WHEN ARLINGTON WAS PART OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

By

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For almost fifty years in the first half of the nineteenth century, the area now known as Arlington was part of the District of Columbia. This article will discuss some of the economic aspects of our county during this period and refer to a number of the area's families. It also will explore the process by which the region was retroceded to the Old Dominion in 1847.

The former Virginia territory incorporated in the Federal District when that jurisdiction was established in 1801 was known as Alexandria County. It included the town of Alexandria, which continued to have a separate urban charter and its own governmental apparatus. The overall county, which included Arlington, was governed by justices of the peace appointed by the President and several federal courts. Over the following forty-six years, however, there was little other evidence of federal activity in Arlington. This was especially the case since the act creating the District stipulated that no federal buildings could be erected in the portion ceded by Virginia.

At the time the District was formed, Arlington represented the rural hinterland of Alexandria. Compared to that city's population of about 5,000 souls, the much larger geographic area of Arlington had less than a thousand residents, three hundred of whom were slaves. Its almost exclusive economic activity was agriculture, but visitors commented on the poor quality of much of the land and the existence of a number of abandoned fields slowly returning to forest. Where farming existed, it was dominated by the growing of corn, wheat, and other crops necessary for a family's subsistence. There was limited evidence of market farming for the Georgetown, Alexandria, and Washington consumers.

The operation of several grist mills, especially in the Four Mile Run stream valley, represented another form of business activity in this sparsely settled portion of the District. Visitors also were impressed by the prodigious catches of shad, herring, and sturgeon from the ancient fishing stands along the river. The principal commercial concentration in 1801 appears to have been near the Little Falls at the mouth of Pimmit Run. Here, Phillip R. Fendall of Alexandria took advantage of the abundant water power to establish in the 1790s a granary, grist mill, distillery, brewery, copper and blacksmith shops. He also erected a village of cottages for his workers. This site additionally featured the first Potomac Bridge (later known as Chain Bridge) that had been constructed in 1797 by Georgetown merchants, who then proceeded to build the connecting Georgetown Turnpike through Fairfax County to assure their access to Northern Virginia's farmers.
Only a few basic economic changes occurred between 1801 and 1847 when Alexandria County returned to Virginia. By the end of this period, the population of the country portion of Alexandria had grown only three hundred to total 1,300 whereas Alexandria proper advanced from five thousand to more than eight thousand individuals. Agriculture was still the overwhelming occupation, but there was a shift to diversified farming (including dairying and fruit growing) to serve the needs of the growing population in the region. Improved farm techniques also were seen, such as the use of deep plowing, the application of lime, manure, and other fertilizers, and crop rotation. George Washington Parke Custis, the master of Arlington, used these advanced methods, but much credit for their introduction goes to northern farmers who began to settle in Northern Virginia in the 1840s. These northerners transformed much of the bedraggled rural landscape of the region into neat and prosperous farms like those typical of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York.

With the exception of the Pimmit Run area and waterpowered grist mills, the county's main commercial activity in 1847 was associated with James Roach whose impressive house, Prospect Hill, stood until 1965 on the Ridge Road of southern Arlington. Roach's father had purchased a large tract stretching from Arlington Ridge towards the river in 1838 and in the clay lowlands his son soon developed facilities for the manufacture of bricks. Roach achieved wealth and local political prominence as a supplier of bricks and other building materials for the Alexandria Canal and other public works. It is worthy of note that, unlike most of the prominent Arlingtonians of his day, who were of English extraction and claimed families that had lived in America for some time, Roach was the son of a recent Irish Catholic immigrant.

Aside from the handful of large estates in Arlington and the small village that may still have been in existence at the mouth of Pimmit Run, there were no significant settlements. However, two abortive attempts to foster urban development deserve mention. One was undertaken late in the 1790s by John Mason of Analostan (now Theodore Roosevelt) Island who obtained a Virginia charter for the town of South Haven or West Haven in the present Rosslyn area. Arlingtonians today can recognize this effort as being remarkably visionary, but it was as premature as the promotion by a group of New York developers in the 1830s of Jackson City in the areas between the modern Fourteenth Street Bridge and the National Airport. Jackson City, or "Humbug City" as it was known to some skeptics, was visualized as a manufacturing area and a bustling port that would serve as a transhipment point between ocean-going ships and boats coming down the Potomac. But Congress, which already faced competing demands from the mercantile interests in Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington, refused to grant a charter for a fourth city in the District. Hence, Jackson City, like nineteenth century Rosslyn, failed to develop as its promoters had dreamed.

