

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

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In the twenty-first century, local governments, developers, and property owners commonly used zoning ordinances and restrictive covenants to shape current and future land use.

Emerging out of the Progressive Era, zoning and covenants relied on the application of scientific management to municipal land use in hopes of maximizing efficiencies and real estate values.

Additionally, both were supposed to ensure that communities were safe and healthy for their residents.<sup>1</sup> These tools, born out of the anxieties surrounding the country's rapid urbanization and industrialization, became integral to community-making in cities and counties throughout the United States.

Despite some similarities, there are key differences between zoning ordinances and restrictive covenants that affect how they are used. Covenants, which are derived from English Common Law, is a property contract that is adjudicated in the courts for violations. These restrictions, imposed by the grantor on the grantee, are typically limited to 21-to-25 years and can be altered in response to the evolution of a community. In contrast, zoning ordinances appeared in the early twentieth century when state governments gave cities and towns more autonomy through home-rule charters that included significant decision-making powers. As a form of regulation, zoning ordinances can not only be adjudicated in the courts but also through local planning and zoning boards, which have the authority to amend regulations. While more easily amendable, zoning ordinances are permanent.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D. M. P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 50.

<sup>2</sup> Freund 47; Noah M. Kazis, "Public Actors, Private Law: Local Governments' Use of Covenants to Regulate Land Use," *The Yale Law Journal* 124, no. 5 (March 2015): 1790-1824; Larry Santucci, "Documenting Racially Restrictive Covenants in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Philadelphia," *Cityscape* 22, no. 3 (2020): 241-268.

The use of zoning ordinances and restrictive covenants, however, did not emerge in a social and cultural vacuum. As many historians have documented, both worked together to limit housing options for marginalized communities. D. M. P. Freund argues in *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* that the application of scientific management to land use “converged with assumptions about racial, specifically eugenic science.”<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, class politics informed the inclusion of certain types of restrictions and ordinances, which overlapped with racial attitudes among many white residents. Instead of ensuring housing accessibility for all residents, they became one of the many tools in the racial segregationist toolbox to control where African Americans and other minorities might live. As such, they privileged the production of wealth for white, middle- and upper-class homeowners by prioritizing single-family dwellings and their property values over all other types of development.<sup>4</sup>

This report is a preliminary analysis of twentieth-century zoning ordinances and restrictive covenants in the City of Alexandria and their impact on marginalized groups, especially African American residents. The first section looks at the emergence of restrictive covenants from the early 1900s and their continued influence until the passage of the Fair Housing Act (1968). The second section explores the application of zoning ordinances in Alexandria starting in the 1920s through the early 1970s. Alexandria’s zoning practices reflected two important phenomena in the United States: 1) the division of municipalities by commercial, industrial, and residential

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<sup>3</sup> Freund 46.

<sup>4</sup> Freund 53-54; Santucci 246-247; Sarah Jane Shoenfeld and Mara Cherkasy, “‘A Strictly White Residential Section’: The Rise and Demise of Racially Restrictive Covenants in Bloomingdale,” *Washington History* 29, no 1. (Spring 2017): 26.

land uses and 2) the establishment of historic districts as a form of aesthetic zoning. Finally, this report ends with recommendations as to how to proceed with future historical research on the impact of zoning ordinances and restrictive covenants and what archival resources might be used

### **Restrictive Covenants**<sup>5</sup>

Covenants originally were created to allow grantor(s) the power to restrict how grantee(s) used land; however, by the mid-nineteenth century, they not only reflected the land priorities of the upper classes, but also gave white property owners the power to dictate urban and suburban development to their economic advantage. These covenants, which included building materials, setbacks, home values, etc., typically remained in place for 21-to-25 years or what was seen in common law as the equivalent to one generation. Violations were addressed in the local courts,

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<sup>5</sup> There are several online essays discussing restrictive covenants in specific communities. Here are a few examples:

- Boston: <https://www.bostonfairhousing.org/timeline/>
- Hartford: <https://ontheline.trincoll.edu/index.html>
- Kansas City: <https://www.kansascity.com/news/local/article92156112.html>
- Los Angeles: <https://www.kcet.org/shows/city-rising/how-prop-14-shaped-californias-racial-covenants>
- St. Louis: <http://mappingdecline.lib.uiowa.edu/documents/>
- Sacramento: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46541492\\_Redlining\\_Revisited\\_Mortgage\\_Lending\\_Patterns\\_in\\_Sacramento\\_1930-2004](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46541492_Redlining_Revisited_Mortgage_Lending_Patterns_in_Sacramento_1930-2004)
- San Francisco Bay Area: <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/rootsraceplace>

Additionally, a handful of municipalities have hired researchers to look into the history of restrictive covenants within their community:

- Chicago: [http://digitalchicagohistory.org/exhibits/show/restricted-chicago/restrictive\\_covenants](http://digitalchicagohistory.org/exhibits/show/restricted-chicago/restrictive_covenants)
- Evanston: <https://www.cityofevanston.org/home/showdocument?id=59759>
- Minneapolis: <https://mappingprejudice.umn.edu>
- Portland: <https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1Tz4qsE1Pm-usvnLNQnWirj41vt3lcwf&ll=45.44267388516265%2C-122.62427014343308&z=11>
- Richmond: <https://www.virginiamemory.com/online-exhibitions/exhibits/show/mapping-inequality>
- Seattle: <https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/covenants.htm>
- Washington, DC: <http://www.mappingsegregationdc.org>

and either individual neighbors or civic/homeowners' associations could seek legal action.

Punishments for violations of restrictive covenants sometimes were severe and included the return of property to the grantor(s) or their descendants.<sup>6</sup>

By the early twentieth-century, restrictive covenants based on race, religion, and nationality had become common in deeds throughout the United States. The earliest examples appear in a suburb outside of Boston, which banned both African Americans and Irish immigrants in 1843 and spread with the construction of middle- and upper-class housing developments. In 1926, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Corrigan v. Buckley* in favor of these restrictions. It supported the argument that racial covenants were private, not public, actions and therefore could not be scrutinized under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>7</sup> With judicial approval, the use of racial covenants surged in the late 1920s through the late 1940s when the U.S. Supreme Court revisited the question in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948). Reversing its earlier decision, the court ruled that local courts could not enforce restrictions that discriminated against racial, ethnic, and/or religious groups. Despite the court's decision, white developers, real estate brokers, and homeowners continued to include these restrictions on their properties until the passage of the Fair Housing Act (1968).

During this period, certain patterns appeared among restrictions issued in property deeds in the United States. Larry Santucci in his analysis of restrictive covenants in Philadelphia notes that there were three types of restrictions in the early twentieth century. The first form excluded a

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<sup>6</sup> Santucci 248-249; Kazis 1790; Freund 93, fn 87.

<sup>7</sup> Richard R. W. Brooks and Carol M. Rose, *Saving the Neighborhood: Racially Restrictive Covenants, Law, and Social Norms* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2013), 54.

particular racial, religious, and/or ethnic group from ownership. The second prohibited any form of use or habitation. And the third barred groups from both ownership and occupancy. Covenants were technically supposed to expire after a set period of time; however, white developers, real estate brokers, and property owners tried to get around this limitation (known as the “rule against perpetuities” or RAP) by either declaring restrictions as perpetual or allowing homeowners to extend restrictions by majority vote through civic/homeowners’ associations.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes, covenants targeted specific populations based on local racial, religious, and/or ethnic politics, making them somewhat varied across the country. Depending on the location, covenants targeted African Americans, Jews, Native Americans, Seventh Day Adventists, and/or persons of Armenian, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Persian, and/or Syrian ancestries.<sup>9</sup> The most common practice was to make property exclusive to the “Caucasian Race.” Two years after the *Corrigan v. Buckley* decision, Helen Corbin Monchow from Northwestern University’s Institute for Research and Land Economics and Public Utilities published this example as a model:

No lot shall be sold, conveyed, leased or rented to any person other than of the white or Caucasian race, nor shall any lot ever be used or occupied by any person other than one of the white or Caucasian race, except such as may be serving as

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<sup>8</sup> Santucci 248-249; Brooks and Rose 73; Evan McKenzie, *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 29-55.

<sup>9</sup> John P. Dean, “Only Caucasian: A Study of Race Covenants,” *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* 23, no. 4 (November 1948): 432.

domestics for the owner or tenant of said lot, while said owner or tenant is residing thereon.<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted that the National Association of Real Estate Brokers (NAREB), the licensing body for all real estate brokers, supported the insertion of racial covenants in deeds. In 1924, NAREB required that its members use racial steering and threatened members with expulsion if they refused. Racial steering remained part of NAREB's *Code of Ethics* through 1956.<sup>11</sup>

In the early-to-mid twentieth century, racial covenants in Alexandria, Virginia aligned with practices found in other parts of the United States. The first restrictions appeared in deeds for new subdivisions created on the border between the City of Alexandria and Arlington and Fairfax Counties. These liminal areas, located between white-owned farms and urban centers, had previously provided African American families opportunities to live somewhat autonomously and even own property. The construction of streetcar lines and later the democratization of the automobile made these liminal spaces popular for middle- and upper-class suburban development.<sup>12</sup> In 1912, Rosemont became the first subdivision in Alexandria to include racial restrictions on specific lots. A year later, an unnamed development on Oronoco, Fayette, Princess, and Payne Streets in the Uptown neighborhood included similar language in

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<sup>10</sup> Helen Corbin Monchow, *The Use of Deed Restrictions in Subdivision Development* (Chicago: The Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, 1928), 51.

<sup>11</sup> "Article 34: A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." *Code of Ethics* (Chicago, IL: National Association of Real Estate Board, 1924), 7. See also Santucci 246, 249.

<sup>12</sup> Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2004).

its deeds. George Washington Park, which Alexandria annexed from Fairfax County in 1915, had restrictions as early as 1909.<sup>13</sup>

**Deed 65-449** (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...

**Deed 62-505** (Uptown): And the said party of the second part further covenants and agrees for himself his heirs and assigns that the said lots and any building or buildings that may be erected thereon shall not be sold, rented or leased to any person of negro descent, or any firm, or corporation composed of persons of negro descent, and this shall be regarded as a covenant running with the land.

**Deed 65-28** (George Washington Park): No lot or lots shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.

The language in these early restrictions reflected larger patterns found in suburban developments in the early twentieth century. First, the developers targeted local marginalized communities. In Alexandria, African Americans faced systematic discrimination throughout this period and were increasingly subjected to restrictive covenants that impacted where they could live, work, and own property. Other restrictive covenants, such as the one for Rosemont, stated

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<sup>13</sup> Deed Book 62-505, 65-28, and 65-449, Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.



that only Caucasians were permitted to own or inhabit a particular property.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, the deed from Uptown even barred corporate ownership. The inclusion of this language was most likely a reference to *Peoples Pleasure Park Co. v. Rohleder* (1908), in which the Virginia State Supreme Court Case ruled a corporation “is not a person” and “had no ‘color’ or race.” This decision allowed African American-owned corporations to buy properties with race-based restrictions unless they were specifically barred.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the restrictions in Rosemont included a sunset clause, allowing them to end on January 1, 1928. The restrictions at George Washington Park and the unnamed development in Uptown excluded African Americans in perpetuity.

By the 1920s, new subdivisions that were either part of or adjacent to George Washington Park and Rosemont inserted restrictive language into their deeds. Mount Vernon Park, Temple Park, Glendale, Brenton, and the Adams Estate (a development west of Rosemont along King Street) either limited renting and owning to the “Caucasian Race” or excluded African Americans.<sup>16</sup>

While these restrictions paralleled earlier versions, there was one exception in a new subdivision of Rosemont:

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<sup>14</sup> The definition of whiteness in Virginia was in flux during this period. In 1910, the Virginia General Assembly declared that a person with 1/16 or more blood of African ancestry was African American, a shift from the previous definition of 1/4 or more. Led by a cadre of eugenicists, the Racial Integrity Act (1924) declared that no one of mixed ancestry could be defined as white, except for a small number of elites who had claimed Native American ancestry. As a result, Virginia had the strictest one-drop rule in the country by the mid-1920s. Richard B. Sherman, “The ‘Teachings at Hampton Institute’: Social Equality, Racial Integrity, and the Virginia Public Assemblage Act of 1926,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95, no. 3 (July 1987): 275-300.

<sup>15</sup> Clement E. Vose, *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Restrictive Covenant Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 6.

<sup>16</sup> Land Deed 74-246; 77-172; 84-22; and 86-479; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

**Deed 90-260 (Rosemont):** This subdivision and dedication of said land is made, however, under and upon the express condition, that no one of said lots, nor any number of said lots, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, devised given, granted or conveyed, to anyone not of the Caucasian race, and upon any violation of this covenant by any alienee or alienees of any lot or lots, or any part or parts of any lot or lots, in connection with which said violation has been made, shall immediately revert to the parties or the first part of their successor or heirs.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike other deeds, this development required the reversion of property to the developers or their descendants if someone who was not white lived on the properties.

Subdivisions that came with the annexation of parts of Arlington County in 1930 had restrictions too. Most of the annexed neighborhoods contained restrictions similar to those found in Alexandria's deeds. Abingdon, Beverley Hills, Braddock Heights, Brenton (which crossed the boundary between Arlington County and Alexandria), Dempsey's, Hume Spring, Jefferson Park, Monticello Park, Mount Ida, Mount Vernon, Rose Crest, West Braddock Heights, and Wilmar Park were white-only neighborhoods (see Appendix B). The first restrictions in this section of Arlington County appeared on specific lots in the Mount Ida Subdivision in 1909.

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<sup>17</sup> Land Deed 90-260; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

James S. Groves, a recent arrival from Norfolk and a real estate developer, platted Mount Ida in 1907 and inserted restrictions into deeds when he began to sell lots two years later.<sup>18</sup>

**Deed 120-302 (Mount Ida):** That the said lot and the buildings that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.

Groves was a big booster for the construction of streetcar lines in Arlington County, which he hoped would run near Mount Ida, making it easier for white residents to commute to Alexandria and Washington, D.C.<sup>19</sup> When Groves died in 1916, the subdivision was put into a trust, managed by Howard W. Smith, a real estate lawyer in Alexandria. Smith continued to insert restrictive covenants into deeds, but instead of excluding only African Americans, he targeted all-nonwhite owners and/or occupants.<sup>20</sup>

**Deed 181-38 (Mount Ida):** That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.

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<sup>18</sup> "New Realty Offices Opened," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) April 9, 1910, 2; "James S. Groves Dead," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) February 18, 1916, 3; Deed Book 120-202; Land Records Division, Courts and Judicial Services, Arlington, Virginia.

<sup>19</sup> "Electric Line Planned," *Alexandria Gazette* May 27, 1911, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Deed Book 181-38; Land Records Division, Courts and Judicial Services, Arlington, Virginia.

Smith, who was active in Virginia politics, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1930 where he served until 1966. An ardent segregationist, Smith used his power to oppose every aspect of the civil rights movement, most notably the Civil Rights Act (1964).<sup>21</sup>

Many new restricted subdivisions were built on lands annexed in 1930 from Arlington and Fairfax Counties. It was among these properties where an exception first appeared for domestic servants who lived in the home and were not white. Colonial Park, one of the city's elite subdivisions built along present-day Mansion Drive, was the first development to include this exception in 1931.

**Deed 106-582 (Colonial Park):** No lot or any part thereof shall ever be sold, leased to or occupied by any person of the negro race nor for a period of fifty years from January 1st, 1931, to any person other than of the Caucasian race, but this restriction does not apply to domestic servants who may be employed by the living in the home of any of said lot owners.<sup>22</sup>

By 1940, a servant exception was commonplace in Alexandria even for smaller properties such as townhomes in Yates Gardens located in the southern portion of Alexandria.<sup>23</sup>

After Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president in 1932, New Deal legislation played an important role in the inclusion of restrictive covenants. Many scholars have written extensively

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<sup>21</sup> For more information on Howard W. Smith, see his entry in Encyclopedia Virginia: <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/smith-howard-worth-1883-1976/>.

<sup>22</sup> Deed Book 167-350; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>23</sup> Deed Book 159-590. Here are additional examples: Deed Book 167-350; 168-50;169-104; 170-53; 171-23;174-153; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

about the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which provided mortgage insurance to private banks to stabilize the housing market, in promoting segregated housing. Its real estate appraisers deemed neighborhoods with large numbers of poorer or minority residents as high risk and refused to insure loans for properties in those areas. In new developments, it required developers to agree to a list of covenants that it believed would protect property values.<sup>24</sup>

These covenants included race-based restrictions for which the FHA provided guidelines:

No race or nationality other than those for whom the promises are intended, shall use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race or nationality employed by an owner or tenant. (The wording of this restriction should not be used in actual restrictions which are to be recorded, but a racial restriction should be properly drawn so that the objectives as above set forth will be accomplished.)<sup>25</sup>

The FHA sent the restriction above to the developers of an addition to the Braddock Heights subdivision, who had received loans backed by the FHA. The developers, however, modified the covenant suggested by the FHA and inserted “Caucasian only” terminology instead of the phrase “race or nationality.”<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright, 2017), 63-67.

<sup>25</sup> “Restrictive Covenants which Meet the Objectives as set forth on Page 8 of Circulate #5, “Subdivision Standards, Revised June 1, 1937,” Baker’s Re-subdivision, Sec. 2, Lots 198-205, Braddock Heights; Davis-Ruffner Files. Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>26</sup> Deed Book 153-178; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

The practice of purchasing African American property and converting it into white-only subdivisions occurred periodically in Alexandria too. One section of Beverley Hills included thirteen acres owned by Hampshire Fractious and his family who had fled to Alexandria during the American Civil War. In 1903, the property was sold at auction, almost twenty years after Fractious' death. While his son-in-law, John T. Bailey, tried to purchase it, Charles C. Carlin, an Alexandria-based lawyer and future congressman, outbid him.<sup>27</sup> Fractious' home, it is speculated, was used as the real estate office for the Beverley Hills subdivision by its developer, Don A. Loftus [Permanesque Homes, Inc.]. It was later incorporated into the development and still stands today.

