Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment

City of Alexandria, Virginia

WSSI #30683.02

Documentary Study

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Prepared for:
Hilco Redevelopment
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ABSTRACT

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc. (WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study of the Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site, which sits adjacent to and southeast of the intersection of the East Abington Drive and Slaters Lane. The research was conducted for Hilco Redevelopment of Chicago, Illinois, in anticipation of the planned redevelopment of the property. The work is required under the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code and followed a Scope of Work approved by Alexandria Archeology. The purpose of the documentary study is to develop a historical context for the interpretation of the land use history of the study area and to identify the potential locations of archeological resources that may be present, and ultimately determine if archeological investigations are needed on the property prior to development.

The Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site is located within Old Town North, the northern edge of Old Town Alexandria. The creation of the Alexandria Canal and later the establishment of railroads that reinforced this area's importance as a transportation corridor, slowly transformed this early rural agricultural landscape into a more industrial landscape. Sandwiched between the Potomac River and the rail lines, and just south of Potomac Yards, the study area in the 20th century was the location of the American Chlorophyll company, Braddock Light & Power (later PEPCP and GenOn power plant) and was adjacent to the Potomac River Clayworks factory. The residents of Old Town North - plantation owners, tenant farmers, enslaved African Americans, Freedmen and free African Americans - continued to make their homes in this area, although never as dense as Old Town. The industrial landscape is once again being transformed into a residential area with the redevelopment of Potomac Yard and continuing with the Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site

Thus, the study area has the potential to yield documentary and archeological evidence relevant to the themes of Native American Life, African American Life, Agriculture and Rural Life, Transportation, and Industrialization in Alexandria. Based on our archival research and archeological assessment, the study area has a moderate to high probability of containing evidence of Native American occupation and use of the landscape, and of 19th century and 20th century artifact deposits and archeological features; however, the potential for locating significant archeological materials and deposits is low to moderate at best, because of the degree of disturbance from the construction of Potomac River Generating Station in the 1940s. No archeological work is recommended.

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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of an archival and documentary study of the Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site, located at 1400 North Royal Street in Alexandria, Virginia, and on the site of the former PEPCO power plant (Figures 1 and 2). Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc. (WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted this Documentary Study for Hilco Redevelopment Partners of Chicago, Illinois.

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John P. Mullen, M.A., RPA served as the Principal Investigator for the project and edited the report. Rebekah Yousaf M.S.H.P. conducted the archival research and prepared the report. Kristina Bonifils, GIS Specialist, prepared the map figures. Archival research was conducted at the offices of Alexandria Archaeology, the Alexandria Courthouse, and the Barrett Branch of the Alexandria Library (Special Collections) and permits were obtained from the City of Alexandria Archives and Records Center. Research was also conducted online at the Library of Virginia, Library of Congress, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Ancestry.com, and various other sites.

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The study area lies within the Coastal Plain, which is underlain by sediments that have been carried from the eroding Appalachian Mountains to the west, and includes layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous clays, sands and gravels. These are overlain by fossiliferous marine deposits, and above these, sands, silts and clays continue to be deposited. The underlying geology is mapped as the Middle Pleistocene Shirley Formation, which consists of the surficial deposits of riverine terraces (Mixon et.al., 1989); however, Fleming speculatively maps Arell Clay (Potomac Formation) underneath the study area.

The Coastal Plain is the youngest of Virginia's physiographic provinces and elevations range from 0 to 200/250 feet above sea level (a.s.l.). It is characterized by very low relief broken by several low terraces. The Province runs west to the Fall Line, a low escarpment at circa 200 feet a.s.l., which formed where the softer sedimentary rocks of the Coastal Plain abut the more resistant rocks of the Piedmont. Where rivers cross this juncture, rapids or falls have developed.

The study area is situated along the western bank of the Potomac River (see Figures 1-2). Over the years, much of the original topography and landscape in the study area has been modified by industrial activities in the 20th century.

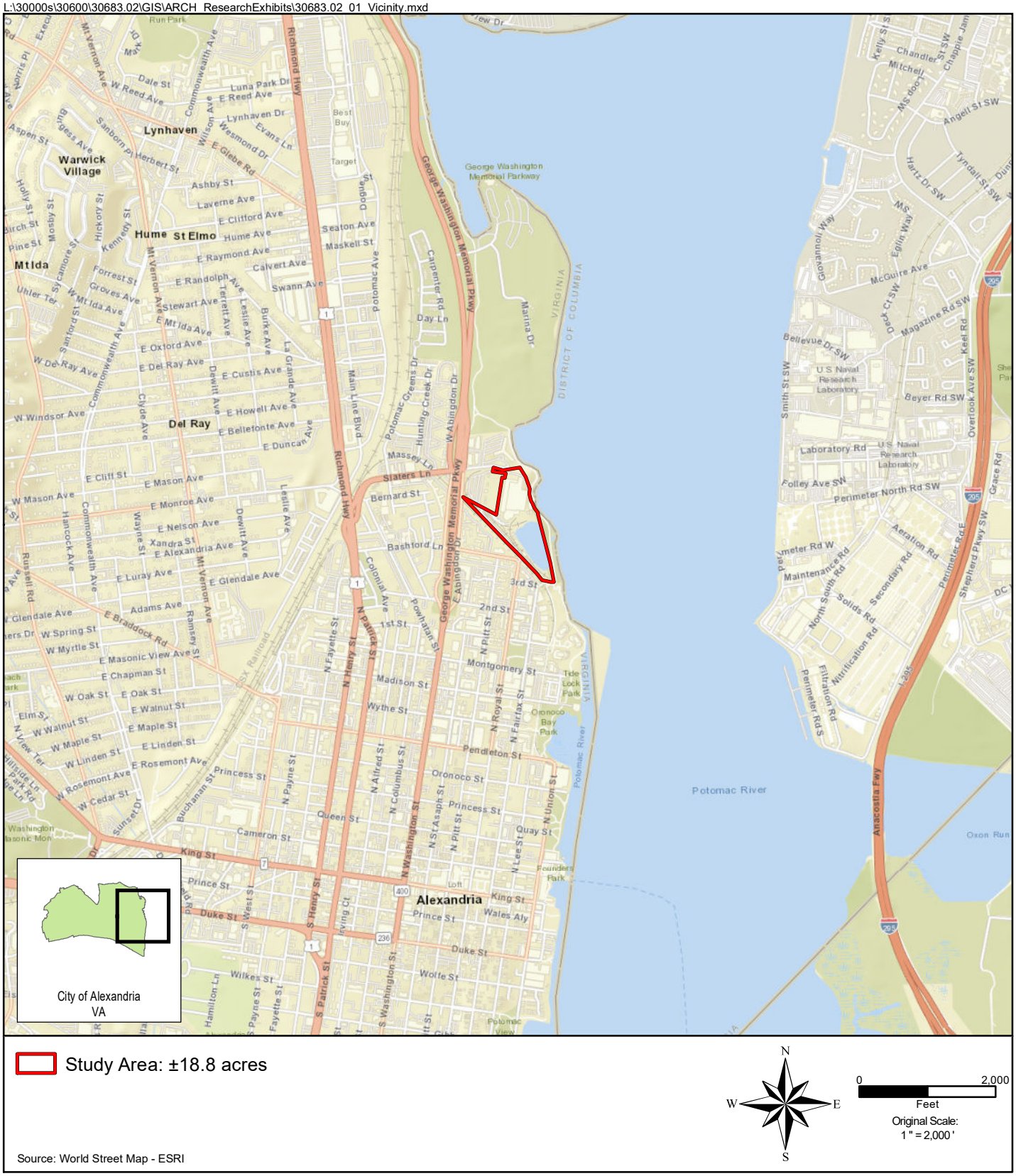

Figure 1
Vicinity Map

Figure 2
Property Map

Paleoenvironmental Background

The basic environmental history of the area has been provided by (Carbone 1976) (see also Gardner 1985, 1987; Johnson 1986). The following will present highlights from this history, focusing on those aspects pertinent to the study area.

At the time of the arrival of humans into the region, about 11,000 years ago, the area was beginning to recover rapidly from the effects of the last Wisconsin glacial maximum of circa 18,000 years ago. Vegetation was in transition from northern dominated species and included a mixture of conifers and hardwoods. The primary trend was toward a reduction in the openness which was characteristic of the parkland of 14-12,000 years ago. Animals were undergoing a rapid increase in numbers as deer, elk and, possibly, moose expanded into the niches and habitats made available as the result of wholesale extinctions of the various kinds of fauna that had occupied the area during the previous millennia. The current cycle of ponding and stream drowning began 18-16,000 years ago at the beginning of the final retreat of the last Wisconsin glaciation (Gardner 1985); sea level rise has been steady since then.

These trends continued to accelerate over the subsequent millennia of the Holocene. One important highlight was the appearance of marked seasonality circa 7000 BCE. This was accompanied by the spread of deciduous forests dominated by oaks and hickories. The modern forest characteristic of the area, the mixed oak-hickory-pine climax forest, prevailed after 3000-2500 BCE. Continued forest closure led to the reduction and greater territorial dispersal of the larger mammalian forms such as deer. Sea level continued to rise, resulting in the inundation of interior streams. This was quite rapid until circa 3000-2500 BCE, at which time the rise slowed, continuing at a rate estimated to be ten inches per century (Darmody and Foss 1978). This rate of rise continues to the present. Based on archeology (see Gardner and Rappleye 1979), it would appear that the mid-Atlantic migratory bird flyway was established circa 6500 BCE. Oysters had migrated to at least the Northern Neck by 1200 BCE (Potter 1982) and to their maximum upriver limits along the Potomac near Popes Creek, Maryland, by circa 750 BCE (Gardner and McNett 1971), with anadromous fish arriving in the Inner Coastal Plain in considerable numbers circa 1800 BCE (Gardner 1982).

During the historic period, circa 1700 CE, cultural landscape alteration becomes a new environmental factor (Walker and Gardner 1989). Around this time, Euro-American settlement extended into the Piedmont/Coastal Plain interface. With these settlers came land clearing and deforestation for cultivation, as well as the harvesting of wood for use in a number of different products. At this time the stream tributaries to the Potomac, were broad expanses of open waters from their mouths well up their valleys to, at, or near their "falls" where they leave the Piedmont and enter the Coastal Plain. These streams were conducive to the establishment of ports and harbors, elements necessary to commerce and contact with the outside world and the seats of colonial power. Most of these early ports were eventually abandoned or reduced in importance, for the erosional cycle set up by the

land clearing resulted in tons of silt being washed into the streams, ultimately impeding navigation.

The historic vegetation would have consisted of a mixed oak-hickory-pine forest. Associated with this forest were deer and smaller mammals and turkey. The nearby open water environments would have provided habitats for waterfowl year-round as well as seasonally for migratory species.

CULTURAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prehistoric Overview

The following section provides a brief overview and context of the general prehistory of the region. A number of summaries of the archeology of the general area have been written (see Gardner 1987; Johnson 1986; Walker 1981); Gardner, Walker, and Johnson present essentially the same picture, with the major differences lying in the terminology utilized for the prehistoric time periods. The dates provided below for the three general prehistoric periods, and associated sub-periods, follow those outlined by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR 2017:107-108).

Paleoindian Period (15,000-8000 BCE)

The Paleoindian period corresponds to the end of the Late Pleistocene and beginning of the Early Holocene of the Late Glacial period, which was characterized by cooler and drier conditions with significantly less seasonal variation than is evident in the region today. The cooler conditions resulted in decreased evaporation and, in areas where drainage was restricted by topography, could have resulted in the development of wetlands in the Triassic Lowlands (Walker 1981; Johnson 1986:P1-8). Generally speaking, the nature of the vegetation was marked by open forests composed of a mix of coniferous and deciduous elements. The individual character of local floral communities would have depended on drainage, soils, and elevation, among other factors. The structure of the open environment would have been favorable for deer, bear, moose, and, to a lesser degree, elk, which would have expanded rapidly into the environmental niches left available by the extinction and extirpation of the large herd animals and megafauna characteristic of the Late Pleistocene.

The fluted projectile point is considered the hallmark of the Paleoindian lithic toolkit. Based on his work at the Flint Run Complex, Gardner identified three distinct sub-phases within the larger fluted point phase (Gardner 1974). The oldest of the Paleoindian sub-phases is identified by the now classic Clovis point, a large, bifacially flaked tool with a channel or flute removed from both sides of its base. Regionally, the widely accepted beginning date for Clovis type points is circa 9500 BCE; however, some data has suggested a pre-11,000 BCE beginning date for Clovis points (Johnson 1997; McAvoy and McAvoy 1997). The Clovis sub-phase is followed in time by the Middle Paleo sub-phase, defined by smaller fluted points. The Dalton-Hardaway sub-phase is the final one of the period and is characterized by the minimally fluted Dalton and Hardaway projectile points. This three-

period subdivision is well supported by stratigraphy. Associated with these projectile points are various other tools that usually cannot be taken by themselves as diagnostic Paleoindian indicators. Examples of such stone tools include end or side scrapers, bifaces, blades, and spokeshaves, which are all associated with the hunting and processing of game animals.

Possible evidence for pre-Clovis colonization of the Americas has been found at the Cactus Hill site (44SX0202) in Virginia, where an ephemeral component dating from 15,000 to 13,000 BCE included prismatic blades manufactured from quartzite cores and metavolcanic or chert pentagonal bifaces (Haynes 2002:43-44; Johnson 1997; McAvoy 1997; McAvoy and McAvoy 1997). Generally, lanceolate projectile points, prismatic blades, pentagonal bifaces, polyhedral blade cores, microflakes and microlithic tools comprise possible pre-Clovis assemblages and a preference for cryptocrystalline lithic material such as chert and jasper is noted (Goodyear 2005). Cactus Hill and other reportedly pre-Clovis sites, including SV-2 (44SM0037) in Saltville, Virginia (McDonald 2000; McDonald and Kay 1999) and the Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in western Pennsylvania (Adovasio et al. 1990; Adovasio et al. 1998), have been the subject of much controversy and no undisputed pre-Clovis sites or sites representing substantial pre-Clovis occupations have been identified in the region.
Paleoindian archeological assemblages rarely contain stone tools specifically designed for processing plant material such as manos, metates, or grinders. This general absence or rarity of such tool categories does not mean that use of plant resources was unimportant; rather, it may suggest that a far greater emphasis was placed on hunting versus gathering, at least when viewed from the perspective of an assemblage of stone tools. For instance, carbonized plant materials have been found in Paleoindian contexts and plant remains have been recovered from some Paleoindian sites. The remains of acalypha, blackberry, hackberry, hawthorn plum, and grape were recovered from a hearth in the Paleoindian portion of the Shawnee-Minisink Site in eastern Pennsylvania (Dent 1991). Although hard evidence is lacking for the immediate study area, the subsistence settlement base of Paleoindian groups in the immediate region likely focused on general foraging, drawing a comparison with the Shawnee-Minisink data, and certainly focused on hunting (Gardner 1989 and various).

The settlement pattern of Paleoindian peoples has been described as being quarry-centered, with larger base camps being situated in close proximity to localized sources of high quality cryptocrystalline lithic raw materials, such as chert, jasper, and chalcedony. Smaller exploitative or hunting and/or gathering sites are found at varying distance from these quarry-centered base camps (Gardner 1980). This model, developed from Gardner's work at the Thunderbird site complex in the Shenandoah River Valley, has wide applicability throughout both the Middle Atlantic region and greater Eastern United States. The extreme curation (or conservation) and reworking of the blade element exhibited by many stray point finds recovered throughout the Middle Atlantic region, especially specimens from Coastal Plain localities, is a strong argument supporting the quarry-base camp settlement model. Gardner has argued that once a tool kit has been curated to its usable limit, a return to the quarry-tied base camp would be made in order to replenish raw materials (Gardner 1974).

Sporadic Paleoindian finds are reported in the Potomac Valley, but, overall, these distinctive projectile points are not too common in the local area (Brown 1979; Gardner 1974). Paleoindian fluted points have been found as isolated finds in the county; however, at the time of this writing no intact sites have yet been documented.

Early Archaic Period (8000-6000 BCE)

The Early Archaic period coincides with the early Holocene climatic period. The warming trend, which began during the terminal Late Pleistocene and Paleoindian period, continued during the Early Archaic period. Precipitation increased and seasonality became more marked, at least by 7500 BCE. This period encompasses the decline of the open grasslands of the previous era and the rise of closed boreal forests throughout the Middle Atlantic region; this change to arboreal vegetation was initially dominated by conifers, but soon gave way to a deciduous domination. Arguably, the reduction of these open grasslands led to the decline and extinction of the last of the Pleistocene megafauna, as evidence suggests that the last of these creatures (e.g., mastodons) would have been gone from the area around the beginning of the Early Archaic period. Sea level throughout the region rose with the retreat of glacial ice, a process that led to an increase in the number of poorly drained and swampy biomes; these water-rich areas became the gathering places of large modern mammals.

Similar to the Paleoindian period, the subsistence settlement strategy of Early Archaic peoples was one focused on seasonal migration and hunting and gathering. Early Archaic humans were drawn to the wet biomes resulting from sea level rise because the abundant concentration of game animal, such as white-tailed deer, elk, and bear, made for excellent hunting. As the arboreal vegetation became more abundant and deciduous forests spread, the exploitation of newly available and abundant plant resources, such as fruits, nuts, and acorns increased among Early Archaic populations (Egloff and Woodward 1992:13-14).

Although the manufacturing techniques of projectile points and the favored use of cryptocrystalline raw materials of the Paleoindian period remained unchanged throughout the Early Archaic period, stylistic changes in the lithic toolkit of Early Archaic peoples are evident. The switch from the fluting of projectile points to notching is generally considered to mark the end of the Paleoindian and the beginning of the Archaic period; examples of Early Archaic point types include Amos Corner Notched, Kirk and Palmer Corner Notched, Warren Side Notched and Kirk Stemmed varieties. Gardner has demonstrated that while corner notched and side notched points show a stylistic change from the earlier fluted varieties, they all occurred within a single cultural tradition (Gardner 1974). The transition from fluting to notching is not a radical change, but the gradual replacement of one attribute at a time. The fluting, which was nearly absent during the Dalton-Hardaway sub-phase, is replaced by corner notching, which is then gradually replaced by side notching in the Archaic sequence. The initial reason for the change in hafting and related modifications of the basal elements of Early Archaic points is likely related to the introduction of the atlatl or spear-thrower, which increased the accuracy and force with which spears could be thrown; the fluted forms may have been utilized mainly as thrusting tools, while the earlier notched forms may have been mounted onto a smaller lance with a

detachable shaft and powered by the atlatl. As in the earlier Paleoindian period, stone tools designed for the processing of plant materials are rare in Early Archaic assemblages.

Toward the close of the Early Archaic period, trends away from a settlement model comparable to the earlier Paleoindian quarry-focused pattern are evident. A major shift is one to a reliance on a greater range of lithic raw materials for manufacture of stone tools rather than a narrow focus on high quality cryptocrystalline materials. Lithic use was a matter of propinquity; stone available was stone used. However, extensive curation of projectile points is still evident up until the bifurcate phases of the subsequent Middle Archaic period. It may be that while a reliance on high quality lithic materials continued, other kinds of raw material were used as needed.

This pattern is not readily documented during the earlier Paleoindian period. Johnson argues that the shift to a wider range of materials occurs in the gradual shift from the Palmer/Kirk Corner Notched phases of the Early Archaic to the later Kirk Side Notched/Stemmed or closing phases of the period (Johnson 1983, 1986:P2-6). Changes in lithic raw material selection are likely related to movement into a wider range of habitats coincident with the expansion of deciduous forest elements. Early Archaic period sites begin to show up in areas previously not occupied to any great extent if at all. Additionally, the greater number of sites can be taken as a rough indicator of a gradual population increase through time.

Middle Archaic (6000-2500 BCE)

The chronological period known as the Middle Archaic coincides with the appearance of full Holocene environments. Climatic trends in the Holocene at this time are marked by the further growth of deciduous forests, the continuing rise of sea levels, and warm and moist conditions. This change led to the spread of modern temperate floral assemblages (such as mesic hemlock and oak forests), modern faunal assemblages, and seasonal continental climates. The advent of such climates and related vegetation patterns allowed for the development of seasonally available subsistence resources, which led to base camps no longer being situated near specific lithic sources, but closer to these seasonal resources. This shift also led to an increase in the number of exploited environmental zones. The moist conditions favored the spread of swamps and bogs throughout poorly drained areas like floodplains, bays, or basins. Rising sea level and overall moist conditions helped form these swamps and basins; sea level had risen too rapidly to allow the growth of large, stable concentrations of shellfish. Estuarine resources were scarce, and the inhabitants relied on varied animal resources for sustenance. Essentially modern faunal species were spread throughout the various biomes, but their distributions would have been somewhat different than that known for today. The prevalent species included deer, turkey, and smaller mammals.

The initial technological shift in lithic projectile points between the Early and Middle Archaic periods is generally considered to be marked by the introduction of bifurcate base projectile points, such as St. Albans, LeCroy, and Kanawha types (Broyles 1971; Chapman 1975; Gardner 1982). Other researchers place the bifurcate phase within the Early Archaic

period. The bifurcate points do not occur throughout the entire Middle Archaic period; however, they appear to be constrained to the earlier portion of the period and disappeared sometime before 5000 BCE (Bergman et al. 1994; Chapman 1975; Dent 1995). Several other marked changes occurred along with the onset of the bifurcate points. Ground stone tools, such as axes, gouges, grinding stones, and plant processing tools, were introduced along with bifurcate points (Chapman 1975, Walker 1981). These new tools are evidence for the implementation of a new technology designed to exploit vegetable/plant resources. Also, a shift to the use of locally available lithic raw material, which began during the closing phases of the Early Archaic, is manifest by the advent of the bifurcate phases.
The major stemmed varieties of projectile point that follow the earlier bifurcate forms and typify the middle portion of the Middle Archaic period include the Stanly, Morrow Mountain I and Morrow Mountain II varieties. (Coe 1964) documented a Stanly-Morrow Mountain sequence at the Doerschuk Site in the North Carolina Piedmont, and similar results were recorded at the Neville Site in New Hampshire (Dincauze 1976) and the Slade Site in Virginia (Dent 1995). The projectile points marking the latter portion of the Middle Archaic period are the lanceolate shaped Guilford type and various side notched varieties (Coe 1964; Dent 1995). Vernon points, common at the Accokeek Creek Site in Prince George's County, Maryland, are considered to be local variants of Halifax points (McNett and Gardner 1975:9). This data seems to indicate that a similar Middle Archaic projectile point chronology exists in the Virginia-Maryland area.

It is during the Middle Archaic period that prehistoric human presence becomes relatively widespread in a wide range of environmental settings (Gardner 1985, 1987; Johnson 1986; Weiss-Bromberg 1987). As far as the inhabitants of the Middle Archaic period are concerned, there is an increase in population, which can be seen in the sheer number of sites (as represented by the temporally diagnostic point types) throughout the Middle Atlantic region. Temporally diagnostic artifacts from upland surveys along and near the Potomac show a significant jump during the terminal Middle Archaic and beginning Late Archaic; Johnson noted in his overview of Fairfax County archeology a major increase in the number of sites (as measured by temporally diagnostic point types) during the bifurcate phase and the later phases of the Middle Archaic period (Johnson 1986:P2-14). With the increasing diversity in natural resources came a subsistence pattern that was predicated on the seasonal harvest of various nut species and other plant resources that characterized deciduous forest environments. Base camps were located in high biomass habitats or areas where a great variety of food resources could be found (Walker 1981). These base camp locations varied according to the season and were located on floodplains, interior fluvial swamp settings, and in some cases, within interior upland swamp settings. The size and duration of the base camps appear to have depended on the size, abundance, and diversity of the immediately local and nearby resource zones.