The closest facsimile to a central point in Arlington was Ball's Crossroads in the present vicinity of Glebe Road and Washington Boulevard. This strategic junction of the road connecting the important Potomac ferry at Analostan Island and the route from Alexandria to the Chain Bridge was the site of a tavern
begun by the Ball Family that became a polling place after Arlington's return to Virginia. However, aside from the tavern, there were only a few other structures in the area.  

More substantial progress was achieved after 1801 in transportation facilities for Arlington. Despite the objections of Georgetown's merchants who had built the Chain Bridge and Georgetown Turnpike and feared that river traffic would be obstructed from entering their port, Washington interests were able to persuade Congress in 1808 to charter a private corporation to erect the Long Bridge near the foot of Washington's Fourteenth Street. The bridge then was connected with turnpikes running south to Alexandria and west via the present route of Columbia Pike. Alexandria's merchants were not to be outdone. In 1802 they initiated the Little River Turnpike and in 1818 the Leesburg Turnpike that skirted the west boundary of modern Arlington. Then in the 1830s they chartered the Alexandria Canal Corporation which by 1843 completed a waterway connecting their city to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal via the Aqueduct Bridge in the Rosslyn area. These transportation developments not only allowed urban areas to capture their own markets in the hinderland, but also benefited the farmers of Arlington who were assured of ready access to the markets of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria. 

Another way to outline Arlington's history in this period is to comment on some of its leading families. When federal jurisdiction was extended to this region, the three largest landholders were Robert Alexander, who had resumed ownership of Abingdon in the area of the present National Airport; George Washington Parke Custis of Arlington; and John Mason of Analostan or Theodore Roosevelt Island. Considering the importance of river-front property in 1801 and the history of land acquisition in Virginia, it is not surprising that each of these men was associated with aristocratic families.

The first individual, Robert Alexander, was the descendant of John Alexander who had acquired in 1669 the first significant land grant in the Upper Potomac region. This vast tract originally consisted of more than eight thousand acres, including the site of Alexandria which was named after the family. Alexander's residence at Abingdon burned in 1930, but its ruins can be seen to this day on the grounds of the National Airport. Surrounding this country mansion house was an estate of more than nine hundred acres stretching along the shore of the Potomac.

The tract north of Abingdon was purchased in 1778 by John Parke Custis and in 1802 this land passed to his son, George Washington Parke Custis, who until his death in 1857 was Arlington's leading citizen. Custis, the grandson of Martha Washington, was raised as a son by George Washington after the death of his father during the American Revolution. Upon receiving his inheritance, the young man owned holdings that included some 1,100 acres near the river plus an additional tract of 1,200 acres willed by George Washington that was situated in the upper Four Mile Run stream valley.
Custis's Arlington house, which also is associated with his son-in-law, Robert E. Lee, was begun shortly after Custis assumed control of the estate. It was finally completed in 1817. The plantation's fields stretched along the lowlands bordering the Potomac while the highlands owned by Custis were maintained to a large extent in the English style as a forested, park-like area. During the years prior to the War of 1812, when the United States struggled to establish its economic independence from foreign imports, Custis became famous for developing an improved breed of sheep and for his annual sheep-shearing contests encouraging other growers to develop a source of raw material for a native American wool industry. In later years, as Custis used lime and guano on his fields and reclaimed new lands along the river, his estate was noted for being exceptionally fertile and well kept. He also reaped some income from the spring river fisheries. Nevertheless, Custis shared with other Tidewater gentry the problem of economic decline and was constantly seeking additional sources of revenue. One of his most colorful ventures was the development of Arlington Springs, a popular picnic grove on the banks of the Potomac, complete with Custis's own small steamboat to transport visitors.

