 | 9 | Thomas Preston                       | 2H & Lt     | Fayette + Duke     | H. Harris  | 2900 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Hannah Harris                        |             |                    |            |      |   |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Nace Minor                           |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
| 1828 | 9 | Thomas Preston                       | 2H + 2 Lot  | Fayette + Duke     | G. Simpson | 2900 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Gerard Simpson                       |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 2 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Nace Minor free Col                  |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | David Middleton free Col             |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Hannah Harriss free Col              |             |                    |            |      |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
| 1829 | 9 | Thos Preston                         | 2 Hs + Lots | Fayet + Duke       | Simpson    | 2300 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Jaret Simpson                        |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Sandy Beckerton [or Bickerton?] Cold |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Nace Miner Cold                      |             |                    |            |      | 1 |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
|      | 9 | Sophy Barnes                         |             |                    |            |      | " |  | 1 |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |
| 1830 | 9 | Thos Preston                         | 2 H + Lotts | " [Fayette + Duke] | Tenants    | 2300 |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |   |  |

Appendix 1 - Annual City of Alexandria Tax Assessment for 1207 Duke Street

|      |   |                                |             |                 |         |      |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|------|---|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------|------|-----|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|
|      | 9 | Nace Minor                     |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Richd House                    |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| 1831 | 9 | Thos Preston                   | 2 H + Lotts | Duke            | Goodwin | 2300 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Edward Goodwin                 |             |                 |         | 3    |     | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Patrick Alexander              |             |                 |         | 1    | 150 | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1832 | 9 | Thos Preston                   | 2 H + Lotts | Duke            |         | 2300 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Wm G. Spilman                  |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 2 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Sophia Ebb                     |             |                 |         |      |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1833 | 9 | Thomas Preston                 | 2 H + L     | Fayett + Prince | Tenants | 2300 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | James Lee                      |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Sophia Ebb (Col)               |             |                 |         |      |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Samuel Tucker                  |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 2 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1834 | 9 | Thos Preston Jr.<br>[or Est.?) | 3 H+L       | Duke + Henry    | Ten     | 2300 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Nelson Keen                    |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | James Lee                      |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Samuel Tucker                  |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Henry Broadback                |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1835 | 9 | Thomas Preston Est             | 3 H + L     | Duke + Faye     |         | 2300 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Nelson Keene                   |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Frances Williams Col           |             |                 |         |      |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Samuel Tucker                  |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 2 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1836 | 9 | Thos. Preston Est.             | H+L         | Duke + Fayette  |         | 2300 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Saml Tucker                    |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 2 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | George Decket Col              |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Nelson Keene<br>" [maybe Col?] |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1837 | 9 | Thos Prestons Est              | Hs+L        | Duke + Fayet    | Tucker  | 2000 |     |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Saml Tucker                    |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 2 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9 | Geo Decket Cold                |             |                 |         | 1    |     | 1 |   |   |   |  |  |  |  |