Late Archaic (2500-1200 BCE)

The rise in sea level continued during the Late Archaic period, eventually pushing the salinity cline further upstream and creating tidal environments; a corresponding movement of various riverine and estuarine species took place with the development of tidal conditions in the embayed section of the Potomac and its main tributary streams.

Freshwater spawning fish had to travel farther upstream to spawn, fostering extensive seasonal fish runs. The development of brackish water estuaries as a result of an increase in sea level in the Hudson, Delaware, and Chesapeake Bay regions led to the spread of various shell species, such as oysters and crabs (Gardner 1976, 1982). In general, climatic events approached those of modern times during the Late Archaic period.

Throughout the Eastern United States, distinctive patterns of the Native-American landscape become evident by about 3000/2500 BCE, marking a significant shift with earlier Middle Archaic components. The Late Archaic period is characterized by an increase in population over that documented for the Early and Middle Archaic periods, based on an increase in both the number of identified sites dating to this period and in their size and widespread distribution. An increasingly sedentary lifestyle evolved, with a reduction in seasonal settlement shifts (Walker 1981; Johnson 1986:5-1). Food processing and food storage technologies were becoming more efficient, and trade networks began to be established.

In parts of the Middle Atlantic region, the development of an adaptation based on the exploitation of riverine and estuarine resources is apparent. Settlement during the Late Archaic period shifted from the interior stream settings favored during earlier periods to the newly embayed stream mouths and similar settings (Gardner 1976). Although Late Archaic populations continued a foraging pattern linked to dense forests and their seasonally available plant resources, interior sites became minimally exploited, though not abandoned, sustaining smaller hunting camps and specialized exploitative stations; sites in these areas exhibit varying emphasis on procurement of locally available cobble or tabular lithic sources, such as chert, quartz, and quartzite, as well as a variety of plant species. In settlement-subsistence models presented by Gardner, this shift is linked with the development of large seasonal runs of anadromous fish. These sites tend to be concentrated along the shorelines near accessible fishing areas. The adjacent interior and upland zones become rather extensively utilized as adjuncts to these fishing base camps.

The Late Archaic technological assemblage continued an emphasis on ground stone tools first noted in the Middle Archaic period. Steatite net weights and carved steatite bowls with lug handles, which would not break when heated during cooking, first appeared during this period and are common throughout the Eastern United States from Maine to Florida. The use of steatite bowls is often seen as an indicator of increased sedentism among Late Archaic populations, as the vessels would have been heavy and difficult to transport (Egloff and Woodward 1992:26). In Virginia, outcrops of steatite have been identified in the eastern foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, though in limited numbers, from Fairfax County to Carroll County in southern Virginia. Archeologically, fragments of steatite bowls have been recovered in Late Archaic contexts in varying physiographic settings in the Middle Atlantic, often at great distances from steatite outcrops and quarry sites, which many have interpreted as evidence of widespread trading between Late Archaic peoples across the region. Kavanagh's (1982) study of the Monocacy River watershed in Maryland suggests that dug-out canoes were being produced during the Late Archaic period, based on the greater occurrences of gouges and adzes recovered from Late Archaic contexts

(Kavanagh 1982:97); canoes would have allowed for increased mobility and facilitated trading among Late Archaic groups via the various rivers and streams in the region.

The most easily recognizable temporally diagnostic projectile point in the Middle Atlantic region is the parallel stemmed, broad-bladed Savannah River point, which has a number of related cognate types and descendant forms, such as the notched broadspears, Perkiomen and Susquehanna, Dry Brook and Orient, and more narrow bladed, stemmed forms such as Holmes. Defined by Coe based on work in the Carolina Piedmont (Coe 1964), the Savannah River point represents what could be, arguably, a typological horizon throughout the Eastern United States east of the Appalachians, dating from about 2600 to perhaps as late as 1500 BCE. Gardner (1987) separates the Late Archaic into two phases: Late Archaic I (2500-1800 BCE) and Late Archaic II (1800-1000 BCE). The Late Archaic I sub-phase corresponds to the spread and proliferation of Savannah River populations, while the Late Archaic II is defined by Holmes and Susquehanna points. The distribution of these two, Gardner (1982; 1987) suggests, shows the development of stylistic or territorial zones. The Susquehanna style was restricted to the Potomac above the Fall Line and through the Shenandoah Valley, while the Holmes and kindred points were restricted to the Tidewater and south of the Potomac through the Piedmont. Another aspect of the differences between the two groups is in their raw material preferences: Susquehanna and descendant forms such as Dry Brook and, less so, Orient Fishtail, tended to be made from rhyolite, while Holmes spear points were generally made of quartzite.

Early Woodland (1200-500 BCE)

The Early Woodland period corresponds generally to the Sub-Atlantic episode, when relatively stable, milder, and moister conditions prevailed, although short-term climatic perturbations were present. By this point in time, generally, the climate had evolved to its present conditions (Walker 1981).

The major artifact hallmark and innovation of the Early Woodland period is the appearance of pottery (Dent 1995; Gardner and McNett 1971). Archeologists believe that ceramic technology was introduced to Virginia from people living on the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina, where pottery had been made by prehistoric populations since approximately 2500 BCE (Egloff and Woodward 1992:26). It is important to note that pottery underscores the sedentary nature of the local resident populations, as clay ceramics of the period would have been fragile and cumbersome to transport. Further evidence of this sedentism has been identified in the region in the form of subsurface storage pits (likely for foodstuffs), platform hearths, midden deposits, and evidence of substantial pole-constructed structures. This is not to imply that Early Woodland populations did not utilize the inner-riverine or inner-estuarine areas, but rather that this seems to have been done on a seasonal basis by people moving out from established bases; this settlement pattern is essentially a continuation of Late Archaic lifeways with an increasing orientation toward seed harvesting in floodplain locations (Walker 1981). Small group base camps would have been located along Fall Line streams during the spring and early summer in order to take advantage of the anadromous fish runs. Satellite sites such as hunting camps or exploitive foray camps would have operated out of these base camps.

In the middle to lower Potomac River Valley, as well as most of the surrounding Middle Atlantic region, the earliest known ceramics begin with a ware known as Marcey Creek. In chronological terms, Marcey Creek likely falls within the first 200 years of the final millennium BCE, or roughly 1000 to 800 BCE. This ware is a flat-bottomed vessel tempered with crushed steatite or, in the Eastern Shore region, other kinds of crushed rock temper (Manson 1948). Based on vessel shape, this distinctive ware is interpreted as a direct evolution or development from the flat-bottomed stone bowls of the Late Archaic period. Vessels of this ware frequently exhibit the same lugs on the side walls as seen on Late Archaic steatite bowls. As a ceramic ware group, Marcey Creek is short lived in terms of its position in the chronological record. The earliest dates for Marcey Creek are 1200 BCE in the Northern Neck (Waselkov 1982) and 950 BCE at the Monocacy site in the Potomac Piedmont (Gardner and McNett 1971).

Shortly after about 800 BCE, conoidal and somewhat barrel shaped vessels with cord marked surfaces enter the record in the Middle Atlantic region and greater Northeast; whether these evolved from the flat bottomed Marcey Creek vessels or simply replaced them is unknown. Locally, such a ware has been designated Accokeek Cord Marked, first described from the Accokeek Creek Site in Prince George's County, Maryland (Stephenson 1963). Radiocarbon dates for Accokeek place it between approximately 750 BCE and 300/400 BCE, when it is superseded by net impressed varieties, including Popes Creek and related wares (Gardner and McNett 1971; Mouer 1981; Mounier 1988). Accokeek ware was tempered with both sand and crushed quartz, although any suitable stone may have been used for the grit source, including steatite. In many cases, temper selected for use by Accokeek potters appears to have been based on propinquity to specific resources. In the Coastal Plain settings of the Maryland and Virginia, Accokeek typically has a "sandier" paste and could be said to have sand as a tempering agent. However, when large enough sherds are analyzed, crushed quartz tempering is invariably found in this ware. Whether or not the paste of the vessel is sandy or more clayey in texture (or "feel") depends on the clay source, either Piedmont or Coastal Plain. Clay sources from Coastal Plain settings usually contain greater amounts of sand.

Some chronological frameworks for the Middle Atlantic region, particularly in Maryland, suggest a transitional ware, such as Selden Island (Slattery 1946), between Marcey Creek and Accokeek and its cognate wares. While this concept of a transitional ware has logical merit, it cannot be demonstrated conclusively with the evidence currently available. In many cases, the excavated sites show depositional contexts from this period with little vertical separation between Late Archaic and Early Woodland deposits. A more refined chronology that clarifies such issues of ceramic change still needs to be developed.

Generally, temporally diagnostic projectile points from the Early Woodland period include smaller side notched and stemmed variants such as Vernon and Calvert, and diagnostic spear points such as Rossville/Piscataway points. The lobate based Piscataway point has been associated archeologically with Accokeek pottery at a number of sites in the Middle Atlantic region; locally these points have been termed "Teardrop" points by Mounier and other investigators (Mounier and Cresson 1988). This point type has been found in association with Accokeek pottery at sites in New Jersey (Barse 1991; Mounier 1988), in

Maryland (Barse 1978), and in Virginia (McClearen 1991; Mouer 1981). These points continue into the early phases of the Middle Woodland period and have been found in contexts containing Popes Creek, Albemarle, and early variants of Mockley ceramics along the Potomac River (Barse 2002).

Middle Woodland (500 BCE-900 CE)

The Middle Woodland period is characterized by an increase in population size and increased sedentism. With the emergence of Middle Woodland societies, an apparent settlement shift occurred compared to those seen in the intensive hunter-gatherer-fisher groups of the Late Archaic and Early Woodland periods. In brief, it appears that a selection to broader floodplain localities and the development of larger storage facilities at base camp localities dominated settlement patterns at this time (Cross 1956). Some degree of seasonal occupation and migration centered on natural food resources still occurred; potentially the year was split between more permanent settlements located in the inner Coastal Plain region and the Piedmont uplands. In general, from 200 CE to approximately 900 CE, settlement in the Potomac Piedmont was sparse. Smaller exploitative sites are also known and found as small shell middens in estuarine settings and interior or inter-riverine hunting stations along the drainage divides between the Delaware River and its tributaries. Essentially all available food resources were now utilized, including fresh and saltwater aquatic species (i.e., oysters, fish, crab, etc.), deer, turkey, and migratory waterfowl. People also began to intensively harvest and store a variety of locally available plants, seeds, and nuts, such as amaranth seeds, chenopod seeds, wild rice, hickory nuts, acorns, and walnuts.

The Middle Woodland period is best interpreted as a gradual development from the Early Woodland and, despite clear continuity, is marked by innovations in the ceramic realm. One notable addition to ceramic technology, and one clearly widespread throughout the Middle Atlantic region, is the inception of vessels exhibiting net impressed surface treatments. A wider range of vessel forms and sizes also can be documented compared to earlier vessel assemblages. The net impressed surfaces and greater variation in vessel size and shape represent a significant change used for defining the Middle Woodland period in the Middle Atlantic region from areas south of the James River through the Chesapeake region and into the lower Susquehanna and Delaware River drainages. Accokeek and related wares of the Early Woodland period gradually developed into what has become known as the Albemarle ware group, commonly found in the Piedmont of Virginia and, perhaps, Pennsylvania and Maryland; it does not appear to be present in the Delaware Valley area.

Based on work in the lower Potomac River Valley and the upper Delaware River Valley, net impressed ceramics enter the chronological record around 500 BCE (Gardner and McNett 1971). More recently, AMS dating on carbon taken from a sherd of Popes Creek recovered in Charles County, Maryland returned a slightly younger date of 2235 ±100 B.P., or 285 ±100 BCE (Curry 1994). In the upper Delaware River area, Broadhead net impressed ceramics, which have been considered as a northern Popes Creek cognate, have been dated to 480 ±80 BCE in New Jersey (Kinsey 1972:456). Other similar wares include the net impressed varieties of Wolf Neck and Colbourn ceramics from the Eastern Shore

of Maryland and Delaware. Comparisons could also be extended to the Prince George Net Impressed ceramics from southern Virginia and the Culpepper ware in the Triassic Lowlands of the Piedmont; Culpepper ware is a sandstone tempered ceramic occasionally found in the Piedmont and is recognized by some archeologists working in Fairfax County, but has not been clearly defined in the literature. These wares or ware groups are circum-Chesapeake Bay in their geographic distribution, pointing to close interrelationships between the societies making these wares. All of these groups were undoubtedly participating in a growing Middle Woodland interaction sphere widespread throughout the James, Potomac, lower Susquehanna, Delaware, and even lower Hudson River Valleys.
Popes Creek ceramics developed into the shell tempered Mockley ceramics, a ware that has both net impressed and cord marked surfaces. Many, if not most, radiocarbon dates associated with Mockley ceramics bracket the ware between about 250/300 CE to approximately 800 CE, after which it develops into the Late Woodland Townsend Ware. Why the shift from sand to shell tempering occurred is unknown, although it was widespread in the Middle Atlantic region. In the lower Potomac Valley, Mockley may have been tied to the intensive exploitation of oyster beds, a phenomenon first manifested in the earlier Popes Creek phase of the Middle Woodland period. Mockley ware exhibits relationships with the earlier Popes Creek ceramics and its cognate wares in basic attributes such as rim form, vessel shapes, and the range of vessel sizes (Barse 1990).

Thurman has termed the developmental trajectory of Mockley to Townsend the "Mockley continuum", a time span that saw gradual population growth and increasing village size leading up to the Late Woodland period (Thurman 1985). For the earlier end of this continuum, Potter (1993) has reported dates in the last 200 years of the final millennium BCE for Mockley ceramics in the lower Potomac Valley in Virginia. The emergence of Mockley ware from Popes Creek was likely a gradual process, not a single historical event. It is also likely that, during this transition, both wares coexisted (as recognized archeologically), perhaps unevenly across the region. Both wares would have been contemporaneous at some point in this transition, as evidenced by their association in the large refuse pits excavated at the Fletchers Boathouse Site in Washington, D.C. (Barse 2002). At some point in the developmental trajectory, however, Mockley ware superseded the heavy, coarse, sand tempered Popes Creek ceramics and dominated the Middle Atlantic region.

Popes Creek and Mockley ware ceramics are not as common in Piedmont settings as they are in Coastal Plain settings where they are prevalent. Albemarle ceramics, bearing mostly cord marked exterior surfaces that show continuity with the earlier Accokeek ware, are commonly found in Middle Woodland contexts in the Potomac Piedmont. This ware was found associated with Mockley ceramics at the Fletchers Boathouse site in pit contexts (Barse 2002) along with small quantities of Mockley and Popes Creek ceramics. Radiocarbon dates from several of the large pits at this site fall between 100 BCE and 100 CE, suggesting that Popes Creek was in the process of being replaced by the shell tempered Mockley ceramics. Albemarle is considered to be contemporary with both, though more commonly found in the Piedmont; as a ware it continued up to and perhaps into the Late Woodland period. Gardner and Walker (1993:4) suggested that fabric impressed wares become more common toward the end of the Middle Woodland period. This surface

treatment is restricted to Albemarle wares though and does not really occur on Mockley ceramics. Fabric impressing on shell tempered ceramics by default is identified as Townsend ware.

Lithic artifacts associated with Middle Woodland occupations frequently include side notched and parallel stemmed points manufactured from rhyolite, argillite, and Pennsylvania jasper. Such points are known as Fox Creek in the Delaware Valley and Selby Bay in the Chesapeake region. The Middle Woodland people also manufactured and used a stone axe called a celt, used for woodworking. The celt differed from the earlier axes because it was not grooved; rather, it was hafted into a socketed wooded handle.

Late Woodland (900 CE to 1600 CE/European Contact)

The Late Woodland period begins around 1000 CE, the result of a culmination in trends concerning subsistence practices, settlement patterns, and ceramic technology. A trend toward sedentism, evident in earlier periods, and a subsistence system emphasizing horticulture eventually led to a settlement pattern of floodplain village communities and dispersed hamlets reliant on an economy of both hunting and the planting of native cultigens.

In the early part of the Late Woodland, the temporally diagnostic ceramics in the Northern Virginia Piedmont region include Potomac Creek, Shepard, and, in the upper Coastal Plain, Townsend ware ceramics; as noted above, Townsend ware is a shell tempered ware that developed from Mockley. Shepard ceramics are likely an outgrowth of the Albemarle wares, given similar attributes of paste and surface treatment. The surfaces of the above noted wares are almost exclusively cord marked, with the exception of the fabric impressed Townsend series specimens. In most cases, the cord marked surfaces were smoothed prior to firing the vessel, in some cases nearly obliterating the surface treatment. This is a trend that seems to become more popular through the Late Woodland period.

In the Potomac Piedmont, the crushed rock wares are replaced by a shell tempered ware that spread out of the Shenandoah Valley to at least the mouth of the Monocacy River at about 1350-1400 CE. Shell tempered Keyser ceramics, a downstream variant of the Late Woodland Monongahela ware common in the Upper Ohio River Valley, extend nearly to the Fall Line, although they are not found in Coastal Plain settings. Triangular projectile points indicating the use of the bow and arrow are often considered diagnostic of this period as well. However, triangular projectile points have also been recovered from well-defined and earlier contexts at regional sites such as the Abbot Farm site in central New Jersey, the Higgins site on the Inner Coastal Plain on Maryland's Western Shore, and the Pig Point site in Anne Arundel County, Maryland (Ebright 1992; Luckenbach et al. 2010; Stewart 1998). Additionally, triangular points have been found in context with Savanah River points in Fairfax County, although the context appears to have been mixed (Christopher Sperling, personal communication 2015).

The Late Woodland period is also marked by a marked increase in ceramic decoration. Most of the motifs are triangular in shape and applied by incising with a blunt-tipped stylus. The marked increase of ceramic decoration and the various design motifs on Late

Woodland pottery compared to earlier periods likely reflect the need to define ethnic boundaries and possibly smaller kin sets. Neighboring groups that may have been in low level competition for arable riverine floodplains may have used varied embellishments of basic design elements to set themselves apart from one another. Additionally, in a noncompetitive setting, ceramic designs simply may have served to distinguish between individual social groups, as the region now sustained the highest population level of the prehistoric sequence. As such, ceramic design elements functioned as a symbolic means of communication among groups, serving as badges of ethnic identity or, perhaps, smaller intra-group symbols of identity.

As noted above, Late Woodland societies were largely sedentary with an economy relying on the growth of a variety of native cultigens. Late Woodland settlement choice reflects this horticultural focus in the selection of broad floodplain areas for settlement. This pattern was characteristic of the Piedmont as well as the Coastal Plain to the east and the Shenandoah Valley to the west (Gardner 1982; Kavanagh 1983). The uplands and other areas were also utilized, for it was here that wild resources would have been gathered. Smaller, non-ceramic yielding sites are found away from the major rivers (Hantman and Klein 1992; Stevens 1989).

Most of the functional categories of Late Woodland period sites away from major drainages are small base camps, transient, limited purpose camps, and quarries. Site frequency and size vary according to a number of factors, e.g., proximity to major rivers or streams, distribution of readily available surface water, and the presence of lithic raw material (Gardner 1987). Villages, hamlets, or any of the other more permanent categories of sites are rare to absent in the Piedmont inter-riverine uplands.

Perhaps after 1400 CE, with the effects of the Little Ice Age, an increased emphasis on hunting and gathering and either a decreased emphasis on horticulture or the need for additional arable land required a larger territory per group, and population pressures resulted in a greater occupation of the Outer Piedmont and Fall Line regions (Fiedel 1999; Gardner 1991; Miller n.d.). The 15th and 16th centuries were a time of population movement and disruption from the Ridge and Valley to the Piedmont and Coastal Plain. There appear to have been shifting socio-economic alliances over competition for resources and places in local exchange networks. Factors leading to competition for resources may have led to the development of more centralized forms of social organization characterized by incipiently ranked societies. Small chiefdoms appeared along major rivers at the Fall Line and in the Inner Coastal Plain at about this time. A Fall Line location was especially advantageous for controlling access to critical seasonal resources as well as being points of topographic constriction that facilitated controlling trade arteries (Jirikowic 1999; Miller n.d.; Potter 1993).

Although European exploration of the Chesapeake Bay area began in the late 1500s, there is minimal evidence for contact between Europeans and the native populations in the Chesapeake before the 17th century. French or Spanish explorers likely observed the Chesapeake Bay earlier in the 16th century; circa 1527 the Chesapeake was marked on the official Spanish *Padrón General* maps as the *Bahia de Santa Maria* (Potter 1993:161).

French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian ships sailed the lower Chesapeake throughout the remainder of the 16th century, but none appear to have ventured as far north as Maryland. These ships were probably involved in slave hunting, missionary work, and mapping (Potter 1993: 162). During this period, Spanish colonialism focused on *La Florida*, where several mission settlements were established by 1570.

In the early 1600s, Captain John Smith made contact with local populations in the Upper Potomac Coastal Plain and Henry Fleet lived among and traded with the Native Americans on the Chesapeake. Based on their comments, the upper Potomac may have served as a gateway location where Native Americans from diverse regions came to trade (see Potter 1993). Native Americans along the Potomac appear to have adopted a range of social strategies during this period based on varying archeological evidence for European trade goods in aboriginal household assemblages and interpretations of how such goods were incorporated into traditional practices and social relations (Gallivan 2010).

Following his voyage up the Potomac in 1608, Captain John Smith described several substantial aboriginal occupations along the banks of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Smith mapped several Native American settlements along the Potomac River in northern Virginia (Figure 3). These include four hamlets or villages associated with the Tauxenent, Taux, or Dogue Indians, including Pamacocack, on Quantico Creek; Namassingakent on the north bank of Dogue Run; Assaomeck, on the south side of Hunting Creek, and the village of Tauxenent, near lands that would become George Washington's Mount Vernon plantation on Dogue Run.

This area lay at the northern fringe of the Powhatan Confederacy, a large polity centralized in Tidewater Virginia (Rountree 1989). The most numerous Native Americans along the Potomac at the time of the initial reported contact were part of a chiefdom called the Conoy by their Iroquoian adversaries (Potter 1993:19) and the Piscataway, descendants, evidently, of the prehistoric Potomac Creek populations was the most numerous of the Conoy (Potter 1993:19). They dominated the eastern bank of the Potomac River and are generally believed to have been comprised of Coastal Algonquian linguistic group peoples (Humphrey and Chambers 1977, 1985; Potter 1993). Relatively little is known of the Tauxenent or Dogue people; they were possibly Algonquian speakers allied with the Piscataway (Cissna 1986; Mayre 1935). Potter (1993:197) states that around 1650, the Dogue were still living in what is now Mason Neck and by 1654 some may have moved to lands along the Rappahannock River. The Indian groups of this region effectively disappeared from the historic record in the beginning of the 18th century, although small groups of Native Americans likely remained after that time (Cissna 1986).

Historic Native American Occupants

The resident Native Americans along the Potomac at the time of the first reported contact by Europeans were the Piscataway, descendants, evidently, of the prehistoric Potomac Creek populations. Also known as the Conoy or by the names of their villages, the Piscataway people were organized into various confederacies. In part, these confederacies

Figure 3
1612 Smith Map of Chesapeake Bay

were hereditary chieftainships (Feest 1978; Potter 1993), but they also had overtones of being situational alliances.

