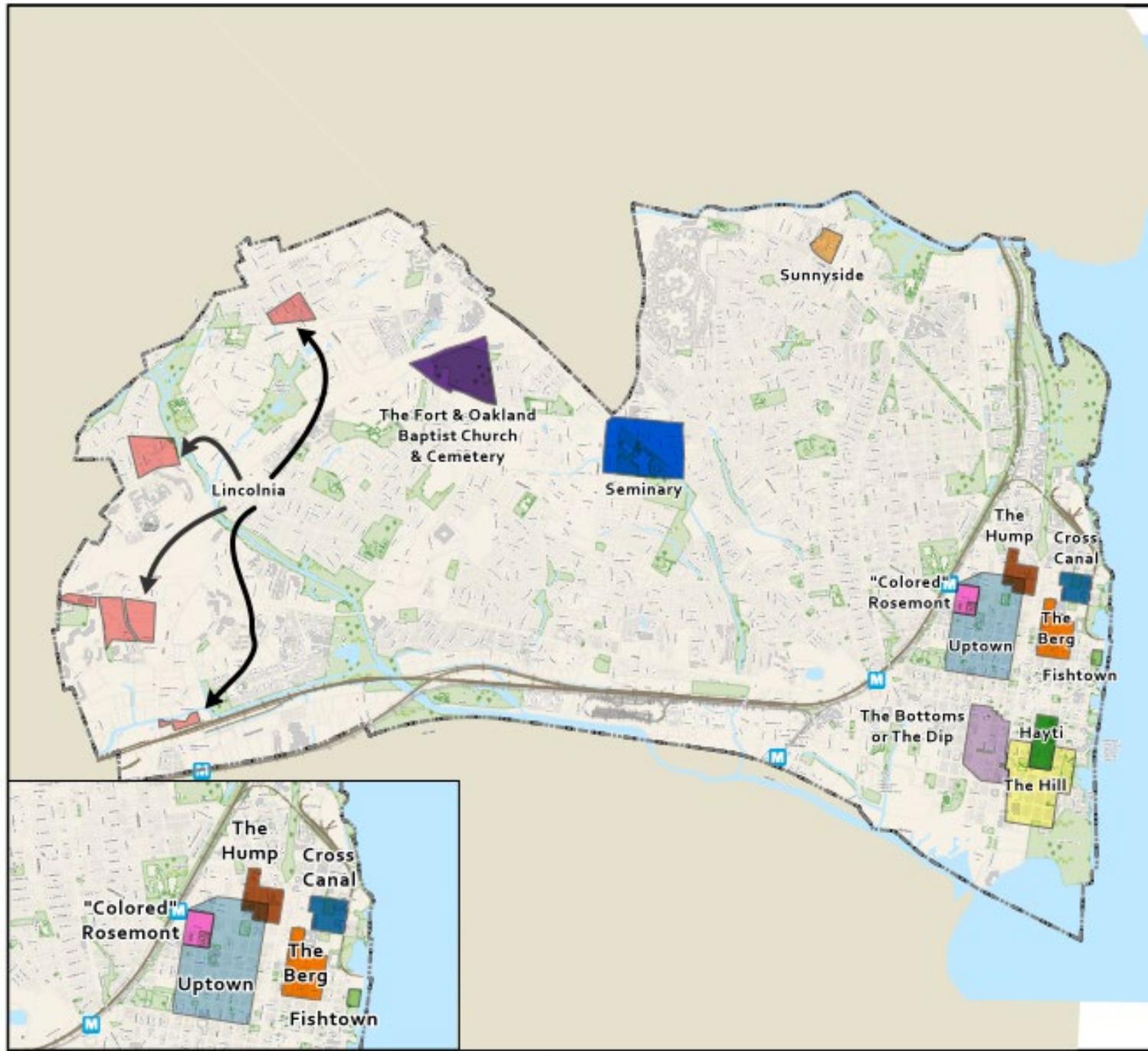


Rethinking Race, Housing, and Community: A History of Restrictive Covenants and Land Use Zoning in Alexandria, Virginia, 1900s-1960s

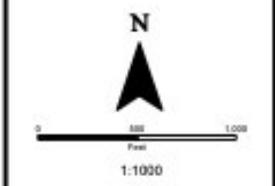
Krystyn R. Moon, PhD

University of Mary Washington



Historical African American Neighborhoods

- Neighborhood
- "Colored" Rosemont
 - Cross Canal
 - Fishtown
 - Hayti
 - Lincolnia
 - Seminary
 - Sunnyside
 - The Berg
 - The Bottoms or The Dip
 - The Fort & Oakland Baptist Church & Cemetery
 - The Hill
 - The Hump
 - Uptown



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Alexandria's African American Neighborhoods

What are zoning ordinances?

