

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

PRESERVATION PLAN: 261 NORTH  
BARTON STREET

Francesca Claire Maisano, Master of Historic  
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Thesis Directed By:

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This project develops a preservation plan for 261 North Barton Street in Arlington County, Virginia, the home of Indigenous activist Zitkala-Ša and her husband and fellow Indigenous activist Raymond Talefase Bonnin from 1925 to 1942. Although the house and its garage are contributing structures to a National Register of Historic Places historic district for the Lyon Park neighborhood, the National Register is honorific and Arlington’s Historical Affairs and Landmark Review Board only protects locally designated historic districts. In addition, the current district nomination focuses on “community planning/development” (Criterion A) and “architecture” (Criterion C), lacking any mention of the significant contribution of these Indigenous activists. The proposed plan begins with an overview of the property’s historical and architectural context before establishing the property’s significance, prepared in accordance with National Register guidance, and a condition assessment chapter. The plan ends with recommendations focusing on public outreach options, and conclusions, including next steps and further research.

PRESERVATION PLAN: 261 NORTH BARTON STREET

by

Francesca Claire Maisano

Masters Final Project submitted to the Faculty of the Historic Preservation Program  
of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
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## Dedication

To my mother, Michele Maisano



## Acknowledgements

There are many people who I would like to thank for their help and support. In no particular order, I would like to thank Gary and Kit Putnam, the homeowners of 261 North Barton, for their desire to save their home and their willingness to not just talk with Lorin and I about the property, but show us around and let us take as many photos as needed. I would also like to thank Lorin Farris and Cynthia Liccese-Torres of the Arlington County Historic Preservation Program for connecting me to this project, giving assistance on drafting preservation plans, and being a resource on Arlington County historic preservation. I want to thank Donna Jean Bonner, the granddaughter of former homeowners, for answering my random message over Findagrave.com and filling in so much of the history of the home from the 1940s to 1980s. I also must thank my readers, Dr. Donald Linebaugh and Professor Fred Stachura, for their guidance throughout writing this final project and for reading this behemoth of a paper multiple times and correcting its many typos! I would like to thank my family, friends, and cohort for their support throughout this project and throughout my time at the University of Maryland. Lastly, I would like to thank Saint Joseph, patron saint of workers, for his intercessors during this work-adjacent project.

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# Introduction

This study, undertaken to fulfil the final project requirement for the University of Maryland's Historic Preservation graduate program, focuses on the property at 261 North Barton Street in Arlington, Virginia, whose resources include an early twentieth-century bungalow dwelling and an early twentieth-century garage. The work for this project commenced in September 2022 and concluded May 2023.

The project develops a preservation plan for 261 North Barton Street in Arlington County, Virginia, home of influential Indigenous activist and writer Zitkala-Ša (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) and her husband and fellow Indigenous activist Captain Raymond Talefase Bonnin from 1925 to their deaths in 1938/1942, respectively. The current owners of this c.1924 bungalow are elderly and wish for the home to be preserved upon their deaths. Although the house and its garage are contributing structures to a National Register of Historic Places historic district for the Lyon Park neighborhood, the National Register is honorific and Arlington's Historical Affairs and Landmark Review Board only protects locally designated historic districts. In addition, the Lyon Park nomination is focused on the significance of the entire neighborhood for "community planning/development" (Criterion A) and "architecture" (Criterion C), lacking any mention of either activist. Ultimately, the story and legacy of Zitkala-Sa while she lived at the bungalow is undocumented and the site remains unprotected. This project develops a plan with options to preserve the site and its important story.



In formulating this project, numerous research topics were developed:

- How do you preserve more unconventional historic properties, which are significant for intangible heritage and their association with marginalized, underrepresented people?
- What are the best ways to educate the public about these historic properties?
- What was 261 North Barton like, in terms of architecture, layout and materiality, while Zitkala-Ša and her husband Raymond Talefase Bonnin lived at the house, and what materials and significant features remain?
- How does one uncover, document, educate others on the history of Zitkala-Ša, focusing on her life at 261 North Barton?
- What was the state of Native American organizing and activism during the time that Zitkala-Ša and Raymond Talefase Bonnin lived at 261 North Barton?
- How does 261 North Barton fit into the two worlds, the white world and the Indigenous world, that Zitkala-Ša inhabited throughout her life? Does it represent only one of the worlds, or does it fit into both worlds? How so?

Historic preservation has long had a diversity problem. With preservationists historically focused on the preservation of the monumental homes of wealthy white men, and architecturally significant homes and tangible heritage in general, vernacular structures, particularly those associated with marginalized people and intangible cultural and social heritage, have largely been ignored, leaving them undocumented and unprotected. One such vernacular home is the c. 1924 bungalow associated with Indigenous activist Zitkala-Ša. This preservation plan assists in the documentation and preservation of 261 North Barton and serves as an example of how to document and preserve previously neglected heritage, particularly in Arlington County, Virginia.

Chapter 1 provides a historical overview, including the history and development of Arlington County as a whole and Lyon Park specifically, Native American organizing and activism in the early twentieth century, the life of Zitkala-Ša, and property and site history, to put this home in its historical context. Sources for this chapter include topic-specific books, Lyon Park's National Register nomination, deeds from the Arlington County courthouse, historic newspapers, and conversations with past and current residents. Chapter 2 offers an architectural overview of 261 North Barton, describing the architectural features of the house and garage and the construction chronology of the site. It also analyzes the architecture of the early twentieth-century Lyon Park neighborhood and presents the history and design features of the twentieth-century suburban bungalow to put the home in its architectural context. Architectural history books, the National Register nomination, historic maps, building permits, and past and current residents guided the research for this section. Based on the first two chapters, Chapter 3 explores the property's significance in accordance with National Register guidance. Zitkala-Ša and Captain Bonnnin's activism and influence are considered for Criteria A and B, while the home's architecture is evaluated under Criterion C. With the context and significance completed, Chapter 4 provides a condition assessment of the house and garage, particularly looking at the property's integrity related to the National Register's requirements. Using the thorough understanding of the property's historical and architectural context and significance, as well as its condition, gained through the preceding chapters, Chapter 5 proposes available documentation and recommendation options. The report concludes with Chapter 6, a presentation of final recommendations and conclusions.

As per the request of members of Arlington County's Historic Preservation Program, a core component of the recommendations section will be public outreach options, including but

not limited to a website or webpage, a public presentation, and/or an interpretative signage, to educate the public about Zitkala-Ša and her home in Arlington and encourage other historic property owners to consider pursuing preservation initiatives.

## Chapter 1: Historical Overview

This first chapter discusses the history of 261 North Barton and Zitkala-Ša in order to put the house and the activist in their respective contexts, starting first with a historical overview of Arlington County and then a section on the development of the Lyon Park neighborhood in the early twentieth century, before detailing Indian organizing and activism in the first half of the twentieth century. The section concludes with a discussion of the life of Zitkala-Ša herself and the history of the site and structure.

### Historical Overview of Arlington County

The area of land that is now Arlington County has been inhabited for at least 10,000 years by Indigenous tribes, including the Pamunkey, Piscataway, and Tauxenent (Dogue) peoples, living as “nomadic hunters” and in “ad-hoc settlements.” However, by the time of European colonization “the local Indians were not numerous” and within 50-100 years of European colonization no Indigenous tribes resided in what is now Arlington, due to the rapidly expanding colonial population as well as “incursion of hostile Indians from the North” and “ever-changing land treaties” with the colonists.<sup>1</sup>

Speculative land grants were first acquired in the Arlington area in the 1650s and 1660s, though those who held the grants rarely lived on the land. Actual residents of the area began settling in the early eighteenth century, with most living in small log or frame dwellings which, up until a charter in 1748, had wooden chimneys. An agricultural area, the majority of residents were yeomen farmers renting the land. With the colonies securing their independence through

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<sup>1</sup> C.B. Rose, *Arlington County, Virginia: A History*, Arlington Historical Society, Inc (Baltimore: Port City Press, 1976), 9, 14-15; Historic Preservation Program, “Arlington’s Comprehensive Plan: Historic and Cultural Resources Plan DRAFT,” April 2023, <https://www.arlingtonva.us/files/sharedassets/public/projects/documents/historic-preservation/historic-and-cultural-resources-plan.pdf>, 22-23.

the American Revolutionary War, the Federal District for the nation's capital was created through an act of Congress on July 16, 1791. Included in this new district was what was known as the County of Alexandria, which featured modern-day Arlington County and the city of Alexandria. The District was formally organized in 1801 as the District of Columbia.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century, the County of Alexandria witnessed the construction of bridges, turnpikes, railroads, and canals; railroads began being constructed in the area just before 1850. The area remained primarily farmland, switching from small grain to dairying and market gardening.<sup>3</sup> In 1846, with Virginians having felt dissatisfaction and resentment since the District of Columbia was first founded, due to financial burdens, “unsympathetic treatment of the County of Alexandria by the Federal Government,” and differences over slavery, the County of Alexandria was retroceded back to Virginia. Virginia, along with the other Southern states, would then secede from the Union in 1861, with the Commonwealth being readmitted back in 1870 after the Civil War. The same year, the City of Alexandria became independent from the County of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup>

Following the Civil War, the County of Alexandria faced economic hardship. However, by the turn of the twentieth century the “County presented a picture of relative affluence” and was “thriving.”<sup>5</sup> Though still mostly agricultural land, some villages and village-like clusters, such as Rosslyn and Clarendon, began popping up, as well as manufacturing enterprises (Figure 1). With new electric railroads constructed in the county, which allowed for the possibility of

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<sup>2</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 21-22, 29-34, 63-64.

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 73, 77.

<sup>4</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 79, 81-82, 97-98, 118.

<sup>5</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 121.

living in the county and commuting to Washington, D.C. for work, developers started to buy up land and develop suburbs along the railroad lines.<sup>6</sup>

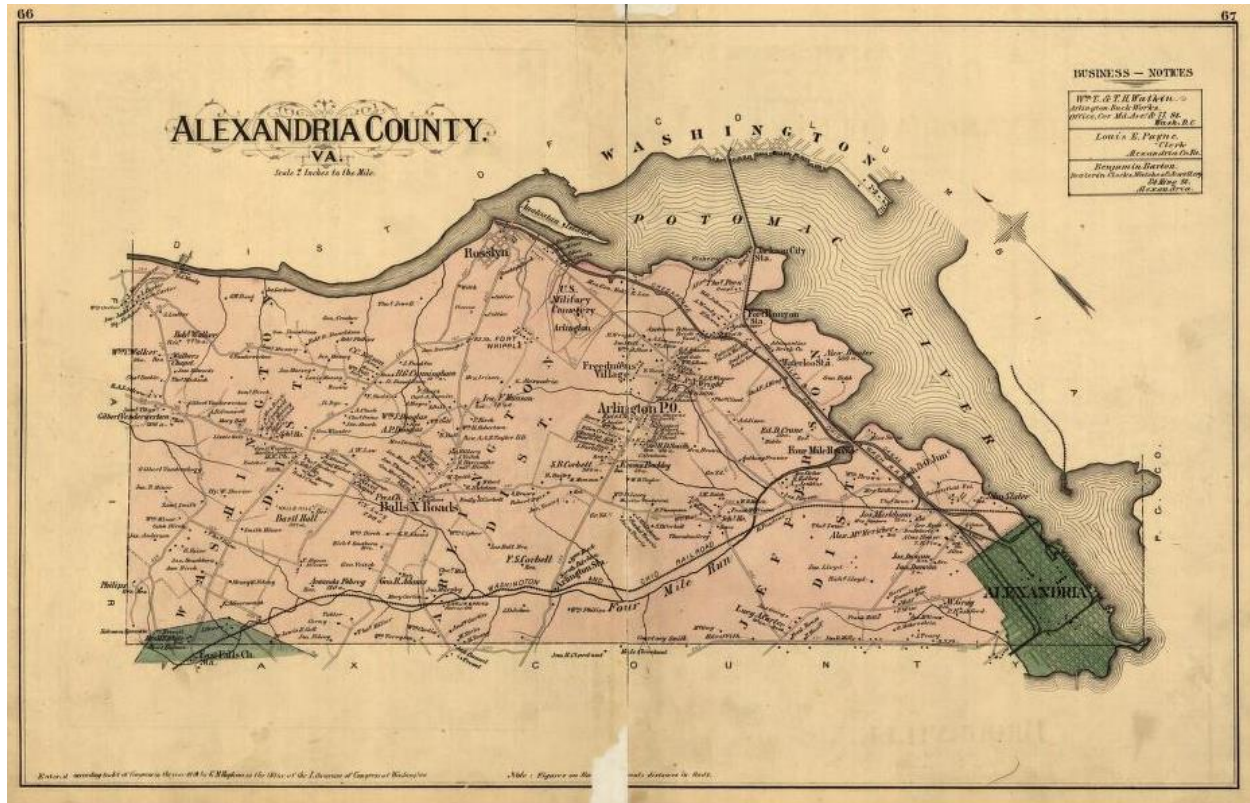


Figure 1. Griffith Morgan, Jr., *Atlas of fifteen miles around Washington, including the counties of Fairfax and Alexandria, Virginia*, Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, 1879, map, <https://www.loc.gov/item/map53000779/>.

Due to the railroads, the population of Alexandria County grew rapidly, and the county began to suburbanize.<sup>7</sup> Another element that led to its rapid growth was the “clean-up” campaign of the 1890s-1900s. Areas of the county around Rosslyn had a proliferation of gambling dens, saloons, and brothels, leading to unsafe conditions and an unsavory reputation. Through “determined leadership,” including the political group the “Good Citizen’s League,” led by Frank Lyon, and “the support of a public-spirited citizenry,” the campaign was successful. Free

<sup>6</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 121, 140-141.

<sup>7</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 145.

of a stigma of lawlessness, the County grew, with new subdivisions continuing to be developed, density increasing, and utilities and benefits such as gas and electricity, parks, postal service, telephones, and local newspapers appearing and gaining an increasing number of customers.<sup>8</sup> The growth continued past World-War I. In 1920, due to the separation between the County of Alexandria and the City of Alexandria and the “increased vitality and prominence of the county,” the county was renamed to Arlington County. The various subdivisions began being unified, “tying the county into a unified whole,” through a county-wide water system, county-wide sewage system, and public health programs.<sup>9</sup> Through the 1920s, the county also gained more and better highways and public streets for the increasingly prevalent automobile, further linking the county with Washington, D.C. and beyond. Bus lines and Hoover Airport were also developed, while electric rail lines went out of business.<sup>10</sup>

Arlington County experienced unemployment and decreased development during the Great Depression, though it was somewhat cushioned due to its proximity to the nation’s capital. Despite the economic struggles, with the increased transportation options and amenities such as the water and sewage systems and public health programs, as well a progressive government and good schools, Arlington’s population continued to grow, becoming the “fastest growing county in Virginia,” and even in the nation.<sup>11</sup> Its population was majority white, native-born, well-educated, and relatively young, with high incomes. The majority of residents lived in single-family, owner-occupied homes, more “substantial” than earlier cottages, reflecting the higher-income levels. Farming was by then no longer the economic driver of the county, with the primary employer of Arlingtonians being the government, especially at the federal level. In fact,

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<sup>8</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 150-161, 164-166

<sup>9</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 176-181.

<sup>10</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 186, 192-193.

<sup>11</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 197-198, 203.

by 1940, over 40% of employed Arlington residents worked in “public administration.” A much smaller number worked in local business and industry.<sup>12</sup>

During World War II, due to its large swaths of undeveloped land and proximity to Washington, D.C., Arlington exploded in population, with “hordes of newcomers” flocking to the county for federal and service industry jobs originating from the expansion of the federal government under the New Deal.<sup>13</sup> After the war, the county continued to be popular, evolving thoroughly from a commuter suburb to “an important employment center in its own right.”<sup>14</sup>

In the twenty-first century, Arlington County has remained in-demand as a now “thoroughly urban” area in “the core of the Washington Metropolitan Area.” Made up of a “collection of small neighborhood and commercial nodes linked by transportation corridors” known as urban villages, which reflects its heritage as a historic suburb, the county is still advantageously located next to Washington D.C., which is easily accessible through public transportation options such as metro, while also gaining “a steadily expanding roster of national associations and corporations” within its own boundaries. Being desirable, while possessing an “exceptionally strong real estate and development market” and lacking in open, undeveloped land due to the small size of the already heavily-developed county, means property values are high and there is “strong development pressure” putting historic buildings and neighborhoods at risk.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 198-200

<sup>13</sup> Rose, *Arlington, County, Virginia*, 206, 224-225, *Historic Preservation Master Plan*, (Arlington County Virginia: Department of Community Planning, Housing, and Development, December 2006), 8, [https://arlingtonva.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2014/03/HistoricPreservation\\_Master-Plan\\_2006.pdf](https://arlingtonva.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2014/03/HistoricPreservation_Master-Plan_2006.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> *Historic Preservation Master Plan*, 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Historic Preservation Master Plan*, 2, 4, 7,



## Development of Lyon Park in the Early Twentieth Century



Figure 2. Photograph of Frank Lyon. "Today is the 54th birthday anniversary of Frank Lyon." *The Washington Herald*, December 30, 1921, Page 2, Image 2, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1921-12-30/ed-1/seq-2/>.

The Lyon Park neighborhood was developed by Lyon & Fitch, a real estate development corporation. The firm's founder Frank Lyon (Figure 2) was born on December 30, 1867 in Petersburg, Virginia. In 1886, Lyon moved to Washington, D.C. to work for the Southern Railroad. From 1887-1889, he worked as the private secretary to Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) commissioner Walter L. Bragg. At the same time, he attended Georgetown University Law School and received a master of law degree in 1890. The year prior, he and his

future wife Georgie Hayes Wright moved to Alexandria.<sup>16</sup> Beginning in the 1890s, he crusaded against the apparent vices and ill-behavior in nearby Rosslyn, using the newspaper he bought, the *Rosslyn Monitor*, to do so; he also advocated and lobbied against the production and consumption of liquor. He became a law partner of Robert Walton Moore and assisted in the development of the area known as Moore's Addition to Clarendon. Moore was a Fairfax native who served as Assistant Special Counsel of the Associated Railways and Steamship Companies of the South before becoming a judge in 1918. He was elected to the House of Representatives for the Eighth Congressional District in 1919. That same year he sold his interest in the land to Lyon, who by then had established his own development firm. This firm became known as Lyon and Fitch in 1920, after C. Walton Fitch became a partner, and then Lyon and Fitch, Incorporated, when Charles Smith became treasurer, and, lastly Lyon Properties, Incorporated.<sup>17</sup>

The area of what is now Lyon Park was originally part of the Clarendon neighborhood of Arlington. Between 1910 and 1919, Frank Lyon and Robert Walton Moore purchased about 300 acres of land to develop as an extension to Clarendon. This was the first of several suburbs that Lyon platted.<sup>18</sup> After Moore sold his interest in the tract to Lyon, Lyon subdivided the 300-acre tract in 1919, with 102 acres of the property becoming Lyon Park. This plat included 1,200 tracts that measured about fifty-feet in width with a parcel of land set aside in the middle for a parkland and a community center. Engineer and landscape architect William Sunderman designed the neighborhood with a central community park that expands outward to flat lots, some with trees

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<sup>16</sup> Ruth P. Rose, *Arlington Historical Magazine*, vol 5. No. 4, "The Role of Frank Lyon and His Associates in the Early Development of Arlington County," October 1976., 46, <http://arlingtonhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/1976-8-Lyon.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> Rose, "The Role of Frank Lyon," 46-47, 49-50, 52.

<sup>18</sup> Jana E. Riggle, "Lyon Park Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. E.H.T Traceries, Washington D.C., 2003. <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/000-7820-Lyon-Park-Historic-District-2003-Final-Nomination.pdf> 6, 161

and some without, on both curving and grid streets.<sup>19</sup> Due to the many advertised benefits, including being in “an admirable location” close to Washington D.C. on “main thoroughfares” and “with a dandy trolley line;” modern and free improvements such as gas, electricity, a sewer system, and paved streets; conveniences such as schools, churches, stores, and parks; low prices and flexible terms; a service that assists in financing homes; automatic insurance for the lot in case of death; and “wise restrictions” (such as racial covenants), Lyon Park experienced “sensational growth” in the early 1920s (Figure 3).<sup>20</sup> By June 1923, ninety percent of the lots in Lyon Park had been sold.<sup>21</sup> Lyon and his firm Lyon and Fitch (later renamed Lyon Properties, Incorporated) directed the neighborhood’s development and kept expanding its boundaries to the east, south, and west in the 1920s and 1930s, with the last section platted in 1951.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 158.

<sup>20</sup> Ruby Lee Minar, “It’s Wonderful How Lyon Park Has Grown,” *Evening Star*, June 02, 1923, Page 21, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1923-06-02/ed-1/seq-21/>; Lyon & Fitch, “Everything We Say Has Already Happened in Lyon Park,” *Evening Star*, September 29, 1923, Page 18, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1923-09-29/ed-1/seq-18/>; <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1921-09-24/>; Ruby Lee Minar, “Lyon Park Washington’s New Suburb,” *Evening Star*, September 24, 1921, Page 2, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1921-09-24/ed-1/seq-12/>; Lyon & Fitch, “You! Can be the owner of a home site in---Lyon Park,” *Evening Star*, September 22, 1923, Page 18, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1923-09-22/ed-1/seq-18/>.

<sup>21</sup> “Minar Offices Relinquish Agency,” *Evening Star*, June 30, 1923, Page 17, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1923-06-30/ed-1/seq-17/>.

<sup>22</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 6, 161.

**EVERYTHING WE SAY HAS  
ALREADY HAPPENED**

—In—

# LYON PARK

The "Chance" Is Entirely Eliminated—  
It Has Already Succeeded

**THE RENUNCIATION GROWTH—**  
thick of it! Since October 18, 1918  
(just four years), LYON PARK has  
become a thriving subdivision with  
over 400 homes in its limits. Only  
contentment among the residents  
and investment possibilities could  
have brought about this condition.  
SCORES OF PRIVATE SALES  
HAVE BEEN CONSUMMATED,  
netting the original purchasers a  
handsome profit.

**THE SAME OPPORTUNITY IS OF-  
FERED YOU!** From the Lyon Park  
Realty Co. (owners) you may pur-  
chase lots in the most recently opened  
sections 1 and 2—and by so doing  
**YOU GET THEM AT THE ORIGI-  
NAL ROCK-BOTTOM PRICE**—and  
thereby realize a profit at the start.  
**GET INTERESTED IN SOMETHING  
WORTH WHILE—SOMETHING OF  
PROVEN MERIT—DRIVE OUT TO  
LYON PARK TODAY!!**

18 minutes from  
12th and Pennsylvania  
Avenues by direct trol-  
ley car service—15  
minutes by auto.

**LOTS  
As Low As  
\$20.00**

**MONTHLY  
Liberal Discount  
for Cash**

**Study the Map!**  
It gives you a com-  
parison as to the dis-  
tance and value be-  
tween the Maryland  
and Virginia SUBDI-  
VISIONS! An un-  
prejudiced decision will  
urge you to INVESTI-  
GATE FOR YOUR-  
SELF — THE MAP  
WILL DIRECT YOU!

Lyon Park  
20 Cents per  
Square Foot  
3 Miles from the  
White House

**Office  
On the Property  
Lyon Park**

## LYON & FITCH

—OWNERS—

Telephone  
Clarendon 487

Figure 3. Newspaper Advertisement for Lyon Park. Lyon & Fitch, "Everything We Say Has Already Happened in Lyon Park," *Evening Star*, September 29, 1923, Page 18, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1923-09-29/ed-1/seq-18/>; <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1921-09-24/>.