Several of the Native American settlements were located along the Potomac southeast of the present-day Pentagon, while others were upstream between Marcey Creek and Chain Bridge and downstream along Jefferson Davis Highway. According to a study by WMCAR an early 17th-century Native American settlement called Pamacocack was located between Quantico and Chopawamsic Creeks (Jones et al. 1997:19-20). Early Indian settlements include Patawomeke (on Potomac Creek), Tauxenant (on the Occoquan River), an unnamed village on the north bank of Aquia Creek, and Quiyough on the south bank (Jones et al. 1997). These groups are frequently associated with the Coastal Algonquian linguistic group; some, however, such as the Piscataway, may well have been Iroquoian speakers.

The Doegs [sic] or Tauxenants, a branch of the Piscataway Indians, were in the Alexandria region at the time of European contact. It is unclear whether these groups spoke an Iroquoian or Coastal Algonquian dialect. The Piscataway and other Indian groups effectively disappeared from the historic record by A.D. 1700, although some groups did remain and have evolved into a rather large local population (Cissna 1986; Gardner 1991).

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

Prehistoric Sites in the City of Alexandria

Because the City of Alexandria was settled and became urbanized quite early, relatively few prehistoric sites have been recorded within the city limits. Based on the limited information available on the Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS) at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, most of these sites were interpreted as transient camps from which no temporally diagnostic artifacts were recovered. In some cases, a projectile point (normally considered a temporally diagnostic artifact) was noted on the site form in V-CRIS, however, no temporal assignment was contained within the form. It should also be noted that the topographic setting of the sites shown on Table 1 is based primarily on the USGS topographic map information in V-CRIS and, because of the map scale and configuration, the setting and hydrologic information is often difficult to ascertain.

As shown in the table, most of the recorded sites are located in upland settings; however, this likely is more a reflection of sampling than settlement patterns as little exploration has been done in the floodplains. Many of the surveys that identified these sites were not systematic, and some were based solely on surface finds. In addition, historic period sedimentation and/or erosion has likely buried sites within the floodplain settings.

Table 1: Prehistoric Sites in Alexandria
Recorded with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources

DHR Site Number	Temporal Affiliation	Topographic Setting
44AX0006	possibly Late Archaic	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0009	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0010	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0011	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0013	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0014	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0015	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0016	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0017	possibly Early Archaic	upland overlooking Taylor Run, a tributary of Cameron Run
44AX0020	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Holmes Run
44AX0021	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Holmes Run
44AX0023	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0024	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Holmes Run
44AX0026	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Holmes Run
44AX0031	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run
44AX0032	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run
44AX0036	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Four Mile Run
44AX0037	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Holmes Run
44AX0038	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0039	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0052	Middle Archaic through Late Woodland	floodplain overlooking confluence of Hunting Creek and Potomac River
44AX0053	prehistoric, unknown	submerged, floodplain overlooking confluence of Hunting Creek and Potomac River
44AX0066	Woodland	floodplain of Potomac River
44AX0114	prehistoric, unknown	submerged, floodplain overlooking Potomac River
44AX0124	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0127	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain overlooking confluence of Taylor Run and Cameron Run
44AX0164	Late Archaic/Woodland	floodplain of Cameron Run
44AX0166	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run
44AX0174	probably Archaic	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0175	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking confluence of Taylor Run and Cameron Run
44AX0176	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run
44AX0177	Late Archaic	upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run
44AX0194	Woodland	Daingerfield Island, Potomac River
44AX0204	Early Woodland	overlooking Potomac River

Table 1: Prehistoric Sites in Alexandria (continued)

DHR Site Number	Temporal Affiliation	Topographic Setting
44AX0205	Early through Late Archaic	upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0210	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0220	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0221	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0229	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Potomac River
44AX0235	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Potomac River
44AX0236	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Potomac River
44AX0241	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0242	Prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of Taylor Run

However, a small number of sites have yielded temporally diagnostic materials. As previously mentioned, recent excavations at the Freedman's Cemetery within the City of Alexandria produced a fragment of a fluted projectile point dating to the Paleoindian time period as well as other prehistoric artifacts. Archaic temporal components appear to be indicated at sites 44AX0013, 44AX0017, 44AX0174 and 44AX0177. Site 44AX006, located in an upland setting overlooking a tributary of Holmes Run, may have a Late Archaic temporal affiliation. Sites 44AX066 and 44AX204 date from the Woodland time period. In addition, site 44AX0164 contained artifacts from both the Late Archaic and Woodland time periods. This site is located on the floodplain of Cameron Run near its junction with Hooffs Run. Woodland period materials were also found at site 44AX0194; this site is located on Daingerfield Island. Site 44AX0127 was located within a floodplain setting 100 feet west of Taylor Run. The site yielded 19th and 20th century artifacts as well as quartz debitage and fire cracked rock (FCR).

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Settlement to Society (1607-1750)

The Potomac River was the main transportation artery in colonial northern Virginia, both for Native Americans and for early European explorers, traders, and colonists. The river played a key role in the development of the study area in the 17th and early-18th centuries. The waterway was the focal point for trade – especially the fur trade – between Europeans and Native Americans in the first half of the 17th century. In the second half of the 17th century, Alexandria's proximity to the Potomac River enticed European colonists to take the land along its shores to establish tobacco plantations. Tobacco was Virginia's staple crop throughout the colonial era, and the soil along the Potomac River and its tributaries was well-suited for growing the crop. Proximity to the river made it easier to transport tobacco to overseas markets or to inspection warehouses. The establishment of tobacco plantations along the Potomac River also led to the arrival of enslaved Africans and African-Americans in the study area.

European and Native American trade within the Potomac region began early; the area was within a broader trade and exchange system dating before intensive settlement of the region. By the early and middle 16th century, the Spanish were investigating the New World, even establishing a mission in the lower Chesapeake Bay for a brief period. The English settled briefly along the Carolina Coast, only to fail. Dutch and Swedes were along the Upper Middle Atlantic Coast, while the French were in the far Northeast. Early English explorations to the American continent began in 1584 when Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a license from Queen Elizabeth of England to search for "remote heathen lands" in the New World. However, all of his efforts to establish a colony failed.

European colonization of the Chesapeake Bay region began in the first decade of the 1600s. In 1606, King James I of England granted to Sir Thomas Gates and others of The Virginia Company of London the right to establish two colonies or plantations in the Chesapeake Bay region of North America in order to search "…for all manner of mines of gold, silver, and copper" (Hening 1823b:57-75). King James outlined the boundaries of The Virginia Company's colonies:

> that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the sea coast, to the northward two hundred miles, and from the said point of Cape Comfort, all along the sea coast to the southward two hundred miles, and all that space and circuit of land, lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest; and also all the islands, lying within one hundred miles, along the coast of both seas [1609 re-affirmation of original charter] (Hening 1823b:88).

In the spring of 1607, three English ships – the Susan Constant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery, under the command of Captains Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnole, and John Smith – anchored at Cape Henry in the lower Chesapeake Bay. After a hostile reception from native inhabitants, exploring parties were sent out to sail north of Cape Henry. Following explorations in the lower Chesapeake, the colonists selected an island 60 miles up the James River for settlement (Kelso 1995:6-7) and began building a palisaded fort later called Jamestown.

In 1608, Captain Smith surveyed and mapped the Potomac River, locating the various native villages on both sides of the waterway. Captain Smith's Map of Virginia provides the first recorded names of the numerous native villages along both sides of the Potomac (see Figure 4). The extensive village network along the river was described as the "trading place of the natives" (Gutheim 1986:22, 23, 28). After 1620, Indian trade with the lower Coastal Plain English became increasingly intense. Either in response to the increased trade, or to earlier intra-Native American hostilities, formerly disparate aboriginal groups formed confederations.

A number of early English entrepreneurs traded for provisions and furs along the Potomac River in the early 1600s. In 1625, Henry Fleet, among the better known of the early Potomac River traders, plied the Potomac River as far north as the Falls, as well as with

English colonies in New England, settlements in the West Indies, and across the Atlantic to London (Gutheim 1986:28, 29, 35, 39). Trade in furs became an important economic activity. European goods such as iron axes, kettles, guns, bottles, beads, trinkets, clothing, and blankets were viewed favorably by the Native populations. The Native Americans wanted the trade goods supplied by the Europeans and the Europeans wanted furs. Much of this trade was likely limited to the forts and other trading posts located at the Fall Lines on major streams.

By 1621, the number of fur trappers had increased to the point that their fur trade activities required regulation. In 1631, the Virginia colonial government prohibited all trade with Indians (Hening 1823b:173). In the 1640s, the Virginia colonial government reversed its position and permitted limited trade with the Native Americans; however, the government strictly regulated trade and directed it through several forts at the Fall Line on the Pamunkey River, James River and Chickahominy River and only designated Indian messengers bearing badges or wearing special striped shirts were allowed to enter colonial territory (Hening 1823b:293; Moretti-Langholtz 2005). The fur trade in northern Virginia was plagued by various economic and political difficulties, and it is often noted that superior furs were available from the north and from the North Carolina frontier (Moretti-Langholtz 2005; Potter 1993:188-192).

As a result of trade with Europeans in the early 17th century, the balance of power among Native American groups in the area shifted. Early accounts note that the Susquehannock, an Iroquoian speaking group, moved down the main stem of the Susquehanna from present-day Binghamton, New York, to the mouth of that river at Havre de Grace, Maryland, in order to control the fur trade. Locally, in the Baltimore-Washington region, the Susquehannocks became the most powerful group, at least in the north.

To the south in the Tidewater vicinity, the Powhatan Confederacy increased from the inherited group of approximately five villages to upwards of 50. Captain John Smith informs us in his writings that Powhatan had inherited a group of five "tribes" or villages from his father and by the time of Smith's visit, Powhatan's position as ruler or "king" already existed. In the decades following European settlement, the Confederacy dominated the area and formed a coercive kingdom that was much more powerful than the loose alliances of chiefdoms of Piscataways, Dogues and others in Northern Virginia. The Dogues (Tauxenents) were not considered part of "Powhatan's ethnic fringe" and were likely more influenced by the Conoy chiefdom (Potter 1993:19).

Although the European fur trade and settlement in the lower Chesapeake changed the political and cultural landscape for Native Americans along the Potomac River, English encroachment farther along the shores of the Potomac was ultimately more influential. Two important elements in the disruption of the pre-Contact cultural landscape were the introduction of diseases and the mindset of the English regarding settlement, colonization, and land ownership. The introduction of European diseases that were alien to the indigenous populations led to mass mortality which, in turn, disrupted the Indians' social, religious and political systems. The extent of this disruption was noted by Hodges, who explains that circa 1607, the Algonquian population within the Coastal Plain consisted of

a minimum of 13,000-22,000 persons. In the early 17th century, John Smith counted approximately 27 groups including the Pamunkey, Chickahominy and Wococomoc with 300, 200-250 and 130 able fighting men, respectively; a century later, Beverley counted only 12 groups with 40, 16, and three able fighting men, respectively (Hodges 1993:28-29). English concepts of land ownership were alien to the Native Americans and led ultimately to the confiscation of property and the confinement of the native inhabitants to reservations.

In contrast to the Tidewater region in which the Powhatan Confederacy and the colonists engaged in active conflict, the interaction between the colonists and the Native American groups within the Potomac region are generally thought to be more peaceful (Hodges 1993:14). Nevertheless, one result of European settlement in the Potomac region was the death or emigration of the native inhabitants. By 1675, the Piscataway had left the region, only to return and once again leave circa 1700. The Piscataway and other Native American groups effectively disappeared from the historic record by 1700, although some groups did remain in the area and have evolved into a rather large local population (Cissna 1986). Many Piscataway descendants still live on the Maryland side of the Potomac River.

The first Virginia Assembly, convened by Sir (Governor) George Yeardley at James City in June of 1619, increased the number of corporations or boroughs in the colony from seven to eleven. In 1623, the first laws were enacted by the Virginia Assembly establishing the Church of England in the colony. These regulated the colonial settlements in relationship to Church rule, established land rights, provided some directions on tobacco and corn planting, and included other miscellaneous items such as the provision "…That every dwelling house shall be pallizaded in for defence against the Indians" (Hening 1823a:119-129).

The study area vicinity was incorporated into the English political system in 1617 as part of the Chicacoan (or Kikotan) parish or district. One of four parishes established in the Virginia colony that year, Chicacoan encompassed the land between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers; the other three parishes – James City, Charles City, and Henrico – were located south of the Rappahannock. By 1630, the colony had expanded and comprised a population of about 5,000 persons; this necessitated the creation of new shires, or counties, to compensate for the existing courts, which had become inadequate (Greene 1932:136; Hiden 1980:3, 6). In 1634, the Virginia House of Burgesses divided that part of Virginia located south of the Rappahannock River into eight shires: James City, Henrico, Charles City, Elizabeth Citty [sic], Warwick River, Warrosquyoake, Charles River, and Accawmack [sic], all to be "…governed as the shires in England" (Hening 1823b:224). Ten years later, in 1645, Northumberland County, located on the north side of the Rappahannock River, was established "…for the reduceing of the inhabitants of Chickcouan [district] and other parts of the neck of land between Rappahanock River and Potomack River", thus enabling European settlement north of the Rappahannock River and Northern Virginia (Hening 1823b:352-353).

From 1645 until 1653, the study area was part of Northumberland County. With further population growth and expanding settlement, Northumberland County was later divided

and subdivided into counties. The area around present-day Alexandria became part of Westmoreland County when it was carved out of Northumberland County in 1653. Eleven years later, in 1664, it became part of Stafford County; the study area remained part of Stafford County until 1730, when Prince William County was formed (Hiden 1980:11-15; Sweig 1995:2). In 1742, the present-day Potomac Yard area became part of Fairfax County, which was created from the northern part of Prince William County by an Act of the Virginia Assembly and was named for the 6th Lord Fairfax, grandson of Lord Culpeper (Hening 1819:207-208).

The original Northumberland County overlapped with a large proprietary land grant issued by Prince Charles II, who later became King Charles II. In January 1648/9, Prince Charles II's father, King Charles I, was beheaded during the mid-17th-century Civil Wars in England. Prince Charles II was exiled to France, where seven loyal supporters, including two Culpeper brothers, crowned him King of England. In September 1649, King Charles granted the Northern Neck, or all that land lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers in the Virginia colony, to these loyal followers as a reward for their support; the grant was to expire in 1690. King Charles II was subsequently restored to the English throne in 1660.

In 1677, Thomas, Second Lord Culpeper, one of the seven Northern Neck proprietors, became successor to Governor Berkley in Virginia. By 1681, he had purchased the Northern Neck interests of the other six proprietors. The Northern Neck grant was due to expire in 1690, but in 1688, it was reaffirmed to Lord Culpeper in perpetuity. Lord Culpeper died in 1689. The following year, four-fifths of the Northern Neck interest passed to his daughter, Katherine Culpeper, who married Thomas, the fifth Lord Fairfax. The Northern Neck became vested and was affirmed to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, in 1692 (Kilmer and Sweig 1975:5-9). In 1702, Lord Fairfax appointed an agent, Robert Carter of Lancaster County, Virginia, to rent the Northern Neck lands for nominal quit rents, usually two shillings sterling per acre (Hening 1820:514-523; Kilmer and Sweig 1975:1-2, 7, 9). The extent and boundaries of the Northern Neck were not established until two separate surveys were conducted beginning in 1736. A final agreement was reached between 1745 and 1747 (Kilmer and Sweig 1975:13-14).

Prior to 1692, most lands in the Virginia Colony were granted by the Governor of the colony and were issued as Virginia Land Grants. In 1618, a provision of 100 acres of land had been made for "Ancient Planters", or those adventurers and planters who had established themselves as permanent settlers prior to 1618. Thereafter, the governor of the colony issued grants under the headright system by which people who paid their own way to the Virginia Colony could claim 50 acres of land for a tenure of 20 years. Fifty additional acres of land per "head" could also be obtained by paying the cost of passage for transporting settlers into the colony. After patenting and surveying a tract of land, a patentee was required to settle the land within three years and to pay an annual rent of one shilling for every 50 acres of land patented (Nugent 1983:xxiv).

In 1611, John Rolfe began experimenting with the planting of "sweet scented" tobacco at his Bermuda Hundred plantation, located at the confluence of the James and Appomattox

Rivers. Rolfe's experiments with tobacco altered the economic future of the Virginia colony by establishing tobacco as the primary crop of the colony (Lutz 1954:27; O'Dell 1983:1). Landed Virginia estates, bound to the tobacco economy, became independent, self-sufficient plantations, and few substantial towns were established in colonial Virginia.

In the early 18th century, plantations in the study area vicinity likely grew tobacco, which dominated the agricultural economy of Virginia during these periods. During this period, tobacco was used as a stable medium of exchange; promissory notes, used as money, were issued for the quantity and quality of tobacco received (Bradshaw 1955:80-81). In 1669, for example, John Alexander I purchased Howson's patent not with currency but with six hogsheads of tobacco. Other examples include Elizabeth Holmes Nixon's 1688 sale of land to Burr Harrison for 2500 pounds of tobacco, and Robert Alexander I's 1687 sale of 150 acres to John Pimmitt for 8000 pounds of tobacco. To "prevent frauds in his Majesties Customs" in the staple tobacco trade, the Virginia Assembly appointed Inspectors for public tobacco warehouses to be located at waterfront ports in the various counties. Under one inspection, two tobacco warehouses were appointed in Prince William County – one at Quantico on Robert Brent's land and another at Great Hunting Creek on Broadwater's land" (Hening 1820:268). Other public tobacco warehouses were likely situated on Potomac Creek, Aquia, Quantico, Pohick and Hunting Creeks, and at the Falls of the Potomac (Harrison 1987). The exact location of most of these buildings remains unknown. Ultimately, the tobacco warehouse on Great Hunting Creek was established not on Broadwater's land but on land belonging to John Alexander and Hugh West.

Enslaved Labor on Plantations

The growth of the labor-intensive tobacco horticulture necessitated large numbers of field workers and a reliable source for such labor. Indentured servants from England made up much of the early work force in Virginia's tobacco fields, as economic distress fueled emigration during this period. With improving economic conditions in England, however, and cheap land available in Virginia, immigration declined, and the number of enslaved Africans in the colony increased. The forced migration of Africans ultimately resulted in the institution of permanent slavery and, by the end of the 17th century, slavery as a race-based hereditary status had become entrenched in the economic and cultural fabric of the colony (Virginia Department of Historic Resources 2003:45).

Throughout the 18th century, three-quarters of the Africans whose point of origin were known and who were brought to the upper Chesapeake region (Virginia Potomac and Maryland) and to the Lower James originated from the upper part of the West African coast. With improving tobacco prices, plantation size increased, and the local population increased rapidly as newly arrived enslaved people were dispersed along small, scattered quarters. Virginia planters on the Potomac evaded the higher duties that Virginia assessed on enslaved people by purchasing them in Maryland (Walsh 2001:145-149).

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

servants also lived and worked on portions of the Alexander family lands along the Potomac River by the turn of the 18th century. It is likely that some of the family's enslaved Africans and African Americans worked and lived on these lands under the supervision of an overseer. The land along the Potomac River was well-situated for growing and selling tobacco, as the soil along waterways such as the Potomac River and its tributaries is very suitable for tobacco cultivation. Proximity to the river also facilitated the sale and transportation of the crop, which was usually shipped overseas. Only scattered pieces of written evidence indicate that the tenants, indentured servants, and enslaved people of the Alexander family were growing tobacco in the vicinity of the study area. For instance, in 1731, Robert Alexander II's tenants paid their rent in tobacco, and Robert Alexander II provided for the construction of tobacco houses – buildings used to store and cure tobacco (Lounsbury and Patrick 1994) – on the lands he bequeathed to his two daughters in 1735.

Colony to Nation (1751-1789)

The town of Alexandria began as a tobacco trading post on land belonging to John Alexander and Hugh West on the upper side of Great Hunting Creek. Located on what is now Oronoco Street and known as Hugh West's Hunting Creek Warehouse, this area included a tobacco inspection station as well as tobacco warehouses (Smith and Miller 1989:14). The warehouses were built by three Scottish *factors*, middlemen between the farmers and the merchants, for the purpose of holding tobacco prior to shipment to England. As central points in the tobacco trade, they were where the ships docked and deals were struck (Harrison 1987:405). Because of the presence of the tobacco warehouses and inspection station, in the 1730s and 1740s, the area was already a focal point for commerce, making it a good location for a town.

In anticipation of the development of Alexandria as a town site, George Washington surveyed the lands north of Hunting Creek in 1748; this map shows the warehouses. The act for erecting the town at "Hunting Creek Warehouse" on 60 acres of land owned by Phillip Alexander, Jr., John Alexander and Hugh West was passed on May 11, 1749. According to the act establishing the town, it would both benefit trade and navigation and be to the advantage of the "frontier inhabitants."

The three owners of the land that became Alexandria – Phillip Alexander, Jr., John Alexander, and Hugh West – all acquired their property from members of the Alexander family. The younger Phillip Alexander inherited his portion of the land that would become Alexandria from his father (also Phillip Alexander), who was the brother of Robert Alexander I. The land that would later become part of the town was at the northern edge of the 500 acres that Philip Alexander, Sr. reserved for himself when he deeded most of the land in the area to his brother Robert in 1693/4. Phillip Alexander, Jr. initially opposed the establishment of a town on his estate but was evidently placated by naming the town for his family (Pippenger 1990:322). John Alexander and Hugh West jointly owned their portions of the site of Alexandria, which was part of a 220-acre tract that they acquired from John Alexander's father, Robert Alexander II (Cox et al. 1999b).

The 60 acres of land were directed to be laid out by the surveyor to the first branch above the warehouses and extend down the meanders of the Potomac to Middle Point (Jones Point). The town lay east of the study area. The lots of the town were directed to be laid out along streets not exceeding half an acre of ground in each lot setting apart portions of land for a market place and public landing, to be sold by public sale or auction, the proceeds of which were to be paid to Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West. The streets were laid in a grid pattern which was subdivided into blocks with four half-acre lots to a block (Cressey et al. 1982:150). Purchasers of each lot were required to erect one house of brick, stone, or wood, "well framed," with a brick or stone chimney, in the dimensions of 20 feet square, “or proportionably thereto” if the purchaser had two contiguous lots (Winfree 1971:443-446).

In 1754, the Fairfax County courthouse was moved to Alexandria from its location near the current town of Vienna. In the 1750s, Alexandria contained the courthouse, a jail, six taverns or ordinaries, a kiln, and small houses as well as the more substantial ones of wealthier landowners (Crowl 2002:43). The town grew quickly, and in 1762, it was reported to the Virginia Assembly that the bounds of the town of Alexandria established at the Hunting Creek Warehouse had:

> already built upon except such of them as are situated in a low wet marsh which will not admit of such improvements, and that diverse traders and others are desirous of settling there if a sufficient quantity of the lands of Baldwin Dade, Sibel West, John Alexander the elder and John Alexander the younger, which lie contiguous to the said town, were laid off into lots & streets, and added to, and made a part thereof.... (Hening 1820:604-607).

The plan for enlarging the town of Alexandria was passed by an act of the Virginia Assembly approved at the November session of 1762.