Appendix 1 - Annual City of Alexandria Tax Assessment for 1207 Duke Street

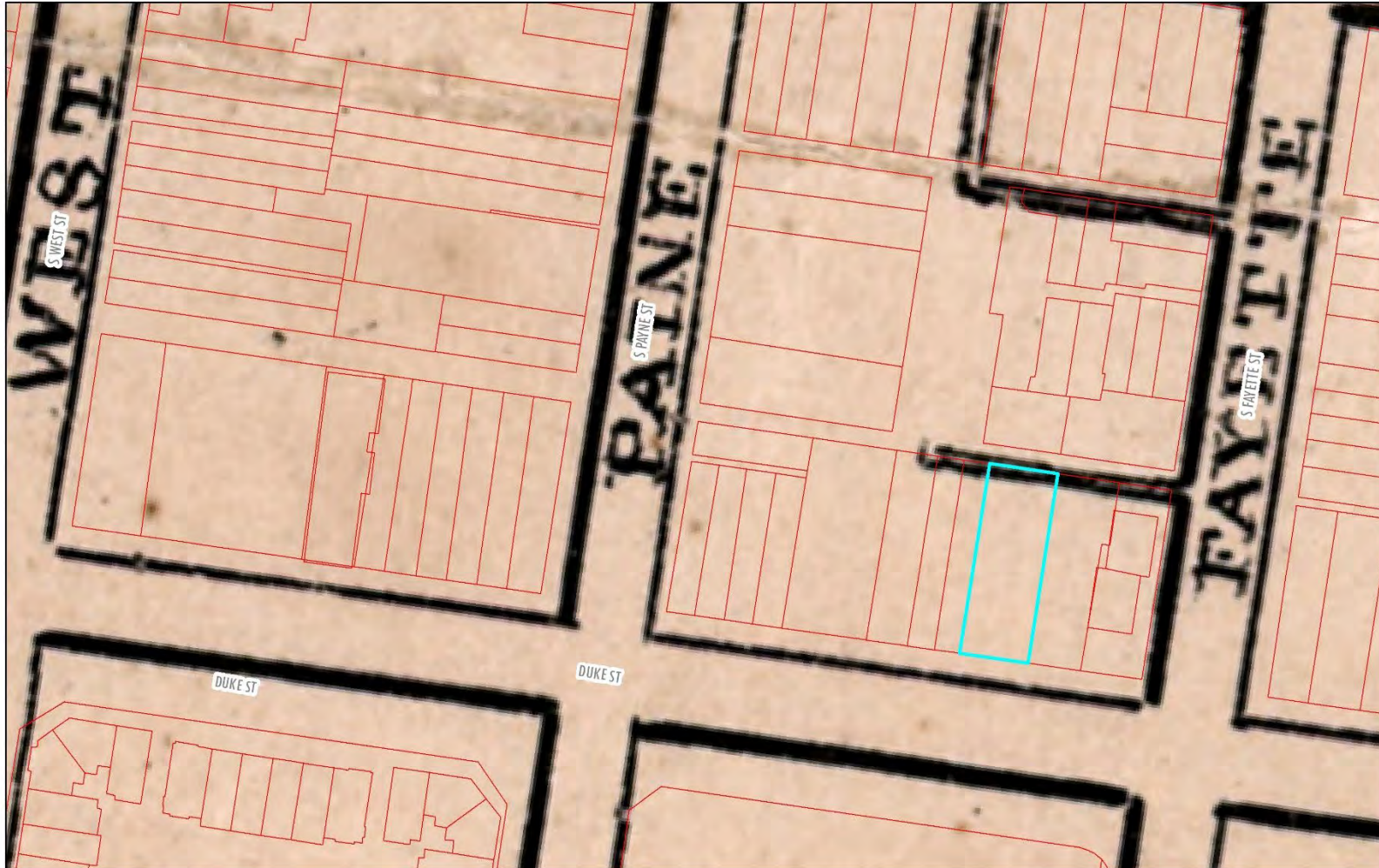
|      |     |                        |                  |                              |        |      |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|------|-----|------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--------|------|--------------|--|----------------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1838 | 8   | Thos Prestons Est      | H+L              | " [Duke] +<br>Fayett         |        | 2000 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Saml Tucker            |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 2                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1839 | 9   | Thos Preston's<br>Est  | H+L              | do + do<br>[Duke +<br>Henry] |        | 1800 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9   | Saml Tucker            |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 2                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1840 | 8   | Thos. Preston's<br>Est | H+L              | Fayett+do<br>[Duke]          | Tucker | 1800 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Saml Tucker            |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 2                    |  |   | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| 1841 | [9] | Thos. Preston's<br>Est | H+L              | Fayett +<br>do.<br>[Duke]    |        | 1800 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | [9] | Saml. Tucker           |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 2                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | [9] | Amy Bushby             |                  |                              |        |      | <del>1</del> |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1842 | 8   | Thos Preston's<br>Est  | H +L             | do + do<br>[Duke +<br>Henry] |        | 1100 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Saml Tucker            |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 2                    |  | 1 |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 9   | Amy Bushby             |                  |                              |        |      |              |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1843 | 7   | Thos. Prestons<br>Est  | " " [H + Lot]    | " [Duke] +<br>Fayt           |        | 1500 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 7   | Betsey Colson Cd       |                  |                              |        |      |              |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1844 | 7   | Thos Preston Est       | 2 " + " [2 H +L] | " [Duke] +<br>Fayette        |        | 1000 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 7   | Betsey Colton Col      |                  |                              |        |      |              |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 7   | [West's?]              |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 2                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1845 | 8   | Thomas Preston,<br>Est | 2H +L            | Duke +<br>Fayette            |        | 1000 |              |  |                      |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Betsey Colton<br>cold  |                  |                              |        |      |              |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Simon Bailey<br>cold   |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | Slave to Benj Hughes |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Robert Lumbey<br>cold  |                  |                              |        |      | 1            |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |
|      | 8   | Widow tyler            |                  |                              |        |      |              |  | 1                    |  |   |   |  |  |  |  |

Appendix 1 - Annual City of Alexandria Tax Assessment for 1207 Duke Street

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                               |                  |                    |                       |      |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------|---|-----|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1846      | 8                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Thomas Prestons Est                           | " " [H + Lot]    | " [Duke] + Fayette | Vacant                | 600  |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1847      | 8                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Thos Prestons Est                             | " " [2 H + Lott] | " [Duke] + Fayt]   | VT                    | 600  |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1848      | 9                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Robt Windsor                                  | House + " [Lot]  | " [Duke] + Fayette | House to G. Kephart   | 1200 | 1 |     | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1849      | 9                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Robt Windsor                                  | H + " [lot]      | Fayette " [Duke]   | House to Kephart      | 1500 | 1 | 100 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1850      | 9                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Robt Windsor                                  | " [H] " [Lot]    | Fayet + " [Henry]  | House to Kephart      | 1500 | 1 | 150 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1851      | 9                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Geo Kephart                                   | " [H] " [lot]    | " [Duke] Fayett    | RN Windsor agent      | 1700 | 1 | 150 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1852      | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | George Kephart                                | " [2H] " [lot]   | " [Duke] Fayette   | RN Windsor Late agent | 2000 |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | John Crockford                                |                  |                    |                       |      | 1 | 200 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1853      | 11                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <del>George Kephart</del><br>Robt Windsor Est | " [2H] " [lot]   | " [Duke] + Fayette | Agent                 | 2400 |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 11                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | John Crockford                                |                  |                    |                       |      | 2 | 200 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1854      | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Robt. N. Windsor Est                          | H + Lot          | " [Duke] + Fayett  |                       | 3000 |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | John Crockford                                |                  |                    |                       |      | 1 | 500 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | James Martin [or Murten?]                     |                  |                    |                       |      | 1 |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1855      | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Robt N. Windsor Est                           | H + Lot          | " Duke + Henry     |                       | 2700 |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Fairfax Whiting                               |                  |                    |                       |      | 1 | 500 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 10                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Harrison Wright                               |                  |                    |                       |      | 1 |     | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1856-1861 | The format of the extant tax lists change starting in 1856. Instead of recording details for each lot, organized geographically, they are a running list of payments made on each taxable property, organized in chronological order of payment. This makes it difficult to track the owners and occupants of any given lot past 1855. |                                               |                  |                    |                       |      |   |     |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Appendix 2

