

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia

Other names/site number: DHR #100-0005; Farmers Bank of Virginia, Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank, Alexandria Water Company, Virginia Apartments, The Statehouse Apartments

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: 413-415 ½ Prince Street

City or town: Alexandria State: Virginia County: Independent City

Not For Publication: N/A Vicinity: N/A

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D

		<u>1/10/2025</u>
<p>Signature of certifying official/Title: <u>Julie D. Dangler</u> Date <u>1/10/2025</u></p> <p><u>Virginia Department of Historic Resources</u></p>		
<p>State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</p> <p>In my opinion, the property <input type="checkbox"/> meets <input type="checkbox"/> does not meet the National Register criteria.</p>		
<p>Signature of commenting official:</p>		<p>Date</p>
<p>Title :</p>		<p>State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</p>

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register
 determined eligible for the National Register
 determined not eligible for the National Register
 removed from the National Register
 other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private:

Public – Local

Public – State

Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)

District

Site

Structure

Object

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	buildings
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	objects
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

COMMERCE/TRADE/financial institution/bank
GOVERNMENT/government office
COMMERCE/TRADE/business
DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling
DOMESTIC/single dwelling

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/single dwelling
DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

EARLY REPUBLIC/Federal

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: foundation: STONE; walls: BRICK; roof: SLATE; other: STONE: sandstone, WOOD, GLASS

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia in Alexandria consists of a three-and-a-half-story, freestanding, brick primary block completed around 1807 in the Federal style and two additions built later in the nineteenth century. Both of the additions are constructed of brick and adhere in general to the style of the original building. Owned separately, today the three parts have different addresses: 415 Prince Street (original building), 413 Prince Street (north addition), and 415 ½ Prince Street (west addition). Constructed originally as a bank, the property was later used as government offices, apartments, and as a single-family residence with attached apartment building. It retains details characteristic of Federal period architecture in Alexandria and of purpose-built bank buildings in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence thereby maintains its architectural integrity to its periods of significance despite these changes in use. The resource includes a contributing structure – brick perimeter walls on the south, east, and west – dating to its use as a bank. A freestanding, one-story, noncontributing, brick garage built in the early twentieth century is located on the northeast corner of the property, accessed by a driveway from Prince Street.

Location and Setting

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia is located four blocks from the Potomac River in Alexandria, Virginia, a city of approximately 160,000 people eight miles south of Washington, D.C. The cross street west of the site is South Pitt Street; the cross street to the east is South Royal Street. King Street, a

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significant commercial thoroughfare, runs parallel to Prince Street one block to the north. Prince Street itself is an asphalt-paved, two-way street, 66 feet wide, with parallel parking on both sides and a bike lane on the south. Brick sidewalks with stone curbs and street trees lay between the street and the houses. The resource stands just to the west of the center of the block, which consists of two- and three-story, mostly attached, brick townhouses. The houses are built immediately adjacent to the sidewalks.

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia (**contributing building**) consists of the original circa 1807 bank building and the two additions – referred to in the nomination as the original block, the north addition, and the west addition – along with the former garage (**noncontributing building**) and the brick perimeter wall (**contributing structure**). (Figure 1) The north addition was constructed in the mid-nineteenth century while the building still operated as a bank and was enlarged to the west around 1913. The west addition was built circa 1870. The original block and its two additions were considered one property until it was subdivided into three lots with separate addresses in 1987. The nominated property has a combined width of 72 feet along Prince Street and a maximum depth of almost 109 feet. The original parcel has been altered several times over the years, and the current northwest boundary is stepped to accommodate changes in its relationship to adjacent properties. Unlike most of its neighbors, the Executive Office and Governor's Residence was constructed as a detached building, with open space on either side. The nineteenth-century brick perimeter walls on the south, east, and west, including the metal pickets on the knee wall to the south, remain standing, with some alterations. On the west end of the south wall a gated, brick archway – constructed when the building functioned as a bank – opens onto the small courtyard in front of the west addition. The courtyard contains brick paving, grass, and shrubbery. An opening on the east end of the south wall, flanked by brick piers, accesses a brick, stone, and gravel driveway leading to the one-story brick outbuilding, built as a garage around 1913. The north addition stands west of the driveway and the outbuilding, creating a rectangular open space. This area was relandscaped in 2021 to include stone paving, grass, and planting beds. A brick-paved patio is located between the west addition and the 1913 expansion of the north addition.

The Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia

The original bank block at 415 Prince Street – three-and-a-half-stories high above a basement, constructed of brick in the Federal style circa 1807 as the Bank of Potomac – constitutes the property's primary building. The first floor of the front (south) elevation facing Prince Street contains four bays of alternating windows and doors. Two arched doorways provide access to the main floor of the building. Each is framed with engaged Aquia Creek sandstone columns and capped by a fanlight. Each doorway is filled with paired, paneled, and painted wood doors. Six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash fill the two window openings on the first floor, which have sills and carved keystone lintels of Aquia Creek sandstone. This window form is repeated in the four bays of both the second and third floors. The water table below the windows is painted and parged to resemble stone, while a dentilled stone cornice marks the roofline. Paired, interior,

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brick chimneys rise from the east wall, and a single interior chimney extends above the south slope of the west wall. The street façade is constructed in Flemish bond brick with thin mortar joints, while the other three elevations are laid in common bond. The windows that exist on all three full-height floors of the east and north elevations maintain the stone sill and carved lintel motif of the south façade. On the first and second floors of these elevations, the window openings are filled with twelve-over-twelve, double-hung, wood sash, while the third floor uses twelve-over-eight sash. With the exception of the re-parging of the water table, period-appropriate replacement windows, and asphalt roof material, exterior features are original.

The original arrangement of the first and second floors of the bank block likely consisted of a large room that encompassed the south half of each floor, with the northern half divided into two roughly equal spaces – a stair hall on the northwest and a single room to the northeast. The south rooms included fireplaces on their east and west walls, and the east wall of the northeast room also held a fireplace. Today, the interior of the original bank block contains original materials, as well as period-appropriate and more contemporary elements. The south room of the first floor, today used as a living room, includes original mantels on the east and west walls, as well as original doors, door and window casings, and original floorboards totaling about fifty percent of the floor area. In the northwest corner of the first floor is the stair hall, containing an original half-turn stair with stair rails, stringer decoration, and wall paneling typical of Alexandria's early nineteenth-century architecture. The north wall of the stair hall contains a doorway, now leading to the north addition, that may originally have opened onto to the rear yard of the property. The run of stairs from the first floor to the landing between the first and second floor was reduced by one step in the 1980s, resulting in risers that are steeper here than in the rest of the stair, with the handrail and balustrade altered to fit the arrangement.¹ Non-original features include crown molding, the elliptical archway between the south room and the stair hall, the semicircular arch above the door between the south room and the northeast room, and the location and casing of the doorway between the northeast room and the stair hall.

The second-floor plan mirrors that of the first and contains similar original features – mantels, doors, window and door surrounds, wood flooring, and stairs. The second floor also includes two original doors providing access from the south room to the stair hall and to the northeast room. The current plans of these two floors likely approximate those of the period of significance, with the addition of a partition in each of the northeast rooms to create spaces used today as closets and bathrooms. On the third floor, a wood-framed, arched opening leads from the stair hall into one of two rooms on the south half of the floor. This may reflect the original plan, as this floor was likely used as residential space, although the location of the doorway between the two south rooms has changed. The southwest room includes an original mantel, while the northeast room contains an original soapstone hearth. Window and door surrounds, doors, and flooring also date to the early nineteenth-century construction. In the basement, original structural elements include

¹ Ashley Wilson (homeowner and preservation architect), communication with the authors (electronic mail), October 13, 2021.

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Potomac gneiss stone foundation walls – typical of Alexandria construction – and load-bearing brick arches.

Like the south façade of the original bank block, the east elevation of the two-story, shed-roofed, brick north addition (now 413 Prince Street), likely built in the 1850s, features Flemish bond brickwork with thin mortar joints, with secondary elevations laid in common bond. The windows of the addition's east façade feature wood sills and brick jack arches, with replacement six-over-six, double-hung wood sashes. The southernmost window on each floor was converted to a door in the 1980s. A modern, two-story wood porch with stair fronts the east facade. Porches frequently fronted "flounders," as these shed-roofed buildings were known. The north addition was expanded on the west in about 1913. The expansion contains several types of windows, including two-over-two, double-hung wood sash that likely date from its initial construction.

The south elevation of the two-bay, two-story, shed-roofed, brick west addition (now 415 ½ Prince Street), built around 1870, is also constructed of Flemish bond brickwork with thin mortar joints. Windows on this façade resemble those of the original bank block, with a stone sill and carved keystone lintel on the first-floor window and wood sills and lintels on the second floor. The west addition includes a transom over the front (south) door capped by a carved stone keystone lintel.

A freestanding, one-story, front-gabled, brick outbuilding, constructed as a garage in the early twentieth century, likely at the same time as the expansion of the north addition, is located in the northeast corner of the property. It was renovated in 2021 and is no longer used as a garage.

Narrative Description

Historical Appearance and Evolution of the Property

Site

The Bank of Potomac was organized under articles of association in September 1804.² Two years later, Alexandria merchant Samuel Craig conveyed four parcels of land in the city to the trustees of the Bank of Potomac for \$10,000. The parcels were part of Lot 111, which occupied the southwest quarter of the block bounded by Pitt Street on the west, Prince Street on the south, Royal Street on the east, and King Street on the north. The bank building was likely completed and open for business around 1807.³ In her house history of 415 Prince Street, Ruth Kaye

² John Joseph Walsh, *Early Banks in the District of Columbia, 1792-1818* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1940), 127.

³ Dorothy Holcombe Kabler, "The Governor's Mansion of the Restored Government of Virginia, 1863-1865. 413-415 Prince Street in the State Capital, Alexandria, Virginia," typescript, Alexandria Library, 3-6.

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concludes from the price of the 1806 transaction that the shell of the building had been constructed by that date, and the bank trustees then fitted the building out for use as a banking house. That the Bank of Potomac opened in 1807 lends weight to Kaye's conclusion, as it would be unlikely that such a large, sturdy, and sophisticated structure could have been constructed before the end of 1807 if the property had not been acquired until near the end of 1806.⁴

The footprint of the Bank of Potomac appears on two sketches included in Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia records from 1815 and 1823, with the front façade on Prince Street. Lot lines are not shown on the sketches, but the 1823 drawing describes the narrow piece of property (30 feet wide) immediately west of the building as "vacant," suggesting that it had not been acquired by the bank. (Figure 2) A potential date for the acquisition is 1830. According to tax records, the Bank of Potomac began paying ground rent to Isaac Nichols in 1830 and continued doing so until 1836, when a note in the city books states that the rented property was "sold to bank."⁵ The brick walls flanking the south elevation, at least on the west, may not, therefore, have been constructed until after 1830. The walls, however, were likely completed shortly thereafter, as indicated by their appearance on a bank note issued prior to 1847.⁶ (Figure 3) The symmetrically placed, arched openings in the wall shown on the bank note were typical of such landscape features in the Federal period, and walls and fences were also typical security measures for bank buildings constructed at this time. (Figure 4) One of the gateways (on the west) remains. Its Flemish bond brickwork with thin mortar joints, Aquia Creek sandstone trim, and Adamesque blind arch holding a rectangular gate also suggest an early construction date.

The Bank of Potomac acquired another nearby property during this period. Tax records show that, by 1833, the bank owned a lot with a stable on Pitt Street valued at \$1,200.⁷ The lot measured 51 feet wide by 52 feet deep according to a June 18, 1867, advertisement for the property's sale. The lot backed up to the Prince Street property (described in the advertisement as 76 feet wide and 145 feet deep), creating an L-shaped parcel.⁸ Neither the tax assessments nor the Mutual Assurance Society records indicate outbuildings on the property with the exception of the stable. However, the 1867 advertisement for its sale states that the site included a "Stable, Carriage-house, &c." The appearance of the advertisement soon after the Civil War ended, while Virginia struggled to recover economically, probably indicates that these outbuildings dated from before the war. Given the dual residential and commercial purpose of many early bank buildings

⁴ Kaye, 10-11. Dorothy Kabler, who did the first and most detailed study of the building and upon whose research Kaye relies, conveys the same facts, but does not state the conclusion that Craig constructed the building. See Kabler, 3-6.

⁵ Land Book and Personal Property Tax Assessments 1787-1855 and Tax Ledgers 1851-1899, Microfilm Reel 00027, Alexandria Library, Special Collections.

⁶ The bank note is undated, but since the name "Bank of Potomac" ceased to exist when the bank merged with the Farmers Bank of Virginia in 1847 as a result of the retrocession of Alexandria to the state that year, the illustration must have been made before that date.

⁷ Land Book and Personal Property Tax Assessments 1787-1855 and Tax Ledgers 1851-1899.

⁸ Kabler, 32.

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and the fact that the resident bank officer, Charles Page, held nine people in bondage in 1830, the advertisement's "etc." may have referred to a kitchen, smokehouse, privy, and quarters for enslaved domestic workers. The tax records also indicate that one or two cows were located on the property for most of its pre-Civil War history, suggesting a barn or other such shelter may also have existed in the bank's early years.⁹

Original Bank Block (415 Prince Street)

Exterior: The bank note image shows the south façade of the original bank block much as it looks today – three-and-a-half stories tall, four bays across, with alternating windows and arched doorways on the ground floor and windows aligned above these openings on the second and third floors. The illustrated building likely had a side gable roof and a roofline balustrade between parapet walls. An arched dormer at the center of the roof lights the half story. While the current Flemish bond brickwork with thin mortar joints, Aquia Creek sandstone doorways with engaged Corinthian columns, carved keystone lintels, and stone cornice are not evident in the image, they are undoubtedly original features, having much in common with two Alexandria buildings of similar date, including the Bank of Alexandria.¹⁰ (Figure 5) A 1973 photograph of the Bank of Alexandria shows barred windows at the sidewalk level, and the Bank of Potomac may have included these features; a circa 1960 photograph of the building shows evidence of infill in this area. (Figure 6)

Early depictions or descriptions of the other elevations of the original bank block were not found in research. The elevations would likely, however, have employed the current common bond brickwork with three courses of stretchers between the header courses, as well as stone window sills and carved keystone lintels above the windows of the three full height floors. Based on the circa 1960 photograph referenced above, there were likely three windows on each of the full height floors on the east elevation. That elevation also featured paired chimneys emerging from the slopes of the roofline. On the north, the fenestration pattern of the third floor (three window openings typical of the building with two closer to the east wall and one lighting the stair hall on the west) may have been true for the other two floors before the north addition was constructed. (A door, rather than a window, may well have occupied the first floor opening in the westernmost bay.) Based on existing conditions, the west façade seems to have been constructed without windows, in all likelihood because the 30-foot-wide lot to the west was not yet owned by the bank. The west elevation did include a single chimney rising from the south roof slope.

The configuration of the original window sash throughout is somewhat uncertain but probably resembled the current sash. Windows on the south façade currently hold six-over-six, double-

⁹ Land Book and Personal Property Tax Assessments 1787-1855; U.S. Census, 1830, Charles Page, Ancestry.com, Library Edition, <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/categories/usfedcen>.

¹⁰ Penny Morrill, *Who Built Alexandria? Alexandria Architects, 1750-1900* ([Alexandria, Va.]: Carlyle House Historic Park, Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, 1979), 4-5.

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hung, wood sash, while those on the east and north elevations are twelve-over-twelve and twelve-over-eight, double-hung, wood sash. It has been argued that window panes in Alexandria during this period were likely to be small, with nine-over-nine sash commonplace. The landmark documentation for the contemporary Bank of Alexandria, however, indicates that its six-over-six windows are original. It was also not uncommon to employ higher quality and more expensive materials and building techniques on primary facades with lesser materials and techniques on secondary elevations. That practice is clear at 415 Prince Street in the use of Flemish bond brickwork on the south façade, with common bond brick on the secondary elevations. The current fenestration pattern of the Executive Office may, then, approach the historic pattern, with larger panes and Flemish bond brickwork on the primary façade and smaller panes and common bond brick work on secondary elevations.¹¹

Interior: Original structural materials can be found in the basement of the original bank block. Into the third decade of the nineteenth century, Alexandria builders frequently used Potomac gneiss to construct foundations as a means to protect against dampness rising from the city's moist soils.¹² The foundations of the Executive Office and Governor's residence are built of this stone. In addition, original brick arcades in the basement support the first floor and the load-bearing walls above.

Although no early floor plans of the bank have been found, the historical arrangement of the building can be inferred from bank typology in the United States at this time. Purpose-built bank buildings in the first quarter of the nineteenth century commonly included a large open room on the ground floor for public transactions with a room of similar size on the second floor where bank directors met. Behind these large rooms would be located offices for the president and the cashier, a vault or vaults for secure storage of notes, coin, and records, and a stair hall. Vaults might also be located at the basement level. They usually consisted of a typical, masonry-walled room within the building secured by an iron door. Specially built vaults were also sometimes used. Additional security for cash and records took the form of heavy, but movable, chests secured with metal straps and studs and kept inside the vault room. The locks on the vault doors and the chests required multiple keys, held by at least two employees, so that no single individual could open the secure features. Quarters for the cashier or other high-level bank employee on the upper floors or in an attached wing were also typical, and separation of traffic to the various destinations was common practice. This would usually take the form of separate entrances for

¹¹ "A Shared Heritage: Urban and Rural Experience on the Banks of the Potomac – A Field Guide for Alexandria, Virginia," Thirty-Ninth Annual Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, May 2-5, 2018, 8-9, Vernacular Architecture Forum website, <https://vafweb.wildapricot.org/publications>; National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Bank of Alexandria, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973, Section 7.

¹² "A Shared Heritage: Urban and Rural Experience on the Banks of the Potomac – A Field Guide for Alexandria, Virginia," 9, Thirty-Ninth Annual Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, May 2-5, 2018, Vernacular Architecture Forum website, <https://vafweb.wildapricot.org/publications>.

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the public and for bank directors and sometimes for the resident bank employee. Internal circulation would also be organized with separate stairs for bank directors and the resident employee, as well as railings or counters to divide common space.¹³

The current floor plans of 415 Prince Street illustrate the spatial organization of banks of this period – large, full-width rooms facing the street on the first and second floors, with a stair hall in one corner and smaller rooms for offices in the other corner. Accommodations for a bank employee were located on the third floor, the plan of which mirrored the floors below. At the Bank of Potomac, the single large room was on the south, with the northern portion of the floor divided into the stair hall on the west and a second room, probably an office, on the east. Fireplaces heated all the rooms except the stair hall. As was also typical, separate entrances were provided for bank patrons and bank directors. The Bank of Potomac used two front doors to achieve this goal. The public entered through one door to deposit and withdraw funds from their accounts, while the bank directors and those doing business with them upstairs entered through the second door. The door leading to the upstairs offices and meeting rooms was probably the western one, given its position opposite the stair hall. Among the methods of separating ground-floor spaces in early bank buildings were railings and counters, as well as partitions with openings of various sizes.¹⁴ The existing first floor door beneath the stairs which currently accesses the north addition may originally have opened onto the rear yard, providing another means of separating the public from bank employees and officers. According to a twentieth-century account, the first floor of the Bank of Potomac contained a brick vault, its walls five feet thick.¹⁵ The vault was removed in the twentieth century and its precise location is unknown.

Existing original details on the first floor – wood mantelpieces on the east and west walls of the south room and the east wall of the northeast room; wood doors, window frames, and trim on the south wall; wood stairs with square-plan balusters, stringer trim, and wall molding; and wood floors – manifest the restrained elegance of Federal period design at the bank. Windows were originally fitted with interior shutters; currently, original shutters are located in the northeast room of the first floor and replicated elsewhere. The location and size of the windows, location of partition walls, chimney breasts, and ceiling heights, also remain faithful to early nineteenth-century building design in Alexandria. The second floor of the bank employed the same ornamental devices, fenestration, and circulation pattern as the first floor. On the second floor, the full-width space on the south would likely have functioned as a meeting room for directors, and the use of the smaller northeast room as an office would have suited the bank's purposes.

¹³ Kenneth Hafertepe, "Banking Houses in the United States: The First Generation, 1781-1811," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35:1 (Spring 2000), 15-16, 38-42; *Money Matters: A Critical Look at Bank Architecture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Parnassus Foundation, 1990), 17-20. Please see Section 8 for further discussion of bank architecture.

¹⁴ Hafertepe, 15.

¹⁵ John B. Willmann, "Restored Statehouse Once Served as Capitol of Virginia," *Washington Post*, July 16, 1960.

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Banks frequently provided living quarters for a bank employee, most often the cashier, who would act as onsite security. Tax records list Bank of Potomac cashier Charles Page as associated with the property (often listed as "occupant") beginning as early as 1810 and continuing until at least 1834.¹⁶ A wood-framed, arched opening currently stands at the top of the stairs on the third floor, leading into one of two rooms in the south half of the building. Such an opening would seem to be unusual for a residential floor and the woodwork does not exhibit the wear of other original arches in the building. The Historic American Buildings Survey documentation of the property, however, describes the arch as "in original condition."¹⁷ If so, the archway may have functioned as the entrance to the "public" room of a private residence (the parlor) on the south half of the floor, with the adjoining room on the southeast functioning as the dining room, and the northeast room acting as a bedroom, although that is speculation. A second possibility is that the third floor was also used for banking purposes after the north wing was constructed to house the resident employee. In this scenario, the arched opening would have been added to signify a public space, perhaps a reception area for meetings with bank officers in the neighboring room. If either of these possibilities is true, then the arched opening dates to the period of significance. There is little visible evidence, however, of the original division (if any) of the south half of the third floor. Plans and current conditions indicate that a partition and doors between the south rooms have existed at least since 1984, but the doorways were in different locations in 1984, 2008, and at present. No floor plans prior to 1984 were discovered in research. The third floor does display the Federal decoration and early-nineteenth-century spatial and circulation arrangements, fenestration, ceiling heights, and other features also found on the lower two floors. The chimney breast in the northeast room of the third floor includes a bead at each corner. This decoration may have been part of the original design of all the fireplaces in the building.¹⁸

North Addition (413 Prince Street)

The north addition does not appear in either of the Mutual Assurance Society sketches but is included in an 1862 U.S. Coast Survey drawing of Alexandria. (Figure 7) It was therefore built between 1823 and 1862. An increase in the value of the bank property from \$13,000 to \$14,000 between 1851 and 1857 may indicate that the north addition was constructed during that period. At this time the bank served as a branch of the Farmers Bank of Virginia, the change in ownership being made after Alexandria was retroceded to the state in 1846.¹⁹ Tax records, however, show that at least two people (Charles and Washington Page) lived on the bank premises in 1834.²⁰ The third floor apartment may not have suited accommodations for the two

¹⁶ Land Book and Personal Property Tax Assessments 1787-1855.

¹⁷ Historic American Buildings Survey, "Bank of Potomac, 415 Prince Street, Alexandria," HABS VA 7-Alex 75, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division website, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0086/>.

¹⁸ Homeowner and preservation architect Ashley Wilson made this suggestion.

¹⁹ Walsh, 131.

²⁰ Land Book and Personal Property Tax Assessment 1787-1855 and Tax Ledgers 1851-1899.

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men, especially if either had family. (Census records show that Charles Page's household included one white female between 30 and 39 years old and nine enslaved people.²¹) Given its small size and domestic scale, it may be that the north addition was constructed as a residence for the cashier, with construction taking place sometime between the early 1830s and the mid-1850s. The addition allowed for the original block to be used entirely as a banking house.

The addition takes the form of what was known in early Alexandria as a "flounder" – a one- or two-story "half house formed as if a gabled structure were split down its center," resulting in a steeply pitched shed roof and a tall blank wall on one side.²² The north addition was constructed against the original west boundary of the property, which was not unusual in Alexandria. In a survey of this house form in the city, Christopher Martin noted that such a location increased the open space on the house lot when a two-story flounder was built instead of a gabled, one-story house.²³ Martin's logic may well apply to the Bank of Potomac's rear flounder, given the outbuildings identified in the 1867 sale advertisement.

Exterior: The two-story east façade of the north addition was constructed of brick, laid in Flemish bond with thin mortar joints, as was the south façade of the original bank block. The east façade also had a molded brick cornice. These features suggest that the north addition was not constructed merely as a service building. On the other hand, brick jack arches surmounted window and door openings rather than stone lintels, marking a differentiation between the original bank block and the addition. The original number of window and door openings is uncertain, owing to changes made in the twentieth century to convert the building into apartments. The link between the original bank block and the north addition appears to have been built at the same time as the addition. Based on differences between 1984 and 2008 floor plans, it also appears that the south door on the second floor may originally have been a window. Flounders frequently had galleries on their main façade, although it is not known whether the north addition included this feature when originally built. Secondary facades were constructed of common bond brick, with three stretcher courses between the headers on the north elevation and visible on the two bays of the west elevation closest to the original bank block. The north addition has this brickwork in common with the secondary facades of the original bank building. A portion of the north addition's west façade is currently constructed of common bond brick with five courses of stretchers between the header courses. It seems likely that this represents later construction or repairs.

Interior: The original layout of the north addition is not known. Based on its date of construction, floors were likely constructed of wood, with walls and ceilings plastered. The

²¹ U.S. Census, 1830, Charles Page.

²² Davis Deering, Stephen P. Dorsey, and Ralph Cole Hall, *Alexandria Houses, 1750-1830* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1946), 17.

²³ Christopher Martin, "'Hope Deferred': The Origin and Development of Alexandria's Flounder House," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 2 (1986), 111-119, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3514322>.

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nature of other elements within the house (baseboards, doors and doorcases, interior window trim) is not known, but would undoubtedly have been made of wood. Probably in the early twentieth century, when the building was converted into apartments, these features began to be lost. Partitions were moved, room function altered, and interior and exterior doorways added on the second floor. While some window casings likely remain from its original construction, other elements have either been removed or, in the case of floors, may be covered with carpet or later flooring.

Appearance during the Occupancy of the Restored Government of Virginia

As mentioned, the bank building and north addition housed a branch of the Farmers Bank of Virginia at the beginning of the Civil War. With its head office in Richmond, the capital of the Confederate States of America, the branch ceased operations in Union-controlled Alexandria in September 1861. It is not entirely clear how the building became the home of the executive branch of the Restored Government of Virginia. In all likelihood, the federal government made it available to Pierpont, a close ally of President Lincoln. The United States military requisitioned many buildings in Alexandria for its use during the Civil War, as well as renting them to government entities and civilians. The Bank of Alexandria building on Fairfax Street (by then a hotel) was used as a hospital for United States casualties.²⁴ The provost marshal reportedly used the Prince Street property as a courthouse, and on Pierpont's first trip to Alexandria, in August 1863, he met with the provost marshal, according to a newspaper report.²⁵ In December 1863, Pierpont also appealed to military authorities – including Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and U.S. Army Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes – to help him find a house in Alexandria to use as his residence. The houses in question had been used by the U.S. military but were at the time empty.²⁶

While the building is now known as the Executive Office and Governor's Residence, there were at least four members of the executive branch in Alexandria at this time – governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and secretary of state. Offices for all four were likely located in the former bank building. It also might be considered unlikely for the governor to reside in the building alone, given local secessionist sentiments and a reported threat to Pierpont made in writing by Confederate Colonel John Mosby.²⁷ Reference is made in a newspaper account to at

²⁴ Kabler, 16-17; William M. Lightsey, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bank of Alexandria, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, June 4, 1973, 8:2.

²⁵ Kabler, 19; "Historic Property – Prince Street, 415 (State House)," Vertical Files, Alexandria Public Library, Special Collections, Alexandria, Virginia.

²⁶ Francis H. Pierpont to E.M. Stanton, Secretary of War, December 14, 1863, and Francis H. Pierpont to Acting Surgeon General Barnes, December 14, 1863, *Executive Papers of Governor Francis H. Pierpont, 1861-1865*, box 11, reel 5850, Library of Virginia. Please note that the National Archives and Records Administration was not open to researchers during the preparation of this nomination.

²⁷ Ambler, 248.

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least one aide to Pierpont, and secretaries or clerks to the other officers may have worked there as well. Historian Dorothy Holcombe Kabler stated that the aide in question added "another name to the retinue which had the run of the Governor's Mansion." Her interpretation seems to have been that multiple individuals in the executive branch of the Restored Government worked and perhaps resided in what is now 413-415 Prince Street.²⁸

According to Kabler, unspecified alterations were made to the building to suit its use by the Restored Government in the summer of 1863. No information was found during research, however, describing these changes. Circumstances and the current condition of the building argue against any major alterations at this time, and it doesn't seem likely that work undertaken in the middle of a war would have been substantial. Banks were often built with both office and residential use in mind, and the Executive Office and Governor's Residence shared those purposes. The 1863 work may then have involved repairs or removal of changes made for the provost marshal's use or small alterations to accommodate office functions. The Executive Office and Governor's Residence therefore likely remained much as it was during its use as a bank prior to the Civil War, with the possible exception of the removal of the railings and other devices used to divide the banking room on the first floor.

Alterations

After the Civil War, banking services were again offered at 415 Prince Street, first as the Alexandria branch of the Farmers Bank of Virginia and then as the Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank. Banking functions in the building ended in 1877.²⁹ It was also in 1877 that an addition to the building, attached to the west elevation of the original bank block, appeared in the Hopkins Real Estate Atlas of Alexandria. (Figure 8) The west addition (415 ½ Prince Street) was therefore constructed between 1862 and 1877. In all likelihood, it was built after the sale of the property in 1867, but it is not clear whether First National Bank, which purchased the building after the war, or Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank was responsible. At this time, the property retained its L shape, with a brick stable located on the southern edge of the Pitt Street lot. No other buildings are shown on that lot or on the Prince Street lot in 1877. The Pitt Street property was probably separated from the original lot on Prince Street by 1891, when houses first appear there in a Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

The west addition was built as a two-bay, two-story, shed-roofed, brick building – the typical flounder form – with its front façade on the south. The addition was located behind the existing gated, arched opening in the property's south wall in the area described as vacant in the 1823 Mutual Assurance Society record. Like the original bank block, the south façade of the west addition was constructed of Flemish bond brickwork with thin mortar joints. Windows on this

²⁸ Kabler, 19-21. The quotation from the Kabler text appears on page 21.

²⁹ Kabler, 16, 32-33; Kate Ruth Lincoln, "The History of 415 Prince Street, Alexandria, Virginia," January 15, 1999, 12, 22, Alexandria Library, Special Collections, Ruth Kaye Collection, Ser. I: House Histories, Box 15.

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façade resembled those of the original bank block, with a stone sill and carved keystone lintel on the first-floor window and wood sills and keystone lintels on the second floor.³⁰ The front entrance was located in the west bay of the first floor. The doorway was filled with paired, paneled wood doors, and a transom surmounted the doorway, capped by a carved stone lintel like that over the window. The 1885 Sanborn Insurance map indicates that the south façade featured a metal cornice. (Figure 9) The use of sheet iron for cornices did not become widespread until the 1850s, and the use of other metals for architectural ornaments was new in the 1870s.³¹

Openings on the north elevation matched those on the south – a door on the west and a window on the east on the first floor and two windows on the second floor. The first-floor window on the north elevation, however, currently has a flat metal lintel, while the lintel of the second-floor window is also flat but constructed either of stone or wood (likely the latter). The first-floor lintel may be a later repair. A doorway on the west has been bricked in. The west elevation was built without fenestration. The common bond brickwork on the north and west facades was laid with seven stretcher courses between the header courses.

When built, the interior of the west addition likely consisted of two rooms, one atop the other. A fireplace was located on the west wall of the first-floor room, and both rooms likely had wood floors and plaster walls. The addition also included interior shutters and casing on the first-floor windows on the south wall and a simple wood casing around the brick firebox. The Sanborn Insurance maps, which begin in 1885, depict a doorway between the west addition and the original bank block in the center of the party wall. If the addition was constructed to augment existing office space, which seems likely, then communication between the west addition and the original bank block would be expected. However, the 1885 Sanborn map identifies the function of all three parts of the former Executive Office and Governor's Residence as dwellings, and the west addition has its own house number. Communication between the two properties would, in that case, be unusual.

A coal chute was created in the water table of the bank block's south façade with a metal access door in the sidewalk, probably in the late nineteenth century, when coal heating became more widespread. The coal chute may have replaced an existing window, based on the evidence in the circa 1960 photograph (Figure 6), which shows the coal chute as well as other alterations in the water table that suggest filled openings. The Sanborn insurance maps of the late nineteenth century do not reveal any substantial changes to the buildings by 1885 other than small brick appendages to the north addition and a wood outbuilding to the east. (Figure 9) On the interior, division of the large rooms into smaller spaces may have occurred when the building was used as

³⁰ Alison Ross, Annual Stewardship Report: Bank of Potomac, 415 ½ Prince Street, Alexandria Virginia, Easement Files, July 1, 2015, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia.

³¹ Pamela H. Simpson, "Ornamental Sheet Metal in the United States, 1870-1930," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 11:4 (Winter 1994), 297, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43029135>.

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the offices of the Alexandria Water Company, which began by 1891, according to the Sanborn maps, and continued into the first decade of the twentieth century. It was at about this time that the property fronting on Pitt Street was probably sold off by the water company; the 1891 Sanborn map shows two-story brick dwellings on the property. Also, by this date, a single building number was used for the original bank block as well as the two additions – 415 Prince Street.