By 1770, the town of Alexandria was the largest on the Potomac River and was becoming an important center for maritime trade with Europe and the Caribbean. In 1774, John Alexander laid out and sold 18 new lots and gave the town land for Wilkes and St. Asaph Streets. The Alexander family further allowed for the extension of the town between 1785 and 1786 when they sold the adjoining tracts (Crowl 2002:124). The new streets within the expanded area were named for Revolutionary War heroes including Greene, Lafayette, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Washington and Wythe. By 1775, there were “20 major mercantile firms in Alexandria, 12 of which were involved in the transshipment of wheat” (Smith and Miller 1989). Although Alexandria flour was not considered as fine as that from Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, flour milling served as a chief industry during the early 1780s and again in the 1790s (Smith and Miller 1989). The international market for flour transformed local milling into a larger and more profitable enterprise. During the Colonial period, the water powered grist or custom mills had primarily served a landowner and a “small circle of neighbors,” while later "merchant mills" ground a greater quantity of flour to be marketed "by the sackful or shipload" (Netherton et al. 1992:1).

In 1779, the town of Alexandria was incorporated, which allowed it to have its own local government, as opposed to being governed by Fairfax County. A second extension of the boundaries was approved on May 6, 1782, authorizing the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council to lay a wharfage tax and to extend Water and Union Streets, providing that the proprietors of the ground on which Union Street was extended would have the "… liberty of making use of any earth which it may be necessary to remove in regulating the said street" (Hening 1823b:44-45).

Many local planters, in the second half of the eighteenth century, began growing wheat and corn rather than tobacco. Tobacco depleted the soil, and profits from the grains eventually exceeded those for tobacco. Alexandria merchants shipped corn and wheat as grain and in the form of flour to Europe and to the West Indies and sold imported manufactured goods and foodstuffs. By the early nineteenth century, Alexandria exported eight times as much produce as Georgetown (Netherton et al. 1992:184).

The late 18th- and early 19th-century history of the area represents a period of transition from an agricultural area dominated by large plantations to a region characterized by smaller farms that supported the growing town of Alexandria. Much of this land appears to have been acquired by absentee landowners, some of whom were wealthy Quaker merchants living in Philadelphia or who had migrated from Philadelphia to Alexandria. This subdivision reflects their location on the periphery of late 18th-century Alexandria and within a major transportation corridor leading north from the town. As a result of the increased number of good roads leading into Alexandria and its expansion as a commercial center, these lands were good investment properties (Crowl 2002:123). During this period, the growth of Alexandria created a market for small parcels of land where farmers could grow foodstuffs for sale in town, and where wealthy townspeople could keep gardens, orchards, and small farms.

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

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

Beginning in the 1790s, free and emancipated blacks began migrating to the city due to its location between the North and the South and its relatively lax restrictions on black residents when it was ceded to Washington, D.C. (Cressey et al. 1982:46). With the shift from a tobacco economy to a wheat economy, some enslaved laborers were no longer needed on plantations and were manumitted. Those who were not manumitted were "hired out" by plantations to business owners and manufacturers in the rapidly growing port town (Bloomburg 1988:57-62). Migrant to the town sought employment on the docks or in its factories, in skilled occupations, ranging from trunk maker to house joiner, ship carpenter, potter, baker, and soap maker. Others opened businesses of their own as tavern keepers, bakers, draymen, or laundresses.

Alexandria's earliest African American neighborhood, the Bottoms, which contains the study area, was established in a low-lying area of the Old Town street grid, west of Washington Street, south of Prince Street, east of Henry Street and north of Franklin Street. Over time, the neighborhood, also known as "the Dip," grew to a total area of about 20 blocks. This area was settled in 1798 by two free black families. By the early 19th century, members of this community, which had grown to comprise about eight families, had built a number of small frame houses on lots along South Alfred Street. Much of the land in the Bottoms was purchased or leased from progressive Quaker and Baptist landowners, while some, like the area where the study area is located, was bought up most for industrial purposes.

In the 19th century, the backyards of dwellings in the Bottoms included areas associated with subsistence and food production (i.e., animals, gardens, orchards); few dwellings had associated wells. There were also a few alley dwellings, which were more common in Washington, D.C. Free black property owners in the Bottoms often operated businesses, such as laundries, tailor's and grocer's shops, from their home. The Colored Baptist Society, Alexandria's first black religious congregation formed in the Bottoms in 1803, conjoined to the white Baptist Society, which Alice Lawrason helped establish. In 1818, the members built a church at the site of present-day Alfred Street Baptist Church at 313 South Alfred Street, located to the northeast of the study area (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016c).

Another African American neighborhood developed in the early 1800s several blocks east of Washington Street, in the 400 block of South Royal Street. This neighborhood, known as Hayti, centered around 400 South Royal Street, Prince Street marked the northern border; South Pitt Street was the western border; South Fairfax Street was the eastern border, and the southern border was between Wilkes and Gibbon Streets. The community was likely named for the island of Haiti, where the enslaved population managed a successful uprising and overthrew the slave owners during the same period that the Alexandria neighborhood appeared. As the Wilkes Street Tunnel, built for the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in 1856, is present in Hayti, the neighborhood has also been called Tunnel Town. The Hayti neighborhood began as a cluster of free black homes in the 1790s and remained predominantly residential with only a few grocery shops. Several frame and brick townhouses built during the early years of the community still stand on the 400 block of South Royal and the 300 block of South Fairfax Streets. As with the Bottoms, the Society of Friends and Baptist Society figured in the development of Hayti. Free African Americans rented inexpensive houses in Hayti from Quaker and Baptist landlords and relatively affluent free black families purchased fine brick homes on South Royal Street. Many residents attended nearby First Methodist Episcopal Church, now Trinity United Methodist, before founding a black congregation on the outskirts of Hayti in 1830 (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016e).

As the African American population grew, various regulations were imposed. In 1793, the city required mandatory registration of free African Americans, and in November 1799, a curfew was imposed. An ordinance was passed in 1809 that allowed "free persons of color"

to settle within the corporate limits of the city until August 9, 1809, after which time any such person had to obtain a voucher from one white person to attest to his or her good character (Bloomburg 1988:57).

In 1807, Congress voted to ban the importation of enslaved people into the United States, effective January 1, 1808. The ban discouraged manumissions by raising the value of enslaved people; the illicit importation of the enslaved persisted until the beginning of the Civil War; and the domestic slave trade prospered. Many slave owners in northern Virginia seized the opportunity to sell surplus enslaved people into the southern slave market. Franklin & Armfield, one of the largest slave trading firms in America, opened an office in Alexandria in the 1830s. Still, the free African American population of Alexandria continued to increase.

Early National Period (1790-1829)

In 1791, Alexandria was ceded to the federal government to become part of the newly established District of Columbia, though it was not official until February 27, 1801, at which time the town continued to govern itself. The Fairfax County Courthouse, however, remained in Alexandria until 1799 when a new site for the courthouse was selected in its current location, now within the City of Fairfax (Smith and Miller 1989:51). The 1798 Plan of the Town of Alexandria by George Gilpin shows that by that time, the town extended north to Montgomery Street (Figure 4). In 1803, the western boundary of Alexandria was West Street, the southern boundary was Hunting Creek, and on the east, it was the wharves on the Potomac River east of Union Street. Montgomery Street marked the northern boundary.

As the economy transitioned from one based on tobacco to other products, the population in Alexandria and the county increased as people moved in from outlying western areas to work as merchants, hotel proprietors, and cooks in local restaurants. Between 1790 and 1798, Alexandria's population grew by about 2,000 individuals or 41%. During the 1790s, the study area was within the District of Columbia. At this time, due in part to turmoil in Europe associated with the French Revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars, Alexandria prospered as a major port for the exportation of American wheat. In 1791, the total value of the town's exports was $381,000, and four years later it had grown to $948,000. By 1795, Alexandria had closed its tobacco warehouses. From 1800 to 1820, it was fourth behind Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York in wheat exports (MacKay 1995:55).

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Source: Gilpin, George, Thomas Clarke, and John V Thomas.
Plan of the town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia.
[Alexandria: I. Thomas, 1798] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/91681006/.

Figure 4
1798 Gilpin Map, Alexandria, VA

Beginning around 1799 and lasting through 1842, Alexandria suffered a prolonged economic decline. Contributing agricultural factors were depletion of soils and the division of plantations into smaller, supporting tracts of farmlands among planters' sons. Newly available lands in the west claimed by the United States after its victory over the British in the Revolutionary War, the Ordinance of 1787 establishing the Northwest Territory, and the circa 1800 Virginia Military Bounty, establishing lands set aside for settlement by Virginians and Kentuckians, all factored into the change in settlement patterns. All of these spurred a migration of third and fourth generations of Fairfax County (and Alexandria) residents during the post-Revolutionary War period. Other influences included international conflicts following the Revolutionary War and the effects of French privateer ships on Alexandria shipping, along with embargoes, and the War of 1812 (Cox et al. 1999b; Smith and Miller 1989:56). Despite the depressed economy, commerce remained steady on the waterfront while small farms persisted in the western lots of the town (Figure 5).

Antebellum Period (1830-1860)

In the late 1840s, several major railroad construction projects were being planned for Alexandria, which would alter the economy and spur continued growth. The first, originally incorporated as the Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad, was designed to link Alexandria with the West via Harpers Ferry, West Virginia; it was chartered in 1847 and reorganized as the Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire in 1853. By the beginning of the Civil War, this line was only constructed as far as Leesburg. The same railroad was reorganized three more times: in 1870 as the Washington and Ohio Railroad; in 1884 as the Washington, Ohio, and Western Railroad; and in 1911 as the Washington and Old Dominion Railway. It was finally abandoned in 1968 (Bianculli 2001:24).

The second major railroad project was planned to connect Alexandria with Gordonsville in the south by way of the old Piedmont Stage Route through Orange and Culpeper Counties, Virginia. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad was incorporated by an Act of the Virginia Assembly on March 27, 1848. An Act to confirm the Town of Alexandria's grant of a right-of-way to the Orange and Alexandria (O&A) Railroad Company through the Town of Alexandria "and the privilege of steam" was passed by the Virginia General Assembly on March 22, 1850 (Virginia 1850:74-75), and construction of the O&A began in Alexandria in early 1850. The line was completed as far as Manassas Junction in Prince William County by October of 1851 (Geddes 1967:28-30). The president of the O&A in 1850 and a prominent Alexandria businessman, George H. Smoot, was involved in the formation of the Alexandria Gas Light Company, incorporated on March 22, 1850. The Gas Light Company was authorized to open the streets, lanes, alleys and public squares in the City of Alexandria for the purpose of distributing gas by gas mains, or gas pipes (Virginia 1850:148-149). Tracks associated with the O&A surrounded the study area.

The third railroad project was to open a line to the Shenandoah Valley through Manassas Gap. The Manassas Gap Railroad Company was incorporated by an Act of the Virginia Assembly on March 9, 1850 (Virginia 1850:73-74). The Manassas Gap Railroad line was

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Source: Ewing, Maskell C, and T Sinclair. *Plan of the town of Alexandria, D.C. with the environs: exhibiting the outlet of the Alexandria Canal, the shipping channel, wharves, Hunting Cr.* [Philadelphia: Lith. of T. Sinclair, 1845] Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/89692516/.

Figure 5
1845 Ewing Map of Alexandria, VA

constructed from the Manassas Junction on the Orange and Alexandria line to Strasburg by 1854. Initially, the Manassas Gap Railroad leased the Orange and Alexandria railroad track rights into Alexandria, but in 1855 it began constructing its own line, which was never completed (Geddes 1967:28-30).

The fourth project, the Alexandria and Washington Railroad Company (A&W) was chartered in 1854 to extend a rail line from Alexandria to Washington. The railroad was authorized to construct its tracks from a roundhouse and car shed located at the block bounded by Saint Asaph, Pitt and Princess Streets, thence north on Saint Asaph to the Alexandria and Washington Turnpike, thence north to the south end of the old Long Bridge, now the 14th Street bridge (Baer 2005).

With the arrival of the railroads in the 1850s, Alexandria experienced an industrial and commercial boom, and its population swelled from 8,734 in 1850 to 12,652 in 1860. Statistics from the 1850 census reveal there were 6,390 whites, 1,301 free blacks, and 1,061 enslaved people. In 1858, with the approval of a new charter, Alexandria officially became a city (Cox et al. 1999b).

Tightening Laws in the Antebellum Period (1830-1860)

In 1831, restrictions on free African Americans tightened further after Nat Turner, an enslaved minister, led a rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, where over 60 white people were killed. Still within the District of Columbia, curfews were reinforced, and free blacks in Alexandria were required to carry identity papers in public and ordered to obtain special permission for meetings in their own houses. In 1836, the District systematically denied business licenses to blacks (Arnebeck 1987). Alexandria was retroceded to Virginia in 1846, subjecting Alexandria's free African American residents to the even more strictly enforced racial laws. One such law forbade all people of color from receiving an education or preaching and required one white person for every black person in a congregation or gathering. Little changed in these worship patterns before the Civil War (1861 – 1865) (Wallace 2003:37).

The Uptown neighborhood began as a small cluster of African American homes in the antebellum period. Uptown was the first black neighborhood settled north of King Street and along with the Berg, the second black neighborhood to form north of King Street, expanded significantly during and after the Civil War as newly emancipated African-Americans migrated to Alexandria (Bloomburg 1988:73; Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.). Originally much smaller than the city's older black communities, the Bottoms and Hayti, Uptown grew into the largest African-American neighborhood in the city, eventually occupying 24 city blocks. The center of the neighborhood was at the intersection of North Henry and Oronoco Streets; North West Street forms its western border, Montgomery Street its northern border, North Columbus Street its eastern border, and Cameron Street its southern border. The Uptown neighborhood is now the Parker-Gray Historic District (DHR 100-0133).

In 1840, over 64 percent of the city's African-American population had free status. During this time, fishing became one of Alexandria's major commercial activities, along with slave trading, following the decline in the city's manufacturing sector in the 1830s. A seasonal community known as Fishtown developed in the 1850s along the Potomac near Oronoco Street in the area now occupied by Founders Park. African-American workers who cleaned the locally caught shad and herring populated Fishtown during the fishing season each spring. During this period, about 150 fisheries operated along the Potomac near Alexandria. Fishing and other riverine and seaport industries such as the ropewalk and shipbuilding employed large numbers of African-American laborers.

African Americans also worked as dock hands, bricklayers, carpenters, glaziers, and builders in the wharf district. Fishtown's built environment; tenements, salting houses, places to pack and sell fish, and eating houses, consisted of crude temporary structures built with "hired" wood; planks which were rented and returned after the season. As the rented wood could not be cut, windows the size of a plank, 15-foot-long and one-foot-wide, were used in the ephemeral structures. Although some workers lived in Fishtown tenements, at least on a seasonal basis, the community was primarily commercial and industrial rather than residential. Many of Fishtown's African-American workers may have lived in the Berg, a black neighborhood just west of Fishtown, settled during and after the Civil War (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016a).

Civil War (1861-1865)

On May 5, 1861, Lieutenant Col. A.S. Taylor commanding the Virginia Volunteers in Alexandria evacuated his Confederate troops to Springfield Station after obtaining a secret copy of an order "that the Government at Washington would occupy Alexandria on the 6th or 7th...." and "because of the inefficient condition of a large portion of the troops and my exposed and indefensible position." Among the two major inefficient conditions in Alexandria claimed by Lt. Col. Taylor were the lack of arms and equipment and "in the second place, the men were becoming almost useless from home influences. All but Captain Simpson's company [company of rifles] belonged to Alexandria (and were necessarily scattered over the city), and it would have been impossible to have assembled the command at any particular point in time…" Under Taylor's command "were two companies of raw Irish recruits, numbering about one hundred and twenty privates...armed with the altered flint-lock muskets of 1818, and without cartridges or caps; Captain Powell's company of cavalry, numbering about thirty, and twenty-two horses, [had] no arms or equipments of any kind except a few of Colt's revolvers..." (Scott 1880:23-27).

Confederate Commanding Brigadier-General Philip St. Geo. Cocke learned from Richmond on 6 May 6, 1861 "…after several attempts... to send a dispatch through the telegraph operator at Alexandria... the operator finally advised me that not one single man connected with the military had been left to speak to me through the wires..." Lt. Col. Taylor was ordered by General Cocke to return his troops immediately to Alexandria and hold them there "until absolutely driven out by force of arms" (Scott 1880:23-27).

On May 23, 1861, Virginia formally seceded from the Union by a vote of 97,000 to 32,000 (Bowman 1985:51, 55). In a public referendum, Alexandrians voted 958 for and only 106 against secession (Smith and Miller 1989:83). The morning after Virginia voted to secede; Federal troops entered Alexandria as Confederate troops exited the city to the west. "This was done without opposition, capturing in the town a few rebel cavalry [sic]. Some 700 rebel infantry in the town had received notice of the approach of the troops and were ready to take the [railroad] cars. They escaped on the O&A, burning the bridges behind them. Our [Union] troops pursued a short distance, also burning such bridges as they had spared..." (Scott 1880:37-41). Alexandria would remain an occupied city throughout the duration of the War. Private homes and businesses were taken over by the occupying army, and the city was used as a staging point for the various military campaigns in Virginia.

The passage of the Railways and Telegraph Act of January 31, 1862, granted the federal government authority to control all Northern and captured Southern railroads, considered key to victory in the war. The O&ARR office and rail yard was developed into the operation headquarters of the United States Military Railroads (USMRR), which expanded tracks and warehouses into the study area. The various lines within the city were finally interconnected under the USMRR, and the rail connection with the North was made complete when tracks were laid across Long Bridge to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In February of 1862, a track was laid down Henry Street connecting the O&A and the A&W lines (Baer 2005).

In May of 1862, Herman Haupt was commissioned by Secretary of War Stanton to act as the director of rail operations for the military. Haupt was extremely efficient in the operations of moving troops and supplies over the rails and improvising new methods of repairing damaged track. Haupt organized the military railroads into the Construction Corps, which he supervised, and placed his assistant John H. Devereux in charge of the Transportation Corps. By the end of August, Haupt:

> ...forwarded scores of cars filled with everything from bread and meat, to ammunition and forage. He also arranged for the transport of surgeons to the field...and for the recovery of the wounded (Barber 1988:34).

Barber also notes that, by the end of the war,

> ...quartermasters received, issued and transferred more than 640,000 pounds of wood, 81,000,000 pounds of corn, 412,000,000 pounds each of oats and hay, and 530,000,000 pounds of coal..... By July 1865, all military railroad property--including machine shops, engine houses and the late president's personal car, which was built and housed in Alexandria--totaled more than two million dollars. This figure equaled half the value of all U.S. Military Railroad property in the state (Barber 1988:103).

The USMRR laid new track that brought the A&W into Alexandria along Henry Street, creating a railroad junction just north of Poorhouse Lane (Griffin 1984). In 1861 and 1862,

Federal engineers drained the Aqueduct Bridge and converted it to a bridge moving troops and material across the Potomac into Virginia (Morgan 1966).

Prior to the Civil War, few detailed maps of the eastern United States existed. Federal military authorities recognized the strategic and tactical importance of maps of the United States, and the dearth of detailed and accurate maps available. The Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers and Corps of Engineers, the Treasury Department's Coast Survey, and the Navy's Hydrographic Office, were quickly mobilized to prepare new maps for the war effort. As a result, several detailed maps of the vicinity of Alexandria were made in the 1860s (Figures 6 and 7).

No major Civil War battles were fought in the City of Alexandria, although its railroads, waterways and roadways figured in major troop movements into and out of the Washington, D.C., area. A few intermittent Confederate raids were made into the western end of Alexandria, mostly along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. One skirmish was reported on the Little River Turnpike (Duke Street) in June of 1863.

General Robert E. Lee's surrender of the Confederate Army on April 9, 1865, was followed by Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's surrender to Union General Major-General William T. Sherman on April 26, ending the Confederate resistance east of the Mississippi River. To celebrate the news of General Lee's surrender on the 4th or 5th of April 1865, "there was a simultaneous burst of cannon from all the forts around and in Wa[shington] and they bellowed, and roared...all day long...the next day soldiers were sent round to every house in the towns and all about the towns, and ordered the people to throw open their houses at night and illuminate...Many did it through fear...others refused, and their houses were stoned...their windows broken by the soldiers" (Frobel 1992:216).

By the end of April and early May, the area around Washington filled with soldiers; Colonel Gregg of the 179th New York Regiment reported of the 21st that the area from Baileys Crossroads to Washington that the "whole country...around as he could see in every direction is one vast encampment." Rose Hill, to the north of Bush Hill, was "...literally covered with Sherman's army" (Frobel 1992:219, 226, 229, 230).

In the summer of 1865, the Union Army withdrew from Alexandria, and Confederate sympathizers who had fled south at the start of the war began returning to the town. Upon the recommendation of the chief engineer dated May 6, 1865, the fieldworks constructed for the defense of Washington, with the exception of the redoubt at Fort Worth, were dismantled (Scott et al. 1880-1901:1286, 1293).

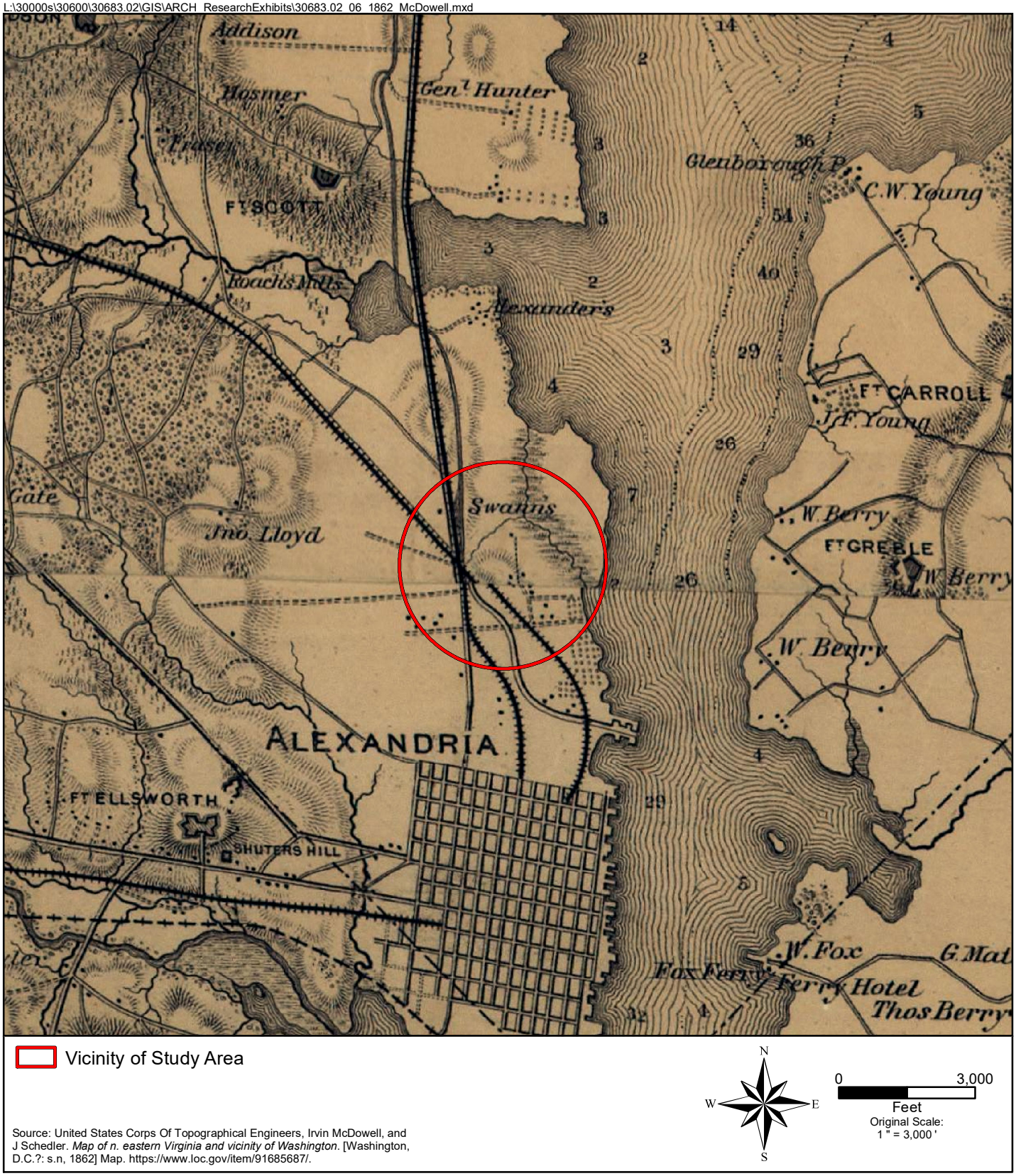


Figure 6
1862 McDowell Map, Northeast Virginia and Washington DC

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

The Union army's occupation of Alexandria during the Civil War effected Alexandria's African American population, both freed and enslaved. Although exact numbers are unknown, as many as 20,000 African American refugees may have come to Alexandria during the war. The majority of the African American refugees that migrated to Alexandria probably fled from nearby plantations in northern Virginia, but former enslaved people from other parts of Virginia, Maryland and even remote parts of the Confederacy also made their way to the city. For the refugees, passage through Confederate Virginia, was typically on foot and often very dangerous. Emma Bynum, a former slave who learned to write in a freedmen's school, described her flight from slavery:

> I traveled 65 miles and we had 52 in our number, before, we crost, the rive,…we tought, we wld, be taken eny moment, the babys, cried, and we could whear, the sound of them, on the warter, we lay all night in the woods, and the next day, we traveled on and we, reached, Suffolk that night, and we, lost twenty, one, of the Number (American Antiquarian Society 2006).