**Map Series for 1207 Duke Street**



**1207 Duke Street**  
1862 Plan of Alexandria

0 100 200 400 Feet



Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



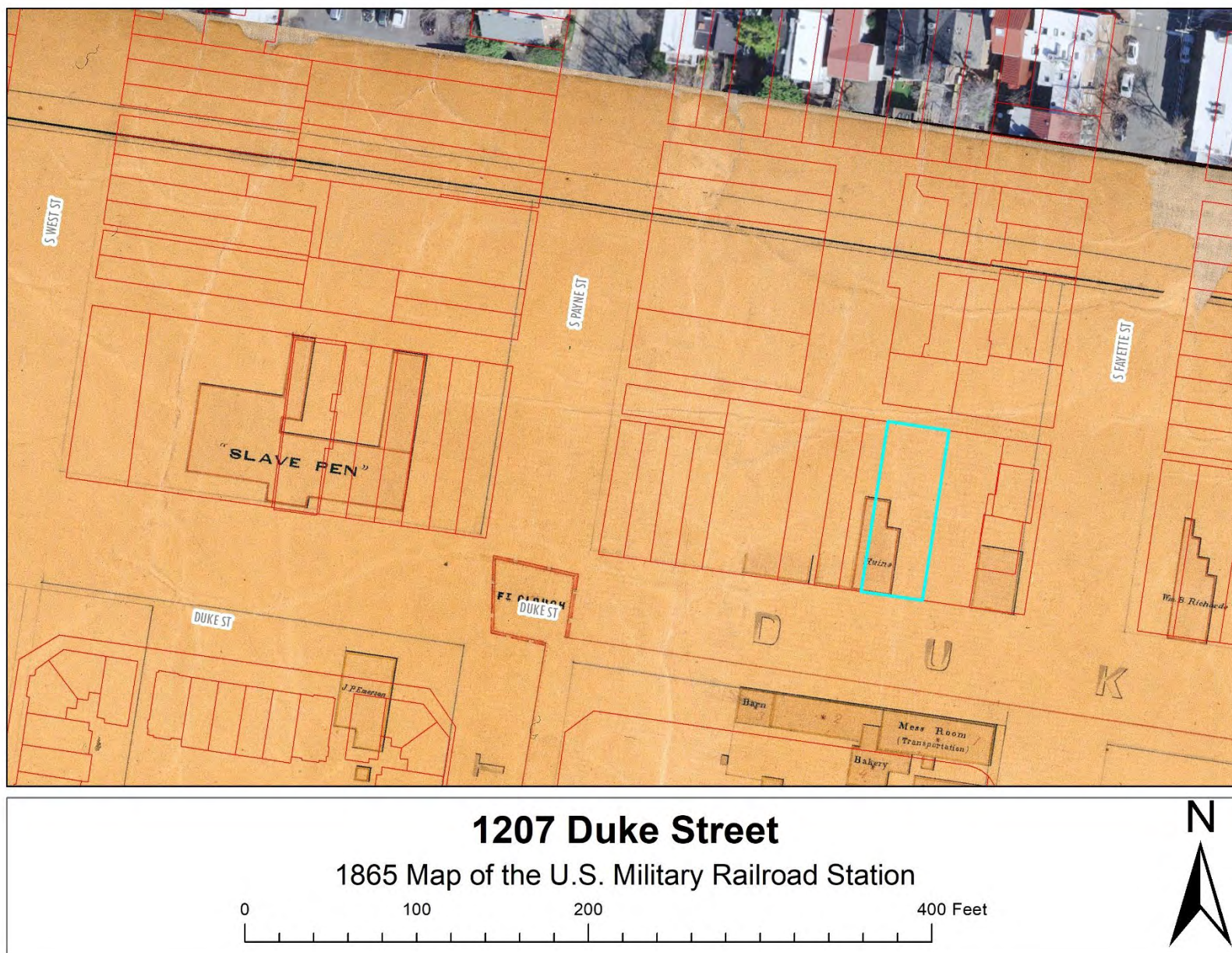


## 1207 Duke Street

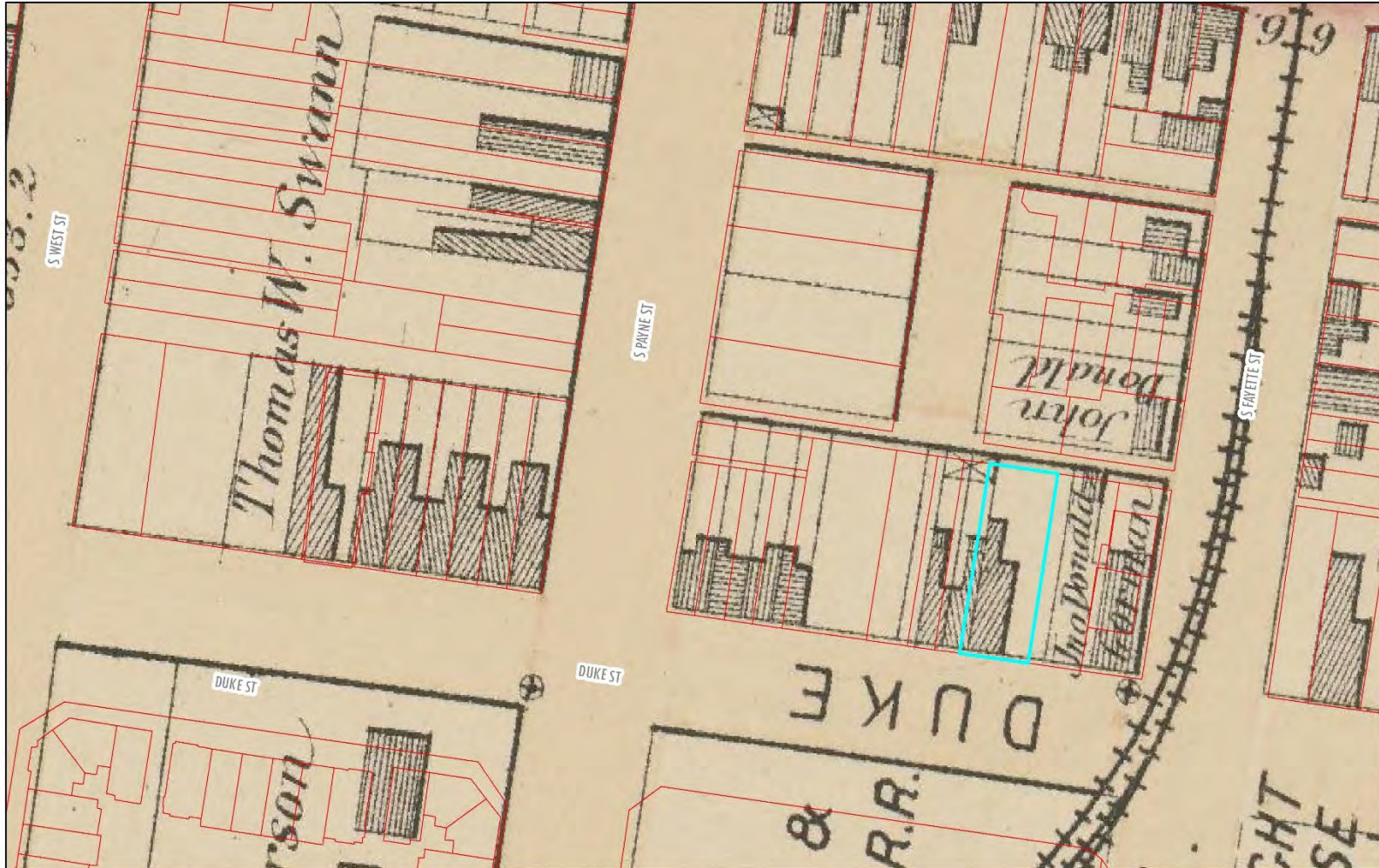
### 1865 L'Ouverture Hospital

0 100 200 400 Feet





Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