Any locality may, by ordinance, classify the territory under its jurisdiction or any substantial portion thereof into districts of such number shape, and size as it may deem best suiting to carry out the purposes of this article, and in each district so that it may regulate, restrict, permit, prohibit, and determine the following:

- 1) The use of land, buildings, structures and other premises for agricultural, business, industrial, resident, flood plain and other specific uses;
- 2) The size, height, area, bulk, location, erection, construction, reconstruction, alteration, repair, maintenance, razing, or removal of structures;
- 3) The areas and dimensions of land, water, and air space to be occupied by buildings, structures and uses, and of courts, yards, and other open spaces to be left unoccupied by uses and structures, including variations in the sizes of lots based on whether a public or community water supply or sewer system is available and used; or
- 4) The excavation or mining of soil or other natural resources.

Restrictive Covenants

Warning: Historical documents may contain harmful language that reflects the attitudes and biases of their time. For more information, see the National Archive's Statement on Potentially Harmful Content.

Eighth. That no part of the said premises nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, rented, or any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian race; that no mercantile or manufacturing business of any description shall be established, carried on, or conducted upon the premises above described, except by the consent in writing of the said party of the first part, its successors or assigns.

Ninth. That the said party of the second part shall tap and maintain connection with the sewer or sewers established within the subdivision above mentioned.

Tenth. That all restrictions, conditions, and limitations hereinbefore mentioned shall constitute covenants running with the title to the said land, until the first day of January 1928.

The said party of the first part hereby reserves the right to erect and maintain telephone and other electric service poles and equipment on or near the rear line of the said lots, with the right of ingress or egress for the purpose of replacing or repairing such poles and equipment, it being understood and agreed that the party of the first part in erecting and maintaining the above described poles and equipment shall replace the property in as good condition as it was before entry was made for the purpose above set forth.

The said party of the first part covenants that it has the right to convey the said premises to the party of the second part shall have quiet possession thereof, free from all incumbrances, except as may hereinafter specifically set forth, and except as to the restrictions, conditions and limitations hereinbefore mentioned, and that the said party of the first part its successors or assigns, within the period of the said Section No. 2 of Rosemont, heretofore conveyed or which may be hereafter conveyed by the said party of the first part its successors or assigns, within the period above mentioned, excepting that the minimum cost of any house built on any of the lots in said Section No. 2, shall be three thousand dollars, and on all other lots in said section regarding the location of stables and outbuildings as hereinbefore set forth, and excepting also the special conditions that no building, fence or other structure shall be located or erected within six feet of the rear line of King Street extended.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Rosemont Development Company, Incorporated, has caused these presents to be signed by its President and its corporate seal to be hereunto affixed and attested by its Secretary on the day and year first hereinbefore written.

(SEAL) Attest; Alexander Suter, Secretary.

By Frederick H. Treat, President.

Handwritten notes:
 The note secured by the within deed of trust having been fully paid the lien hereof is on this 20th day of Oct 1920.

Handwritten notes:
 The note secured by the within deed of trust having been fully paid the lien hereof is on this 20th day of Oct 1920.

Handwritten notes:
 I hereby certify that the note which this was given secure was inhibited to cancelled 20th day of 1920 Test

