

A View from Hall's Hill: African American Community Development in Arlington, Virginia from the Civil War to the Turn of the Century

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Introduction

Since 1865 Arlington County has been home to the neighborhood of Hall's Hill.¹ A predominantly African American community, Hall's Hill has a distinct history. Hall's Hill was one of at least eleven black neighborhoods created in the Civil War era. However Hall's Hill is one of only three able to survive as an African American community into the twenty-first century.² The other communities, Green Valley and Johnson's Hill, were both middle class communities in the more traditionally black eastern portion of the county. These communities stand in contrast to the working class Hall's Hill located in the otherwise primarily white western portion of the county.³ This paper tracks Hall's Hill's earliest development to help to explain how it was able to endure.

This work also helps to show how the individuals and families who created their lives in freedom in Hall's Hill shaped the county's overall development. The single family homes on smaller lots with residents who largely commuted to work and created a robust community identity through community institutions shaped the trajectory of the county's growth as it transitioned from rural hinterland to suburban enclave. This helps to highlight the influence of some of Arlington's early black residents and also challenges ideas that African Americans did not play an active role in American suburbanization.

I argue that the kind of physically insulated and socially active community built in Hall's Hill not only shaped Arlington's overall trajectory but also allowed the community to survive the Jim Crow era when state and local segregation, zoning, and planning laws all worked to attempt to push African Americans from the county.

Establishment of Black Communities in Arlington

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Arlington County, Virginia (then Alexandria County until 1920) was a community in transition. During and immediately following the Civil War white Arlingtonians were not in a place of power. During the war Arlington existed in an uncertain middle ground

between Union and Confederate lines. Although the county, then mostly rural farmland, did not enthusiastically support secession, when Virginia seceded from the Union, Arlington, being a part of Virginia, did so as well. But Arlington's secession was never implemented because at the opening of the war in the summer of 1861 the county was occupied by federal troops. To protect Washington and its claims in Virginia, the federal government erected twenty-one forts in Arlington County as part of the Civil War defenses of Washington.⁴

Federal occupation during the war and Reconstruction hurt white Arlingtonians' social and political power, while the war's destruction and lean post-war years hurt their economic power. So, following the Civil War, Arlington's existing white community was not in a position of strength to keep the best lands for themselves. Economic hardships led many white Arlingtonians to subdivide and sell their land, turning the formerly farming community into a more densely populated environment. At the same time, rail networks expanded in the county. The possibility of easier commuting further pushed expansion in Arlington. In the immediate postwar years white Arlingtonians took a less active role in shaping the county and their own communities into a unified suburban environment.

New arrivals of African Americans seeking to make lives for themselves for the first time in freedom took advantage of this situation and began purchasing lands. Far from being bystanders or absent from the suburban landscape, a robust African American community survived and thrived in Arlington with the creation of as many as eleven black localities by the turn of the twentieth century. These individuals and families were drawn to Arlington for several reasons. Arlington provided unique employment opportunities for blacks with the federal government, where early reforms ensured more egalitarian employment policies.⁵ Here African American residents found the possibility of building new communities in an area where lands were available near preexisting black communities. Arlington was host to the pre-war community of Green Valley as well as the large, preplanned community of Freedman's Village.⁶ The Village began as a contraband camp for escaped slaves during the Civil War, but grew into a large and thriving African American community which was home to black churches and schools. Freedman's Village was also home to social and cultural institutions, such as the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows fraternal organization, which provided services to black residents county wide. Civil War era black settlers arrival in the county at a time of transition for Arlington's form, function, landscape, and built environment meant as the area moved from a rural farming community to a predominantly domestic suburb, African American visions about what made an area a good place to live influenced the trajectory of the county's earliest suburban development.