Slaves and other members of Arlington's underclasses are not well recorded in the county's history. But, it is known that Custis was a paternal master of his numerous slaves and that, like many of his Virginia contemporaries, he directed their manumissions at the time of his death. He also liberated some slaves during his lifetime. One of these was Maria Syphax who was freed in 1825. Then, in the following year, Custis deeded some seventeen acres on the southwestern boundary of his estate to Mrs. Syphax. Members of the Syphax family continue to live today in this area and proudly trace their ancestry through Maria to George Washington Parke Custis. 14

John Mason, a son of George Mason of Gunston Hall, was equally as well known as Custis during the first three decades of the 1800s. But, his mansion house on Analostan Island was destroyed by fire in 1906 and it is perhaps due to the loss of this physical reminder that his memory has dimmed in the twentieth century.

In 1792, upon the death of his father, Mason inherited this island plus 1,800 acres of Virginia shoreline property stretching north to the vicinity of Chain Bridge. In addition, Mason acquired in 1815 about 270 additional acres representing the former Glebe lands in north Arlington. As a result, his holdings were as extensive as those of Custis. Mason also was the proprietor of the ferry crossing the river at Georgetown which was a primary transportation link until the completion of the Aqueduct in 1843.

John Mason's house on Analostan Island was started in 1793 and became noted for its beauty and extravagant hospitality. A vivid contemporary description was provided by the Englishman David Warden who visited the island in the years prior to the War of 1812. Warden commented on the beautiful vista of the river and Washington, the sumptuous refreshments provided by the Masons, the girl-like beauty of Mrs. Mason — despite the fact that she was the mother of nine children — and the island's spectacular gardens. He concluded by claiming the "Every part of the island is romantic." 16
Mason also was an active entrepreneur. Like Custis, he was an advanced farmer who raised improved breeds of sheep. His commercial interests included eventual ownership of the Columbia Foundry founded near Georgetown by Henry Foxall, participation in the Potomac Canal Company, and extensive speculation in western lands. He additionally was involved in governmental affairs, serving as the first commander of the District of Columbia militia and later as the Superintendent of Indian Trade. But, as was true for so many other Tidewater gentlemen, Mason’s fortunes waned after the War of 1812 and in the 1830s he lost all of his holdings in Arlington. Thereafter, until his death in 1849, Mason lived on a relatively modest farm several miles west of Alexandria.

One of the large tracts in the upland section of Arlington was the Glebe estate owned by the Fairfax Parish of the Episcopal Church prior to 1815. This farm of more than five hundred acres was the residence of the minister who served the parish’s two churches – Christ Church in Alexandria and the Falls Church – until the original house burned in 1808. In 1815 the house site, which is near the present intersection of North Seventeenth Street and Glebe Road, and half of the land, were sold to Walter Jones of Washington, while the other half passed to John Mason. Between 1829 and 1836 John Peter Van Ness acquired the holdings of both Jones and Mason, hence reuniting the Glebe land under single ownership. Walter Jones, a well-known Washington lawyer, had rebuilt a portion of the Glebe House for use as a hunting lodge and summer residence. Van Ness, the wealthy former mayor of Washington, used the house for the same purpose prior to his death in 1846. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to see both Jones and Van Ness as precursors of the many Washingtonians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who would build summer homes in the highlands of Arlington. 17

Elsewhere in the interior of Arlington, the inhabitants we know most about were proprietors of sizeable farms. Perhaps the most famous of these families was descended from Moses Ball, who originally had settled in the mid-1700s on a ninety-one acre grant in the Glencarlyn region. By 1801 members of the Ball family moved to the area in central Arlington that today is still known as Ballston, where they built the tavern at Ball’s Crossroads. Since that time, members of every Ball generation have been prominent in county affairs. One of Moses Ball’s grandsons, for example, was Robert Ball, the business manager of George Washington Parke Custis and a favorite of Robert E. Lee. Shortly after Arlington returned to Virginia, another family member, James T. Ball, was a commissioner of elections and then a commissioner of schools. 18 It is most fitting that the widow of Frank L. Ball, a distinguished state senator and another descendant of Moses Ball, today lives in the Glebe House which is only a few blocks from Ball’s Crossroads.