Conversion to Apartments

Several exterior changes occurred as part of attorney (and later judge) Robinson Moncure's conversion of the building to apartments – to be known as the "Virginia Apartments" – after he purchased it in 1912.³² It was during this period that the two-story expansion on the west side of the north addition and the one-story brick garage were built. (Figure 10) The expansion of the north addition was flat-roofed and constructed of common bond brick with five stretcher courses between the header courses. It may have incorporated or replaced a square, one-story brick appendage to the north addition that first appears on a Sanborn insurance map in 1885. (Figure 9) The windows of the 1913 expansion had segmental brick arches and likely held two-over-two, double-hung, wood sash, as several do today.

It is also likely that removal of the east arched gateway in the property's south perimeter wall took place at this time. Paired brick piers replaced the gateway, creating a driveway to access the garage. The circa 1960 photograph shows a fire escape on the east façade, and this feature may have been added as a result of the conversion of the building to apartments, either by Moncure or later in the twentieth century. (Figure 6) Two other likely twentieth-century changes were the replacement of the first-floor windows on the south façade of the original bank block with one-over-one, double-hung sash and the insertion of glazing in the upper panels of the west doors of the south facade. (Figure 11)

A 1913 newspaper article published at the beginning of the conversion indicates that the work was planned to result in the creation of three offices on the ground floor and a single apartment on each of the second and third floors in the original building and two apartments in the north addition, presumably one on each floor. The article states that the ground floor of the original block was to include a "wide hall that will lead direct from Prince Street to the stairway." This would apparently have required a north-south partition of some kind in the south room of the first floor, unless such a partition had been built when 415 Prince Street was a bank and remained in place. The apartments on the second and third floors were to comprise seven rooms each, as well as a bathroom, as compared to the three or four rooms per floor that likely characterized the building as originally constructed.³³

³² Kabler, 39.

³³ "New Apartment House," (article from unidentified newspaper), April 20 (?), 1913, Vertical Files, "Historic Property – Prince Street, 415 (State House)," Special Collections, Alexandria Library.

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The next major alterations occurred as part of a renovation of the apartment building completed in 1960 by Robert and Kathleen Beer. The Beers purchased the property from the Moncure family in August 1958. It was the Beers who hired Kabler to prepare the first extensive history of the building to inform their renovation, which won an annual award from the Alexandria Association. The award was given "in recognition of exemplary restoration or adaptation of an historic mansion," according to a 1960 *Washington Post* article. In the original bank block, the Beers' converted the first-floor offices into a single apartment, apparently removing the partition that created the hall between the front door and the stairs in the 1913 apartment building. The renovation reconfigured the floor plans of the second- and third-floor apartments by removing many of the early-twentieth-century partition walls and creating a studio apartment in the half story. The Beers also created another apartment in the west addition. The goal of the restoration was "to preserve the Federal look of the buildings while also keeping brick wall separations, iron fences, gates and brick-faced patio." It seems likely that some early-twentieth-century partitions were retained, or new partitions were built for the creation of bathrooms and closets. Based on this description, however, the primary room divisions of the original bank building were returned to their early nineteenth-century layout. In addition, first-floor windows on the south façade, which had been changed to one-over-one sash, were returned to period-appropriate six-over-six sash, and the glazing of the west doors was replaced with wood panels. Based on photographs from the time period held in the Special Collections Division of the Alexandria Library, it appears that all three windows on each floor of the east façade remained in use after the renovation. (Figure 6) Kathleen Beer, an interior designer, used "Williamsburg" colors throughout the house, according to the *Post* article, and hardware considered appropriate for the building's construction date. Other changes included removal of the brick bank vault on the first floor and painting the west addition a lighter color than the bank block. The Beers' apartment building was known as "The Statehouse," as a nod to the Restored Government's tenancy.³⁴

Transition to Multiple Functions

In the mid-1980s, the Statehouse was transformed into a single-family residence (original bank block, 415 Prince Street), attached townhouse (west addition, 415 ½ Prince Street), and apartment units (north addition, 413 Prince Street). In the original bank block, the basement floor was excavated, and the space turned into a kitchen and family dining room, accessed by a narrow stair along the west wall of the stair hall. Window wells were added on the east and north façades to light the basement. Several other changes that took place after the Beers' 1960 renovation may also have occurred in this period. In the original bank block, these include bricking in the southernmost windows on the east elevation, closing the coal chute on the south and removing its

³⁴ Anna Leesa, "'The Statehouse' at 415 Prince St. Restored to Dignity of Former Seat of 'Restored Government of Virginia,'" *Alexandria Gazette*, June 29, 1960; John B. Willmann, "Restored Statehouse Once Served as Capitol of Virginia," *Washington Post*, July 16, 1960, Vertical Files, "Historic Property – Prince Street, 415 (State House)," Special Collections, Alexandria Library. The quotations are taken from the *Post* article.

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metal doors, parging the water table to look like stone, and taking down the fire escape. Interior changes in the original bank building included the creation of an opening capped by a segmental arch between the south room on the first floor and the stair hall, which replaced what was likely an original rectangular doorway. The opening echoes but does not replicate the elliptical arch at the top of the stairs on the third floor. Floor arrangements generally remained similar to their likely divisions during the periods of significance, judging from 2008 floor plans, with the exception of the northeast room on the third floor, which was converted into a large bathroom. In addition, a small elevator was installed in the southwest corners of the northeast rooms to connect the three main floors. The elevator likely led to the relocation of the doors between the stair hall and the northeast rooms (slightly to the north in the same wall and closer to the stairs). On the first floor, this resulted in the removal of one step from the stair run between the first floor and intermediate landing and alterations to the railing and wall paneling to accommodate the change. The stairs on the second and third floors were not affected. The current metal, picket gate in the archway in front of the west addition does not match the pickets of the adjacent fence and may represent a modern replacement of the original. Interior access between the original bank block and the west addition, if it still existed, was eliminated to separate the two.³⁵

In the north addition, the existing interior space, which likely comprised one apartment on each floor, was divided into two apartments per floor, with a wholesale revision of internal partitions. On each floor, the southernmost window on the east façade was converted to a door to provide access to the south apartments, and the existing stair was altered to create a two-story porch with stair. The existing stair in the west addition is also a product of the 1980s renovation.

The current owners, who purchased 413-415 1/2 Prince Street in 2010, retained the 1980s functional organization (private residence, attached townhouse, apartments) but made several interior changes. The owners returned the northeast room on the third floor of the original bank block to use as a bedroom, revealing the original beaded chimney breast and soapstone hearth that had been hidden in a closet by the previous owners. Other changes include the conversion of the northeast room on the first floor into a kitchen, the creation of a semicircular transom over the door between the kitchen and the south room, the installation of glass and wood folding doors and transom in the elliptical arched opening on the third floor, and the addition of partitions within the southeast room on the third floor to create a bathroom and closets. They also moved the door between the southwest and southeast rooms on the third floor from the center of the wall, where it had been placed in the 1980s renovation, to the south end of the wall.³⁶ The current owners also rebuilt the porch on the east façade of the north addition, replaced the garage door with wood and glass doors, paved the drive with stone and brick, and relandscaped the east open space with planting beds, stone edging, and lawn.

³⁵ Ashley Wilson, interview with the authors, April 28, 2021; 2008 floor plans, courtesy Ashley Wilson; Ashley Wilson, communication with the authors (electronic mail), October 13, 2021.

³⁶ Ashley Wilson, interview with the authors, April 28, 2021.

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As has been noted, most, if not all, of the window sashes in the Executive Office and Governor's Residence have been replaced over the years. The windows are now filled with sash appropriate to the period of construction, especially in the original bank building and north addition. The balustrade that originally stood along the roof line on the south façade is also absent. It is not known, however, when these changes took place. Other undated changes to the original bank block include the addition of windows at the north end of the west façade (increasing light in the stair hall), replacement of baseboards in some spaces, and the addition of chair rails and crown molding. The recent interior detailing remains appropriate to the original Federal-style decoration.

Current Description³⁷

Overview and Site

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia, at 413-415 ½ Prince Street, consists of the original three-and-a-half-story, brick building, constructed as a bank circa 1807, with two-story brick additions on the north and west. The north addition, containing apartments, serves as the rear ell of the building as it stood in the later years of its service as a bank building, as well as its turn as the executive office and residence for Governor Francis H. Pierpoint. The west addition is now the separately owned but attached building at 415 ½ Prince Street. Brick knee walls laid in Flemish bond with stone caps securing metal pickets flank the original bank block on the east and west. On the west, the knee wall ends in a brick gateway dating from the period of significance, laid in Flemish bond and consisting of a rectangular opening set in a blind arch. A replacement metal picket gate fills the opening; it leads to a small courtyard at the entrance to 415 ½ Prince Street. On the east, the low wall ends in a pair of running bond brick piers on either side of a new brick, stone, and gravel driveway. A freestanding brick wall borders the property on the west; the brick wall on the east is engaged with a neighboring building. The brick piers replaced a brick gateway in that location, likely in association with the construction of a brick garage in the northeast corner of the property after the periods of significance. The garage was renovated in 2021 and no longer serves its original function. It is separated from the driveway by turf lawn. A brick patio is located between the north façade of the west addition and the south façade of the 1913 expansion of the north addition. None of the paving on the property dates to the periods of significance.

Original Block (415 Prince Street)

Exterior: The primary (south) elevation of the circa 1807 Federal-style bank building consists of a masonry water table, parged and painted to resemble stone, surmounted by a brick facade laid in Flemish bond with thin mortar joints. While the current treatment of the water table post-dates the period of significance, it may emulate the original treatment, as photographs from the 1960s depict a plastered surface, at that time painted black. On the first floor of the south facade, two

³⁷ Except where noted, features described were extant during the periods of significance.

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arched doorways with engaged sandstone columns alternate with wood-framed windows across the four bays. Two sets of three stone steps rise from the sidewalk to the doorways. Metal handrails are located on each side of the west steps, and boot scrapers are embedded in both sets of steps. The boot scrapers and railings are noncontributing additions. Engaged Corinthian columns with keystone arches, all carved from Aquia Creek sandstone, frame the doors. Two-leaved, wood, paneled doors, each with a semicircular fanlight above, fill the doorways. The engaged columns, arched doorways, and fanlights constitute holdovers from late Georgian design, a common occurrence in early Federal Style architecture. The carved festoons on the Corinthian capitals and the draped urns of the keystones in the arches, however, derive from English architect Robert Adam's style, which influenced Federal design in the United States.

Windows fill the four openings on the south façade's second and third floors, aligned above the openings on the first floor. Window openings on all three floors have stone sills and stone lintels with keystones. The openings hold six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows with thin muntins. The windows are likely replacements in kind, as these windows can be found on other Federal style buildings in Alexandria. A denticulated, stone cornice marks the top of the south facade, above which an arched dormer window is located in the center of the south roof slope. The south face of the wood dormer consists of pilasters flanking the arched window opening, with a carved wood keystone element at the top of the arch. The window is composed of wood casement sash surmounted by a semicircular fanlight. The cornice returns of the gabled dormer roof rest on the pilasters. Sandstone pedestals on the east and west ends of the modern asphalt shingle roof indicate the absence of the balustrade that originally marked the roofline. The pedestals form the lower ends of the stepped parapet walls on the gable ends of the roof. The narrow, south faces of the stepped walls and of the interior chimneys can be seen above the pedestals.

The east elevation is constructed of common bond brick with a header course for every three stretcher courses. Two eight-over-eight, double-hung, wood sash windows with brick jack arches are set in recently built wells on the east elevation to light the basement. The two windows on each of the three full height floors are located in the northern half of the façade. On the first and second floors, these windows hold twelve-over-twelve, double-hung, wood sash with stone sills and stone lintels with keystones. On the third floor, twelve-over-eight sash is employed with the same sills and lintels. These window sashes have replaced the originals but may replicate the original forms. In the half story beneath the roof, a nine-over-six, double-hung, wood sash window with a brick jack arch at the center of the east façade provides illumination. This likely represents an alteration in the original east elevation after the period of significance, perhaps when a studio apartment was established there around 1960. The stone end of the parapet wall that once functioned as a pedestal supporting a balustrade on the roof can be seen on the south end of the façade, and the paired interior chimneys are linked by brick construction that disguises the side gable roof. A modern, metal downspout is located near the south edge of the façade.

The north elevation is also laid in common bond with three stretcher courses for each header course, and, like the east elevation, a recent window set in a well at ground level lights the

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basement. On the north, however, this window is capped by a brick arch with a keystone, likely post-dating the periods of significance. Also like the east elevation, windows on the first and second floors of the north elevation are replacement twelve-over-twelve, double-hung, wood sash with original stone sills and carved stone lintels with keystones, and the third-floor windows are twelve-over-eight sash with the same details. On the north, the two first- and second-floor windows are located on the east half of the building, while the third floor has three windows – two in the east half, aligned with the windows of the first and second floors, and one to the west, which lights the stair hall. The south end of the north addition covers a little more than half of the lower two floors of the north façade, hiding what may have been an original exterior door. The eastern edge of the north addition also covers small sections of the sill and lintel of the first-floor window and a small section of the sill of the second-floor window. The north elevation has no cornice but does have a wood dormer window that is detailed in the same manner as the dormer on the south. The roof is drained by a recent metal gutter with metal downspout near the east edge of the façade.

The lower two floors of the original bank building's west elevation, which is constructed of common bond brick with three stretcher courses between the header courses, are partially obscured by the west addition. The gable of the roof and the interior chimney ventilating the fireplaces in the southwest rooms of the original bank block are visible at the top of the west façade, as is the stone pedestal that forms the south end of the parapet wall and formerly secured the roof balustrade. Three windows pierce the west elevation, all three capped by brick jack arches. Two of these windows are located on the lower floors near the northwest corner of the building and light the stair hall. The other lights the half story. All three are double-hung, wood sash windows – six-over-six, on the first floor and in the upper half story and twelve-over-twelve on the second floor. The dates of the west façade windows are uncertain. The windows lighting the stair hall may have been added after the north addition covered the original windows, the half-story window when the studio apartment was created around 1960.

Interior: The south room on the original block's first floor, currently used as a living room, extends the width of the building and features dark-stained wood floorboards of irregular widths, painted wood baseboards and chair rails, plaster walls, and crown molding. The crown molding is a recent addition. Approximately half of the floorboards are original. The interior faces of the two deep, arched doorways and their intradoses on the south wall are composed of painted, paneled wood, and the arches feature carved wood keystone ornaments. A fanlight above each of the two-leaved, paneled wood doors admits light into the south room, as do the wood framed windows with deep sills, interior shutters, and paneled soffits. The shutters replicate original features; the door and window casings date to the original construction. The south room has one fireplace in the center of both the east and west walls. Each fireplace has a brick hearth and a Federal-period mantel featuring paneled wood pilasters that support a wood entablature. The entablature decoration includes squares of reeding alternating with flat squares, suggesting the dentils of a cornice, below a continuous band of reels. On the west end of the north wall, a segmental arched opening, added in the 1980s, leads into the stair hall. The framing, inside faces of the opening, and intrados of the arch replicate motifs found in the doors on the south wall.

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A semicircular, arched opening and fanlight added by the current owners surmounts the doorway that leads from the south room into the northeast room, currently outfitted as a kitchen. The arch is detailed to resemble the doorways in the south wall, and the doorway is closed by two paneled leaves. Kitchen appliances are located against the west wall of the northeast room, while the rest of the space retains the Federal-style decoration of the south room – wood floors, baseboards, and chair rails; plaster walls and ceiling with recent crown molding; fireplace with wood mantel. Decoration in the northeast room is simplified, relative to the south room, as appropriate for what would have been a secondary space in the original bank building. The mantel of the fireplace in the east wall, for instance, has pilasters and entablature, but does not have the same level of carved ornament. Window frames are also less detailed than their counterparts in the south room. The interior shutters of the windows of the northeast room are original.

The stair hall, in the northwest corner of the building, can be accessed through the segmental arch from the south room or a door from the northeast room, added after the period of significance. Along the west wall of the stair hall on the first floor, a narrow flight of steps, added in the 1980s, leads down through the wood floor to the basement. A door on the north wall, which may have originally opened to the rear yard, accesses the north addition, as it did when the addition was constructed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The half-turn stairs rising through the stair hall to the attic again show the simplicity of form characteristic of Federal design. Constructed of wood, the stair is composed of painted risers and stained treads, simple knobbed newels, slender square-plan balusters, a continuous handrail, and foliate stringer trim. The newels and handrails are repeated against the staircase wall, but without the balusters. Windows to light the stair are located on the west wall on the first and second floors and on the north wall of the third floor. The west wall windows were likely opened after the north addition was constructed. The locations and casings of the doorways on the east wall of the stair hall date to the 1980s. This renovation also resulted in the removal of one step of the stair run from the first floor to the landing, with accommodating alteration of the railing and wall paneling. The remaining stair runs were not affected.

The second floor mirrors the first floor in general layout and most details. The full-width south room, currently used as an office, employs the same woodwork, mantelpieces, and (later) crown molding as the room below, although its original wood floorboards are regular in width (approximately three inches). The second floor also includes original, six-panel, wood doors in doorways into the stair hall and the northeast room, which functions as a bedroom. Windows employ the same features as on the first floor with one exception: while the windows downstairs include plaster walls below their deep sills, the windows on the second floor have wood paneling below their much shallower sills. Built-in bookcases were added to both the east and west walls of the south room after the period of significance. The northeast room continues the details of the south room with the exception of the mantel, which includes fluted engaged columns supporting an entablature consisting of a pulvinate architrave, flat frieze with oval decoration in projecting panels, and molded cornice. A closet and a bathroom built by the current owners are located

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between the northeast room and the stair hall in a space created as a butler's pantry in the 1980s. A short passage between the two link the northeast room and the stair hall.

The south half of the third floor consists of two spaces, a bedroom on the west and a recently built master bathroom with associated closet space on the east. The bedroom is entered from the stair hall through a broad opening with an elliptical arch in the north wall. The arched opening has the same wood framing, paneling, and carved keystone ornament used elsewhere on the interior and may date to the period of significance. The folding wood and glass doors and plain glass transom above the doors were added by the current owners. The wood floors, mantel, chimney breast, windows, and crown molding match those on the second floor. A door with glass transom at the south end of the east wall (relocated there by the current owners) leads into the bathroom, and a door in the north wall of the bathroom accesses the closet. These spaces include wood flooring and window and trim, but otherwise employ a combination of period appropriate baseboards and door frames, as well as modern materials and conveniences. The northeast room, which is also used as a bedroom, features a non-original mantel in a simplified Federal style, with an original soapstone hearth, in a chimney breast with beaded corners that is probably also original. The remainder of the room includes details of floors, baseboards, window treatment, and ceilings like those on the second floor. A bathroom and a closet (both post-dating the period of significance) are located between the northeast room and the stair hall, with a short passage between.

The stair hall and its decoration continue to the attic, which is used as a bedroom. The attic's interior space consists primarily of a single large room, lit by arched dormer windows on the north and south and a post-period of significance, double-hung window on the west. Non-historic closets with wood doors and strap hinges are located on the east and west beneath the sloping ceiling. A modern bathroom is located on the east side of the floor, illuminated by a later window in the east wall. With the exception of the dormer windows, few of the finishes in this room date to the period of significance.

Structural elements stand out at the basement level. These include the Potomac gneiss foundation walls, brick arcades supporting the bearing walls above, and exposed floor joists in the ceiling. Now used as a family room, the basement has a post-period of significance tile floor and recessed lighting in portions of the ceiling. A brick-arched opening in the foundation wall on the north, also added after the period of significance, accesses the basement of the north addition.

North Addition (413 Prince Street)

Exterior: The primary façade of the two-story north addition, constructed as a half-gable "flounder," probably in the 1850s, faces east. The seven-bay elevation consists of a single-bay hyphen connecting the original bank block and the addition, now used as apartments. The east façade of the addition is laid in Flemish bond brickwork with thin mortar joints, like the south façade of the original bank building. Window and door openings employ jack arches, and windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash with wood sills. There is evidence of

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alterations to most of the window and door openings, with the exception of the link door. In most cases, these changes suggest that windows were converted to doors, likely when the north addition was subdivided into apartments. Each of the three doorways on the first floor includes a transom. A paneled wood door in the link includes a sphinx door knocker and wood screen door. Doors on both floors in the remainder of the addition are wood and glass with wood screen doors. The paneled wood door in the link likely dates to the north addition's original construction, while the remaining wood and glass and screen doors post-date the period of significance. An original, molded brick, S-curve cornice caps the east front of the north addition, and a recent shed-roof dormer window is located on the addition's asphalt shingled shed roof. The two-story porch and stair that fronts the building façade, providing access to the second-floor apartments, was added by the current owners, replacing an earlier stair. It consists of four elliptical arches resting on square plan posts on each floor. The arches feature decorative keystones. A railing of wood posts and top rails runs between the posts on the second floor.

The north and west elevations include portions of both the original north addition and its circa-1913 expansion. The north wall of the north addition is constructed of common bond brick with three stretcher courses for every header course, as are the secondary walls of the original bank block. The flounder wall is blank except for one six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash window on the first floor and another near the peak of the shed roof. Both windows have soldier arches, suggesting that they were later additions. The north elevation of the 1913 expansion retreats from the north addition facade in two steps. Its blank walls are laid in common bond brick with five stretcher courses between the headers.

The nature of the flounder's half gable construction and the stepped expansion are visible on the west elevation. Brickwork is common bond, generally with three courses of stretchers between the headers but with some variations. One six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash window is located in the west wall of the north addition just below the roof line and above the 1913 expansion. It lights a loft in the south apartment and likely post-dates the period of significance. In the west wall of the north addition, south of the 1913 expansion, windows are six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash with jack arches above and wood sills below. A recent, wood and glass door with wood screen door is also located in this section of the wall. Windows in the 1913 expansion are set in openings with segmental arches. Most of the windows are two-over-two, double-hung, wood sash, but one-over-one and six-over-six windows are also present. The latter are more recent additions. There is also a two-over-two, double-hung, wood sash window on each floor of the south façade of the 1913 expansion. The two-over-two windows throughout the expansion are likely to be the 1913 sash.

Interior: The north addition is divided into two apartments on each floor. Door framing, floors, ceilings, fixtures, and appliances are all modern. The existing floor plans date to the 1980s. Between the apartments and the main block of the house is space containing a laundry room and mechanical room in the basement, a stair, and an au pair apartment on the second floor. As in the apartments, interior finishes here are modern.

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West Addition (415½ Prince Street)

Exterior: The two-story south façade of the residence at 415 ½ Prince Street, probably constructed between 1867 and 1877, echoes the original bank block to the east. Set back from the street, behind the site's brick archway and knee wall with metal pickets, the two-bay south façade features Flemish bond brick construction, six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows, a stone sill on the first-floor window, and carved stone lintels with keystones over the first-floor window and the door. A two-leaved, paneled wood door, surmounted by a transom, fills the doorway. Second-floor windows have wood sills and lintels, with the lintel carved to resemble those in the original bank block. The metal cornice that once defined the top of the south wall is no longer extant, replaced by a recent metal gutter and downspout draining the shed roof. The narrow face of the addition's brick interior chimney can be seen rising from the west wall.

The blank west elevation is constructed of brick laid in common bond, with seven stretcher courses for each header course. It is built against to the original western brick perimeter wall that was part of the bank property. The north elevation of the west addition is constructed in the same manner as the west elevation. On the first floor, it has one window in the east bay and a bricked-in doorway on the west. Two windows pierce the north wall on the second floor. The first-floor window has a metal lintel, while the flat lintels of the second-floor windows are wood. The metal lintel, not found elsewhere in the west addition, may indicate that the window was not original or that an original window was repaired.

Interior: Internal spatial arrangements of 415 ½ Prince Street consist of a single room on the ground floor, a stair along the east wall built in the 1980s, and a bedroom and bathroom on the second floor. Floors are constructed of stained wood, and walls are painted plaster or non-original wallboard with a painted wood baseboard. On the first floor, the south wall includes the interior face of the transom and paneled, two-leaved door on the west and a window with interior shutters on the east. Three stained wood steps descend below the window from the stair landing in the southeast corner of the room. The post-period of significance stair features stained wood treads and risers, a painted wood stringer board, dark-stained wood newels and handrails, and square-plan, painted wood balusters. A stained wood handrail on metal brackets is affixed to a painted wood band against the wall. Beneath the stair on the north is an expanse of brick wall laid in common bond with three courses of stretchers to each course of headers – a part of the original exterior wall of the bank block. This area serves as the kitchen. The north wall includes a window near its eastern end with a paneled wood soffit. The west wall includes the fireplace with simple painted wood mantel in the chimney breast at the center of the wall and a utility closet in the northwest corner. The four walls, the window and door in the south wall, and the fireplace and mantel are probably original features of the first floor, while the stair, closet, and perhaps the north window post-date that construction.

The second-floor bedroom, on the south, is similar in construction to the first-floor room. Walls are painted plaster or wallboard. The bedroom is lit by two windows in its south wall. The casings of these openings do not match those on the first floor, having jambs that are angled

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outward from the window sash to the interior face of the wall, representing either recent window replacement or an effort to bring additional natural light into the space. The east and west walls of the bedroom are blank. A two-paneled wood door at the east end of the north wall opens onto the stair landing. A window in the north wall of the stair landing lights both the landing and the stair. This window's casing also angles outward from the window sash to the interior face of the wall. A recently renovated bathroom stands in the northwest corner of the second floor, entered from the stair landing. At the second-floor level, the ceiling, the location of the window openings, and the window surrounds date from the period of significance. The north window, stair landing, and bathroom do not.

Garage

A one-story, painted brick outbuilding constructed as a garage, probably around 1913, is located in the northeast corner of the property. The building was renovated in 2021 to convert it to use as an office. It includes a front gable, composition roof with new flashing. Clapboards surface the gable ends. Access is provided on the south façade, the broad opening of which is filled with a two-leaved glass and wood door flanked by glass and wood panels. The building is separated from the driveway and the north addition by a turf lawn.

Statement of Integrity

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia retains integrity to its periods of significance (1807-1861 and 1863-1865). The buildings now located at 413-415 ½ Prince Street display features deriving from their original construction, as well as later changes. All three parts of the building remain in their original **location** on Prince Street in the well-preserved Alexandria Historic District, a National Historic Landmark. The original relation of the Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence to Prince Street and to its neighboring buildings in an area of mixed commercial and residential properties also remains, only slightly altered by the addition on the west (415 ½). Significantly, while the property boundary has changed since the period of significance, the building remains detached from surrounding buildings on a lot that is the same width and approximately the same depth as during the periods of significance. Important site features, including the brick walls on the east, south, and west, with metal picket fencing and brick gateway on the south (slightly altered), have also been retained. During its banking days, the property included a lot with a frontage on Pitt Street, creating an L-shaped parcel, but that part of the property did not hold substantial buildings during the periods of significance and had been separated from the property by 1891. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence therefore also displays integrity of **setting**.

Integrity of **design** is evident in the consistent manifestation of the tenets of Federal style as practiced in Alexandria domestic and commercial architecture in the early nineteenth century and in its adaptation of Federal design to the requirements of a bank building. The Federal style's restrained elegance can be seen in the circa 1807 bank block in its Flemish bond brick

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construction with thin mortar joints on the primary façade, stone lintels with carved keystones, and Aquia Creek sandstone ornamentation at the doorways, as well as in the delicate decoration in the mantelpieces and the staircase of 415 Prince Street. The design is instantly recognizable as being related to other buildings nearby in Alexandria. Further, and more importantly, the building retains elements common to bank buildings of the period, including the use of two doors on the primary façade of 415 Prince Street as a means of separating traffic within the bank, a large room for the public banking transactions, a second large room on an upper floor for the use of bank directors, and walls surrounding the property for security. Banking was in its infancy in the United States in the early nineteenth century, and the adaptation of period construction techniques and Federal design elements ties the building to its architectural period of significance.

The only significant losses on the exterior from the periods of significance are the stone balustrade that likely topped the south façade and the southern windows on the secondary east facade. While changes to the floor plans of the original bank block were made later, more recent rehabilitation work has returned the Executive Office and Governor's Residence to a strong adherence to the floor plans that existed during the periods of significance. These floor plans – including large rooms on the south and smaller spaces on the north, as well as separate front doors and enclosed stair hall to separate traffic – witness the building's original public and private functions that suited it for use as both a bank and as the Executive Office of the Restored Government. Modern intrusions into this arrangement are generally limited to the insertion of spaces functioning as closets and bathrooms between the stair hall and the northeast rooms and east of the third-floor bedroom. The northeast room on the first floor has also been converted to a kitchen by the current owners.

Expansion of the original bank block took the form of two-story additions on the north (413 Prince Street, later expanded on the west) and west (415 ½ Prince Street). Both use elements of the original bank block architecture to be compatible with the original architecture and yet are clearly distinguishable from the bank building by their size, location, and construction. For the north addition, likely built around 1850, original exterior features include Flemish bond brick work, brick jack arches over window and door openings, and a molded brick cornice. The west addition (415 ½ Prince Street), constructed around 1870, hewed more closely to the primary façade of the Executive Office, emulating its doors, windows, and brickwork. The exterior of the north addition thereby retains its own integrity to the periods of significance, and the west addition, due to its small size and secondary location, does not detract from the integrity of the primary block. The interiors of both these secondary buildings have been changed. In the case of 413 Prince Street, these changes hinder its ability to convey details of its original design, but its residential function during that time remains clear.

Integrity of materials and workmanship is evident in the main block's random ashlar Potomac gneiss foundation walls, hand-made red brick laid in Flemish bond on the front façade and common bond on the side and rear walls, slender mortar joints, carved Aquia Creek sandstone door surrounds with engaged columns and finely cut Corinthian capitals, stone sills and keystone

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lintels, and hand-carved wood mantelpieces. Window and door frames, wood floors, chimney breasts, chimneys, and other features all contribute to this understanding of nineteenth-century materiality and craftsmanship. Modern elements in the kitchen and bathrooms constitute the primary alterations from the original features. The north addition shares the main block's integrity in its brickwork (including the molded brick cornice). The materials on the interior of the north addition are almost entirely lost or hidden, negatively affecting its ability to display the workmanship of its period of construction.

Together, the integrity of location, setting, design, materials, and workmanship results in integrity of **feeling** and **association**. The extant form, details, and construction of the Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence convey the **feeling** of an early-nineteenth-century, Federal-style building (with north addition) in Alexandria's urban setting. Such buildings might be adapted to residential or commercial functions. The small number of later changes to these elements do little to alter this feeling except in such spaces as the kitchen and the bathrooms. The building's larger size links it to important commercial properties of the city, such as the Bank of Alexandria at 133 Fairfax Street, to which its design and construction are related. Its origin as a bank building is conveyed by the two exterior doors and by the organization of its interior rooms. The west addition, with its small size and subordinate location, does not detract from this understanding. Many buildings of the size and prominence of 413-415 ½ Prince Street, abandoned when U.S. Army troops secured Alexandria in the early days of the Civil War, were converted to uses supporting the cause of union, whether by military or civil authorities. The Executive Office and Governor's Residence maintains the large rooms and finely detailed features that existed during the Civil War. The alterations to the interior of the north addition, a secondary building, only slightly undermine this feeling. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence therefore also retains integrity of **association** with banking institutions and substantial buildings requisitioned for the war effort, conveying its significance as the location of both nascent banking operations in the early republic and important actions aimed at perpetuating the United States as established by the Constitution within a state that had been part of an attempt to dissolve that union. Its integrity is comparable to the other three early nineteenth-century banks in Virginia that are already listed in the National Register of Historic Places. (See Section 8, "Extant Early Nineteenth-Century Banks in Virginia," below.)

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

POLITICS/GOVERNMENT
ARCHITECTURE
COMMERCE

Period of Significance

1807-1861 (Criterion A: Commerce, Criterion C: Architecture)
1863-1865 (Criterion A: Politics/Government)

Significant Dates

1807
ca. 1850

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Unknown

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraphs (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Criterion A

Commerce

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia was one of the three earliest banks established in the new national capital of the United States. The bank was organized in 1804 and opened its purpose-built facility at what is now 415 Prince Street in 1807. The building is significant at the state and local levels under National Register Criterion A in the area of commerce for housing one of the pioneering financial institutions in Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, Virginia. Commercial banking itself was a new industry in the United States at the time, with no such institutions having been founded prior to the American Revolution and only a handful in existence before 1800. The country grappled with the proper way to finance government and stimulate commerce during this period, experimenting with central banks such as the First and Second Banks of the United States, banks incorporated by the states in which they were located, and banks organized as limited partnerships by articles of association, which derived from community needs and interests. The Bank of Potomac fit into the last category, operating as an unincorporated bank from 1804 until it received a charter from Congress in 1811. The bank successfully navigated the rise and fall of the central banks, fluctuations in the local and national economies, and the transition of Alexandria from a town within the District of Columbia to a city in the state of Virginia. Federal and state authorities renewed its charter consistently for fifty years until the Civil War irrevocably altered the commercial and political landscape. The Bank of Potomac building is the only extant example in Virginia of a successful limited partnership bank from this period. As such, the property embodies an early approach to the creation of a banking institution by local residents to respond to the needs of their city and state during the formative years of the nation's financial history.

Politics/Government

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia is also significant under National Register Criterion A at the state level in the area of politics and government for its role in an often overlooked aspect of President Abraham Lincoln's Civil War strategy for restoring to the nation areas of the country that had attempted to secede from the United States. The strategy involved utilizing the pro-Union citizens residing in the seceding states to form loyal governments. Lincoln envisioned the territory of these governments growing as the United States military progressed in its campaigns against secessionist armies, eventually leading to loyal governance for the entire state and full restoration of its federal rights and privileges. Virginia's Restored Government was the first of these loyal governments to be established, in 1861, and maintained its governance in Union-secured areas of

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the state throughout the war. After the western counties of Virginia formed the loyal state of West Virginia, in 1863, one of the architects of the new state, Francis H. Pierpont, became governor of the remaining Unionist areas of Virginia, taking up office and residing at what is now 413-415 ½ Prince Street. Here, he crafted and implemented his administration's strategy to execute the president's policies while exercising the day-to-day functions of a state executive.

