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A CULTURAL HISTORY OF ARLANDRIA-CHIRILAGUA CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

Prepared for
CITY OF ALEXANDRIA
DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND ZONING

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Environmental Research Group, LLC (ERG) is pleased to present this cultural history of Arlandria-Chirilagua to the City of Alexandria, Virginia. The purpose of the study is to assist in preparation of a Small Area Plan for the Arlandria-Chirilagua neighborhood, located in the central north end of the city (Figure 1). Conducted between June 2020 and March 2021, the study includes three components: A Cultural History, Oral History Interviews, and Windshield Survey, which are presented in that order followed by recommendations for next steps in cultural resources planning and conclusions.

Due to the global pandemic associated with corona virus disease 2019 (COVID-19), which was detected in the United States in the winter of 2020, all background research was conducted online or with remote assistance from area libraries, and most meetings and oral history interviews were conducted via video conference. For those that occurred in person, all attendees wore masks and/or distanced themselves per Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines.

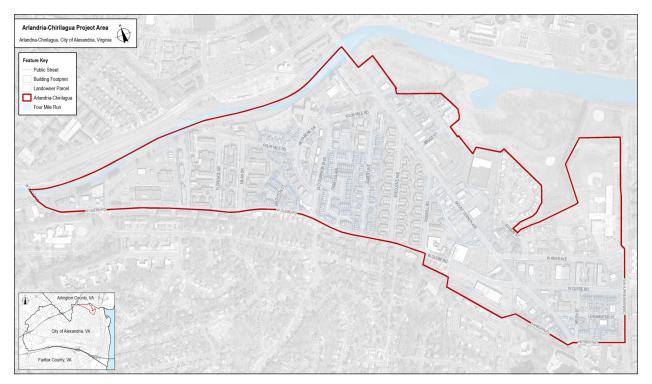


Figure 1. Arlandria-Chirilagua, City of Alexandria, Virginia project area.

Research began in July 2020 with a review of previous cultural resources studies, of which there were only four on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR). Additional research was conducted remotely via Library of Congress (LOC), Library of Virginia (LVA), Alexandria Library Local History and Special Collections, Arlington Public Library Center for Local History, and City of Fairfax Regional Library Virginia Room as well as the City of Alexandria Planning and Building Applications Archives, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Ancestry, Arlington Historical Society, Google Books, HathiTrust, and JSTOR, among other repositories. Historic newspapers such as The Alexandria Gazette, The Daily Sun of Arlington, and The Washington Evening Star were retrieved from LOC Chronicling America and LVA Virginia Chronicle and Memory. The Washington Post Archives and The New York Times Archives also provided insight into historic events in the neighborhood. Research was initially guided by a review of historic maps and aerials available in rare books collections and on the websites of the City of Alexandria Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Department; Arlington County GIS Department; United States Geological Survey (USGS) TopoView; and LOC Geography and Map Division. Despite limited physical access to repositories, a plethora of unmined data exists online in regard to this neighborhood, making the compilation of the Cultural History both exciting and challenging with new sources and discoveries made nearly up to the minute of submittal of this report.

The windshield survey was conducted from August to October 2020. In preparation, GIS data provided by the city was reviewed, and historic maps and aerials were geo-referenced. Anna Maas, MUEP, who exceeds the professional qualifications the Secretary of the Interior for history and architectural history, conducted the survey by car and on foot on three occasions at different times of day and on weekdays and a weekend to get a full sense of the neighborhood dynamics. The goal of the windshield survey was to identify points of interest, cultural landscapes, and themes within the neighborhood and to make preliminary recommendations on historical significance, redevelopment opportunities, and ways to incorporate or mitigate the loss of historic resources as the city seeks to increase affordable housing for this incredibly vibrant and diverse community.

Oral history interviews were conducted in September and October of 2020 in English with an African American resident of 45 years and in Spanish with three Salvadoran immigrants, residents since the 1980s and early 2000s. The purpose of these interviews was to help understand the African American and immigrant experience in Arlandria-Chirilagua from how they came to the area to how the pandemic has affected them. Their stories are incorporated into the Cultural History as well as included in a separate chapter.

ERG would like to extend our joy and deepest gratitude in working with a variety of individuals who helped make this study possible in especially unusual and sometimes difficult times. From the City of Alexandria, we are very grateful for the leadership, guidance, and flexibility of the Department of Planning and Zoning team, Natalie Brown, Urban Planner; Jose Ayala, Principal Planner; Susan Hellman, Historic Preservation Principal Planner; Catherine Miliaras, Principal Planner; and Jeffrey Farner, Deputy Director, as well as Corinna Hodges Nowak, Principal GIS Analyst and Helen McIlvaine, Director of the City of Alexandria Office of Housing. Special thanks to Ms. Brown for being a conduit for numerous resources from GIS information to community leader contacts, and Ms. Hellman for a masked and guided tour on the first day of the windshield survey.

Many thanks to Patricia Walker, Local History and Special Collections Branch Manager of Alexandria Library, who quickly adapted and hosted a Zoom session to leaf through flat files and binders of their historic photograph collections. Thanks goes to Christopher Barbuschak, Virginia Room Archivist and Librarian at the City of Fairfax Regional Library, who graciously scanned photographs from their collection and was a great source of knowledge on The Waffle Shop's history. Arlington Public Library, Center for Local History staff unimaginably were unable to access their collections for the entire year, however, John Stanton, Historical Research Associate, shared their extensive online exhibits, a great source of information on African American history in the region.

Thanks goes out to Colleen Stover, active in the Hume Springs Citizens Association, who provided a wealth of information and ideas for the neighborhood and arranged a remote oral history interview with her neighbors, Gilbert and Betty Teasley. We are thankful to the Teasleys for sharing their Arlandria story, which began with a move to an apartment on Milan Drive in the mid-1970s and continues with retirement in the Hume Springs subdivision. We extend our deep gratitude to Elizabeth Wang, Family and Adult Programs Director of Casa Chirilagua, for arranging not one but three oral history interviews with members of the Salvadoran immigrant community: Maria Cabrera, the unofficial Mayor of Chirilagua, who moved to Alexandria in 2003 and established a traditional girls dance troupe; Ana Martinez who came in 2002 and is raising three daughters who aspire to go into the medical field; and Martin Franco, who arrived in 1984 and has worked in the restaurant industry while raising seven successful children with his wife. We are so grateful for their generosity in sharing their time and stories about life in Arlandria-Chirilagua before and during the pandemic.

Thank you to ERG team members, Ann Gutiérrez, who conducted the Spanish oral history interviews; Amy Cervantes, who transcribed them; Rosie Tullos, for her attention to detail in editing; and Christy Pritchard and Jim Pritchard for their management. Last but not least, heartfelt thanks to ERG's GIS expert, E. Nicole Mills, who was a thoughtful sounding board throughout the project, while geo-referencing historic maps and aerials and developing theme maps based on research and survey results.

CHAPTER 2: CULTURAL HISTORY

Located in a part of the City of Alexandria that was at times wild, rural, exurban, and suburban, Arlandria-Chirilagua lay within a dozen jurisdictions throughout its documented history: Native American Territory Tauxenent Tribal Land (pre-1645); Spanish Territory, Tierra de La Florida, America (1513-1607) and Tierra De Ayllon (pre-1529); British Colony of Virginia, Northumberland County (1645-1650), Westmoreland County (1650-1660), Stafford County (1660-1730), Prince William County (1730-1742), and Fairfax County (1742-1801); and as part of the United States of America, Alexandria County of the District of Columbia (1801-1847), Alexandria County, Virginia (1847-1920), Arlington County (1920-1929), and the City of Alexandria (1929-Present).

Within each time period, the neighborhood itself, surrounding region, or pockets within it have taken on a variety of names, including but not limited to Howson's Patent (1669-1700s); Lilliard's Mill (circa 1715); Chubbs' Mill (circa 1715-1760s); Carlyle & Adam's Mill (1763-1770); Adam's Mill (1770-1810s); The Columbian Factory (1820); Roach's Mills, Green Valley (1838-1880s); Hume's Spring by European and African Americans (1880s-1950s); Sunnyside, Green Valley by African Americans (1905-1940s); Arlandria (1950s-Present); and Chirilagua by Hispanics (1980s-Present). Within each time period, the historic names will be used.

At first glance, the mid-century suburban landscape of the neighborhood belies an incredibly layered story that taps into nearly every major political event, movement, and cultural group since colonization. Equally significant to its recent past is how it evolved, at first functioning as a wild and rural industrial center, where prehistoric and historic people traveled, sought food, and camped; followed by its development into an integrated exurb, represented by two African American men on the Board of Supervisors in the decade after the Civil War; and then into a segregated streetcar county suburb at the hands of infrastructure planners and three female developers, one of whom was African American. At that time, the neighborhood contained a Confederate's memorial, market gardens, small businesses, light industry, bungalows, the first consolidated city dump, and a semi-professional Negro league baseball diamond, almost all of which was erased by mid-twentieth century developers and engineers with unprecedented large-scale projects for Federal government employees and military personnel.

Native Americans first occupied the land around the Potomac River, forging pathways aligned with streams and ridges, which early colonists closely followed. Both cultural groups recognized that the lowlands around streams such as Four Mile Run were unsuitable for settlement yet an ideal place to source food, hunting surrounding grounds and fishing in the streams and marshlands. On arrival, Europeans began to degrade the local environment by trapping beavers in such excess that Four Mile Run became shallower and more flood prone by 1650. Yet, it remained navigable up to present-day Columbia Pike for over a century.

After Native Americans were forced from the land, the first significant development occurred in the 1710s with the establishment of Lilliard's Mill across from Long Branch on the south side of Four Mile Run. Multiple proprietors (Chubb, Carlyle, Adams, and Roach) maintained industry to process wheat and corn at this site until the 1860s and counted a young George Washington as a client before he built his own grist mill. The next major development was the circa 1745 equivalent of Interstate 95, known as the Georgetown Road, which ran along Long Branch and crossed the creek by the mill. The route and the mill as a pit stop were mapped for perhaps the U.S.'s first tourist, triptych map book in the 1789 and attracted world famous and everyday people, moving back and forth between the Northeast and Southeast in war and in peacetime.

Renamed the Old Georgetown Road in the early nineteenth century, the corridor became more like present-day U.S. Route 29. After it was bypassed in 1808 by the Alexandria Turnpike to the east (present-day Route 1), it still attracted international travelers and activity at the mill until the end of the Civil War. In addition to roads, the completion of a rail line through the industrial neighborhood occurred in 1858, at which time it was more socio geographically tied to a cluster of plantations in the Green Valley north of Four Mile Run than to the City of Alexandria.

During the Civil War, the region witnessed its first refugee and housing crisis as enslaved labor fled the Confederate States of America for the United States border. At this point, the neighborhood became one of the favored camp sites for Union troops passing through for a few nights or staying for many to work on the construction of nearby forts and refugee camps.

After the Civil War, the region was fairly integrated with plantation owners, immigrants, born free and newly freed persons of color working to rebuild or build anew. They bought and sold land from one another out of goodwill or desperation during Reconstruction and lived on neighboring farms and within diverse villages in the Jefferson District of Alexandria County, which was represented in the Board of Supervisors by two African American men, William Rowe and Travis Pinn, for over a decade. During this period, milling operations ceased, and a dual line commuter railway arrived, soon to bring segregated suburban development to what was then known as Hume's Spring. The county erected an integrated poorhouse and constructed Old Mount Vernon Avenue (now Old Dominion Boulevard) with a bridge to present-day South Lang Street in Arlington. Landowners built a few houses and a pavilion over a medicinal spring and entertained themselves at a nearby amusement park and race track.

Following the establishment of Jim Crow laws, an African American domestic servant, Laura Ware Watson, and her sons developed Sunnyside, the first subdivision in the area, in 1905. Banned from White establishments, Black residents found community resources in the adjacent neighborhood of Green Valley/Nauck northwest of Four Mile Run, which was settled by free and formerly enslaved individuals from nearby plantations before the Civil War and greatly expanded by freedmen after. The White-owned part of the neighborhood, which was closer to the floodplains, remained mostly undeveloped to the east. These landowners lived on higher ground outside of the current neighborhood boundaries and remained socially linked to the White parts of Arlington Ridge to the north as well as the new working class subdivisions of Del Ray and Saint Elmo immediately south.

Amidst the rise of the auto industry, the Old Georgetown Road and bridge were removed by 1915. Completed at the same time, Russell Road and a new Mount Vernon Avenue alignment, which locals hoped would be the equivalent of the George Washington Parkway, were laid with experimental asphalt by the United States Department of Agriculture Public Roads division. With improved transportation, Emma P. Hume, a businesswoman from Washington, D.C., and Helen Calvert, a non-profit volunteer who lived to the south, subdivided White neighborhoods closer to the floodplains around 1921 as land to the south became scarce, and property values increased.

With new neighborhoods and consumption on the rise, in 1922, the City of Alexandria opened its first consolidated dump in the marshlands of Four Mile Run, which began a period of environmental degradation of unimaginable scale. Resulting from the segregated Progressive Era, Arlington County removed the poorhouse by 1926, which created space for the neighborhood's first known baseball diamond, home to a semi-professional Negro league baseball team, the Hume Spring Nine. While they played the regional circuit until a few years after baseball was integrated in 1947, their sandlot was destroyed with construction of Presidential Gardens for White government workers in 1937.

Between World War I and the Cold War, the U.S. Government created so many jobs in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area that home building became big business. Developers became less discriminate about land quality, filling in and redeveloping every available acre, whether in a floodplain or not. What was once only suitable for minority neighborhoods and ephemeral or industrial activity became the site of some of the first garden apartments and rowhouses priced for young, White professionals, who would later upgrade to single-family homes outside of the city. Migrating from across the country, they worked on U.S. policy in newly built buildings such as the Pentagon and frequented new commercial strip malls, movie theaters, and restaurants where everything was patriotically themed. Following exponential development and consumption, the city dump closed, making way for a White school and play field in 1955. During this period, Black residents lost communal space to White residents and relied even more on historically Black neighborhoods in both Arlington and Alexandria, where they shopped and went to school.

After passage of local and federal fair housing policies and desegregation of schools in the 1960s, White residents who could afford to move left Arlandria for spacious, single-use, suburbs constructed on old farms off new freeways. Despite intensive flooding, poor infrastructure, and illegal activity, African Americans who previously had few housing options poured into the neighborhood and advocated for improvements, including the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) multi-million-dollar flood control project on Four Mile Run. The last major developments of the 1960s included a handful of large- and small-scale individual buildings scattered throughout the neighborhood. The next decade began with tragic hate crimes and intensifying storms, which were both emotionally and physically scarring to the community.

After the flood control project was finally complete in 1979, various factors including a spike in serious crimes kept developers at a bay. Yet little islands of positive growth occurred: the minor league Alexandria Dukes maintained a home field on the east end of the neighborhood 1978-1983, the famed Birchmere Music Hall opened at the north end of Mount Vernon Avenue in 1981, Bread & Chocolate opened a warehouse on the west end in 1984, and Cora Kelly became Northern Virginia's first magnet school to help better integrate the city schools in 1984. In the interim, the area attracted immigrants from all over the world in search of affordable housing in proximity to a region with seemingly endless opportunities. This would create conflict with Black Americans just then getting their foothold in White America.

Ultimately, Latin American immigrants fleeing U.S. backed Civil War and discord in Central and South America outnumbered others, laying the foundation for the community's cultural identity as Chirilagua, a place in El Salvador from which many residents fled. Marked by tension, creativity, and activism, this era gave rise to numerous faith-based and secular advocacy organizations, cyclical battles over gentrification at the turn of each decade, expanded parks and soccer fields, eco-system restoration, and a revitalized, multi-cultural Mount Vernon Avenue. Today, with new Hispanic representation in government and non-profits, Arlandria-Chirilagua hopes to sustain their community in the wake of unimaginable change and growth.

PRE-1645: HUNTING GROUNDS, NATIVE AMERICAN TERRITORY

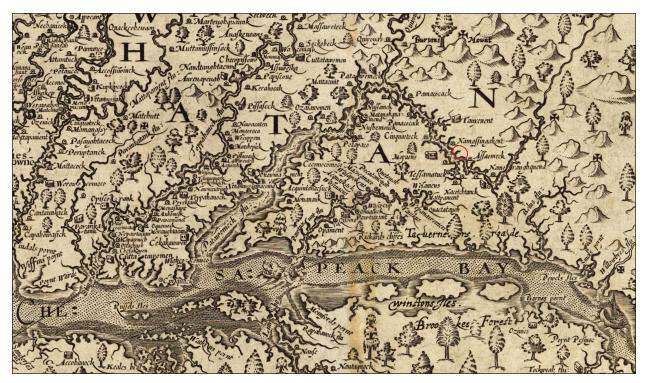
Before documentation by Spanish and English explorers, a variety of Native American groups were associated with the region around the Potomac River (Algonquin for great trading place) and the Chesapeake Bay (at a big river). Artifacts indicate that Native Americans visited the area over 13,000 years ago but did not create permanent settlements until about 3,000 years ago. When first surveyed in some detail by Englishman John Smith in 1608, the largely forested region from present-day Arlington County to Prince William County was anchored by the Native American village of Tauxenent, located at the mouth of the Occoquan (at the end of the water). The Tauxenent, Taux, or Dogue tribe, as the English called them, also lived in four nearby farming hamlets: Pamacocack (plenty of fish) on Quantico Creek (by the long stream), Namassingakent on Dogue Run, Assaomeck (middle fishing place) south of Hunting Creek in Alexandria, and Nameraughquend just north of the mouth of Four Mile Run in present-day Arlington (Figure 2). The Native American populations sited villages above the flood plain and hunted and fished in the low-lying areas in between.

Politically, the Tauxenent aligned more closely with the Piscataway confederation of tribes in present-day Maryland than the Powhatan confederation along the coast of Virginia (Figure 3). In addition to Algonquin, they are thought to have spoken Iroquois due to their location in border lands at the heart of an important trading place (Figure 4). Their impacts on the land included slash and burn farming in their semi-permanent hamlets of long houses, which they periodically moved due to soil depletion. In addition, they hunted, gathered, and fished from temporary base camps between the hamlets; the Arlandria-Chirilagua area would have been a popular place for foraging and in particular fishing due to its location on Four Mile Run, which, before the mid-twentieth century, was swampier at its tidal end near the Potomac and more sinuous, deeper, and narrower to the west of present-day Mount Vernon Avenue. The most visible and lasting impact of the local Native American populations was the development of a trail from the Rappahannock River to the Potomac, which ultimately became Telegraph Road (Johnson 1996; Bromberg 2010:103; Netherton et al. 1978:20).

1513-1607: TIERRA DE LA FLORIDA, AMERICA, SPANISH TERRITORY

In 1513, Spaniard Juan Ponce de León and African Juan Garrido, both free explorers and conquistadors, were leaders of the first group of recorded non-Native Americans to set foot in the continental United States just over a decade after settling on the islands to the south. After coming ashore during Spain's Easter celebration Pascua Florida (the Feast of the Flowers), Ponce de Leon named the southeast coast of the continent Florida, including present-day Virginia (NPS 2020). Leading to his death in 1526, Spanish explorer Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon laid claim to Florida, including part of Virginia, and unsuccessfully attempted to settle the Carolinas with 500 Spanish colonists and 100 enslaved Africans (Figure 5). Only a year prior, modernday El Salvador had been successfully colonized by the Spanish crown, which granted land to nobles and gentry to establish indigo, sugar, and livestock plantations (Gammage 2007).

The Spanish ventured again into Virginia in 1560 and 1570 and mapped the Chesapeake Bay as Bahia de Santa Maria on the Padrón Real (official map) of the Spanish crown, which was a secret map kept aboard all Spanish ships (Figure 6). This map also showed R. de Santo Spirito, which may have been the Potomac. While successful in Central and South America, the Spanish ultimately retreated from the Mid-Atlantic after the British established Jamestown, Virginia in 1607, yet did not cede present-day Florida to the United States until 1821.



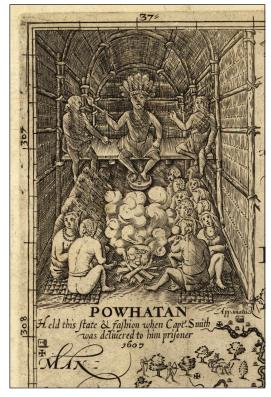




Figure 2. Part of 1608 John Smith Map, showing Native American villages on the Potomac River, including Assaomeck and Nameraughquend south and north of Alexandria.

Figure 3. Part of 1608 Smith Map, depicting the interior of a long house of the Algonquin speaking Powhatan Confederacy, Tauxenent's southern neighbors, as interpreted by Europeans.

Figure 4. Part of 1608 Smith Map, depicting an Iroquoian speaking Susquehannock hunter, Tauxenent's northern neighbors, as interpreted by Europeans.

(Courtesy of Library of Congress)

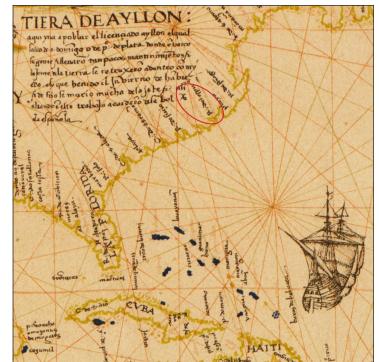


Figure 5. Part of the 1529 Spanish map by Diego Ribero showing La Florida, including Virginia and the rest of the southeast, as belonging to Spanish explorer Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Figure 6. Part of the 1562 Spanish map by Diego Gutiérrez and Hieronymus Cock, showing the Chesapeake Bay as Bahia de Maria and Virginia in Tierra Florida. Rio de Santo Spirito may have referred to the Potomac River (Courtesy of Library of Congress).



1645-1742: NORTHERN NECK, VIRGINIA COLONY, BRITISH TERRITORY

Though the English established themselves on the James River in 1607, Native American tribes maintained their land in the upper reaches of the Potomac for the first half of the century, only engaging with Europeans to trade fur for things such as textiles, cooking pots, and guns; however, by the mid-seventeenth century, English-Native conflicts shifted from the lower and middle peninsulas of Virginia to the northern peninsula, also known as the Northern Neck (Figure 7). As survivors from the Powhatan Confederacy sought refuge among the Piscataway Confederacy, inter-tribal conflict over resources also occurred. In preparation for complete invasion and the sale of land patents in this area, the English incorporated what they had maintained as an Indian district into Northumberland County in 1645. This encompassed land from the mouth of the Rappahannock River to the headwaters of the Potomac (Rose 1976:13). In 1650, one of the earliest references to the county noted that two Northumberland County Englishmen kidnapped two Native American women and stole 93 deer skins and three beaver skins from the King of Patuxin in Maryland (Rice 2016:135-136). In response to continued Native American resistance after this incident, Royal Governor Sir William Berkeley ordered on July 10, 1666 the complete destruction of "the whole nation of Doegs and Potomacks", the taking of their goods, and enslavement of the women and children (Virginia 1897:114-115). By the early 1700s, nearly all traces of Native American occupation disappeared; however, the English retained many of the native names of natural features in this region (see Figure 2).

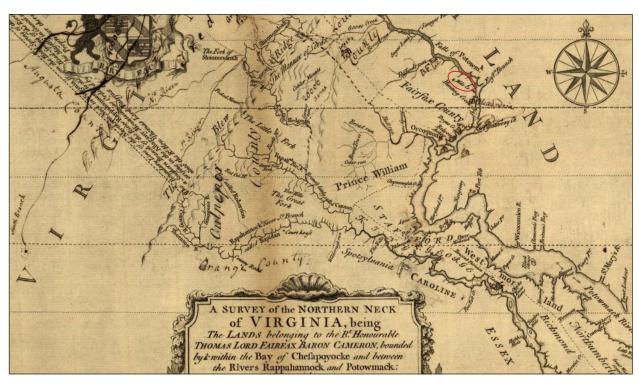


Figure 7. 1737 Warner and Fairfax map showing "4 Mile Cr" in a survey of the northern neck of Virginia, being the lands belonging to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Baron Cameron, bounded by & within the Bay of Chesapoyocke and between the rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Much of what is known about Alexandria and more specifically Arlandria-Chirilagua during European settlement is based on references to creeks such as Four Mile Run in land patents or in oral history recorded in 1767-68 for depositions collected during a land use lawsuit. Before the European fur trade of the first half of the seventeenth century, beaver dams prevented flooding along Four Mile Run as they maintained deep pools along the channel. After they were excessively hunted, the stream became shallower and more prone to floods but remained navigable as far as present-day Columbia Pike for over a century to come. Dating to at least 1657, when part of Westmoreland County, the creek name was chosen for its distance to Hunting Creek to the south rather than its length, which is nine miles. Land transactions were at first among the elite, who often remained on plantations to the east and directed White tenants or overseers and enslaved Black laborers to establish tobacco farms. They cleared the forests to plant tobacco and corn, to which Native Americans had introduced them, and built houses, mills, and early ports. With the clearing of land came increased erosion and the eventual abandonment of early ports, which became unnavigable due to silt in the late eighteenth century. Subsequent land patents were increasingly acquired by indentured servants, who worked their way up from being overseers and tenants to becoming landowners.

HOWSON'S PATENT

The first land patent issued in present-day Alexandria occurred on September 6, 1654 for 700 acres to Margaret Brent, an associate of Lord Baltimore and the first female attorney in the colonies; however, the land, located south of Arlandria-Chirilagua, was not settled for two more decades (Virginia Land Office Patent 3:275). Conflicting with Brent's patent, on October 20, 1669, Governor Berkley granted "6000 acres upon the freshes of Potomack River" to a Welsh sea captain, Robert Howson, in exchange for transporting 120 Europeans and 10 enslaved Africans to the Virginia Colony (Northern Neck Grant 6:262). Located in Stafford County at the time, the Howson patent turned out to be over 8,000 acres when officially surveyed, a fact that "led to frequent and prolonged litigation" for over a century (Rose 1958:15). The first land transaction specifically related to Arlandria-Chirilagua, it also included present-day Old Town Alexandria, Crystal City, Washington National Airport, the Pentagon, and Arlington National Cemetery. In just over a month, Howson sold the property to John Alexander (1603-1677) in exchange for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, which was used as money throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Mitchell 1977:35).

On trend, John Alexander never moved to present-day Alexandria. One of his sons, Robert Alexander inherited all but 500 acres of the Howson patent. He too never moved to the area and, as early as 1696, began to subdivide parcels for sale and lease land to tenant farmers. After his death in 1704, his sons Philip and Major Robert Alexander (1688-1735) inherited what remained of the Howson patent. When Philip died without a will, Robert became sole owner (Mitchell 1977:60-61; Pippenger 1990). Soon after, in 1706, Four Mile Run first appeared in a land patent as a reference point outside of the project area.

LILLIARD'S-CHUBBS' MILL

The first development depicted in Arlandria-Chirilagua was industrial, a grist mill in operation by 1719 southeast of the mouth of Long Branch tributary near present-day 801 Four Mile Road (Figure 8; Northern Neck Grant 5:212). There was a place in Four Mile Run near the mill, known as a ford, which travelers took to cross between present-day Alexandria and Arlington. By one account, tenant John Lilliard built the mill and a house "westward of the mouth of long

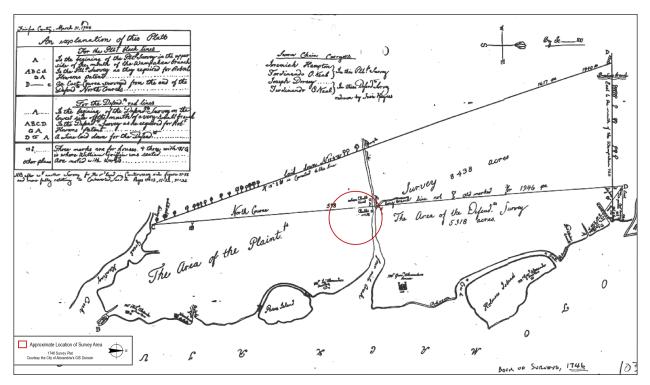


Figure 8. 1746 Fairfax County Survey Plat by Jennings, showing "where Chubb lived" and "Chubbs mill" in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (Courtesy of City of Alexandria).

branch" near present-day Dominion Energy (Alexandria Chancery Court Case 013-1811-021). By another account, Lilliard died soon thereafter, leaving a widow, who remarried to Edward Chubb, and a son, who built his own house on the north side of the Four Mile Run. Chubb took over operation of the mill, which was used to grind wheat and corn, and would have supplied the neighborhood of plantations rather than distant markets. Chubb's property was described as being on a hill surrounded by cornfields when observed in 1725. The observer also described thousands of "corn holes" around another house and fishing stops on Four Mile Run closer to the Potomac River (ibid.; Rose 1958:19-20). On the first detailed plat of the area, two squares labeled "where Chubb lived" and "Chubbs mill" appeared on "four mile creek" south of "long branch" in 1746 (Figure 8).

In 1730, Virginia passed an act to establish tobacco inspection stations to prevent fraud (Figure 9). Within two years, one was constructed on the land of Hugh West north of Hunting Creek in present-day Old Town. Known as the warehouse at Bel Haven, it essentially became the first town center in the rural community of plantations developing on and around the Howson patent. It also spurred the construction of rolling roads used to roll hogsheads, which were barrels of tobacco, from the plantations to the ports, where they were shipped to Europe after inspection (Figure 10). In a deposition, Benjamin Sebastian recalled serving as a property manager for Major Robert Alexander in 1731, collecting 524 pounds of tobacco in rent for each 100 acres leased. At that rate, Alexander earned 6,812 pounds of tobacco for the lease of 1,300 acres, which may have included part of Arlandria-Chirilagua. The tenants in the region at that time were Edward Chubb, Richard Middleton, William Boylstone, John Straughan, Adam Straughan, Edward Earpe, Richard Wheeler, Judith Ballenger, James Going, Sarah Young, and Sarah Amos (Mitchell 1977:61-62). Goings used their leased land to raise "running horses and spent much of their money at the races," already a popular entertainment industry throughout colonial Virginia (Rose 1958:23-25).



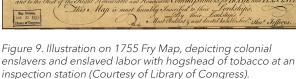




Figure 10. Part of Fry map, showing 4 Mile Cr, Belhaven of Alexandria, and the early rolling roads; farm lanes would not have been depicted (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

By 1733, Sebastian no longer served as property manager and began renting from Alexander before amassing a significant estate of his own in present-day Arlington, demonstrating the upward mobility of the region's early tenants (ibid.:29-30). In 1735, the third John Alexander (1711-1763) inherited part of the Howson patent on the south bank of Four Mile Run, including Chubb's Mill, from his father Major Robert Alexander. Though he had lived on Pearson's Island to the southeast, he and his wife Susannah Pearson moved away, continuing to rent out smaller farms and industries and raising tobacco with enslaved workers (Mitchell 1977:61-62).

1742-1801: RURAL FAIRFAX COUNTY

As the upper regions of the Northern Neck became more populated, Fairfax County was established in 1742 to provide a more convenient courthouse to the area's residents. Six years later to the southeast of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, George Washington, then a young land surveyor, prepared a plan for a town at the Bel Haven warehouse on the lands of Hugh West and John and Philip Alexander (Washington 1748). Three years after that, Georgetown was established in Maryland north of the Potomac and connected to the new Town of Alexandria via a ferry and a new road (Mullen and Johnson 2010:18-22). Known as The Alexandria-Georgetown or simply The Georgetown Road, it extended from present-day Rosslyn south and followed Long Branch, roughly Army Navy Drive and 28th Street (Figure 11). At Four Mile Run, a stone bridge was constructed near Chubb's Mill, and the road entered Arlandria-Chirilagua somewhere around present-day 801 Four Mile Road's management office and continued roughly along the east property line of Brighton Court to West Glebe Road before turning southeast towards the city. Functioning much like Interstate 95 does today, this road would serve as the primary way from Virginia to the District of Columbia and the rest of the Northeast for over 50 years.

With new residents came the potential for land disputes, so as planning for Alexandria was underway, Fairfax County Surveyor Daniel Jennings surveyed the Howson patent three times between 1746 and 1750 to establish the actual acreage and boundary lines (see Figure 8). During this period, John and Susannah Alexander's portion of the patent south of Four Mile Run was still occupied by tenants and enslaved laborers (see Figure 11). In 1763, their son Charles Alexander inherited the part that contained Arlandria-Chirilagua. Three years later, his brother John Alexander, Jr., was the defendant in the lawsuit for which oral history of the whole

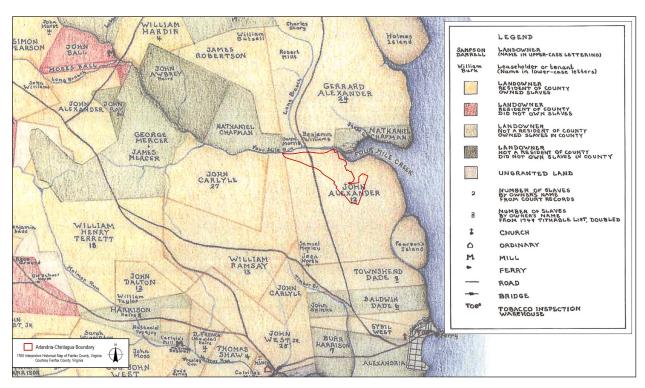


Figure 11. Part of 1760 Map of Alexandria as interpreted by Mitchell and Sweig in 1987, showing the Georgetown Road and John Alexander as the owner of Arlandria-Chirilagua and 12 enslaved laborers (Courtesy of Fairfax County).

region was collected in depositions. Though Chubb's Mill was not located within the contested piece of property, the lawsuit revealed the details about its early operation (Mitchell 1977:60-61; Rose 1958:17). Around this time "The Road to the Falls" (West Glebe Road) was established on the southern border of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua to gain access to land above the Great Falls of the Potomac, which obstructed ships from sailing beyond Alexandria. The name was soon changed to Glebe, the name of land set aside for Church of England clergy to live.

CARLYLE & ADAM'S MILL

In 1763, at the same time that Alexander inherited his father's property, George Washington entered into a seven-year contract with previous business associates and friends, Robert Adam and John Carlyle, to sell all the wheat produced on his plantations for three shillings and nine pence per bushel, to be paid on delivery. Carlyle came to Alexandria in the 1740s to serve as as a factor, also known as a property manager for a wealthy Scotsman, and subsequently gained his own great fortune after marrying Sarah Fairfax, whose family had at one time owned the whole Northern Neck. Serving as General Edward Braddock's headquarters during the French and Indian War in 1755, his stone mansion constructed three years earlier still stands today in Old Town and was a launching point for 1,850 British and Colonial soldiers who marched west south of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua on their way to Ohio. Adam came from Scotland in the 1750s and established a successful business before partnering with Carlyle to produce flour at the old Chubbs Mill site (Abbot and Twohig, ed. 1990:359-361). After his involvement in the French and Indian War, Washington had taken over Mount Vernon and several other family farms south of the town just as tobacco production was in serious decline due to the heavy toll it took on soil quality. At the forefront of agricultural research and with significant wealth, increased by his marriage to Martha Dandridge Custis, he was perhaps the first to transition to wheat production and would eventually build his own elaborate grist mill in 1770 (Maas et al. 2016:11-12).

Until then, he shipped his wheat upriver to where a medium sized flat could unload on a "Landing on four Miles run Creek" in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, as it had yet filled with the silt seen today (Abbot and Twohig, ed. 1990: 359-361). In 1764, Washington delivered 257.5 bushels to Carlyle & Adam. Each year, the shipments increased, and after eliminating tobacco at Mount Vernon and another farm, he increased the delivery to 2,778.5 bushels in 1767; however, in February of that year, Washington wrote a scathing letter to Carlyle & Adam for lack of timely payment from people he considered friends among other issues with the contract (General Ledger A, folio 180, 271 in Abbot and Twohig, ed. 1990:359-361). This soured relationship may have contributed to the dissolution of Carlyle & Adam in 1770 and Washington's decision to build his own grist mill at the end of the seven years.

ADAM'S MILL

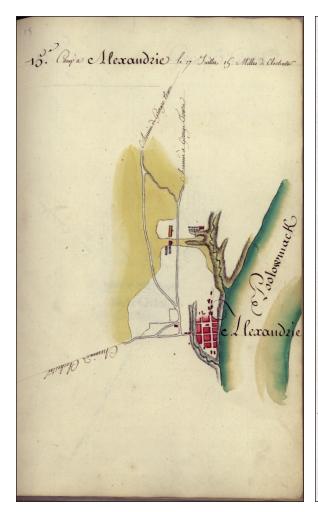
Robert Adam appears to have continued operation of a mill in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua as a sole proprietor from 1770 until his death in 1789, while references to it as Adam's Mill continued into the early 1800s. During his tenure, Washington bought land on the creek to the west. Adam at various points served as sheriff of Fairfax County and a militia officer (Ristow, ed. 1961:182; The Washington Papers 2020). While the county remained rural and was referred to as out in the country until the twentieth century, the Town of Alexandria rapidly grew into one of the busiest transatlantic ports in the U.S. with merchants such as Adam and Carlyle shipping flour and other agrarian products internationally while importing everything from fertilizer to luxury home goods to more enslaved labor, all of which were sold on wharves and in merchant shops near the waterfront (Alexandria 1999).

Just over 30 years after its founding, the Town of Alexandria was incorporated in 1779 at the height of the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). During the war, much of Virginia and the northeast coast was mapped by the Geographer and Surveyor General of the Continental Army as well as Frenchmen Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, who assisted George Washington, now General of the Continental Army, in defeating the British at Yorktown in September of 1781. On his return to France in 1782, Rochambeau created a series of abstract pen and ink drawings of the course of their march, which revealed that French troops camped for four or more nights somewhere near the mill at Four Mile Run and the Georgetown Road in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (Figure 12).

American engineer and scientist Christopher Colles also developed a series of maps after the war, using the Continental Army's surveys, and published a survey of roads in 1789 (Figure 13). Visionary in scope, he imagined it would be used as the twentieth century American Automobile Association (AAA) "triptiks" or GPS enabled maps are used today, writing in his book proposal:

"a traveller will... find so plain and circumstantial a description of the road, that while he has the draft with him it will be impossible for him to miss his way: he will have satisfaction of knowing the names of many of the persons who reside on the road; ... If a foreigner arrives in a part of the Continent and is under the necessity to travel by land, he applies to a bookseller, who with the assistance of the index map chooses out the particular pages which are necessary for his direction" (Ristow, ed. 1961:100).

The map book shows the way from the temporary U.S. capitol building in New York City, "Federal Hall," to Williamsburg, Virginia on 86 plates, each with three panels or triptychs. The map key and index include Episcopal Churches (split from the colonial Church of England), Presbyterian Churches (split from the colonial Church of Scotland), Town Houses, Mills,



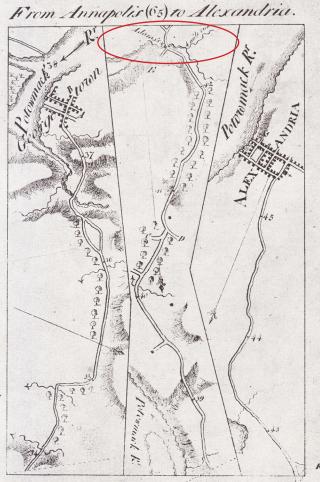


Figure 12. Part of 1782 Rochambeau Camp a'Alexandrie pen and ink drawings, showing an abstract depiction of Four Mile Run and French camps during the American Revolution near Adam's Mill (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Figure 13. Plate 65 of the 1789 Colles Survey of Roads of the USA. Center triptych shows a bridge over "4 mile run" and "Adams's" Grist Mill in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua. The north arrow is oriented three different ways (Ristow, ed. 1961:182).

Taverns, Blacksmiths, Bridges, and Gaols (Prisons) (ibid.:120). Plate 65 depicts the way from Annapolis to Alexandria with a triptych illustrating the following (ibid.:182): Georgetown, Maryland, the "Potowmack Rr," and a ferry boat to a road in Fairfax County, Virginia; The road passing by the east side of Long Branch, a bridge over "4 mile run," and "Adams's" Grist Mill immediately east of the road and south of the creek in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (With Adams death the same year as the book's publication, it is unclear whether the mill was fully operational at this time); and the road leading to a street in the Town of Alexandria where an Episcopal Church stands. Though unlabeled it is evident that it is George Washington's home parish Christ Church built on Washington Street in 1765.

Colles' innovative map would later provide insight into the first interstate system and landmarks deemed important by White, middle-to-upper class citizens; however, it failed to be the success he imagined, as the roads remained rough and most people were occupied with rebuilding their local economy or did not have the means to travel such distances in the early days of the nation. On top of that, the year before its publication was a bad one for farmers along the eastern seaboard. On July 23-24, 1788, "George Washington's Hurricane" blew in from Bermuda and did damage "'beyond description'" to wheat, tobacco, and corn (Roth and Cobb 2001).

During the 1790s, the economy did make a comeback with large quantities of wheat, flour, rye, and corn regularly shipped to the Caribbean and Europe from the town's port, which was the seventh largest in the U.S. and third largest exporter of flour. Blocks were expanded to the extent of today's Old Town, the roads were paved with cobblestone, a theater built, and a relatively large number of abolitionist Quakers and free African Americans moved to the area. As the U.S. engaged in minor war with France, the town helped launch the U.S. Navy with a number of shipyards. At the end of the decade before completion of the White House and Capitol, President Washington died and was interred at Mount Vernon, drawing large processions of mourners from the surrounding region including residents and reporters from Georgetown, who came by way of the Georgetown Road through Adam's Mill (Alexandria 1999).

1801-1847: ALEXANDRIA COUNTY, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, USA

Following the American Revolution (1775-1783), the governing body of the newly formed United States of America passed an act to establish a new seat of government in 1790, which was amended in 1791 to include part of Virginia. Due to the presence of one of the busiest ports in the country and it being his hometown, President George Washington determined the Town of Alexandria should be included. Then Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson instructed Major Andrew Ellicott to prepare a rough survey of the boundaries, a perfect square with ten-mile sides, which included Arlandria-Chirilagua. Working from February to April of 1791, the initial survey party included Benjamin Banneker, a free Black astronomer from Maryland (U.S. Statutes at Large; Bedini 1971). The same year, French artist and engineer Pierre L'Enfant, who served with Washington in the war, designed a Baroque radial urban plan for the new City of Washington east of Georgetown on the north side of the river, providing for pomp and circumstance, green space, and memorials. Due to clashes with the city commissioners, L'Enfant was soon replaced with Ellicott, who recreated the plan from memory with some minor alterations. He in turn clashed with the commissioners and was replaced in 1793 by a succession of city planners, though the L'Enfant and Ellicott vision of the district is largely what exists today. After over a decade of planning, Alexandria County in the District of Columbia was officially established in 1801 (Berg 2009; U.S. Statutes at Large).

The 1790s plan of the district only included Georgetown and the proposed City of Washington; however, in 1815, Andrew Ellicott with French engraver Pierre Tardieu prepared another plan, published in Paris in 1820, schematically proposing an extension of the Baroque plan of the City of Washington into the undeveloped outskirts of the Town of Alexandria (Figure 14). The map includes radial blocks throughout present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua as well as a grand building in place of the mill complex on the south side of the creek. It also illustrates the road system that existed as of the 1790s, though published in 1820, evident in leaving off the 1809 Washington and Alexandria Turnpike (Route 1). Included were "Road from The Falls" (West Glebe Road) with a ford or simple bridge crossing Four Mile Run, Georgetown Road with a bridge and its wing walls east of the grand proposed building, and present-day Arlington Ridge Road leading to the Long Bridge (14th Street Bridge).

Traveling on a few battered lanes, in 1806, residents of Washington County and Alexandria County petitioned to build a "turnpike road, from the Western end of Mason's Causeway, by Adams' mill [in present-day Arlandria-Chirlagua], above the tide water of Four Mil run... to the intersection of Washington and King streets" (U.S. House of Representatives 1826:158). Chartered by U.S. Congress in 1808, the Washington and Alexandria Turnpike (now Richmond

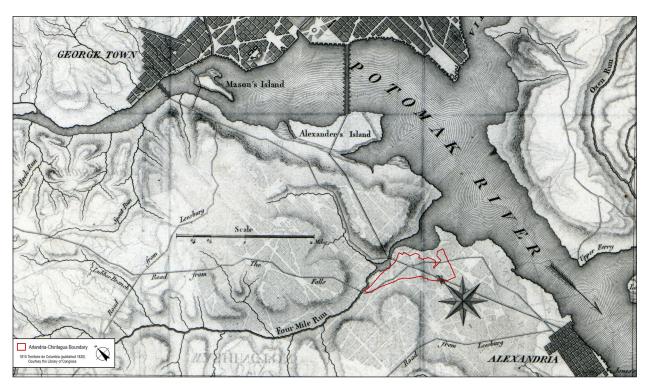


Figure 14. Part of 1815 Territoire de Columbia, schematic published in Paris in 1820, extending L'Enfant and Ellicott's 1791 radial plan for Washington into Arlandria-Chirilagua and proposing a grand building at Adam's Mill (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Highway - Route 1) ultimately was constructed closer to the river, using the southern part of the original Georgetown road but bypassing the mill and the hilly terrain farther upstream; however, the old alignment of the northern part of "The Old Georgetown Road" as it became known remained in use in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua for another century (Bryan 1914:533). While infrastructure projects within the District of Columbia on former Maryland land received federal funding, Alexandria County had to rely on private investment and the Virginia Board of Public Works created in 1816 to improve and expand roads, establish a canal, and construct railroads. This resulted in a general disdain for being part of the district. That in addition to agricultural recession and growing opportunities west of the Appalachian Mountains contributed to a steady decline in the county population before the Civil War (Hurd 1983:4-5).

During the War of 1812, the British docked at Alexandria, where the town surrendered supplies to spare the wharves and houses, inciting much ridicule from the rest of the U.S. On August 24 and 25, 1814, the District of Columbia fought back, prompting the British to torch the city. Potomac River crossings and the few roads that existed, such as the turnpike and the Old Georgetown Road in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, were clogged by federal troops and residents fleeing the city (Pratt 2002:45). Observers wrote of ominous skies, rolling dark clouds, winds, and a deluge, adding to the drama as First Lady Dolly Madison fled on a road in the northern part of the county with valuables, including a flag and a portrait of President Washington (a building in present-day Potomac Village Arlandria/Chirilagua Housing Cooperative [ACHC] was named for her when that complex was first developed). Interpreted as a tropical cyclone by modern meteorologists, the downpour flooded the streets and streams like Four Mile Run yet helped fire fighters extinguish the flames set by the British (Roth and Cobb 2001).

THE COLUMBIAN FACTORY

After the last reference to Adams' Mill, several others appeared to be in operation around its site on Four Mile Run, including a cotton factory (*Alexandria Gazette* 10 Apr 1816). In 1820, local entrepreneur Thomas Janney advertised a mill for sale:

For Sale or Rent, The commodious COTTON FACTORY, with a MERCHANT MILL attached, known by the name of the Columbian Factory. The Factory contains about I200 spindles, with cards in proportion, now running and in complete order for making cotton twist, with a sufficient number of out houses to accommodate the hands, situated on Four Mile Run, nearly mid-way between Alexandria and Washington, D. C. (*Alexandria Gazette* 7 Feb 1820).

Virginia's climate was not suited to cotton, thus, proprietors of this mill would have imported raw materials from the Deep South. As noted, local soils were depleted, and by this time the international trade of enslaved individuals had been officially banned, both of which gave rise to an interstate trade where Virginia and the Town of Alexandria in particular became a major supplier of labor to Deep South cotton plantations. This callous trade often separated families, who though enslaved, had multi-generational connections to Virginia and bonds within their local communities (Einhorn 2014).

ROACH'S MILL, GREEN VALLEY

By the mid-nineteenth century, the mill and surrounding area of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua was called Roach's. In the 1830s, Philip Roach, his wife, son James, and two daughters left Ireland during the Tithe Wars and emigrated to the Town of Alexandria. In 1837, James Roach purchased a large tract of land, which included parts of Arlington Ridge, Pentagon City, and Crystal City, at the north end of Long Branch on the Old Georgetown Road. His neighbors included Anthony Fraser who built Green Valley Manor in 1821 and First Lady Martha Washington's granddaughter, Mary Anna Randolph Custis, who lived in Arlington House with her husband, future commander of the Confederate Army, Robert E. Lee.

James Roach built a mansion known as Prospect Hill and operated his farm with at least 18 enslaved laborers. He also opened a brick and stone plant on Roach's Run, a different stream near the Potomac River, becoming a supplier to the Alexandria Canal and railroads. Just before his father's death in 1838, they built a gristmill near Long Branch, perhaps an addition to the existing if not deteriorating complex on Four Mile Run in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua. It is also likely that it was built and operated by his enslaved laborers (Pratt 1999:16; USBC 1850).

In the years before and after the Civil War, the freed labor of the Washingtons, Lees, Frasers, and Roaches and their descendants would become instrumental in establishing free Black communities in present-day Arlington and Alexandria. In 1844, Levi Jones, son of an enslaved couple freed from Mount Vernon in Martha Washington's will, and his wife, Sarah Ann Gardner, freed from Green Valley Manor by an abolitionist member of the Fraser family settled Green Valley/Nauck immediately northwest of Roach's Mill (Perry and Waters 2013). Thought to be related, several Joneses were living in the west end of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, which was considered a part of Green Valley into the 1930s (Thomas M Watson, Virginia, U.S., Death Records, 1912-2014, Alexandria Archaeology Ancestry.com Tree).

1847-1865: UNREST & WAR IN ALEXANDRIA COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Due to a lack of federal funding for local projects and talk of banning slavery, in 1846, White male landowners voted to retrocede from the District of Columbia. Thus, Alexandria became part of Virginia again in March 1847, retaining the western and southern boundaries set with stones on the south side of the Potomac in 1791. While town residents, total population of around 8,600, overwhelming supported retrocession, those in the rural part, population 1,400, did not, because yeoman farmers, many of whom had come from the north in search of cheap land, anticipated it would result in higher taxes to pay for the financially struggling Alexandria Canal and railroads still in the planning stages. They also generally did not rely on enslaved labor or benefit from the slave trade. As anticipated, the trade was officially banned in the District in 1850. Two years later, the town then serving as county seat became a city (Rose 1976; Hurd 1983:4).

The previous year, in 1851, the Orange and Alexandria was the first rail line to arrive in Alexandria. Between 1855 and 1860, the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire Railroad, which ran parallel to West Glebe Road in Roach's Mill, was completed as far as Leesburg with plans to extend farther west to compete with the Baltimore and Ohio. In 1857, the Alexandria and Washington Railroad was laid parallel to the turnpike that bypassed Roach's Mill, transporting passengers and products at unheard of speeds six times a day between the two cities. During its occupation of the city, the U.S. ordered the connection of the three railroads to one another in a military complex in the city and to the B&O line to the north by laying tracks across the Long Bridge, thereby cementing Alexandria as a vital distribution center (Bromberg 2010).

In 1859, Boston writer James Redpath took a trip to observe and interview Southerners, both enslaved and free and Black and White. On a visit to Alexandria, Redpath mocked the town's poor condition and people though noted that "Suburban Alexandria for three or four miles around [was] as beautiful as beautiful can be... [with] cultivated fields in the valley and running up the hill-slopes, studded with houses, and interspersed with innumerable strips of forest" (Redpath 1859:213-214). Partly due to his abolitionist agenda, he credited this to Northern farmers who brought scientific farming to the region the decade prior. Within two years, the dreamlike landscape changed, as much of the county's fields were stripped and forests cleared for an extensive system of forts and entrenchments.

In 1861, "Alexandria was the only town and post-office in the county. The important placenames were Ball's Cross Roads, near the modern Ballston; Arlington Mills, now Barcroft; Roach's Mills on Four Mile Run near the Georgetown-Alexandria Road; and Arlington Heights across the Potomac from Washington" (Paullin 1926:109). Immediately after the voters of Virginia (again, White male landowners) elected to secede from the United States on May 23, 1861, around 10,000 federal troops marched and boated from the District to occupy Alexandria County for the duration of the war. They included the 12th Regiment of New York, an officer of which later wrote that they marched after midnight on May 24 down 14th Street and across the Long Bridge in flank.

the moonbeams glittered brightly on the flashing muskets as the Regiment silently advanced across the bridge. The Engineer Corps, commanded by Captain B.S. Church, lead the column, driving the picket line stationed near the bridge as they advanced. The Regiment proceeded toward Alexandria for a considerable distance, and then partially retraced its steps march to Roach's Mills, a point some six miles from Washington... (ibid:113).

A Confederate in their path, Elizabeth Roach wrote in a letter that the Union soldiers took possession of Prospect Hill at 2 a.m. the same night and took her husband, James Roach, and son, James Carson Roach, prisoners. The Union burned outbuildings, destroyed crops, and killed livestock. Over time, government cattle grazed in the area and forests were cut from the Green Valley Plantation to construct nearby forts with the sound of falling trees distressing the Frasers. Elizabeth Roach wrote that soldiers often invaded looking for guns and "gathered all grain into the grist mill and burned it" (Pratt 1999:17). Elizabeth and her daughter remained at the house and died during the war. The men were not released from prison until 1865.

Captain Church who lead the 12th Regiment into Virginia prepared a map of the area based on notes rather than official survey. Within present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, he sketched present-day West Glebe Road, a tent labeled "12th of N.Y.", a brick mill, and a stone bridge (Figure 15). It also shows another mill immediately across Four Mile Run, an abandoned road that does not quite line up with any other maps of the area, as well as James Roach's home farther north near Long Branch on the Old Georgetown Road. *The New York Times* reported of the 12th Regiment, the map, and Roache's [sic] Mills on June 9, 1861:

Capt. CHURCH describes [Alexandria] as having the air of a deserted town. Since this adventure, the gallant Captain has been out several times, and has completed a fine map of the region from the valuable notes taken while on these expeditions. In spite of all our hardships, the men enjoyed our life at Roache's Mills, and were sorry to leave. The officers shared all the privations of the men. Several companies were quartered in an old cotton-mill, a building apparently about to fall, but whose real strength we thoroughly tested. At one end of this ancient pile, the guard-house was established; and a gloomy room, with boarded up-windows, received a few prisoners from our own regiment,

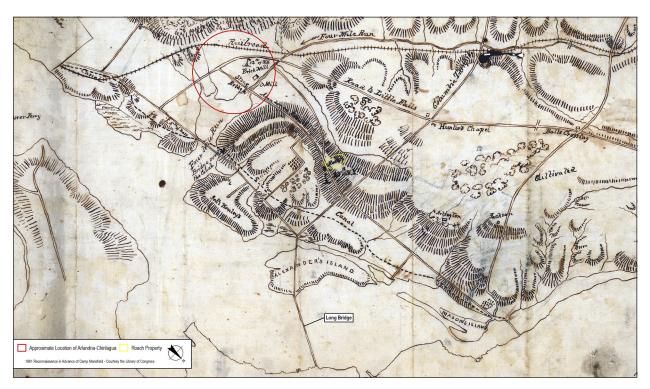


Figure 15. Part of 1861 Reconnaissance in advance of Camp Mansfield [Training Camp, Ohio] by 12th Regiment Engineer, Capt B.S. Church, showing roads, a tent, a brick mill, and a stone bridge in Arlandria-Chirilagua (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

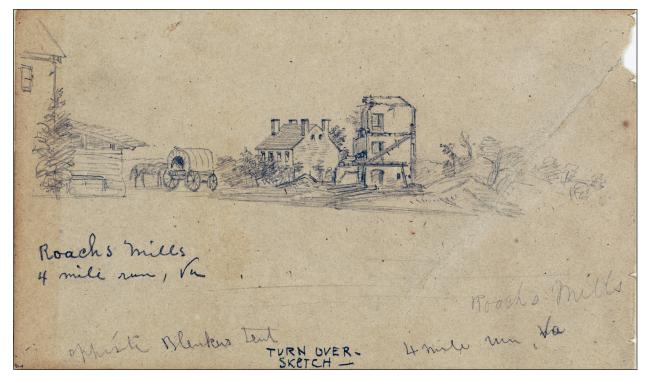
and was graced by the presence of three of the Jersey City Zouaves [French North African light infantry], whom we were obliged to arrest for depredations committed in the neighborhood. Of course every regiment lies its black sheep.

Other regiments who camped at Roach's Mill include the 74th Pennsylvania in fall of 1862 while they constructed Fort Blenker in present-day Fairlington (Hawks 2020). It is very likely that Alfred Waud, a London trained illustrator who worked for Harper's Weekly and other publications, sketched "Roachs Mills 4 mile run, Va opposite Blenker's tent" at that time as he was known to have traveled with this regiment based on his other drawings (Figures 16-18). Becoming world famous for his expressive and detailed work during the war, Waud sketched a horse and covered wagon and several buildings, including the edge of a two-story building with either a lean-to or another building immediately behind it; a two-story, four-bay, Georgian style house; and a three-story mill appearing to be in ruins. Unlike Captain Church's sketch map, which showed two mills flanking Four Mile Run, an 1862 survey of the completed forts shows a more familiar arrangement of the roads as well as a new corridor between Roach's Mill and Fort Blenker. It also shows Fort Albany near James Roach's house and four buildings at Roach's Mills, reflecting Waud's drawing (Figure 19). One of these may have been the old cotton factory previously referenced in the *Alexandria Gazette* and *New York Times*.

Throughout the war, but particularly after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, enslaved laborers fled the Confederate States of America for the United States in search of protection (Figure 20). Dealing with the region's first major refugee crisis, the U.S. Government constructed temporary camps for the contrabands of war on various Union occupied plantations, which quickly became overcrowded and unsanitary. In 1863, Chief Quartermaster of the Military Department, Colonel Greene, established Freedman's Village to alleviate these conditions in partnership with the American Tract Society, a New York-based, faith-based non-profit (Figure 21). Located on Confederate General Lee's agricultural fields (now the Pentagon), the village contained a school, chapel, and a nursing home to "make many comfortable and happy who have spent long years of unrequited toil" (*The New York Times* 12 Dec 1863). To the south of Prospect Hill and north of Roach's Mill, a convalescent camp was also established on the Fraser's Green Valley Manor plantation. By 1865, Prospect Hill no longer bore the Roach name, and though "Roach Mill" still appeared at the end of the war, it was no longer operating. By 1878, it was no longer standing, though James C. Roach did still live in the area and sold land to African Americans after the war (Collins and Stewart 1989:25).

1865-1905: RECONSTRUCTION IN INTEGRATED EXURBIA GREEN VALLEY/NAUCK

It was from Freedmen's Village and other camps that many African Americans came to settle in existing and new historically Black enclaves throughout the county and city. They included Petersburg (part of Cross Canal after the 1930s) to the southeast near where the AL&H and the Old Georgetown Road entered the north end of the city and Green Valley/Nauck immediately northwest of Roach's Mill in present-day Arlington (Maas et al. 2019). Around Roach's Mill, Black families purchased properties from other African Americans who were free before the war such as the Joneses, immigrant land speculators such as German J.D. Nauck, and former enslavers in need of cash such as Roach and Fraser, often neighboring these former masters as segregation had yet to be formalized in real estate and urban planning practices (Perry and Water 2013). Largely due to the influx of Black refugees, the rural population of the county more than doubled in size from 1,500 in 1860 to 3,185 in 1870 (O'Leary 2010:2).