Despite their willingness to purchase African American property, white developers believed that building subdivisions in proximity to African American neighborhoods adversely affected property values for white, middle and upper-class families. George C. Stuart, the business manager at Episcopal High School, commented in a chancery case that the presence of African American neighborhoods undermined the value of new, white-only suburban developments around the campus.<sup>28</sup> Virginia Theological Seminary, which shared the campus with Episcopal High School, also sold land it owned to the south of the Seminary neighborhood and inserted a racial restriction in the property deed.<sup>29</sup> After the Civil War, African Americans who had fled the Confederacy from other parts of Virginia had established the Seminary neighborhood. Many of

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<sup>27</sup> 1870 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, 29-30; [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (accessed July 15, 2016); Deed Book A-4-243; D-4-243; 110-594; Land Records Division, Courts and Judicial Services, Arlington, Virginia.

<sup>28</sup> *George E. Garrett v. Lewis D. Creed* (1934); Fairfax County Circuit Court's Historical Records Room, City of Fairfax, Virginia.

<sup>29</sup> Deed Book 163-506; 202-223; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

its residents worked at Virginia Theological Seminary and Episcopal High School.<sup>30</sup> The developers of Seminary Heights, located between Braddock Road and King Street, worried about their proximity to the same neighborhood. An undated note stated that “stretching [a certain lot] on King [S]treet from 75’ to 78’ can[’]t guarantee and [Frank I.] Koplín says it encroaches on negro’s property at that.”<sup>31</sup> In 1948, anxieties ran high among Seminary Heights developers because they thought that they had accidentally sold property to a would-be African American homeowner named Irving Smith. After repurchasing the property, they realized that there were two Irving Smiths, one who was Black and another who was white.<sup>32</sup>

The territory annexed from Fairfax County in 1952 included several restricted neighborhoods. In the late 1920s, developers began to purchase large tracts of land in Fairfax County for suburban developments that were to be like those in Arlington County and the City of Alexandria. These homes catered to the growing numbers of white civil servants and military personnel who commuted to Washington, D.C. or elsewhere in the region for work. 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

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<sup>30</sup> Krystyn R. Moon, “Finding the Fort: African American History and Memory at Fort Ward Historic Park,” (Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, July 2014).

Ironically, the 1930s was also when the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia was trying to end segregation within the church. Robert W. Prichard and Julia E. Randle, *Hail! Holy Hill! A Pictorial History of the Virginia Theological Seminary* (Brainerd, MN: RiverPlace Communication Arts, 2012), 150-151.

<sup>31</sup> Frank I. Koplín was one of the developers of Seminary Heights. [undated note]; Seminary Heights, Davis-Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>32</sup> Charles A. Davis to Messrs. Juliano and Koplín, January 9, 1948; Frank Koplín to Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation, January 12, 1948; Charles M. Radigan to Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation, October 20, 1948; Charles A. Davis to Adams, Porter and Radigan, October 21, 1948; Seminary Heights, Davis-Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

Heights, Shirley Gardens, Veach Tract, Wapleton, and Washington Forrest had deeds that used racially restrictive language (see Appendix C).

As with Hampshire Fractious' land, white developers purchased African American property and incorporated it into white-only developments. In the 1920s and early 1930s, George E. Garrett and Robert R. Dye bought several parcels of land owned by African Americans in The Fort neighborhood along Braddock Road. They dedicated two white-only subdivisions, Eagle Crest and Fort Ward Heights, both of which included Caucasian-only clauses in perpetuity. African Americans had purchased this land after the American Civil War; however, their descendants were willing to sell it after moving to Washington, DC or farther north where job opportunities were relatively more plentiful. Additionally, both Garrett and Dye were politically active, especially on issues related to the region's suburbanization, and frequently inserted restrictive covenants into their development projects. Garrett, a civil engineer and surveyor, was elected to Alexandria's City Council in 1932 after spending several years working on the city's first land use zoning ordinance. Dye, director of Arlington National Cemetery, also worked as a developer in the region and served on Fairfax County's Board of Zoning Appeals. By the mid-1930s, about half of The Fort neighborhood was sold to Garrett and Dye, with the rest of the land remaining in the hands of African American families until the establishment of Fort Ward Park and Museum in the early 1960s.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Krystyn R. Moon, "Finding the Fort: African American History and Memory at Fort Ward Historic Park," (Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, July 2014), 72-80; <https://www.alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/FortWardParkHistoryReportMoon%202014.pdf>.



These newly annexed developments, however, faced a different legal landscape (as did the rest of the country) by 1952. Four years earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) that racial covenants violated the equal protection clause of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment because they required the court's intervention to be enforced. The court's ruling, however, did not stop developers from inserting discriminatory language into deeds. Dowden and Farnum, Inc., for example, included restrictions as late as 1955, but inserted a unique exception for African Americans working on the construction of Dowden Terrace.<sup>34</sup> As late as 1962, Malvern Hill, located along Quaker Lane, was deeded as a white-only neighborhood. It was the last development in Alexandria to include race-based restrictions.<sup>35</sup>

Many developments constructed prior to the 1948 ruling pretended that nothing had changed. For a home in Washington Forrest, located on the border with Fairfax County along Seminary Road, mortgage insurance documents from the Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation, dated 1962, treated race-based restrictions as completely legal:

Restriction appearing of record in Liber P No. 12 Page 284, recorded 6/21/1937, Fairfax County, Virginia Land Records. (Neither this property nor any interest therein shall be conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race, and no person not of the Caucasian Race shall be allowed to occupy said property except as a domestic servant to persons living on said property.)<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Deed Book 1286-177; Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.

<sup>35</sup> Deed Book 567-96; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>36</sup> Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation, "Limited Coverage Policy," May 24, 1962; Washington Forrest, Davis-Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

In another policy, the Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation admitted that, while there were restrictions, violations would not lead to forfeiture of one's property. In both instances, the company neither attempted to renounce nor remove restrictions.<sup>37</sup> The continued presence of restrictions, although no longer enforceable in the courts, also signaled to African Americans and other marginalized groups that their would-be white neighbors potentially would not accept them and that the real estate industry still did not treat them as equals.

At the same time, other real estate documents began to codify new anti-discriminatory language, portending the passage of the Fair Housing Act (1968) and local and state laws that banned discriminatory housing practices. As early as July 1950, mortgage documents for the Shirley-Duke Apartments (now known as Foxchase) "insure[d] that no restrictions upon the sale or occupancy of the mortgaged property on the basis of race, color or creed, have been filed of record at any time subsequent to February 15, 1950 and prior to the effective date of this policy."<sup>38</sup> Despite the inclusion of this language, Shirley-Duke Apartments remained exclusively white during the 1950s and early 1960s. A surveyor for the FHA noted that there were restrictive covenants on the apartments, but he did not attach them to the report as required by the federal government.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation, "Limited Coverage Policy," August 25, 1951; Washington Forrest, Davis-Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>38</sup> Lawyers Title Insurance Corporation, "Policy of Title Insurance," July 31, 1950; Shirley-Duke Apartments, Davis Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

By the early 1970s, some mortgage policies admitted that discrimination was no longer enforceable. Policies for homes in Washington Forrest by Lawyers Title Insurance Company stated the following:

Restrictions, but omitting any restriction based on race, color, religion or national origin, appearing of record in Deed Book M #14, Page 185, Fairfax County, Virginia Land Deeds.<sup>40</sup>

At some point, most likely after the passage of the Fair Housing Act (1968), the Davis-Ruffner Title Corporation even went through all its files and stamped “Covenant Omitted” on all race-based restrictions.<sup>41</sup>

Decades of restrictive covenants had rewritten the racial demographics of Alexandria’s residential neighborhoods, making them hyper-segregated by the 1960s and 1970s. Of course, restrictive covenants were not the only tools that white supremacists used to make it difficult, if not impossible, for African Americans and other minorities to find a place to live. Zoning ordinances, urban renewal programs, road construction, and redlining continued to limit housing options, especially after the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Lawyers Title Insurance, “Limited Coverage Policy,” September 19, 1974; Washington Forrest, Davis Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>41</sup> Davis Ruffner Files, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>42</sup> Richard R. W. Brooks and Carol M. Rose, *Saving the Neighborhood: Racially Restrictive Covenants, Law, and Social Norms* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 168-210.

Violence, although rare, was also periodically used in response to the desegregation of housing in Alexandria.<sup>43</sup>

### **Zoning Ordinances**

A small group of planners and activists first touted city planning as a potential tool to manage the built environment in the early twentieth century. Their concerns sprung from the dangerous housing and work conditions that many immigrants experienced in urban centers as documented in Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and other Progressive monographs. D. M. P. Freund in *Colored Property* notes that these planners believed that "by applying scientific expertise to the challenges posited by urban growth, planners could ensure metropolitan development that was efficient, orderly, safe, and healthful," especially for the working classes.<sup>44</sup> The involvement of real estate developers and brokers, however, shifted the purpose of zoning ordinances away from improving the lives of the working classes to boosting housing values by "insulating middle-class residential enclaves from commercial development, apartments, and other 'undesirable' land uses."<sup>45</sup> City officials, recognizing the potential police power inherent in zoning ordinances to shape communities, also lobbied state governments to pass legislation.<sup>46</sup>

The earliest uses of zoning ordinances, under the guise of protecting residents, was to segregate white and non-white populations. In 1890, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors

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<sup>43</sup> In the 1950s, racial violence towards African American renters occurred several times in Del Ray. See Krystyn R. Moon, "The African American Housing Crisis in Alexandria, Virginia, 1930s-1960s," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 124, no. 1 (2016): 53.

<sup>44</sup> Freund 50.

<sup>45</sup> Freund 54.

<sup>46</sup> Freund 59-60.

passed the Bingham Ordinance, the country's first race-based segregation ordinance, which required all Chinese immigrants living and working in the city to move to its industrial quadrant. Judge Lorenzo Sawyer of the Ninth Circuit Court ruled that the ordinance violated the equal protection clause of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional.<sup>47</sup> Two decades later, Baltimore attempted to create similar race-based segregation districts, which the Virginia General Assembly replicated in 1912. As a result, Richmond, Norfolk, Roanoke, and Falls Church quickly began the process of designating certain areas for African American and white residents.<sup>48</sup> The U.S. Supreme Court in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), however, ruled that the segregation of communities by local governments infringed on individual property rights, and the practice ended. In response, proponents of racial segregation found new ways to use zoning to support their agenda by incorporating class-based language, such as compatible use and nuisance abatement. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Village of Euclid, Ohio v. Ambler Realty Co.* (1926) legalized this form of class-based zoning, and the practice quickly spread throughout the country.<sup>49</sup> The prioritization of single-family dwellings over all other forms of land use adversely affected poorer residents and, in Alexandria, especially African Americans.

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<sup>47</sup> Charles J. McClain, "In Re Lee Sing: The First Residential Segregation Case," *Western Legal History* 3, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1990): 179-196.

Asian immigrants, who were legally barred from naturalization until the 1940s and 1950s, faced unique forms of discrimination in the United States. Alien Land Laws, first passed in California in 1913, were technically not racially specific, but forbade residents unable to naturalize from owning land. As such, only immigrants of Asian ancestry were affected. Similar alien land laws were passed in Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. For more information, see "Alien land laws," *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed February 10, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org>.

<sup>48</sup> Freund 61-70; Emily Lieb, "The 'Baltimore Idea' and the Cities it Built," *Inside/Outside* (Summer 2019): 105-119; Roger L. Rice, "Residential Segregation by Law, 1910-1917," *The Journal of Southern History* 34.2 (May 1968): 179-199.

<sup>49</sup> Freund 81-87.

In the 1920s, zoning did not receive much attention in Alexandria until the federal government passed legislation to create a federally subsidized parkway from Washington, D.C. to George Washington's plantation, Mount Vernon. Alexandria had initially passed Ordinance No. 17 in 1923, which divided the city between residential and non-residential uses, but, based on the limited archival sources available for the period, did little to police local property owners.<sup>50</sup> As part of the legislation to establish what would be known as the George Washington Parkway, the federal government decided to implement its own zoning regulations that dictated local land use along the freeway. Federal policies included a ban on billboards and other advertisements and any commercial or residential developments that did not align "with the dignity, purpose and memorial character of said highway."<sup>51</sup> In response, Alexandria's City Council passed its own zoning ordinance that aligned not only with state guidelines but also complimented federal policies.<sup>52</sup> In 1930, it appointed the Alexandria Park and Planning Commission to create the city's new ordinance and draw its first zoning map. Irving C. Root, chief engineer from the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, consulted on the project.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> City Council Minutes, October 18, 1923 and November 2, 1923; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia. See also *Proposed Comprehensive Plan for Alexandria, Virginia, 1970-1980* (Alexandria, VA: Planning Advisory Committee, January 1972), 18.

<sup>51</sup> City Council Minutes, June 20, 1929, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

The idea of "character" also became central to Alexandria's zoning ordinances, sometimes blurring the lines between discussions of buildings and people.

<sup>52</sup> The State of Virginia passed legislation allowing for municipalities to create zoning ordinances in 1927. Va. Code §2880o-2880ll (1930).

Additionally, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover supported zoning ordinances and created the Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning (ACCPZ) to draft model policies and zoning laws for local governments. ACCPZ issued *A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act under Which Municipalities Can Adopt Zoning Regulations* (1922) and the *Standard City Planning Enabling Act* (1928). Ruth Knack and Israel Stollam, "The Real Story Behind the Standard Planning and Zoning Acts of the 1920s," *Land Use Law* (February 1996): 3-9.

<sup>53</sup> "Root Will Assist Alexandria Zoning," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) November 16, 1930, 18; Howard M. Baggett, "Alexandria Zoning Plan is Outlined," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) December 7, 1930, B-2.

In 1931, City Council issued a new zoning ordinance, known as Ordinance No. 109, that divided the city into three land uses, a version of which appeared in the 1940 City Code.<sup>54</sup> Residential zoning was the most elaborate, with four zones based on the type of home with additional height, building lines, yard, outbuilding, and usage restrictions. Residential zones included the following: Zone A (single-family dwellings); Zone B (duplexes); and Zone C (apartments), which was subdivided into C-1, 3-to-7 units, and C-2, 8 or more units. Commercial (Zone D) and Industrial (Zone E) were also listed. The ordinance remained controversial throughout the 1930s with many residents requesting that their properties be rezoned.<sup>55</sup> To respond to the large number of appeals, the City Council created a “standing zoning committee to be appointed by the Mayor.” The committee was also charged with conducting investigations and reporting to council on its findings.<sup>56</sup>

Like other communities, the new zoning ordinance prioritized single-family dwellings for wealthier homeowners over other types of development. The city’s policies, however, did not regard African American residences, either rental properties or owner occupied, in the same manner. Jonathan Rak, managing partner with McGuireWoods, has found that 20% of the areas occupied by African American households were zoned industrial, including several blocks of the Uptown and The Berg neighborhoods, in the city’s 1934 Zoning Map.<sup>57</sup> The city’s land use

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<sup>54</sup> Howard M. Baggett, “Alexandria Zone Report Finished,” *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) March 1, 1931, 22; Alexandria City Code §28.

<sup>55</sup> See City Council Minutes for examples of the numerous rezoning requests.

<sup>56</sup> City Council Minutes, October 16, 1934, Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>57</sup> Jonathan Rak, “Webinar—A History of Zoning and Segregation in Virginia Lessons for Today,” The Center for Real Estate Entrepreneurship, George Mason University, April 29, 2021; *City of Alexandria Map*; Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1934.

priorities were supported in the Virginia State Supreme Court case, *West Bros. Brick Co. v. City of Alexandria* (1937). West Bros. Brick Company, which owned land in both Arlington County and the City of Alexandria, sued the City to use its property for clay mining. The property, which was between George Washington Parkway and the industrial corridor along North Henry Street, had been zoned Residential Zone A, or single-family dwellings. In testimony against West Bros. Brick Company, the fact that African Americans lived in proximity to industrial sites near North Henry Street was not seen as a concern; however, the expansion of industrial developments in areas designated for single-family dwellings, presumably for white homeowners, frustrated both city officials and developers who wanted to promote a particular image of Alexandria.<sup>58</sup>

The City's 1935 land use plan, issued by the Alexandria Park and Planning Commission, exemplified how zoning affected African Americans. The plan was to look at present development and use the city's policing powers to recalibrate how the built environment "promote[d] the public health, safety, convenience, comfort, prosperity and general welfare."<sup>59</sup> In reality, the discussion of land use in the report highlighted the ways in which class-based arguments overlapped with the goals of racial segregation. Proximity to parks, for instance, were believed to increase property values and created amenities that white, middle- and upper-class residents wanted near their homes. The construction of urban parks was also supposed to entice wealthier, white families to remain in Alexandria's older housing stock

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<sup>58</sup> *West Bros Brick Co. v. Alexandria* (1937); 169 Va. 271, September 23, 1937.