Hall's Hill

One of Arlington's earliest post-Civil War African American communities was Hall's Hill. Founded in 1865, Hall's Hill featured "a fine stream of water" which afforded "water for cooking and bathing," "woodlands, which furnished fuel," and "a view of the country for nearly ten miles."⁷ These descriptions of lovely, pastoral views and natural resources show how Hall's Hill was built on desirable land. Nationally it was unusual for African American communities to be in such sought-after areas. Even elite and middle class black communities of the New South, such as the Hayti African American neighborhood of Durham, North Carolina, were forced to take up residence in an undesirable periphery of mud flats outside the city.⁸ But these residential patterns were not seen in Arlington. Nationally the only African American communities which developed in such well-to-do areas were domestic service enclaves created so domestics could live close to the elite homes they serviced. Seven percent of Arlington's African American residents worked as domestic workers, including Hall's Hill residents Ellen Hayson, who worked as a cook, and her daughter Margaret, who worked as a live-in maid. But this employment type does not seem to have impacted Arlington's African American settlement patterns.⁹

Hall's Hill's location in desirable areas can be linked to Arlington's Civil War and post-war realities which resulted in a weakened white landowning class. The hard-times of the Civil War are what spurred white land-owner Bazil Hall, the name-sake of Hall's Hill, to sell his land to African Americans. During the war, Hall fled his house when a skirmish between Union and Confederate forces put his home in the crossfire. During his absence his home and farm were stripped of furniture, timber, fences, crops, and farm animals.¹⁰ Before the war, Hall's 327 acre property was valued at over \$10,000, with an additional \$15,000 in personal property. But following the war, his land was valued at only \$6,400 and his personal property was estimated to be worth only \$30. Hall was in his late-fifties with four young children still living at home.¹¹ To survive he needed to sell his land.

Even at that depressed, post-war rate, Hall's land was still valued at more than \$19 per acre. In 1865 he began selling his land for \$10 to \$15 per acre. Needing funds and provisions desperately, Hall was willing to sell his land at a lost to African American individuals and families. He would even accept lump sums of cash, in-kind trade, or installments of \$0.60 per month for his land.

Most Hall's Hill residents were freedmen who came from rural lives on Virginia and Maryland farms and plantations. That was the case for James Washington who relocated on his own from Maryland to purchase two lots totaling three acres in Hall's Hill in 1866.¹² Other early purchasers in Hall's Hill

included the Upshires, Archibald, Eliza, and their growing family.¹³ Whether they came as individuals or in family units, on their land residents built simple single-family wood frame or brick homes. Residents built their own homes, often in a piecemeal fashion as supplies could be afforded and time could be secured to complete the work. Though they only built modest homes for themselves, Hall's Hill had high rates of home ownership. By 1900, 59% of black families county-wide owned their homes, well above the national rate of 46.5% of home ownership for all Americans that same year.¹⁴

Though white landowners in Arlington, including Bazil Hall, sold land to African Americans immediately following the Civil War, this willingness to sell should not be equated with support for Arlington's new and growing black community. This is especially true in the case of Bazil Hall. Hall was known for his violent temper generally and for his aggression towards blacks in particular.

He was rumored to have "shot one negro simply in bravado," and was quoted by a Union soldier as having asserted that "any man of common sense will say that slavery is the very best thing for the South."¹⁵ Though Hall had at least four slaves – Thomas Merchant and the Fair family, Alfred, Genny, and son John – between 1855 and 1860, none stayed in Hall's Hill to purchase land from Hall. He was known for being incredibly hard

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on his slaves, an *Evening Star* article noted that he and his wife were known "as being hard on servants."¹⁶ It is very possible that their former slaves did not wish to continue any relationship with Hall in freedom. It is also possible that Hall was unwilling to sell to his former slaves. Unfortunately for residents, Hall's involvement in their lives did not end with the bill of sale. Bazil Hall did not want the new residents on his land to "forget their places."¹⁷ He discouraged them from taking employment which he believed was above their station and instead hoped they would rely on his benevolence.¹⁸ So even though white Arlington found that they needed to sell to African Americans, they only did so begrudgingly. Despite this, Bazil Hall and his land sales represented an opportunity for black residents to buy land and create lives for themselves in a lovely, desirable location within the county.