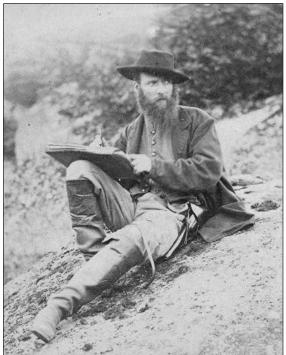
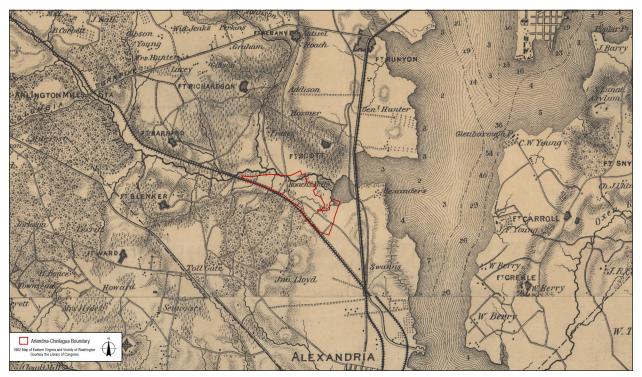




Figure 16. Alfred Waud's sketch of "Roachs Mills, 4 mile run, Va, opposite Blenker's tent" in 1862 located near present-day 801 Four Mile Road (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Figure 17. London born and trained illustrator Alfred Waud traveled with the Union Army as a correspondent for Harper's Weekly and camped at Roach's Mill during Fort Blenker's construction (O'Sullivan 1863; Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Figure 18. Camp of 31st Pennsylvania Infantry near Washington, D.C. in 1862 similar to those pitched in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (Courtesy of Library of Congress).



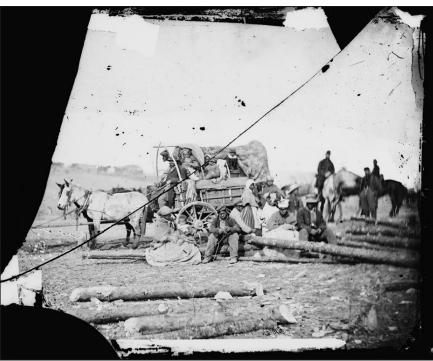


Figure 19. Part of 1862 McDowell and Schedler Map of n. eastern Virginia and vicinity of Washington, showing a new road from Roach's Mills to Fort Blenker built by soldiers while staying in temporary camps at the mills (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Figure 20. African American refugees of the Confederate States of America at the U.S. border, which was the border between Alexandria and Fairfax Counties, New Year's Day, 1863 by D.B. Woodbury (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

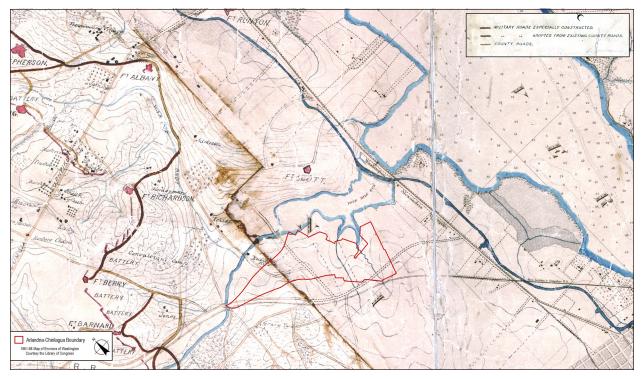


Figure 21. Part of 1865 United States Coast Survey of environs of Washington, showing Freedmen's Village in top left corner and one building left at Roachs Mill. Prospect Hill no longer bares the Roach name (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

In 1870, Charles and Laura Watson, an African American couple native of Maryland, bought around 11 acres between present-day Old Dominion Boulevard and Executive Avenue (Lenox at Sunnyside 2020). Charles Watson (abt 1831-1874) was a "Rag & Bone Man" (later referred to as a junk dealer) and relatively wealthy compared to his neighbors, indicating that they may have been free before the war. He likely ran his textile and bone recycling operation at the property by Roach's Mill, conveniently located next to established industry and transportation routes, as the Watson family lived on Gibbon Street in Alexandria's oldest free Black neighborhood, the Bottoms, established in the 1790s (USBC 1870). Catty-corner to the southwest of the Watson business, African Americans Hampshire and Mariah Fractious, also relatively wealthy, owned a long lot partly on the Roach's Mill side of West Glebe with a house south of the railroad tracks near Overlook Drive (USBC 1880). Several Jones' also lived around Roach's Mill and are thought to be related to Levi and Sarah Jones, the first Black settlers of Green Valley/Nauck.

As the U.S. adopted Reconstruction-era amendments to the constitution to ensure equality for all men, in 1869, a new Constitution was drafted for Virginia by "'aliens to the Commonwealth and newly emancipated slaves'" (O'Leary 2010:2). The new constitution established public schools, allowed all men to vote, made political positions elected rather than appointed, and created five constitutional county offices of Sheriff, Clerk of the Court, Commonwealth's Attorney, Commissioner of the Revenue, and Treasurer. Alexandria County was divided into three political districts, which were geographically equal but varied in population density. Washington District encompassed the least populated area to the northwest, Arlington District covered the middle, and Jefferson District captured the southeast as far south as 2nd Street in the present-day city. Enabled by the new constitution, the City of Alexandria opted to become independent of the county on May 1, partly to break away from a majority Black voting bloc. The first elections for Board of Supervisors were held in May and for Constitutional offices in November (ibid.; Bestebreurtje 2018:350).

White landowners W.E. Carter, James C. Roach, son of the Roach's Mill owner, and Thomas Sanborn, a landowner on the eastern edge of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, were appointed as Jefferson Township Judges of Election. Jefferson District population was over 50% African American, as it encompassed Petersburg (Cross Canal), Black-owned properties around Roach's Mill, Freedman's Village, as well as other Black neighborhoods and farms scattered amongst old plantations. As such, multiple Black representatives were elected, including William A. Rowe, a blacksmith who became the county's first Black Sheriff and Overseer of the Poor, while representing Jefferson District on the Board of Supervisors from 1871 to 1879. When Rowe moved to Green Valley/Nauck after the government closed Freedman's Village, he represented Arlington District from 1879 to 1883, and even served as Board Chairman from 1872 to 1883 as part of both districts. After his move, yet another African American, Travis Pinn, represented Jefferson District from 1879 to 1881. While these were historic elections, Black Americans soon faced Jim Crow era discriminatory policies that undermined Reconstruction amendments. After White residents saw how successful Black leaders were in the local elections in Alexandria, they enacted laws that disqualified multiple Black politicians, though they were fairly elected to County Clerk, Treasurer, and Sheriff (Rose 1976:127-130; Bestebreurtje 2018:350).

Amidst Reconstruction, in the summer of 1873, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported "Violent Storm. Portions of the city Flooded---Houses Undermined----Lives Endangered----Stock Drowned----Bridges and Culverts Washed Away---Damage to Property---Incidents of the Flood, &c ... at Four Mile Run" (18 Aug 1873). Still financially struggling after the war, in 1875, Alexandria County assigned maintenance of roads to local landowners to be supervised by four Surveyors of Road. Road District No. 2 began on the north side of Four Mile Run around Green Valley/Nauck and included Roach's Mill "to the Washington & Alexandria Turnpike so as to embrace persons for road labor on the old Roach farm South of 4 mile Run, Hatch's farm, John Buggott's, Miller's, Sam Buggotts, W? and Smith, Swanns, Sanborns and Hunter's farm East of the Railroad, Robbs, Brown's, Daingerfields and Slater's farm and all other persons not embraced in Districts No. 1 and 3" (Rose 1962:33).

On an 1878 map, which is somewhat askew compared to later maps, the only roads shown around Arlandria-Chirilagua were West Glebe Road parallel to the Washington and Ohio Railroad (W&O, successor of the AL&H) and the Old Georgetown Road as well as an unlabeled private road and ford from Arlington that dead ended at four buildings in the Roach's Mill neighborhood, owned by James Pierson, a Black farmer with one arm; A. Jenkins; Bowmanet and Cecelia Rothery, respectively from England and Ireland; and Mrs. Stefaw. Hampshire Fractious lived just southwest of these houses and the railroad tracks with his wife, a grown daughter, grandson, adopted son, niece, and an elderly pauper (USBC 1880). Belonging to William Brown, only one other building potentially lay in the neighborhood boundary to the east, while one other landowner, Mrs. Sanborn, widow of the appointed Judge of Elections, appeared to own the south end of the neighborhood (Figure 22).

While the electoral process was reformed so too were schools. Initially private, Columbia School on Columbia Pike in Arlington became public in 1871 for White children, while a school for Black children operated in Freedmen's Village. In 1875, African Americans in the south end of the county lobbied for the opening of one closer to their homes. Soon thereafter, the Kemper School opened in the A.M.E. Zion Church at the Convalescent Camp north of Four Mile Run, and in 1885, moved into a one-story, frame schoolhouse built on the land of White German immigrant J.D. Nauck in Green Valley/Nauck just across the West Glebe Road bridge from the Black-owned properties in and around Roach's Mill (see Figure 22). To the northeast of Four Mile Run, the county erected a grand Queen Anne style brick building known as Hume School (now the Arlington Historical Society) for White students in 1891. In 1893, the Black school at Green Valley/Nauck was replaced with a

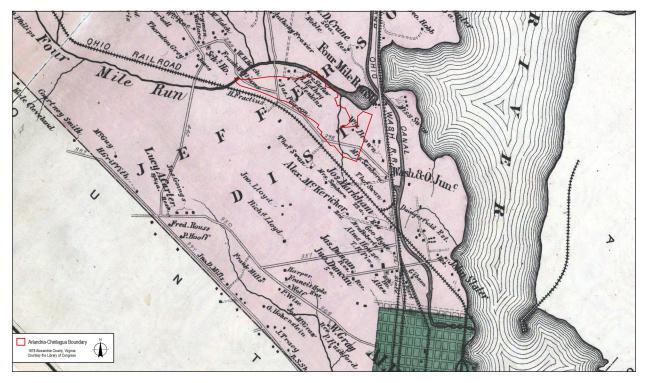


Figure 22. Part of 1878 Hopkins Map of Jefferson District of Alexandria County, Virginia, showing only five houses, labeled Jas. Pierson, A. Jenkins, B. Rothery, Mrs. Stefaw, and Wm. Brown and land belonging to Mrs. Sanborn (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

two-story, brick building to address the expansion of the community (Collins and Stewart 1989:27). As with all services, the state and county gave less money and attention to the Black schools, which relied heavily on contributions from within their community as well as White contributions.

HUME'S SPRING

At the end of the first full decade of Reconstruction, area citizens had begun to rebuild the local economy and their wealth. Born in Culpeper, Virginia, Frank Hume (1803-1906) was raised in present-day Old Town when his father joined the cabinet of pro-slavery President James Buchanan (a building in Presidential Gardens bears Buchanan's name), who served right before war broke out 1857 to 1861 (Figure 23). As a young Confederate veteran, Hume built upon his family's fortune working as a wholesale grocer in Washington, D.C. and married Emma Phillips Norris (1841-1931), daughter of a D.C. attorney and politician, in 1870. In 1879, they purchased a three-story, Italianate house in Alexandria, known as the Warwick Estate (now Warwick Village), which overlooked the Roach's Mill neighborhood, Potomac River, and District of Columbia beyond (*The Evening Star 6* Jan 1931:A-9; USBC 1880, 1900). While raising 11 children with the help of Black servants, they displayed a large collection of valuable Civil War relics and hosted elaborate Fourth of July parties for D.C. friends within the house and surrounding grounds in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (Hume 1903:153).

Largely covered by pavement today, a spring "discovered by soldiers during the war" drained northeast from Hume's property across the W&O, West Glebe Road, and into a swamp where Cora Kelly School and playfields are now (Wedderburn 1902). Near present-day Reed Avenue and Mount Vernon Avenue, which had not yet been paved on this alignment, Hume "went to the expense and trouble of handsomely fitting [the spring] for public use" with a circular pavilion topped by a conical dome (Figure 24; ibid.). The feature became "a place of constant resort in the proper seasons, and the waters [were] noted for medicinal qualities," a major attraction in many small streetcar villages of

the day (ibid.). Before his death in 1906, Frank Hume served three terms in the Virginia legislature, crafting Jim Crow-era laws and influencing regional transportation projects, which would increase the value of their land scattered on both sides of Four Mile Run in the Green Valley (Hume 1903:154; Wedderburn 1913). They included an intercity, commuter trolley line and modern-day Mount Vernon Avenue. During their tenure, residents transitioned from calling the area Roach's Mill to Hume's Spring, evident in various late twentieth century news articles and maps.

In 1894, Saint Elmo was subdivided immediately southeast of Hume's Spring (Figure 25). In 1896, a new White school opened in a house in that neighborhood while the county planned for the construction of a grand high school building at the site of today's Mount Vernon Community School for the White community in 1906 (ACPS 2020). Aside from the Hume's Spring Pavilion, the only major development within the actual bounds of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua by 1894 occurred where Presidential Green stands today between the White and Black parts of the neighborhood.





Figure 23. Confederate veteran Frank Hume (Hume 1903:310). Figure 24. A gathering at Hume's Spring Pavilion (Alexandria Library, Special Collections).

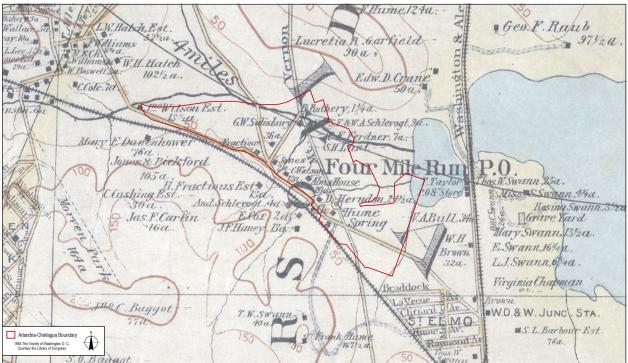


Figure 25. Part of 1894 Hopkins Map of Jefferson District of Alexandria County, Virginia, showing proposed Mount Vernon Avenue, not yet built, and 11 buildings with owner and acreage: Jno Wilson Est. (13 1/2 a.); Fractious; G.W. Salisbury (36 a.); James (2 a.); C. Watson (12 a.); Alms House (20 a.), D. Herndon (24 1/2 a.); Ch.; B. Rothery (1 1/4 a.); S.F. &W.A. Schlevogt (9 a.); C.F. Ferdner (7 a.); S.H. Lunt (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Hemmed in by the W&O and Four Mile Run and mostly out of sight of well-off White landowners, the site was selected by the County Board of Supervisors to erect an Alms House, otherwise known as a poorhouse (see Figure 25). While schools were segregated the poor were not. Of the 28 inmates enumerated in the 1900 U.S. census, 15 were White and 13 were Black. They included males and females between the ages of 13 and 95, though most were older. All but three were born in Virginia to parents native of Virginia. Two were from Ireland, and one was from Connecticut. The supervisor, William Smith, and his wife Harriett lived at the Alms House. Nine other buildings stood nearby.

Soon after construction of the Alms House, one of the first successful electrified trolley lines in the United States reached Hume's Spring. Completed between Mount Vernon and Alexandria in 1892, the dual-track Washington, Alexandria, and Mount Vernon Electric Railway was extended north in 1896, at which time the company co-located a stop with the existing W&O railroad station between Hume's Spring and Saint Elmo. To reach Washington, D.C., a long causeway, which is now Commonwealth Avenue, was constructed along the eastern edge of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua over the Four Mile Run swamp (Figure 26). The transportation project immediately attracted additional suburban development, leaving old farms and forests subject to sprawling subdivisions, entertainment venues, commercial centers, and community resources (Library of Virginia n.d.). St. Asaph's horse track and Luna Park, an elaborate amusement park with rides, shows, and circus acts, opened southeast and northeast of Hume's Spring respectively.

During the 1900 census, the Virginia Title Company published a unique map of the county, which showed owner names, acreage, and 18 long-lot survey parcels in Hume's Spring, subdivided to maximize access to transportation corridors: the "Southern (Wash & Ohio) Railway" roughly parallel to "Old Factory Road" (West Glebe Road) and "Georgetown Road" (also West Glebe); "Old Georgetown Road" crossing over Four Mile Run adjacent to Long Branch in present-day Arlington; "Mt. Vernon Avenue" (Old Dominion Boulevard); "Washington, Alexandria & Mt. Vernon Electric Railway" (Figure 27). Though there were 18 parcels and names on the title map, the 1900 U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) quadrangle only showed six buildings, and the census did not include all those names. Those enumerated were White and Black, Virginia natives and German immigrants, such as the Schlevogts who had a large family. African Americans Edward and Silvia Jones lived on one acre, approximately the location of LeBosquet Park, between the Watson's industrial property and the Fractiouses and rented rooms to two day laborers, a servant, and a teamster. Emma Hume and Helen M. Calvert, rather than their husbands Frank and George, owned much of the south end of present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua as well as the neighboring Warwick and Mount Auburn estates south of the tracks and west of Mount Vernon Avenue.

1905-1929: SEGREGATED SUBDIVISION OF THE COUNTY

Though White Virginians had maintained separate schools through statutes and were already successful in disenfranchising Black citizens through arbitrary local laws, they began to formalize many Jim Crow practices in the 1902 Constitution of Virginia, which created poll taxes and literacy tests for voters and officially required segregated public schools statewide. Between 1900 and 1904, legislation also enabled segregation on railroads and streetcars, which required special stops for reorganizing passengers crossing over from Washington, D.C. (Rose 1976). Not satisfied with discrimination in public places, White local leaders in neighboring Fairfax County proceeded to investigate how to take land from Black landowners to segregate communities better, an effort which was found unconstitutional when taken to court by local Black leaders (Henderson and Hussey 1965). Despite this win, in 1912, state legislation enabled Virginia municipalities to segregate new neighborhoods through zoning and restrictive covenants, a model copied widely around the United States (Rose 1976).



Figure 26. The Washington, Alexandria, and Mount Vernon Electric Railway on the causeway (now Commonwealth Avenue) built over the Four Mile Run marshlands (now Cora Kelly School and Four Mile Run Park) around 1896, looking towards present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (Alexandria Library, Special Collections).

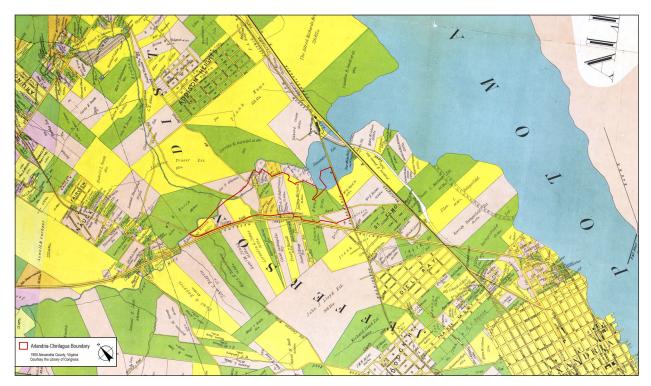


Figure 27. Part of 1900 Howell & Taylor, Strum, and Graham Map of Jefferson District of Alexandria County, Virginia, showing 18 parcels labeled with owner and acreage: Jno. Wilson (13.62 a); Saml M. Jones (55.23 a); Cornelia G. Jones (54.23 a); Hampshire Fractious (13 a); Geo. T. Klipstein (36.07 a); A.O. Travis (1.337 a); Edw. Jones (1 a); G.F.J.&W.A. Schlevogt (9.237 a of wetlands); Mary E. Brand (6 a); Chas. A. Watson (10.731 a); C.F. Fender (7.04 a of wetlands); Board of Supervisors (21.625 a); Dudley Herndon (24.612 a); Emma P. Hume (23.575 a and 25.75 a); Helen M. Calvert (10.17 a); Wm. A. Boyd, Tr (31.31 a); Chas. Alexander Est. (wetlands) (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

SUNNYSIDE, ALEXANDRIA COUNTY

In 1905, prompted by increasingly institutionalized segregation and limited homeownership opportunities, African American widow Laura Ware (or Wair) Watson (1831-1924) and her sons, Elbert, Benjamin Franklin "Frank," and Thomas Montgomery, platted the first subdivision in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua on the land she and her husband purchased for his Rag and Bone recycling business in 1870 (Figure 28). They named the community Sunnyside and the streets Charles for her deceased husband, Elbert for her oldest son, and Courtland (Lenox Place at Sunnyside 2020). After Charles death in the 1870s, Laura stayed in the Bottoms, working as a domestic servant, housing her aunt, and renting rooms to boarders at 518 Gibbon Street, while also sending her sons to the Black Snowden School for Boys, which operated from 1870 to 1915. Her youngest son, Montgomery, went a step farther than many of his peers in that era and graduated from Howard University Law School in 1903 (Howard University 1903:81; USBC 1870, 1880, and 1900). The neighborhood was slow to develop with only a few houses by 1915, but the introduction of restrictive covenants, cars, and modern roads would soon change that.



Figure 28. Relief of 1905 African American subdivision on memorial in HOA green space (Lenox at Sunnyside 2020).

During the early development of the streetcar suburbs, in 1907, the Citizens' Improvement Association of Jefferson District sent notices to landowners in the subdivisions of Del Ray, Saint Elmo, and Braddock Heights, proposing that a new town be bound by Russell Road on the west, the rails to the east, where Potomac Yard was completed in 1906, Braddock Heights southern line to the south, and Hume's Spring and Four Mile Run on the north (*The Evening Star* 23 May 1907:13). Perhaps due to the visual and physical barrier of the W&O and the electric railway, low owner occupancy, and/or lack of cohesive dense development, Hume's Spring was ultimately excluded when the Town of Potomac was established in 1908.

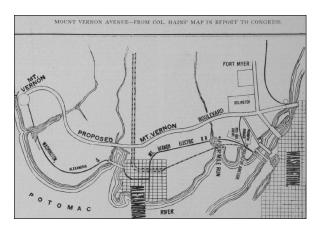
A grim side effect to an increase in population around these rail lines appeared to be an uptick in reports of pedestrian and vehicular accidents at crossings into Hume's Spring in *The Evening Star*, Local News. There appeared to be a fair number of renters with the Calverts and Humes often advertising their properties in both D.C. and county papers. Frank Hume partnered with William Reed, at various times advertising rental of a blacksmith shop and residence at Hume's Spring (*The Washington Times* 6 April 1904:11, 1907). George Calvert advertised a Hume's Spring property with an eight-room house, 40 acres, hogs, and chickens, indicating that despite the surrounding streetcar suburbs there were still substantial parcels able to support farms,

which would supply the city's markets (*Alexandria Gazette* 4 Oct 1911:4). Hume's Spring was also still rural enough in 1914 that it provided camping grounds for one of the earliest Boy Scout Troops in the U.S., Troop 51, who took a 14-mile hike around the city (a White organization founded six years earlier in England) (*The Washington Times* 4 Jan 1914:16). Their very existence was evidence of the effect of Progressive Era social welfare advocates and rapidly evolving ideas about education, recreation, and child labor in a society that had flipped from primarily sun-up-to-sun-down agriculture to clock-timed industry in a generation (Maas et al. 2019).

Before arrival of the electric railway and these early subdivisions, in 1886, M.B. Harlow, Treasurer of Alexandria, proposed that a new road lined with native plants and historic memorials be constructed from George Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon, described as America's Mecca, to the nation's capital. At this time, the Old Georgetown Road neared 150 years of age, and the Alexandria Turnpike had surpassed 75. The Mount Vernon Avenue Association was incorporated on February 18, 1890, and though the proposed corridor was shown on an 1894 map of Alexandria with a loop around Humes Spring Pavilion, it was not constructed due to scarce funding and the arrival of the electric railway on a similar route (see Figure 27). Instead, segments of older roads were renamed Mount Vernon in honor of George Washington, including a stretch in Hume's Spring, which is now Old Dominion Boulevard, and which crossed Four Mile Run just west of the high rise at 601 Four Mile Road. In 1900, the Mount Vernon Avenue Association was revived with Harlow representing Alexandria City on the Board of Directors and Frank Hume representing Alexandria County (Wedderburn 1913). On March 2, 1902, a half page promotional was taken out in *The Washington Times*, describing the proposed roads and existing landmarks, Arlington Cemetery, Historic Hume's Spring, Christ Church in Ancient Alexandria, Washington's Masonic Lodge, and others. Each state would be assigned a segment of the road, which would be a symbol of the Union (Wedderburn 1902).

Plans stalled again, but in 1911, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Office of Public Roads entered into an agreement with the Alexandria County Board of Supervisors to assume the experimental maintenance of "country earth roads", including "Mount Vernon Avenue Road" (Old Dominion Boulevard) from Arlington Cemetery to "the old race track at St. Asaphs" immediately south of Saint Elmo (Page 1912:35). Before the Federal Highway Administration (FHA) was created in 1949, the USDA was the natural agency to deal with federal and state cooperative roads, as farmers delivering produce from rural to urban areas and railroad freight stations were the vast majority of drivers. The study noted that the section through present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua was still a primary route to and from Washington and during a traffic count over three days in March recorded 269 horse drawn wagons of varying types with varying loads and one "motor runabout" (ibid.). During the study, the patrolman lay new gravel at the Four Mile Run Bridge and filled multiple depressions along the road due to severe flooding (ibid.:37).

In 1913, the experiment on patrolling country roads continued on "through the village of Nauck... thence along the Old Factory Road [now West Glebe Road in Arlandria-Chirilagua] to its junction with the South Mount Vernon Road, south of Fourmile Run" (Page 1913:8). In the meantime, the Mount Vernon Avenue Association began campaigning again and published a full pamphlet of the history of the idea (Figures 29-30). It restated its case, illustrating existing "Historic and Beautiful Points of Interest," including Arlington Cemetery, noted for having both Union and Confederate and Black and White soldiers buried there, Frank Hume's Warwick Estate and Springs, and "the rapidly growing suburbs of Alexandria" citing Mt. Ida and Saint Elmo (Wedderburn 1913). It outlined proposed new landmarks, such as a Lincoln Memorial connected to Robert E. Lee's Arlington House by a Memorial Bridge, as a symbol of reconciliation between the Union and the Confederacy. The association's plans were in



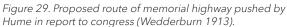




Figure 30. Existing landmarks along the proposed road and memorial highway (Wedderburn 1913).

step with the ongoing Good Roads Movement, which was supported by farmers, cyclists, and motorists, and the City Beautiful Movement, whose boulevards and public art exclusively celebrated and benefited White suburbs in an increasingly segregated and racially hostile country. In 1913 during Congressional debates over funding, liberal House Minority Leader James Robert Mann (Illinois) supported the proposed road and monuments to Union and Confederate leaders, noting, "There were patriots on both sides" (ibid.).

Ultimately, the core of Harlow's original vision came to fruition in the George Washington Memorial Parkway, which was not approved and constructed until the 1930s, bypassing Hume's Spring in favor of a route closer to the river much like the results of the turnpike debate in the early nineteenth century; however, the alignment and the name that Harlow and Hume boosted was constructed by the USDA in partnership with Alexandria County. With the Good Roads Movement's increasing influence, the USDA abandoned maintenance of old dirt roads by patrolmen in favor of testing dozens of different kinds of asphalt in various states on new straightened alignments, which did not necessarily follow topography as historic roads had. They included two newly surveyed routes in Hume's Spring, Russell Road and the current alignment of Mount Vernon Avenue north of Saint Elmo, constructed between 1915 and 1916. The "Mount Vernon Avenue Experimental Road" included stretches of "fluxed native asphalt" and "oil asphalt" and a long bridge over a swampy stretch of Four Mile Run (Page 1915:3, 12). After approximately 170 years in service, the Old Georgetown Road was removed before the new road was completed; however, Old Mount Vernon Avenue and its bridge to present-day Lang Street remained. Three dead end private roads also extended north off West Glebe, including Elbert Avenue. At the time, 18 unlabeled buildings stood among multiple streams and wetlands (Figure 31).

Upon completion of the new Mount Vernon "highway" and others like it, people abandoned the rails in favor of free schedules and personal space (Figure 32). Established to lobby for good roads in 1902, AAA facilitated the new sport of recreational driving, creating triptychs, like what Colles envisioned over a century before, which followed highways named for the dominant culture's heroes and landmarks (*The Washington Herald* 22 Apr 1917). After the U.S. began to devote transportation funds almost entirely to auto roads and Americans fell in love with cars, railroads and electric trolley lines suffered, each going through multiple mergers in attempts to stay viable. In 1913, Washington, Alexandria, and Mount Vernon Electric Railway merged with the Washington, Arlington, and Falls Church to become the Washington-Virginia Railway. Within two decades, it shuttered and became Commonwealth Avenue (Library of Virginia n.d.). Partly because it connected to the major North-South rail hub of Potomac Yard constructed east of

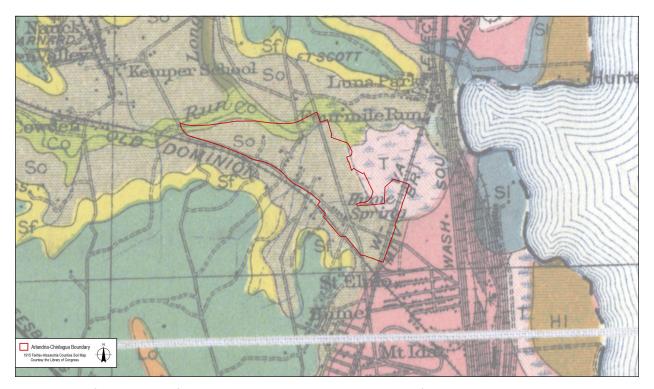


Figure 31. Part of 1915 Soil Map of Alexandria County, Virginia, showing the removal of the mid-eighteenth century Old Georgetown Road, location of Old Mount Vernon Avenue (Old Dominion Boulevard), and addition of the Experimental Mount Vernon Avenue.

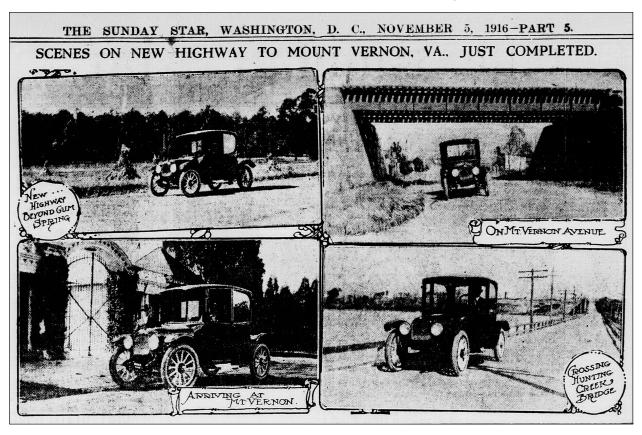


Figure 32. Mount Vernon Avenue after its completion in 1916, including car driving under the W&O bridge from present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua, where a small frame building can be seen (The Evening Star 5 Nov 1916).

Hume's Spring in 1906 and partly because it pivoted to electric and then diesel, the W&O fared better than other lines would, carrying passengers until the 1940s and freight until 1965.

HUME'S SPRING & SAINT ELMO SECTION 2, ARLINGTON COUNTY

The engineering advances and city planning reform that inspired transportation improvements also transformed neighborhood planning. As noted, municipalities were enabled by the state to zone according to race in 1912, though the city never adopted the practice, because of the history of domestic and industrial help living so close to if not with enslavers pre Civil War and employers post Civil War. Deed restrictions were adopted in the city and county however, and in 1914, Alexandria County established an office for an engineer to review subdivision applications. As development rapidly spread across the Green Valley, in 1920, the county changed its name to Arlington to avoid confusion with the city and started to provide electricity, water, and sewer lines to many of the White subdivisions, a service that only a few private developers were offering before then. These amenities would not reach Black communities in the county or city until at least the 1940s as was the case with Sunnyside (Rose 1967:14; Bah 2020).

African Americans began to infill Sunnyside at this time with around 16 families living in bungalows and American foursquares on spacious lots by the 1920s and 30s. Sunnyside's developer Laura Watson continued to live at 518 Gibbon Street, which still stands today. Having retired from housekeeping by 1910, she lived alone mortgage free until her death in 1924. Her youngest son, Attorney Montgomery Watson (1873-1933), and his wife Emma (1879-1953) moved from the Bottoms to Sunnyside before 1920, at which time, their address was West Glebe Road, Green Valley, Virginia (USBC 1910, 1920; Thomas M Watson, Virginia, U.S., Death Records, 1912-2014). In addition to the Watsons, early residents of Sunnyside included "Houston G. Brooks, Amelia A. Weaver, Warren M. Wair, Gilbert Z. Sloan, Emma Simmons, Jesse Johnson, and Theodore E. Lee," who was a porter (Bah 2020). The Lee house had "large front and back yards; two living rooms; dining room and kitchen; three bedrooms; and an outhouse (bathroom was added in the house in 1949)" (ibid.). Most came from Virginia, but William Parker, a U.S. veteran, and Jesse Johnson moved to the region from Georgia and North Carolina during a period known as the Great Migration (1916-1970), which saw millions of African Americans leave the rural South for jobs in the North (USBC 1930). Many worked on the railroad or in private houses, and some in offices and stores. When Montgomery died in 1933, Emma Watson remained in their home until her death in 1953. They share a tombstone with Charles and Laura Watson at the Washington Street United Methodist Church Cemetery in the south end of the city. She had no heirs, and the house no longer stands, however, many segregation era houses survive on Elbert Avenue.

As Sunnyside became more populated, Emma P. Hume, widow of Frank, and Helen Chapman Calvert, the single heiress of George and Helen M. Calvert, developed their neighboring properties to the southeast for White families only, evident in city directories. Hume created Reed Avenue with a dead end south of the Hume's Spring Pavilion and marshland and advertised lots for sale on one large block between Reed and West Glebe Road in the Washington Evening Star and Alexandria Gazette (29 Mar 1921:6). By summer, Calvert created Helen, Leadbetter, and Herbert Streets and began advertising "50x115 lots for sale in Saint Elmo, Section 2" directing inquiries to "Miss Calvert" (Alexandria Gazette 8 Jul 1921:7). Buyers quickly erected modest, middle-class bungalows and commenced holding joint neighborhood improvement meetings by 1922 (The Evening Star 2 May 1922:2). While neo-traditional rowhouses have popped up, Calvert's subdivision remains somewhat intact. Meanwhile, the Hume bungalows were demolished and replaced with mid-century car lots and fast food restaurants as well as the 1951 curvilinear community of rowhouses that stands today.

Of note, Emma Hume subdivided this community while in her 80s towards the end of a long career in real estate and business investment, which she maintained while household servants helped raise her children. Even before Frank Hume's death, she was the sole owner of numerous properties in Washington, D.C., appearing in the business pages of *The Evening* Star as early as 1881 and labeled as the owner of the Warwick Estate in 1900 (USBC 1910; see Figure 27). Also engaged in philanthropy, she worked with The Church of Epiphany to incorporate the Episcopal Eye, Ear, and Throat Hospital for patients of all creeds and color in 1897 and served on the Board of Lady Managers as well as honorarily on its regular board and that of Garfield Hospital (both merged into present-day MedStar Washington). After Frank Hume's death in 1906, Emma Hume retained Warwick Estate (demolished in the 1960s) but returned to live in the District of Columbia by 1910. By this time, the Hume's Spring Pavilion was considered a memorial to the Confederate, preserved east of the new Mount Vernon boulevard (Figure 33; The Evening Star 7 Oct 1917). Tying her to the future mid-century theme of the neighborhood, she "attended private presidential receptions of every President from Buchanan to Coolidge" and was "one of the last persons living to have an interview with President Lincoln" while in her early 20s (The Evening Star 6 Jan 1931:A-9).

The single heiress of a prominent local family, Helen Chapman Calvert lived immediately north of Emma Hume's Warwick Estate in a house known as Mount Auburn (now the parking lot of 3201 Landover Street). She provided some of its land for a county water reservoir next to W&O tracks as development demanded it (OHA 2010). A women's rights activist, historian, and writer, she recruited through the League of Women Voters founded in 1920 after the vote was won, fund raised for George Washington's home parish, Christ Church, and was a prominent member and officer of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), an organization responsible for many memorials, sometimes of questionable agenda during the national ascent of the Ku Klux Klan (Figure 34; Evening Star 7 Oct 1917). A descendant of the Alexanders, Washingtons, and the Calverts (Lord Baltimore) who established Maryland, she also facilitated the expansion of Potomac Yard by hiring an attorney in 1916 and attending negotiations with the Pennsylvania Railroad to have some of the earliest Alexander graves moved from their original site at Preston Plantation near the mouth of Four Mile Run. Overseeing the dig and reinternment in September 1922, she described the representative of the railroad as splendid and his labor as "a gang of ten darkies," who put the exhumed bones on a W&O freight car bound for Pohick Cemetery (Calvert 1933:249). Both incredibly progressive in terms of women's rights, Calvert and Hume were both also deeply entrenched in the systemic racism that had benefited their families for generations.

Sunnyside, Hume's Spring, and Saint Elmo Section 2 were the only single-family home subdivisions ever developed in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua (Figure 35). After they were platted, a few houses stood on the large parcels to the west of Sunnyside. Around half a dozen buildings, including a filling station, were constructed in a row on the south side of West Glebe Road, between Russell Road and Mount Vernon Avenue. Houses were scattered on either side of Mount Vernon Avenue in what is now the main street area north of West Glebe, and about a dozen houses were erected in a row on the west side of Mount Vernon Avenue south of West Glebe. Just as they were completed, in 1922, Alexandria City Council for the first time passed a comprehensive ordinance for cleaning streets and handling trash and planned for its first consolidated city dump. Because it was "convenient for hauling [and] far enough removed... that any odor will not be objectionable," they selected the Four Mile Run marshlands between Mount Vernon and present-day Commonwealth Avenues, not yet realizing the damage that modern industry and waste would do to America's air and water (Alexandria Gazette 22 Sep 1922:4). Typically, objectionable only applied to middle-to-upper-



Figure 33. Memorial to Confederate veteran Frank Hume, husband of Emma, a D.C. philanthropist and developer of Hume's Spring bungalows (razed by 1951). It stood on northeast corner of Reed and Mount Vernon Avenue until 1955 (The Evening Star 7 Oct 1917).

Figure 34. Mrs. Susan Pearson Alexander Calvert and Miss Helen Chapman Calvert, local heiress, suffragist, and developer of Saint Elmo Section 2 in present-day south Arlandria-Chirilagua (The Evening Star 7 Oct 1917).

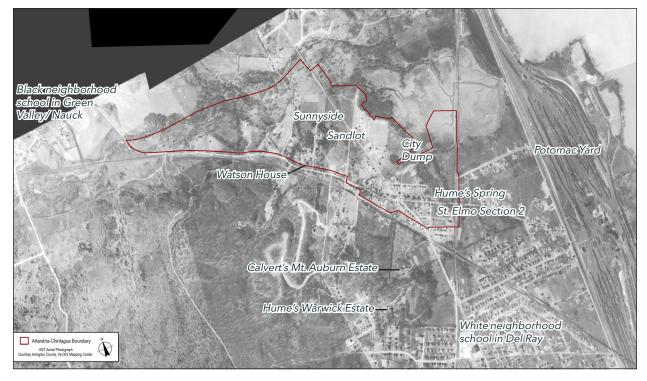


Figure 35. Part of 1927 Jefferson District, Arlington County, Virginia, showing the earliest subdivisions, Sunnyside (Black), Hume's Spring and Saint Elmo Section 2 (both White), other community resources, and subdivision developers' houses (USGS).

income residents with the site being fairly close to the new White working-class neighborhoods and older Black-owned properties. A perennial target of public infrastructure projects, these two socio-economic groups continue to carry the bulk of the nation's environmental burden. Up until the 1920s, like many cities, trash was burned on the few remaining farms and in yards or dumped in abandoned infrastructure such as the Alexandria Canal and empty lots, including one bound by Royal, Pitt, Gibbon, and Franklin streets near the Black neighborhood of Petersburg (Maas et al. 2019; *Alexandria Gazette* 21 Dec 1909:3).

With passage of the ordinance, residents had to put dry garbage, including "combustible materials, cans, glass, in fact, all trash except cinders and ashes" for fear of fire into "covered galvanized iron cans" and put them in alleys or curbs on designated days two days a week (*Alexandria Gazette* 22 Sep 1922:4). The ordinance also established a complaint system and created jobs for a supervisor and crew, who traveled with a trash cart pulled by a horse or multiple mules, and yardman who turned the waste in layers. Unlike Charles Watson's rag and bone recycling business, which left little to waste, trash was dumped directly into the Four Mile Run marsh, kicking off the most intense period of environmental degradation and flooding on record in the Hume's Spring neighborhood. When talk of a memorial parkway separate from Mount Vernon Avenue arose again that year, the *Alexandria Gazette* lobbied for its need based on the ugly state of the seven-year old avenue from Mount Vernon to D.C. and the electric railway, citing the St. Asaph race track, the marshland "recently" taken up as a city dump, and old barns around the USDA experimental farm near Arlington Cemetery (*Alexandria Gazette* 13 Jan 1922:4).

Amidst a decade of infrastructure and residential development, between the Watson's subdivision and the Calvert's and Hume's, the poorhouse was demolished and replaced with the neighborhoods first known entertainment and recreation venue, a semi-professional Negro league ball diamond, both actions representative of the effects of the Progressive Era social welfare movement (Figure 36). Already a national past time, Civil War soldiers were said to have played some form of baseball in their camps, and integrated, if not contentious games, appeared in late nineteenth-century sports pages. After segregation on the fields was more strictly enforced, in 1901, the White-only American League and one of its teams, Washington Senators, were established. The White minor league Alexandria Cardinals followed in the 1910s. The first of seven major leagues for African Americans was not established until 1920. Covering the region, the Eastern Colored League and the independent Washington Potomacs team both formed in 1923. A year later, the Senators won the White World Series, and the Potomacs joined the Eastern Colored League, however, moved to Wilmington, Delaware a year later where they had more support (BR Bullpen 2020).

With fewer opportunities at the national level, semi-professional Black teams flourished at the local level. The earliest known in Alexandria County was The Old Virginia Blues who played each Sunday near Arlington Junction as of 1910 (Blitz 2020). The earliest known references to the Hume Spring Nine or Diamonders appeared in the spring and fall of 1926, one headline announcing, "Sandlot Clashes Today May Determine Titles" (The Evening Star 25 Apr 1926:3; 12 Sep 1926:3). The 1930 season included players Curtis, Godfrey, Von Dike, and Ted Mills and Manager Roberts (Figure 37; The Evening Star 7 Jun 1930:B8). By the 1930s, the Virginia White Sox and the Green Valley Black Sox frequently played just down the road at the Green Valley Ball Park, which was on Black-owned private property, now part of Jennie Dean Park at 3630 27th Street South in Arlington (Figure 38; Blitz 2020).

Appearing side-by-side with White national sports headlines such as the Triple Crown horse races, they and their semi-professional rivals were described as sandlotters. The Black press

used this term to differentiate them from the professional Negro league teams; however anti-integration White press also used the term pejoratively for professional Black players, such as the Potomacs, to highlight "the widespread lack of physical home fields" and imply that they were inferior, athletically and professionally, to White pro teams even as they frequently displayed greater skill on the field (Trembanis 2006:50). During Jim Crow, many semi-pro and pro Black baseballers felt the act of playing the great American past time was a form of activism and resistance, helping to establish a larger Black presence in their neighborhoods and news, while providing a "counter-narrative of Black racial equality and superiority" in their hometowns and on the road (ibid.:x). The massive White development of



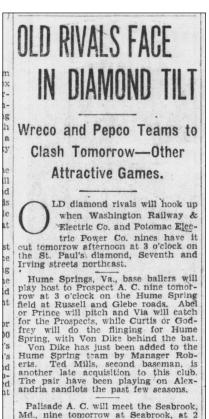




Figure 36. Part of 1927 Jefferson District, Arlington County, Virginia, showing from left to right Old Mount Vernon Road (Old Dominion Boulevard), Elbert Avenue in the Black subdivision Sunnyside, the Negro league Hume Spring Nine baseball sandlot (now Presidential Greens), and Russell Road and Mount Vernon Avenue created in 1915 (USGS).

Figure 37. One of many columns from the 1920s through 1940s covering the semi-professional Negro league baseball teams, including Hume Spring (The Evening Star 7 Jun 1930).

Figure 38. Virginia White Sox established in 1930s became one of Hume Spring Nine's rivals (Courtesy of Arlington County Public Library, Local History Center). Presidential Gardens, designed in the dominant White style reminiscent of plantations, wiped out the Hume Spring Nine's ball field in 1937; however, they continued to play as part of the Old Dominion League, going up against the Virginia White Sox at "Washington Stadium," Arlington Dodgers at Baily's Crossroads, and the Maryland Wildcats in the 1940s and 1950s (*The Evening Star* 26 Jun 1939:A-14; 13 Sep 1942:C-3; 10 Aug 1947:B-3; 3 Jun 1951:A-22). By 1948, Sandlot Baseball was described as a bygone era from 35 years prior, largely affected by their location on private land, which was redeveloped as land value skyrocketed, as well as the integration of the sport by Jackie Robinson in 1947 (*The Evening Star* 24 Mar 1948:A-17).

1929-1964: CITY OF ALEXANDRIA ANNEXATION & SUBURBANIZATION

In its early development, the town had annexed relatively small segments of land from Fairfax and Alexandria County and retained a stable boundary from when it became an independent city in 1870 until March 1915 and December 1929 (Figure 39). Unsatisfied with the 866 acres acquired in 1915, the city began to pursue annexation of over 2,500 more acres, including the Town of Potomac, the city dump, Hume's Spring, and Sunnyside, to alleviate overcrowding and cope with inadequate sewage and transportation issues. Winning their case in December 1929, the city had reasoned that it would plan neighborhoods, streets, and other infrastructure in a more orderly fashion than the county, though Arlington employed an overseer of subdivisions and would maintain much of the sewer and water in the city's north end for decades to come. Annexed land contained a health center, fire station, and the county's only White high school, George Mason High School, built at 2500 Mount Vernon Avenue south of Hume's Spring in 1925. After annexation in 1929, Sunnyside students shifted from Green Valley/Nauck area schools to Parker-Gray School established in 1920 at 901 Wythe Street with eight grades for Black students. Though the county was compensated for

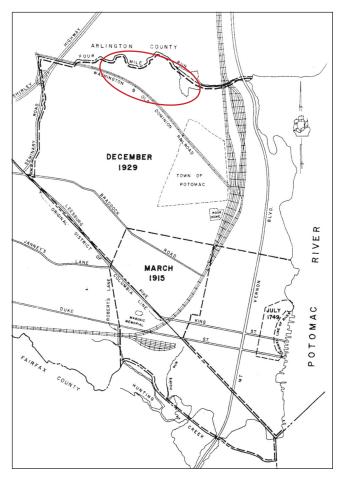


Figure 39. Areas annexed by City of Alexandria from Arlington County in 1915 and 1929 (Rose1967).

such public amenities, they felt the deal was theft and insured that Alexandria could never annex land again (Rose 1967:14). Over the next few decades, additional issues arose over the use of Four Mile Run as the boundary, as the channel moved and meandered naturally and artificially, undoubtedly affected by the dump, the increased use of impervious pavement for roads and parking lots, and the loss of the last remnants of farms and undeveloped lots. The jurisdictions worked cooperatively to control increased flooding in the face of rapid development and resolved the boundary issue in 1965 (ibid.:18).

Contributing to overcrowding, the workforce required for the United States' entry into World War I (1914-1918) in 1917 had provoked a threefold increase in population in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Stalled by the Great Depression of the 1920s, the population began another quick ascent after the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933. During his first and second term between 1933 and 1939, President Roosevelt enacted a series of relief programs known as the New Deal, which created high-quality, middle-income jobs. To address housing shortages and rising rents created by these jobs, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was created by his administration in 1934 to insure the mortgages of thousands of projects throughout the U.S. In its efforts to create cost effective yet attractive, permanent housing, the FHA had a lasting effect on the landscape, including privately funded developments, which emulated the FHA's architecture, landscape designs, and racial restrictions (Moffett 2002; Trieschmann and Schoenfeld 2011).

Between 1934 and 1962, 98 percent of FHA loans were given to White borrowers. In 1937, the FHA graded D.C. metropolitan neighborhoods A through H as a basis for how it would handle lending and, in 1940, advised that "where there is any possibility of [Negro] infiltration, application for insurance should be rejected" (Schonfeld 2020). A through E applied to varying degrees of good White neighborhoods (central Alexandria). F applied to primarily commercial and older sections that were "showing effects of negro occupancy... rapidly tending to become slums," including present-day Old Town because it never adopted segregation zoning practices (Schoenfeld 2020; FHA 1937:19-26). G was the lowest grade for properties designated for White use, chosen for areas with "scattered uncontrolled developments... and no homogeneity of property design or racial grouping," and H was applied to housing developed for or built by African Americans; their "only possible future" was to "be razed and new planned subdivisions instituted in their place" (ibid.). In 1939, the Alexandria Housing Authority (now known as Alexandria Housing and Redevelopment Authority or ARHA) was created to oversee slum clearance and assist in the creation of new affordable housing. Oddly, the FHA lumped Sunnyside with new neighboring White development south of the tracks and graded it C. The rest of the area with its long and layered history of industry and working-class White occupancy was lumped into a larger area, including Potomac Yard and graded G. The marshlands, not yet filled, were not included. ARHA would not become involved in the neighborhood for several more decades.

In Arlington County, to which Sunnyside and Hume's Spring residents were still more sociogeographically connected, 176 new apartment buildings or complexes, both FHA and privately backed, were constructed between 1934 and 1954; they included two Colonial Revival buildings on 22nd Street South in nearby Green Valley/Nauck (Moffett 2002). Despite excellent rail and road accessibility, Hume's Spring was still sparsely populated before the New Deal era, likely due to its industry, flood plains, and location on what might have been called the wrong side of the tracks. As noted, the Alms House, which accounted for the most density, was already demolished by 1926, and the subdivisions of Sunnyside, Hume's Spring, and Saint Elmo Section 2 still had many empty lots in the 1930s (Figure 40).

In the spring of 1937, the population of the neighborhood skyrocketed almost overnight. After functioning as a Negro league baseball diamond for over ten years, the parcel east of Sunnyside was developed by the Hechinger family in two phases into the neighborhood's first garden apartment complex, Presidential Gardens, as somewhat of a monument to the Executive Branch of the United States Government and to the New Deal (Figure 41). The George Washington, the main building on Mount Vernon Avenue, was designed in the Federal-era, Classical Revival style adorned with Corinthian columns that were transported to

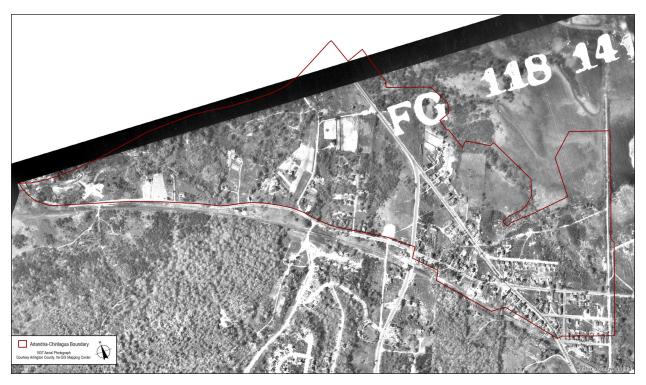


Figure 40. Part of 1937 USGS aerial of City of Alexandria, Virginia, showing sparse development, just before Negro league Hume Spring Nine sandlot was redeveloped into Presidential Gardens for White residents.

the site from the second-term, inauguration stand of the man largely responsible for the area's growth, President Roosevelt (Figure 42; Presidential Gardens Memorial Plaque). Held in the winter of 1937, his second inauguration was the first ever to occur on January 20. His third and fourth terms resulted in election reform to limit the office to two terms.

The other 21, U-plan buildings were nearly identical with brick veneer, white woodwork, and flat roofs and were named for a variety of other presidents (see Figure 41). Each building had a semi-private courtyard and ample bay parking on both sides of Executive Avenue, which was far wider than historic roads, designed with car commuters in mind, and named for the branch of government being celebrated (Figure 43). While the Classical Revival style was a symbol of democracy to the European American population, it may have been a symbol of oppression to African Americans, as it not only recalled Federal-era government but also the style of old plantations. After Presidential Gardens completion, the social section of Arlington's *Daily Sun* regularly reported on the complex's White newlywed and single residents and travels. Notably, the Alexandria city papers did not cover the area for over 20 more years. Highlighting public service and national pride, the project would set a tone for everything built for the White community in Hume's Spring over the next 20 years.

Development applications for more garden apartments, most of which were privately funded, trickled in over the course of the next three decades. In December of 1939, Beverley Plaza Gardens (now Potomac Village ACHC) on the newly constructed Bruce Street was advertised in the *Evening Star* in Washington, D.C. as a privately funded, racially "restricted," carefree perfect place to live (Figure 44). The eight Art Moderne influenced, brick veneer buildings boasted many amenities and were each named for historical figures important in U.S. history (see Figure 41). All but one recognized women: Barbara Fitchie (Unionist in American Civil War), Mary Lee (Confederate in American Civil War), Grace Coolidge (30th First Lady), Dolly

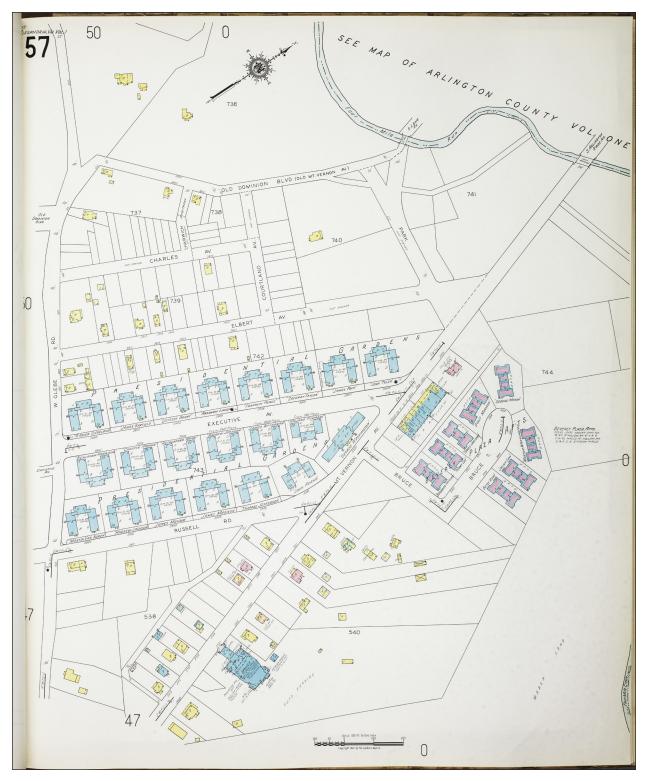


Figure 41. Page 51 of 1941 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Alexandria, Independent Cities, Virginia, showing African American Sunnyside subdivided 1905, Presidential Gardens constructed 1937, Beverley Gardens Plaza apartments and Shopping Center constructed 1939 on Bruce Street, and the 1940 Vernon Theatre.

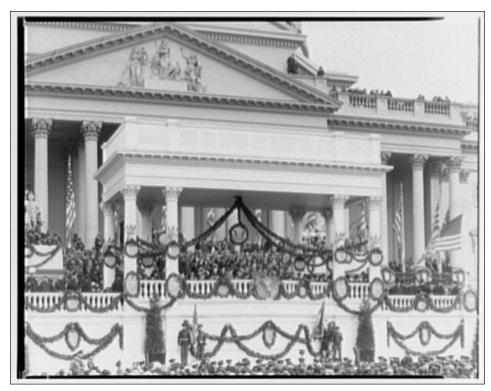


Figure 42. Second Inauguration of President Franklin Roosevelt on January 20, 1937 by Theodor Horydczak. Columns were transported to Presidential Gardens and installed on the front of the George Washington Building on Mount Vernon Avenue, according to a plaque on the facade (Courtesy of the Library of Congress).



Figure 43. Presidential Gardens Garden Apartments, looking north on Executive Avenue "The phenomenal growth of Alexandria was due to its apartment developments of which there are more than twenty with a combined number of apartments that exceed 5,000. Presidential Gardens, Number of Apartments 388" (Alexandria 1949).

Madison (4th First Lady), George Mason (Father of the U.S. Bill of Rights), Martha Washington (1st First Lady), Juliette Low (Founder of Girl Scouts of the United States), and Betsy Ross (Seamstress credited with sewing first U.S. flag in 1776). Its advertisement read:

Nowhere else in Greater Washington can be found such low rentals in an exclusive restricted neighborhood. You'll be amazed; your friends will envy your good address. Because it's not a so-called Government sponsored low rental project. It is privately owned, privately built and privately financed, yet lower in rental and much more in living Comfort than any other Apartment dwelling in or about Washington.

Here's the proof-Just 10 minutes' drive or by fast bus transportation to most Government offices, or the heart of Washington's shopping center. Off of the main highway, away from the noise, dirt, smoke and traffic usually surrounding an Apartment residential area. Every possible convenience plus the foremost added feature, the Bendix Laundry unit installed in every kitchen. NUFSAID, you'll have to see for yourself that it'll be a pleasure to live in Beverley Plaza Gardens.

Beverley Realty Corp. projected superiority over "so-called Government sponsored low rental projects," advertising that the complex was better than the FHA-funded competition and sharing all of the contractors that made the project possible. Around the same time, between



Figure 44. Advertisement for the racially restricted Beverley Plaza Gardens (Potomac Village ACHC) on Bruce Street (The Evening Star 3 Dec 1939).

its alley and Presidential Gardens, Beverley Plaza Shopping Center opened on Mount Vernon Avenue to serve the two complexes (see Figure 41).

The next year, regional movie house mogul Louis Bernheimer hired architect John J. Zink to design the Streamline Moderne Vernon Theatre, completed in front of the present-day Birchmere amidst 14 single-family houses, later converted into businesses (see Figure 41 and Figure 45). One of seven White theaters in 1949, it served its immediate neighborhood with one screen, 980 seats and air conditioning, still a rare luxury that attracted viewers to even the worst of movies; the Carver and the Capital Theatres near present-day Old Town served the city's entire Black community (Alexandria 1949:30). In keeping with the presidential theme of the burgeoning neighborhood, the first movie shown was *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, a story that followed him leaving Kentucky until he was elected sixteenth President of the United States (Figure 46). Of course, one of the buildings at Presidential Gardens (3806 Executive Avenue) bears his name (Cinema Treasures 2020; Turner Studio 1941).

From the outset of this period of intense development, as noted, older historically Black neighborhoods were threatened. In addition to FHA-backed slum clearance, local, state, and federally funded infrastructure projects, unprecedented in scale, continued to target or indirectly effect these areas (Figure 47). Specifically, in Arlington and Alexandria, two major Federal projects leading up to World War II (1939-1945) furthered the need for modern highways and more housing options. At the end of prohibition in 1938, President Roosevelt appropriated funds for the building of National Airport to the northeast of Hume's Spring, which commenced during his third term in 1941, and the War Department, dispersed in buildings around D.C., ran out of room. Debated, planned, and funded rather quickly, construction of the Pentagon also began in 1941 on a large site where Freedmen's Village, another Black community, and the area's earliest airport stood in succession (Vogel 2007).

