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Lee Avenue, Fredericksburg: Its Evolution as a Residential Area

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LEE AVENUE, FREDERICKSBURG:
ITS EVOLUTION AS A RESIDENTIAL AREA

by


Nancy J. Neil

An Honors Paper Submitted to the
Department of Geography
Mary Washington College
March 1979

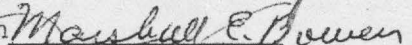
Richard P. Palmieri
Supervisor



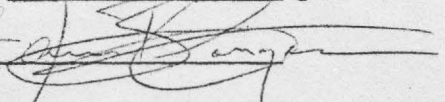
Samuel T. Emory



Marshall E. Bowen



James B. Gouger



123 AVENUE, WASHINGTON
ITS EVOLUTION AS A RESIDENTIAL AREA

by
Henry J. Bell

An honors paper submitted to the
Department of Geography
Mary Washington College
March 1959

Richard E. Palston
Supervisor

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Marshall S. Bowen

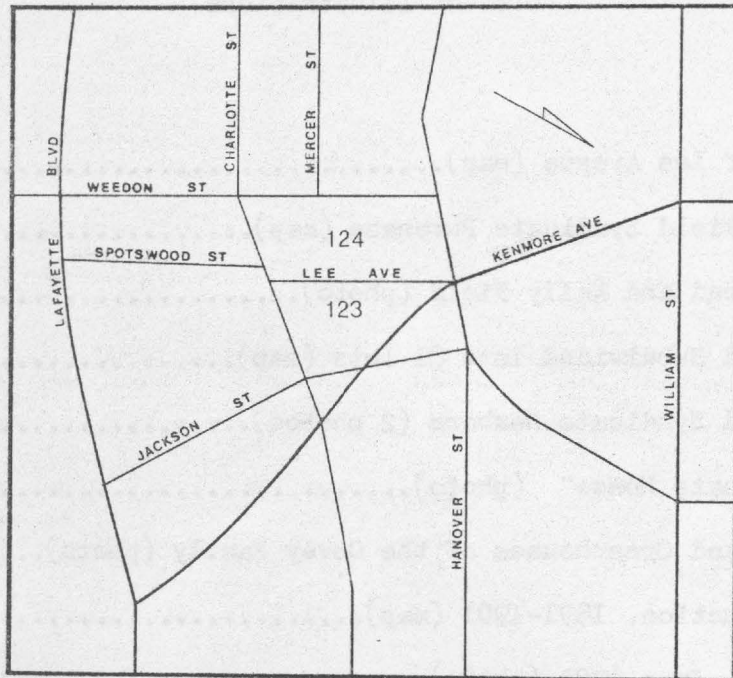
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Location of Lee Avenue

INTRODUCTION

Lee Avenue is located west of Fredericksburg's Central Business District, between City Block Numbers 123 and 124 (map page 1). Today the buildings on this street consist of one dry cleaners and 24 houses, characterized by a variety of architectural styles, and ranging in size from large two-stories to small one-story bungalows. Some of these houses are currently in various stages of disrepair, while others are well maintained. A few of the larger houses are divided into multi-family units, which, along with some of the single-family houses, are rented. Others are owner-occupied as single-family homes.

After being a property owner on Lee Avenue for almost 7 years, several factors led to an increased curiosity about the origin and evolution of this neighborhood. Comments such as "it's run down," "it has a lot of rental property," as well as "it was one of the prettiest streets in town at one time," and "it's coming back up today," indicated a neighborhood that had experienced significant changes over time. In order to fully understand a present-day neighborhood, it is first of all important to understand its evolution and the dynamics of change which contributed to making it what it is today. It was impossible to arrive at a clear understanding of the evolution of Lee Avenue as a residential area simply by casual observation and conversation with a few neighbors. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to trace the evolution of Lee Avenue as a residential area, from its origin to present day,

under the following headings in an attempt to answer these questions:

- I. Fredericksburg during the 1890's. What were the economic conditions and attitudes of the larger geographic area, which presumably had an impact on the origin of Lee Avenue?
- II. Origin of Lee Avenue as a residential area. When exactly did the shift from farm to residential land use occur? How did it occur, and who was responsible for the shift?
- III. Evolution of buildings. When were they built? Did the building occur within a short period of time, or was it over a relatively long time span?
- IV. Evolution of tenure status. Was there a major shift at some point in time from owner-occupancy to a high percentage of renter-occupied homes? If so, when did this shift occur?
- V. Evolution of socioeconomic status. Is there empirical evidence on Lee Avenue to support the theory that homes "filter down" over time to occupants of a "successively lower economic position"?¹

METHODOLOGY

The deeds for each piece of property on Lee Avenue were traced back to the 1890's when the area was first subdivided into lots. Once the names of the original property owners were located, real estate tax records were then used to determine the date of construction for each house.

Newspapers were searched for articles related to the origin of Lee Avenue as residential property. Four articles were located and they are quoted almost in their entirety, since they provide the only source of information for the early development (other than deeds and tax records). Though the quoted material may seem long, it was felt

that the original essence would be lost through paraphrasing.

Deeds and Fredericksburg city directories were then cross-checked to determine whether the houses were owner- or renter-occupied. Though the directories indicate home-ownership, several errors were found, making city directories an unreliable sole source for determining owner/renter occupancy.

Occupations were also obtained from the directories and used to determine socioeconomic status. The only directories available prior to 1938 were 1888, 1892, 1910-11 and 1921, so in some cases it was necessary to consult with previous residents of Lee Avenue, as well as present long-term residents, to obtain all the data.

I. FREDERICKSBURG DURING THE 1890's

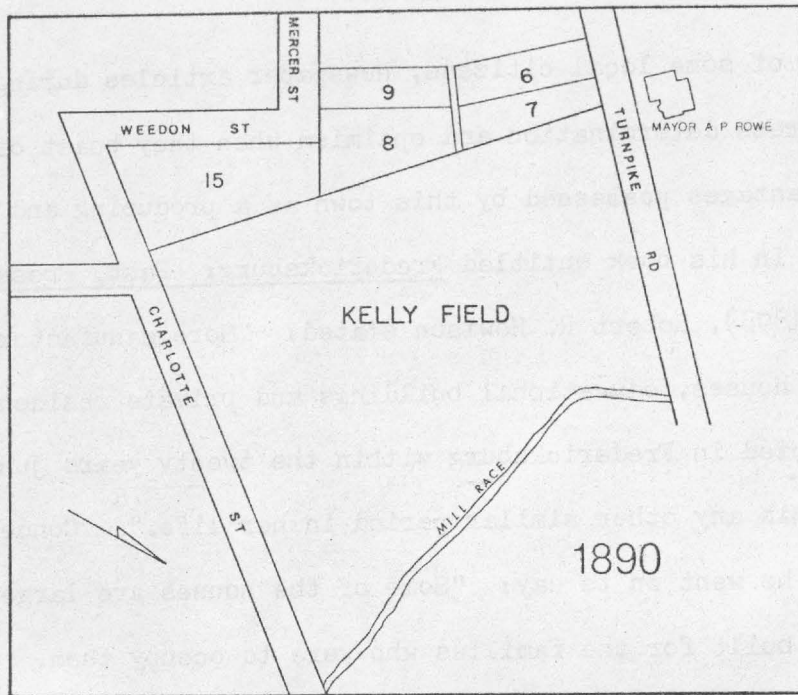
Before discussing the origin of Lee Avenue as a residential area, it is important to be aware of the general economic conditions and attitudes of Fredericksburg during the 1890's. It is these factors which played a significant role in the early development of Lee Avenue, and without this frame of reference, the story about the origin of Lee Avenue becomes ambiguous.