<sup>59</sup> "City Plan of Alexandria," 1935; Davis Ruffner Files, Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.



closer to the city's commercial corridor along King Street.<sup>60</sup> In poorer areas, white planners argued that parks compensated for the lack of yard space and “prevent[ed] the development of slums.”<sup>61</sup> In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, yards had become markers of middle-class identity that were supposed to counteract the vices of city life.<sup>62</sup> Although it was claimed that

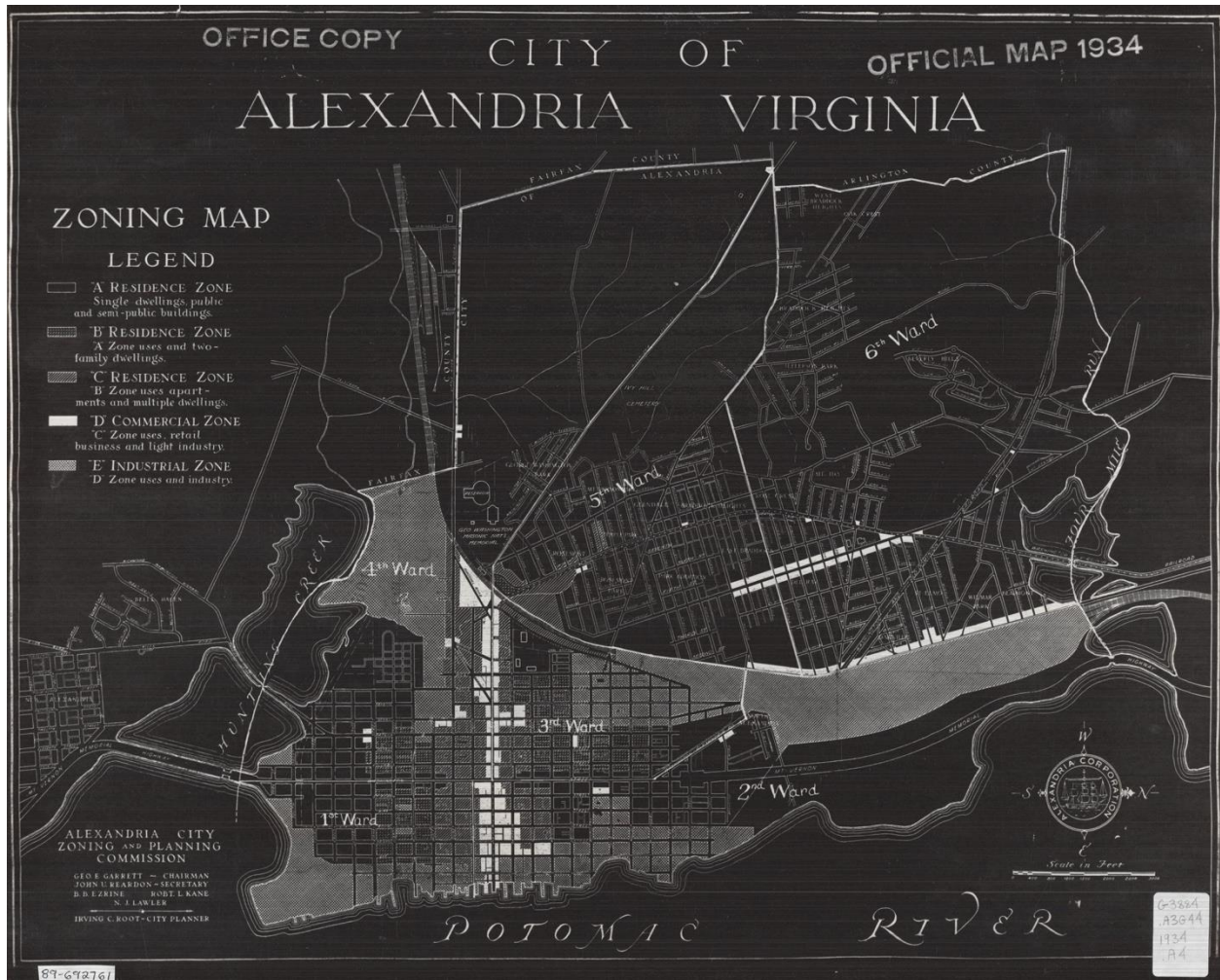


Figure 1: City of Alexandria Map (1934). Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>60</sup> Krystyn R. Moon, “The African American Housing Crisis in Alexandria, Virginia, 1930s-1960s,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 124, no. 1 (2016): 28-68.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 54-61.

parks improved poorer residents' lives, parks operated as racially segregated spaces, and African Americans were often barred from using them. Many scholars also have noted that white planners and politicians promoted improvements, such as parks, to remedy a city's problems instead of directly addressing the social and economic inequalities that marginalized communities faced.<sup>63</sup>

In the report, the Alexandria Park and Planning Commission also looked at the best practices for elementary school placement, but skirted the fact that schools were racially segregated. In the 1930s, elementary schools were to be located within walking distance for all students, about ½ of a mile in circumference from each school. In Alexandria, white-only school locations mostly met these guidelines; African American children, however, only had two schools to attend, and each was located on opposite ends of the city. In response, the commission recommended the expansion of the Parker-Gray School, located in the Uptown neighborhood, and the establishment of another elementary school in the southern portion of the city. A year earlier, the Alexandria School Board had purchased an old silk factory with federal funds to be converted into an African American-only elementary school, later known as the Lyles-Crouch School. To alleviate the overcrowding at Parker-Gray, the school system did not purchase additional land, but rented houses across the street for third graders and offered classes at night for older students.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Kevin G. McQueeney, "More than Recreation: Black Parks and Playgrounds in Jim Crow New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 60, no. 4 (Fall 2019): 437-478; William E. O'Brien, "State Parks and Jim Crow in the Decade before *Brown v. Board of Education*," *Geographical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 2012): 166-179; Victoria W. Wolcott, *Struggle over Segregated Recreation in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

<sup>64</sup> "Crowdedness in Parker-Gray School Relieved," *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk, VA) February 17, 1934, A9; "Night Classes Started," *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk, VA) January 20, 1934, 2; "To Convert Factory into

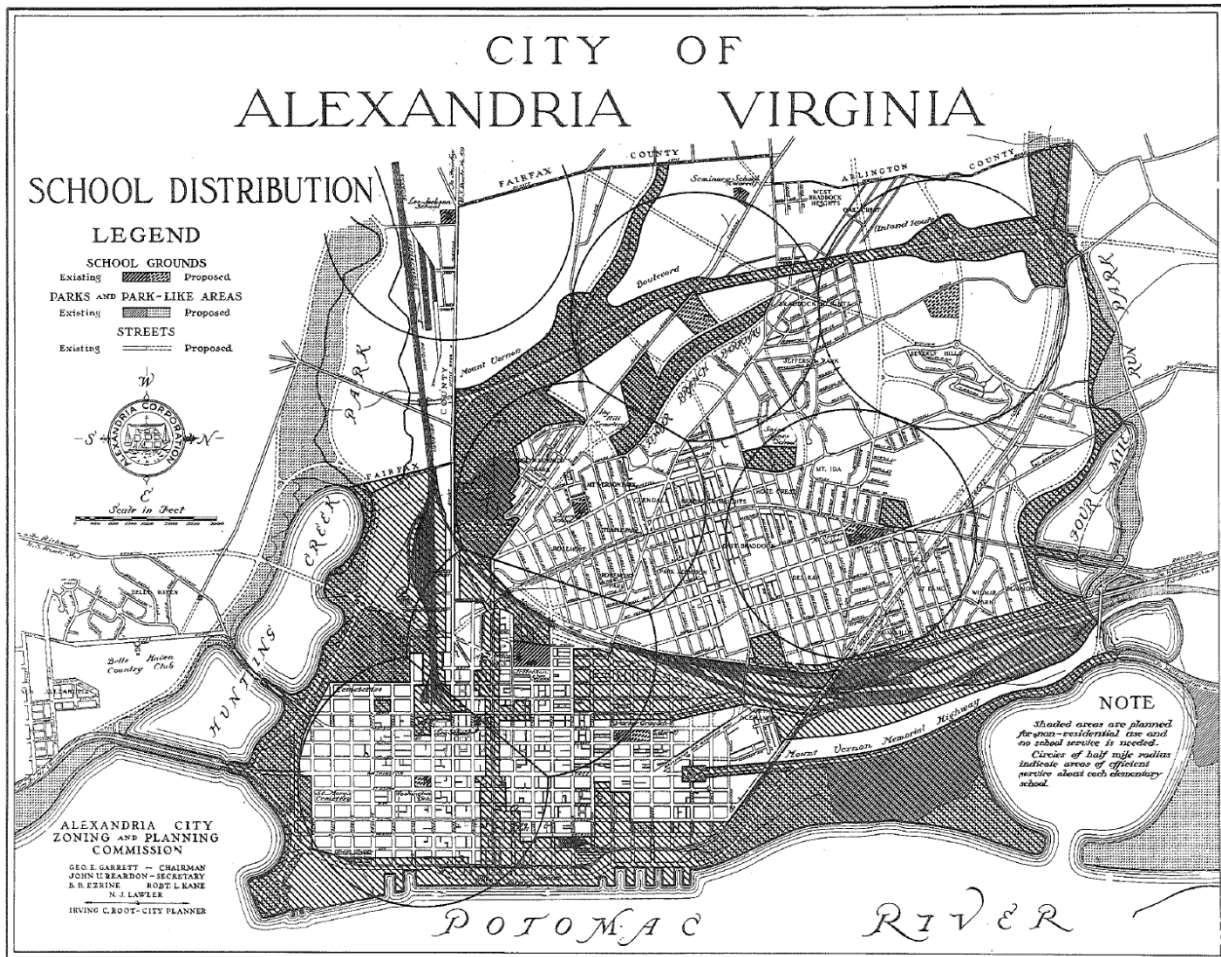


Figure 2: School Distribution Map (1935). Courtesy of Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.

Finally, the plan discussed housing conditions in the newly annexed areas of Fairfax and Arlington Counties and the older portions closer to the waterfront. For the most part, newer developments were not seen as a concern if developers followed the city’s building codes and platting guidelines. As with their discussion of parks, planners again argued that yard space was key to offsetting blighted housing conditions in the city’s recently annexed territories. “[A]mple

Colored School,” *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk, VA) February 24, 1934, 9; “Schools \$60,000 Loan Approved,” *Alexandria Gazette* August 28, 1934, B1.

yard space for new dwellings... serves as the greatest factor in the prevention of the slum.”<sup>65</sup> It was the eastern portion of the city, with its lack of yards and older housing stock, that had already created a “serious slum menace” that reportedly required major intervention.<sup>66</sup> To remedy the problem, the Commission made five recommendations:

- 1) Careful zoning administration and zoning appeal decisions to increase inadequate yard space.
- 2) Adoption of a building code to require a higher standard of construction and adequate provision for light and air.
- 3) Establishment of local playgrounds for smaller children who must now play in the street.
- 4) Inspection and removal of dwellings unsafe or otherwise unfit for habitation.
- 5) A subsidy to foster the modernization of obsolete dwellings, such as exemption from an increase in taxes for a term of years.<sup>67</sup>

While these suggestions addressed health and safety issues found in older homes that impacted people’s overall well-being, they did not focus on the underlying inequalities that created these conditions in the first place. Class divisions, combined with racial politics, were implicit in local discussions of housing. Even the photographs used in the report (see Figures 3 and 4) played to racial and class attitudes and highlighted which older buildings should (and should not) be renovated or restored.

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<sup>65</sup> “City Plan of Alexandria,” 1935; *Davis-Ruffner Files*, Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

The same language about slums in older sections of Alexandria was also used to justify Alexandria's federally funded housing authority, established in 1939. The Alexandria Housing Authority, later known as the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA), relied



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

*Figure 3: The Portrayal and Description of Substandard Housing in Alexandria's Land Use Report (1935). Courtesy of Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.*

on federal monies to build public housing. The initial program was not only a racially segregated one, but also underserved the neediest of residents, the majority of whom, because of both *de facto* and *de jure* discrimination, were African American. All the city's public housing, both Black and white, in the late 1930s through the 1950s was constructed in either the Uptown or The Berg neighborhoods. These neighborhoods had fewer restrictive covenants and were sandwiched between the city's industrial areas. To acquire land to build public housing, ARHA

tended to take properties owned by African Americans, decreasing the overall numbers of African American homeowners and forcing them to live in rental units or public housing, or leave Alexandria completely.<sup>68</sup>

Alexandria's early zoning policies, while focused on the primacy of single-family dwellings like other municipalities, also articulated the potential economic value of preserving certain historic buildings through aesthetic zoning. As early as 1930, Irving C. Root argued that the city should incorporate its historic properties into its zoning policies. The *Evening Star* reported that Root stated that "Alexandria's historical appeal is as great" as Williamsburg, but more needed to be done to "protect the submerged values and attractiveness of the city and save it for the community, which will eventually cash in on it."<sup>69</sup> Root's argument about Alexandria's older housing stock correlates with Cameron Logan's analysis of historic preservation in Washington, D.C., and its impact on African American residents. Starting in the mid-1920s, this phenomenon occurred in many older cities, including Alexandria, in which white, middle- and upper-class residents promoted "a new form of value, one based in its distinctive legacy of colonial- and federal-era houses and the atmosphere of historic associated with them."<sup>70</sup> In the process of dictating what was architecturally appropriate for a specific place, the historic preservation

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<sup>68</sup> Moon 28-68.

<sup>69</sup> "Root Will Assist Alexandria Zoning," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) November 16, 1930, 18; Howard M. Baggett, "Alexandria Zoning Plan is Outlined," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) December 7, 1930, B-2.

Although outside the purview of this report, it should be noted that the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, established in 1926, used its planning powers to level both mixed-race and African American neighborhoods in downtown Washington, D.C. and replace them with federal buildings. Sarah Jane Shoenfeld and Mara Cherkasky, "'A Strictly White Residential Section': The Rise and Demise of Racially Restrictive Covenants in Bloomingdale," *Washington History* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 26.

<sup>70</sup> Cameron Logan, *Historic Capital: Preservation, Race, and Real Estate in Washington, D.C.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 7-8.

movement became another device that not only pushed out poorer residents, but also increased real estate values for wealthier property owners.



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

*Figure 4: The Portrayal and Description of Historic Homes in Alexandria's Land Use Report (1935). Courtesy of Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.*

Despite Root's comments in 1930, City Council did not pass Alexandria's first aesthetic zoning ordinance until 1946.<sup>71</sup> The goal of the legislation, in alignment with federal policies surrounding the George Washington Parkway, was to preserve "historic places and areas of historic interest in the City of Alexandria and through the preservation of the memorial character of the George Washington Memorial Highway."<sup>72</sup> The Board of Architectural Review,

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<sup>71</sup> City Council Minutes, July 16, 1946; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

which evaluated proposals for new construction or additions to pre-existing structures and provided certificates of appropriateness, managed the aesthetics of the Old and Historic District. Of course, the establishment of an historic district in Alexandria protected many eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century buildings from demolition and increased their overall monetary value. Unfortunately, it also exacerbated social and economic inequalities already imbedded in local housing policies and practices. Furthermore, the persons who made the decisions about historic value did not recognize the contributions of African Americans to Alexandria's history and actively participated in whitewashing the past.<sup>73</sup>

In response to Virginia's updated housing code after World War II, Alexandria's government revised its zoning policies in 1951.<sup>74</sup> The new zoning ordinance, Ordinance 708, created a more elaborate zoning system for residential, commercial, and industrial land use. While Alexandria's earlier zoning regulations continued to be enforced, the new version included Floor Area Ratio (FAR) for all land use categories.<sup>75</sup> The introduction of FAR impacted density by limiting the floor area of any given building in relation to the overall land area. As such, city officials indirectly placed limitations on how many people could live and work in each building.<sup>76</sup> Established a few years after the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), it is arguably not a coincidence that city government introduced FAR to limit density at this historical moment. For African American homeowners, the inclusion of FAR circumscribed their

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<sup>73</sup> Peter H. Smith, "The Beginnings of Historic Preservation in Alexandria—Moving Toward the Creation of the Old and Historic District," *The Alexandria Chronicle* 4 (Winter 1996): 1–34.

<sup>74</sup> Va. Code §15-819-15-968 (1950).

<sup>75</sup> City Council Minutes, December 28, 1951; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>76</sup> Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000), 176-177.



ability to construct additions on pre-existing housing, which not only increased their property's value but also created alternative housing options for African Americans struggling to find a place to live. Additionally, FAR made it difficult for developers to build large apartment complexes in most of the city. By the early 1950s, apartment developers who received FHA-backed loans were not supposed to discriminate against African American renters. These places would be one of the few options that African Americans potentially had in Alexandria. Discriminatory practices, however, persisted, and many apartment complexes remained white-only in the 1950s and 1960s.

Alexandria's new zoning ordinance played an important role in the development of the area annexed from Fairfax County in 1952. Fairfax County had zoned most of the area for residential use with small pockets of commercial businesses, most likely small groceries or gas stations, that catered to residents.<sup>77</sup> With annexation, Alexandria reevaluated Fairfax County's zoning policies, particularly along Lincolnia Road (renamed South Whiting Street in the late 1960s after Confederate General William H.C. Whiting) and Stevenson Avenue where a small number of African Americans owned property or rented.<sup>78</sup> At first, city government had only issued a special permit for the construction of a juvenile detention center on Lincolnia Road, which was

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<sup>77</sup> "Map of Easterly Portion of Fairfax County Showing Area Proposed to be Annexed by the City of Alexandria," (Fairfax County, Virginia: Fairfax County Planning Commission, ca. 1950); Fairfax Circuit Court's Historic Record Center, City of Fairfax, Fairfax, Virginia.

<sup>78</sup> Here is a list of African American property owners that I have been able to verify along Lincolnia Road and Stevenson Avenue in 1952: Reverend Spencer Coleman; Roscoe Jackson; Emma Payne; Dulanie Sheppard; Robert Courtney (not on the map above; closer to Backlick Run); Hollie L. Young; Cora K. Young; Lara (Laura) Duke; John Gaines (not on the map above; closer to Backlick Run); and Walter Sheppard.

built on land formerly owned by an African American family, and began discussing the building of new subdivisions and an elementary school for African American children in the area.<sup>79</sup>



Figure 5: Area Proposed for Annexation (1952). Courtesy of Fairfax County Historic Records Center, City of Fairfax, Virginia.