In addition, construction of Shirley Highway from the Pentagon construction site to Fort Belvoir by the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) in 1941 created an imposing



Figure 45. Vernon Theatre at 3707 Mount Vernon Avenue west of the present-day Birchmere (Turner Studio 1941 on Cinema Treasures 2020).

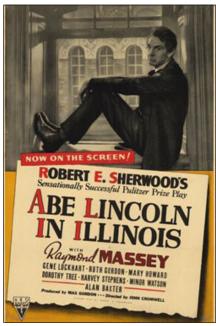


Figure 46. Abe Lincoln in Illinois poster, first feature shown (Creative Commons).

state-funded barrier between Sunnyside and Green Valley/Nauck to which it had been connected for over 70 years (see Figure 47). All three 1941 projects would also contribute to inflation in Black neighborhoods.

Just east of the new highway, a year later, Virginia Electric and Power Co. (VEPCo, now Dominion Energy) constructed a service yard, which was the only major wartime development within the neighborhood's current boundary (it would add a substation at the corner of Commonwealth and Reed Avenue the next decade). Adding to the barrier between the two nearby Black communities, this site was situated across from the W&O railroad line, where it co-located transmission lines to power the rapidly expanding suburbs to the west. Though one story with a flat roof and industrial in nature, the building was constructed with a brick veneer and Classical Revival half-domed portico, illustrative of the depth of the region's conservative taste in architecture and commitment to the style favored by Virginia's founding fathers (Figure 48). While many Black and integrated enclaves disappeared amidst midtwentieth century urban renewal, places like the pre-Civil War Bottoms, the post-Civil War Uptown/Parker-Gray, and Green Valley/Nauck did manage to survive and often thrive, catering to the social needs of Black residents in scattered communities like Sunnyside with private clubs, theaters, shops, and schools during the last decades of imposed segregation.

Despite an ongoing housing shortage toward the end of World War II, in 1944, the Alexandria Planning Commission felt that the city was saturated with apartment buildings and noted that rowhouses did not generate enough tax revenue to educate the children that lived in them (Reft 2013). The FHA and private developers also shifted focus towards single-family homes for war veterans and, more specifically in the D.C. metropolitan area, an influx of Cold War and Space Race industry workers; however, Hume's Spring was now positioned by Shirley Highway, the Pentagon, and the airport, and had a low FHA grade, making it ideal for

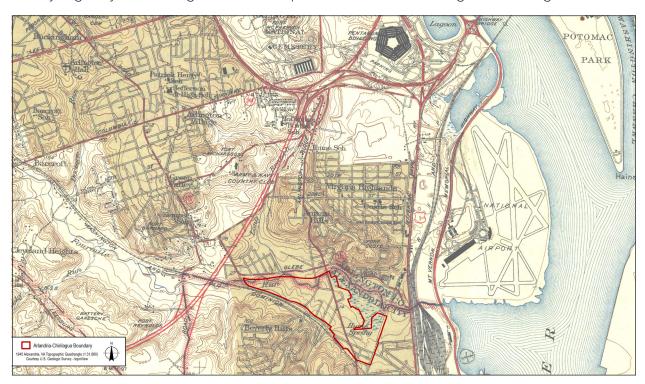


Figure 47. Part of 1945 USGS map, showing Pentagon, National Airport, and Shirley Highway, all constructed near Hume's Spring in 1941.

additional apartments. Already underway, in 1945, Beverley Park Gardens was completed with 20 rectangular, Art Moderne influenced apartment buildings on the new Nota Bene Drive and Four Mile Road, radiating from Old Dominion Boulevard (since renamed from Old Mount Vernon Avenue; Figure 49). As had others, the developer picked a distinctly American theme for the complex, naming each building for a state, perhaps as a marketing gimmick to attract government workers moving to the city from each of those states. Backing up to the complex, three individually owned U-shaped buildings were completed around the same time on Elbert Avenue, which was converted from a dead end to a through street to Four Mile Road to accommodate Greene Apartments, Elbert Apartments, and Dixie Gardens, which likely appealed to Southerners (see Figure 49).

The only garden apartment complex currently known to be backed by the FHA in the neighborhood, Dominion Gardens (Eaton Square), was completed a year later in 1946 (see Figure 49). While the buildings were not assigned names, Dominion referred to what the British called Virginia in colonial times, and the streets were named for Italian cities, a source

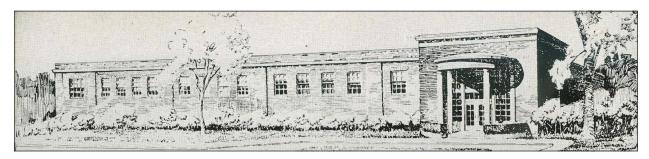


Figure 48. VEPCo. (now Dominion Energy) constructed offices and service yard in 1942 east of Shirley Highway and co-located power lines on the old W&O easement to power the rapidly expanding suburbs (Alexandria 1949).

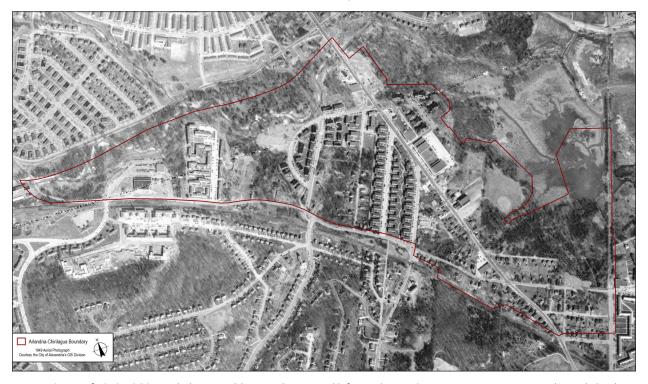


Figure 49. Part of 1949 USGS aerial, showing old Four Mile Run, and left to right, VEPCo. (Dominion Energy), Beverley Park Gardens on Nota Bene Drive, Sunnyside, Presidential Gardens, Beverley Plaza Gardens (Potomac Village ACHC), Arlandria Shopping Center, Presidential Market northwest at crossroads, Emma Hume's Spring subdivision, and Calvert's Saint Elmo Section 2.

of inspiration for Virginia's early Classical Revival architecture; whether the developer knew that or not is unknown. The architecture was classic and conservative Colonial Revival with brick veneer, multi-light double-hung windows, closed and open pediments, and cross gable roofs. On June 9, 1951, the *Evening Star* of Washington, D.C. reported on all FHA-backed projects in progress or completed in the D.C.-Maryland-Virginia metropolitan area between the war's end in 1945 and the date of the article's publication. Of the 384, approximately 14 were in Alexandria. "Projects 100 Per Cent Completed" included Dominion Gardens, Inc., Old Glebe Rd., Alexandria, Va., sponsored by Asha Baldi with a mortgage of \$1,584,900 for 214 units; and Dominion Gardens, Inc., Addition with a mortgage of \$1,433,000 for 193 units.

Fulfilling the intense housing demand of the mid-twentieth century had a domino effect on all levels of services in the city from churches and schools to trash collection. Meeting the commercial needs of scores of new White residents, Mount Vernon Avenue became a bona fide main street in the 1940s. Old residences were converted to work-live spaces, and new Modernist strips were added between the pre-World War II Vernon Theatre and Beverley Plaza Shopping Center. In 1945, Presidential Market grocery store opened at 3506 Mount Vernon Avenue at the West Glebe-Mount Vernon crossroads (see Figure 49).

ARLANDRIA

In 1947, developers Godden and Small christened the neighborhood with a new name in Washington's Evening Star, announcing the grand opening of Arlandria Shopping Center, "where ARLington and alexANDRIA meet to shop" (Figure 50; The Evening Star 9 Nov 1947). Unlike early twentieth century retail, the building was surrounded on all sides by "unlimited free parking" (500 spaces) to meet the needs of a rapidly suburbanizing car culture and provided one-stop shopping under one roof with a unified, modern façade of Indiana limestone veneer, plate glass windows, aluminum trim, and bright neon signs. Designed by architects Frank Grad and Sons of Newark and Washington and constructed by Cramer-Vollmerhausen, the sleek Art Deco building was heavily altered with a new façade and bump outs in the 1980s (Figure 51). Described as a "A City Block in the Suburbs," the mall originally contained Whelans--America's nationally popular drug store; Charles--Complete department Store; H.L. Green--Nationally-known five and dime variety store; Ann Lewis--Women's finer dresses, millinery and shoes; Kinney's--Medium-priced shoe store for all the family; Klaffs--Washington's favorite, gift and knick-knack shop; Official Cleaners-For rapid, self-service dry cleaning; and Giant-A food department store. It was open nightly to 9 p.m., unusually late in that era. Held over three days in November just in time for the holidays, the event featured bargains and thrills, the music of the Bolling Field Air Force School Band, and nightly searchlight display by the U.S. Army and D.C. National Guard (The Alexandria Times 15 Jul 2013). The City of Alexandria boasted of this shopping center in its 1949 publication in celebration of its bicentennial (Figure 52).

In 1950, a unique triangular building designed by Bernard Lyon Frishman, AIA was erected across the street from Arlandria Shopping Center on a triangular lot between Russell Road and Mount Vernon Avenue for the local chain, The Waffle Shop (see Figure 51 and Figures 53-54). Founded by James N. West and three Greek immigrants, John M. Kookley, George A. Anton, and Chris J. Cacheris of Washington, D.C. in 1931, The Waffle Shop had ten locations, most of which were designed by Frishman with "bright colors, mosaics, glass and large neon signs to attract customers from busy downtown streets" (Barbuschak 25 Jul 2019). The awning with the misspelling Wafle Shop was installed in the 1970s on at least two locations.



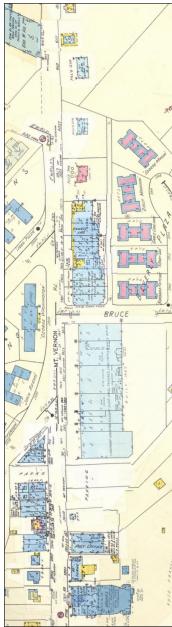


Figure 50. 1947 Grand Opening of Arlandria Shopping Center "where ARLington and alexANDRIA meet to shop" (The Evening Star 9 Nov 1947). Between 1951 and 1956, the USGS changed the label of neighborhood from Hume's Spring to Arlandria.

Figure 51. Part of 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, showing Beverley Plaza Shopping Center, Arlandria Shopping Center, Waffle Shop, and other businesses along Mount Vernon Avenue (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

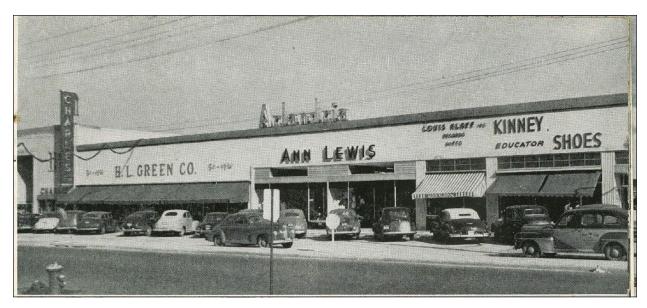


Figure 52. Arlandria Shopping Center designed by architects Frank Grad and Sons of Newark and Washington and constructed by Cramer-Vollmerhausen. The building was heavily altered with a new façade and bump outs, which removed some of the original bay parking and destroyed its sleek Art Deco features (Alexandria 1949).

Figure 53. Exterior of Waffle Shop designed by Bernard Lyon Frishman, AIA with streamlined Modernist commercial features in 1950 and built cross the street on a triangular lot. Pictured is a Washington, D.C. location similar in design to Arlandria before it was gutted sometime after 2000 (Horydczak 1950).

Figure 54. Typical Waffle Shop interior before renovations. Washington, D.C. location (Horydczak 1950).





Multiple locally owned beauty shops, cleaners, restaurants, and boutiques lined the street to the south of the Waffle Shop by the 1950s. Residents in the 1970s and 1980s recalled sidewalks crowded with children wrapping around the Vernon Theatre in anticipation of matinees, and military personnel and General Service-8 workers shopping at places like Robcyn's-Young Fair, Food Town, The Esther Shops, Arlandria TV, and Peoples Drug (founded in Alexandria in 1905 and bought by CVS in 1990). Young Fair was established by local Syrian Jewish American, Pauline Rishty, whose parents had owned a shop on King Street since the 1930s, and her husband, Morris Shweky, who she met while he was stationed with the U.S. Army near Alexandria (Figure 55). After opening in the 1950s, generations of girls purchased dance recital attire from Shweky. They, like many others, moved to suburban Maryland with their daughters, Robin and Cindy, in the mid-1960s but kept their business in the neighborhood until 1986 (Epitropoulous 2018). While experiencing persecution overseas during the World Wars and some levels of discrimination in America, Jewish immigrant families had generally thrived in military service and civilian life in large and small cities like Alexandria since the 19th century, often establishing an area's anchor department store, which ironically had the real Santa, or other popular retail locations (Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life 2020).



Figure 55. Pauline Rishty, Syrian Jewish American business owner, wed Morris Shweky, stationed in Alexandria with the U.S. Army in 1944. They opened Young Fair in Arlandria in the 1950s (Epitropoulous 2018).

Church and synagogue attendance rose significantly after the war, "a response, some believed, to wartime horrors and to the postwar threat from 'godless' Communism" (Sarna 2004). In 1954 and 1956, "under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance and "In God We Trust" to coins. Anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism declined, allowing the two religions to become a "'tripartite scheme'" with mainline Protestant faiths such as the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal Churches (ibid.). Will Herberg, a Jewish ex-Marxist intellectual, argued to be anything else "'is somehow not to be an American'" (ibid.). His highly influential 1955 book, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, ignored evangelical Blacks and Protestants and discounted Muslims and Buddhists, but it did spell progress for those two faiths and laid the groundwork for the development of interfaith organizations, which have remained crucial in the fight for immigrants' rights in Arlandria and beyond.

Saint Rita Catholic Church and School relocated across from Presidential Gardens in 1949, and Grace Episcopal Church and School, a lifelong partner with disenfranchised members of Arlandria, opened immediately south of the neighborhood in 1959. Established in 1912 in Saint Elmo-Abington-Del Ray, Saint Rita grew to 1,000 parishioners prompting purchase of three acres on Russell Road from the Beall and Conlon families before World War II. During this period, the Catholic Diocese of Arlington contained only four parishes in Arlington, Alexandria, Falls Church, and McLean. Delayed by the war, construction of a church with rectory attached and a convent and school on the corner of West Glebe and Russell Road occurred between 1947 and 1949 (Figures 56-58).



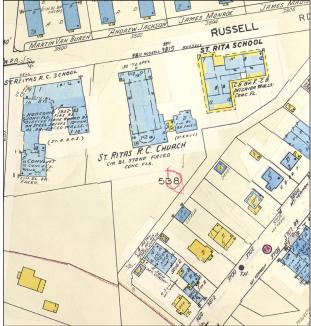


Figure 56. Saint Rita Rectory foundation attached to the church, view east with Vernon Theatre in background.

Figure 57. Saint Rita Church under construction, view east of north arches from choir loft. The church, school, and attached convent were dedicated in 1949 (Saint Rita 2020).

Figure 58. Part of 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, showing complete campus after smaller school building was added (Courtesy of Library of Congress).



Built of Virginia field stone and Indiana limestone, the Gothic Revival sanctuary was dedicated one week before Christmas in 1949 and became an integral part of the increasingly diverse and local Catholic community (Saint Rita Catholic Church 2020). The flat-roofed convent and school of brick veneer and stone combined various stylistic elements. Another more modest Modernist school building was added in the late 1950s to the north (see Figure 58).

The first residential project other than an apartment complex since the 1920s, higher density housing backed by the FHA was constructed in 1951 north of Emma P. Hume's bungalows, which were gradually being demolished on Reed Avenue (Figure 59; Schoenfeld 2020). Its selection as the first site for modern redevelopment was likely due to poor conditions due to its location in one of the lowest-lying areas near the city dump. The new development extended farther north than the original with flat-roofed, brick, Modern rowhouses laid out on curvilinear streets, promoted by the FHA and favored over gridiron plats for the remainder of the twentieth century. A year later, the City of Alexandria annexed a significant chunk of Fairfax County (the West End) and determined that it would be zoned single family for White upperclass residents, while continuing to encourage higher density development towards border areas like Arlandria (Reft 2013). Dominion Gardens Annex was completed in 1953 and provided more housing variety for the White community with side-gabled duplexes on an extended Four Mile Road, linking Beverley Park Gardens and Dominion Gardens (Eaton Square) (Figure 60). Other than the early twentieth century subdivisions, Dominion Gardens Annex and the new Hume's Spring rowhouses were the only of their kind amidst apartment blocks until the 1980s and 1990s when a variety of brick and vinyl, neo-traditional rowhouses were added to the south of Dominion Garden Annex and in pockets of Sunnyside and Saint Elmo Section 2.

As Dominion Garden duplexes were under construction, on May 5, 1953, it rained so much that severe flash floods occurred throughout the region. "In Alexandria and Arlington, the sudden torrents swelled creeks, overran highways, and so engulfed neighborhoods that police had to man row boats for rescue work" (U.S. Commerce 1953:149). Hundreds of thousands of dollars of damage were done to streets, stores, and apartments, including Presidential Gardens which was under five feet of water (ibid.). Evident in the 1951 aerial, while the old alignment remained, Arlington County and the City of Alexandria had begun to cooperate on creating a new Four Mile Run channel to increase flow capacity; however, these early efforts were no match for the runoff that rapid development in the counties to the west created (see Figures 59-60). In 1954 and 1955, multiple major tropical storms downed trees, destroyed buildings, and flooded the city again (Roth and Cobb 2001).

Throughout the 1950s, realignment of the channel continued along with drainage of the Four Mile Run marshlands, which coincided with Alexandria City Public Schools' (ACPS) search for new elementary campuses and City Council's approval of the complete overhaul of solid waste, sewage, and stormwater management systems. Metropolitan areas throughout the U.S. were increasingly aware of the damage early twentieth century dumps had done, leading to a move away from wetlands towards contained landfills and incinerators. Rivers and old trash heaps catching fire made national headlines, and old city dumps were overwhelmed by the consumption that came with post World War II advances in technology and growth in nationwide affluence. Fast fashion began to take shape, toys were produced in greater quantity and variety, teenagers became a unique market, and newly invented disposable products such as plastic tableware and diapers appeared in more intense and catered ads in newspapers and on television screens, recently adopted in most American homes. In addition, the "burgeoning packaging industry revolutionized the distribution and marketing of meats, fruits, and vegetables, creating new packaging waste" (Figure 61; Philips 1998:14).

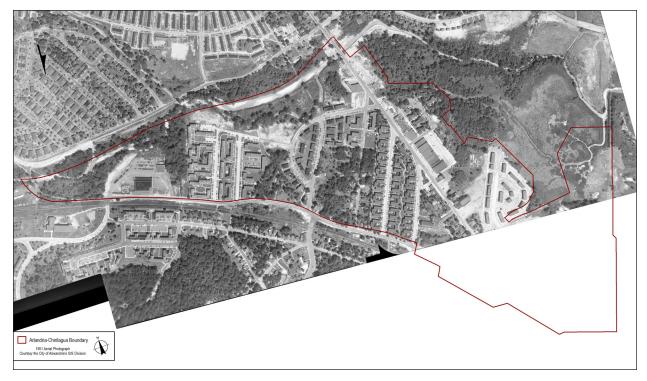


Figure 59. Part of 1951 USGS aerial, showing partial Four Mile Run realignment, Saint Rita Church and School, and two FHA-backed projects, Dominion Gardens (Eaton Square) east of VEPCo. (Dominion Energy), and newly constructed Hume's Spring Rowhouses east of Mount Vernon Avenue.

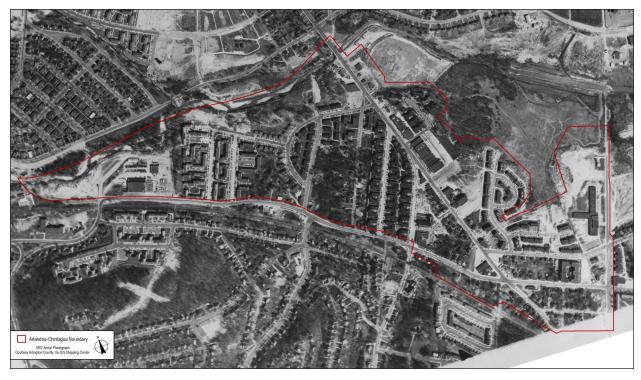


Figure 60. Part of 1957 USGS aerial, showing Dominion Garden Annex Duplexes on Four Mile Road extended, Hume Spring's bungalow subdivision redevelopment, and ongoing Four Mile Run realignment and marshland drainage.

Prompted by the passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1948 (precursor to the Clean Water Act of 1972), Alexandria City Council created the Alexandria Sanitation Authority (ASA) in 1952, the first of its kind in the state, to separate stormwater flow and discontinue discharge of sewage into the Potomac River and streams such as Four Mile Run (Alexandria Renew 2020). Though a Solid Waste Disposal Act would not pass until 1965, the city also made plans to close its first consolidated dump in the marshlands around Hume's Springs and build a modern incinerator to be collocated with the modern sewage treatment plant (Hall 1956; Alexandria 1955).



Figure 61. Evidence of advances in technology, marketing, and consumption in selected advertisements from The Evening Star, Washington, D.C. 1947-1956 for businesses in Arlandria, sometimes described as part of Alexandria and sometimes Arlington. Arlington's Daily Sun covered the areas social events rather than the Alexandria paper in the mid-twentieth century.

ADIOS, TABLE MODELS AT YOUR WESTINGHOUSE DEALER'S!

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA Arlandria Radio & Television 3836 Mt. Vernon Avenue As a matter of routine, as early as 1950, the City Health Department inspected illegal dumping in other parts of Four Mile Run along with regular inspections of local businesses; the Hume's Spring area in particular had begun to experience rodents of an unusual size related to the loss of green space, frequent flooding, and increased waste. The Health Department also inspected the area around the old city dump just before its closure, after which a part of it was reclaimed for one of ACPS's new elementary schools (Figures 62-65; *The Evening Star* 18 Jul 1955:B-3). The level of remediation in preparation for construction in 1955 is unclear, as it was well before passage of a string of environmental laws related to waste and reclamation of land, including the 1980 Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA). The year after the mid-century Modernist school opened, both the sewage treatment plant and an ornate, Colonial Revival solid waste incinerator began operating 24 hours a days with 200 tons of refuse processed per 24 hours at 801 South Payne Street on the opposite end of the city (Alexandria 1955; Hall 1956). These would later be overhauled to meet modern standards.

Cora Kelly Elementary School opened in September of 1955 on Commonwealth and Reed Avenues for White students, one year after Brown vs. Board of Education outlawed segregated public education in the United States (see Figures 60 and 66; The Evening Star 18 Jul 1955:B-3). This landmark case in turn prompted passage of the first modern Civil Rights Act in 1957 under President Dwight Eisenhower, which tried to address voter rights and created a Civil Rights Commission. Under the leadership of White supremacist Governor Harry Byrd, ACPS participated in Massive Resistance to integration until 1965, while Arlington County was the first jurisdiction in the state to desegregate in 1959. Other more rural schools held out until the mid-1970s. At this time, Sunnyside students continued to travel to Uptown/Parker-Gray to attend Charles Houston Elementary (located in the old high school) and Parker-Gray High School at 1207 Madison Street, which ACPS was forced to build in 1950 after local advocates and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) amplified the fight over lack of equal facilities. In 2020, Lovell Arvid Lee, whose parents moved to Sunnyside in 1924, remembered enjoying his childhood on Elbert Avenue, playing in the woods and Four Mile Run and attending Parker-Gray (Figure 67; Bah 2020). Born in 1943, Francis Brooks, the at one time the only African American member of the House of Representatives in Montpelier, Vermont, also grew up on Elbert Avenue after Presidential Gardens replaced the Negro league ballpark and resented the fact that he could not play on the nice playground and ballpark for the White residents of the garden apartment complex across the alley (Walsh 2012:16). Despite play areas at the school and near Presidential Gardens, the White Arlandria Civitan Club and Arlandria Community Baseball League, both organized around the 1950s, scheduled many of their events through the Arlington Recreation Department due to inadequate public facilities in the northern part of the city (Daily Sun 29 June 1956). Parks that exist today were at that time marshland, parking lots, and industrial buildings.

When the dump closed and Cora Kelly School opened, Mount Vernon Avenue was widened, and "a new classified post office" named George Washington station was authorized and opened at 3803 Mount Vernon Avenue (*Daily Sun* 4 June 1956). This was the last known project to play on presidential history in the neighborhood. Surrounded by public improvements, the last of the 1920s bungalows in Emma Hume's subdivision were razed between 1953 and 1962, and Frank Hume's Memorial Pavilion was removed in 1955 (Figure 68). What might be considered a traffic calming feature today was a nuisance; "The spring and the cupola surrounding same takes considerable space causing motorists to skirt around the spring" (*Daily Sun* 30 August 1955). With that, between publication of its 1951 and 1956 topographic quadrangles, the USGS officially changed the neighborhood name from Hume's Spring to Arlandria.







Figure 62. City of Alexandria Health Department 1950 inspection of old Four Mile Run alignment, view northeast towards former crossing of Old Dominion Boulevard to South Lang Street. Illegal dumping is visible in the stream, and Beverley Park Garden Apartment buildings at 517 and 525 Four Mile Road are visible in background (now Chirilagua Alabama and Arkansas Apartments).

Figure 63. Health Department 1954 inspection of trash and rodent problem at Food Town, located at 4102 Mount Vernon Avenue, near Four Mile Run. Rodent issues were attributed to loss of green space, frequent flooding, and increased consumption and waste related to development.

Figure 64. Dog rummaging in dumping area at Four Mile Run during 1954 Health Department Inspection.

Figure 65. Health Department Inspection of Four Mile Road and Mount Vernon Avenue.

(Courtesy of City of Alexandria Barrett Branch Library, Special Collections)







Figure 66. Part of 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, showing Hume's Spring, Saint Elmo Section 2, and Cora Kelly Elementary School, which opened for White students in September 1955, one year after Brown vs. Board of Education outlawed segregated schools. ACPS participated in Virginia's Massive Resistance until 1965 (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

Figure 67. Lovell Arvid Lee and his brother at their house on Elbert Avenue, Sunnyside in 1948. They attended Black schools in the Uptown-Parker Gray neighborhood (Bah 2020).





Figure 68. Part of 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, showing Hume's Spring rowhouses, Mount Vernon Court between Edison and Mount Vernon (former location of Hume's Spring Pavilion), Mount Vernon-Glebe crossroads, and Helen Calvert's house, Mount Auburn (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

What replaced the Hume bungalows was a variety of commerce and more garden apartments. In 1953, 56, and 59, the Art Moderne influenced Glebe House Apartments, three E- or partial-E-plan buildings were erected between Reed and West Glebe Road (see Figures 66 and 69). In 1954, four rectangular, Arte Moderne influenced garden apartment buildings known as Mount Vernon Courts (now Potomac West) were constructed between the rowhouses and Mount Vernon Avenue near the Hume's Spring Pavilion (see Figure 68). Around the West Glebe-Mount Vernon crossroads, the widening of the avenue facilitated conversion into an all commercial strip development. By 1959, to the northeast of the intersection stood a car dealership and a McDonald's food stand, a rapidly expanding new fast-food chain from California (Figure 69).

South of the Hume's subdivision, in 1957 and 1959, two small garden apartment buildings and a Modernist commercial building with a laundromat were built on infill lots in Saint Elmo Section 2. Across the street, by 1962, the strip malls that stand today were constructed on the southwest corner, and by 1964, a Googie style Safeway grocery store (now mixed use) was constructed based on a prototype in California and opened behind the old Presidential Market (now a bank and pawn shop) on the northwest corner (see Figures 68-69). At the west end of the neighborhood, a simple row of larger apartments for families was also built in 1959 on a narrow strip between VEPCo. and Dominion Gardens (Dominion Energy and Eaton Square); this was redeveloped with generally the same footprint by ARHA after 2000 (see Figures 69-70). Other than land in the flood plain and a few commercial properties on Mount Vernon Avenue, Arlandria was built out much as it exists today.



Figure 69. Part of 1962 USGS aerial, showing Arlandria built out much as it appears today with the exception of a few late 1960s developments.

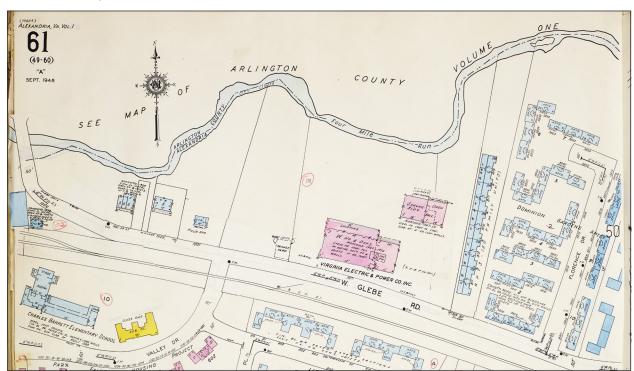


Figure 70. Part of 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, showing VEPCo. (Dominion Energy), family apartments (redeveloped by ARHA after 2000), and Dominion Garden Apartments (Eaton Square) (Courtesy of Library of Congress).

In a 1961 Planning Commission meeting regarding rezoning, a representative of Presidential Gardens in search of more development opportunity and without regard for the Black community of Sunnyside "requested that the island of single-family land use along Charles and Elbert Avenues be placed in an apartment use;" the Commission, however, reaffirmed plans for "proposed single family development along Charles and Elbert Avenues between Courtland Avenue and Glebe Road" to "protect the existing single family development in this area" (Alexandria 1962:12). Evident in land records, families like the Lees stayed in the neighborhood for multiple generations, a common practice in Black neighborhoods before local and federal fair housing policies allowed them to move more freely. During the height of the Civil Rights Movement, despite FHA defining the area as White and White developers lobbying for its demolition, Black families filled in empty lots on Charles and Elbert Avenue with middle-class Colonial Revival, split-level, and ranches houses through 1965. In other less affluent parts of the city, Black families desperate for housing were doubling and tripling up in older houses, often in dangerous conditions. Sunnyside also remained popular long after other opportunities became available with two sons of Lovell Lee purchasing new townhouses built within Lenox at Sunnyside in the 1990s (Bah 2020).

In the city's 1962 master plan, which reaffirmed Sunnyside as a single-family neighborhood, the planning department encouraged "more orderly development of the area" around VEPCo's service yard "to impede future commercial blight" just as the Shirley State Highway was about to be converted into Interstate 395 to the west (Alexandria 1962:18). At this time, the W&O was preparing to discontinue use of its line in Northern Virginia, prompting advocates of hiking and light rail transit to battle over its future use with the Federal Highways Administration and VEPCo, which still ran power lines along the right-of-way. The 1962 master plan, noted that if the rail line became an arterial (a proposed Old Dominion Thoroughfare) or a freeway (proposed Interstate 66), West Glebe should be designated a collector road rather than an arterial route (ibid.:27). In the end, rails-to-trails advocates won with the line becoming part of NOVA Parks in Arlington, Fairfax, and Loudoun Counties after its closure in 1965, while Alexandria's portion of the W&O was developed into townhouses (Harwood 2000).

Also addressed in 1962, the future site of Portals East and West (Park Vue and Brookside) contained two gas stations and another commercial building soon to be replaced with two apartments drastically different from the older garden apartment complexes. By then, realignment of Four Mile Run had shifted the future site of Portals West (Brookside) from the county to the city, as both jurisdictions were working toward a 1965 agreement to solidify this boundary (see Figure 69). Despite being in the lowest lying areas, the X-plan, International Style-influenced Portal West was completed in 1963 and an L-plan building was added to the Beverley Plaza complex on Bruce Street (Figure 71). The Hawaii was added on higher ground at Beverley Garden around the same time. Showing "signs of decay," Calvert's Saint Elmo Section 2 between Mount Vernon and Commonwealth Avenues was also considered for new apartments, which never came to fruition (Alexandria 1962:18).

Released a year after the general master plan, the 1963 community facilities plan recognized a need for more amenities and updated infrastructure and largely envisioned the system of parks that exists today. The city designated Arlandria as Neighborhood 21 and part of 22 with Potomac Yard and continued a decades long reliance on Arlington County to manage water and sewage and a decades long struggle with providing housing. It noted that small neighborhood parks should be planned west of Mount Vernon Avenue and a large city-wide park with picnic facilities should be installed on 44 acres of publicly owned swamp north of Cora Kelly School, which had a playfield, playground, and tot-lot at the time (Alexandria 1963:39).



Figure 71. Part of 1969 USGS aerial, showing Safeway Grocery, Datatel, Kodak Processing Plant, and Portals East and West (Park Vue and Brookside), constructed after Four Mile Run realignment changed the county-city boundary.

In August of 1963, just as Portals West was completed, flooding "in Fourmile Run was by far the most severe of any recorded at the USGS gaging station since it was established in 1951. Urbanization effects very likely contributed to the severity of this flood... The greatest damage from Fourmile Run occurred in Arlandria" (Rostvedt 1963:B106-B108). Without a marsh to buffer it and more concrete along the creeks banks, the flooding extended all the way to West Glebe Road four-to-five feet deep.

[It inundated] eight blocks containing 19 apartment buildings (about 100 apartments were flooded), 31 business establishments, and eight houses. Also damaged were several duplexes and about 500 automobiles. One motorist drowned in Long Branch. The U.S. Weather Bureau estimated that damage from Fourmile Run was \$1.2 million in Arlandria, which was declared a disaster area (Rostvedt 1963:B106-B108).

It was likely after the devastation of the 1963 flood, that the George Washington apartment building was converted into a motor hotel well into the height of popularity of motor tourism (Figures 72-74). The luster and appeal of Arlandria as an exclusive White professional's neighborhood was short lived. Within three decades of the construction of Presidential Gardens, environmental degradation, desegregation, and systemic racism flipped the narrative of Arlandria to one where national and international conflict played out on the local streets and in council chambers.



All the comforts of home with hotel conveniences



LOVELY LAWNS, TREES AND FLOWERS

The gardener and his staff maintain the courtyards in a constant display of nature's loveliness. At Christmas time Presidential Gardens Motor Hotel's thousands of twinkling lights are a "must" on all sightseeing tours.



OFF THE SITTING ROOM, A KITCHEN AND DINETTE

AND DINETTE
We believe we've thought
of everything . . Yes,
even ice cubes ready to
use, and there are plenty
of pots and pons, dishes
and silver to serve your
family. Phones in every
room — 24-hour switchboard service.



DECOR IS PRIMARILY EARLY AMERICAN

We've decorated for relaxing with a theme of comfortable informality . . . the minute you step into the sitting room you feel at home. Air conditioning and TV.



COMFORTABLE TWIN BEDROOMS

That's right, twin beds at no extra charge, and so-o-o-o restful that you'll just naturally sleep late in the mornings, the way you should when on vaccation. All suites have double exposure. Figure 72. 1964 Presidential Gardens Motor Hotel Suites brochure cover: "in the Capital of the Nation, 200 deluxe single, twin, or family suites-

Figure 73. 1964 Presidential Gardens Motor Hotel Suites landscape and room features.

all at moderate cost"

Figure 74. Postcard, showing the pediment was altered after this date, but the Roosevelt inauguration columns remain. Postmarked April 8, 1967 and mailed to Lowell Mass with a George Washington stamp, the backside read:

Dear Gramma + Grandpa, Here is where I stayed in Washington with the Band. I had a great time. Thank you very much fort the money you gave me. I can use it to by some "mod" clothes. I just got back from Griffiss Air Base at Rome N.Y. I went with the scouts. I can't wait till school gets out. Hope to see you soon. Your grandson, Steve (ebay).



Presidential Gardens Motor Hotel is a delightfully unique place to stay when visiting the nation's capital. Over 225 deluxe family suites, fully furnished to the last teacup; secluded from the annoyances of the city and highways, yet so convenient to everything.

1964-2018: INTEGRATION & IMMIGRATION

On May 21, 1964, City Council held a closed-door session, during which they created the Human Rights Ordinance, after mounting pressure from area fair housing advocates, including the local chapters of the National Urban League and NAACP, then led by Robert I. Terrell. The ordinance, however, only created a complaint-based system, whereby, no one from the city monitored the leasing or sales practices of developers but waited for victims of housing discrimination to report to the Human Rights Director. Passed after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic U.S. President, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 mandated desegregation of federally funded or permitted projects, such as those developed by ARHA, which received monies from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (Moon 2016:56). The following year, the Immigration and Nationality Act passed, overhauling what President Lyndon B. Johnson called un-American legislation, which created quotas for certain races and ethnic groups in the anti-immigration era of the 1920s.

Moving beyond protests for the city to supply more affordable housing for lower income African Americans, in 1966, "the Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs (ACCESS) organized protests throughout northern Virginia and southern Maryland" to demand that the entire real estate market open up, which would in turn keep a Black middle-class presence in the city and end artificial inflation in the few neighborhoods where they were allowed to buy (Moon 2016:57-58). After sustained pressure, City Council passed a voluntary open housing ordinance in 1967. The Federal government soon followed. On April 11, 1968, seven days after Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated and protests filled the neighboring capitol's streets, President Johnson signed a new iteration of the Civil Rights Act, commonly known as the Fair Housing Act. In response, middle- and upper-class White residents began to flee urban areas in greater numbers for newly subdivided, limited access neighborhoods.

Historically White Arlandria neighborhoods were some of the first to open to Black residents, likely due to its outdated infrastructure, constant flooding, and rising crime rates. Despite these conditions, the affordability of the area was highly desirable to African Americans either moving to the region from the South, being displaced by ongoing slum clearance by ARHA, or living in overcrowded housing in the historically Black parts of the city. In 1965, activist Shirley Tyler and her husband became the first homeowners of color in their neighborhood, at which time she joined the Arlandria Civic Association to combat drug dealing, flooding, and a rat infestation. While active, the association successfully lobbied for a satellite police facility, fought discriminatory rental practices and illegal apartment units, advocated for a Four Mile Run Flood Control Project, and facilitated city-wide requirements for lidded trash cans. Tyler also fought for equitable education throughout the city. In 1973, she was appointed to the school board and became the first African American female chair 1980-1982. While fighting for the public schools, she also served as headmistress of Grace Episcopal School immediately south of the neighborhood 1975-1989, where she created private schooling opportunities for underprivileged children (Morgan 2014).

In 1965, Congress passed the Rivers and Harbors Act and the Flood Control Act to authorize USACE to deal with widespread erosion and flooding caused by rapid twentieth century development throughout the U.S. On October 1966, the House of Representatives Committee on Public Works authorized a study on the Potomac River and Tributaries to determine the need for flood control on Holmes Run, "Fourmile" Run, and other streams in the City of Alexandria, which was completed in accordance with the provisions of Section 201 of the Flood Control Act (USACE 1973:1). This was the first major step in remaking the declining suburban neighborhood into a desirable urban one.

Completed around 1966, the last three major mid-century developments were a 55,000-square-foot, rectangular, flat-roofed warehouse at 3701 Mount Vernon Avenue behind the Vernon Theatre; a six-story office building at 3700 Mount Vernon Avenue across from the theater; and the 15-story, Miesian-influenced Portal East at 511 Four Mile Road (see Figure 71; Masters 1997; W-ZHA, LLC 2008). The latter was by far the tallest building in Arlandria, and the only one built after fair housing policies were enacted. Unusual for the neighborhood and the street, the warehouse was a Kodak film processing plant, and the square, Modernist mid-rise housed early tech industry offices, precursors for what is redefining the surrounding area today. Various technology companies, such as AmeriCOM and Datatel, appeared in directories at this location and held contracts with the military, Bureau of the Census, and HUD (U.S. HUD 1987).

As local fair housing policy forced integration in residential areas, a progressive new school superintendent, John Albohm, forced a reluctant ACPS Board to end its decade long part in Virginia's Massive Resistance. In 1965, approximately 500 Black students, including Arlandria residents, and about a dozen teachers moved from Parker-Gray to George Washington High School at 1005 Mount Vernon Avenue south of Arlandria (George Washington High School Yearbook 1966:3). Around the same number of White G.W. freshmen and sophomores transferred to the new T.C. Williams School (a story glossed over in *Remember the Titans*), and as part of the shuffling, honors classes were introduced in an attempt to prevent White flight. On the Mount Vernon Elementary campus in the 2500 block of Mount Vernon Avenue, the original 1906 school building was razed, the 1925 school renovated, and another constructed. Cora Kelly was also integrated and expanded with a small recreation center added in 1971 and updated at a later date. Despite decades of activism, attempted anti-racism educating, and intensive planning, deep seeded racism resulted in a number of scarring hate crimes in the years following, the least of which was the burning of a cross and tarring of toilets at G.W. High School by White students (ACPS 2020).

The worst of it began in Arlandria in the fall of 1969, when Clairborn Callahan, a White police officer, approached ten Black teenagers playing neighborhood football and asked them to disperse. By the end of the interaction, Callahan pulled 14-year-old Keith Strickland down an alley and beat him unconscious with his pistol. When Strickland's mother arrived, the police officer forced the boy in a police car. Protests of police brutality followed at City Hall, local landmarks were the targets of firebombs, and African American activist, Ira Robinson, ran for City Council the next year. The following spring on May 29, 1970, not long before election day, Robin Gibson, a Black G.W. High School junior, was murdered by John L. Hanna, a White assistant manager at a 7-Eleven convenience store recently built on the corner of West Glebe Road and Commonwealth Avenue (now Freedom Way Missionary Baptist Church) (Figure 75). Hanna alleged that Gibson took a bags of razors, then planted a knife next to the slain Black teenager (Miles 2017).

The event culminated in what became known as the Alexandria City Disorders from May 29 to June 6 (Sipe and Snyder 2010:265). A crowd of 500-to-600 people gathered outside the 7-Eleven within three hours of the shooting, prompting the police to line up in riot gear in front of the store. The next day, *The Washington Post* reported "roving Negro youths" set "minor fires" and "threw rocks" in the McDonald's food stand in Arlandria and other nearby stores (Bachinski and Hodge 29 May 1970). When one police officer ran after a youth, he found himself alone amongst the infuriated protestors on West Glebe, at which point Ira Robinson, who was with other community elders, appeared, calmed the crowd, and guided the officer back to the satellite police facility. That act won Robinson many White votes, while the whole series of events doubled Black voter turnout, resulting in his election as the first representative of color since Travis Pinn represented Jefferson District in 1881. The next night, protesters moved beyond the neighborhood with firebombs, one of which caused significant damage to a home next door to Robert E. Lee's boyhood home, thought to be the target.

In the end, there were seven cases of arson, 14 persons arrested, and 1,500 funeral attendees, and Hanna served less than a year in prison for manslaughter sentenced by a judge, whose bench sat in front of a huge Confederate flag (Miles 2017). After paying tribute to Gibson in their yearbook, his class, the class of 1971, was the last to graduate from G.W., before restructuring made T.C. Williams the only high school in the city, an endeavor in which African American Arlandrian Shirley Tyler was instrumental (Figure 76; Morgan 2014). As part of this restructuring, ACPS instituted busing children between neighborhoods in an attempt to desegregate schools more effectively. Parents complained as Cora Kelly required the longest bus rides of all the schools (*The Washington Post* 18 Mar 1985).

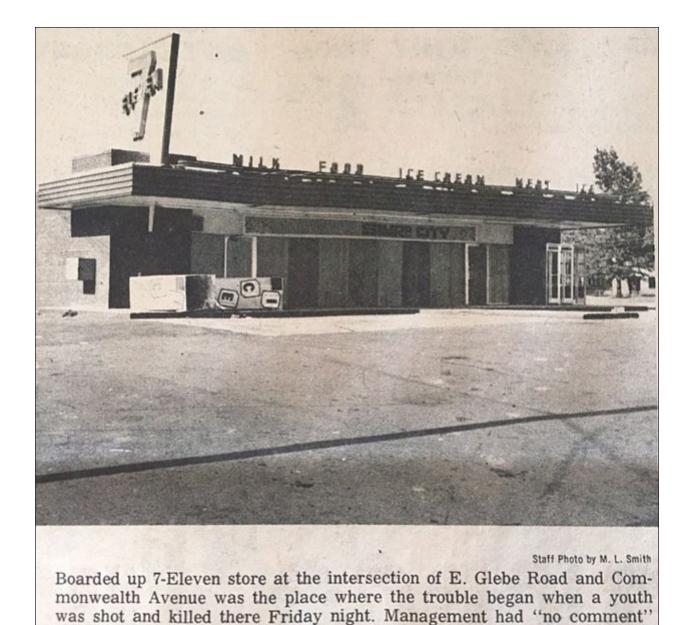


Figure 75. 7-Eleven convenience store recently built on the corner of West Glebe Road and Commonwealth Avenue (now Freedom Way Missionary Baptist Church) where a Black teen Robin Gibson was murdered by a White clerk in 1970 (Miles 2017).

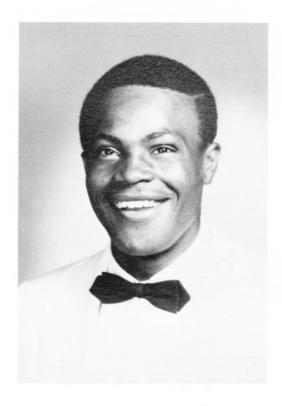
today on plans for reopening the facility.

Robin you would have been a member of the Senior Class of 1971. You had two main goals in life, to get your drivers license and to walk down the aisle with the Senior Class to receive your diploma. Robin we know you would have accomplished these goals and more, if you were with us today. Everyone at George Washington knew you, if not by name, then by your friendly manner. Robin we also remember you as a real sport fan. You loved all sports, but football, wrestling, and

Robin we also remember you as a real sport fan. You loved all sports, but football, wrestling, and mainly basketball were your favorites. You constantly talked Redskins and "Bruno" the wrestler, but you loved and cherished basketball. Remember how you dribbled the ball through your legs and then took your left-hand jump shot, "Two Points" Everyone on the "Prexies" team knew you and loved to joke around with you. You were one of the few who cheered even when we lost, because you believed in us.

Robin we believe in you and you will always have a place in our hearts.

In memory of Robin Wordell Gibson



```
Robin to me, was a young man who was seldom sad.
Robin to me, was full of fun and life.
Robin to me, was talk and jokes and pranks.
Robin to me, was someone searching.
Robin to me, was someone who was finding.
Robin to me, was confident in what he was doing.
Robin to me, was someone who confided in me often.
Robin to me, was someone who had ambitions in life.
Robin to me, was someone lost in our society.
Robin to me, was —
Robin to me, was —
Robin to me, was —
Robin to you, was . . . . . .
```

Figure 76. In memory of Robin Wordell Gibson (George Washington High School Yearbook 1970-1971).

On top of racial turmoil, Arlandria continued to be battered by intensifying storms due to continued conversion of farmland into tract housing upstream in areas like Falls Church. The only flood control, two old viaducts contributed to a tidal wave effect in Four Mile Run during the worst storms. Hurricane Camille in August 1969 was the worst recorded in Virginia. On August 17, 1971, Tropical Storm Doria flooded Four Mile Run, during which a young girl fell in a drainage ditch and drowned (Roth and Cobb 2001). In 1972, Hurricane Agnes hit the Florida Panhandle unusually early in the season when plants and fish were reproducing and though it was demoted to a Tropical Storm by the time it reached Virginia and Maryland on June 21, it was the most massive flood ever recorded on the East Coast according to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Grounds were saturated from a wet winter and spring and the storm doubled back, eventually killing 122 people in the metropolitan region and washing as much pollutants and sediment into the Chesapeake Bay as it would normally receive over 25 years. Scientists considered this the tipping point for the estuary, from which it has never fully recovered (Horton 2012).

In Arlandria, Agnes flooded the neighborhood so badly that the area's earliest strip mall was destroyed between Beverley Plaza Gardens (Potomac Village ACHC) and Presidential Garden (Figures 77-78). Mud and silt filled the streets, requiring intensive clean up and street closures (Figures 79-80). Though still standing, Arlandria Shopping Center's anchor tenants, Giant Grocery and People's Drugstore, left in 1973 (Levey 15 Sep 1977). Aptly, during storm clean up, the Vernon Theatre, then a second-run movie house, was screening the 1972 movie *Frogs*, part of the eco-horror genre that became immensely popular during the Environmental Movement, which spawned the Clean Water Act and Clean Air Act among others. Now described as sobad-it's-good, *Frogs* was meant to be a somewhat earnest story of wildlife in a swamp striking back at the Southern land baron who poisoned and polluted it; unfortunately, the idea of wildlife overcoming the obstacles of human development became quaint as storms like Agnes progressed from freak to norm and more species went extinct (Lang n.d.).

Also immensely popular at this time was the Cold War spy genre. Only four nights before Agnes hit, five men on behalf of President Richard Nixon "broke into the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate hotel and office complex in Washington, D.C.," where the cast and crew of United Artist's *Scorpio* were coincidentally staying (U.S. Senate 2020). Also filmed in Paris and Vienna, the CIA thriller was the only movie ever allowed to film on location at CIA headquarters and at the CIA director's house. In a cat-and-mouse-chase sequence filmed in Arlandria, Burt Lancaster, playing a retired CIA assassin, takes a left off Russell Road to West Glebe with Presidential Gardens and Saint Rita Catholic Church in the background (Figure 81). The exterior and interior mid-century architecture of Safeway are on full display as he buys a bottle of liquor from a Black store clerk (technically not possible since Alcoholic Beverage Control [ABC] stores are the only place that have been able to sell liquor in Virginia since Prohibition) (Figures 82-83). Behind the two CIA operatives stalking him is the old Presidential Market and what the City of Alexandria called the "quite chaotic" "Glebe-Mt. Vernon complex" in 1974 planning documents (Figures 84-85). Located at a higher elevation than the rest of the commercial area, this area would not be as badly damaged in the coming week.

After Hurricane Camille, the USACE submitted the Final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) to the U.S. Council on Environmental Quality on October 20, 1970 for the flood control measures first studied in 1966. A supplemental EIS statement was submitted after Agnes on April 28, 1973 (Figures 86-89). Though still arguing over financing, Arlington County and Alexandria City signed an agreement with the Secretary of the Army on May 10, 1973 to cooperate on its construction under Section 221 of the 1970 Flood Control Act.



Figure 77. Beverley Plaza Gardens shopping strip, view north on Mount Vernon Avenue from Bruce Street during planning for Four Mile Run Flood Control Project in April of 1972 (USACE BD 1973).



Figure 78. Almost same view two months later from roof near Russell Road after Agnes hit June 21, 1972. 3901 Mount Vernon in foreground still stands (Courtesy of Fairfax County Public Library, Virginia Room).



Figure 79. Destruction of Beverley Plaza Gardens on Mount Vernon Avenue from Bruce Street after Agnes hit June 21, 1972 (Courtesy of Alexandria Public Library, Special Collections).

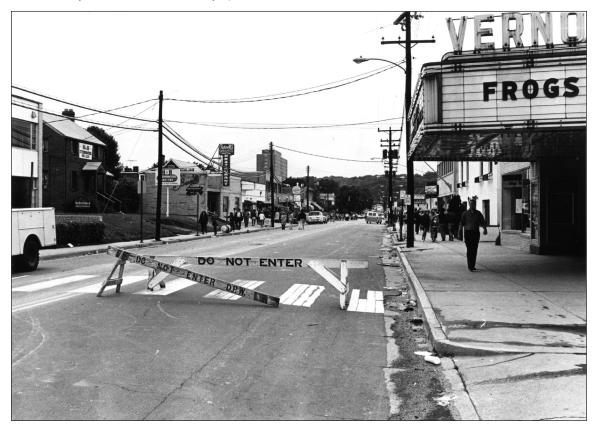


Figure 80. Road clean up on Mount Vernon Avenue after Agnes. The Vernon Theatre was screening the eco-horror movie, Frogs, starring Sam Elliott (Courtesy of Fairfax County Public Library, Virginia Room).











Figure 81. Scene from the CIA Cold War spy thriller, Scorpio, filmed around Saint Rita Church and Safeway at 263 West Glebe Road in Arlandria in early June, 1972 just before Agnes hit (United Artist 1973).

- Figure 82. The exterior of the 1960s Googie-style Safeway and Burt Lancaster filming Scorpio.
- Figure 83. The interior of the Safeway with Lancaster and a Black actress during filming.
- Figure 84. Two actors stalking Lancaster's character in front of the former Presidential Market at 3504 Mount Vernon Avenue.
- Figure 85. Strip development at the intersection of West Glebe Road an Mount Vernon Avenue through the window of Safeway.









Figure 86. Long Branch Run in Arlington County across from former mill sites before covered, view north (USACE BD 1973).

Figure 87. Degradation of Four Mile Run, view northwest from Mount Vernon Avenue Bridge, showing erosion.

Figure 88. Degradation of Four Mile Run, view northwest towards VEPCo. (Dominion Energy), showing discarded drums.

Figure 89. Degradation of Four Mile Run, view southeast from West Glebe Road Bridge towards VEPCo. (Dominion Energy).

Advanced engineering and design commenced on the planned infrastructure, which included a 200-foot-wide channel from Mount Vernon Avenue to the Potomac River, levees, six new bridges (two for cars and four for trains), the covering of Long Branch across from the old mill sites, and creation of Four Mile Run Park (Figures 90-92; USACE 1973:1). The undertaking escalated in price and would not be completed until 1979. In tandem with the USACE's work, Commonwealth Avenue was widened to four lanes and its bridge to Arlington removed. A new sewer interceptor from Bruce Street to Florence Drive was approved as an immediate need in the local Capital Improvement Plan of 1974-1975, while widening Mount Vernon Avenue was included in the five-year plan (Alexandria 1975). As these projects got underway, in September 1975, Hurricane Eloise inundated Arlandria such that Hume Springs neighborhood and Cora Kelly School nearly returned to the *Frogs*, resulting in the evacuation of 400 residents in the middle of the night and the closing of the school for nine years (Figure 93; Roth and Cobb 2001; *The Washington Post* 18 Mar 1985).

During this period, city leadership noted "Whatever changes occur are expected to take place primarily in the older garden apartment developments or along the northern border of Alexandria close to Four Mile Run, including areas in the eastern and western portions of Arlandria," which included Potomac Yard (Figure 94; Alexandria 1974:50). The city projected substantial development in East Arlandria (Virginia Tech Innovation Campus) and mixed use and low-to-medium residential redevelopment on vacant parcels along Mount Vernon Avenue in consultation with residents "to allow relocation of any displaced residents or businesses" (ibid.:36-37). Construction of the Capital Beltway, Shirley Highway (I-395), and other intercity and interstate systems distributed major traffic away from neighborhoods; however, Mount Vernon and Commonwealth Avenues, which still bridged to Arlington, continued

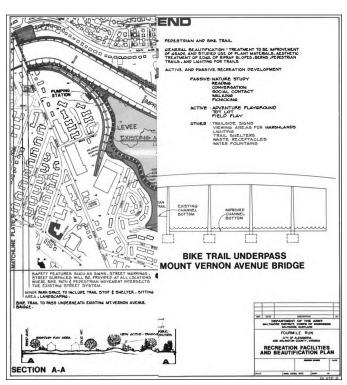


Figure 90. Z-folded page from preliminary plans for Four Mile Run Flood Control and Park (USACE BD 1973).

to serve as major arterials north of West Glebe, which along with Russell Road functioned as a neighborhood collector (ibid.:111). The chaotic "Glebe-Mt. Vernon complex" had "poor relations" with Arlandria and was targeted for a "living-working activity center" to create a sense of place and reduce traffic (ibid.:126, 132, 157). What is remarkable about the 1974 city plan is how similar it is to the vision for Arlandria-Chirilagua today, and how nothing immediately came of it other than the park. With no interest in private investment in the troubled area, development only occurred in small pockets, being the exact kind that the city discouraged in earlier master plans, such as a Pizza Hut west of VEPCo. (Dominion Energy), two more 7-Elevens, which unlike the 1960s one bore the Colonial Revival style designed specifically for Virginia, and a Brutalist/Neoformalist AT&T building (now For the Love of Christ Church) on Leadbetter Street otherwise lined with old houses (see Figures 91-92).





Figure 91. Part of 1974 USGS before USACE flood control project.
Figure 92. Part of 1977 USGS, showing flood control and park progress.



Figure 93. Hume Springs rowhouses and ball field, view northeast after 1975 Hurricane Eloise (Courtesy of Alexandria Public Library).

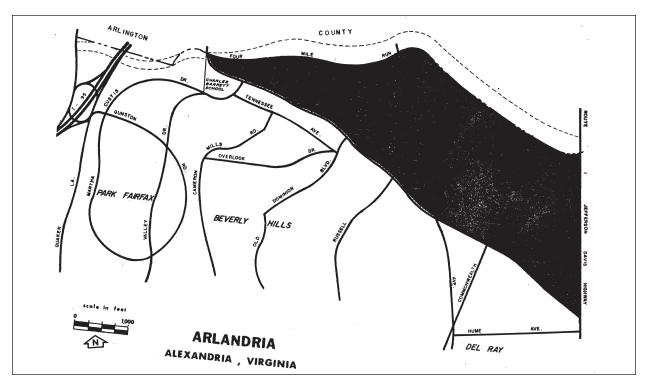


Figure 94. Arlandria's planning boundary in 1960s and 1970s included Potomac Yard (Alexandria 1974).

After Hurricane Agnes, a carpet store and a door store replaced Giant and Peoples Drug in Arlandria Shopping Center. A "psychedelic" record shop replaced a shoe repair place, a sign of the anti-establishment culture that grew out of Vietnam-era protests (Levey 15 Sep 1977). With a shift to multiplexes in the greater suburbs, the Vernon Theatre shuttered on March 30, 1976, after showing its last film, *Bobby Jo & the Outlaw*, starring Lynda Carter before she became Wonder Woman (Cinema Treasures 2020). Across the street, the relatively new tech industry office building had seven vacancies in its nine units. Described as a Ghost Town, "It [was] impossible to buy a quart of milk or a bottle of aspirin at Arlandria," however, there were three barber shops and three beauty parlors, business types that have been a main stay since the road commercialized (Levey 15 Sep 1977). Considered quirky and fun by some today, the Waffle Shop's misspelled awning was not appreciated by all and felt emblematic of the neighborhood's decline in 1977. Albert Small, who developed Arlandria Shopping Center in the 1940s and still owned it at the time, counted down the days until 1979, anticipating that the flood control project would significantly increase land value being so close to the Pentagon, National Airport, and the District of Columbia.

Before the project was complete and land value improved, the area began to attract immigrants from around the world. By 1975, alongside older White residents and newer Black transplants, "immigrants from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Iran, Peru, Philippines, South Korea, and Turkey lived in Arlandria" (Moon 2019:8). Those who came to the Washington region in the late 1960s and early 1970s were escaping minor conflicts or looking for work, particularly in service to American diplomats who had held posts in foreign countries. Young African American couples such as Gilbert and Betty Teasley, interviewed for this project, came from Southern states for similar reasons, following family and in search of jobs. The Teasleys met in 1975 after he moved from North Carolina to work with a cousin at *The Washington Star* in D.C. and delivered papers to where she worked in Crystal City.