In the late 1800's, business and political leaders felt that Fredericksburg's economy needed a boost. They envisioned manufacturing industries providing "indefinite and wide room for expansion"² for the town whose economy had been based largely on "agriculture and commercial services to the farmers."³ Though there was skepticism on

the part of some local citizens, newspaper articles during this time express determination and optimism when they boast of the many fine advantages possessed by this town as a producing and purchasing center. In his book entitled Fredericksburg: Past, Present and Future (1898), Robert R. Howison stated: "More manufactories, business houses, educational buildings and private residences have been erected in Fredericksburg within the twenty years just passed than within any other similar period in her life."⁴ Concerning new housing, he went on to say: "Some of the houses are large and convenient, built for the families who were to occupy them. Others are smaller, being intended for investment and for occupation by tenants."⁵ It is this same variety of housing (to be occupied by business proprietors and employees) that we will see on Lee Avenue as a result of the dreams and ambitions of some of Fredericksburg's business and political leaders during the 1890's.

II. ORIGIN OF LEE AVENUE AS A RESIDENTIAL AREA

The area which Lee Avenue currently occupies was called Kelly Field in the late 1800's after its owner. By deed dated April 15, 1890, Major J. Harrison Kelly sold this land to Capt. Maurice B. Rowe. The parcel of land is described as follows in the deed: "situate, lying and being in the Corporation of Fredericksburg and composed of the Lots designated in The Plan of the Town by Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 and 15 and also of an adjoining lot containing seven and 52/100 acres. Said real estate lies on the south side of



The Kelly Field Syndicate Purchase



Photo date: Spring 1863 or 1864. Taken from the terraces of Federal Hill looking west along Turnpike Road (Hanover St.), with Brompton (home of M. B. Rowe after 1887) in the distance. The building on Turnpike Road with the double chimneys was the home of Mayor A. P. Rowe during the late 1800's. The dark horizontal line in the middle is the old Mill Race, with a private wagon road directly behind, possibly connecting Turnpike Road with Charlotte St. This is believed to be the approximate location of present-day Lee Avenue. There was little construction on these outlying farmlands until the late 1800's. Photo source: The National Park Service.

the Turnpike Road leading from Fredericksburg to Orange Court House and is nearly opposite the residence of A. P. Rowe. . . . The said lot of land . . . is commonly called the 'Kelly Field' . . . and contains altogether about ten (10) acres." ⁶ (map and photo page 6).

Two weeks after purchasing this land, Maurice B. Rowe sold it to a group of local citizens who called themselves the Kelly Field Syndicate, of which M. B. Rowe was a member. The land was held in trust by Attorney Thomas P. Wallace ("of the second part" in the deed) for the remaining members of this real estate syndicate ("of the third part"). As trustee, Thomas P. Wallace was not to "make any sale, transfer, assignment or disposition of any part of the real estate hereinbefore conveyed to him, unless he shall have been instructed and required so to do by a majority of the said parties of the third part - which instructions shall be in writing and signed by the said majority."⁷

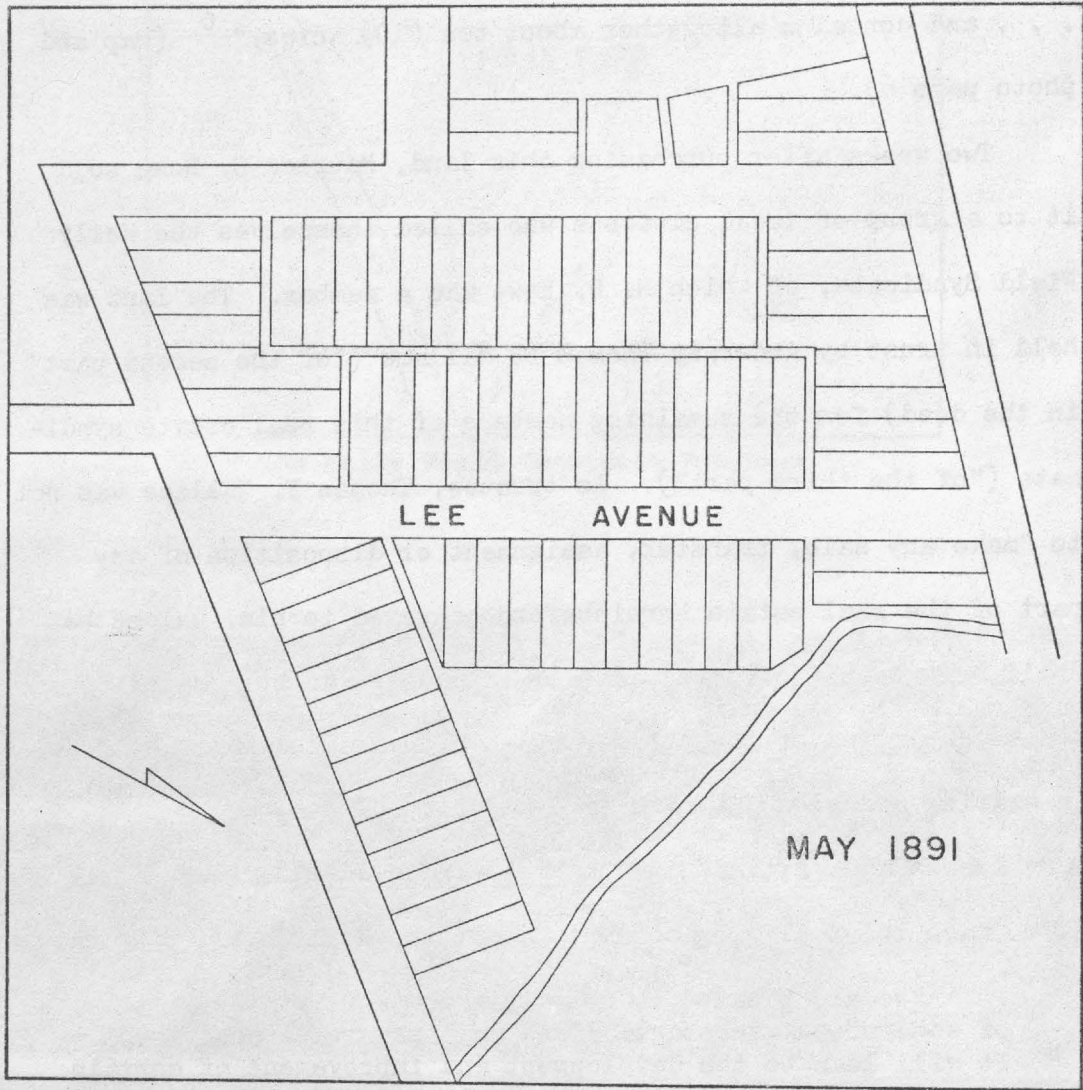
A newspaper article in The Free Lance,^{*} dated Friday, April 25, 1890, made the following comments about the Kelly Field Syndicate:

"We are pleased to note this movement on the part of some of our substantial and most progressive citizens. It will lead to the development and improvement of certain property, which has long been neglected and will give an impetus and new life to the real estate market generally.