Adjoining the original grant of Moses Ball in Glencarlyn was a tract of several hundred acres acquired by William Carlin in the late eighteenth century. Carlin formerly had lived in Alexandria where he had once been a tailor, but throughout the 1801-47 period, Carlin and his descendants were farmers in that part of the county. Considering the limited physical remains of Arlington’s early history, it is notable that two structures associated with William Carlin exist.
today. One of these is the log wing of the Arlington Historical Society's Ball-Sellers House that was standing at the time Carlin acquired the property in 1772 and which possibly is the oldest building in Arlington. The other is a log residence built about 1800 at 5512 North Carlin Springs Road. Several miles to the north of Glencarlyn, the Minor family had holdings that, like Carlin's, straddled the Arlington-Fairfax line. Here, on Minor Hill, the highest elevation in the county, a section of George Minor's house still stands a short distance from the Arlington boundary. In 1801, one of George's sons, William Minor, lived in that vicinity. He soon was appointed an officer in the Alexandria Legion of the District of Columbia militia and still later a justice of the peace for the county. The Minors were well-known citizens of Arlington for many decades. At the time of retrocession, for example, William Minor was appointed a justice of the peace for the new Virginia county and also served as a school commissioner.

To return to the most central portions of Arlington, two of the most important families were the Shreves and Birches who eventually intermarried with each other as well as with the nearby Balls. The sire of the first clan was Colonel Samuel Shreve, a native of New Jersey who had become a friend of George Washington while serving in the Continental Army. Shreve purchased a six thousand acre plantation in the Ballston area in 1784 and many of his descendants continued to reside in that area. The Birches descended from Colonel Joseph Birch, a resident of Alexandria, who acquired large landholdings in Arlington and Fairfax that were seated by his children. One of these offspring was Colonel Samuel Birch who served in William Minor's company of the District of Columbia Militia and whose home was near the present intersection of Lee Highway and Powhatan Street. Another son, William Birch, had his farm at the juncture of Little Falls and North Glebe Roads. To differentiate this latter gentleman from the numerous other Birches in Northern Virginia, he sometimes was known as "Cooney" and his home, known more correctly as Birchland, was popularly called "Cooney Manor." One local historian suggests that these terms originated in the inordinate love of coon hunting by residents of this section of the Potomac Highlands.

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Members of all of these families were on the scene in 1846-47 when Arlington was returned to Virginia. With surprising frequency since the establishment of the ten mile square, various groups in Alexandria County, as well as in Georgetown and other parts of the District of Columbia, had attempted to leave the federal fold. By the 1840s conditions were ripe for one of these efforts to succeed. However, a degree of mystery continues to surround the dynamics of retrocession. It is hoped that the general discussion which follows will encourage more extensive research on this important subject.

The stated reasons of Alexandria in requesting retrocession were threefold: discrimination in receiving federal financial assistance, the denial of basic political rights, and the claim that federal authorities had no need for the Virginia
Each of these factors did play a role. Congressman Robert M. T. Hunter of Virginia, the floor leader in the House of Representatives for the measure, emphasized the economic aspects by drawing a bleak picture of Alexandria's economic decline due to its dependence on the central government. Perhaps the most important, specific grievance mentioned by the Virginians of the 1840s was the failure of Congress to subsidize the canal that connected Alexandria City with the Chesapeake and Ohio Waterway via the Aqueduct Bridge in the modern Rosslyn area. Although federal aid had been provided for the C & O canal running west from Georgetown, Alexandrians noted that they alone met the expense of the vital spur to their city. Following retrocession, the state of Virginia did what Congress had refused to do by assuming some of the Alexandria Canal Company's heavy financial burden.

Alexandria also had other mercantile complaints. A Congressional act of 1844 barred banking corporations in the District and, although banking activity continued on a partnership basis, this restriction appears to have been particularly onerous for Alexandria City. Amazingly enough, in the 1840s the Virginians also harked back to the authorization in 1807 of a causeway between Analostan Island and the Virginia shore. The Georgetown business community had promoted this mole in the belief — a mistaken one as it turned out — that the barrier would divert the river’s current and thus deepen the heavily silted shipping channel to their port. Alexandria’s merchants claimed, however, that by cutting the most direct route down river to their city, the causeway deterred boats from trading with their city.