## Indian Organizing and Activism in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

From beginnings of colonial period to end of the nineteenth century, most Indian organization/activism and communication with the government was on the tribal level, with treaty-making and war causing tribal divisions while Europeans were also "working diligently"

to foster factions and internal strife.<sup>23</sup> There were just a few loose, regional intertribal groups that had “a Pan-Indian flavor.”<sup>24</sup>

It was not until the Progressive Era, a time that features an “exuberance based on faith in the inevitability of progress,” that national organized movements began, “based firmly on a common Indian interest and identity” and “stressing Indian accommodation to the dominant society.”<sup>25</sup> The first third of the twentieth century was the formative years of Pan-Indianism, with the early type of Pan-Indianism known as reform Pan-Indianism.<sup>26</sup> The “Progressive Indians,” also known as “red progressives,” “believed in education, hard work, and in adapting their attitudes, values, and habits of life to those of the larger American society.” They, along with white reformers, created the first national, secular Pan-Indian organization: the Society of American Indians. This organization was founded in 1911 by a group of six leading Indian figures: Dr. Charles A. Eastman, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Thomas L. Sloan, Charles E. Daganett, Laura Cornelius, and Henry Standing Bear, through the initiative of Fayette A. McKenzie, a white professor at Ohio State University and progressive reformer.<sup>27</sup> Full members of the organization were Indians who were more than 1/16<sup>th</sup> “Indian blood” and Indians listed on tribal rolls who were less than 1/16<sup>th</sup> “Indian blood.”<sup>28</sup> The society also attracted white supporters.<sup>29</sup> However, the “SAI was to be the expression of an educated and acculturated elite,” being a “town meeting of educated Indians rather than a representative confederation of tribes; the

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<sup>23</sup> Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 3.

<sup>24</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, viii.

<sup>25</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, viii; 31.

<sup>26</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, v, viii.

<sup>27</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 31, 36.

<sup>28</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 81.

<sup>29</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 101.

organizational leadership being from the educated middle class was a feature of many other reform groups of the period.<sup>30</sup>

As it was established in the progressive era, “in principles and programs the Society showed its deep commitment to the reform ideals of the time.”<sup>31</sup> The organization had a number of objectives, including “to present in a just light the history of the race, to preserve its records, and emulate its distinguishing values,” “to promote citizenship among Indians and to obtain rights thereof,” and “to establish a legal department to investigate Indian problems, and to suggest and obtain remedies.”<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, to the Society of American Indians, “the honor of the race and the good of the country will always be paramount.”<sup>33</sup> To accomplish its objectives, the society used “organizational techniques” that were “of the period,” including “holding annual conferences, issuing statements of principles and goals, maintaining a Washington headquarters, advocating remedial legislation, publishing a journal, celebrating a “Day,” and offering legal aid and general advice to persons in need.”<sup>34</sup> However, there were great divisions in the SAI from the very beginning, about such issues as “the future of the reservation,” “of Indian relationships to the [Indian] Bureau,” and the use of peyote, with varying moderate and radical views.<sup>35</sup> By 1916, the SAI was “preoccupied with factionalism, drained of new ideas, and beset by financial woes.”<sup>36</sup> By condemning peyote, losing the participation of Indian Bureau employees over questions about their “race loyalty,” disappointing the abolitionists in the SAI through compromising about the Indian Bureau, not having the funds for legal aid to appeal to

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<sup>30</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 96, 109.

<sup>31</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 109.

<sup>32</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 80.

<sup>33</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 80.

<sup>34</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 109.

<sup>35</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 101, 127, 139.

<sup>36</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 151.

reservation Indians, and not having enough public support to advance its legislation, as well as the rise of Catholics in the SAI to prominence, causing some Catholic-Protestant conflict, the society alienated much of its base and lost support.<sup>37</sup>

Change began to occur in the 1920s. Just as the SAI first reflected Progressive Era ideology and methodology when it was founded, now themes and trends in American society came about after World War I, which were not new but grew in strength after the war. The idea of the “melting pot,” which “had been one of the major unifying forces in the Society of American Indians,” was becoming less popular. Instead, the ideological emphasis was on self-determination, based on the ideology of President Woodrow Wilson, “the idea of cultural pluralism in America, of America as a “nation of nations,”” “the growth of American nativism,” and the shift from individualism to groupism, particularly “rugged American groupism.”<sup>38</sup> To incorporate these new trends, the SAI focused more on tribal identities, the distinctiveness between the Indian race and others, and were more antagonistic towards immigrants and African Americans.<sup>39</sup> While the society had previously eschewed the notion of someone using the organization for personal gain, the society now became “a political pressure group with patronage interest,” with one major goal of getting an Indian appointed as commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>40</sup> However, factionalism, which had long plagued the SAI, took its toll, and the idea to make the SAI “a political pressure group” was “doomed to failure” as “Indians did not possess the power or the willingness to act together as a significant pressure group.” The SAI dissolved in the mid-1920s.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 152-153.

<sup>38</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 179.

<sup>39</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 179, 184.

<sup>40</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 188.

<sup>41</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 199.

With the SAI gone, a new group of reformers stepped into the ring, more interested in tribal development than Pan-Indian development. This may be because of three events that caused public outcry: the Bursum Bill, which would have “divested the Pueblos of large portions of their land” in favor of squatters; Secretary of Interior Albert B. Fall’s ruling on “Executive Order Reservations,” which ruled that reservations by presidential order “were merely public lands temporarily withdrawn by Executive Order” and thus could be leased for gas and oil deposits, jeopardizing two thirds of unallotted land that Indians thought their tribes had a secure right to; and the Dance order issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which “directed superintendents to denounce the “give-aways” that occurred at ceremonies in numerous tribes, “as well as any dances the agent deemed immoral, indecent, or dangerous,” and which some, though not all, protested as interference in the religious freedom of Indians. Due to “intense pressure from so many and so diverse forces,” a group, including Indians and anthropologists, was brought to Washington called the Committee of One Hundred, which agreed to a number of revolutionary ideas in terms of health, education, and religion. “The reformulation of Indian policy” had begun. Indians finally gained citizenship in January 1924 through the Indian Citizenship Bill.<sup>42</sup>

A new Pan-Indian organization came into existence in 1926. The National Council of American Indians (NCAI) was founded by former SAI secretary-treasurer Gertrude Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša) and her husband Captain Raymond T. Bonnin (Figure 4). Though it “attempted to be a body representative of the tribes” and its objective was to be “a constructive effort to better the Red Race and make its members better citizens of the United States” the organization “seems to

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<sup>42</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 200-205.



have been a small and struggling group owing its existence to the devotion of the Bonnins.”<sup>43</sup> This was due to “personal faction and jealousy,” as well as Zitkala-Ša’s “tendency to run a one-woman show.”<sup>44</sup> Reform Pan-Indianism “led a precarious existence” by then, “kept alive by the commitment of a few hardy souls who had acquired their Pan-Indianism in an earlier time when the movement was creative and vigorous.”<sup>45</sup> For example, Zitkala-Ša was “the most important figure in reform Pan-Indianism during the [nineteen] twenties.”<sup>46</sup> Reform Pan-Indianism declined in the 1920s because of the “more general decline of interest in reform in the larger society” and “the weaking of the ideology which had earlier united the Indian reformers, with “the old unifying ideas” about the melting pot and the Indian race losing their “potency” compared to the rising emphasis on tribal identities and cultures.”<sup>47</sup> The decline of this movement was so much so that the “National Council lasted until the mid-thirties as the only functioning Pan-Indian reform group organized on a national basis.”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 207.

<sup>44</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 208.

<sup>45</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 208.

<sup>46</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 303.

<sup>47</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 210.

<sup>48</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 208.

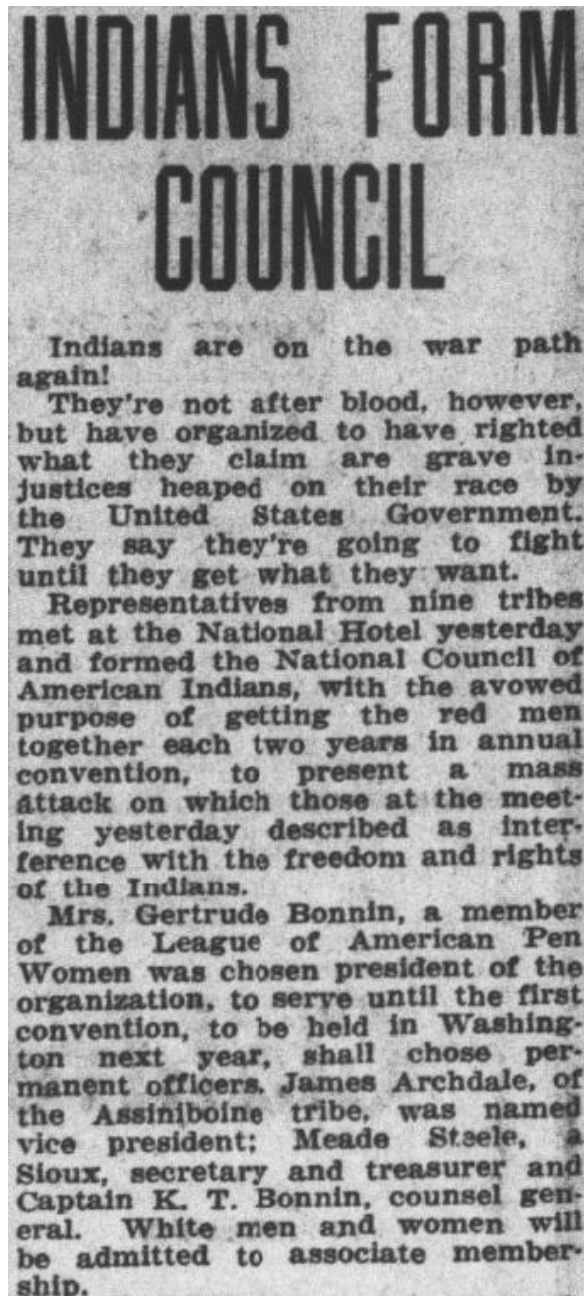


Figure 4. Newspaper article about the NCAI. "Indians Form Council." *The Washington Times*, March 01, 1926, Page 8, Image 8, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1926-03-01/ed-1/seq-8/>.

Replacing reform Pan-Indianism was fraternal Pan-Indianism. It "arose in response to a need felt by Indians in the city who wanted to remain Indians and at the same time participate in

larger society.”<sup>49</sup> “A true reflection of the times” of the rest of 1920s America and its “flowering of numerous fraternal orders and clubs,” fraternal Pan-Indianism took multiple forms, whether involving mysterious, secret, elaborate ritual, open ritual, or “usual good-and-welfare social clubs.”<sup>50</sup> Instead of the reform Pan-Indians’ use of social science, fraternal Pan-Indianism was influenced by a more “romantic and popular version of the Indian past.”<sup>51</sup> With membership and even leadership open to both Indians and whites, “its primary purposes were fraternal and social rather than reformist and political.” One of the earliest examples was the Teepee Order of America, originally established as a NYC youth group in 1915 and which later became an adult movement (Figure 5).<sup>52</sup> A “blend of Indian ceremonials, the [Improved Order of the] Red Man, Freemasonry, Boy Scouting, Christianity, and old-fashioned American hokum,” this organization “offered something for everyone” and there were great variation in its branches, some emphasizing ritual and others not. It flourished in cities, and included members from many tribes, including those unsure of their tribal origins, so “the branches were almost avoidably Pan-Indian.”<sup>53</sup>

The Teepee Order of America, “was probably the most active of the national fraternal Pan-Indian bodies in the twenties” though there were other, mostly short-lived organizations, such as the veterans’ organization American Indians of the World War located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the Chicago Grand Council Fire of the American Indians (later known as the Indian Council Fire). The latter, which had a longer “staying power” than many of the others, was interested in, among other things, reviving and transmitting Indian faith, customs, and

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<sup>49</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 236.

<sup>50</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 213.

<sup>51</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 235.

<sup>52</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 213.

<sup>53</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 226.

traditions, and supporting Indian education. It “combined elements of fraternal and reform Pan-Indianism,” though it emphasized more “fraternal and educational matters than reform issues,” and advocated for the improvement of Indian school systems, raised money for scholarships, petitioned for better treatment of Indians in textbooks, assisted ill and needy Indians, sent clothing and other items to reservations, and “sponsored social activities and dances in the Chicago area.”<sup>54</sup> Through the “desire of many urban Indians to identify themselves as Indians,” by the nineteen-thirties “fraternal Pan-Indianism could be clearly identified and had emerged as a continuing force in American Indian life.”<sup>55</sup>

Lastly, there was a third type of Pan-Indian movement known as religious Pan-Indianism. This was the peyote cult, which became “the most significant and widespread Pan-Indian religion of twentieth century America.” Unlike reform Pan-Indianism, led by educated, middle-class Indians who left the reservation, and fraternal Pan-Indianism, “the organizational expression of humbler Indians who had moved to towns and cities,” the “peyote faith was the Pan-Indianism of the reservation,” beginning before either of the other two movements, “involving the largest number of active participants,” and “was the most strongly Indian.”

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<sup>54</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 231-233.

<sup>55</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 234-236.





Peyote, a small hallucinogenic cactus, was used in pre-Columban religious rituals in Mexico, and around 1870 it started to appear in the United States. The religion then became a Pan-Indian, societal, rather than tribal, religion and spread around the United States as the Ghost Dance messianic movement of the 1880s and 1890s declined. Variations of the peyote religion occurred, with some featuring more Christian ideas and elements than others.<sup>56</sup> The peyote faith was very flexible, “adapting itself to particular local and tribal conditions while maintaining its Pan-Indian character.”<sup>57</sup> All peyote faith groups, though, did share some basic beliefs and rituals, such as the gathering of worshippers on Saturday nights to Sunday at dawn, with the ceremonies led by leaders known as “road chiefs” who were assisted by “drummers” and “fire chiefs.” The ceremonies used “special religious objects” and featured singing, drumming, praying, and eating peyote buttons; unlike most other tribal religions there was no dancing. Members of the peyote faith believed that, as “the White Christian absorbs that [Holy] Spirit by means of sacramental bread and wine,” “by eating the sacramental peyote the Indian absorbs God’s spirit,” which could cure the sick (Figure 6).<sup>58</sup>

Though popular, it was, however, disliked by traditional tribal religions, Christian churches, which viewed it as pagan, and the Indian Bureau, which saw it as “a barrier to the civilizing process” and “a disquieting if not dangerous form of independent Indian activity.” As it featured the use of peyote, seen as a drug, the religion “aroused...fears and hostilities” during the prohibition era, as peyote was linked with alcohol and alcoholism, and some, like the SAI, opposed the religion due to “genuine conviction that peyote was a serious danger to Indian health

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<sup>56</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 240-241.

<sup>57</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 250.

<sup>58</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 250-251.

and morals”; though the SAI also disliked the religion and even supported the outlaw of peyote due to the influence of white reformers and clergy.



Figure 6. Peyote buttons seized by Arcata CA Police. Public Domain.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peyote\\_buttons\\_seized\\_by\\_Arcata\\_CA\\_Police.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peyote_buttons_seized_by_Arcata_CA_Police.jpg).

Therefore, to ensure protection under religious freedom, the peyote religion “adapted itself to the church model” and peyote groups incorporated themselves, with the Oklahoma Native American church leading the way in 1918. As such, “the anti-peyote drive served not the discourage the religion, but rather force it into a more stable and permanent organizational form.”<sup>59</sup>

After an anti-peyote high of 1923-1924, criticism began to die down, as “new forces of reform...were committed to the protection of all Indian religions including the peyote religion,” “there was less national interest in restrictive legislation than had existed in the years

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<sup>59</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 239-240, 253, 272-274.

immediately following World War I,” and “prohibitionist fever...was melting away.”<sup>60</sup> The peyote faith continued to grow, due to many factors, such as “the weaking of the old tribal religions and the influence of Christianity,” and “the peyote cult’s identity as a Pan-Indian rather than a trial or white man’s religion,” which allowed peyotists to express an idea of “Indian brotherhood.” Other reasons included the curing of alcoholism through the peyote faith, which appealed to not just individuals but communities,” the peyote religion as a “social as well as religious force” that was an opportunity for socializing, “improved communication and transportation allowing for travel, intertribal visitation, spreading the faith through personal contact, and the easier ability to get peyote buttons,” and as an Indian religion, it was something that Indians “could take pride in” and which “linked them with an Indian past but could function in the new and changed Indian present.” The attack on the religion also meant that it became a stabilized and stronger religion and during the New Deal it gained support from new, more influential reformers that further allowed the religion to grow. In fact, “by 1934 the peyote religion had indeed become the traditional religious faith of many Indians” and “as the most important Pan-Indian movement in the United States it continued to gain new adherents.”<sup>61</sup>

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act, forming the Indian New Deal, was passed, “which represented as a fundamental a change in Indian policy as the General Allotment or Dawes Act of 1887” and therefore caused the Pan-Indian movements to develop and change.<sup>62</sup> A new national reform Pan-Indian organization called the National Congress of American Indians arose in 1944, emerging as “many domestic reforms, including Indian reforms, languished” during World War II; this, along with the SAI, were “the two major Pan-Indian movements of

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<sup>60</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 275.

<sup>61</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 281-284.

<sup>62</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 287.



the twentieth century.” As the Indian New Deal caused a “break with governmental policies of the past,” which made past reform Pan-Indian organizations seem “irrelevant,” there was not direct connection between the National Congress and the SAI. Compared to the SAI, the National Congress “differed radically” due to its tribal emphasis as influenced by the Indian New Deal. Yet, there were similarities, such as leadership by prominent, educated, and professional Indians and anthropologists. As with the SAI, the National Congress also debated the role of Indian Bureau employees, gave legal aid, advocated for legislative items, had publications, and was non-partisan.<sup>63</sup> Fraternal Pan-Indianism continued to do well through local clubs, rarely being national in scale, especially as urbanization and Indian migration increasingly occurred after World War II.<sup>64</sup> Lastly, religious Pan-Indianism remained “the most stable” and kept its historical continuity. The Native American Church continued to be “a reservation-based, rural church, a loose federation of local, denominational, and state affiliates emphasizing many but not peyote groups” that continued its church activities and fighting anti-peyote efforts, benefiting from the toleration from the Indian New Deal.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 209, 289-291, 298.

<sup>64</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 293.

<sup>65</sup> Hertzberg, *The Search For An American Indian Identity*, 294.

## Life of Zitkala-Ša



Figure 7. Photograph of Zitkala-Ša. Blanche Syfret McKnight. "Feminine Descendant Of Great Sitting Bull Works For Her People," *The Evening Star*, December 10, 1936, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1936-12-10/ed-1/seq-59/>.

Zitkala-Ša (Figure 7) was born in the Yankton Agency in Greenwood, Dakota Territory as Gertrude Simmons to Yankton Dakota mother Taté I Yóhi Win (Ellen Simmons) and her third husband Felker, a Frenchman, in the winter of 1875-1876. Her birthdate of February 22, 1876 was recorded in the "unreliable" Yankton census. With her father leaving soon after her birth, if not before, her mother gave her the last name Simmons to erase any memory of the father; this name coming from Ellen Simmons' second husband John Haysting Simmons.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Tadeusz, Lewandowski. *Red Bird, Red Power: The Life and Legacy of Zitkala-Sa* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 18. ProQuest Ebook Central

Gertrude spent her early years living an “idyllic” traditional lifestyle. Then, starting at age 6, she began going to white schools, including two stints at the Quaker-run boarding school White’s Manual Labor Institute in Wabash, Indiana. Caught between her white schooling and Sioux traditional ways, she experienced alienation from her surroundings, which strained her relationship with her mother. Gertrude left the Yankton Agency, where she could not find her place, and returned again to White’s Manual Labor Institute in December 1890. During this second time at White’s, she excelled as a student. She also had school duties, including as a recruiter going to Indian reservations to sign up students, and then later in her last year when the school became insolvent and much of the staff was let go, as a teacher, carer of younger students, and bookkeeper. Gertrude gave a well-received commencement speech at her graduation titled “The Progress of Women,” declaring the importance of granting equal rights to women.<sup>67</sup>

Upon graduating from White’s, Gertrude entered Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana in the fall of 1895. This was against the wishes of her mother who wished her to return home. Although the only Indigenous student at the small Quaker campus, it was “a remarkably tolerant atmosphere” where other Indigenous and Black students had studied before and where the education and dining was co-educational. Taking courses in a wide array of subjects from English to biology to Latin, and playing tennis in her spare time, she was an active and even popular student. Gertrude was a member of the G Clef music club, participating in school recitals on and off campus, and was a member of the Phoenix Society, a literary club, where she played the piano. However, Gertrude would later write that during this time she felt lonely and distant from the white students, and experienced remorse over disobeying her mother.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 18-21.

<sup>68</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 21-23.

While at Earlham College, Gertrude started to make a name for herself. She entered the college's oratory contest in winter 1896 with her retitled commencement speech "Side by Side." Though a female freshman competing against male upperclassmen, she decisively won, her thought, composition, and delivery heavily praised. She was then chosen to represent the college at the statewide oratory competition in March 1896. She decided to rework "Side by Side" into an argument for Indian equality. Despite a very nationalistic, racist, and intolerant atmosphere, she received a "tumultuous ovation" and won second place; a Southern judge angered by her critical illusion to slavery gave her low marks so she did not win. Despite this, newspapers considered her the true winner, though her critiques of white civilization were generally ignored and her manner, skin color and other physical features, and Christian education were much discussed instead. Despite her success and growing recognition, Gertrude entered into a period of ill health, possibly caused by anxiety and stress over her divided loyalty between the white and Indigenous worlds. In April 1896 she spent some time away from campus at a local family's home to recuperate, and though she returned in May to found *Anpao*, the student newspaper, as well in the fall, her frail health, as well as perhaps a desire or need to financially support herself, ended her college career after the sixth trimester.<sup>69</sup>

Unwilling to return to the Yankton Agency, as she felt too ashamed and fearful to receive her mother's criticism, she instead dedicated herself to Indian education. She worked at Richard Henry Pratt's Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, "the most famous Indian boarding school in the country" that "killed the Indian inside." As an Indigenous woman who would have been seen as "tamed" into "a paragon of cultured, submissive Victorian femininity," she was swiftly sent to Yankton Agency to recruit new students. While there, she discovered

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<sup>69</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 23-25; 27

much deprivation, with her mother living miserably and alone in “a dilapidated, drafty home” and the reservation “inundated with squatters,” the Yanktons having to lease lands to white people to make a living and suffering a great deal of death due to European diseases. Upon returning to Carlisle, she taught music, engaged in numerous activities such as leading the glee club, and developed many relationships, though the school’s ideology conflicted with her increasing opposition to white education. One such relationship was with Thomas Marshall, a fellow White’s Manual Labor Institute’s alum who was enrolled at Dickinson College in Carlisle; they became engaged in late fall 1898.<sup>70</sup>

In early 1899, leaving Thomas behind in Pennsylvania, Gertrude went to Boston to study the violin, training privately with eminent violinist Eugene Gruenberg, who taught at the New England Conservatory of Music. While never able to meet the standards to be accepted into the Conservancy, Gertrude did “attain superior proficiency.” Sadly, Thomas died in April 1899 of measles. Gertrude, having established herself within the city’s elite, was motivated by his death so far from home to reflect on her own experience enduring moving away from home and began to write of her life and experiences. Written under a new chosen name, Zitkala-Ša, so that she’d be recognized as an Indian, her series of works, entitled “Impressions of an Indian Childhood,” “The School Days of an Indian Girl,” and “An Indian Teacher among Indians” were published in the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine from January to March 1900. With the publication of this trilogy, Zitkala-Ša became the first Indigenous woman to write about her own life without an editor, ethnographer, or interpreter. However, her message was ignored or criticized, with the focus of reviews being Zitkala-Ša as a “civilized savage.”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 29-34.