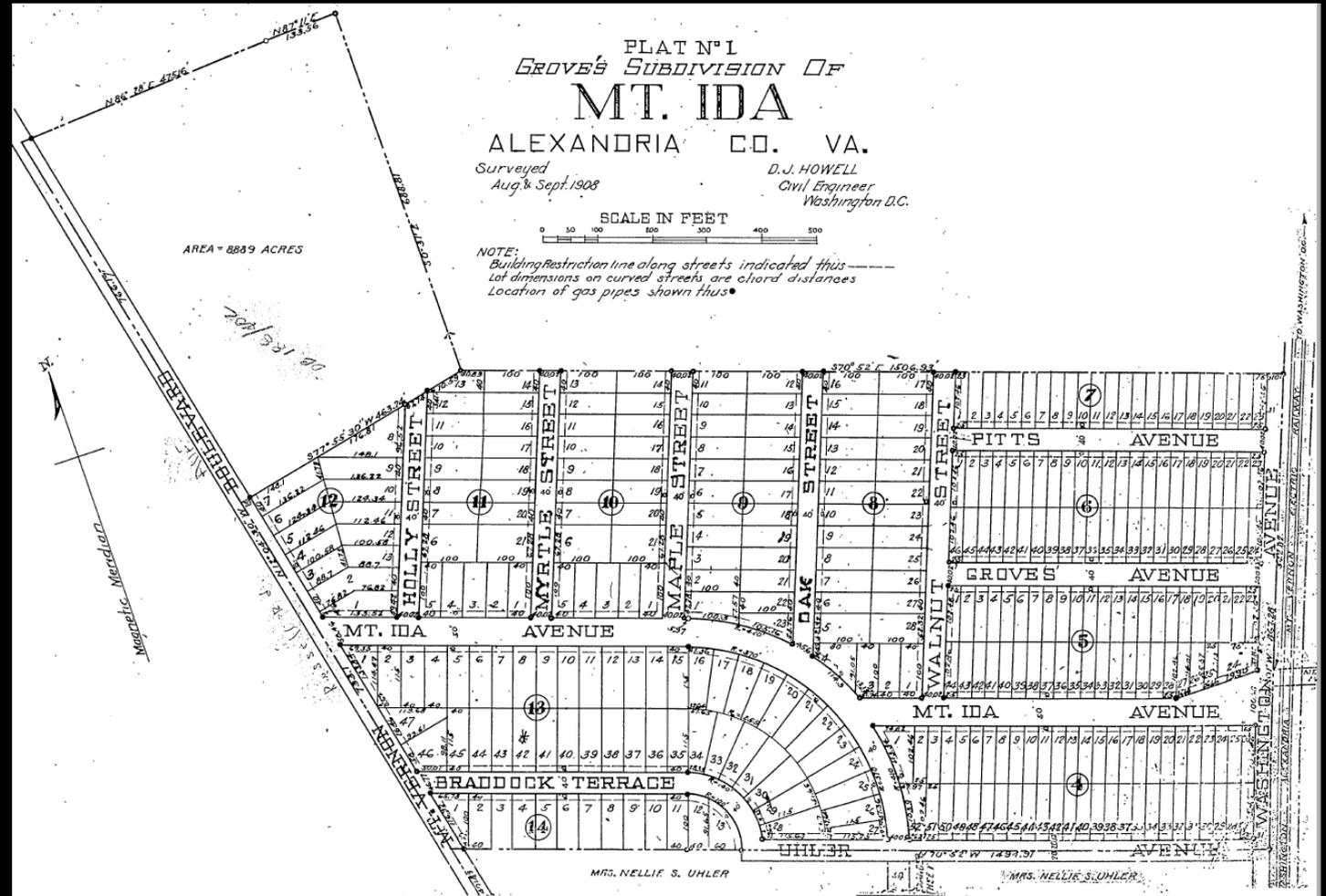
Beginnings: Rosemont

That no part of the said premises nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian race.. (1912)

Courtesy Alexandria Land Deed Office.

Arlington's White-Only Subdivisions Annexed in 1930

Abingdon
Beverly Hills
Braddock Heights
Brenton
Dempsey's
Hume Spring
Jefferson Park
Monticello Park
Mount Ida
Mount Vernon
Rose Crest
West Braddock Heights
Wilmar Park



GENERAL.

It is perhaps the only municipality in the United States in which ownership of real estate is limited to persons of the Caucasian race, and it is also the only municipality so far as we know, that does not number among its residents persons of African descent. Its growth in the past five years, and since the installation of the sanitary sewer system, has been phenomenal, and nearly all of the residents of the Town are home owners, industrious and progressive. Churches of the Methodist and Baptist denomination are maintained, and shops of every variety, grocery stores, department stores, drug stores, real estate offices and a home owned and controlled bank being among the activities of the Town residents. The large transfer freight yards handling all freight between the north and south parallel the east boundary of the Town and is the source of a large revenue to the residents of the Town.