They were married by the Justice of the Peace in Fairfax and moved into an apartment in Dominion Gardens (Eaton Square) on Milan Drive. They mainly spent time with friends and family, playing cards at each other's apartments or going into D.C. Though not perfect, the neighborhood felt stable to many until 1978, when the city condemned the Shirley Duke apartments, described as a flophouse by Councilman James Moran, in the western part of the city. Many of the displaced 1,200 tenants came to Arlandria for its affordability and reportedly trashed lawns, sold drugs, high-jacked cars, stole purses, and engaged in gang fights and vandalism. One elderly resident on Edison Street shared that she used to love to walk but hardly risked it anymore (*The Washington Post* 16 Nov 1981).

Along with the former tenants of Shirley Duke came the Alexandria Dukes, a new Class A minor league baseball team in the Carolina League, which leased a city-owned field (now Frank E. Mann Field) north of Cora Kelly Elementary School in 1978 (Figures 95-96). In their first year, they came in last in their division with a roster of unsigned and cast-off players, including Mickey Mantle, Jr. Throughout its five years in Arlandria, the team changed affiliations multiple times, dealt with constant rain outs, and struggled to fill the meager 1,800 seats, which was blamed not on crime, but the inability to sell alcohol on city-owned property and the uncomfortable, school-caliber metal benches (BR Bullpen 2020). During their tenure, the School Board converted four Cora Kelly classrooms into the team's offices and locker rooms, reluctantly even though it was vacant. While the Dukes dramatically improved, winning the league championship in 1982, they never became a point of pride for the city or the quickly evolving neighborhood (*The Washington Post* 1 May 1980; Burgess 1983).

Though it was an integrated team, "As a result of the poor treatment of black baseball players and the increased urbanization of African American populations, baseball's popularity precipitously declined among black sports fans" since the days of the Hume Spring Nine (Trembanis 2006:263). Additionally, the area's immigrants had no allegiance to the great American past time, instead planting the seeds for epic growth in the American soccer industry over the coming decades, particularly in Northern Virginia and Southern California. Nor did the



Figure 95. 1978 Alexandria Dukes Pendant (ebay).



Figure 96. 1982 Dukes baseball diamond at Four Mile Run Park (Frank E. Mann Field), the year they became the Carolina League Champions (Yurasko 2018).

city support the team or building a more adequate stadium proposed near Braddock Road. Thus, in 1983, the Dukes moved to Prince William County, where they became the Potomac Nationals until 2019 (*The Washington Post* 1 May 1980; Burgess 1983). Before they ended up in Fredericksburg, Alexandria said it was not interested in their return (Yurasko 2018).

On June of 1979, Arlington and Alexandria held a ribbon cutting for the Four Mile Run Flood Control Project and Park attended by Dayton Cook, head of Alexandria's Transportation and Environmental Services Department, and Representative Joel T. Broyhill (R). Broyhill "lobbied for federal funds for the project during his 22 years in Congress" and became chairman of the board of the Ohio Valley Construction Co., the prime contractor for the project, in 1974 (Meyers 1979). In the end, Alexandria contributed "\$6.5 million, Arlington about \$2 million, and the RF&P Railroad about \$500,000" (ibid.). The park contained a second ball field north of the Alexandria Dukes and the neighborhood's first soccer field next to present-day Casa Chirilagua. At the time, the city projected completion of the entire project by fall and the addition of recreational boat docks on the stream near the soccer field.

In the fall of 1981, The Washington Post reported:

It has been more than five years since the muddy waters of Four Mile Run last surged over their banks, terrorizing residents and inflicting millions of dollars in damage on Arlandria, a quiet, low-income neighborhood in northern Alexandria... The mud, rats, snakes and sewage the waters always left behind are things of the past. But with the receding of the waters, something else is on the rise in Arlandria: real estate prices (*The Washington Post* 16 Nov 1981).

With flooding under control and land underutilized, Alexandria City planners created a revitalization plan for Mount Vernon Avenue, and developers engaged in bidding wars hoping to convert apartments into condominiums, a growing trend since the 1970s. Much of the city was considered capitalized, in particular Old Town due to its local zoning historic district, causing the price of houses in Arlandria, many of which were boarded up, to more than double between 1975 and 1980. Residents like Helen Hovermale, an Arlandria resident since in 1951, shared that after living through seven major floods, she would not be enticed to leave. Considered a bright spot for those who feared early gentrification, the city developed a program to sell three-bedroom, brick townhouses to working, low-income families below market rate. Louise Drayton, and her husband, Friedman, took pride in qualifying for one of the houses where they would raise seven children. She shared, "It means that I won't be making other people rich" (*The Washington Post* 16 Nov 1981). Those who were unmarried were rejected. Gilbert Teasley noted that they lived in two rowhouses in Hume Springs after moving from Milan Drive before buying their current house on a quieter and safer street farther back in the neighborhood.

Arlandria Shopping Center was once again occupied by a grocery store as well as an ABC store and shoe store in 1981. Though recently purchased by "A-rabs," according to a waitress who offered her customers knuckle sandwiches, The Waffle Shop remained a constant and consistent old-fashioned diner in the neighborhood; regulars like a man name Clarence had nicknames like One, One, and One, because of a regular order of one egg, one sausage, one piece of toast (*The Washington Post* 16 Nov 1981). Across the street, Kentucky native Gary Oelze moved the Birchmere, a restaurant and bar he owned in Shirlington since 1966, to one of the early strip developments at 3901 Mount Vernon Avenue on the corner of Bruce Street. From 1975 to 1995, the Seldom Scene, "an edgy local string outfit that took traditional bluegrass to the fringe of rock at a weekly Thursday night show" began to develop buzz for

the dive bar and attracted drop-ins like Emmylou Harris (a military daughter who graduated from a Northern Virginian high school), Linda Ronstadt, Vince Gill, Steve Goodman, John Prine, and Peter Rowan (Figure 97; Ferris 31 Mar 2016).

Put on the music lover's international map, Oelze began to book acts such as Rosanne Cash, Dolly Parton, and Mary Chapin Carpenter, which generally did not attract locals (Masters 18 Sep 1997). The selection of this site by Oelze is in keeping with the counter-cultural music scene, in which music hall owners who booked lesser known acts, located to more affordable, transitional neighborhoods. Their concerts did not generate as much revenue as big names, precluding them from high-rent districts. Traveling to poorer neighborhoods to discover the next big thing began to hold cache with a fan base who would most likely not move there or spend time in the neighborhood beyond the concert hall. Nor did employees move to these areas. Seldom Scene member Ben Elridge commuted from Fredericksburg with his son Ben, who described growing up within the walls of the Birchmere and playing his first gig there but did not mention the neighborhood at large; he later became the guitarist for the Punch Brothers. Tired of the landlord and in need of larger space, Oelze partnered with Old Town investors and moved to the old Kodak photo processing warehouse at 3701 Mount Vernon Avenue 16 years later. The 55,000-square-foot building was retrofitted with music hall, beer garden, souvenir shop, and restaurant, as well as covered in murals and drew the likes of President Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton but less so locals (Masters 18 Sep 1997). Before COVID-19 shuttered stages across the U.S., hopefully temporarily, the Birchmere remained one of the most popular venues in the D.C. metro area for Americana, Bluegrass, Folk, R&B, and Jazz.



Figure 97. The Seldom Scene bluegrass band played weekly on the stage of the Birchmere at its first two locations in Shirlington 1975-1981 and at 3901 Mount Vernon Avenue 1981-1995 (Thompson 15 Nov 2011).

Despite the uptick in real estate prices, Arlandria was still extremely affordable in comparison to other areas and began to attract a larger wave of immigrants who competed and sometimes clashed with Black residents who had just barely gotten a foothold in White America. In 1979, refugees of the Vietman War (1955-1975) began settling in the neighborhood. After Saigon fell to Communist rule in 1975, the U.S. sponsored evacuation of an estimated 125,000 Vietnamese refugees, mostly high-level, bilingual military officials and businesspeople who had helped the U.S. during the war. This first group, which included the widow of an assassinated official, Jackie Bong Wright, resettled easily. At first arriving in California, Wright moved around and by 1979 was working in social services in Fairfax County, a popular destination for resettlement (Wright 2019). At this point, "the humanitarian crisis and displacement of people in the Indochina region (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) intensified" with more low-income refugees, such as fisherman and farmers who did not speak English, moving to urban areas across the country (Alperin and Batalova 2018). With social services not yet meeting their needs, Wright established Indochinese Social Services (IRSS) and operated Welcome House, a temporary resettlement house, at 3302 Landover Street, on land that once belonged to the Saint Elmo Section 2 developer, Helen Calvert. Located immediately southwest of the current Arlandria-Chirilagua boundary, Welcome House was supported by area churches and accounted for an influx of Vietnamese refugees into Arlandria from 1979 to 1983. Wright wrote that she closed Welcome House, as more grants and funding allowed local social service departments to provide more support to these immigrants (Wright 2019).

CHIRILAGUA

As the Vietnam War ended, another global refugee crisis sprang from Central and South America, much of it exacerbated by United States funding and policy designed by the type of White residents who had previously lived in Arlandria. "The smallest, most densely populated country in Central America," El Salvador engaged in Civil War between a coalition of left-wing groups and a corrupt militaristic government from 1979 to 1992, during which "more than 25 percent of its population migrated or fled" to Italy, Australia, Canada, and the United States. The vestiges of a plantation system not unlike what played out in Virginia resulted in "vastly unequal land holdings and a growing surplus labor force [that] prompted a struggle for land rights and resources" (Gammage 2007). "Approximately 45,000 Salvadorans reported entering the United States between 1970 and 1974 while 334,000 reported entering between 1985 and 1990" (ibid.). With varying levels of existing connections and education, most immigrants found work in the service industry.

Among the first to flee Civil War in El Salvador for Arlandria, in 1980, Edith Zambrano arrived at the age of 16. Her parents already lived in the region, having come a decade before for work. She only chose to follow them to the U.S. after her grandfather refused to let her attend school in the wake of a student massacre by a U.S.-trained death squad. Her journey was long and difficult with smugglers bringing her over the border to Los Angeles, where she then flew to Dulles Airport. Her family were the first Hispanics to move into Dominion Gardens (Eaton Square) on Milan Drive, the street where the Teasleys originally lived in the mid-1970s. Feeling the effects of the Shirley Duke evictions, Dominion Gardens was known for cockroaches, prostitutes, and drug dealers, and she had to share a one-bedroom place with her mother, aunt and uncle, grandmother, and three siblings. They all worked long hours and sometimes two jobs. Her night shift was cleaning a building in Crystal City. Homesickness was assuaged in 1983 when more Chirilaguans began arriving almost weekly, including classmates Alex, Hector, Sandra, and Christina, and cousins Luis, Milagro, Melba, Miriam, and Marina. In the end all but one of her ninth-grade classmates arrived; the one who did not come was killed. "Every

Sunday, the crowds at the neighborhood soccer games grew, and every Sunday, she bumped into someone else from back home" (Pan 6 Dec 1999). The popularity of the sport is evident in historic aerials of this era, which show the field at the north end of the community in varying degrees of disrepair with the sod worn away while the baseball diamonds appeared to be in good shape (Figure 98).

Arriving in 1983, Martin Franco, who was interviewed for this study, spent his free time playing soccer and worked in the restaurant industry, which he enjoyed because his mother had taught him how to cook in El Salvador. He was born in a grass hut in a rural area and came to Arlandria with a friend. He married, had seven children, and did well enough to go back to visit family on several occasions. He noted that Arlandria was full of drunks who slept in doorsteps and could not be helped. There were banks of pay phones in the neighborhood, where everyone's business was on display, as many people could not afford to keep phones in their apartments. When he first experienced snow, he could not stand being stuck, while wealthy White neighborhoods were cleared first.

Arlandria was not the only neighborhood in the region or even the city to attract those who were fleeing. Salvadoran immigrant, German Meija, noted he had not heard of Arlandria-Chirilagua, when he fled in 1980 to Houston then to D.C.; he only discovered it after leasing space for a restaurant farther south on Mount Vernon Avenue (Meija 2015). Rodrigo Guajardo, who was a software engineer, fled the Augusto Pinochet regime in Chile via Miami in 1980 and only encountered Arlandria-Chirilagua in 1984 after he began volunteering as an interpreter for the City of Alexandria Police Department during a period of intense crime (Guajardo 2015).

In 1984, the Department of Planning and Community Development noted that Arlandria suffered not from a lack of public services but "from a proliferation of automobile-related businesses, such as car washes and repair shops, and not enough basic services, including restaurants, hardware stores and dry cleaners" (Latimer 20 Sep 1984). Arlandria did, however, gain a warehouse with 200 jobs and a new magnet school in 1984 (see Figure 98). Theodore Manousakis and Chef Ernst Moser founded Bread & Chocolate with one location in Old Town in 1978. Quickly expanding to 11 locations and wholesale business, they built a new 20,000-square-foot warehouse next to VEPCo.'s service yard for the 24-hour production of artisan bread and Viennese and French pastries. Almost all wholesale, it remains in business today as a supplier to major corporations (Bread & Chocolate 2020).

Another significant development in 1984, Cora Kelly School reopened after it abruptly closed nine years before in the wake of a hurricane. After neighborhood parents protested, the School Board voted to reopen in 1983 and designated it as the first magnet school in Northern Virginia (The Washington Post 18 Mar 1985). In a prescient statement considering neighboring developments today, Mayor Charles E. Beatley, Jr. stated that it was "truly a significant landmark occasion" and that Northern Virginia was quickly becoming "Silicon Valley East" (The Washington Post 12 May 1984). Superintendent Robert W. Peebles named Mercedes Morrison principal for the 1984-1985 school year. With "Teaching for Tomorrow Today!" as its logo, it was "equipped with an 'electronic classroom' to stress mathematics, science and technology" (ibid.). Described as part of "the predominately Black neighborhood of Lynhaven" east of Arlandria-Chirilagua's current boundary, it served 500 neighborhood and 125 citywide children (The Washington Post 18 Mar 1985). Used as a desegregation tool since 1976 across the United States, urban jurisdictions hoped magnet schools would reverse the course of White flight and better integrate schools than honors classes and busing had. In reality, many ended up with segregated classrooms, where affluent children came to the neighborhood only for school hours and spent no time with people from different backgrounds.



Figure 98. Part of 1984 USGS aerial, showing Four Mile Run Park improvements, renovated magnet school, and new Bread & Chocolate warehouse in west end.

In tandem with the arrival of refugees of war, President Ronald Reagan cut social services to fund a nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union during the last years of the Cold War. Another housing crisis was afoot with an influx of Department of Defense workers, agency contractors, and low-wage support staff. So began a battle between affordable housing advocates and developers flipping undervalued properties "into high-end rentals or condominiums that appealed to a new class of White professionals, known as 'yuppies'" (Moon 2019). With immigrants arriving weekly from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Lima, La Paz, Seoul, Saigon, Taipei, and Bombay, Arlandria-Chirilagua was not the traditional White gentrified success for which many had hoped after the flood control project and addition of a magnet school (Pan 6 Dec 1999). But there was optimism among merchants when RealVest Associates Inc. planned to spend \$25 million on the renovation of 599 units in "Presidential Gardens, Beverly Gardens, Dixie Gardens and the Jeffries, Elbert, Green and Alabama apartment complexes" into condominiums in 1984 (ibid.). While this thrilled carpet salesman John Bresnahan, who was in search of high-end customers, it stirred a persistent fear and felt like eviction to lower-income tenants, such as Rosemary Miranda, even with the promise of some temporary set-aside housing. Arlandria Shopping Center announced plans to spend \$1 million on landscaping, parking, and rehabilitation of the Art Deco façade, while lobbying a major drugstore to return to the neighborhood. There was talk of moving the Social Service Department's 400 employees to an old furniture store. The potential investment excited Mayor Beatley, who noted that Arlandria had been out of the limelight for a while; however, city officials would not consider RealVest's plan until a new comprehensive neighborhood plan was prepared, thus, the project flamed out (Latimer 20 Sep 1984).

But in October of 1984, John Hechinger, Jr., grandson of the developer of Presidential Gardens, sold the "middle-income," 21-building complex to Salisbury Slye Ltd., "because he 'thought it was the right thing to do'" though he was unaware of the buyers impending

plans (Jordan 12 Oct 1984). Ethel Powell, 74, had lived in Presidential Gardens since 1960 and worried that she and her sister would be forced to move after a three-year grace period for 20 percent of the residents. One of the 600 tenants living in 391 units in 1984, Phyllis Carp organized a tenant group to fight for retention of the affordable units and the historic preservation of the garden apartments. "Tom Ross, a community coordinator for the Tenant Organizing Project, a Northern Virginia non-profit group" described Alexandria as a city "of the very rich and very poor" and advised the "middle-class" on how to stay under constant development pressure (ibid.). These were the first traces of the community activism that would become Tenants and Workers United (TWU).

Under the assumption that revitalization was imminent despite protest, a young chef working in an Old Town establishment decided he wanted to go out on his own. In 1985, Ralph Davis opened RT's Restaurant, specializing in Creole and Cajun food among fledgling Hispanic businesses, across from the George Washington Station Post Office on Mount Vernon Avenue (Figure 99). After *The Washington Post* food critic, Phyllis Richmond, gave rave reviews, the seediness of the neighborhood did not matter. It landed on Washingtonian Magazine's Top 100 and in the Zagat Survey for seafood on a regular basis and became a regular stop for Washington political insiders. Adding to the list of presidential connections to the neighborhood, it claimed President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore as customers. Still thriving, though currently scaled back due to the pandemic, the restaurant generally drew the same crowd as the Birchmere Music Hall rather than locals in the neighborhood (Tagert 2016).



Figure 99. Looking through the window of George Washington Station Post Office (now Royal Nepal) towards RTs and other businesses on Mount Vernon Avenue in 1984 (Courtesy of City of Alexandria Barrett Branch Library, Special Collections).

After the threat of RealVest, residents had about two years to breath, in which they witnessed President Reagan's 1986 passage of the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, which granted amnesty to more than three million illegal immigrants, and the transformation of Mount Vernon Avenue as numerous businesses opened or adapted to cater to Hispanics. Bob Williams hired two Spanish-speaking barbers.

Before long... Erol's Video Club on Mount Vernon Avenue started stocking Spanish-language movies. Local groceries loaded up on Hispanic foods and, by 1986, one shop was selling 8,600 tortillas a week. Gigante Express, the Miami-based company that specializes in shipping to Central America, opened an outlet that made \$1 million in its first year. By 1986, about 80 percent of the neighborhood's residents were Hispanic, according to one survey (Pan 6 Dec 1999).

That year, Artery Organization, Inc., Potomack Development, Inc., and Freeman/Cafritz purchased 74% of Arlandria's apartments, numbering well over 1,000 units, with plans for total renovation (Moon 2019). Beverley Plaza Apartments (now Potomac Village ACHC) tenants were almost all evicted at once (Branigin 2002). Building on earlier tenant group's work, Jon Liss, a taxi driver and recent graduate of the University of Virginia's History Department, co-founded Alexandria United Tenant Organization to fight these projects, which would displace 3,000 low-income persons, the largest displacement in the city's history. Louise Arnold, director of the Alexandria United Tenant Organization, inflamed Mayor James Moran's "Irish temper" after fliers were spread saying that the city had made housing a low priority. The Rev. Gerry Creedon, director of Catholic Charities for Northern Virginia, backing up Arnold redirected the mayor, who eventually voted with the council to grant the tenants group money for a housing study (Jordan 12 Mar 1986; 11 Jun 1986:C4). Besides a lack of adequate city backed options, many Hispanic immigrants could only rent private units, because they were not recognized by the federal government and did not qualify for subsidized housing.

Hispanic residents tended to stick together, not discriminating between countries of origin, such as Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and did not interact with native-born residents. Not yet bilingual, Edith Zambrano noted when Black people said hello to her at Dominion Gardens (Eaton Square), she just walked by. "There was grumbling from White and Black residents about how the newcomers crowded into apartments, played 'foreign' music too loudly or littered the neighborhood," prompting an exodus of some of the native-born residents from the neighborhood (Pan 6 Dec 1999). Compounded by turf wars and a lack of understanding of one another, the threat of redevelopment fueled discord. *The Washington* Post wrote on June 26, 1986 that keeping up owner-occupied houses in Sunnyside was the primary goal of its longtime Blacks residents amidst the turmoil. The next month, Black and Hispanic residents confined to renting apartments engaged in street fights that resulted in 40 arrests. This led to the organization of a series of meetings by the local chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews where residents could air grievances and find common ground. Recognizing that potential eviction exacerbated tensions, many of the Hispanic, Black, and White tenants moved past differences and joined Alexandria United Tenants Organization and the Arlandria Community Campaign to Save our Homes to protest displacement at City Hall (Moon 2019).

With the sale of a building in the fall of 1986, hundreds of activists marched the streets singing "We Shall Not Be Moved" (ibid.). In February of 1987, they marched from Arlandria to City Hall in protest of a proposed mixed-income neighborhood promoted by Mayor Moran to disperse poverty (Pan 6 Dec 1999). At the urging of D.C. homeless advocate Mitch Snyder, the protestors, including Edith Zambrano and Dina Martinez, completely took over City Hall and

shut down City Council for the first time in its history, prompting Moran to threaten calling the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Moon 2019). Though not accommodating to every person that was currently living in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Mayor Moran was pushing a type of neighborhood plan that grew out of reformist planning theory, which tried to break up the racist and monotonous zoning practices of the mid-twentieth century. Planners theorized that residents would have a better chance of breaking a generational cycle of poverty and prejudice if people with varying socioeconomic backgrounds lived closer together. Poor children would be exposed to different kinds of jobs and lifestyles than that of their parents, and wealthier predominantly White children would not grow up in all White communities that facilitated xenophobia and racism. In reality, many of Arlandria-Chirlagua's residents would not qualify for the lowest bracket within the mixed-income area envisioned.

Influenced by protests, for the remainder of 1987, Alexandria orchestrated a compromise between the tenants and developers, in which developers set aside a quarter of their units for five years for low-income residents who qualified for HUD's Section 8 Program, authorized by Congress in 1974 (Moon 2019). Other renters, such as Dina Martinez, said developers paid them directly to move elsewhere; she relocated within the neighborhood and remains today (Sullivan 22 Mar 2019). At the same time, multiple players began a decade-long effort to boost the neighborhood's stock of nonprofit, public, supportive, and transitional housing and to shield the historically, Black, middle-class Sunnyside from unwanted intrusion. In their ongoing work amidst protests, ARHA purchased 3902-3904 and 3910 Old Dominion Boulevard (The lowa and The Illinois of the former Beverley Park Garden apartment complex) in November of 1986 and renovated them along with over 125 other units of public housing in 1987 (Alexandria Real Estate Assessments 2020; Moon 2019).

Many Sunnyside residents had been there since well before the Fair Housing Act, when the entire neighborhood was cut off to them yet safe and desirable. While they could not control what was happening around them, they decided they could control their historic enclave by creating a Homeowners Association (HOA), a mid-century tool for maintaining pristine subdivisions, which was not unlike Old Town's Board of Architectural Review (BAR). Bylaws were drafted on October 5, 1987. Almost a year later, Lenox Place at Sunnyside was incorporated on September 8, 1988 (VSCC 2020). Two years later, common land was transferred to the HOA, where a memorial plague to the African American Watson family who subdivided the land in 1905 was placed (Figure 100). Between 1989 and 2000, 122 three-story, highquality, brick and vinyl-sided townhouses were erected as infill on Elbert Avenue and on a new street pattern tucked behind a suburban-style brick entrance

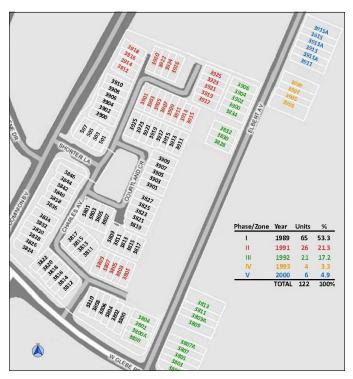


Figure 100. 1989-2000 addition to Sunnyside, the historically Black neighborhood subdivided by the Watson Family in 1905, showing HOA memorial park in the middle of Courtland Circle and new units by year of construction (Lenox at Sunnyside 2020).

off Old Dominion Boulevard (Deed Book 1279:369; Lenox at Sunnyside 2020). These would provide a place for subsequent generations of the original owners to live (Bah 2020). In 1990, Joan Rhodes, the daughter of Maurice Le Bosquet, donated land, which was originally part of Sunnyside, to the city. The city created a pocket park next to Beverley Park Garden Apartments and named it LeBosquet at Sunnyside. In 1992, Sunnyside at Lenox residents directed that funds from the Development's Ownership Assistance Program be used for the construction of the Watson Reading Room at 906 Wythe Street next to the Alexandria Black History Museum, which was the former site of the city's historically Black Parker-Gray School. Opening in October of 1995, the Watson Reading Room contains books, periodicals, and videos on Black history. The additions of townhouses at Sunnyside perhaps influenced the largest building campaign the neighborhood had seen in sometime. Other three-story, neotraditional rowhouses were tucked into a nearby triangular parcel as well as in pockets of Saint Elmo Section 2 over the 1990s and early 2000s.

On the other end of the housing spectrum, the founders of Alexandria United Tenant Organization officially incorporated "The Tenants' Support Committee / Comite de Apoyo de Inquilinos" on July 12, 1989 to help renters better advocate for themselves and perhaps transition to landownership; Jon Liss served as Executive Director 1989-2011 (Figure 101). This entity would file for two name changes as its mission and reach expanded: first, in 1994, to add "and Workers / y Trabajadores" and again in 2005 to become what it is today, "Tenants and Workers United / Inquilinos y Trabajadores Unidos" (VSCC 2020). By the early 1990s, the real estate market crashed as the result of tax cuts and deregulation of the savings and loan industry during the Reagan administration, which contributed to the bankruptcy of the developer of Beverley Plaza Gardens. Born out of The Tenants' Support Committee, "Arlandria/Chirilagua Housing Cooperation" (ACHC) was incorporated on June 22, 1992 with a diverse Board of Directors (ibid.). The following year, the Center for Cooperative Housing purchased around 300 units comprised of the entire Beverley Plaza Gardens apartment complex on Bruce Street, the former Dixie and Greene U-plan apartment buildings on Elbert Avenue and Four Mile Road; and 517, 518, 526 Four Mile Road (The Alabama, Arizona, and California apartment buildings in the former Beverley Park Gardens complex) (Alexandria Real Estate Assessments 2020). Backed by the Federal Reserve Bank, the City of Alexandria, and HUD, ACHC then purchased all of the above units in 1995 and located its headquarters on Bruce Street (Alexandria Real Estate Assessments; Tenants and Workers United 2020). Elected as the Eighth District's U.S. Congressman from 1991 to 2015, former mayor James Moran helped secure the federal funding (Pan 6 Dec 1999). Also in 1995, Alexandria Community Services Board (ACSB), which "oversees the use of public funds to provide mental health, developmental disability and substance abuse services," purchased 610 Notabene Drive (formerly Beverley Park Gardens The Hawaii) to provide for some of the most desperate members of the community (ACSB 2019; Alexandria Real Estate Assessments 2020).

In November of 1987, rectors from eight area Episcopal Churches with the support of their congregations established Carpenter's Lodgings (renamed Community Lodgings, Inc. in 1991), out of concern for homelessness in the city (Figure 102; VSCC 2020). An early board chair, Barry Roman, noted many of their early clients were single, working mothers, who were placed in six townhouses scattered around the city. Because Community Lodgings owned their buildings, they did not qualify for transitional housing federal funds, which were in decline anyway. While maintaining some transitional units, they pivoted to affordable housing, and in August of 1993, took advantage of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) to purchase the U-plan Elbert Apartments at 3908-3012 Elbert Avenue (now Carpenters Lodging), 607 Notabene Drive (formerly The Maine), and 612 Notabene Drive (formerly The Oklahoma)



Figure 101. Jon Liss was executive director of The Tenants and Workers United / Inquilinos y Trabajadores Unidos and its predecessors 1989-2011, helping lead early fights against redevelopment (TWU 2020).



Figure 102. Community Lodgings Board Chair, Barry Roman, and Episcopalian leaders in front of Elbert Avenue garden apartments purchased by the non-profit for subsidized housing in 1993 (Dunbar 2011).

(Dunbar 18 Apr 2017; Alexandria Real Estate Assessments 2020). They also provided other social services such as job training and childcare and converted one of the three-bedroom apartments into a learning center for computer literacy and English Language Learner (ELL) classes in 1998 (Dunbar 18 Apr 2017; CLI 2020).

During the growth of these non-profits, Arlandria-Chirilagua became home to two predominantly Black churches (Figures 103-104). In 1988, Freedom Way Baptist Church opened in the 7-Eleven at 1 West Glebe Road where Robin Gibson was murdered in 1970. Native of Southside Virginia, the Reverend Dr. George A. Fitzgerald moved to Washington, D.C. in the 1970s where after extensive volunteer work with the Central Baptist Church, he was called to be ordained. After serving Good Hope Baptist Church in King George, "he was commissioned by God to organize the Freedom Way Baptist Mission, and on February 14, 1988," held the first Black church service known to have occurred in the neighborhood (Freedom Way 2020). By 2002, the church owned the property debt free and purchased three others in the greater region. While maintaining five choirs and 17 ministries, the congregation provided clothing and food for the poor. Dr. Fitzgerald received numerous awards for his work in D.C., Maryland, and Virginia and recognition from Presidents Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama (ibid.). Fitzgerald's choice of 7-Eleven aside from its tragic history was in keeping with storefront church trends, dating back to the Jim Crow era. Extensively documented, churches in adapted spaces tended to be located in poor areas and occupied by non-denominational, evangelical faiths or Black Baptist congregations, some of which did not initially have the capital of the wealthier or White mainline religions. A storefront presence in a struggling neighborhood also suited evangelicals as larger-than-life preachers could draw potential members who were most desperately in need off of the street.

Founded in 1980 eight years prior to Freedom Way, For the Love of Christ, which is also predominantly Black, moved to a former AT&T property located in Saint Elmo Section 2 in 1996 (USA Churches 2020; Alexandria Real Estate Assessor 2020). Unlike the former 7-Eleven, the Brutalist/Neoformalist influenced building has minimal windows tucked into a quiet street with its parking lot shielded from West Glebe Road commerce by a tall chain-link fence. Despite a discrete location, Bishop Carver Poindexter and Pastor Lorene Poindexter grew the apostolic, non-denominational church into a vibrant organization that serves the poor, sends choirs to nursing homes, provides teen mentorship programs, and produces major Black history events

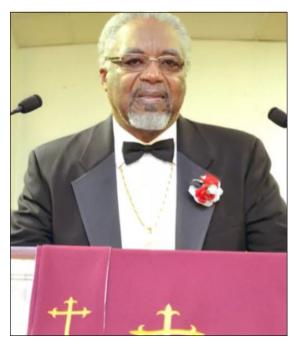


Figure 103. Reverend Dr. George A. Fitzgerald opened Freedom Way Baptist Church in 1988 in the 7-Eleven where Robin Gibson was murdered (Freedom Way Baptist Church 2020).



Figure 104. Bishop Carver Poindexter and Pastor Lorene Poindexter moved For the Love of Christ Church, established in 1980, to an old AT&T building on Leadbetter Avenue in 1996 (facebook).

among other outreach programs. Beyond the church, the couple presents at larger gatherings and conferences on a variety of topics, including self-worth (Love of Christ 2020).

In 1987 during a T.C. Williams High School forum about affordable housing with Mayor Moran, Edith Zambrano's self-worth was questioned by a teenager, "Why don't you go back to South America?" (Pan 6 Dec 1999). Despite xenophobia, she and many others stayed or, as they found success, moved on to single-family homes in the greater suburbs. On the national level, "In 1991, a group of religious organizations and refugee advocacy organizations won its class-action lawsuit against the federal government for its discriminatory treatment of asylum claims from Salvadorans and Guatemalans," paving the way for another large influx of asylum seekers beginning in the early 1990s. Thereafter, a steady stream of friends and relatives continued to arrive in America well after the Civil War (Gammage 2007). In the Washington region in 1999, 1 in 6 residents were foreign born, while that number was only 1 in 12 in 1980 and 1 in 22 in 1970 (Pan 6 Dec 1999). While some residents attempted to move back after the Chapultepec Peace Agreement was signed in El Salvador in 1992, many ended up coming back to the U.S. permanently, finding the landscape too unfamiliar after more than a decade in the states.

At the start of the twenty-first century, gentrification fears resurfaced, while crime and discord dramatically decreased after a huge crack-cocaine undercover bust, the creation of a community policing program, and the opening of "a satellite center with a bilingual prosecutor in a walk-up office above Mount Vernon Avenue" (Gowen 26 Jun 2003; Williams 7 Jun 2004). Though still low-income, Arlandria-Chirilagua began the millennium as a healthy community with a new recreation center added to Cora Kelly in 1995 and a main street lined with diverse commerce established by native- and foreign-born residents over the last two decades. A Uruguayan immigrant, Fernando Irazabal opened La Feria grocery in 1992 next to The Waffle Shop and expanded to a bakery and restaurant by the early 2000s (Gowen 26

Jun 2003). Saint Rita Catholic Church and Grace Episcopal provided services in Spanish. In 2001, the TWU and the City of Alexandria sponsored the first Hispanic Festival of Arlandria-Chirilagua to celebrate the food, music, dance, and art of Central and South America in a neighborhood soccer field (Figure 105). Vendors from Argentina, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, and Peru among others served up authentic and Americanized dishes (Branigin 2002). Following family to the area in 2002 and 2003, Maria Carbrera and Ana Martinez were a part of a group that helped solidify Arlandria-Chirilagua's Hispanic identity as a positive cultural asset rather than a liability to the city. Ms. Cabrera made a mark with the area's first traditional dance troupe for girls, Chirilagua USA, which hosted barbecues to fund raise for the purchase of traditional dresses and dances at local schools, churches, and events.

In the works from 1998 to 2003, Alexandria adopted A Long-Term Vision and Action Plan for the Arlandria Neighborhood that sought to take advantage of the Hispanic culture but did not necessarily have a cohesive vision for how it would maintain space for lower income residents and small businesses. It emphasized the need to preserve existing structures whenever possible and develop with the style and scale of the preserved buildings. Acknowledging the new identity of the neighborhood, it stated that highlighting specific cultural strengths helps create character, the Hispanic market was the most concentrated and fastest growing ethnic market, there was a large, vibrant, and successful base of Hispanic and other ethnicowned or themed commerce with little competition in the rest of the city, plus there were middle- and higher-income households not being tapped. When interviewed for the plan, Hispanic residents had ambitious goals for Chirilagua. They included a teen center, which the faith-based, non-profits have largely fulfilled; a medical clinic, still cited as a need as of this survey, though there are regional services; affordable housing, to which Alexandria Limited Partnership added options with redevelopment of Mount Vernon Courts (now Potomac West) in Hume Springs in 2001; and traffic improvements on Mount Vernon, an eternal issue that will naturally evolve (Alexandria 2003). As of 2003, the city planned to redevelop the 1960s Googie Safeway and Modernist Datatel buildings into a higher density mixed use project. While Datatel was razed in 2002-2003, ARHA plans are just now underway in 2020-2021 to remove the Safeway to execute this project with affordable housing in the mix.

Sparked by the 2003 plan, City Council approved \$2 million in spending to plant trees, hang light post banners, and install street furniture and bike racks (Williams 7 Jun 2004). Developer Steve Weinstock renovated the 60,000-square-foot Arlandria Shopping Center, destroying the original Art Deco features. At its north end, Scott Nash opened My Organic Market (M.O.M.) in October 2002, marketed as a local Whole Foods to affluent, stay-at-home moms, who had helped gentrify the former working-class neighborhoods of Del Ray and Saint Elmo to the south. Weinstock instituted aggressive towing practices, provoking accusations of discrimination from Hispanic residents of the ACHC on Bruce Street and Hispanic business owners who had opened on Mount Vernon Avenue in the previous decade (Gowen 26 Jun 2003). His leasing agent was also accused of discrimination. One year into the city's five-year vision for "Little Chirilagua," the commercial area sustained 20 Hispanic-owned businesses, booksellers, travel agents, bakeries, barbers, salons, and gift shops, but the Alexandria Economic Development Partnership Inc. wanted the businesses to spruce up to become a regional destination. They also wanted to ramp up the Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival to the regional level and facilitated moving it from the soccer fields to the main thoroughfare (Figure 106). Without directly saying so, it seemed that they had a Disney version of Chirilagua in mind or something based off of the downtowns being built overnight in New Urbanist communities, which, like mixed-income community concepts, emerged in the 1980s and 1990s in a reaction to single-use, cul-de-sac-riddled subdivisions. Peruvian Paula M. Coleto, who owned



Figure 105. Hispanic dancers at an early Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival, an event held 2001-2018 (Alexandria Events Calendar 2011).



Figure 106. Concert at the Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival after it moved from a soccer field to Mount Vernon Avenue (Arlandria-Chirilagua Business Association 2011).

Huascaran Restaurant, supported the idea but feared it would hike rents as did Hector Rodriguez Jr., a Guatemalan who managed his father's business, the Chirilagua Unisex Salon. While non-Hispanic businesses like Subway and H&R Block arrived, Hispanic businesses sold papusas for \$1.50, and workmen cashed paychecks at the local cambio de cheques to send back to their families in Central and South America (Williams 7 Jun 2004).

Though overextended in many ways, Arlandria-Chirilagua parents found time to campaign for ACPS's first dual-language program, which was instituted at Mount Vernon Elementary School after a new school was built in the West End to alleviate overcrowding in 2002. Dr. Lulu López was hired to lead the historic program (ACPS 2020). The community also had a great partner and leader in Rosa Landeros, who was named a Living Legend in 2020 for her 20 years of work as the Mount Vernon School parent liaison to low-income, dual-language families. Immigrating from Mexico with her husband and children, she was a social worker who went from not speaking English to creating From Neighbors to Friends, a successful program that bridges the gap between foreign-born and native-born parents in Arlandria-Chirilagua and Del Ray with weekly get-togethers. She also worked with area churches to provide backpacks and coats to students (Ruhe 2020).

The same year the dual-language program was established, Community Lodgings opened the Fifer Family Learning Center for school aged children. The program garnered so much interest that they added on to 607 Notabene and later opened another learning center at 601 Four Mile Road (now Brookside) in leased spaced (Figure 107). A year later, Saint Rita Catholic Church established a 5K to benefit education, and TWU opened a community center at its headquarters at 3801 Mount Vernon Avenue (Figure 108). Youth and adults in the community raised money through small donations over three years and received "contributions from the City of Alexandria, the Meyer Foundation, the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, U.S. Representative James Moran, and BB&T Bank... Alexandria United Teens painted murals on the building to celebrate the growing diversity of Northern Virginia" (TWU 2020). A mural was also added to the side of the ACHC apartments on Bruce Street at some point.

Despite their success, both Community Lodgings and the ACHC experienced growing pains as Arlandria-Chirilagua was experiencing an uptick in crime in 2005 (The Connection 20 Jul 2005). As Community Lodgings struggled with finances, board member Bonnie Baxley stepped up to serve as Executive Director for free. With the support of a working Board of Directors, she helped overhaul the organization and get the word out about its work, allowing it to eventually support a substantial full-time staff and expand beyond the neighborhood in partnership with ACPS (Dunbar 18 Apr 2017). As Baxley stepped up at Community Lodgings, ACHC elected a Board of Directors that let the apartments fall into disrepair while hiking rents. TWU resigned its advisory support due to what appeared to be a self-serving board in 2006. Residents eventually resolved the conflict in court (Alexandria Times 3 Dec 2009). In addition to the non-profit community, local businesses hit obstacles in the middle of the decade. In 2008, a five-year follow-up study to the 2003 neighborhood plan found that redevelopment was not feasible as shopkeepers could not afford to do what the city imagined, and outside investment never arrived (Four Mile Run Market 2011). Looking for solutions, the Hume Springs Neighborhood Association floated an idea to rebrand Arlandria, because the name dredged up memories of floods and crime, proposing Four Mile Village, North Del Ray, Potomac West North, or Sunnyside as alternatives (Partee 18 Mar 2009).

On the periphery of the neighborhood, between 2006 and 2009, Arlington County and the City of Alexandria worked together to create a Four Mile Run Restoration Plan and Guidelines at a time when the environmental soundness and effectiveness of the USACE's twentieth century



Figure 107. Community Lodgings opened the Fifer Family Learning Center for school aged children in 2002 and with success added onto 607 Notabene and opened other satellite facilities (facebook).



Figure 108. Teens painting a mural on TWU's new community center at 3801 Mount Vernon Avenue in 2003 (TWU 2020).

projects were coming into question across the country (Figure 109; Rhodeside and Hardwell 2006 and 2009). This was largely due to the failure of levees, which were planned in the 1960s at the same time as the local flood control project, during Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005. A movement to remove concrete infrastructure where feasible and engage in ecosystem restoration accelerated; however, FEMA's re-evaluation of its certification process after Katrina disqualified the Four Mile Run project in 2008 at least temporarily from federal funding to assist with such efforts (Four Mile Run Market 28 Feb 2009). The Four Mile Run Plan also laid the groundwork for better connections between the area park and the rest of the city. It included recommendations for more amenities, multiple learning centers, festival sites, and a nature/culture center, at points such as Commonwealth Avenue, Mount Vernon Avenue, and near the Arlington County Water Pollution Control Plant. Residents were to learn about the stream, native plants, and progressive stormwater management, bioretention, rain gardens, and rain barrels, all of which was based on natural historic methods before the nation was paved in the twentieth century (Rhodeside and Hardwell 2006 and 2009). Much of this has since come to fruition.

As park plans were in the works, the city renovated the Four Mile Run Park Soccer Field in 2006, and the Alexandria Aces, Cal Ripken Collegiate Baseball League established itself at Frank E. Mann Field in Four Mile Run Park (Figure 110). The city also purchased four properties next to the soccer field in 2007. Four years later, with the help of a group of charitable architects, known as Architects Anonymous, they converted a former Duron Paint Store at 4109 Mount Vernon into a community center occupied by a local environmental advocacy group, the Four Mile Run Conservatory. With it, they created a performance stage, plaza for festivals and markets, and indoor-outdoor space thanks to industrial size overhead garage doors (Figure 111; ACBA 2011). Born out of the farmers market renaissance of the twenty-first century, the Four Mile Run Farmers and Artisans Market opened that year with assistance from the Alexandria Economic Development Partnership Inc., which hoped it would serve as a small business incubator for the neighborhood; it was the only market that excepted Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) vouchers (formerly known as food stamps) in Northern Virginia at the time (Four Mile Run Market 2011).

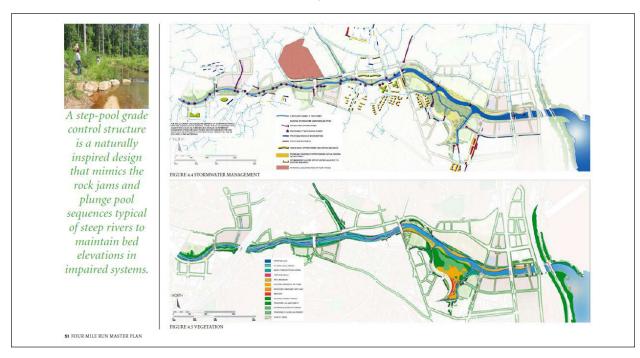


Figure 109. Four Mile Run Restoration Guidelines (Rhodeside and Hardwell 2009).



Figure 110. Soccer field and Duron Paint (now Casa Chirilagua) at 4109 Mount Vernon Avenue (Four Mile Run Market 2006).



Figure 111. Four Mile Run Farmers Market kick-off in 2011 next to Four Mile Run Conservancy (now Casa Chirilagua) (ACBA 2011). The market was established to provide a local small business incubator.

Steve Weinstock, the owner of Arlandria Shopping Center previously accused of discrimination, took notice of the city's ongoing improvements in the community and proposed replacing the center with a six-story, 600,000-square-foot apartment and retail complex known as Mount Vernon Village Center. The project would only provide 28 affordable units out of 478. Fear and protest of gentrification cropped up once again. Feeling attacked in the council meeting while reviewing the case, Mayor William D. Euille (D), who was elected the first African American mayor of Alexandria in 2003, "reminded residents that he grew up in public housing in the city [and that] the city is not the developer" (Sullivan 18 Dec 2011). Despite the protest, council approved the project and renewed efforts with ARHA to facilitate the creation of more subsidized housing. Ultimately, the Arlandria Shopping Center development fell apart by 2015 due to financing that may be traced to the national real estate crash at the end of the previous decade (Four Mile Run Market 2011; Teale 5 May 2016).

While the project was being reviewed by the city, the Alexandria Economic Development Partnership Inc. continued to work with area entrepreneurs to create a more polished shopping area by assisting in the creation of the Arlandria-Chirilagua Business Association (ACBA) and with growing the Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival; however, both endeavors faltered (Figures 112-114). The ACBC attracted a small group of passionate local leaders and held a festive kick-off celebration with Mayor Euille and other city officials in attendance in November of 2011. They established membership dues, a city-hosted website, and social media, which was maintained for three years highlighting activity in the neighborhood (ACBA 2011). However, the organization never filed an annual report or renewed its license with the Virginia State Corporation Commission and appeared to become inactive online after 2014 (VSCC 2020). The reason for its demise is unknown but may have been related to a lack of paid staff or training, or the inability of most small shop keepers to pay membership dues and a waning of interest thereafter. While it was active, the Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival moved to the Cora Kelly Recreation Center to take advantage of the fields and prevent street closure, which some residents attribute to its indefinite hiatus in 2018 along with permitting issues and rising temperatures in July (Figure 115).

Leading up to the 2012 U.S. elections, Jon Liss departed TWU after 25 years as its executive director to take the helm of the New Virginia Majority, which he co-founded in 2007 to tackle a lack of meaningful immigration reform by engaging new voters across the minority spectrum. Its offices are located next to TWUs (Liss 2015). Proposed in 2001, Development, Relief and Education of Alien Minors (DREAM) Act and later iterations never passed, but as Hispanic communities matured and immigration remained steady, politicians began to take their vote more seriously. Having learned Spanish doing missionary work in Honduras in the 1980s, U.S. Senator Tim Kaine (D) debuted Spanish ads in his 2012 reelection campaign and came to Arlandria-Chirilagua for a tour of the community with ACBA President Juan Nelson Zavaleta, State Senator Adam Ebbin, and Mayor Euille (Figure 116). They visited Marcela's Bakery, El Pulgarcito, Beatriz Hair Salon and Academy, and Huascarán Restaurant with Kaine speaking in Spanish to shop owners, buying goods, and taking note of how immigrant businesses are the incubators for a vibrant small business culture (Hansen 31 Aug 2012). In 2012, he and President Barack Obama, the nation's first African American president, were re-elected. That year the president signed Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), only temporarily shielding some Dreamers from deportation.

While the business community was at work promoting the main thoroughfare, volunteers continued to fill the gaps for dual-language families struggling with education. In 2007, the faith-based organization Casa Chirilagua grew out of a Presidential Greens apartment, where







Figure 112. Arlandria-Chirilagua Business Association kick-off celebration with Mayor Euille and local leaders (ACBA 2011).

Figure 113. ACBA logo and website banner developed in 2011 (ACBA 2011).

Figure 114. ACBA promoted the neighborhood on social media 2011-2014 (ACBA 2011).

Figure 115. The Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival began to attract international acts.

Figure 116. ACBA President Juan Nelson Zavaleta giving U.S. Senator Tim Kaine and Mayor William Euille a tour of Arlandria-Chirilagua (Hanson 2012).





native-born Dawnielle Miller, Julia Simerly, and Emily Manciathree established a reading club to address Hispanic neighbors' concerns about their children falling behind at school. From there, they created a Kids Club and a mentoring program via Wright to Read, which met in a donated basement room in the garden apartments on Bruce Street. In 2010 and 2011, they moved to space donated by Beverley Hills Community United Methodist Church and became an official 501(c)(3) non-profit. In subsequent years, the original Kids Club graduated into a Teens Club, and a Local Leaders pilot program was established (Casa Chirilagua 2020).

By 2016, Casa Chirilagua occupied space in two churches and an office in Shirlington and began to look for a permanent home. On May 11, 2016, the City of Alexandria, Department of Recreation, Parks and Cultural Activities announced that Casa Chirilagua would lease the Conservatory Center at Four Mile Run Park, 4109 Mount Vernon Avenue for five years (Figure 117; Teale 2016). While the Four Mile Run Conservatory Foundation moved, it expanded its reach within the watershed and officially incorporated in 2016 to promote nature, culture, and community at lower Four Mile Run through restoration, advocacy, recreation, and education with Kurt Moser serving as director (Figure 118; Moser 2020). Engaging youth and adults on both sides of the stream, they take school children on nature hikes and lead clean-up days in kayaks among many other activities.

The same year, the city completed the Neighborhood Parks Improvement Plan and began to identify past leaders who had made a positive impact on the natural environment and social wellbeing of the community to rededicate parks and recreation resources. Based on the plan, citizens worked together to build an interactive park designed by Rhodeside and Harwell at the corner of Commonwealth and Reed Avenues where a Dominion Energy Substation once stood. In July 2017, the Four Mile Run Park Edison Street entrance was dedicated to Dr. Betty Louise Josephson King, a Hume Springs resident since the 1980s. She was a scientist, teacher, community activist, and photographer and helped reconnect people to the park and stream in the early 1990s. She also served on community boards and remained involved with every city plan update until her death in 2016. In January 2018, the Cora Kelly Rec Center was dedicated to Leonard "Chick" Armstrong, who was a youth football and basketball coach for more than 35 years and helped countless youth pursue education over drugs. Hume Springs as a whole took care of the sections of the park around the rec center tucked into their neighborhood and maintained a community garden. Other improvements to the Four Mile Run Park and Stream Restoration have finally gotten underway with federal support.

2018-: ECO RESTORATION & URBANIZATION

ARLANDRIA-CHIRILAGUA

Over the last few years, the 40-year push and pull over what Arlandria-Chirilagua is and should be continued with opinion pieces on why it should gentrify and why it should not. Then the ultimate story hit in 2018 when Amazon announced that it would locate part of its second headquarters (HQ2) in Northern Virginia, rebranding Crystal City, Pentagon City, and Potomac Yard as National Landing, just as Arlandria-Chirilagua had been rebranded many times before by historic businesses like Roach's Mill and Arlandria Shopping Center. Plans for the other part of HQ2 to open in Queens, New York crashed in 2019 amidst protests of greed and gentrification, considered "at least a short-term win for insurgent progressive politicians led by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, [a third-generation Bronxite], whose upset victory [in 2018] occurred in the western corner of Queens where Amazon had planned its site;" established politicians offering Amazon billions in incentives were shocked (Goodman 14 Feb 2019).



Figure 117. The Conservatory at Four Mile Run at 4109 Mount Vernon Avenue was renovated for Casa Chirilagua in 2016 (facebook).

Figure 118. Active since the early 2000s, Four Mile Run Conservatory Foundation officially incorporated in 2016 (Moser 2020).



Though incredibly developed by Virginia's standards, the D.C. metropolitan area had room to spare for HQ2, if not affordable rents to compliment it, thus, it did not draw close to that level of protest at the local or regional level. Spearheaded by the Virginia Economic Development Partnership (VEDP), early conceptual plans of National Landing Business Improvement District (BID) highlighted present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua east of Mount Vernon Avenue as a forested recreational area (Figure 119). The announcement of its arrival attracted Virginia Tech Innovation Campus on an underutilized site near the former swamp and the region's first magnet school. Officials confirmed construction would begin on a long-debated Potomac Yard Metrorail Station on another underutilized property approximately midway between Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport and Braddock Road Stations. Over two years, people mocked the new name, then gradually adopted it the same way that shifts occurred between Roach's Mill, Hume's Spring, and Arlandria. The long-promised Silicon Valley East is imminent, making the threat of gentrification but also new opportunities realer than ever before. Maria Cabrera expressed that she hoped children in the neighborhood would have an opportunity to attend the university and perhaps find work in the tech industry.

The neighborhood's rich history of advocacy going back many generations; its well-established partnerships; and its young new immigrant and first- and second-generation leaders are huge assets in an attempt to bolster and maintain a sustainable community. Among them, there is Adriana Schellhaas, the Mexican American Executive Director of Casa Chirilagua, and her diverse staff who facilitate fun field trips and empowering weekly gatherings for a large group of devoted individuals poised to lead (Figure 120). Evelin Urrutia, a Salvadoran immigrant who was born two years before El Salvador's Civil War started, is now at the helm of TWU with an eye toward continuing the fight for more affordable housing and equity for people of color, people with disabilities, and the LGBTQ+ population (Figure 121). She arrived in Arlandria-Chirilagua in 1993 at the age of 16 after her mother had been here four years working as a hotel housekeeper. Before graduating from T.C. Williams High School, she convinced the school to hire a bilingual counselor for her and the other 350 English-as-asecond-language (ESL) students (Collins 22 Jun 2020). Perhaps most importantly, the son of Mexican immigrants, Canek Aguirre, was elected as the city's first ever Hispanic councilperson and was sworn in at T.C. Williams on June 2, 2019 (Figure 122). After growing up in L.A., he moved to Alexandria, served as past President of the TWU Board of Directors, held a number of other leadership roles in the city, and was endorsed by the Virginia New Majority among other influential groups (Canek for Council 2020).

Validating historian A.K. Sandoval-Strausz's assertion in *Barrio America* (2019), Hispanic immigrants along with a few steadfast Black and White residents, and public-private partners saved Arlandria-Chirilagua rather than a creative class of young native-born intellectuals and professionals, frequently cited as the sole source of American cities' twenty-first century renaissance. As businesses and government agencies fled to strip malls and office parks in places like Reston and a creative class helped revive traditional downtown historic districts, immigrants like Fernando Irazabal, Rosa Landeros, Angelica Reyes, and Martin Franco settled into neglected parts of Alexandria, Chicago, Dallas, and other cities across the U.S., opening bakeries and fashion shops, improving educational resources, merging traditions, and enlivening nearly abandoned streets. Not to mention facilitating the rise of youth travel soccer into a multi-million-dollar industry, as they lobbied to replace ball fields with futbol pitches. And when they were done with saving cities, subsequent waves of families, friends, and offspring have been saving inner ring suburbs and are making their way to the exurbs.



Figure 119. Virginia Economic Development Partnership National Landing BID for Amazon HQ2, showing part of Arlandria-Chirilagua as largely forested (Alvarez 2018).







Figure 120. Established by three native-born women, the reigns of Casa Chirilagua have been passed to Mexican-American Adriana Schellhaas (Casa Chirilagua 2020).

Figure 121. Salvadoran immigrant Evelin Urrutia now leads TWU as it continues to fight for the rights of tenants and workers (TWU 2020).

Figure 122. Son of Mexican immigrants, Canek Aguirre was sworn in as Alexandria's first Hispanic Councilperson in 2019. Getting out the vote in front of the rec center in Arlandria-Chirilagua during an election like no other in November of 2020 (Canek for Alexandria City Council facebook).

COVID-19 & BLM

Aside from local cultural histories, the year 2020 will certainly mark a new chapter in nationand state-wide historic contexts due to the global pandemic associated with coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), first detected in the United States in January of 2020, and a racial reawakening after the murder of George Floyd by a police officer in Minneapolis on May 25. The idea of mandated schooling and working from home, the toll that the pandemic took, and the progress made on social justice reform were unimaginable at the start of the year.

During the pandemic, Arlandria-Chirilagua was one of the hardest hit communities in the state, both economically and physically, as was the Hispanic community at large in the U.S. As of May 14, 2020, more than half of those tested in Arlandria-Chirilagua were positive (Pope 14 May 2020). Those who did not lose their jobs could not afford to stop working. Many did not have access to personal protective gear or lived in tight quarters with up to a dozen people where it was hard to quarantine properly. "Neighborhood Health, a local non-profit community health center serving primarily low-income and uninsured populations," dropped all paperwork requirements and completed its first free testing day for 236 residents in Arlandria on Saturday, May 16 in front of Casa Chirilagua (Figure 123; Connection Newspapers 25 May 2020). Before then, some residents paid up to \$300 for testing. "Executive Director, Dr. Basim Khan, [said] this community testing event [was] the first of its kind for Neighborhood Health, and that the health center [would] continue to ramp up testing efforts in Arlandria and in other disproportionately affected neighborhoods in the coming weeks" (ibid.).

Casa Chirilagua, Community Lodgings, and TWU pitched in to get community members registered for the event, which was supported by the Alexandria Health Department, the Medical Reserve Corps, and United HealthCare. They along with local congregations and business owners also provided financial and food assistance, however, residents struggled to pay rent and dealt with constant food scarcity. TWU took up its usual role in lobbying and leading protests, this time for more government relief and temporary bans on evictions, all while keeping an eye on Amazon. Like most communities throughout the U.S., an extra burden was added with virtual schooling, so as much as possible, the non-profits persevered in bringing people together in safe ways (Figures 124-126). Faith communities provided additional moral and spiritual support through streaming services online and hosting virtual and outdoor get-togethers.

Just as Neighborhood Health was ramping up testing in Arlandria-Chirilagua three long months into stay-at-home orders, a spring, summer, and fall of protest that had not been seen in the United States since the 1960s erupted after George Floyd's murder. Long lists of all the innocent lives taken in recent years were invoked in protests from small towns to big cities across the country. With youthful leadership, Black Lives Matter (BLM) grew in stature. Confederates symbols were removed at unheard of speed. Alexandria had previously voted to remove a statue installed in 1889 by Helen Calvert's beloved DAR and executed its relocation within a week of the murder. Amazon committed additional funds to equitable housing and hiring around HQ2 and social justice initiatives worldwide. Among others, TWU, New Virginia Majority, and La ColectiVA, an "inclusive collaborative of Latinx people in Northern Virginia," co-hosted virtual and in-person BLM events around the city, including a vigil held at TWU headquarters on June 5 (Figure 127). Scenes of the summer recalled painful events around the police beating of 14-year-old Keith Strickland and the murder of high-school junior Robin Gibson by a store clerk in 1969 and 1970 in Arlandria.



Figure 123. Neighborhood Health sets up free testing with help from TWU, Community Lodgings, and Casa Chirilagua (Connection 25 May 2020).

Figure 124. Casa Chirilagua inspires the community to persevere in the face of uncertainty (facebook).

Figure 125. Community Lodgings continues offering educational programs masked and safely distanced (facebook).

Figure 126. TWU leads the fight for a ban on evictions during the pandemic (TWU 2020).

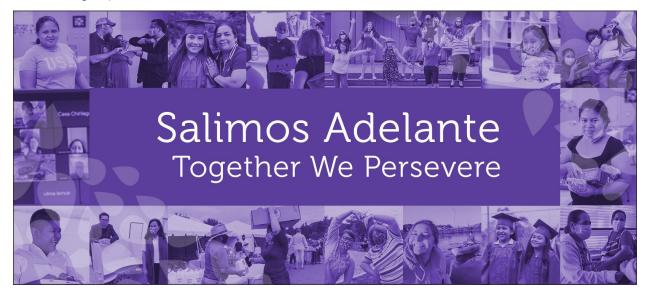








Figure 127. TWU Black Lives Matter Vigil in Arlandria-Chirilagua June 5, 2020 (facebook).