<sup>71</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 34-44

Despite the tensions at Carlisle caused by her writings, Zitkala-Ša returned back in early March 1900 to take part in the planned Northeast tour of the Carlisle Indian School Band. During this tour, the band performed, among other items, a recitation of “The Famine” from Longfellow’s *Song of Hiawatha*. Zitkala-Ša herself had violin solos and wore buckskin for the performance of “The Famine.” She was heavily praised for her performance, even receiving “a large bunch of beautiful English violets” from first lady Ida KcKinley after a command performance at the White House. Although tensions continued at Carlisle over her work and her criticism of Indian boarding schools, Zitkala-Ša had her first fictional work, “The Soft-Hearted Sioux,” published in the March 1901 edition of *Harper’s Monthly*. This was not received well at Carlisle, especially by Richard Henry Pratt, but far from halting her writing it only furthered her resolve to keep going. She expressed such resolutions to Dr. Carlos Montezuma, an Indigenous man who was the Carlisle band’s doctor during the tour. They became engaged in spring 1901, but the engagement was strained when Zitkala-Ša returned to the Yankton Reservation to care for her mother in the Greenwood part of the Wahehe Township in Charles County and Carlos resisted leaving his practice in Chicago to move to South Dakota.<sup>72</sup>

While at the Yankton reservation Zitkala-Ša reunited with Raymond Bonnin, who she had known as a fellow student at White’s Institute. They shared much in common, as Bonnin was also of mixed lineage and had been educated in a boarding school before becoming a prominent member of the community. A clerk at the Indian Service, he had attended the Haskell Institute in Kansas from 1896 to 1898 before returning to claim an allotment and work to better the treatment of Indigenous people and protect their cultural traditions. Though Zitkala-Ša and

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<sup>72</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 46-51, 52, 55-56; United States of America, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1900* Charles Mix County, Wahehe Township, Enumeration Precinct 82, Sheet 14, <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/69746438:7602>.

Raymond grew close, Zitkala-Ša accepted an engagement ring from Dr. Montezuma. Despite this drama in her personal life, she continued to write; *Old Indian Legends*, a collection of stories commissioned by Boston publisher Ginn & Company, was published in 1901, and “The Trial Path,” a short story, appeared in *Harper’s Monthly* in October 1901.<sup>73</sup>

Zitkala-Ša warned Montezuma about his competition in Raymond Bonnin. Without any willingness to compromise in terms of location, especially as she cared for her mother and worked at the Crow Creek Agency School, or in participation in white American society (she wanted to stay out of white American society due to its treatment of Indians), their relationship became tumultuous. Her writing continued during this period, releasing “A Warrior’s Daughter” in *Everybody’s Magazine* in April 1902. Then, tired of fighting with Montezuma, she and Raymond Bonnin married in a civil ceremony on May 10, 1902, and her relationship with Montezuma was heavily damaged for the next ten years. She continued to write, publishing “Why I am a Pagan” in the December 1902 edition of *Atlantic Monthly*, a piece criticizing Christianity, preaching the superiority of the Native religion, rejecting full assimilation into American society, and arguing for the preservation of traditional ways and empowerment of Indian people, especially women. This same month, Raymond Bonin received a new post at the Office of Indian Affairs at the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah, and the Bonnins traveled west.<sup>74</sup>

A place of poverty, violence, and rebellion, the Bonnins’ time at the Uintah reservation was a trial that tested Zitkala-Ša’s commitment. On May 28, 1903, she gave birth to her only child, a son named Ohiya “Raymond” Bonnin. Living in Whiterocks, she tried to work at the

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<sup>73</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 56-57.

<sup>74</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 57, 59-61, 64.

government-run Uintah Boarding School there, but was rebuffed. Undeterred, she found an abandoned collection of musical instruments and formed a children's band, while giving basket-weaving courses and lecturing on hygiene to the older population. She was finally hired in 1905. Raymond Bonnin, as an agent responsible for buying provisions for the Ute people, challenged the white suppliers when they overcharged the tribe. As a couple, Raymond and Zitkala-Ša's collected family histories from the various Ute bands, advised regarding treaties, and handled correspondence between the Ute and the federal government. They also took in an orphaned Ute boy named Oran Curry and an elderly homeless Sioux man named Bad Hand or Old Sioux. Although Zitkala-Ša still had an offer to write for Ginn & Company, the only writing she published during this time was "Shooting of the Red Eagle" in Haskell Institute's *Indian Leader* student newspaper in 1904. Living in a modest home, there was little of the art and culture she experienced in her twenties, and the Ute culture was foreign to her. Therefore, due to her taste and education, she gravitated towards the Mormons, who were tolerant of the Indians and more familiar to her. While not ever converting to Mormonism, she participated in events organized by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. She also became an Indian Service clerk in 1907. In 1909 Raymond Bonnin became school superintendent of the now-Episcopalian run Uintah Boarding School, but due to racist attitudes, disorder, and bureaucracy, quit the Indian Service in fall 1909 and the family moved to Standing Rock Reservation in the Dakotas, where Zitkala-Ša worked at the headquarters of the reservation, Fort Yates, as an issue clerk.<sup>75</sup>

While at Fort Yates, Zitkala-Ša became involved with the long-established Benedictine mission there. Witnessing "the wonderful work" done by the nuns and priests, her formerly negative attitude towards Christianity "was converted;" the Catholic Church in the early

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<sup>75</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 66-69.



twentieth century opposed much federal Indian policy and the Church also enabled her to gain a powerful ally, Fr. William H. Ketcham, the director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and a member of the Board of Catholic Indian Commissioners. Although the Bonnin family was likely happy at Standing Rock, being among Catholics and Indians (Raymond Bonnin had been born and baptized a Catholic, though not practicing), and Zitkala-Ša was successful at her job, the family moved back to Utah in Spring 1910, possibly to avoid abandoning a claim on which they planned to build a ranch.<sup>76</sup>

While back in Utah, she began a new mission of converting the Ute people to Catholicism, asking for help from Fr. Ketcham and other clergy leaders. Though she expressed dismay that the Ute people practiced the Sun Dance in letters to Fr. Ketcham and another Standing Rock Catholic priest, Fr. Martin, she attended such rituals and in 1913 she composed an opera based on the dance, *The Sun Dance Opera*, with Mormon composer William F. Hanson. Raymond Bonnin had a position as a clerk at the agency office in Whiterock, eight miles from their ranch. He lost this job briefly after the Indian Office said that Zitkala-Ša had not been eligible to buy forty acres of reservation land she bought in early 1912 (though the sale went through), and gave an ultimatum that either he lose his job or they give back the land, losing money in the process. Through the intervention of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Raymond was reinstated to his position.<sup>77</sup>

In February 1913, the Bonnins moved to Fort Duchesne, where Raymond worked as a property clerk at the new agency and Zitkala-Ša was allowed to help him. However, the Bonnins greatly desired to move out of Utah, as Zitkala-Ša wanted Ohiya to be educated at a Catholic

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<sup>76</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 69-70.

<sup>77</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 70-72, 76-77.

school. During this time, their marriage became strained due to her frequent absences to work on *The Sun Dance Opera*, and a developing friendship with Asa Chapman, a former Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) clerk who was often a guest at their home; Raymond “clearly felt like he was losing his wife.”<sup>78</sup> After a loud quarrel between Zitkala-Ša and Raymond, she and Ohiya moved to a neighbor’s house, and after the matter became public in the BIA the humiliation caused her to reach out to Fr. Ketcham and to leave with her son to stay with an old friend in Westerville, Ohio. During this time, she reached out to Dr. Carlos Montezuma and rekindled their friendship.<sup>79</sup>

Feeling dissatisfaction with domesticity and reservation life, a hatred towards “this eternal tug of war between being wild and being civilized” that kept her “in a continual Purgatory,” and a desire to accomplish greater things, Zitkala-Ša studied piano at Otterbein University in Ohio and enrolled Ohiya in the Benedictine boarding school Spalding Institute for Small Boys in Nauvoo, Illinois. Despite desiring a great deal of freedom and ambition to pursue greater commitments, such as attending meetings of Montezuma’s relatively new association the Society of American Indians (SAI), Zitkala-Ša returned back to Utah to fulfil her domestic duties.<sup>80</sup>

In 1914, Zitkala-Ša joined the SAI’s advisory board. Then, at the end of the year, her mother died, and a little more than a week later Raymond’s father died. After recovering from those deaths, Zitkala-Ša, with permission, used an empty warehouse at Fort Duchesne to create a Ute community center, where she formed a popular female sewing group and a successful lunch program that she funded herself. In the SAI, she advanced through the hierarchy, joining the

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<sup>78</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 96-97.

<sup>79</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 97-98.

<sup>80</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 98-99.

board of the *Quarterly Journal* in 1915 and then becoming an editor. She “was firmly in vanguard of the Native Rights movement” by early 1916. She was also publishing again, with a poem called “The Indian’s Awakening” appearing in the renamed journal the *American Indian Magazine*. Having stopped using the Zitkala-Ša for the past decade, she again became using it with this poem, which was “reminiscent” of “Why I am a Pagan” and expressed “veneration of the old ways” and “romanticized accounts of Indian heritage” that set her apart from the others in SAI, who had “general progressive, assimilationist goals.” Yet, though she criticized the white man’s culture, she also criticized the use of peyote, a hallucinogenic small, spineless cactus, based on its effects on crime and infant morality rates and “the moral and physical degeneracy” it caused. On top of her work at the community center she lectured throughout the West to stop the spread of Peyotism, the new Native American religion that combined traditional Native American beliefs and Christianity and used peyote. The General Federation of Women’s Clubs published a pamphlet against peyote written by Zitkala-Ša called “The Menace of Peyote” and the *American Indian Magazine* published her poem “The Red Man’s America” to argue for a federal ban of peyote.<sup>81</sup>

At the 1916 SAI meeting Zitkala-Ša was elected secretary, while her friend Arthur C. Parker was elected president. However, despite having many ideas and zeal she struggled to make progress, as the SAI itself was struggling with factionalism and thus finances. In the family’s personal life in Utah, there was “an awful climax in a series of nasty affronts,” caused by the attitude and behavior of the Kneales; Agent Kneale was superintendent of the Uintah reservation and he and his family shared a government house with the Bonnins. Frustrated, disheartened, and thwarted, the Bonnins, including Ohiya who had returned from the boarding

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<sup>81</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 102-103, 105-108, 113

school, decided to move to Washington, D.C. in 1916, where Zitkala-Ša could better fulfill her secretarial role with the SAI.<sup>82</sup>

In Washington, D.C., where she established the second SAI office at her home at 707 20<sup>th</sup> Street, she “became a prominent player in the reform movement.”<sup>83</sup> However, the transition to D.C. was initially difficult, due to conflicts with SAI treasurer Marie Baldwin over making a new office and views on abolishing the Indian Bureau. SAI president Parker sided with Zitkala-Ša, and in 1918 Zitkala-Ša became the organization’s secretary-treasurer.<sup>84</sup>

The late 1910s had not just been a time of conflict for Zitkala-Ša, but for the entire world, with the commencement of World War 1. Despite the acrimonious history between Indian tribes and the American government, there was no large resistance to the World War I draft and many Indigenous men volunteered, due to patriotism, economic benefits, assimilation, pride, and warrior traditions. Raymond Bonnin willingly enlisted at Fort Myers, Arlington in March 1917. After a year completing officers training camp, he became a second lieutenant. Too old to be sent overseas, he served in the Food Provisions Unit at the Quarter Master Corps in D.C., and was honorably discharged two years later as a captain.<sup>85</sup>

During the late 1910s, Zitkala-Ša continued to protest and lobby against peyote, successfully persuading organizations to sponsor anti-peyote bills that became laws. To generate interest and get attention that she could then use to advance her causes, she gave piano recitals and speeches in her “tribal mélange” of Indian clothing and accessories. In February 1918, the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs started hearings on a bill that would expand liquor laws to also include peyote. As an activist and SAI secretary-treasurer, Zitkala-Ša was called to

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<sup>82</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 113, 115-118.

<sup>83</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 119-120.

<sup>84</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 120, 122-123.

<sup>85</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 125-126.

testify. Her testimony, as well as others advocating against peyote, was well received, and in May 1918 the subcommittee released a report recommending a ban. Although numerous bills passed the House they never passed in the Senate. However, in part due to her lobbying thirteen states did pass laws against peyote.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to her anti-peyote crusade, she also continued to criticize the wrongs the government and white civilization had committed against the Indians, desiring abolition of the Indian Bureau and granting of full U.S. citizenship to Indians. However, while she lectured up and down the East Coast, white audiences objectified her instead of listening to and understanding her. Yet, she continued to publish a series of articles in 1918-1919 in SAI's *American Indian Magazine*, using the end of World War I and the official democratic messages coming out around then to highlight the ill-treatment of Indians and hypocrisy of the U.S. Despite her having influence and a public profile, pro-Peyotism leadership assumed command of the SAI in 1919, and she resigned from the organization. Marred by ineffectiveness and infighting, the SAI dissolved in 1923.<sup>87</sup>

Despite her resignation, the Bonnins stayed in the Washington area and Zitkala-Ša chose to focus again on her writing career. Her book *American Indian Stories*, a compilation of her writings, was published in 1921. She was also making some headway in reaching white audiences, with some textbooks including her stories and with her being invited to speak to young audiences about the book. She also released the pamphlet *Americanize the First American: A Plan of Regeneration* in 1921, arguing for steps towards Indian-self determination. This same year, a “real breakthrough” occurred in June, when she was a guest speaker at the

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<sup>86</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 134-136, 142-144, 146.

<sup>87</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 150-151, 156

General Federation of Women's Clubs' (GFWC) biannual conference. Her speech caused the GFWC to resolve to work for Indian rights and protect Indian property through investigating injustices and lobbying politicians. The movement to gain Indians citizenship had gained an important partner.<sup>88</sup>

After this, she worked with the GFWC as a lecturer as well as with the National Indian Welfare Committee as a researcher; this latter position caused her to travel to California to investigate the conditions of the Indians there and raise awareness about their plight. She then toured the Southern states to argue to women's clubs for Indian citizenship and lectured in the Midwest, before going to Oklahoma with a few others to interview victims of human rights abuses and travesties, investigate other cases, and publish the findings in a pamphlet. Meanwhile, her husband, after leaving the military, enrolled in George Washington University's law school in 1921. He became a clerk at a law firm, which gave him legal experience, while also representing Indian claims before the House and Senate and reviewing past treaties.<sup>89</sup>

Indians finally gained citizenship in May 1924, through the Indian Citizenship Act (ICA). Although it was their war service that was the catalyst for this bill, Zitkala-Ša and other reformers played "a smaller but significant part in helping to formulate arguments and generate political interest in the issue." However, the ICA did have deficiencies, so Zitkala-Ša continued to be an activist. Her Oklahoma investigations increased her fame, and she gave many lectures in front of women's groups as "Princess Zitkala-Ša" wearing Native dress (there was a long-standing false belief, one that Zitkala-Ša likely created herself for promotional reasons, that she was the descendant of Chief Sitting Bull). While doing her own independent activism, she also

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<sup>88</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 157, 159-160,

<sup>89</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 163-164, 167,

became a board member of the American Indian Defense Association.<sup>90</sup> In November 1925, the Bonnins moved to 261 North Barton Street in Arlington, Virginia.<sup>91</sup>

On February 27, 1926, she founded a new advocacy group, the National Council of American Indians (NCAI) (Figure 8). She long thought women should lead the fight, and making herself president of the NCAI she acted on this belief. Raymond, who completed his law studies in 1926 but never took the bar exam, became the organization's secretary, treasurer, and legal counsel. His salary from being a law clerk allowed them to rent office space in the Bliss Building in D.C., the location of the Indian Bureau and the American Indian Defense Association. As NCAI president, Zitkala-Ša was involved in "petitioning Congress to enforced recently codified rights" and criticizing and helping to unseat congressmen hostile to Indians.<sup>92</sup>

In 1926, the Bonnins traveled across Oklahoma and South Dakota to gather information about the issues faced by residents of Indian reservations, while in 1927 they did the same in California, Arizona, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Utah. They would later testify about their findings in front of Congress. In 1927 they created an "Information Service Program" in an effort to develop an Indian voting bloc and influence policy. This never happened, though NCAI was still successful. In 1928, Raymond was appointed to be an investigator by the Senate Committee of Indian Affairs, visiting reservations all across the country in preparation for visiting delegations of senators. NCAI lead initiatives to expose corruption and abuses, and also began publishing the *Indian Newsletter* in 1929. Each newsletter "pointed out specific injustices, answered letters, summarized bills before Congress, informed readers of their rights, and

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<sup>90</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 171, 173, 175 13, 136

<sup>91</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1925, Liber 231, Page 579.

<sup>92</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 176-178.

encouraged organizing and solidarity.” The core of the NCAI’s mission was the “support for the meaningful exercise of citizenship rights and opposition to the corrupt BIA system.”<sup>93</sup>



Figure 8. "Members of the National Council of American Indians Take Part in Ceremony at Unveiling of Statue of the Great Sitting Bull." Washington, D.C., 9 March 1926. With holograph, "To Miss Julia A. Thorns(?), With love-- Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Bonnin)." National Council of American Indians records. BYU Special Collections.

Zitkala-Ša, in writings and in speeches, “constantly returned to the shaming tactic of rhetorically contrasting American ideals with American Indian realities in order to gain sympathy and spur reform.”<sup>94</sup> As “the best-known female Indian leader in the United States,” she discussed policy plans regarding the “Indian New Deal” called the Indian Reorganization Act

<sup>93</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 178-179

<sup>94</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 179.



(IRA) of 1934 with commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. However, tensions grew between them after she was not chosen to be part of his “brains trust.”<sup>95</sup> In 1935, the NCAI blocked Collier’s attempts to enforce IRA provisions in the Yankton Agency by persuading voters to vote against a government-approved constitution that the NCAI thought came about due to the “collusion” of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and those Indians who did not yet have allotments. Though successful at blocking this constitution, the Bonnins own proposed constitution was also rejected. Debate over a new constitution continued until 1938, when Collier stopped trying to get the government-approved constitution passed. Due to the impasse that occurred over the constitution fight, the Yankton Agency would be a subagency under nearby Rosebud until 1963.<sup>96</sup>

Due to declining health and finances, the 1935 constitution battle was Zitkala-Ša’s last fight. The Washington NCAI office closed in 1934, as the Great Depression and low membership income could not sustain the Bonnins or their activism. All of the NCAI’s records now resided at their home office at the Bonnin’s Arlington home at 261 North Barton. Though continuing to do NCAI work, the Bonnins’ main source of income was from their adopted son Oran Curry, who was able to have Raymond become the Uintah-Ouray Reservation’s legal agent. Like his parents, their biological son, Ohiya, was also struggling, as an unemployed married father of four with diabetes.<sup>97</sup>

Zitkala-Ša died on January 26, 1938 of cardiac dilation and kidney disease, having been admitted the previous day to Georgetown Hospital after her health failed and she fell into a coma. Her funeral, organized by friend and fellow Indian Rights activist Ernest L. Wilkinson and

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<sup>95</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 182.

<sup>96</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 182-183.

<sup>97</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 183, 185.

Mormon friends from Utah, was held at the Washington, D.C. Mormon Temple. As the wife of an Army captain, she was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>98</sup> Raymond would be buried beside her a few years later, after dying on September 24, 1942 from a heart attack at Mount Alto Hospital.<sup>99</sup> Their son Ohiya predeceased his father, dying in 1939 and leaving behind his wife Elsa and their four children.<sup>100</sup>

## **Property and Site History**

As stated previously, Lyon Park was developed by the Lyon & Fitch Corporation. Frank Lyon purchased the land in Clarendon, Arlington that became Section Five of “Moore’s Addition to Clarendon” from Osborn Investment Company Inc. in July 1920.<sup>101</sup> This land was platted in March 1921, including lot 804 (later 261 North Barton) (Figure 9).<sup>102</sup>

Lloyd L. and Bernice M. Clair purchased lot 804 from Lyon & Fitch, Incorporated, in October 1924. The deed included numerous covenants:

1. The property shall not be used for the conducting of any business.
2. No dwelling costing less than \$4000.00 shall be constructed on the property.
3. No two-family houses or apartments shall be erected on the property prior to December 31, 1930.
4. All dwellings and business houses shall be erected within the building lines as indicated on the plat of this subdivision.
5. All outbuildings shall be at least 50 feet from the front line of the lot and at least 15 feet from any side street.
6. Neither said property nor any part thereof nor any interest within shall be sold or leased to any one not of the Caucasian Race, for a period of ninety-nine years from September 30, 1924.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 187-188

<sup>99</sup> “R.T. Bonnin Rites Today; Agent for Ute Indians,” *Evening Star*, September 26, 1942, Page A-10, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1942-09-26/ed-1/seq-12>.

<sup>100</sup> Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 188.

<sup>101</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1920, Liber 170, Page 455

<sup>102</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1921, Liber 74, Page 152

<sup>103</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1924, Liber 212, Page 271

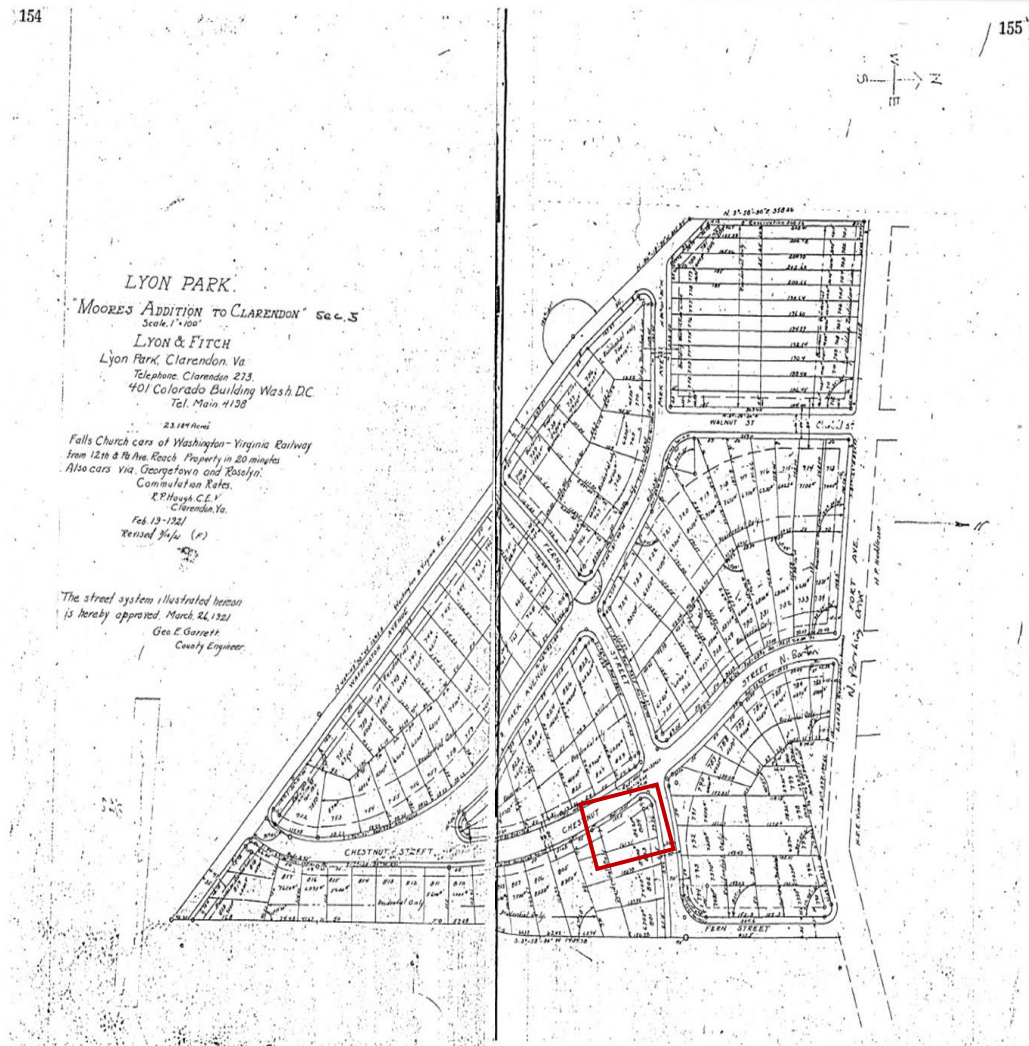


Figure 9. Plat map of Section 5 of "Moore's Addition to Clarendon." Deed book 174, pages 154-155.