Looking at these economic factors as a whole, it is evident that rivalries between the business communities of Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington played an important role in the thrust for retrocession. One also needs to bear in mind that the economic hard times of the late 1830s and early 1840s, and the general decline of Tidewater Virginia, were important background elements. As often is the case in American history, economic distress, no matter what its actual causes may be, tended to be blamed on the political authorities.

The second factor — the lack of full political rights — referred most directly to the inability of the citizens of Alexandria and the rest of the District of Columbia to vote in state and national elections. These complaints sometimes have been dismissed as mere rhetoric masking the more important economic grievances. But perhaps that judgment is too hasty since there is no doubt that in this period Americans were developing a greater interest in popular politics. Certainly the debates in Congress on retrocession indicated that there was sensitivity regarding what one Senator termed the “galling disenfranchisement” of Alexandria’s inhabitants and the general desirability of extending suffrage to greater numbers of Americans.

The charge that the federal government had no need for the Virginia shore seemed obviously true in 1846, considering the legal restraints against public buildings in the area. It is possible that this factor also was related to the long-standing debate between the strict and loose interpretation of the Constitution. Such a situation is suggested by the Constitutional language used in the retrocession measure which claimed that it was neither “necessary nor proper” for
the federal government to control any more territory that was strictly essential for its operations.  

Aside from these expressed elements, the issue of slavery almost certainly was involved in retrocession as it was becoming intermixed in virtually every other aspect of American life. During the debates in the House of Representatives, one northern Congressman, Erastus D. Culver of New York, suggested that the "whole truth" behind this measure had not been revealed. Culver claimed that a hidden motive was to facilitate the apprehension of fugitive slaves, a step that would far be easier if Alexandria was under the jurisdiction of a southern state. He also expressed concern with transferring more than a thousand slaves in the area from federal to Virginia control.  

It is surprising, however, that neither Culver nor the other opponents of the legislation referred to the important implication of retrocession for Alexandria City's thriving slave trade. Nevertheless, it must have been obvious that due to the efforts of abolitionist groups, which were accelerated by the end of the Congressional gag rule in 1844, the practice of buying and selling of blacks in the federal district was in jeopardy.  

In fact, the termination of this trade in the District of Columbia was achieved four years later as part of the Compromise of 1850. Of course, that ban would have applied to Alexandria if it had not escaped to the safety of Virginia.  

Two other considerations associated with the all-consuming slavery issue have been advanced by historians of retrocession. It is claimed that the return of Alexandria to the Old Dominion was part of an effort by Tidewater Virginia to increase its influence in the state legislature at a time when the non-slaveholding western section of the state was seeking to gain a more equitable share of political representation. Although the final result of retrocession was to add only a single representative from Alexandria, the contemporary legislative debates in Washington and Richmond indicated that sectional rivalry within the Old Dominion was an important consideration.  

Over and above that specific issue, one prominent historian has stated that Virginia's reacquisition of Alexandria was a symbolic victory for the slave-owning south. This assertion appears persuasive, considering the profoundly emotional nature of the slavery dispute, and can be supported by contemporary evidence. However, before giving full credence to this interpretation, it should be realized that the Congressional vote fell far short of reflecting a clear division between north and south. A number of northern Congressman supported retrocession and two of the measure's most vocal opponents were from future states of the Confederacy — Senator William H. Haywood of North Carolina and Representative William W. Payne of Alabama. In the final vote, the name of Jefferson Davis also stands out among the list of those voting nay.  

The southern opponents of retrocession did not join Congressman Culver in raising the issue of slavery, but they and their northern campatriots did agree on other basic objections. Perhaps the most important of these was the claim that, in the absence of a Constitutional amendment, the entire process was illegal due to the Constitution's provisions regarding the federal district. Several Congressmen also referred to the hostility to retrocession by many citizens living outside Alexandria City. Although acknowledging that these citizens were out-
numbered by the urban proponents, it was argued that their minority rights demanded protection.\(^36\)