Hall's Hill was a largely working class community. James Washington worked as a farm hand. Both Archibald and Eliza Upshire worked outside of

the home, he as a laborer and she as a domestic.¹⁹ In freedom, many Hall's Hill residents worked as unskilled laborers in Washington, D.C. for \$0.15 to \$0.50 a day, less than half the rate received by skilled laborers at that time. These residents relied on the nearby steam and rail trolley system to take them in and out of the city for work. Hall's Hill was built along the Washington and Old Dominion line, which was first chartered in 1853.²⁰ While providing access to employment, the trolley posed some risks for residents as well. As a boy local resident William H. "Willie" Pelham was responsible for watching the tracks during the summer when "the broom sage [grass] would grow tall."²¹ White rail workers would "take a shovelful of hot coals and throw it over in that brush" when passing through the Hall's Hill area.²² With homes lining the tracks, local children "would have to get out there with pine brushes and all that kind of business to smother the fire out before it got to our homes."²³ Pelham believed that "they did it deliberately" when passing through the black community.²⁴

Beyond this potential risk associated with living along the lines, traveling by trolley was also difficult for many of Hall's Hill's working class residents. Though riding the rails was convenient and the most reliable way to travel in the county, where despite road improvements made during the war years, almost all of the county's road networks were still dirt or gravel, trolley travel still proved difficult. A two-way ticket cost \$0.05 per day, taking up one-third of some residents' average daily income. While employment in D.C. offered job opportunities, the significant cost to travel into the city for work shows that this employment choice was not without its trials. Most of Hall's Hill's working residents needed to travel beyond the community for employment because the community had few, if any, businesses at the end of the nineteenth century.

With a majority coming from lives on rural plantations, the residents of Hall's Hill used their farming skill-sets to improve this bleak economic situation. Shaping their environment to meet their needs, they created a semi-rural community. Residents created extensive gardens, and raised hogs, chickens, and turkeys for consumption or sale.²⁵ Residents often expanded their land holdings slowly in order to make this a reality. For example, when Robert E. Ferguson first purchased land from Basil Hall he was only able to buy one-half of an acre. But over time his land holdings expanded until his lot was large enough to support some modest farming. Coming from the rural Herndon, Virginia, Ferguson used his farming skill sets to grow cherry trees whose fruit was harvested for sale by his wife Ellen D.V. Hayson and their children.²⁶ Though residents focused on buying larger lots so they could grow food, their land was much smaller than the larger farms of Arlington's past. These smaller land holdings point to the beginnings of a suburban existence for Arlington with Hall's Hill as an intermediary step. In this way Arlington's early African American residents

influenced the county's development by pushing the county towards becoming a more densely settled suburban environment with smaller landholdings.

Beyond their individual attempts to create successful lives in freedom through work and home, the residents of Hall's Hill created community institutions to help establish the kind of social and physical environment they thought ideal. The Pelham family was a part of this development. Moses Pelham, father of Willie Pelham, came to Hall's Hill from Culpepper, Virginia with his extended kin network, including his brothers Burrell, Gipson, and Ed.²⁷ These kin networks combined with residents high rates of home ownership to create a very stable environment where children raised in Hall's Hill continued to live in the community in adulthood. From this place of stability residents created community institutions. Only one year after the first bills of sale, they created their first church congregation. In 1866 Moses Pelham organized a Methodist prayer services which grew into the Calloway United Methodist Church.²⁸

In 1868 residents organized a school for the expanding numbers of children in the community.²⁹ James Washington, who purchased his lot as a single man, married his wife Lucinda in 1882 and the pair raised six children in Hall's Hill. Moses Pelham also had six children. The Upshires had two children when they purchased their home and four children as of 1870. These young, growing families pushed for a good education and a better life for their children. Hall's Hill's school was a simple one room school with one teacher. Though modest, this school was unique for the area. Hall's Hill was located within Washington District, the county's westernmost voting district. In Washington District, local white residents resisted public education. Even after the county established a public school system in 1870, the region opted out of the program, waiting until 1878 to open the Carne School for white children.³⁰ This resistance likely had less to do with an outright rejection of public education than the fact that at this time many Arlingtonians sent their children to school in Washington, D.C. The District provided the possibility for students to attend private school and children of federal employees could also attend D.C.'s public schools for free. With these options open to their children, Washington District's white residents resisted being taxed for education closer to home. The white residents near Hall's Hill did not yet view the area as a growing community. Their disinvestment in community schools points to a continued lack of vision for the area's future development as compared to their black neighbors.