This enterprise cannot fail to be profitable to the projectors, as well as of incalculable benefit to the entire community."

^{*}There were 2 newspapers in Fredericksburg at this time.

The Free Lance (Independent) was a bi-weekly published on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Daily Star (Democratic) was a tri-weekly published on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.



Kelly Field Subdivided into 81 Lots

Within a few months after purchasing the land, the Kelly Field Syndicate divided the 10 acres into 81 lots, each with approximately 30 ft. of street frontage (map page 8). Thirty-four of these lots eventually pertain to Lee Avenue (after various changes in boundary lines).

Nine months after the Syndicate purchased the land, The Free Lance ran an article, dated February 20, 1891, using the Kelly Field Syndicate and their land holding as an illustration of the "advance in real estate"⁸ in the Fredericksburg area. Though the newspapers gave warning of the dishonest tactics of some land development companies, causing some local citizens to be skeptical and distrustful, this article describes the Kelly Field Syndicate members as being of "high character,"⁹ thus forbidding suspicion. The following is a portion of the article:

"A Revelation

"The advance in real estate here is not only phenomenal, but it has evoked the profound astonishment of that class of citizens who have been without the limits of Virginia's boom towns and cities.

The experience through which citizens of Fredericksburg are passing at this time is similar to that of citizens of Roanoke, Salem, Birmingham and other southern localities who 'got thar' while Fredericksburg was tranquilly dreaming of the days when George Washington swapped horses and played 'bluff' (old-fashioned poker) with her citizens, and always came out the loser, as was fully proven by his diary, found after his death.

We need only recite the history of one piece of property to show how it has advanced within a stated period.

We take the liberty of naming the parties interested in the sale and purchase of the property we use as an illustration in order to convince the public that the transaction is a straight one, and that the high character of the parties forbids the suspicion that might otherwise attach to what may be regarded as a revelation. Major J. H. Kelly sold, the first day of May, to Capt. M. B. Rowe, a lot of about ten acres of ground, which was used for years as a pasture, for the sum of \$1,500. The land cost Major Kelly \$1,000 some years before. It is favorably situated for building purposes, and is within the corporate limits, opposite the residence of Mayor A. P. Rowe.

A few days after its purchase by Capt. Rowe, a syndicate consisting of Capt. M. B. Rowe, A. P. Rowe, Jr., L. O. Magrath, Charles Wallace, C. Wistar Wallace, H. J. Eckenrode, Thomas P. Wallace, Alvin T. Rowe, John F. Scott, Isaac Hirsh and John Ward, purchased the lot from Capt. Rowe for \$3,000. Subsequently, the ground was surveyed, laid off in lots, with streets, alleys, &c., staked off. This week the owners decided to sell forty lots, one-half of the whole, and within twenty-four hours after it was known the lots were on the market, they all sold at \$200 each, total \$8,000, equal to \$16,000 for the lot which sold nine months ago for \$1,500.

Had the Syndicate decided to sell all the lots, they would have found takers as readily as the forty that were sold. . . . These transactions in real estate must not be looked upon as a mere swapping of knives between two persons. . . .

The Lance is not given to boasting; it has ventured to make a number of predictions about temporal affairs; it seldom, so far, has made mistakes.

It predicts the most remarkable advance for Fredericksburg yet made by any city in the South, and what it says of the present outlook here may be relied upon with confidence.

Men of capital can find no fairer field in the South for gathering a rich harvest of reward for every dollar they invest."

A search of the deed books verified the statement that several lots sold for \$200 each; however, no evidence could be found to indicate that they had sold within a 24-hour period (perhaps payments were made in installments and deeds recorded after the

KELLY FIELD SYNDICATE MEMBERS



Colonel Edward D. Cole.

Col. Edward D. Cole

He was the owner of several lots (after the division of the Kelly Field Syndicate), and was the only Syndicate member to build a house on Lee Avenue (#720, map page 23). It is believed that he built it for speculative purposes since he owned a building supply store and lived in a large home on Washington Ave. The 1907 Historical and Industrial Number of The Free Lance-Star described him as having "an intense interest in the life of the city," and "the greatest confidence in its future as a manufacturing and commercial center."



CAPT. TERENCE M'CRACKEN.
President Business Men's Association.

Capt. Terence M'Cracken

The same 1907 paper described him as a man who "has exercised a wide influence toward building up the future of the town in which our progressive citizens have taken an active part." He was also described as "a fair specimen of the modern businessman."

Photo Date: 1907

Source: Historical and Industrial
Number of The Free Lance-Star

lots were paid off?)

Another question which arose as a result of this article pertained to the individual members of the Kelly Field Syndicate. Who were these "substantial and most progressive citizens" ¹⁰ of "high character"? ¹¹ Using Fredericksburg City Directories for 1888 and 1892, the 1907 Historical and Industrial Number of The Free Lance-Star, newspaper articles and advertisements, the following was obtained:

Kelly Field Syndicate

1. Charles W. Wallace ----- Charles Wallace & Bro.
President (groceries, coal, hay, corn,
grain, buggies and wagons)
929 Main St. (Caroline St.)
President, National Bank of
Fredericksburg
2. Capt. John Ward ----- Dealer in railroad ties,
Vice-President poplar wood and barge line
Main & Wolfe Sts.
3. * Absolom P. Rowe, Jr. ** ----- Collector of City Taxes
Secretary M. B. Rowe & Co. (breeders of
improved livestock)
Marye's Heights
4. *Capt. Terence M'Cracken ----- P. M'Cracken Bro. & Co. (groceries,
Treasurer liquors, fertilizers and
agricultural implements)
311 Commerce St. (William St.)
5. Thomas P. Wallace ----- Attorney-at-law
Trustee 927 Main St.
6. *Col. Edward D. Cole ----- E. D. Cole (groceries, lumber,
building supplies, farm
wagons and road carts)
404 Commerce St.
7. Hamilton J. Eckenrode ----- H. J. Eckenrode (boots, shoes, hats)
Main & Commerce Sts.
8. * Isaac Hirsh ----- Isaac Hirsh & Son (dry goods,
millinery and ladies' ready-to-
wear garments)
Main & Commerce Sts.

9. Lewis O. Magrath ----- Magrath & Chesley Wholesale Grocers
213 Commerce St.
10. Alvin T. Rowe ** ----- Rowe's Market Store
217 Commerce St.
11. * Capt. Maurice B. Rowe ** ----- M. B. Rowe & Co.
President, Fredericksburg Development Company
12. John F. Scott ----- John F. Scott (hardware, guns, cutlery, barb wire, pistols)
927 Main St.
13. C. Wistar Wallace ----- Charles Wallace & Bro.
14. H. H. Wallace ----- Charles Wallace & Bro.

*also involved in local politics

The Kelly Field Syndicate, therefore, was composed of Fredericksburg business and political leaders (and one lawyer), all of whom were very much interested in the development and expansion of Fredericksburg, according to the newspapers.

On July 21, 1891, The Free Lance ran an article about the Syndicate's plans for further developing and improving Kelly Field:

"Handsome Improvements Contemplated

"In our rounds of walks and talks, we learn from the secretary of the Kelly Field Syndicate that it is contemplated to make some valuable improvements on their property at an early day.

The Syndicate, at a meeting held last Friday evening, decided to have erected a handsome modern house, and the matter of location, cost and plan was referred to a Building Committee to report as early as practicable.