## 1207 Duke Street

1877 Hopkins Atlas

0 100 200 400 Feet





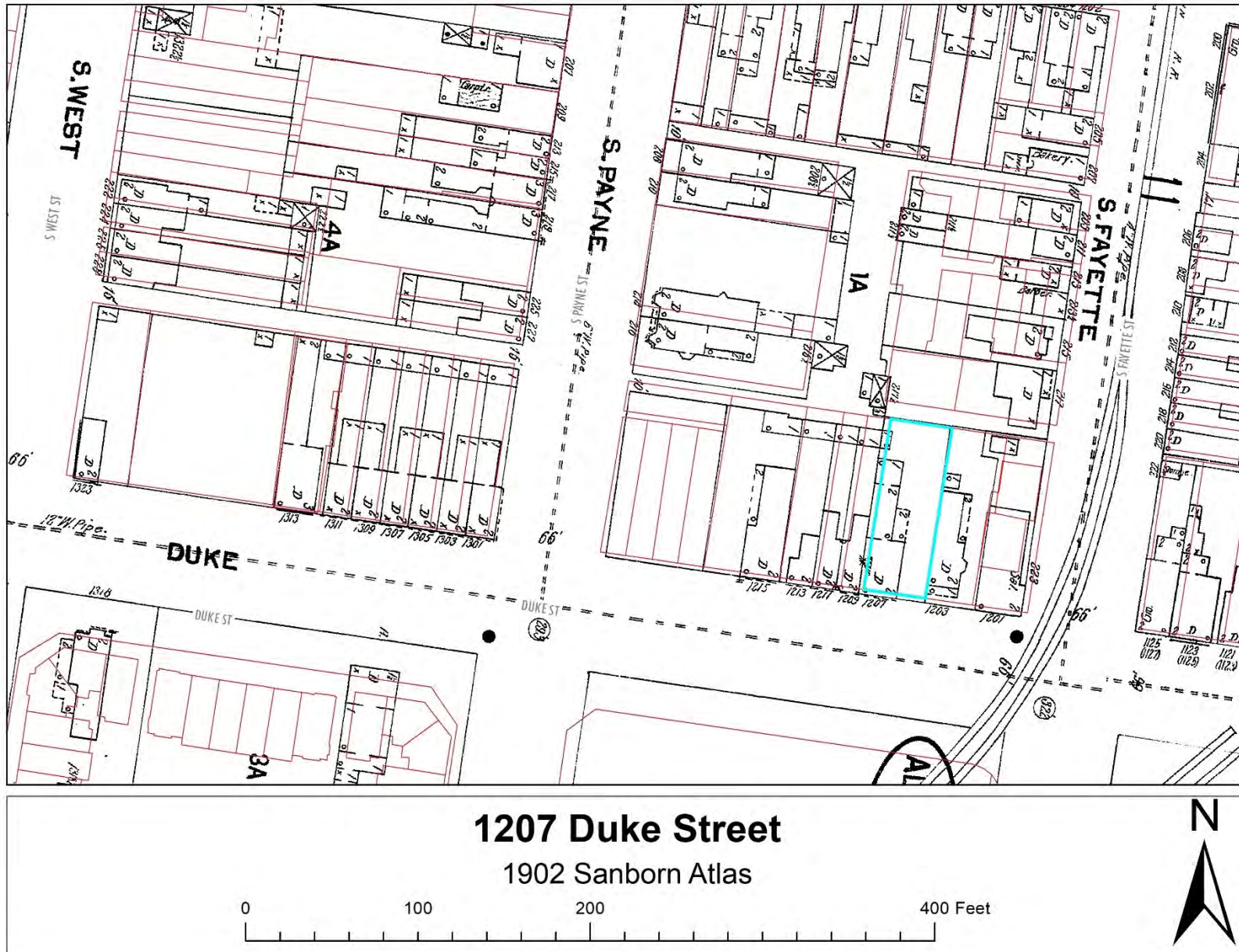
## 1207 Duke Street

1878 Plat