However, for Hall's Hills residents it was important not only that their children receive an education, but that they receive that education close to home. This could be the result of many practical factors, such as the difficulty for school-aged children to navigate the trolley cars. Many trolley advertisements warned parents to "caution the children as to the danger of walking on railroad

tracks,” “to look in both directions” before crossing tracks, and to never step on or off of a moving car.³¹ The lack of curbs or sidewalks in the community’s roads could have increased these safety fears. Or concerns about paying additional trolley fares beyond those already paid by parents traveling beyond the neighborhood for employment could have been a contributing factor.

But this choice to create a school for and within their own community shows distinct visions from black Arlingtonians about what makes an area a good place to live. Unlike their white neighbors, the residents of Hall’s Hill felt that it was important to create their own schools within the community. A path also taken by the residents of Freedman’s Village, the desire to have a local school shows not only the importance of education for the first generation of African Americans in freedom, it also shows how schools were perceived to be neighborhood institutions, pillars of the community. The physical location of the Hall’s Hill school in the center of the community, alongside the church, highlights this fact. Schools were used not only for education but also to provide neighborhood children with a sense of community, connection, and insulation from negative outside white influences which they would be more likely to experience if they had to travel great distances beyond their communities.

This call for isolation is also suggested in the layout of the community. Hall’s Hill church and school were clustered along Fairfax Road, the community’s main connector to the District and other parts of the county. With homes fanning out from the main road and these institutions, Calloway Church and Hall’s Hill school were the anchors of the community. With these institutions at the center of their community physically and socially, the environment built by Hall’s Hill’s residents was a physical representation of their preferences for what community life should be like. As previously mentioned, the county’s road network was primitive with primarily dirt roads. On top of this, in Hall’s Hill the roads were narrow and most did not open out to connect to other roads. Beyond the main thoroughfare of Fairfax Road through the community, few roads passed through Hall’s Hill. This limited connectivity and general impassability of Hall’s Hill’s roads could certainly be inconvenient for residents; however it also provided insulation from surrounding white neighbors. It is important to

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remember that although Hall's Hill was increasingly becoming a black community, full residential segregation was not yet a reality. Instead, Hall's Hill's black residences neighbored white farming families and newly emerging white neighborhoods, in what Thomas Hanchett has described as a "salt and pepper" residential pattern common to post-Civil War southern residential expansion.³² Residents were also isolated from other black communities in east Arlington where Freedman's Village and Green Valley were located. This separation from a larger local network of black communities could have heightened their desire to create some breathing room for their community by becoming insulated.

Changing Realities

Despite creating a strong community Hall's Hill experienced many challenges at the dawn of the new century. At this time white Arlingtonians regained power after the Civil War had diminished their social and civic influence. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Arlington politics became controlled by Democrats from the latest generation of established Virginia families, most of whom had served as Confederate officers. On the local level Arlingtonians undertook conservative reforms through the Good Citizen's League which pushed policies that worked against black rights and the perceived democratic excesses of the previous decades. White citizens in Arlington claimed "largely black majorities" had to be overcome to ensure Arlington would be a "white man's county" with "white man's rule."³³ In 1902 a new Virginia State Constitution was ratified which disenfranchised nearly all African Americans and significantly curbed hard-won civil rights. With these changes the road was paved for discriminatory, segregationist policies. Later that same year the "Virginia Act Concerning Public Transportation" passed, segregating Arlington's streetcars.³⁴

More segregation laws followed. As white political power and social control continued to grow throughout the Jim Crow era, white Arlingtonians attempted to reverse the black growth they had begrudgingly accepted out of necessity in the previous decades. Arlington's white leaders used their power to attempt to push out black Arlington from what they increasingly envisioned as an all-white, exclusively suburban landscape. Beginning in the 1910s and continuing into the 1930s white Arlingtonians began to focus on solidifying residential segregation. The new white middle class communities which were created at the turn of the century featured restrictive covenants aimed at keeping their domain white. For example, Lyon Park, the development of prominent Arlington land developer, political leader, and booster Frank Lyon, used restrictive covenants in its purchase agreements. These stated "neither said property nor any part thereof nor any interest therein shall be sold or leased to any one not of the Caucasian race."³⁵ In 1912 the Virginia Legislature passed "An Act to

Provide for... Segregation Districts..." which gave Arlington County the legal right to segregate residential areas beyond the individual home level.³⁶ With this 1912 Act the use of restrictive covenants and community-wide segregation practices were expanded to *all* new and existing developments. This effectively prevented new African American communities from forming and prevented the boundaries of existing communities like Hall's Hill from expanding.