The houses in Lyon Park were built by either developers Lyon and Fitch or by the owners, with all the building plans having to be approved by the architects of the firm, so that the buildings of Lyon Park are "of the best type and material and workmanship that the arts commands" as the "future [of Lyon Park] depends upon the character of the homes to be erected."<sup>104</sup> Based on the appearance of the house and garage in the 1925 Arlington land tax records (Figure 10), but not in the preceding two years, the house and garage at 261 North

<sup>104</sup> Office of Lyon & Fitch, "Lyon Park," Pamphlet, c.1920, 21-22.

Barton were constructed between February 1, 1924, when commissioners were tasked with commencing the 1924 survey of real estate, and August 31, 1925, when the auditor of public accounts received the 1925 records.<sup>105</sup> The recordation of a mortgage on January 15, 1925, for the sum of \$4,250 payable to Arundel Mortgage Company, Incorporated, implies that the house was built by or around that time.<sup>106</sup> This sum fits the requirements that were listed in the deed.

WHITE														
The Commissioner of the Revenue will be careful to list only the WHITE land owners on this sheet														
Fair Market Value of Tracts of Land, Standing Timber Trees, Buildings, Improvements, Machinery and Fixtures for the Year 1925														
In Arlington County, in Arlington Magisterial District, Harry E. Green, Commissioner of the Revenue														
Assessed with Taxes thereon, at 25 cents on every \$100 value thereof														
NAME OF PERSON Who by himself or by his agent has the fee- hold in possession of the land assessed.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE (Give P. O. address if possible held in fee for life)	NAME OF THE TRACT (If the tract is in water, give name of water, and place on or near which it lies.)	Distance and bearing from corner to each tract.	Number of Acres in each tract.	Area of land in acres.	Value of land in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	Value of buildings in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	Value of improvements in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	Value of machinery in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	Value of fixtures in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	Value of stock in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	Value of other property in dollars (on basis of 100 acres = \$100)	STATE TAXES Assessed for 1925 on basis of 1924 assessment	Explanations of entries, showing reasons for same, and when the owner derives title and value therefrom, state thereby any altered value.
1 Chase Agnes G.	Arlington Co.	See 9.10 Rk 15 Carlin				100		100	000				900	5 28 1
2 Chase George A.	"	118-121 Rk "P" Buckers		1		300		300	1 250				1 800	3 00 2
3 Chase Lawrence J. et al	"	54-55 Rk "P" Buckers		1		200		200	500				700	1 75 3
4 Chase Lawrence J. et al	"	56-57 Rk "P" Buckers		1		80		80					80	20 4
5 Chauncey Edwin R. et al	"	16 S. Rk 13 Carlin		1		100		100	750				900	2 25 5
6 Chauncey Ida. S.	"	5-12 Rk 6 Gen Ballston		2		320		320	800				1 120	2 80 6
7 Cheatham Bessie S.	"	See 13-14 Arlington Plateau		1		180		180					180	45 7
8 Cherry Beverly Y. et ux.	"	13-14 Arlington Plateau		3		60		60	1 400				1 460	3 65 8
9 Cheving Verman E.	"	Mr. Col Pike		3	1.00	250		250					250	63 9
10 Cheving Verman E. et ux.	"	Mr. Col Pike		3	8.00	250		1 250					1 250	3 12 10
11 Childs Caroline	"	1-3 Rk 13 Carlin		3		150		100	700				850	2 12 11
12 Childs Stephen E. et ux.	"	71 Lts. 2-3-4 10-16-17		1		200		200	1 400				1 600	4 00 12
13 Chilton Effie F.	"	14 Rk 17 Carlin		3		80		80					50	12 13
14 Chilton Alice F.	"	10-16 Rk 17 Carlin		3		200		200					200	25 14
15 Chisholm Henry Clay et al	"	12-13 Rk 20 Ft. Myer Rte		1		200		200					200	50 15
16 Chisholm Ralph G.	"	31-32 Rk 6 Gen Air		2		80		80					80	20 16
17 Chisholm Wm. L. et al	"	See 27-29 Buckers Add		1		300		300	1 500				1 730	4 33 17
18 Christ Carl B.	"	See 3-4-7-8 Rk 2 Col Fless		3		400		400	1 200				1 600	3 75 18
19 Christensen J. W.	"	18-11-12-13 Rk 7		1		900		900	1 800				2 700	6 75 19
20 Christian Bessie	"	Roselyn		1	7.102	600		4 260	1 500				5 260	15 12 20
21 Christian Anna S.	"	See 1-2 Rk 25 Ft. Myer Rte.		1		300		300	1 500				2 000	7 50 21
22 Church M. E.	"	See 3 Rk 1 Roselyn		1		1 500		1 500	1 500				3 500	7 50 22
23 Church M. E.	"	Waycroft		2	2.436	500		1 250	2 600				3 320	9 00 23
24 Churcher William	"	See 56-61 Richmond		2		240		240					240	60 24
25 Churcher William	"	See 62-64 Richmond		2		120		120					120	50 25
26 Clays Fred	"	6-7 Rk 10 Carlin		3		120		120	300				420	1 05 26
27 Clays Fred	"	1 Rk 10 Carlin		3		60		60	1 000				1 060	2 60 27
28 Clays Frederick	"	4-5 Rk 14 Carlin		3		80		80					80	20 28
29 Clagett Marshall B. et ux.	"	1048 Sec 7 Lyon Park		1		80		80	1 800				1 880	4 70 29
30 Clair Lloyd L. et ux.	"	See 304 Sec 5 Moares		1		120		120	2 200				2 320	5 80 30
31 Clarendon Realty Co. Inc.	"	Clarendon 2450 sq.ft.		1		300		300					300	75 31
32 Clarendon Realty Co. Inc.	"	Clarendon 2450 sq.ft.		1		300		300					300	75 32
33 Clarendon Realty Co. Inc.	"	Clarendon 2450 sq.ft.		1		300		300					300	75 33
34 Clarendon Realty Co. Inc.	"	Clarendon 2450 sq.ft.		1		300		300					300	75 34
35 Clarendon Realty Co. Inc.	"	Clarendon 2450 sq.ft.		1		300		300					300	75 35
36 Clarendon Realty Co. Inc.	"	Clarendon 2450 sq.ft.		1		300		300					300	75 36
TOTALS				17.93	De Net Add	16 200		16 200	23 400				39 700	99 28

Figure 10. Scan of 1925 Arlington Land Tax Records. Commonwealth of Virginia County Land Book, 1925: Arlington (Richmond, Davis Bottom, 1925), 0089.

<sup>105</sup> *Commonwealth of Virginia County Land Book, 1924: Arlington* (Richmond, Davis Bottom, 1924), 0348, 0349, 0491, Microfilm, Library of Virginia, Land Tax Records, Reel 1975.; *Commonwealth of Virginia County Land Book, 1925: Arlington* (Richmond, Davis Bottom, 1925). 0002, 0003, 0083, Microfilm, Library of Virginia, Land Tax Records, Reel 2008.

<sup>106</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1925, Liber 217, Page 122

As per oral tradition from the current homeowners, who were told this by the previous homeowners, the house was built by a pair of police officers using salvaged elements from other structures. The current homeowners themselves have seen the reused materials, which, according to them, include hewn stone under the front porch that appeared to be from a bridge and an I-beam in the center of the house which had wide holes burned into it.<sup>107</sup> A policeman named Lloyd L. Clair was listed in the 1924 Washington, D.C. city directory, and again in the directory in 1926, though at a different address.<sup>108</sup> It is likely this was the same Lloyd L. Clair who purchased the property. Lloyd L. Clair, a white man born around 1896 in Maryland, appeared in the 1930 census in Washington, D.C. as a building carpenter and then again in 1940 as a policeman. He lived with his wife, Bernice M. Clair, born about 1904 in Maryland; son Lloyd L. Clair, Jr., born about 1921; and daughters Martha L. and Virginia L. Clair, born about 1922 and 1925, respectively.<sup>109</sup> This supports the oral tradition of policemen building the house, and Lloyd Clair's background as a carpenter further confirms the story. It is unknown, though if the Clairs ever lived at the property once the house was built.

The house originally had a center hall, which would have been atypical for an early twentieth-century bungalow. The typical bungalow plan from 1900-1940 had the living room, dining room, and kitchen (in that order) on one side of the home and the bedrooms and bathroom

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<sup>107</sup> Meeting with homeowners at 261 North Barton, January 18, 2023.

<sup>108</sup> *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia*, 1924 (Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Co, 1926), <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1028833934:2469>, 442; *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia*, 1926 (Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Co, 1926), <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1159530492:2469>, 420.

<sup>109</sup> United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, 1930, District of Columbia, Washington City, Enumeration district 37, Sheet 13B, <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/121357799:6224>; United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940, District of Columbia, Enumeration district 34, Sheet 12B, <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/995415:2442>.



on the other, with no center hall in between.<sup>110</sup> The dwelling at 261 North Barton does have bedrooms and a bathroom on one side and living room, dining room, and kitchen (in that order), just with a hallway down the middle that began past the living room. This unusual feature, in addition to the reused materials, also gives evidence to the idea that the dwelling 261 North Barton Street is not a kit house, was not built according to standard plan books, and was not built by a professional builder who would have presumably used new materials. Whatever the case, the home at 261 North Barton was approved by the architects at Lyon & Fitch.

According to Arlington County's historic house cards, the original address of the property was 400 South Chestnut. South Chestnut was the prior name of North Barton Street.<sup>111</sup> However, this may not have originally been the orientation of the house based on its design. The northwestern elevation of the house features a full-length porch facing 3<sup>rd</sup> Street North, with a central doorway. This door lines up internally with what was originally the hall; this hallway was blocked off at the end by the time the current homeowners bought the home. These features imply 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, North, which was Fern Street in the 1920s and 1930s, was the street the house was oriented towards, and that the northwestern façade was designed to be the front of the house. Furthermore, as the lot number on the 1921 plat is on the Fern Street (now 3<sup>rd</sup> Street) side of the property, not the Chestnut Street side, this seems to indicate that the developer Frank Lyon considered the side that faced Fern Street was the front of the lot. Yet by 1930, the legal address was 400 Chestnut Street, and by 1936 the house was labeled 261 North Barton Street.<sup>112</sup> There

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<sup>110</sup> Thomas C. Hubka, *How the Working-Class Home Became Modern, 1900-1940* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 117-120.

<sup>111</sup> Historical House Cards. "CPHD - House Cards - 200 block of N BARTON ST - Image #34811" and "CPHD - House Cards - 200 block of N BARTON ST - Image #34812." Arlington County VA, Engineering Department. June 18, 1935. Accessed March 6, 2023.

<sup>112</sup> United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, Arlington County, Lyon Park, Enumeration Precinct 7-11, Sheet 1A. <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/97267668:6224>; Sanborn Map Company. Arlington County 1936, Sheet 23. ProQuest Digital Sanborn Maps.

could be a number of reasons behind changing the front door/façade. Perhaps this was to increase privacy, with the living room, dining room, and kitchen now in the front of the house and the bedrooms and bathroom in the back. Another potential reason could be which street was busier or quieter. A third reason could just be personal preference on how the homeowners wanted to use the house and their preferred circulation.

Zitkala-Ša and Raymond Talefase Bonnin bought the home in November 1925 from the Clairs. The property description, as given in this deed, is this:

All of that certain piece, parcel, lot, or tract of land situate, lying, and being in Arlington County, Virginia, and particularly known and described as all of lot numbered eight hundred and four (804), Section 5, Moore's Additional to Clarendon, as the same is duly platted, dedicated, and recorded in Deed Book 174, at page 152, of the land records of said county...

As the deed of trust (mortgage) made on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1925 by the Clairs was not set to be paid until three years after January 15, the Bonnins also assumed this mortgage and agreed to pay it.<sup>113</sup> The Bonnins took out a deed of trust in November 1925 for \$2250 payable to Sara H. Weir, with the trustees being L. E. Breuninger and Harry R. Thomas.<sup>114</sup> This deed was released in February 1928.<sup>115</sup> Another deed of trust (mortgage) was signed in January of 1928 for the sum of \$4500 payable to the Real Estate Mortgage & Guaranty Corporation. The trustees for this mortgage were Lewis L. Breuninger and Wilmer F. Stickler.<sup>116</sup> This was released in March 1928.<sup>117</sup> In January 1931, the Bonnins put this property in a trust with William A. Kirby and Harry R. Thomas.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1925, Liber 231, Page 579.

<sup>114</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1925, Liber 231, Page 580

<sup>115</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1928, Liber 276, Page 369

<sup>116</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1928, Liber 274, Page 395

<sup>117</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1928, Liber 276, Page 369

<sup>118</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1928, Liber 319, Page 64

Based on a Sanborn Insurance Map from 1935 and a newspaper interview of Zitkala-Ša in 1936, one can get a sense of what the site was like when the Bonnins lived there. The Sanborn Map depicted 261 North Barton as a one-story rectangular stone veneered dwelling with three porches, one full-width and the other two partial-width, topped with composition shingle roofs (Figure 11).<sup>119</sup> The living room was decorated with “many beautiful Indian relics,” such as a pipe and a bag, and its wall decoration consisted of a picture of Sitting Bull and several “brightly-colored” rugs and blankets. “Adjoining the living room” was Zitkala-Ša’s study, whose furnishings consisted of “modern” file cases, an “unobtrusive” desk, a typewriter, and a table.<sup>120</sup>



Figure 11. Sanborn Map Company. Arlington County 1936, Vol. 1, Sheet 23. ProQuest Digital Sanborn Maps.

<sup>119</sup> Sanborn Map Company. Arlington County 1936, Sheet 23. ProQuest Digital Sanborn Maps.

<sup>120</sup>Blanche Syfret McKnight, “Feminine Descendant Of Great Sitting Bull Works For Her People,” *The Evening Star*, December 10, 1936, Accessed September 24, 2022. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1936-12-10/ed-1/seq-59/>.



Zitkala-Ša died in 1938. The house was reroofed with composition shingles in summer 1940.<sup>121</sup> Raymond Bonnin married widow Mrs. Emma J. Whittmore in Utah in November 1940. In addition to 261 North Barton, the couple also had a home in Utah where they would spend a few months out of the year.<sup>122</sup> Raymond died intestate on September 24, 1942.<sup>123</sup>

After Raymond died, the home changed ownership multiple times over the next few years. The property passed to the Bonnin's surviving trustee Harry R. Thomas. After "default was made in the payment of the indebtedness" by the beneficiary of the home, who was Zitkala-Ša and Raymond's grandson Marine Corps officer Raymond O. Bonnin, "in strict conformity with the terms and provisions of the deed of trust," the property was advertised for sale on December 21, 1942 and sold on March 1, 1943. James H. Simmonds was the purchaser, having been the highest bidder at \$3800. He assigned his bid to widow Ruth S. Reed, who complied with the terms of the sale and was able to acquire the property.<sup>124</sup> The home was given a new range and refrigerator while she owned it.<sup>125</sup> Ruth in turn sold it to Bernard C. and Elizabeth F. Tutwiler in November 1943.<sup>126</sup> As soon as they purchased the property, the Tutwilers tried to rent out the fully-furnished home for a year at \$100 a month.<sup>127</sup> Perhaps unsuccessful or seemingly in a hurry, they started advertising the property for sale in December 1943.<sup>128</sup> They

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<sup>121</sup> "Building Permit No. 10267," Arlington County, Virginia, Division of Public Safety, Dept. of Zoning and Building Inspection, May 28, 1940.

<sup>122</sup> "Whittmore-Bonnin," *The Roosevelt Standard*, November 21, 1940, page 8. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/288207465>.

<sup>123</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1942, Liber 609, Page 327

<sup>124</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1942, Liber 609, Page 327

<sup>125</sup> "Arlington-\$8,750. Stone Bungalow." *The Evening Star*, October 03, 1943. Page C-19. Accessed September 24, 2022. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1943-10-03/ed-1/seq-51>.

<sup>126</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1943, Liber 625, Page 517.

<sup>127</sup> "Arlington, 261 North Barton St." *The Evening Star*, November 14, 1943, Page C-17, Image 53. Accessed March 7, 2023. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1943-11-14/ed-1/seq-53/>.

<sup>128</sup> "Arlington, 261 North Barton St." *The Evening Star*, December 12, 1943, Page C-17, Image 54. Accessed March 7, 2023. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1943-12-12/ed-1/seq-54/>.

sold it to Roland R. and Jean M. Mazzei in January 1944.<sup>129</sup> They bought the home as Jean loved stone houses and it was in walking distance to Fort Myer, where Roland was stationed.<sup>130</sup> They had the opportunity to choose if the address would be North Barton Street or 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, and Jean chose it to be North Barton Street.<sup>131</sup>

The Mazzei (or Mazzie) family owned the property for 39 years. Roland, a native of Scranton, Pennsylvania, worked in the Armed Forces (Figure 12). During World War II, he worked in Washington, D.C. at the military district of the War Department and served overseas in Japan, having been trained in field artillery. After the war, he became a master sergeant, and later warrant officer, at the Army Military District in D.C.<sup>132</sup> His wife, Jean Mayhew Brown, a housewife, was a native of Accotink, Virginia.<sup>133</sup> Though Roland and Jean owned the home, numerous other family members lived at the property as well. For example, in 1950, Donna Marie, their five-year-old daughter, lived at the home.<sup>134</sup> Other family members that lived at the home at some point include Diane Fisher, daughter of Jean and stepdaughter to Roland, and her fiancé and future husband Arthur Avery Labadie, as well as Diane's twin brother Donald.<sup>135</sup> Donna Jean (Figure 14), granddaughter of Roland and Jean and daughter of Jean Elaine Beard

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<sup>129</sup> Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1943, Liber 631, Page 135.

<sup>130</sup> Answer by Donna Jean Bonner via Google Docs in April 2023.

<sup>131</sup> Message from Donna Jean on Findagrave.com from December 14, 2022.

<sup>132</sup> United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950* Arlington, Enumeration Precinct 7-89, Sheet 22, <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/113260682:62308>; "Certificate of Marriage: 24031," Commonwealth of Virginia, October 31, 1938, [https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9279/images/43067\\_172028004422\\_0673-00427](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9279/images/43067_172028004422_0673-00427); "Army Promotes Mazzie to Warrant Officer," *The Times-Tribune*, June 29, 1950, page 7, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/532453846/>.

<sup>133</sup> "Certificate of Marriage: 24031"; "Certificate of Death: 81-026970," Commonwealth of Virginia-Department of Health-Bureau of Vital Records and Health Statistics (Richmond), August 19, 1981, [https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9278/images/43006\\_172028008153\\_0205-00471](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9278/images/43006_172028008153_0205-00471).

<sup>134</sup> United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950*.

<sup>135</sup> "Certificate of Marriage-20846," Commonwealth of Virginia Marriage Records, July 3, 1947, [https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9279/images/43067\\_182029006038\\_0738-00206](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9279/images/43067_182029006038_0738-00206); Message from Donna Jean on Findagrave.com from December 14, 2022.

Weaver (Figure 13), daughter of Jean Mazzie from another relationship, also lived at the property on and off while growing up.<sup>136</sup>

The Mazzei family was not the only family to live at the house during the time period, however. After World War II, Roland Mazzei was sent to Germany, and Jean and Donna Marie went with him, while Donna Jean lived with an aunt. Renters then lived at 261 North Barton. After the Mazzeis returned from Germany in 1954, they lived in Ballston and then Fairfax, while renters continued to live at 261 North Barton until the early 1960s when their lease was up.<sup>137</sup>

The property experienced numerous changes over the course of the Mazzie's ownership. A permit dated May 1944 allowed for the construction of a chain fence. Perhaps this fence was needed due to the menagerie of animals at the property in the second half of the 1940s, as evidenced by listings for laying hens, an Irish terrier, a toy Boston terrier, Boston terrier puppies, a Shetland sheepdog, canaries, and parakeets.<sup>138</sup> In March 1947, a permit was issued to replace a wooden porch floor with reinforced concrete slab. A porch was reroofed in 1962, while the next

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<sup>136</sup> Message from Donna Jean on Findagrave.com from December 14, 2022.

<sup>137</sup> Answer by Donna Jean Bonner via Google Docs in April 2023.

<sup>138</sup> "Young Laying Hens," *Evening Star*, October 15, 1944, Page D-4, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1944-10-15/ed-1/seq-57/>; "Irish Terrier," *Evening Star*, October 15, 1944, Page D-5, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1944-10-15/ed-1/seq-58/>; "Toy Boston Terrier," *Evening Star*, December 24, 1944, Page B-14, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1944-12-24/ed-1/seq-34/>; "Shetland Sheep Dog," *Evening Star*, June 17, 1945, Page D-5, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1945-06-17/ed-1/seq-48/>; "Canaries," *Evening Star*, September 29, 1946, Page E-6, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1946-09-29/ed-1/seq-65/>; "Boston Terrier Puppies," *Evening Star*, May 30, 1947, Page B-14, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1947-05-30/ed-1/seq-29/>; "Boston Terrier Puppies," *Evening Star*, September 26, 1948, Page E-6, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1948-09-26/ed-1/seq-83/>; "8-Month-Old Canary Brings Home 5 Prizes in Club's Bird Show," *Evening Star*, November 14, 1949, Page A-10, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1949-11-14/ed-1/seq-10/>.

year two roofs were removed and reroofed.<sup>139</sup> In October 1975, concrete sidewalks, curbs, and gutters were added to numerous Arlington properties, including 261 North Barton.<sup>140</sup>



Figure 12. Photograph of Roland R. Mazzei taken in the early 1940s at the front entrance of 261 North Barton. Given to the author via Google Docs by granddaughter Donna Jean Bonner in March 2023.

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<sup>139</sup> *Historical House Cards*. “CPHD - House Cards - 200 block of N BARTON ST - Image #34811” and “CPHD - House Cards - 200 block of N BARTON ST - Image #34812.” Arlington County VA, Engineering Department. June 18, 1935. Accessed September 23, 2022.

<sup>140</sup> “Notice Of Sidewalk, Curb & Gutter Assessment To Each Of The Property Owners Named Below.” *Northern Virginia Sun*, October 3, 1975. Page 6. <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=NVS19751003.1.6>.