Study interviewee, Maria Cabrera shared that after she contracted a painful case of COVID-19, a nurse from the city came to her apartment, promising to return with masks, but she never saw her again. It was difficult for her to separate from her three daughters while in quarantine in such a small place. Ana Martinez lamented that resources like CVS had left the neighborhood before the pandemic and felt fortunate she and her family had not had it. She focused on helping her daughters with distanced learning while still having to take a bus or uber to work. Martin Franco noted that young restaurant employees complained about having to wear masks and often caught COVID-19 from not taking proper precautions. He was especially careful given his wife is infirm and requires care from one of their daughters, who is a nurse, when he is not there. Retirees Gilbert and Betty Teasley quarantined carefully in Hume Springs and were startled and anxious when a nephew who worked at a site of a major outbreak, the Smithfield meat packing plant, insisted on visiting. They took precautions during the visit and have remained well, counting down the days till they can travel again. When asked about the year's events, Mr. Teasley shared that he is ready for less interesting times.

CHAPTER 2: ORAL HISTORY

The purpose of the oral history component of this study was to add more about the African American and immigrant experience in Arlandria-Chirilagua to an already impressive collection of dozens of interviews available through the City of Alexandria, its partners, and local publications. Prior to developing a set of questions, several previous interviews were reviewed in articles and on the city's sites for Alexandria Legacies; Chronicling the Pandemic: Alexandria's Story; and The Immigrant Alexandria Project funded by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities. A sampling of previous interviews that touch on Arlandria-Chirilagua include the following:

- Edith Zambrano by Philip P. Pan, *The Washington Post* (1999)
- Shirley Tyler by Alice P. Morgan, Living Legends of Alexandria (2014)
- Evelin Urrutia by Sue Kovack Shuman, Immigrant Alexandria (2015)
- Rodrigo A. Guajardo by John Reibling, Immigrant Alexandria (2015)
- Jon Liss by John Reibling, Immigrant Alexandria (2015)
- Jackie Bong Wright, Article on Personal Website (2019)
- Rosa Landeros by Shirley Ruhe, Living Legends of Alexandria (2020)
- Lovell Arvid Lee by Char McCargo Bah, The Other Alexandria (2020)

For this study, the project team requested that interviews focus as much on current struggles if not more so than their immigration or migration story. To identify participant, the City of Alexandria provided a list of over a dozen community leaders, activists, and educators. Of those contacted, Colleen Stover, active in the Hume Springs Citizens Association, and Elizabeth Wang, Family and Adult Programs Director of Casa Chirilagua, replied with a group of individuals, who were a true pleasure to meet. Spanish interviews include an English translation on the left-hand side and the original text on the facing right-hand page.

Gilbert and Betty Teasley met in 1975 after he moved from North Carolina to work with a cousin at *The Washington Star* in D.C. and delivered papers to where she worked in Crystal City. They were married by the Justice of the Peace in Fairfax and moved into an apartment on Milan Drive, then upgraded to a row house in Hume Springs, renting on Dale and Mark Streets before buying their house on Edison Street, where they are now retired from careers at Giant Food Stores and Verizon. Mr. Teasley explained there was a housing shortage when they moved to Arlandria. Now that the neighborhood is so much better, they get constant offers to buy their house, which they do not plan to sell, because they love the area.

In November 2003, Maria Cabrera came from a city in the eastern section of El Salvador to Virginia where her brother and a few cousins already lived. The unofficial Mayor of Chirilagua, she established Chirilagua USA, a girl's traditional dance troupe. She loves to ride bikes and

go fishing and organizes group outings. She would like to see more outdoor activity amenities like tennis courts and park bathrooms. She shared that she got a painful case of COVID-19 and had difficulty acquiring masks and isolating from her three daughters, all under the age of 14, in such a small apartment for three weeks. She shared that Casa Chirilagua has the area a better place to live.

Ana Martinez moved to Arlandria from San Miguel, El Salvador after her sister sent for her in 2002. Her parents and an adult son, who plans to move to the U.S., are still there. She is currently raising three daughters under the age of 17 and is happy with their schools, even as they manage distance learning during the pandemic. She is grateful no one in the family has gotten COVID-19. She feels it is important for the girls to be bilingual, continuing to speak entirely in Spanish with them. She wishes there were still a pharmacy nearby, feeling things have gotten worse in the neighborhood, including an increase in discrimination.

Martin Franco moved with a friend to Arlandria in 1983 and has always worked in the restaurant industry. He is not a fan of snow, which he first experienced in the U.S., noting the wealthy neighborhoods always got cleared first. In his younger years he enjoyed playing soccer but goes fishing now that he is older. One of his seven children became a nurse and helps with his wife who can no longer walk. Born in a grass hut in a rural area, he used to return to El Salvador for visits, though he only travels locally now, mostly to visit children, several of whom are doing well in Fredericksburg, where he has a country house. He laments that his grandchildren and great grandchildren can't speak Spanish.

GILBERT TEASLEY

INTRODUCTION

Date: September 26, 2020, 12:10 pm

Location: Warrenton and Alexandria, Virginia via Microsoft Teams Videoconference

Interviewee: Gilbert Teasley (GT) with contributions from Betty Teasley (BT)

Interviewer and Transcriber: Anna Maas (AM)

Abstract: This interview was arranged by Colleen Stover, who is active in the Hume Springs Citizens Association. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the interview was conducted via Microsoft Teams video-conference. Colleen introduced Mr. Teasley and Ms. Maas via text messages a few days before the interview and via Teams just before the interview began. A few minutes were taken to disinfect Ms. Stover's iPhone for the interview, remove masks, test sound, and prop up the phone at a good angle in Mr. Teasley's home. The interview covers how Mr. Teasley came to Arlandria, where he and his wife, Betty Teasley, lived and worked, and things they have liked to do over the years. Mrs. Teasley was not formally introduced but can be heard off camera at times as Mr. Teasley smiles and looks to her for back up on answers.



Figure 128. Gilbert Teasley, looking towards his wife.

INTFRVIFW

AM: I really appreciate you doing this for us. To start, do I have permission to record you?

GT: Yes, you do.

AM: Excellent. And can you tell me your whole name?

GT: My name is Gilbert Teasley.

AM: Gilbert Teasley?

GT: Yes.

AM: And you go by Gilbert?

GT: Yes, I do.

AM: I know a Gilbert who goes by Gil.

GT: Some people actually call me Gil.

AM: So, I guess Colleen told you a little bit about this. I'm writing a cultural history about Arlandria, and we wanted not only to write the history that's in the books or the newspapers, but we wanted to talk to people about their experience.

I'm going to have a little official statement that I'll say, that it's 12:10 pm on September 26, 2020. My name is Anna Maas, and I am interviewing Gilbert Teasley via Microsoft Teams from my house in Warrenton, Virginia, to his house in Arlandria. Due to COVID-19, we didn't get to meet in person. The purpose of this oral history interview is to help understand the African-American experience in Arlandria's recent past.

OK, so I'll start off with where and when were you born?

GT: I was born in North Carolina.

AM: What part?

GT: It's a little place, Wade, North Carolina. If you know anything about maybe that part of North Carolina, the closest city is Fayetteville, North Carolina.

AM: OK, I grew up near the North Carolina line, but like near Danville.

GT: Yeah.

AM: So, when did you move to Alexandria and how did you decide to come there?

GT: So, I moved to Alexandria, probably 1970ish, the mid 70s probably. Um, Betty, wait, when would you say? [Speaking to his wife who is not on camera]

BT: Uh, probably about '75.

GT: Yeah, 1975.

AM: What brought you there?

GT: My wife.

AM: Your wife?

GT: I was actually living in D.C., and I met Betty, who ultimately turned out to be my wife, while she was living in Alexandria and she was working in Crystal City. And I was working for the, at that time, the Washington Star. And I took some newspaper in the store where she worked, which was over again in Crystal City. And we met, and 43 years later, we're here.

AM: Oh, that's awesome. So how did you end up at the Washington Star?

GT: When I first came up, my uncle was working for the Washington well at that time, it was the Evening Star. My uncle was working for the, you know, for the Evening Star at that time. And so when I first came up North Carolina, you know, he said that's a place that I could get a job, so that's where I worked.

AM: Excellent, excellent. And so you met your wife, and then how did you propose to her?

GT: [Looking towards his wife off camera and smiling] So I always tell her that she that she proposed to me, but the way she put it, I came home one evening, and she said

I said something like, we're getting married. So I believe that's, well, that's a story that she tells. I'm not certain that... I don't know what she missed a point or two. [Looking toward his wife, who is inaudible], Oh, OK. So no, though, I guess the full story is that I went to North Carolina on vacation without her, she just reminded me, and when I came back from North Carolina, that's when she said I said, we're getting married. And so here we are.

AM: It worked out. I like a take-charge, lady.

GT: Yeah, definitely, yeah.

AM: So, when you all were first young and married, where did you all like to spend your time? Was there a lot to do in Arlandria, or did you go more into D.C. What did you do for fun?

GT: Well, we mostly hung out in Alexandria, but before we got married, I probably had some ties to the city, and I would still go over and hang out with my cousins and, you know, things like that. But mostly, you know, we would just kind of hang out in Alexandria at her house, playing cards and things like that.

AM: And have you lived in this house that whole time since you got married?

GT: No, I've lived, uh. So, when we first got together... when did we move in together? [turning towards wife off camera].

BT: [off camera] We moved in together at Dominion Gardens [present-day Easton Square].

GT: So, we actually... there's an apartment complex down the street. It used to be called Dominion Gardens, but the name has changed two or three times. So, when we first got together, we actually lived in the apartment complex just down the street on Milan Drive, and so we were probably there about three, four years, or so. And that's actually where we were living, in the apartments, when we got married. And so, after we got married, we stayed in the apartment, and then that's basically when we actually moved to Arlandria, which was maybe 19... [looked to his wife]

BT: [off camera] I don't know, but anyway, we actually lived on Dale St.

GT: So we've actually lived 27-40 years between Dale Street, which is in Arlandria just down the street from us; we lived on Dale Street probably three years. Then we moved around the corner to Mark Drive; we lived there for probably 10 years. And then we moved back onto Edison, where we are now, across from Colleen. We've lived on Edison now for 27 years.

AM: Oh, wow, that's great. How did you guys pick that neighborhood originally?

GT: Believe it or not, there seemed to be like a housing shortage. There just wasn't a whole bunch of housing at that time, for whatever reason. I've never figured it out, but when we moved from the apartments, there was a house for rent on Dale Street, so that's when we moved to Dale Street. And obviously when some things kind of happened there, that's when we kind of got to Mark Drive and then Edison. But again, I mean, we, you know, we like the neighborhood and we liked Alexandria, and we wanted to just kind of stay in this area, so that's probably why we chose that neighborhood.

AM: Yeah, it seems like a great place where you can, you know, stair step up from apartment to starter house to house to get started.

GT: Yeah.

AM: What do you think has changed the most since the 70s about the neighborhood?

GT: So, well, demographics, obviously, there have been changes.

AM: Or just your feeling, like, you know, the things you do, your friends.

GT: The question again is, I'm sorry, what's changed the most?

AM: I mean, demographics are part of it, but also for your personal experience of like where you go, what you do? Do your friends still live nearby?

GT: Oh, yes. Well, yes, some of our friends still live nearby. Our church is just in the city a little bit on King Street. So, you know, our church is close by. And, you know, I like the fact that if I want to walk down to the 7-Eleven, you know, that's fine. There's some pretty decent restaurants in the area that, you know, if I choose to, I can go to. The neighborhood on a whole has changed, I think, significantly for the better over the years. And we just like to live here.

AM: I'm kind of envious. I'd like to live up in Alexandria myself. Where do you all go to church?

GT: My church is the Alleyne AME Zion Church on King and Peyton in Alexandria. We've been there probably for 40 years, maybe.

AM: Okay. Is that where you all got married?

GT: No, actually, we went to the Justice of the Peace in Fairfax, and I got lost going there.

AM: That's funny. Why Fairfax? Why not Alexandria or DC?

GT: Well, so... well, what you do is you basically, I guess, look at the Yellow Pages and find the Justice of the Peace, that's, you know, that's kind of what we did.

AM: That's funny. So, did you continue to work for the Washington Star all your career?

GT: Well, I worked for the Washington Star until it closed, actually. I think 1980.

BT: [off camera] Either '80 or '81.

GT: I worked there until it closed and then, you know, just, after that, different jobs. But then, I actually landed at Giant Food, and I worked for Giant like 20-some years. That's where I'm retired from; 26 and a half years for Giant.

AM: That's great. How about your wife? Where did she retire?

BT: [off camera] Verizon.

GT: Verizon, she worked for Verizon for.

BT: [off camera] 36 years and 10 months.

GT: 36 years and 10 months.

AM: Wow. I mean, I bet she saw a lot of changes considering all the technology and everything.

GT: Yeah, that's I guess one of the reasons that she left, and then they were kind of moving to different places, like way out, and plus, as she put it, they made her an offer that she couldn't refuse. So, you know, she said, where do I sign?

AM: Nice. I like that. So how is retirement treating you all? Are you planning to stay put in Arlandria?

GT: Yeah. Absolutely, so when I first went... before I retired... obviously being from North Carolina, and a lot of people, when they retire, they go back to North Carolina, so I considered it for a little while. But then, I decided that, in my opinion, there's no better place to live than where I live right now.

AM: Yeah, good network.

GT: Yes, absolutely.

AM: So tell me more about what you all do now within the community. You said you are involved in church. What other things are you involved in?

BT: [off camera] Well, we used to go to the rec club.

GT: Well, so what we did before, you know, before COVID, we would go down to a rec center just down the street, Cora Kelly. You know, we would go to Cora Kelly to work out like three days a week and we bowled on Thursdays, which is just down 395 a little ways. And, you know, we used to like to just go cross the bridge from Alexandria over to MGM, but, you know, kind of COVID put a damper on all of those things. But, you know, we just did things around in the neighborhood, you know, visiting friends, you know, doing church stuff. And so, yeah, that's probably about it.

AM: Yeah. So, do you know anyone affected by COVID or how has it affected you all?

GT: I think my wife had a cousin that had the virus, but she's fine.

AM: Oh, good.

GT: But personally, I don't believe there's anybody in the family. Well, I mean, I obviously know I know some people that, you know, passed from COVID, but nobody in the family or close friends, I guess.

AM: Yeah, that's good. So you see, everybody's being cautious and following the guidelines in your circle of friends?

GT: Well, yeah, they have no other choice. If they don't, well, they won't be in my circle of friends anymore.

AM: Yeah.

GT: And my wife just said nobody has been in this house that don't live in this house since probably March. But we had this little hiccup. My nephew came to visit down from

Franklin, Virginia, and he said that he was going to come over and see Aunt Betty. And so we texted him and said, you know, that we were going to have to kind of talk to him from the side. Right?

AM: Yeah.

GT: But as it turned out, he did not get the message, and so he and his girlfriend came by the house that Sunday. And to be honest with you, it was kind of a tense situation. Right? I mean, he's, you know, my nephew, my wife's sister's son, and they knocked on the door. So, we let him in, but everybody at my house was running around because I don't have on a mask, my wife don't have on have on a mask because, you know, we were in the same house. So, when they came, boy, we were grabbing masks and sanitizer and, you know, things like that. And for a minute, you know, it was just a tad tense, but he sat on one end of the couch, and I sat on the other end of the couch. And I think the part that really made me uneasy... he works in a Smithfield meatpacking plant right now. Right?

AM: Oh no.

GT: No, he's fine. I mean, he's, you know, tested on a regular basis. But I guess just the fact that that happened to happen, again, nobody had been in here other than people that lived here since March, and so it was a little touch and go for a minute. But, you know, it worked out, and we're still fine.

AM: That's that's good. And it's been very hard how families are reacting differently, and the pressures people put on you to, you know.

GT: Yeah, I can. So two of my grandkids live just right over in Maryland, so I have to drive by and wave at them from the porch. Right? Because, again, I mean, we want to stay safe, and we want to keep them safe. And they don't want to make their old grandpa sick. Right?

AM: Right.

GT: So, that's where we are with that.

AM: Yeah, definitely want to get more retirement years and have some fun.

GT: Absolutely.

AM: Now, before COVID did you all travel very much?

GT: So, yeah. We, like, every summer, we probably go the whole month of August, sometimes that may be locally. So my family has a family reunion every year, right, but it's in five different states. There's five chapters of the Teasley Robinson family reunion, which, you know, I'm a Teasley. And then the other part of the family is Robinson. So, every year, we have a family reunion, but it's in five different states. It's North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Michigan, and here. So, what we would do - and the family reunion is always in August - so what we would typically do for the family reunion is we kind of end up vacationing down that way. Obviously, South Carolina, we've spent some time in Myrtle Beach. And when it's in Michigan, you know, we would go to an amusement park or something up that way, we would kind of stop there. And we also have, you know, family out in L.A., although the family reunion don't go there, but we fly

out to L.A. to see them. And my wife and I really love that little place in the desert called Las Vegas, so we, I think, probably for almost five years straight, we went to Vegas like once a year, so yeah, that's some of the things that we've done. And I think we've been on like two cruises. So, that's it.

AM: That's fun. So, if the reunion is in Virginia, what do y'all do?

GT: So, in Virginia, we... so the last time it was here, it was in Springfield, and we had this nice park, and we do on Friday? [looking to his wife off camera]

BT: [off camera] Sit-down.

GT: Oh, so what we do, there's a kind of semiformal dinner on Friday. The thing is usually Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and on Thursday, people are just coming in and doing whatever they want. Then Friday, there's a formal/semi-formal dinner, and then Saturday is the picnic. So, you know, during the dinner, people get up and talk about the accomplishments of the family and babies born and, you know, things like that. But then on Saturday at the picnic, which we usually try to pick a spot that's got a lot of things to do, some walking trails and they got this little thing at the park that we were at the last time – there's a little boat ride that just kind of drive people around. Then we eat a lot. That's probably the main reason people come to the thing, just to eat. So, yeah, that's how you have it. There been a lot of folk since we're so close to MGM... that's where they hit after the picnic or after the dinner.

AM: Oh, nice, so is it potluck? Do you have a famous dish that you make?

GT: Oh God, if I made a dish, nobody would want to eat it. So. So believe it or not, the dinner is at the waterfront and, you know, there are some good cooks, and they do all that stuff. But this year was the first year that we actually had the picnic catered, which, I mean last year, sorry, we had the picnic catered and it didn't work out as well as it normally does when we kind of cook the food and everything, but it's just so, so much work when you do it that way. So we decided to have it catered, but I don't think the next time it comes around, I don't think we will have the picnic catered again. But the one thing that we don't have catered – a lot of us are from the South and we love fried fish, right? – so, no, the only thing we don't have catered is fish. We buy all these fish, and we clean them. Then we have these deep fryers now and then we fry some fish. So that's always a big deal for everybody. And I'm the guy that that generally ends up frying all the fish.

AM: Nice. Very nice.

GT: Yes.

AM: So I just was wondering, with this year, all the events that have happened, like with the pandemic and all the unrest, have you all seen the effects of that in Arlandria with the protests?

GT: Actually, no, I think there might have been something down the street, but it did not, you know, did not affect us. It's been pretty quiet.

- AM: Yeah, it's interesting... interesting times.
- GT: Yes, very, very interesting times. I'm looking forward to the times not being quite so interesting. I'll put it that way.
- AM: I agree. It would be nice. Was there anything else you want to share about, um, you know, just your experience over the years in Arlandria?
- GT: We've never had any issues with, you know, with neighbors. Living here has been a great experience. And again, I often tell people, you know, this is I think is the best place in the country to live, not only Arlandria, but I think Northern Virginia is the best place in the country to live. You know, sometimes you wish you had a bigger house, because you got a lot of stuff and, you know, not a lot of places to put it, but no, everything is great living here. And again, I wouldn't want to live anywhere else.
- AM: That's awesome. That's good to hear. Well, that kind of wraps up most of my questions. And don't know if your wife has anything to add.
- GT: Oh, she's over there shaking her head, No, she's good. So now just again, so you're doing what? you're writing a history of?
- AM: Of the Arlandria neighborhood, and we're going all the way back to the 1700s or even talking about Native Americans who were here before, and then kind of just the evolution of it, you know. I'm sure, you know, it was part of Washington, D.C. for 50 years in the 1800s and then part of Arlington up until the 30s. So we'll kind of talk about when it was a rural area and then when it got suburbanized in the 30s and 40s, basically, when Arlandria Shopping Center, what they call Del Ray, and the presidential commons or greens was built. So, we're going to talk about the evolution of it and a little bit about what's historically important as it is inevitably going to be redeveloped in some areas.
 - So maybe that's a question I would like to tack on, is what do you hope for the future of Arlandria? What do you think of potential redevelopment with Amazon coming?
- GT: I actually, I like the neighborhood the way it is, obviously. Amazon coming, you know, there's going to be, you know, jobs, and that'll be helpful, but.
- BT: [off camera] People are always trying to buy the house from under us.
- GT: Yeah, well, my wife just said that people are constantly trying to buy our house. Right. But we kind of said no. But again, I truly, I'd love for the neighborhood to stay the way it is, you know. As it is with all neighborhoods, you know, there could be some improvements. But, you know, I don't want to tear all these houses down and turn them into apartments with little cubicles for folks to live, so that would be awful, and just we like the neighborhood the way it is. I think there's enough area over where Amazon is actually coming to that they could do a whole lot of stuff. And I think, aren't they supposed to, I think there's some Virginia Tech campus or something coming. So yeah, I mean, you know, that's fine, but I wouldn't want the character of the neighborhood to change. But, I'm 70 years old, so maybe when I'm gone in the next 30 years, it would be fine, you know.

AM: So just hold out until, you know, until you're 100 before you redevelop.

GT: Yeah, absolutely. Absolutely. Yeah, that's the way I feel.

AM: Yeah. So, is that common? Do you hear that from other neighbors that people are trying to buy their houses all the time?

GT: Absolutely. We get little, you know, pumpkins around Halloween with a realtor's name on it, and my wife gets a Valentine's Day something, you know, with the realtor's name on it. And we got this little box of popcorn one day with the realtor's name on it. Chocolate. So, yeah. I mean, that's happening a lot.

AM: I know you guys are going to stay put, but do you see people taking them up on it?

GT: I think there have been some houses sold, obviously, but I think some of the houses that have been sold, I mean, folk actually moved in. But there are some situations where I'm thinking that, you know, people. Bought some properties just I guess, for that reason. My next-door neighbor sold probably about three years ago, and now that house is being rented, and two doors down, the house is being rented, so you never know what people are thinking.

AM: Yeah

GT: I think that's Colleen [at the door], and I think she I think she wants her phone back.

AM: Oh, Okay. Can I ask one more quick question? Just about did you ever in the past decades, did you ever experience that where people were trying to buy your home in the 80s or 90s?

GT: Oh, no, not the way it is now. So, yeah, it's just changed.

AM: Okay, well, I don't want to keep Colleen waiting. I really, really do appreciate this. Thank you very much for sharing your time with me today.

GT: You're quite welcome.

AM: Nice to meet you.

GT: You too.

AM: Thank Betty as well. And you all have a good weekend.

GT: Most certainly. Well you do the same.

AM: Okay. Take care.

The interview concluded around 12:42 p.m.

MARIA CABRERA

INTRODUCTION

Date: October 22, 2020, 4:00 pm

Location: Warrenton and Alexandria, Virginia via Zoom Videoconference

Interviewee: Maria Cabrera (MC)

Interviewer: Ann Gutiérrez (AG)

Organizer: Anna Maas (AM)
Transcriber: Amy Cervantes

Abstract: Elizabeth Wang, Family and Adult Programs Director of Casa Chirilagua assisted in arranging an interview with Maria Cabrera. Anna Maas met Ms. Cabrera at Casa Chirilagua and provided a laptop for the interviews to be conducted in Spanish via Zoom by Ann Gutierrez, who was unable to attend in person due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Ms. Cabrera is outgoing and active in the community, having earned the title of Mayor of Chirilagua from her neighbors and friends. She shared a little about where she came from in El Salvador, efforts to maintain traditions in the U.S., what she enjoys doing in her free time, and challenges and opportunities for her children before and during the pandemic. Among her efforts and activities, she organized a girl dance group called Chirilagua USA.



Figure 129. Maria Cabrera at Casa Chirilagua.

INTERVIEW

AG: Hello! What a pleasure, my name is Ann Gutiérrez and I have the pleasure of being able to interview you today for the purpose of creating a history of the area where you live right now, Alexandria Chichirilagua, right. Or how is it pronounced correctly?

MC: Chirilagua, ah.

AG: Chirilagua, exactly yes. So, what we are going to do basically is that I am going to make a statement of today's date, my name, that I am interviewing you via the zoom meeting program. I have told you, right, about all the details on recording your experiences, to help with the history of Alexandria and this area. And after this I'm going to ask Mrs. María Cabrera, do you give me permission to record the interview and share it with the City of Alexandria and its consultancy ERG, which is Mrs. Maas who is there. Anna Maas. Okay?

MARIA CABRERA

INTRODUCCIÓN

Fecha: 22 de octubre de 2020, 4:00 pm

Ubicación: Warrenton y Alexandria, Virginia a través de Zoom Videoconferencia

Entrevistado: Maria Cabrera (MC) Entrevistador: Ann Gutiérrez (AG)

Organizador: Anna Maas (AM)

Transcriptor: Amy Cervantes

Resumen: Elizabeth Wang de Casa Chirilagua ayudó a concertar una entrevista con Ana Martínez. Anna Maas se reunió con la Sra. Martínez en Casa Chirilagua y proporcionó una computadora portátil para que las entrevistas se realizaran en español a través de Zoom por Ann Gutierrez, quien no pudo asistir en persona por la pandemia de COVID-19. La Sra. Cabrera es extrovertida y activa en la comunidad, y se ganó el título de Alcaldesa de Chirilaqua por sus vecinos y amigos. Ella compartió un poco sobre su procedencia en El Salvador, los esfuerzos por mantener las tradiciones en los Estados Unidos, lo que disfruta hacer en su tiempo libre, y los desafíos y oportunidades para sus hijos antes y durante la pandemia. Entre sus esfuerzos y actividades, organizó un grupo de baile de chicas llamado Chirilagua USA, que se presenta en la zona y organiza paseos en bicicleta en grupo por los senderos locales.



Figura 129. Maria Cabrera en Casa Chirilagua.

FNTRFVISTA

AG: ¡Hola! Que gusto señora mi nombre es Ann Gutiérrez y tengo el placer de poder entrevistarla hoy para fines de cortar una historia de la zona en que vivís ahorita Alexandria Chirilagua, verdad. ¿O como se pronuncia correctamente?

MC: Chirilagua, ah.

AG: Chirilagua, exactamente sí. Entonces lo que vamos a hacer básicamente, es que voy a hacer un statement que la fecha de hoy, mi nombre, que le estoy molestando vía el zoom meeting. Te he dice verdad de todo de eso para para grabar la experiencia que vos tenías para ayudar con la historia de Alexandria y esta zona. Y después de esto voy a preguntarle a Señora María Cabrera, me das el permiso para grabar la entrevista y compartirlo con la ciudad de Alexandria y su consultoría ERG, que es la señora Maas que está ahí. Anna Maas. ¿Está bien?

MC: Yes, it's okay.

AG: And if you have any doubts about something, about the questions I'm asking, please tell me what I can do to inform you about it or something. So. The first question is, where were you born?

MC: Oh, let me... I can take it off, does it matter if I can take off the mask?

AG: If you want, I don't know if they can hear you.

MC: Can I take off the mask?

AG: Oh yeah, you can.

AM: Yes, whatever makes you comfortable. She will keep her mask on.

MC: Phew my mask. I can't stand it.

AG: Madam it is a moving time, who would have ever thought it right?

MC: It's hot.

AG: Really hot.

MC: Yes, yes. Yes, tell me.

AG: So, the first question was, where were you born?

MC: Well, I was born in El Salvador, part of the East, El Salvador, El Salvador

AG: Okay I know the land of pupusas very well. My mother-in-law was from Salvador, I am a Costa Rican widow. O yes, we visited El Salvador several times, and first, we stopped at Santa Tecla to eat pupusas.

MC: Yes, that's the other side. Yes.

AG: How much was it to the East of that area, from, San Salvador the capital?

MC: How many days to Santa Tecla?

AG: Yes, De Santa Tecla for example to give me an idea.

MC: To the west, it's about 7 hours ...

AG: Aye heck.

MC: By bus, by car it would be about four or five hours. Yes.

AG: Great. And when approximately which year did you arrive in Alexandria, let's say, how long have you been here?

MC: I came in November 2003.

AG: And that is not necessary, but they asking to have a section of the population, for an age range. If you don't want to give me an age, it doesn't matter. But if you want to give a range between 18 and 25 or 25 or higher, there is no problem either.

MC: Si, está bien.

AG: Y Sí tenéis algo duda de algo, de las preguntitas que estoy haciendo, este, por favor, decime de lo que puedo informarle o algo. Entonces. ¿La primera pregunta es qué adónde naciste?

MC: Oh permítame yo... yo puedo quitarme, no importa si me puedo quitar la mascarilla.

AG: Sí quieres yo no sé si ellos pueden oírte.

MC: ¿Puedo quitarme la mascarilla?

AG: Oh sí, sí ellos pueden.

AM: Yes, whatever makes you comfortable. She will keep her mask on.

MC: Aye me mascarilla. Que yo no la atoró.

AG: ¿Señora está moviendo en tiempos, jamase pensados verdad?

MC: Esta caliente.

AG: Verdad mucho calor.

MC: Si, sí. Sí dígame.

AG: ¿Entonces la primera pregunta era, a dónde naciste?

MC: Bueno yo nací en El Salvador parte de oriente, El Salvador, El Salvador

AG: Okay lo conozco muy bien la tierra de las pupusas. Resultado mi suegra era del Salvador yo soy viuda de costarricense. O sí y entonces nosotros visitamos El Salvador varias veces, y en primer lugar que yo Santa Tecla para comer pupusas.

MC: Sí, ese es el otro lado. Si.

AG: ¿Cuánto queda el Oriente hay de esa zona más o menos de San Salvador del capital?

MC: ¿Cuántos días a Santa Tecla?

AG: Si, De Santa Tecla por ejemplo para darme una idea.

MC: Para Occidente, son como unas 7 horas aproximadas...

AG: Aye carambas.

MC: En bus, en carro serian unas cuatro o cinco horas. Si.

AG: Magnífico. Y ¿Cuándo aproximadamente pasaste esta de vivir Alexandria digamos del año, cuánto tiempo temé?

MC: Vine como el noviembre del 2003.

AG: Y eso no es necesario, pero ellos preguntan porque están tratando de ver una sección de la población de más o menos de edad. Sí no quieres darme no importa Porque, pero Sí quieres dar un rango entre 18 y 25 o de 25 para arriba o sino no hay problema tampoco.

MC: Okay.

AG: How did you decide to move to Alexandria? Was it a relative who brought you, did you come independently, did you get married, did you ... But was there a specific reason that you were drawn here or nothing else, or simply in search of the American dream?

MC: From the American dream. Yes, well, I came here because my brother was here, and I have quite a few cousins. There is quite a lot of family here in Virginia.

AG: Perfect. And the next question is, how is your house or apartment different, day to day from where you lived before?

MC: I have always lived in an apartment. Yes, an apartment. Yes.

AG: And also, another question, what traditions did you bring with you? For example, I was explaining Mrs. Maas, Mrs. Anna that many of us celebrate fifteenth birthday, Holy Week, the 24 of December. Does your family still have traditions, or are they already leaving that behind?

MC: Well, unfortunately... there are few, but some are always celebrated, but as time goes by, one loses the traditions of our country and the cultures that we bring. And it is very difficult, but we try to maintain them, and in maintaining it we give it life because it lacks the background. We have a girl dance group called Chirilagua USA. Aha yes. It is a dance group that we have. And we always use the typical colors of our country, blue and white, and the coat of arms. We always give the girls the dancers, the flag of the USA, and of El Salvador or Honduras, and Guatemala. To reflect the countries that we present and that we are. And with that group, well, we always try, how to say, always be active.

AG: How many are there in the dance group?

MC: Oh, we have about 20 people. Yes, yes like 20 people. And we did a fundraiser to raise funds to buy our own traditional dresses. This because we say typical, but it is blue and white. But the standards skirt and blouse, serrapo, basket. Yes. We call it the Volcaneña [volcano]. Oh yes, it's a long dress.

AG: Yes. Ah yes. That look and that tradition is identical, that mode started in Mexico and traveled down. And it always made me laugh because when we lived in a Costa Rica my daughter always wanted one, right. And they are well, they are costly, unfortunately. The seamstresses, the fabrics, right, the blouses gathered with the lace, so everyone wanted to be traditional.

MC: And then we did a BBQ to raise funds so we could buy our own costumes. It was successful, we collected about \$1100 from the activity then from fundraising activities. This group is looking for him from the school, from the school that the children go to do dance performances, the open ... how do you say? Open House Yes

AM: Open House

AG: Aha, Open House. Yes.

MC: Okay.

AG: ¿Cómo fuiste que decidiste pasar a vivir a Alexandria? ¿Fue algún pariente que trajo, viniste independientemente, te casaste, te... ¿Pero había un motivo específico que trajo o nada más siempre en búsqueda del sueño americano?

MC: Del sueño americano. Sí este, bueno yo vine acá porque aquí estaba mi hermano y tengo bastante primo y prima. Ahí bastante familia aquí en Virginia.

AG: Perfecto. Y la siguiente preguntan es ¿Cómo es su casa o apartamento diferente, día a donde viviste antes?

MC: Siempre ha vivido en apartamento. Sí vio en un apartamento. Si.

AG: ¿Y también la otra pregunta, es qué tradiciones trajiste con vos? Por ejemplo, yo estaba explicando la señora Maas, doña Anna que para nosotros muchos celebramos quince años, semana santa, 24 de Navidad. Qui decir todas esas cosas. ¿Pero sigue su familia siempre o ya están como dejando eso atrás?

MC: Bueno, lamentablemente...es poco, pero siempre se celebra, pero como que con el tiempo uno va perdiendo las tradiciones de nuestro país en las culturas que traemos. Y es bien difícil, pero tratamos de mantener las, y mantenerla y darle vida porque falta un poco. Tenemos un grupo de danza de niña que se llama Chirilagua USA. Aha sí. Es un grupo de danza que tenemos. Y siempre usamos los colores típicos de nuestro país, el azul y blanco, y el escudo. Siempre le ponemos a las niñas las bailadoras, la bandera de USA, y del Salvador o Honduras, y Guatemala. Para reflejar los países que nosotros presentamos y que somos. Y ahí estamos con ese grupo, y pues tratamos de siempre, como decirle, siempre estar activa.

AG: ¿Qué cuántos hay en el grupo de danza?

MC: Ay tenemos por todos como 20 personas. Sí y Sí como 20 personas. Y hicimos una dinámica para recaudar fondos para comprar nuestro propio vestido típicos. Este porque nosotros decimos típicos, pero es azul y blanco. Pero típico es la falda y su blusa, su serrapo, su canasta. Si. Nosotros le decimos la Volcaneña. Oh Sí queda, es un vestido largo.

AG: Si. Hay no sí. Mire es esa tradición es idéntico, ese modo empezó de México para a baja. Y a mí siempre me daba risa porque cuando vivimos en Costa Rica mi hija siempre quería uno, verdad. Y son pues son costos, desafortunadamente... La costurera, las telas, verdad, su blusa bien fruncida con el encaje, oses todo mundo quería salir bien bien típico.

MC: Y entonces hicimos una carne asada para recaudar fondos para poder comprar nuestros propios trajes. Pero buenos tuvo éxito recogimos como 1100 por ahí de la actividad pues de las actividades para recaudar fondos. Este grupo lo buscan de la escuela, de la escuela de la manverno que vayan los niños a bailar, ¿el open... como se dice? House Si

AM: Open House

AG: Aha, Open House. Si.

- MC: We go to dance there. Sometimes they look for us from Casa Chirilagua, they have looked us to dance at the churches nearby. Yes, to go dancing there with the girls.
- AG: But anyway, when you came from El Salvador you lived with a family, they treated you as a family, or
- MC: Yes. I grew up with my parents from 0 to 12 years old and from there I went to live with an uncle with another family and that's how I went, spending my childhood.
- AG: Ok eh. Can you tell me a little bit about your work? What do you do, do you have some activities? Do you have any special talents that you use now and...? More than dance, I know. Ballerina.
- MC: Yes, I know. Well, in 2016, Alexandria gave me recognition as the best volunteer, the best volunteer here in Arlandria. They gave me the recognition, from my attempts to always help to be aware of what is happening.
- AG: And what about imparting information to the community?
- MC: Yes. I always try to announce and denounce and say, this is bad, this must change. This cannot continue like this. I'm always raising my voice and saying, it can't, it can't be like this.
- AG: Well, I'm very happy because we need more women who will definitely raise their voices, in this country yes ... without the political call coming in, right, but I think I understand very well that raising your voice sometimes things are not correct in the way they make decisions they make. They are taken without the concepts of reality.
- MC: Yes, because there are many meetings, there is a lot of information here about the community and us Latinos as well. No, we don't go to the meetings. And unfortunately, others make the decisions for themselves and when they are done, then we want a voice, but nothing can be done.
- AG: And those meetings, do they not attend because they are totally in English or because the invitation is not extended for a time that you can make some plans to go. Interest or ...
- MC: One part is lack of interest and the other is sometimes meetings located in the... the... what the school is called in, Cora Kelly. It's a little bit far, is not that long, but at least you must walk the 12-15 minutes to get to school. Cora Kelly, they have held meetings and well, you see, we do not go and that is where decisions have been made in the meetings and... and our Latino presence is not there.
- AG: That is not good. In the educational community for, for example.
- MC: Yes
- AG: If you are going to do classes in person or on video, you must do them on the computer, which is affecting many people. And there are many educational decisions right now, which are being discussed. It is necessary to be well informed of what decisions they are making.

MC: Vamos a billar allá. Lo buscan de casa Chirilagua a veces, los han buscado de las iglesias de aquí cerca. Sí para ir a bailar allá con las chicas.

AG: Pero bueno y cuando te viniste s del Salvador vos vivís con familia, te crearon en familia, o...

MC: Si. Yo crecí estuve con mis padres de 0 hasta 12 años y de ahí me fui a vivir con un tío con otra familia y así fui, fue, pasando mi niñez.

AG: Ok eh ¿Me dice un poquito de su trabajo? ¿Lo que tenéis algunas actividades? ¿Tenéis algún talento especial que utilizas ahora y...? Mas que danza, yo sé. Ballerina.

MC: Sí, yo sé. Pues mire que, a mí en el 2016, me Alexandria me dio el reconocimiento como voluntaria, la mejor, la voluntaria la mejor de aquí de Arlandria. Me dieron el reconocimiento, y mi trato de siempre ayudar a estar pendiente de lo que está pasando.

AG: ¿Y nos comuna bajadora?

MC: Si. Siempre trato de anunciar y denunciar y decir, esto está malo, esto tiene que cambiar. Esto no puede continuar así. Siempre estoy levantando mi voz y decir, no puede, no puede estar así.

AG: Bueno a mí me alegro mucho porque necesitamos más mujeres que se levanta la voz definitivamente, en este país si...sin entra la llamada política, verdad, pero yo creo que entiendo muy bien que levantar la voz a veces las cosas no están correctas en el modo que se hacen decisiones que toman. Los toman sin conceptos de la realidad.

MC: Sí porque hay muchas reuniones hay mucha información a través de aquí de la de la comunidad y nosotros los latinos pues. no no vamos a las reuniones Y lamentablemente otros toman las decisiones por uno mismo y cuando ya está. Queremos hacia la voz, pero no se puede hacer nada.

AG: Y esas reuniones porque nadie va porque son totalmente inglés o porque es parte de invitación extendida un tiempo que puede hacer unos planes para ir. Interés o...

MC: Una parte falta de interés y la otra a veces son reuniones poblado en la...la...en la cómo se llama a la a la escuela está, Cora Kelly. Un poquito no está tan largo, pero por lo menos hay que caminar sus 12 -15 minutos para llegar a la escuela. Cora Kelly, hayan hecho reuniones y pues ya ves, en nosotros no vamos y ahí es donde se han tomado decisiones en las reuniones y...y la presencia de nosotros no está de latino, de latino.

AG: Eso no es bueno. En la comunidad educativa para, por ejemplo.

MC: S

AG: Sí se van a hacer clases en persona o en video los tiene que hacer por computadora, que eso está afectando en muchas personas. Y hay mucha visión ahorita educativa, que se están discutiendo. Qué es necesario que uno está bien informado de lo que las decisiones que está tomando.

MC: Yes, today I had a parent-teacher conference with my daughter, and I could only understand a little because the signal was frizzy. And in the end the teacher told me 'I have to leave you; I have another conference' and that was it. I was almost like dropping into thin air because of the very bad internet signal.

AG: Yes, I understand it perfectly because it is a problem that you must solve or see another solution.

MC: Yes

AG: What is, the other question that I need to ask you, is what your favorite thing is to do here and a favorite place to go, let's say a walk or ... Right now, I know that everything is very limited by the virus situation, but, I mean, in your free time. I imagine there is little free time for any woman nowadays, but let's say that you would like to listen to music... .eh... I know dancing is, but anything else.

MC: Well my favorite pastime is riding, riding a bike outdoors. Yes, I would like to take a walk. Well I... there is a group too, but it's stopped meeting that was called the little friends of the community. Aha, we planned a bike rides with about 20 children accompanied by an adult, and ... I miss that because I don't know ... it hasn't happened for a while now. Those things that I love to do are very difficult to do.

AG: Well, well, you must come and see where I live here, because we have a lot of cycling, it is very very popular.

MC: Oh yeah... it's nice. I like to be on the bike, biking, and fishing, the fishing oh yes. It is where one can relax, and suddenly wooossee [excited noise] a fish is caught. I love fishing

AG: Where do you go fishing? To Maryland or....

MC: Maryland, we go there to Sandy... Sandy Point, Sandy Point and the other one is called... Local Point, yes.

AG: Enjoying a good seafood platter

MC: Yes, a good seafood platter, I love it. On Tuesday we went to grab a big haver. Good fun.

AG: Since you moved to Chirilagua, what have you noticed has changed? The population, missing stores, more restaurants? any new schools? a church, more people, how do you see that the area has changed?

MC: Well, the area has changed a lot since I came, about 17 years ago. It has changed a lot. For example, we have this place, which we did not have before and my three girls have been able to attend, were and are involved in this program. And this program has come to change the community. Especially for us who have children in the schools.

AG: What is this program?

MC: This program is called, Casa Chirilagua. Your house is my house. Hahaha. Yes, yes, yes yes, the pupusas. This program has changed us and is helping the community a lot. Yes.

AG: Ah Ok. I'm just making some notes when we're talking.

- MC: Si, hoy yo tuve conferencia con mi niña y fue poco lo que pude entender porque la señal se frisaba. Y al final me dice la maestra, te tengo que dejar tengo otra conferencia y eso fue todo. Yo casi quedé como en el aire porque la señal muy mala del internet.
- AG: Sí lo entiendo perfectamente porque es un problema que tiene que resolver o ver otra solución de lo que estamos.
- MC: Si
- AG: Cual es, la otra pregunte que pide que te haga es cuál es tu cosa favorita para hacer aquí y un lugar favorito para ir, digamos paseo o...ahorita yo sé que está muy limitada por la situación del virus ese, pero, o sea, en su tiempo libre me imagino que el poco tiempo libre como cualquier mujer hoy día, pero que digamos que te gustaría ser escuchar música....eh...yo sé que es bailar definitivamente pero eh.
- MC: Bueno mi tiempo favorito andar en bicicleta andar al aire libre. Sí hemos tenido paseo. Bueno yo...hay un grupo también, pero dejemos de funcionar que se llamaba lo, los pequeños amigos de la comunidad. Ajá yo planeamos paseo de bicicleta como de 20 niños acompañado por un adulto, y ...extraño eso porque no se...no se ha dado por ahora así es bien difícil esas cosas que me encantan.
- AG: Pues qué bien pues tenéis que venir a ver aquí a dónde vivo, porque tenemos el deporte de la bici es muy muy popular.
- MC: Ah sí...es bonito. Me gusta estarte la bicicleta, la bicicleta, y la pesca, la pesca oh sí. Es que está relajado uno, y de repente wooossee. Se funciona. La pesca me encanta
- AG: ¿Dónde va a pescar? A Maryland o....
- MC: Maryland, vamos allí a Sandy ...Sandy Point, Sandy Point y el otro se llama...Point Local, sí.
- AG: Una buena mariscada
- MC: Una buena mariscada, me encanta. El martes fuimos a agarra a cachar haber grande haber. Bien divertido.
- AG: Desde que pasaste a vivir a Chirilagua, ¿qué notas que se ha cambiado? ¿digamos la población, tiendas desaparecidos, más restaurantes? algún colegio nuevo? una iglesia, más gente, ¿cómo ves, que ha cambiado la zona?
- MC: Bueno, la zona ha cambiado bastante desde que yo vine, hace como 17 años. Ha cambiado bastante, por ejemplo, tenemos este local, que antes no lo teníamos y mis tres niñas, han estado, están, estuvieron y están en este programa. Y este programa ha venido a cambiarlo. A nosotros que tenemos niños en las escuelas.
- AG: ¿Que este programa es este?
- MC: Este programa se llama, la Casa Chirilagua. Tu casa es mi casa. Jajá. Si, sí, Sí sí, las pupusas. Este programa ha venido a cambiar y está ayudando bastante a la comunidad. Si.
- AG: Ah Ok. Estoy haciendo nada más unos apuntes, cuando estamos hablando. Por a no...

- MC: And the other is stores, there are new stores that weren't there before, Um hum. But they changed.
- AG: Can you say how, are there more grocery stores like Costa Rica, what type of stores, with more products from our own market, or let's say the Seven Eleven you can find on any corner.
- MC: Yes
- AG: I would you say more typical grocery stores, let's say, uh, you know what products they sell. When I remember the ready instant coffee from El Salvador.
- MC: Yes, yes, yes so tasty. For that store, that one ... Yes, there is this one new store as well and that one has quite a few things from Central America. Products that Latinos use, we consume them. Yes.
- AG: Ah okay, because sometimes the cuts of meat, let's say in the butcher shop, are different from the ones here.
- MC: Yes, there are stores, there is also a new pizza place that they put in. There's a new pizza they put in and it's good. Nicer and closer, one can walk to it. It's good change in the community. And what else. Ahm. There is a program that works for non-profit purposes, called a 'Community Lawyer'. That one works as a non-profit with children from the school. They help the children do their homework, they have two classrooms. They have two classrooms. They have the Benenote and on the Burnside there at 601. Yes. And it is good because it is helping the children with their schoolwork.
- AG: Onto the next question or little question. I need to ask, how has the pandemic virus affected your family? Many people know it has been, well, difficult.
- MC: Well, this pandemic, I was talking to someone about the pandemic, it came ... it came to divide, to divide us and, and as it has come to unify us, because we are like that. Well, in my house, there was not much communication before, because everyone worked at school and everyone arrived at home. Thus, a rhythm of life, yes. But with this there is a little more communication during the pandemic, because unfortunately, many of us have been left without work right now.
- AG: What I see are a lot of different impacts. In other words, for your family, did you receive something through school or anything, on what you should do to protect oneself? Have there been any ...?
- MC: From the government, the state, the city, I have had nothing, I have had no benefits. Even when the nurse decided to send me a mask to use because I had the virus, she still hasn't sent anything.
- AG: Yes, tell me ma'am.
- MC: I was infected with the virus, and it was strange because only I caught the virus from my family, only me.
- AG: Thank goodness. Well, I see very well, so you must have recovered very quickly.

- MC: Y lo otro es tienda habido tiendas nuevas que antes no estaban, Um hum. Pero cambiaron.
- AG: Digamos como como nosotros dimos en Costa Rica más pulpería tipo de esto que es más con productos para el mercado propio o digamos el Seven Eleven vos encontrarse en cualquier esquina.
- MC: Si
- AG: Pero dijo yo más tiendas de abarrotes típicos, digamos, eh que se yo que vende. Cuando yo me acuerdo el café instantáneo listo del Salvador.
- MC: Si, Si, Sí rico. Sí esa tienda, ese... Sí esta tiene a venida una nueva tienda también y éste hay bastantes cosas de Centroamérica. Que nosotros lo latino las usamos, las consumimos. Si.
- AG: Ah okay, porque a veces las cortes de carne digamos en la carnicería son distintas de los de aquí.
- MC: Sí hay, tiendas hay una pizza nueva también que pusieron. Hay una pizza nueva que pusieron y está bien. Sí más cómoda y más cerquita, uno puede caminar. Está bien cambio que se miran en la comunidad. Y que más. Ahm. Está un programa que trabaja sin fines de lucro, que se llama community lawyer. Ese trabaja sin fines de lucro también con chicos de la escuela, les ayudan a hacer las tareas los niños, tienen dos salones, tienen dos salones, tienen dos salones ellos. Tienen la nota bene y en el Burnside ahí en el 601. Si. Y es bueno porque está ayudando a los chicos con la con la escuela con los trabajos de la escuela.
- AG: Quería ver que era hecho la preguntar o preguntita. A pregunten, ¿que cómo es que la pandemia el virus es afectado su familia? Que mucha gente sabe que eso es, bueno, difícil.
- MC: Bueno, esta pandemia, éste estaba hablando con alguien que está pandemia vino... vino a perfilarlos, a perfilarlos y, y como que ha venido unirlo, porque como que. Bueno en mi casa como que no había mucha comunicación, porque todos trabajando todos en la escuela y llegaba cada quien y así y un ritmo de vida, sí. Pero con esto hay un poquito más de comunicación y la pandemia, pues lamentablemente, nos hemos quedado mucho sin trabajo ahorita.
- AG: Lo que yo veo muy afectados. ¿O sea, en tu familia recibieron algo por medio de escuela o digamos que es lo que hay deben ser para protegerse uno? ha habido alguna...?
- MC: Miré que, de parte del gobierno, del Estado, de la ciudad, no tuve nada, no tuve nada de beneficios. Aúna la enfermera quedó de mandarme una mascarilla para que la usará porque yo estuve el virus, todavía no recibe nada.
- AG: Sí le diré, ay, señora.
- MC: Yo fui afectada con el virus, y que raro porque sólo yo lo agarré el virus en la casa solamente yo.
- AG: Gracias a Dios. Pues la veo muy bien, así es que te debes haber recuperado muy rápido.

- MC: Yes, I spend 3 weeks at home. 3 weeks ago, it is all good now, it was very painful, it is disease. And how do I say it is was well, well, complicated, it is complicated to isolate yourself when an apartment is only one bedroom, two bedrooms, and the space is very small. And well, it was very complicated. I was looking for a place, somewhere I could go to isolate myself, but they asked me if I had health insurance, if I had a way to pay, I could go there, but no, no, I do not have insurance or a Social Security. It is very difficult. It is very difficult. I was looking around for somewhere to isolate myself. Because I was scared for my girls. I have an 11-year-old girl. I have three girls. And ... it is very difficult. As I've said, to move away and isolate oneself is complicated, because one does not have the space. And well that is good now, that was very complicated. The disease for an immigrant who lives with 6 or 5 people in an apartment in one bedroom. It is very difficult.
- AG: And so, the nurse never sent the masks?
- MC: They never sent the masks, they never sent them, thee never sent them. And food I never received anything from the city, I never received food at home. Maybe some sisters or someone left me a bag and behind the screen door. That was all.
- AG: Well, you've earned your place in heaven, let me tell you, hell. Let me see what else, what is your hope for the future? Eh they say if one is a parent or a grandparent, well, rather a parent because I do not your face like a grandmother yet. Haha
- MC: My eldest is barely fourteen.
- AG: What would you like to change for your daughters? You say you have three daughters. What would you like to see that there would be in the future for them? More Education that is affordable? ehhh, that is accessible.
- MC: Yes, more accessible. Well, I would like there to be more education, more accessible education, for my girls or for our boys in the community. And orientation, orientation and the other thing is that we are waiting to change as well. I know that Virginia Virgi- is coming, Virginia Tech school is coming here Alexandria as well, that school, we hope, it comes to help the community and that our children can use that school and go to school at a fair price.
- AG: Yes, let's say more scholarships, right?
- MC: More scholarships, more scholarships, we need more scholarships, yes.
- AG: And of your three daughters, some of them have a specific interest in studying technology, computing, space, engineering, becoming doctors.
- MC: I have one who wants to become an anesthesiologist. Yes. And today we were at the parent-teacher conference. And she says that it's going well in her studies during the conference. She says that she is doing well in the medical class, that she already takes, she is already in high school. Yes, she wants to be an anesthesiologist and the other one wants to be a nurse. The other one is still undecided.
- AG: Good. Sometimes it takes a while, let me tell you, sometimes is not just easy. And for the Arlandria-Chirilagua area, for this area, what would you like to see more of? something else? more programs in the community? Well I think that you already touched on this more or less in the other answer, ehm. But yes. If you had a vision of what might need?

MC: Sí pace 3 semana en casa. Hace 3 semanas, es bien, es bien doloroso, es enfermedad. Y cómo le digo es bien, bien, complicado, es aislarse cuándo un apartamento es de una recámara, dos recámaras y el espacio es bien chiquito. Y pues uno está allí bien complicado. Yo estuve buscando para un lugar, Sí podía ir a un lugar aislarme, pero me dijeron que sí tenía un seguro médico, tenía algo para para pagar, Sí irme yo para allá, pero no, no, no tengo uno que no tiene un seguro médico o un Social Security. Es bien difícil. Es bien difícil. Porque yo estaba buscando por ahí por aislarme. Porque me daba miedo por mis niñas. Tengo una niña de 11 años. Tengo tres. Y...es bien difícil. Como se dícese, hacer alejamiento y aislarse uno, ahí porque uno no tiene el espacio. Y pues eso es bien, es bien complicado esa, esa enfermedad para uno de inmigrante y que vive con 6 o 5 personas en un apartamento en una recámara. Es bien difícil.

AG: ¿Y así es que la enfermera nunca envío las máscaras?

MC: Nunca envió las máscaras, nunca las envió, nunca las envió. Y comida yo nunca recibí de parte de la de la ciudad nunca recibí comida en la puerta. Tal vez algunas hermanas o alguien me deja una bolsita y atrás la puerta y entre todo. Eso era todo.

AG: Bueno usted se ganó el cielo ya déjame decirte, a carachos. Déjame ver qué otra cosa, para el futuro las esperanzas. Eh dicen Sí uno es pariente o abuelo, pues más bien pariente porque no la veo cara de abuela todavía. Jaja

MC: Apenas que tienen catorce años.

AG: Que es lo que te gustaría ver para sus hijas. Decís que tenéis tres hijas. Que te gustaría ver que hubiera en el futuro para ellos, más de Educación con precio pues ehhh, que tengo yo accesible.

MC: Si más accesible. Bueno me gustaría que hubiera más educación, más accesible, para mis niñas o para nuestros chicos de la comunidad. Y orientación, orientación y lo otro es que estamos esperando el cambio bien. Yo sé que viene Virginia virgi-, colegio de Virginia Tech parece aquí Alexandria bien, ese colegio esperemos que venga para ayudar a la comunidad y qué pues nuestros hijos puedan usar ese colegio y llenado a ese colegio a un precio justo.

AG: Sí, digamos más becas verdades

MC: Mas becas, más becas, necesitamos más becas, sí.

AG: Y de tus tres hijas tiene alguno de ellos intereses específicos estudiar tecnología, computación, espacio, ingeniería, doctor

MC: Tengo una que quiere hacer un anestesiólogo. Si. Y hoy estuvimos con el maestro. Y dice que va bien, estuvimos la conferencia. Dice que va bien en la clase de doctora, que ya la lleva, ya está en la high school. Sí y lleva a eso anestesiólogo y la otra y que quiere ser enfermera. La otra allí anda todavía.

AG: Bueno. A veces es cuesta un tiempo, déjame decirte a veces es no es así nomás. Y para la zona Arlandria-Chirilagua, ¿para esta zona que te gustaría ver más? algo más más programas en la comunidad ahí. Bueno yo creo que eso ya la tocaste más o menos en el otro, ehm. Pero así sí. ¿Si hubiera ver una visión de lo que podría venir?

MC: Well, I would like it there to be more parks, like a court, what do they call the one where we have a ball.

AG: Football?

MC: No.

AG: Tennis?

MC: Yes Tennis. Maybe a tennis court or more parks

AG: More green zones?

MC: Yes, more green areas and... the other thing that I have always said, and nobody wants to listen to me, I think if I had the opportunity, it's hum... I have always wished and the elderly people in the community, that there were some outside bathrooms. A few bathrooms outside would be good because when you are walking outside and suddenly you are out with your child and there is a man urinating outside. Uhhh in the open air. We also need water fountains to drink water. We need that, we have already touched on it previously, in other meetings, but it has stayed that way.

AG: Oh, I know they have ears, nobody can hear. They have them covered.

MC: Covered. The other thing is that we have always said it, is that here in the city of Arlandria, when it snows, it takes time for them to come clean. It takes time for them to come to clean the snow from the trees and it costs them to come clean. Maybe it's because we live in a Latino area, but we do report it, but go to the area of the American's and see how quickly they clean the streets and cut the trees. Politics is dirty.

AG: And the local representative, does yours represent the Latin American interests? He has been a congressman sometime. For example, we here in the area where I live there is a lady who is active... she... is originally from Peru and she is running. Her name is ... oh my god ... it will come to me in a moment um and she ... her goal is to try to help the Latin American community because here in Manassas in this area of Virginia, where I am we also have a lot representation from countries of Central America. Elizabeth Guzmán is her name. Elizabeth Guzmán has insisted on making the voices of those who have emigrated here from Central America more pronounced. And I have talked with her a lot and recently in past conversations, to ask a more question because before we had representation in the capital, in Richmond. In this area I do not know how far their constituency goes, but I believe she is the first Latin woman who is in the Capitol in Richmond.

MC: Oh yes

AM: Ann, A good thing to share, our coordinator Liz Wang, told me to ask her about shared this evening that Maria was voted mayor of her community. That Maria was...

AG: I have a little bit on that. If the lady asks, if at any time you were... you received the honor of the mayor of Chirilagua?

AM: She could be the next Elizabeth Guzman.

MC: Bueno me gustaría que viniera como más parques, como una cancha, cómo lo llaman de esa que tenemos una pelota.

AG: ¿El fútbol?

MC: No.

AG: ¿Tennis?

MC : Si Tennis. Sí una cancha de tenis, más parques

AG: ; Mas zonas verdes?

MC: Sí más zonas verdes y...lo otro que yo siempre lo he dicho y como que nadie me quiere escuchar, y creo que tengo la oportunidad, es hum. Siempre yo he deseado y ancianos en la comunidad que haya unos baños afuera. Unos baños afuera porque uno anda afuera caminando y de repente va con su niño y hay un hombre orinándose. Que ehhh en el aire libre. Sí necesitamos baños o también necesitamos un chorro de esas que uno le puchas para tomar agua. Sí necesitamos eso ya lo hemos tocado en otras veces es ese tema, pero se ha quedado así.

AG: Oh se en los oídos, nadie puedo escuchar. Tapados.