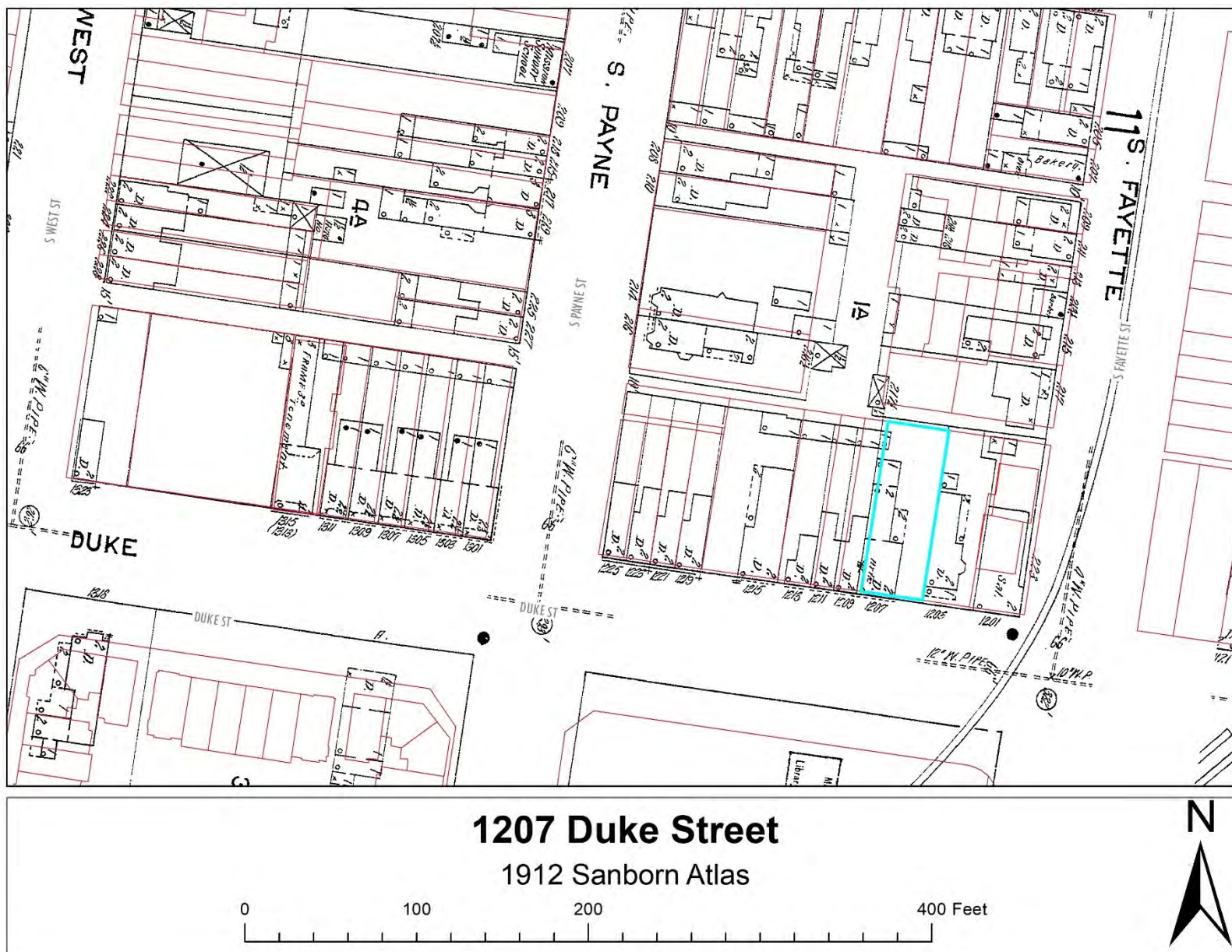
0 100 200 400 Feet

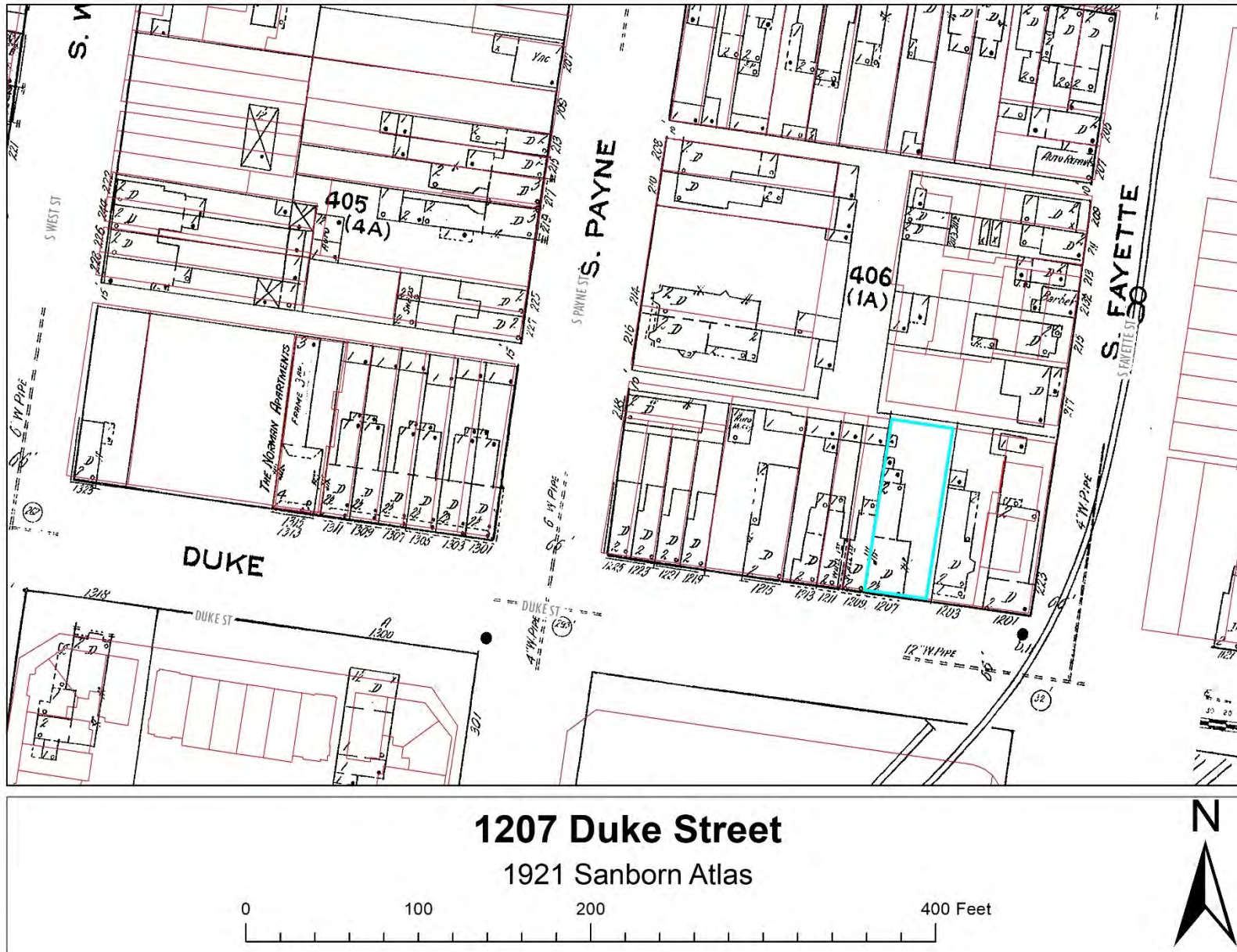


Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street

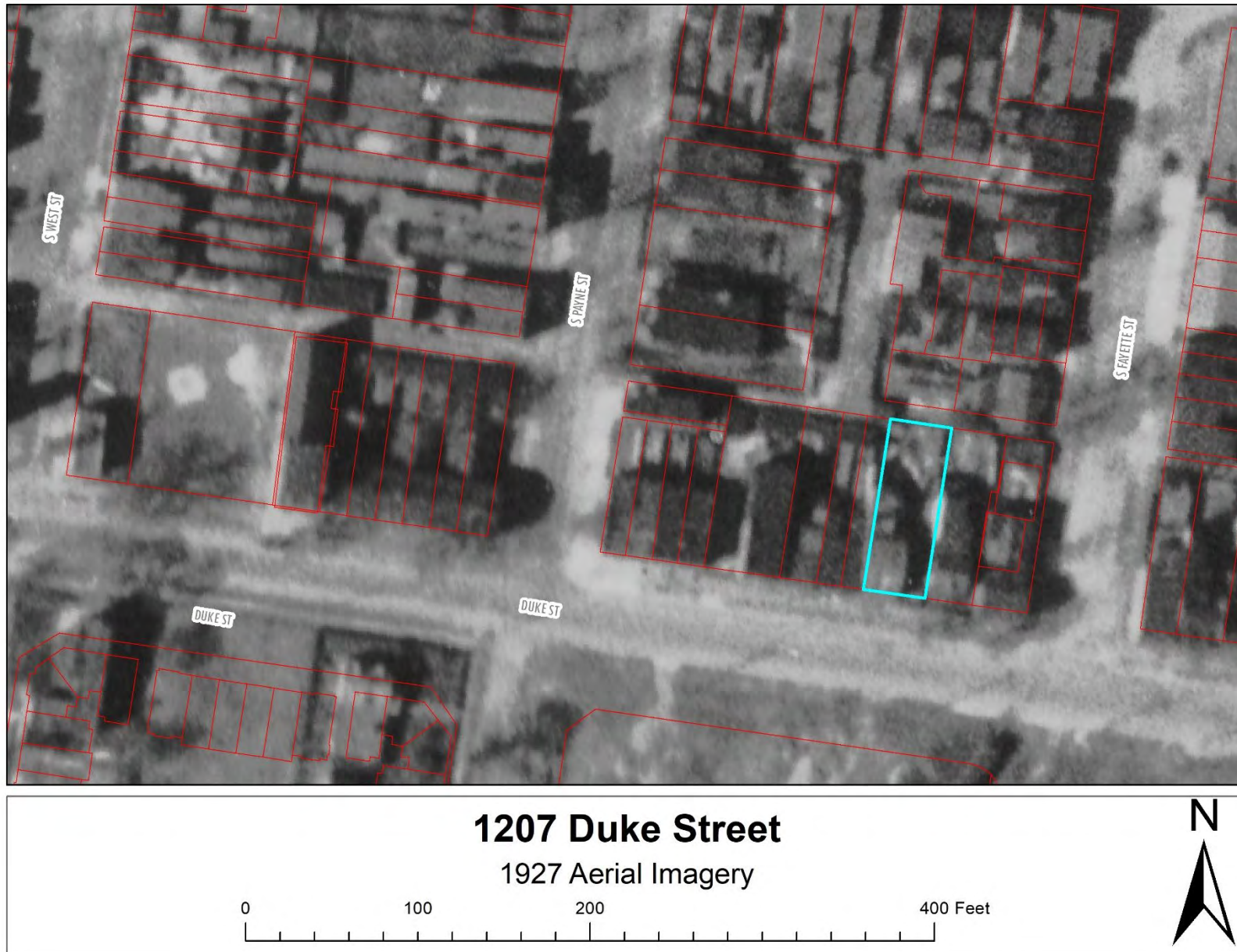


## Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street





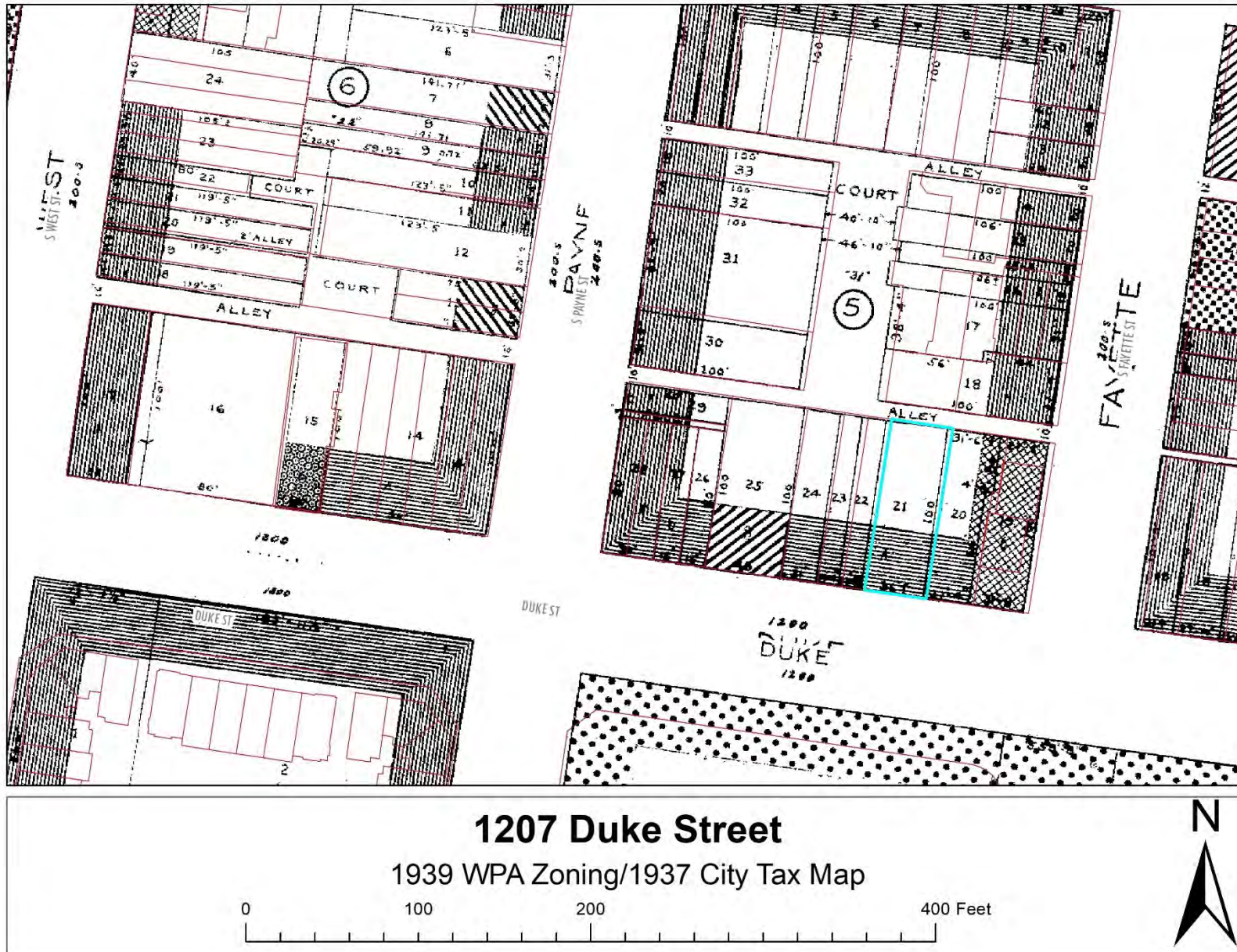
Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