Initially, U.S. officials were required to send "fugitive slaves" back to their owners, but by mid-1861 the government began to refer to freedom-seekers as "contraband of war." This status as property provided a legal basis through which Union officers could refuse to return refugees to their Confederate owners. Contrabands became known as "freedmen" during the later years of the war and into Reconstruction. Arriving in Alexandria with few resources, the escaped enslaved people sought work, food, clothing, shelter, medical treatment, and education. Many such refugees found employment with the army as stevedores, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, wood cutters, teamsters, nurses, and hospital attendants, gravediggers, laundresses, cooks, and personal servants. General Herman Haupt, commander of the U.S. Military Railroad in Alexandria, wrote about freedmen working in the Construction Corps:

> …if there ever should be recognition of their great services, the faithful contrabands will be justly entitled to their share; no other class of men would have exhibited so much patience and endurance under days and nights of continued and sleepless labor (Haupt 1901:319).

The influx of refugees led to tension with Alexandria's free African American population. When the government instituted a $5 per week reduction in the wages of free black workers to be applied to the support of contrabands, the free black stevedores felt the cut was unfair and appealed to Secretary of War Stanton:

> We...the free people of Alexandria that have been in your employment every since it was established...humbley appeal...for the addition of those five dollars that has been curtailed from our wages... we free born men...has always had our selves and families to look out for do not see why

> we...should pay a tax for them...while the Contrabands has all the attention from every private source…the government...provides house...and fuell for there wives and children and for the men themselves when out of employ... We think it hard that we should contribute to them who has all the attention…we could just...get along when you gave us $25, but... as high as… it is very hard to get along at alls…your obedient servants…free laborers working as stevedores in Alexandria, August 1863 [sic] (City of Alexandria n.d.)

On March 13, 1862, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which prohibited officers or military personnel from using force to return fugitives. In a city occupied by the Union army, this meant that the government no longer enforced the laws that required that fugitive slaves be captured and returned to their owners.

Many freedmen crowded into abandoned buildings, army barracks, or temporary shanties without heat. Some were able to purchase building lots. More than a dozen shantytowns developed into refugee communities, with names such as *Cross Canal, Contraband Valley*, *Pump Town, Grantville, Sumnerville, Newtown, and Petersbur*g. Later, post-war black neighborhoods grew from these core areas, and at least one, *the Berg*, retained its wartime identity. Food and clothing were in short supply and disease and sickness, including smallpox, respiratory problems, and influenza, was rampant. Many, particularly children, died.

The Berg neighborhood was founded as Petersburg by African Americans refugees came from Petersburg, Virginia. It was the second African-American neighborhood to develop north of King Street and was located just west of Fishtown and the tracks of the A&W. Although, as is common with other African-American neighborhoods in the city, the boundaries of the Berg changed over time, and its boundary descriptions vary. Its extents have been described as roughly covering an area of about 15 city blocks; bounded by North St. Asaph Street on the west, Madison Street on the north, Princess street on the south, and North Fairfax Street on the east (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016a).

The Hill, or "Vinegar Hill" as it was sometimes called, developed during and after the Civil War. The community arose between the two pre-war neighborhoods, the Bottoms and Hayti, and extended African-American settlement south along the waterfront. The origins of the name Vinegar Hill are uncertain, but there are African-American neighborhoods of that name in Washington, D.C., and in Charlottesville, Virginia (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016f).

At the beginning of the War, African Americans could not lawfully join the military. By 1862, the number of qualified recruits declined and in response, African-American men were allowed to join the ranks. By 1865, over 250 African-American men who had been killed in action were interred in a corner of the Alexandria National Cemetery (Miller 1998:1).

The Freedmen's Bureau (1865 – 1896)

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

By the end of the 19th century, the city's African American communities expanded from the small antebellum neighborhoods and the neighborhoods that had arisen from the freedmen's shantytowns into new and larger neighborhoods (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.).

Reconstruction and Growth (1866-1916)

In 1870, the Pennsylvania Railroad [PRR] assumed the construction of a previously authorized but never built railroad, the Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railway (A&F) and, on April 28, 1871, the City of Alexandria authorized the A&F to build a single track up Fayette Street (Baer 2005). In 1872, the Pennsylvania Railroad acquired the A&W, and the St. Asaph Street entrance to the city was abandoned in favor of the two acquired lines running down Fayette and Henry streets (Cox 1996).

On September 15, 1905, Washington Southern Railway opened a new line between St. Asaph Junction and Roberts Road in Alexandria, and the old connection with Southern Railway on Henry Street was abandoned. The line on Fayette Street was also abandoned for through traffic around this time (Baer 2005). Southern Railway's Potomac train yards, constructed in 1905, became the center of Alexandria's railroad activity (Cox 1996). In 1906, Washington Southern Railway sold the Henry Street Branch to Southern Railway for materials (Baer 2005).

By the early 20th century, the Washington, D.C. area had become a major transfer point between northern and southern rail networks. Produce and livestock from the southern

states was shipped by rail to urban markets in the North and manufactured goods were shipped south from northern factories.

Early Jim Crow Era (1896 – 1917)

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

The Cross Canal neighborhood, centered on the 800 block of North Fairfax Street between Madison and First Streets, was named for its location just across the Alexandria Canal at the northeast end of the city. The area remained rural during the Civil War when African-Americans may have first moved to the area in search of affordable housing or housing near their jobs on the wharves. In the early 20th century, some residents worked at the Old Dominion Glass Factory, and likely other factories in the vicinity (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016d).

The Hump developed in the late 19th century and was one of five new African-American neighborhoods formed in Alexandria during and after the Civil War. The Hump neighborhood once spanned three blocks along Montgomery Street, centering on the 800 block; the intersection of Montgomery and North Patrick streets marked its western border, its southern boundary ran along Madison Street, the eastern boundary was along North Washington Street, and the northern edge was between Second and First streets. When the neighborhood was first settled, the Alexandria Canal that abutted it was closed down; the railroad tracks along its eastern border were eventually abandoned and this somewhat undesirable area, may have offered inexpensive housing for the working-class blacks and whites who settled there, many of whom worked at the nearby brewery and glassworks (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016g).

Black Rosemont, also known as Colored Rosemont, was an African-American neighborhood centered on the 600 and 700 blocks of West and Payne Street in the northwest corner of Alexandria. One of the last African American neighborhoods to develop in the city; Black Rosemont formed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The name of the neighborhood was likely associated with the white streetcar suburb of Rosemont located across the tracks. Housing in Black Rosemont consisted primarily of

individually owned free standing dwellings, one or two stories high, and constructed in a cottage or bungalow style. Several black-owned businesses, including grocery stores, were also established in the neighborhood. During the period of segregation and the Jim Crow laws, blacks shopped exclusively at stores owned by African-American entrepreneurs (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2016b).

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

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

Very little changed in the way of civil rights for African Americans between the wars, though over 4,000 schools throughout the South were constructed and/or replaced with assistance from the Rosenwald Fund, created by Booker T. Washington, a Hampton Institute graduate and Tuskegee Institute founder, and Julius Rosenwald, a Jewish American philanthropist of German descent who was president of Sears. Other privately funded philanthropic funds, such as the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, paid for similar efforts (Deutsch 2011).

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

1942, less than three percent of war workers were African American. In the military, despite the continuance of discriminatory practices, due to the universal draft, the number of blacks serving increased from fewer than 4,000 in 1941 to 1.2 million in 1945 (Equal Justice Initiative 2016).

Urban Renewal in the New Dominion (1946-1991)

In the perceived prosperity of the postwar years, public housing remained an integral part of Federal housing policy but received limited attention and funding. The rapid growth of population in the United States in the latter half of the 20th century and the concentration of this population in urban areas led to new problems in housing and the need for government to address these problems. Under the Housing Act of 1949, beginning in the 1950s, numerous massive public housing projects, typically high-rise complexes were constructed in urban areas across the country (Robinson et al. 1999:57).

Many critics of the public housing system in the 1950s considered it tied to humanistic sentiments and not focused on practical methods of assisting the poor. They claimed that the bureaucracy involved in the public housing system was inefficient and significantly decreased the funds that were actually used for housing, that public housing tended to result in more racially segregated communities within cities, and that the demand on collective cooperation and unity necessary in public housing, due to the close quarters in which tenants lived, was often unreasonable. The most significant federal housing legislation to be enacted between 1949 and the 1970s was the Housing Act of 1959, which established a direct loan program for senior citizens in need of housing aid.

The history of public housing in the City of Alexandria may be traced to the last years of the 1930s, beginning with the Alexandria Housing Authority (AHA) formally established as a public agency under the Housing Authority Law, Chapter 1, Title 36 of the Code of Virginia of 1938, as a result of work done by the local Council of Social Agencies and the Woman's Club. Its first mission was clearing slums and creating new affordable housing in the Berg and Parker-Gray neighborhoods where little investment had occurred since before the Depression (Woodbury 1940:140). In the early 1940s, several temporary public housing projects for defense workers - war trailer camps - were established in the city. Several permanent public housing projects were acquired or constructed by 1945. Segregation of the city's public housing appears to have been a constant component of the system. In 1965, with the integration of two African American families into the previously "whites only" Cameron Valley Homes, efforts to remedy this situation were made (Reft 2013; Washington Post 1965).

During the 1940s and 1950s, the Authority constructed new units and acquired ones built for the war effort. It was renamed the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA) by 1956 as it was granted authority to issue bonds. New developments continued in throughout the coming decades. The City established a Housing Office in 1975, when the DIP Urban Renewal was underway in the Bottoms, and increasingly received federal Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), which funded infrastructure development and anti-poverty programs in affordable housing areas. Though ARHA

received no funding from the City, in 1972, ARHA and the City jointly adopted Resolution 99 with the City agreeing that it must maintain units or engage in one-for-one replacement for any units that are removed from its affordable inventory. This was enacted because public development or redevelopment activity made the elimination of existing housing desirable. Resolution 830 superseded Resolution 99 in 1982 to incorporate publicly assisted housing occupied by the elderly and disabled persons.

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

In a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post* in December 1935, a citizen of Alexandria expressed outrage at the paper's hostility to the emerging federal housing program and its contention that local government could handle the housing crisis:

> In my own hometown I know of no present or past attempts to remove the slum dwellings or even discuss the possibility of removing them. Shacks that were formerly grog shops and houses of worse repute are now renovated with a coat of paint, brass door-knockers [sic], green shutters, foot scraper, and a tub and are rented to the stupid petit bourgeois for fabulous sums while the former inhabitants are turned out to shift for themselves and develop bigger and better slums by their shifting…your "local government" is a non-entity and has failed to alleviate conditions… (Stevens 1935:8).

In October 1939, the USHA earmarked $900,000 for use by the Alexandria Housing Board in a program of slum clearance and the construction of "200 family units that may be individual dwellings, row houses or single apartments." Provisions for slum clearance mandated that for each unit constructed an existing unit would be renovated or razed. The units were expected to rent from between $14 and $18 monthly and were to be made available to families earning less than $75 per month (Washington Post 1939:12).

According to a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post*, slum clearance in Alexandria was underway by the beginning of 1941, the author informed:

> …of a situation which exists in the town of Alexandria…about the close of the year notices went out to various colored families living in Alexandria, in that area near the railroad tracks between Oronoco and Princess Streets, that because of the slum clearance in charge of the Housing Authority, these families must vacate the shacks in which they then lived and move to other homes so that better houses might be erected there.
>
> …However, they did not move…and on January 2, 1941 the wrecking crews came…Today I received word that the houses on Princess Street are

> having their roofs taken off…all those people living in that row of houses, including a child with a broken neck, will be entirely homeless, without even the shelter usually given to animals…Alexandrians are content to allow people to be treated worse than animals.
>
> It seems that the Housing Authority should have…ascertained whether there were enough places for these people to move… (Washington Post 1941:10).

In a 1944 interview, Virginia Representative Howard Smith noted "the extremely pressing problem of District slums and the dire need here for proper Negro housing." Smith remarked on the recent efforts toward slum clearance and public housing in Alexandria:

> Over in Alexandria we can see in a small way the blessings of slum clearance. There are two blocks down there of fine brick dwellings for Negroes, with backyards and plenty of air and sunlight. They replaced former slums. It is deeply gratifying to see the pride and self-respect which a decent place to live has engendered in the occupants of these homes. They are beautifully kept (Washington Post 1944:B-1).

Proponents of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill of 1948 noted that Alexandria, with a population of about 75,000, had available only 421 rental housing units for low income families (130 units for white families, 291 units for African-American families), not including those allotted for military personnel (Washington Post 1948:15). Former defense housing, including Ramsey Homes, was acquired by ARHA for use as public housing in the 1950s, and additional public housing was constructed in the 1950s and throughout the latter half of the 20th century to address the housing needs of low-income families.

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

In 1985, a group called "The 16th Census Tract Crisis Committee" accused city officials of deliberately reducing and eliminating housing opportunities for African Americans in the city, beginning in the 1960s. They filed a complaint with HUD, that the constitutional rights of African Americans were violated by city actions. Backed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, The 16th Census Tract Crisis Committee singled out the following city actions as violating the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Washington Post 1985:F1-F2). Among other things, they complained that the city was:

- Using zoning code, code enforcement or condemnation to demolish homes occupied by African Americans without providing affordable alternatives;
- Rejecting planned urban renewal projects and renovating housing units that were generally too expensive for African Americans;
- Closing the historically African-American Parker-Gray High School and reselling the property for commercial and upper end housing use rather than low income housing; and
- Enacting a 1984 ordinance that designated the Parker-Gray African-American community as a special preservation district.

Residents of the primarily African-American Parker-Gray neighborhood opposed the extension of the Old Town Historic District into the neighborhood as it would increase property values and property taxes and force them from their homes (Washington Post 1984:C1).

PROPERTY HISTORY

The land containing the study area was once home to the Piscataway and other related Native American groups, such as the Doegs [sic] or Tauxenants. European colonists eventually settled here and founded the Town of Alexandria, named after the family who "owned" most of the land, including the Potomac River Generation Station, for over 100 years. With the arrival of Europeans and their encroachment on native lands, the study area was part of agricultural landholdings. By the turn of the 20th century, the northern end of Alexandria was developed, and that land was subdivided.

PEPCO assembled the current study area from seven different parcels in the 1980s. Although the chain of title (presented in Table 2) shows the land transfers specific to the seven parcels, the property history narrative presents an overview of landowners, beginning with the earliest landowners north of Alexandria, rather than an account of how each parcel changed hands.

1669: Robert Howson

The first land transaction involving the study area occurred on October 20, 1669, when Sir William Berkeley, then governor of the Virginia Colony, granted "6000 acres upon the freshes of Potomack River" to a Welsh sea captain, Robert Housing (alternately spelled Howson and Howsing), in return for his transportation of 120 persons and ten "Negroes" into the Virginia Colony (Harrison 1987:60). During this period, tobacco was used as a stable medium of exchange; promissory notes, used as money, were issued for the quantity and quality of tobacco received (Bradshaw 1955:80-81). Then located in Stafford County, the land included present-day Old Town Alexandria, Washington National Airport, the Pentagon, and Arlington National Cemetery. South of the study area, it overlapped a 700-acre patent, including present-day Old Town, issued to Margaret Brent in 1654 (VLPO 3:275).

Table 2: Chain of Title for Potomac River Generation Station, Alexandria, Virginia

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Source and Description
9/3/2020	Bank of New York Mellon	PEPCO	200019504
			Deed of Trust: Source of Title 1044: 813, 188:484, 191:259, 191:334, 212:159, 227:184, 263:520, 329:158, 463:485.
12/17/1981	Riggs National Bank of Washington, DC	Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO)	Alex Co 1044:813
			Deed of Trust, "whereas PEPCO and Braddock Light and Power Company, Inc, PEPCO's predecessor-in-interest, acquired lands for Generating Station C by those certain 7 deeds: 188:484, 191:259, 191:334, 212:159, 227:184, 263:520, 329:158, 463:485.
			Parcel 1
5/6/1942	Braddock Light and Power Co.	Louis P. and Maude Allwine	AX 188:484
			3+ acres or squares bounded by Locust, Pitt, Cherry and St. Asaph Streets
2/3/1942	Louis P. Allwine	Esther L. Peverill widow of Charles Peverill decd., Emily R. Butts, etc.	AX 185:229
			3+ acres or squares bounded by Locust, Pitt, Cherry and St. Asaph Streets; 1st and 2nd parcels from Sarah Peverill K-4:509 (Parcels 1A); 3rd parcel from George McCleish K-4:28 (Parcel 1B)
			Parcel 1A
5/15/1889	Sarah Peverill	Lewis Peverill	AR K-4:509
			Lots on east and northeast side of Washington Ohio Railroad. (sold to Sarah Peverill by N. Augustus Butts)

Table 2: Chain of Title for Potomac River Generation Station, Alexandria, Virginia

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Source and Description
8/9/1859	N. Augustus Butts	Henry Lloyd	AR U-W 8:14
			Lots on east and northeast side of Washington Ohio Railroad, totaling one acre; devised to Henry Lloyd by will of Harriet M. Lloyd, his mother, who purchased it from Julia Ann Simmons.
			Parcel 1B
11/1/1889	Lewis Peverill	George and Clara McCleish	AR K-4:28
			3 lots of land bounded by Pitt, Locust and Royal Streets and the Potomac. Containing 4 acres.
7/16/1838	George McCleish	Saunders Lewis	AR V2-C3 4:239
			2.5 acres, embracing lots 10, 11, 23, 24 and 25 of the William Hartshorne Tract. Devised from Mordecai Lewis and heirs at law of Joseph S. Lewis
			Parcel 2
7/3/1942	Braddock Light and Power Co.	American Chlorophyll Inc.	AX 191:259
			Lot south of land of John Peverill et al, east to the river, west to north Royal St, and on east line of land of M. Bashford. Containing 1.4968 acres.
5/29/1941	American Chlorophyll Inc.	Virginia-Carolina Chemical Corporation	AX 174:439
			Four tracts totaling 7.6 acres
10/18/1926	Virginia-Carolina Chemical Corporation	Bryant Fertilizer Co.	AR 89:325
			Four tracts, 3rd being in study area, containing 6.5425 acres

Table 2: Chain of Title for Potomac River Generation Station, Alexandria, Virginia

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Source and Description
12/22/1919	Bryant Fertilizer Co.	Lewis Egerton Smoot of DC and William Albert Smoot, Jr. of Alexandria; executors for William Albert Smoot	AR 165:440
			Lot by bound by Third St, Royal St and Southern Railway and River
10/31/1884	William A. Smoot	James P. Smith and Richard C. Smith, executors for Hugh Smith's will	AR F-4:532
			Part of Hugh Smith's real estate along Potomac. Conveyed to Hugh Smith by Moses Hepburn.
4/5/1848	Hugh Smith	Moses and Amelia Hepburn	AR D3-K3 5:453
			land along the Potomac, part of the lot designated in the plat of survey of lands purchased by Nathaniel Pendleton and William S. Moore.
6/3/1833	Moses Hepburn	Thomas Swann	AX U2:305
			Lot No. 10, containing 6 acres. Land along the Potomac, part of the lot designated in the plat of survey of lands purchased by Nathaniel Pendleton and William S. Moore.
12/1/1814	Thomas Swann	William S. Moore	AX AA:287
			Lot No. 10, containing 6 acres.
3/19/1814	William S. Moore	Nathaniel Pendleton	AX Y:364
			Lot No. 10, containing 6 acres.
2/18/1802	Nathaniel Pendleton	Philip Fitzhugh	AX C:239
			22 acres upon the Potomac River, Lots 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. South of land of Elisha Cullen Dick. Conveyed to Fitzhugh by Baldwin and Catherine Dade

Table 2: Chain of Title for Potomac River Generation Station, Alexandria, Virginia

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Source and Description
			Parcel 3
7/1/1942	Braddock Light and Power Co.	Clyde C. Lamond, Jr and Marguerite M. Lamond	AX 191:334
			South of Slater's Lane, west to Pitt Street, north of Cherry Street. 3.0996 acres. Conveyed to John W. Slater by Francis Miller and S. Ferguson Beach Executors of Samuel Miller. John W. Slater died, leaving land to grandsons CC and A Slater Lamond, who currently have a sewer running through this parcel to the Potomac.
4/21/1877	John W. Slater	Francis Miller and S. Ferguson Beach Executors of Samuel Miller	AR C-4:464
			South of Slater's Lane, west to Pitt Street, north of Cherry Street. 3.5 acres.
7/19/1838	Samuel Miller	Saunders Lewis	AX Y-2:52
			South of Slater's Lane, west to Pitt Street, north of Cherry Street. 3.5 acres.
7/11/1838	Saunders Lewis	Heirs and heirs at law of Joseph P. Lewis[1]	AX Y-2:1
			Lots 2, 3, 5, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 of William Hartshorne's survey. Part of 400 acres belonging to Parthenia Dade and her daughter.
			Parcel 4
10/20/1944	Braddock Light and Power Co.	American Chlorophyll, Inc.	AX 212:159
			Four parcels by Third and Royal Street, east of Southern Railway Line, totaling 7.6 acres

[1] John Paul and Hannah, Alexander and Rachel Wilson, Francis Lewis, Edward and Elizabeth Pennington, Fanny Lewis, Montgomery Lewis, Mordecai and Elizabeth Lewis, Samuel N and Rebecca Lewis, John Wilson Chove and his wife Chary.