Alexandria's White-Only Subdivisions or Estates

1915-1929

Adams Estate
George Washington Park*
Mount Vernon Park
Princess, Oronoco,
Fayette, & Payne
Rosemont
South Braddock Heights
Temple Park

* Located in Fairfax County prior to 1915

1930-1962

Baggett Tract	J. R. Howard	South View Terrace
Beaumont	James R. Duncan	St. Elmo
Beverley Park	Jefferson Homes	Temple Terrace
Beverley Plaza	Linden Gardens	Threadgill
Chapel Hill	Lynhaven	Timber Branch Park
Clover	Malvern Hill	Virginia Stonell Selecman
College Park	Moore-Hill Estates	Virginia Village
Colonial Park	Oak Crest	Waverly Taylor
Colonial Properties	Oakland	West End
Cottage Park	Overlook Terrace	Westover
Davis Place	Page Property	William Duncan's Estate
Echwood	Patrick Henry Homes	William H. Florence &
Emma P. Hume	Ponnet Estate	James R. Duncan
Glenmore	Robert Moncure	Yates Gardens
Howard Subdivision	Seminary Heights	
Hunting Creek Homes		

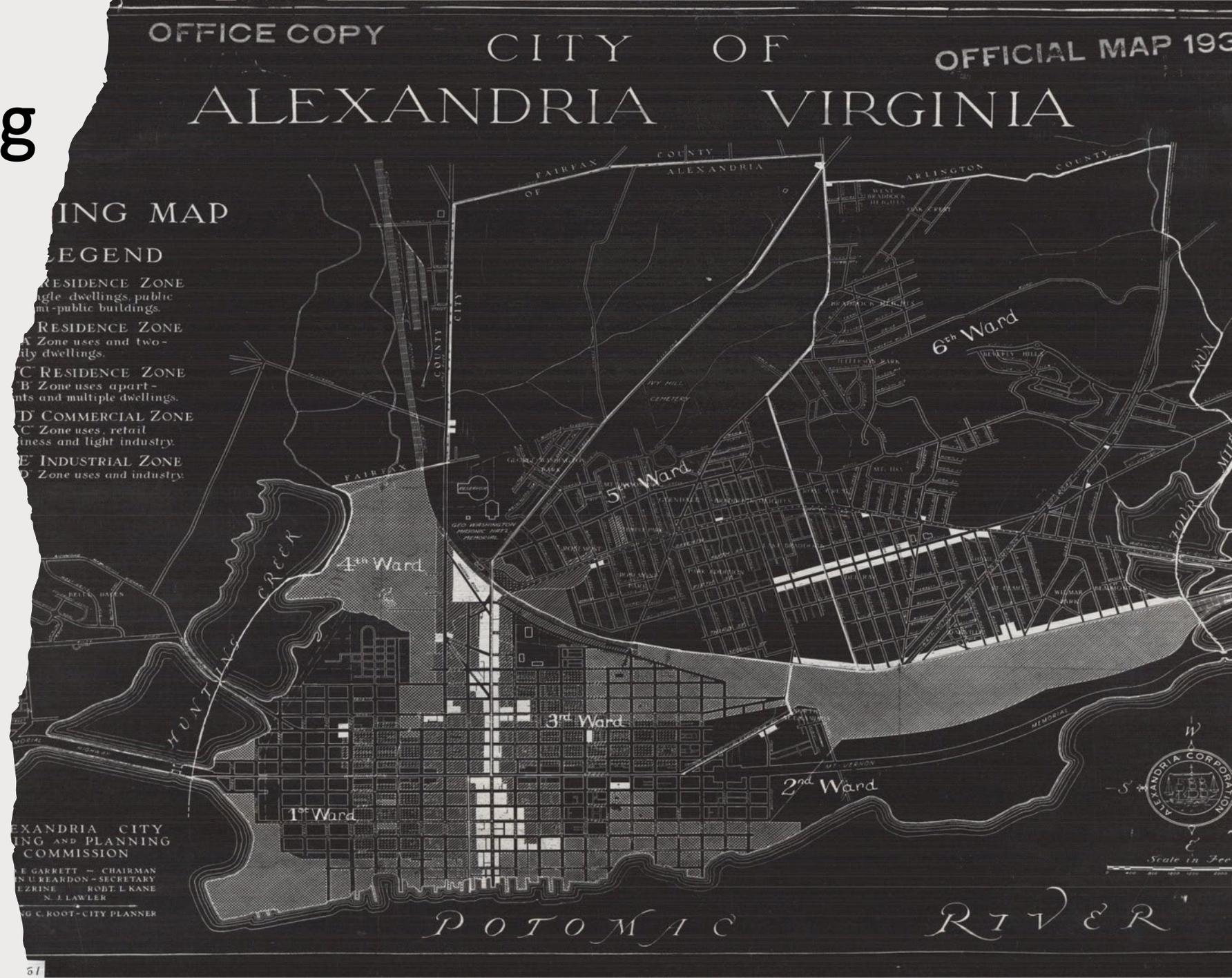
Fairfax's White-Only Subdivisions Annexed in 1952