Over time, the strategy Lincoln and his administration conceived for restoring the Union at the conclusion of the war evolved toward a determination to abolish enslaved labor in the United States. Pierpont, directly collaborating with the administration, became the first governor of a seceding state to call upon its legislature to rewrite the state constitution to emancipate its enslaved residents. The General Assembly of the Restored Government of Virginia drafted and passed a new state constitution accomplishing this goal in the spring of 1864. The action reconciled the state to federal policy, as enshrined in the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and other executive actions, erasing any discrepancies between state and federal law that might have formed the basis for post-war judicial action against universal freedom. The constitution closely followed the state's existing organic law in many areas, in an effort to ease the transition to the post-war period but included several significant changes in addition to abolition. Numbered among these were a statewide system of education and paper ballots for elections rather than public voice vote that might be subject to intimidation.

The General Assembly of the Restored Government also ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, abolishing slavery at the federal level, in early 1865, making Virginia the first seceding state to do so. At war's end, the Restored Government, supported by President Andrew Johnson, seamlessly and peacefully undertook governance of the entire state and arranged elections for new local, state, and federal officers throughout the commonwealth. The 1864 Virginia Constitution remained law until a new state constitution conforming to the requirements of Congressional Reconstruction took effect in 1870. Though short-lived, the actions of the Restored Government of Virginia were consequential. They embodied Lincoln's plan for restoring seceding states to the Union as well as the president's embrace of abolition as the ultimate outcome of the war – all while continuing day-to-day government functions in a state that saw more Civil War battles than any other. The Prince Street building is the best extant physical representation of the Restored Government and its place in United States and Virginia history.

Criterion C

Architecture

The buildings and grounds at 413-415 ½ Prince Street are also significant under Criterion C at the state and local levels in the area of architecture as a rare example of early bank architecture in the city and the state. The unknown builder of the Bank of Potomac adapted contemporary construction techniques, floor plans, and decorative details to the functions of a bank, itself a recent commercial innovation in the United States that did not yet have a standard typology. At

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this time, few models were available for American architects and builders to follow in the design of financial institutions. The Bank of Potomac followed a residential model, its building resembling a large, freestanding, Federal period house. The design included two doors on the front façade, a separate stair hall, and likely a rear door to organize circulation, as well as a banking hall, a directors meeting room, and residential accommodations for a bank officer.

The original block of the Bank of Potomac and Executive Office and Governor's Residence displays Federal period forms and details, tying the building to the period during which early bank typology was developed. Influenced by the architecture of Robert Adam and his brothers in England, the Federal style included symmetrical elevations and plans, entrance decoration, and delicate ornamentation. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office's keystone lintels and columns with swags attached to its Corinthian capitals (carved from Aquia Creek sandstone), arched door openings, slender stair elements, and carved mantelpieces fit neatly into the style as practiced in Alexandria. The brick wall flanking the building's south façade, especially its gated opening on the west, set in a blind arch with sandstone trim, also adheres to Federal design principles. The gated wall was also an element of early bank design.

Both the use of contemporary aesthetic details and construction techniques and the domestic appearance of the bank were common throughout the country during this period, before many banks turned toward temple-form public buildings as their models. Few such buildings, however, have survived. Only three other purpose-built bank buildings from the period of the two Banks of the United States (1791-1836) are known to exist in Virginia, and the Bank of Potomac/Executive Office is contemporary with the earliest, the Bank of Alexandria. Both were in operation by 1807. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence retains the important exterior features and many of the interior elements of this early period of banking history, making it one of the few surviving examples of the domestic type of bank building in Virginia.

The original building was added to on the north and west sides. The north addition, constructed circa 1850, was built during the period of commercial and architectural significance and retains its exterior integrity to those periods. Likely built as a residence to free up additional space with the bank block, it represents the continued success of the bank before the Civil War and does not detract from the architecture of the primary bank building due to its location in the rear of the original building and its complementary construction. Neither does the west addition, constructed after the periods of significance, detract from the resource's integrity, due to its small size and subordinate position relative to the primary bank block.

Periods of Significance

The period of significance for the property under Criterion A in the area of commerce and under Criterion C in the area of architecture begins with the opening of the Bank of Potomac in the building in 1807 and continues until it closed its operations in 1861 at the beginning of the Civil War. Banking services were offered for only a brief period after the war's conclusion before the

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building function changed to that of an office. It was subsequently used as apartments and a single-family dwelling. The period of its significance under Criterion A in the area of politics/government begins in 1863 and end in 1865, the period during which the building housed the Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia, as well as the period during which the significant events in which it played a part took place.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Introduction

The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia was constructed in three primary building campaigns (Figure 1). The products of all three campaigns are included in the National Historic Landmark Alexandria Historic District. The historic district was designated an NHL in 1966 and is listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register (DHR #100-0121, 1968) and the National Register of Historic Places (NRIS # 66000928, 1969, updated 1984 and 2017). The oldest part of the Executive Office and Governor's Residence, which consists of a three-and-a-half-story brick building at what is now 415 Prince Street, was completed around 1807 as the Bank of Potomac. It has been determined individually eligible for the Virginia Landmarks Register. A two-story addition, now 413 Prince Street, was constructed north of the original building, probably around 1850. These attached buildings functioned as a bank until the Civil War. From the fall of 1863 until the late spring of 1865, they housed the Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia. After the Civil War, the building returned to use as a bank for a brief period, and a two-story addition was constructed on the west by 1877 (now 415 ½ Prince Street). Since that time, the property has been used as offices, an apartment building, and a single-family residence. Around 1913, the north addition was enlarged on the west, and a one-story brick garage was built in the northeast corner of the property. The site did not receive permanent multiple address numbers until 1987, when it was divided into three separate parcels. The property covered by this National Register nomination consists of one contributing building, one noncontributing building (the circa 1913 garage), and one contributing structure (the perimeter walls, comprised of brick walls and metal pickets, brick piers, and brick gateway and metal gate).

Criterion A – Commerce (State and Local Significance)

Banking in the Early United States

Banking emerged as a profession in the west in Renaissance Italy, and the first bankers were merchants who, due to their trading connections, cash flow, and expertise in investment, were able to lend money, practice exchange of foreign currencies, and conduct foreign trade. The merchant bankers first operated out of exchanges and then in their family palazzi, helping to establish domestic architecture as a model for later banking establishments. A similar course was taken as the banking profession spread through western Europe. The Bank of England,

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established in London in 1694, resembled a pair of large Palladian houses with a domed banking hall inside.³⁸

There were no banks, as they are understood today, in the British colonies of North America. Borrowing and lending were generally private matters between individuals or groups, as was investing and the storage of wealth. Colonial governments issued paper money. The onset of the American Revolution spurred the development of the banking industry in what would become the United States, as the former colonies sought means to finance their war. Not surprisingly, the Bank of England provided the model for the financial practices of the rebelling colonies. The Continental Congress established the first U.S. bank in 1781, chartering the Bank of North America in Philadelphia for the specific purpose of funding the revolution. It began its operations in 1782.³⁹ Such was the uncertainty as to where legal authority lay for organizing financial institutions in the United States that the Bank of North America was also chartered by the state of Pennsylvania, in case it was determined that Congress did not have the authority to do so. A year after the American Revolution ended in 1783, banks opened in New York and Massachusetts. The Bank of New York began operating without a charter from any government. Its organization consisted of a constitution (written by Alexander Hamilton), directors, and shareholders who purchased stock in the company to finance the venture. When sufficient capital was accumulated, the bank opened for business. The Massachusetts Bank, on the other hand, received a charter from the state legislature before it opened and was organized following the rules and regulations of the Bank of North America. It, too, sold shares of stock.⁴⁰

In 1791, after the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, Congress established the Bank of the United States (later to become known as the First Bank of the United States) in Philadelphia. A central bank – meaning that it acted as the fiscal agent of the federal government – it was empowered to regulate credit and monetary conditions in the country, to lend capital to commercial banks, and to issue paper money. It was capitalized at \$10 million, and its 25,000 shares were held by the United States government and by private individuals. The bank's charter was set to last twenty years.⁴¹

With the creation of the Bank of the United States, the legislative branch of the federal government effectively removed itself from the business of incorporating banks, entrusting that authority to the central bank. Branches of the Bank of the United States were subsequently established in New York, Boston, and Norfolk, among other places.⁴² Alexandria was one of the

³⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 193-196; Lois Severini, *The Architecture of Finance: Early Wall Street* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983), 8-9.

³⁹ Severini, 18-19.

⁴⁰ Walsh, 8-13.

⁴¹ Severini, 3; Walsh, 13-15.

⁴² Kenneth Hafertepe, "Banking Houses in the United States: The First Generation, 1781-1811," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35:1 (Spring 2000), 9-11, 35-37, JSTOR,

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localities whose citizens sought a branch of the central bank – almost immediately after the Bank of the United States was created – but was not selected. In 1792, Alexandria citizens petitioned the Virginia General Assembly for a bank charter and that petition was granted. The Bank of Alexandria opened the following year in rented quarters, the first bank chartered in Virginia and the second south of Philadelphia.⁴³ Although the seat of the national government had been determined in 1791 to include within its 10-mile square boundaries the town of Alexandria, federal rule did not begin until the government actually arrived in the District of Columbia, which was not scheduled to take place until 1800. The Bank of Alexandria was therefore also the first bank established in Washington, although it was organized under Virginia law. The second bank established in the District, the Bank of Columbia in Georgetown, was chartered by the state of Maryland in 1793 for the same reason.⁴⁴

The uncertainties of legal authority to establish banks likely led the founders of the Bank of Potomac – the third bank to operate within the limits of the District of Columbia and the second in Alexandria – to begin its existence as an unincorporated bank. Although it has been argued that the problem of lobbying members of the general assembly for a charter influenced the supporters of the Bank of Potomac to begin its existence without a charter, Virginia law no longer applied to Alexandria in August 1804, when the bank's proposed articles of association were published in the *National Intelligencer and Daily Advertiser* newspaper. In addition, Congress had made no provisions for establishing banks in the District of Columbia upon moving from Philadelphia, other than through the Bank of the United States, which had already rejected a branch bank in Alexandria. In this legal limbo, supporters of an additional bank in the port town chose to follow the path of the Union Bank of Baltimore. They created a private commercial bank as a limited partnership through articles of association (modeled on those of the Union Bank) that established the terms and conditions of the company and designated the opening of subscription books on September 6, 1804, at the city courthouse. The bank's goal was to sell \$500,000 in capital stock at \$100 per share. The articles – published multiple times in newspapers such as the *National Intelligencer*, the *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, and the (Richmond) *Enquirer* – identified fifteen organizers of the new bank, which included Phineas Janney, Thomas Swann, Thomas Vowell, and Cuthbert Powell.⁴⁵ All were notable businessmen in Alexandria who entered into similar partnerships designed to improve the town's economic viability through such improvements as the construction of turnpikes and canals.⁴⁶

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1215273>.

⁴³ Walsh, 20-21, 28.

⁴⁴ Walsh, 64-65.

⁴⁵ Charles E. Howe, "The Financial Institutions of Washington City in Its Early Days," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 8 (1905), 8, 15; Walsh, 127-128; Library of Congress, "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers," <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>.

⁴⁶ Janice Artemel, "1800-1840," in *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax, Virginia: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1978), 194-208.

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Such partnerships were not without risk. Philip Richard Fendall, a friend of George Washington who had been a director of the Bank of the United States in the 1790s and the president of the Bank of Alexandria in 1793, declared bankruptcy in 1803 partially as a result of purchases of shares in infrastructure stock companies that failed.⁴⁷ One writer wrote a nearly full-page letter to the editor of the *Alexandria Daily Advertiser* describing the legal and financial flaws in the Bank of Potomac project and warning fellow citizens to refrain from investing in it.⁴⁸

Negative examples and dire prophecies notwithstanding, Janney, Swann, Vowell, Powell, and company succeeded in their venture. On September 11, 1804, five days after the opening of the subscription books, the organizers declared that the company stock had been sold.⁴⁹ More importantly, the financial stability of the bank proved to be long-lasting. A U.S. House of Representatives report on February 2, 1810, stated that, since the bank opened in 1804, it had been "prudently conducted, had a solid credit and its utility was tested by constant demands on its capital."⁵⁰ That report was made in the midst of congressional consideration of extending the charter of the Bank of the United States. When Congress declined that renewal in January 1811, institutions such as the Bank of Potomac sought congressional charters of their own. The Bank of Potomac received its charter on February 16, 1811, one of six that Congress incorporated in a four-day period.⁵¹

The number of banks increased dramatically after the charter of the Bank of the United States expired on March 4, 1811, as states and private banks sought to fill the void at the same time that the central bank's standards for establishing financial institutions disappeared. The War of 1812 practically ended payment in specie, opening a space for banks that printed their own paper notes. One example of the explosion in new banks was a single piece of legislation passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1814 that chartered forty-one banks. Congress incorporated twelve banks in the District of Columbia, including the Bank of Potomac, between February 1811 and March 1817. All told, the number of banks in the United States increased from eighty-eight in 1811 to 246 in 1816. The amount of paper money in circulation tripled during that period.⁵²

⁴⁷ T. Michael Miller, "Visitors from the Past – A Bi-Centennial Reflection on the Life at the Lee-Fendall House, 1785-1985," (typescript), Lee-Fendall House Archives. Fendall also lost heavily after purchasing tens of thousands of acres of land in Kentucky.

⁴⁸ Walsh, 128.

⁴⁹ *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, September 11, 1804, "Chronicling America," <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024012/1804-09-11/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=1804&index=2&date2=1804&words=Bank+Potomac&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=Virginia&rows=20&proxtext=%22bank+of+potomac%22&y=14&x=16&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Walsh, 129.

⁵¹ Walsh, 101.

⁵² Ibid., 123-125.

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The large quantity of bank notes in circulation resulted in the decrease in their value relative to gold. This circumstance interfered with the federal government's ability to pay its obligations and fund its operations since its revenues were largely collected in the depreciated currency. The federal government was also forced to borrow from state banks because the central bank no longer existed and to accept the interest rates those banks imposed. As a result, Congress approved the Second Bank of the United States on April 10, 1816, in order to restore the value of currency in the country, which it generally succeeded in doing by the beginning of the next decade.⁵³ Some banks went out of business as a result of the new central bank; others merged in order to survive. In the District of Columbia, Congress took steps to foster this process and the health of its financial institutions, including requiring mergers. In 1821, Congress renewed the Bank of Potomac's charter and provided for its merger of the Union Bank of Alexandria, which had begun operations in 1814 during the period of "bank mania," as it was called. The Union Bank ceased to exist, and its assets and stockholders were added to those of the more established Bank of Potomac, effective April 1, 1821.⁵⁴

Congress renewed the Bank of Potomac's charter in 1821, 1836, 1841, and 1844. These renewals took place during and after the demise of the Second Bank of United States, the charter of which expired in 1836. The nation subsequently relied on state banking systems to regulate its financial institutions. The Bank of Potomac was absorbed into this system when the District of Columbia retroceded Alexandria to Virginia in 1846. On March 1, 1847, the General Assembly incorporated the bank under the commonwealth's laws and provided for the Bank of Potomac to become a branch of the Farmers Bank of Virginia.⁵⁵ The Alexandria branch of the Farmers Bank functioned at what is now 413-415 ½ Prince Street until September 1861, by which time the United States had already secured Alexandria from potential invasion by the army of the Confederate States of America. The branch's assets were removed to Richmond, where the Farmers Bank headquarters was located. The Alexandria branch resumed business on Prince Street on February 16, 1866, but by June 1867 the property was being offered for sale. First National Bank of Alexandria purchased it on June 24, 1867, and assigned it to Leonard Marbury, an attorney. He transferred the property to William H. Marbury, a cousin, on October 28, 1868. William Marbury had been the cashier for the Alexandria Branch of the Farmers Bank in 1860 and may have continued banking services there after he acquired the property. By 1877, the Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank operated out of the building, but its use as a bank also ended in that year. The building was thereafter used as dwellings, offices, and apartments.⁵⁶

⁵³ B.H. Beckhart, "Outline of Banking History from the First Bank of the United States Through the Panic of 1907," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 99 (January 1922), 2-3, JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1014504>.

⁵⁴ Walsh, 129, 137-139.

⁵⁵ Beckhart, 3-4; Walsh, 131.

⁵⁶ Kabler, 16-17, 32-33; Lincoln, 12, 22.

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Criterion A – Politics/Government (State Significance)

Unionism in Virginia in 1860

The presidential election of 1860 is usually understood as a contest focused on the sectional divide between different parts of the country over the issue of the enslavement of Americans of African descent as a labor force and the spread of such enforced labor into the western territories of the United States. As in the debates over enslavement leading to the Compromise of 1850, a package of federal laws passed to satisfy both advocates of enslavement and those who sought its restriction, the divide over slavery in 1860 was understood to have the potential to cause civil war. Enslavement of African Americans gained even greater prominence in the politics of the country after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision (*Dred Scott v. John F.A. Sandford*), that the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited enslavement in some parts of the western territories, was unconstitutional. The ruling made slavery legal throughout the country. The divide over enslavement resulted in the Democratic Party splitting into northern and southern branches and in the establishment of two new parties, the Republican Party and the Constitutional Union Party, both made up of former members of the Whig Party. The Whig organization had collapsed in the early 1850s over the issue of slavery as played out in the Compromise of 1850. The parties formed around the varying degrees of importance its members attached to keeping states and territories within the United States and their approaches to the question of enslavement. The term “Unionism” developed to designate those who championed maintenance of the United States in its existing form. “Unionism” was also qualified with terms like “conditional,” “unconditional,” and “constitutional” to identify different approaches to accomplish the same goal.⁵⁷

Like much of the country, Virginia voters were divided in their loyalties during the presidential campaign. The 1859 raid on the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, then located in northwest Virginia, by a party of abolitionists led by John Brown convinced many in the state that northern abolitionists intended the destruction of southern society.⁵⁸ Despite these sentiments, however, most of the state remained committed to remaining part of the United States. An editorial on the front page of the *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser* on election day, November 6, 1860, urged this position. “Adopt that glorious sentiment of the great ‘Defender of the Constitution,’” the editorial read. “LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND

⁵⁷ Peter B. Knupfer, “Compromise of 1850,” 149-150; James A. Rawley, “Abraham Lincoln,” 448-449; Eric Daniels, “Whig Party,” 827, *Oxford Companion to United States History*, Paul S. Boyer, editor in chief (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Michael Levy, “United States Presidential Election of 1860,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1860>; Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), 142-144; Thomas B. Alexander, “Persistent Whiggery in the Confederate South 1860-1877,” *Journal of Southern History* 27:3 (August 1961), 305.

⁵⁸ Brent Tarter, *Virginians and Their Histories* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 234-235.

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INSEPARABLE.”⁵⁹ Using the words President Andrew Jackson uttered at a dinner in 1830 during the nullification crisis, in which he overcame South Carolina’s attempt to vacate federal laws by threatening to send the U.S. military to the state to enforce them, the newspaper called on Virginia voters to lend their support to the candidate for president from the Constitutional Union Party, John Bell. The *Fredericksburg News* and other newspapers carried similar endorsements.⁶⁰ The platform of the Constitutional Union Party stressed adherence to the U.S. Constitution and focused primarily on protecting the United States from the “disunion” threatened by sectional issues, most importantly the spread of slavery into western territories. It was made up mostly of moderate, former members of the Whig Party.

Bell carried the day in Virginia by the slimmest of margins, receiving 74,701 votes to 74,329 for the runner-up, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, then vice president of the United States. Breckinridge was the candidate of the Southern Democratic Party, which advocated complete freedom from restraints on the practice and spread of enslavement of Black Americans. Abraham Lincoln, the winner in the presidential race of 1860, finished a distant fourth in Virginia, garnering only 1,929 votes (1.15 percent). Lincoln and his Republican Party were considered the political organization most receptive to curbs on, or complete abolition of, enslavement. All told, however, presidential candidates committed to maintaining the United States in its existing form, including Northern Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, accounted for nearly fifty-six percent of the ballots cast for president in the 1860 presidential election in Virginia.⁶¹ The Old Dominion was not alone among the states that practiced enslavement but also included a large segment of the voting population that wished to remain part of the United States. Throughout the south, forty-nine percent of voters had cast ballots for either Bell or Douglas, both Unionist candidates, in 1860, “indicating,” according to historian Alexander B. Thomas, “at least something less than ardent southern nationalism, if not an unconditional aversion to secession.”⁶²

Virginia maintained its Unionist stance for nearly six months after the election of Lincoln, an avowed opponent of the spread of enslavement to western territories, while seven other southern states voted to break their ties to the United States over the issue of a state’s right to enslave Black people and to carry them into the western territories if they so desired. In elections of delegates to a state convention on the issue of secession, held on February 4, 1861, Virginians chose a large majority of delegates that favored keeping the Commonwealth part of the United States. By one tally, 120 of the 152 delegates initially opposed secession.⁶³ Other assessments

⁵⁹ “Rally: Conservative Men, Whigs, Union Men!!” *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*, November 6, 1860, 1.

⁶⁰ Steven E. Nash, “‘The Devil Let Loose Generally’: James W. Hunnicutt’s Conceptualization of the Union in Fredericksburg,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 126:3 (2018), 302.

⁶¹ Tarter, 235-238.

⁶² Thomas B. Alexander, “Persistent Whiggery in the Confederate South 1860-1877,” *Journal of Southern History* 27:3 (August 1961), 307.

⁶³ William S. Hitchcock, “The Limits of Southern Unionism: Virginia Conservatives and the Gubernatorial Election of 1859,” *Journal of Southern History* 47:1 (February 1981), 57.

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place the Unionist advantage at 2 to 1. Nearly all of the state's cities and most of its counties elected Unionist delegates, with secessionist delegates concentrated in counties with large populations of enslaved workers. These counties were mainly located south of the Rappahannock River and east of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

The convention remained in session from February 13 until May 1, 1861, during which time a conference presided over by Virginian and former president John Tyler sought a compromise that would bring the states that had already voted to secede back to the Union. That conference failed, but as late as April 4, 1861, the Virginia convention voted against secession 90 to 45. Historian Brent Tarter has written that Virginia, through its election of Unionist delegates, its willingness to wait for a compromise agreement that would restore to seceding states to the Union, and its convention vote against secession, held "the only state [secession] convention that tried to save the Union rather than leave it."⁶⁴

As Tarter also points out, however, the debates during the convention in Virginia centered on preserving the United States, not on the issue of enslavement, and no delegate spoke out against the practice. Many considered that remaining in the Union would provide better protection for enslavement than leaving it.⁶⁵ "Conditional" Unionists viewed secession as a last resort, and a coalition of conditional and unconditional Unionists kept Virginia part of the United States while other southern states seceded. Conditional Unionists, however, preferred to remain in the United States only so long as the national government in Washington did not resort to "federal coercion" to prevent southern states from seceding if they chose to do so.⁶⁶ As was the case with other states in the upper south, the Virginia convention did not approve a secession ordinance until Lincoln, on April 15, 1861, called for 75,000 volunteer troops to defend the federal fortifications at Fort Sumter after they had been fired upon by secessionists. The president's action constituted evidence of "federal coercion" in the eyes of Virginia's conditional Unionists rather than protection of federal, and therefore the nation's, interests. On April 17, the Virginia convention voted 88-55 to hold a referendum for the state's voters on an Ordinance of Secession. The ordinance passed on May 23, with most of the support for secession coming from voters in eastern and central Virginia. A majority of voters in the Ohio Valley west of the Allegheny Mountains voted against the ordinance, as did a significant number of men in the upper Potomac Valley.⁶⁷

The Lincoln Administration's Initial Plans to End Secession

In his first inaugural address to the nation after winning the presidency, on March 4, 1861, President Lincoln had stated the legal argument upon which his actions to prevent additional

⁶⁴ Tarter, 239-241. The quotation from Tarter can be found on page 240.

⁶⁵ Tarter, 241.

⁶⁶ Bowman, Shearer Davis, "Conditional Unionism and Slavery in Virginia, 1860-1861: The Case of Dr. Richard Eppes," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 96:1 (January 1988), 32-34.

⁶⁷ Tarter, 242-243.

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secession and to end the rebellion would be founded. "I hold, that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual," he said and went on to use the metaphor of a contract that, once signed, cannot be altered unilaterally but only by agreement of all the parties involved.⁶⁸ Since all the parties involved in the union of the thirty-four American states had not agreed to allow the southern states in question to withdraw from the United States, their secession was invalid, Lincoln argued. Further, since the means of revising the relationship among the states was included in the U.S. Constitution (the amendment process) and since the southern states had not successfully pursued that course,⁶⁹ the right to revolt against tyrannical governments, recognized by Lincoln in his address, could not be invoked. The "governments" organized in the seceding states had therefore usurped the authority of the U.S. Constitution and were illegal. Lincoln and the members of his cabinet understood the secession ordinances as attempts by individuals or groups of individuals to overturn legitimate state governments. As the Constitution requires the executive branch of the federal government to guarantee a republican form of government in each state (Article IV, Section 4), Lincoln was obligated to quell the rebellions in what ultimately became eleven seceding southern states in order to restore the legitimate governments that existed before the rebellion.⁷⁰

The states that had passed secession ordinances did so primarily because they suspected that, as president, Lincoln would take steps to end the practice of enslaving African Americans to perform unpaid labor for southern White enslavers or at least would seek to prohibit the spread of that practice into new territories and states. In his inaugural speech, however, the president expressed his understanding that the constitution placed restraints on the actions he could legally take regarding enslavement. He quoted from one of his own speeches in order to allay southern fears that a Republican administration meant federal efforts to end the practice. "I do but quote from one of those speeches," he said, "when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so.'"⁷¹ Six weeks after his inauguration, in his call for troops to respond to the attack on Fort Sumter and in his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in Maryland after attacks on Massachusetts troops in Baltimore and the destruction of railroad bridges by

⁶⁸ Abraham Lincoln, *Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1, General Correspondence: First Inaugural Address, Final Version*, March 1861, 1, manuscript/mixed material, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mal0773800/>.

⁶⁹ A proposed amendment to the constitution that affirmed the rights of states to regulate slavery within their limits, while prohibiting the federal government from interference with state laws on slavery, passed both houses of Congress before Lincoln's inauguration, but was not ratified. (Lincoln, *First Inaugural Address, Final Version*, 7, n. 49.)

⁷⁰ William C. Harris, *With Charity for All: Lincoln and the Restoration of the Union* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 1-2, 19-20. Lincoln preferred the term "restoration" of the Union as it stood when he was elected in 1860 to "reconstruction," which implied the inclusion of newly created or recreated states to replace earlier states that were no longer part of the Union.

⁷¹ Lincoln, *First Inaugural Address, Final Version*, 1.

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Confederate sympathizers, Lincoln emphasized the constitutional clauses that authorized him to take such actions (Article II, Section 2 and Article I, Section 9). He also stressed their limited purpose – again to quell the rebellion and maintain the political integrity of the United States. Congress passed resolutions approving those actions when Lincoln summoned them into special session to deal with the crisis in July 1861. As historian William C. Harris has pointed out, in the first years of the war, Lincoln did not see the federal government's task as imposing "a new political system on the South." Instead, he sought "to replace in power those disloyal Southerners who had usurped constitutional authority with loyal Southerners who would restore legitimate governments in their state."⁷²

With this legal understanding of the attempted secession of eleven southern states in place, as well as an awareness of the constraints placed on the power of the executive by the Constitution, the Lincoln administration developed a policy to restore legitimately elected governments in the south. The policy evolved as the Civil War progressed and as the administration was forced to respond to the exigencies of the political situation in each state, success or failure on the battlefield, relations with Congress, elections, and an understanding of the implications of each action the government might take. The policy involved the continued presence and collaboration in the seceding states of citizens loyal to the federal government, which, along with military success in the areas in each state where these loyalists were concentrated, would create a "nucleus" of Unionists and territory around which a state loyal to the United States could grow. The Lincoln administration envisioned these nuclei growing until they encompassed the entire state that had tried to secede. The administration considered this a near-term approach, a way to restore the southern states to their pre-war relations with the other states with little bloodshed or alteration of the existing social order. It constituted "self-reconstruction" by the citizens of the states that had attempted to secede, rather than imposition of republican government through federal power. Under this policy, governments loyal to the United States were established in parts of Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, with additional attempts made in Alabama and Texas. These governments existed only where anti-secessionists were concentrated and where the federal military had success. With the exception of the area of Virginia that would become West Virginia, however, Unionism, although present throughout the Confederacy, did not live up to the Lincoln administration's expectations. It was either subdued by Confederate civil and military authorities or stifled by local politics.⁷³

The Formation of the Restored Government of Virginia

Lincoln found his greatest success in resisting secession within a southern state with the Restored Government of Virginia, established in the summer of 1861. In the month between the adoption

⁷² Harris, 9, 16-23. The quotations are on page 9.

⁷³ Harris, 101, 123-125, 143; Richard Lowe, *Republicans and Reconstruction in Virginia, 1856-1870* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 15, 203 n. 21. Attorney General Edward Bates used "constitutional nucleus" to describe the idea in an August 1861 letter. Lincoln used the term "tangible nucleus" in his 1863 Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction.

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of the Ordinance of Secession by the convention and the referendum that approved it, citizens of Virginia loyal to the federal government, mostly located in the northwest portion of the state, between the Ohio River and the western slopes of the Allegheny Mountains (now West Virginia), organized to avoid being drawn into secession. The people living in these areas did not rely on enslaved labor in their manufacturing companies and small farms, as those in the eastern and southern parts of the state did, and they considered that the laws of the state gave unfair advantages to the "slave power," as they called it, both politically and economically. They strongly opposed secession, which they felt was undertaken to perpetuate the existing unfair political system. Delegates who voted against secession on April 17 left Richmond quickly, some of them threatened with violence by supporters of the ordinance. Robert Snyder Carlile, a slaveholding Unionist convention delegate from Clarksburg, Virginia, who envisioned chaos and federal military rule resulting from secession, met with Lincoln in Washington, D.C., on April 20. The president encouraged Carlile to rally opposition to secession before the ratification vote on May 23. Two days later, at a meeting in Clarksburg, Carlile "secured the call for a convention to meet at Wheeling on May 13 to consider" action against secession.⁷⁴

Ultimately, two conventions took place in Wheeling, a manufacturing city along Virginia's Ohio River border with the state of Ohio and less than a dozen miles from its border with Pennsylvania. It was in Wheeling, in 1856, that the Virginia state Republican Party was formed, and the Republican national convention for the 1860 elections was slated to be held there before John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry convinced party organizers to move their proceedings to Chicago. With Virginia's final decision undetermined at the time of the May 13 convention, delegates could not agree on appropriate action. Among those considered were creating a provisional government for the northwestern counties of Virginia, annexation to Pennsylvania or Ohio, and becoming a separate state. The convention did agree to meet again in Wheeling beginning on June 11, after the referendum on secession had taken place and the state's direction had become known.⁷⁵

At the Second Wheeling Convention, delegates from thirty-four counties (thirty-two in northwestern Virginia, plus Fairfax and Alexandria), where a quarter of the state's White population lived, considered several options, ultimately agreeing to form a government that would remain loyal to the current federal government. The formation of this regime would allow existing business, political, cultural, and familial ties with the rest of the United States to continue. Francis Harrison Pierpont, an attorney for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and a successful manufacturer, formulated the legal basis for the new government. Representing Marion County at the Wheeling conventions, he was a member of its Committee on State and Federal Relations. Biographer Charles Ambler stated that Pierpont attended the conventions with fully worked out plans for how the anti-secessionists should proceed, and his ideas echoed those

⁷⁴ Tarter, 219-221, 246; Harris, *With Charity for All*, 20-21; "Carlile, John Snyder, 1817-1878," *Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress*, <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/C000150>, accessed August 10, 2021.

⁷⁵ Lowe, 9-12.