Table 2: Chain of Title for Potomac River Generation Station, Alexandria, Virginia

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Source and Description
			Parcel 5
4/23/1946	Braddock Light and Power Co.	Margaret J. Bashford	AX 227:184
			Parcel No. 2-B, containing 2.6773 acres
5/9/1927	Margaret J. Bashford	Lelia Lackey Snowden Davis and Herbert Davis	AR 261:96
			Parcel No. 2-B, containing 2.6773 acres- Edward Lloyd Sr, died and Lot 2 was allotted to Lelia L. Lackey- lot originally belonged to Parthenia Dade, then Nathaniel Pendleton and William S. Moore
			Parcel 6
5/2/1948	Braddock Light and Power Co.	W. Selden and Irene T Washington; Eppa D. and Virginia Kane	AX 263:520
			0.941 Acres
			Parcel 7
11/19/1951	PEPCO	M. Gedney	AX 329:158
			Two parcels along Slater's lane, the second being south of the lane and in the study area; 4.199 acres
11/16/1951	M. Gedney	James Juliano and Mildred and Frank Koplin	AX 329:156
			Two parcels…4.199 acres
2/14/1951	James Juliano and Mildren Koplin	Clyde C. Lamond, Jr and Marguerite	AX 314:17
			Two parcels…4.199 acres

Table 2: Chain of Title for Potomac River Generation Station, Alexandria, Virginia

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Source and Description
10/11/1943	Clyde C. Lamond, Jr	A. Slater and Jaquelin Lamond	AR 626:462
			Deed of Partition: Second Parcel "a long narrow strip of land located in the extended limits of Alexandria bounded as follows: on the north by Slater's Lane, on the east by tract Braddock Light and Power Co tract, on the south by the boundary line of CC Lamond, Sr's land, and west by the above parcel" from AR C-4:464. "John W. Slater died intestate leaving a widow, Francis C. Slater, and one child Mary Slater Lamond, who predeceased her mother, leaving two sons Clyde and A. Slater Lamond."

1669-1677: John Alexander I

On November 13, 1669, a little over a month after he obtained the patent for 6,000 acres of land along the Potomac River, Robert Howson sold it to John Alexander I (1603-1677) in exchange for six hogsheads (approximately 6,000 pounds) of tobacco. John Alexander I emigrated to Virginia from England prior to 1653. He became a prosperous planter in present-day King George County, which was at that time part of Stafford County. Alexander was also a surveyor and served as justice of the peace, sheriff, and captain of the militia in Stafford County (Pippenger 1990:xiii, 8-9, 25). He and his wife Elizabeth had three sons: John (who predeceased his father and died without heirs), Robert (hereafter referred to as Robert Alexander I) and Philip. They probably had two daughters as well – Elizabeth and Sarah (Mitchell 1977:60).

In his unsigned will, dated October 25, 1677, John Alexander I left 500 acres and the "house and plantation where I now live" in Stafford County to his son Robert. Apart from several tracts bequeathed to specific individuals, the remainder of his estate was to be equally divided between his two surviving sons, Robert Alexander I and Philip. The transcribed will states that Robert should not dispose of the land before he comes of age yet names him executor, which seems an unlikely position for a minor; it is possible that the will was wrongly transcribed and Philip, who was actually younger, was the minor described (Pippenger 1990:28-29).

Only one tenant of the John Alexander I era is identified in documents. Identified as Mr. Coggins in the 1677 will, he lived on a 200-acre tract, bequeathed to Elizabeth Holmes, south of the study area on the north side of Great Hunting Creek. In order to secure a patent, John Alexander I had to settle the land within three years of purchasing it. The Coggins farm may have fulfilled that requirement, or John Alexander I may have established a quarter on the property as well. At that time, a quarter meant a portion of a larger tract of land where indentured servants or enslaved labor and an overseer lived (Cox et al. 1999a; Pippenger 1990; Stetson 1935; Walker and Harper 1989).

1677-1703: Robert Alexander I & Philip Alexander

Robert and Philip Alexander sold off parts of their inheritance beginning in 1687 and leased land to tenant farmers as early as 1696, when Robert rented an island to Thomas Pearson. After the brothers exchanged title to the lands back and forth, the study area ultimately lay within a part owned by Robert Alexander I (Mitchell 1977:60-61; Pippenger 1990:132-133). Robert Alexander I married twice, first to Priscilla Aston in 1673, and then to Frances (Fitzhugh?) in 1701. He lived in Stafford County until his death around 1704, at which time he was a widow. In his will dated December 22, 1703 and probated June 14, 1704, Robert mentioned "Land & Planta. lying up the [Potomac] River & on the upper side of Great Hunting Creek" as well as a number of enslaved persons but provided no information about where individuals or buildings were located (Pippenger 1990:104).

Robert Alexander I left the following to his sons, Robert II and Charles, whom he had with Priscilla: the remainder of the Howson patent, household furniture, goods, merchandise, plate, tobacco, corn, money, monies in England, book debts, stock of cattle, hogs, and horses, and the remainder of his personal estate. They also received sole ownership of a variety of other lands and enslaved laborers. Robert II inherited his father's "Dwelling Planta., with houses, orchards and 300 acres of Land"; 350 acres, which contained the study area, adjacent to his uncle, Philip Alexander; and the following enslaved African Americans: "Mullatto Grace", Cate, Dego, Nanny, Caesar, "Mulatto Moll", Sarah, "Papa Jack" and "Negro Robin in Number 9" as well as any children they may have (Pippenger 1990:104). Others named in the will included friends, nieces, a godson, and a goddaughter. His "Taylor [tailor] John Allen" received his freedom as well as his best suit, a hat, shoes, and two good shirts; his "Taylor John Hyatt" received "1/2 a year of his time" and his second-best suit. Grace, one of the enslaved women he bequeathed to Robert, received a cow (Pippenger 1990:104).

1703-1735: Robert Alexander II

Major Robert Alexander II (1688-1735) married Anne Fowke sometime before 1709. They had six children, five of whom survived until adulthood: Parthenia (1709-1742), Anne (1710-1735), John III (1711-1763), Gerard (1712-1761), and Sarah (1720-ca. 1741). A 1723 quit rent roll for Overwharton Parish shows that Robert II paid £4.13.6 rent for 4,675 acres. Robert was a justice of the peace in Overwharton Parish, a justice of Stafford County in 1726, and a Major in the militia (Pippenger 1990:107-113). In 1731, the tenants on Robert Alexander II's lands paid rents of 524 pounds of tobacco for 100 acres and 1048

pounds for 200 acres. At that time, documented tenants below Four Mile Run included Judith Ballenger, Sarah Young, Sarah Amos and James Going, who "raised horses" and "spent much of [his] money at the races" (Mitchell 1977:61). Whether they cultivated the study area is unknown.

Robert Alexander II drafted a will on April 28, 1735 and died on October 5 of that year. He left his wife, Anne, all land in Stafford County for life; four enslaved laborers, Solomon, Nate, Grace and Dinah (Solomon and Grace could not be removed from the dwelling where they lived); and one-third of his personal estate (to be divided between his sons John III and Gerard after their mother's death). John III also inherited property on the south bank of Four Mile Run and was to receive all Stafford County land after his mother's death, while Gerard inherited land on the north bank. His middle daughter, Anne Alexander Hooe, received 200 acres of land called Summer's Quarters (Pippenger 1990:110-114).

His eldest, Parthenia Alexander Massey, and her husband, Dade Massey, lived on 400 acres immediately south of John III's inherited parcel. The land, furniture, livestock, and enslaved laborers there were given to Dade Massey as a gift on their wedding day on January 17, 1731, but reverted to her father, when Massey died 12 days before Robert Alexander II wrote his will. In the will, he gave the 400 acres, enslaved persons, livestock, and various items back to Parthenia, who later remarried to Townshend Dade. His youngest, Sarah Alexander, inherited 400 acres, which contained the study area, immediately south of Parthenia (Pippenger 1990:110-114).

1735-ca. 1740: Sarah Alexander and Baldwin Dade I

Only 15 at the time of her father's death, Sarah Alexander (1720-ca. 1740) was to be housed, fed, and clothed by his executors until she was 16. She would then receive the 400 acres containing the study area and two "nice Negroe women and two nice Negroe men they not to exceed 20 years," a horse worth £10, saddle of £6, four cows and calves, "four Sows with pig," and the same "household Stuff" that Parthenia Massey received. She would also inherit 40 barrels of corn, 800 wt of meat, the construction of "a 50 Foot Tobacco house 20 foot wide and a 20 Foot Quarter 13 foot wide," "necess ary tools for her plantation use," and the clothing of the enslaved persons she inherited for two years (Pippenger 1990:112).

On August 7, 1736, Sarah Alexander married Baldwin Dade I (1716-1783), possibly a brother or cousin of her brother-in-law, and gained access to her inheritance; though there is no evidence that they established a residence on her 400 acres. It is possible that they maintained a quarter on the property. In 1737, a year after her marriage, Sarah gave birth to Francis Dade, who died as an infant. In 1740, her brother, John Alexander III, initiated a partition against his siblings and their spouses, Gerard Alexander, Parthenia and Townsend Dade, and Sarah and Baldwin Dade, to establish the back line of their inheritance. Sarah Dade died around that time without children, thus, in accordance with her father's will, her 400 acres reverted to her brothers, John III and Gerard (U.S. Supreme Court Case, Alexander v. Pendleton 12 U.S. 462 [1814] [12 U.S. 462]).

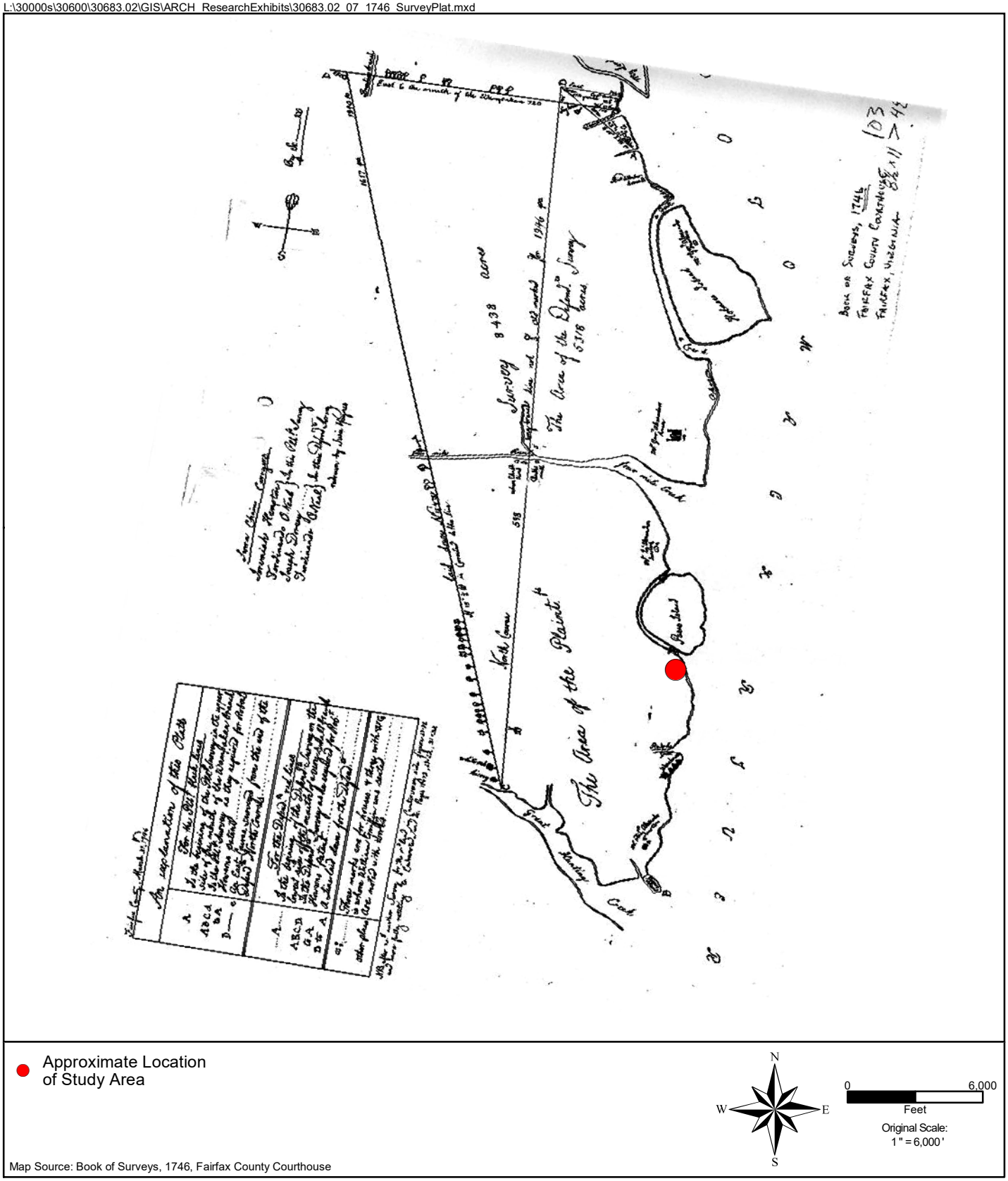


Figure 7
1746 Survey Plat

After the Dade's ownership, the study area was carved up and varying pieces passed through numerous hands. The remaining property history relates certain landowners and their occupation of the area.

pre-1845-pre-1900: Hugh Smith and Heirs

When George Gilpin prepared a plat for Richard Conway in 1807, the study area had already been sold. To whom it was sold was not identified during this investigation, however, Ewing's 1845 map indicates that Hugh Smith had purchased a swath of land along the Alexandria and Washington Turnpike, including part of the canal (see Figure 5). His acquisition of land likely began or increased around the time he became involved in the canal in 1827.

Hugh Smith (1769-1856) and his wife Elizabeth Watson Smith (1776-1854) respectively immigrated from England and Ireland to Alexandria sometime in the late 18th century (Memorial, Section 41 Plot 30, Presbyterian Cemetery, Alexandria, Virginia). By 1798, he operated a mercantile warehouse on King Street, selling imported glass and china (Miller 1991:24, 309). In October 1812, he, John Lloyd, and Thomas Janney were busted for illegally importing goods during the War of 1812 embargo (Miller 1992:215).

Throughout the years, he expanded his business with a variety of partners, including Hugh Charles Smith, and in addition to the Alexandria Canal Co. was a co-founder and/or board member of the Domestic Manufacturing Co., Bank of Alexandria, Bank of Potomac, Fire Insurance Co. of Alexandria, Hugh and Co., and Alexandria Library Co. (Miller 1991:20-21, 109, 139; Miller 1992:252, 273; Miller 1995:9, 329). He also assisted in collections for the Poor House located near his land north of town and served as a trustee to the Alexandria Academy (Miller 1992:40; Miller 1991:7).

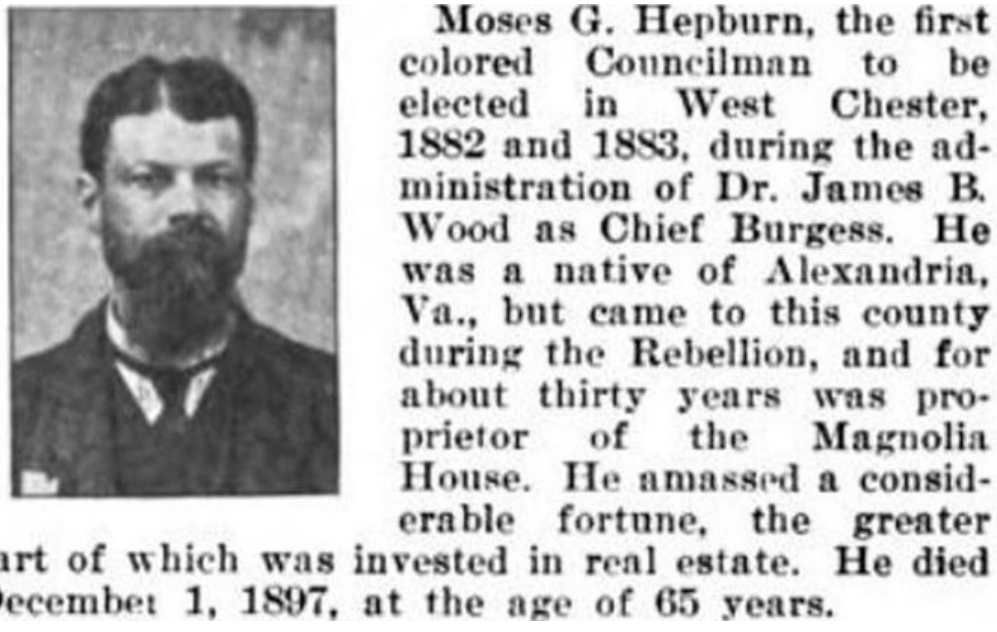
1833-1848: Moses Hepburn, Sr.

In 1833, Thomas Swann sold 6 acres of land along the Potomac and north of the City of Alexandria to a Moses Hepburn. Moses was the son of William Hepburn and his enslaved washerwoman, Esther David. Biracial, but often referred to as white, Moses gained his freedom when his father sold him to his aunt, Hannah Jackson, a free black woman (AXCO DB BB:343-346; BB:382).

Esther David died within a year of manumission, followed soon after by William Hepburn. In his will, drafted in 1816 and proved in 1817, Hepburn divided his estate between his six biracial children, his white grandchildren, and any children these heirs may legally have in the future, noting that he had already provided enough for his daughter Agnes during his lifetime. Only around 5 years old at the time, Moses was named first in the will. He was "to be sent to Philadelphia or some other place where colored children are carefully educated, and there to be boarded with some respectable person who will pay due attention to his morals and after he has obtained his education, I wish and direct that he may be put to whatever occupation or profession he may select…" (AXCO WB 2:186).

After attending school for about nine years in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Moses Hepburn (1809-1861) returned to Alexandria and married Amelia Braddock in 1827, the same year feasibility of the canal was considered (Calvit et al. 1994, 2001:8-9; AXCO CC 1865-017, [Hepburn vs. Hepburn]:3-4). They likely moved to his father's house and began having children in 1833 (Calvit et.al. 2001:2). According to his son, Moses G. Hepburn, Jr., in an 1897 interview, Moses, Sr. operated a water distribution business, employing nine men, and engaged in speculative development, buying and selling buildings, undeveloped land, and water rights in the town and county (AG 3 Feb 1830; AG 30 Jul 1830; AG 30 Aug 1830; Calvit et al. 1994, 2001:8-9). Listed as a farmer in census records, he also operated a fishery at some point and maintained a small farm at his residence, where he cultivated "vegetables, grapes, and crops of small grain" on an estimated eight acres, including the study area (AXCO CC 1865-017:3).

In 1830, Hepburn, four other black men, and four white men founded Davis Chapel, named in honor of the Rev. Charles A. Davis, the white minister at Trinity Methodist Church, where the Hepburns were members. At this time, free and enslaved persons of color attended white churches, sitting in the back or in balconies. As black membership increased, a white church could sponsor a black church if a certain percentage of white members attended the black services to ensure abolitionist literature and sentiment were not spread. After the 1831 rebellion of Nat Turner, a man enslaved in Southampton County, Virginia, greater restrictions on assembling and education were enacted in the state, and white neighbors protested the original building site of Davis Chapel, stalling construction until 1834 and forcing a move to 606 South Washington Street between the historically black communities of the Bottoms and Hayti. Moses helped purchase the land, headed the Missionary Society, which raised money for work in Africa, and taught Sabbath School.



Moses G. Hepburn, the first colored Councilman to be elected in West Chester, 1882 and 1883, during the administration of Dr. James B. Wood as Chief Burgess. He was a native of Alexandria, Va., but came to this county during the Rebellion, and for about thirty years was proprietor of the Magnolia House. He amassed a considerable fortune, the greater part of which was invested in real estate. He died December 1, 1897, at the age of 65 years.

Figure 8: Moses G. Hepburn, son of Moses Hepburn, Sr.
(Daily Local News 1899:95)

Because public education of black children was not provided, the church also operated a secular weekday school, which the Hepburn children attended until 1847. That year, Alexandria County was retroceded from the District of Columbia to Virginia, thereby succumbing to more stringent enforcement of race-based laws. Leading up to retrocession, the Methodist church splintered over slavery, and Davis Chapel's name was changed to Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church because Rev. Davis followed the pro-slavery branch (Virginia Foundation for the Humanities 2018). With the school's closure, the Hepburns sent Moses, Jr. to Bethel Church School in Washington, D.C. When Alexandria authorities discovered this arrangement, they issued an ultimatum for Hepburn to leave the state or close his business (Bussel 1998:327).

Two years later, Moses, Sr. instituted a court case to sell his father's property at public auction and summoned his surviving children, Prudence Crandall, Thomas William, Julia Ann, Moses, Jr., and Arthur, all under the age of 15, to prove his legal guardianship, so that they may benefit from the profits. Among his reasons for selling was its proximity to the Alexandria Canal and the directors' planned acquisition of more land for storage of large amounts of coal. Hepburn stated:

> There is thus a prospect, that property bordering on the river, in the immediate vicinity of the outlet of the Alexandria Canal, will be speedily improved and rendered valuable, and your orator believes and so states that it will be highly detrimental both to his own interests and to that of his children as reversioners, that the said lots should be passed by in said plan of improvements, as they must be in the present state of things. Your orator has not the means himself, nor can he procure the necessary funds on loan to make any such improvements as those contemplated, on his own account nor has he been able, owing to the great uncertainty of the time, to lease out said property during the continuance of his life interest. Your orator believes that the present is a most propitious time for the sale of said property (AXCO CC 1865-017:3).

1838-1889: George and Clara McCleish

In 1838, George McCleish purchased three lots of land from Saunders Lewis. These lots were bounded by Pitt, Locust and Royal Streets and the Potomac; in total they contained four acres (ARCO CC V2-C3 4:239). One of Alexandria's governing officials, McCleish worked as the city's gauger, a customs inspector of spirits (*Phenix Gazette 1832*). As such, McCleish either sought to reside close to Alexandria's waterfront or was aware of the profit to be made by renting out property to enterprising businessmen. No record of occupation or land use could be found. However, by 1900, George, Clara and their two daughters had moved to Baltimore, Maryland. According to the census, George had retired by then at the age of 56.

Two structures are shown within the study area in the 1840s. The 1842 Young map shows a structure in the southern portion, while the 1845 Ewing map shows a building along a road in the northern end of the study area (see Figure 10 and see Figure 5). Both buildings persist until the 1860s, as demonstrated by the 1860 Boschke and 1865 Barnard maps of Alexandria, which also shows what appears to be orchards surrounding the buildings (Figures 10 and 11).