Figure 13. Photograph of Jean Elaine Beard, taken in the early 1940s at the front of 261 North Barton. Given to the author via Google Docs by Donna Jean Bonner, daughter of Jean Elaine Beard, in March 2023.



Figure 14. Photographs of Donna Jean Bonner. Top Row: July/August 1947. Bottom Row: June 1948. Given to the author via Google Docs by Donna Jean Bonner in March 2023.

Roland and Florence Mazzie, Roland's wife who he married after Jean died in 1981, sold the property to the current owners, Gary Clyde Putnam and Catherine C. Putnam, on August 26,



1983.<sup>141</sup> Now retired, they used to run Black & White Photo and Digital Lab at 1916 Wilson Blvd., Suite 201, Arlington, VA. A “hard core traditional black and white wet lab,” they also offered digital scanning, file prep, retouching, restoration and digital printing for photographs shot on medium and large format film.<sup>142</sup> They have made numerous changes to 261 North Barton over the course of their almost 40 years of ownership. The sundeck was added, while in June 1985 a permit was issued for a 4’ thick concrete slab patio on grade level over a 4’ thick gravel bed and 14’x12.5’ concrete walks that are 4’ thick and by 30” wide. Then, from May 1986 to 1988 the stairway down to the basement was reconstructed, while the staircase to the attic was moved, the doorway to the kitchen was moved over a few inches and enlarged, and the kitchen was remodeled.<sup>143</sup> In the 2010s, the floors of the northwest and southwest porches were redone with wood, returning the floor of the southwest porch to its original material of wood. The gables of the house were also reclad with blue shingles, replacing larger wavy blue shingles, and the porch supports were stuccoed, replacing the same larger wavy shingles as were in the gables; these porch shingles that were replaced appeared to be the same as those on the house in the 1940s (figures 12 and 13). After a tree fell on the garage, it was reroofed. During this reroofing, the front façade lost its false rafter tails in the eaves.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> “Certificate of Death: 81-026970”; “Marriage Return: 82-047175,” Commonwealth of Virginia-Department of Health-Bureau of Vital Records and Health Statistics, October 2, 1982, [https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9279/images/43068\\_162028006055\\_0809-00176](https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/9279/images/43068_162028006055_0809-00176); Land Records, Arlington County, Virginia, 1983, Liber 2104, Page 268.

<sup>142</sup> Tom Whipple, “Northern Virginia Art Beat,” *Falls Church News-Press*, December 20, 2006, <https://www.fcnp.com/2006/12/20/northern-virginia-art-beat-118/>; Conversation with the Putnams, January 18, 2023.

<sup>143</sup> *Historical House Cards*. “CPHD - House Cards - 200 block of N BARTON ST - Image #34812.” Arlington County VA, Engineering Department. June 18, 1935. Accessed September 23, 2022.

<sup>144</sup> Google Street view, July 2009, June 2012, July 2014, April 2018, August 2019; Meeting with homeowners January 18<sup>th</sup>, 2023; Dj Bonner, “Mamma in front of Barton Street house”; Message from Donna Jean on Findagrave.com from December 14, 2022.

## Chapter 2: Architectural Overview

This chapter goes into detail about the typology of the early twentieth-century bungalow and the domestic architecture of Lyon Park to put the structures at 261 North Barton in their historic contexts, before providing an architectural description of the house and garage, interior and exterior. Using the description of the buildings and the historic context and typology, the chapter ends with identifying the buildings' significant features.

### **Architectural Context and Typology**

#### *Early Twentieth-Century American Bungalow*

The bungalow is a type, not a style in itself. As a type, it has developed in a number of exterior styles. The most common, and the majority, of bungalows were built in the craftsman style. Other styles include: the Swiss chalet style, which was similar to the craftsman but has greater ornamentation and features large front gables; Tudor Revival and Colonial Revival styles; Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival styles; Prairie style; and Oriental style.<sup>145</sup>

Craftsman bungalows were popular from about 1905 to 1930. The Craftsman style has its origins in the Californian Greene brothers, who, inspired by the English Arts and Crafts movement, Oriental wooden architecture, and their training in the manual arts, began building craftsman-style bungalows around 1903. These craftsman bungalows were introduced to the nation through articles on the Greene brothers' Craftsman bungalows in magazines, pattern books, and later housing kits. The craftsman bungalow then "quickly became the most popular and fashionable smaller house in the country." The identifying features of these typically one or

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<sup>145</sup> Paul Duchscherer, *The Bungalow: America's Arts and Crafts Home* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1995), 1, 69-71



one-and-a-half stories tall structures include low-pitched gable roofs; overhanging eaves with exposed rafters; full or partial width porches; and short, square column porch supports upon larger battered piers or porch balustrades.<sup>146</sup>

### *Domestic Architecture of Early Twentieth-Century Lyon Park*

#### Homes

Within the Lyon Park neighborhood itself there are a variety of domestic architectural forms and styles, dating from the 1890s to twenty-first-century infill. Many of the earliest homes in Lyon Park were built in the Queen Anne style. Vernacular interpretations featuring intricate forms of this style but only certain embellishments were “distinctly prominent” in the county before Arlington’s suburbanization in the twentieth century.<sup>147</sup>

Lyon Park was developed during this suburbanization boom, and the homes built from 1919-1953 reflect this emphasis on economy and convenience. In the early twentieth century, the bungalow, particularly when designed with the Craftsman style, was “one of the more dominant of the domestic forms in Lyon Park.” These Lyon Park bungalows feature elements including “rock-faced concrete block foundations, tapered Tuscan posts on masonry piers, full-width front porches, and paired window openings with three vertical lights in the upper sashes.” As bungalows became more popular in the second quarter of the twentieth century, some were built with Queen Anne and Colonial Revival-style elements.<sup>148</sup> Another popular form in early Lyon Park was the American foursquare, particularly when paired with Colonial Revival and

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<sup>146</sup> Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Homes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 567, 577-578.

<sup>147</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 7.

<sup>148</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 8.

Craftsman-style features. These two-story cube-shaped homes topped with gable or pyramidal roofs feature large front porches, dormers, and a lack of exterior decoration.<sup>149</sup> A third common early building practice in Lyon Park was the kit house or mail-order house. These homes reflected the popular tastes of the day, and Lyon Park was located close to several Washington and Old Dominion Railway stops which made delivery of the homes to the neighborhood convenient.<sup>150</sup>

In the 1930s and 1940s, the Colonial Revival style and the Cape Cod form became popular due to a growing population and housing pressure. After the Lyon Park neighborhood expanded southwesterly in the 1930s and 1940s, a surge in home construction from 1933 to 1940 caused a proliferation of Colonial Revival buildings. Such a number were built that “the Colonial Revival style dominates in Lyon Park,” with the neighborhood having “one of Arlington County's greatest concentrations of highstyle suburban Colonial Revival buildings from the World War I to World War II period (1918-1945).”<sup>151</sup> The national interest in the Colonial Revival style came from pride in America’s past. Though early-on the style was exclusively for the wealthy, as the style became popular and spread to the suburbs, such as to Arlington, the homes became smaller and plainer. Lyon Park’s “modest interpretation” of the style shows in “three-bay-wide rectangular wood frame or brick structures with projecting porticos, cornice returns, open pediments, and Tuscan columns.” These homes are distinct from the Colonial Revival homes in nearby neighborhoods, being somewhat smaller in scale and plan, and are less ornamented due the mass-production of homes in the 1930s and 1940s as housing pressure grew in the Washington, D.C. area. Lyon Park’s Cape Cod homes are one-and-a-half-story brick

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<sup>149</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 8-9.

<sup>150</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 9.

<sup>151</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 7.

homes with side-gable roofs, front-gable dormers, and a central-passage plan. The front façades of the homes have “shallow Tuscan pilasters supporting a slightly projecting entablature, a corbeled brick cornice on the facade, and rectangular 6/6 double-hung, wood sash windows with brick sills,” as well as carved panels over the front entryways.<sup>152</sup>

Outside of these very common styles and forms, others from the early twentieth century exist in Lyon Park as well. For example, there are a “substantial” number of Tudor-revival homes in Lyon Park. As with the Queen Anne and Colonial Revival homes, these homes in Lyon Park, and those found in other places in Arlington County as well, are the suburbanized forms of high-style structures. Lyon Park’s Tudor Revival homes have brick or wood cladding, multiple-gable roofs, with the front gable steeply-pitched, and exterior brick chimneys on the façade.<sup>153</sup> Multi-family dwellings also make up a “substantial” portion of Lyon Park’s domestic building stock, including Colonial Revival duplexes and Colonial Revival and modern low-rise garden apartment complexes.<sup>154</sup>

### Secondary Structures

Many of the homes in Lyon Park have detached garages. Often made of wood or brick, they match the materiality of the home. By the 1920s, the homes and garages were being built at the same time. As cars became more popular and common-place, homes started to be built with attached wood or brick garages, either on the side of the house or at a lower elevation, the latter having a room above the garage.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 10-11.

<sup>153</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 11.

<sup>154</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 12.

<sup>155</sup> Riggle, “Lyon Park Historic District,” 12.

Sheds are also common in Lyon Park, though most are not historic, having been constructed since 1975. These structures are usually one-story and made of wood or prefabricated metal.<sup>156</sup>

### **Architectural Description**

The property at 261 North Barton Street is a flat, grassy corner lot located in a residential neighborhood with sidewalks running along the northwestern and southwestern sides of the lot (Figures 15 and 16). The house takes up the majority of the northwestern half of the lot. The garage is located in the southwestern corner of the lot with a concrete driveway running to it from North Barton Street. The backyard features a concrete path from the deck stairs to the side door of the garage, as well as flowerbeds and several large trees. The northwestern and northeastern side yards also feature trees and other foliage. Chain link fencing spans from the northwestern corner of the garage down the driveway to the sidewalk and then over to the porch staircase on the southwestern elevation of the house. The fencing picks back up along the northeastern line of the property until it reaches the southwest corner of the garage.

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<sup>156</sup> Riggle, "Lyon Park Historic District," 12.



Figure 15. View of 261 North Barton to the southeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 16. View of 261 North Barton to the south. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The house is a one-story, compound-shaped, wood frame, craftsman bungalow covered in stone veneer and sitting on a raised foundation. It is topped with a side gable asphalt shingle roof, while its front porch is topped with a front gable asphalt shingle roof. The southwestern enclosed porch is topped with a hipped roof while the northwestern porch is within the main side gable roof.

The asymmetrical front, southwestern façade (Figure 17) features a partial-width, one-story, wooden porch topped with a front gable roof in the center third of the façade. To the left (northwest) of the porch are paired six-over-one double-hung sash windows set in concrete block framing, while to the right (southeast) of the porch are another pair of six-over-one windows, also in concrete block framing, with a small one-over-one window with a concrete semicircular lintel with oversized keystone directly underneath in the basement. A concrete stair encased by stone walls and wooden railing lead up to the right-hand side of the porch and to the door. The wooden door has two rows of vertical lights in the top one-third and two long, rectangular vertical panels in the middle one-third. It is covered by an aluminum screen door. The door is surrounded by concrete block quoining.

To the right of the door is a paired set of six-over-one windows, also surrounded by concrete block framing. The porch's gable, clad in shingles, features a centered six-over-one double hung sash window. At the far-right end of the façade is the southwestern elevation of the enclosed porch. This elevation, clad in shingles, has two large windows covering almost all of the wall on the first floor, while two one-over one windows cover almost all of the wall for the basement. A metal awning covers the first-floor windows.





Figure 17. Southwest (Front) Façade. View to the northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The three-bay northwestern elevation (Figure 18) features a full-width, one-story, wooden porch lined with simple wooden railing and supported by post-on-pier “Craftsman-style” supports.<sup>157</sup> Concrete steps, lined on either side by stone walls, lead up to the center of the porch. Recessed in the center of the façade is a wooden door with two rows of vertical regular lights in the top one-third and two long, rectangular vertical panels in the middle one-third. It is covered in an aluminum screen door. It is surrounded by concrete block framing. To the left and right of the door are one vertical, rectangular, six-over-one, double-hung sash window centered on either side. These are also surrounded by concrete block framing, while over and under the windows and the door are concrete lintels and sills. The gable, clad in wooden shingles, features paired

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<sup>157</sup> KAG/KGO: E.H.T. Tracerics. “000-5093\_261 N. Barton St\_VCRIS Report.” VCRIS. PDF.

six-over-one double-hung sash windows in the center and a wide overhanging eave with decorative rafter tails.



Figure 18. Northwest elevation. View to the southeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The northeastern elevation (Figure 19) has a vertical, rectangular, one-over-one double-hung sash window with a flat concrete lintel and sill and concrete block frame in the first floor on the far right, while a small one-over-one double-hung sash window with a concrete semicircular lintel (same as the one on the southwestern façade) and concrete sill pierce the basement level. To the left of these windows is a smaller, squatter, vertical double-hung sash window with a flat concrete lintel and concrete block frame, while below this window in the basement level is another small one-over-one double-hung sash window topped with a concrete



semicircular lintel. To the left of these windows is a stone chimney. To the left of the chimney are two vertical, rectangular, one-over-one double-hung sash windows with flat concrete lintels and sills and concrete block frame, the same as the window on the far right of the façade, while between the two in the basement window is another small one-over-one window topped with a concrete semicircular lintel.



Figure 19. Northwest and northeast elevations. View to the southwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The southeastern elevation (Figure 20) features the enclosed southwestern porch on the left-hand two thirds. Clad in shingles, the porch has five one-over-one double-hung sash windows covering the whole top-half of the porch. The basement level of the porch features two sets of paired greenhouse windows. The right-hand one-third of the elevation has a six-over-one,



double-hung sash window in the center, surrounded by concrete block framing with concrete lintel and sill. Leading from the door on the northwest side of the porch down to the ground is a wooden sundeck. The front gable of this façade, clad in shingles, features a paired set of six-over-one windows.



Figure 20. Southeast elevations. View to the northwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The house is roughly two-piles deep with the circulation of the house roughly circular around the attic staircase (Figure 21). All the doorways and windows on the first floor have the same wooden surrounds. The front door opens into the dining room (Figure 22). To the right of the door is a paired set of windows. Underneath the windows is one of numerous radiators. The dining room features thin wooden planks for flooring and plaster walls. In the back, southeast

corner of the dining room is the L-shaped wooden staircase to the attic. To the left, or northeast, of the dining room is the living room, while to the right of the dining room is the kitchen (Figure 23). In the northeast corner of the living room (Figure 24), which features the same flooring and walls as the dining room, is the northwest side door. Between the door and the northwest corner of the house is a window. Across the hallway from the living room is the secondary bedroom (Figure 25). This room features a window on the northeastern wall and a closet at the front of the southeastern wall. This room also features a cast-iron Aero-brand radiator in the northeastern corner of the room. Down the hallway (Figure 26), which features wide wood planks for flooring, is the tiled bathroom (Figure 27). This room has a small stained-glass window in the northeastern wall, while to the right of the window are built-in cabinets. Taking up two-thirds of the northeastern wall is the bathtub with a tiled surround. In front of the bathtub on the left-hand side is the toilet. The sink and vanity take up southeastern wall of the bathroom.

The end of the hallway is blocked off and turned into a closet on the northwest side; on the southeast side by the kitchen it is now a pantry. The closet door surround is similar but not exactly that the rest of the door surrounds in the house (Figure 26). On the left at the end of the hallway is the main bedroom (Figure 28). This room features a window in the southeast corner and a closet on the northwestern wall. At the back of the southeastern wall is another cast-iron radiator. Through the main bedroom is the workout room, which has a window in the middle of the northeastern wall and built-in shelving spanning the southeastern wall (Figure 29). The workout room lets out into an area which leads to the enclosed porch to the southeast (Figure 30), the staircase to the basement and the pantry side-by-side to the northeast, and the kitchen to the southwest. The kitchen takes up the southwest corner of the house (Figure 31). The kitchen features tiled walls and upper and lower cabinets. In the middle of the wall between the kitchen

and the enclosed porch is a rectangular opening between the two rooms. The kitchen also has a window in the southwestern wall with a cast-iron radiator underneath it. The kitchen leads back into the dining room.

The attic is largely one long, open, unfinished space, with knee walls on either side enclosing the air conditioning system (Figure 32). Two sets of paired windows pierce the northwestern and southeastern walls.

In the unfinished basement, there is a front foyer area, which leads to the front-right into the main storage space and boiler room (Figure 33). The basement, somewhat maze-like in layout, also features a kitchenette (Figure 34), two bedrooms (Figures 35 and 36), and a potting shed with a door that leads to the backyard.







Figure 22. Dining room. Facing northwest towards living room. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 23. Dining room and attic staircase. Facing southeast towards kitchen. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 24. Living Room. Facing northwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 25. Secondary Bedroom. Facing northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 26. Blocked-off former central hallway. Facing southwest to what is now a closet. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 27. Bathroom. Facing northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 28. Main bedroom. Facing towards the northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 29. Workout room. Facing northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 30. Enclosed rear (southeast) porch. Facing southeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

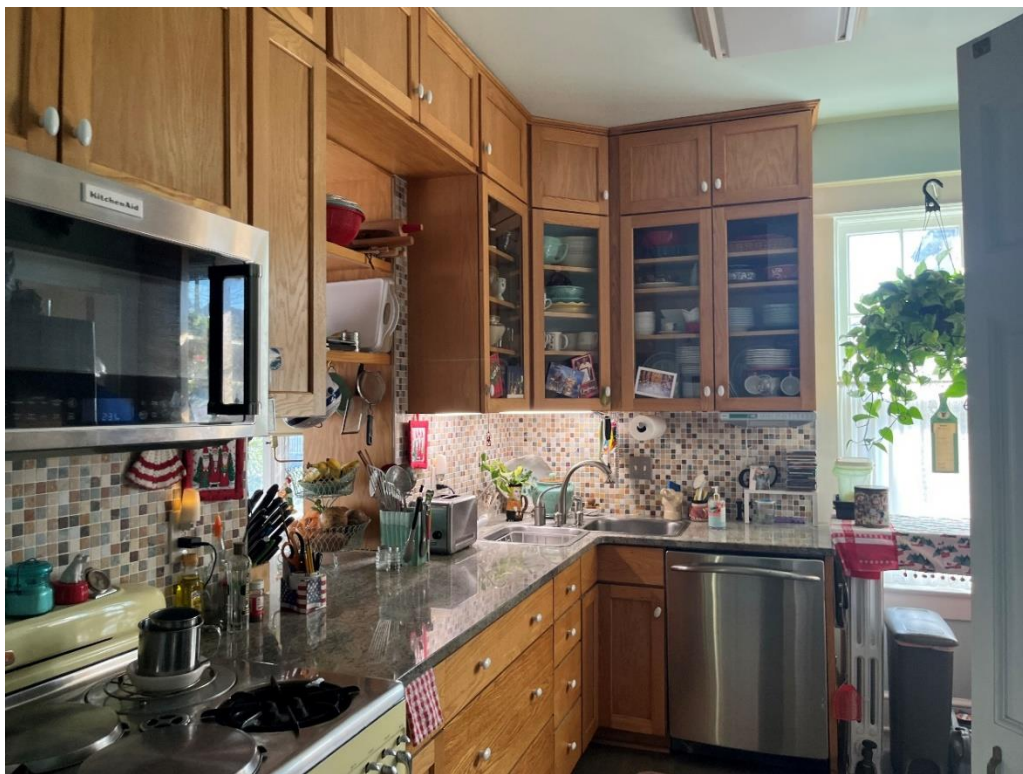


Figure 31. Kitchen. Facing southwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 32. Attic. Facing northwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 33. Main basement space. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 34. Basement kitchen (kitchenette). Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 35. Basement bedroom #1. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 36. Basement bedroom #2. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The garage is a one-story, two bay, nearly square wooden frame structure topped with an asphalt shingle front gable roof. The front (southwestern) façade features two wooden garage doors (Figure 37). Each of these doors have twelve sunken panels in two rows of six at the bottom. The top two rows of each door are two rows of six lights. The roof features wide overhanging eaves but no exposed rafter tails. The southeastern and northeastern elevations (Figures 37 and 38) have one six-over-one wooden, double-hung sash window in the center of each façade and overhanging eaves at the top. The southeastern elevations' eaves also have exposed rafter tails. The northwestern elevation (Figure 39) has a vinyl door in the center. This door has two long vertical rectangular panels in the bottom half and nine vertical lights in the top half. The roofline features an overhanging eave and exposed rafter tails.



Figure 37. Southwest (front) façade and southeast elevation. View to the northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 38. Northeast elevation. View to the northwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 39. Northwest elevation. View to the southeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

The interior of the garage is a single open, unfinished space with a concrete floor and exposed walls and rafters. As the structure is used for storage today, though it retains its wooden garage doors (Figure 40), wooden shelving has been added along the northwestern and southeastern walls (Figure 41), while a small plywood loft has been built in front of the gable of the northeastern wall (Figure 42).



Figure 40. Southwest wall. View to the southwest. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



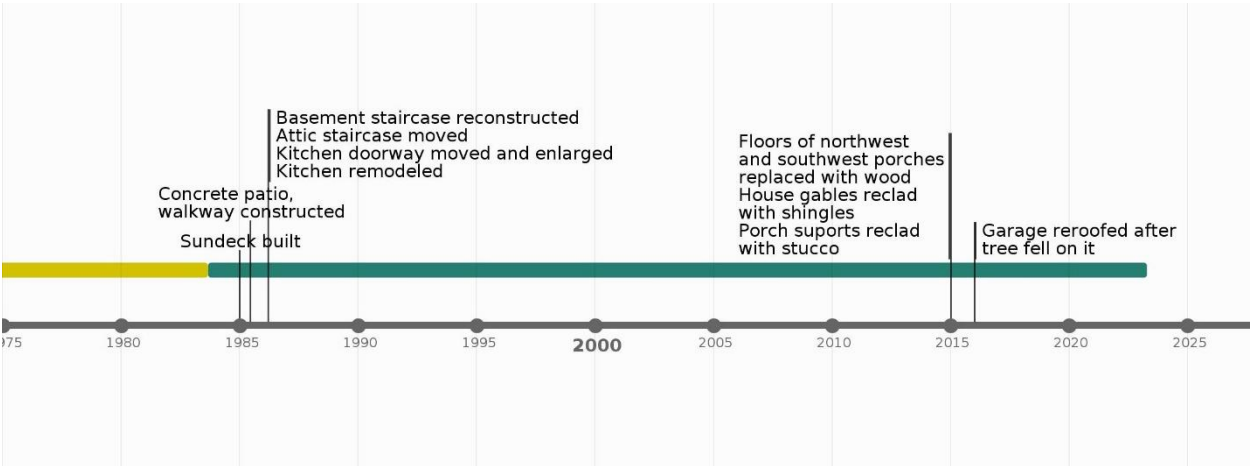


Figure 41. Southeast wall. View to the southeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 42. Northeast wall. View to the northeast. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

Chronology of Construction



Gray-Frank Lyon/Lyon & Fitch; Blue-Clairs; Green-Bonnins; Red-Reed; Purple-Tutwilers; Gold-Mazzies; Teal-Putnams

Table 1. Chronology of Construction

For timeline not broken into two, see appendix 2

Note: this timeline is based on building permits and a discussion with the homeowners. Other changes, such as to the kitchen and bathrooms, which by appliances and fixtures have changed since the 1920s, as well as the blocking off of the center hallway, are not included on here if the date of the changes are not known.

### **Identification of Significant Features**

As an example of the Craftsman Bungalow, some of the significant features of the dwelling at 261 North Barton include the porches with post-on-pier supports and wide overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails. Another significant feature of this particular house is the stone veneer, an original element of the building.