Despite such objections, the retrocession measure passed with comfortable majorities (96 to 65 in the House and 32 to 14 in the Senate) and was signed into law by President Polk on July 10, 1846. Before the measure became effective, it was stipulated that a referendum would be held among the white, male citizens of the county. The election occurred in September 1846 and resulted in overwhelming approval by a margin of 763 to 222. But this apparently decisive vote, including as it did the large electorate of Alexandria City, concealed the opposition of large numbers and probably a majority of Arlingtonians to retrocession. That situation was reflected in a memorial sent to the Virginia Legislature in December 1846 by a committee of county residents claiming that the whole affair was an unconstitutional and secret plot by the Alexandria City corporation. The protestors included members of such solid, upland families as the Balls, Carlins, and Birches, but it is significant that their petition was not signed by Arlington's two most prominent citizens — George Washington Parke Custis and James Roach.\(^37\)

Although direct evidence is lacking, one can speculate on the reasons behind Arlington's protest. Economically, the relatively impecunious residents of the country section probably had little stake in the Alexandria Canal Company, or interest in the mercantile and banking fortunes of that city. At the same time the closeness of most of Arlington to Georgetown and Washington indicated that Arlington's financial self interests were more closely aligned with those centers than with Alexandria. As for the issue of political rights, the memorial of December 1846 indicated that at least some country residents were more concerned with their domination by populous Alexandria City than with the general denial of their suffrage. Considering the limited number of slaves in Arlington and their concentration in large estates, one also would think that the middle-class farmers of the region were unimpressed by the importance of trading chattels in Alexandria or scoring a symbolic victory for the slave power of the south.

Although this protest may reveal a good deal about the nature of Arlington, it had little effect on the politicians in Richmond. On March 13, 1847, the state legislature passed a measure extending its jurisdiction over Arlington and Alexandria. As was true prior to 1847, both areas were unified politically as the County of Alexandria, although Alexandria also continued to have a separate city charter.\(^38\)

Students of Arlington's history over the 131 years since its return to Virginia can be impressed by a number of continuities. For example, independence from the influence of Alexandria finally was made possible with a new state constitution of 1870 that separated the county portion from the city. But it was not until 1898 that the county's court house was moved from Alexandria to the present location on the heights of Arlington and it was only in 1920 that the county distinguished itself from the nearby city by assuming its present name in honor of the estate of George Washington Parke Custis. Throughout this period the relationship of Arlington to the federal authorities in the District of Columbia has become even closer than it was in 1847. For example, in the Civil War
years the United States finally began to claim large sections of the county for a system of defensive fortifications. Today, some twenty percent of Arlington's area is in the federal ownership. The orientation of modern transportation routes also ties Arlington closely to the District.

Finally, one other theme may be mentioned as having continuing importance. It is possible to discern from Arlington's history during 1801-47 a struggle by a thinly settled, rural area to establish its own identity in the face of more populous, affluent, and influential areas adjoining it on three sides. Many members of the Arlington Historical Society believe that the urban Arlington of today faces the same challenge and that one of the contributions local historians can make is to define the distinctive characteristics of one section of a complex metropolitan area.
FOOTNOTES


3 Rose, Arlington County, p. 66, 245.


14 Nelligan, "Old Arlington," p. 408, 410-11, 422; Rose, Arlington County, p. 122; information supplied by Mr. and Mrs. Archie D. Syphax.


20 See Martin K. Gordon, "The District of Columbia Militia, 1790-1815" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The George Washington University, 1975); Melvin Lee Steadman, Jr., Falls Church by
Fence and Fireside (Falls Church, Va.: Falls Church Public Library, 1964), p. 375-76; Rose, Arlington County, pp. 83, 90.

21 Steadman, Falls Church, p. 252-55, 265-66, 419-20.


27 Rose, Arlington County, p. 80.


30 Quoted in Harrison Mann, “Chronology of Action on the Part of the United States to Complete Retrocession of Alexandria County (Arlington County) to Virginia,” AHM (1957), p. 16.

31 U. S., Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 778-81. See also Rose, Arlington County, p. 82.


36 Ibid., p. 778-81, 1042-43, 1045-46. See also Casselman, “Virginia Section of the District of Columbia,” p. 115-41.

37 For the implementation of the federal retrocession measure, see Rose, Arlington County, pp. 81-82; Mann, “Chronology of Action on the Part of the United States,” p. 22-23; Harrison Mann, “Chronology of Action on the Part of the State of Virginia to Complete Retrocession of Alexandria County (Arlington County) to Virginia,” AHM (1958), p. 43-51.

38 Rose, Arlington County, pp. 82-86.