MC: Tapado. Lo otro es que siempre lo hemos dicho, es que aquí en la ciudad del Arlandria, cuando nieva cuesta para que vengan a limpiar. Cuesta que vengan a limpiar la nieve se calle en árboles y cuesta que venga a limpiar. Será porque vivimos latino, pero el reporte lo hacemos, pero vaya a la zona de los blancos rapiditos, los limpian y se cortan los árboles. La política es sucia.

AG: ¿Y el representante local, suyo representa el credo de los intereses de Latinoamérica? Él tiene alguna vez el congresista, por ejemplo, nosotros aquí en la zona alfar día donde vivo hay una señora que se active...se...es de Perú originalmente y ella está corriendo. Se llama...ay dios mío... se me va a venir la cabeza en un momento un y ella tiene una... su meta es de tratar de ayudar a la comunidad Latinoamérica porque aquí en Manassas en esta zona de Virginia y que estoy también tenemos mucho muchos cuidados de los países de Centroamérica. Elizabeth Guzmán se llama. Elizabeth Guzmán y ella ha empeñado en querer hacer más pronunciado la voz de los que han emigrado aquí de los países Centroamérica Y yo ha conversado con ella mucho y más bien ahorita pasado en las conversaciones. Hacer un poquito más las preguntas porque ayer represente en el capital, en Richmond esta zona yo no sé hasta dónde llega su zona de representación, pero yo creo que ellos la primera mujer latina que está en él, en el Capitolio en Richmond.

MC: OSí

AM: Ann, Good thing to share, our coordinator Liz Wang, told me to ask her about shared this evening that Maria was voted mayor of her community. That Maria was...

AG: I have a little bit on that. ¿Si la señora pregunta, Sí usted en algún momento fue... recibiste el honor del alcalde de Chirilagua?

AM: She could be the next Flizabeth Guzman.

- MC: Hahaha. Well, she tells me that everyone calls her the mayor of Armando, and they will tell her everything. Yes, it is my nickname. Yes
- AG: Oh good, then. Yes, is that how you became famous, right? I think you have a political career in the future.
- MC: Yes. So, they tell me that they throw me into politics. I say not politics.
- AG: Well, I know, I know that it is difficult right now because of that we are ... transitioning the United States it is a bit of a changing time. I see that you have done a lot to help the community and I think that is the beginning.
- MC: Yes, yes. Yes, because I go out to the street and everyone now says Maria, Hello Maria. With excitement.
- AG: If I must find you, I will just say where is Maria, and they will give me direction, from there to here.
- MC: Yes, and my girl tells me, Mommy, why do you talk to people all the time? Oh, my love, I tell them, you must be popular, you must be 'nice', as you say.
- AG: Well, you feel like it, you don't have to do much politics. Magnificent. Well allow me a second, I'm going to ask Anna if she needs anything else. Anna I've got this covered, I've been writing notes so I can give you the feedback on the translation point by point. Are there any other questions that you might have, that you didn't think of before because most of these we've covered?
- AM: Actually, I think this is great, and we are actually closing in on 45 minutes. And we'll need to wrap up and I understood a lot of it, um obviously I couldn't have carried on a conversation like that. Tell her we were are very, very, grateful for her time today.
- AG: Mrs. Anna asks, or says, she says that, in my name too, we are very grateful that we have had the time to come and sit and do an interview. Let's say about aspirations, feelings, and suggestions, to be able to try to make a change. And not only can one say, I promise such a thing or promise I give it. It really must be done, and I believe that every day the Latino community will grow.
- MC: You see, the last time they came from the city of Alexandria, we gathered, and we made groups around the tables, and we wrote everything we need in the community but ...
- AG: And nothing has happened from that?
- MC: No, nothing has happened from that. I have not seen anything.
- AG: And that was how long ago? Maria?
- MC: I know it was a year ago we had a talks and various needs came up, that we need in the community and nothing else has been done.
- AG: A question that comes to my mind is a medical clinic. Let's say here in this area, we have a free service ah ... for people that doctors volunteer and people can queue up and can attend freely, let's say they have doctors and they also have dentists, doctors from different medical disciplines. Is there something like that your area has one called the free ... which is called the free clinic?

- MC: Jajaja. Bueno a mí me dice que aquí la alcaldesa de Armando decirle todo. Si, es mi apodo. Sí
- AG: Ay que bien, pues. Sí ahí así es como a la fama, te llegó, ¿verdad? Yo creo que tienes una carrera política en el futuro
- MC: Si. Así me he dicen que me avienten a la política, le digo no la política.
- AG: Pues yo sé, yo sé que es difícil ahorita por el imagine de lo que estamos... transaccionando los Estados Unidos es un poco es una época. Yo veo que usted tiene mucho empeño para ayudar a la comunidad y yo creo que eso es el principio.
- MC: Sí, sí. Sí porque yo salgo a la a la calle y todo mundo ahora María, Hola María. Con elección
- AG: Sí yo te tengo que encontrar, nada más digo por donde va María y me van a poner dirección, para allá para acá.
- MC: ¿Sí y me dice mi niña, mamía porque todo el tiempo andas hablando con la gente? Ay, mi amor, le digo, hay que ser popular uno, hay que hacer 'nice', como dicen ustedes.
- AG: Bueno hay uste tiene la gana, no hay que hace mucha política fácilmente. Magnifico. Bueno me permite un segundo, le voy a preguntar a Anna Sí necesita alguna otra cosa. Anna l've got this covered, l've been writing notes so I can give you the feedback on the translation point by point. Are there any other questions that you might have, that you didn't think of before because most of these we've covered?
- AM: Actually, I think this is great, and we are actually closing in on 45 minutes. And we'll need to wrap up and I understood a lot of it, um obviously I couldn't have carried on a conversation like that. Tell her we were are very, very, grateful for her time today.
- AG: La señora Anna pregunta, o dice, ella dice que sabe de mi nombre también, muy agradecidos que estamos del tiempo para venir y sentar y hacer entrevista, y y que digamos de aspiraciones, sentimientos, y sugerencias, para hacer efectuar un cambio. Y no solo uno puede decir prometo tal cosa, prometer lo otor. Verdaderamente hay que hacerlo y yo creo que cada día la comunidad latina va a crecer.
- MC: Sí la vez pasada vinieron de la ciudad de Alexandria, los que estuvimos reunidos y. hicimos grupos en la mesa, y escribimos todo lo que necesitamos en la comunidad, pero...
- AG: Y de allí no ha pasado nada.
- MC: De allí no ha pasado nada. No he visto nada.
- AG: ¿Y eso fue hace cuánto? ¿María?
- MC: Sé cómo hace un año que tuvimos una plática y salieron varias necesidades, que necesitamos en la comunidad y no se ha visto más nada.
- AG: Una preguntica que se me llega la cabeza, es un dispensario médico. Digamos aquí en esta zona, nosotros tenemos un servicio gratuito ah... para personas que los doctores hacen voluntario y las personas pueden hacer fila y pueden irse digamos que tienen doctores, y tiene dentistas también de diferentes disciplinas de médicos y preguntó Sí en la zona tuya tiene alguno que se llama té free, que se dice la clínica gratuita

MC: There is nothing like that. You must pay, you must pay to be cared for. We don't have that service. I would like that service to come to the community.

AG: Muhum Ok. That came up because if not a clinic, how far away is it to nearest hospital?

MC: Well, by car it is about 12 minutes, 10 minutes. Umhum. By bus, those of us who do not drive, it takes a little more to take a taxi, an uber. So many things are complicated to move around. But I would love if that changed, a clinic center to... so that I can attend. Yes.

AG: Yes well, I with your daughter going to be a nurse, if we have the first one and the anesthesiologist. And if we have a pediatrician, we would already have a lot.

MC: Oh yes, we must get a pediatrician and there was a boy who told me he wants to make a detective. He told me. And we know a girl who wants to be a policeman and she has a sister. Yes

AG: Well, I see that they are on the right track. So, Maria thank you very much and I am very grateful. I hope that when I arrive in Arlandria, I will ask, where is Maria?

MC: The mayor, the mayoress.

AG: The mayoress.

AG: Very well, I congratulate you again. And may every work out well soon for you and your family.

MC: Oh, something that I was forgetting, but... I said it last time about three years ago, when I attended a meeting, that we need in the community at a center to make crafts.

AG: Oh good

MC: Crafts. Crafts. We need a program here in the community. Just to relieve stress. Yes

AG: I like this. That would be an excellent inheritance, above all, to say, learn some sewing, sewing craft, and well there are so many things, right? Embroidery.

MC: Yes, I have three girls. It's funny because there is a program here where they fix bicycles, or you can fix it yourself. But there are spots for boys only, girls do not allow. If we must have a place where children can keep busy, busy because we don't want to see them on the street. We want a place for them to go and keep busy. We hope it happens.

AM: One guick guestion. Could you ask if it's okay to take her picture?

AG: Anna asks if you can take a picture?

MC: Yes, it's okay.

AG: The woman of the year. Haha.

MC: No hay nada da de hecho. Tiene que pagar tiene que pagar para que la atiendan. No tenemos ese servicio. Me gustaría que vinieras al servicio a la comunidad.

AG: Muhum Ok. Que se me ocurrió eso porque Sí no, ¿cuánto queda de esta zona al próximo hospital?

MC: Bueno, el carro unos 12 minutos, 10 minutos. Umhum. En bus los que no manejamos ya lo que es un poquito más buscamos un taxi, un Uber. Tantas cosas para moverse ahora. Pero me encantaría que vinieron cambio, un centro para... para que venga atenderlas. Si.

AG: Sí bueno, yo voy y su hija va a ser enfermera Sí es que tenemos la primera y al anestesiólogo. Y Sí tenemos un pediatra ya tenemos un montón.

MC: Oh Sí hay que conseguir un pediatra y tenemos que me dijo el niño él quiere hacer un detective. Me dijo. Y tenemos una chica que quiere ser policía y era la hermana. Si

AG: Pues, yo veo que van por buen camino. Entonces María muchísimas gracias de vuelta muy agradecida. Espero que cuando llegó Arlandria, voy a preguntar, Where is María live.

MC: La alcaldesa, la alcaldesa.

AG: La alcaldesa

AG: Muy bien le felicito de nuevo. Y que esto sea muy bien en los próximos tiempos para vos y tu familia.

MC: Oh algo que me estaba escapando, pero... yo lo dije la vez pasada hace como tres años tuve una reunión que necesitamos en la comunidad a un centro de para hacer artesanía.

AG: Ay qué bien

MC: Artesanía. Manualidades, artesanía. Necesitamos un programa aquí en la comunidad. Nomás que tú para dejar el estrés. Si

AG: Así. Es excelente su herencia más que todo para digamos aprender alguna manualidad de coser, costura, e bueno hay tantas cosas, ¿verdad? Bordara.

MC: Sí yo tengo tres niñas hembra. Curioso porque hay un programa aquí donde arreglan bicicleta, o uno mismo puede arreglarla. Pero ahí estaques por los niños permiten, niñas no permiten. Sí debemos tener un chico activado, ocupado porque no lo queremos andar verlo en la calle, queremos lugares para que ellos vayan y pueden ir y mantenerlos ocupados. Esperamos que salga.

AM: One guick guestion. Could you ask if it's okay to take her picture?

AG: ¿Pregunta Anna si te permite tomar una foto?

MC: Si, está bien.

AG: La mujer del año va a ver. JaJa.

ANA MARTINEZ

INTRODUCCIÓN

Date: October 22, 2020, 5:00 pm

Location: Warrenton and Alexandria, Virginia via Zoom Videoconference

Interviewee: Ana Martinez (AM)

Interviewer: Ann Gutiérrez (AG)

Organizer: Anna Maas (AM2)

Transcriber: Amy Cervantes

Abstract: Elizabeth Wang of Casa Chirilagua assisted in arranging an interview with Ana Martinez. Anna Maas met Ms. Martinez at Casa Chirilagua and provided a laptop for the interviews to be conducted in Spanish via Zoom by Ann Gutierrez, who was unable to attend in person due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Ms. Martinez expressed nervousness having never been interviewed but opened up about where she came from, raising her three daughters in Arlandria-Chirilagua, and opportunities and challenges in the area.

INTFRVIFW

AG: Hello ma'am, how are you doing?

AM: Hello, good and how are you doing?

Figure 130. Ana Martinez at Casa Chirilagua.

AG: Well thank you very grateful that you took the time today to see...to do this interview. I want to introduce myself; I am, my name is Ann Gutiérrez. I am the widow of a Costa Rican. I have lived in Central America for many years and I am helping Ms. Maas with this interview as the translator.

AM: Okay.

AG: I just want to say that today's date is October 22 and my name is Ann Gutiérrez. And I'm doing the interview via Zoom and ... in the City of Alexandria, Virginia, for the purpose of taking notes on the oral history of immigrants to the area. The Alexandria experience. We would like to ask you, Ana Martínez, that we do have permission to record the conversation and share it with the City of Alexandria for the purposes of the study they are doing and their ERG consultants, which is Mrs. Anna Maas.

AM: Yes. If I am wrong on anything, I am wrong because it is the first time that I've done an interview.

ANA MARTINEZ

INTRODUCCIÓN

Fecha: 22 de octubre de 2020, 5:00 pm

Ubicación: Warrenton y Alexandria, Virginia a través de Zoom Videoconferencia

Entrevistado: Ana Martinez (AM)

Entrevistador: Ann Gutiérrez (AG)

Organizador: Anna Maas (AM2)

Transcriptor: Amy Cervantes

Resumen: Elizabeth Wang de Casa Chirilagua ayudó a concertar una entrevista con Ana Martínez. Anna Maas se reunió con la Sra. Martínez en Casa Chirilagua y proporcionó una computadora portátil para que las entrevistas se realizaran en español a través de Zoom por Ann Gutierrez, quien no pudo asistir en persona por la pandemia de COVID-19. La Sra. Martínez expresó su nerviosismo por no haber sido nunca entrevistada, discutió sobre su procedencia, criar sus tres hijas en Arlandria-Chirilagua, y las oportunidades y desafíos en la zona.

FNTRFVISTA

AG: Hola señora, ¿cómo le va?

AM: Hola, bien y usted cómo le va

Figura 130. Ana Martinez en Casa Chirilagua.

AG: Bien, gracias muy agradecida que tomaste el tiempo hoy para ver ahh...ahh. hacer esta entrevista. Quiero presentarme, yo soy, me llamo Ann Gutiérrez. Soy viuda de un costarricense. He vivido muchos años en Centroamérica y estoy ayudando la señora Maas con esta entrevista de parte del traductor.

AM: Okay.

AG: Yo nada más quiero decir que la fecha de hoy es el 22 de octubre y mi nombre es Ann Gutiérrez. Y estoy haciendo la entrevista con Zoom y...en la ciudad de Alexandria, Virginia para propósitos de tomar notas de la entrevista de la historia oral de todos los que han inmigrado. Digamos de la experiencia Alexandria. Entonces le preguntó a ti, Ana Martínez, que sí tenemos permiso para grabar la conversación y compartirlo con la ciudad de Alexandria para efectos del estudio que están haciendo y sus consultores ERG, que es la señora Anna Maas.

AM: Sí. Si yo me equivoco, me equivoco porque es primer vez que voy a hacer es entrevista.

AG: Ah, don't worry, they are only little questions, no, no, we are not doing, haha, another thing. It is not more about all your experiences, and your perspective. For example, what would you like to see the community in the future? For the purposes of knowing how the area has changed over the years. And I remember the last time I was in this area I was accompanying my mother-in-law and we were looking for a typical restaurant.

AM: Ah yeah.

AG: And my mother-in-law was fascinated by all the traditional foods, so we go from place to place and there would be a new place that had opened. When she realized it and she invited me to go out to eat. I think they were pupusas, I don't remember, but they were pupusas. Oh, how delicious. And you are from El Salvador or where?

AM: Yes, from El Salvador.

AG: Yes, my mother-in-law was from El Salvador. So, I know parts of El Salvador. I know Santa Tecla, the capital of pupusas. We are going to ask some questions to see...the first question: Where were you born? I imagine El Salvador is right?

AM: Yes.

AG: And then when did you come to live in Alexandria, in Chirilagua that area?

AM: Okay, I came in 2002, September 28, 2002. I came, I came here. September 28, 2002.

AG: Ok. You were of legal age, right? When you came?

AM: Yes.

AG: And... erm... they ask if there is any reason, specifically that you happened to come to this area, Alexandria. For example, was it that your parents brought you? Did you come to accompany relatives already here?

AM: No, no.

AG: Or because there was an established Latin American community?

AM: No. I came here, because my sister sent for me, she sent for me.

AG: Hey good.

AM: Ahem. In order to have company, because she was the only one from my family. And, to help my parents, because at that time, we were a little more...poorer, let's say.

AG: And did your parents come from El Salvador or had they already moved here?

AM: No, they never came.

AG: Well, older people, sometimes it costs them a lot to travel, right? Bringing them to a new country, the new language, new everything...different, it costs a lot to go to a new country. Yes. The next question asks, if you lived in a house or an apartment? Is it different from where you lived before? And, for example, if you lived in the country or if you live in a city before. Or if you live in a house and now you are in an apartment?

AG: Ah no te preocupes son preguntitas cualquieras, no, no, no estamos sacando ahí. Jaja otra cosa. No es más que todo la experiencia, y así que como lo ves digamos que te gustaría ver en el futuro a la comunidad. Ose es por efectos de saber cómo se ha cambiado la zona a través de los años. Y yo me acuerdo la última vez que yo estuve en esta zona estaba acompañando a mi madre y andamos buscando un restaurante típico.

AM: Ah yah.

AG: Y a mi madre le fascina todas las comidas típicas, entonces andamos de lugar y lugar y habría un lugar que se abrió. Entonces se dio cuenta y dijo ay acompáñame vamos a comer. Creo que eran pupusas, no me acuerdo de que eran pupusas. Ay qué rico. ¿Y usted eres del Salvador o a dónde?

AM: Si, de El Salvador.

AG: Si mi suegra era de Salvador. Así es que conozco partes del Salvador. Conozco Santa Tecla, el capital de las pupusas. Vamos a hacer unas preguntas a ver, ¿que la primera pregunta qué haces? ¿Adónde naciste? ¿Me imagino que El Salvador verdad?

AM: Sí.

AG: ¿Y después cuando pasaste a vivir a Alexandria, a Chirilagua esa zona?

AM: Okay, viene el 2002, viene el 28 de septiembre 2002. Viene, viene para acá. Llega el 28 de septiembre 2002.

AG: Ok. Eras mayor de edad ¿verdad? Cuando vino.

AM: Sí.

AG: Y...em...preguntan sí hay alguna razón, específicamente que pasaste a venir a esta zona, Alexandra. ¿Por ejemplo, fueron que tus padres trajeron? ¿Viniste acompañar parientes aquí ya?

AM: No, no.

AG: ¿O qué hará una comunidad ya conocida de más Latinoamérica?

AM: No. Este, yo vine acá, porque mi hermana me mandó, me mandó traer.

AG: Oye bueno.

AM: Un hum. Para así tener compañía, porque solo ella estaba de mi familia no más. Y también para ayudar a mis padres, porque si vivíamos en ese tiempo, vivíamos en un poco más, más pobre, digamos.

AG: ¿Y tus padres vinieron de El Salvador o ellos ya habían pasado a vivir acá?

AM: No, nunca vinieron.

AG: Bueno para mí, la gente mayor, a veces les cuesta mucho ¿verdad? Traillarlos a un país nuevo, el nuevo idioma, nuevo todo diferente, cuesta mucho andar en un nuevo país. Si. Que pregunta también, ¿Si Vivías en una casa o en un apartamento? ¿Es diferente a donde vivías antes? Y, por ejemplo, si vivías en el campo o antes si vivas en una ciudad ahora. ¿O si vive en una casa ahora y ahora estas en un apartamento ahora?

AM: Yes, I lived... I was born in the country. But my mother moved to the city of San Miguel.

AG: Ah okay.

AM: So, we grew up in the city there.

AG: In San Miguel?

AM: Yes.

AG: Ah ok. And do you have many brothers and sisters?

AM: Yes, I have... five. Five of us in all.

AG: Wow. Well, I only have one brother. And, I will ask, what are the traditions that you brought with you? Let's say Easter, traditions of the 24th, tamaleitos in December.

AM: Yes. There is one for Easter... I make some traditional fish cakes. And for the month of December, I baked chicken with tamales.

AG: And the tamales are... sweet or savory.

AM: Simpler than the savory kind, we say.

AG: And let's say some the 15 years celebration, Quinceañera or a similar custom. Did you bring or is that already disappearing?

AM: No. No, the Quinceañeras are never celebrated.

AG: Aye ok. In Mexico it is very traditional. I see perhaps in El Salvador and Panama...I never remember having gone Quinceañera there.

AM: In my family Quinceañeras were never celebrated due to scarce, scarce resources.

AG: And your mother was mainly who raised you?

AM: Yes.

AG: Uh Um. She does ask a little about your work. Ehhh I don't know, yes are you currently working. Because I know that every woman, even if she says she doesn't have a job, has work to do. If you work around the house or do you do anything else, do you work outside the house, for example?

AM: Yes, I work.

AG: And.... Do you still have work today or with the pandemic, with the virus?

AM: No, I still have work.

AG: Yes. Hem... the next question is, what is your favorite thing that you like the most to do here in, Arlandria or where do you go? For example, if you like to go to the movies, or if you like to watch shows, TV show. If you like to go some special walk, parks....

AM: I like to walk around.

AM: Sí, si yo vivía...yo nací en el campo. Pero mi mamá se fue a vivir a la ciudad San Miguel.

AG: Ah okay.

AM: Entonces, ahí crecimos en la ciudad.

AG: ¿En San Miguel?

AM: Sí.

AG: Ah ok. ¿Y tenéis muchos hermanos y hermanas?

AM: Sí, tengo...cinco. Cinco por todos somos.

AG: Wow. Bueno yo sólo tengo un hermano. Y pregunta también que son las tradiciones que trajiste, contigo. Digamos semana santa tradiciones del 24, tamalitos en diciembre.

AM: Sí. Este para Semana Santa, este...este hago unas tortas de pescado. Y para el mes de diciembre, la gallina horneada con tamales.

AG: Y los tamales los hacen...dulces o salados.

AM: Ma simple que salados decimos.

AG: Y alguna digamos ¿eh? 15 años celebra en 15 años de la familia o alguien esa costumbre, trajiste o ya eso va desapareciendo?

AM: No. No los 15 años nunca se celebran.

AG: Aye ok. También en México es muy tradicional. Yo veo un poquito más quizás en El Salvador y Panamá no me acuerdo nunca de haber ido una quince hace.

AM: Nunca se celebraron los 15 años mi familia por escasos, escasos recursos.

AG: ¿Y tu mamá fuiste principalmente que te creo?

AM: Sí.

AG: Eh Um. ¿Un poquito preguntan el sobre su trabajo? Ehhh no sé, sí actualmente estás trabajando. Porque yo sé que toda mujer, aunque dice bueno yo no tengo un trabajo. Sí trabajas en la casa, en cualquier otra cosa te pregunte nada más, sí haces algún trabajo fuera de la casa, por ejemplo.

AM: Sí, trabajo.

AG: Y....; Tenéis el trabajo hoy día o con el pandémica con el virus?

AM: No, lo tengo.

AG: Si. Hem...Pregunta también. ¿Cuál es tu cosa favorita que te gusta más hacer a aquí en, Arlandria o lugar a donde ir? Por ejemplo, sí te gusta ir al cine, o si te gustan ver programas, digamos, programa de la televisión. Sí te gusta ir algún paseo especial, parque des....

AM: Me gusta paseo.

AG: Walking. And do you visit a lot of this area, let's say even Washington, have you gone to see the monuments or...?

AM: No, almost none.

AG: Any sports?

AM: The sports that I like, are going to the gym.

AG: Oh good. And do you still go to the gym, yes?

AM: From time to time.

AG: With the virus, right, many places closed.

AM: Many places closed, yes.

AG: What are they asking too, what do you notice has changed in Arlandria? Since you arrived, you say that you arrived in 2002? I don't know if you always lived in this area or did you move to live here after some time?

AM: No, I have always lived here.

AG: And do you notice a lot of change in recent years, the last eighteen years?

AM: Much has changed.

AG: For the good or for the bad?

AM: On the one hand, better and on the other hand, worse.

AG: Ummmm. Which has more weight, the good or the bad?

AM: The bad. The bad, yes.

AG: Wow. And any specific thing that you have noticed, say about the crime or ... or ... what can I tell you?

AM: Discrimination.

AG: The following question relates to the pandemic, like this virus, how has it affected you and your family?

AM: Well, by God's grace, it has not infected anyone at home.

AG: And someone lost their job as a result of the epidemic... or?

AM: No, since I'm the only one working. My girls are minors. So, no, thanks be to God, I'm still working.

AG: And do you have to use public transport to get to work, let's say buses?

AM: The bus.

AG: Yes. And do you need to use the bus every day to get to work?

AG: Pasos. ¿Y conoces mucho de esta zona digamos de Washington inclusive, has ido a ver los monumentos o?

AM: No, casi no.

AG: ¿Algún deporte?

AM: El deporte que me gusta ir al gimnasio.

AG: Ay qué bien. ¿Y vas todavía el gimnasio sí?

AM: De vez en cuando.

AG: Con el virus, verdad, muchos lugares cerraron.

AM: Muchos lugares cerró, sí.

AG: Qué preguntan también. ¿Qué notas que sí ha cambiado en Arlandria? ¿Desde qué pasas a vivir a ir, dices que llegaste en el 2002? ¿No sé si siempre vivéis en esta zona o pasaste a vivir ahí después de tiempo?

AM: No, siempre he vivido acá.

AG: ¿Y notas mucho cambio en los últimos años, los últimos dieciochos años?

AM: Mucho cambio.

AG: ¿Por lo mejor o por lo peor?

AM: Por un lado, mejor y por otro lado no mejor.

AG: Ummmm. ¿Cuál tiene más peso, los mejores o los peores?

AM: Los peores. Los peores, sí.

AG: Y caramba. ¿Y alguna cosa específica que has notado, digamos del crimen o ...? o....que te puedo decir?

AM: Discriminación.

AG: ¿Una preguntita también, como pandémico, como este virus, te afecta a ti y a tu familia?

AM: Pues mira que por la gracia de Dios no los ha afectado a ninguno de la casa.

AG: ¿Y alguien perdió el trabajo a resultó de la epidemia...o?

AM: No, como ahí sólo yo trabajo. A mis niñas son menores. A sí que no gracias a Dios siempre trabajando.

AG: ¿Y para llegar al trabajo tenéis que usar transporte público, digamos buses en todo?

AM: El bus.

AG: Si. ¿Y los bus necitos usar diario para llegar al trabajo?

AM: Well, by the grace of God right now, they are not charging for riding the buses, it is an advantage.

AG: Well for something, right, that the taxes are going to pay for something. I think that in El Salvador it is the white corn they use, right?

AM: Yes.

AG: And is the bean red or blue?

AM: Red.

AG: Red, yes. Costa Rica is blue. Let me see. What would you like to wish for, let's say in the future, let's say for your children? Do you have three girls right?

AM: Yes. Three girls.

AG: All girls?

AM: Yes.

AG: They will call for you when you get home.... Aye that is good. And are they studying right now... or how are they studying?

AM: Yes, studying.

AG: And how do they attend classes? Are they in person or do they do it by computer?

AM: By computer.

AG: Oy, how's that going?

AM: Well... um... good.

AM2: Maybe we should ask what grade they are in?

AG: Ok, yes. The lady asks, can you ... can you give me the ages?

AM: The ages. One is 17, the other is 15, and the last one is 7. And I have a boy that I left in El Salvador. I sent for him.

AG: Have you already sent for him, did you get the papers to bring him or how?

AM: Yes.

AG: Okay. And he is older, is he of age?

AM: No, he is of age.

AG: Already...

AM: He's an adult.

AG: He's older, perfect. And do the girls have any idea what they want to study when they get older or after high school?

AM: Pues mire que, por la gracia de Dios ahorita, no están cobrando los buses, es una ventaja.

AG: Bueno por algo, verdad, que los impuestos ni uno va a pagar algo. ¿Creo que en El Salvador es ese el elote blanco que usen, verdad?

AM: Sí.

AG: ¿Y el frijol es el rojo o el azul?

AM: Rojo.

AG: Rojo, sí. Costa Rica es el azul. Déjame ver. ¿Qué te gustaría aspirar, digamos en el futuro, digamos para sus hijos? ¿tenéis tres niñas decides?

AM: Sí. Tres niñas.

AG: ¿Todo niñas?

AM: Sí.

AG: Te van a chillar cuando llegas a la.... Aye que bien. ¿Y ellos están estudiando ahorita...? o cómo están haciendo con la estudiando?

AM: Sí, estudiando.

AG: Y las clases ¿cómo hacen? vanen persona o hacen por computadora?

AM: Por computadora.

AG: Oy ¿y eso cómo les va?

AM: Pues mire que...un...bien.

AM2: Maybe we should ask what grade they are in?

AG: Ok ¿Sí pregunté la señora, sí me puedes...me puedes dar las edades?

AM: Las edades. Si Este una tiene 17, la otra tiene 15, y la otra tiene 7. Y tengo un varón que se lo dejé allá. Y se lo mande a traer.

AG: ¿Ya lo mandaste, hiciste los papeles para traerlo o cómo?

AM: Sí.

AG: A como fuera, okay. ¿Y él tiene edad, de qué es mayor de edad?

AM: No él ya es mayor.

AG: ¿El ya que perdón?

AM: Ya es mayor.

AG: Ya es mayor, perfecto. ¿Y de las niñas tienen alguna idea de lo que quieren estudiar cuando, se hace más grande o después de High School?

AM: Yes. The one who is 15, says she wants to be a doctor. And the one who is 17 says she wants to be a ... that coroner, dissect the dead. And the little girl hasn't selected anything yet.

AG: Yes, that's difficult. Hahaha. One of these days you will know... Although I have a granddaughter, 7 years old, and what she wants to be is an Astronaut. So... I said to my son, get prepared son because that is going to cost him... Good. But you said the computer and all that the online studies are going well?

AM: Yes.

AG: Yes. Perfect. What would you like to hope for, let's say, to more parks in Arlandria-Chirilagua? What would you like to see, some additions? In the previous interview, the lady expressed a need for more green space. Open spaces and a park.

AM: Green areas? Okay. Yes, I really wish ...the park they have constructed is beautiful. But I would like them to put a light in the middle of it, because in the middle of the park everything is dark. Yes. So, a light, a lamp post in the middle of the park would be good.

AG: Does that park have swings for the children to play with?

AM: Yes.

AG: Good. That's fine. Something else, let's say a medical center ... a library, something else ...?

AM: If I wanted something else, before there was a CVS, where you could go to buy my medicine, buy medicine. And now there is no CVS. Here in Chirilagua there are no CVSs. That would be nice, if they put one near us. There was one before, but it closed.

AG: Hmm. And why... what ... They moved it to another area or to make it bigger or what?

AM: I don't know what happened there, but... they said they were going to remove it and they removed it.

AG: And what occupies the space now. Did they put something else in this space or not?

AM: There isn't anything. It is empty.

AG: OK. Well some other little things. When they did attend classes in person, how far was the school from your house or apartment?

AM: By car 10 minutes.

AG: Okay.

AM: 10 or 8 minutes.

AG: And did the classmates have a lot of Latin American classmates in school too or...?

AM: Oh yes. And from here and there.

AG: And from the Latino community, mainly in the area, were there more Salvadorians than let's say Guatemalans or Hondurans, or ... what?

AM: Sí. Estela que tiene 15 que, dice que quiere ser doctora. Y la que tiene 17 dice que quiere ser de....eso de forense, diseccionar los muertos. Y ya la chiquita no me ha dicho nada.

AG: Sí no eso es difícil. Jajaja. Uno de estos días te va...Aunque yo tengo una nieta, 7 años, y lo que quiere ser es Astronauta. Así es que...Le dijo a mi hijo, vallase preparando mi hijo porque eso le va...Que bien. ¿Pero dices que entra bien la computadora y todo eso para hacer los estudios online?

AM: Sí.

AG: Si. Perfecto. Que te gustaría aspirar, digamos, ¿para estacionar Arlandria-Chirilagua? Que te gustaría ver, algunas adiciones. Digamos, en la previa entrevista, la señora expresó una necesidad de más de una verdes. Abiertos espacios abiertos y como parque que todo.

AM: ¿Verdes? Ok. Sí, yo quisiera verdad que, está bonito el parque que han hecho. Pero yo quisiera que le pusieran una luz en medio porque entre medio el parque todo es oscuro. Si. Entonces una luz, un poste de luz en medio del parque está bueno.

AG: ¿Ese parque tiene columpios para los niños para jugar?

AM: Sí.

AG: Que bien. Eso está bien. ¿Alguna otra cosa digamos un centro médico...alguna biblioteca alguna cosa para...??

AM: Si yo quisiera, verdad, porque antes había un CVS, Onde uno iba a traerme la medicina, comprar la medicina. Y CVS no hay ninguno. Aquí en Chirilagua no hay ninguno, CVS. Entonces sería bueno, si nos pusieron una. Había uno antes, pero lo quitaron.

AG: Humhm. Y por qué lo ...lo.... lo pasaron a otra zona para hacerlo más grande o qué?

AM: No sé qué pasó ahí, perodijeron que lo iban a quitar hasta que lo quitaron.

AG: ¿Y lo que ocupe es espacio, ahora pusieron alguna otra cosa en este espacio o no?

AM: No hay. Este está solo.

AG: OK. Bueno alguna otra cosita. ¿Cuándo sí asistí en persona en clases, qué distancia quedaba la escuela de tu casa o del apartamento?

AM: En carro 10 minutos.

AG: Okay.

AM: 10 o 8 minutos.

AG: ¿Y los compañeros tenían mucho compañeritos en la escuela de Latinoamérica también 000?

AM: O sí. Y de aquí y de allá.

AG: ¿Y de la comunidad de latino principalmente en la zona En que éstas eso más salvadoreños que digamos guatemaltecos o hondureños, o...que es?

AM: Everyone is about the same amount. From every country.

AG: I'm just.... I'm making notes while I ... you see me with my paper here.

AM: Yes haha.

AG: And are you generally happy with the teachers in the schools? Yes...

AM: Yes. I am very happy. Because my daughter, not the youngest, the one who is 15 years old. She didn't pass an exam and she asked the teacher if she could repeat it. And she said she could redo it.

AG: Ah good. Is the 15-year-old in High School already?

AM: Yes.

AG: In High School. That's the one who wants to be a doctor, no?

AM: Yes, she is the one who wants to be a doctor.

AG: Ouuuy the years it's going to take right? And at home you always speak Spanish, right?

AM: Always.

AG: Yes. But I know a lot of relatives, well, not many relatives. But I do know couples, who come from abroad to the US and do not want to know anything about their native language. The children grow up with two parents, let's say from El Salvador or El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the children do not understand a single word of Spanish ... and tell me ...

AM: Yes, I know many children that I don't know. They don't know zero words. But mine, mine, have learned both languages.

AG: Well, I congratulate you because that is a great advantage, which they will have in any career you enter, as a doctor, any other career.

Originally in English

AG: Anna, anything else. I think we've got that topic covered.

AM2: I understood they speak entirely in Spanish at home. And do they go to a church anywhere here? I know there are several churches that have Spanish services.

Originally in Spanish

AG: Ms. Anna asks, if you attend a Spanish-speaking church or that has service in Spanish?

AM: Yes, there is a Christian church.

Originally in English

AM2: How are they involved? Do they just go to service or do they have a community there and volunteer?

AM: Hay de todo igual. Si allí todo país.

AG: Es que estoy haciendo apuntes mientras que se me...estafaste con mi papel aquí.

AM: Sí jaja.

AG: ¿Y generalmente estás contenta con las maestras en las escuelas? Si...

AM: Si. Yo estoy muy contenta. Porque a mi hija nada menos, la menor, la que tiene 15 años. No pasó un examen y ella le habló a la maestra que sí lo podía repetir. Y ella dijo que si podía hacerlo.

AG: Ah bueno. ¿Esa de 15 está en High School Ya?

AM: Sí.

AG: Es High School. Esa es la que quiere ser doctora. ¿no?

AM: Sí, es la que quiere ser doctora.

AG: ¿Ouuuy los anos enfrente verdad? Y en casa siempre hablas español. ¿verdad?

AM: Siempre.

AG: Sí. Pero yo conozco muchos parientes, bueno, no muchos parientes. Pero yo sí conozco parejas, que vienen de allá para acá y no quieren saber nada del idioma y a resultante, ya los niños crecen con dos padres, digamos de El Salvador o de El Salvador y Nicaragua y ahí los niños no entienden una sola palabra de español...y dime...

AM: Si yo se bastantes niños que no sabe. No saben, ninguna palabra. Pero las mías, las mías, tienen los dos idiomas.

AG: Pues los felicito porque eso es una gran ventaja, que van a tener principalmente en cualquier carrera que entra, sea médico, sea cualquiera otra carrera.

Originally in English

AG: Anna, anything else. I think we've got that topic covered.

AM2: I understood they speak entirely in Spanish at home. And do they go to a church anywhere here? I know there are several churches that have Spanish services.

Originally in Spanish

AG: ¿Sí pregúntale a señora Anna, si usted asistir alguna iglesia de habla hispana o que tiene servicio en español?

AM: Sí, exista una iglesia cristiana.

Originally in English

AM2: How are they involved? Do they just go to service or do they have a community there and volunteer?

Originally in Spanish

AG: The lady asks if, in this Christian church, if you do some activities, or volunteering, do you have a community or nothing more than attend the service and then everyone goes home? Or ... people don't.

AM: No. It is community to get to know each other better.

AG: Well that's good. Do you welcome everyone who comes from the outside? They are very open in that sense.

AM: Yes, Yes,

AG: Is the church big? Do you have a lot of members?

AM: Is it big? It is not, very few members.

AG: But do you welcome newcomers easily?

AM: Yes.

AG: Ok. And are these services just Sunday or is there another day that they get together, let's say, bible study or ...?

AM: On Saturdays there is circhecho at home and on Sundays at church. But right now, it is closed since the pandemic began, since they said it was a pandemic in March. It is when they closed the church and we have not opened it again since then, it is owned by Americans, Americans tell us nothing. It cannot be opened...

AG: And were you a member of this church since you arrived or afterwards did you become a member in the last few years, or always?

AM: After.

AG: Perfect. OK. I've got that. Anna. Ummm. Anything else?

AM2: That's all. If you could ask her if she minds if I take a photo of her?

AG: Mrs. Anna asks, if it is okay to take a picture?

AM: Ok

AG: We only take pictures of pretty women.

AM: Haha. And with the mask?

AM2: Whatever she's comfortable with.

AG: She says if you want you can take off the mask but if not, it doesn't matter.

AM: Better with the mask.

AG: With the mask she says.

Originally in English

AG: Anything else?

Originally in Spanish

AG: Pregunta la señora si, de esta iglesia cristiana, sí hacen algunas actividades, se hacen de voluntarios comparten ¿nada más de servicio y después todo mundo para la casa? O…la gente no.

AM: No. Se comparte para conocernos mejor.

AG: O son bien. ¿les da la bienvenida a todos que vienen de nuevo de afuera? Sí son muy cogedores en ese sentido.

AM: Sí. Si.

AG: ¿Es grande la iglesia? ¿Sí tiene mucho miembro?

AM: ¿Si es grande? No es poco miembros.

AG: ¿Pero reciben personas recién llegadas fácilmente?

AM: Sí.

AG: Kay. ¿Y esos servicios son nada más del domingo o hay otro día es que tienen, digamos, lectura de la Biblia o...?

AM: En los sábados se hace circhecho en la casa y los domingos en la iglesia. Pero ahorita está cerrada desde que empezó la epidemia desde que dijeron que le epidemia y estaba allá en el de marzo. Es que cerraron la iglesia y no la han abierto todavía porque como entonces es de americanos, americanos nos diga nada. No se puede abrir..

AG: ¿Y usted era miembro de esta iglesia desde que viniste o después hiciste miembro más en los últimos años, o ya siempre?

AM: Después.

AG: Perfecto. Okay. I've got that. Anna. Ummm. Anything else?

AM2: That's all. If you could ask her if she minds if I take a photo of her?

AG: Así pregunta la señora Anna Sí está bien, que te puede tomar una foto, tuyo.

AM: Está bien

AG: Solo sacamos fotos de las mujeres guapas.

AM: Jjaja. ¿y con la mascarilla?

AM2: Whatever she's comfortable with.

AG: Sí dice que, si puedes quitarte la mascarilla, pero si no, no importa a como usted dice.

AM: Con la mascarilla mejor.

AG: With the mask she says.

Originally in English

AG: Anything else?

AM2: That's all. Just let her know how grateful we are for her time. Hope it wasn't too painful. She was a little bit nervous.

Originally in Spanish

AG: Ana. Her name is also Anna, my name is Ann and you are Ana.

AM: I Martinez, she is Martinez, she is Martin.

AG: She is Maas.

AM2: Anna no. Anna Martin Maas, yes, my middle name, my maiden name is Martin.

AG: Yes Martin. And I am a true Gutiérrez. She also wants you to know that we are more than grateful for her cooperation in this study of the history of the people who make up the Arlandria community. And this, serve in the future for to improve the area and to make it better, make it better and the community as well. So, I am very grateful that you took the time and because I do not know where you live. You are far away, but with all our hearts, we thank you very much.

AG: Thanks, good. have a good afternoon.

AM: Thank you madam, very kind. Thank you.

AM2: Thank you. Goodbye.

AM: Bye.

AM2: That's all. Just let her know how grateful we are for her time. Hope it wasn't too painful. She was a little bit nervous.

Originally in Spanish

AG: Ana. También se llama Anna yo me llamo Ann y vos son Ana.

AM: Yo Martínez, ella es Martínez, es Martin.

AG: Ella es Maas.

AM2: Anne no. Anna Martin Maas, yes, my middle name, my maiden name is Martin.

AG: Si Martin. Y yo soy una Gutiérrez verdad. Ella también quiere que, que vos sabes que están más que agradecida con su cooperación para dejar eso ya como un estudio de la historia de las personas que integran la comunidad de Arlandria. Y que, a servir de mucho en el futuro para efectos de mejoramiento, mejor, hacer mejores y es en la comunidad realmente. Así es que muy agradecido que tomaste el tiempo y pues no sé de dónde vivís, estás muy lejos para llegar, pero de todo corazón, la agradecemos muchísimo.

AG: Gracias, bueno. que pase buenas tardes.

AM: Gracias señora, muy amable. Gracias.

AM2: Gracias. Adiós.

AM: Adiós.

MARTIN FRANCO

INTRODUCTION

Date: October 22, 2020, 7:00 pm

Location: Warrenton and Alexandria, Virginia via Zoom Videoconference

Interviewee: Martin Franco (MF)

Interviewer: Ann Gutiérrez (AG)

Organizer: Anna Maas (AM)

Transcriber: Amy Cervantes

Abstract: Elizabeth Wang of Casa Chirilagua assisted in arranging an interview with Martin Franco. Anna Maas met Mr. Franco at Casa Chirilagua and provided a laptop for the interviews to be conducted in Spanish via Zoom by Ann Gutierrez, who was unable to attend in person due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Mr. Franco shared stories about where he was born in El Salvador, visits back to South America when his parents were still alive, and what he has done for fun and work during his 36 years in the U.S. He also shared concerns about the community and how it has changed in that time. He and his wife raised seven children in Arlandria-Chirilagua. They now have 16 grandchildren and three great grandchildren, who to his disappointment do not speak Spanish.



Figure 131. Martin Franco at Casa Chirilagua.

INTFRVIFW

AG: Good evening, sir, I want to introduce myself, Ann Gutiérrez. I am assisting Mrs. Anna Maas tonight for the interview and I want to tell you that we greatly appreciate you ... for your support in asking a few questions about the area where you live. First, I wanted to tell you that I am going to ask you if you give permission to record the conversation.

MF: Okay.

AG: No problem?

MF: Okay.

AG: Ok. Alright. That's good. Because she is going to use it in the context of doing a study on the area, from Arlandria and all that. And if you have any questions, please, stop the conversation and ask me.

MARTIN FRANCO

INTRODUCCIÓN

Fecha: 22 de octubre de 2020, 7:00 pm

Ubicación: Warrenton y Alexandria, Virginia a través de Zoom Videoconferencia

Entrevistado: Martin Franco (MF)

Entrevistador: Ann Gutiérrez (AG)

Organizador: Anna Maas (AM)

Transcriptor: Amy Cervantes

Resumen: Elizabeth Wang de Casa Chirilagua ayudó a concertar una entrevista con Martín Franco. Anna Maas se reunió con el Sr. Franco en Casa Chirilagua y proporcionó una computadora portátil para que las entrevistas se realizaran en español a través de Zoom por Ann Gutiérrez, quien no pudo asistir en persona por la pandemia de COVID-19. El Sr. Franco compartió historias sobre el lugar donde nació en El Salvador, sus visitas a Sudamérica cuando sus padres todavía estaban vivos, lo que ha hecho por diversión, y trabajo durante sus 36 años en los Estados Unidos. También compartió preocupaciones sobre la comunidad y cómo ha cambiado en ese tiempo. Él y su esposa criaron siete hijos en Arlandria-Chirilagua. Ahora tienen 16 nietos y 3 bisnietos, quienes para su decepción no hablan español.



Figura 131. Martin Franco en Casa Chirilagua.

FNTRFVISTA

AG: Buenas noches, señor, yo quiero presentarme, Ann Gutiérrez. Estoy asistiendo a la señora Anna Maas, hoy en la noche para la entrevista y quiero decirle que al agradecemos muchísimo su...su apoyo en hacerle unas preguntitas sobre la zona en que viviese. ¿Primeramente, yo quería decirte que voy a preguntarte si usted da permiso para grabar la conversación?

MF: Está bien.

AG: ¿No hay problema?

MF: Está bien.

AG: Ok. Alright. That's good. Porque ella lo va usare en el contexto de hace un estudio sobre la zona de arlandria y todo eso. Y si tenéis alguna pregunta, por favor, eh... no deja de parar la conversación y me preguntas.

MF: Okay.

AG: A long day, right. One of the questions they asked, the basic one; there are 12 little questions. They start, let's say, with the question of where you were born? If you can share this with us, any country in Central America or Mexico.

MF: I was born, in Chirilagua, El Salvador.

AG: In which part pardon?

MF: Chirilagua, El Salvador.

AG: Okay. My mother-in-law, I am a Costa Rican widow, and my mother-in-law is from El Salvador. And I commented to the two ladies prior to the interview that I am fascinated with the El Salvadoran pupusas.

MF: Okay.

AG: I went to Santa Tecla there to see the real pupusas.

MF: Okay. They are an abundance, right?

AG: Yes, because all the Central American people say they have pupusas, but not from Santa Tecla.

MF: Ahaha Yes. Yes.

AG: How long have you lived in Alexandria Chirilagua?

MF: Here I have... here I have in Chirilagua, I have lived 36 years.

AG: 26? Wow

MF: 36, 36 Yes.

AG: 36. Yes. Living here?

MF: Yes, here in Chirilagua.

AG: And only living in Alexandria?

MF: Yes, living in Alexandria.

AG: The next question I have is, when you came from El Salvador, were you very young, did you come with your parents, or if you came independently to accompany a relative, who was already living here?

MF: I came here, a friend brought me here to this country. I came to this country very young.

AG: Ahhh ok.

MF: Yes.

AG: But you didn't have relatives here back then?

MF: I had no relatives, just a friend brought me.

MF: OK.

AG: Un día largo, verdad. Una de las preguntitas que formularon; las básicas que son 12 preguntitas. ¿Empiezan, digamos, con la idea de a dónde naciste? Sí nos puede compartir esa sí os es de cualquier país de Centroamérica o de México, de donde.

MF: Yo he nacido, al bario Chirilagua, El Salvador.

AG: ¿En cuál parte?

MF: Chirilagua, El Salvador.

AG: OK. Mi suegra, yo soy viuda de costarricense, y mi suegra es del El Salvador. Y yo le comenté a las dos señoras previas a la entrevista que estoy fascinada con las pupusas salvadoreñas.

MF: Okay.

AG: Yo allí ido a Santa Tecla para conocer las pupusas de verdad.

MF: Okay. Allí se abundancia, ¿verdad?

AG: Sí porque toda la gente centroamericana dice así hacemos que puse, pero no de Santa Tecla

MF: Ahaja Si. Si.

AG: ¿Cuánto pasaste a vivir Alexandria Chirilagua?

MF: Aguí tengo, aguí tengo en Chirilagua, tengo 36 años vivir aguí.

AG: 26? Wow

MF: 36, 36 Si.

AG: 36. Si. ¿De vivir acá?

MF: Sí aquí en Chirilagua.

AG: ¿Y de vivir en Alexandria?

MF: Sí de vivir en Alexandria.

AG: Y digamos unas preguntas es que, tener idea de que ambos viniste de El Salvador cuando eres muy pequeño, con sus padres, o si viniste independiente para acompañar algún familiar, ¿que ya estaba viviendo acá?

MF: Um yo me vine, eh un amigo me trajo aquí a este país. Yo me vine bien jovencito a este país.

AG: Ahhh ok.

MF: Si.

AG: ¿Pero no tenías parientes en aquel, entonces acá?

MF: No tenía pariente nomás un amigo me trajo, amigos.

AG: Well, I know how difficult it is, but it's hard without a little support. And your house, here, how is it different from, let's say, from where you lived in El Salvador? For example, if before you lived in the house there, in the country, and now you live in an apartment or you live at home, or what is the difference?

MF: Oh, there is quite a difference there. Because there in my country I was born in a grass house.

AG: And have you had the opportunity to go back since you have been here?

MF: To El Salvador?

AG: Yes

MF: Yes, I have been like five times.

AG: Oh dear. And you bring back that little seed bread. Is this the typical bread?

MF: The little seed bread. Yes ...

AG: Delicious.

MF: I have been a resident for 25 years.

AG: 25 years good. And are you ever going to want to return? Or do you sometimes need to be there in El Salvador, or do you prefer to stay here? Well, you have been here for many years. But sometimes you need to go back, for example, I think I have a lot of relatives in Costa Rica, sometimes at Christmas time and at Easter, I want to be there.

MF: Yes. I used to go to El Salvador, to see, when my mother and my father both were alive, sometimes I went back twice in one year. But they both died. So... I have... they've been gone for eight years. I don't want to go anymore.

AG: Yes true.

MF: Not anymore.

AG: And here you have family?

MF: Yes, I have seven children.

AG: Oh sir. Good.

MF: I no longer have little ones; they are all grown up.

AG: And Mr. Martín, what traditions did you bring up, let's say, when you came to live here. You have traditions that you maintain, let's say as I explained to you, in Costa Rica, at Christmas we make tamales ehhh we put up the nativity scene. The Costa Ricans put up the most Christmas trees. But there is some tradition from El Salvador that is now incorporated with life here.

AG: Bueno, que difícil verdad, sino no tiene uno, así como un apoyito. Y Tu casa, aquí, que vive aquí, ¿qué tal diferente es, digamos, de a donde viviste en El Salvador? ¿Por ejemplo, si antes vivía en la casa allá, en el campo, y ahora vives en un apartamento o vivís en casa o cómo es la diferencia?

MF: Oh allí hay una diferencia bastante verdad. Porque allí en mi país nací en una casa de zacate.

AG: ¿Y has tenido oportunidad de volver en el tiempo que has estado acá?

MF: ¿A El Salvador?

AG: Si

MF: Si, he ido como cinco veces.

AG: Ay caramba. Y trías ese pan de semillita. ¿Es así el pan típico?

MF: La semillita si...

AG: Delicios es eso.

MF: Tengo 25 años de hacer residente.

AG: 25 años bueno. ¿Y algún día usted va a querer volver? ¿O se te hace falta a veces de estar allí en la patria, como se dice uno? Bueno, tenéis muchos años estar aquí ya. Pero algunas veces te hace falta, por ejemplo, yo pienso que tengo mucho pariente en Costa Rica a veces bueno, en las épocas de las navidades y en semana santa, avécese de ahí me hace falta estar allá.

MF: Si. Yo iba a El Salvador, a ver, cuando mi mama y mi papa los dos, a veces iba dos veces en el año. Pero ellos ya murieron los dos. Hacía que... que tengo...tienen ocho años que se murió. Ya no me dan ganas de ir.

AG: Sí verdad.

MF: Ya no.

AG: ¿Y acá tienes familia?

MF: Si, tengo siete hijos.

AG: Ay señor. Bueno.

MF: Sí por eso ya no tengo chiquitos ya todos están ya están grandes.

AG: Y don Martín, qué tradiciones triaron, digamos cuando pasaste a vivir aquí. Usted tiene tradiciones que mantiene digamos que siempre...como les explicaba en Costa Rica, nosotros en Navidad hacemos los tamales ehhh ponemos el nacimiento, arreglamos, y los costarricenses que se da más conocimientos que dan por árboles navideños. Pero hay alguna tradición de El Salvador que incorporarse ahora con la vida acá.

MF: Ahhh. There wasn't much ... but we planted a tree, cut a tree to take it inside and decorate the tree with cotton. And put it in the burst boot like a tree. I would cut the stick and put it there. I put a bag there. Here there is much more opportunity, here we have a very big tree, and I put them up really well decorated. [Difficult to understand due to audio quality]

AG: But do you make tamales in your home?

MF: Normally my wife would, but she got paralyzed and she can't cook anymore. Not anymore... she doesn't cook anymore. Before we made tamales, we made food when the children came. But not anymore, not anymore...we don't do that because she's sick. It's very strange... very strange.

AG: And before that, your parents raised you, what was it like with them in El Salvador when they were still alive.

MF: Yes. We had a livelihood, my father had cattle, he had cows.

AG: Oh, how beautiful.

MF: Yes. We weren't that poor, were we? Because we had food to eat.

AG: Yes. Well sometimes one says that people are poor, but rich in spirit. Yes, right now ...

MF: People say what they want, right? There is money, but there is also food.

AG: Yes, that's accurate. And right now, let's say today, you came from work and all that. Is that the same job you've had for a long time? Do you use your Spanish at work?

MF: Ah, when I came to this country, I worked in the same company for 20 years. Yes, in a single company. Yes.

AG: Oh dear. With the same company, are you ...?

MF: Now, now I changed companies. I've been there in this company... I've already been... I've already been there 6 years. Because of the benefits, I have... more... I have insurance, and I have everything.

AG: That's good. It makes me happy.

MF: Yes. I'm already counting, and I have retirement. I don't want to work.

AG: Ok give me a second. It's just because I'm taking some notes and then passing it on.

MF: Okay.

AG: And your children are still young, they are students or ...

MF: No ... now ... now ... the youngest daughter is already 21 years old.

AG: Oh, geez they're grown up then.

MF: Yes. And she is the one who takes care of her mother because, she is... she is a nurse's assistant. And on behalf of the government ... the government pays her to take care of her mother.

MF: Ahhh. No era mucho...pero sembramos un palo, cortaba un palo. Para llevarlo...Árbol con algodón. La bota reventada como un arbole. Le cortaba el palito y lo ponía allí. Le ponía bolsita allí. Aquí, verdad, como hay mucha más oportunidad, aquí hay un árbol bien grandote, y los pongo muy bien decoradito. [Difícil de entender].

AG: ¿Pero hacen tamales en su en su casa?

MF: Hacia a mi señora, pero le pego parálisis y ya no puede cocinar. Ya hoy no... ya no cocina ella. Antes hicimos tamales hicimos comida guisada cuando venían los hijos. Pero ya no, ya no. no hacemos eso porque está enferma. Es muy extraño...muy extraño.

AG: Y previo eso, tus papás te criaron, os está viviendo como ellos En El Salvador cuando estaba en vivo todavía.

MF: Si. Para no vivíamos, mi papa tenía ganado, tenía vacas.

AG: Ay que bello.

MF: Si. No estábamos tan pobre, ¿verdad? Porque teníamos que comer.

AG: Si. Bueno a veces uno dice que la gente es pobre, pero rico de espíritu. Sí ahorita en día...

MF: ¿Digamos cual quiera verdad? También hay dinero pero sí hay comida.

AG: Sí eso es exacto. Y ahorita digamos actualmente hoy en día, digamos, vos viniste de su trabajo y todo eso, ese es algún trabajo que has tenido por tiempo ya. Utilizas tu español en el trabajo.

MF: Sí este, ah, cuando yo viene a este país, trabaje en una compañía por 20 años. Sí en una sola compañía. Si.

AG: Ay caramba. Ose con la misma compañía, estas...

MF: Ahora, ahora me cambie de compaña. En esta compañía ya estoy...ya llevo...ya llevo, 6 años. Porque me beneficia tengo...mas...tengo seguro, y tengo todo.

AG: Aye que dicha. A mí me alegra.

MF: Si. Ya estoy contando, ya tengo retiro ya no guiero trabajar.

AG: Okay te hago una pausa es nada más porque estoy tomando unas notitas para después pasarlo.

MF: Okay.

AG: Y sus hijos son pequeños todavía, son estudiantes o...

MF: No..ya...la última hija ya tiene 21 años.

AG: Ay caramba ya están crecidos entonces.

MF: Si. Y ella es la que cuida la mama porque, es...es ayudante de enfermera. Y por parte del gobierno...el gobierno le paga a ella para que cuide la mamá.

AG: Good. How good. That makes me very happy. And your favorite things, let's say, to do here, during your off time that I know as a father of a big family is limited. But for example, there is some place that you like to go, you like fishing, sports, playing soccer.

MF: Ah when... right now... when I first came to this country, I played soccer. Because I was a fanatic. And now ... I go fishing more. On the weekends I will go fishing.

AG: Where?

MF: I go here on at...of Ocean City and Point Local.

AG: And you have a good catch when you go fishing, yes, yes.

MF: Sometimes, sometimes we fill up two buckets full of fish.

AG: Oh good. And what kind of fish is it?

MF: I'm sorry?

AG: What kind is it, what kind of fish is it?

MF: We catch Rosefish. The only thing is we must do is take the measurement because yes... there is a law that we must measure them. So.

AG: Yes, that allows you to fish them. It is exactly how the crabs in Maryland are harvested, if they are very small you must throw them back into the sea.

AM: I was going to ask...he's talking about fishing. How do they prepare the fish? What kind of dishes do they make?

AG: The lady asks, how do you prepare the fish... fried?

MF: Fried and in soup.

AG: Soup and fried.

AM: What other kind of dishes?

AG: Do you make ceviche?

MF: We make ceviche too.

AG: And some typical dishes, let's say rice with chicken. I know that it doesn't have fish, but... Do you prepare typical dishes from El Salvador?

MF: Well yes. Yes. Already ... since the pandemic came ... I worked six years in a restaurant that is around here in Alexandria ... around here. I worked six years cooking. A little part-time job, but I worked six years. And because of the pandemic, they no longer give me an hour. Very few people work right now.

AG: And you prepare, let's say, traditional meals in a restaurant.

MF: Yes, traditional foods, avocado, egg, beans, cheese.

AG: Good food.

AG: Qué bien. Que bien. Eso me alegra mucho. Y sus cosas favoritas, digamos y hacer aquí como el tiempo de descanso que yo sé que es el padre de familia, no hay muchas horas que te...que te sobre. Pero, por ejemplo, hay algún lugar que te guste ir, te gusta pescar, algún deporte, jugar fútbol.