- Alnor Heights
- Brookville
- Cameron Park
- Cameron View
- Claremont
- Delta
- Dowden Terrace
- Dulaney Tract
- Eagle Crest
- Fort Ward Heights
- King's Haven
- Moore-Hill Estates
- Piney Court
- Seminary Heights
- Shirley Gardens
- Veach Tract
- Wapleton
- Washington Forrest

Zoning Ordinances

Land Use Zoning

- Ordinance No. 17 (1923)
 - Residential and non-residential use
- *Village of Euclid, Ohio v. Ambler Realty Co.* (1926)
- Ordinance No. 109 (1931)
 - Types of land uses
 - Commercial
 - Industrial
 - Residential
 - Prioritizes single-family homes



CITY OF ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA

SCHOOL DISTRIBUTION

LEGEND

SCHOOL GROUNDS

Existing  Proposed 

PARKS AND PARK-LIKE AREAS

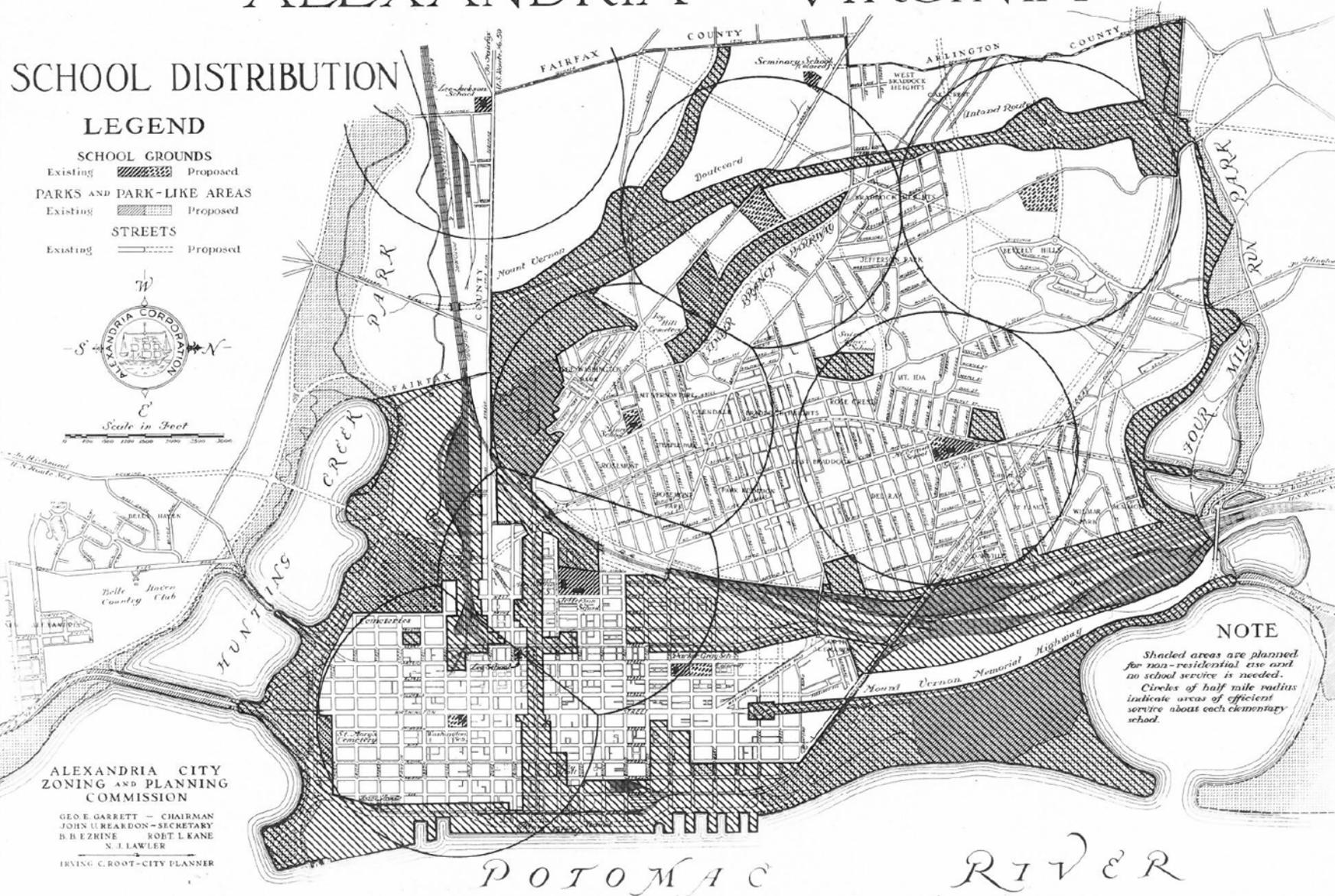
Existing  Proposed 

STREETS

Existing  Proposed 



Scale in Feet



NOTE

Shaded areas are planned for non-residential use and no school service is needed.
Circles of half mile radius indicate areas of efficient service about each elementary school.

ALEXANDRIA CITY ZONING AND PLANNING COMMISSION

GEORGE GARRETT - CHAIRMAN
JOHN U. REARDON - SECRETARY
B. B. EZRINE ROBT. L. KANE
N. J. LAWLER
IRVING C. ROOT - CITY PLANNER

School Distribution

- Elementary School Placement
 - Walking Distance
- Problem: Segregated Schools
 - White Schools
 - Jefferson
 - Lee
 - Maury
 - Mount Vernon
 - Washington
 - West End
 - African American Schools
 - Parker-Gray
 - Seminary