The debate surrounding a new school, however, ended when families sued Alexandria to desegregate its public school system in 1959. Supported by the local chapter of the NAACP,

<sup>79</sup> "Alexandria Puts Top Priority on Replacing Crouch School," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) March 17, 1955, B-1; "Higher Alexandria Taxes Ruled Out by Council," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) May 4, 1955, B-1; "Alexandria will hear Plea to Bar Apartments," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) April 9, 1958, A-30; Deed 468-78; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

seven of the nine children whose families participated in the lawsuit lived on Lincolnia Road and Stevenson Avenue and commuted across the city to either Lyles-Crouch or Parker-Gray.<sup>80</sup>

One African American family, the Courtneys, owned land in the newly annexed territory since the 1930s and faced several hurdles because of Alexandria's zoning policies. By 1956, the Planning Commission, which had already zoned part of their land for light industry, rezoned the area around the Robert Courtney subdivision for heavy industry.<sup>81</sup> Four years later, Courtney's property was rezoned for heavy industry too, and they and their neighbors sold their land to the Alexandria Bituminous Corporation.<sup>82</sup> In the early 1960s, the Courtneys petitioned the Planning Commission to rezone another piece of land across from the juvenile detention center on the 200-block of Lincolnia Road. Fairfax County had initially zoned the street for single-family dwellings, but the Courtneys had wanted to make the area more commercial. Their request for commercial development was denied, but the Planning Commission permitted them to build apartments. "The Commission felt that an R-C zone would give the desired density, but would eliminate the possibility of the intrusion of commercial within the area."<sup>83</sup> This project potentially provided housing for lower income residents and, because of the discriminatory nature of Alexandria's housing, African Americans. Unfortunately, these apartments would also

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<sup>80</sup> Joseph Byrnes, "Contentment Displayed in Homes of Nine Integrated Students," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC) February 5, 1959, A-23.

The children who participated in the lawsuit are the following: Kathryn, Sandra, and Gerald Turner (211 Lincolnia Road); Jessie Mae Jones (6346 Stevenson Avenue); James Edward and Margaret Irene Lomax (1020 North Fairfax Street); and Patsy, James, and Sarah Ragland (135 Lincolnia Road).

<sup>81</sup> Planning Commission Minutes, May 3, 1956; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>82</sup> Planning Commission Minutes, February 16, 1960; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia; Deed 511-280; Land Deed Office, Alexandria City Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>83</sup> Planning Commission Minutes, October 29, 1963; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia. See also Planning Commission Minutes from February 7, 1964.

be near some of the dirtiest and most dangerous industries in Alexandria that had recently relocated to the area.

The Minimum Housing-Hygiene Ordinance, passed by City Council in 1957, complimented Alexandria's overall zoning policies by defining what was considered to be safe and sanitary housing and establishing a process to prosecute owners not in compliance. Sanitarians, hired as part of the Division of Environmental Health in the Health Department, worked alongside the Fire Department to inspect buildings, and cite owners for violations. Both departments had the power to condemn properties and enacted numerous demolitions in the late 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>84</sup> City policies, however, did not address the health problems caused by living near industrial sites. As housing segregation persisted, properties close to factories, garbage dumps, and warehouses were often the only places where poorer residents, including many African Americans, could live.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to potential condemnations under the city's Minimum Housing-Hygiene Ordinance, African American neighborhoods were targeted for federally funded urban renewal. The

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<sup>84</sup> *The Code of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, 1963* (Charlottesville, VA: Michie City Publications Co., 1963), 415-420; *Neighborhood Analysis: Alexandria, Virginia* (Urban Renewal Office: Alexandria, VA, November 1966), 10.

In a series of explosive articles published in the *Washington Post*, it became clear that the entire system was corrupt as journalists and residents discovered that many of the biggest offenders were white city leaders. The *Washington Post* declared the following men as slumlords and demanded that they renovate their properties: Frederick E. Recker, chair of the Alexandria Board of Housing Hygiene; V. Ward Boswell, chair of the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA); J. Aubrey Matter, Alexandria's Real Estate Assessor; William P. Woolls, Alexandria Corporation Court Judge; Richard Ruffner, Alexandria's former mayor (1937-1940); and Nicholas A. Colasanto, Alexandria's Vice Mayor. Everard Munsey, "Alexandria Reports Gains in Fight on Slums," *Washington Post* 9 May 1961, C16; Walter B. Douglas, "Alexandria Condemns Houses Owned by Official," *Washington Post* 18 November 1964, B7.

<sup>85</sup> Although beyond the purview of this history, it is important to note the relationship between housing discrimination, environmental pollution, and health issues. See the ongoing debate about coal dust and its impact on Lamberts Point in Norfolk, Virginia. Dave Mayfield, "Coal Dust Gets an Airing Outside Norfolk Southern

Gadsby Urban Renewal Project, which began in 1959 and concentrated on a few blocks of commercial and residential development along King Street, displaced several small businesses and white and Black renters in the area. Unfortunately, with a racially segregated housing market, displaced African Americans had few options. For poorer residents, Alexandria's public housing program was still segregated, and the number of units available for African Americans did not match local need. Even Alexandria's historic preservation movement provided little support for African Americans. In a statement before City Council, the Historic Alexandria Foundation supported "those provisions of the plans which are designed to eliminate certain undesirable aspects of the residential area north of King Street.... Thus the Foundation wishes to make it clear that it is not opposing urban renewal, but that it is opposing certain provisions of the present plans" [underline in original].<sup>86</sup> Roy Martin Rothgeb in his 1957 Master's thesis at the College of the City of New York observed the housing north of King Street. He noted that this area primarily housed African Americans and "are definitely lower class, although they are far better off than many Negro slums in the Alexandria area."<sup>87</sup>

In the early 1960s, Alexandria constructed Fort Ward Park and Museum and T.C. Williams (now Alexandria City) High School using urban renewal funds. Both projects were located on African American neighborhoods surrounded by the hyper-white subdivisions in western portions of

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Shareholders Meeting," *The Virginian-Pilot* May 11, 2017;

[https://www.pilotonline.com/news/environment/article\\_b8920d05-0312-587c-b3fe-08be5ab52341.html](https://www.pilotonline.com/news/environment/article_b8920d05-0312-587c-b3fe-08be5ab52341.html).

Heavy industry in Alexandria would have potentially caused similar health issues in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

<sup>86</sup> "Statement of Historic Alexandria Foundation on Gadsby Urban Renewal Projects A and B at the Hearing before City Council on February 13, 1962," Historic Alexandria Foundation Records, Box 70B, File 7; Special Collections Branch, Alexandria Public Library, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>87</sup> Roy Martin Rothgeb, "An Analysis of the Rise, Decline and Possible Determinants of Redevelopment of the Seaport of Alexandria, Virginia, (MA Thesis, College of the City of New York, September 1957), 71-72.

the city. Displaced residents from the Seminary Civic Association successfully forced the city to provide not only housing but also access to FHA-backed loans. Residents of The Fort neighborhood, however, were not so lucky.<sup>88</sup> In 1970, City Council approved The Dip Urban Renewal Project, located in the historic African American neighborhood known as The Bottoms. The Dip was the city's first widescale housing project, and initially gave displaced residents opportunities to purchase homes. Changes in federal urban renewal policies, along with a funding freeze by President Richard Nixon in 1973, cut the number of potential homes available to purchase with the FHA-backed loans. As a result, former homeowners had to turn to local rental market or leave the city.<sup>89</sup>

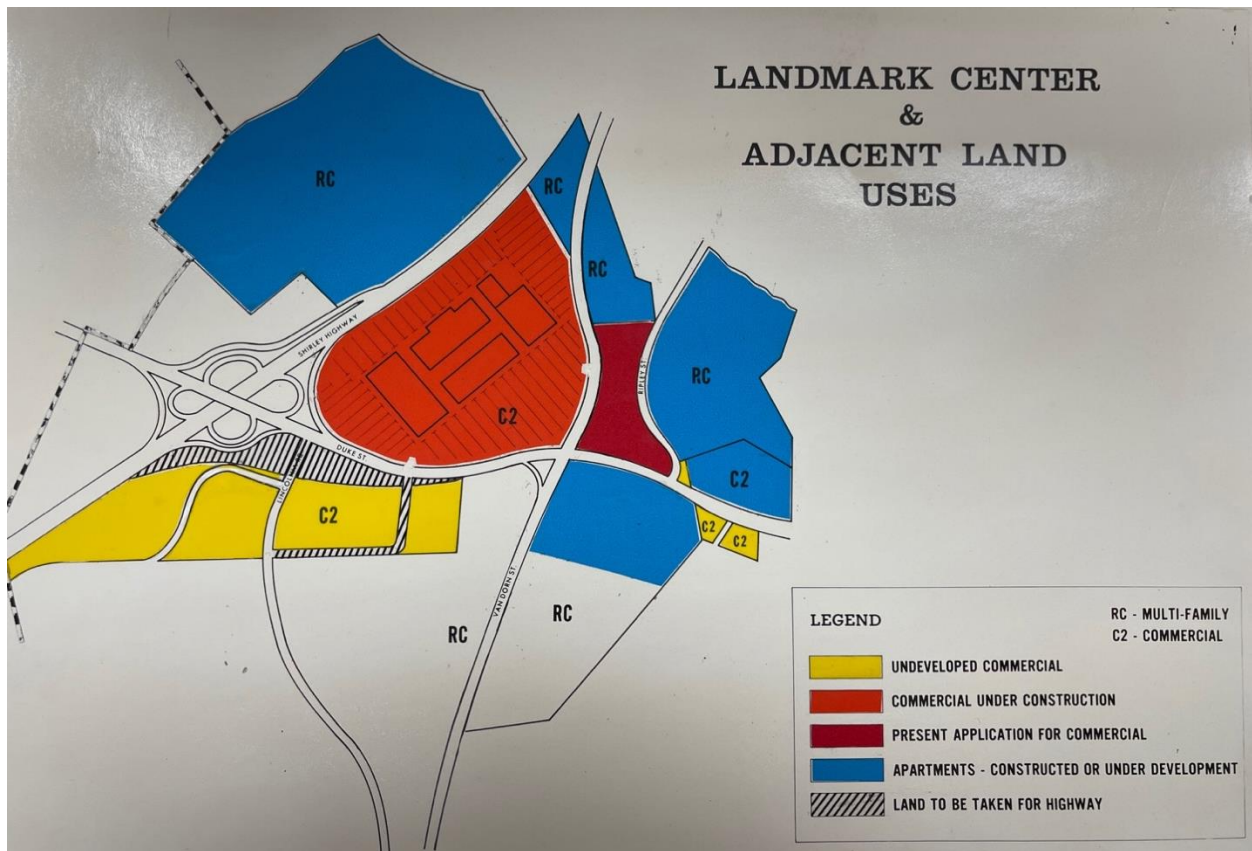
By the 1960s, the area around 395, including land owned by African American families, was rezoned for apartments and commercial developments to cater to northern Virginia's booming population. Commuting to work or traveling to one of the area's many shopping centers, residents wanted easy access to the region's newly constructed highway system. Upzoning in this area, however, contrasted with the less dense subdivisions annexed in 1952 from Fairfax County and that were currently under development. Again, it was believed that apartments would cater to poorer residents and, as the federal government passed legislation to end discrimination, African Americans. In addition, white homeowners in western portions of the city worried that their proximity to apartments would impact their property values.

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<sup>88</sup> Moon 28-68.

<sup>89</sup> "Alexandria to Begin Negro Area Renewal," *Washington Post* 16 May 1968, B4; Joanne Omang, "Alexandria's Dip Area Gets Another Promise of Housing," *Washington Post* 25 July 1974, B3. See also The Low-Income Housing Study Committee, "Final Report: Low-Income Housing in Alexandria Prepared for The Honorable Mayor and Members of City Council," August 1971; City Council Minutes, Regular Meeting, Box 213B, File 4; Special Collections Branch, Alexandria Public Library, Alexandria, Virginia.

Frustrated by changes in zoning policies, many of Alexandria’s white-only civic associations protested the construction of apartments. Arguments focused on neighborhood character, property values, blight, traffic, and infrastructure. A Planning Commission meeting held on



*Figure 6: Land Use Map for the Area around Landmark Mall (1964). Courtesy of Alexandria Archives and Records Center.*

October 6, 1964 provides an important case study. During the meeting, white residents in Del Ray opposed the construction of apartments on Nelson Avenue near several duplexes. The Planning Commission staff noted that the apartments “could adversely affect existing properties in the immediate area,” and the request was denied. Another proposed apartment building on the corner of Nelson and Mount Vernon Avenues was approved without any local

opposition; however, the Seminary Hills Civic Association, which represented subdivisions in the western portion of the city, criticized the project. It was approved.<sup>90</sup> The Seminary Hill Civic Association along with other associations also opposed applications for the construction of apartments or commercial buildings in six locations in western portions of the city during the meeting. In response, the Planning Commission denied all proposals and City Council supported its decisions.<sup>91</sup> A year later, the city's white-only civic associations created the Alexandria Federation of Civic Associations to fight the construction of apartments and commercial buildings.<sup>92</sup>

The racial politics of Alexandria's zoning practices becomes even more stark when we look at the Planning Commission's responses to African American housing concerns during the same meeting. A. Melvin Miller, President of the Durant Civic Association, spoke on two occasions, both of which related to maximizing multi-unit housing in Uptown, which presumably would provide African Americans with more housing options. First, he opposed the conversion of a

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<sup>90</sup> "Rezoning Requests," October 6, 1964; Planning Commission Reports, July 1964 to October 1964; Alexandria Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>91</sup> Opposition focused on the following projects:

- 1) Apartments on Braddock Road near North Howard Street
- 2) Apartments on Seminary Road to the east of Alexandria Hospital
- 3) A commercial area at the corner of Duke and Paxton Streets
- 4) Apartments on Holmes Run Parkway (additional opposition from the Brookville-Seminary Valley Citizens Association)
- 5) A commercial area at the corner of Morgan and Beauregard Streets (additional opposition from the Lincolnia Hills Civic Association)
- 6) Apartments between Beauregard Street and Dowden Terrace (additional opposition from the Dowden Terrace Citizens Association)

<sup>92</sup> "City Lawmakers Extend High Rise Zoning into 45- Single-Family Acres," *Alexandria Gazette* October 21, 1964; Walter B. Douglas, "Hundreds Stay up Late to Fight Zoning Changes," *Washington Post* October 22, 1964, B3; "Alexandria Group Names Officers," *Washington Post* October 13, 1965, A5.

Sec. 42-104 (1964) of the Alexandria City Code gave homeowners directly adjacent to a property the option to protest any changes in land use to the City Council. If 20% or more of residents opposed a project, then the project would be denied.



block on Cameron Street from multi-family units to an office building. He then spoke in support of expanding the number apartments available on Patrick Street. The proposed office building on Cameron Street was approved, but the increase in the number of apartment units on Patrick Street was denied.<sup>93</sup>

In addition to land use zoning, aesthetic zoning also became a critical way for white city leaders, residents, and historic preservationists to cultivate a particular image of Alexandria. In the 1970s, city government began to explore the expansion of the Old and Historic District into the Uptown neighborhood, one of the few areas where African Americans consistently lived throughout the twentieth century. The concentration of African Americans in this neighborhood was not accidental. What was once a mixed-race neighborhood in 1956 with 59% of its residents identifying as African American, became 90% African American by 1960.<sup>94</sup> This dramatic demographic change reflected a combination of social and economic forces: white flight, limited housing options, and the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). The desegregation of public schools, which Alexandria fought in the courts and elsewhere, highlighted the fact that housing patterns influenced where children went to school. Children were supposed to attend the school in closest proximity to their home, ideally in walking distance. If most African American families lived in one neighborhood near what was once an all-Black school (in this case, Parker-Gray), then those children would go to that school because it was the closest. As a result, white schools would only need to allow a minimal

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<sup>93</sup> "Rezoning Requests," October 6, 1964; Planning Commission Reports, July 1964 to October 1964; Alexandria Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>94</sup> *A Look at Our City... Alexandria, Virginia: Report One of the Land Use and Economic Base Survey* (Alexandria, VA: Council and Planning Commission, September 1956) 84; "Neighborhood Analysis: Alexandria, VA (Urban Renewal Office: Alexandria, VA, November 1966), 17.

number of African American students into their schools who happened to live outside of the Uptown neighborhood.<sup>95</sup>

Earlier assessments of Uptown by city government did not recognize its historical value. The City's application for a Model Neighborhood Grant from Department of Health and Urban Development (HUD) in 1967 noted that Uptown included "the remaining residences that once housed slaves, dock and railroad roundhouse laborers, and tanyard and brewery workers" but that these properties "offer[ed] scant economic incentive for historical restoration."<sup>96</sup> In the same report, it was noted that "little improvement has been achieved in reducing the 43% substandard housing units that existed in 1960. The construction 'boom' that has occurred throughout the City—both residential and commercial—has bypassed.... Uptown."<sup>97</sup> A year later, Russell Wright, historic preservation consultant for the Department of Planning and Regional Affairs, was charged with rating Alexandria's older housing stock and prioritizing what properties should be preserved. In his report, Wright documented numerous older buildings that existed in Uptown, and a few that were of historical significance.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Emily Lieb, "The 'Baltimore Idea' and the Cities it Built. *Southern Cultures* 25, no. 2 (Summer 2019): 105-119; Ansley T. Erickson, "Segregation as Splitting, Segregation as Joining: Schools, Housing and the Many Modes of Jim Crow." *American Journal of Education* 121 (August 2015): 563-595.

<sup>96</sup> "Alexandria, Virginia," (Alexandria, VA: City Clerk's Office, 1967), part II, page 1.

<sup>97</sup> "Alexandria, Virginia," (Alexandria, VA: City Clerk's Office, 1967), part II, page 2. See also *A Look at Our City... Alexandria, Virginia: Report One of the Land Use and Economic Base Survey* (Alexandria, VA: Council and Planning Commission, September 1956), 84.

<sup>98</sup> "The Russell Wright Report," (Alexandria, Virginia: Department of Planning and Regional Affairs, 1970). See also Paul W. Rasmussen, "Planning and Historic Preservation: The Old Town Alexandria Experience," *Planners Notebook* 3, no. 1 (February 1973): 1-8.

Al Cox, City Architect Emeritus, also argues that Wright's Composite Rating Index is inherently flawed because physical condition is immaterial to preservation priorities if a property is historic.