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of the Lincoln administration, as articulated in the president's inaugural address. He relied on the understanding that Virginia officials had misused their authority in determining to secede from the United States, thereby delegitimizing their government. Such a situation empowered citizens to establish their own government by the "Lockean right of revolution" and an 1848 Supreme Court decision holding that Congress had the authority to determine, in cases of disputed claims, which state government was legitimate in order to guarantee a republican form of governance, as required by the U.S. Constitution. Further, since Virginia's secessionist actions were illegal, disloyal federal, state, and local office holders could be replaced with newly elected loyal ones.⁷⁶

For his legal analysis and leadership – a contemporary stated that "no man supplied a larger proportion of moral force in the resistance to secession in Northwestern Virginia than did Francis H. Pierpont"⁷⁷ – the convention elected Pierpont governor of Virginia on June 20, whereupon he immediately wrote to President Lincoln requesting federal troops to repress the rebellion in the western counties. Lincoln's agreement to do so, with the support of his cabinet and through the response of Secretary of War Simon Cameron, and his authorization for Pierpont to raise regiments to fight under the flag of the United States, represent the first federal recognition of the Restored Government of Virginia. With this endorsement, Pierpont called the legislature of the Restored Government into session. Established by the Second Wheeling Convention, this general assembly, meeting on July 1, consisted of forty-nine members representing forty-eight counties. The new government represented nearly one-third of the 150 counties that made up the state prior to secession.⁷⁸

Among the duties of the General Assembly was election of United States senators to replace those who had vacated their seats to join the attempted secession.⁷⁹ One of those elected was John S. Carlile, who had met with Lincoln shortly after Virginia's convention approved a secession ordinance. On July 4, 1861, the U.S. Congress seated individuals elected under the authority of the Restored Government in the House of Representatives, and on July 13, it seated the newly elected senators. By doing so, Congress recognized the Restored Government of Virginia and the officers elected under its laws as the legitimate republican government of the state. Congress's action also "endorsed Lincoln's limited purposes in the war and his policy of encouraging Southern loyalists to establish nuclei governments looking toward a quick restoration of civil control," according to William C. Harris.⁸⁰ Virginia could also lay claim to having represented the ideal of Lincoln's restoration policy. The citizens themselves conceived of and carried out their resistance to secession, formed a government to maintain their loyalty to the United States under constitutional principles, and received from the United States recognition of their government's legitimacy and protection against invaders. Lincoln, members of his

⁷⁶ Lowe, 13; Charles Henry Ambler, *Francis H. Pierpont: Union War Governor of Virginia and Father of West Virginia* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 83-89. The quotation comes from Lowe.

⁷⁷ Ambler, 84.

⁷⁸ Lowe, 14-15.

⁷⁹ At this time, U.S. senators were still elected by state legislatures, rather than by popular vote.

⁸⁰ Harris, 23.

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cabinet, and other politicians understood the actions undertaken by the northern and western Virginia counties as offering a potential model for loyalists in other southern states.⁸¹

Expansion of the Restored Government of Virginia to the Eastern Shore

In what must have also gladdened the Lincoln administration and other Unionists, the area under the jurisdiction of the Restored Government grew to include the two counties on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, Accomack and Northampton, before the end of 1861. The counties were important to the military and political strategy of the United States during the Civil War, situated as they were along the Chesapeake Bay water route to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware and connected by land to the Eastern Shore counties of Maryland. Enfranchised citizens of Accomack and Northampton had voted almost unanimously in favor of Virginia's secession ordinance, even though Accomack's delegate to the secession convention had voted against the ordinance both times it was considered.⁸² Major General John Adams Dix, who commanded the U.S. Army's Department of Maryland from July 1861 until May 1862, quickly recognized the importance of preventing Eastern Shore secessionists from threatening or spreading their ideas north into Maryland, a slave state that had its share of secessionist sympathizers. By the end of his first month in command, Dix had written to Secretary of War Cameron to suggest that three or four regiments of Union troops be sent into Northampton County, which bordered Maryland, to break up a secessionist encampment estimated to include 1,000 to 3,000 men. The operation would also disrupt illicit trade between Virginia and Salisbury, Maryland, which was the southern terminus of the Delaware Railroad. A U.S. presence would help prevent supplies from reaching Virginia and the Confederate military.⁸³

Other Unionists in Maryland saw the same threat, including Maryland Governor Thomas Hicks, and urged action. As Virginia was not part of Dix's area of command, he was not able to address the situation under his own authority, and the War Department took more than a month to respond, acting only after receiving instructions from Lincoln to follow the advice given by the general and the governor. Quick action was needed to remove any hope Maryland secessionists may have held in the run-up to a November election for governor between Unionist Augustus Bradford and States Rights Party candidate Benjamin Chew Howard.⁸⁴ Dix was authorized to prepare an operation on Virginia's Eastern Shore that followed the Lincoln administration's early concept for a quick restoration of the seceding states to their former status. Backed by an

⁸¹ Harris, 21-23; Lowe, 13-16.

⁸² Matthew Ostergaard Krogh, "The Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Civil War," master's thesis, Virginia Polytechnic and State University, 2006, 9-13.

⁸³ Susie M. Ames, "Federal Policy toward the Eastern Shore of Virginia in 1861," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 69:4 (October 1961), 433-435.
<http://www.jstor.com/stable/4246790>.

⁸⁴ The Unionist candidate Bradford earned sixty-eight percent of the vote in the election. Suzanne Ellery Chappelle and Jean B. Russo, *Maryland, A History*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 152.

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overwhelming force of some 4,500 federal troops (the secessionist force was later determined to amount to no more than 1,500 men), Dix, a slaveholder himself, first sent a proclamation to residents of Accomack and Northampton counties announcing his plans and promising that his intent was not to “invade the rights of person or property” – meaning that he would not free enslaved men and women – but threatening “severe chastisement” if his troops faced any resistance. The proclamation argued that submission to the U.S. military would increase economic activity on the Eastern Shore, which had always been directed northward to Maryland, rather than across the mouth of the Chesapeake to the rest of Virginia. Return to the United States would also “put an end to the embarrassments and restrictions brought upon you by a causeless and unjustifiable rebellion.”⁸⁵

The operation Dix planned, begun on November 12, 1861, was executed by Brigadier General Henry Lockwood. A significant aspect of the plan required strict discipline on the part of his troops with regard to uncompensated requisitioning of property belonging to locals in the areas they marched through so as not to incite resentment among the local population. For the most part, Lockwood was able to enforce such discipline, although the military did requisition several churches for use as barracks and stables. Dix’s plan also involved rather leisurely movement of U.S. troops southward, rather than surprise attacks. This approach would allow Confederate sympathizers to disperse, rather than unite to defend themselves. The Confederate-leaning militia members located on the Eastern Shore took advantage of the opportunity that Dix’s plan offered and disappeared into the countryside. As a result, by late November Accomack and Northampton counties were restored to the United States with no battles or skirmishes fought and without fatalities or bloodshed. The approach had the disadvantage of allowing secessionists to escape capture, and many later fought for the Confederacy in other theaters of battle. Raids across the bay by Confederate States of America (CSA) military units took place off and on during the war, although none threatened United States governance.⁸⁶ President Lincoln provided the official response to the bloodless triumph in his December 3, 1861, message to Congress, pointing to the Eastern Shore as evidence, along with decisions by Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Western Virginia to remain in the Union, “that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.”⁸⁷ The Virginia nucleus had been expanded.

Local government was initially administered by the U.S. military, but Lockwood wrote to Dix on November 22 suggesting the departmental commander write to Pierpont requesting that the governor quickly order an election for both local and congressional offices. Pierpont agreed and executed this strategy, and elections were held on January 25, 1862, for local officials (clerks of the circuit and county courts, commonwealth’s attorney, sheriff, surveyor, and commissioners of the revenue), as well as representatives to the General Assembly and to Congress. Unionist candidates won every office, receiving 1,200 votes in an eligible population of about 2,000 people. Gillet F. Watson, a slaveholding planter from Accomack County, represented the Eastern

⁸⁵ Ames, 442-443.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 444-450.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 458.

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Shore in the Virginia Senate, taking his seat in Wheeling on February 1, 1862. Elected to the House of Delegates was Samuel W. Powell, also from Accomack. Robert S. Costin, the second delegate elected, resigned his seat as being too costly to his business, possibly due to the distance of the Wheeling capital from the Eastern Shore. Lockwood and Dix had intended administration of Accomack and Northampton counties by the Restored Government of Virginia to be a temporary measure. The pair of generals considered placing the two counties under the jurisdiction of the Maryland government up the Chesapeake Bay in Annapolis preferable during wartime to governance from over the mountains in Wheeling. The contemplated transfer, however, never took place, as county voters defeated a referendum on the idea in early 1862.⁸⁸

Actions of the Restored Government from Wheeling

The status of the Wheeling government as the functioning state authority on the Eastern Shore of Virginia is apparent in appeals to Governor Pierpont on various issues. General Dix wrote to the governor seeking the replacement of Judge E.P. Pitts of Accomack in early 1862 over a letter the judge had sent to the Virginia legislature that Dix considered disloyal. Pierpont seems to have referred the case to the Courts of Justice Committee in the House of Delegates, which charged Pitts with assisting enemies of the United States.⁸⁹ In July 1862, when four Black men, named in the records only as Custis, Henry, Levin, and John, were charged with attempting to rob a storehouse in Northampton County, a crime that carried the death penalty in Virginia because the alleged thieves were thought to be enslaved, state law required Pierpont to sign the death warrants. General Lockwood sent evidence to Pierpont that the men in question were, in fact, free. It is not known how the case was resolved. Pierpont also received correspondence from state Senator Watson, who represented a group of "Unconditional Union men of Eastern Virginia" seeking compensation for enslaved people freed by Lincoln's Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, issued in September 1862. Lincoln soon clarified the situation, presumably prompted by Pierpont, by stating that the Eastern Shore should have been exempted from the proclamation as territory still loyal to the United States – meaning that enslaved people had not been freed there.⁹⁰

Fairfax County, which was the scene of fighting, troop movements, and fortifications during the war, including the First and Second Battles of Bull Run, also looked to the government in Wheeling for guidance and authority for civil actions. Farmers from the north had moved to the county after 1840, bringing modern farming practices such as crop rotation and fertilizers to return worn out land to profitability. These immigrants, often Quakers opposed to enslavement, as well as the reduction in the enslaved population as farm production turned from tobacco to less labor-intensive crops such as wheat and corn, lessened Fairfax's bonds to the slaveholding

⁸⁸ Ames, 456-457; Krogh, 54-55, 70-71.

⁸⁹ Krogh, 62.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 71-73. The outcome of the case involving the death penalty for the alleged thieves was not reported by Krogh.

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regions to the east.⁹¹ In the 1860 presidential election, Unionist candidates received 807 votes in Fairfax to 685 for the pro-slavery Southern Democrat Breckinridge, and the county's delegate to the secession convention in February 1861, William H. Dulany, voted against the ordinance of secession on both April 4 and April 17. And although Dulany called for state unity behind the Confederate government after the referendum endorsed secession, Unionists in the county, now also home to United States Army troops, determined to throw their allegiance behind the embryonic loyal government of the state, sending delegates to the Second Wheeling convention. On July 2, 1861, the county elected Delegate John Hawhurst and state Senator James T. Close to represent Fairfax in the General Assembly of the Restored Government of Virginia.⁹²

On March 22, 1862, after Confederate forces withdrew beyond the Rappahannock River, several Unionists met at Fairfax Court House to plan the re-establishment of civil law in the county. The attendees appointed three men, including Delegate Hawhurst, to prepare a formal request to submit to Pierpont. Up until that time, the county was "totally without civil law" and marauders were "daily destroying the country," as Daniel F. Dulany wrote to Pierpont in April 1862. Fairfax County historian Patricia Hickin described Dulany, the brother of Fairfax's delegate to the secession convention, as a "native Unionist," meaning that his family had lived in the county for generations. Pierpont later met with the Unionists on a visit to Washington and issued a proclamation that declared all Fairfax civil offices vacant because the current officeholders had failed to take an oath of allegiance as prescribed by the General Assembly. He issued a writ of election for county voters to select new officials during May 1862. Pierpont later appointed Dulany as his aide and conferred on him the rank of colonel. Pierpont also made state Senator James Close a colonel of a home guard set up to man United States forts in the county.⁹³

The local civil government set up in the late spring of 1862 was soon disrupted by the war. After the Second Battle of Bull Run at the end of August 1862, Confederate forces controlled much of Fairfax County. Many Unionists fled the area for Washington, and others were arrested and put in jail in Richmond. The county court ceased operating at the end of the August 1862 session and did not resume its duties until Pierpont, at the request of presiding justice Thomas P. Brown, authorized the county court to meet in the village of West End near Alexandria. The court met on January 19, 1863, in Bruin's Building, a former residence that had been used by a large slave trading company prior to the Civil War. An indication of the acceptance of this court's authority by the populace can be found in the amount and type of business it handled – everyday activity such as issuing licenses for the establishment of an ordinary and a ferry; granting permission for George Tucker, originally from Vermont, to practice law in the county and naming him commonwealth's attorney; and indicting locals for doing business without a permit.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Patricia Hickin, "1840-1870," in *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax, Virginia: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1978), 255-265.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 313-318.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 335-337, 340. The quotation from Dulany is located on page 335.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 343-350.

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Pierpont and the Restored Government of Virginia in Alexandria

Soon after the Restored Government had been established and recognized by the Lincoln administration and Congress in 1861, another convention in Wheeling began working toward reorganization of the northwestern counties of Virginia as a separate state, a decades-long goal for many who opposed the unequal political and economic influence of the slaveholding areas east of the mountains. On May 29, 1862, after a constitution for the proposed state had been drafted and ratified by voters within its planned boundaries, Waitman T. Willey, a U.S. senator from Virginia, submitted a petition to Congress to admit West Virginia as a new state. When the Senate objected because the proposed constitution did not prohibit slavery, Willey offered an amendment calling for the state constitution to be revised to provide for the gradual, compensated emancipation of enslaved people. The Senate approved the bill in July 1862, with the proviso that the constitution be so amended. The House of Representatives passed the legislation in early December, and President Lincoln signed the measure on December 31, 1862. Governor Pierpont endorsed the emancipation amendment, a convention passed it, and a referendum of state voters ratified it on March 26, 1863. West Virginia became the thirty-fifth U.S. state on June 20, 1863.⁹⁵

As executive officer of the Restored Government of Virginia, Pierpont lobbied Lincoln to sign the bill admitting West Virginia to the nation, after the president showed reluctance, and Lincoln credited the governor's arguments with convincing him to sign.⁹⁶ History would come to recognize Pierpont as the "father of West Virginia" for his efforts on its behalf between 1861 and 1863, with the state ultimately placing a marble likeness of him in the U.S. Capitol's Statuary Hall. After West Virginia was admitted to the Union, however, Pierpont remained head of the executive branch of the Restored Government of Virginia, which acted for the counties and cities not included within the boundaries of the new state. Legislation accompanying the West Virginia statehood process had given the governor the authority to select the location of the new capital of the Restored Government, and during the summer of 1863, Pierpont picked Alexandria. A

⁹⁵ Lowe, 11; Ambler, 159-160, 202-205; Tarter, 261; "West Virginia Statehood, June 20, 1863," Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives and Records Administration website, <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/west-virginia>, accessed August 14, 2021. West Virginia's constitution freed enslaved people less than twenty-one years of age according to a schedule in which different age ranges achieved emancipation at different times. Enslaved adults, however, remained so for life. The convention to amend the constitution, as well as the anti-secessionist conventions, took place in the United States Custom House in Wheeling, constructed in 1859. The custom house, now known as Independence Hall, was designated a National Historic Landmark on June 20, 1988 (NRIS #70000660).

⁹⁶ See Pierpont's December 1862 letters to the president in *Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1 General Correspondence. 1833 to 1916*. Manuscript/mixed material. Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/abraham-lincoln-papers>. Lincoln was slow to sign the bill due to concern over whether declaring a new state in this manner was constitutional, not with regard to emancipation.

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convention held in the city on May 14 that year had nominated Pierpont for election to a full term as governor, suggesting support for his policies there. This may have influenced his choice, as the city's proximity to the Lincoln government in nearby Washington may have. In any event, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported on July 20, 1863, that the executive offices of the Restored Government of Virginia would occupy the banking rooms of the former Farmers Bank of Virginia on Prince Street between Pitt and Royal streets, and that the governor would also use the building as his residence. Pierpont and Secretary of State Lucian A. Hagans left Wheeling, West Virginia, on July 30, arriving in Alexandria by August 7. The governor first lived in and worked out of City Hotel (now known as Gadsby's Tavern) while the former bank, which had been used as a court for the provost marshal, was readied it for its new use. Pierpont officially established the capital at Alexandria by executive order dated August 26, 1863, and moved into the building by the fall.⁹⁷

The loss of the West Virginia territory reduced the area represented by the Restored Government considerably. At its largest extent, loyal Virginia after June 1863 comprised Prince William, Loudoun, Fairfax, Northampton, Accomack, Warwick, Princess Anne, Norfolk, New Kent, James City, Elizabeth City, and Charles City counties, the cities of Alexandria, Williamsburg, and Norfolk, and the town of Portsmouth – that is, northern Virginia, the Eastern Shore, and southeastern Virginia.⁹⁸ Politicians joked about the state's small size, although, as historian Sara Bearss has pointed out, the territory under the Restored Government's jurisdiction was more than twice the size of Rhode Island and one-and-a-half times larger than Delaware. By 1860 census numbers, its population exceeded that of Delaware, Florida, Oregon, and Kansas.⁹⁹ The Restored Government's legislature consisted of six senators and seven members of the House of Delegates, who met in Alexandria's city council chambers. Congressman Henry Winter Davis of Maryland referred to the Restored Government of Virginia after the loss of West Virginia as "the Common Council of Alexandria."¹⁰⁰ Worse by far than the sarcasm of politicians was their attitude toward what remained of the Restored Government. Due to the small number of people that it represented, relative to the area of Virginia occupied by Confederate forces, both the House and the Senate began to question the legitimacy of the Restored Government's actions and its elected representatives. In the winter and spring of 1864, the House refused to seat the three representatives elected to the 38th Congress because it concluded that the insecurity of many

⁹⁷ Dorothy Holcombe Kabler, "The Governor's Mansion of the Restored Government of Virginia, 1863-1865. 413-415 Prince Street in the State Capital, Alexandria, Virginia" (typescript), n.d., Alexandria Library, Special Collections, 16-19; Ambler, 215; Francis Harrison Pierpont, *Executive Journal of Governor Francis H. Pierpont of the Restored Government of Virginia, 1861-1865*, August 26, 1863, Record Group 13, Accession 50424, Archives and Manuscripts, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia. Pierpont was elected governor in 1861 to fill the unexpired term of Governor John Letcher, who had vacated his office by joining the Confederacy.

⁹⁸ Tarter, 248.

⁹⁹ Bearss, 158-160.

¹⁰⁰ Ambler, 216.

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polling places due to the war made the election results unacceptable. Senators represented Virginia in the first session of the 38th Congress, but the Senate refused them their seats for the second session in 1865.¹⁰¹

Lincoln made his support of the Restored Government less public after West Virginia became a state, preferring not to invite dismissive comments from politicians seeking to undermine his policies. Nevertheless, the president recognized Pierpont and the General Assembly in Alexandria as the legitimate government of the state of Virginia and treated Pierpont as he did governors of other loyal states. He included Pierpont in a conference of governors that met in Altoona, Pennsylvania, in September 1862 and afterwards consulted with him on the upcoming Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln later numbered Pierpont among the governors and cabinet members invited as guests of honor to hear the president's address at Gettysburg in November 1863. Pierpont campaigned for Lincoln in the 1864 election, and the president consulted with him regarding his plans for reconstruction. In the last three years of the Civil War, "Lincoln spent more time conferring with Pierpont than with any of his Southern governors," according to William C. Harris.¹⁰² More importantly, Lincoln and his administration supported the Restored Government and steadfastly affirmed its legitimacy. After Gen. Benjamin Butler stage-managed a referendum that replaced civil with military rule in the Norfolk area (so that Butler could benefit from awarding government contracts and liquor licenses to friends from the north), Lincoln's attorney general, Edward Bates, determined that Butler had usurped his authority and that Pierpont and his civil government should be supported. The president wrote to Butler to upbraid him, although the letter was not delivered until after the 1864 election so as not to lose the support of Butler's influential friends.¹⁰³

Pierpont rewarded Lincoln's support with cooperative, responsible governance, as well as loyalty to the president's policies. Biographer Charles Ambler wrote that, in the Pierpont administration, "nothing was neglected to make the Alexandria Government effective and respectable." The governor had so closely watched state finances while in Wheeling that the government was able to carry on in Alexandria without debt while re-establishing the state tax system. The parts of Virginia under the Restored Government's jurisdiction faced multiple difficulties resulting from two years of mixed military and civil rule that Pierpont and the state legislature addressed in order of priority. New state judges and tax collectors were appointed for the restored counties to preserve order and gather revenue necessary to operate the state government. From his office on Prince Street, Pierpont also collaborated with the military to provide social services and sanitation in the state. The governor and the General Assembly appointed state and local officials as called for by Virginia's 1851 constitution, and the legislature elected U.S. senators. Federal taxes were also collected.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Lowe, 19-20, 204, n. 32.

¹⁰² Ambler, 251-253; Lowe, 17-19; Harris, 100.

¹⁰³ Ambler, 231-243; Lowe, 18-19; Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 279.

¹⁰⁴ Ambler, 213-227. The quotation can be found on page 213.

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The Evolution of the Lincoln Administration's Plans to Restore the Union

At the end of the first year of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln's ideas on the means to end the secession began to change. According to historian Eric Foner, he had come to the conclusion that the war could not be won in the manner it was then being waged – as a military campaign only, with the civilian population excluded as much as possible. Henceforth, in Lincoln's mind, civilians in the south would have to suffer the consequences of their collaboration in the seceding states' illegal attempts to leave the nation. The first manifestations of this change of mind came on July 17, 1862, when Lincoln signed both the Militia Act, which provided for African American service in the military and emancipated those who enlisted, and the Second Confiscation Act, which conferred freedom on enslaved people who came within United States lines. It also provided for confiscation of Confederate property, although it lacked powers to enforce that provision.¹⁰⁵

Conceived at this time but not implemented immediately due to division within the cabinet was the idea of an order by the president, to take effect on January 1, 1863, to free enslaved people within the rebellious states unless those states returned to their pre-war relations with the United States by meeting certain conditions. The president relied on his authority as commander in chief in the conception of this policy, which would deprive the Confederacy of much needed labor, while providing the United States with additional labor and soldiers with which to force the fighting. The time that passed between discussions of the idea in late July and Lincoln's announcement of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22 allowed consensus on the measure to grow among members of the cabinet, for implementation of the idea to be refined, and for the U.S. Army to win a significant victory (at the Battle of Antietam, near Sharpsburg, Maryland) that increased pressure on the southern states to capitulate. The proclamation did not affect enslavement in the border states or in those areas of the south already liberated by the U.S. military that had set up loyal civil governments, such as the territory under the jurisdiction of the Restored Government of Virginia. This approach again fit the strategy Lincoln had followed since the beginning of the war to keep loyal states that sanctioned enslavement part of the United States. The final Emancipation Proclamation, issued on January 1, 1863, justified the action by the commander in chief of the United States military as "a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing [the] . . . rebellion." It also freed enslaved people within seceding states forever.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 195-196, 210-216; Senate Historical Office, "The Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862," United States Senate, <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/ConfiscationActs.htm>, accessed August 13, 2021.

¹⁰⁶ Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 216-232; Harris, 36-38, 54-56, 99; *Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation* [transcript], September 22, 1862, National Archives and Records Administration website, https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals_iv/sections/transcript_preliminary_emancipation.html *Emancipation Proclamation* [transcript], January 1, 1863, National Archives and

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The Second Confiscation Act enshrined in federal law an action already taken by thousands of formerly enslaved people since the beginning of the war, starting with three enslaved men – Frank Baker, Shepard Mallory, and James Townsend – who had been pressed into service building fortifications for the Confederate army. On May 23, 1861, the three escaped and fled to Fort Monroe, a United States stronghold at the mouth of the James River. General Benjamin F. Butler refused to return the men to the Confederate army, labeling them “contrabands of war,” and put them to work for the United States Army.¹⁰⁷ They were not free until the Second Confiscation Act, but did become part of the United States war effort. Dozens of others quickly followed Baker, Mallory, and Townsend, causing Butler to ask the Lincoln administration for instructions on how to handle the escapees. Secretary of War Cameron informed Butler of Lincoln’s endorsement of his actions, but the president noted that the issue would likely require further study since enslaved people – women and children as well as able-bodied men – would likely seek the same protection wherever U.S. troops were located. This prediction came to pass throughout the south, but it did not become federal government policy until Congress approved a new article of war that prevented military officers from returning fugitives slaves; Lincoln signed the article on March 13, 1862. The actions of enslaved people thereby raised political and legal questions related to their status that required decisions and action from the Lincoln administration and Congress that led to their emancipation.¹⁰⁸

When Pierpont arrived in Alexandria, he witnessed the activities of this new branch of the Unionist cause. As many as 8,000 freed people inhabited simply made wood buildings on the outskirts of Alexandria and on vacant lots within the city. Men sometimes found work as laborers for private individuals or for the United States military, while women worked in taverns or private houses.¹⁰⁹ Alexandria itself became “one of the earliest safe havens for escaped slaves,” according to historian Charles Joyce. As a growing number of African Americans volunteered to serve in the U.S. Army, the War Department built a hospital in Alexandria in February 1864 for wounded Black soldiers. Reverend Chauncey Leonard, a free African American from Connecticut and at the time the pastor at First Baptist Church in Washington, acted as chaplain of the hospital. An advocate of colonization for freed slaves, he had been recruited by Lincoln to visit Liberia in search of a suitable area for colonization. The Alexandria hospital received several hundred African American wounded after the Battle of the Crater in Petersburg, Virginia, on July 30, 1864.¹¹⁰ Georgetown University historian Chandra Manning

Records Administration website, <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation/transcript.html>.

¹⁰⁷ In international law, “contraband of war” referred to “goods used for military purposes that a neutral country ships to one side in a conflict, and which the other combatant may lawfully seize.” Butler expanded the concept to include enslaved people, based partly on the idea that slaveholders considered them property. (Foner, *Fiery Trial*, 170)

¹⁰⁸ Downs and Masur, 10-11; Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 166-171, 195, 209.

¹⁰⁹ Hickin, 362-363.

¹¹⁰ Charles Joyce, “Freedmen Warriors, Civil Rights Fighters,” *Military Images* 34:4 (Autumn

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has documented the significance of the labor provided by former slaves in contraband camps across the country to the United States war effort, which was recognized by the U.S. Army at the time. She concludes that escapees in the camps understood that their labor was exchanged with the military "for a direct relationship with the U.S. government that Union officials expressly called citizenship."¹¹¹

Military victories in 1863 – especially those at Gettysburg, which halted a Confederate effort to threaten the U.S. capital in Washington, and at Vicksburg, which completed the liberation of the Mississippi River – enabled Lincoln to look seriously toward the end of the war, to contemplate means by which the seceded states could rejoin the nation, and to accomplish the goal of emancipation permanently. The Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, issued on December 8, 1863, embodied the Lincoln administration's plans for the Civil War's endgame. Under its terms, pre-war state boundaries would remain in place and state laws and constitutions would remain in effect, with the exception of modifications required to comply with the proclamation. The document set conditions under which citizens of the seceding states could be pardoned for their participation in the rebellion and have their rights restored, with the exception of certain classes of people, including Confederate military officers of a certain rank, politicians in certain offices, and those members of Congress who had vacated their seats to join the Confederacy. The proclamation also established standards for the reestablishment of state governments. These included the so-called "Ten Percent Plan," by which a state could reorganize a republican form of government when ten percent of the number of voters in the 1860 election had taken a loyalty oath. The new state governments would also have to abolish slavery to bring them into compliance with federal law and earlier proclamations. The proclamation was designed to encourage the movement toward restoration of loyal governments in Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas, where momentum was building toward that end.¹¹²

With additional U.S. victories in the Civil War, Lincoln envisioned an expansion of liberated territory and the enlargement of the existing nuclei of loyal citizens around which to reorganize state governments. By the end of 1863, Lincoln had appointed military governors to begin the establishment of these nuclei in areas of five states other than Virginia that the United States forces had secured: Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. These provisional governments would then do the work required for the states to regain their place in the Union, the ultimate test of which was acceptance by the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate of their elected representatives. The restored states could then act as models for other states as the U.S. forces advanced throughout the south. When the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction was issued, however, efforts to establish loyalist civil government

2016), 44-45, JSTOR website, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/24865770>, accessed October 6, 2021. The quotation is on page 44.

¹¹¹ Chandra Manning, "Working for Citizenship in Civil War Contraband Camps," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 4:2 (June 2014), 181-182.

¹¹² Harris, 131-134; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, updated edition (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014), 35-37; Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 271-274.

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in these five states had been limited. By the summer of 1863, U.S. Senator Andrew Johnson, appointed military governor of Tennessee by Lincoln, had restored some aspects of civil government in Nashville and other parts of Middle Tennessee, including federal courts. In Louisiana, elections were held on December 3, 1862, for the two congressional districts located in the areas under United States military protection. After extended debate, the U.S. House of Representatives seated the two congressmen, but the military governor ruled the loyalist areas of Louisiana in lieu of an elected state legislature. Arkansas, North Carolina, and Texas had made little progress toward civil government under their military governors prior to the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. The Restored Government of Virginia was not bound by the requirements of the proclamation because the governor and state legislature had already been recognized by the president and its representatives were seated in Congress at the time the proclamation was issued.¹¹³

As acts of the commander in chief during wartime, Lincoln's various actions to emancipate enslaved people would certainly be challenged in the courts after the war ended, and some politicians and journalists also questioned the legal authority of the federal government to require the abolition of slavery in state constitutions in order for those states to have their elected representatives seated in Congress. The obvious solution to this situation was an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that prohibited slavery. Congressman Isaac N. Arnold of Illinois urged Lincoln to recommend such an amendment in his message to Congress in December 1863, but Lincoln remained committed to his state abolition policy. Despite a lack of encouragement by the president, three resolutions for considering a constitutional amendment banning slavery were introduced between the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction and Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri's resolution of January 11, 1864. The Senate judiciary committee then set about reconciling the resolutions and debated several versions of the amendment over the next three months. It passed what would become the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on April 8. The House of Representatives debated the Senate-approved amendment for one day before voting on June 15, but the amendment did not receive the required two-thirds majority to be referred to the states for ratification. In his annual message to Congress on December 6, 1864, President Lincoln recommended that the House reconsider the amendment, then lobbied hard for its passage, "intervening more directly in the legislative process than at any other point in his presidency," according to Eric Foner. The lower chamber debated the measure for eight days in January 1865 before voting for passage on January 31. The 119 to 56 vote gave the amendment the requisite two-thirds majority, and Lincoln signed a joint resolution submitting the proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the states for ratification on February 1. Secretary of State William Seward certified the ratification on December 18, 1865, inscribing emancipation of all enslaved people into the United States Constitution – eight months after Lincoln was assassinated.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Harris, 71, 78-94, 108-110, 133, 143-145.

¹¹⁴ "13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Primary Documents in American History," Library of Congress, <https://guides.loc.gov/13th-amendment/digital-collections>, accessed August 12, 2021; Harris, 231-238; Foner *The Fiery Trial*, 291, 312.

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The Restored Government of Virginia and Lincoln's Plans for the End of the War

The evolving commitment of the Lincoln administration to the abolition of enslavement, as well as continuing United States military victories, led to the signal achievement of the Restored Government of Virginia in Alexandria – the replacement of the 1851 Virginia Constitution with a new one that abolished slavery.¹¹⁵ In this action, Pierpont and the Restored Government were completely in step with the president's plans to emancipate enslaved people legally at both the federal and state levels and satisfied the requirements of the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. The executive branches of the Virginia and United States governments collaborated in this endeavor. Just over a week after Pierpont established the Restored Government's capital in Alexandria on August 26, 1863, he conferred with Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase on this and other topics. Chase reported in his diary for September 3 that Pierpont "thought a majority of the members of the Legislature would be in favor of calling a Convention to amend the Constitution so as to make it a free-labor state."¹¹⁶ It is not clear from the diary's wording whether Pierpont, who had called on Chase, advanced the idea on his own or in response to a question from the secretary, or whether Pierpont had been involved in earlier discussions with the Lincoln administration on the subject and had since taken the pulse of the legislators. In 1879, Pierpont recalled that "The Alexandria Constitution was the result of several INTERVIEWS BETWEEN HON. S.P. CHASE, THEN SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, AND MYSELF, WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF MR. LINCOLN" (emphasis in the original), and most scholars agree with Pierpont's account that the idea for the new Virginia constitution resulted from a consultation among the three men.¹¹⁷

The justification for the addition of a provision abolishing slavery to the Virginia constitution was the institution's continued presence in state and federal law, while wartime actions by the Lincoln administration had partly eliminated the institution. "The President had issued his emancipation proclamation," Pierpont wrote in 1879, "and it was believed that when war ceased slavery would end; but so long as it [slavery] was recognized by the Constitution and the laws of the State WE WERE IN AN ANOMALOUS CONDITION – it was the germ of trouble, and it was deemed important that all hope of continuing the institution should be removed. All the state

¹¹⁵ Virginia's constitution did not provide a process for amending its provisions. During the tenure of the Restored Government of Virginia, therefore, the state adopted a new constitution that incorporated the 1851 constitution as written, except for a small number of revisions, including the abolition of slavery. See Ambler, 221-222.

¹¹⁶ Salmon P. Chase, *Salmon P. Chase Papers: Diaries, 1829-1870* (manuscript/mixed material), September 3, 1863, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/manuscripts/?q=salmon+p.+chase+papers>.

¹¹⁷ Francis Harrison Pierpont, "Relative to the Alexandria Constitution and the Amendments Thereto," *Southern Intelligencer* 1:14 (June 21, 1879), 1, Huntington Library, Rare Books, San Marino, California. For scholarship on this collaboration, see Lowe, 21; Ambler, 220-221; Harris, 162; Sara B. Bearss, "Restored and Vindicated," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 122:2 (2014), 164, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24393924>, accessed March 25, 2021.