The fence enclosing the field will be removed, thus affording free access to all parts of it; and the streets are now being graded.

**Absolom, Alvin and Maurice Rowe were brothers; they were the sons of Mayor Absolom P. Rowe, Sr.



"The Syndicate House"

724 Lee Avenue

Photo date: Feb. 1979
Source: Richard D. Neil

When the work now contemplated is complete, this will prove to be among the most desirable residence properties within the Corporate limits."

An article in The Free Lance, dated September 8, 1891, explained the "improvements" in more detail:

"More Improvements

"Messrs. A. P. Rowe, Isaac Hirsh, and H. H. Wallace, Building Committee of the Kelly Field Syndicate, have contracted with Messrs. Heflin & Bros. for the erection of a handsome and modern dwelling on the Syndicate's property. . . . The architecture will be a departure from the usual style in vogue here. It is exceedingly ornamental and attractive, and the house will be thoroughly convenient in its interior arrangements. . . .

We expect to see a number of handsome houses built on this property within the next two years, and it will soon be one of the most desirable residence sections in the city."

The "modern" house referred to is 724 Lee Avenue, completed in 1892 (photo page 14, map page 13). This was the first house built on the street and the only one which dates back to the Kelly Field Syndicate in the deed books and real estate tax records. For many years, it was called "the Syndicate house" by local residents. On November 29, 1892, Maurice B. Rowe purchased it from the Kelly Field Syndicate for \$1,025.00¹² and rented it to a Methodist minister. Alvin T. Rowe owned it from 1908-1913 and was the only Kelly Field Syndicate member ever to live on Lee Avenue.

By the late 1890's the Kelly Field Syndicate "affected a division,"¹³ and the remainder of the unsold lots were divided among



Residence of the Covey family, with greenhouses located directly behind. The Coveys were the only family to own and operate a business directly adjoining their residence on Lee Avenue. They purchased the land in 1898-99 and moved from Catonsville, Md. to operate the only florist and nursery business in Fredericksburg. The Tues., March 14, 1899 issue of The Free Lance stated: "Fredericksburg is much to be congratulated with the prospect of having these much needed industries here in the near future."

Photo date: 1907

Source: 1907 Historical and Industrial Number
of The Free Lance-Star

individual members. The "phenomenal advance"¹⁴ in real estate sales did not appear to continue past the mid-1890's on Lee Avenue, perhaps due to the fact that other areas were being developed at the same time, providing increased competition. By the late 1890's prices had dropped on Lee Avenue and lots could be purchased for as low as \$40. Building was a somewhat slower process than predicted in The Free Lance article of September 8, 1891: "We expect to see a number of handsome houses built on this property within the next two years." It was 5 years before the second house was built.

III. EVOLUTION OF BUILDINGS

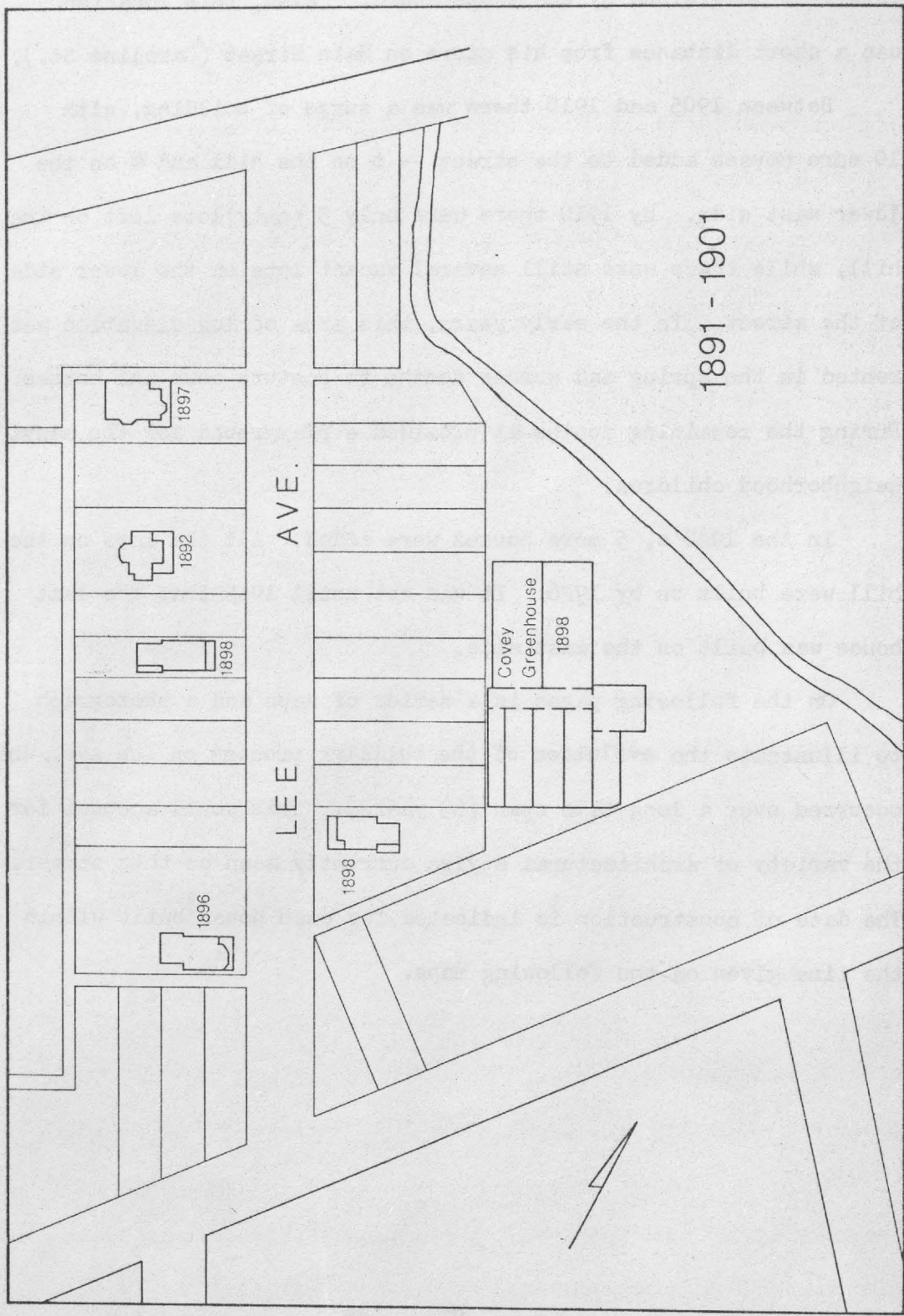
The land on which the Lee Avenue houses are situated slopes downward from the west to the east side, with the incline being more gradual at the southern end of Lee Avenue. By 1900 there were 5 houses on Lee Avenue, 4 of which were built on the higher side of the slope. This afforded a view of the old Mill Race and surrounding open fields. The first house to deviate from this initial pattern was #705, built in 1898 by a florist along with 20,000 square feet of greenhouses directly behind (photo page 16, map page 18). As explained by his grand-daughter: "The Lee Avenue site provided exactly what a nursery and florist business required -- acreage, abundant city water, and the proximity of a residence, since in winter the heating of the greenhouses necessitated the hand-stoking of a coal furnace at irregular

intervals determined by the temperature." Also, this location was a short distance from his store on Main Street (Caroline St.).