In 1973, the Planning Commission proposed the expansion of the Old and Historic District to include the Uptown neighborhood. Although white preservationists supported the idea, African Americans were skeptical. Eudora Lyles, local housing activist, explained:

... thousands of homes had been taken from the blacks, warehouses put in their backyards, and are faced with relocation for 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 that this was the right move to be taken.

John Valentine, who lived on North Henry Street, criticized both the historic preservation movement and the city's notion of history. He argued that residents:

... were not interested in the historic value of Old Town[,] that where he lives means something to him; that if the City wants to include history in this proposal, then include some black history, this is your history, nor ours; that he felt this would open up the area to large office buildings and more high rises which would further squeeze the blacks out.

John Pederson, minister at Alfred Street Baptist Church, complained about the Board of Architectural Review's role as tastemakers for Alexandria's older housing stock and the class-based power that it yielded:

he did not feel that it was fair to tell a man his house must be altered, just because it does not meet the “pseudo-architectural styles of years ago’ “, after he has spent time and money fixing it up for his own comfort. He complained that of the 70% blacks living in the 16<sup>th</sup> census tract, very few were consulted as to protection and architecture that you want for your part of the city; that the blacks want Alexandria to remain the All-American City but feel it should be done together; that maybe the whites can convince the blacks that extension of the Old Town district boundary would be good for blacks and maybe the blacks can convince the whites that there are other vehicles much more acceptable to all persons involved.<sup>99</sup>

For these speakers and others, the expansion of aesthetic zoning into Uptown was just another way to push African Americans out of city and erase their history.<sup>100</sup>

The role of zoning in Alexandria and its impact on African American residents finally came to the forefront of local conversations about housing access with the establishment of the Parker-Gray Historic District in 1984. Unlike the Old and Historic District, Parker-Gray hoped to protect both historic homes and contemporary structures from gentrification caused by the construction of a Metro stop at Braddock Road and the local historic preservationist movement. Unfortunately, the damage caused by Alexandria’s housing policies had been done,

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<sup>99</sup> Planning Commission Minutes, December 12, 1973; Archives and Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia.

<sup>100</sup> Catherine K. Miliaras’s essay gives a complete analysis of the creation of the Parker-Gray District. Catherine K. Miliaras, “The Parker-Gray District: Examining a Local Historic District a Generation Later,” *The Alexandria Chronicle* no. 1 (Spring 2015): 1-11.

and the new historic district did not stop the large numbers of African American residents from leaving the neighborhood.<sup>101</sup>

For over fifty years, Alexandria's zoning ordinances along with federal policies and race-based restrictive covenants made it difficult if not impossible for African Americans to find a place to live in Alexandria. These ordinances were not racially explicit; however, they were clearly class-based and gave white middle- and upper-class residents opportunities to enjoy increased property values. For African Americans, zoning ordinances facilitated their continued marginalization, especially after restrictive covenants were deemed unconstitutional in 1948.

### **Further Research**

This report is a preliminary analysis of Alexandria's zoning ordinances and race-based restrictive covenants. As such, there are several places where further research should be pursued. Andrew H. Whittmore, assistant professor of city and regional planning at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, has studied zoning and its impact on African American residents in Durham, North Carolina from 1945 to 2014 (see bibliography) that serves as a model for understanding Alexandria's zoning practices. Through a case-by-case analysis of upzoning and downzoning, Whittmore argues that zoning decisions prioritized the needs of white, middle- and upper-class property owners over all other populations until the mid-1980s. A similar analysis of Alexandria's Planning Commission, Zoning Appeals Board, and/or the Board of Architectural Review might be warranted to better understand the impact of land use and aesthetic zoning on housing access.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

Additionally, an analysis of data collected by Rufus S. Lusk and Son will provide important information on housing affordability and accessibility. Lusk and Son were Washington-based real estate statisticians who began collecting data on Alexandria's real estate market in the 1950s. Of note, they documented VA and FHA loans between 1968 and 1972 that were integral to the creation of the sub-prime mortgage market. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor has argued that this new federally backed loan program operated as a form of "predatory inclusion," which adversely impacted poorer African Americans looking to purchase a home.<sup>102</sup> Lusk and Son's personal and business papers are housed at George Washington University.

In addition to using restrictive covenants, many scholars have found that white residents signed legally binding restrictive agreements to bar African American renters and homeowners from their neighborhoods. Civic and later homeowners' associations promoted these agreements throughout the early-to-mid-twentieth century, and pressured neighbors into signing them.<sup>103</sup> Because of our proximity to Washington, D.C. and Maryland, where this practice was common, we need to research the possible occurrences of restrictive neighborhood agreements in Alexandria. These documents should either be housed at the Land Deed Office in Alexandria or among the Corporation Charters of the Virginia State Corporation Commission located at the Library of Virginia in Richmond. They also might be found among the papers of individual civic associations.

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<sup>102</sup> Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

<sup>103</sup> Neighborhoods in Chevy Chase, Maryland reportedly maintained such agreements, with judicial support, as late as 1969. Shoenfeld and Cherkasky 38. See also Vose 8-9.

A thorough audit of the Davis-Ruffner Title Company Papers, which are currently unprocessed, might provide additional information on discriminatory mortgage practices in Alexandria, also known as redlining. The Davis-Ruffner Title Company, which was in operation from the 1920s through the 1980s, provided legal real estate support to thousands of homeowners and developers in Northern Virginia. The collection also might contain information on FHA- and HOLC-backed loans, which required developers and individual property owners insert racial restrictions in property deeds until 1950.<sup>104</sup> I have reviewed the FHA and HOLC collections at the National Archives and, with a few exceptions, it did not retain documentation on individual federally backed mortgages.

Except for protests against the expansion of the Old and Historic District, this report has not fully addressed instances of defiance, agency, and allyship among African Americans and their supporters. This is also a critical and empowering part of the history of housing in Alexandria. African Americans organized citizens associations (Durant, Seminary, and Inter-City) to represent residents in Alexandria on housing issues starting in the 1960s if not earlier. Of particular importance is the role of the Seminary Civic Association's fight for housing in response to displacements caused by the construction of T.C. Williams (now Alexandria City) High School. No doubt, there are other stories that we need to bring to light to better understand our community.

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<sup>104</sup> Vose 225-227.

Finally, there are several residents who have been willing to share their stories, and more can be learned from our elders. Based on conversations with his daughter, Gwen Day-Fuller, Ferdinand T. Day and his family had to build his home because of the city's limited housing options. The home, which still stands on North Fayette Street, was constructed by William T. Syphax, one of the few African American homebuilders in northern Virginia. In the mid-1970s, the Days along with A. Melvin Miller and his family moved to Seminary Ridge, a middle-to-upper class neighborhood that was open to African Americans and Asian Americans. We need more information on Seminary Ridge (and neighborhoods like it) that allowed individuals from marginalized communities to purchase homes. Lillian Patterson, whom I interviewed in 2021 with OHA staff, talks about the housing issues that her parents and grandparents faced in Alexandria. After living in Arlington, she and her spouse moved to the newly constructed Seminary neighborhood in 1965 where she still lives today. Finally, in 1973, former congressman Jim Moran tried to buy a home in Del Ray only to discover that he could not get a loan because Del Ray was considered an "transitional" neighborhood by local banks. He contacted the Department of Justice who sent warnings to seventeen local banks to stop redlining in Alexandria.<sup>105</sup>

### **Acknowledgements**

There are many people who made this report possible. Jackie Cohan, archivist at the City's Archives and Records Center graciously made several collections accessible, including the

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<sup>105</sup> In an oral history conducted in 2009, Vola Lawson discusses housing accessibility and mentions Moran's involvement in the fight against redlining. Vola Lawson, Interview by Alice Reid, transcription, May 21, 2009, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.



Planning Commission Minutes and Reports, Zoning Appeals Board Minutes, and City Council Minutes. Additionally, she assisted with the requesting of relevant boxes from the Davis-Ruffner Files, which are stored off site, and allowed me to use a conference room at the archive to work through these boxes. Georgia Brown, Assistant Archivist at Fairfax Circuit Court's Historic Record Center, guided my research related to areas annexed by Alexandria from Fairfax County. In particular, I appreciate her assistance with the history of African American property owners in Lincolnia as well as teaching me about Fairfax's Davis-Ruffner Files. Jeff Harmon at the Land Records Division of the Alexandria Circuit Court also assisted with the collection of the numerous deeds that contain restrictions in their collections. Additionally, I appreciate his willingness to discuss the courthouse's collections and retrieve books and other materials that are not in common usage. Arlington's deeds from November 1869 to the present recently were made available online, and I appreciate Nancy Van Doren and Apollo Yong for helping me access them.

There are several other individuals, outside of our regional archives, that deserve acknowledgement. Elaine McRey, head librarian at the Virginia Room, shared what materials she had on African American neighborhoods that were annexed by Alexandria in 1952. Additionally, she connected me with Andrew Wolf, MD from the University of Virginia's University Hospital in Charlottesville. Dr. Wolf had recorded interviews with Fairfax County residents in the 1970s, including one individual connected to the Mount Pleasant/Lincolnia area. Catherine Miliaras, Principal Planner in Development, and Al Cox, City Architect Emeritus, from the Department of Planning and Zoning also agreed to chat with me so that I would have a better understanding of the concept of historic districts and their impact on African American

residents. The willingness of staff from the Office of Historic Alexandria, specifically Audrey Davis (Director of Alexandria's Black History Museum), Eleanor Breen (City Archaeologist), Emma Richardson (Museum Education Specialist), and Terilee Hewitt (Oral History Program Coordinator), to collaborate on an interview with Lillian Patterson, should also be recognized. Finally, Andrea Meckley, the University of Mary Washington's interlibrary loan coordinator, worked tirelessly trying to obtain reports and other materials related to Alexandria's planning and zoning departments in the twentieth century. This job was particularly onerous as many institutions had closed their interlibrary loan offices during the COVID-19 pandemic.

**Appendix A: City of Alexandria Deeds with Race-Based Restrictions<sup>106</sup>**

Deed Number	Date	Subdivision	Plat?	Type of Deed	Language
62-505	3/28/1913	Princess, Oronoco, Fayette, and Payne Streets	yes	Bargain and Sale	And the said party of the second part further covenants and agrees for himself his heirs and assigns that the said lots and any building or buildings that may be erected thereon shall not be sold, rented or leased to any person of negro descent, or any firm, or corporation composed of persons of negro descent, and this shall be regarded as a covenant running with the land.
64-300	10/22/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 3, Lots 14-15	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
64-548	9/13/1911	George Washington Park, Sec. 2, Block 6, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
64-549	4/11/1911	George Washington Park, Block 4, Lot 46	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
64-550	4/11/1911	George Washington Park, Block 1, Lot 15	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
64-551	1/2/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 2, Block 1, Lots 27-29	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
64-552	10/18/1915	George Washington Park, Block 4, Lot 26	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
64-570	2/4/1914	George Washington Park, Sec. 2, Block 3, Lot 18	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
64-603	11/5/1910	George Washington Park, Block 1, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-3	9/29/1915	George Washington	yes	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.

<sup>106</sup> There are two types of deeds with restrictions used in northern Virginia. In most cases, developers inserted restrictive covenants in deeds of dedication (or rededications) for the establishment of a new subdivision. There are a handful of developers, however, who chose to insert restrictions into the bargain and sale of specific lots, which is much trickier to document. These appendices for Arlington and Fairfax Counties and the City of Alexandria contain both types of deeds, and I have tried to document them accordingly.

		Park, Sec. 2, Block 3, Lots 9-10			
65-13	10/18/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lots 1-3; Sec. 1, Block 3, Lot 12	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-14	10/18/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 1, Block 3, Lot 23, Block 8, Lot 58; Sec. 2, Block 9, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale and Quit Claim	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-16	10/18/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 1, Block 1, Lot 26; Sec. 2, Block 2, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale and Quit Claim	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-17	10/18/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 1, Block 3, Lot 12; Block 2, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale and Quit Claim	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-21	4/3/1914	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 1, Lot 9	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-25	11/6/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 2, Block 3, Lots 16-17	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-26	10/18/1915	George Washington Park, Sec. 1 and part of Sec. 2	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-28	10/14/1909	George Washington Park, Block 5, Lots 7-9	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-46	11/9/1915	George Washington Park, Block 6, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.

65-201	3/8/1916	Rosemont, Sec. 3, Block 19, Lot 8	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-237	3/31/1916	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 3, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-245	4/12/1916	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 4	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-290	5/10/1916	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-300	5/17/1916	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 30	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-317	10/24/1913	George Washington Park, Block 5, Lots 27-28	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-449	6/27/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 13	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-478	11/17/1909	George Washington Park, Block 3, Lots 33-34	no	Bargain and Sale and Release	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-502	10/1/1916	George Washington Park, Block 4, Lots 11-12	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-510	6/7/1916	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 20, Lots 4-6	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-520	1/10/1912	George Washington Park, Block 1, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-535	12/7/1912	George Washington Park, Block 7, Lot 34	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-581	9/25/1915	George Washington Park, Block 4, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-582	11/11/1916	George Washington Park, Lot 4, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
65-583	12/5/1916	George Washington	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.

		Park, Block 4, Lots 1-2			
65-600	1/10/1917	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 25	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
65-601	1/10/1917	Rosemont, Sec. 3, Block 18, Lot 17	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
66-10	1/10/1917	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 10, Lots 6-8	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
67-279	10/18/1918	George Washington Park, Sec 2, Block 3, Lots 14-15; Block 4, Lots 14-17	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
74-6	5/31/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lots 8-10	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-7	5/31/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-7A	5/31/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lots 1-3	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-8	5/31/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-9	5/31/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lots 4-5	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-46	5/31/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-92	6/15/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 37, Lot 4	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-104	6/13/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lot 27	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-105	6/13/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.

		38, Lots 19-26, 28-29			
74-190	7/24/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 37, Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-246	6/30/1922	Mt. Vernon Park	no	Deed of Dedication	That no lot in said subdivision, or any part thereof, shall ever be sold, rented, let or otherwise acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-391	9/6/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 37, Lot 15	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-429	10/2/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 38, Lots 30-31	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
74-430	10/2/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 37, Lots 7-18	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
75-231	9/7/1922	South Braddock Heights, Block 37, Lots 6	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
75-297	1/12/1923	South Braddock Heights, Block 37, Lots 1-3 and Block 38, Lots 12-18	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
77-172	7/23/1923	Temple Park, Sec. 1	no	Deed of Dedication	That no lot in said Subdivision or any part thereof, shall ever be sold, leased, rented or devised or in any way conveyed to, or in any way acquired by, any person not of the Caucasian Race.
80-371	9/10/1924	Mt. Vernon Park, Block 1, Lot 27	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lot or any part thereof shall never be sold, rented, leased, or in anywise acquired by any person not of the Caucasian race.
81-291	10/17/1924	Rosemont, Sec. 6, Blocks 1-2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot, nor any portion thereof, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
83-72	6/20/1925	Mt. Vernon Park, Block 1, Lots 12 & 14	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots, nor any part thereof shall never be sold, leased, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
83-75	6/17/1925	Mt. Vernon Park, Block 1, Lot 71 (partial), Lots 72-74	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots, nor any part thereof shall never be sold, leased, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.

83-315	7/23/1925	Rosemont Heights, Except Lots 63 & 66-67	yes	Vacation and Re-Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
84-22	9/8/1925	Brenton, Sec. 1	no	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots of any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, for a period of ninety-nine years from January 1st, 1925.
84-570	11/10/1925	Rosemont, Sec. 5, Lot 30	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any part thereof shall never be sold, leased or in anywise conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
86-377	4/7/1926	Temple Park, Sec. 2 (previously Rosemont Heights)	no	Vacation and Re-Dedication	That no lot or any part thereof shall be sold, rented leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
87-561	8/31/1926	Adams Estate, Parcel 2	no	Deed of Dedication	That said premises shall not be sold or leased to any person not of the Caucasian Race for a period of 99 years from August 1, 1926.
87-583	7/14/1926	Mt. Vernon Park, Block 1, Lot 27	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lot or any part thereof shall never be sold, rented, leased, or in any wise acquired by any person not of the Caucasian race.
90-90	9/24/1926	Brenton, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, for a period of ninety-nine years from January 1st, 1925.
90-262	4/19/1927	George Washington Park, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lots 3-4	no	Trust	The subdivision and dedication of said land is made, however, under and upon the express condition, that no one of said lots, nor any number of said lots, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, devised, given, granted or conveyed, to anyone not of the Caucasian race, and upon any violation of this covenant by any alienee or alienees of any lot or lots, or any part or parts of any lot or lots, in connection with which said violation has been made, shall immediately revert to the parties of the first part of their successors or heirs.
96-308	11/10/1928	Rosemont, Sec. 8	no	Deed of Dedication	That none of said lots, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed or devised to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
104-160	10/15/1930	West Braddock Heights, Part. Sec. 1, Block 9, Lots 1-3, Part of 8, and 9-10	no	Bargain and Sale	... that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold or leased to anyone not of the Caucasian race;
106-177	3/18/1931	Braddock Heights, Sec. 2	no	Bargain and Sale	The property shall not be conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.