Arlington's white leaders steadily created zoning, planning, and covenant legislation which would push out the black communities established throughout the county. In 1930 Arlington passed a new Zoning and Planning Ordinance which hurt Arlington's African American communities in several ways. The legislation tried to limit multifamily housing, which at the time existed almost exclusively in black communities. Multifamily housing was embraced by African Americans as a way to deal with the inability to move beyond their preexisting communities because of segregation while allowing for growth. This legislation also required expensive renovations which must be undertaken by professional contractors. Many of the working class residents of Hall's Hill, who had traditionally built and renovated their homes themselves, were unable to pay for these improvements. Additionally many white contractors were unwilling to work with African American clients.

Since its founding Hall's Hill's residents had used strategies of isolation to insulate themselves from hostile white neighbors.

One element of this ordinance which impacted Hall's Hill in particular was a provision allowing for "the construction of a rear fence or wall to a height not exceeding seven feet."³⁷ This provision allowed for the continuation of racialized building practices meant to isolate and more firmly segregate Hall's Hill. Along the rear property line of the white homes which bordered Hall's Hill, including the neighborhoods of Fostoria and Waycroft, residents constructed a seven foot tall cinderblock wall.³⁸ This wall construction was executed on an individual home-owner level, however, it was planned out enough that by the early 1940s the entirety of Hall's Hill was quartered off. Since its founding Hall's Hill's residents had used strategies of isolation to insulate themselves from hostile white neighbors. Early roads and institutions faced into the community and had few external access points. However, this new more pronounced division by local white residents created a physical barrier to punctuate Hall's Hill's segregated status in an area which was otherwise considered the domain of white suburban development. The wall meant that the community could not expand and that there was only one entrance or exit.

With such mounting social and legal pressures many of Arlington's African American communities were not able to survive. From the 1900s to the early 1950s, these forces resulted in the closing of nearly all of the area's African American communities.

Hall's Hill Stands Strong

Against these mounting pressures Hall's Hill used its strong community to work against these obstacles. Residents used their fraternal, school, and church organizations to provide social and recreational activities which were not provided by the county under segregation. These same organizations took on increasingly political tones following African American disfranchisement. County-wide organizations took active stances on questions of black civil rights. Hall's Hill's residents were active members in these county-wide organizations, which by the early twentieth century included not only the Odd Fellows, but also the Elks and Masons. In a 1927 "Proclamation," the Elks announced that "we demand more civil rights for which we must fight so that we may occupy our rightful place as citizens of our great country."³⁹ The continued civic mindedness of Hall's Hill residents despite a decline in formal rights and political participation can be seen by the candidacy of two residents for County Board. In November 1931 Hall's Hillers C.H. Mosley and Dr. E.T. Morton joined two other African American candidates from across the county in protesting increasingly hostile laws by fielding black candidates for the first time since 1903.⁴⁰ Though none of the candidates won the election, the fact that half of the candidates came from Hall's Hill shows continued devotion to the political process.⁴¹

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Where possible Hall's Hill residents used their tight-knit community to organize and provided their own municipal amenities which were ignored by the county during segregation. With a high demand for a black housing industry following new zoning laws, three construction companies were created within the community. By 1950 there were twenty black construction companies and three black realtors in Arlington. Three of these construction companies were in Hall's Hill.⁴² They also improvised solutions to missing municipal services, such as street-lights. Without street lights in Hall's Hill each resident put lanterns in their front windows as a way to light their streets. The use of lanterns was

consistent enough across each household that residents used this lantern-light to give directions. Resident Robert Nickerson recalled that you would “tell a friend how to come to your place [by] counting off so many lanterns to here and turn, and so many lanterns to there and turn, and so many lanterns to my house.”⁴³ Hall’s Hill created the county’s first dedicated fire station, Fire Station #8, to benefit their community.