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officers, under the Constitution and State laws, had duties which by their oath of office they were bound to perform in enforcing the rights of the master over his slaves.”¹¹⁸ Months before an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to abolish slavery was introduced and more than two years before it would be ratified, Pierpont undertook to foster a new state constitution that would erase from state law the duty of enforcing enslavement.¹¹⁹

William C. Harris has written that Pierpont’s support for the revised Virginia constitution may have at least partially stemmed from the governor’s wish to maintain the support of the Lincoln administration. Harris also considered Pierpont’s antislavery stance to have been a wartime conversion.¹²⁰ Pierpont’s biographer, Charles Ambler, however, provides substantial evidence of the governor’s longtime antipathy to slaveholders and the institution on which their economic success and political power depended, as well as his pre-war advocacy of abolition. Like others in the western part of Virginia, Pierpont resented the advantages afforded slaveholders in representation in the state legislature and in tax assessments. Ambler called Pierpont “ardently antislavery.” He also feared the imposition of the ideas of “Northern agitators” on his state and refused to be called an abolitionist. He owned a copy of an 1847 pamphlet in which Dr. Henry Ruffner advocated separation of Virginia into two states, the western one gradually emancipating its enslaved people. According to Ambler, Pierpont “cherished” the tract. In March 1860, he published a letter in a western Virginia newspaper that gave his reasons for opposing slavery, calling it “a social and political evil” and distinguishing between the involuntary servitude sanctioned in the Bible, which many slavery proponents used to justify continuation of the practice, and involuntary slavery, which Pierpont concluded was not supported in the Bible.¹²¹ While Ambler, who quotes Pierpont’s article at length, doesn’t explain the difference between Biblical servitude and American slavery, scholars have pointed to a number of ideas held by those opposed to enslavement that might explain his position. Pierpont may have been referring to the limitation of enslavement to a period of seven years in the Old Testament, after which a person held in bondage must agree to permanent enslavement or be freed. The Old Testament also prohibited kidnapping, which was a characteristic way in which Africans were thrust into enslavement in what became the United States. Opponents of slavery also noted that the King James Bible used the word “servant,” rather than “slave” to describe Jesus’s encounters with individuals held in bondage and emphasized the contradiction between slavery and certain Christian principles, such as the Golden Rule.¹²² Politically, Pierpont wrote, slavery manifested

¹¹⁸ Pierpont, “Relative to the Alexandria Constitution and the Amendments Thereto.”

¹¹⁹ Tarter, 260.

¹²⁰ Harris, 161-162.

¹²¹ Ambler, 34-36.

¹²² Max Kohler, “The Antislavery Movement and the Jews,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*, <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1606-antislavery-movement-and-the-jews>, accessed September 20, 2021; J. Albert Harrill, “The Use of the New Testament in the American Slave Controversy: A Case History in the Hermeneutical Tension between Biblical Criticism and Christian Moral Debate,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 10:2 (Summer 2000), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1123945>, accessed September 20, 2021, 151-155.

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itself in “a systematic effort on the part of the leaders of the Democratic party at the South to *rule or ruin* the country and to make the slave interest over-ride every other interest.”¹²³

Pierpont also followed Lincoln and other Republicans in their understanding that the founders' considered enslavement an evil necessary to adopt the U.S. Constitution. In this reading, the Constitution's avoidance of the words “slavery” or “slave” in its language suggested a reluctance to enshrine the practice in the nation's organic law. Lincoln considered slavery's presence in the Constitution's method of counting the population to determine representation in Congress and in that document's requirement that fugitive slaves be returned to their enslavers as evidence of the compromises made by the founders to ensure adoption of the Constitution and therefore continuation of the Union. Those compromises did not, however, represent the founders' endorsement of slavery as morally correct. To Lincoln, the clause “All men are created equal” in the Declaration of Independence sanctioned the concept of individual liberty as the country's founding principle. Enslavement of individuals contradicted that principle, as Lincoln understood and as he felt the founders did. This appeal to the revolutionary generation and to “freedom's supremacy,” in the words of historian Graham Alexander Peck, deeply resonated with many northerners and gave to the antislavery movement “a powerful nationalist ideology,” helping to bring many disparate factions into the Republican fold.¹²⁴ Pierpont followed Lincoln in this understanding of the nation's foundational documents. The governor referred frequently to the Declaration of Independence in his writing about slavery and ultimately considered abolition his “avowed purpose,” according to Ambler.¹²⁵

This purpose apparently took hold at about the time he was to move to Alexandria. In a letter to his wife Julia on May 22, 1863, Pierpont asked “[I]s it my duty to throw myself into the breach and break the grasp, and sever the master from the slave forever, if I can?” He observes that “a great many intelligent men whom I meet think I have already exerted great influence in that direction and have more influence for its final accomplishment than perhaps anybody else. . . . [T]he great question is to know duty in this matter in the fear of Him who judgeth the heart.” He then asked for divine wisdom and knowledge “to direct our course aright to make us useful in our day and to our generation.”¹²⁶ Pierpont's stance on slavery at this time, then, was not whether it should be ended, but whether he should be one of the instruments to help bring it about. Based on his subsequent actions, he seems to have determined that he was such a man and that his usefulness would consist in helping the Lincoln administration implement a plan for

¹²³ Ambler, 37.

¹²⁴ Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 63-70; Graham Alexander Peck, “Abraham Lincoln and the Triumph of Antislavery Nationalism,” *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 28:2 (Summer 2007), 3-6.

¹²⁵ Ambler, 64.

¹²⁶ Ambler, 209. Pierpont's wife and children did not live in Alexandria until January 1865, due to the potential insecurity of wartime Alexandria and perhaps to the difficulty in finding suitable accommodations in the city. See Ambler, 249, and Kabler, 16.

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emancipation that would result in the restoration of the entire state of Virginia to the United States.

Once Lincoln, Chase, and Pierpont had developed the idea of abolishing slavery in Virginia's state constitution, the governor set about executing it. In his message to the General Assembly on the occasion of its first meeting in Alexandria, on December 7, 1863, in all likelihood written from his office on Prince Street, he called on the legislature to organize a constitutional convention for that purpose. The message pointed out the discrepancies between federal and state law that might give hope to slavery's proponents and outlined the reasons that the practice should be abolished. He stated that "there was not an attribute of the Deity which sympathized with slavery" and that "the existing laws of Virginia relative to free Negroes and slaves contravened the laws of God." He also noted that Virginia would benefit economically from slavery's abolition, attracting both additional citizens and capital to the state. The meeting at which the General Assembly heard this message took place the day before President Lincoln issued his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, which called on southern and border state governments to implement precisely the action that Pierpont asked the Restored Government of Virginia to undertake.¹²⁷

The General Assembly passed enabling legislation for the constitutional convention on December 18, 1863, and the governor signed the bill and appointed county commissioners to oversee the election of delegates six days later. The elections took place on January 21, 1864, authorizing seventeen delegates to consider a new constitution. Statements acknowledging the certification of these elections can be found in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. The convention met at the U.S. District Court House in Alexandria (no longer extant) on February 13.¹²⁸ The delegates, all of whom were White, included an attorney, two doctors, four farmers, a mill and lumberyard owner, a merchant, a naval contractor, a saddler, a cooper, a machinist, and a ship pilot. Four had been born outside Virginia but had lived in the state a number of years. One Quaker delegate strongly opposed slavery, while four either were still or had been slaveholders. Pierpont did not attend the convention himself, but almost certainly conferred with at least some of the delegates during the nearly two months that they convened.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Ambler, 217-224. The quotations, located on page 224, are Ambler's paraphrases of Pierpont's words.

¹²⁸ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1836, to April 15, 1869*, v. 11, (Richmond: James E. Good, Printer, 1893), 423-424, HathiTrust website, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001268458>, accessed June 21, 2021.

¹²⁹ Bearss, 165-169; Francis Harrison Pierpont, *Executive Journal of Governor Francis H. Pierpont of the Restored Government of Virginia, 1861-1865*, December 24, 1863, Library of Virginia. Archives and Manuscripts, Record Group 13, Accession 50424. The governor's *Executive Journal* for this period states that he also appointed commissioners for a special election on January 6, 1864. It is not clear whether this also refers to the convention delegate election.

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In the convention's second meeting, on February 16, delegate Warren W. Wing of Norfolk offered a resolution calling for a committee to be formed "to confer with the President of the United States on the question of emancipation." That resolution was defeated, but a "Committee on Emancipation" was established in that same meeting. The convention also established committees to determine how citizenship would be determined under the new constitution and who would be eligible to vote.¹³⁰ Both of these were important issues to be addressed by the states under Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction.

On February 23, Wing introduced a resolution, which was adopted, instructing the Committee on Emancipation and Education to review new language to replace sections 19, 20, and 21 of Article IV of the 1851 Virginia Constitution. The new language would have abolished enslavement, marking the first time that the convention formally addressed the issue. The committee submitted its report to the convention on March 7, but a motion was carried to return it to the committee for revision. Dr. Arthur Watson resubmitted the committee's report on March 9, which was printed in order to be reviewed by all the convention delegates. The committee's final language, to be inserted into the constitution under the heading "Slavery or Freedom," stated:

§ 1. Slavery and involuntary servitude, (except for crime) is hereby abolished and prohibited in the State forever.

§ 2. Courts of competent jurisdictions may apprentice minors of African descent on like conditions provided by law, for apprenticing white children.

§ 3. The General Assembly shall make no law establishing slavery or recognizing property in human beings.¹³¹

In this language, emancipation was immediate, not gradual, and no mention is made of compensation for former slaveholders, although the latter action is not ruled out. The first section of Virginia's provision for abolishing slavery thereby echoes the language of the Emancipation Proclamation, which stated that enslaved people held in the rebellious states would be "forever free" as of January 1, 1863.¹³² Further, the first part of the new section resembles Article 6 of Section 14 of the Northwest Ordinance, passed by Congress on July 13, 1787. That document

¹³⁰ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention which Convened at Alexandria on the 13th Day of February, 1864* (Alexandria: D. Turner, 1864), 5-6, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Z82RMn3XJwwC>.

¹³¹ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 16. Although they were numbered differently in the *Journal*, these three sections did replace sections 19, 20, and 21 of the 1851 constitution, as the committee report had called for on February 23.

¹³² Abraham Lincoln, *Emancipation Proclamation* [transcript], January 1, 1863, National Archives and Records Administration website, <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation/transcript.html>, accessed October 11, 2021.

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states that "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would use similar language.¹³³

The precise evolution of the language for the 1864 Virginia constitution's provisions for the evolution of slavery is not known; no drafts of the constitution were found during research or were referred to in the scholarship reviewed. Several instances of close collaboration among Lincoln, Chase, and Pierpont, however, are suggestive. In March 1862, Lincoln asked to review a circular Pierpont intended to send to citizens within the boundaries of the Restored Government regarding the treatment of former Confederates in the event of a quick end to the war.¹³⁴ The president also provided to Delaware politicians two versions of bills related to the gradual emancipation of slavery in the state.¹³⁵ At Pierpont's request, Chase drafted a letter for the governor to send to Lincoln to request that the president remove the areas of Virginia under the Restored Government's jurisdiction from the Emancipation Proclamation, based on the military necessity of such a move. Chase provided the draft within a half hour of the governor's request. Pierpont, of course, helped provide the legal framework for the organization of the Restored Government. Given the apparently close working relationship between the Lincoln administration and the Pierpont government and the legal expertise among the three principals, it seems likely that some form of collaboration, approval, and/or review of the constitution's new language took place.¹³⁶

The convention met at 10 o'clock on the morning of March 10 to consider the Committee on Emancipation's proposed changes to the constitution, with four members arguing "at considerable length" for its immediate adoption. After a call for ayes and nays, the delegates adopted the committee's language abolishing slavery by a vote of 15 to 1. Watson then offered a resolution calling for a committee to "wait upon" Gen. John P. Slough, commander of the military District of Alexandria, to "request that a salute be fired in honor of the passage of the act of emancipation."¹³⁷ Pierpont quickly sent a telegram to President Lincoln informing him of the convention's action. (Figure 12) "The Constitutional State Convention of Va.," the telegram read, "has just passed an Ordinance abolishing Slavery & involuntary Servitude in the State

¹³³ *An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, North-west of the river Ohio*, July 13, 1787, Library of Congress website, <https://www.loc.gov/item/90898154/>, accessed October 11, 2021.

¹³⁴ Francis H. Peirpoint to Abraham Lincoln, March 14, 1862, n. 1, *Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1 General Correspondence. 1833 to 1916*.

¹³⁵ Foner, *The Fiery Trial*, 182; Donald, *Lincoln*, 345.

¹³⁶ Chase, "September 3, 1863," *Salmon P. Chase Papers: Diaries, 1829-1870*.

¹³⁷ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 17-18. The first quoted passage can be found on page 17, the second on page 18. The journal does not record a vote by John Stone, a farmer from Princess Anne County. Wing was absent from the convention at the time of the vote. On March 25, however, he requested that a yes vote for the new sections of the constitution be recorded in his name, and his request was approved. (*Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 34.)

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forever but one dissenting vote." It was received at the War Department at 1:35 p.m. Lincoln's response is not recorded.¹³⁸ It is not known whether Slough complied with a salute in honor of the measure, but church bells rang to celebrate the event, and newspapers reported it throughout the country.¹³⁹

Abolition of slavery in Virginia organic law, however, was not yet accomplished. On March 16, S. Ferguson Beach, the attorney from Alexandria who had been elected to the Restored Government's General Assembly but did not take his seat, submitted a resolution that adoption of individual sections of the constitution did not represent their final approval. Rather, the revised constitution as a whole would be reviewed after the individual sections had been voted on, with the opportunity for further revisions to the language. The convention would then vote on the adoption of the entire document. The resolution was unanimously approved. On March 24, William Moore, a farmer from Northampton County who was the only dissenting vote on the sections of the constitution abolishing slavery, submitted a resolution calling for the constitution to be submitted "to a vote of the people . . . for their adoption or rejection" after the convention vote. The resolution was ordered to be printed for subsequent debate. The constitution as a whole was read and adopted by the convention by a vote of 13 to 4 on April 7. The motion to submit the constitution to ratification by voters was defeated the following day. According to historian Richard Lowe, citing an August 1865 Alexandria newspaper, Governor Pierpont lobbied for several days to prevent the referendum resolution from passing, likely concerned about sentiment against abolition, as well as intimidation by the proponents of enslavement. While research for the nomination has not uncovered information on the manner or location of Pierpont's lobbying, the governor would likely have written letters to the delegates from the Executive Office on Prince Street, had he chosen that method. Two locations stand out as possible venues for meetings between the governor and delegates – the Executive Office and City Hotel, where delegates may have stayed.¹⁴⁰ When the referendum measure was defeated, the convention resolved that the new constitution would take effect upon its adjournment. The delegates then signed the constitution. The convention adjourned on April 11, making it Virginia's emancipation day.¹⁴¹

The constitution as adopted was designed to make few changes to the existing 1851 constitution other than abolishing slavery. According to Ambler, Pierpont and Chase planned this strategy during their conferences in the fall, possibly thinking that limited changes would excite less opposition. Still, in addition to emancipation, the 1864 Virginia Constitution accomplished other revisions that overall provided for a more democratic political system, according to scholars. It

¹³⁸ Francis H. Pierpont to Abraham Lincoln, March 10, 1864, Alexandria (telegram), *Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1 General Correspondence. 1833 to 1916* (manuscript/mixed material), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/abraham-lincoln-papers>.

¹³⁹ Tarter, 261.

¹⁴⁰ Bearss, 165. The information on the possibility of convention delegates staying at City Hotel is located in the photo caption on this page.

¹⁴¹ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 21, 31, 48-51; Bearss, 170; Lowe, n. 41, 204.

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gave the governor authority to appoint judges, which assured a loyal, antislavery judiciary. It reduced residency requirements for voting privileges, while at the same time disenfranchising most former Confederate soldiers and officeholders and requiring voters to take an oath to support the U.S. Constitution. These last two changes followed Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. It also replaced the voice vote previously in place with a ballot system, thereby reducing the opportunity for voter intimidation, and established the state's first free public education system. The section providing for public education introduced on February 23 disregarded race, which Pierpont supported. Moore, the only holdout on the abolition of slavery, moved an amendment on March 26 that the constitution would provide education "for white persons," which passed by an 8 to 6 margin.¹⁴²

The 1864 Virginia Constitution, accomplished under the leadership of Governor Francis H. Pierpont from his office on Prince Street, represented an important and necessary legal step on the path toward freedom for enslaved people, although its immediate effect may have been limited while the war was still being fought. When the new Virginia Constitution went into effect on April 11, 1864, emancipation inscribed in federal law had not yet occurred and faced a steep uphill road to ratification. The U.S. Senate had passed the Thirteenth Amendment by the required two-thirds majority just three days earlier, but the House of Representatives had not yet taken up the measure and rejected it when it did so in June. When U.S. Army troops entered Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital, on April 3, 1865, and when Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant on April 9 at Appomattox, the 1864 constitution had already legally freed enslaved people in the state forever, not simply for the war's duration, as was the case with the Emancipation Proclamation. As planned by Lincoln, Chase, and Pierpont, all possibility of continuing the institution of slavery in Virginia had been removed by the 1864 constitution, while the Thirteenth Amendment was still winding through the ratification process. Only three other states that had attempted to secede from the United States could make that claim by having also passed state constitutions that prohibited slavery before the end of the war (Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee). Only Virginia had conceived and implemented emancipation in concert with the administration of President Abraham Lincoln, reflecting precisely the administration's goal of restoring the states that had attempted to secede to the United States by complying with the policies implemented by the federal government during the war, including abolition of enslavement.

In its last legislative session in Alexandria, the General Assembly of the Restored Government of Virginia accomplished one other significant feat when it voted to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, abolishing slavery at the federal level. The vote came on February 9, 1865, just eight days after Lincoln signed the resolution sending the amendment to the states, making Virginia the first of the seceding states to ratify the amendment. Despite Congress's continuing refusal to seat Virginia's representatives and senators due to the Restored Government's small size, it did accept that government's ratification vote.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Lowe, 22; *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 37; Ambler, 221-222.

¹⁴³ Ambler, 227; Bearss, 176; Harris, 193, Foner, 316.

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Epilogue

After federal troops had secured Richmond, President Andrew Johnson, who had been elected Lincoln's vice president in 1864 and had succeeded him upon Lincoln's assassination, recognized the Restored Government as the legitimate government of the entire state of Virginia and signed an executive order on May 9 authorizing the removal of the government from Alexandria to its former capital. The order stated that the purpose of the move was "to reestablish the authority of the United States and execute the laws within the geographical limits known as the State of Virginia." The order went on to state that

to carry into effect the guaranty of the Federal Constitution of a republican form of State government, and afford the advantage and security of domestic laws, as well as to complete the reestablishment of the authority of the laws of the United States, and the full and complete restoration of peace within the limits of aforesaid, Francis H. Pierpont, Governor of the State of Virginia, will be aided by the Federal Government so far as may be necessary, in the lawful measures which he may take for the extension and administration of the State government throughout the geographical limits of said State.¹⁴⁴

In his 1879 reminiscence, Pierpont claimed that Johnson had no influence on his decision to move the government to Richmond but had only asked him what he proposed to do since the war had ended. The president agreed with the governor's decision, Pierpont wrote.¹⁴⁵ The publicly stated backing of the president must, however, have gone a long way toward legitimizing the Restored Government in the eyes of Virginia's citizens.

When Pierpont arrived in Richmond on May 24, 1865, he was greeted at the James River wharf and escorted to the Capitol by the provost marshal, a reception committee from the city, a battalion of the 4th U.S. Infantry, and representatives of other federal and state government agencies. A fifteen-gun salute was fired in honor of the occasion and speeches were made. Later, clergyman and abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher would regard the governor's arrival "as one of the memorable and auspicious events of the day. It is one of the facts which interprets the meaning of years."¹⁴⁶ Despite the warm reception, Pierpont and the Restored Government faced numerous challenges to establish themselves and broaden the government's reach to extend across the entire state. With the executive and legislative branches and a new constitution in place, however, they were ready to begin the work immediately. One of the first actions required was to organize local government so that elections to the General Assembly and to Congress could be organized for the entire state. Toward that end Pierpont arranged with U.S. Army General David H. Strother, the federal adjutant general of Virginia, to contact members of the

¹⁴⁴ Ambler, 261.

¹⁴⁵ Pierpont, *Southern Intelligencer* 1:14 (June 21, 1879).

¹⁴⁶ Ambler, 262-264.

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legislature in order to prepare for a session of the General Assembly before their terms expired on July 1. The assembly convened on June 19.

The chief purpose of the legislative session was to reconsider the political rights of former Confederates and to arrange for local elections. Pierpont recommended that many of the restrictions on voting set forth in the 1864 constitution be lifted, with the exception of the loyalty oath. This recommendation resulted from Pierpont's conclusion, after several weeks of interviews with people from around the state, that there were not enough citizens who had been loyal to the federal government during the war to establish a functioning government of loyalists alone. In his last conference with Lincoln, on April 10, just after Lee had surrendered, the president had urged him to determine the depth of loyalist conviction in the state before acting. Lincoln had intended to be lenient toward the southern states, and Pierpont appears to have followed his guidance. Johnson concurred with his predecessor's ideas.¹⁴⁷

The five-day session of the legislature generally lifted the voter restrictions as Pierpont had desired. Restrictions on office holding, however, remained in place. The session also arranged for a referendum to be held along with statewide elections in October on whether to give the newly elected legislature the power to remove the remaining restrictions on voting and office holding. As a result of these actions, conservatives won most of the offices being contested, and the legislature was empowered to lift the remaining restrictions on former Confederates, which it did. Many Unionists then wrote to Congress asking that it not seat the representatives from the state elected in October. Congress complied with the request, initiating Virginia's path toward Reconstruction according to congressional requirements, rather than those of presidents Lincoln and Johnson.¹⁴⁸

When Pierpont realized that his leniency policy had not worked – and after much criticism of his actions by other Republicans and Unionists – he tried to alter his course. In his 1866 message to the General Assembly, he called for the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which required equal protection under the law for all citizens and would become a congressional standard for all states that had seceded before their representatives could take their seats in the U.S. Capitol. The Virginia Senate rejected the amendment unanimously, and only one member of the House of Delegates voted for it. After the vote, in early January 1867, Virginia Republicans petitioned Congress for a new state government. When congress passed the First Reconstruction Act in March 1867, Virginia came under its requirements. General John M. Schofield also became the state's military governor, and Virginia was required to enfranchise

¹⁴⁷ Ambler, 258-259, 267-275; Tarter, 275-277. In his address to the legislature, Pierpont stated that enfranchisement of African American men, which had become an important consideration in post-war Reconstruction, was not to be addressed by this session of the assembly. The governor likely refrained from taking up Black suffrage as inappropriate for the small legislature that was meeting, considering it more appropriate after elections across the entire state had been accomplished.

¹⁴⁸ Lowe, 32-34, 44-46.

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African Americans, allow them to hold office, disenfranchise and bar from office many former Confederates, hold a constitutional convention to enshrine these measures in the state's fundamental law, and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Pierpont approved of the First Reconstruction Act, and under his leadership the state had already begun to take steps to fulfill its requirements when the Second Reconstruction Act was passed the following year. The second act gave the military government entire authority over Reconstruction in the southern states, including Virginia.¹⁴⁹

Pierpont continued as governor as the constitutional convention was held, which lasted into 1868. Although his term had expired on December 31, 1867, the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that state officials could continue in office until successors were duly elected. Anticipating these elections, Republicans in Virginia asked Pierpont to step down so that Henry H. Wells, who would be the Republican candidate for governor when that election was held, could replace him. The party thought Wells would be in a stronger position to win the election if he already held the office. Pierpont refused to step down, hoping to continue his work of restoring Virginia to its rightful place in the United States by seeing its representatives seated in Congress. The Republicans appealed to General Schofield, whose relationship with Pierpont had not been cooperative. Schofield relieved Pierpont of his duties on April 4, 1868, and appointed Wells in his place. Pierpont returned to his home in West Virginia, the state he had helped to found. The Virginia Constitution of 1864, which Pierpont had also fostered, remained the state's organic law throughout this period of transition. It was superseded by the Reconstruction constitution, which took effect in 1870. President Ulysses S. Grant signed a bill to allow Virginia's representatives to take their seats in Congress on January 26, 1870.¹⁵⁰

Criterion C – Architecture (State and Local Significance)

Federal Period Architecture in Alexandria

The Virginia General Assembly chartered the town of Alexandria in 1749, and the buildings constructed as the town developed into an important trading center on the Potomac River during the second half of the eighteenth century initially reflected the Georgian style popular in the British colonies along the Atlantic coast of North America. After the American Revolution, Georgian design gave way, in Alexandria and elsewhere in the new United States, to design principles that came to be called the "Federal" style. Influenced by the architecture of Robert Adam and his brothers in England (and also called the Adam style), Federal design included symmetrical elevations and plans, entrance decoration, and delicate ornamentation on both the interior and exterior. Attenuation in elements such as muntins in windows and balusters and newels in stairs became common. Windowpanes increased in size, with six-over-six, double-

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 68-75.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 81-89, 126, 141-143.

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hung, wood sash becoming increasingly widespread, especially on principal facades. Exteriors lost their Georgian stone belt courses between floors and projecting water tables.¹⁵¹

The spread of the Federal style after the Revolution varied from place to place. By 1801, when Virginia ceded Alexandria to the federal government to become part of the 100-square-mile diamond of the District of Columbia, the new seat of the national government, mixtures of Georgian and Federal architectural features in individual buildings could be found along the Potomac. The 1796-1797 Lloyd House at 220 North Washington Street in Alexandria, for instance, has been called "a very late example of a fully realized Georgian town house," based on its strict symmetry, center hall plan, and decorative pediment over the entrance, among other features. It did not, however, include a characteristic Georgian string course or projecting water table on the exterior.¹⁵² The interior combined Georgian crossetted door surrounds with "more Federal . . . attenuated stair balusters and simple (but still Georgian-influenced) mantels," according to architectural historian Tim Dennée. Dennée also noted that the six-over-six, double-hung windows of the Lloyd House are more typical of the Federal period in Alexandria than the Georgian period as a result of advances in glass-making.¹⁵³

The Bank of Potomac at what is now 415 Prince Street in Alexandria, later to become the Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia, was completed ten years after the Lloyd House and manifests the advance of Federal design in the city. The bank consistently employed slender, delicate ornamentation on both the exterior and the interior, typical of the Federal style, and abandoned the Georgian center hall plan and its resulting odd number of openings on the street façade, as well as crossetted door casings. The roofline balustrade and keystone lintels of the bank were also characteristic of Federal period design, as were the six-over-six, double-hung, wood window sash with slender muntins that, in all likelihood, were original features. The dentils of 415 Prince Street's cornice were common elements of both the Georgian and Federal styles. With its importance as a trading center, and as part of the new capital of the United States, Alexandria became home to a significant concentration of Federal style buildings, according to Virginia and Lee McAlester. While port cities along the Eastern Seaboard often became the locations of a number of Federal style buildings, Alexandria is the only city in Virginia mentioned with a similar concentration.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Ward Bucher, ed., "Adam style," "Federal style," and "Georgian Classical," *Dictionary of Building Preservation* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 3-4, 177, 209; Virginia and Lee McAlester, "Colonial Houses: Georgian," "Colonial Houses: Adam," *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 138-143, 152-159.

¹⁵² "A Shared Heritage: Urban and Rural Experience on the Banks of the Potomac – A Field Guide for Alexandria, Virginia," Thirty-Ninth Annual Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, May 2-5, 2018, Vernacular Architecture Forum website, <https://vafweb.wildapricot.org/publications>, 32-33.

¹⁵³ Tim Dennée, "A History of Lloyd House, Part I – The Early Years, 1796-1832," *Historic Alexandria Quarterly*, Fall 2003/Winter 2004, 2.

¹⁵⁴ McAlester and McAlester, 156.

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The Bank of Potomac has much in common with the Bank of Alexandria at the corner of Fairfax and Cameron streets, which was completed a year earlier. The two banks have such similarities of design – “the delicate complexity” of interior decoration, in addition to Flemish bond brickwork, Aquia Creek sandstone columns with carved swags at the entrances, and keystone lintels – that a link between the two buildings has been considered. Art historian Penny Morrill has suggested four possibilities for their similarities: 1) the design and/or construction was supervised by the same individual; 2) a pattern book or books shared by participants in the building of the banks established their similar forms; 3) a single artisan, such as a stonemason, contributed the architectural details; and 4) a single master carpenter coordinated the construction of the two buildings, influencing their design. Morrill raised Richard Conway, a ship captain who had his own wharf and warehouses and was on the board of the Bank of Alexandria, as a possible source for the similarities.¹⁵⁵ Another Alexandria merchant, Phineas Janney (who was involved in the founding of the Bank of Potomac), wrote that Conway was “one of the principal men in superintending” the construction of the Bank of Alexandria. Janney also said Conway “was much more famous for the strength than the elegance of his structures,” suggesting an involvement in the construction business in Alexandria. He may therefore have been at least responsible for bringing together the artisans and builders that determined the physical expression of both banks.¹⁵⁶

Bank Architecture in the Early United States

Due to its recent development, banks did not have a traditional architectural form in the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition, the country could boast of few professional architects or men who had experience with European architecture, where some models would have been available for study. Instead, master builders “were more typical designers of the first generation of banking houses,” according to material culture and architectural historian Kenneth Hafertepe. These men “gained their knowledge of design from visits to the larger American cities and from European – and later, American – architectural books.”¹⁵⁷ As a result, residential architecture became a primary influence on the young country’s banks.¹⁵⁸ This is unsurprising, given that, as has been mentioned, merchant-bankers operated out of their homes as far back as Renaissance Italy, and the Bank of England, which some Americans might have been familiar with, appeared to be composed of two large Palladian residences. The small scale of banks in the United States was also likely to have influenced their residential character. In Philadelphia in 1781, the congressionally sanctioned Bank of North America moved into a three-story, brick townhouse, using a four-foot-high wood wall topped by

¹⁵⁵ Morrill, 4-5. Morrill identifies a third building that resembles the two banks closely enough that they may have shared a designer, builder, or artisan. This building, at 211 North Fairfax Street, was designed as a residence for Jonah Thompson.

¹⁵⁶ Fauber, 95.

¹⁵⁷ Hafertepe, 14.

¹⁵⁸ Wagg, 19.

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a balustrade to divide its first-floor room into functional spaces. Other eighteenth-century banks adapted the residences of wealthy merchants to their needs. Local banks also often served a partially residential function, as living quarters were frequently provided for the cashier or other bank officer to maintain security.¹⁵⁹ Renting existing buildings seems to have been common for banks in the early days of their operation, while they worked toward profitability in an uncertain political and commercial climate. The Bank of Alexandria, for instance, rented a house on Cameron Street when it opened for business in 1793 and remained in those quarters until its own purpose-built bank was completed in 1807.¹⁶⁰

The First Bank of the United States provided an example of a bank aspiring to monumentality when it opened in 1797. Designed by Samuel Blodget, a well-traveled Philadelphia businessman with architectural experience who had helped found two banks, the First Bank of the United States stood three stories tall with a white marble, pilastered façade and a full-height portico supported by Corinthian columns. (Figure 13) The banking room on the main floor featured a central barrel vault supported by two rows of Corinthian columns.¹⁶¹ The British-born and -trained Benjamin Henry Latrobe also provided an early example of a monumental financial institution in his 1799 Bank of Pennsylvania. Latrobe, too, provided an imposing portico on the bank's façade – this one with fluted Ionic columns – as well as a broad, Pantheon-inspired dome that covered the double-height central banking hall. Both these early bank buildings have been described as Neoclassical, but Latrobe's simplification of ornament and use of a Greek model for his columns displayed his affinities with the British avant-garde he had been trained in, while Blodget's Roman-inspired columns represent one of the earliest uses of that form in the United States.¹⁶²

For the most part, however, designers of American bank buildings in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries eschewed monumental forms and esoteric influences and continued their reliance on existing residences as well as residential architectural models. Architectural historian Lois Severini has noted that on Wall Street in New York in 1800, "the two or three existing banks built for their purpose were scarcely distinguishable from the residences." Between 1800 and 1820, five of the six banks established in New York City moved into former

¹⁵⁹ Hafertepe, 9-16; Susan Wagg. "A Critical Look at Bank Architecture: Federal Period through Greek Revival," *Money Matters: A Critical Look at Bank Architecture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Parnassus Foundation, 1990), 17-18.

¹⁶⁰ Walsh, 31, 51; Architectural Survey Form: Bank of Virginia, DHR ID no. 100-0004, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, July 9, 1986. The Bank of Alexandria's report of its financial circumstances to Congress on December 31, 1820, reproduced by Walsh, notes that its "Banking house [was] finished in 1806." Other sources reviewed for this nomination generally use 1807 or a less definitive date (1803-1807, ca. 1804, for instance) for its completion date.

¹⁶¹ Hafertepe, 16-19.

¹⁶² Ibid., 27-28.