106-582	3/18/1931	Colonial Park (previously Oakwood)	no	Deed of Dedication	No lot or any part thereof shall ever be sold, leased to or occupied by any person of the negro race nor for a period of fifty years from January 1st, 1931, to any person other than of the Caucasian race, but this restriction does not apply to domestic servants who may be employed by the living in the home of any of said lot owners.
107-455	7/2/1931	Mt. Vernon Park, Block 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lot, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
109-515	12/15/1931	Braddock Heights, 1st Addition, Sec. 2	no	Bargain and Sale	The property shall not be conveyed, leased or rented to any one not of the Caucasian Race.
118-478	10/19/1934	West End (W. I. Angel)	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot, nor any portion thereof, nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
121-33	8/2/1934	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Part 1, Block 6, Lot 6	yes	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased, rented or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race.
121-52	3/8/1935	South Braddock Heights, Block 25, Lots 1-7 & Block 26, Lots 1-7	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots nor any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian Race.
121-66	4/1/1935	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Part 1, Block 3, Lots 11, 14-15, 17-18, 20-22, & 24; Block 9, Lot 8; Block 8, Lot 11; Block 10, Lots 13-14; Block 6, Lot 24	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased, rented, or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race.
121-186	1/2/1935	Mount Ida (R. R. Dye's Addition)	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
121-229	5/14/1946	Threadgill, Block 1, Lots 1-10; Block 2, Lots 8-27	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	None of said lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any manner devised or conveyed to any person or persons not a member of the Caucasian Race.
121-259	5/2/1935	William Duncan's Estate	no	Deed of Vacation and Re-Dedication	No portion or part of any lot or premises, nor any interest therein shall be conferred, assigned, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race nor shall the title to any of the land included in this subdivision and cover by these restrictions ever become vested in whole or in part or remain in any person not of the said

					race, nor in any corporation or association operated or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian race.
122-583	8/5/1935	Cottage Park (Burroughs Addition)	yes	Deed of Dedication	Neither of said lots, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, devised or otherwise acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
123-280	9/5/1935	Abingdon Block 12, Lots 9 & 10	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots, or any part thereof, shall never be sold, leased, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
123-382	9/12/1935	Echwood	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot in said subdivision or any part thereof shall ever be sold, rented, leased or otherwise acquired by any person of negro descent.
129-389	7/18/1936	College Park, Sec. 1, Block 2-3	yes	Deed of Dedication	That said real estate, or any part thereof, or any interest therein shall not be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of to any person other than of the Caucasian race.
130-572	9/19/1936	Hume Spring, Beall's Subdivision	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot nor any portion thereof nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised, nor in any wise conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
132-395	11/6/1936	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Block 7, Lots 28-29	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased, rented or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
133-9	12/17/1936	College Park, Sec. 1, Block 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	That said real estate, or any part thereof, or any interest therein shall not be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of to any person other than of the Caucasian Race.
133-43	12/1/1936	Oronoco, Payne, Fayette, and Princess, Lots 18- 19, 25-27	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is subject to the restriction est. out in deed in Deed Book 62, page 505, to the effect - "said lots any building or buildings that may be erected thereon shall not be sold, rented or leased to any person of negro or any firm, or corporation composed of persons of negro descent, and this shall be regarded as a covenant running with the land.
133-420	1/23/1937	Beverley Hills, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof, shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
134-125	2/11/1937	South Braddock Heights, Lots 1-5 (Re-subdivision)	yes	Deed of Dedication	That said subdivision of said tract or parcel of land as appears by the plat hereto attached and made a part hereof is made with the free consent and in accordance with the desires of the said owners and proprietors of said land, but upon the express condition and subject to the restriction and reservation that no one of said lots nor any number of said lots, nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, devised, given, granted or conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian Race.
134-141	2/13/1937	Payne, Princess, Fayette, & Oronoco, Lots 23-24	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is subject to the restriction est. out in deed in Deed Book 62, page 505, to the effect - "said lots any building or buildings that may be erected thereon shall not be sold, rented or leased to any person of negro or any firm, or corporation composed of persons of negro descent, and this shall be regarded as a covenant running with the land.
135-229	2/16/1937	Oronoco, Princess,	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is subject to the restriction est. out in deed in Deed Book 62, page 505, to the effect - "said lots any

		Fayette, and Henry, Lots 20-22			building or buildings that may be erected thereon shall not be sold, rented or leased to any person of negro or any firm, or corporation composed of persons of negro descent, and this shall be regarded as a covenant running with the land.
141-523	1/18/1938	Beverly Hills, Burk's Addition	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is made subject to the condition and restriction that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
143-243	4/13/1938	Jefferson Park Addition	no	Bargain and Sale	Neither of said lots shall ever be sold, leased, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian race.
143-507	4/30/1938	Dye's Addition to Mt. Ida, Lots 29-30, 52-53	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race....
143-526	4/27/1938	Braddock Heights, Sec. 2, Lot 57-A-62-A	yes	Bargain and Sale	Said Premises shall not be sold or leased to any person not of the Caucasian Race, for a period of ninety-nine years from January 1 <sup>st</sup> , 1925.
144-107	5/2/1938	Beverly Hills, Sec. 3	no	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
144-452	6/1/1938	Rosemont, Tract B, Sec. 4, Block 24	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot thereon shown or any portion therein, shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
145-372	7/9/1938	Beverly Hills, Sec. 4	no	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
145-382	7/14/1938	Page Property	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any part thereof shall not be sold to, or occupied as owners or tenants, by any person not of the Caucasian Race."
145-383	7/14/1938	Page Property	yes	Deed of Trust	That said property or any part thereof shall not be sold to, or occupied as owners or tenants, by any person not of the Caucasian race.
148-235	11/12/1938	Rosemont, Tract C, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot thereon shown, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
150-235	1/19/1939	Dempsey's Subdivision (Fagelson's Addition)	yes	New Restrictions	No lot in said subdivision shall be owned or occupied by or sold, leased, devised or otherwise conveyed to any person or persons of the Negro Race; provided however, that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants in course of their employment.
150-313	1/31/1939	Dye's Addition to Mt. Ida, Lots B-G, 12-20	yes	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
150-564	2/17/1939	Braddock Heights, Sec. 2, Lots 190-205	no	Bargain and Sale	Said premises shall not be sold or leased to any person not of the Caucasian Race for a period of 99 years from January 1 <sup>st</sup> , 1925.
152-205	5/4/1939	Jefferson Park, Harlow's Addition	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said property shall ever be sold, leased or in any way acquires by any person not of the Caucasian Race.

152-236	5/8/ 1939	Jefferson Park, Harlow's Addition, Lots 4-7	no	Bargain and Sale	None of said lots shall ever be sold, leased, or otherwise allowed to come into the ownership, possession, or occupancy of any person not of the Caucasian race.
152-272	4/17/1939	Westover	no	Deed of Dedication	It is expressly stipulated as a covenant that will run with the title to the aforesaid lots, that no lot shall be sold, leased, conveyed or otherwise transferred to anyone not a member of the Caucasian Race.
153-178	5/31/1939	Braddock Heights, Sec 2, Lots 198-205	no	Deed of Re-Dedication	No lot shall be sold, leased, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by owner or tenant.
153-215	6/17/1939	Beverley Hills, Sec. 5	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
156-260	9/30/1939	Seminary Heights, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	None of said lots shall ever be conveyed, leased or otherwise allowed to come into the ownership, possession or occupancy of persons not of the Caucasian Race, or otherwise not approved by said owner and proprietor, Maurice D. Rosenberg.
156-290	6/21/1939	Beverley Plaza, Sec. 2	No	Bargain & Sale	Said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred leased, rented or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
156-302	10/5/1939	Rosemont, Tract C, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Re-Dedication	... said dedication is made with the full consent and in accordance with the desire of the undersigned owner, but upon the expression condition that no lot thereon shown nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
157-333	10/31/1939	Beverley Plaza, Sec. 2, Lot 8	No	Bargain & Sale	Said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred leased, rented or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
157-350	11/15/1939	Seminary Heights, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	None of said lots shall ever be conveyed, leased or otherwise allowed to come into the ownership, possession or occupancy of persons not of the Caucasian Race, or otherwise not approved by said owner and proprietor, Maurice D. Rosenberg.
158-372	12/21/1939	South Braddock Heights, Lots 7-11 (Re-subdivision)	yes	Deed of Trust	The said subdivision of said tract or parcel of land as appears by the plat hereto attached and made a part hereof is made with the free consent and in accordance with the desires of the said owners and proprietors of said land, but upon the express condition and subject to the restrictions and reservation that no one of said lots nor any number of said lots, nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, devised, given, granted or conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian Race.
158-569	1/10/1940	[Monticello Park]	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said real estate or any part thereof shall not be sold, transferred, leased, or conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian race.
159-132	9/20/1939	Dye's Addition, Mt. Ida, Lots B & C	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race.

159-590	2/8/1940	Yates Gardens, Parcels A-E	no	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any building or nay lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
161-552	5/1/1940	L. B. Burk's Subdivision, Beverly Hills, Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	That neither the said property nor any part thereof nor any interested therein shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
161-575	5/2/1940	Beverley Hills, Sec. 7	no	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
162-278	5/2/1940	Oak Crest, Lots 27-50, 114-193, and 260-313	no	Bargain and Sale	The above property is conveyed subject to the restrictions that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall ever be leased, sold or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race, which restriction shall be taken and construed as a covenant running with the land herein conveyed.
163-476	6/27/1940	West Braddock Heights, Parcels C and D; Lot A, Block 9	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is made subject to the restrictions that neither the said property, nor any thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, devised or conveys to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
163-506	7/5/1940	Chapel Hill, Lot A and C	yes	Bargain and Sale	None of the property shall be sold to, leased to, rented to, or tenanted by any person of non-Caucasian descent.
164-64	7/9/1940	Temple Terrace, Sec. 1, Block 1	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	This subdivision is made subject to the following restrictions which shall be construed as covenants running with the land, that is to say, that no lot shall be conveyed to any person who is not of the Caucasian Race;
165-187	8/1/1940	Chapel Hill, Blocks 1-3	no	Deed of Dedication	No lot and no part of any lot shall be sold to, leased to, rented to, or tenanted by any person of non-Caucasian descent.
166-555	9/26/1940	Virginia Stonell Selecman	yes	Deed of Correcting Boundary Line, of Dedication, & of Bargain and Sale	That none of the lots number one (1) to six (6) both inclusive shall be sold to any person not of the Caucasian Race; that said six lots shall be used only for residential purposes;
166-88	9/3/1940	Beverley Hills, Sec. 3	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
166-90	9/9/1940	Beverley Hills, Addition to Sec. 5, Lots 13 & 14	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
167-350	10/19/1940	Baggett Tract	yes	Deed of Dedication	No person of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
167-575	10/17/1940	Seminary Heights, Sec. 3	yes	Deed of Dedication	This dedication is made with the full and free consent of the parties hereto, and in accordance with the laws of the State of Virginia and the local ordinances of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, subject to the restriction that no part

					of said property, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed to, or acquired, owned or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
168-50	11/1/1940	Temple Terrace, Sec. 1, Block 1, Lots 1-14	no	Deed of Restrictive Covenants	No person of any race other than Caucasian race shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
169-104	12/3/1940	Colonial Properties Subdivision	no	Amendment of Dedication	No person of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
170-53	12/30/1940	Lynhaven, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Vacation and Subdivision	No negro or colored person, or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
170-360	1/28/1941	Beverley Hills, Sec. 8	no	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
171-23	2/4/1941	Dempsey's Subdivision (Fagelson's Addition)	no	Restrictions	No lot in said subdivision shall be owned or occupied by or sold, leased, devised or otherwise conveyed to any person or persons of the Negro race; provided however, that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants in course of their employment.
171-242	2/27/1941	Braddock Heights, Sec. 2, Lots 145, 152-157, 185-193, 196, 211-256, 259-260	no	Bargain and Sale	Said premises shall not be sold, or leased to any person not of the Caucasian Race, for a period of ninety-nine years from 1/1/1925.
173-295	4/29/1941	Beverley Hills, Sec. 6	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
174-153	4/10/1941	Oakland	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian shall own, use or occupy any building or lot, except that this shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
176-147	7/5/1941	Linden Gardens	no	Deed Establishing Bldg. and Conveyancing Restrictions	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
176-455	7/22/1941	Beverley Park	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
176-500	7/23/1941	Glenmore, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
177-35	7/30/1941	Overlook Terrace, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian shall use or occupy any building or lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
177-578	8/22/1941	Lynhaven, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Vacation and	No negro or colored person or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot,

				Re-Subdivision	except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
181-436	11/12/1941	Beverley Park, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot or any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race
185-303	2/18/1942	Patrick Henry Homes, Blocks 1 and 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No person of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot of building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
187-27	4/12/1942	Westover, Block 3, Lots 1-14	yes	Bargain and Sale	That no part of the property hereby conveyed shall ever be used, occupied, sold, demised, transferred or conveyed unto or in trust for any person or persons of the negro race, except that this covenant shall not be held to exclude partial occupation by domestic servants.
191-355	7/13/1942	Hunting Creek Homes, Block 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or a tenant.
192-380	8/4/1942	Davis Place, Lots 2-7	yes	Deed of Re-Subdivision	No negro or colored person, or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
193-182	8/14/1942	Waverly Taylor	yes	Deed of Dedication	No negro or colored person, or any person of negro extraction, shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
194-577	10/12/1942	Emma P. Hume, Block 2, Lots 7-11	yes	Deed of Re-Subdivision	No negro or colored person or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
196-172	11/25/1942	Lynhaven, Sec. 3	yes	Deed of Vacation and Re-Subdivision	No negro or colored person, or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
196-434	12/3/1942	Glenmore, Sec. 2	Only Parcel 2	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
197-113	12/24/1942	Hunting Creek Homes, Block 4	no	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or a tenant.
197-508	1/18/1943	Hunting Creek Homes, Block 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or a tenant.
197-551	2/3/1943	Virginia Village, Sec. 1, Lots 34-49	yes	Deed of Re-Subdivision	No negro or colored person, or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent the occupancy by domestic servants employed by owner or tenant.

197-567	2/4/1943	James R. Duncan, Lots 7-8	yes	Bargain and Sale	... no part of said property shall be sold or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
198-331	1/26/1943	Glenmore, Sec. 3	yes	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
198-555	4/5/1943	Hunting Creek Homes, Block 3	yes	Deed of Dedication	No persons of any race other than Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or a tenant.
201-256	6/26/1943	Seminary Heights, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said property shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
201-410	7/23/1943	Lynhaven, Sec. 5	yes	Deed of Vacation and Re-Subdivision	No negro or colored person or any person of negro extraction shall own, use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
202-223	6/2/1943	Chapel Hill, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot and no part of any lot shall be sold to, leased to, rented to, or tenanted by any person of non-Caucasian descent.
204-61	10/12/1943	Temple Park, Sec. 2, Lots 110-111	no	Bargain and Sale	... that this property shall never be sold to, rented to or allowed to be occupied by any member of the Negro, Yellow, Hebrew or Jewish Races, but only to those persons commonly classified as the white race and which are not included in any of the foregoing specified races.
215-153	6/16/1939	Beverly Hills, Sec. 5	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race.
215-426	1/24/1945	Overlook Terrace, Sec. 1, Lots 1-25	yes	Deed of Vacation & Re-Subdivision and Re-Dedication	That no lot or any part thereof shall be sold, rented, leased, or in any manner conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
216-22	4/12/1945	Timber Branch Park	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot or any part thereof shall be sold, rented, leased, or in any manner conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race.
216-215	4/16/1945	Jefferson Park, Harlow's Second Addition	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall ever be sold, devised, leased, or in any way conveyed to, or occupied or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
218-269	7/10/1945	Monticello Park	yes	Bargain and Sale	Doth hereby covenant and agree to and with the said party of the first part, his heirs, successors and assigns, that said land or any part thereof shall not be sold, transferred or conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race;
219-423	8/17/1945	South View Terrace (Grace C. Tothill)	yes	Deed of Dedication and Bargain and Sale	SAID lots of ground shall never be sold, leased, conveyed to, occupied by, devised to, or otherwise acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.



219-440	8/3/1946	Ponnet Estate	yes	Deed of Dedication	... subject to the restriction that no part of said property shall ever be sold, leased, rented to, or acquired or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
221-338	11/1945	Robert Moncure, Lots 1-5	yes	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said Subdivision shall ever be sold to, occupied by, or otherwise acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
224-277	2/15/1946	Monticello Park, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Dedication	No negro or colored person or any person of negro extraction shall own, lease, use or occupy any lot or any building on any lot except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
228-8	5/6/1946	Rosemont, Sec. 4, Block 21, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	.. and that the premises shall never be sold to, or rented to, or allowed to be accepted by any member of the Negro, Yellow, or Hebrew or Jewish Race, but only to those persons commonly classes as the White Race, but which are not included in any of the foregoing specified restricted races.
229-121	5/14/1945	Threadgill, Block 1, Lots 1-10; Block 2, Lots 8-27	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	None of said lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any manner devised or conveyed to any person or persons not a member of the Caucasian Race.
230-11	2/6/1946	St. Elmo, Lots 328-336	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is made subject to the condition and restriction that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
233-195	5/14/1946	Threadgill, Block 1, Lots 1-10; Block 2, Lots 8-27	no	Deed of Dedication and Subdivision	None of said lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any manner devised or conveyed to any person or persons not a member of the Caucasian Race.
233-304	9/5/1946	Howard Subdivision (Janney's Lane)	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot or lots in said subdivision or any part of any lot or lots shall ever be used or occupied by or directly or indirectly sold, demised transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased or rented to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, except that this restriction shall not exclude partial occupancy by domestic servants of other race(s) employed by and in the actual service at the time of such occupancy of any owner or owners of any lot or lots in said subdivision.
233-332	9/14/1946	Howard Subdivision (Janney's Lane)	no	Deed of Dedication	No lot and no part of any lot shall be sold to, leased to, or purchased, rented or tenanted by any person of non-Caucasian descent."
234-398	10/7/1946	William H. Florence & James R. Duncan (Partial) Properties, Lots 507-508	yes	Bargain and Sale	No part of said property shall be sold or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
234-489	5/14/1946	Threadgill, Block 1, Lots	no	Deed of Dedication	None of said lots shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any manner devised or conveyed to any person or persons not a member of the Caucasian Race.