Beyond the creation of strong community institutions, Hall's Hill was also able to adapt against changing realities in Arlington's social and political climate because of the stability of their community. Children of residents consistently chose to stay in the community when it came time for them to establish households of their own. Rosia Washington Lewis, the daughter of one of Hall’s Hill’s earliest purchasers James Washington, continued to live in the Hall’s Hill. As did Benjamin “Benny” Robinson, son of William H. Robinson.⁴⁴ These experiences were not unusual. By the first decades of the twentieth century many residents were second or even third generations of residents in the area. High rates of home ownership and the presence of extended kin networks within the neighborhood created a strong community able and willing to adapt.

Hall’s Hill also used its physically insulated layout to its favor. Geographically isolated streets and homes made the community less vulnerable to white encroachment. African American residents who lived in less insulated communities amongst white neighborhoods, such as the black Low and the Lee families who lived on the outskirts of twenty white families in the Barcroft neighborhood, found themselves more easily uprooted. The few black residents of Barcroft before 1910 were gone from the community by 1920.⁴⁵

Conclusion

The first generation of Hall's Hill founders created a community which reflected their wants and needs immediately following the Civil War. The community they created used the land to help improve their economic situation through small scale farming. The smaller plots and increasingly residential nature of their neighborhood, with many residents using trolley lines to commute to work beyond the community, helped to push Arlington towards a more suburban, densely settled environment. This impacted the trajectory of the area's overall development.

The community institutions created by the residents, including church and school organizations, had a profound effect on the community. These institutions created a more cohesive community than many of their white contemporaries, showing a more communal mindset than others who continued to see the area not as a unified, growing community but as a continuation of the area's pre-war isolated farms. The institutions also established the tools that later generations

of Hall's Hill residents would use to combat racially motivated laws designed to remove them from the environment. Because of these institutions and the physical environment created by the residents of Hall's Hill the neighborhood was able to survive the challenges of the Jim Crow era to remain a vibrant and important part of Arlington County today.

Endnotes

¹ Today the community is known as High View Park, but throughout this paper I will be using the historic name of Hall's Hill.

² Today these neighborhoods are known as Nauck and Arlington View, but I will be using their historic names here.

³ The eastern portion of Arlington was home to the African American communities of Green Valley, Johnson's Hill, Queen City, East Arlington, Butler-Holmes, and Freedman's Village. Arlington's black middle class is defined by those individuals who generally had higher levels of education, many of whom were employed by the federal government, and were leaders in their communities through church leadership, mutual aid societies, and politics. Because of restrictions blocking their progress in various economic endeavors in a white-dominated society, African Americans had a slightly more malleable understanding of middle class status which was predicated on education, community leadership, and behavior over a strictly economic definition. Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina 1896-1920*. (North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

⁴ C.B. Rose, "Civil War Forts in Arlington," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Oct 1960). There were 57 total forts in the Defenses of Washington.

⁵ Federal Civil Service Act, 1871 (5 USC § 2101). Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act, 1883 (ch 27, 22 Stat. 403).

⁶ Freedman's Village was in operation from 1863 to 1890.

⁷ John William, "Letter to Henry William," January 1, 1862 within Scott S Taylor, "The View from Hall's Hill: Civil War Letters from Hall's Hill Virginia." *Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Oct 2001) p 49-60.

⁸ Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

⁹ Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own*; Nancy Perry, Spencer Crew, Nigel M Waters "'We Didn't Have Any Other Place To Live': Residential Patterns in Segregated Arlington County, Virginia." *Southern Geographer*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Winter 2013) p 404.

¹⁰ Following this initial destruction, Hall's property was taken-over by Union forces for an encampment. Of this claim of \$42,450.30 in damages, Hall was awarded \$10,729.68 on June 15, 1872. Southern Claims Commission Records, No. 2422, Bazil Hall, 1871-1880. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Henry Wilson, "Regimental History of the Twenty-Second Massachusetts Infantry" *Arlington Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6 No.3 (Oct 1979).

¹¹ These figures are from 1860 and 1870 respectively. Donald A. Wise, "Bazil Hall of Hall's Hill" *The Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 6, No. 3 (Oct. 1979) p 20-31.