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residences or residences that had previously shared space with banks.¹⁶³ The residential character of early American banks was true across the country. Of the fifteen landmark nominations for buildings constructed as banks between 1795 and 1830 that were reviewed for the present nomination, ten had no pretensions to monumentality. With the exception of Blodget's First Bank of the United States, the five banks that could be described as having monumental characteristics were all built after 1820, by which time William Strickland's Parthenon-inspired Second Bank of the United States had begun to influence the design of American financial institutions.¹⁶⁴

The purpose-built banks in the reviewed group were located across the country, from New Hampshire to Louisiana. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina are also represented in the cohort. Three of the banks are located in Virginia. A fourth Virginia bank of the period was the circa 1800 Branch Bank of the United States in Norfolk, a residentially scaled building designed by Frederick Graff, a student of Latrobe.¹⁶⁵ In addition to these banks and those on Wall Street in New York, Boston architect Charles Bulfinch, who had traveled to England and France before beginning his architectural career, designed seven bank buildings in Massachusetts, only one of which is known to have been of a monumental character (the 1798 Boston branch of the Bank of the United States). One of his Boston banks was an adaptation of an existing residence.¹⁶⁶

Federal style details popular in residential architecture during this period unsurprisingly appeared in bank architecture as well, and banking houses illustrated regional variations of the Adam-influenced style. Bulfinch, whose take on Federal period design included the use of arched windows, planar exterior surfaces, blind and recessed arches, oval and circular room shapes, and a variety of stucco ornamentation (Figure 14), profoundly influenced other architects and builders in New England, and these influences appeared throughout the region. Alexander Parris's design for a bank in Portland, Maine, was based on a Bulfinch elevation published by Asher Benjamin.¹⁶⁷ Carpenter and joiner John Leach designed a building in the Federal style in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1826 intended to house two banks. Its brick façade included shallow, recessed arches that stretched vertically to encompass the windows on all three of its

¹⁶³ Severini, 23-24. The quotation is on page 23.

¹⁶⁴ See National Register nominations for the First Bank of the United States, the Citizens and Southern National Bank of South Carolina, the New Hampshire Bank, the Bank of Alexandria, the State Bank of North Carolina, the Farmers Bank of Petersburg, the Youghiogheny Bank, the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, the Louisiana State Bank, the Smithfield Exchange Bank, the Merrimack County Bank, and the Bank of Louisiana, as well as the National Register Inventory-Nomination form for Downtown Salem, Massachusetts (Bank of Essex). The other bank building considered in this count is the Bank of Potomac.

¹⁶⁵ Bryan Clark Green, Calder Loth, and William M.S. Rasmussen, *Lost Virginia: Vanished Architecture of the Old Dominion* (Charlottesville: Howell Press, 2001), 165.

¹⁶⁶ Hafertepe, 38.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 38-41.

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floors.¹⁶⁸ (Figure 15) In Alexandria, the local variant of the Federal manner generally avoided exterior arches except around doorways and in dormer windows, creating a more angular impression, such as in the Bank of Alexandria. (Figure 5) As Hafertepe observes, while the designs of banks in this period differed regionally, they shared “a common rhetoric of classicism” and “a desire for symmetry and taste, unburdened by excessive ornament.”¹⁶⁹

Functionally, nearly all banks of this period shared a small number of recurring characteristics. Common features included the banking room, where public business took place; a room in which the bank directors met to make decisions on loans and other bank business; vaults in which to store specie, bank notes, and other papers; offices for the cashier and the bank president; and living accommodations for a bank officer, usually the cashier. Designers of the first generation of banks in the United States (1781-1811) arranged these spaces within their buildings based on local typologies, the specific site of the bank, the manner in which a bank functioned, and other considerations.¹⁷⁰ The subheading for the section on local financial institutions in Hafertepe’s wide-ranging article on the first generation of banks in the United States, published in 2000 in the *Winterthur Portfolio*, provides an appropriate label for such bank requirements – “Local Banks as Variations on a Theme.”¹⁷¹ The theme being the general functional requirements, the variations being the ways in which those requirements were satisfied and the expression of those solutions.

The banking room was nearly always an open space on the first floor divided into two functional units (occupied by the public and the bank employees, respectively) by low walls, balustrades, or counters. For the banking room of the Bank of North America in Philadelphia, located in a three-story brick house, the single, ground-floor room was divided into three spaces with low board walls topped by turned balusters. The directors room was often on the second floor to provide privacy. Samuel Blodget led the way in this separation of public and private space in his design for the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, where he placed a room on the second floor, entered through an arched opening, for the use of the board of directors. The room, which included a fireplace, was large enough for a table to seat ten to twelve people. It was reached by a stair hall inaccessible to the general public. Placing the directors’ room on the second floor thus limited public access. Offices were also most often located on upper floors. Although quarters for the cashier or bank president were also often located above the banking operations, there were variations, depending on the type of building chosen as a model, as well as local conditions. The Worcester Bank in Massachusetts, designed by Bulfinch, placed bank functions and residential functions side by side, each taking up half of a double house with a shared portico.

¹⁶⁸ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Merrimack County Bank, U.S. Department of the Interior, February 28, 1980, 8:1-2.

¹⁶⁹ Hafertepe, 51.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. The first generation of banks in the United States, according to Hafertepe, spans the period from the establishment of the Bank of North America to the expiration of the charter of the First Bank of the United States.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 38.

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His Essex Bank in Salem, however, included a rear ell that may have functioned as quarters, given the small size of the primary block. (Figure 14) The location of secure storage also varied. Blodget placed the vault of the First Bank of the United States in the basement, as did Bulfinch in his Boston Branch of the First Bank. In some places, however, the bank vault location was made obvious to the public rather than hidden; it was placed directly opposite the front entrance to the bank behind a heavy door with multiple locks in order to make the safety of the bank's assets abundantly clear.¹⁷²

The distinct functions of the bank led designers to play close attention to the separation of traffic into, out of, and within bank buildings. Some banks employed a single primary entrance on the exterior with users separated on the interior by means of, for instance, one door leading to the banking room and another to stairs that led to the directors room and offices. This approach was used in the 1804-1805 New Hampshire Bank in Portsmouth, as well as in several other banks, especially in New England. Bulfinch's Worcester Bank placed the residential and bank entrances side by side beneath the shared portico of the double house. Bank traffic was divided on the interior of its half of the building.¹⁷³

Other banks, however, separated banking circulation by having different exterior entrances for daily customers and for bank officials. The Bank of the United States was first located in Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia, which was remodeled for its banking functions. The public entered from the street through one door; the directors and bank officers entered through a second door.¹⁷⁴ The Bank of Louisiana, built in 1827, also had separate exterior entrances along the streets that bordered it. Since the bank did not include a residential function, those entrances likely served, respectively, public and bank officer circulation.¹⁷⁵

The design of the Bank of Potomac provides another variation of the separate exterior entrance theme. As noted in Section 7, it included a large banking room on the first floor separated from upstairs spaces devoted to a directors meeting room, office space, and quarters for the cashier, as was common in banks of the time. The Bank of Potomac appears to have used two means of creating separate circulation paths for the public and for bank officials. The first was located on the exterior, which included two doors in the four-bay façade. The west door stood opposite the door to the stair hall accessing the upstairs rooms; bank officials likely used this door. The public therefore likely used the east door. Since the room both classes of traffic entered was actually one large space, additional means of separation were needed, which likely came in the form of counters, balustrades, or walls like those other banks of the period used to divide their first-floor space.

¹⁷² Hafertepe, 15-20, 36-42; Wim de Wit, *Money Matters: A Critical Look at Bank Architecture* (review), *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50:4 (December 1991), 451.

¹⁷³ Hafertepe, 36-43.

¹⁷⁴ Hafertepe, 16.

¹⁷⁵ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: New Orleans Tourist Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, June 19, 1973, 7:1.

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It was perhaps due to the location of the Bank of Potomac in the center of its block that its designers placed both of its exterior entrances on Prince Street, unlike the Bank of Alexandria and the Bank of Louisiana, the corner locations of which provided for separate entrances using different facades. The Bank of Potomac's design choice fits its specific circumstances – in architectural style and functional arrangement – while also fitting into the general array of choices open to bank designers of the time. The four-bay façade with alternating doors and windows is unusual in bank designs from this period, based on the early nineteenth-century banks reviewed for this nomination. It is also unusual in residential design. Facades of most townhouses from this period in Alexandria are at least three bays across. A double house or duplex, examples of which can be found all along the east coast, would therefore typically have stretched six bays wide, as Bulfinch's Worcester Bank did. The Bank of Potomac's solution to the separation of circulation in its mid-block location, however, did not seem to have been influential. The only other instance of its adoption discovered in research was at the Farmers Bank of Petersburg.

Two additions were made to the Bank of Potomac. The one on the north was constructed before the Civil War; the one on the west was constructed soon after the war. Both take the form, as has been mentioned, of what is known as a flounder. In a survey of this house form in Alexandria, Christopher Martin compiled three reasons for its construction, as given in secondary literature. In the first, a flounder was built quickly and back from the street in order to comply with building codes that required construction within a certain period of time. They were intended to become the rear ell of a typical gabled house. Other commentators expressed the idea that the second half of a gabled house was planned – hence, the blank wall on one side – but never built. The third explanation laid the reason for the form to a desire by the owner to reduce paying taxes on windows through the use of the blank wall.

Martin provides evidence to dispute two of these three explanations. The most common reason, the first, ignores the fact that several flounders were built directly on the street and others either barely deep enough or not deep enough for a later, more substantial building in front of them. The care and details of some flounders – Flemish bond brick, sawtooth cornices, three-course thick construction – also belie the claim that they were built cheaply and quickly. The idea that a half house was built first with the second half to follow is refuted by the fact that in Martin's survey of seventeen flounders, in all but one the blank wall of the house was built against the lot line so that a fully gabled house could not be built on the property. And while Martin does not attempt to disprove the tax reduction explanation, he prefers to identify other reasons for the form's adoption. He notes the presence of other shed-roofed buildings in the urban context in Alexandria, such as carriage houses and warehouses. Among the advantages of flounders that Martin cites are the simplified and streamlined construction of the shed roof and the increase in open space on the house lot created when a two-story flounder was built against the lot line instead of a gabled, one-story house of the same square footage.¹⁷⁶ Both additions to the 415

¹⁷⁶ Christopher Martin, "'Hope Deferred': The Origin and Development of Alexandria's Flounder House," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 2 (1986), 111-119,

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Prince Street help to reinforce Martin's doubt about traditional rationale for the form's use. The primary facades of both were laid in more expensive Flemish bond brickwork, and each displays decorative elements unlikely to be considered typical of inexpensive construction (a curved, molded brick cornice on the north addition and carved sandstone lintels on the first floor of the west addition). The north addition was also built against the original west lot line, opening up the rear yard for construction of outbuildings.

Extant Early Nineteenth-Century Banking Houses in Virginia

In order to understand the architectural significance of the Bank of Potomac, the original bank block and its north addition, it is useful to compare the Prince Street bank with other bank buildings in Virginia from the period under discussion. Three extant, early nineteenth-century, purpose-built banks in the state have been individually listed in the National Register and will form the basis of this comparison.¹⁷⁷ The three previously listed banks are:

- Bank of Alexandria, 133 Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Virginia (NR #73002202)
- Farmers Bank of Petersburg, 19 Bollingbrook Street, Petersburg, Virginia (NR #72001515)
- Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, 900 Princess Anne Street, Fredericksburg, Virginia (NR #83003283)

All four of the buildings were constructed as banking houses between 1804 and 1820 in the Federal style, and the designs of all four address the same functional issues of independent or branch banks at this time, including provision of a banking room for the public, a meeting room or rooms for the bank directors, offices for bank employees, quarters for a resident employee, secure storage of notes, coin, and records, and separate circulation for different categories of users. Only one, the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, still functioned as a bank when it was listed in the National Register. The other buildings served multiple functions after banking operations ceased.

Bank of Alexandria

Located at 133 Fairfax Street at its intersection with Cameron Street, the Bank of Alexandria was completed in 1807. (Figure 5) In addition to its completion date, the building shares many ornamental details with the Bank of Potomac, resulting in the conclusion of several commentators that the two banks shared a common designer/builder or artisans, and perhaps

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3514322>.

¹⁷⁷ The comparison list has been limited to extant, purpose-built bank buildings in Virginia listed in the National Register and constructed during the period of the two Banks of the United States (1791-1836). It was during this period of nascent American banking history that bank directors, architects, and builders experimented with the forms and expression of bank buildings as they evolved from existing residential and commercial types.

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both. The Bank of Alexandria originally stood three stories high above a basement and included a two-story extension on the rear (east). The main block stretched five bays along Fairfax Street (west) and seven bays on Cameron Street (north). The two-story extension, constructed at an unknown date but in place by 1838, added three window bays on Cameron Street. These primary elevations were constructed of Flemish bond brick above a stone water table. Windows had six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows with stone lintels and flat arches with keystones. The first-floor doors featured Adamesque, carved stone surrounds, with semicircular arches, engaged columns, and finely carved ornament. A balustrade was located at the roofline. The secondary elevations on the south and east were constructed of common bond brick with six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash windows, stone lintels, and brick jack arches.¹⁷⁸

The designer/builder divided the interior space into the banking house on the west (four bays across on Cameron Street) and a residence on the east (six bays across, including the extension), according to architect J. Everette Fauber in his 1974 study of the building. The public banking room was entered from a central door on Fairfax Street, the residence from a door at the west end of the eastern wing, approximately in the middle of its Cameron Street façade. This door led to a stair hall from which doors opened into the residence. The original first floor plan for the bank block included a single open room on the west for public transactions and two vault rooms and a stair on the east. The two floors above followed a similar arrangement, although the eastern part of the bank block was divided into two, rather than three, spaces. The second floor, which included the bank directors meeting room, could be reached from both stair halls.¹⁷⁹ This would provide for separate entrances for the bank directors (from Cameron Street) and any member of the public having business with bank officers (from the banking room).

Fauber considered it likely that counters separated the tellers' space from the public in the main banking room, as would have been the usual practice. The large space also included fireplaces in the center of the north and south walls, flanked by window bays, and a niche at the center of the east wall (opposite the front door) flanked by doors, creating a strict symmetry of openings. One door in the east wall accessed the south vault room; the other accessed the stair hall. The second vault room appears to have been reached through a door in the stair hall, according to an 1838 floor plan by Robert Mills, who evaluated the building as a potential courthouse in his capacity as architect of public buildings for the United States. Window casings and interior shutters, doors and casings, fireplace mantels, and plaster cornices – all in the Federal style – outfitted the

¹⁷⁸ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Bank of Alexandria, NR #73002202, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, June 4, 1973, Section 7; J. Everette Fauber, Jr., "The Bank of Alexandria, an Architectural and Documentary Study," prepared for the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, January 1974, Special Collections, Alexandria Public Library, 89-92.

¹⁷⁹ The discussion of floor plans is based on reconstructions produced by Fauber. He considered the third floor to have been planned as rental space. Users of the third floor would also have used the Cameron Street entrance.

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interior spaces of the banking room. The original elements of the residential part of the building could not be determined by Fauber with any certainty due to later changes.¹⁸⁰

The Bank of Alexandria was listed in the National Register on June 4, 1973. Although the National Park Service did not use its current evaluation criteria (A, B, C, and D) at that time, the nomination did cite the bank's areas of significance (architecture and commerce) and listed its period of significance as the nineteenth century. The Statement of Significance, with regard to architectural importance, states that the Bank of Alexandria "represents one of the best examples of the restrained elegance [of the Federal style] incorporated into a commercial architecture."¹⁸¹ The description section of the National Register nomination, written by Fauber, makes this significance clearer. "The later additions and alterations have not obscured the elegant aspects of the Bank of Alexandria, nor rendered its original appearance beyond recall," Fauber writes. "The building has endured to become one of the few remaining commercial structures of the Federal period with much of its exquisite original trimwork intact."¹⁸²

The bank's architectural significance therefore derives from its being a commercial structure that retained original decorative details, but its relation to a bank's functional requirements is not specifically addressed. The comment on later changes seems to have been necessary because much of its original appearance had been altered or obscured due to subsequent uses. The bank was converted to a hotel in 1848, and a four-story wing was built on the south in 1855. The United States military occupied the building during the Civil War before the previous owners returned it to hotel use after the war. In 1910 the hotel was converted to an apartment building, this use continuing until 1972 when it was sold to the Northern Virginia Regional Parks Authority. The purpose of the purchase was to tear down the 1855 addition so that the Carlyle House and its site, immediately to the south, could be restored. It was later determined that the Bank of Alexandria was an appropriate candidate for restoration as well.¹⁸³

At the time of the National Register nomination, this restoration had not taken place. A photograph submitted with the nomination illustrates the condition of the Fairfax Street façade at this time. (Figure 16) Alterations made after the banking period but present at the time of the National Register nomination, as seen in the photograph, include a painted first floor, stucco applied to the second and third floors, Victorian bracketed lintels replacing the flat-arched stone lintels with keystones in the original building, and a continuous iron railing along the second floor, linking the former bank to the 1855 four-story hotel addition. Also visible is a fourth floor added behind an altered balustrade. Not visible are changes to the first floor, which appear in a circa 1959 Historic American Buildings Survey photograph. (Figure 17) The windows flanking

¹⁸⁰ Fauber, 92-98; National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Bank of Alexandria, Section 7.

¹⁸¹ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Bank of Alexandria, Section 8.

¹⁸² Ibid., Section 7.

¹⁸³ Fauber, 78-84.

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the Fairfax Street entrance, as well as the first two windows on Cameron Street, were extended to floor level and fronted with iron railings. The original entrance on Fairfax Street, which was composed of a run of stone steps on either side of the doorway reaching a small stone stoop, had also been altered. When the Bank of Alexandria was listed on the National Register, a platform with iron railing extended across the middle three bays of the west façade, including the original doorway, which appears to have been used only as access to the platform from the interior. The Cameron Street elevation escaped the changes made to the primary façade, with the exception of the two west windows and the substitution of a modern fanlight in the door to the residence. The four-story addition on the south resulted in windows on that side of the original building being filled in or enlarged to become doorways. The sash and lintels were reused in the addition.¹⁸⁴

On the interior, “[m]uch modification to the original plan of the building” had taken place, according to Fauber, after bank operations ceased in 1843.¹⁸⁵ Both of the masonry partitions at the rear of the banking wing, which created the stair hall and the two vault rooms, had been removed, although the cast iron vault door between the south vault room and the banking hall remained in place (disguised by a wood door). The banking hall itself had not been altered (except for the removal of counters for the tellers and other furnishings). Although Fauber does not remark on it, the stair itself had to have been affected if the wall that supported it (on the south) had been removed. In plans of the first and second floors submitted with the National Register nomination, no stair appears in the banking house. It seems, then, that the original stair providing internal circulation for the bank had been removed when the stair hall’s south wall was replaced, the residential stair thus becoming the primary circulation for the upper floors.¹⁸⁶ As for the residential wing and upstairs, Fauber remarked that “[n]ot many significant architectural features have survived on the rest of the first floor [residence] or throughout the upper floors with the exception of a few doors, window trim, and shutters on the north and west and fragments of plaster cornices hidden behind modern ceilings.”¹⁸⁷ His plans show that the presumed bank directors room on the second floor had been subdivided into eight spaces, while five spaces had been created in the third floor room directly above.

Fauber wrote his study of the building as a prelude to planned restoration of the exterior and main banking room, while the remainder of the building was to be converted to other uses. Restoration began in the summer of 1977, and the building reopened in 1980 with a branch of the Bank of Virginia occupying the ground floor bank rooms and offices and apartments on the second and third floors. The exterior paint and stucco, second-floor railing, and fourth floor were all removed, and the façade and balustrade were restored. A reconstructed stair and stoop at the Fairfax Street entrance replaced the late nineteenth-century platform and railing, and the windows were returned to their original size with flat, stone arches taking the place of the Victorian lintels. The iron vault door was exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution Museum of American History until the restoration was finished, whereupon it was returned to 133 Fairfax

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 89-92.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 92.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 97-98.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 104.

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Street.¹⁸⁸ It is not known what other restoration/reconstruction may have been accomplished on the interior. The Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority sold the building in 2021 to a private citizen, who converted it into a residence.¹⁸⁹

At the time of its listing on the National Register in 1973, the Bank of Alexandria retained several of the characteristics of early nineteenth-century bank buildings, but also lacked other typical features. The Cameron Street façade retained its Flemish bond brick work, entrance and stair, stone lintels for all except the two western windows on the first floor, and roofline balustrade. The Fairfax Street façade had lost many of its Federal period details. The two exterior entrances on Fairfax and Cameron streets characterized the early nineteenth-century separation of public circulation from that of bank officers, although the primary public entrance on Fairfax Street appears to have been closed. In addition, the internal manifestation of the separation of traffic (two internal stairs) was missing. The large main banking room, with its Federal period ornamentation, fireplaces, central niche, and symmetrical doors leading separately to the former stair hall and a vault (with original door) also remained, although the stair and the vaults had been removed. The door to the second vault was also gone. In addition, the teller counter and other furnishings that might have separated the public from bank employees had been removed. On the second floor, the bank directors room had been subdivided, and it may be that the "fragments of plaster cornices hidden behind modern ceilings" that Fauber mentioned were located here. Other existing original upper floor features the architect cites as existing in 1974 are doors, window trim, and shutters on the north and west and two mantelpieces – simpler than those in the banking room – on the third floor.

Farmers Bank of Petersburg

Organized in 1812, the Petersburg Branch of the state-chartered Farmers Bank of Virginia opened in a three-story brick building at what is now 19 Bollingbrook Street in 1817 after previously occupying rented quarters. The four-bay front façade, laid in Flemish bond, faced south. (Figure 18) It featured stone belt courses separating the floors, as well as windows with stone sills and flat-arched, stone lintels with keystones. The first floor bays alternated windows and doors. The side and rear elevations were laid in common bond, and each of the side elevations included a pair of brick chimneys. On the east, windows flanked one of the chimneys on the ground floor. No windows were located on the west elevation. A low, hipped roof with a

¹⁸⁸ Laura A. Kiernan, "Historic Bank Door Goes to the Smithsonian," *Washington Post*, June 17, 1975, C2; Paul Hodge, "A Museum, Shops, and Apartments for Restored Bank of Alexandria," *Washington Post*, February 3, 1977, VA 4; John B. Willmann, "Renovations Take No Rest in Heart of Old Town," *Washington Post*, July 28, 1980, WB18; Chiles T.A. Larson, "The Old Alexandria Bank Building Case of Rare Architecture Preserved," *Washington Post*, June 14, 1982, WB20, Proquest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post.

¹⁸⁹ Permit to Demolish/Encapsulate (partial) and Certificate of Appropriateness for alterations, 133 North Fairfax Street, Docket #14 & 15, Alexandria Board of Architectural Review #2020-00443 & 2020-00444, October 7, 2020, 6.

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dormer window on the south covered the building, hidden by a parapet wall. Outbuildings, including a smokehouse, a kitchen, and stables, stood on the north. On the interior, carved woodwork ornamented the second floor rooms, which also featured Federal style mantels and marble fireplace surrounds. The first floor probably displayed similar decoration. Double doors closed a wood-cased elliptical archway between the two principal rooms; the arch itself was filled with wood tracery. Similar but simpler ornamentation could be found in the third floor rooms. A bank officer lived on the upper two floors and reached his residence through an arched door on the west end of the front façade, which led a stair beyond an arched opening. There appears to have been no communication between the residence entrance hall and the bank.¹⁹⁰ This arrangement is considered to have been standard for combined commercial/residential buildings in Petersburg at this time.¹⁹¹

The banking hall – located on the first floor east of the stair hall – was reconstructed in the late 1960s, after the building's acquisition by the Fort Henry Branch of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) and prior to its listing on the National Register. Most of the ground floor front façade had been removed in the late nineteenth century when the building was used as a shop. (Figure 19) In addition, “[n]early all of the original fabric of the banking section was removed” at that time, according to the National Register nomination for the building.¹⁹² Reconstruction of the façade was based on evidence in the remaining building fabric. Evidence in the masonry facilitated the location of the original windows and second door on the front façade. Removal of later framing around the existing west door revealed a pedimented outline on the brick. A pedimented door surround was therefore selected from a pattern book of the period for both doors in what Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission staffers labeled a “conjectural restoration.” The form of the front façade windows was based on those of the upper floors. The late nineteenth-century bracketed cornice at the roofline was also removed and replaced with a corbeled brick cornice beneath a reconstructed parapet wall. Examination of the roof structure revealed evidence of a hipped roof with a dormer on the south lying beneath the side gable roof that existed at the time of the restoration; the original roof and dormer parapet were also reconstructed.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Petersburg, NR #72001515, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, April 13, 1972, Section 7.

¹⁹¹ J.R. Fishburne, Tucker H. Hill, and Edward F. White, Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission staff, to James W. Moody, Executive Director, February 7, 1968; Report of Mr. Frederick Nichols to Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, February 13, 1968, 123-0067_Farmers_Bank_1967-1972-ca_Correspondence, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives.

¹⁹² National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Petersburg, Section 7.

¹⁹³ Fishburne, Hill, and White to Moody, February 7, 1968.

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The banking rooms on the first floor were reconstructed based on woodwork and other trim remaining on the second and third floors. This included the mantelpieces, which had been removed from the first floor during the shop period. Restoration of the banking house included raising the floor to its original level and reconstruction of a fireproof "strong room" in the west corner at the rear of the bank. The remains of a partially collapsed vault in the basement beneath this space had been found after purchase of the property; its barrel-vaulted ceiling was rebuilt. Since there was no evidence of entry to the vault through its side walls, it was assumed that the vault was accessed through its ceiling. A trap door was therefore opened in the floor of the strong room above. Evidence in the underlying masonry of the first floor led to the reopening of a door and a window on the rear wall and a window on the east wall. A non-historical addition was made to the interior of the main banking room for structural purposes. At the time of APVA's acquisition, pipe columns helped support the ceiling, the original structure (or alterations undertaken during the shop period) apparently insufficient to support the floors above. To replace the columns, a new north-south wall with a broad arched opening was built. Trimwork on the wall and arch matched the reconstructed trim elsewhere on the first floor. The added wall created a long, narrow alcove along the west side of the banking room that did not exist during the bank's period of operation.¹⁹⁴

To support its work, the Fort Henry Branch of APVA converted the top two floors of the building to rental apartments. Floor plans on these floors were altered to accommodate kitchens and bathrooms, but, according to the National Register nomination, the "principal rooms" – presumably those above the banking hall – were unaltered.¹⁹⁵

Although no floor plans for the Farmers Bank of Petersburg were found during research, a general understanding of the organization of bank and residential spaces can be established based on photographs and written descriptions. The first floor consisted of the stair hall on the west, which stretched from the front to the rear of the building and was accessed through the west door of the front façade. A transverse wall with an arched opening broke up this long space, as in many residential/commercial buildings of the period. The public banking hall was entered through the east door on the front façade and was three bays wide (the door and its flanking windows). At the time of the National Register nomination in 1972, the interior of the bank had not been furnished, but a later reconstruction placed the teller counter north to south from the front wall to the rear wall of the banking room. The front door stood opposite a door in the rear wall; the counter created a corridor between the two. The space behind the public banking room was divided into two spaces – interpreted as the "strong room" with the vault beneath in the west

¹⁹⁴ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Petersburg, Section 7; "Preliminary Summary of findings at Old 'Farmers Bank Building,' Located at 23 Bollingbrook Street, Petersburg, Virginia," September 1, 1966, 123-0067_Farmers_Bank_1965-1971_Reports-Materials, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives; Fishburne, Hill, and White to Moody, February 7, 1968.

¹⁹⁵ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Petersburg, Section 7.

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corner and a second room that acted as an office. The reconstruction placed a door in the rear wall of the building, aligned with the two doors in the banking room.¹⁹⁶ The organization of the rooms on the upper floor is not clear from documents reviewed, but likely included three-bay-wide rooms on the second and third floors above the banking hall, with smaller rooms behind.

The Farmers Bank of Petersburg was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on April 13, 1972. As with the Bank of Alexandria, the nomination of the Petersburg bank did not use current National Register criteria to identify its significance but did list areas of significance (architecture and commerce) and a period of significance (nineteenth century). The nomination's statement of significance describes the bank as "a noteworthy example of the fine quality Federal style commercial architecture that once dominated the hearts of many of the Commonwealth's early cities. The history of this bank provides an insight into the financial history of nineteenth century Virginia."¹⁹⁷ While the nomination doesn't address the ways in which the Farmers Bank of Petersburg exemplifies the spatial organization and decoration of bank buildings during this period, it is clear that several aspects of bank typology were represented when the building was added to the National Register. These include secure storage for bank valuables, an office for bank employees, quarters for the cashier or other officer, and separate circulation for the public and that officer. The north-south structural wall with arched opening added during reconstruction of the first floor, however, divided the banking hall in an unprecedented manner and was designed as if it fit the nineteenth-century construction. In addition, most of the banking facilities, as well as their expression, are reconstructed rather than original. The living quarters were altered to some degree for use as apartments. One missing aspect of expected banking facilities is a meeting room for bank directors in the Farmers Bank of Petersburg. Research conducted during the restoration process indicated that the branch bank had a president, a cashier, and six directors. Neither the Petersburg bank nomination nor research consulted for the present nomination posit a different location for bank directors to gather nor entertain the possibility that the south room on the second floor might have been used for that purpose, as it was in the Bank of Alexandria.¹⁹⁸

Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg

The Fredericksburg branch of the Farmers Bank of Virginia was chartered by the state in 1812, like the branch in Petersburg. The bank moved into purpose-built quarters at 900 Princess Anne Street, at its intersection with George Street, in 1820. The first directors meeting in the new bank was held on August 9 of that year. With the exception of the Civil War, when it was used as the

¹⁹⁶ "Historic Farmers Bank, Petersburg, Virginia: Gallery," Friends of the Historic Farmers Bank website, <https://historicfarmersbank.org/gallery>, accessed September 11, 2024.

¹⁹⁷ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Petersburg, Section 8.

¹⁹⁸ Ransom B. True, "The Farmers' Bank of Virginia, 1812-1867," prepared for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, January 1971, 10, 123-0067_Farmers_Bank_1965-1971_Reports-Materials, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives.

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headquarters of U.S. Army General Marsena Patrick, the building continued to operate as a bank into the twenty-first century. The National Bank of Fredericksburg took over the premises in 1866 and continued to offer banking services there until 2015.

The Farmers Bank was constructed as a two-story, front-gable, brick building laid in Flemish bond on all four sides and featuring a wood cornice. (Figure 20) The building included the banking house on the north and a residence for the bank cashier on the south. The bank entrance in the center of the Princess Anne Street façade featured two engaged, fluted Doric columns on pedestals supporting an entablature with plain freeze. The two-leaved wood door was set within a surround imitating channelled stone. At the time of the National Register nomination (1983), glass had replaced the upper panel in both leaves. Originally, wood tracery held the glass panes in the transom over the door, but at the time of the National Register nomination, a solid wood panel with a sunburst motif had replaced the transom. The entrance to the residence on George Street (east) consisted of a double wood door framed by fluted columns and sidelights with an elliptical arch above. The arch was filled with a transom of wood tracery and glass panes, which remained in place at the time of the nomination. Sandstone steps were used at both entrances. Six-over-six, double-hung, wood sash with granite sills and Aquia Creek sandstone lintels (flat-arched with keystones) filled all the window openings on both floors with one exception. A Federal style three-part window was located on the second floor above the bank entrance. The lunettes in the center of both the north and south pediments "originally consisted of a series of elliptical intersecting lines, creating a flame pattern," according to the National Register nomination. At the time of the nomination, however, the lunette window framing consisted of radiating spokes. All the exterior trim, including the stonework, had been painted white by the time of the nomination.¹⁹⁹

Woodwork on the interior included carved cornices, casing for the doors, windows, and arches, the last of which rested on either fluted pilasters or engaged columns. The keystone motifs in the arches featured rope and bead carving. The National Register nomination describes the first floor banking hall woodwork as "more intricate" than that on the second floor. It is not clear whether this description and the distinction between the two floors also applies to the residential part of the building, as documentation does not specifically identify the ornamentation in the residence. Floors were originally of stained wood. At the time of the nomination, the floor of the banking room, at least, was covered by linoleum tile and carpeted, according to photographs.²⁰⁰

Wood mantelpieces following Federal motifs were employed in the original construction of the bank. While there appear to have been six fireplaces on the first floor when it was originally

¹⁹⁹ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, NR #83003283, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, July 12, 1983, Section 7; Historic Fredericksburg Foundation. Historic Marker Program: National Bank of Fredericksburg. <https://hffi.org/hffi-marker-map/>.

²⁰⁰ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, Section 7.

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constructed, at least one, in the banking hall, had been removed by 1983. It is assumed that the upper floors were also heated by fireplaces, although documentation reviewed does not state that fact. There is also some question about the originality of the mantelpieces. Two inventories of the building by the Works Progress Administration in 1937 both indicate that no mantels remained. The 1957 Historic American Buildings Survey documentation for the bank also states that all the mantels had been removed. A year later, HABS documentation for both the bank and the residence includes a floor plan that shows five fireplaces and notes the presence of "handsome carved mantels."²⁰¹ It may be that the 1957 HABS documentation relied on erroneous WPA inventories for its information, while the 1958 HABS account included an actual survey.

The interior layout of the original bank, based on the 1958 Historic American Building Survey drawing, consisted of the bank block on the north and the residence on the south, separated by a stair hall. This functional division lasted until the 1920, when the bank took over all the space in the building. On the first floor at least, the bank was divided into a large single space just inside the front door on the north and two rooms on the south. Each of the two south rooms were accessed by separate doors from the bank hall, and each contained a fireplace. It is likely that this spatial organization was generally repeated on the second floor, with the room above the public banking hall functioning as the directors meeting room. The floor plan is therefore similar to the other banks under review. It is not known where the original tellers counter may have been located as no traces remain. By 1983, it appears from photographs to have been placed east to west across the banking hall in front of the bank vault and office door. In addition, modern ceilings with fluorescent lights were located above the cornices by 1983, and at least two square-plan columns supported the ceiling. It is not known whether the columns are original, but documentation does not mention them, and their ornament is not consistent with the other woodwork.