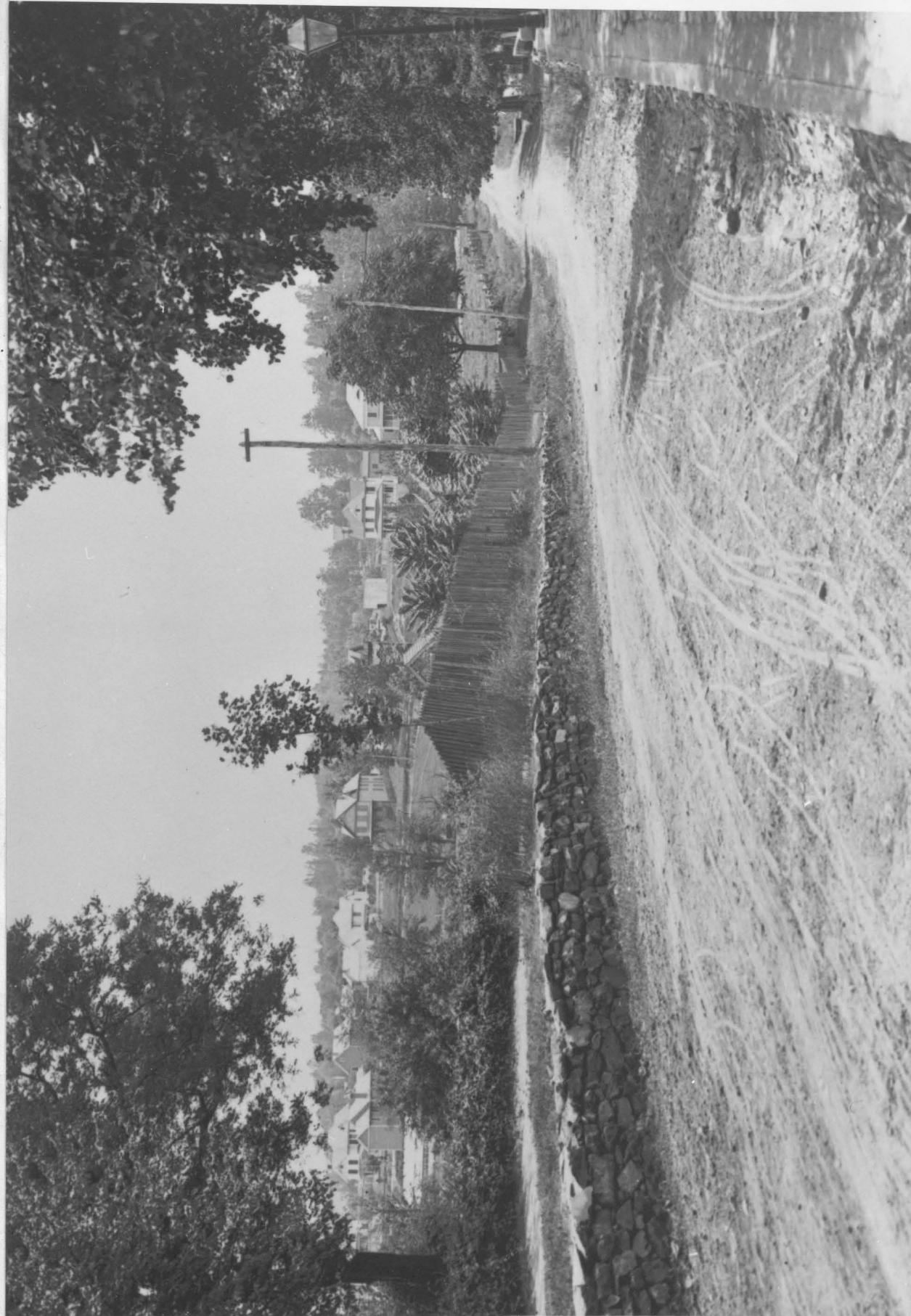
Between 1905 and 1910 there was a surge of building, with 10 more houses added to the street -- 6 on the hill and 4 on the lower east side. By 1910 there were only 3 empty lots left on the hill, while there were still several vacant lots on the lower side of the street. In the early years, this area of low elevation was rented in the spring and summer months to pasture cows and horses. During the remaining months it provided a playground for the many neighborhood children.

In the 1920's, 5 more houses were added. All the lots on the hill were built on by 1926. It was not until 1955 that the last house was built on the east side.

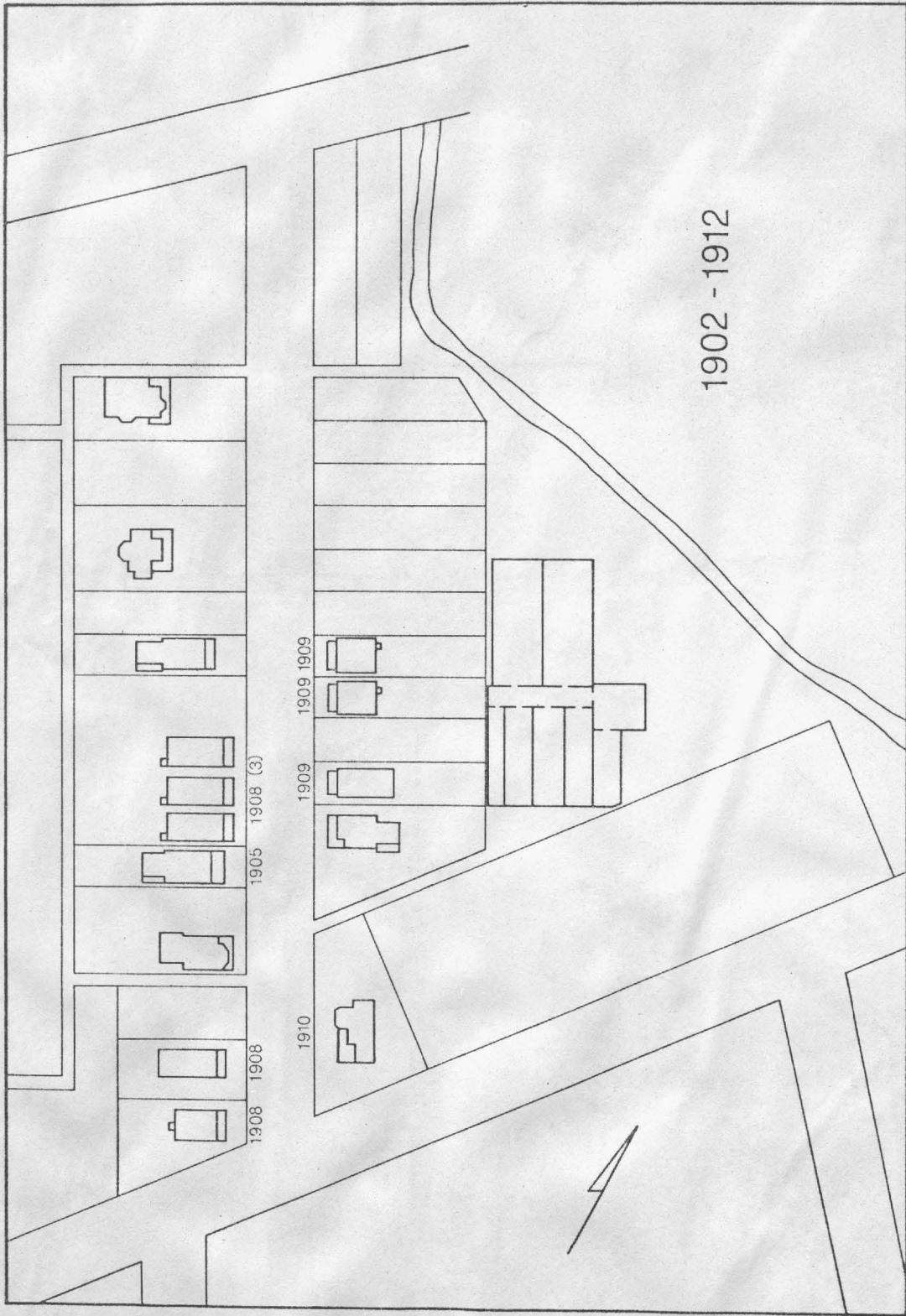
On the following pages is a series of maps and a photograph to illustrate the evolution of the building process on Lee Ave., which occurred over a long time span (63 years). This would account for the variety of architectural styles currently seen on this street. The date of construction is indicated for each house built within the time given on the following maps.