¹² Arlington County Deed Book XZ, No. 9, p 309 and C, No. 4, p 1 within Wise, "Bazil Hall of Hall's Hill." United States Census Records, 1930.

¹³ Various spelled Upshur and Upsher. Arlington County Deed Book A, No. 4 p 333-335 within Wise, "Bazil Hall of Hall's Hill" p 24. United States Census Records, 1870.

¹⁴ Though some residents were renters, owner occupied homes were the majority in Hall's Hill. Perry, et. al. "We didn't have any other place to live"; US Census <<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/owner.html>>.

¹⁵ Ellen Simmons, "Neighborhood History Preservation Study of Hall's Hill, Highview Park." (Arlington: Arlington County Government) 1987. Benjamin Franklin Cooling, "Symbol, Sword, and Shield;" *Defending Washington, D.C. During the Civil War* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1975) p 95.

¹⁶ *Evening Star*, December 14, 1857. Donald A. Wise, "Bazil Hall of Hall's Hill" p 20-31.

¹⁷ Simmons, "Neighborhood History Preservation Study of Hall's Hill, Highview Park"; *Cooling, Symbol, Sword, and Shield*, p 95.

¹⁸ E. Percil Standord, *Suburban Black Elderly* (California: Hwong, 1978) p 24-25.

¹⁹ "United States Census, 1860" and "United States Census, 1870," index and images, Virginia, United States; citing p. 50, family 356, NARA microfilm publication M593 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 553,138.

²⁰ Chartered as the Alexandria, Loudon, and Hampshire Railroad, the line would go through several name changes throughout the late nineteenth century until the Washington and Old Dominion was formalized in 1911.

²¹ The Pelham's purchased and subdivided land just outside of Hall's Hill beginning in 1890 to sell and rent to relatives. This area was called Pelham Town. Though its own subdivision it was a part of the larger Hall's Hill community as they continued to share social and cultural institutions. Arlington County Library, Oral History Program. "Interview with William H. Pelham, Sr. by Edmund D. Campbell and Cas Cocklin" (21 November 1986). Center for Local History, Arlington Central Library, Arlington, Virginia. P 6-7.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ John M. Langston Association, "History of Highview Park." Andrew Wiese characterizes this kind of development as an "industrial suburb" because the land serves a working, and not just aesthetic, purpose. Wiese, *Places of Their Own*.

²⁶ Arlington County Deed Book E. No. 4, 284 within Donald A. Wise, "Bazil Hall of Hall's Hill" p 24. Interview of Margaret Evelyn Wright conducted by Terry Townsend, Zonta Oral History Project Program, December 15, 1974. Arlington County Public Library, Virginia Collection. Arlington, Virginia. "Virginia, Marriages, 1785-1940," Robert E. Ferguson and Eleanor "Ellen" D. V. Hayson (also spelled Hyson), 23 Oct 1878; citing Falls Church, Alexandria, Virginia, reference 141; FHL microfilm 30,497.

²⁷ The Pelham's purchased and subdivided land just outside of Hall's Hill beginning in 1890 to sell and rent to relatives. This area was called Pelham Town. Though its own subdivision it was a part of the larger Hall's Hill community as they continued to share social and cultural institutions. Perry, et. al. "We didn't have any other place to live."

²⁸ Pelham Land Information: Arlington County Deed Book O4, p 319, Arlington County Office of Land Records.

²⁹ David Best, Vivian Bullock, Phyllis Costley, Mignon Johnson, "Addendum to the Summary of Oral History Transcripts for High View Park (Hall's Hill)," August 9, 1995.

³⁰ The county had three voting districts: Washington, Arlington, and Jefferson from 1870 to 1930. C.B. Rose, *Arlington County, Virginia*, p 136. Seymour B. Stiss "School Buildings in Arlington: 1922-1979." *The Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 7, No. 3 (October 1979) p 3-12.

³¹ Washington-Virginia Railway Co. "Parents Will Please." Vertical File: "Transportation, Trolleys, Railroads, and Streetcars," Center for Local History, Arlington Central Library, Arlington, Virginia.

³² Thomas Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte*,

1875-1975. (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

³³ *Alexandria Gazette*, 22 May 1901.