While one of the pair of rear rooms was likely used as an office, the use of the other room is not clear. A 1965 booklet commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the National Bank of Fredericksburg stated that the "original hand-forged vault door" remained in use until 1928, when a modern time-lock vault replaced it. According to current photographs, the modern vault was located in the western room behind the banking hall. If the modern vault literally replaced the original, then the old vault was also located in the west room. Complicating that interpretation is the presence of a fireplace in that room, according to the 1958 HABS drawing. It would be unlikely to include a source of fire in a space where valuable paper documents were held, and neither of the other two banks under review, where the vault location is known,

²⁰¹ Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory: National Bank Building, July 27, 1937; Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory: Farmers Bank of Virginia, August 20, 1937, 3; Historic American Buildings Survey: National Bank of Fredericksburg, July 25, 1957; Historic American Building Survey: National Bank of Fredericksburg-Herndon Dabney House, July 16, 1958, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archives, File 111-0021: Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg.

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included a fireplace in that space. In any event, the vault door in the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg was put on display in Chicago in 1933-1934 and then was given to the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia.²⁰² No remnants of the original vault remain in Fredericksburg.

Based on the 1958 HABS drawing, the residence consisted of two rooms on each floor, all of them heated by fireplaces. No description specifically referring to the residence was found in research. The presence of the stair hall between the two sections of the building could have provided private access to both the residence and the upper floor of the bank, if that was the location of the directors meeting room, while the public entered the banking hall on the north. The 1958 floor plan, however, indicates that, by that date, the rooms were arranged so that they opened into each other, creating two parallel enfilades. This likely represents a change in the original circulation pattern, which would have segregated some spaces from others. The National Register doesn't make reference to the stairs themselves, but the 1937 WPA inventory indicates that the steps were broad and irregular, with simple balusters and newel and a round, walnut handrail.²⁰³ A photograph submitted with the National Register nomination indicates that the stair remained little changed by 1983 (except for the carpeted treads and risers) and consistent with Federal period design.

Several changes were made over the years to the exterior of the original bank building. Beginning in 1886, one-story wood porches sheltering entrances on the west and south appear on Sanborn Insurance maps and remain in place through the 1919 maps.²⁰⁴ Documentation reviewed makes no claim for the originality of these features, and none exist today. A brick exterior vestibule was built against the west entrance in 1960. The vestibule remained at the time of the 1983 National Register nomination. Other no-longer-extant alterations include a drive-in window on the south façade of the building in 1953 and additional drive-in lanes from 1959 and 1973. When the drive-in window was first built, the original kitchen was taken down and reconstructed about a mile away. In 1967, the basement was deepened and the spaces remodeled to create a room for the board of directors.²⁰⁵

The Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on August 11, 1983. As with the other two banks under review, the nomination did not use current National Register criteria to identify its significance but did list areas of significance

²⁰² "100th Anniversary, 1865-1965: The National Bank of Fredericksburg" (Fredericksburg, Virginia: Fredericksburg Free Press, 1965), 6, Foode FOIA request – 900 Princess Anne Street. City of Fredericksburg, Community Planning & Building.

²⁰³ Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory: Farmers Bank of Virginia. August 20, 1937, 3.

²⁰⁴ *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Fredericksburg, Independent Cities, Virginia*, Sanborn Map Company, 1886, 1891, 1907, 1919, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn09021>.

²⁰⁵ "100th Anniversary, 1865-1965," 6; National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, Section 7.

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(architecture and commerce) and a period of significance (1800-1899). The nomination's Statement of Significance describes the building as a "refined example of a Federal Style commercial building." In addition to the building's continuous service as a bank building, the Statement of Significance also mentions that it was the home of naval hero Captain William Lewis Herndon and his siblings and the location of a speech by Abraham Lincoln on April 22, 1862.²⁰⁶ Similar to the nominations of the banks in Alexandria and Petersburg, the National Register documentation for the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg does not explore its relation to bank typology of the early nineteenth century. Like other banks of this time, the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg included both banking and residential accommodations and provided separate access for each. It likely provided separate internal circulation for the bank's directors, although that circulation is no longer clear due to later changes. Most of the original exterior features and interior woodwork, all following Federal style precedents, remain in place. The Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg also separated its banking rooms into a single large open room for the public and tellers, with smaller spaces behind, likely for offices and secure storage. The openness of the banking room was probably compromised before the building was listed on the National Register by the introduction of columns to support the floor above, and neither the counter for tellers nor the vault are extant. It is likely that the second floor of the banking house mirrored the first floor, and it is known that the bank's board of directors met in the building. While the second floor retained much of its original woodwork at the time of the National Register nomination, it is not known whether the room in which the directors met retained its original dimensions.

Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia

As can be seen from the previous discussion, the Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia compares favorably with the three early nineteenth-century Virginia bank buildings already listed individually in the National Register. As originally constructed, the Bank of Potomac employed a similar division of spaces – a single large room on each floor at the front of the building with smaller rooms behind. The large room on the first floor was used as a public banking hall; the bank directors met in the large room on the second floor. The smaller rooms behind typically contained either offices, stairs, or vaults. At the Bank of Potomac, stairs and an office occupied the two rooms on both first and second floors. Bank buildings also took care to separate internal circulation through the use of separate doors from the outside, as well as separate access to the upstairs rooms. At the Bank of Alexandria and the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, the public door was on the front of the building, the residential/bank directors entrance was on the side. At the Bank of Potomac and the Farmers Bank of Petersburg, both entrances were on the front façade with separation of traffic managed on the interior. Both the Bank of Potomac and Farmers Bank of Petersburg seem to have had a rear door that could also have separated the public from bank employees or officers. The building at 415 Prince Street is also the only bank among the study group to retain aspects of

²⁰⁶ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg, Section 8.

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external security in the form of perimeter walls and a gated entrance. None of the other three banks appear to have included such security features, which were employed elsewhere in the United States in early bank design. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia maintains all the primary elements of the organization of bank spaces, carried out in the Federal style, as do the other three individually listed banks, and did not need to have any of these features reconstructed, as was necessary at the Bank of Alexandria and the Farmers Bank of Petersburg.

In all of these buildings, circulation has been altered, obscuring the original separation of categories of users on the interior. While the original primary doors remain, others have been added or altered. Doors in the Bank of Potomac generally remain in their original locations, with only slight changes, such as the arch added to the door to the stair on the first floor. None of the buildings have their original tellers counters or railings in the banking hall. The reconstruction of the counter at the Farmers Bank of Petersburg took place after the building was added to the National Register. Other elements closely associated with bank buildings of this period are also consistently absent. Only in Petersburg is there an original vault (with conjectural reconstruction of access), and only at the Bank of Alexandria is there an original vault door (without the vault). In all the banks, circulation has been altered to accommodate new uses. The requirements of these new uses, such as kitchens and bathrooms, have altered room sizes and finishes to varying degrees. At the Bank of Potomac, these changes occurred primarily on the third floor, which acted as the bank officer's residence when the building was first constructed, and changes to residential spaces are common in all the banks under review.

Neither of the Farmers banks received substantial additions during their periods of significance. A three-bay, two-story extension was built at the rear of the Bank of Alexandria by 1838, likely to enlarge the residential space. A four-story addition was built on the south, and significant exterior alterations were made to the bank's primary elevation in 1855 that subsumed the bank into the addition. Both of these additions stood when the Bank of Alexandria was listed in the National Register, although demolition of the four-story structure was planned. An addition was constructed on the rear (north) elevation of the Bank of Potomac during its period of significance. A smaller addition was added on the west after the period of significance but is small enough and in such a secondary position that it does not affect the integrity of the resource.

While the Federal style ornamentation used in these bank buildings is not integrally related to their purpose as banking institutions, it does convey the period of significance in which this bank typology developed and is therefore an important consideration in determining integrity under Criterion C. As has been pointed out, all four of the banks employed Federal period wood- and plasterwork, bricklaying techniques, carved stone ornament, window and door forms, mantelpieces, and other elements. In the case of the Bank of Alexandria, some of this original work on the upper floors was lost. In Petersburg, existing work on the upper floors was used as a model to recreate it in the banking rooms. The Bank of Potomac/Executive Office has lost little of its Federal ornamentation either on the exterior or on the first and second floor interiors. It is

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therefore also comparable to the other three individually listed banks in its ability to convey its period of significance in addition to its banking functions.

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Historical Figures

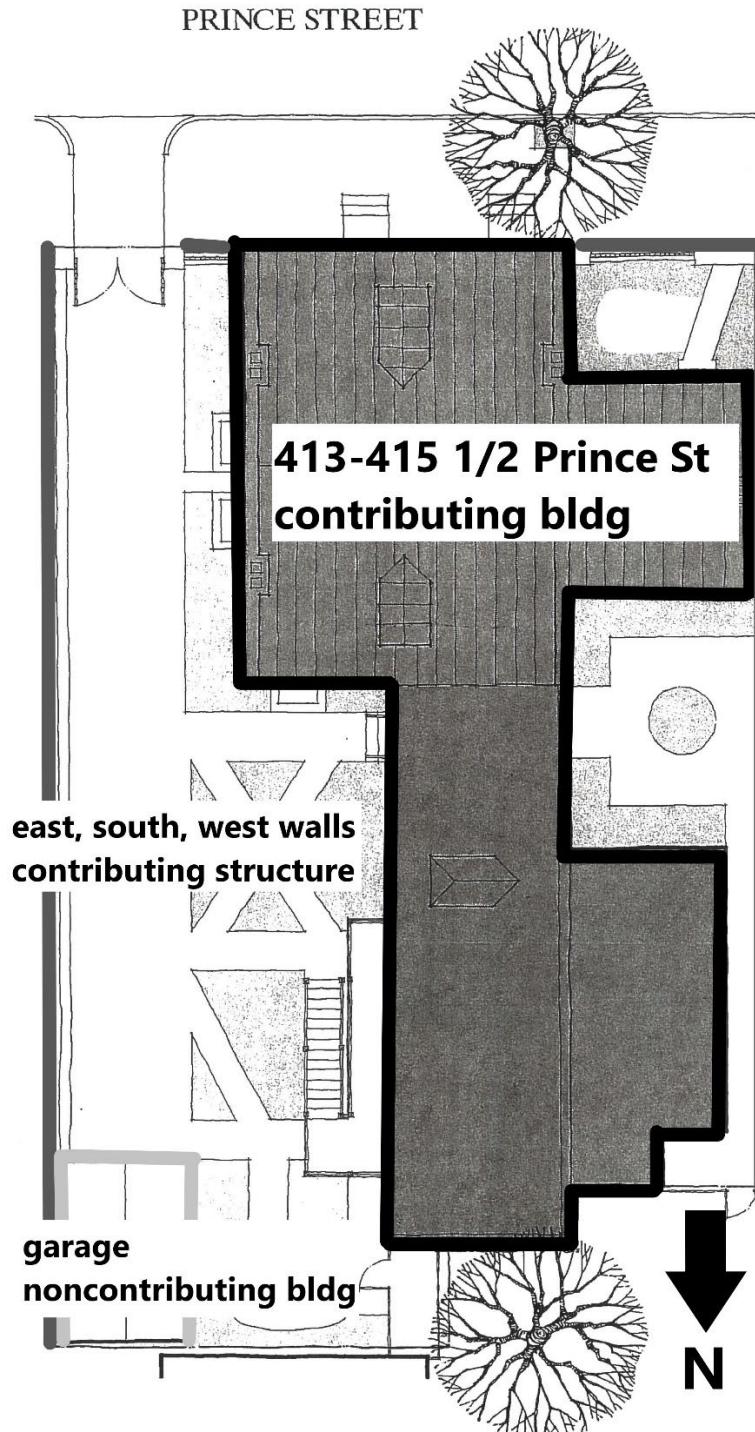


Figure 1 – The Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia consists of one contributing building, one contributing structure, and one noncontributing building. (2008 site plan, courtesy Ashley Wilson, annotated)

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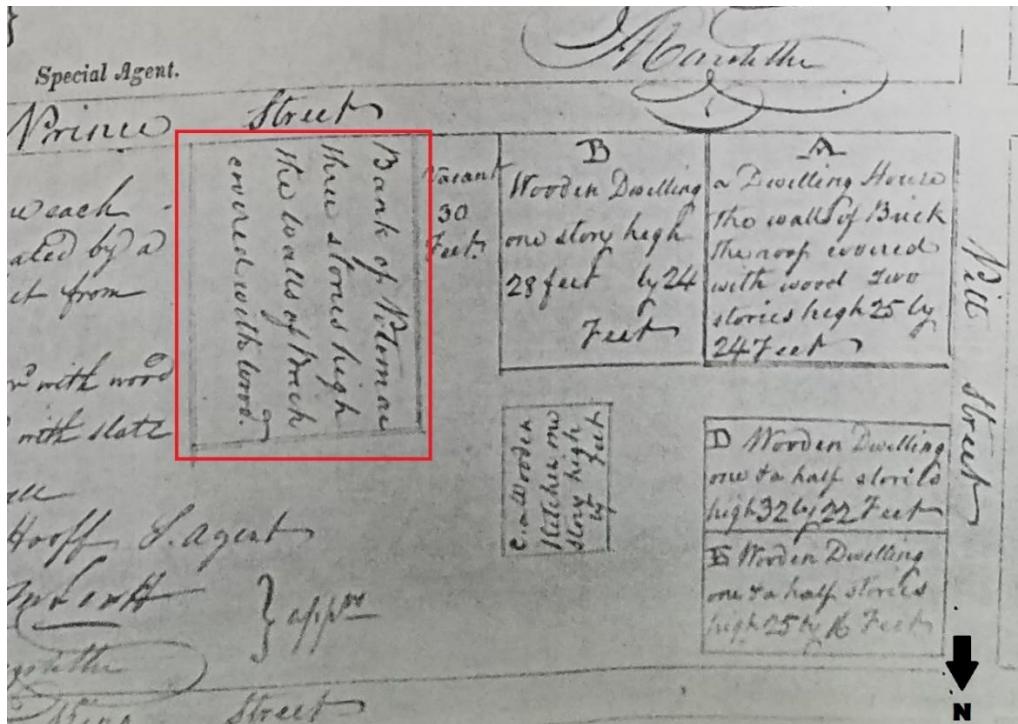


Figure 2 – The Bank of Potomac building appeared in this 1823 Mutual Assurance Society policy sketch, which also depicts the space west of the bank as vacant. (Mutual Assurance Society Records, Alexandria Library, Special Collections)



Figure 3 – South elevation of the Bank of Potomac, as it appeared on a bank note from the first half of the nineteenth century. (Courtesy Ashley Wilson)

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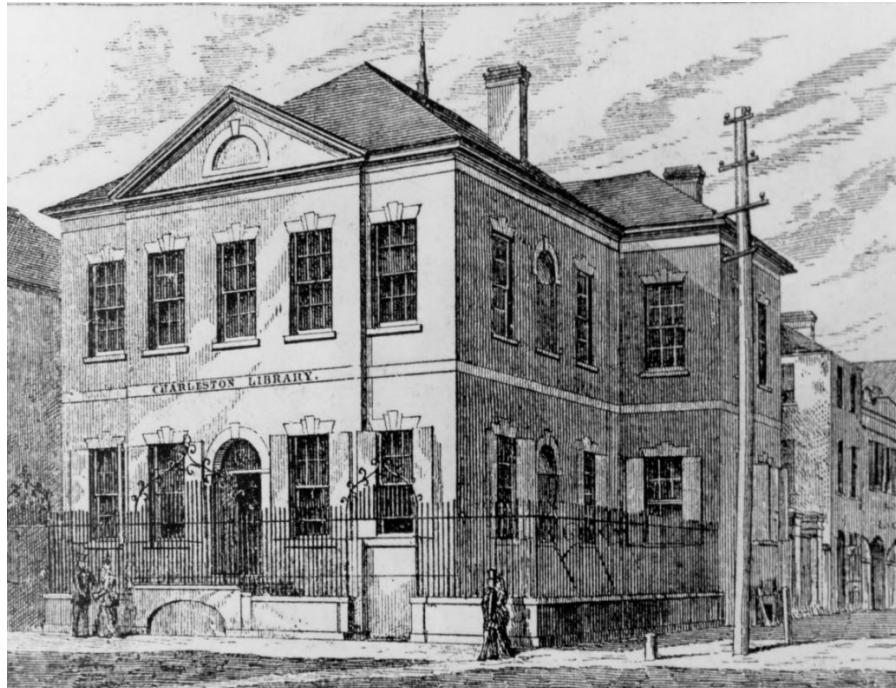


Figure 4 – The Bank of South Carolina, seen here after its sale to the Charleston Library in 1835, used a combination of low walls and metal picket fencing to provide security. (National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Citizens and Southern National Bank of South Carolina, 1971)



Figure 5 – West façade of the Bank of Alexandria at 133 Fairfax Street, built circa 1807. (Virginia Department of Historic Resources, n.d.)

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Figure 6 – On the right side of this circa 1960 photograph, the stone lintels of three windows on each floor can be seen, standing out against the dark brickwork. (“415 Prince Street,” n.d., Sommerville Photograph Collection, Alexandria Library, Special Collections)

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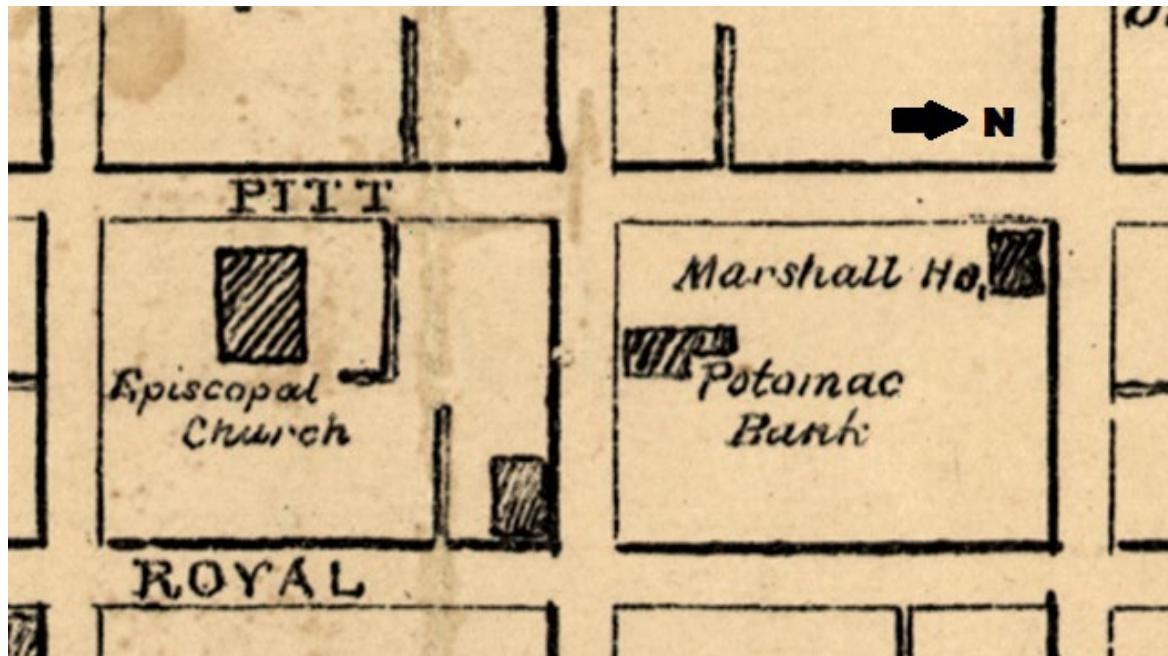


Figure 7 – The north addition to the “Potomac Bank” appears in this 1862 U.S. Coast Survey Map of Alexandria. (U.S. Coast Survey, *Plan of Alexandria*, 1862, Library of Congress)

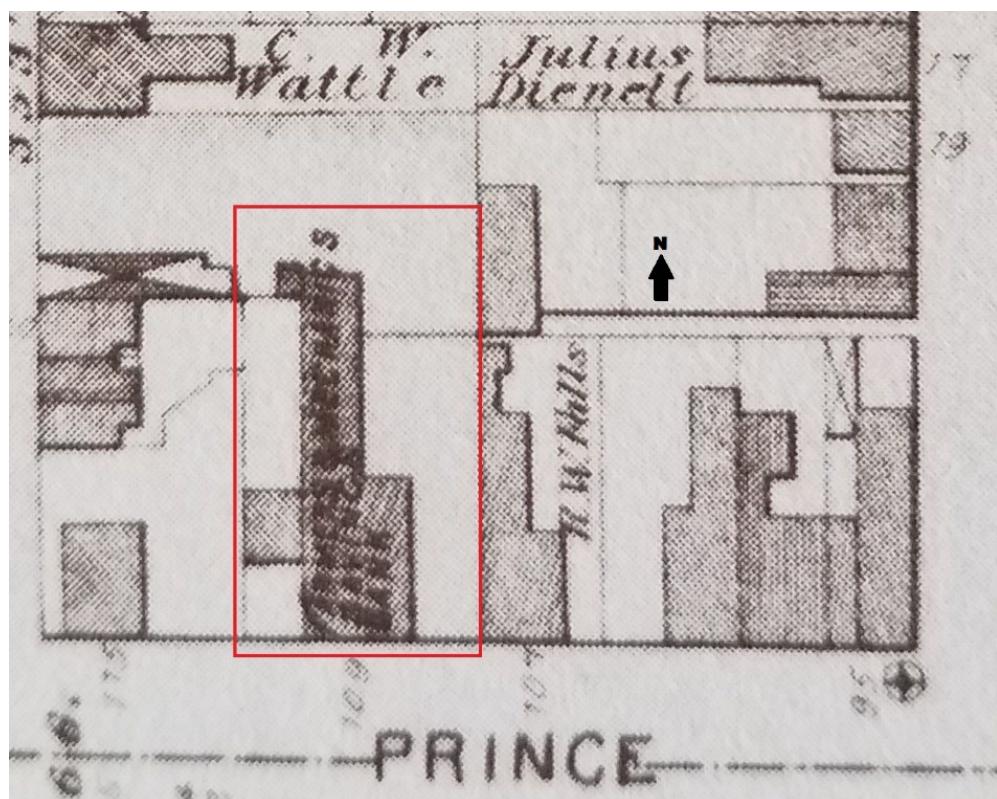


Figure 8 – The west addition first appears in this 1877 Hopkins Real Estate Atlas map, when the building housed the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. (Richard W. Stephenson, *The Cartography of Northern Virginia*, plate 66)

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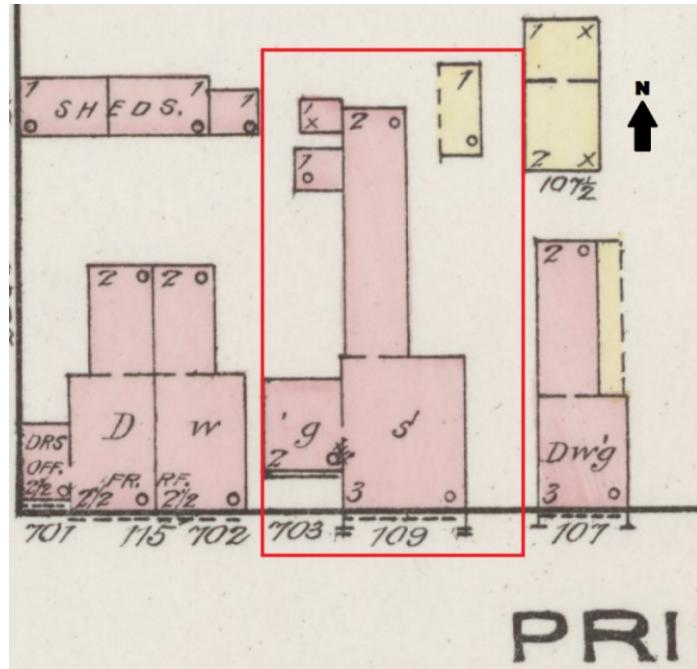


Figure 9 – This 1885 Sanborn Insurance Map shows two brick appendages on the west side of the north addition, as well as a frame outbuilding. (*Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Alexandria, Independent Cities, Virginia, plate 8, 1885 (detail)*, Library of Congress)

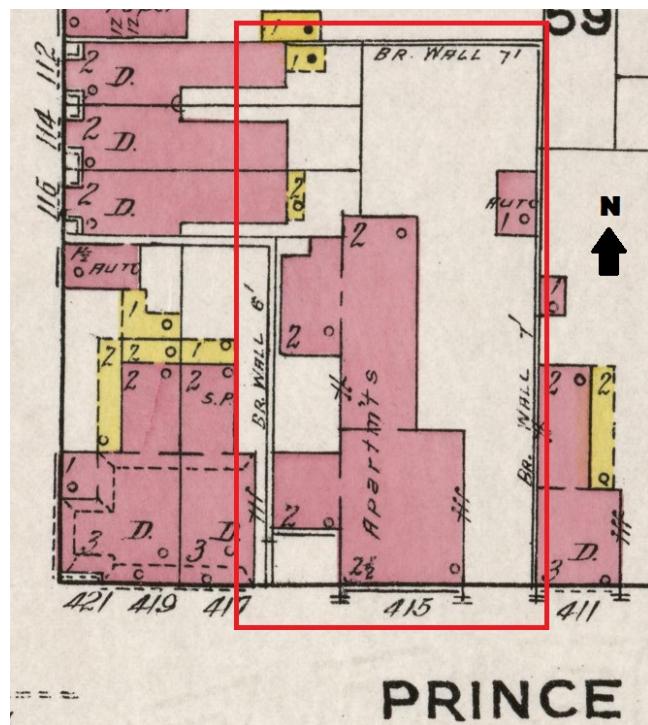


Figure 10 – Robinson Moncure’s expansion of the north addition on its west side and the construction of a garage appear on the 1921 Sanborn Insurance Map. (*Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Alexandria, Independent Cities, Virginia*, plate 9, 1921 (detail), Library of Congress)

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Figure 11 – This 1958 photograph shows glazed panels in the west door and one-over-one windows on the first floor of the original bank block, likely installed in the twentieth century. (Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress)

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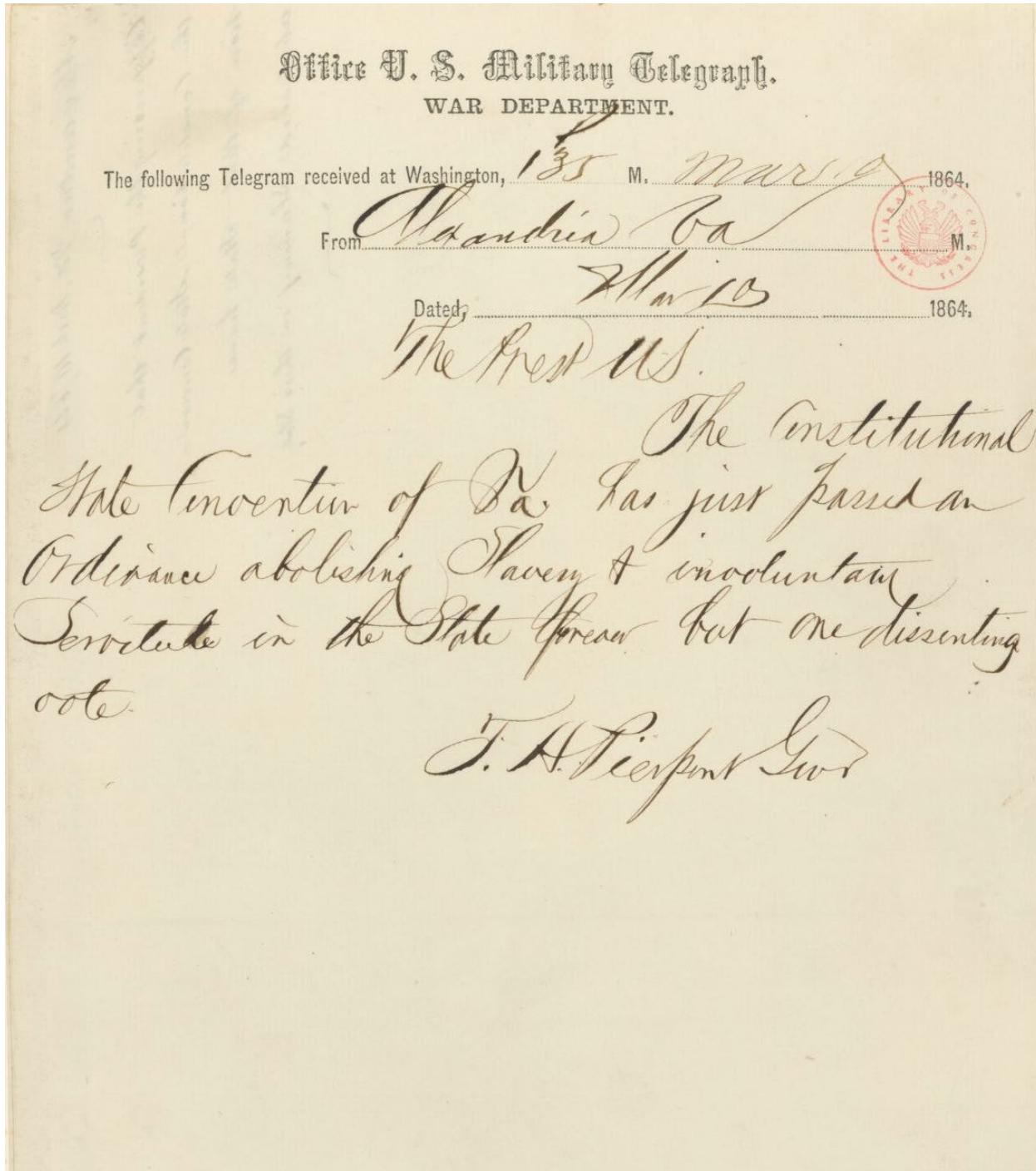


Figure 12 – Governor Pierpont's March 10, 1864, telegram to President Lincoln, informing him that the constitutional convention had that day adopted language abolishing slavery. (*Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1 General Correspondence, 1833 to 1916*, Library of Congress)

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Figure 13 – Samuel Blodget's monumental façade of the First Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. (Carol Highsmith, Library of Congress, circa 2000)

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Figure 14 – Charles Bulfinch's Essex Bank in Salem, Massachusetts (1811), displaying the tall, arched windows and planar exterior surfaces the architect frequently used. The portico is replacement of the original open, Ionic portico. (Frank Cousins, Digital Commonwealth [Massachusetts], ca. 1865-1914)

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Figure 15 – Recessed arches capture the windows of John Leach's 1826 bank building in Concord New Hampshire.
(Merrimack County Bank National Register Nomination, 1979)

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Figure 16 – National Register of Historic Places photograph showing the Bank of Alexandria (left of the image) in 1972. (National Archives and Records Administration)

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Figure 17 – The north and west elevations of the Bank of Alexandria during its apartment building phase (left side of the picture) around 1959. (Library of Congress)

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Figure 18 – The restored Farmers Bank branch in Petersburg, Virginia as it looked at the time of its listing in the National Register. (National Register of Historic Places, 1972)

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Figure 19 – The Farmers Bank of Petersburg prior to its restoration in the 1960s. (Historic Farmers Bank, <https://historicfarmersbank.org/history/>)

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Figure 20 – The north and east elevations of the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg when it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. (National Register of Historic Places, 1983)

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Name of Property

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Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia
Name of Property

City of Alexandria, VA
County and State

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Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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Name of Property

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
 previously listed in the National Register (Alexandria Historic District, 66000928)
 previously determined eligible by the National Register
 designated a National Historic Landmark
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # HABS VA-458
 recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
 recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency
 Local government
 University
 Other

Name of repository: Alexandria Library, Special Collections; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): DHR #100-0005, DHR #100-0121-1524, DHR #100-0121-1525

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 0.18 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1. Latitude: 38.803805 Longitude: -77.044510
2. Latitude: Longitude:
3. Latitude: Longitude:
4. Latitude: Longitude:

Or

Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

1. Zone: Easting: Northing:

2. Zone: Easting: Northing:

4. Zone: Easting : Northing:

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The nominated resource encompasses lots associated with 413, 415, and 415 ½ Prince Street (Alexandria map-block-lot numbers 074.02-07-22, 074.02-07-21, 074.02-07-20, respectively) in the City of Alexandria, Virginia. The boundaries of these properties are shown on the attached Tax Parcel Map.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundary for the nominated resource comprises all land that contains extant features related to the Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia. While the resource currently comprises three separate lots, all three were included within the property during one or both periods of significance. The north boundary of the property has changed since the end of the period of significance, but the part of the property no longer included within the resource boundary contains no resources associated with the historical activities that make the property significant.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Tim Kerr and Daria Gasparini

organization: Robinson & Associates, Inc.