MF: Ah cuando...ahorita, cuando viene a este país jugó futbol. Porque era fanático. Y ahora... ya me tiro más a pescar. Por los fines de semana voy a pescar.

AG: ¿Y a dónde?

MF: Voy aquí por el lado de...de Ocean City, y Point Local.

AG: Y tenéis buena cosecha cuando vas a pescar, sí, sí.

MF: A veces, a veces agarramos hasta dos baldes llenos de pescados.

AG: Ay qué bien. ¿Y qué tipo de peces es?

MF: ¿Mande?

AG: Que tipo es, ¿qué tipo de pescado es?

MF: Agarramos Rosefish. Lo unió es tenemos que agarrar la medida porque sí que ...hay una ley que los tenemos que medirlos. A sí.

AG: Sí que te permite. Es exactamente como los cangrejos en Maryland están cosechando, si son muy pequeños tenéis que volver a tirar los a mar.

AM: I was going to ask...he's talking about fishing. How do they prepare the fish? What kind of dishes do they make?

AG: La señora pregunta, ¿qué, de qué modo preparen el pescado…frito?

MF: Frito y en sopa.

AG: Soup and fried.

AM: Maybe what other kind of dishes?

AG: ¿Qué haces ceviche?

MF: Hacemos ceviche también.

AG: Y algunos platos típicos, digamos, arroz con pollo. Yo sé que eso no tiene pescado, pero...preparas algún tipo de platos típicos de El Salvador.

MF: Pues sí. Si. Ya...hoy que vino la pandemia...yo trabaje 6 años en un restaurant que esta por la aquí por la corte de Alexandria...por aquí. Trabaje 6 años de cocinar. Un part-timesito, pero trabaje 6 años. Y por la pandemia ya no me dieron trabajo. Ahorita trabaja muy poquitas personas.

AG: Y preparamos, digamos, en un restaurante comidas típicas.

MF: Si, comidas típicas, aquátate, huevo, frijoles, queso.

AG: La comida buena.

MF: Now I prepare food for me, and I made hiban meat, hiban meat. And I dice the tomato, I dice the chili, and do it all. And I beat in two eggs, I make the tortillas and I chill them.

And then I make a broth.

AG: You must be a rich and talented chef, as you just described. Someone taught you? Or how did you develop that... that affinity for the good taste?

MF: My mom taught us to cook.

AG: Aye, that's the secret.

MF: We didn't have sisters, and my father only had boys. We were 12 boys.

AG: And do you have a specialty? Anything that you like to cook more than anything else?

MF: Aha Yes. Good for me right now? As I cook for myself, as she cannot eat what I eat. She only eats vegetables and little things. And I don't... I fry fish, grill meat, chicken breasts, I make black rice. But everything for me, nothing more. Yes.

AG: How tasty.

MF: My daughter who takes care of her already lives there in Olsonville. She is the youngest daughter.

AG: The one who works as a nurse.

MF: Yeah, umhum, she's the youngest daughter.

AG: And do you have a favorite place to go, you mentioned Ocean City, but some other place? Let's say, do you take walks, let's say, to see the monuments in Washington. Or for some museums, I don't know.

MF: Yes. It is logical to go see the ... museums, and what do they call it ... where the animals are?

AG: The zoo?

MF: To the Zoo. And then very close to this, in Fredericksburg, I have a house where I leave to go for a while.

AG: In Fredericksburg? Well it's nice because it's more in the country.

MF Yes, it is country out there. There, four of my children have a four-story house. Yes.

AG: Mr. Martín since you happened to live there now in Alexandria, how do you see that it has changed over time?

MF: Hey, it's been a lot of change. Right now, there is a lot of change. Before it was very different here, because here where we are [Casa Chirilagua], there was a shopping center right here. Where the laundry was, there was a workshop; it was a car repair shop. I don't know why it would be closed but closed for 10 years. Later they repaired it to make this little shopping mall there near the laundry. This here on 24th there were... there were a lot of clubs, on the 24th. Then they put in a parking garage. There is at the top of that street, by 24th above, where they had little telephone booths where they

MF: Ahora prepare comida para mí, e hizo carne de hiban, carne de hiba. Y le pico tomate, le pico el chile, y do todo ago. Y le bato dos huevos, algo las tortillas y las enfrió. Y después la hago con caldo.

AG: Hay que rico y ese talento de chef, como se describió eso. Alguien le contrato o alguien te enseñó o cómo fue desarrollando esa...esa afinidad para la buena cuchara.

MF: Mi mamá nos enseno a cocinar.

AG: Aye eso son los secretos.

MF: Nosotros no tuvimos hermanas y a mi papa solo tuvo varones. Éramos 12 varones.

AG: Y usted tiene una especialidad. Que te gusta cocinar más que cualquier otra cosa.

MF: Ahí Si. Bueno para mí ahorita. Como yo cocino para yo solo, como ella no puede comer de lo que yo como. Ella ya solamente come verduras y cositas a cochadas. Y yo no...frito el pescado, frio carne, pechugas de pollo, hago arroz negrito. Pero todo para mí, madamas poquito. Si.

AG: Que rico.

MF: La muchacha que la cuida, ya vive allá en Olsonville. Es la última hija de nosotros.

AG: La que trabaja de enfermera.

MF: Si, un hum, es la última hija.

AG: Y tenéis algún lugar favorito de ir, vos mencionaste Ocean City, ¿pero algún otro lugar? Digamos nacido, te haces paseos, digamos a ver visto los monumentos en Washington. O por algunos museos, no sé.

MF: Sí. Es lógico irnos a ver la...museo, para allá muy como llaman...donde están los animales.

AG: ¿Sí el zoológico?

MF: Al Zoológico. Y luego muy para ya a esta Fredericksburg tengo una casa. Allá me voy a esta un rato.

AG: En Fredericksburg? Bueno es lindo porque es más en el campo.

MF: Sí es campo haya. Allí los cuatro hijos míos tenemos una casa de cuatro niveles. Si.

AG: ¿Don Martín desde que vos pasaste a vivir ahí ahora en Alexandria, cómo la vez que se ha cambiado a través del tiempo?

MF: Oye a si ha sido bastante cambio. Ahorita se va bastante cambio. Antes era bien diferente aquí [Casa Chirilagua], porque aquí donde está el shopping aquí en frente. Donde está la lavandería, estaba un taller. Ahí era un taller de...de arreglar carro, después lo cerraron como de 10 años está cerrado, estableado, no sé porque lo estabularía, pero pro-10 años cerrado. Después lo repararon para hacer este shoppingsito que hay por allí por la lavandería. Este aquí donde está el 24 había...había un montón de palos, en el 24. Después punieron un paraquadior valenciano. Eh. Hay para arriba de la calle esa, por el 24 arriba, donde tenían casitas donde tenían teléfonos

had public telephones. Because eh like before, I needed them, right? There was a lot of snow. The little booths were there so that people could speak on the phone. They had audiences. Aha there they had quite a lot of them, many, they are no longer there ... they no longer exist.

AG: It's incredible, isn't it, seeing how cell phones have replaced all that?

MF: Aha, there weren't cell phones, what there was that. Look when one rang, one ran to the public phones.

AG: Well, it was only like yesterday, right? We are progressing at a very fast speed today, I think.

MF: Now it's different, things are more different.

AG: Yes. The lady, I think it was Cabrera, she also mentioned a lack of having a pharmacy nearby, that before there was a CVS.

MF: Before the pharmacy was there, but they closed it. There was another store on the Green also that was a very big store, and they closed it too.

AG: And they didn't give you any reason why they closed the pharmacy.

MF: Well, no, no because they closed it, no, no. Nobody knows why.

AG: Yes. And do you think those changes that have been taking place are for the better or worse?

MF: Ahhh, for a worse, because we were staying close. And we could go quickly to the pharmacy, because it was open 24 hours a day. And now we must go farther away. There was also more snow than now. Yes, and the cars were awful in the snow. They passed the time cleaning the streets, some dump trucks did it. And people did not leave, because they could not pull out the cars.

AG: And you remember, the first time you experienced, a heavy snowfall.

MF: Oh yeah. YES.

AG: And what did you think?

MF: No. Well, since I was here, but the snow, of course, was scary. They told me it was going to go away, but when I saw the sun, I saw that it was not going well. Sometimes I spent a whole month inside, a lot of snow on the streets. The streets were cleaned because trucks and tractors came and even flipped on the road. And they threw the snow into the parking lots or onto the open the streets, because the buses could not get through or anything.

AG: But your impression of the snowfall was good or take me back to El Salvador, I'm ready to go back, or I'll stay here and wait until all the snow melts.

MF: People said to me well, they told me ... I laughed because I had never seen snow, right. They told me, don't worry, this one is going to go away with the sun. And it will start to rain and well. And I adapted and so on.

públicos. ¿Porque eh como antes, necesitaba bastante verdad? Había mucha nieve. Hacía en las casitas para que la gente hablaba por teléfono. Tenían unos públicos. Aha allí tenían bastante caricitas, muchas, esa ya no...ya no existen. De eso ya.

AG: ¿Es increíble, verdad que ver cómo los teléfonos, celulares han reemplazado todo eso?

MF: Aha, esos celulares no había, lo que había era eso. Mire cuando uno sonaba uno corría a los públicos.

AG: Bueno, eres como que fue ayer, ¿verdad? Estamos progresando una velocidad muy rápida ahora, creo.

MF: Ahora sí es diferente, las cosas están más diferente.

AG: Sí. La señora, creo que fue Cabrera, me mencionó también una falta una escasez de tener una farmacia muy cerca, que antes había una CVS.

MF: Antes estaba la farmacia allí, pero la cerraron. Había otra tienda en el Green también que era una tienda bien grande, y también la cerraron.

AG: ¿Y no le dieron motivos de que porque la cerraron una farmacia?

MF: Pues mira que no no porque la cerraran, no no. Nadie sabe por qué.

AG: Si. Esa cosa de porqué. ¿Y esos cambios que han venido dando vos crees que son para lo mejor o peor?

MF: Ahhh, por una parte peor, porque manteniéndose a lo cerquita. Y nos podíamos ir rápido a la farmacia, porque estaba abierto las 24 horas. Y ahora tenemos que ir más largo. También había más nieve que ahora. Sí y los carros se aterraban de nieve. Pasaban limpiando la calle le echaron unos camiones de volteo. Y vos de parcos de al día. Y la gente no salía, porque no podían jalar los carros.

AG: ¿Y vos te acordáis, la primera vez que te cayó, una nevada fuerte?

MF: Oh, sí. Sl.

AG: ¿Y que pensabas?

MF: No. Pues como yo estaba aquí, pero la nieve, de para qui, de daba miedo. Me decía que si esto se nos iba a quitar. Pero sí. Cuando ya vi el sol, vie que no estábamos bien. Pero pasaba a veces un mes, un monto de nieve allí en la calle. Las calles estaban limpias porque los camiones y tractores llegaban y la revoloteaban al camino. Y lo tiraban para el parking o baldado para abrir las calles porque no podían venir los buses y nada.

AG: Pero tu impresión de la nevada era buena, devuélveme a El Salvador estoy listo para volver o bueno me quedo acá y espero hasta que se derrite toda la nieve.

MF: La gente me decía bien, me decían...yo me reía porque nunca había visto nieve así, verdad. Hasta me decían, no te preocupes esta se va a deshacer con el sol. Y se va a poner a llover y bueno. Y me fui adaptando y así.

- AG: Today, today do you enjoy seeing a good snowfall or you still want to see the green grass?
- MF: Of course, I am anxious... many of us lost work. We didn't work for whole weeks.
- AG: Ah Ok. sometimes the snow costs a lot, right, you stay stuck in the house, cleaning the cars, everything that problem with heavy snowfall. A disaster going out and shopping is impossible.
- MF: My mom came and didn't want to come back, she didn't like the snow, she doesn't like it. I'm not going back, she told me. Yes.
- AG: Yes. A question to ask yourself, how is pandemic going? Does it affect you or, the family, let's say in a certain sense, people are more cautious now. But has it affected you in some way, let's say you ... your workplace has not closed? It stays open or ... or it affects you in some way that has been difficult.
- MF: Yes. That is where I work... there are some gentlemen who got sick, right. But the boss sent them back, sent them to quarantine. So, he gave us tests, if we were okay. And since nothing came out positive and I protect myself, I could work. Because I have had nothing, nothing bad. I've always been healthy.
- AG: Superman, superman. How good, I congratulate you. I believe that, right, a lot of hand wash and masks. Yes. And I think that by working with food you already are equipped with this ... this reason for staying clean and all. But I feel sorry for those gentlemen and do you think they recovered well?
- MF: Ah well, they are already working again. Yes, they are working. And they are protected with the mask now. Before, before, they did not wear masks, because they did not like them, but they got sick. They must wear a mask at work. Yes.
- AG: For the future, what hope do you have, let's say, for your children, for your grandchildren? Any improvement in the system? More scholarships... for schools... more centers for some training. What would you like to see? Anything?
- MF: I would like, I would like to help the children right. Well my children... they are all grown up, but I have small grandchildren. My children are all married already.
- AG: And are they here in the United States or are they in ...
- MF: They are all here, yes.
- AG: And in the same area where you are right now in Arlandria-Chirilagua, how would you like to see it changed? ... some form of improvement to implement certain things let's say help?
- MF: Oh. The problem is that people who don't care, here, there is a clinic. There are 7-8 gentlemen who drink a lot. They are sleeping on the streets. And a lady, too. A little lady. But they don't, they don't... how can I help them?
- AG: Aha but whatever do they need, maybe some kind of treatment center would help. But do you think that they are on alcohol or drugs or a combination?
- MF: Practically, the most serious thing is alcohol.

- AG: ¿Hoy día, hoy día te disfrutas de ver una buena nevada o todavía te da ganas de ver el zacate verde?
- MF: Pues claro que andamos ansiosos...muchos perdíamos de trabajar. Semanas enteras no trabajábamos.
- AG: Ah Ok. Se a veces cuesta mucho, verdad, te quedas pegada en la casa aquí, limpiar los carros, todo lo que vos venía diciendo antes del problema con las nevadas pesadas. Bueno. Un desastre saliendo y compras imposibles.
- MF: Mi mama venia y le callo, y no le gusto por la nieve, no le gusto. Ya no vuelvo ir me dijo. Si.
- AG: Si. ¿Una preguntica de preguntarte cómo esté pandemia? Te afectado a ti o, la familia digamos en ciertos sentidos la gente por eso es más cautelosos ahora. ¿Pero te afectado en algo digamos tú...tu lugar de trabajo no ha cerrado? Se mantiene abierto o...o te afecta una alguna forma que ha sido difícil.
- MF: Si. Este donde yo trabajo...ahí unos señores que salieron enfermos, verdad. Pero el patrón los mando para tras, los mando a queratina. Entonces, a nosotros nos hico exámenes, sí estábamos bien, y como no salió nada. Y yo me protejo y... Porque yo no he tenido nada, de mal estar nada. Siempre he estado bien.
- AG: Superman, superman. Que bien, yo le felicito. Yo creo que todos es mi cuidados verdad, mucha lavar a mano y máscara, entonces. Si. Y yo creo que por trabajar con alimentos y comidas ya usted viene con este...este motivo de mucho aseo y todo eso así es que eso. ¿Pero me da lástima esos señores y usted cree que ellos recuperaron bien?
- MF: Ah pues acá ya están trabajando, ¿verdad? Sí están trabajando. Y dijo que están protegidos con la mascarilla hoy. Antes, antes, no se ponía mascarillas, porque no les gustaba porque... pero allí salieren enfermos. Deben de estar en mascarilla en el trabajo. Si.
- AG: Para el futuro, que tener esperanzas de que te gustaría ver, digamos, por sus hijos por, ¿sus nietos sí tuvieran? ¿Alguna mejoría en el sistema? Más becas...para las escuelas... más centros de algo de capacitación. Que te gustaría ver. Tienes algo.
- MF: Me gustaría, me gustaría bueno repacer para los hijos verdad. Bueno mis hijos...todos están grandes, pero tengo nietos pequeños. Mis niños todos están casados ya.
- AG: Y ellos están acá en los Estados Unidos o están en...
- MF: Sí aquí están todos, sí.
- AG: Y la misma zona donde vos estás ahorita en Arlandria-Chirilagua, ¿que qué lugar te gustaría verlo cambiar?
- MF: Ay uno, ahí uno. El problema es que ahí gente que no, aquí, hay una clínica, 7-8 señores que toman mucho. Que están durmiendo en la calle. Y du curiosidad una señora, también. Una señora borrita. Pero ellos no, ellos no...en que los puedo ayudar.
- AG: Ajá pero lo que necesites, ayuda tal vez algún tipo de centro de tratamiento. ¿Pero vos crees que son del alcohol o de drogas o una combinación, pues?
- MF: Prácticamente lo más serio es alcohol.

AG: Alcohol.

MF: Because there are older people there.

AG: How sad.

MF: I don't think it's marijuana, but alcohol yes. There are some, many who have been on the street for more than two years.

AG: Oh my god. But the community does it not have any program to try to help them and ...

MF: What happens is that they don't want help. No... now it's a tragedy from here to there. They live for another day. Because the lady slept there at the door near, she slept. And we say, we could help you in the restaurant. One day we asked her if she needed help and she said, help from what, said the lady, I don't need help.

AG: Umhum.

MF: Umhum. So, at this time, nothing can be done.

AG: Yes, it's not certain.

MF: I know of an alcoholic's anonyms program, and I have invited them to come. Or help them and tell them where to go. But they tell me no, they don't want to.

AG: What a tragedy. And more than now that the cold season is coming, it is hard to be on the street. Is there a shelter or something?

MF: Umhum. Some freeze to death.

AG: What happens is that the shelters have many restrictions, right, that you cannot enter and drink, and all that?

MF: That's why they don't like it, right?

AG: If that's why, they don't like it. Yes, but it does not stop making it dangerous. How sad. This, um... I don't know.

Anna, Let me ask you for a second. Do you have any other questions for the gentleman? We've pretty much gone over everything that he has, shared with us on the questions. Do you have anything more specific.

AM: Ummm. Naturally, he may have already covered it, his family. It is a big family, right?

AG: Yes.

AM: That they all came together quite a while ago.

AG: Yes. He's currently living with just his wife. All his sons are grown up. He has grandchildren.

AM: Ok.

AG: How many grandchildren do you have?

MF: Grandchildren, I have 16.

AG: Alcohol.

MF: Porque allí hay gente ya mayor.

AG: Que triste.

MF: Yo no creo que se marijuana, pero alcohol sí. Ahí ay unos muchas que tienen más de dos años andar en la calle.

AG: Ay dios mío. Pero la comunidad no tiene algún programa para tratar de ayudarlos de regleta los y...

MF: Lo que pasa es que no quieren. No les...ahora es una trajea de aquí a aquí. Se van para otro día. Porque la señora dormía allí en la puerta, allí dormía. Y le podíamos ayudar en el restaurant. Un día le preguntamos sí necesitaba ayuda y ella dijo, ayuda de que, dijo la señora. No necesita ayuda.

AG: Umhum

MF: Umhum. Así que, en este tiempo, no se puede hacer nada.

AG: Si, no es cierto.

MF: Yo me dedicó a un programa de alcohólicos ánimos, y yo los he invitado que vayan. O yo les ayudo, y les digo nos vamos. Pero ellos me dicen que no, no quieren.

AG: Ay que tirada. Y más que ahora que viene los tiempos fríos, verdad estar en la calle. ¿Ay un albergues o algo?

MF: Umhum. Algunos se mueren de frio.

AG: Lo que pasa es que los albergues tienen muchas restricciones, verdad que no se puede entrar, tomar, ¿y todo eso entonces?

MF: Allí hacía, por eso es por lo que no les gusta, ¿sí?

AG: Sí por eso no les gusta. Sí pero no deja de hacer un peligro. Que tristeza. Este, um...yo no sé.

Anna, Permíteme un segundo preguntarle. Do you have any other questions for the gentleman. We've pretty much gone over everything that he has, shared with us on the questions. Do you have anything more specific.

AM: Ummmm. Naturally, he may have already covered it, his family. Is it a big family, right?

AG: Yes.

AM: That they all came together quite a while ago.

AG: Yes. He's currently living with just his wife. All of his sons are grown up. He has grandchildren.

AM: Ok.

AG: Cuantos nietos tiene.

MF: Nietos tengo 16.

AG: 16 grandchildren. He has 16 grandchildren. Wow.

MF: I have grandchildren and great-grandchildren born in this country.

AG: Wow. I congratulate you because that is ...

MF: I already have great-grandchildren.

AG: How many great-grandchildren, I don't even want to ask.

MF: I have three.

AG: Three great-grandchildren, wow.

MF: The grandchildren are those who were born in this country. My daughter's children.

AG: So those grandchildren of yours have been learning English and in Spanish to preserve the language in the family?

MF: Yes. There is a problem with that, because my children speak in Spanish. As the mother speaks Spanish, and I speak Spanish, but with their children, they don't teach them Spanish, only English.

AG: Ayyy so that's... it is.

MF: So, they come to see Grandma, here at the house.

AG: And they can't ...

MF: They can't talk to Grandma. Very little. Well, by signaling they are already big and then not the ...

AG: Oh no

MF: For me, I told them to speak to them, speak to the children in Spanish, so that they will learn

AG: I totally agree because it is serious ...

MF: But my children were born here. So, nobody likes to speak Spanish much. But the girls do speak Spanish well. They were raised with us. And me and my wife don't speak English. And well... only Spanish.

AG: And for me it is a great gift that one gives the children to speak, one's own language to preserve those traditions, right?

MF: That's right. So it is.

AG: I think that, but that's where we are headed.

MF: Where we are headed.

AG: Well, I appreciate your time so much. I know what it was like to take time out, now after work to come.

AG: 16 nietos. Tiene 16 nietos. Wow.

MF: Tengo nietos, y bisnietos ya nacidos en este país.

AG: Wow. Te felicito porque eso es...

MF: Sí ya tengo bisnietos.

AG: ¿Cuántos bisnietos, ni pregunto?

MF: Tengo tres.

AG: Tres bisnietos, wow.

MF: Los nietos son los que nacieron en este país. Los hijos de mi hija.

AG: ¿Entonces esos nietos tuyos vienen aprendiendo esto y también en español para conservar el idioma en la familia?

MF: Si. Hay un problema en eso, porque mis hijos hablan en español. Como la mamá habla español, y yo hablo español, pero hay tal que los hijos de ellos. No les ensañan español, solo inglés.

AG: Ayyy so eso es lo...que es.

MF: Así es que vienen a ver a la abuela, aquí a la casa.

AG: Y no pueden...

MF: Con la abuela no pueden hablar. Muy poco. Pues por seña ya están grandes y pues no los...

AG: Ay no

MF: Yo por lo mío, les dijo que le hablen, háblenles a los niños en español, para que aprendan.

AG: Totalmente de acuerdo porque es una grave...

MF: Pero nacieron mis hijos aquí. Así que a nadie le gusta hablar mucho en español. Pero las niñas si hablan español bien. Se crearon con nosotros. Y yo y la mama no hablamos en inglés. Y pues…español.

AG: Y para mi es un gran don que uno deja los hijos de poder hablar. El mismo idioma de uno para conservar esas tradiciones, ¿verdad?

MF: Así es. Así es.

AG: Yo creo que eso de manera definitiva, definitivamente, pero por ahí vamos.

MF: Ahí vamos.

AG: Pues le agradezco tantísimo tu tiempo. Yo sé que era sacar el rato ahora después del trabajo venir.

MF: Well, Miss, I leave early; I leave at 2 in the afternoon from work. I enter at 5 in the morning.

AG: Yes. But we thank you very much. Mrs. Maas, Anna, wanted to take a picture ...

MF: Ok.

AG: And I don't know if you have a problem and of all the people we have interviewed, we have taken photos, but that is your option if you will allow us.

MF: Not a problem, whatever you want is fine. I do not have a problem.

AG: He's willing to have the picture taken.

AM: Ok great. Thank you. Do you want to stand, and I'll take the picture? [Long pause] Ah there we go.

MF: Okay.

AM: 1, 2, 3 cheese. I'll turn off the recorder now, thank you.

MF: Bueno señorita yo salgo temprano salgo a las 2 de la tarde del trabajo. Entro a las cinco de la mañana.

AG: Si. Pero te agradecemos mucho. La señora Maas, Anna, quería sacar una foto...

MF: Ok.

AG: Y no sé si usted tiene inconveniente y de todas las personas que hemos entrevistado, hemos sacado fotos, pero eso es opción tuya si nos permites.

MF: No si está bien lo que quieras. Yo no tengo problema.

AG: He's willing to have the picture taken.

AM: Ok great. Gracias. Do you want to stand, and I'll take the picture? [Long pause] Ah there we go.

MF: OK.

AM: 1,2, 3 cheese. Esso. I'll turn of the recorder, thank you.

CHAPTER 3: WINDSHIELD SURVEY

The purpose of the windshield survey was to identify points of interest, cultural landscapes, and themes within the neighborhood and to make preliminary recommendations on historical significance, redevelopment opportunities, and ways to incorporate or mitigate the loss of historic resources as the city seeks to increase affordable housing for this incredibly vibrant and diverse community.

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Prior to the windshield survey, ERG reviewed previous investigations that occurred within the boundary of the study area on file in the Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (V-CRIS), maintained by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR). In addition, due to the project area's historic ties to Arlington County, ERG reviewed the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) Form, "Garden Apartments, Apartment Houses and Apartment Complexes in Arlington County, Virginia, 1934-1954" (Moffett 2002) and the MPD amendment (Trieschmann and Schoenfeld 2011).

Relatively few surveys have occurred in this part of Alexandria. In 1992, a commercial building on the corner of Bruce St at 3901 Mount Vernon Ave (100-5018) was recorded. One of the original mid-century strip malls, it housed the Birchmere Music Hall from 1981 to 1997. Established in a small space in Shirlington in 1966, the club rose to national prominence at the new location, showcasing live bluegrass, country, rock, and jazz, and eventually grew out of the space. After the Birchmere moved down the street, it was renovated and has housed a number of other small businesses.

In association with the James Bland Homes redevelopment to the south of Arlandria-Chirilagua, in 2008, Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. surveyed Multiple Dwelling, 813-819 W Glebe Rd (100-5024) in the west end of the neighborhood. The two-story, flat-roofed, brick building was one of the later mid-century garden apartment complexes converted into affordable housing in the 1980s. Recommended not eligible, it was razed for a new ARHA development (Mullen and Johnson 2010). The same year and as part of the same DHR review process, eight buildings on Old Dominion Blvd (100-5025 through 100-5032) were surveyed, found not eligible, and redeveloped. Not noted on the survey forms, these were part of the original Beverley Plaza Apartments named for various states.

According to DHR survey form for site 44AX0207, in 2009, Robert A. Selig, Ph.D. completed a study called the Revolutionary War Route and Transportation Survey in the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1781-1782, which analyzed the march and camps of French and American armies. From September of 2015 through April 2016, Dovetail Cultural Resources

Group conducted a Phase I Survey of the 123 Mile DC2RVA corridor to the east of Arlandria-Chirilagua and unsuccessfully attempted to verify where a route or camp may be, placing a rectangle in the general vicinity of their study area, extending the boundary from near the river west to Mount Vernon Ave (McCloskey et al. 2016). Though the studies noted that any evidence was likely destroyed by Reagan National Airport, documentary evidence from this cultural history suggests camps and routes could have been farther upstream in present-day Arlandria-Chirilagua; however, this area is highly disturbed as well.

The Arlington County, Virginia NRHP MPD organizes discontiguous groups of garden apartments, apartment houses, and apartment complexes, which were constructed 1934-1954 and have shared themes, trends, and patterns of history. The MPD defines property types that represent this shared historic context and provides nomination requirements for each property type. The MPD outlines six subtypes in Arlington: 1. Garden-Apartment Complex, 2. Individual Low-Rise Apartment Building, 3. Individual Mid-Rise Apartment Building, 4. Mid-Rise Apartment Complex. 5. Individual High-Rise Apartment Building, and 6. High-Rise Apartment Complex. Many of these types of properties stand in Arlandria-Chirilagua and Alexandria at large; however, many have already been redeveloped or heavily altered in the city. Additionally, mid-century developers appear to have concentrated their efforts more heavily and earlier in the county than in the city due to proximity to Washington, D.C. and availability of more undeveloped land.

SURVEY METHODS

In preparation for the windshield survey, GIS data provided by the city was reviewed, historic maps and aerials were geo-referenced, and background research conducted. Fieldwork was conducted August through October 2020 by car and on foot on three occasions at different times of day and on weekdays and a weekend to get as full a sense of the community character as possible during a pandemic. Unique in this period of history, temporary shelter was erected at Mount Vernon Ave to accommodate COVID-19 testing.

Per DHR, a windshield survey includes a broad overview of a potential survey area rather than a recordation of individual resources. General information is collected about the area such as streetscapes, views, and vistas. This data may then be used as a first step in determining future survey methods and potential historic district boundaries. Unlike a typical windshield survey, this study included intensive research to develop the cultural history; therefore, ERG assigned an alpha-numeric symbol for selected destroyed sites (Table 1); an alpha symbol to identify historic landscapes, subdivisions, and apartment complexes with more than one parcel; and an identification number for selected resources, which had a unique historic name or use within a larger complex or landscape, or were tied to early African American heritage (Table 2). Figure 132 shows community areas and standing and destroyed cultural resources keyed to Tables 1 and 2. Figure 133 shows lost natural and cultural landscapes. Figure 134 shows buildings by decade based on review of historic maps and aerials.

Figure 135 presents historic themes, which generally align with the most intense period of segregation in the United States 1905-1964. The span varies slightly from state and national policy and was based on the year the historically Black neighborhood of Sunnyside was subdivided and the year that Alexandria passed a fair housing ordnance. Figure 136 reflects dramatic changes that occurred to the social fabric after fair housing policies passed and more intensive immigration began.

Table 1. Destroyed sites in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Theme Map ID	Name	Approximate Location	Theme(s)	Approxi- mate Years
S1	Alms House Site	Between Executive Ave and Russell Rd	European Descent; African Descent	1894-1925
S2	Hume Spring Stone Pavilion Approximate Site	3603 Mt Vernon Ave	European Descent; Recreation and Culture; Suburbanization; Transportation	1880-1940
S 3	Emma P. Hume Subdivision	Bound by Dale, Com- monwealth, W Glebe, and Mt Vernon	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1921-1951
S4	Alexandria City Dump Site	101 Dale St	Industry	1922-1955
S5	Hume Spring Nine Negro League Sandlot	NW Corner of Russell Rd and W Glebe Rd	African Descent; Recreation and Culture; Social History	1926-1937
S6	Beverley Plaza Shop- ping Center	3905-3915 Mt Vernon Ave	European Descent; Commerce	1939-1972
S7	Vernon Movie Theater Former Site	3705 Mt Vernon Ave	European Descent; Recreation and Culture	1940-1976
S8	The Colorado Former Site, Beverley Park Gardens	3949 Old Dominion Blvd	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1945-2009
S9	The Connecticut Former Site, Beverley Park Gardens	3961 Old Dominion Blvd	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1945-2009
S10	The Delaware Former Site, Beverley Park Gardens	3961 Old Dominion Blvd	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1945-2009
S11	The Florida Former Site, Beverley Park Gardens	3949 Old Dominion Blvd	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1945-2009
S12	The Georgia Former Site, Beverley Park Gardens	3925 Old Dominion Blvd	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1945-2009
S13	The Idaho Former Site, Beverley Park Gardens	3949 Old Dominion Blvd	European Descent; Suburbanization (Garden Apartment)	1945-2009
S14	Data Management Office Tower	3700 Mt Vernon Ave	Commerce	1969-2003
N/A	Union Civil War Encampments Approximate Site	Between W Glebe Rd and Four Mile Run	Military	1861-1865
N/A	Lilliard-Chubbs-Car- lyle-Adams-Roachs Mills Approximate Site	Milan Dr and Four Mile Rd	Industry	c 1715-1865

Table 1 cont. Destroyed sites in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Theme Map ID	Name	Approximate Location	Theme(s)	Approxi- mate Years
N/A	Wash, Alex & Mt Ver- non Electric Railway	Commonwealth Ave	Transportation	1896-1932
N/A	Old Mount Vernon Rd and Bridge	Old Dominion Blvd	Transportation	c 1894-1945
N/A	W&O Railroad	Parallel and south of W Glebe Rd	Transportation	1858-1968
N/A	Old Georgetown Rd and Bridge	West Property Line of Four Mile Rd Duplexes	Transportation	c 1745-1915
N/A	Sunnyside Spring Approximate Course	NW Sunnyside Subdivision	Environment; Industry	pre-1941
N/A	Hume Spring Approx Course	Hume Springs Subdivision	Environment; Industry	pre-1941
N/A	Long Branch Approxi- mate Course	North of Milan Dr and Four Mile Run	Environment; Industry	pre-1970s
N/A	Four Mile Run Approximate Course	Curves South into Four Mile Rd	Environment; Industry	pre-1951

Table 2. Select above ground resources in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Build- ing	Area	Year	St. No.	St. Name	St. Type	Units	Historic Sub/Com- plex	Current Sub/Complex	Historic Name	Current Name	Historic Use	Current Use	Architectural Style
1	А	1870	3900	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Watson Property	Watson Family Memorial	Recycling Yard	Memorial	Not Applicable
2	А	1965	3901	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	3901 Elbert Ave	3901 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Ranch
3	А	1960	3841	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	House, 3841 Elbert Ave	House, 3841 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Cape Cod
4	А	1960	3839	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Duplex, 3839 & 3839 1/2 Elbert Ave	Duplex, 3839 & 3839 1/2 Elbert Ave	Duplex	Duplex	Colonial Revival
4	А	1960	3839	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Duplex, 3839 & 3839 1/2 Elbert Ave	Duplex, 3839 & 3839 1/2 Elbert Ave	Duplex	Duplex	Colonial Revival
5	А	1910	3835	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Ellison House, 3835 Elbert Ave	Ellison House, 3835 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell- ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
6	А	1954	3831	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Littlejohn House, 3831 Elbert Ave	Littlejohn House, 3831 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Split Level
7	А	1962	3829	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Dwelling, 3818 Elbert Ave	Dwelling, 3818 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
8	А	1940	3820	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Dwelling, 3820 Elbert Ave	Dwelling, 3820 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
9	А	1937	3819	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Dwelling, 3819 Elbert Ave	Dwelling, 3819 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
10	А	1962	3818	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Dwelling, 3829 Elbert Ave	Dwelling, 3829 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
11	А	1910	3814	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Dwelling, 3814 Elbert Ave	Dwelling, 3814 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
12	А	1924	3812	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Lee House, 3812 Elbert Ave	Lee House, 3812 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
13	А	1960	3810	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Sloan-Adams House, 3810 Elbert Ave	Sloan-Adams House, 3810 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Ranch
14	А	1912	3806	Elbert	Ave	1	Sunnyside	Lenox Place at Sunny- side	Dwelling, 3806 Elbert Ave	Dwelling, 3806 Elbert Ave	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	Colonial Revival
15	N/A	1937	715	Glebe	Rd	N/A	Not applicable	Not applicable	Dwelling, 715 W Glebe Rd	Dwelling, 715 W Glebe Rd	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell-ing	No Discernable Style
16	В	1937	7	Leadbeater	ST	N/A	St Elmo Section 2	St Elmo Section 2	Dwelling, 7 Leadbetter St	Dwelling, 7 Leadbetter St	Single Family Dwell-ing	Single Family Dwell- ing	Craftsman
17	В	1959	6	Leadbeater	ST	7	St Elmo Section 2	St Elmo Section 2	Leadbeater Apts	Leadbeater Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
18	В	1957	3310	Mt Vernon	Ave	6	St Elmo Section 2	St Elmo Section 2	Mt Vernon Garden Apart- ment	Mt Vernon Garden Apart- ment	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
19	С	1937	3899	Courtland	Cr	N/A	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	FDR 2nd Inauguration Plaque and Columns	FDR 2nd Inauguration Plaque and Columns	Memorial	Memorial	Classical Revival
20	С	1937	3900	Mt Vernon	Ave	16	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Presidential Gardens Motor Hotel Suite (1964)	George Washington (1st)	Hotel	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival

Table 2 cont. Select above ground resources in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Build- ing	Area	Year	St. No.	St. Name	St. Type	Units	Historic Sub/Com- plex	Current Sub/Complex	Historic Name	Current Name	Historic Use	Current Use	Architectural Style
21	С	1938	3810	Russell	Ave	16	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	John Adams (2nd)	John Adams (2nd)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
22	С	1938	3808	Russell	Ave	15	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Thomas Jefferson (3rd)	Thomas Jefferson (3rd)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
23	С	1938	3806	Russell	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	James Madison (4th)	James Madison (4th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
24	С	1938	3804	Russell	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	James Monroe (5th)	James Monroe (5th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
25	С	1938	3802	Russell	Ave	22	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Andrew Jackson (6th)	Andrew Jackson (6th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
26	С	1938	3800	Russell	Ave	22	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Martin Van Buren (7th)	Martin Van Buren (7th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
27	С	1938	N/A	Executive	Ave	15	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	John Tyler (10th)	John Tyler (10th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
28	С	1938	3900	Executive	Ave	21	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	James Polk (11th)	James Polk (11th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
29	С	1938	3810	Executive	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Zachary Taylor (12th)	Zachary Taylor (12th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
30	С	1938	3811	Executive	Ave	16	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Millard Filmore (13th)	Millard Filmore (13th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
31	С	1938	3808	Executive	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Franklin Pierce (14th)	Franklin Pierce (14th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
32	С	1938	3809	Executive	Ave	20	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	James Buchanan (15th)	James Buchanan (15th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
33	С	1938	3806	Executive	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Abraham Lincoln (16th)	Abraham Lincoln (16th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
34	С	1938	3807	Executive	Ave	20	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Andrew Johnson (17th)	Andrew Johnson (17th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
35	С	1938	3804	Executive	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Ulysses Grant (18th)	Ulysses Grant (18th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
36	С	1938	3805	Executive	Ave	20	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Rutherford Hayes (19th)	Rutherford Hayes (19th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
37	С	1938	3802	Executive	Ave	19	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	James Garfield (20th)	James Garfield (20th)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
38	С	1938	3803	Executive	Ave	20	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Chester Arthur (21st)	Chester Arthur (21st)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
39	С	1938	3800	Executive	Ave	21	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Grover Cleveland (22nd)	Grover Cleveland (22nd)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
40	С	1938	3801	Executive	Ave	20	Presidential Gardens	Presidential Green	Benjamin Harrison (23rd)	Benjamin Harrison (23rd)	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Classical Revival
41	D	1939	3910	Bruce	St	21	Beverley Plaza Gardens	Potomac Village ACHC	Barbara Fitchie (Unionist in U.S. Civil War)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
42	D	1939	3912	Bruce	St	21	Beverley Plaza Gar- dens	Potomac Village ACHC	Mary Lee (Confederate in U.S. Civil War)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
43	D	1939	3914	Bruce	St	18	Beverley Plaza Gardens	Potomac Village ACHC	Grace Coolidge (30th First Lady)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
44	D	1939	3916	Bruce	St	23	Beverley Plaza Gardens	Potomac Village ACHC	Dolly Madison (4th First Lady)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
45	D	1939	3918	Bruce	St	20	Beverley Plaza Gardens	Potomac Village ACHC	George Mason (Father of the U.S. Bill of Rights)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
46	D	1939	3917	Bruce	St	18	Beverley Plaza Gardens	Potomac Village ACHC	Martha Washington (1st First Lady)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
47	D	1939	3915	Bruce	St	20	Beverley Plaza Gar- dens	Potomac Village ACHC	Juliet Low (Founder of Girl Scouts of the U.S.)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
48	D	1939	3913	Bruce	St	24	Beverley Plaza Gardens	Potomac Village ACHC	Betsy Ross (Seamstress credited with sewing first U.S. flag in 1776)	Unknown	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne

Table 2 cont. Select above ground resources in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Build- ing	Area	Year	St. No.	St. Name	St. Type	Units	Historic Sub/Com- plex	Current Sub/Complex	Historic Name	Current Name	Historic Use	Current Use	Architectural Style
49	D	1960	3911	Bruce	St	24	Beverley Plaza Gar- dens Addition	Potomac Village ACHC	Unknown	Youth Sports Mural	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
50	Е	1945	526	Four Mile	Rd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Arizona	Chirilagua Arizona ACHC	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
51	Е	1945	525	Four Mile	Rd	18	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Arkansas	Arkansas Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
52	Е	1945	518	Four Mile	Rd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The California	Chirilagua California ACHC	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
53	E	1945	517- 519	Four Mile	Rd	18	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Alabama	Chirilagua Alabama ACHC	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
54	E	1945	649	Notabene	Dr	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Minnesota	Minnesota Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
55	Е	1945	641	Notabene	Dr	8	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Michigan	Beverley Park Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
56	E	1945	625	Notabene	Dr	15	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Massachusetts	Beverley Park Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
57	Е	1945	618	Notabene	Dr	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Ohio	Ohio Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
58	Е	1945	613	Notabene	Dr	10	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Maryland	Beverley Park Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
59	E	1945	612	Notabene	Dr	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Oklahoma	Oklahoma Apts CLI	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
60	Е	1965	610	Notabene	Dr	10	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Hawaii	Hawaiian Apts Alexandria Community Services Board	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
61	Е	1945	607	Notabene	Dr	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Maine	Maine Apts CLI	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
62	E	1945	604	Notabene	Dr	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania Garden Apartments	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
63	Е	1945	602	Notabene	Dr	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Rhode Island	Rhode Island Garden Apartments	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
64	Е	1945	3910	Old Dominion	Blvd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Illinois	Glebe Park Apts ARHA	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
65	Е	1945	3906	Old Dominion	Blvd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Indiana	Indiana Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
66	E	1945	3902- 3904	Old Dominion	Blvd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Iowa	Glebe Park Apts ARHA	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
67	Е	1945	3820	Old Dominion	Blvd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Kansas	Kansas Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
68	Е	1945	3816	Old Dominion	Blvd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Kentucky	Kentucky Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
69	E	1945	3812	Old Dominion	Blvd	12	Beverley Park Gardens	Not applicable	The Louisiana	Louisiana Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
70	N/A	1945	3917- 3921	Elbert	Ave	24	Not applicable	Not applicable	Greene Apts	Chirilagua Green ACHC	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
71	N/A	1945	3908- 12, 400-2	Elbert. Four Mile	Ave, Rd	12	Not applicable	Not applicable	Elbert Apts	Carpenters Lodging CLI	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
72	N/A	1945	502- 510	Four Mile	Rd	12	Not applicable	Not applicable	Dixie Gardens	Chirilagua Dixie ACHC	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
73	F	1946	3800	Milan	Dr	24	Dominion Gardens	Eaton Square	Apt Bldg (1 of 19), 3800- 3806 Milan Dr	Apt Bldg (1 of 19), 3800- 3806 Milan Dr	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Colonial Revival
74	G	1959	15	Glebe	Rd	72	Glebe House Apts	Glebe House Apts	Apt Bldg (1 of 3), 15 W Glebe Rd	Apt Bldg (1 of 3), 15 W Glebe Rd	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne

Table 2 cont. Select above ground resources in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Build- ing	Area	Year	St. No.	St. Name	St. Type	Units	Historic Sub/Com- plex	Current Sub/Complex	Historic Name	Current Name	Historic Use	Current Use	Architectural Style
75	Н	1954	3515	Mt Vernon	Ave	16	Mount Vernon Courts	Potomac West	Apt Bldg (1 of 4), 3515 Mt Vernon Ave	Apt Bldg (1 of 4), 3515 Mt Vernon Ave	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Moderne
76	N/A	1963	601	Four Mile	Rd	169	Not applicable	Not applicable	Portals West	Brookside	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	International Style
77	N/A	1966	511	Four Mile	Rd	196	Not applicable	Not applicable	Portals East	Park Vue Apts	Garden Apartment	Garden Apartment	Miesian
78	I	1951	3601	Edison	St	1	Hume Spring	Hume Spring	Rowhouse, 3601 Edison St	Rowhouse, 3601 Edison St	Rowhouse	Rowhouse	Colonial Revival
79	J	1953	701	Four Mile	Rd	1	Dominion Gardens Annex	Dominion Gardens Annex	Duplex, 707-709 Four Mile Rd	Duplex, 707-709 Four Mile Rd	Duplex	Duplex	Colonial Revival
80	K	1946	3901	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Beverley Plaza Shops	Lilian's Restaurant; Saman- tha's Nails;	Shopping Center	Shopping Center	Moderne
81	K	1947	3811	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Arlandria Shopping Center	Del Ray North	Shopping Center	Shopping Center	Moderne
82	K	1955	3803	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	U.S. Post Office	Royal Nepal Restaurant	Post Office	Store; Restaurant	Modern Commer- cial
83	K	1957	3801	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	Tenants and Workers United Office and Mural	Unknown Commercial Property	Community Center; Office; Store	Modern Commer- cial
84	K	1950	3864	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Waffle Shop	Waffle/Wafle Shop	Restaurant	Restaurant	Modern Commer- cial
85	K	1949	3856	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	La Feria Bakery	Unknown Commercial Property	Store; Restaurant	Modern Commercial
86	K	1949	3840	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	La Feria Latina Market	Unknown Commercial Property	Store; Restaurant	Modern Commercial
87	K	1949	3832	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	El Pulgarcito Restaurant	Unknown Commercial Property	Restaurant	Modern Commercial
88	K	1949	3824	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	Checks Cashed; Shear Illusion; Tienda Belen; Jerry Chan's Restaurant	Unknown Commercial Property	Stores; Restaurant	Modern Commercial
89	K	1945	3804	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	RT's Restaurant	Unknown Commercial Property	Restaurant	Modern Commercial
90	K	1950	3800	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown Commercial	Deysi Beauty Salon	Single Family Dwell- ing	Barber	Colonial Revival
91	K	1940	3706	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Honduras Express; Cricket	Honduras Express; Cricket	Commercial Unknown	Stores	Colonial Revival; International Styl
92	K	1927	3608	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	Chirilagua Hair Salon & Barber	Single Family Dwell- ing	Salon	Craftsman
93	K	1935	3606	Mt Vernon	Ave	N/A	Downtown Arlandria	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Unknown	Huascaran Peruvian Cuisine	Commercial Unknown	Restaurant	Modern Commercial
94	L	1964	221	Glebe	Rd	0	Arlandria Strip Malls	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Strip Malls	Safeway	El Cuscatleco Restaurant; Sherwin Williams Paint	Grocery Store	Mixed Use	Googie
95	L	1945	3506	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Arlandria Strip Malls	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Strip Malls	Presidential Market Grocery	Wells Fargo; Pawn Shop	Grocery Store	Bank/Shop	Commercial
96	L	1955	3407	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Arlandria Strip Malls	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Strip Malls	Wabash Auto Services Car Wash	Mister Car Wash	Car Wash	Car Wash	Commercial

Table 2 cont. Select above ground resources in Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

Build- ing	Area	Year	St. No.	St. Name	St. Type	Units	Historic Sub/Com- plex	Current Sub/Complex	Historic Name	Current Name	Historic Use	Current Use	Architectural Style
97	N/A	1956	3815	Russell	Rd	0	St Rita Church and School	St Rita Church and School	St Rita School	St Rita School	School	School	Modern
98	N/A	1949	3815	Russell	Rd	0	St Rita Church and School	St Rita Church and School	St Rita Catholic Church and Rectory	St Rita Catholic Church and Rectory	Church	Church	Gothic
99	N/A	1952	3801	Russell	Rd	0	St Rita Church and School	St Rita Church and School	St Rita Convent	St Rita Convent	Convent	School	New Formalist
100	N/A	1969	1	Glebe	Rd	0	Not applicable	Not applicable	7-Eleven	Freedom Way Baptist Church	Convenience Store	Church	Corporate Com- mercial
101	N/A	1979	101	Leadbeater	St	0	Not applicable	Not applicable	AT&T	Love of Christ	Industrial	Church	Brutalist/Neofor- malist
102	М	1957	3600	Common- wealth	Ave	0	Four Mile Run Swamp	Four Mile Run Rec and Ed District	Cora Kelly Elementary School (1957)	Cora Kelly School for Math, Science and Technology	School	School	Modernist
103	М	1974	3650	Common- wealth	Ave	0	Alexandria City Dump	Four Mile Run Rec and Ed District	Alexandria Dukes Minor League (1978-1983)	Frank Mann Field	Marsh	Baseball Diamond	Not Applicable
104	М	1979	4109	Mount Vernon	Ave	0	Four Mile Run Swamp	Four Mile Run Rec and Ed District	Four Mile Run Swamp	Four Mile Run Park Soccer Field	Marsh	Soccer Field	Sod
105	М	1995	25	Reed	Ave	0	Four Mile Run Swamp	Four Mile Run Rec and Ed District	Cora Kelly Recreation Center	Leonard "Chick" Armstrong Recreation Center	Recreation Center	Recreation Center	Post Modern
106	М	1987	4109	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Downtown Arlandria	Four Mile Run Rec and Ed District	Store; The Conservatory Center at Four Mile Run Park	Casa Chirilagua and Four Mile Run Farmers & Artisans Market	Community Center	Community Center	Commercial Modern
107	N/A	1942	907	Glebe	Rd	0	Not applicable	Not applicable	Virginia Electric Power Co	Dominion Energy	Power Company	Power Company	Classical Revival
108	N/A	1954	3701	Mt Vernon	Ave	0	Not applicable	Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown	Kodak Photo Processing Plant	The Birchmere Concert Hall and Murals	Warehouse	Concert Hall	Industrial

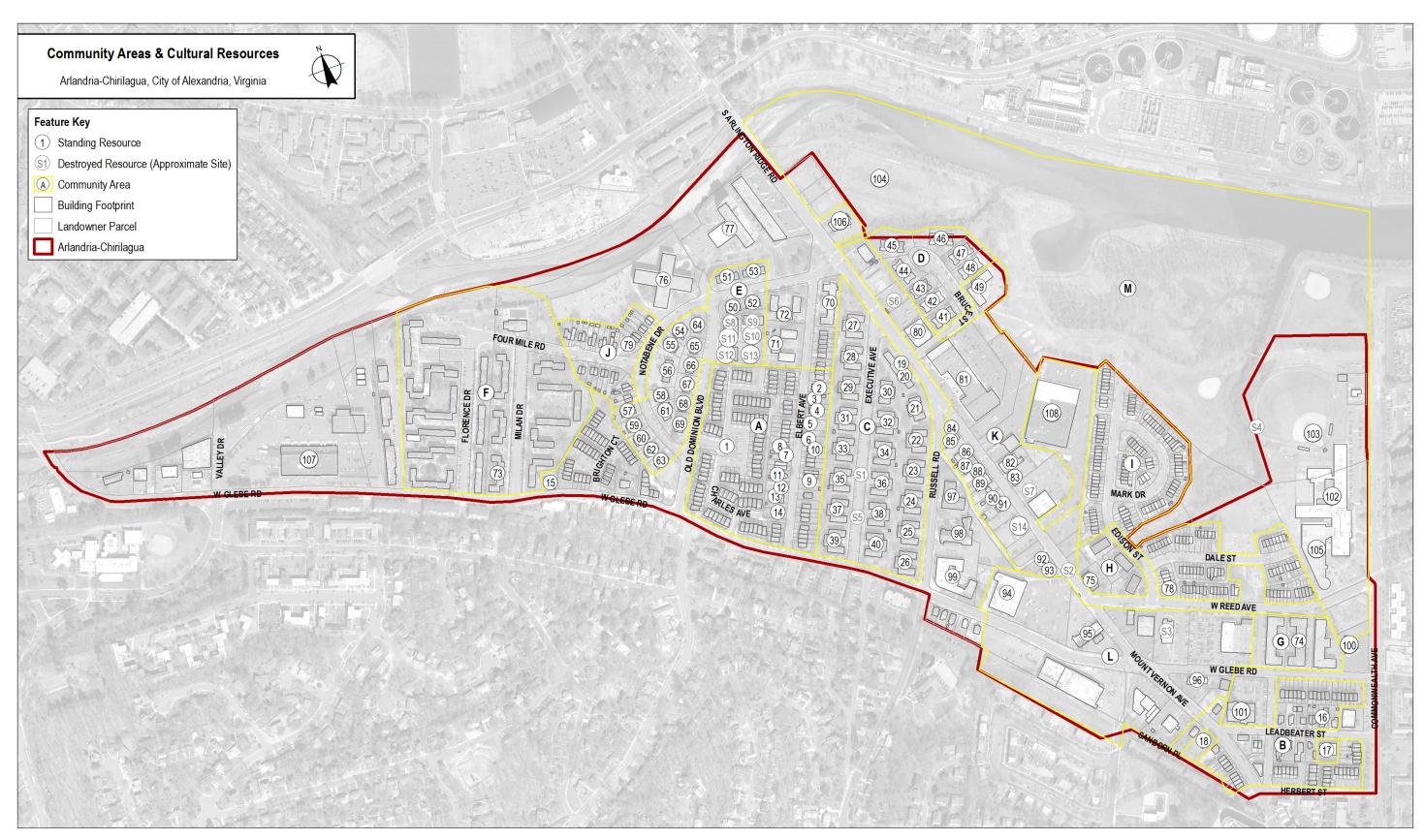


Figure 132. Arlandria-Chirilagua community areas and standing and destroyed cultural resources keyed to Tables 1 and 2.

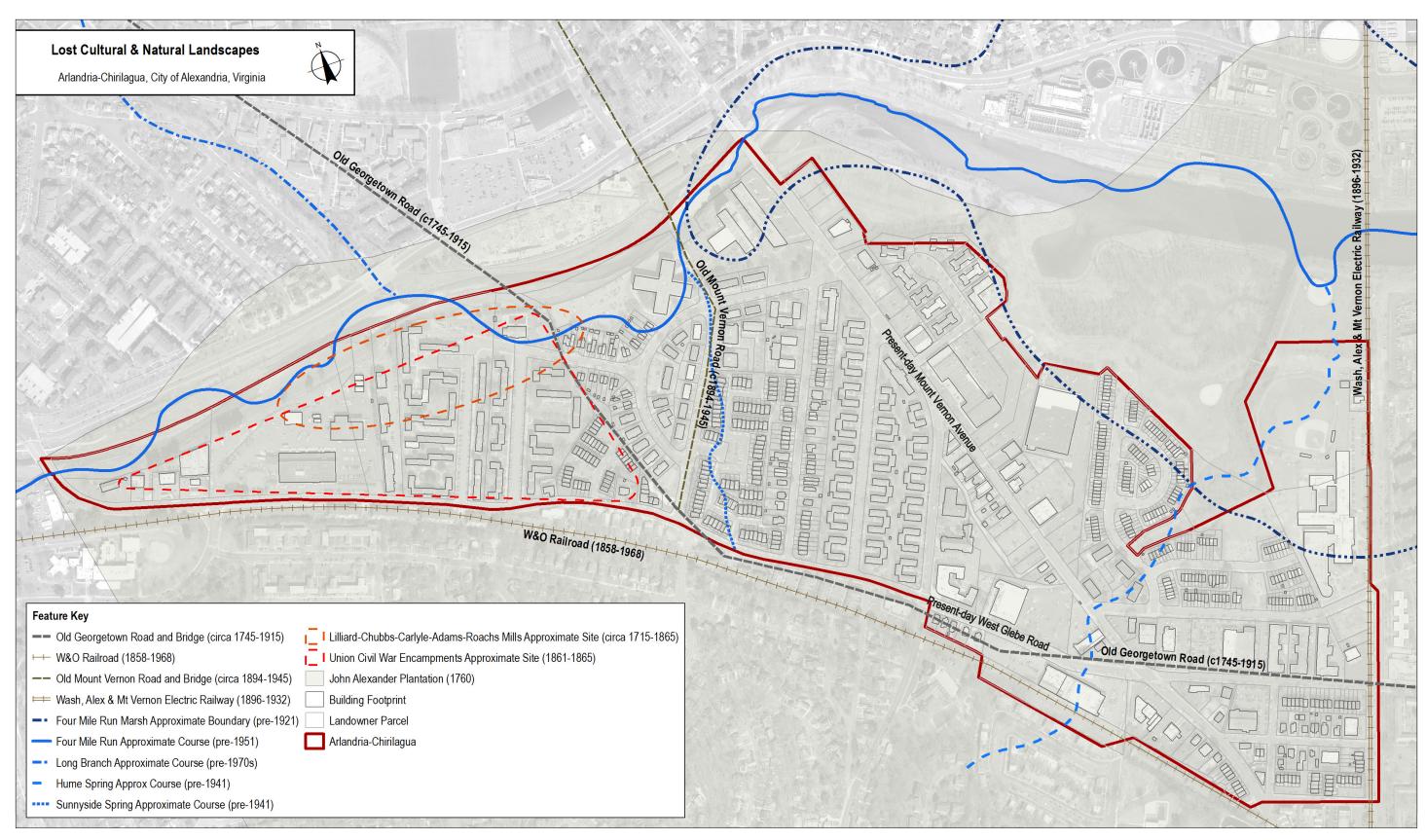


Figure 133. Arlandria-Chirilagua lost natural and cultural landscapes.

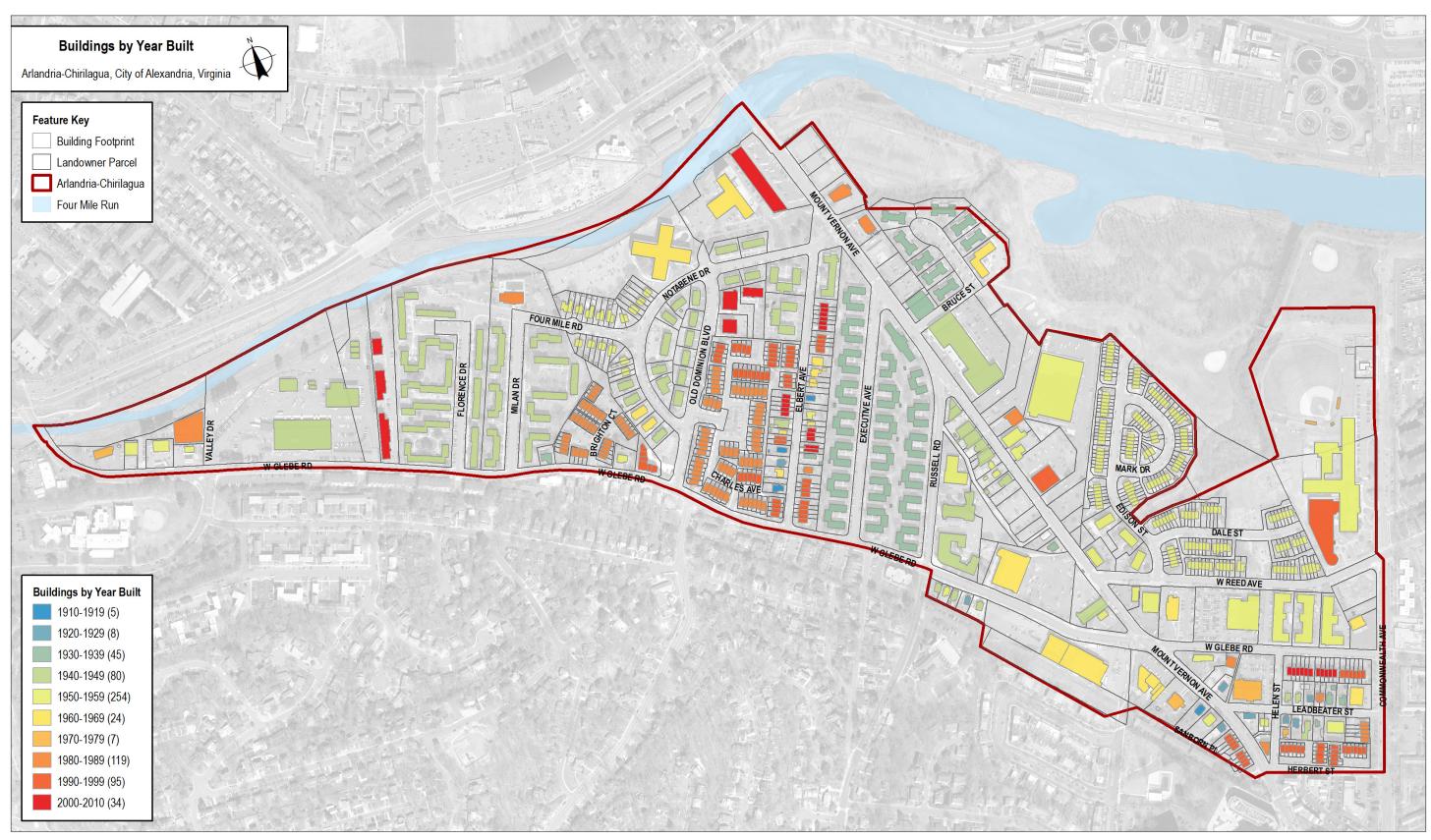


Figure 134. Buildings by decade based on review of historic maps and aerials of Arlandria-Chirilagua, Alexandria, Virginia.