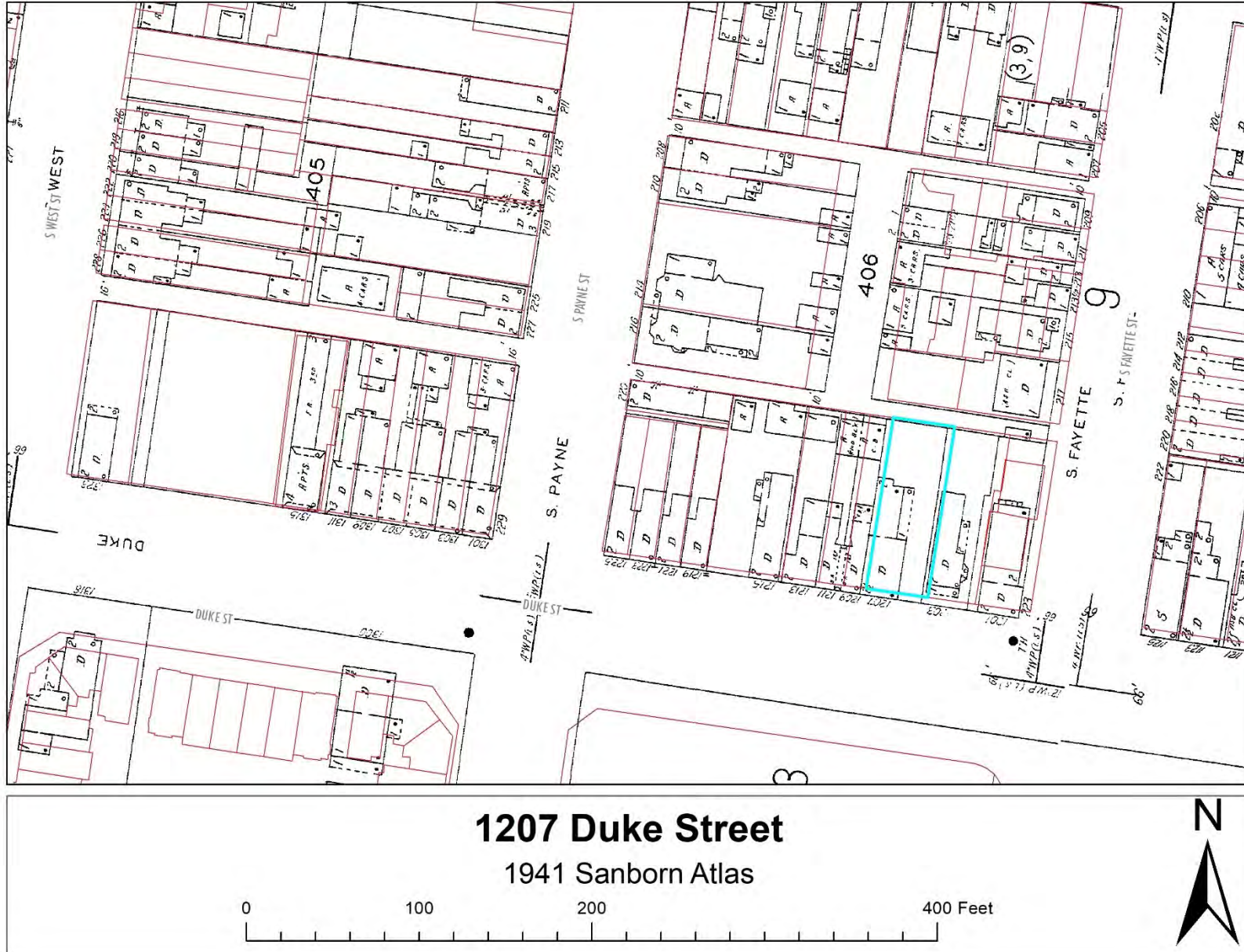
Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street



Appendix 2 - Map Series for 1207 Duke Street





**1207 Duke Street**  
1995 Aerial Imagery

0 100 200 400 Feet





**1207 Duke Street**  
2021 Aerial Imagery

0 100 200 400 Feet





**1207 Duke Street**  
2021 Aerial Imagery

0 100 200 400 Feet