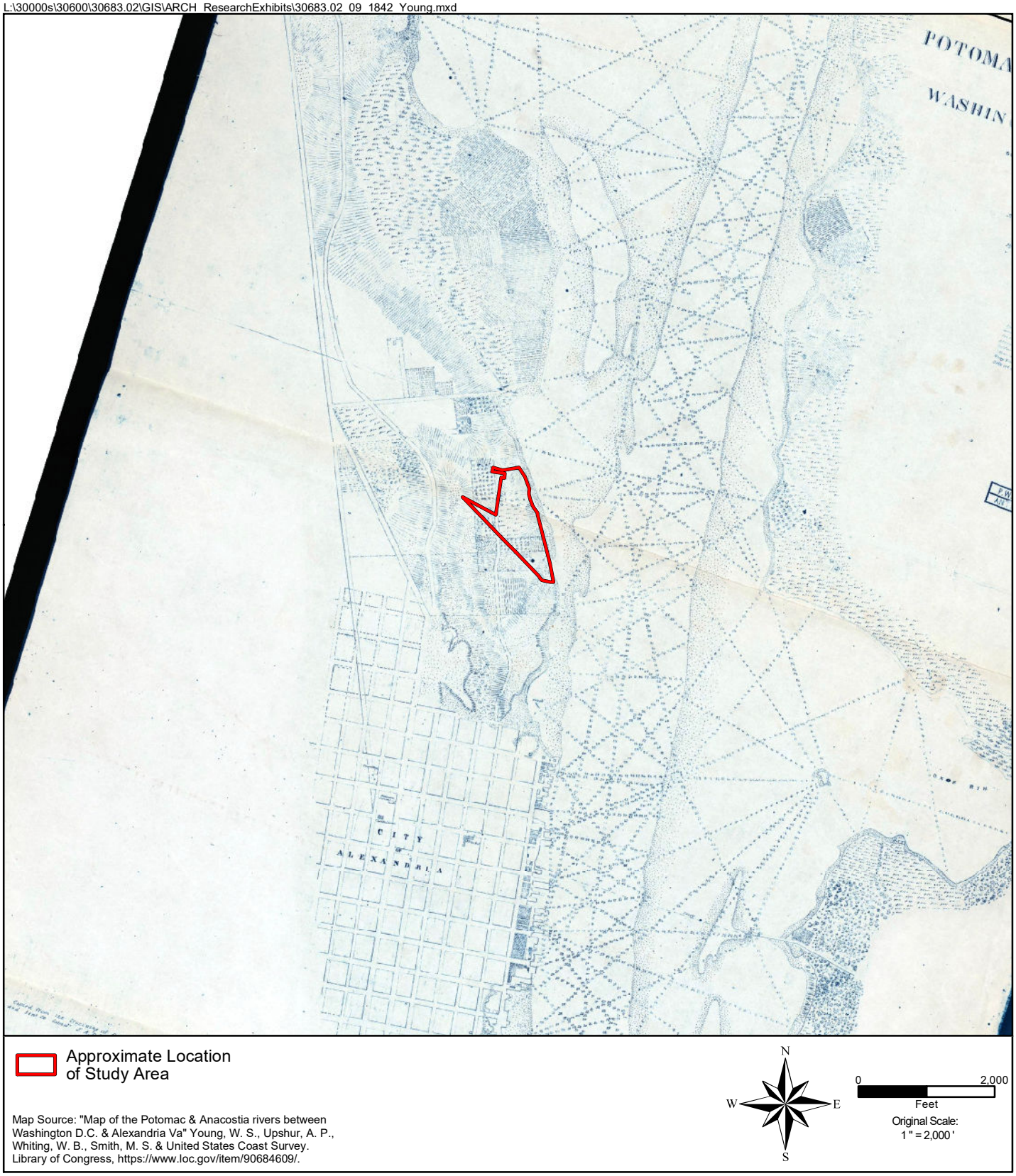


Figure 9
1842 Map of the Potomac & Anacostia Rivers between Washington D.C. & Alexandria Virginia

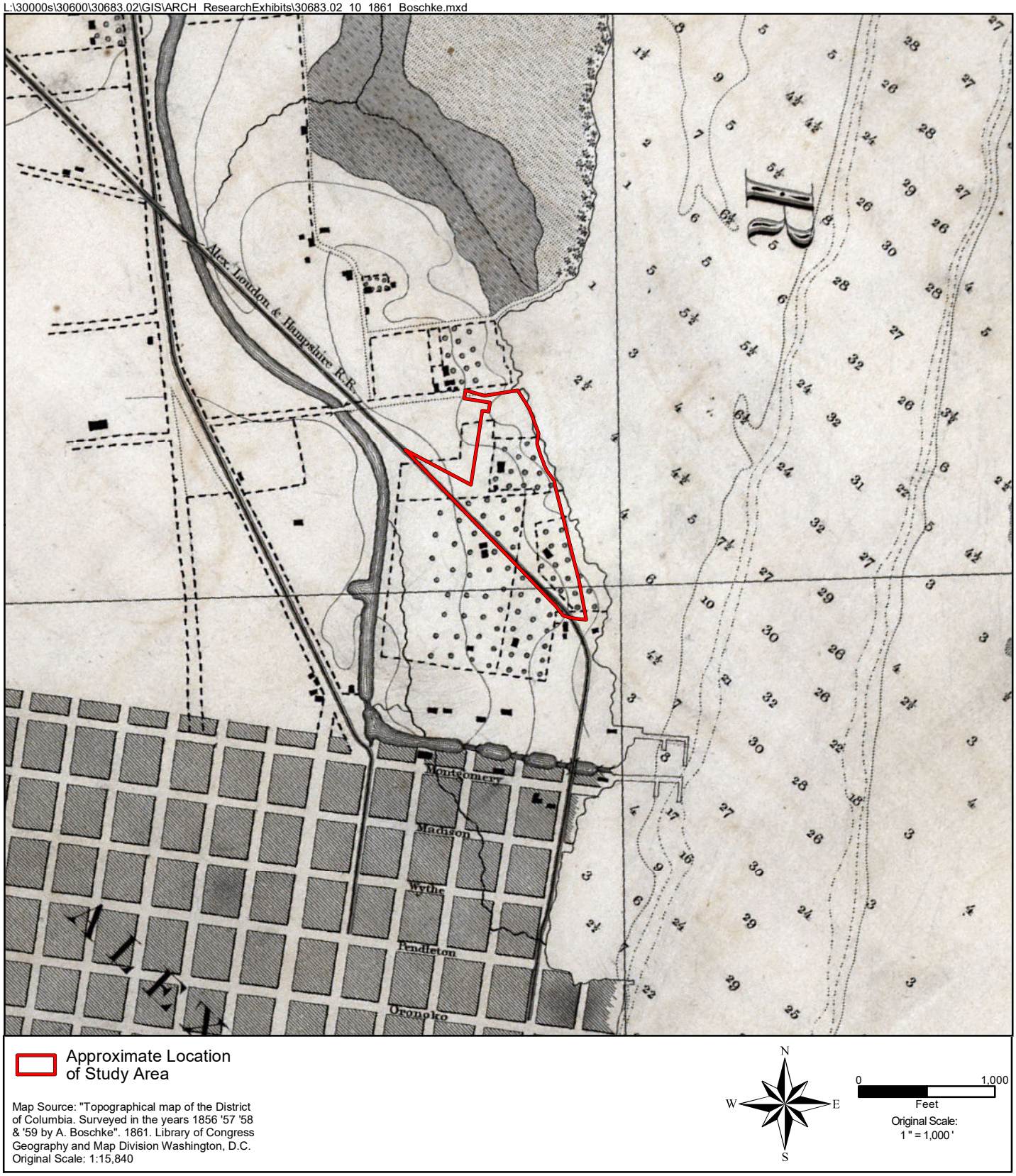


Figure 10
1861 A. Boschke Map of Washington, District of Columbia

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Figure 11
1865 Barnard Survey Map

1877-1942: John Slater and Heirs

JOHN W. SLATER.

The conservatories and property of this gentleman cover forty acres of land at Bellview, three-quarters of a mile from Alexandria.

Mr. Slater was born in 1841. The house he lives in now is a frame structure, and was built over one hundred years ago.

His largest conservatory is 60 x 240, with a propagating house 15 x 35, budding house 30 x 45, two budding plant and rose houses 22 x 65 each. Violets and pansies demand the larger sale. Of these latter he has 250 beds, each 3 x 5.

He arranges designs for parties, weddings, balls, funerals, etc., and for private families and jobbers.

Figure 12: An ad detailing John W. Slater's horticultural talent

(AG 1893)

Situated north of what is now Slater's Lane, Bellevue plantation was home to merchant William Hodgson and his wife Portia Lee. By the 1840s, John W. Slater purchased Bellevue and undertook numerous horticultural endeavors. Having worked with William Yeates of Yeates Gardens, Slater held the experience necessary to successfully transform Bellevue from a small plantation to a blooming business. Greenhouses grew flowers, vegetables and fruits. Slater won awards for his fine produce and was even able to continue his work through the Civil War (Office of Historic Alexandria 2010).

The Bellevue property remained in the Slater family for many generations. On the 1900 map of Alexandria, John W. Slater still owns sixteen acres, 3.5 of which are in the northeast corner of the study area. Slater left his land to his wife, Francis Slater, and his only child, Mary Slater Lamond. Mary predeceased her mother, so the land went to John W. Slater's grandsons, Clyde C. Lamond and Angus S. Lamond. They both worked for Potomac River Clayworks and owned a few acres north and south of Slater's Lane, including a parcel within the study area. It is unclear if they resided at Bellvue or had homes elsewhere on their properties. Clyde C. Lamond was also the vice president of a savings association known as the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Arlington.

Between 1865 and 1894, the town grid was expanded beyond the corporation line; six streets (St. Asaph, Pitt, Royal and Fairfax Streets). were extended northwards across the Richmond & Danville railroad tracks, resulting in the formation of several new blocks within the study area (Figure 13). The new cross streets included Second, Third, Fourth, Locust and Cherry Streets. Slater is shown owing 16.5 acres with two houses on either side of Washington Avenue [now Slater Lane] and the Dangerfield family owning a large swath of land north of the study area.

The 1900 Howell and Taylor map of Alexandria County shows Slater owning less than 3.5 acres at the northern end of the study area; Lewis Peverill owning, but leasing the land between Cherry and Locust Streets; Julia Snowden with roughly 2-acres between Fairfax Street and the railroad tracks; William Smoot with portions of four city blocks between Fairfax Street and the Potomac; and finally, the Cooper & Taylor Estates with the southern edge (Figure 14).

Figure 13
1894 Hopkins Map, Alexandria, VA

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Approximate Location of Study Area

Map Source: Howell and Taylor. Map of Alexandria County, Showing Ownership, 1900. Map of Alexandria County for the Virginia Title Company, 1900 from the Alexandria Library Special Collections, Map Drawer 6

N
W
E
S

0 500
Feet
Original Scale:
1 " = 500 '

Figure 14
1900 Map of Alexandria County

pre-1900-1919: the Peverills

Much of the northern section of the study area was owned by the Peverill family from the late 19th century until 1950. Sarah Penn Peverill, wife of George Peverill, purchased some acreage from August Butts; the specific deed detailing this transaction could not be located, but references to it are made in the deed describing Sarah's purchasing of the land from her third child, Lewis Peverill, in 1889 (Figure 15). Sarah and George and four of their children emigrated from Oxfordshire, England to Alexandria in the mid-19th century. According to the 1880 census, Sarah was already widowed and living with one of her children that year. The census notes that she is the mother of 10 children, though only five survived. She died in 1906 at the age of 92.

Figure 15: Sarah Penn Peverill, matriarch of the Peverill family And Lewis Peverill (findagrave.com)

As mentioned above, the 1900 Alexandria map confirms that Lewis Peverill owned 8 acres of land bound by Cherry, Pitt, Locust and North Royal Streets (see Figure 14). After his death in 1918, he left the property to his seven children: George Peverill, Emily Peverill Butts, Lewis Peverill, Jr., Nellie Peverill Butts, John Peverill, Charles Peverill and Esther Peverill. They maintained ownership of the property until 1942.

Very little information regarding Lewis Peverill survives. He married Prudence Haynes in Alexandria in 1867, and according to the 1870 census, worked as a canal boatman, which make sense given their proximity to the Alexandria Canal. The family was living in the study area in 1880, according to census records, but by 1900 the family was living on a farm they owned in the Mount Vernon region of Fairfax.

pre-1900-1919: W.A. Smoot and Heirs

Based on map evidence, William A. Smoot, Sr. (1840-1917) purchased the southeastern part of the study area sometime before 1900. In 1865, the Circuit Court ordered the executors of Hugh Smith's Estate to sell his land, including this area. In 1884, Smoot purchased several blocks neighboring it and another larger tract of land in the north end of town, including the study area (AXCO DB F-4:0532).

Smoot was descendent of one of four brothers who came to Alexandria from Maryland in the early 19th century. The family acquired lots throughout the region and became engaged in the tanning, coal, and lumber businesses in 1822. After serving the Confederacy in the Civil War, Smoot married in 1866 and joined the family trade. Already a widow in 1869, he married again to Elizabeth Carter (1853-1945) in 1873 (Methodist Protestant Cemetery, Alexandria, Virginia).

1919-1936: Bryant Fertilizer Co. (later Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co.)

After William A. Smoot, Sr.'s death in 1917, his heirs sold the North Royal Street parcel, among neighboring parcels, to Bryant Fertilizer Company in 1919. John Carlyle Herbert Bryant first established his company to sell farm equipment in Alexandria in 1868. He also ran a plaster mill and a bone mill off King Street and mixed fertilizer at a warehouse at the foot of Queen Street before moving to South Union and Duke in the 1890s (Alexandria Library, Local History/Special Collections Box 239). By 1921, the buildings at those locations served as storage.

On December 22, 1919, Bryant Fertilizer Co. purchased land and moved operations from the center of town to the north end with the bulk of the operation opening two blocks southeast of the study area on First Street and the waterfront (AXCO DB 165:440). In the 1920s, part of the company merged with the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, which had a warehouse within the study area (Evening Star 15 Jul 1922).

1936-1944: American Chlorophyll, Inc.

In 1936, the American Chlorophyll Company plant in Georgetown flooded and then succumbed to a serious fire, prompting the company to move to the former site of the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co., which now lay within the city limits of Alexandria. Isolated and identified in the early 19th century, chlorophyll, the green pigment found in plants and algae, was not intensively studied until the early 20th century. In 1917, the U.S. Department of Agriculture Fixed Nitrogen Research Laboratory located near American University in Georgetown began to study its potential uses. Though early attempts to use it for medicinal purposes failed, chemist Robert H. Van Sant continued to explore its potential and founded the company to produce and refine research- and commercial-grade chlorophyll, carotene, and xanthophyll. In May 1933, the company leased the Georgetown site near the Department of Agriculture Chlorophyll Laboratory, headed by Dr. Frank M. Schertz, who took a job with the company in 1934. Products were distributed to universities

in America and Europe to encourage experimentation and were used in soaps and cosmetics, but the company struggled for success throughout the 1930s (Zettlemeyer and Meyers 1954:63).

The Alexandria site contained approximately seven acres, including the vacant study area, an office and lab, two plants, a boiler house, warehouses, refuse pond, and railroad spur. From 1939 to 1942, the Company erected several more fireproof buildings and improved its commercial grades and grew sales, but the war stalled further growth, and attempts to join the war effort with experiments in camouflage production did not succeed. An attempt to break into caffeine production with Coca-Cola also failed. After the end of the war in 1946, laboratory personnel returned from overseas and began to build the company back up and further refine derivatives (Haynes 1949:19-21). Within two years, the Company moved to a site on the West Palm Beach Canal and Florida East Coast Railroad in Lake Worth, Florida, where it merged with Strong, Cobb and Co. in 1950 (Zettlemeyer and Meyers 1954:63).

The 1941 Sanborn map shows the American Chlorophyll Company complex, including a refuse pond with access to the Potomac located near the southern end of the study area (Figure 16). Other buildings include warehouses, an office, a washroom, a caffeine plant, a chlorophine plant and numerous chemical tanks. None of these buildings survive today. The 1941 map also shows the industrious nature of this stretch of the Potomac with the proximity of the Clayworks to the north and the Herbert Bryant Inc. Fertilizer Facility and Shell Oil Company to the south.

1944-1964: Braddock Light & Power

Rapid suburbanization and improved infrastructure in Alexandria and Arlington required major expansion among power companies. From 1942 to 1944, Braddock Light & Power Company, a small Virginia power supplier, purchased and consolidated over 15 acres on the north side of the rail from American Chlorophyll Inc. to build the Potomac River Generating Station, a coal-fired electric generating plant, which operated from 1949 to 2012 (CPP Inc. 2018) (Figures 17 and 18).

In 1941, the Federal Power Commission ordered an immediate high-power interconnection between PEPCO and the Virginia Public Service companies, declaring the power shortage in Northern Virginia an emergency. In the midst of fighting a war, Washington D.C. and the surrounding areas were in desperate need sufficient power. The plant built along the Potomac was one of Pepco's many efforts to capitalize on the need for electricity. A power cable was run under the Potomac River from the generating station to the War Department Building (The Sun Vol 7, No 3, 19 December 1941). However, some locals remained skeptical:

> For, while Pepco has a new and large generator nearing completion, metropolitan Washington is just about as vulnerable to power breakdowns under the emergency conditions as is Northern Virginia- in which event the connection across the river would not do us much good [The Sun Vol 7, No 3, 19 December 1941].

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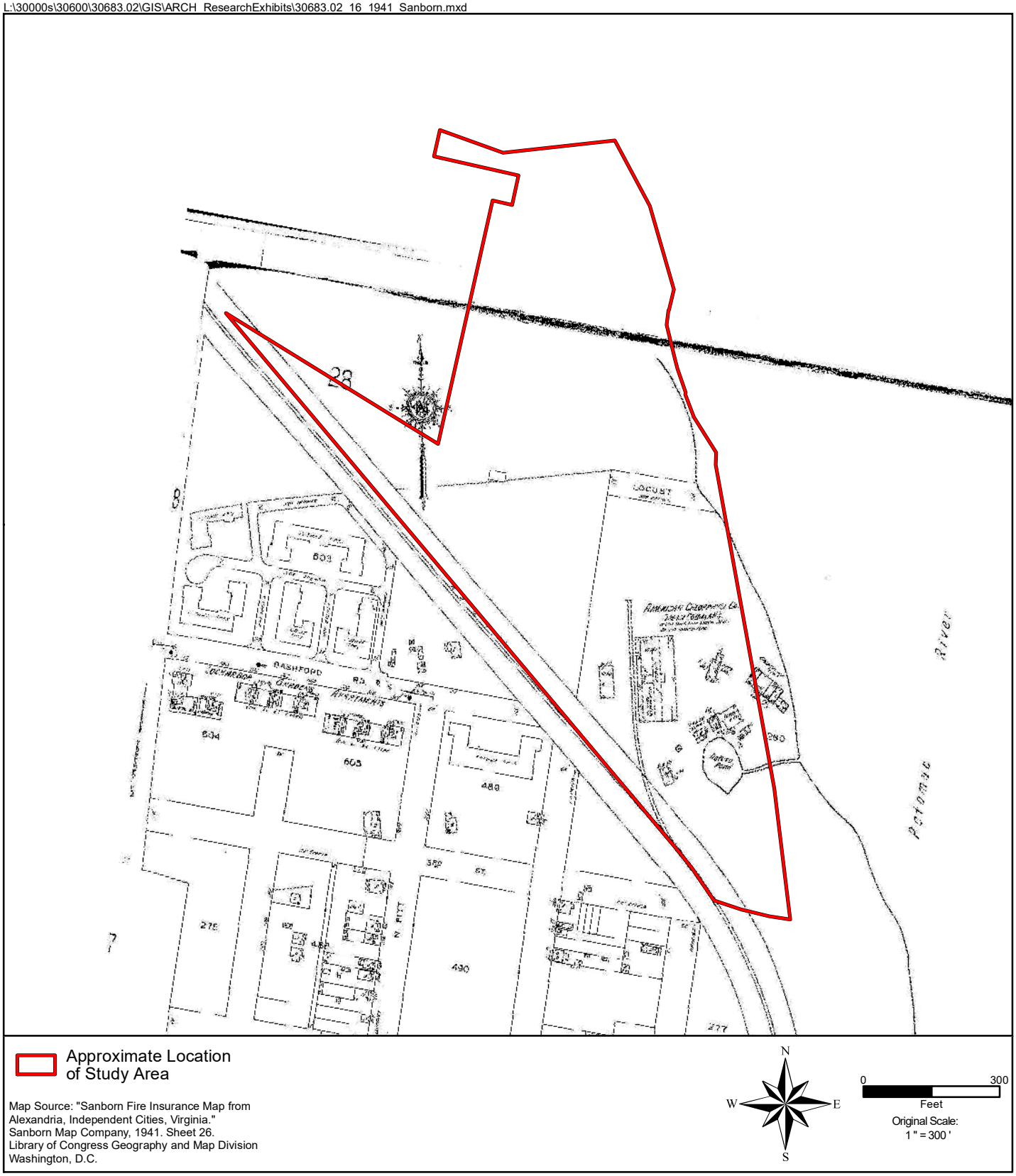

Figure 16
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map - Alexandria 1941

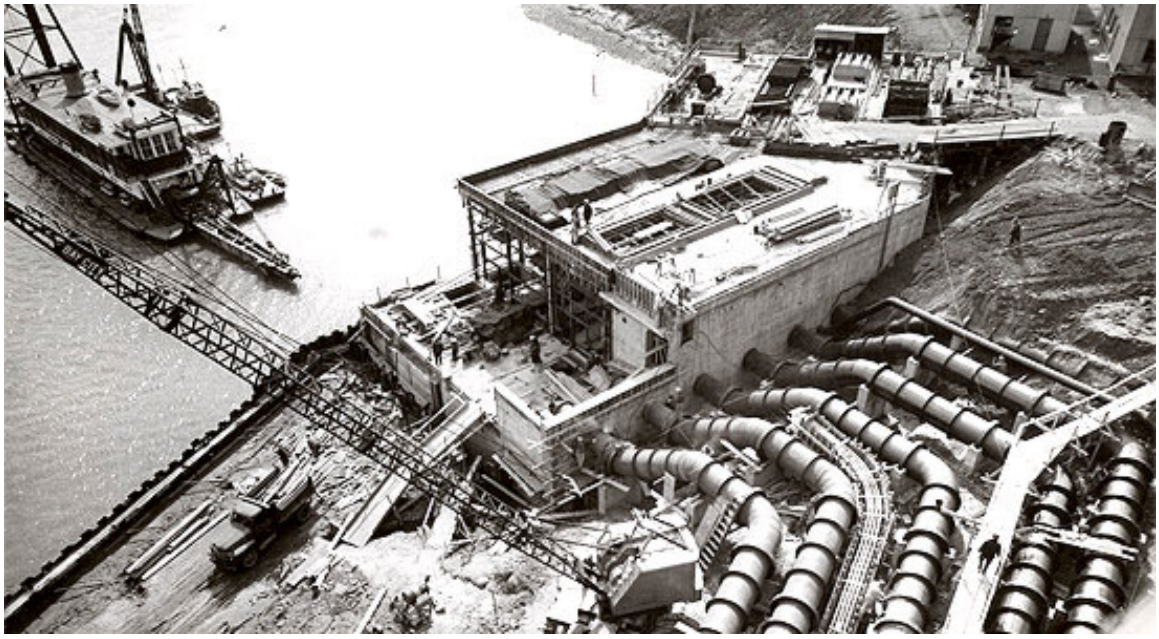

Figure 17: Potomac River Generating Station Under Construction (https://www.deq.virginia.gov)

Figure 18: 1949 Aerial Imagery showing the Power Plant

Absorbed by Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO), the facility's capacity expanded from 80,000 kilowatts to 499,000 kilowatts by 1957 (Figure 19). Because the plant was built only one mile from Reagan National Airport, the Federal Aviation Administration required that the exhaust stacks be built shorter than normal in order to avoid interference with incoming and outgoing aircrafts (City of Alexandia 2015; Sullivan 2012). While the plant expanded north, PEPCO sold land to the south to W.A. Smoot & Co., then run by Robert E. Craddock, the first owner of the firm outside of the Smoot family in 1964 (Early American Society 1993:43).