In the same vein, the significant features of the garage are the two wooden garage doors and wide overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails.

## Chapter 3: Statement of Significance

This chapter is an analysis of the property's significance prepared in accordance with National Register guidance. Zitkala-Ša and Captain Bonnnin's Indigenous activism and influence is considered under Criteria A and B, events and broad patterns of history and important individuals, respectively. While the home's significance is being investigated due to the association with the Bonnins, the home's architecture will also be considered under Criterion C: Design/Construction. Even if 261 North Barton is determined to be significant under the National Register criteria, the property also has to retain aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, to be determined eligible for the National Register. Integrity will be discussed in Chapter 4.

### **Criterion B: Person**

To be eligible for inclusion under Criterion B of the National Register of Historic Places, properties must be "associated with individuals whose specific contributions to history can be identified and documented." The individuals must be "significant in our past," meaning that their "activities are demonstrably important within a local, state, or national historic context." Properties must "illustrate," not "commemorate" these persons' activities and achievements.<sup>158</sup>

This property is associated directly with Zitkala-Ša and her husband Raymond Bonnin, who, as Chapter 1 explored, were prominent in Indigenous advocacy and activism nationally in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, they can certainly be considered people "significant in our past," whose "specific contributions to history can be identified and

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<sup>158</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. "Part VIII: How to Evaluate the Integrity of a Property." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1990 (rev. 1995). [https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15\\_web508.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf), 14.

documented.” As their house until their respective deaths, this property would not be considered commemorative.

That said, an argument can be made that this property does not really “illustrate” their activities and achievements, as Zitkala-Ša did most of her writing prior to 1925 and they did most of their work while traveling to other states and in their SAI and NCAI offices in D.C. Their apartment at 707 20<sup>th</sup> Street, also the location of the SAI office, was in the Wentworth Apartments building, which has since been demolished; the International Monetary Fund headquarters are now in the location.<sup>159</sup> The Bliss Building, which housed their NCAI office, was located at the corner of B Street and New Jersey Avenue, but the building has since been demolished, with the Taft Memorial Carillon and parking lots in its place.<sup>160</sup> As such, 261 North Barton is the only structure still standing from the Bonnins’ time in D.C. and where they lived for an extended period of time. They lived in a couple D.C. locations between 1922 and their purchase of 261 North Barton, including unit 41 at 1830 California Street, NW, and unit 501 at 1812 K Street, NW, for brief periods of time.<sup>161</sup> 1812 K Street (the Pentilly Apartments) is also no longer extant, and is now a block of newer-built commercial and office space.<sup>162</sup> However,

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<sup>159</sup> Sanborn Map Company, Washington, D.C. 1927-1928 vol. 1, 1928, Sheet 34, [https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse\\_maps/8/1200/5308/5613/82386](https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse_maps/8/1200/5308/5613/82386); Google Maps. Accessed March 11, 2023.

<sup>160</sup> Sanborn Map Company, Washington, D.C. 1927-1928 vol. 1, 1928, Sheet 10- [https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse\\_maps/8/1200/5308/5613/82352](https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse_maps/8/1200/5308/5613/82352); Google Maps. Accessed March 11, 2023.

<sup>161</sup> *Boyd’s Directory of the District of Columbia, 1922* (Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Co, 1922), <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1031560525:2469>, 351; “Who’s Who Among Earhamites, 1922,” *The Earham College Bulletin*, New Series 5, No. 2, (June 1922): 31, <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/289914:2888>; *Boyd’s Directory of the District of Columbia, 1925* (Washington, D.C.: R.L. Polk and Co, 1925), <https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/1020043998:2469>; 325.

<sup>162</sup> Sanborn Map Company, Washington, D.C. 1927-1928 vol. 1, 1928, Sheet 30- [https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse\\_maps/8/1200/5308/5613/82382](https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse_maps/8/1200/5308/5613/82382); Google Maps. Accessed March 11, 2023.

1830 California Street is still extant.<sup>163</sup> They lived at this house from approximately 1921 to at the very latest 1925, when moved to 1812 K and then 261 North Barton.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, though this was the Bonnins' home when *American Indian Stories* was published, and where Zitkala-Ša signed autographs for the book, 1830 California was a more temporary home for the Bonnins while in D.C.<sup>165</sup>

Overall, since the SAI and NCAI buildings are no longer standing, and 261 North Barton was the home at which the Bonnins resided at the longest and last, and where their final office was located, 261 North Barton is eligible under Criterion B, at least at the local and state level. In terms of other places that would be associated with the Bonnins, one would be Zitkala-Ša's mother's home, where she grew up, spent formative years, and would later write about in her "Impressions of an Indian Childhood."<sup>166</sup> However, this property would not be associated with Zitkala-Ša and Raymond as a couple. Other places, associated with both, would be White's Manual Labor Institute, where both Bonnins went to school and a place Zitkala-Ša referenced in her writings, and Fort Duchesne, whether their government home, ranch, or the Ute community center, for their thirteen years spent working there.<sup>167</sup>

### **Criterion A: Event**

Criterion A of the National Register of Historic Places involves properties that "are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our

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<sup>163</sup> Sanborn Map Company, Washington, D.C. 1927-1928 vol. 3, 1928, Sheet 333, [https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse\\_maps/8/1200/5308/5615/82551](https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/browse_maps/8/1200/5308/5615/82551); Google Maps. Accessed March 11, 2023

<sup>164</sup> Zitkala-Ša. *American Indian Stories*. Washington: Hayworth Publishing House, 1921. <https://archive.org/details/americanindianst1921zitk/page/n9/mode/2up>, back of front cover; *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, 1925*, 325

<sup>165</sup> Zitkala-Ša. *American Indian Stories*, back of front cover.

<sup>166</sup> Zitkala-Ša. *American Indian Stories*, 40, 70, 89.

<sup>167</sup> I was not able during the writing of this proposed preservation plan to determine if these structures still exist.



history.” These events can be of two types: single events or a pattern of events, repeated activities, or historic trends involving community, state, or federal development. Whichever type it is, the event or events must “clearly be important within the associated context” and the property must have an “important” and “specific” association with the event or events, not just a mere or speculative association.<sup>168</sup>

The Bonnins did live here during “events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history,” such as during the Pan-Indian movement. However, though the association with the events are not speculative, it is possible that the association with said events was not “important,” either, as the home was not the office of the NCAI until the last few years of the life of the Bonnins. In addition, much of the work of the Bonnins was done outside the home, traveling around the country. Therefore, the connection that 261 North Barton has with these events could be classified as “mere” association; this house was not an important location that hosted major events during the Pan-Indian movement of the early twentieth-century.

However, the property could represent the first iteration of reform Pan-Indianism, particularly its decline in the 1920s and 1930s. As stated in Chapter 1, Zitkala-Ša was a very important figure in reform Pan-Indianism during the 1920s, during which time she lived at the house. She was “the principal Indian spokesman in Washington” in the late 1920s.<sup>169</sup> Living at 261 North Barton allowed her, and her husband, to do their advocacy work in D.C., whether that was working in their D.C. NCAI office, networking with other organizations, speaking at events, or testifying to Congress.<sup>170</sup> As explained above for Criterion B, 261 North Barton is likely to

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<sup>168</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 12.

<sup>169</sup> “A granddaughter of Sitting Bull,” *Evening Star*, March 16, 1928, Page 8, Image 8, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1928-03-16/ed-1/seq-8/>.

<sup>170</sup> Livingston Chapter of D.A.R. Gives A Birthday Party,” *Evening star*. [volume], February 04, 1926, Page 17, Image 17, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1926-02-04/ed-1/seq-17/>; “The District of Columbia Business Woman’s Forum,” *Evening Star*, March 01, 1928, Page 3, Image 3,

best structure to represent her at least at the state and local level. In addition, 261 North Barton became the office of the NCAI once the office in D.C. closed due to financial and health struggles. Therefore, 261 North Barton represents reform Pan-Indianism during the 1920s and 1930s, particularly its decline.

It may also be possible to tie 261 North Barton's significance in terms of the Bonnins' work in D.C. into the significance of the Lyon Park neighborhood.<sup>171</sup> The neighborhood's significance under Criterion A is due to it being "an excellent example of one of the many residential subdivisions that emerged in Arlington County after the First World War to support the burgeoning population flocking to the nation's capital and its suburbs."<sup>172</sup> Zitkala-Ša and Raymond Bonnin fit into the category of those who moved to Arlington to work in D.C.

All together, 261 North Barton is eligible under this criterion, as the property has a specific association with the struggle and decline of the reform Pan-Indian movement in the 1920s and 1930s, with the most important activist during this time of the reform Pan-Indian movement not just living in this home but using it as an office due to financial struggles, as a symptom of the reform Pan-Indianism's decline. 261 North Barton is also an example which demonstrates the movement of people, in this case two Indigenous activists, to suburban Arlington, Virginia, a residential location which allowed them to do their work in D.C.

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<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1928-03-01/ed-1/seq-3/>; "The International Association of Arts and Letters," *Evening Star*, December 09, 1928, Page 12, Image 70, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1928-12-09/ed-1/seq-70/>; "The Friendship Aid Club," *Evening Star*, March 14, 1926, Page 30, Image 30, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1926-03-14/ed-1/seq-30/>.

<sup>171</sup> Meeting with the Historic Preservation Program, Zoom, March 2023.

<sup>172</sup> Riggle, "Lyon Park Historic District," 161.



## Criterion C: Design/Construction

Criterion C of the National Register of Historic Places concerns the properties that are “significant for their physical design or construction, including such elements as architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, and artwork.”<sup>173</sup> These properties must meet at least one of four requirements:

1. “Embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction” (the way “a property was conceived, designed, or fabricated by a people or culture in past periods of history.)
2. “Represent the work of a master” (“the technical or aesthetic achievements of an architect or craftsman.”)
3. “Possess high artistic value” (“the expression of aesthetic ideals or preferences and applies to aesthetic achievement.”)
4. “Represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction” (refers to historic districts)

The first requirement is what most properties fall under, as all styles and construction methods are included. This is also the requirement that 261 North Barton would fall under as well. The house was not constructed by a “master.” Though possessing many features of bungalow design, it also does not have “high artistic value,” as it does not “express aesthetic ideals or design concepts more fully than other properties of its type,” being a rather typical bungalow and not an exceptional one. Lastly, this preservation plan is focusing on a singular

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<sup>173</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 17

house, so requirement four does not apply in this case; this is the requirement that the Lyon Park Historic District nomination already reflects.

To meet the requirement of “Embodiment Distinctive Characteristics of Type, Period, And Method Of Construction,” 261 North Barton would need to “clearly illustrate” due to “distinctive characteristics,” one of following:

- The pattern of features common to a particular class of resources
- or
- The individuality or variation of features that occurs within the class
- or
- The evolution of that class
- or
- The transition between classes of resources

In this instance, the “distinctive characteristics” are “the physical features or traits that commonly recur in individual types, periods, or methods of construction,” while “type, period, or method of construction” means “the way certain properties are related to one another by cultural tradition or function, by dates of construction or style, or by choice or availability of materials and technology.” To be eligible, a property needs to have “enough of those physical characteristics to be considered a true representative of a particular type, period, or method of construction” and be “an important example (within its context) of building practices of a particular time in history.”<sup>174</sup>

According to the 1998 survey of the Lyon Park Historic District, this building “possesses a typical Bungalow form” and is “a good example of the modest residences built in Lyon Park

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<sup>174</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 18

during the 1920s and 1930,” except that “it’s materials [the stone veneer], however, are unusual for the neighborhood.”<sup>175</sup>

The 261 North Barton property does have “enough of those physical characteristics to be considered a true representative of a particular type, period, or method of construction,” as it does have “the pattern of features common to a particular class of resources,” namely in this case the Bungalow. It also does exhibit “the individuality or variation of features that occurs within the class,” as it has that “unusual” stone veneer.

Despite meeting this requirement, it might be a stretch to say that 261 North Barton is “an important example (within its context) of building practices of a particular time in history,” as it is one of a number of Bungalows in the neighborhood. While it is a “good example” of the 1920s and 1930s residences of Lyon Park, that does not necessarily mean that is an “an important example.”

However, since 261 North Barton is, based on the available evidence, an owner-built structure, and is unusual for the neighborhood as it features stone veneer, an argument could be made that 261 North Barton is an important example of a stone veneered, owner-built bungalow.

Therefore, 261 North Barton could fall under Criterion C, with its status as “an important example” the main question mark.

To summarize, 261 North Barton was evaluated under Criteria A, B, and C of the National Register of Historic Places. It was determined that:

- It is significant under Criterion B, as the property is directly associated with the Bonnins during their last years and is the only still-standing structure associated with them locally and state-wide.

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<sup>175</sup> KAG/KGO: E.H.T. Tracerics. “000-5093\_261 N. Barton St\_VCRIS Report.” VCRIS. PDF.

- It is significant under Criterion A, as the property demonstrates and is associated with the decline of the reform Pan-Indian movement in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the movement of people, in this case specifically the Bonnins, to Arlington, Virginia, which allowed them to live in the suburbs and commute to work in D.C.
- It is significant under Criterion C, as the house is presumably owner-built and through the stone veneer has a variation in materiality that is rare in Lyon Park.

## Chapter 4: Condition Assessment and Integrity

This chapter presents a condition assessment of the exterior and interior of the house and garage, then assesses the buildings' integrity as per the National Register of Historic Places under the seven aspects of integrity.

### Condition Assessment

#### *Exterior of House*

The exterior of the house is in overall good condition. The foundations were unable to be seen on the site visit. However, the walls are mostly clean and damage free, though there is some deterioration, dirt, loss, and repairs on the northwest elevation (Figure 43). The roof is well-maintained, as are the windows. Unfortunately, the front (southwest) and northwest side screen doors are showing some deterioration, as well as the front wooden door whose paint is chipping (Figures 44 and 45). The northwestern steps could use a cleaning and there is missing mortar and deterioration on the stone walls encasing the steps (Figure 45). In addition, on the northeast elevation, where ivy was recently pulled off from the wall, there is some decorative mortar missing (Figure 46).<sup>176</sup> There is also much foliage on the lot, including abutting the house, which could cause moisture problems.

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<sup>176</sup> Meeting with homeowners, January 18, 2023.



Figure 43. Northwest elevation. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 44. Front (southwest) door of 261 North Barton. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 45. Northwestern steps and stone walls. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 46. Missing Decorative Ivy on Northeast Elevation. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

### *Interior of House*

The interior of the house is well-kept and overall in good condition. The walls are clean and the floors are in good shape. Many of the windows and doorways are also in good condition. However, there is some evidence of water problems and deterioration on many walls, ceilings, and some windows.

In the dining room, there is a roughly L-shaped crack above the doorway between the living room and kitchen and others in the ceiling in the northwest corner of the room. The antique radiator's paint is also chipping (Figure 47). The ceiling in the living room shows significant water damage and plaster repair in the northwestern part of the ceiling and the top of the northeastern wall (Figure 48). There is also evidence of moisture damage in the wallpapered ceiling in the secondary bedroom (Figure 49), as well as chipping paint on the window in that room (Figure 50). The secondary bedroom also had a crack in the southeast corner where the ceiling and wall meet. The only problem in the bathroom is paint chipping on the cabinetry. In the main bedroom, there is some evidence of plaster repair by the ceiling vent, and there is a crack beneath the wallpaper above the closet door and some long horizontal cracks in the northwestern wall. There is some deterioration in the window on the northeast wall of the workout room and the baseboard moulding on the same wall, as well as paint loss between the window and the moulding (Figure 51). Both the kitchen and the enclosed porch appear to be in good condition.





Figure 47. Radiator in the dining room. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 48. Plaster repair in the living room. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 49. Ceiling in the secondary bedroom. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 50. Window in the secondary bedroom. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

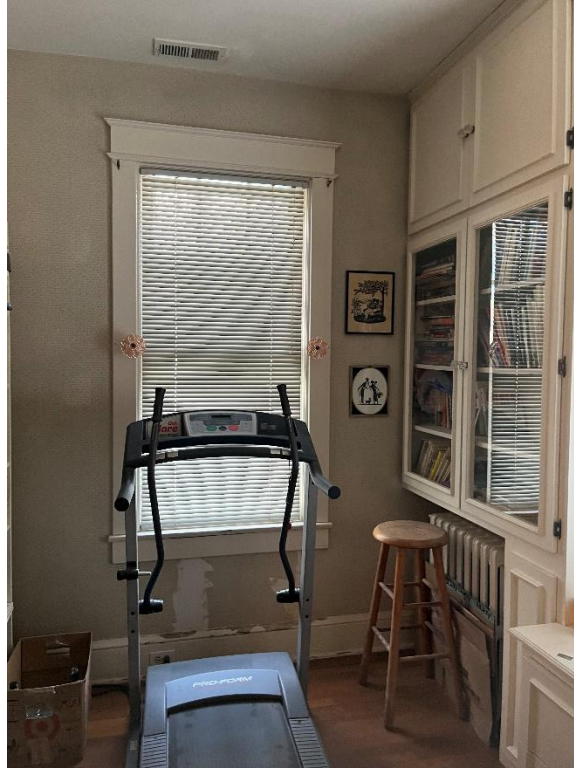


Figure 51. Northeast wall of workout room. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

In the unfinished basement, there is current moisture accumulation on the back wall of the kitchenette in the basement, leading to bumpy, bubbling paint and paint loss (Figures 52 and 53).





Figure 52. Back wall of the basement kitchenette. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



Figure 53. Back wall of the basement kitchenette-detail. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

### *Exterior of Garage*

The exterior of the garage is overall in good condition. The concrete foundation is not damaged, though dirty. The siding is new, clean, and intact, as well as the roof. The garage doors seem whole and without chipping paint. However, the corner boards at the southeast corner have some deterioration and paint chipping problems (Figure 54). The window on the southeast elevation is also experiencing a good deal of paint chipping and loss, with minor deterioration of the wood beneath the paint as well (Figure 55). The window in the northeast façade is dirty, but otherwise appears to be in good condition. Lastly, the roof is new and is in good shape.



Figure 54. Southeast Corner Boards. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.





Figure 55. Window in southeast elevation. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.

### *Interior of Garage*

As the garage is used for storage and is heavily filled with items, it is difficult to tell the condition of the interior of the structure. It appears to be structurally sound and safe to be in, with no apparent cracks or crumbling pieces. There may be some mold on the walls and roof framing. The windows, though, do not appear to have any problems. The rafters do not appear to be damaged or deteriorated.

## **Integrity**

To be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, buildings must also retain integrity to convey their significance. In the National Register, integrity is assessed through seven aspects, or qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Properties must always have at least some, if not most, of these aspects of integrity. Depending on the particular property, some of the aspects are more important than others in order for that property to convey its significance.<sup>177</sup>

### *Location*

To possess the aspect of location, the building must be in its actual, original location. Typically, if a building has moved, it loses its eligibility, as “the relationship between a property and its historic associations is destroyed if the property is moved.”<sup>178</sup>

The 261 North Barton dwelling has never been moved, staying in its original location that allowed Zitkala-Sa and Raymond Bonnin to live near and be able to access the nation’s capital. Therefore, 261 North Barton possesses a high level of the aspect of location.

### *Design*

To possess the aspect of design, or “the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property,” the building must “reflect historic functions and technologies as well as aesthetics,” taking into account “the structural system; massing; arrangement of spaces; pattern of fenestration; textures and colors of surface materials; type,

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<sup>177</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 44, 46.

<sup>178</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 44.



amount, and style of ornamental detailing; and arrangement and type of plantings in a designed landscape.”<sup>179</sup>

The structural system of 261 North Barton has stayed the same, as well as largely its massing, though one of the porches has been enclosed and a sundeck has been added. The fenestration has likely not been changed as there is no evidence to suggest that it has. The texture of the exterior walls, being stone veneer, has stayed intact, and ornamental detailing in terms of window lintels and rafter tails have also stayed. However, one texture that has changed have been the surface of the post-on-pier supports. A picture of the home from the mid-1940s shows shingle siding on these piers instead of stucco.<sup>180</sup> In addition, the arrangement of spaces on the interior has changed somewhat, mainly with the blocking of the center hallway and the relocation of the attic staircase. 261 North Barton is not a designed landscape, so this item is not relevant, though the addition of the sundeck at the back, as well as the greenhouse windows, does change the design of that façade. Overall, 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of design.

### *Setting*

To possess the aspect of setting, or “the physical environment of a historic property” that “refers to the character of the place in which the property played its historical role” and “involves how, not just where, the property is situated and its relationship to surrounding features and open space,” the physical features of the property’s landscape must be as they were during the property’s period of significance.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 44.

<sup>180</sup> Dj Bonner, “Mamma in front of Barton Street house,” Findagrave, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/61452276/jean-elaine-weaver>.

<sup>181</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 45.

261 North Barton still exists in a residential neighborhood on a landscaped lot, as mentioned in the 1943 advertisement. The relationship between the house and the garage has stayed the same, as well as the house and garage to neighborhood properties. Both roads also existed during the period of significance and were paved. Changes to the setting of the property include the deck, the walkway from the home to the garage, and sidewalks. The fencing around the backyard of the home also dates after the period of significance. Overall, 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high aspect of setting.

### *Materials*

To possess the aspect of materials, or “the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property,” the building “must retain the key exterior materials dating from the period of its historic significance.”<sup>182</sup> If the building is a recreation or if historic fabric and features have been lost, the building is not eligible.<sup>183</sup> 261 North Barton does retain key exterior materials, namely the stone veneer and wooden porches; the floor of one of the porches had been changed into a concrete slab after the period of significance but has recently been restored to a wooden floor. Though the roof has been replaced, it was replaced in kind. However, as mentioned previously, the post-on-piers are now stuccoed, not sided with shingles, and the gables were reclad with shingles but not the exact same shingles. Overall, 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of materials.

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<sup>182</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 45.

<sup>183</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 45.

### *Workmanship*

To possess the aspect of workmanship, or “the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory,” the property must have evidence of “artisans' labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site.” It is difficult to see beneath the surface of the structure to see its construction. However, the rafter tails and stone veneer give some evidence of the artisans’ labor and skill, and the homeowners reported seeing the reused materials underneath the house, which means that this evidence still exists. Unfortunately, based on the Google Streetview images, the rafter tails on the front of the garage were not replaced when the roof was most recently reroofed, so some of the workmanship of the garage has disappeared. Therefore, the 261 North Barton dwelling possesses high integrity of workmanship, while the garage possesses moderate integrity of workmanship.

### *Feeling*

To possess the aspect of feeling, or “a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time,” the property must have “the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character.”

The exterior of the house at 261 North Barton, as mentioned previously, is a typical 1920s/1930s bungalow. The exterior of the home, with the matching garage and its wooden doors as well, does express an “aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time” which “convey the property's historic character.”

However, the interior of the house does not quite express the 1920s character of the home. The living room and secondary bedrooms, with the wooden windows and doorway surrounds, are the rooms in the house that most evoke the early twentieth century. With the

renovated staircase, the dining room no longer feels as old, while the 1950s-period appliances in the kitchen, and further 1950s styling in the bathroom, evoking a later time period in those rooms as well. Neither the attic, which is unfinished, nor the basement, which is a remodeled maze of rooms, reflect the 1920s and 1930s either.

Overall, 261 North Barton somewhat retains a moderate to high aspect of feeling, with the exterior better “conveying the property's historic character” than the interior.