		1-10; Block 2, Lots 8-27		and Subdivision	
235-266	10/25/1946	Temple Terrace, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	#1: All premises covered by these restrictions shall be occupied or used for private dwelling purposes only, by one family only, by persons of the Caucasian Race, but not excluding bona fide servants of any race. #2: No portion or part of any premises nor any interest therein shall be transferred, assigned, leased, rented or in any way conveyed or devised to any one not of the Caucasian Race; nor shall the title to any of the land included in the attached plat covered by these restrictions ever become vested, in whole or in part, or remain in any person not of the said race, nor in any corporation or association opened or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian Race.
241-199	2/24/1947	Dye's Addition, Mount Ida, Lots 29-30, 52,53	no	Bargain and Sale	...and further that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be conveyed or leased to, or in any manner owned or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian race.
244-386	5/5/1947	Temple Terrace, Sec. 3 & Re- subdivision Sec. 1, Lot 14	yes	Deed of Vacation and Dedication	#1: All premises covered by these restrictions shall be occupied or used for private dwelling purposes only, by one family only, by persons of the Caucasian Race, but not excluding bona fide servants of any race. #2: No portion or part of any premises nor any interest therein shall be transferred, assigned, leased, rented or in any way conveyed or devised to any one not of the Caucasian Race; nor shall the title to any of the land included in the attached plat covered by these restrictions ever become vested, in whole or in part, or remain in any person not of the said race, nor in any corporation or association opened or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian Race.
247-492	7/1/1947	Clover, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No portion or part of any lot or premises nor any interest therein shall be transferred, assigned, leased, rented or any way conveyed or devised to anyone not of the Caucasian Race; nor shall the title to any of the land included in the attached plan covered by these restrictions ever become vested in whole or in part, or remain in any person not of the said race, nor in any corporation or association operated or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian Race.
254-75	10/15/1947	Beaumont, Block 1, Section 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	That none of said lots, nor any part thereof, nor buildings thereon shall be sold, leased, conveyed or devised to, or occupied by, any person not of the Caucasian Race.
255-112	11/8/1947	Temple Terrace, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Dedication	#1: All premises covered by these restrictions shall be occupied or used for private dwelling purposes only, by one family only, by persons of the Caucasian Race, but not excluding bona fide servants of any race. #2: No portion or part of any premises nor any interest therein shall be transferred, assigned, leased, rented or in any way conveyed or devised to any one not of the

					Caucasian Race; nor shall the title to any of the land included in the attached plat covered by these restrictions ever become vested, in whole or in part, or remain in any person not of the said race, nor in any corporation or association opened or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian Race.
255-241	10/31/1947	Beverley Hills, Sec. 9	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
270-453	9/14/1948	Seminary Heights, Sec. 5	yes	Deed of Dedication	None of the said lots shall ever be conveyed, leased or otherwise allowed to come into the ownership, possession or occupancy of persons not of the Caucasian Race.
275-482	12/27/1948	West Braddock Heights, Sec. 1, Block 9, Lots 1-3, part of 8, & 9-10,	no	Bargain and Sale	... and that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold or leased to anyone not of the Caucasian race;
276-26	12/30/1948	Jefferson Homes	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said property or interest therein shall ever be sold to, acquired or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
279-173	3/25/1949	Temple Terrace, Sec. 5	yes	Deed of Dedication	#1: All premises covered by these restrictions shall be occupied or used for private dwelling purposes only, by one family only, by persons of the Caucasian Race, but not excluding bona fide servants of any race. #2: No portion or part of any premises nor any interest therein shall be transferred, assigned, leased, rented or in any way conveyed or devised to any one not of the Caucasian Race; nor shall the title to any of the land included in the attached plat covered by these restrictions ever become vested, in whole or in part, or remain in any person not of the said race, nor in any corporation or association opened or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian Race.
311-316	12/07/1950	J. R. Howard Subdivision, Sec. 4, Part 2, Lots 2-3	yes	Deed of Dedication	That said property or any part thereof shall not be sold or occupied as owners or tenants, by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
312-250	1/9/1951	Monticello Park, Sec. 6	yes	Deed of Dedication	No negro or colored person, or any person of negro extraction shall own, lease, use or occupy any lot or any building on any lot except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants employed by an owner or tenant.
328-395	11/15/1951	Clover, Florence Addition	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said property shall be sold or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
396-444	5/10/1954	Moore-Hill Estates, Parcel A-B	no	Vacation of Restrictions	[Removal of race-based restriction]
483-25	11/14/1958	Malvern Hill, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied, by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased or rented, or given to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, except that this paragraph shall not to

					be held to exclude partial occupancy of the premises by domestic servants of the grantee, his heirs or assigns.
491-351	4/27/1959	Malvern Hill, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied, by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased or rented, or given to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, except that this paragraph shall not to be held to exclude partial occupancy of the premises by domestic servants of the grantee, his heirs or assigns.
499-199	4/26/1943	Glenmore, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Dedication	subject however to the reservation and reservations set forth in the deed of dedication dated December 3, 1942, covering Sec. 4 Glenmore, which restrictions therein set forth were made to include and bind the property herein described.  Here is the restriction: No persons of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall use or occupy any lot or any building, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
535-87	6/19/61	Malvern Hill, Sec. 3	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied, by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased or rented, or given to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, except that this paragraph shall not to be held to exclude partial occupancy of the premises by domestic servants of the grantee, his heirs or assigns.
542-258	10/16/1961	Malvern Hill, Sec. 4	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied, by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased or rented, or given to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, except that this paragraph shall not to be held to exclude partial occupancy of the premises by domestic servants of the grantee, his heirs or assigns.
567-96	9/16/1962	Malvern Hill, Sec. 5	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied, by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased or rented, or given to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, except that this paragraph shall not to be held to exclude partial occupancy of the premises by domestic servants of the grantee, his heirs or assigns.

## Appendix B: Arlington County Deeds with Race-Based Restrictions

Deed Number	Date	Subdivision	Plat?	Type of Deed	Language
119-490	2/15/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 10, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
119-517	2/25/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 13	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
120-221	5/1/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 8	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
120-302	5/19/1909	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lots 3-4; Block 9, Lots 14-15; Block 13, Lot 20-21, 28-29	yes	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot and the buildings that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of negro descent.
120-318	5/18/1909	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 11, Lots 14-15	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
120-386	6/1/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 11, Lot 2	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
120-403	6/7/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 8	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
120-405	5/25/1909	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 5, Lot 32	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
120-410	4/19/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 12	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
122-59	11/1/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 11, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
122-112	11/8/1909	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 10, Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.
122-124	11/22/1909	Mount Ida, Plat 1, Block 13, Lots 10-11, 40	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.

122-154	11/1/1909	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
123-11	1/10/1910	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 13-14 and 31	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
123-277	6/9/1909	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 1, Lots 1-10	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
123-284	2/15/1910	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 6, Lots 41-42	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
123-568	4/23/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 9	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
124-25	4/23/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 3	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
124-72	4/23/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 2	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
124-75	4/23/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
124-179	5/2/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 3, Lot 16 and part of Lot 17	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
124-509	6/1/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 29	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
125-5	4/16/1910	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lots 10-11	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
125-277	10/4/1909	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 9, Lots 20-21	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
125-303	7/23/1910	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 14, Lots 8-9	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.

125-421	8/24/1910	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 27-29	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
125-527	9/3/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
126-35	8/12/1910	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 15-16	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
126-40	9/3/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Part of Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
126-52	9/3/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
127-324	6/3/1910	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 11, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
127-449	4/27/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 4	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
128-58	3/22/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 3	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
128-79	3/7/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 10	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
128-453	5/15/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 14, Lots 12-13	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
129-111	5/4/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 11, Lot 2; Block 13, Lot 35	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
129-171	5/27/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 6, Lots 45-46	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
129-417	7/24/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 10, Lots 14-15	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.

129-446	8/4/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 11-12	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
129-466	6/28/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lots 18-19	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
129-486	6/28/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
129-593	6/28/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lot 3	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
130-26	8/29/1911	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Block 6, Lots 8-9, 38-39	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
130-29	6/28/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 15, Lot 10	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
130-345	10/16/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
130-506	10/24/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 9, Lots 7-8	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
131-225	12/7/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 17	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
131-228	12/7/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lots 12-17; Block 16, Lots 7-8	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
131-298	12/15/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 12	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
131-383	10/18/1910	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
131-434	6/28/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	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;



131-473	12/15/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 16, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
131-476	12/15/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 27	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
133-329	12/15/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 19	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
133-332	6/7/1912	Rosemont, Block 3, Part of Lot 9, Lot 10	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
134-28	6/27/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 13, Lots 7-8	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
134-32	7/12/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 12, Lot 12	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
134-94	6/28/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 15, Lots 18-20	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
134-121	6/28/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lots 20-22	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
134-267	6/27/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 13, Lots 1-3	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
134-586	9/24/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 3, Lots 12-13	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-9	8/31/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 16, Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-126	10/15/1912	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 17, Lots 22-25	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
135-218	10/21/1912	East Braddock	yes	Deed of Dedication	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.

135-222	10/21/1912	East Braddock, Lots 60-61	yes	Bargain and Sale	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.
135-306	12/15/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 10, Lot 2	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-307	8/6/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 15, Lots 15-17	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-316	12/1/1911	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 24	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-370	7/15/1909	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 13, Lot 12	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
135-393	11/20/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lots 10-11	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-395	11/20/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Lot 4 and part of Lot 5	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
135-468	2/7/1910	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 1-2, and 523	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
135-470	9/6/1912	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 10, Lot 19	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
136-75	10/30/1921	East Braddock, Lots 81-82	no	Bargain and Sale	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.
136-245	12/27/1912	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Block 17, Lots 1-10	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
137-10	1/23/1912	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 4, Lots 9-10, Lots 44-45	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
137-161	3/28/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 14-15	no	Bargain and Sale	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;

137-163	3/28/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 3, Block, 18. Lot 15	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
137-166	3/28/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 3, Block 19, Lot 3	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
138-1	4/5/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 5, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
139-20	7/21/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Play 2, Block 17, Lots 32-33	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
139-230	7/29/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 22 and Part of Lot 23	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
139-276	8/23/1913	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Block 14, Lots 1-3	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
139-288	8/19/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 3, Lots 1-3	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
139-439	8/26/1913	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 16, Lots 26-27	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
139-540	9/30/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 18	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
140-31	9/9/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 9	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
140-123	10/19/1912	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 10, Lot 2	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
140-453	12/4/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 13, Lots 4-6	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
140-513	12/3/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 17, Lot 44	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.

141-2	9/15/1913	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 17, Lots 11-12	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.
141-32	12/12/1913	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 12, Lot 11	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
141-62	1/5/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 16, Lots 1-2, 21-23; Block 17, Lots 13-21; 30-31, 34-39, 47-50	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
141-99	12/26/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 9, Lot 22	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
141-205	12/2/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 38-39	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
141-498	1/3/1912	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 17, Lots 40-41	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
142-6	2/24/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 8, Lots 21-22	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
142-75	4/3/1914	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 4, Lot 2; Bloc 2, Lot 28	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
142-138	4/8/1914	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, 23; Block 4, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
142-245	4/18/1914	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 31	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
142-438	5/11/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 6, Lot 44	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
142-520	4/23/1914	Rosemont, Sec. 3, Block 19, Lots 7 and 10	no	Bargain and Sale	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...
143-118	11/26/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 11, Lots 9-11, 16-18	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.

143-339	7/15/1914	Rosemont, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 22	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
143-446	7/23/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 4, Lots 13-14	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot and the buildings thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.
143-447	7/28/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 40-41	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
143-548	7/24/1914	Mount Ida, Block 13, Lot 39	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
144-189	9/4/1912	Rosemont, Sec. 2, Block 11, Part of Lot 5 and Part of Lot 10	no	Bargain and Sale	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;
144-528	10/17/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, Lots 3-4	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
144-535	10/22/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 16, Lots 1-2, 21-23; Block 17, Lots 13-21, 30-31, 34-39, 47-50	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
145-3	3/12/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 12, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
145-196	8/7/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 41-42	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
145-469	11/19/1914	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Block 16, Lots 5-14, 39-40, 47-50	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be <u>directed</u> thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
146-436	3/22/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 13, Lots 14-15	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
146-534	5/2/1914	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Block 16, Lots 3-4	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.
147-2	7/23/1912	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 35-36; Block 10, Lot 4	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.

147-156	5/3/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 5, Lots 39-40	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
147-195	4/26/1915	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 13, Lot 26	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
147-199	4/3/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 10, Lot 9	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
147-326	10/9/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 17-18	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
147-383	5/25/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision Plat 1, Block 13, Lots 18-19	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
147-465	5/31/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 10, Lot 3	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
147-552	7/1/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 43-44	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
148-70	7/6/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 9, Lots 1-2	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
148-227	7/27/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lot 25	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
149-70	8/4/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 17, Lot 44	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
149-344	11/26/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision Plat 2, Block 16, Lots 35-42	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of negro descent.
149-361	8/6/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 9, Lot 23	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
149-481	12/13/1915	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 17, Lots 42-43	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.

149-496	12/13/1915	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 16, Lots 45-46	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person of Negro descent.
150-137	4/20/1911	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lot 27	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
150-495	12/13/1915	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 16, Lot 24	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
150-530	4/15/1916	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 13, Lot 23	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
152-184	10/1/1916	Mount Ida, Groves Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 14, Lots 12-13	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of negro descent.
152-294	7/12/1916	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lots 20, 23-24	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
152-305	4/30/1915	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lots 10-11	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
152-383	1/26/1914	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 9, Lot 13	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
152-584	5/1/1916	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 7-8	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
153-16	12/13/1916	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 10, Lot 20; Block 13, Lot 16	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
153-37	2/15/1913	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 10, Lot 18	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
156-46	9/28/1916	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 8, Lot 8	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of negro descent;
157-231	5/13/1918	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 16, Lots 28-29	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.

159-513	7/30/1918	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Block 8, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
160-526	7/30/1918	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Block 13, Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
161-135	4/28/1919	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 14, Lots 10-11	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
165-171	5/11/1918	Mount Ida, Grove's Subdivision, Block 10, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
167-65	3/30/1918	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Block 13, Lot 17	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of Negro descent.
172-472	11/24/1924	F. B. Clark's Property	No	Bargain and Sale	That the grantees, their heirs or assigns shall not sell, lease, or convey said land or any part thereof to any person having negro blood.
180-252	1/26/1922	Mount Vernon, McKerichar Property	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot, nor any interest therein shall be in anywise granted, conveyed, or leased to anyone not of the Caucasian race;
181-38	4/1/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 3, Lots 19-21, 27-34, 45-47	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
181-42	3/31/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13 Lots 41-42; Block 14, Lots 6-7	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
181-236	4/17/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 16, Lots 15-20, 30-34	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
181-391	4/21/1919	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 13, Lots 30-31	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot, and the buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented or let to any person of negro descent.
181-392	4/1/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13, Lot 27	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
181-529	5/4/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 17, Lots 28-29	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.



181-532	4/18/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lot 35	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
182-84	5/16/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 11, Lots 12-13; Block 21, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
182-93	5/12/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lots 31-34	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
182-127	4/1/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 2, Lots 2-22	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
182-138	4/14/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13, Lots 13, 36-38	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
182-599	4/18/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13, Lots 7-9	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
183-39	6/1/1922	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 6, Lot 16-17	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
183-85	6/15/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 11, Lots 6 and 21	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
183-86	6/15/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 11, Lots 3-5	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
183-93	5/12/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lots 31-34	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
183-202	6/21/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, Lots 16-17	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
183-520	6/30/1922	Abingdon	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot in said subdivision, or any part thereof shall ever be sold, rented, let or otherwise acquires by any person not of the Caucasian race.
184-54	7/15/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, 9-10	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.

184-165	7/17/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13, Lots 32-34	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
184-178	6/5/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 15, Lots 1-10	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
184-182	7/18/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 13, Lot 35	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
184-252	7/1/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 5, Lots 17-19	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
184-261	7/22/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 13, Lots 43-44	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
184-261A	7/22/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 5-6	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
184-561	8/8/1922	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lots 10-11	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots shall never be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
185-1	7/17/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 2, Lots 23-26	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
185-248	8/18/1922	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lots 16-17	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots shall never be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
185-588	9/5/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, Lots 12-13	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
186-22	7/29/1922	Rose Crest, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
186-68	9/5/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lots 33-34	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
186-181	9/1/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 7, Lots 20-21	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be

					sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
186-487	9/30/1922	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lots 4-5	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots shall never be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
187-67	10/5/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lots 18-19	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
187-301	9/18/1922	Mount Ida, Plat 1, Block 4, Lots 42-43	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
187-431	10/25/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 9, Lots 5-6	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
188-57	11/10/1922	[Jefferson Park]	no	Bargain and Sale	In consideration of the execution of this conveyance, the said party of the second part, for itself and its successor and assigns, does hereby covenant and agree to and with the said party of the first part, his heirs, successors and assigns, that said land or any part thereof shall not be sold, transferred or conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race;
189-241	12/26/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lots 27-28	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
189-443	1/10/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 5, Lots 20-23	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
190-30	12/6/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 10, Lots 1-5, 7-13	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
190-34	1/20/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 3, Block 18, Lots 1-16	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots shall never be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
190-40	1/11/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 2, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
190-123	2/1/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 6, Lots 20-21	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be

					sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
191-188	3/23/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 17, Lots 45-46	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
191-387	3/29/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 10, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
192-457	4/4/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 16, Lots 47-48	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
192-525	4/6/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13, Lots 45-47; Block 16, Lots 5-10, 13-14; Block 19, Lots 8-17; Block 20, Lots 2-5, 8-9; Block 21, Lots 2-17	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
192-528	2/8/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 5, Lots 37-38	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
193-263	12/21/1922	Rose Crest, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian race.
194-298	4/18/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, Lots 14-15	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
196-207	7/8/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 7, Lots 1-2	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
197-285	6/4/1923	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lots 28-29	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots shall never be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
201-18	4/1/1922	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 10, Lots 16-17	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
201-264	12/1/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 9, Lots 3-4	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
201-269	12/21/1923	Dempsey's Subdivision (Fagelson's Addition)	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian Race.