³⁴ August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "Negro Boycotts of Segregated Streetcars in Virginia, 1904-1907." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1973), p. 479-487.

³⁵ Ruth P. Rose, "The Role of Frank Lyon and His Associates in the Early Development of Arlington County," *Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 1980), pp. 52-53; p.50.

³⁶ The full title of the act was "An Act to Provide for Designation by Cities and Towns of Segregation Districts for Residences of White and Colored Persons, for the Adoption of This Act by Such Cities and Towns, and for Providing Penalties for Violation of its Terms." C.B. Rose, Jr. "The 1929 Annexation from Arlington by Alexandria" *Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Oct 1967). Beverly Bunch-Lyone and Nakeina Douglas "The Falls Church Colored Citizens Protective League and the Establishment of Virginia's First Rural Branch of the NAACP" within Verney, et. al. *Long is the Way and Hard: One Hundred Years of the NAACP* (Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 2009).

³⁷ Edward Duncan, et. Al. "Zoning Ordinance Adopted by Board of Supervisors of Arlington County" (26 April 1930).

³⁸ "Atlas of Arlington County, Virginia" (Philadelphia, PA: Franklin Survey Co, 1938) Plate 7, 22. Waycroft-Woodlawn Civic Association "Waycroft Woodlawn Neighborhood Conservation Plan" (May 2012).

³⁹ "Proclamation" 1927 within RG 11: Papers of Edmund C. Fleet, Box 3, 7: Minutes and Resolutions 1924-5. Center for Local History, Arlington Central Library, Arlington, Virginia.

⁴⁰ George Volin, Jr of Queen City ran for Sheriff and Mrs. Mar B. Harris of Green Valley ran for County Board. "Candidates for County Board," (Nov. 1931) within Robert Nelson Anderson "Arlington Adopts the County Manager form of Government" *Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct. 1958) p 67. "Colored Physician Files In Arlington." (1931, Jul 31). *The Washington Post* (1923-1954) Retrieved from <http://proquest.com.library.access.arlingtonva.us/docview/150124216?accountid=46215>.

⁴¹ As a direct result of this political bid Arlington's white political leaders secured special legislation to end the voter district system in favor of county-wide voting. This all but guaranteed that African Americans would not be able to elect politicians from their neighborhoods, for their neighborhoods. Robert Nelson Anderson "Arlington Adopts the County Manager form of Government" *Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct. 1958). Sherman W. Pratt "Arlington's At Large Electoral System: A Study of its History, Strengths, and Weaknesses" *The Arlington Historical Magazine* Vol 10 No 3 (Oct. 1995) p 19-36.

⁴² By 1950 there were twenty black construction companies and three black realtors in Arlington. Three of these construction companies were in Hall's Hill and seven each in Johnson's Hill and Green Valley. All realtors were based out of Johnson's Hill by 1950. Perry, et. al. "Southern Suburb/ Northern City: Black Entrepreneurship in Segregated Arlington County Virginia" *Urban Geography* Vol. 33, No. 5 (2012) p 664.

⁴³ "The Day a Yankee Gunboat Came: Memories Bind Him to Hill" *The Washington Post* (21 Fed 1969) within *Stanford Suburban Black Elderly* p 31.

⁴⁴ "United States Census, 1910," Richard Lewis in household of James Washington, Washington, Alexandria, Virginia, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) 14, sheet 2B, family 41, NARA microfilm publication T624 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 1,375,633. William H. Sara Collins, et. al. *Freedman's Village: Arlington's First Free Neighborhood* (Arlington, Virginia: The Black Heritage Museum of Arlington County, 2002). "United States Census, 1870," index and images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MFGK-VXT> : accessed 18 April 2015), Benjamin H Robinson in household of B H Robinson, Virginia, United States; citing p. 72, family 217, NARA microfilm publication M593 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 553,157. William Moris "An Interview with Benny

Robinson” Hall’s Hill Oral History Project (6 Nov 2003). Center for Local History, Arlington Central Library, Arlington, Virginia.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth J Walter, “Barcroft: The Beginnings of a Suburban Neighborhood, 1886-1920.” (Arlington: Barcroft Community Association).

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