Courtesy American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

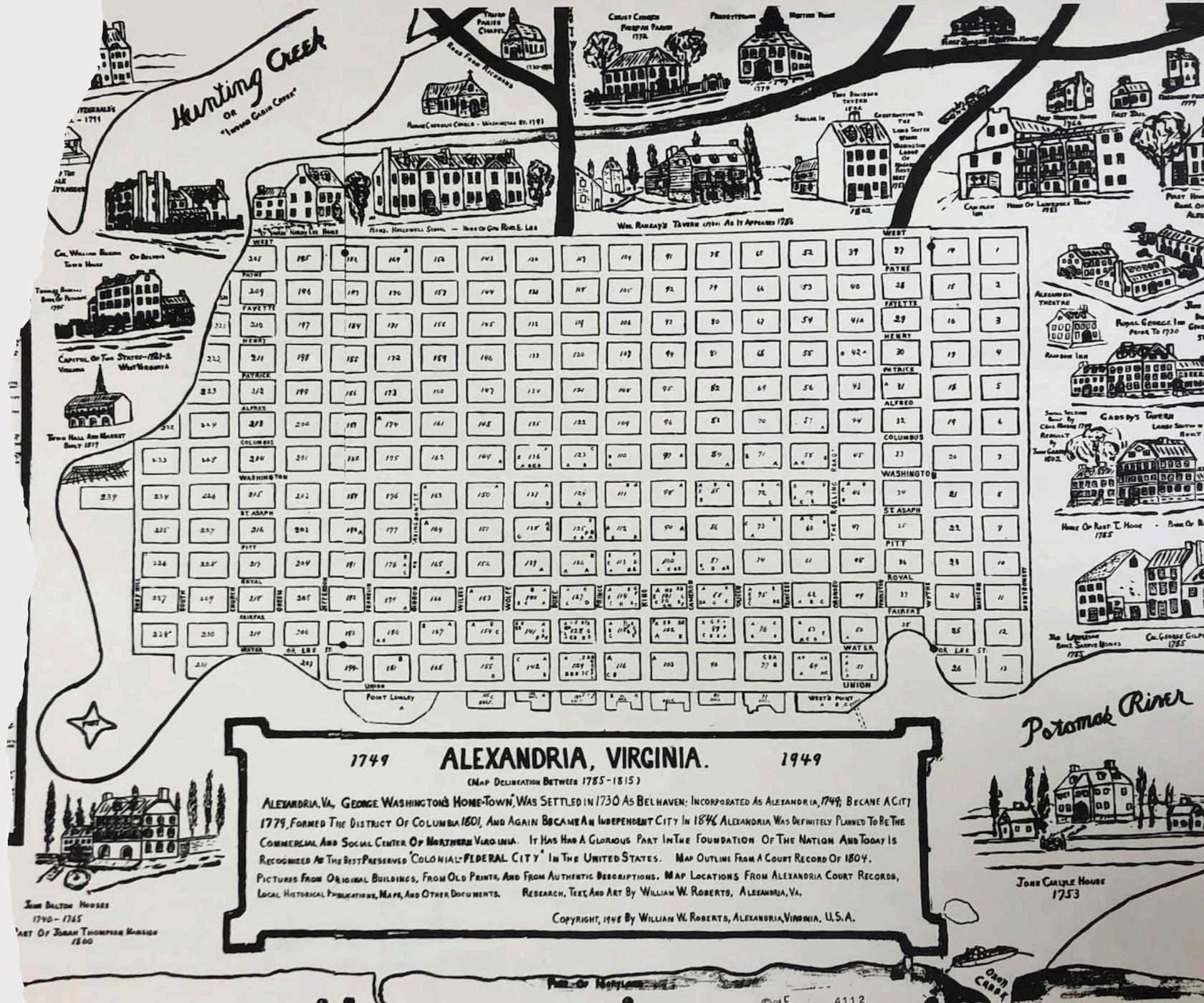
Case Study: Lincolnia



Courtesy of Krystyn Moon (2023).

Aesthetic Zoning

- Old and Historic District (1946)
 - Tied to historic preservation movement
 - Tied to federal policies on George Washington Parkway
 - Protection 100+ year old buildings
 - Creation of Board of Architectural Review





Dwellings unfit for habitation for reasons of safety and sanitation should be condemned and destroyed.



One of the many beautiful, old Colonial homes which helps to make Alexandria ALEXANDRIA.

What is Historic?

Old and Historic District's Expansion

7. Consideration of a study of the question of an adjustment in the boundaries of the Old and Historic District.

Lawrence Joiner, President, IC Citizens Association, stated that, on behalf of the Association he was opposed to this extension; that whites are still doing everything to rid the city of its black population, but they have no intention of leaving; blacks want no part of Old Town, this extension will not benefit the City's total population; the blacks want no committee to dictate what they can or cannot do to the exterior of their homes; the extension will raise their taxes, which he felt was another scheme to drive out the blacks, retired people on fixed incomes would be hurt by an increase in taxes. He appealed to the dignity and humanity of the City to do what was fair for those citizens not living in Old Town.