203-215	2/4/1924	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Part 1, Block 2, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lot or any part thereof shall never be sold, leased to, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian.
203-424	2/11/1924	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 15, Lots 49-50	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
205-252	4/25/1924	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, Lot 8	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
205-255	4/25/1924	Mount Ida, Plat 2, Block 7, Lots 7-8	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
205-327	5/10/1924	East Braddock, Lots 91 (partial), 92-93	no	Bargain and Sale	This conveyance is made subject to the condition and restriction that neither the said property nor any interest therein, nor any part hereof, shall be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian race.
205-332	4/5/1924	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 13, Lots 1-2	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
211-92	8/26/1924	Braddock Heights, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot, nor any portion thereof, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian race.
211-516	8/16/1924	Rose Crest, Sec. 1, Block 1, Lot 14	no	Bargain and Sale	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented, or in any way conveyed to any one not of the Caucasian Race.
212-117	8/27/1924	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 3, Lot 26	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
214-368	11/1/1924	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 2, Block 7, Lots 18-19	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
215-361	9/18/1924	Braddock Heights, Sec. 1, Block 1, Lots 6-7	no	Bargain and Sale	Said land, nor any portion thereof, nor any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised, or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian race.
217-408	1/14/1925	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lots 6-7	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lots or either of them shall never be sold, leased, or rented or in any

					way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
217-410	3/18/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lots 26-29	no	Bargain and Sale	That none of said lots, or any part thereof, shall ever be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
217-554	3/12/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 37	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
218-245	4/16/1925	Jefferson Park, Re-sub portion Block #2	no	Bargain and Sale	That either of the said lots or any part thereof shall never be sold, leased to, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
220-200	5/18/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 38	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
220-202	5/8/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 33	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
220-203	9/10/1924	Wilmar Park, Block 6, 24	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
220-461	3/20/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 1, Lots 7-8	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
221-99	5/25/1925	Abingdon, Block 12, Lot 17	no	Bargain and Sale	That no lots, or any part thereof, shall be sold, leased, or in any way acquired by and person not of the Caucasian Race.
222-353	6/24/1924	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lots 2-3	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lots or either of them shall never be sold, leased, or rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
222-517	4/10/1925	West Braddock Heights, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 13	no	Bargain and Sale	... that neither said property nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein shall be sold or leased to anyone not of the Caucasian Race.
225-197	7/1/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 33	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
225-201	7/18/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 36	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
225-430	1/4/1923	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 1, Block 4, Lot 35-37	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be

					sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
226-80	10/12/1924	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 30	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
226-322	5/1/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 5, 23-25	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
226-349	8/31/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 23	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
228-347	10/15/1925	Mount Ida, Plat 1, Block 6, Lot 12	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
228-438	10/12/1925	Rose Crest, Sec. 2, Block 3, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
231-385	10/26/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 39	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
231-483	11/12/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lots 35-36	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
232-345	12/15/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 41	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
233-229	9/8/1925	Brenton, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race, for a period of ninety-nine years from January 1st, 1925.
234-245	8/17/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 32	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
234-249	1/25/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 5, Lot 26	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
234-296	5/8/1925	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 34	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.

234-378	1/22/1926	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat ???, Block 13, Lot 3 & 20 feet frontage of Lot 4	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any building that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
235-79	2/2/1926	Wilmar Park, Sec. A, Block 4, Lots 37-38 and Block 6, Lots 16-19	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
235-81	2/2/1926	Wilmar Park, Sec. A, Block 1, Lots 1-3	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
235-276	2/10/1926	Mount Ida, Groves' Subdivision, Plat 3, Block 20, Lots 6-7	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
235-402	1/21/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 35	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
237-409	4/1/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 24	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
238-513	4/12/1926	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Part 1, Block 3, Lots 29-30	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lots or any part thereof shall never be sold, leased, to or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
239-473	5/1/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 32	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
239-482	5/1/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 22	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
239-484	5/1/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lots 30-31	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
239-488	2/6/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
242-242	6/21/1926	[Monticello Park]	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said property shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
243-284	7/6/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.



251-577	11/11/1926	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Part 1	no	Bargain and Sale	Said property, or any interest therein shall not be sold, transferred, leased, rented, or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
255-138	12/13/1926	Beverly Hills, Parcel 1-2, Parcel 3 (Partial)	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot or any part thereof, shall be sold, rented or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
255-588	9/24/1926	Brenton, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said lots or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian Race for a period of 99 years from January 1st, 1925.
256-307	12/15/1926	Cottage Park, Lots 22-45	no	Bargain and Sale	Said property, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, rented, leased or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race and this restriction shall run for a period of 99 years from January 1st, 1926.
259-273	4/14/1927	Jefferson Park, First Addition (Provised)	yes	Deed of Dedication	That neither the said land, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, or devised, or in any way conveyed to, or occupied by, any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
260-116	4/20/1927	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 6, Lots 13-14	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
261-50	5/13/1927	Monticello Park (Partial)	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said property shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
261-54	5/13/1927	Monticello Park	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said property shall not be sold, transferred, leased or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race.
261-353	2/8/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 40	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
263-198	6/15/1927	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 11, Lots 7-8, 19-20	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
270-164	12/21/1926	Hume Spring, McPherson's Subdivision, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That the said lot shall never be sold, leased, or rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.
271-395	7/25/1927	Wilmar Park, Block 3, Lot 32	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
271-400	11/18/1927	Wilmar Park, Block 5, Lots 8-9	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in

					any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
272-368	12/15/1927	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
274-22	11/18/1927	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
274-235	12/15/1927	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 20	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
274-513	10/10/1927	Cottage Park, Lot 44	no	Bargain and Sale	Said property, nor any interest therein, shall never be sold, rented, leased, or in any way conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race, and this restriction shall run for a period of Ninety-nine years from January first, 1926.
280-194	3/22/1928	Mount Ida, Groves'' Subdivision, Plat ???, Block 9, Lots 9-12, 15	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
286-284	6/14/1928	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 19, Lots 3-4	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
286-507	7/18/1928	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 17, Lots 11; Block 19, Lots 5-6	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
287-478	9/27/1928	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 19, Lots 1-2	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
290-110	11/21/1928	Wilmar Park, Block 5, Lots 8-9	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
290-112	11/21/1928	Wilmar Park, Block 3, Lot 32	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
290-114	11/21/1928	Wilmar Park, Block 4, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.
290-522	6/5/1928	Beverly Hills, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 10	no	Bargain and Sale	That no lot nor any part thereof shall be sold, rented, or in any manner conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race.

293-237	2/8/1929	Mount Ida, Plat ???, Block 7, Lots 22-23	no	Bargain and Sale	That said property, and any buildings that may be erected thereon, shall never be sold, rented, or let to any person not of the Caucasian Race.
303-208	8/29/ 1929	Jefferson Park, Sec. 1, Part 1, Block 2, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	That said lot or any part thereof shall never be sold, leased to, or in any way acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
329-482	5/1/1926	Wilmar Park, Block 6, Lot 22	no	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said lot or any interest therein shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any one not of the Caucasian Race.

### Appendix C: Fairfax County Deeds with Race-Based Restrictions

Deed Number	Date	Subdivision	Plat?	Type of Deed	Language
D-7-638	10/8/1909	George Washington Park, Sec. 2, Block 4, Lot 13	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
M-7-208	4/3/1912	George Washington Park, Sec. 2, Block 7, Lots. 9-10	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
T-7-107	12/7/1912	George Washington Park, Block 1, Lots 13-14	no	Bargain and Sale	No lot or lots shall be sold, leased, rented or in any way conveyed to any person or persons of African descent.
D-12-55	5/1/1936	DuLaney Tract	no	Deed in Trust	That no part of said land or premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
D-12-56	1/1/1934	DuLaney Tract	no	Deed in Trust	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
D-13-236	7/1/1938	Veach, Lots 3 & 5	no	Bargain and Sale	That no one of said lots nor any part or parts thereof shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian race.
D-15-30	8/18/1941	Alnor Heights	yes	Deed of Dedication	Neither the said land nor any portion thereof or improvements thereon nor any interest therein shall be sold, leased, remised, devised, or otherwise conveyed to or occupied by any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race; provided, that this provision shall not be construed to apply to occupancy by servants upon the premises of their employers during their terms of service as servants only but not as resident caretakers.
D-15-509	8/29/1941	Dowden Terrace	yes	Deed of Dedication	That neither the said land nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian race.
F-15-484	8/15/1941	Washington Forrest, Sec 1, Block 2, Lot 1	no	Bargain and Sale	AS A PART OF THE CONSIDERATION FOR THIS CONVEYANCE, the said parties of the second part covenant for himself, his heirs and assigns, that neither the said land, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, rented or devised to, or in any manner owned or occupied by, any person not of the Caucasian Race; that no building costing less than \$3,000.00 to construct, shall be erected upon the said land; and that all buildings erected on the said land shall be erected within the building and restriction lines as shown on the plat of the said subdivision.
F-15-485	8/15/1941	Washington Forrest, Sec.	no	Bargain and Sale	AS A PART OF THE CONSIDERATION FOR THIS CONVEYANCE, the said parties of the second part covenant for himself, his heirs and assigns, that neither the said land, nor any part

		1, Block 2, Lot 31			thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, rented or devised to, or in any manner owned or occupied by, any person not of the Caucasian Race; that no building costing less than \$3,000.00 to construct, shall be erected upon the said land; and that all buildings erected on the said land shall be erected within the building and restriction lines as shown on the plat of the said subdivision.
G-11-140	2/20/1933	DuLaney Tract	No	Bargain and Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
G-15-45	8/4/1941	Wapleton	yes	Deed of Dedication	All premises covered by this restriction shall be used by persons of the Caucasian race only, but not excluding bona fide servants of any race; and no portion or part of any lot or premises nor any interest therein shall be transferred, assigned, devised, leased, rented or in any way conveyed, or descend, to anyone not of the Caucasian race; nor shall the title to any of the land included in the recorded plat covered by this restriction ever become bested in whole or in part or remain in any person not of the said race nor in any corporation or association operated or controlled by persons not of the Caucasian race.
H-11-126	4/15/1933	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain and Sale	... and that no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased, or sold to any person of negro blood.
J-12-43	6/18/1936	Washington Forrest, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 5 & Eastern Half of Lot 6	no	Bargain and Sale	THE SAID PART OF THE SECOND PART in accepting this deed hereby covenants and agrees for himself, his heirs, personal representatives, and assigns, with the said party of the first part, his successors or assigns, that neither the said property nor any interest therein shall be conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race, and no persons not of the Caucasian race shall be allowed to occupy the said property except as a domestic servant to persons living on said property
L-11-52	12/1/1933	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
L-12-141	1/25/1937	Seminary Heights	yes	Deed of Subdivision and Dedication	That said lots and no part thereof shall be given, sold, leased, conveyed or otherwise disposed of to anyone of the colored or negro race.
M-14-185	10/1/1944	Washington Forrest, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lots 19-21	no	Bargain and Sale	AS A PART OF THE CONSIDERATION FOR THIS CONVEYANCE, the said parties of the second part covenant for himself, his heirs and assigns, that neither the said land, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, rented or devised to, or in any manner owned or occupied by, any person not of the Caucasian Race; that no building costing less than \$3,000.00 to construct, shall be erected upon the said land; and that all buildings erected on the said land shall be erected within the building and restriction lines as shown on the plat of the said subdivision.
M-15-314	12/26/1941	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
P-12-284	June 3, 1937	Washington Forrest, Sec.	no	Bargain and Sale	AS A PART OF THE CONSIDERATION FOR THIS CONVEYANCE, the said parties of the second part covenant for themselves,

		1, Block 1, Lots 9-10			their heirs and assigns, that neither said property, nor any interest therein, shall be conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian Race, and no person not of the Caucasian race shall be allowed to occupy said property except as a domestic servant to persons living on said property; and that all buildings erected on said property shall be erected within the building restriction lines as shown on the plat of the said subdivision.
Q-13-400	11/15/1937	Fort Ward Heights	yes	Deed of Dedication	Neither the said land nor any part thereof, shall, at any time, be sold to, conveyed to owned by or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race. This restriction and condition shall be perpetual.
Q-14-176	2/14/1941	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
Q-14-367	2/17/1941	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
R-13-571	10/13/1937	Piney Court	yes	Deed of Dedication	No part of said property nor any interest therein shall ever be conveyed to or acquired by or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race (with the exception of necessary household servants).
U-9-128	7/1/1926	Cameron Park	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot or any portion thereof or any interest therein shall ever be sold, leased, conveyed or devised, or in any way conveyed to or acquired by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
W-11-531	8/31/1935	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of the above described land and/or premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
W-14-170	5/27/1941	Dunton Property	no	Bargain and Sale	Said property shall not be sold, leased, nor otherwise conveyed to any person not of Caucasian descent.
W-14-171	5/27/1941	Dunton Property	no	Bargain and Sale	Said property shall not be sold, leased, nor otherwise conveyed to any person not of Caucasian descent.
Y-9-462	3/8/1927	Cameron View	yes	Deed of Dedication	That no lot in said subdivision, or any part thereof, shall ever be sold, leased, rented, demised, or in any way conveyed to, or in any way acquired by persons not of the Caucasian Race.
Z-11-369	12/13/1935	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of the above described land and/or premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
Z-12-541	4/28/1938	Eagle Crest	yes	Deed of Dedication	Neither the said land nor any part thereof, shall, at any time, be sold to, conveyed to owned by or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race. This restriction and condition shall be perpetual.
396-38	5/15/1942	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
396-478	11/10/1942	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
401-172	7/1/1942	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
401-68	9/1/1942	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.

421-42	12/27/1943	Veach, Lot 8	no	Bargain and Sale	That no one of said lots nor any part or parts thereof shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian race.
428-355	5/8/1944	Washington Forrest, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	AS A PART OF THE CONSIDERATION FOR THIS CONVEYANCE, the said parties of the second part covenant for itself, it's successor and assigns, that neither the said land, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, rented or devised to, or in any manner owned or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
430-284	9/15/1942	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
435-474	7/15/1944	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
442-192	12/7/1944	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
449-127	3/24/1945	Veach, Lot 7	no	Bargain and Sale	That no one of said lots nor any part or parts thereof shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian race."
453-442	5/8/1945	Veach, Lot 9	no	Bargain and Sale	That no one of said lots nor any part or parts thereof shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to anyone not of the Caucasian race.
474-89	10/24/1945	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
489-439	4/20/1946	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
489-466	2/1/1945	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
491-30	5/17/1946	[Dowden Terrace]	yes	Bargain and Sale	That neither the said lot nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by, any person not of the Caucasian Race.
492-19	4/18/1946	Claremont	no	Bargain and Sale	Subject, however, to the restrictions of record and particularly to the condition and limitation that neither the said property, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, or devised, or in any manner, owned or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
498-152	4/22/1946	Claremont	no	Bargain and Sale	Subject, however, to the condition, limitation, and restriction that neither the said property, nor any part thereof nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to, or in any manner owned or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race. *** This is possibly Fairfax/Arlington but it's filed in Alexandria.
499-142	7/2/1946	DuLaney Tract	no	Bargain & Sale	That no part of said land and premises shall be rented, leased or sold to any person of negro blood.
514-510	10/16/1946	Delta, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No person of the negro race shall occupy, use, or utilize any building or lot with the exception that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by construction employees of the negro race employed during the initial construction of buildings or improvements connected to the lots.

528-26	1/2/1947	[Dowden Terrace]	yes	Bargain and Sale	That neither the said lots, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
530-309	4/10/1946	Washington Forrest, Sec. 1, Block 2, Lot 21	no	Bargain and Sale	AS A PART OF THE CONSIDERATION FOR THIS CONVEYANCE, the said parties of the second part covenant for itself, it's successor and assigns, that neither the said land, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, rented or devised to, or in any manner owned or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
562-312	4/22/1947	[Dowden Terrace]	yes	Bargain and Sale	That neither the said lots, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
573-179	8/28/1947	Delta, Sec. 2	yes	Deed of Dedication	No person of the negro race shall occupy, use, or utilize any building or lot with the exception that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by construction employees of the negro race employed during the initial construction of buildings or improvements connected to the lots.
601-337	1/6/1948	Dowden Terrace, Blocks 3 & 4	yes	Deed of Dedication	That neither the said lots, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
622-263	4/26/1948	Shirley Garden	yes	Deed of Dedication	No lot or lots, or any part thereof, or any interest therein, in said subdivision, shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to or occupied by anyone not a member of the Caucasian race, nor any firm, corporation, partnership or association whose members are not members of the Caucasian Race, except that this covenant shall not prohibit occupancy by domestic servants of another race in the home of members of the Caucasian Race.
673-261	2/3/1949	King's Haven, Sec. 1	yes	Deed of Dedication	No person of any race other than the Caucasian Race shall own, lease, use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.
710-256	8/30/1949	Dowden Terrace, Blocks 5 & 6	yes	Deed of Dedication	That neither the said lots, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
721-15	10/20/1949	Dowden Terrace, Block 7	yes	Deed of Dedication	That neither the said lots, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.
731-270	10/25/1949	Moore-Hill Estates Part A & B	no	Deed of Re-Dedication	That no lot in said Subdivision, nor any part thereof, nor any interest therein, shall ever be sold, leased, devised or conveyed to, or otherwise acquired, occupied or used by, any person not of the Caucasian Race, but this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of another Race while actually employed by and domiciled with an owner or tenant lawfully in possession.
773-177	8/29/1950	Dowden Terrace, Block 8	yes	Deed of Dedication	That neither the said lots, nor any interest therein, shall be sold, leased, conveyed, or devised to, or occupied by any person not of the Caucasian Race.



1286-177	3/10/1955	Dowden Terrace, Block 17	yes	Deed of Dedication	No person of the negro race shall occupy, use, or utilize any building or lot with the exception that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by construction employees of the negro race employed during the initial construction of buildings or improvements connected to the lots.
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