street & number: P.O. Box 9454, 4005 Wisconsin Avenue NW

city or town: Washington state: DC zip code: 20016

e-mail: admin@robinson-inc.com

telephone: (202) 234-2333

date: October 31, 2024

Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

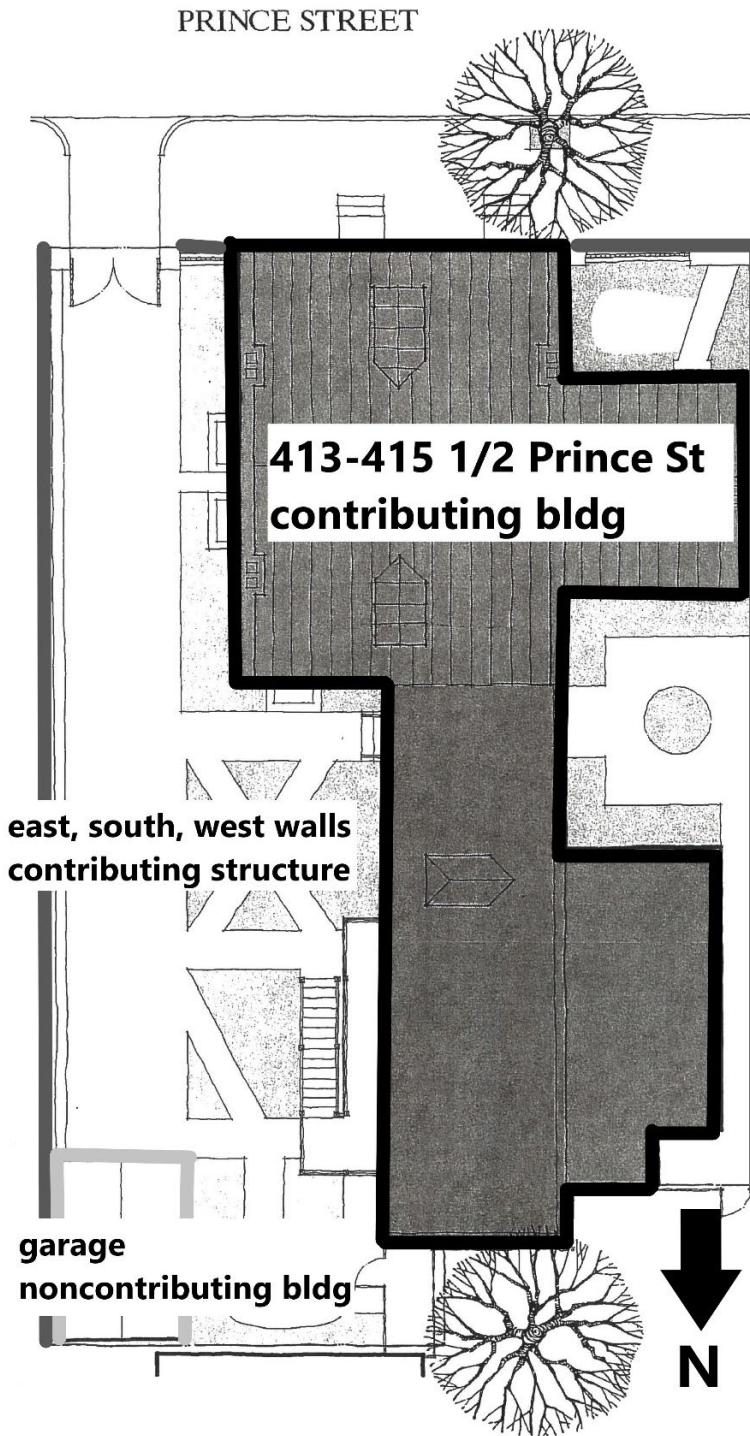
Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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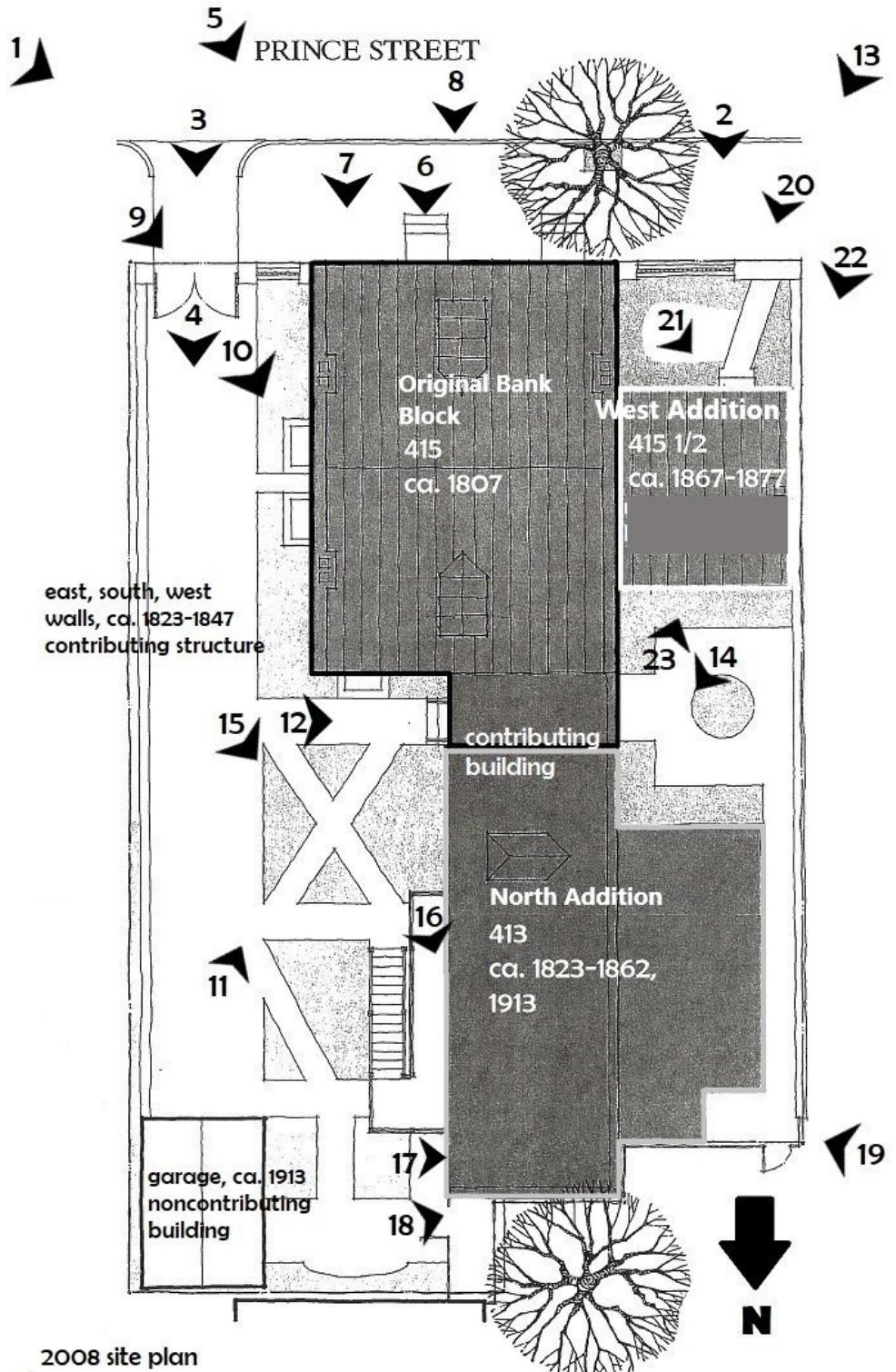
Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia, Alexandria, VA: Sketch Map



**Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia**

City of Alexandria, VA
County and State

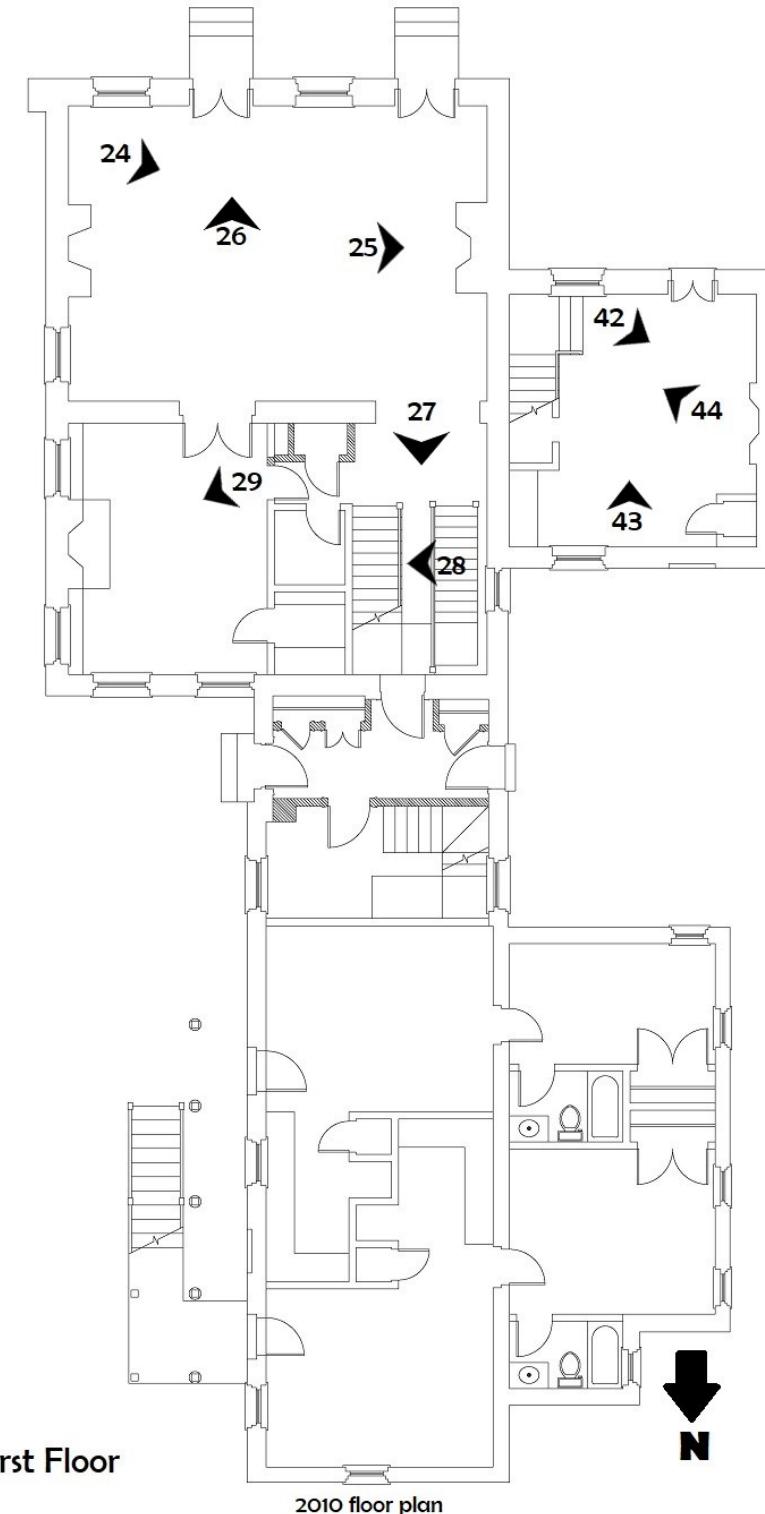
Bank of Potomac/Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia, Alexandria, VA: Photo Location Map – Exterior



Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia
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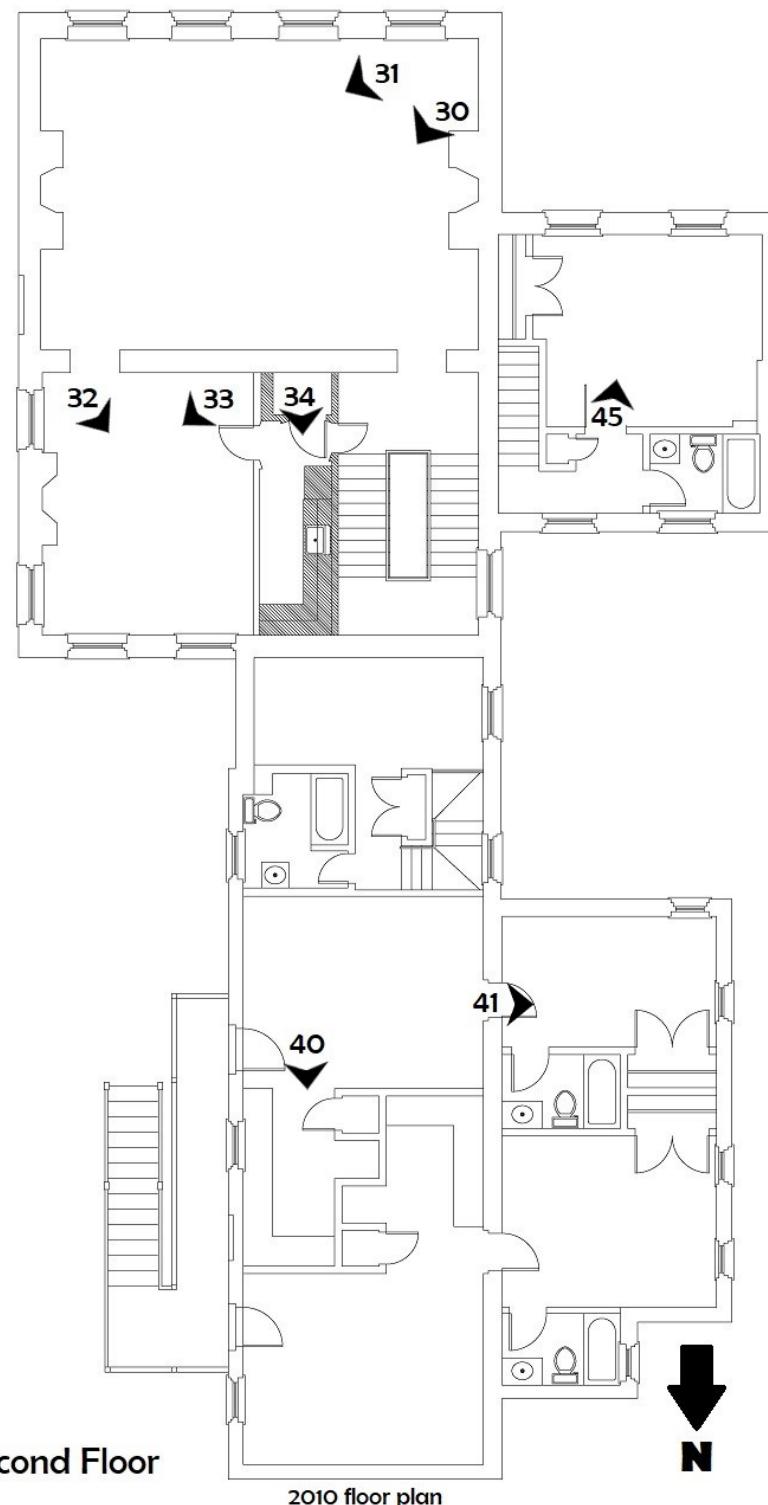
Photo Location Map – Interior, First Floor



Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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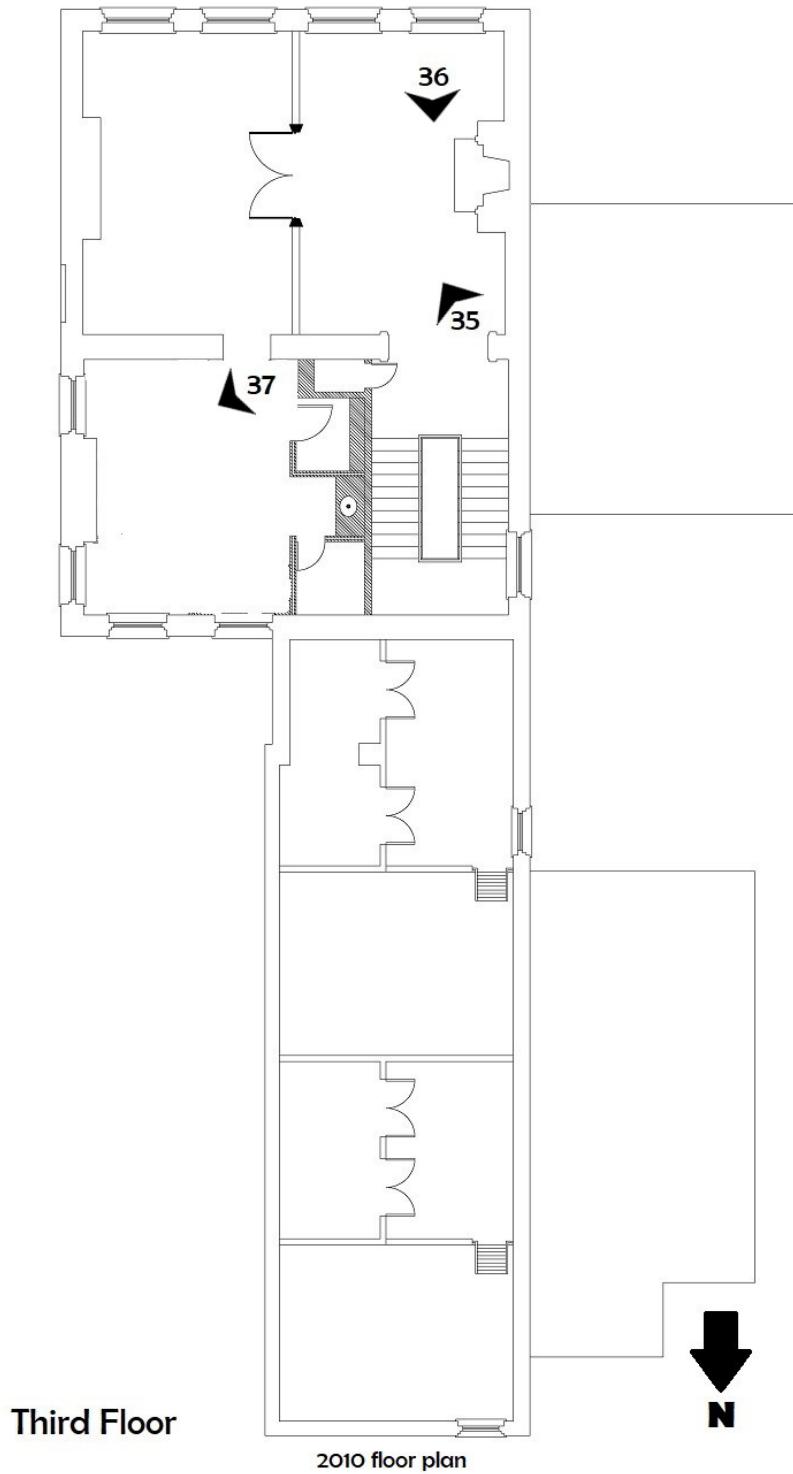
Photo Location Map – Interior, Second Floor



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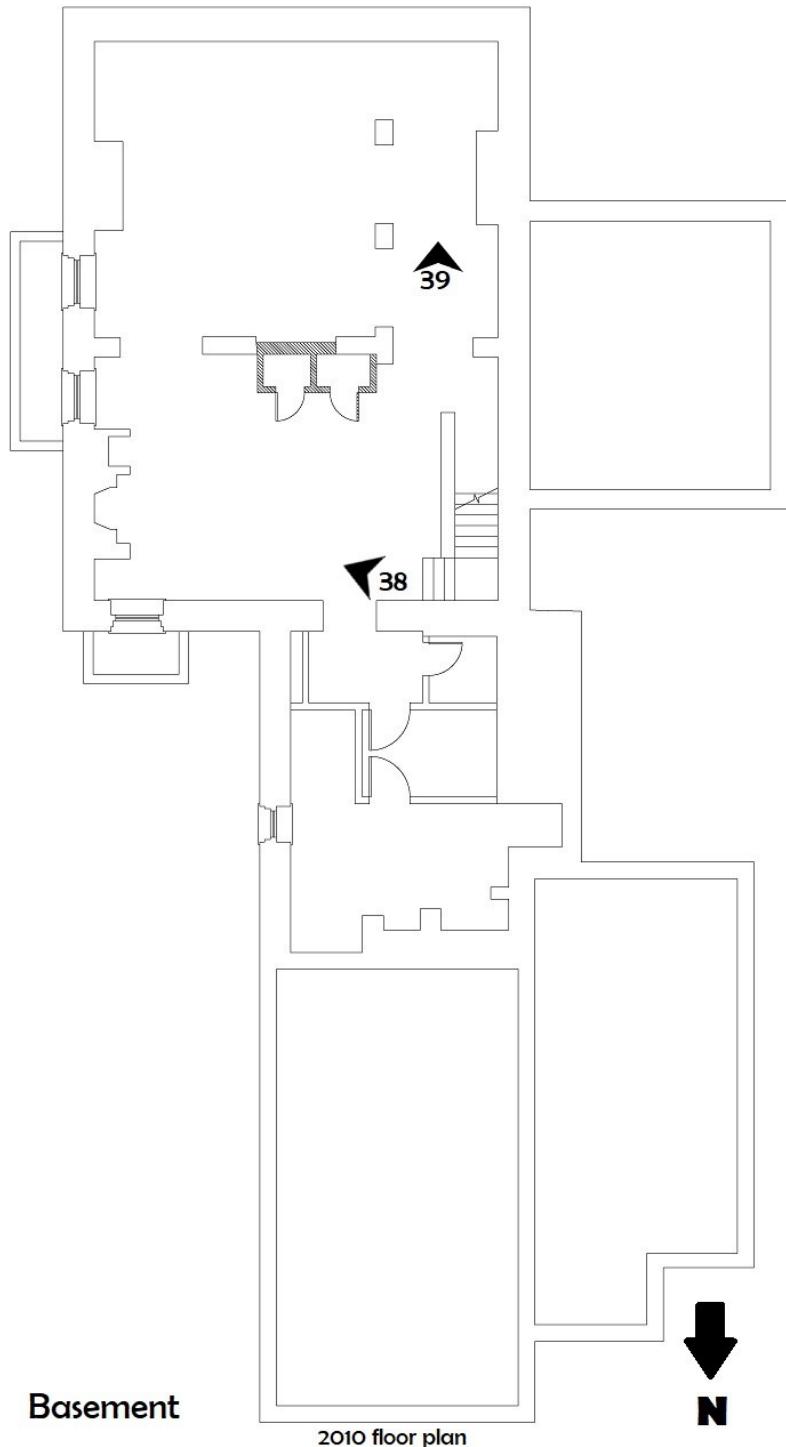
Photo Location Map – Interior, Third Floor



Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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Name of Property

City of Alexandria, VA
County and State

Photo Location Map – Interior, Basement



Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia
Name of Property

City of Alexandria, VA
County and State

Photo Log

Name of Property: Bank of Potomac – Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia
City or Vicinity: Alexandria (Independent City)
State: VA
Photographer: Robinson & Associates, Inc.

Photo no. 1 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0001)
South façade, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 2 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0002)
South wall gate, looking northwest, September 9, 2021

Photo no. 3 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0003)
South wall piers and drive, looking north, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 4 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0004)
Drive and garage, looking north, September 9, 2021

Photo no. 5 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0005)
415 Prince Street, south façade, looking northwest, April 28, 2021

Photo no. 6 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0006)
415 Prince Street, south façade, east door, looking north, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 7 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0007)
415 Prince Street, south façade, typical window, looking north, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 8 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0008)
415 Prince Street, south façade, dormer window, looking north, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 9 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0009)
415 Prince Street, east elevation, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 10 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0010)
415 Prince Street, east elevation, basement windows, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 11 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0011)
415 Prince Street, north elevation, looking southwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 12 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0012)
413 Prince Street, east elevation, looking west, July 8, 2021

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Photo no. 13 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0013)
415 Prince Street, west elevation, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 14 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0001)
413 Prince Street, west elevation, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 15 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0015)
413 Prince Street, east gallery, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 16 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0016)
413 Prince Street, east elevation, 2nd floor, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 17 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0017)
413 Prince Street, east elevation, cornice, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 18 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0018)
413 Prince Street, north elevation, looking southwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 19 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0019)
413 Prince Street, west elevation, looking southeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 20 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0020)
415 ½ Prince Street, south facade, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 21 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0021)
415 ½ Prince Street, south facade, door, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 22 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0022)
415 ½ Prince Street, west elevation and wall, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 23 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0023)
415 ½ Prince Street, north elevation, looking south, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 24 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0024)
415 Prince Street, 1st floor, south room, looking west, April 28, 2021

Photo no. 25 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0025)
415 Prince Street, 1st floor, south room, fireplace, looking northwest, April 28, 2021

Photo no. 26 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0026)
415 Prince Street, 1st floor, south room, door, looking south, April 28, 2021

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Photo no. 27 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0027)
415 Prince Street, 1st floor, stair, looking northeast, April 28, 2021

Photo no. 28 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0028)
415 Prince Street, 1st floor, stair detail, looking east, April 28, 2021

Photo no. 29 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0029)
415 Prince Street, 1st floor, northeast room, looking east, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 30 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0030)
415 Prince Street, 2nd floor, south room, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 31 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0031)
415 Prince Street, 2nd floor, south room, looking southwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 32 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0032)
415 Prince Street, 2nd floor, northeast room, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 33 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0033)
415 Prince Street, 2nd floor, northeast room, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 34 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0034)
415 Prince Street, 2nd floor, bathroom room, looking northwest, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 35 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0035)
415 Prince Street, 3rd floor, southwest room, looking southeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 36 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0036)
415 Prince Street, 3rd floor, southwest room, archway, looking north, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 37 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0037)
415 Prince Street, 3rd floor, northeast room, looking northeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 38 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0038)
415 Prince Street, basement, looking east, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 39 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0039)
415 Prince Street, basement, looking southeast, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 40 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0040)
413 Prince Street, 2nd floor apartment, looking north, July 8, 2021

Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
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Photo no. 41 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0041)
413 Prince Street, 2nd floor apartment, looking west, July 8, 2021

Photo no. 42 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0042)
415 ½ Prince Street, 1st floor, looking northwest, September 9, 2021

Photo no. 43 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0043)
415 ½ Prince Street, 1st floor, looking south, September 9, 2021

Photo no. 44 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0044)
415 ½ Prince Street, 1st floor, stair, looking southeast, September 9, 2021

Photo no. 45 of 45 (VA_AlexandriaCity_RestoredGovernment_0045)
415 ½ Prince Street, 2nd floor, looking south, September 9, 2021

Historical Figures Log

Figure 1 – The Executive Office and Governor's Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia consists of one contributing building, one contributing structure, and one noncontributing building. (2008 site plan, courtesy Ashley Wilson, annotated)

Figure 2 – The Bank of Potomac building appeared in this 1823 Mutual Assurance Society policy sketch, which also depicts the space west of the bank as vacant. (Mutual Assurance Society Records, Alexandria Library, Special Collections)

Figure 3 – South elevation of the Bank of Potomac, as it appeared on a bank note from the first half of the nineteenth century. (Courtesy Ashley Wilson)

Figure 4 – The Bank of South Carolina, seen here after its sale to the Charleston Library in 1835, used a combination of low walls and metal picket fencing to provide security. (National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Citizens and Southern National Bank of South Carolina, 1971)

Figure 5 – West façade of the Bank of Alexandria at 133 Fairfax Street, built circa 1807. (Virginia Department of Historic Resources, n.d.)

Figure 6 – On the right side of this circa 1960 photograph, the stone lintels of three windows on each floor can be seen, standing out against the dark brickwork. ("415 Prince Street," n.d., Sommerville Photograph Collection, Alexandria Library, Special Collections)

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Figure 7 – The north addition to the “Potomac Bank” appears in this 1862 U.S. Coast Survey Map of Alexandria. (U.S. Coast Survey, *Plan of Alexandria*, 1862, Library of Congress)

Figure 8 – The west addition first appears in this 1877 Hopkins Real Estate Atlas map, when the building housed the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. (Richard W. Stephenson, *The Cartography of Northern Virginia*, plate 66)

Figure 9 – This 1885 Sanborn Insurance Map shows two brick appendages on the west side of the north addition, as well as a frame outbuilding. (*Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Alexandria, Independent Cities, Virginia*, plate 8, 1885 (detail), Library of Congress)

Figure 10 – Robinson Moncure’s expansion of the north addition on its west side and the construction of a garage appear on the 1921 Sanborn Insurance Map. (*Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Alexandria, Independent Cities, Virginia*, plate 9, 1921 (detail), Library of Congress)

Figure 11 – This 1958 photograph shows glazed panels in the west door and one-over-one windows on the first floor of the original bank block, likely installed in the twentieth century. (Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress)

Figure 12 – Governor Pierpont’s March 10, 1864, telegram to President Lincoln, informing him that the constitutional convention had that day adopted language abolishing slavery. (*Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1 General Correspondence, 1833 to 1916*, Library of Congress)

Figure 13 – Samuel Blodget’s monumental façade of the First Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. (Carol Highsmith, Library of Congress, circa 2000)

Figure 14 – Charles Bulfinch’s Essex Bank in Salem, Massachusetts (1811), displaying the tall, arched windows and planar exterior surfaces the architect frequently used. The portico is a replacement of the original open, Ionic portico. (Frank Cousins, Digital Commonwealth [Massachusetts], ca. 1865-1914)

Figure 15 – Recessed arches capture the windows of John Leach’s 1826 bank building in Concord New Hampshire. (Merrimack County Bank National Register Nomination, 1979)

Figure 16 – National Register of Historic Places photograph showing the Bank of Alexandria (left of the image) in 1972. (National Archives and Records Administration)

Figure 17 – The north and west elevations of the Bank of Alexandria during its apartment building phase (left side of the picture) around 1959. (Library of Congress)

Figure 18 – The restored Farmers Bank branch in Petersburg, Virginia as it looked at the time of its listing in the National Register. (National Register of Historic Places, 1972)

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Figure 19 – The Farmers Bank of Petersburg prior to its restoration in the 1960s. (Historic Farmers Bank, <https://historicfarmersbank.org/history/>)

Figure 20 – The north and east elevations of the Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg when it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. (National Register of Historic Places, 1983)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for nominations to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.). We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number.

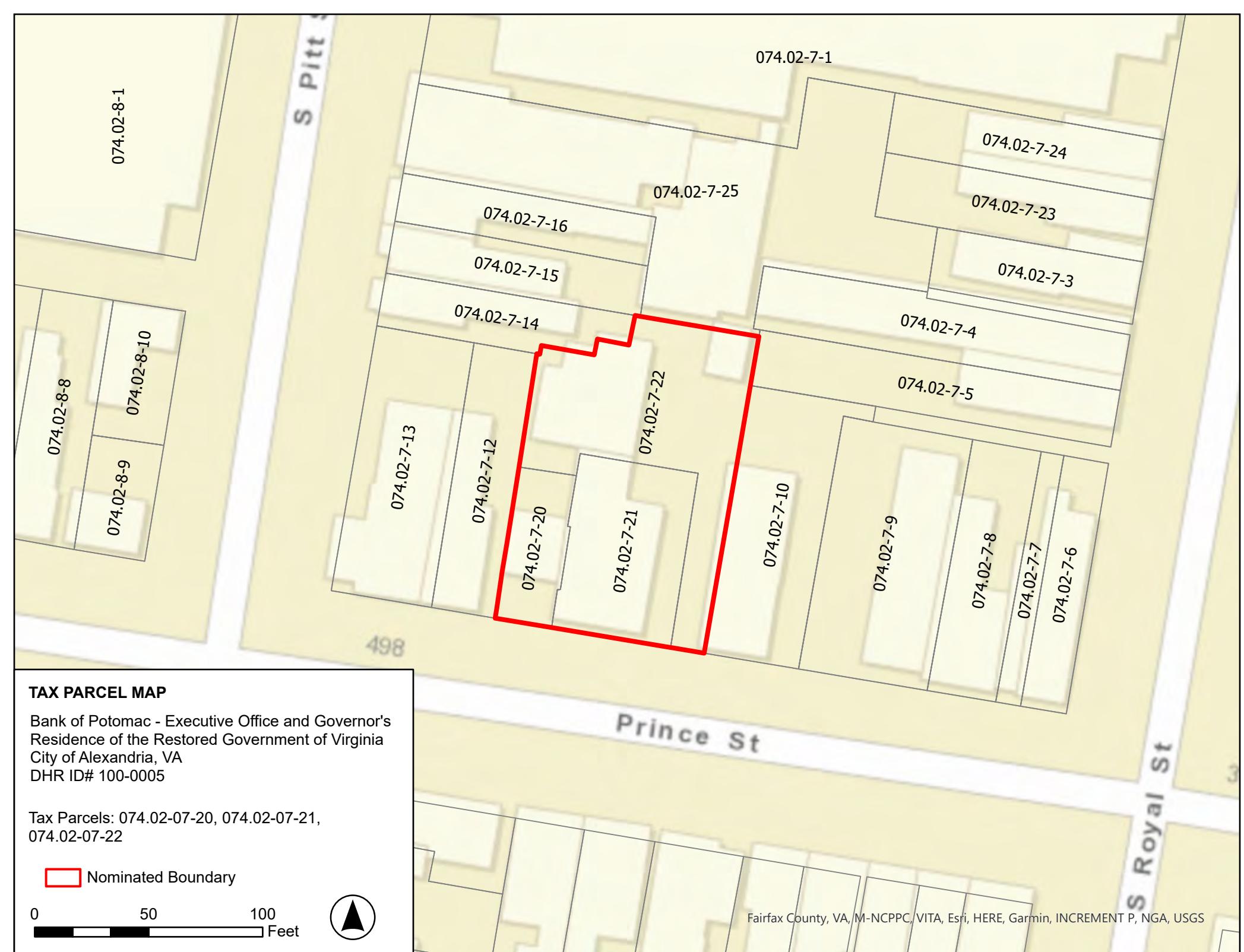
Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for each response using this form is estimated to be between the Tier 1 and Tier 4 levels with the estimate of the time for each tier as follows:

Tier 1 – 60-100 hours
Tier 2 – 120 hours
Tier 3 – 230 hours
Tier 4 – 280 hours

The above estimates include time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and preparing and transmitting nominations. Send comments regarding these estimates or any other aspect of the requirement(s) to the Service Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 1201 Oakridge Drive Fort Collins, CO 80525.









AERIAL VIEW - VICINITY

Bank of Potomac - Executive Office and Governor's
Residence of the Restored Government of Virginia
City of Alexandria, VA
DHR ID# 100-0005

 Nominated Boundary

0 200 400 Feet



Virginia Geographic Information Network (VGIN)