The 1959 Sanborn map shows the Potomac Electric Power Company's plant, switch yard, breaker house and gate house. The pumphouse and screen house along the Potomac are positioned in similar locations to American Chlorophyl's chlorophine plant, continuing the industry use for this area and its need for water access (Figure 20). It also appears that much of the southern portion of the study area was used for coal storage, as noted by "coal pile." Many of the structures represented are still standing (see "CURRENT CONDITIONS" section below).

1964-2020 PEPCO to GenOn

Throughout the latter half of the 20th century, PEPCO maintained ownership of the study area, until it sold the coal-plant to Mirant, a private firm. According to a 2001 engineering report prepared for Mirant, Pepco employees hd desribed the former refuse pond used by the former American Chlorophyll Company and a "fill site on the southern edge of the subject property...outside the fence line [that] may contain fill and demolition or construction debris and coal rejects [from the coal sorting process]" (Beck. 2001)

Around this time Alexandria residents and local environmentalists began to protest the plant's operation. New regulations from the Department of Energery and changes to the Clean Air Act brought the plant's environmental impact into question. Neighboring residents complained of soot covering their window sills, cars and even their laundry. Concerns of potential mercury inhalation also came to the fore, as it is aerosolized through the burning process. Given the shorter stature of the plant's stacks, the exhaust plume did not reach adequate height for optimal dispersal, meaning an increased risk of air pollution for those living nearby (Foster and Rich 2008).

Caving to pressure from the local government, Mirant agreed to reduce the plant's air pollution through major improvements, and the Potomac River Generating Station was granted an air quality permit by the Virginia Department of Energy in 2000. However, Mirant was found in violation of this permit in 2003. By 2011, embroiled in legal battles, Mirant sold the plant to GenOn, who shut down operations in 2012. The closure of the plant was viewed as an environmental triumph (Anderson 2020).

A—12 THE EVENING STAR, Washington, D. C.

"Here's what Pepco did in 1946!"

Things really moved here in the Pepco organization in 1946! It was their 50th Anniversary Year. Braddock Light & Power Company, Inc. (a wholly owned subsidiary) started work on a 400,000 kw plant on a site in Alexandria, Va. It will be the biggest single power-producing plant in the Washington area! Pepco will use most of this output.

Pepco added 50,000 kw capacity to their Benning Plant. In 1946 Pepco had a generating capacity of 455,000 kw of power in contrast with 1,600 kw in 1896. *That's* keeping up with the times!

1946 saw Pepco serving 237,000 satisfied customers. Fifty years ago that list totaled only 1,000. *That's* growing with Washington!

And here's a startling fact . . . Pepco's rate in 1896 was 10¢ per kilowatt hour. Today, the average residential rate is only 2.27¢ per kilowatt hour. That's why we say "Electricity is Today's Best Buy." *That's* forwarding economy!

Pepco is a part . . . a civic thinking part . . . of your community. They believe in good working conditions and fair salaries. In 1946 their payroll totaled $7,265,957 . . . a step-up of 30.22% over 1945. They granted two wage increases within the year. By the end of the year, the number of employees had increased to 2,356.

Pepco's employee activities were expanded and now include a 25 Year Club, "The Pepconian" (a monthly employee publication), and a cash award Suggestion Plan to encourage employees to submit helpful ideas.

Pepco paid $3,201,719 in federal and local taxes.

This is the Pepco picture for 1946 . . . an "up-and-doing" year that sets the pace for all the years of progress ahead!

Figures quoted here were taken from the Potomac Electric Power Company Annual Report to the Stockholders (Pepco's 50th Anniversary Year).

Pepco Matchless Service

POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER COMPANY 10th and E Sts., N.W.

Figure 19: Promotional flyer released for PEPCO's 50th Anniversary mentioning Alexandria's plant (Evening Star March 13, 1946, pg 12)

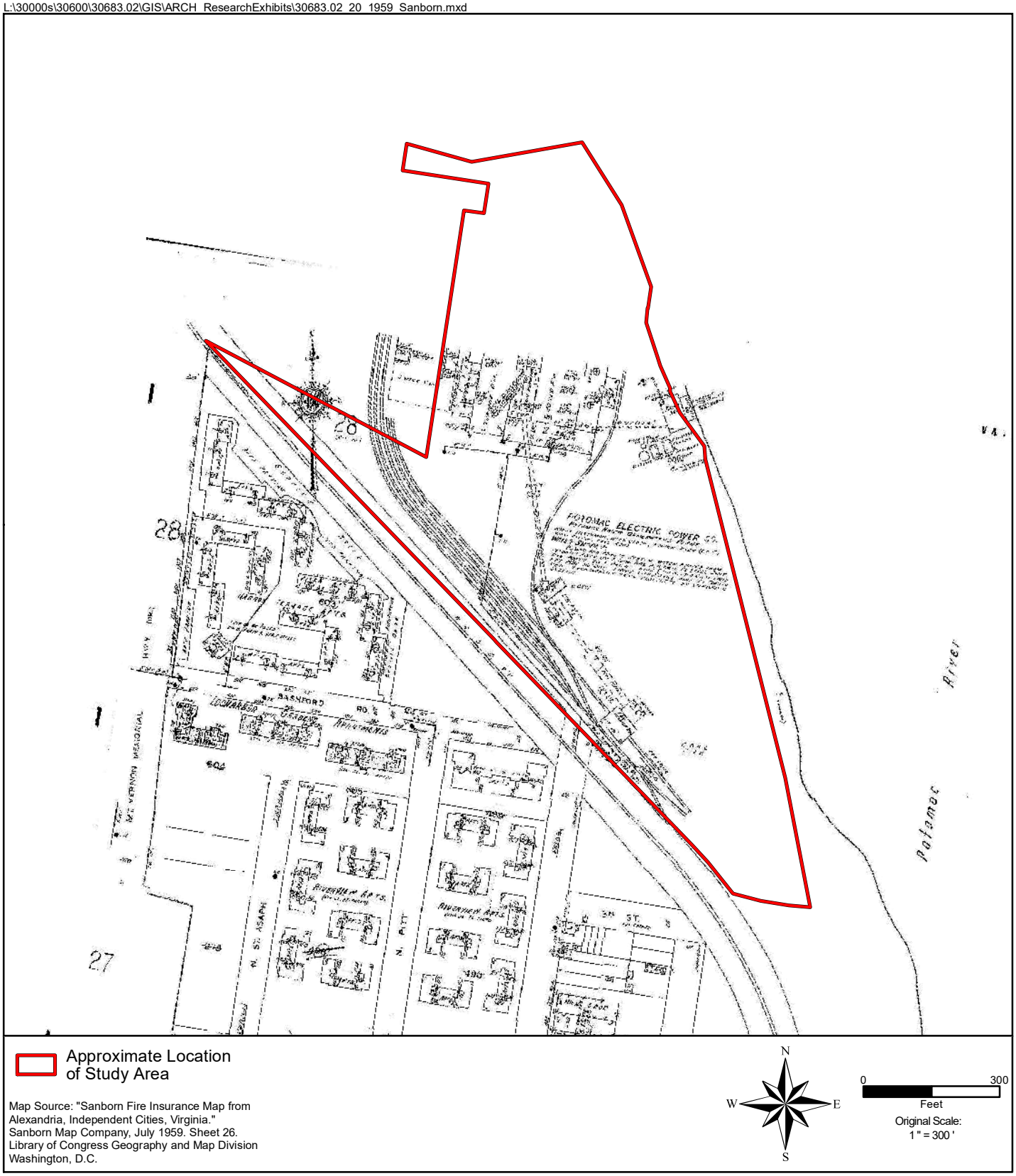

Figure 20
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map - Alexandria 1959

CURRENT CONDITIONS

The Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site contains ±18.8 acres and is located adjacent to and southeast of the intersection of the East Abington Drive and Slaters Lane. The property holds the power plant and several secondary structures, such as a guard house at the main entrance, office buildings and storage facilities (Figures 21-27).

Construction of the coal-fired plant began in 1949. Utilizing the existing railway, the plant was positioned towards the northeast end of the property on the edge of the Potomac, the plant's water source. Most of the original architectural elements necessary for the plant's operation are still extant, including conveyor belts, boilers, stacks, mill and water purification facilities. Other elements, such as the condenser or steam turbine, are not visible. The condition of most of the architectural elements is poor as they have not been in use for eighteen years.

This Documentary Study was initiated in anticipation of the planned redevelopment of the Potomac River Generating Station, which will involve the removal of current structures and the construction of a new building within the study area.

Figure 21: Coal-Fire Power Plant
With Conveyer Belt in Foreground and Stacks in Background, View East

Figure 22: Rail Operator Station and Conveyor Belt Leading from Unloading Warehouse to a Pulverizer or Mill, View North

Figure 23: Brick Guard House and Office on Left and Metal Warehouse on Right View Northwest

Figure 24: Contextual View of The Potomac River Generating Station
View North

Figure 25: Low Stacks Barely Visible Over Surrounding Scaffolding
View Northwest

Figure 26: Station's Proximity to Potomac River
Facing North

Figure 27: Plant Offices and Storage Areas
View Northwest

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Archeological Investigations

No previously recorded archeological sites are located within the study area; however, a few sites have been recorded in the selected immediate vicinity (Table 3). Site 44AX0004 consists of the canal lock at the terminus of the Alexandria Canal (site 44AX0028) with the Potomac River.. Both sites were investigated and assessed by Alexandria Archaeology staff for NRHP and VLR eligibility. 44AX0004 was determined eligible as it the tidal lock was extant; however, given the heavy development that largely obscured the canal, 44AX0028 was considered not eligible. Finally, site 44AX0231 consists of a domestic artifact scatter associated with possible habitation or industrial use of Daingerfield Island.

Table 3: Recorded Archeological Resources within Vicinity of Study Area

DHR Number	Resource Type	Temporal Affiliation
44AX0004	Canal Lock	19th century
44AX0028	Canal	19th century
44AX0194	Camp	Woodland (1200-BCE – 1600 CE)
44AX0194	Camp; Dwelling	Early Woodland (1200-500 BCE); 19th century
44AX0230	Trash scatter	19th century
44AX0231	Trash scatter	19th century

Geotechnical Investigations

GeoCapitol Engineering, LLC. conducted geotechnical subsurface exploration within the study area in March of 2021, which consisted of the excavation of twelve soils bores (B-#) to an approximate depth of 50 feet below the surface and three stormwater test bores (SWM-#) to a depth of 10 feet below surface (Figure 28). The soil profiles revealed fill horizons of varying depths overlying the riverine terrace that constitutes the Shirley Formation. These surficial deposits date to the Middle Pleistocene and are too old for human occupation.

Ten bores were excavated within the grassy parcel located at the southern end of the study area (see Figure 28). Tests Bores B-4 and B-5 showed fills that only extended 2.5 feet below surface; however, the nearby Test Bore SWM-1 contained 6.0 feet of fill. Apart from Test Bore B-9 (5.0 feet of fill), the remaining tests contained between 8.5 and 13.5 feet of fill. The five tests placed around the existing superstructure of the power plant revealed deep fills that extended between 10.0 and 23.5 feet below the surface (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Location of 2021 Subsurface Exploration Bores (GeoCapitol Engineering, LLC 2021)

The fill deposits were generally described as gray, brown and orange-brown clays and silts with varying amounts of sand and gravel, and clayey sands with gravel. No brick, concrete, coal, wood or other historic materials were noted in the logs. The alluvium was either classified as *fine-grained* orange, orange-brown and gray-brown clays and silts or *course-grained* orange-brown clayey gravel with sand, and clayey sand with gravel, which is consistent with the underlying geology.

The results of the geotechnical study were preliminary but recommended the use of spread footers for shallow foundations in the northern and western end of the study area, and deep foundations with auger cast piles or driven concrete piles for the grassy parcel (GeoCapitol 2021: 10-13).

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCE ASSESSMENT

The Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment study area is located with the City of Alexandria's Archaeological Resources Area 2 which encompasses part of Old Town and Potomac Yard. The historic development of the area spans from 18th century plantations to 20th century industrialization of Alexandria. The results of the documentary research were used to determine the potential for locating archeological resources within the property and are presented below.

Archeological research within this area has consistently demonstrated the presence of significant archeological resources that have contributed to the understanding of the development of the City of Alexandria. The results of the documentary research and the evaluation of prior disturbances within the 20th century was used to access the potential for locating archeological resources within the property and is presented below.

Potential for Prehistoric Archeological Resources

The probability for locating prehistoric sites generally depends on the variables of topography, proximity to water, and internal drainage. Sites are typically more likely on well-drained landforms of low relief near water. Plowing, intensive development, and other historic or modern disturbances lessen the significance of archeological sites by disturbing the soil stratigraphy, thereby mixing artifact contexts and disturbing potential subsurface features. The study area is located on the western bank of the Potomac River and south of Four Mile Run. Daingerfield Island is depicted on historic maps to the north of the study area. Archeological evidence (site 44AX0194) demonstrate that Native American populations exploited this low swampy area and the Potomac environs to procure numerous riverine and estuarine resources. This wetland area remained largely undeveloped into the historic period (see Figure 10).

Given the study area's location above the Potomac River and its resources, there is a high probability of Native American archeological sites within the study area, however; the potential for locating significant and intact prehistoric resource is lessened by the industrial development in the 20th century into the present day.

Historic Archeological Resources

The probability for the occurrence of historic period sites largely depends upon the historic map search, the history of settlement in the area, the topography and the proximity of a particular property to historic roads. The study area was part of larger land grants which required occupation of the land dating back to the 17th century. While early maps and our documentary research show early settlement in Alexandria, it's not until the 1840s that buildings are showing within the study area (see Figure 9). However, the absence of buildings on historic maps does not eliminate the possibility of an archeological site being present within the study area, as it was common for housing for tenants or enslaved persons and outbuildings to be excluded from these maps. Several different buildings are recorded within the study area from the mid-19th the early 20th century (see Figures 11, 13 and 14). Based on our documentary research, the study area has a high probability for the occurrence of 19th historic period archeological resources. The archeological signature from the agricultural use and occupation of the study area should include dwelling and outbuilding foundations, post holes, trash scatters or middens, and other historic features etc.

Given the industrial use of the property in the 20th century, the study area also has a high probability of 20th century industrial archeological resources. The expected archeological signature from the industrial use of the property should include building foundations and spoil piles from discarded coal.

However, the potential to locate any archeological resources will be limited by any significant disturbance on the property. The presence of earlier 20th century structures depends on the extent of underground disturbance caused by the construction of mid to late 20th century buildings. Currently, the grassy yard located south of the extant power plant has the potential of yielding evidence of the American Chlorophyll Company use of this area. However, the 1949 aerial imagery apparently shows extensive ground disturbance in this area (see Figure 18), reducing the potential for anything intact from the early use of the property in this area. The archeological evidence of the 18th and 19th century agricultural use and occupation of this area has almost certainly been eliminated by the later industrial use.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc. (WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study of the Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site, which sits adjacent to and southeast of the intersection of the East Abington Drive and Slaters Lane. The research was conducted for Hilco Redevelopment of Chicago, Illinois, in anticipation of the planned redevelopment of the property. The work is required under the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code and followed a Scope of Work approved by Alexandria Archeology. The purpose of the documentary study is to develop a historical context for the interpretation of the land use history of the study area and to identify the potential locations of archeological resources that may be present, and ultimately determine if archeological investigations are needed on the property prior to development.

The Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site is located within Old Town North, the northern edge of Old Town Alexandria. The creation of the Alexandria Canal and later the establishment of railroads that reinforced this area's importance as a transportation corridor, slowly transformed this early rural agricultural landscape into a more industrial landscape. Sandwiched between the Potomac River and the rail lines, and just south of Potomac Yards, the study area in the 20th century was the location of the American Chlorophyll company, Braddock Light & Power (later PEPCP and GenOn power plant) and was adjacent to the Potomac River Clayworks factory. The residents of Old Town North - plantation owners, tenant farmers, enslaved African Americans, Freedmen and free African Americans - continued to make their homes in this area, although never as dense as Old Town. The industrial landscape is once again being transformed into a residential area with the redevelopment of Potomac Yard and continuing with the Potomac River Generating Station Redevelopment site

Thus, the study area has the potential to yield documentary and archeological evidence relevant to the themes of Native American Life, African American Life, Agriculture and Rural Life, Transportation, and Industrialization in Alexandria. Based on our archival research and archeological assessment, the study area has a moderate to high probability of containing evidence of Native American occupation and use of the landscape, and of 19th century and 20th century artifact deposits and archeological features; however, the potential for locating significant archeological materials and deposits is low to moderate at best, because of the degree of disturbance from the construction of Potomac River Generating Station in the 1940s. No archeological work is recommended.

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City of Alexandria, Virginia Business Directories
City of Alexandria, Virginia Land Tax Records
District of Columbia Business Directories
Northern Neck Land Grants
Prince William County, Virginia Land Causes
United States Bureau of the Census Population Schedules
United States Bureau of the Census Slave Schedules
Virginia Department of Historic Resources Inventory Forms

APPENDIX I
Qualifications

Rebekah Yousaf, MSHP

Architectural Historian

Firm Association
Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. (WSSI)

Project Assignment
Architectural Historian/ Historian

Years of Experience
With this firm: 1.75
With other firms: >0

Education
2018/MSHP/Historic Preservation/University of Pennsylvania

2015/B.A./History/University of Missouri

Registrations & Certifications
2019/Plant Identification Training/WSSI

2019/Land Navigation Training/ WSSI

Associations
Vernacular Architecture Forum

Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians

Ms. Yousaf has three years of experience in historic preservation research and fieldwork in the Mid-Atlantic region, including her years at the University of Pennsylvania. She has conducted architectural surveys and prepared reports detailing the occupational and functional history of 18th and 19th century sites for the City of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania. Her thesis regarding architectural finishes analysis of spaces occupied by enslaved persons considered the ways in which archaeology and anthropology can be used to supplement historic preservation when physical evidence is lacking.

Ms. Yousaf's relevant experience includes:

Carmeuse Lime and Stone Site Assessment - Frederick County, VA.
Ms. Yousaf prepared background research and conducted a reconnaissance survey of the Stribling House (034-0114), a circa 1809 Federal/Adamesque-style house, and its farmstead, including numerous outbuildings. This assessment was prepared for Carmeuse Lime and Stone in anticipation of development affecting historic resources.

1515 Chain Bridge Road Architectural Survey - McLean, VA.
Ms. Yousaf conducted a Phase I (Reconnaissance) survey of a small parcel in McLean, Virginia, which contained an early example of the late Modernist style (New Formalism) office building. The survey was required by Fairfax County staff during the rezoning process and was conducted for VIKA Virginia, LLC on behalf of Sunrise Development, Inc. of McLean, Virginia. The McLean Medical Building (029-6580) was found to retain a high level of integrity and was recommended potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C for local significance. Likewise, it was potentially significant under Fairfax County Criterion 3, as the building could be useful in educating the public about the Modernist movement architecture. Ms. Yousaf conducted the subsequent Phase II (Intensive) Architectural documentation, which included interior photography, the preparation of a sketch of interior floor plans, and a brief historic context regarding Modern architecture and the medical community in Fairfax County.

11332 Lee Highway Cultural Resources Investigation - Fairfax County, VA.
Due to its resemblance to prefabricated homes sold by Sears Roebuck and Company, Fairfax County requested additional research on the house at 11332 Lee Highway (029-5713), which had been previously surveyed and determined not eligible for National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) listing. Ms. Yousaf conducted the research for Kimley-Horn on behalf of Public Storage of Glendale, CA and found the circa 1925 Craftsman style house retained remarkable integrity on the exterior and interior in terms of design, materials, and workmanship, but had a significant loss of integrity in terms of setting, feeling, and association. Therefore, Ms. Yousaf concurred with the previous recommendation and determination that the house was not eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion C. Additionally, the dwelling did not meet Public Significance criteria for Fairfax County.

Watermark Condominiums (203/205/211 Strand Street) - Alexandria, VA.
In anticipation of new construction at 211 Strand Street in the City of Alexandria, documentary and archeological work was required under the City Code. Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. conducted this work in 2018-2019 for IDI Group Companies. Ms. Yousaf prepared text and images for two interpretive elements (historic markers) that touch upon the history and archeology of this historic waterfront site.

Kathleen Jockel Schneider, M.A.A./M.H.P.

Architectural Historian/Archeologist

Firm Association

Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. (WSSI)

Project Assignment

Architectural Historian/ Historian

Years of Experience

With this firm: 4.75
With other firms: >1

Education

M.A./2019/ Applied Anthropology/University of Maryland

M.H.P./2019/ Historic Preservation/University of Maryland

B.A./2016/Archaeology and History/University of Virginia

Registrations & Certifications

2019/HAZWOPER Hazardous Materials Technicians Training

Associations

Vernacular Architecture Forum

Ms. Jockel has three years of experience in archaeology and one year of experience in architectural history and preservation planning in the Mid-Atlantic region. She is currently pursuing two graduate degrees in Anthropology and Historic Preservation, during which she works part time with WSSI and as a Graduate Research Assistant on a National Park Service contract requiring archaeological site assessment and property research. Her experience prior to employment at WSSI includes a field school focusing on 19th/20th centuries domestic sites, an internship at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, and a Phase II project in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Jockel's relevant experience includes:

Massey Complex Master Plan - Fairfax County, Virginia

Ms. Jockel is the assistant preservation planner on a team with Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) for the master plan of the 47.8-acre Fairfax County Public Safety Campus, located on county land surrounded by Fairfax City; assisted with preparing a property history of the campus, which includes a 1799 courthouse, 1886 Old Jail, and multiple mid-to-late-20th century, architect-designed county facilities; organized and labeled photographs from the Fairfax County Public Library, Virginia Room (FCPLVR) Photographic Archives; took field notes during survey of low-to-maximum security areas; organized field photographs; assisted in preparing site plans in AutoCAD; assisted with preliminary recommendation regarding eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and Site Analysis; entered data in to the Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (V-CRIS), housed at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR). Preparing for SOM on behalf of the DPWES.

One University - Fairfax County, Virginia

Ms. Jockel assisted WSSI's principal architectural historian with the architectural survey of One University Plaza, located between the City of Fairfax and the George Mason University campus. Though it is not yet 50 years old, it was recorded with the DHR because it was the recipient of an American Institute of Architects (AIA) award in 1982 and has a unique, earth-sheltered design. Preparing for RISE: A Real Estate Company of Valdosta, Georgia.

Lake Anne Fellowship - Reston, Virginia

Ms. Jockel assisted WSSI's principal architectural historian with documentation of Lake Anne Fellowship House at 11450 North Shore Drive adjacent to Lake Anne Village Historic District in Reston. She took field notes during photo-documentation, labeled photographs, and prepared the site plan and photographic key in AutoCAD. Prepared for Community Preservation and Development Corporation, an affiliate of Enterprise, of Silver Spring, Maryland on behalf of New Lake Anne House LP.

880 S. Pickett Street Documentary Study - City of Alexandria, Virginia

Ms. Jockel conducted archival research for the documentary study of three properties totaling 7.3 acres in Alexandria, Virginia. The goal was to provide a contextual study of the prehistory and history of the property. Research indicated that there would be a low probability of historic archaeological resource and a moderate to high probability of prehistoric archaeological resources.