### *Association*

To possess the aspect of association, or “the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property,” the property must be “the place where the event or activity occurred” and be “sufficiently intact [through the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character] to convey that relationship to an observer.”<sup>184</sup> 261 North Barton is indeed where the Bonnins lived, and where they had their office after their NAIC Washington office closed down. As mentioned above, the house retains most of its historic physical features. One important feature is the presence of their old office. Based on the description of the office being a room “adjoining the living room,” this room was likely what is now a secondary bedroom. This room still has the original wooden windows and window casing, as well as a radiator. However, according to the homeowners, the wallpapered ceiling does not date to the time period. Overall, 261 North Barton retains a high level aspect of association.

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<sup>184</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 45.

## *Summary*

In the final analysis, “the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the identity for which it is significant.”<sup>185</sup> As all buildings change over time, there will be features that have been lost or added. The building must have the physical features that show “why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance).” Under Criteria A and B, “a property that is significant for its historic association is eligible if it retains the essential physical features that made up its character or appearance during the period of its association with the important event, historical pattern, or person,” while under Criterion C a building “important for illustrating a particular architectural style or construction technique must retain most of the physical features that constitute that style or technique.” The building can have lost some of its historic materials or features and still be eligible if it still has the majority of its stylistic features, such as “the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation.”<sup>186</sup>

For Criteria A and B, ideally some level of all seven aspects are retained. For these criteria, “a basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists today.”<sup>187</sup> As the location, design, materials, and overall design of the exterior of 261 North Barton has been retained, Zikala-sa and Raymond Bonnin would likely recognize the exterior of their home, though slightly less so the interior due to the various renovations and remodeling. Some features of the other aspects are retained as well.

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<sup>185</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 45.

<sup>186</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 46.

<sup>187</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register Bulletin*, 48.



For Criterion C, design, workmanship, and materials will “usually be more important” compared to location, setting, feeling, and association. These aspects are retained at least in part in 261 North Barton.

Overall, when it comes to the seven aspect of integrity:

- 261 North Barton possesses a high integrity of location
- 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of design
- 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of setting
- 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of materials
- 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of workmanship
- 261 North Barton possesses a moderate to high integrity of feeling
- 261 North Barton possesses a high integrity of association

Therefore, as Zikala-sa and Raymond Bonnin would likely recognize the exterior of 261 North Barton, and, many features of all seven aspects are retained, 261 North Barton retains enough integrity to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

*Final National Register Statement:*

261 North Barton is significant under Criterion B at the state level for its association with the Bonnins. The property is also secondarily significant at the state level under Criterion A for its association with both the decline of Pan-Indianism and the movement of individuals to Arlington County to work in D.C. in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as secondarily significant at the local level under Criterion C for its rare exterior cladding variation. The property possesses a moderate to high level of integrity, sufficient to convey its significance. Therefore, 261 North Barton is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Preservation.

## Chapter 5: Recommendation Options

This chapter first outlines the philosophy regarding which treatment, documentation, and public outreach options will be investigated and how they will be assessed. Then, the chapter goes into detail on the various options for treatment, documentation, and public outreach.

### **Treatment, Documentation, and Public Outreach Recommendation Philosophy**

When deciding on what treatments and recommendations to investigate and how the decision will be made on which will be recommended, the decisions will be based on what makes sense when it comes to the planned continued use of the house, in line with criteria established for different documentation options and the needs and desires of stakeholders, including the homeowners and the Arlington County's Historic Preservation Program.

### **Treatment Options**

There are three treatment options available for 261 North Barton: preservation, rehabilitation, and restoration.<sup>188</sup>

The first option is preservation. As per the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, preservation is “the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property.”<sup>189</sup> 261 North Barton is a private home, and all current plans intend for it to stay that way. 261 North Barton is located in a R-5 zoned district, meaning a “One-Family, Restricted Two Family

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<sup>188</sup> Note: there is a fourth treatment-reconstruction-but as the house and garage are still extant this treatment is irrelevant and therefor will not be discussed.

<sup>189</sup> Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary Of The Interior's Standards For The Treatment Of Historic Properties With Guidelines For Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, (Washington: Department of the Interior, 2017), 2, <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1739/upload/treatment-guidelines-2017-part1-preservation-rehabilitation.pdf>.

Dwelling District.”<sup>190</sup> Therefore, 261 North Barton is likely to continue to be a single-family dwelling. In particular, based on the zoning, which outlaws converting a single-family home to a two-family dwelling, 261 North Barton will stay as a single-family home, likely in its existing form.<sup>191</sup> Therefore, preservation seems a good match as a treatment option.

While the home is currently in good condition overall, there are some minor problems. Arlington County has just established the Historic Preservation Fund for “projects that align with the stated goals of the Historic Preservation Master Plan.” These grants can help with physical repairs and restoration, as well as projects involving research, nominations, and educational activities.<sup>192</sup> However, this fund is currently a pilot program just for 2023, as permanent funding is hard to get. The Historic Preservation program, though, is hoping that it will continue.<sup>193</sup>

The second treatment option is rehabilitation. As per the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, rehabilitation is “the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.” These “compatible uses” could be either continuing or new uses.<sup>194</sup>

As mentioned above, this property is unlikely to be rehabilitated into a non-residential property. However, the house is not particularly large, with only seven rooms, plus an enclosed porch, on the main level, though the basement, with its four rooms, does add some additional space. Therefore, it may need to be enlarged or changed at some point. In addition, the garage is

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<sup>190</sup> “Zoning Map,” Arlington County, VA-Maps, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://gis.arlingtonva.us/gallery/map.html?webmap=ac7ff3875bcb4ed4bd79e19014e1caa9>.

<sup>191</sup> *Zoning Ordinance*, §5.7. R-5, One-Family and Restricted Two-Family Dwelling District,” Arlington County, Virginia. Accessed March 13, 2023. [https://www.arlingtonva.us/files/sharedassets/public/building/documents/codes-and-ordinances/aczo\\_effective\\_04.23.2022.pdf](https://www.arlingtonva.us/files/sharedassets/public/building/documents/codes-and-ordinances/aczo_effective_04.23.2022.pdf)

<sup>192</sup> “Historic Preservation Fund,” Arlington County, Virginia, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.arlingtonva.us/Government/Projects/Plans-Studies/Historic-Preservation/Historic-Preservation-Fund>.

<sup>193</sup> Meeting with the Historic Preservation Program, Zoom, March 2023.

<sup>194</sup> Grimmer, *The Secretary Of The Interior's Standards For The Treatment Of Historic Properties*, 2.

currently used for storage and, as a larger two-story garage in good condition, could be adaptively reused in the future for a number of uses, such as an apartment, a studio, an office, or a workshop, which may not require the significant modification of historic fabric.<sup>195</sup> Therefore, if, in the future, renovation or rehabilitation needs to occur to either the house or the garage, the homeowners could apply for the Virginia State Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credits program. While the federal Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credits program is only for income-producing properties, the state program includes owner-occupied properties as well. 261 North Barton qualifies for the program, as the credits are only available for “Certified Historic Structures,” which 261 North Barton is, since it is already a contributing structure in a National Register Historic District. If the homeowners, past or future, do decide to go down this route, whatever the project is it would have to be done according to the *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation (Standards)*. This preservation plan would help with applying for the program, as Part 2 of the application requires, in part, “a description of each significant architectural feature,” which this plan includes. However, the application also requires architectural drawings or sketches, which will not be completed for this project, and the pictures taken for this project and analysis of the buildings’ existing conditions may not be adequate for the application, especially if the application occurs years from now.<sup>196</sup> Therefore, more work would have to be completed to apply for this program.

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<sup>195</sup> Jonathan E. Sager, “The Garage: Its History and Preservation.” Master’s thesis, the University of Georgia, 2002, [https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/sager\\_jonathan\\_e\\_200205\\_mhp.pdf](https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/sager_jonathan_e_200205_mhp.pdf), 72.

<sup>196</sup> “Rehabilitation Tax Credits Frequently Asked Questions,” Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/tax-credits/rehabilitation-tax-credits-frequently-asked-questions/>; “Sample Part 2 Narrative Description Of Rehabilitation,” Commonwealth Of Virginia – Department Of Historic Resources, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Sample-Narrative-Description-of-Work-2023.pdf>.

The third treatment option is restoration. As per the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, restoration is “the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location.”<sup>197</sup>

Theoretically, 261 North Barton could become a historic house museum, though there are no plans currently for this type of use. That said, there is an ongoing debate whether there are too many historic house museums in the United States, and there is also a housing shortage in Arlington.<sup>198</sup> If the home were to ever become a historic house museum, focusing on the life of Zitkala-Ša and Raymond Bonnin in the home, then changes in the property since their ownership would require a reconstruction back to how it was during the Bonnin era. This would be a difficult, if not impossible challenge, due to the apparent lack of historical documents on the home during the Bonnin period, such as knowledge of furnishings, appliances, paint color, etc. Therefore, restoration would not be advised for this house and is not likely to occur.

## **Documentation Options**

At the federal, state, and local levels, there are a number of ways to document 261 North Barton.

At the federal level, there are two options when it comes to documenting 261 North Barton on the National Register of Historic Places: an amendment to the current National

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<sup>197</sup> Grimmer, *The Secretary Of The Interior's Standards For The Treatment Of Historic Properties*, 3.

<sup>198</sup> Andrea Burns, “Resource or burden? Historic house museums confront the 21st century,” *National Council on Public History*, January 13, 2015, accessed March 13, 2022, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/resource-or-burden>; Teo Armus, “As housing prices soar, a wealthy county rethinks the idea of suburbia,” *The Washington Post*, October 14, 2022, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2022/10/14/missing-middle-housing-arlington-affordable/>.

Register nomination for the Lyon Park neighborhood or a new standalone nomination for the property.

As 261 North Barton is already part of the Lyon Park Historic District, an amendment could be added to the existing nomination. Amendments to a National Register nomination can be made for numerous reasons, including for expanding significance by adding additional criteria and to “document the individual significance of a resource within the property,” which would be happening here.<sup>199</sup> There are several ways of amending registration forms, including to “Submit continuation sheets with the new information and an explanation of the amendment and to “complete a new form that incorporates former documentation, new information, and proposed changes.”<sup>200</sup> Amending the Lyon Park Historic District has already occurred once before, for a building on North Pershing Drive. This amendment created a new form.

Buildings located in National Register historic districts can also be nominated individually. If 261 North Barton is determined to meet National Register criteria, it can be nominated for its own individual listing. This would distinguish the significance of 261 North Barton through its associations with the Bonnins. However, there would be no other benefits beyond those received as part of the historic district nomination.<sup>201</sup>

At the state level, Virginia also has a list, called the Virginia Landmarks Register, to recognize historic landmarks in Virginia. The same nomination form is used for this register as

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<sup>199</sup> Department of the Interior, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 1997, accessed March 13, 2023, 71, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB16A-Complete.pdf>.

<sup>200</sup> Department of the Interior, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 71.

<sup>201</sup> “Historic Registers Frequently Asked Questions,” Virginia Department of Historic Resources, updated November 14, 2022, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-register/historic-registers-frequently-asked-questions/>.



for the National Register.<sup>202</sup> As such, the options for documenting 261 North Barton on the Virginia Landmarks Register are the same as on the National Register, i.e., making an amendment to a current nomination or making a standalone nomination.

Both would follow the same process of preparing a Preliminary Information Form (PIF), which would be evaluated by the Architecture Evaluation Team at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. If it meets the criteria for listing on the Virginia and National registers and the nomination is recommended to proceed, the PIF is reviewed by the Virginia State Review Board (SRB). If the SRB recommends that the nomination proceed, then the nomination packet would be filled out and submitted to the Regional Staff for review. If the staff find the packet is complete then Register Program staff at DHR's Central Office in Richmond will review it and give comments. After the comments are addressed, the packet is resubmitted to the regional staff. The nomination will then be discussed at a joint meeting of the Virginia State Review Board (SRB) and the Board of Historic Resources (BHR). The property is immediately added to the Virginia Register if the BHR approves the nomination. If the SRB recommends sending the nomination to the National Park Service (NPS) for listing in the National Register, the DHR's Register Program staff will then send it. The NPS then has 45 days to review the nomination.<sup>203</sup>

Lastly, at the local level of documentation, there are several protective documentation options available at the local level in Arlington: an easement and a local historic district.

A preservation easement is a non-possessory legal interest in the property conveyed from the property owner to a government agency or a preservation organization (a qualified easement

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<sup>202</sup> "Preliminary Evaluation and Nomination Processes," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, updated December 19, 2022, accessed March 13, 2022, <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-register/preliminary-evaluation-and-nomination-processes/>.

<sup>203</sup> "The National Register/Virginia Landmarks Register Process as Managed by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed March 13, 2022, [https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Step-by-Step\\_Nomination\\_prep\\_to\\_approval\\_2020.pdf](https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Step-by-Step_Nomination_prep_to_approval_2020.pdf).

holding organization). Perpetual or limited to a set term of years and not influenced or subject to any local ordinances, easements are binding to any current and future property owners and protect historic structures and their exterior or interior character as agreed upon by the property owner and the easement holding organization. Easements prevent property owners from demolishing structures or “making changes that are inconsistent with the historic character of the property,” but some alterations may be allowed which may require the prior approval of the easement holders.<sup>204</sup>

While easements protect historic properties, they also may provide financial benefits for the property owners. Preservation easements may qualify the property owners to get a “non-cash charitable gift” which could lead to a deduction when it comes to federal income tax and a credit for state income tax. To get this benefit, “an independent qualified appraiser” has to establish the value of the easement, which is based on the “the value of the development rights” that were given up by the easement donor. This value “becomes the basis for calculating tax benefits in accordance with guidelines and requirements by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).” Should property owners wish to seek this tax deduction and credit, they should get the advice of attorney, appraiser, or tax advisor.<sup>205</sup>

In order to qualify for the easement-related tax benefits, the property must be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. This is typically the first step in the easement process. As 261 North Barton is a contributing resource to the Lyon Park Historic District, the property is already eligible, which eliminates any cost the homeowners would have to pay to get the property assessed for eligibility on the National Register and then listed.

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<sup>204</sup> Lorin Farris, “Memorandum,” Department Of Community Planning, Housing & Development, June 30, 2022, accessed September 24, 2022, PDF.

<sup>205</sup> Lorin Farris, “Memorandum,” Department Of Community Planning, Housing & Development, June 30, 2022, accessed September 24, 2022, PDF.

In addition, in terms of benefits at the local level, while the property is already eligible for some funding and grants from Arlington County's Historic Preservation Fund, an easement would increase the level of the support available for the property. Of course, this benefit would only be possible if the program continued past fiscal year 2023.<sup>206</sup>

As 261 North Barton is already a contributing resource to a National Register historic district, this first step in establishing an easement has already been accomplished. If one wishes to have Arlington County be the easement holder, the next step would be for the Arlington County Historic Preservation Program (HPP) to draft the easement, in consultation with the homeowners and their attorney. The homeowners would pay nothing to the HPP to draft the easement, and, as the HPP has "a robust easement program that it has managed successfully for more than a decade," Arlington County does not ask for or require a financial donation for the administration or monitoring of the easement. However, in addition to the cost of paying the attorney, a cost may also be incurred by the homeowners, at a sum of \$500-\$1,000, for a professional land survey of the property if the homeowners do not have a plat. This process would take approximately three months. Benefits of this easement approach would include:<sup>207</sup>

1. The historic property, 261 North Barton, would be fully protected in perpetuity;
2. Any future exterior alterations to 261 North Barton would be reviewed by the County to that these alterations would be compatible and appropriate to the historic character of the property; and
3. The homeowners would be qualified to receive for a one-time federal charitable tax deduction. To receive this deduction, the homeowners would separately have to pay an additional cost for the service of a tax advisor.

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<sup>206</sup> "Historic Preservation Fund," Arlington County, Virginia; Meeting with the Historic Preservation Program, Zoom, March 2023.

<sup>207</sup> Lorin Farris, "Memorandum," Department Of Community Planning, Housing & Development, June 30, 2022, accessed September 24, 2022, PDF.

If one wishes to have an easement established with an outside qualified easement holding organization as the easement holder, the first step has already been accomplished, as 261 North Barton is already a contributing resource to a National Register historic district. The next step would be to reach out to an outside organization as the easement holder, such as the Northern Virginia Conservation Trust (NVCT) or National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP). As with having Arlington County be the easement holder, a cost may be incurred to have the property surveyed and to pay any attorney, appraiser, or tax advisor fees. In addition, unlike Arlington County, non-profits may ask for or require homeowners to give a financial donation or pay other fees to fund the stewardship and monitoring of the easement. This process would take two to four months. The benefits of this easement approach are the same as with having Arlington County as the easement holder.

Another local option to document and preserve the house would be to have 261 North Barton become a local historic district (LHD); despite the name, Arlington LHDs can consist of a single property. LHD properties are protected through a zoning overlay which allows for the Historical Affairs and Landmark Review Board (HALRB) to review and give approval, by issuing a Certificate of Appropriateness (CoA), on all projects involving exterior alterations, new construction, and demolition; no other County permits can be issued for these projects until the HALRB issues a CoA. That being said, unlike with easements, there are some cases where demolition may be allowed due to state code and Arlington's zoning ordinance. In addition, not all changes necessitate going through the design review process, such as routine maintenance and repairs, painting, interior work, and alterations that involve "matching existing materials, dimensions, and designs." These exempt changes, as well the types of changes that require CoAs

and the sorts of alterations which are appropriate to the property, are listed in design guidelines that are tailored to each LHD.<sup>208</sup>

The process to designate a LHD requires multiple stages.. First, the property owners, or any Arlington Resident, submit an application to the zoning administrator, which is then referred to the HALRB. The HALRB then determines, within thirty days of receiving a complete application, if the property meets at least two of eleven criteria. The eleven criteria are:

- a) The property is listed or is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places;
- b) The property has character, interest, or value as part of the development, heritage, or cultural characteristics of the county, state, or nation;
- c) The property was the site of a significant local, state, or national event;
- d) The property is associated with a person or persons who significantly contributed to the development of the county, state, or nation;
- e) The property embodies distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style valuable for the study of a period, type, or method of construction;
- f) The property is identified as the work of a master builder, architect, or landscape architect;
- g) The property embodies elements of design, detailing, materials, or craftsmanship that render it structurally or architecturally significant;
- h) The property has a distinctive location, or singular physical characteristics that make it an established or familiar visual feature;
- i) The property is a particularly fine or unique example of a utilitarian structure representing a period or style in the commercial, industrial, or agricultural development of the county, with a high level of historic integrity or architectural significance;
- j) The property has the potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of the county, state, or nation; and/or
- k) The property is suitable for preservation or restoration.<sup>209</sup>

261 North Barton would meet criterion a, as it is listed as a contributing resource to a National Register historic district; criterion d, for its association with Indigenous activists Zitkala-Ša and Captain Raymond Talefase Bonnin; and k, as the property is in good condition and is suitable for preservation.

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<sup>208</sup> Lorin Farris, "Memorandum," Department Of Community Planning, Housing & Development, June 30, 2022, accessed September 24, 2022, PDF.

<sup>209</sup> *Zoning Ordinance*, "§11.3. Historic Preservation Overlay District."

After this initial determination by the HALRB, further study by the Historic Preservation Program staff would be done. A report on the historic significance of the proposed historic district and the aforementioned design guidelines would be completed in collaboration with the property owners. A HALRB public hearing would then be held, after the civic association whose boundaries include the property is notified. If the HALRB recommends designating the property, written copies of the HALRB's recommendation are sent to the County Board for review; the County Board has the authority to establish LHDs. The HALRB recommendation includes how and why the property is historically significant and what area would be included in the historic district. Ideally, the proposed historic district guidelines would also be sent over to the County Board, unless the time that it would take to draft the guidelines would "would present a substantial risk that historic resources proposed to be preserved by the designation would be damaged or destroyed." In that case, the HALRB would recommend the guidelines "at the earliest practicable date after designation."<sup>210</sup>

This entire process typically takes about one year. However, as the Arlington County Historic Preservation team has a large backlog of designation requests, if the homeowners of 261 North Barton were to submit a LHD request work on this nomination would not begin immediately. In addition, unlike when it comes to easements, there are also no federal financial benefits to the property owners for making a property a local historic district. Property owners do get free access to Arlington County's urban foresters, who can assess the health of trees on the property. As 261 North Barton has numerous trees, this may be a useful benefit.<sup>211</sup> In addition, just as with an easement, if 261 North Barton became a local historic district there would be a

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<sup>210</sup> *Zoning Ordinance*, §11.3.4.

<sup>211</sup> Lorin Farris, "Memorandum," Department Of Community Planning, Housing & Development, June 30, 2022, accessed September 24, 2022, PDF.



greater level of financial support that the homeowners could get from Arlington County's Historic Preservation Fund, if the program lasts.<sup>212</sup>

### **Public Outreach Options**

One stated objective that the Arlington County Historic Preservation Program has involving 261 North Barton is to educate the public about the site's significance.<sup>213</sup> There are numerous ways to do this, both digitally and physically, which support the goals and strategies of Arlington County's current Historic Preservation Master Plan, which dates to 2006. As of writing this proposed preservation plan for 261 North Barton, a new Arlington County Historic Preservation Master Plan, now called the Historic and Cultural Resources Plan, is in development. Based on the draft released in April 2023, the public outreach options outlined in this proposed preservation plan for 261 North Barton will likely be in-line with the goals and strategies of this upcoming Historic and Cultural Resources Plan, though this County plan is liable to change based on forthcoming public feedback by the time it is in effect, which is anticipated to be in the Fall of 2023.<sup>214</sup>

There are ways to fund this educational outreach. For example, Arlington's Historic Preservation Fund can help fund non-capital projects such as historic markers and educational activities.<sup>215</sup>

There are numerous digital options that can be used to educate the public on Zitkala-Ša and the significance of 261 North Barton, such as the creation of a website, webpage, StoryMap,

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<sup>212</sup> "Historic Preservation Fund," Arlington County, Virginia; Meeting with the Historic Preservation Program, Zoom, March 2023.

<sup>213</sup> Meeting with the Historic Preservation Program, Zoom, September 2022.

<sup>214</sup> Historic Preservation Program, "Arlington's Comprehensive Plan: Historic and Cultural Resources Plan DRAFT," 1, 110.

<sup>215</sup> "Historic Preservation Fund," Arlington County, Virginia.

digital pamphlet, online presentation, digital exhibit, or video produced by Document Historic Arlington internship program.

- To make information on 261 North Barton and Zitkala-Ša more easily available to the public, a website could be created. It would discuss the home, the life and legacy of Zitkala-Ša, and what has and what will or could be done to preserve the home. This website would ideally be linked from the Historic Preservation Program section of the Arlington County website.
- As one of the goals of Arlington’s Historic Preservation Master Plan is to “Enhance Understanding of Arlington’s History and Historic Character,” with one strategy being “Expand use of the County’s website for educational purposes to include information on Arlington’s historic places,” a webpage on 261 North Barton could be created on the county’s website within Historic Preservation program section.<sup>216</sup> Like the proposed website, this webpage would help educate the public on the home and Zitkala-Ša’s significance, and would perhaps be easily accessible by people who use the county’s website; a separate, unaffiliated website may be harder for the public to find and more difficult to maintain. Being on the section of the county’s website run by the Historic Preservation Program, the webpage could potentially inspire other homeowners to pursue preservation and would be a resource for the program to direct people to.
- Tying into the webpage option, as Zitkala-Ša was a well-traveled woman, venturing across the nation as part of her activism, a StoryMap of her life could be a useful way of talking about her life and could be embedded in or linked to a webpage. The

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<sup>216</sup> *Historic Preservation Master Plan*, 2-3,

StoryMap could be an ArcGIS StoryMaps or a KnightLab StoryMap (Figure 56).