Mrs. Eudora Lyles said she too was opposed to this proposal; that where she lived thousands of homes had been taken from the blacks, warehouses put in their backyards, and are faced with relocation of Route 1, the metro station and the DIP project; that she felt for the last 30 years everything had been done to harass the blacks; and that she felt this proposed extension was just another tool to push the blacks out of the area; that real estate deterioration will take place; that she did not think this was the right move to be taken.

Parker-Gray Historic District

**Alexandria
Dispute
Unresolved**

*HUD Drops Effort
To Settle Bias Fight*



**Parker-Gray
Residents Fear
Gentrification**

Portrait of Eudora Lyles (ca. 1986). Courtesy Alexandria Black History Museum.

BLOCK TABULATION

A. MAJOR STRUCTURES Total	1
Residential Without Business	2
Residential With Business	3
Commercial	4
Industrial	5
Public & Institutional	6

B. RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES BY TYPE-Total	7	Structures	Dwelling Units
1. Single Family Detached	8		
2. Single Family Attached	9		
3. Two Family Side by Side	10		
4. Two Family Two Decker	11		
5. Three Family Three Decker	12		
6. Four Family Double Two Decker	13		
7. Apartment	14		
8. Business With Dwelling Units	15		
9. Other Non-converted	16		
10. Partially Converted	17		
11. Completely Converted	18		

TOTAL RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES	19
C. YEAR BUILT X. No Report	20
Total Reports on Year Built	21
A. 1935-	22
B. 1930-1934	23
C. 1925-1929	24
D. 1920-1924	25
E. 1915-1919	26
F. 1905-1914	27
G. 1895-1904	28
H. 1885-1894	29
I. 1860-1884	30
J. 1859 or Before	31

TOTAL DWELLING UNITS	32
D. PLUMBING EQUIPMENT X. No Report	33
Total Reports on Plumbing Equipment	34
A-C. At Least 1 Toilet and 1 Bath	35
D-H. Less than 1 Toilet and 1 Bath	36