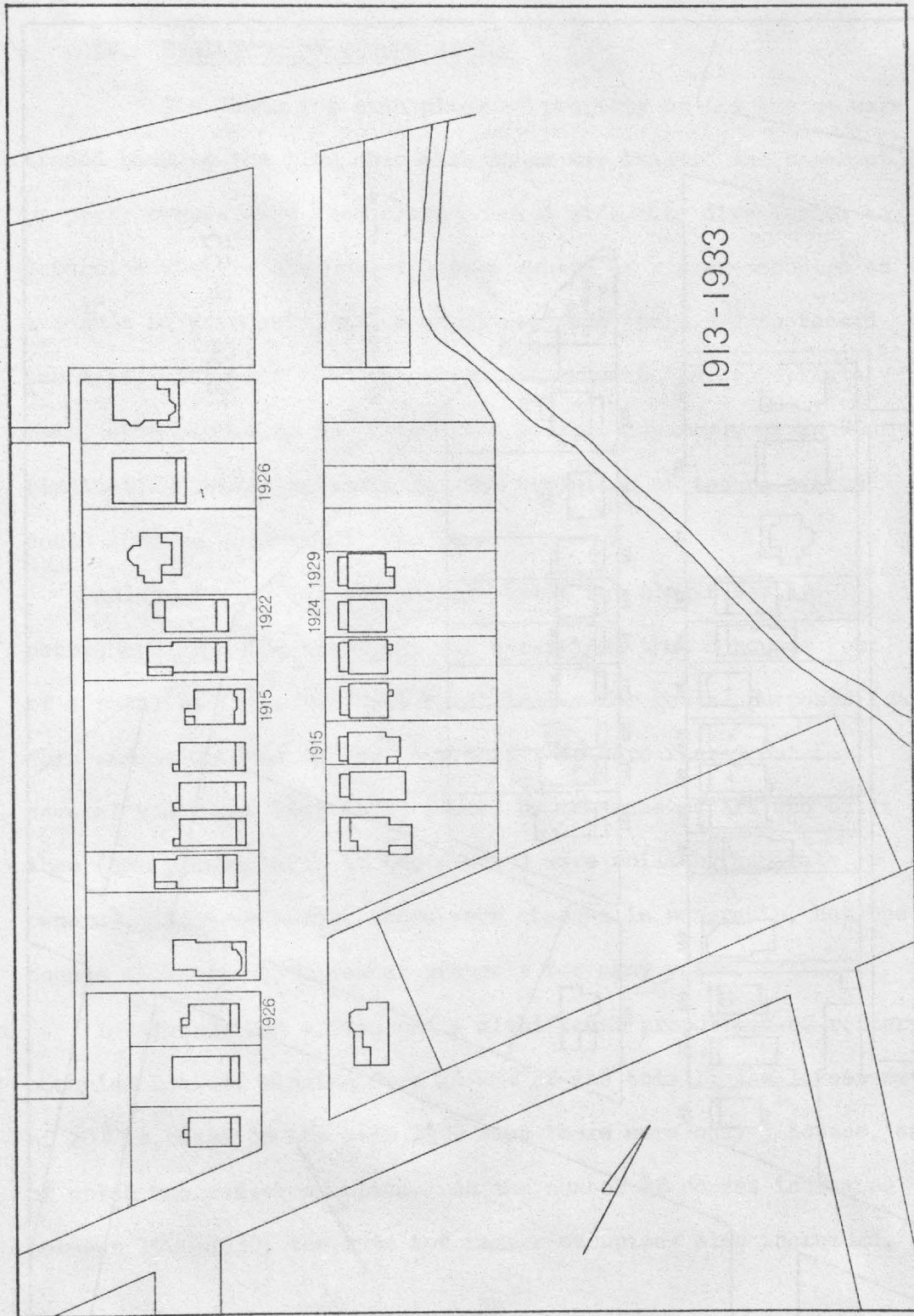


Scale: 1" equals approximately 120'