Though there are already some examples of StoryMaps on Zitkala-Ša, none are particularly in-depth and none include 261 North Barton.<sup>217</sup>

- Like the webpage and StoryMap, a digital pamphlet or brochure could be created on the history of the home and its occupants, the life and legacy of Zitkala-Ša, and the preservation of the home, and linked to/uploaded to the Historic Preservation program section of the county website. Like the other proposals, it would help with educating the public, while also being an accessible format.
- As with the other digital options, an online presentation would help educate the public while being accessible to reach as many people as possible. As a presentation, this option would allow for the transfer of knowledge and give the audience the ability to ask questions about the home and about preservation. Being recorded, the presentation would be able to be viewed long after the presentation ends and could be linked to the Historic Preservation Program’s website and/or the webpage on 261 North Barton.
- Another strategy of the goal to “Enhance Understanding of Arlington’s History and Historic Character” is to “Create and Support Museum Activities, Programs, and Exhibit.” Thus, a digital exhibit on 261 North Barton and Zitkala-Ša could be created and hosted on the website of a local library or historic museum, such as the Arlington

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<sup>217</sup> Salma Lopez, “Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin): An Activist, Composer Fighting for Native People Rights,” StoryMap, May 15, 2021, accessed April 30, 2023, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/3a999bc829fe4c858d893c5295aefdec>; Yulisa Lopez. “Gertrude Simmons Bonnin: American Indian woman Activist,” StoryMap, May 15, 2021, accessed April 30, 2023, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/0841041e6daa4427be5d70aac9dab547>; Jade Ryerson, “The Places of Zitkala-Ša,” National Park Service, accessed April 30, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/the-places-of-zitkala-sa.htm>.

Public Library or Arlington Historical Museum.<sup>218</sup> This would be a way to reach more members of the public than a physical exhibit.

- Document Historic Arlington is a collaborative internship program between the Arlington County Historic Preservation Program and Arlington Independent Media (AIM) where three Arlington high school students are selected as paid interns to create short documentary films on an aspect of Arlington's history over the course of a semester.<sup>219</sup> This would be a great opportunity to have high schoolers learn about unrepresented history and be involved in disseminating local history.

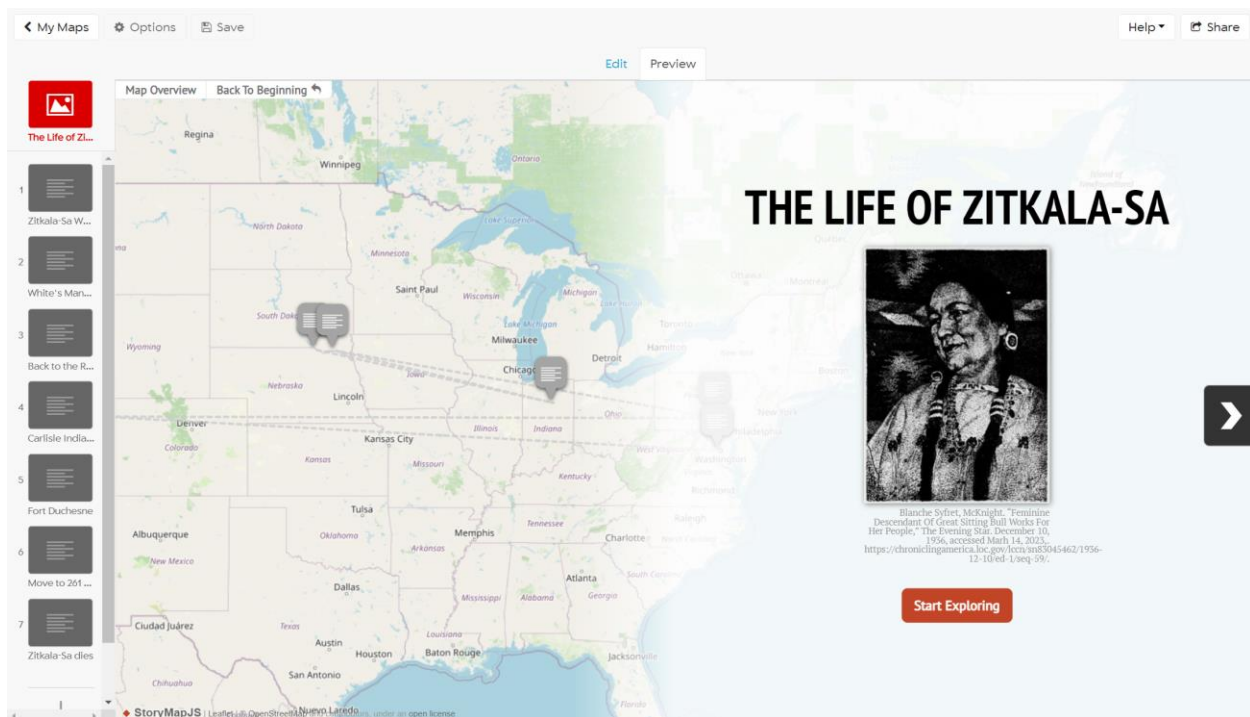


Figure 56. A mockup of a KnightLab StoryMap made by the author. May 1, 2023.

<sup>218</sup> *Historic Preservation Master Plan*, 13-14.

<sup>219</sup> “Document Historic Arlington,” Arlington County, Virginia, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.arlingtonva.us/Government/Projects/Plans-Studies/Historic-Preservation/Document-Historic-Arlington>.

In addition to the digital options, several physical strategies could be utilized, including house markers and interpretive signage, both at 261 North Barton and Zitkala-Ša Park; an in-person presentation; and a physical pamphlet.

- As the significance of 261 North Barton transcends its architecture, meaning that one cannot identify its significance through eyesight alone, a historic house marker at 261 North Barton would help passers-by learn about and understand why the home is important and educate them on Zitkala-Ša and her work. After all, one of the other strategies of the Historic Preservation Master Plan’s goal to “Enhance Understanding of Arlington’s History and Historic Character,” is to “Create Interpretive Panels, Historic Markers, and Public Installations about Arlington History.” This signage would help educate the public and assist with reaching that goal. The plan specifically mentions “sidewalk markers imbedded into the public sidewalk,”<sup>220</sup> as they are more publicly assessable. As there is a sidewalk on two sides of 261 North Barton, this property would be a great candidate for a historic house marker.
- Though Henry Class Park in Lyon Park was renamed Zitkala-Ša Park (Figure 57) in September 2021, there are no signs there on who Zitkala-Ša was and what she did.<sup>221</sup> This feels like a missed opportunity. With most of the park a playground, interpretive signage with pictures and language geared towards children would be a great way to educate younger generations on a significant Indigenous person and a more diverse history.

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<sup>220</sup> Historic Preservation Master Plan, 13, 15.

<sup>221</sup> Visit by author to Zitkala-Ša Park, January 18, 2023.

- An in-person public presentation would be a way to educate the public in a more engaged way. Since 261 North Barton is a private house, and a small building overall, this public presentation would best be held at such a venue as the Lyon Park Community Center. To show pictures of the home, a projector and/or digital screen would be helpful, and handouts could be given out.
- As all pamphlets and brochures are typically created digitally, even if they are later printed out, the aforementioned digital pamphlet or brochure could be printed out and copies could be placed in such locations as the Center for Local History and the Arlington Historical Museum.



Figure 57. Zitkala-Sa Park. Photograph taken by author on January 18, 2023.



## Chapter 6: Final Recommendations and Conclusions

This final chapter summarizes the treatment, documentation/protection, and public outreach options for 261 North Barton, as discussed in Chapter 5, before giving final recommendations regarding the best options based on the criteria for each option, the attributes of 261 North Barton itself, the desires of the homeowners and Arlington County's Historic Preservation Program, and the goals of Arlington's Historic Preservation Master Plan. The chapter, and preservation plan, ends with what next steps should be taken for 261 North Barton, based on the final recommendations, and what future research can or should be done.

### **Final Recommendations**

In summary, there are a wide array of options for treatment, documentation/protection, and public outreach for 261 North Barton, each of which has pros, cons, and their own criteria. For treatment (Table 2), one can preserve the property, rehabilitate the property, or restore the propriety. For documentation/protection (Table 3), at the state and federal levels one can amend the current National Register nomination for Lyon Park Historic District or draft a new standalone nomination for 261 North Barton. At the local level for documentation an easement can be placed on the property, either with Arlington County as the easement holder or another qualified easement holding organization, or a local historic district can be made encompassing just 261 North Barton. Lastly, in terms of public outreach (Table 4), there are a number of digital options, including the creation of a website, webpage, StoryMap, digital pamphlet, online presentation, digital exhibit, or video produced by Document Historic Arlington internship program. The options for physical public outreach endeavors include house markers and

interpretive signage, both at 261 North Barton and Zitkala-Ša Park, an in-person presentation, and a physical pamphlet.

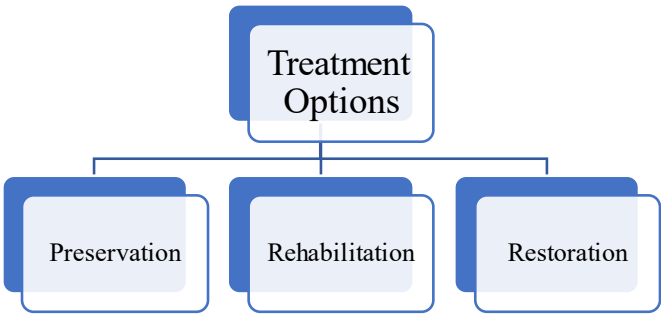


Table 2. Treatment Options

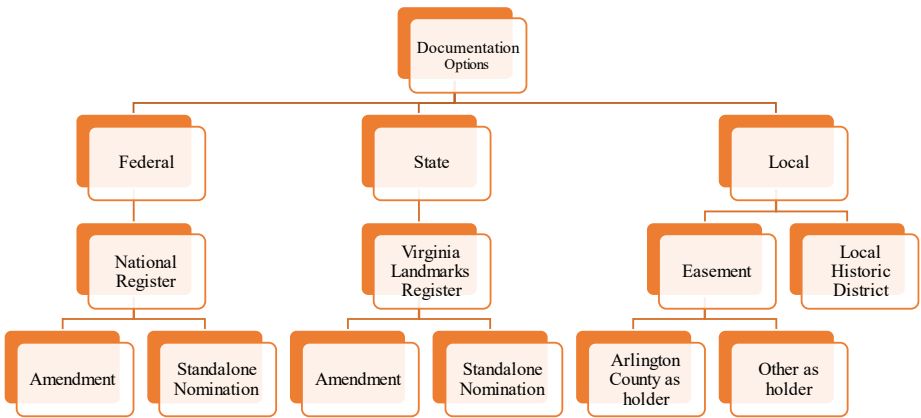


Table 3. Documentation Options

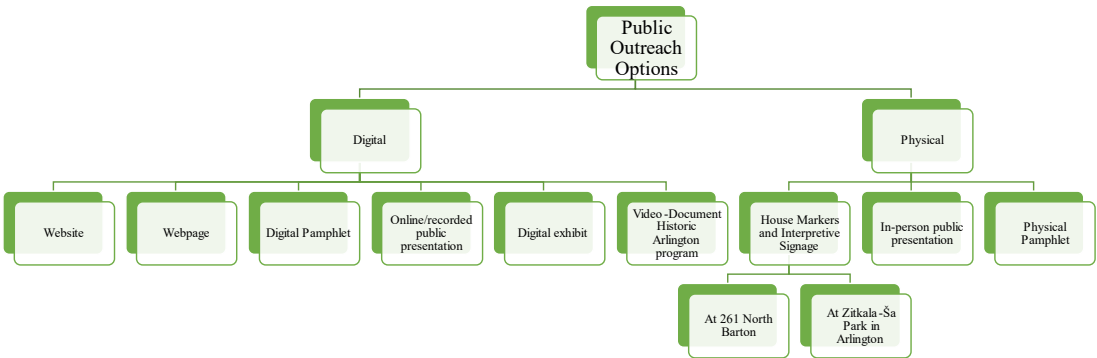


Table 4. Public Outreach Options

Based on the planned continued use and zoning for the property, as well as the existing condition of the buildings, the recommended primary treatment is preservation. At the same time, in case of future deterioration and/or need for changes for “compatible uses,” rehabilitation is also secondarily recommended.

In terms of documentation options at the federal and state levels, the federal and state levels will be considered together, as the process in Virginia is combined and uses the same nomination form. This plan recommends that the current National Register of Historic Places listing/Virginia Landmarks Register listing for Lyon Park Historic District is amended to include Zitkala-Ša and Raymond Bonnin under Criterion B, and secondarily under Criteria A and C, for 261 North Barton. This property has been evaluated to be eligible or potentially eligible under these criteria and retains sufficient integrity. An amendment is recommended over a standalone nomination as there are no additional financial or protective benefits for having a new standalone nomination for 261 North Barton when it is already listed as part of the historic district. The amendment will do the much-needed job of telling the fuller story of Lyon Park Historic District through expanding the significance of 261 North Barton.

In terms of the recommendations for local documentation, this plan favors an easement with Arlington County as the easement holder. This recommendation is preferred because of the greater time to create local historic districts, as well as backlog in creating the LHDs, since the homeowners seem concerned, if not distressed, about getting protection on the property as soon as possible.<sup>222</sup> The recommendation for the easement also reflects the financial benefits of the easement, which LHDs do not have, and because easements may be held in perpetuity while LHDs are based on impermanent and changeable laws and regulations. The recommended

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<sup>222</sup> Meeting with homeowners, January 18<sup>th</sup> 2023.

easement holder is Arlington County because of its “robust” program and as the homeowners are not required to pay any donation or fees for the stewardship of the easement.

Lastly, as for the recommendations for public outreach, on the digital side this plan recommends a webpage on 261 North Barton to be created on the county’s website within Historic Preservation Program section. This recommendation stems from the desire of the members of the Historic Preservation Program to educate the public about Zitkala-Ša and encourage other homeowners to consider historic preservation through the use of 261 North Barton as an example.<sup>223</sup> Having the webpage located on the county’s website will make it easier for the public to find and easier for the Historic Preservation Program to use to advance their preservation goals. As stated previously, this use of a webpage also advances the goal of the Historic Preservation Master Plan to “Expand use of the County’s website for educational purposes to include information on Arlington’s historic places.”

On the physical side of recommendations for public outreach, this plan recommends the creation of a house marker at 261 North Barton and interpretive signage at Zitkala-Ša Park. Not only did the homeowners seem interested in having a house marker, but both these things would advance the Master Plan goal to “Enhance Understanding of Arlington’s History and Historic Character” through the Master Plan’s strategy “Create Interpretive Panels, Historic Markers, and Public Installations about Arlington History.”<sup>224</sup> As this preservation plan mentioned previously, 261 North Barton’s location at a corner lot with two sides of sidewalks makes it a perfect candidate for the Master Plan’s “sidewalk markers imbedded into the public sidewalk.” Since the significance of 261 North Barton is not primarily in its architecture, but in

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<sup>223</sup> Meeting with the Historic Preservation Program, Zoom, September 2022.

<sup>224</sup> Meeting with homeowners January 18th 2023.

its association with important people, the house marker would be a great way to educate the public on Zitkala-Ša and her work and explain why the property is important. As for the park, though it is commendable that it was renamed for Zitkala-Ša, the lack of educative material there is a missed opportunity. The interpretive signage, perhaps with language and illustrations geared towards the young playground-goers at the park, would be a great way to educate younger generations on the life and significance of Zitkala-Ša in order to tell a fuller American, and Arlington, story.

In addition, as the property and the park are only a ten minute walk away, the two pieces of signage could also be linked, though the house marker and interceptive park signage would also have to be able to stand by themselves as well.<sup>225</sup> Both items could have information on how to walk between 261 North Barton and the park. If a historic house marker mentions more of the history of the home, and what Zitkala-Ša did while living there, the interpretive signage at the park could give a more expansive biography of her and her work.

## **Next Steps**

The most immediate next step for the protection and preservation of the property is for the homeowners to get in contact with the Arlington Historic Preservation Program to begin the easement process. As this easement will protect the home, while the National Register amendment does not provide any protection, the recordation of the easement is the priority. The creation of the easement could or even will require further baseline documentation, such as (ideally) “photographic documentation” that “meets the standards of the Historic American

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<sup>225</sup> Google Maps, accessed March 13, 2023.

Building Survey,” which these photograph in this plan do not, as well as floor and site plans, if protected by the easement, and aerial photographs.<sup>226</sup>

With the easement-creation process underway, the process of amending the Lyon Park Historic District National Register/Virginia Landmarks Register nomination should also begin. After all, it is a long process that requires public input. This process begins with completing a Preliminary Information Form (PIF) for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. As the PIF has sections on the property’s location and setting, an architectural description, and the property’s history and significance, this preservation plan should be of assistance when filling out the form.<sup>227</sup>

Work should also begin promptly on public engagement and outreach. There’s no time like the present to encourage other homeowners to pursue preservation and to start to rectify past injustices through telling a broader and inclusive history. As Zitkala-Ša will be featured on American quarters in 1924 as an honoree for the American Women Quarters Program, whatever method or methods are chosen could capitalize on this development and coincide with the release of the quarter and the interest triggered by this.<sup>228</sup>

## **Future Research**

Though this preservation plan has attempted to be thorough, there may be further research required for any future documentation, easements, or tax credits.

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<sup>226</sup> Elizabeth Watson and Stefan Nagel, *Establishing and Operating an Easement Program to Protect Historic Resources*, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 12-13, <https://forum.savingplaces.org/HigherLogic/System/DownloadDocumentFile.ashx?DocumentFileKey=dab89065-cb09-db4b-48a5-14032a72df14&forceDialog=0>.

<sup>227</sup> “PRELIMINARY INFORMATION FORM (PIF) for INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES,” Virginia Department of Historic Resources, rev. September 2022, accessed March 14, 2023, [https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/PIF\\_Individual\\_Form\\_Rev\\_2022.pdf](https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/PIF_Individual_Form_Rev_2022.pdf).

<sup>228</sup> “United States Mint Announces 2024 American Women Quarters™ Program Honorees,” United States Mint, February 1, 2023, accessed March 13, 2023, <https://www.usmint.gov/news/press-releases/mint-announces-2024-american-women-quarters-program-honorees>.



One focus of additional research should be the National Council of American Indians records (Identifier: MSS 1704) at Brigham Young University. Though emailing the Special Collections revealed no items that seemed likely to mention the home, in-person research at BYU in the collection could potentially reveal little nuggets of information within the collection, which focuses on materials relating to the National Council for American Indians.<sup>229</sup>

There could also be more research into the location and status of other related sites of Zitkala-sa and Raymond Bonnin, such as Zitkala-sa's mother's house, the Bonnins government home in Utah, and their ranch in Utah. These are potential comparable places to 261 North Barton, in terms of Criteria A and B, and, if extant, may be eligible for their own National Register nominations. Admittedly, it is unlikely that Zitkala-sa's mother's house still stands, being that it was "a home of clumsy logs" topped with a sod roof in which the "naked logs were unstained, and rudely carved with the axe so as to fit into one another," and which was in poor condition by 1898.<sup>230</sup> Yet, the location where the house stood might be an archaeological site now and if located could provide valuable insight on the life of Zitkala-Ša, her mother, and the life of Yankton Sioux Tribe members as a whole in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though an intensive effort was made to locate these properties for this preservation plan through online archival and historical research looking at such items as census records, historic maps, and land patents, and contacting the THPOs, these attempts were futile. Further inquiries, perhaps in-person, into the land records and local archives in South Dakota and Utah may prove more successful.

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<sup>229</sup> Megan Furcini, "National Council of American Indians records," BYU Special Collections, May 4, 2011, accessed March 13, 2023, [http://archives.lib.byu.edu/repositories/ltpsc/resources/upb\\_mss1704](http://archives.lib.byu.edu/repositories/ltpsc/resources/upb_mss1704).

<sup>230</sup> Zitkala-Ša. *American Indian Stories*, 40, 89; Tadeusz, *Red Bird*, 31.

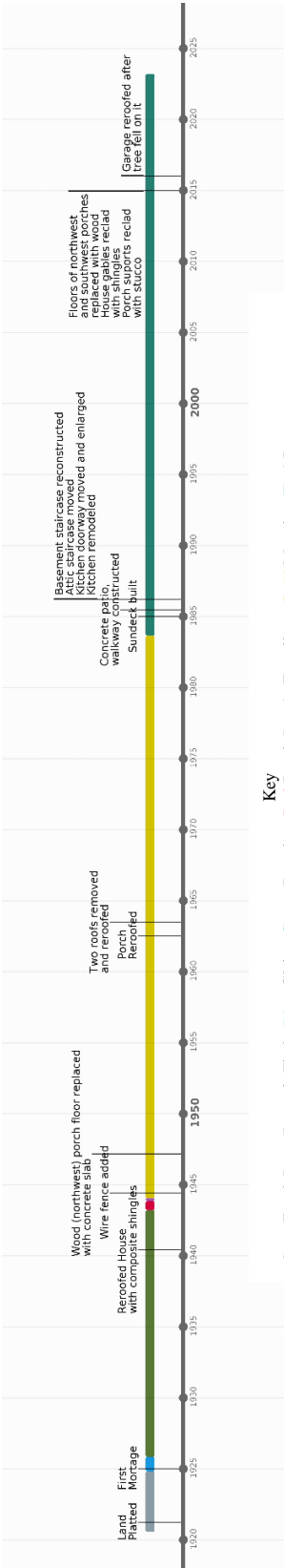
Lastly, as it was not possible to go underneath the front porch during the site visit conducted for this proposed preservation plan, nor look at the structural systems of the house, a future expedition could document the supposed reused materials to identify what exactly the materials are and investigate where they may have come from.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Chain of Title

<b>Date</b>	<b>Grantor</b>	<b>Grantee</b>	<b>Liber #</b>	<b>Folio #</b>
8/26/1983	Mazzie, Roland R.; Mazzie, Florence Novella	Putnam, Gary Clyde; Catherine C.	2104	268
1/22/1944	Tutwiler, Bernard C.; Tutwiler Elizabeth F.	Mazzei, Roland R.; Mazzei, Jean M.	631	135
11/8/1943	Reed, Ruth S.	Tutwiler, Bernard C.; Tutwiler, Elizabeth F.	625	517
3/18/1943	Thomas, Harry R. (Trustee); Simmonds, Elisabeth W.; Simmonds, James H.,	Reed, Ruth S.	609	237
11/03/1925	Clair, Loyd L.; Clair, Bernice M.	Bonnin, R. T.; Bonnin Gertrude	231	579
10/27/1924	Lyon & Fitch	Clair, Loyd L.; Clair Bernice M.	212	271
3/26/1921	Plat		174	152

Appendix 2: Chronology of Construction Timeline (with key)



Key  
Gray-Frank Lyon/Lyon & Fitch; Blue-Clairs; Green-Bonnins; Red-Reed; Purple-Tutwilers; Gold-Mazzies; Teal-Punams

Table 5. Chronology of Construction-Entire Timeline

## Bibliography

- “8-Month-Old Canary Brings Home 5 Prizes in Club’s Bird Show.” *Evening Star*, November 14, 1949. Page A-10. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1949-11-14/ed-1/seq-10/>.
- “A granddaughter of Sitting Bull.” *Evening Star*, March 16, 1928. Page 8, Image 8. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1928-03-16/ed-1/seq-8/>.
- “Arlington-\$8,750. Stone Bungalow.” *The Evening Star*, October 03, 1943. Page C-19. Accessed September 24, 2022. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1943-10-03/ed-1/seq-51/>.
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