CITY _____

STATE _____

DATE ENUMERATED _____

	Total	Single Family	Other Types	Vacant	Owner Occupied	Tenant Occupied
TOTAL DWELLING UNITS	37					
E. MONTHLY RENT X. No Report	38					
Total Reports on Monthly Rent	39					
Total Rent	40					
Average Rent Per Unit	41					
A. \$4.99 and Less	42					
B. \$5.00-\$9.99	43					
C. \$10.00-\$14.99	44					
D. \$15.00-\$19.99	45					
E. \$20.00-\$24.99	46					
F. \$25.00-\$29.99	47					
G. \$30.00-\$39.99	48					
H. \$40.00-\$49.99	49					
I. \$50.00-\$74.99	50					
J. \$75.00-\$99.99	51					
K. \$100.00-\$149.99	52					
L. \$150.00 or More	53					
F. ADEQUACY D. Standard	54					
Substandard-Total	55					
A. Physically Substandard	56					
B. Occupancy Substandard	57					
C. Physically & Occupancy Substandard	58					
G. CONDITION OF STRUCTURE X. No Report	59					
Total Reports on Condition	60					
1. Good Condition	61					
2. Minor Repairs	62					
3. Major Repairs	63					
4. Unfit for Use	64					

E. DURATION OF OCCUPANCY X. No Report	65	Owner Occupied	Tenant Occupied
Total Reports on Duration	66		
A. Less than 6 Months	67		
B. 6 Months-11 Months	68		
C. 1 Year-1 Year, 11 Months	69		
D. 2 Years-2 Years, 11 Months	70		
E. 3 Years-4 Years, 11 Months	71		
F. 5 Years-5 Years, 11 Months	72		
G. 10 Years-19 Years, 11 Months	73		
H. 20 Years or More	74		
I. Less than 5 Years	75		

OWNER OCCUPIED SINGLE FAMILY STRUCTURES-Total	76
I. ENCUMBRANCE X. No Report	77
Total Reports on Encumbrance	78
1. Mortgage or Land Contract	79
2. No Encumbrance	80
J. VALUE OF PROPERTY X. No Report	81
Total Reports on Value	82
Total Value	83
Average Value	84

TENANT OCCUPIED AND VACANT UNITS-Total	85
K. FURNITURE X. No Report	86
Total Reports on Furniture	87
Furniture not Included in Rent	88
Furniture Included in Rent	89

TOTAL OCCUPIED UNITS	90
L. NUMBER & AGE OF ALL PERSONS X. No Report	91
Total Reports on Age of Persons	92
Total Persons	93
Average Number of Persons per Unit	94
Number of Persons-4 Years or Less	95
Number of Persons-5-9 Years	96
Number of Persons-10-14 Years	97
Number of Persons-15-19 Years	98
Number of Persons-20-24 Years	99
Number of Persons-65 Years and Over	100

BLOCK NO. _____ E. D. NO. _____

M. PERSONS PER ROOM X. No Report	101
Total Reports on Persons per Room	102
A. .50 or Less	103
B. .51 to .75	104
C. .76 to 1.00	105
D. 1.01 to 1.50	106
E. 1.51 to 2.00	107
F. 2.01 or More	108

N. ROOMERS X. No Report	109
Total Reports on Roomers	110
A. Number of Units with no Roomers	111
B. Number of Units with 1 or 2 Roomers	112
C. Number of Units with 3 to 10 Roomers	113
D. Number of Units with 11 Roomers or More	114
I. With 3 Roomers or More	115

O. EXTRA FAMILIES-Number of Units with Extra Families	116
P. RACE OF HOUSEHOLD X. No Report	117
Total Reports on Race	118
1. White	119
2. Negro	120
3. Other	121

Q. RAFFING SUMMARY--Average Monthly Rent per Unit	122
Total Number of Dwelling Units	123
% of Residential Structures Built 1919 or Before	124
% of All Dwelling Units Occupied by Owner	125
% of All Dwelling Units Needing Major Repairs-Unfit for Use	126
Number of Structures Used for Business	127
% of Dwelling Units With No Private Toilet and Bath	128
% of Occupied Dwelling Units With Race Other than White	129
% of All Dwelling Units Substandard	130
% of Owner Occupied Single Family Structures with Mortgage	131
% of Occupied Dwelling Units with 1.51 or More Persons Per Room	132
Median Year Built Group	133
Median Duration of Occupancy Group-Owner Occupied Units	134
Median Duration of Occupancy Group-Tenant Occupied Units	135

Questions?