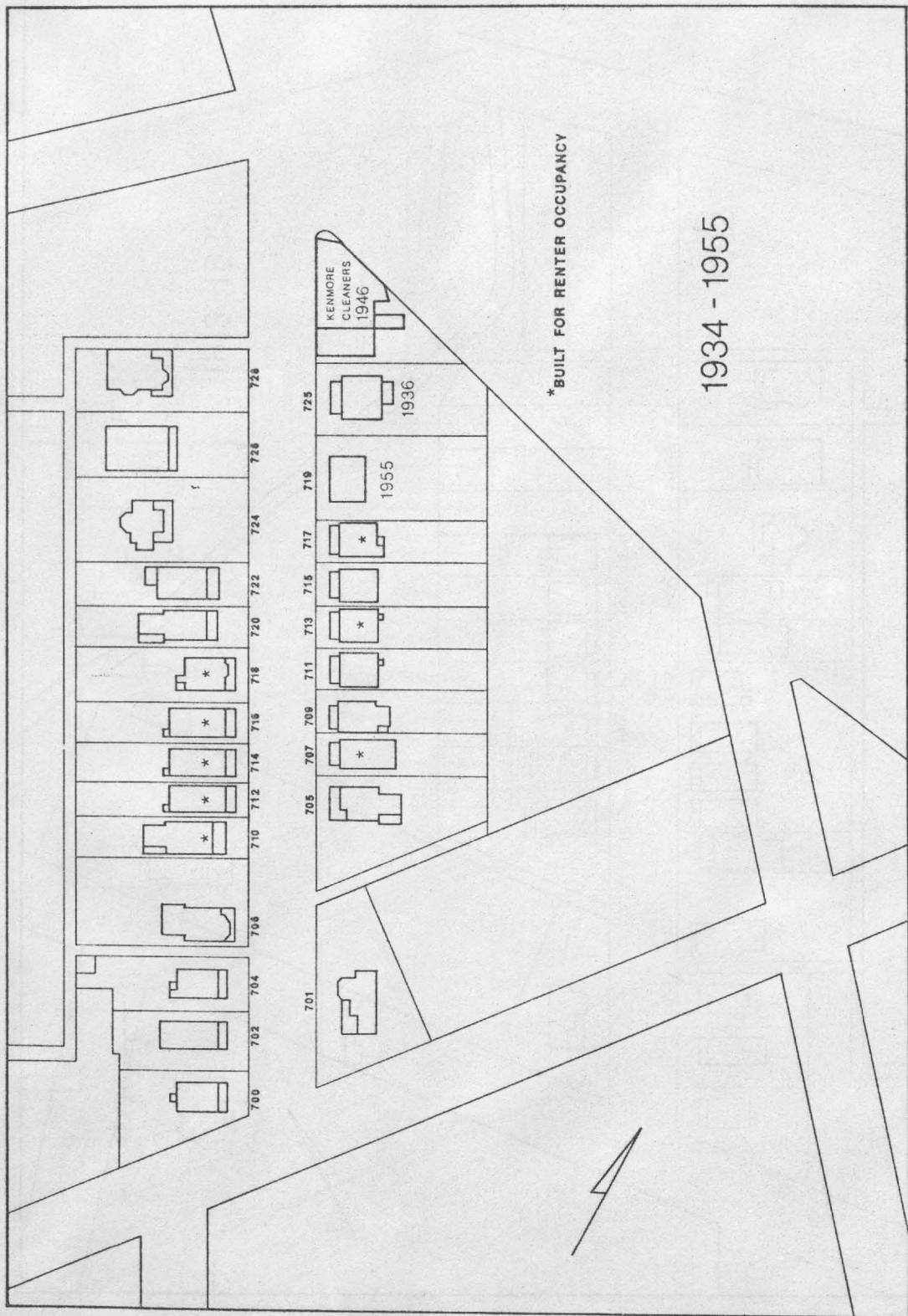


Date: June 1901. Taken from Hanover St. (across from Federal Hill) showing the houses along Lee Avenue. Today the view from this location is almost entirely obscured by G & H Manufacturing (which began operations in 1916). Photo source: Barry Fitzgerald.





The greenhouses were razed in the early 1930's. The Coveys sold their home in 1919 and their florist and nursery business in 1922. Since that time both pieces of property have been owned separately.



IV. EVOLUTION OF TENURE STATUS

The deeds for each piece of property on Lee Avenue were traced back to the time when each house was built. The names of property owners were then cross-checked with city directories to determine whether the houses became owner- or renter-occupied as a result of each sale, and a chart was made (page 25) to record the data. For each sale, an entry was made at the appropriate year, with either an OO (indicating owner-occupancy), or an RO (indicating renter-occupancy). The evolution of tenure status could then be determined over time.

All houses on Lee Avenue were built for single-family occupancy. From the chart, it was determined that 8 houses (out of a total of 24) were built specifically for rental purposes (map p. 23). This was determined by the fact that they were rented out for several years (as long as 38 years) by the same owners who built them (one person built 5; the other 3 were built by separate owners). In some cases, there were changes in ownership, but the houses still remained rental property for many years.

Lee Avenue has always had a significant proportion of renter-occupied houses, ranging from 20-45% of the total. The lowest rate of 20% is based on the year 1900 when there were only 5 houses, one of which was renter-occupied. As the number of houses increased between 1900-1930, the rate for renter-occupancy also increased.

TENURE PATTERNS ON LEE AVENUE

House Nos.	700	701	702	704	705	706	707	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	722	724	725	726	723
1979				CO												V								
1978	V								CO			RO										RO		
1977																								
1976																								CO
1975				RO									RO	CO										RO
1974																	RO							CO
1973				RO		CO							RO							CO				RO
1972				RO	CO		RO				CO									CO				
1971					RO						CO													RO
1970											CO													
1969											CO					RO								
1968				CO	RO			CO				CO												
1967				RO											RO									
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1928				CO		CO																		
1927											CO													
1926			CO		HB																			HB
1925					RO			CO	RO															
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KEY

Owner-occupied


Renter-occupied


Vacant


HB = house built

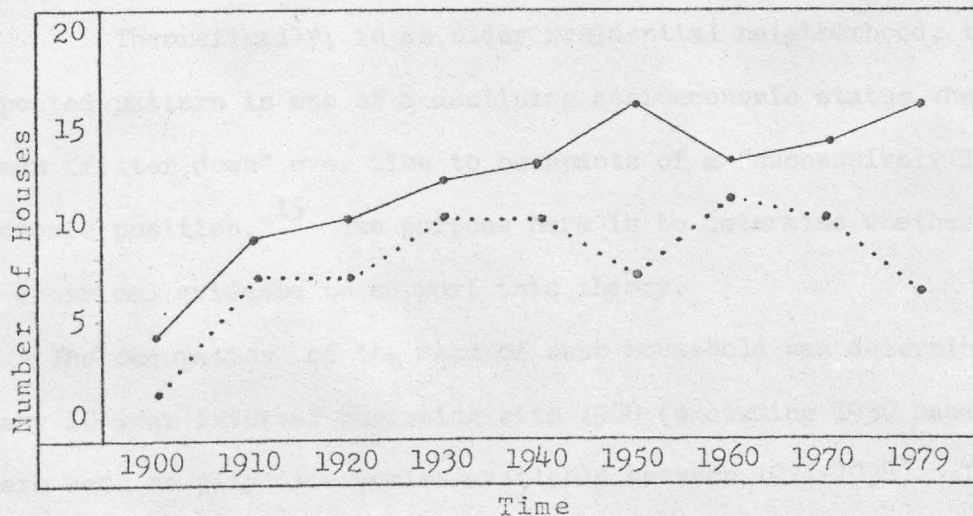
The data for the table below was obtained from the chart, giving a general indication of the tenure status for individual houses, from the time of construction to present day.

Tenure Status for Lee Avenue Houses

	Absolute No.	% of Total
Always owner-occupied	8	33.3 %
Always renter-occupied	3	12.5
Renter- to owner-occupied	3	12.5
Owner- to renter-occupied	0	0.0
Owner- to renter- to owner-occupied	6	25.0
Renter- to owner- to renter-occupied	4	16.7
TOTAL	24	100.0 %

The data for the following graph was also obtained from the chart, and plotted at ten-year intervals to illustrate the evolution of tenure status in relation to the number of houses at each given year. The solid line represents owners and the dotted line represents renters.

Number of Houses Renter- and Owner-Occupied



FOR RENT
Two nice dwellings on Lee avenue
for rent, formerly occupied by Dr. Cas-
saday and Chas. J. Green. For terms
etc., apply to Frederick W. Coleman,
Attorney for Owner, City.
m9.11.1910

FOR RENT

Advertisement from
The Daily Star
Wednesday, March 9, 1910

The graph shows a dip in the number of renter-occupied houses for the period 1960-1979. Currently, there are two vacancies on Lee Avenue, resulting from the deaths of both owners. It will be interesting to see whether the percentage of renter-occupied houses continues to decline to a record low, or whether it will rise back up again in the future.

In tracing the evolution of tenure status on Lee Avenue, it was also interesting to determine that the shift of some of the larger houses to multi-family units (which occurred at various points in time after the houses were built) was never indicative of an overall change in tenure patterns, as originally expected. Lee Avenue has always had rental property, ranging from 20-45% of the total. Rentals currently account for 25%.