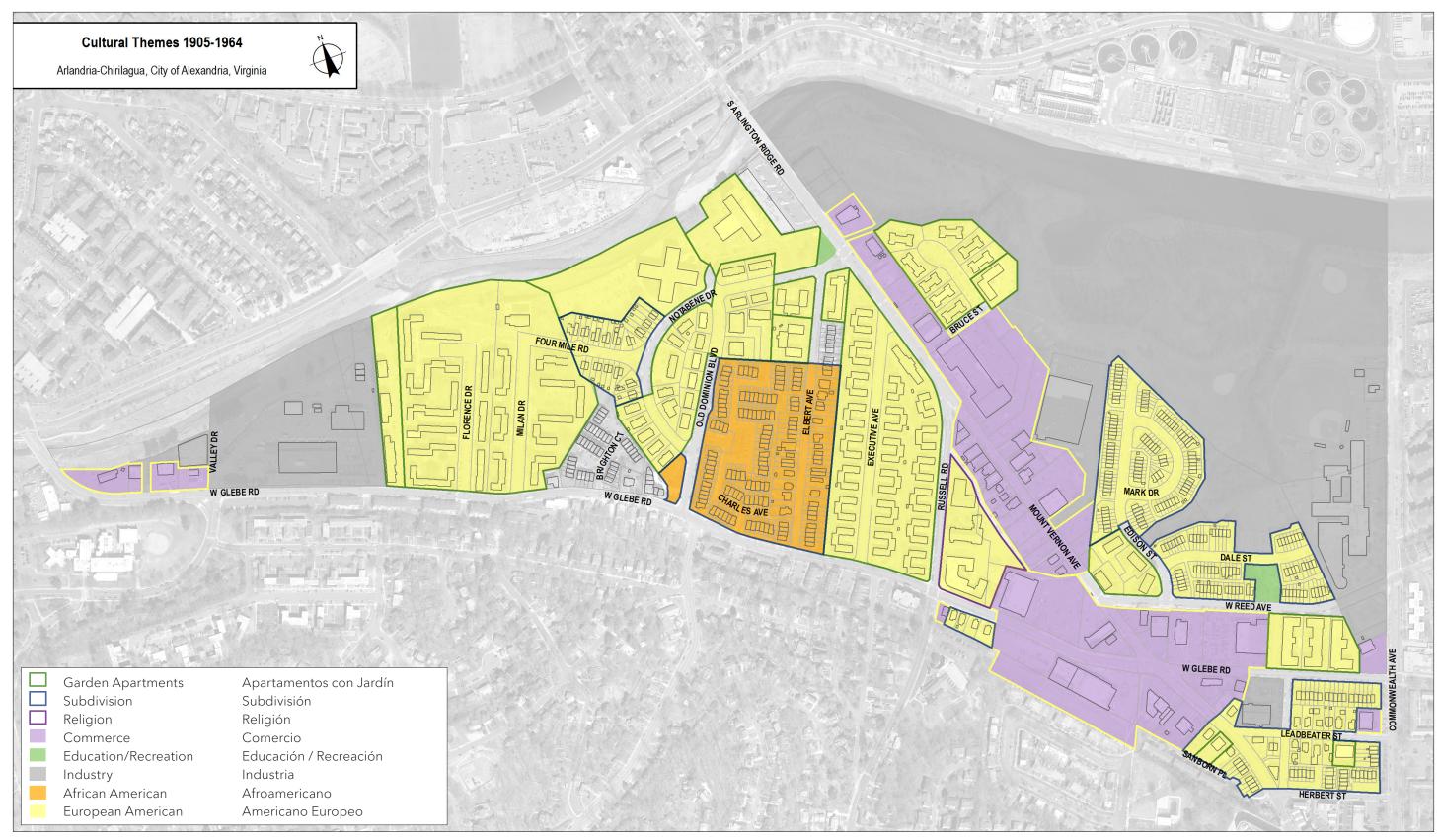


Figure 135. Arlandria-Chirilagua cultural themes during the most intense period of segregation in Alexandria 1905-1964.

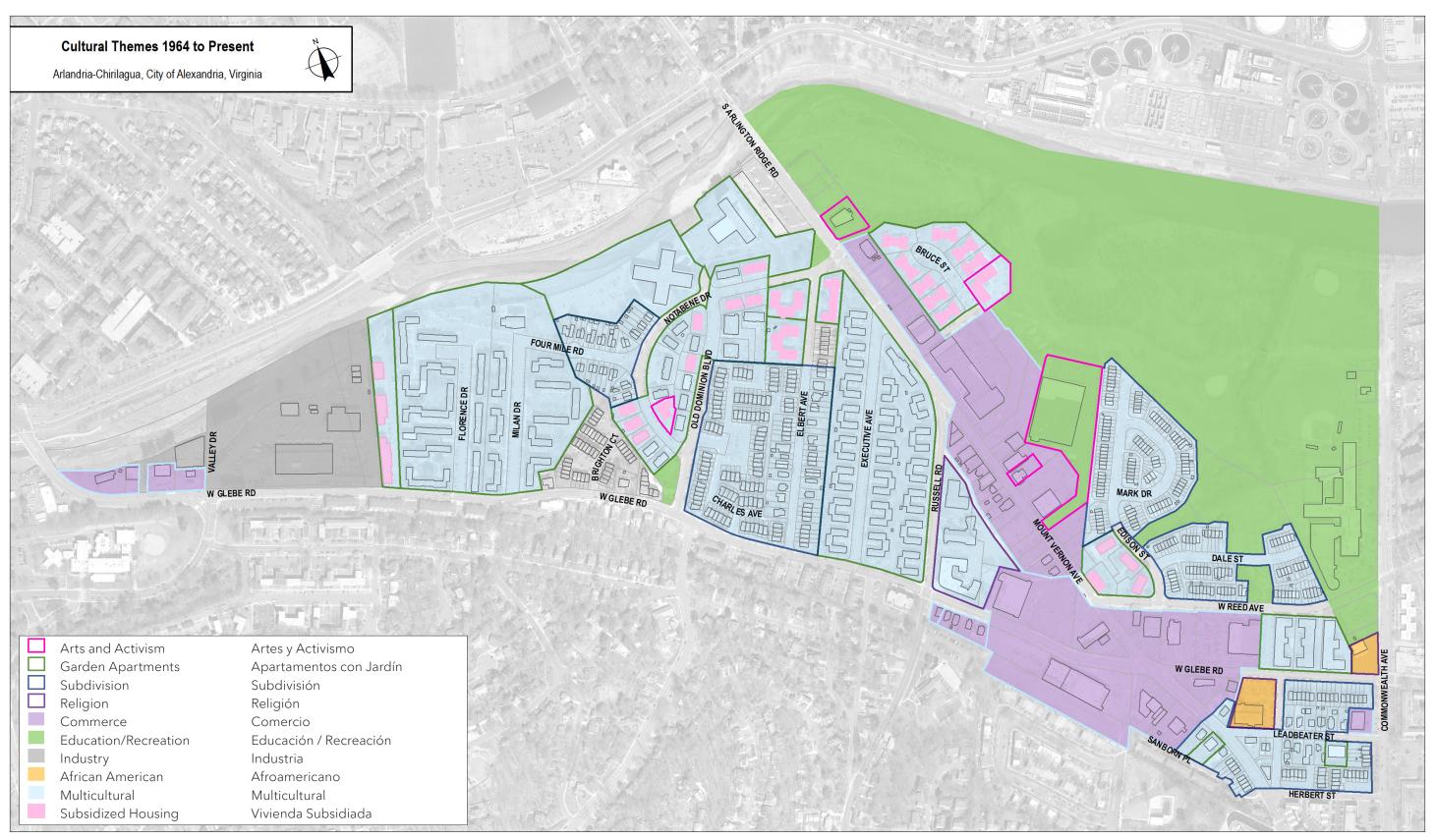


Figure 136. Arlandria-Chirilagua cultural themes after integration and more intense immigration post-1964.

INVESTIGATION RESULTS

Based on a combination of research and field visits, ERG identified predominant historic and current themes, destroyed site types, extant property types, and architectural styles.

THEMES

African American European American Latin American Multicultural Agriculture Arts and Activism

Commerce

Education and Recreation

Industry Military Religion

Suburbanization Transportation

DESTROYED SITE TYPES

Natural Resources

Mill Sites

Historic Farm Sites

Transportation Networks

Military Camps

Public Community Resources and

Recreation

Historic Subdivisions and Garden

Apartments

Modern Commerce

HISTORIC PROPERTY TYPES

Single-Family Dwelling Subdivisions Apartment Buildings and Complexes Duplex and Rowhouse Subdivisions

Commercial Properties/Strips

Churches

Schools and Recreation

Industry

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Arts and Crafts Classical Revival Art Moderne Colonial Revival Commercial Style Gothic Revival International Style

Googie Industrial

Corporate Style

Brutalist Postmodern Neo-traditional

The results of the windshield survey are roughly broken down by historic property type with some areas containing mixed uses.

1905-1965: SINGLE-FAMILY DWELLING SUBDIVISIONS

Compared to other historic streetcar suburbs in Alexandria, relatively few single-family dwellings were built in Arlandria-Chirilagua. Most that survive on W Glebe Rd and Mount Vernon Ave were adapted long ago and are included in commercial districts. Those that survive and maintain their historic use are primarily located on Elbert Ave and Leadbetter St in Sunnyside and Saint Elmo Section 2. Among them are some duplexes as well as two low-rise, individually developed garden apartments. More resources from Sunnyside are keyed to the theme map than other neighborhoods because of its significant African American heritage.

LENOX PLACE AT SUNNYSIDE

Historic Name: Sunnyside (Watson Subdivision)

Location: Old Dominion Blvd, Charles Ave, Courtland Circle, Elbert Ave, and W

Glebe Rd

Year(s): 1905-2000

Sunnyside is a hybrid subdivision of an old gridiron street combined with a curvilinear addition. The historic part contains typical middle-class houses of their eras, including American Foursquare, Colonial Revival, and Split-Level. Completed in five stages between 1989 and 2000, the addition, Lenox Place at Sunnyside, currently consists of roughly 130 market rate three-story, neo-traditional rowhouses within a homeowner's association (HOA). The development replaced part of the older subdivision, yet allowed several descendants to purchase new homes within the historic community. A plaque at its center reads:

IN MEMORY OF AN AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILY

Charles A. Watson, an African American, purchased the land in 1870. In 1905, three years after passing the "Jim Crow" Laws in Virginia, his wife Laura and sons, Frank and Attorney Thomas M. Watson, dedicated and subdivided the land to provide a place other people of African American heritage to build their homes. They named it SUNNYSIDE. The streets Elbert [a third son], Charles and Courtland were named as a memorial to the deceased members of the Watson family.

Emma Watson, the wife of Thomas and sole heir of the remaining properties, became ill. Upon her death, her properties were placed in the hands of the General Receiver of Corporation Court of Alexandria, Virginia on July 26, 1954. Her land was later sold at auction.

The boundary of Lenox Place at Sunnyside slightly differs from the Watsons' original subdivision, leaving pockets of historic houses on Elbert Ave, lopping off La Bosquet Park, and extending farther north on Elbert than the original subdivision did. The developers retained the alignment of Old Dominion Blvd and Elbert then reconfigured the interior streets but kept the names Charles and Courtland. All of the buildings on Old Dominion and W Glebe face inward and thus have a Charles Ave address. The landscaping and neighborhood signage off these two main arteries are elaborate and similar to modern suburban entrances.

The following houses were built during members of the Watson family's lifetime in the subdivision (1905-1954):

3814 Elbert Ave is a circa 1910 Colonial Revival American foursquare house and is one of the oldest surviving in Arlandria.

3835 Elbert Ave is a circa 1910 Colonial Revival American foursquare house and is one of oldest if not oldest house surviving in Arlandria. It has been owned by Oscar and Pauline Ellison since at least 1942.

3806 Elbert Ave is a circa 1912 Colonial Revival American foursquare house and is one of the oldest surviving in Arlandria.

3812 Elbert Ave is a 1924 Colonial Revival house first occupied by Theodore E. and Mildred Lee.

3819 Elbert Ave is a circa 1937 two-story, front-gabled house with stone veneer.

3820 Elbert Ave is a circa 1940 two-story, hipped roof house, which has been heavily altered with a large addition on the front.

The remaining historic houses in the neighborhood were built after the last Watson died but before the Alexandria fair housing ordnance and Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which outlawed discriminatory housing policies. They include the following:

3810 Elbert Ave is a circa 1960 Ranch house occupied by the Adams family from 1972 until 2015.

3839 and 3839 1/2 Elbert Ave is a circa 1960 two-story, side-gabled Minimal Traditional duplex.

3841 Elbert Ave is a circa 1960 one-story, side-gabled Minimal Traditional house.

3818 Elbert Ave is a circa 1962 two-story, front-gabled house, which has been heavily altered.

3829 Elbert Ave is a circa 1962 two-story, flat-roofed house with brick and stone apron veneer.

3831 Elbert Ave is a circa 1962 Split Level house with brick veneer. It appears to have been owned by one family Daniel and Izzetta Littlejohn until her death in 2016.

3901 Elbert Ave is a circa 1965 one-story, hipped-roof Minimal Traditional house.

Recommendations:

Though little survives of Laura Watson's Sunnyside, the few early-to-mid-twentieth century houses that remain on Elbert St are significant as part of the oldest subdivision in Arlandria and more importantly as the work of an African American female developer and her sons, who subdivided their land for middle class African Americans during a period in which Jim Crow discriminatory laws greatly limited where they could live, work, and attend school.

Sunnyside does not appear to retain enough integrity to merit designation as a historic district due to redevelopment, however, the infill itself, also developed by African Americans, may one day be historic. Individual significance of surviving buildings requires further study. Even if not eligible for historic status designation, preservation of the houses that survive from before passage of local, state, and national fair housing policy in the 1960s should be incentivized. Surrounding redevelopment should be particularly respectful of the neighborhood.



Sunnyside 3806 Elbert Ave, View West.jpg



Sunnyside 3812 Elbert Ave, View West.jpg



Sunnyside 3814 Elbert Ave, View NW.jpg



Sunnyside 3818 Elbert Ave, View NE.jpg



Sunnyside 3819 Elbert Ave, View NE.jpg



Sunnyside 3831 and 3829 Elbert Ave, View NE.jpg

Figure 137. Windshield Survey of Lenox at Sunnyside subdivided by Laura Watson in 1905.



Sunnyside 3835 Elbert Ave, View South.jpg



Sunnyside 3839 Elbert Ave, View SE.jpg



Sunnyside 3901 and 3841 Elbert Ave, View West.jpg



Lenox at Sunnyside, Elbert Ave Redevelopment, View SE.jpg



Lenox at Sunnyside, W Glebe Rd and Charles Ave, View NW.JPG LenoxatSunnyside, HOAGreenSpaceWatsonMemorial, ViewSE.jpg



Windshield Survey of Lenox at Sunnyside subdivided by Laura Watson in 1905.





 $709 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Dwelling near Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Family Homenear Sunny side, View NW. JPG \\ 715 WG lebe Rd Single-Fa$



Le Bosquet Park at Sunnyside, Old Dominion Boulevard, View South.JPG

Windshield Survey of Lenox at Sunnyside subdivided by Laura Watson in 1905.

SAINT ELMO SECTION 2

Saint Elmo Section 2, Calvert Subdivision Historic Name:

Location: 5-100 Leadbetter St, Helen St, Mount Vernon Ave

Year: 1921

The Calvert Subdivision is a gridiron streetcar suburb and includes a diverse array of modest houses in the Arts and Crafts and Colonial Revival styles, Modernist low-rise garden apartments, neighborhood commerce, adapted residences, and neo-traditional rowhouses.

Recommendations:

This neighborhood is significant for its development by Helen Calvert, a wealthy heiress, DAR leader, and women's suffragist, who facilitated the expansion of Potomac Yard by negotiating the move of the earliest Alexander cemetery by the Pennsylvania Railrod to Pohick Cemetery.

This part of Arlandria-Chirilagua is more like Del Ray and Saint Elmo, evident in its name, but it has dramatically changed since first developed with large barriers between it and similar streets. It is recommended that interpretation of her story be tied into any interpretation related to the history of minority leaders in the community.





St Elmo Sec 2, 3400 Commonwealth and Leadbetter, View NW.jpg St Elmo Sec 2, 5 Leadbetter Ave, View NE.jpg

Figure 138. Windshield Survey of Saint Elmo Section 2 subdivided by Helen Calvert 1921.



St Elmo Sec 2, 6 Leadbetter Ave Garden Apt, View South.jpg



St Elmo Sec 2, 7 Leadbetter Ave, View NW.jpg



St Elmo Sec 2, 14 Leadbetter Ave, View North.jpg



St Elmo Sec 2, 16 Leadbetter Ave, View NW.jpg



St Elmo Sec 2, Leadbetter Ave and Helen Ave, View NE.JPG



St Elmo Sec 2, 100 Leadbetter and Helen Ave, View SW.jpg

Windshield Survey of Saint Elmo Section 2 subdivided by Helen Calvert 1921.



St Elmo Sec 2, 3333 Helen Ave, View East.jpg



 $St Elmo Sec 2,3305 \,Mt Vernon Ave Converted House, View East. jpg$



StElmoSec2,3308MtVernonAveConvertedHouse,ViewNW.jpg



St Elmo Sec 2, 3310 Mt Vernon Ave Garden Apt, View SW.jpg



St Elmo Sec 2, 3400 Mt Vernon Ave, View NW-N.jpg



 ${\it StElmoSec2}, Redevelopment Herbert StStation (South of boundary), View NE. jpg$

Windshield Survey of Saint Elmo Section 2 subdivided by Helen Calvert 1921.

1937-1966: APARTMENT BUILDINGS & COMPLEXES

The most prevalent property type in Arlandria-Chirilagua are apartment buildings and complexes, dating from the late 1930s to the 1960s. They are built in the Colonial and Classical Revival, Art Moderne, and Mid-Century Modern styles in clusters around common green spaces. They are two-to-three stories tall and closely resemble those erected in Arlington County, which are the subject of the NRHP MPD noted in previous investigations.

PRESIDENTIAL GREENS

Historic Name: Presidential Gardens

Location: Russell Rd and Executive Ave

Year: 1937-1939

Presidential Gardens consists of 21 apartment buildings constructed in two stages from 1937 to 1939 on the former site of an Arlington County Alms House (Poorhouse) and semi-professional Negro league sandlot. Each building is named for a president (see Table 2). All but the George Washington building on Mount Vernon Ave are nearly identical U-plan Classical Revival buildings. The George Washington has a grand portico with Corinthian columns and a plaque that reads:

THE COLUMNS

OF THIS PORTICO

WERE USED IN THE

INAUGURAL STAND ON WHICH

PRESIDENT

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

TOOK HIS OATH OF OFFICE

MARCH 3, 1937

Recommendations:

The complex is significant both culturally and architecturally as an example of high-style segregated, White housing. It is unique as it is named for presidents of a segregated nation and designed in the Classical Revival style, which channels the nation's founding, antebellum era plantations and high-style government buildings in neighboring Washington, D.C. The Washington Building is grander than the rest of the complex, has served as Whites-only apartments, a motor hotel in transitional times, and again as apartments for Central and South American immigrants. It has a landmark presence on Arlandria-Chirilagua's main street, deliberately named for Washington's estate, Mount Vernon. The road itself was precursor to the G.W. Memorial Parkway and the oldest planned memorial parkway in the U.S. leading from his tomb to the capital in Washington, D.C. The building also features columns from the second of four inaugurations for Roosevelt who was the architect of the New Deal relief programs that created the Federal jobs that demanded construction of Arlandria-Chirilagua's first garden apartments and commercial centers.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, the property should be recorded at DHR and the following be retained due to high visibility on the main thoroughfare of Mount Vernon Ave: the George Washington Building with Franklin D. Roosevelt Inauguration Columns (Theme Map No. 19 and 20), the John Adams, and the John Tyler (Map No. 21 and 27). Their retention creates a sense of place and allows for interpretation of segregation-era, high-style garden complexes built for government workers as well as subsequent activism within an integrated multi-cultural community. At a minimum, the George Washington Building and columns should be retained. Ideally, the original roofline of the portico and wings should be restored to its original appearance. This effort may constitute mitigation.

Redevelopment may also present an opportunity to incorporate interpretation of the site's known previous uses, a late-nineteenth century integrated poorhouse and an early twentieth century semi-professional Negro league sandlot. In lieu of traditional documentation and city signage, the city should consider ways to engage local teachers and students through the schools or local non-profits and harness new technology in education and interpretation, especially given the location of the region's first STEM school in the neighborhood and the arrival of the Virginia Tech Innovation Campus. Creative interpretation may include but not be limited to creating a story map of the site's history or projected art and murals, which may be rotated on the development's exteriors like those employed in protests on monuments and buildings during the BLM protests of 2020.

New development on the west side of the complex should first and foremost be respectful in scale to the historically Black community of Sunnyside, which lost its neighborhood baseball diamond to Presidential Gardens in 1937, was prohibited from using Presidential Gardens playgrounds, and was threatened by the Presidential Gardens developer who lobbied to rezone their single-family use properties to high-density apartments in 1961 before fair housing policies passed both locally and federally. Development to the east between Executive Ave and Russell Rd may scale up as it is adjacent to Commercial and Coordinated Development District (CDD) zoning.

New development should be architecturally creative, embrace new and passive green technology, and not be hemmed in by Colonial and Classical Revival styles, favored by segregation-era White developers and architects. The neighborhood's forthcoming architectural styles should be as diverse as its inhabitants.

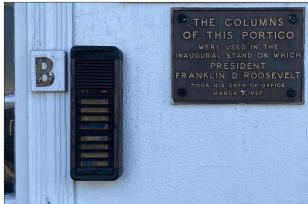


Presidential Greens, George Washington Bldg, Mt Vernon Ave, View West.jpg

Figure 139. Windshield Survey of Presidential Greens developed 1937-1939.



PresidentialGreens,GeorgeWashingtonBldgFDRPlaqueDoorDetail.JPG Presidential Greens, George Washington Bldg FDR Plaque.JPG





Presidential Greens, Russell Rd and West Glebe Rd, View NW.JPG Presidential Greens, 3802 Russell Rd, View West.JPG





Presidential Greens, Executive Dr between two Bldgs, View NE.jpg Presidential Greens, Executive Dr, View North.jpg



Windshield Survey of Presidential Greens developed 1937-1939.

ARLANDRIA/CHIRILAGUA HOUSING COOPERATIVE (ACHC)

Historic Names: Beverley Plaza Apartments; Potomac Village ACHC

Location: 3910-3918 Bruce St

Year: 1939, 1960

The Garden Apartment Complex on Bruce St includes eight 1940 apartment buildings radiating around a cul-de-sac at the edge of Four Mile Run. Influenced by the Art Moderne architectural movement, the 1940 buildings are concrete with a brick veneer. Each were named for a famous, activist woman, except for one (see Table 2). In 1960 one three-story, L-plan apartment building was added to the southeast corner of Beverley Plaza Apartments on Bruce St. Influenced by the International Style, it is almost twice as big as the others. The south end features a mural related to education and recreation.

Recommendations:

ACHC is significant as one of the earliest complexes in the neighborhood, second only to Presidential Gardens, fitting in with federal history theming in the naming of buildings, and as the catalyst for the creation of ACHC when threatened with redevelopment in the 1980s.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, the property should be recorded at DHR. If required, similar to Presidential Greens, local students should be engaged and more creative and technologically advanced interpretation should be incorporated, such as but not limited to story maps and painted and projected murals related to the buildings' activist history, including original names of the buildings, the formation of ACHC, and its role as an early home to Casa Chirilagua.



ACHC (Beverley Plaza Gardens), Bruce St, View North.jpg



ACHC (Beverley Plaza Gardens), Bruce St, View West.jpg



ACHC (Beverley Plaza Gardens), Bruce St, View NW.jpg



ACHC and Youth Mural, Bruce St, View NW.jpg

Figure 140. Windshield Survey of Arlandria-Chirilagua Housing Cooperative (formerly Beverley Plaza Gardens), 1939 and 1960.

INDIVIDUALLY OWNED APARTMENT BUILDINGS

Historic Name: Beverley Park Gardens

Location: Four Mile Rd, Notabene Dr, and Old Dominion Blvd

Year: 1945, 1965

Beverley Park Gardens originally consisted of 26 Moderne influenced buildings named for states on Old Dominion Blvd, Notabene Dr, and Four Mile Rd. All were built in 1945 except for The Hawaii, constructed almost identically to the rest 20 years later. Six were demolished in 2009. The center of the development is on a semi-circular block with ample green space. All buildings have a rectangular footprint and brick veneer, and most have flat roofs. Faux-light replacement windows, faux shutters, and in some cases paint and hipped roofs have been added in an attempt to make them Colonial Revival.

Recommendation:

These buildings and complex may have lost too much fabric to contribute to a greater garden apartment complex listing. Their physical presence is not as significant as their role in fulfilling the mission of multiple activist movement groups to provide and maintain subsidized housing. Community Lodgings, Inc., ACHC, Alexandria Community Services Board, and ARHA purchased several buildings in the 1980s and 1990s for that purpose, while Community Lodgings also opened a learning center.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, they should be recorded at the DHR. New construction should be architecturally creative, while respecting the scale of neighboring Sunnyside. Ample subsidized housing and greenspace should be provided in keeping with its history as an early garden apartment complex and center of activity for non-profits and agencies doing community outreach. Reference to state names should be considered in future naming. If required, mitigation should be innovative as suggested for Presidential Gardens and ACHC.







ACHC,526-518FourMileRd,TheCaliforniaandArizona,ACHC,ViewS.jpg

Figure 141. Windshield Survey of former Beverley Park Gardens developed in 1945, now individually owned buildings.



Former site of Old Mount Vernon Road and Bridget o SL ang St, View West. jpg



IndividualOwner,3812OldDominionBlvd,TheLouisiana,ViewNorth.jpg



Community Lodgings, 607 Notabene, The Maine, View SE.JPG



Community Lodgings, 612 Notabene Dr, The Oklahoma, View NW. JPG



IndividualOwner,641-625NotabeneDrMichiganandMassachusetts,ViewNE.jpg



Individual Owner, 649 Notabene Dr, The Minnesota, View SE.jpg

Windshield Survey of former Beverley Park Gardens developed in 1945, now individually owned buildings.

CARPENTER'S LODGING

Historic Name: Elbert Ave Apartments

Location: 3908-3912 Elbert Ave and 400-402 Four Mile Rd

Year: 1945

CHIRILAGUA GREEN

Historic Name: Greene Apartments Location: 3917-3921 Elbert Ave

Year: 1945

CHIRILAGUA DIXIE

Historic Name: Dixie Apartments Location: 502-510 Four Mile Rd

Year: 1945

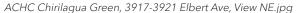
All three of these apartment complexes were individually developed around the same time as Beverley Park Gardens to their north and with a much larger but similar U-plan to Presidential Gardens apartments to their east. Like all other apartment buildings in the neighborhood, they had brick veneer and flat roofs.

Recommendations:

These buildings were all purchased for subsidized housing during the 1990s in response to the threat of redevelopment.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, they should be recorded at the DHR. New construction should be architecturally creative. Ample subsidized housing and greenspace should be provided in keeping with its history as an early garden apartment complex and center of activity for non-profits and agencies doing community outreach. If required, mitigation should be innovative as suggested for Presidential Gardens and ACHC.







Carpenter'sLodging,3908-3912ElbertAve_400-402FourMileRd,ViewNW.jpg

Figure 142. Windshield Survey of individually owned garden apartments, Elbert Apartments and Green Apartments, both developed in 1945 with Beverley Park Gardens and Dixie Apartments. Both are now subsidized housing.

FATON SOUARE

Historic Names: Dominion Gardens, Phoenix Apartments Location: Florence Dr, Milan Dr, and Four Mile Rd

Year: 1946

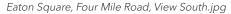
Located between Four Mile Run and W Glebe Rd, Eaton Square is a garden apartment complex with a leasing office, shed, and 19 two- and three-story Colonial Revival buildings on two L-shaped roads, Florence Dr and Milan Dr. Each building has brick veneer, faux-light windows, faux shutters, hipped roofs, and one set of large chimney stacks. Most are painted white. Neighboring to the west, a family garden apartment complex was redeveloped by ARHA in 2010 in the standard Colonial Revival style.

Recommendation:

Eaton Square was constructed in two phases and draws its significance from being a classic example of a Colonial Revival garden apartment complex funded by the FHA.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, the complex should be recorded at the DHR and some interpretation of the historic mill sites, Civil War camps, and evolution of the garden apartments be tied into the redevelopment in creative and innovative ways, if mitigation is required. New construction should be architecturally creative, while respecting the scale of neighboring residential areas.







Eaton Square, W Glebe Rd and Florence Dr, View NW.JPG

Figure 143. Windshield Survey of Eaton Square (formerly Dominion Gardens) developed in 1946 with FHA funding.



Eaton Square, 3807 Florence Dr, View East.jpg



Eaton Square, 3816 Florence Dr, View North.jpg





BetweenMilanandFlorencenearMilsandWarEncampments,ViewN.JPG 891 W Glebe Rd ARHA 2010 Redevelopment, View North.jpg



891 W Glebe Rd ARHA 2010 Redevelopment, View NW.jpg



891 W Glebe Rd ARHA 2010 Redevelopment, View NE.jpg

Windshield Survey of Eaton Square (formerly Dominion Gardens) developed in 1946 with FHA funding and adjacent 2010 ARHA redevelopment of family garden apartment complexes.

GLEBE HOUSE APARTMENTS

Historic Name: Glebe House Apartments Location: 3, 15, and 25 W Glebe Rd

Year: 1953-1959

Located between W Glebe Rd and W Reed Ave, this apartment complex includes mirroring three-story, E-plan buildings constructed in 1953 and 1956 as well as a modified E-plan building constructed in 1959. Mildly influenced by International Style architecture, they are in three parts with tan brick entrance bays on W Glebe flanked by red brick wings. All three are surrounded by asphalt parking lot with a thin strip of ornamental plantings in the front.

Recommendations:

This complex replaced bungalows in Emma P. Hume's 1920s subdivision. It is situated next to suburban strip development, 1950s rowhouses, and 1990s rowhouses. It was built in three stages and lacks signature features of the garden apartment complex movement with no communal space or greenspace other than a city-owned park to the north that was just recently added.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, the property should be recorded at DHR. New construction should be architecturally creative, while respecting the scale of neighboring Hume Springs.







Glebe House, 25 W Glebe Rd, View North.JPG

Figure 144. Windshield Survey of Glebe House, three buildings (1953, 1956, and 1959) that replaced a 1921 subdivision of bungalows developed by Emma P. Hume.

POTOMAC WEST

Historic Name: Mount Vernon Court

Location: 3602, 3620, and 3624 Edison St and 3515 Mount Vernon Ave

Year: 1954

Potomac West includes four Arte Moderne/International Style influenced, brick veneer buildings with flat roofs on four lots situated next to suburban strip development, 1950s rowhouses, and the Mount Vernon Ave CCD. With minimal landscaping and zero setback on Mount Vernon Ave, it is not a strong example of a garden apartment complex.

Recommendations:

This complex replaced bungalows in Emma P. Hume's 1920s subdivision. The south yard of 3515 Mount Vernon Ave is where the Hume Springs Pavilion, which became a monument to Confederate Frank Hume after his death, once stood.

Should this area become a target for further redevelopment, the complex should be recorded at the DHR and some interpretation of the spring and pavilion be tied into the redevelopment in creative and innovative ways, if mitigation is required. New construction should be architecturally creative, while respecting the scale of neighboring Hume Springs.







Potomac West, 3602 Edison St, View NW.jpg

Figure 145. Windshield Survey of Potomac West (formerly Mount Vernon Court) developed 1954 on the site of Hume's Spring Pavilion.

PARK VUF FAST

Historic Name: The Portals of Alexandria Apartments East

Location: 511 Four Mile Rd

Year: 1965

Park Vue is bound by a strip mall constructed in 2000 to the east, Brookside to the west, apartment buildings previously known as Beverley Park Gardens to the south, and Four Mile Run to the north. The International Style influenced building has a long, narrow, rectangular plan and rises 15 stories. It has gray and tan veneer and integral balconies for 196 units.

Recommendations:

Park Vue is the first and only high-rise apartment building in Arlandria. It is architecturally interesting but not tied to the glut of New Deal-, World War II-, and post-World War II-era garden apartment complex development. Its individual significance requires further study.

Because this building is high density and lies in the proposed 100-year floodplain, it is recommended that it be maintained indefinitely.

BROOKSIDE

Historic Name: The Portals of Alexandria Apartments West

Location: 601 Four Mile Rd

Year: 1963

Brookside is bound by a high-rise apartment building to the east, apartment buildings previously known as Beverley Park Gardens to the south, and Four Mile Run. The five-story, International Style influenced garden apartment building has a cross-shaped plan, brick veneer, integral balconies on each level, and a flat roof.

Recommendations:

Brookside stands on land that was once on the north side of Four Mile Run and therefore part of Arlington County until the 1960s when realignment of the channel was completed. Old Dominion Blvd connected to S Lang St via a bridge in its east yard. It is architecturally interesting but not tied to the glut of New Deal-, World War II-, and post-World War II-era garden apartment complex development. Its individual significance requires further study.

Because the building lies in the proposed 100-year floodplain, it is recommended that it be maintained indefinitely.







Brookside, 601 Four Mile Rd, View NW.jpg



Park Vue and Brookside (Portals East and West), View North.JPG

Figure 146. Windshield Survey of Park Vue and Brookside (formerly Portals East and West. Brookside was located in Arlington County until the stream was realigned. Old Dominion Blvd (Old Mount Vernon Rd) crossed to Arlington here.

1951-1953: DUPLEX & ROWHOUSE SUBDIVISIONS

HUME SPRINGS

Historic Name: (Emma P.) Hume's Spring

Location: Edison St, Mark Dr, Dale St, West Reed Ave

Year: 1951-1952

Bound by Four Mile Run Park and Cora Kelly School to the east and north and garden apartments and commercial development to the south and west, the Hume Springs neighborhood contains clusters of two-story rowhouses with brick veneer and flat roofs with minimal Colonial Revival details. They have long front yards with mature plantings bound by chain link fencing.

Recommendations:

This was the first residential project since the Hume and Calvert developments not to be apartments. Hume Springs is significant for its association with post-World War II, segregation-era, FHA lending and its role as one of the earliest subdivisions to be desegregated.

They do not appear to be a target for redevelopment and are well maintained by long-time, civic-minded residents, who have had an active neighborhood association for many years. Additionally, they are in a flood prone area. Redevelopment should be avoided.



Hume Springs Rowhouses, Edison Street , View NE.jpg

Figure 147. Windshield Survey of Hume Springs developed in 1951.

EATON SQUARE DUPLEXES

Dominion Garden Annex Historic Name: Location: Four Mile Rd and Notabene Dr

Year: 1953

Dominion Gardens Annex consists of 15, two-story, brick-veneer duplex with side-gabled roofs and minimal Colonial Revival details. The road creates a hyphen between the apartments previously known as Dominion Gardens and Beverley Park Gardens. Four Mile Run is to the north. They have long front yards with mature plantings. Most yards are bound by chain link fencing.

Recommendations:

This is the only duplex subdivision in the neighborhood and with Hume Springs, the only thing other than apartments that were developed all at once since Emma Hume and Helen Calvert's 1920s developments.

Should this area become a target for redevelopment, one representative duplex should be recorded at the DHR. If required creative interpretation may be related to a former stream and transportation networks, which ran through it. New construction should be architecturally creative, while respecting the scale of neighboring residential areas.





Dominion Garden Annex, Duplex Four Mile Road, View North. JPG Dominion Garden Annex, Duplexes Four Mile Road, View NW. jpg

Figure 148. Windshield Survey of Eaton Square Duplexes on Four Mile Rd.

CA 1920-1980: COMMERCE & INDUSTRY

ARLANDRIA-CHIRILAGUA HISTORIC DOWNTOWN

Historic Name: Downtown Arlandria Location: Mount Vernon Ave

Year: 1920s-2000s

The historic downtown of Arlandria-Chirilagua has an interesting mix of one- and two-story buildings with brick, stone, and parged cement veneer. Many businesses occupy 1920s-to-1950s houses long converted to commercial or added onto with a one-story commercial style front. Two buildings are known to be designed by architects, Arlandria Shopping Center by Frank Grad and Sons of Newark and Waffle House by Bernard Lyon Frishman, AIA, however the former's exterior looks nothing like it originally did and the latter has been gutted of original chrome and formica in recent years. Longtime businesses include the Birchmere Music Hall, which attracted a crowd from beyond the neighborhood when it moved from Shirlington to a circa 1939 heavily altered, one-story strip mall at 3801 Mount Vernon in 1981, then to the old Kodak processing warehouse down the block in 1997. There they added musically themed murals to the large, concrete block, non-descript building. 3804-3806 Mount Vernon Ave has been occupied by RT's Restaurant, serving Cajun and Creole since 1985 to a customer base similar to the Birchmere's. The 1945, single-story building has a rusticated stone veneer. 3824-3830 Mount Vernon Ave is a circa 1952 building with a flat-roof and smooth, stone veneer. It is occupied a Checks Cashed business and Jerry Chan's Restaurant. 3832-3826 Mount Vernon Ave is a two-story, International Style-influenced property with smooth stone veneer, dating to 1949. It has housed an Salvadoran restaurant, El Pulgarcito Restaurant, since 1999. Other tenants include La Tiendona Market, a dress and tuxedo shop, and computer/cell repair upstairs. La Feria Latina Market has been in business since the early 1990s, owned by Uruguayan and Bolivian immigrants at 3840-3842 Mount Vernon Ave, a one-story 1950s commercial building. In front of the Birchmere are the George Washington Post Office, now Royal Nepal, and the headquarters of Tenants and Workers United and New Virginia Majority, both located in twostory, commercial style buildings with plate glass and brick veneer. TWU is a highlight on the street with activist-themed murals on both visible elevations.

Recommendations:

The Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown has suffered in terms of its viability as a traditional historic district due to constant flooding and earlier redevelopment, which resulted in the demolition or severe alteration of the earliest strips built specifically for commerce; however, it does retain a great deal of vibrancy in buildings occupied by an incredibly diverse group of businesses. This may constitute a cultural district not necessarily tied to the built environment. Programs should be put in place to allow existing businesses to stay in the neighborhood.

Should this area be redeveloped, all buildings should be recorded at DHR. With higher density commerce or mixed use, replacement buildings ideally should be designed by multiple architects and developers in creative ways that do not give it the feel of a faux New Urbanist main street. Buildings may be tiered with rooftop amenities and stepped backed periodically with courtyards and patios to capture the current rhythm of old houses next to zero-setback commerce. Historic materials should be salvaged; however, the architecture should be as diverse as the occupants. If the Waffle House is redeveloped, its replacement should retain the distinctive triangular lot. If required, mitigative measures should include projected and traditional murals and reinstitution of a festival.



3606 Mount Vernon Ave, View West.jpg



3608 Mount Vernon Ave, View SW.jpg



3701 Mount Vernon Ave, The Birchmere, View North.jpg



3705 Mount Vernon Ave, View SE.JPG



3706 Mount Vernon Ave, View NW.JPG



3800 Mount Vernon Ave, View NW.JPG

Figure 149. Windshield Survey of Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown.



3801 Mount Vernon Ave, TWU, View NE.jpg



3801 Mount Vernon Ave, TWU, View SE.jpg



3802 Mount Vernon Ave, Old Post Office, View SE.JPG



3806 Mount Vernon Ave, View SW.JPG



3826 Mount Vernon Ave, View North.JPG



3830 Mount Vernon Ave, View North.JPG

Windshield Survey of Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown.



3834 Mount Vernon Ave, View West Day.jpg



3834 Mount Vernon Ave, View West Evening.JPG



3800 Mount Vernon Ave Block Parking, View West.jpg



3800 Mount Vernon Ave Block Parking, View East.JPG



3856 Mount Vernon Ave, View S-SE.jpg



3856 Mount Vernon Ave, View SE.jpg

Windshield Survey of Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown.



3811 Mount Vernon Ave MOM, View SE.jpg



3811 Mount Vernon Ave, View SE.JPG



3901 Mount Vernon Ave (former Birchmere), View East.JPG

Windshield Survey of Arlandria-Chirilagua Historic Downtown.

W GLEBE-MOUNT VERNON HISTORIC STRIP MALLS

Historic Name: Arlandria Strip Malls

Location: Mount Vernon Ave and W Glebe Rd

Year: 1920s-2000s

The crossroads of Mount Vernon Ave and W Glebe Rd contains a mixture of historic strip development typically found in greater suburbs. Varying from utilitarian and corporate to Googie, all buildings are one-story surrounded by parking lots. They include a 1927 filling station towards Russell Rd; the 1930s Presidential Market (now pawn shop) and old Googie Safeway (now painted and mixed use) at the northwest corner of the crossroads; 7-Eleven and other small businesses on the southwest corner; redeveloped McDonalds on the site of one of the company's early food stands and a VW dealership on the site of Emma P. Hume's 1920s subdivision on the northeast; and a historic car wash on the southeast corner.

Recommendations:

Remarkably, much of this development is as old as the historic downtown; however, it has never been desirable, being described as quite chaotic by the city in the 1970s. It stands on high ground.

Should this area be redeveloped, the city should consider recording the Presidential Market and old Safeway with DHR. Given its role in a scene in Scorpio, a neighborhood viewing party may be appropriate at the recreation center. Much, much more significantly, the crossroads has historically been a place of protest, including after the murder of Robin Gibson. Creative and innovative memorialization of protest may be appropriate at this location in ways that will not distract drivers. For example bah relief, etched, or painted pavers.



221 W Glebe Rd, View North.JPG



 $3506\,Mount\,Vernon\,Ave\,(former\,Presidential\,Market), View\,SE.JPG$



3501 Mount Vernon Ave, View NE.jpg



3407 Mount Vernon Ave Car Wash est 1950s, View NE.jpg



206 W Glebe Rd, View NW.jpg



3408 Mount Vernon Ave in front of W&O alignment, View S-SW. jpg

Figure 150. Windshield Survey of W Glebe-Mount Vernon Historic Strip Malls.

W GLEBE ROAD CONVENIENCE AND INDUSTRY

Location: 807-1049 W Glebe Rd

Year: 1942-1981

This detached section of Arlandria-Chirilagua was developed between 1942 and 1984, beginning with the Classical Revival/Industrial Virginia Electric Power Company (Dominion Energy) and ending with the Bread & Chocolate Vienesse and French pastry warehouse. Commercial development in between is the type consistently discouraged in master plans.

Recommendations:

Aside from Dominion and Bread & Chocolate, this area is underutilized.



907 W Glebe Rd, Dominion Energy (VEPCo), View NW.jpg



907 WG lebe Rd, Dominion Energy (VEPCo) Service Yard, View NW. jpg



1049 W Glebe Rd, View W.jpg



1037 W Glebe Rd, View North.jpg



1000WGlebeRdBlock,includingbackofBreadandChocolate,ViewNWJPG 1015and1033WGlebeRd,includingbackofBreadandChocolate,ViewNorth.JPG



Figure 151. Windshield Survey of W Glebe Rd Convenience and Industry.

1949-1988: CHURCHES

SAINT RITA CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SCHOOL

Location: 3815 Russell Rd Year: 1949-1956

This property consists of four parcels with a stone Gothic Revival Church, attached stone Rectory, brick and stone New Formalist school and convent, brick Modernist preschool, and surface parking owned by the Catholic Diocese of Arlington. The Gothic Revival church was constructed with Virginia fieldstone and Indiana limestone and dedicated on December 18, 1949. Two years later, the church broke ground on a school, annex, and convent for the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who staffed the school after its dedication in 1952. A three-room addition was added in 1953, and a more modest school building was added around 1956.

Recommendations:

Saint Rita is locally significant as the oldest church in Arlandria and is culturally significant to the English- and Spanish-speaking Catholic community. The sanctuary and the former convent building to the south are respectively very good examples of Gothic Revival and Modernist-influenced architecture.

Due to the evolution of the area from suburban to urban, the church may consider photo-documenting the one-story Modernist school and redeveloping the site to include multi-level buildings with community resources, parking structure, and new school facility. Churches throughout the metropolitan area and other U.S. cities have successfully maintained their presence and infused communities with affordable housing by partnering either with their local housing authority or a goal-aligned developer or by creating an in-house development organization.



St Rita Church and Rectory, View SE.JPG



St Rita Church and Rectory, View NE.JPG



St Rita School and Convent, View East.JPG



St Rita School Russell Rd added ca 1956, View NE.JPG

Figure 152. Windshield Survey of Saint Rita's Church and School.

LOVE OF CHRIST CHURCH

Historic Name: AT&T

Location: 101 Leadbetter St

Year: circa 1979

This property occupies more than half of the block. It includes a building that has Brutalist and Neoformalist features facing the residential Leadbetter St and a surface parking lot with a chain link fence, which runs along Helen St and a commercial area on W Glebe Rd. Love of Christ is an apostolic, non-denominational church founded in 1980. Property records indicate the church purchased the building in 1996 from AT&T. It is currently under the leadership of Bishop Carver Poindexter and Pastor Lorene Poindexter.

Recommendations:

The church is an important institution in the African American community; however, the building is not yet 50 years of age and does not appear to have exceptional significance.

Due to the evolution of the area from suburban to urban, the church may consider redeveloping the site with zero setbacks to include a church, affordable housing units, parking structure, and other amenities such as a childcare center. Churches throughout the metropolitan area and other U.S. cities have success-fully maintained their presence and infused communities with affordable housing by partnering either with their local housing authority or a goal-aligned developer or by creating an in-house development organization.

FREEDOM WAY MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

Historic Name: 7-Eleven
Location: 1 W Glebe St
Year: circa 1969

This property includes a small one-story, rectangular building with a flat roof oriented at a 45-degree angle at the rear of a large surface parking lot. Formerly a 7-Eleven, the building is commercial mid-century Modern and lacks the chain's eventual signature design for Virginia stores, which includes a cross gable roof and cupola, indicating this may have been an earlier location before that design was developed. 7-Eleven was founded in Texas in 1927 and expanded out-of-state to Florida, Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania in 1963. On February 14, 1988, Reverend Dr. George A. Fitzgerald organized Freedom Way Missionary Baptist Church and converted the store into a house of worship, replacing the 7-Eleven logo with an image of a cross in its signage, which projects from the west end of the roof.

Storefront churches date to the Jim Crow era and have been intensively documented throughout the U.S. They are most frequently located in areas that were in decline at some point and are associated with the Baptist denomination or non-denominational, evangelical movements. The building is most significant for its association with the unjust murder of an African American high school junior by a White store clerk in 1970 as well as subsequent protests.

Recommendations:

The building is a locally significant African American cultural landmark. Its complex history does not preclude it from redevelopment; however, it begs significant community engagement from young and old residents of color in Alexandria.





 $Love of \textit{Christ}, former \textit{AT\&T}, \textit{LeadbetterAve} and \textit{HelentSt}, \textit{ViewNW.JPG} \qquad \textit{FreedomWayBaptistChurch}, former \textit{7-Eleven}, \textit{1WGlebeRd}, \textit{ViewNE.jpg} \\$

Figure 153. Windshield Survey of Adaptive Reuse Churches.

1955-2017: EDUCATION & RECREATION

Location: 3700 Commonwealth Ave and 4131 Mount Vernon Ave

Years: 1955-2017

A significant portion of Arlandria-Chirilagua is devoted to educational and recreational resources that were primarily developed on the eastern side of the neighborhood over the last 60-plus years. The anchor of this cultural landscape is the one-story, sprawling plan, midcentury Modern Cora Kelly School for Math, Science and Technology, which was originally built for White students in 1955, integrated in 1965, closed due to a hurricane 1975-1984, provided offices and locker rooms for the Alexandria Dukes minor league baseball team 1978-1983, and reopened as Northern Virginia's first magnet school in 1984 to better integrate the neighborhood, prompting the mayor to say the area was becoming Silicon Valley East.

The school is complimented by the 46.75-acre Four Mile Run Park completed when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers flood control project was finished in 1979. It contains Frank E. Mann baseball field, constructed around 1974, the area's first soccer field dating to 1979, the addition of a recreation center in 1995, a softball field, trails, playgrounds, and passive recreation. The fields are used by the Alexandria Aces, T. C. Williams High School, Bishop Ireton, Youth and Adult Sports, and other men's and women's leagues.

In recent years, additional complimentary resources have been added at its edge, including Four Mile Run Conservancy environmental educational programs, Casa Chirilagua rehabbed by Architects Anonymous for dual-language educational programming for all ages, and the Four Mile Run Farmers & Artisans Market, a local, multi-cultural, businesses incubator, at its Mount Vernon entrance. To the south, Hume Springs maintains the Dale Street Community Garden and helped convert a Dominion Energy lot into a 0.58-acre interactive park at Reed and Commonwealth Avenues with help from students.

Recommendations:

The area was historically marshland, a place where Native Americans and Colonists fished and foraged. It was converted to the first consolidated City Dump in 1922, then filled in and reclaimed for the school and part of its field. The area was further extensively modified by the Corps of Engineers in the 1970s. While the creek undergoes extensive restoration, the park remains as an invaluable asset.

Should the school ever be redeveloped, it should be recorded and evaluated for DHR. Interpretation of the City Dump and historic transportation route through an Adventure-style playground, popularized in England, may be appropriate at this site.



Cora Kelly School, 3600 Commonwealth Ave, View West.JPG



Armstrong Rec Center Commonwealth Ave, View NW.JPG



Commonwealth Ave Four Mile Run Park, View SW.jpg



Commonwealth and Reed Ave Park, View NW.JPG



Four Mile Run Park from Bruce Street, View East.jpg

Figure 154. Windshield Survey of Education and Recreation Resources.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

Arlandria-Chirilagua on the surface appears to have developed rather suddenly to accommodate middle-class, White, European Americans who came to work for the Federal Government between World I (1914-1918) and the early years of the Cold War (1947-1991). The community, however, has an incredibly layered and diverse history related to a variety of themes, most prevalent of which are immigration and activism, even before the last 40-to-50 years.

Immigration and migration both willful and unwillful have been a constant in its recorded history, be they defeated Native Americans who spoke both Algonquin and Iroquoian languages, living in a border land; enslaved people of African descent; optimistic indentured Europeans; opportunistic English, Scottish, and Irish enslavers; Colonial, French, African, and British soldiers; Northern soldiers and African American refugees of the Confederate States; post-Civil War German, Irish, and English immigrants living among free African Americans and Confederate veterans; post-World War I Greek, Italian, Syrian, and Indian entrepreneurs; post-World War II African and European American migrants; post-Vietnam War Vietnamese refugees; and most recently South and Central American immigrants fleeing conflicts backed by the U.S. government, which originally prompted development of Arlandria.

A strong current of activism has ebbed and flowed in the neighborhood with the arrival of each immigrant group, dating back to the revolutionaries breaking away from Great Britain and camping around Adam's Mill; Union soldiers fighting to end slavery as they lived in temporary shelter around Roach's Mill; 19th-century Reconstruction-era Black residents electing the region's first Black politicians who provided integrated subsidized housing between Executive Avenue and Russell Road; Black and White women developing the first subdivisions of Sunnyside, Hume Springs, and Saint Elmo Section 2 while fighting for suffrage; early 20th-century Black baseball players asserting equality through the game on the corner of West Glebe Road and Russell Road; housing and education advocates seeking equal opportunity during the Civil Rights Movement; Black lives advocates convening at West Glebe Road and Mount Vernon Avenue then marching to City Hall and electing the first Black councilperson since Reconstruction in the face of hate crimes in the 1970s; faith-based and secular non-profits fighting for and creating subsidized housing in the old garden apartment complexes in the late twentieth century; and environmentalists working to restore the Four Mile Run ecosystem while reformists seek more just immigration policy in the twenty-first century. The only constant in the neighborhood has been progressivism and progress.

While the middle-class, White, European American population of the early-to-mid-twentieth century produced the bulk of the existing built environment around the theme of White progress and pride in federal history, it was not without expense to other marginalized populations, and their contribution is but one chapter in a much larger story that will continue

to unfold with each generation. The landscape of Arlandria-Chirilagua evolved with the arrival and sometimes merger of each cultural group. What stands today erased hunting grounds, forests, marshland, beaver dams, the natural flow of streams, tobacco and corn fields, mills, miller houses, old roads, fords, stone bridges, early recycling yards, market gardens, blacksmiths, a poorhouse, a baseball sandlot, various small industries, railroad, light rail, garden follies, bungalows, various small businesses, a dump, a movie theater, and an early big tech office building. Each group and the landscapes they created should be recognized yet not frozen in perpetuity. Representative elements may be retained to convey a sense of place and allow for storytelling, while allowing for ongoing organic growth and redevelopment.

PROACTIVE STRATEGIES

ARLANDRIA-CHIRILAGUA FESTIVAL

Support local non-profits in reestablishing the Arlandria-Chirilagua Festival, which was annually held each summer from 2001 to 2018 to highlight traditional and modern Latin American culture, music, dance, crafts, and food. Add a component of cultural history highlighting stories about where people came from and what Arlandria-Chirilagua was like through different periods in history. Community members lament the loss of this event and cite increasingly hot summers and the move from Mount Vernon Avenue to Four Mile Run Park as possible reasons for its recent demise. To allow for cooler weather and potentially more participation from area schools, consider an event that coincides with spring or fall festivals held in Central or South America, such as Easter or El Salvador's Independence Day celebrated on September 15. Coordinate with local businesses and close Mount Vernon Avenue, as a community's main street corridor allows for a more dynamic event than those held in parks.

EDUCATION PARTNERSHIPS

Encourage local non-profits to work with area technology companies to establish a Cultural Heritage Innovation Scholarship Fund for local schools and Virginia Tech Innovation Campus students who may also be interested in liberal arts studies, such as Anthropology, English, History, and Performing and Fine Arts. Where redevelopment and potential mitigation projects are not eminent, partner with area schools, businesses, and non-profits to assist in the creation of more inclusive oral histories and innovative interpretive projects related to the many minority developers and leaders associated with the community's history from settlement to present day.

MITIGATIVE STRATEGIES

Mitigation strategies for a historic site considered for redevelopment should be directly related to the history and benefit of that site, while allowing innovative and sustainable design in the redevelopment. In all mitigation, it is important to engage the Arlandria-Chirilagua community to assess what they want to do and how to execute it. The following strategies are recommended to compliment the ongoing thread of activism in art, ecological restoration, and education and the arrival of technology giants in the neighborhood.

ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

New development should be respectful in scale to historic neighboring zones, in particular to two-story residences in Hume Springs and the historically Black community of Sunnyside. Redevelopment may scale up adjacent to Commercial, Coordinated Development Districts (CDD), and Industrial zoning.

New development should be architecturally creative, embrace new and passive green technology, and not be hemmed in by Colonial and Classical Revival styles, favored in many Alexandria redevelopment projects as well as by segregation-era White developers and architects. The neighborhood's forthcoming developments and architectural styles should be as diverse as its inhabitants.

PUBLIC ART

Like the Alexandria Waterfront, historic alignment of water courses such as Hume Springs, Sunnyside Stream, and Four Mile Run Swamp and Stream may be incorporated into project plans where relevant through native plantings, differentiated pavers, or art within the landscape design. Engage the Four Mile Run Conservancy in such efforts.

Arlandria-Chirilagua currently has multiple high-quality murals executed by local artists at TWU, ACHC on Bruce Street, and the Birchmere Music Hall. These speak to varied community interests in arts and activism. Consider establishing an Arlandria-Chirilagua Mural Project Commission that oversees creation of traditional and projected art like those seen in BLM protests in 2020. Consider rotating creative and historic imagery of former landscapes, buildings, and events, such as the semi-professional Negro league baseball sandlot, the Hume Spring Pavilion, and protest marches at the Mount Vernon-West Glebe crossroads that happened over hate crimes and affordable housing. These may be executed whether part of a mitigation strategy or not.

EDUCATION AND INTERPRETATION

One of the more traditional ways to mitigate redevelopment of historic resources is to document a building, put a report on file at the local library, and install static interpretation signs that link to a larger network of signage throughout the City of Alexandria. In lieu of this approach, partner developers with neighborhood schools or non-profits. Complimenting roots in the theme of industry, the time and talent of residents, young and old, should be harnessed. Older residents have stories to tell and experience to share through mentorships. Engage ACPS students at T.C. Williams, Cora Kelly School for Math, Science and Technology, and Mount Vernon Community School; students who meet at Casa Chirilagua, Community Lodgings, and TWU; and young adults at Virginia Tech Innovation Campus in telling the multilayered story of Arlandria-Chirilagua through innovative public art and interpretation.

Students should use traditional research, oral history, historic photographs, and audio and video recordings related to a project site and translate them into digital products, such as:

Stories via facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, TikTok, whatever-the-next-big-thing-is app GIS story maps

Virtual reality street scenes viewed through an app on a smart phone Murals, collages, and interpretive signage projected onto the sides of buildings Traditional murals like those at TWU, ACHC, and the Birchmere Or other ideas of the community's and students' making

For those who do not have access to technology, request that supplemental articles be shared through non-profit newsletters or scaled down, affordable, and interchangeable signs linked to the Alexandria trail network. Require that these be bilingual and contain a code linked to digital products.

This approach will allow for future planners and historians to adapt memorials and signs quickly without great expense, as the community's history and understanding and interpretation of that history evolves more rapidly as our society marches forward.

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