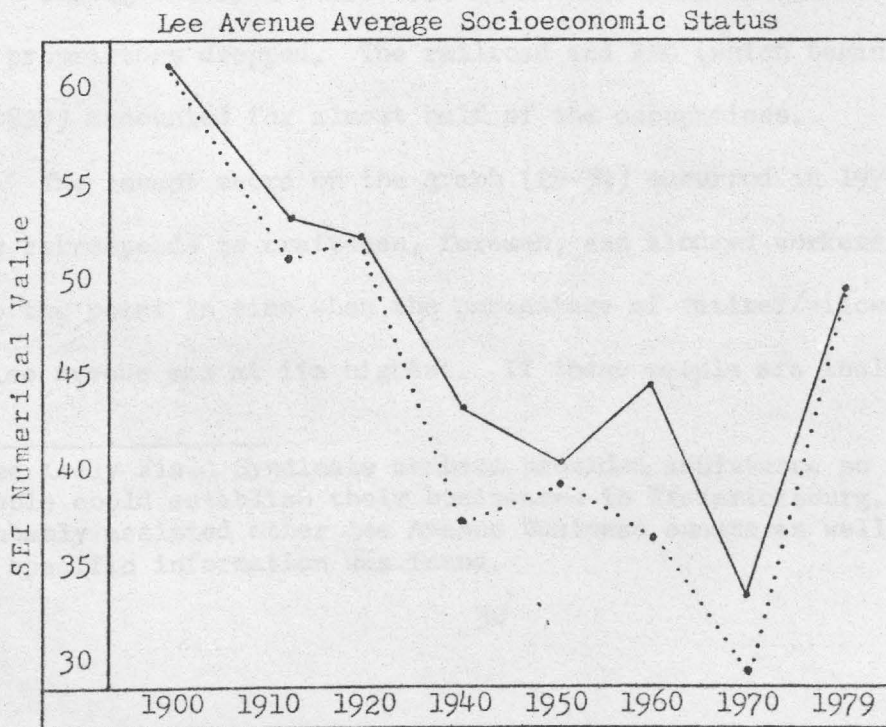
V. EVOLUTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Theoretically, in an older residential neighborhood, the expected pattern is one of a declining socioeconomic status whereby homes "filter down" over time to occupants of a "successively lower economic position."¹⁵ The purpose here is to determine whether there is empirical evidence to support this theory.

The occupation of the head of each household was determined for every 10-year interval beginning with 1900 (excluding 1930 because there were no city directories available between 1921-1938). In the Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, Miller

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explained that "occupations have been shown to be the best single predictor of social status, and overall occupational prestige ratings have been found to be highly stable."¹⁶ A socioeconomic index for occupations was then used, whereby each occupation was translated into a numerical value and averaged for every 10-year period, thus providing standardized, measurable data for comparative purposes. C. D. Duncan's Socioeconomic Index for occupations (based on income, education and occupational prestige) was utilized because, as Miller stated, it has become "the most widely used and is generally considered to be superior for most survey . . . situations."¹⁷ Duncan's SEI is based on a numerical range of 0-100, with professional, technical and kindred workers in the highest range, and laborers (except farm and mine) in the lowest range.¹⁸ The following graph illustrates the evolution of socioeconomic status for Lee Avenue, with the solid line representing owners, and the dotted line representing renters and owners combined.



According to Duncan's SEI, an average score of 61 in 1900 corresponds to managers, officials and proprietors (except farm). The following is a list of the occupations for Lee Avenue homeowners in 1900:

- #705: Proprietor, Covey's Florist and Nursery
- #706: Proprietor, Beckwith's Confectionery
- #724: President, Fredericksburg Spoke Factory*
- #728: Manager, Home Beneficial Association*

From 1910-1920, there were more managers, officials and proprietors living on Lee Avenue: treasurer, Spotsylvania Power Co.; treasurer, Fredericksburg Spoke Factory; the owner of a livery, sale and feed stable; a sawmill owner, a hardware store owner; and the manager of Farmer's Creamery. Other occupations during this time included carpenters, a sawyer, telephone operators, shoe factory foremen, salesmen, insurance agents, and railroad engineers, agents, and clerks.

During the 1940's and 1950's the number of managers, officials and proprietors dropped. The railroad and FMC (which began operations in 1929) accounted for almost half of the occupations.

The lowest score on the graph (29-34) occurred in 1970, and this corresponds to craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers. 1970 was also the point in time when the percentage of retired/widowed persons on Lee Avenue was at its highest. If these people are included into

*Some Kelly Field Syndicate members provided assistance so that these people could establish their businesses in Fredericksburg. They probably assisted other Lee Avenue business owners as well, though no specific information was found.

the scoring system in 1970, with the occupation at the date of retirement, the average SEI score for homeowners rises from 34 to 38. (It is difficult to determine previous occupations for retired/widowed renters for this time because of the high turn-over rate).

The rising SEI score for 1979 is due to an introduction of professional level occupations since 1970, accounting for 37% of the total owners/renters combined, and 30% of the total number of owners. There has also been a reduction of 33% since 1970 in the category of operatives and laborers for renters/owners combined.

It is interesting to notice on the graph that there is little difference over time between the socioeconomic status of owners as compared with owners/renters combined. One would expect to see a greater difference in 1979 when the rate of owner-occupancy also rose.

The data, therefore, does provide evidence to support the theory of a declining socioeconomic status from 1900-1970. However, 1979 shows a reversal to this trend, with the SEI score rising to 49 for both categories, from a low in 1970 of 29 for renters/owners and 34 for owners.

As seen earlier, owner-occupancy has also risen in 1979 to 75% of the total houses, from 58% in 1970. These current trends would provide interesting material for further research. Careful research and analysis is needed before an accurate definition can be made regarding these trends. It will be interesting to see what the

future holds for Lee Avenue, too -- whether these current upward trends continue, or whether they will reverse and decline again. A clear understanding of the evolution of Lee Avenue as a residential area provides a frame of reference needed for analyzing present and future trends.

Footnotes

¹John B. Lansing et al, New Homes and Poor People: A Study of Chains of People (Plymouth, Michigan: Maxwell Printing Co., Inc., 1969), p. 3.

²Robert R. Howison, Fredericksburg: Past, Present and Future, 1st edition (Fredericksburg, Virginia: Rufus B. Merchant, 1880), p. 52.

³Ronald E. Shibley, Historic Fredericksburg (Norfolk, Virginia: The Doning Company/Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 17.

⁴Robert R. Howison, Fredericksburg: Past, Present and Future, 2nd edition (Fredericksburg, Virginia: J. Willard Adams, 1898), p. 77.

⁵Ibid

⁶Deed Book Liber CC, page 308, dated April 15, 1890, Clerk's Office, Circuit Court of Fredericksburg.

⁷Deed Book Liber CC, page 332, dated May 1, 1890, Clerk's Office, Circuit Court of Fredericksburg.

⁸The Free Lance, February 20, 1890 (Fredericksburg, Virginia: The Free Lance-Star Publishing Co.), p. 3.

⁹Ibid

¹⁰The Free Lance, April 25, 1890 (Fredericksburg, Virginia: The Free Lance-Star Publishing Co.), p. 3.

¹¹The Free Lance, February 20, 1890 (Fredericksburg, Virginia: The Free Lance-Star Publishing Co.), p. 3.

¹²Deed Book EE, page 127, dated November 29, 1892, Clerk's Office, Circuit Court of Fredericksburg.

¹³Deed Book GG, page 19, dated May 13, 1895, Clerk's Office Circuit Court of Fredericksburg.

¹⁴The Free Lance, February 20, 1891 (Fredericksburg, Virginia: The Free Lance-Star Publishing Co.), p. 3.

¹⁵Lansing, p. 3.

¹⁶Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (New York: David McKay Company, Inc.), p. 211.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Miller, p. 216-230.