I - First to Settle

Archeologists have estimated that settlements at the convergence of the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers date as far back as 9,500 BCE. Here in Glencarlyn, serrated dart points, called Lecroy points, have been found near the Moses Ball Spring on the Urgent Care property. These artifacts are thought to be 8,500 years old and used by small bands of Native Americans who may have camped nearby.

Too much of this region has been developed since to provide a detailed account of Native Americans' presence. But their presence was widespread. Even the White House has a Native American past. It was built on top of a Native American refuse heap that was discovered when President Ford directed the construction of an outdoor swimming pool at the Executive Mansion. Work on the pool was temporarily suspended when excavations revealed broken pottery, stone chips and flakes, and other evidence of Native American habitation.

The first recorded history of this region and its indigenous people begins with the journal entries of Jamestown's Captain John Smith. Smith's journal is an invaluable piece of 17th century history. Lacking insight into the structure of Native American governance, smith applied the western term "confederacies" to describe the three Native societies that lived in the Chesapeake Bay waters he explored: the Piscataway, who dominated nearby southern Maryland; the Susquehannock in Pennsylvania; and the Powhatan confederacy in Virginia.

According to his journal entries, Smith led a company of 13 fellow Englishmen on a 30-foot wooden barge (or shallop) in 1608 to explore the lands along the Chesapeake Bay. Historians estimate that the Smith party explored the upper Potomac between the Occoquan and the Little Falls (just north of present-day Chain Bridge) sometime between June 18 and July 16. Smith's account of his time north of the Occoquan was brief. He mentions stopping at native villages along the way and meeting the Nacotchtank, the Taux (Toag) and the Moyaone who lived along both shores of the river. The three groups were part of what later accounts refer to as the Conoy chiefdom and the Doegs, from which Dogue Creek near Fort Belvoir owes its name. They are thought to be among the groups of Algonquin speakers under the influence of the Piscataway.

Smith reported that these three tribes treated him without the hostility that he had experienced elsewhere in his explorations. He wrote, "The like incounters we found at Patomomeck, Cecocawonee, and divers [diverse] other places: but at Moyaones, Nacotchtant and Toags the people did their best to content us." Smith also mentions visiting the small village of Namoraughquend on the Virginia side of Potomac which is thought to be across from the mouth Anacostia.

The term "Nacotchtant," "Nacotchtanke," or "Nacotchtank" was an Algonquin word for "town of traders." The word was later Anglicized to "Anacostia," according to the leading 19th century authority on the Algonquin language, William Wallace Tooker.



After exploring this area, including an expedition by foot up to Great Falls, Smith and his crew sailed back down the Potomac, returning to Jamestown on July 21. Like the journal, the map Smith drew has also proven to be invaluable. It is a snapshot in time for the locations of native villages. Archaeologists and historians have used Smith's map to find more than a dozen prehistoric Native American sites in Arlington and the Washington metro area, many dating back 4,000 years.

In 1610, two years after Smith's voyage, English captain Samuel Argall returned to this area seeking corn for the starving Jamestown colony. The Nacotchtank, perhaps because they had no or little food for themselves, refused to trade. Argall's men raided their village in Anacostia burning it to the ground. Three years later, Argall would capture and ransom Pocahontas in exchange for European settlers imprisoned by her father, Chief Wahunsenacawh of the Powhatan Confederacy.

Trade and barter, when there was agreement, or raiding when there was no agreement, marked the early relationship between the European settlers and Native Americans. On another raid in 1623, Captain Spellman of Jamestown and 21 men were on the losing side of a skirmish with the Nacotchtank. Among the Nacotchtank's prisoners was a young English boy named Henry Fleet who lived with them for the balance of his childhood becoming fluent in their language and customs. Fleet later became a successful fur trader and is recognized today for guiding Lord Calvert's colonists to their first settlements in Maryland.

Fleet also kept a diary. In one of the earliest descriptions of what became Arlington he described the region as "the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country and most convenient for habitation, the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter." In 1631 Fleet wrote, "As for deer, buffalo, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them and the soil is exceedingly fertile." Today, only the deer and the names of geographic locations like Dogue Creek, Takoma Park and Piscataway and rivers like the Anacostia, Potomac, Rappahannock, and Susquehanna remain to remind us of this earlier time.

II - Colonial Settlements

In the years between Captain John Smith's first encounter with the District's original residents and the first Europeans who settled in this area, it is estimated that up to three quarters of the Native American population died from diseases introduced by the Europeans and in wars. Many of the survivors migrated elsewhere, joining other tribes, and leaving this region largely vacant of permanent settlements.

The arrival of Iroquois around 1680 is thought to have forced any remnants indigenous tribes out of the area. There are no known Iroquois settlements. Rather the lands south of the Potomac and around the Occoquan were used by the Iroquois as hunting grounds. In anticipation of rising hostilities between France and England and their Indian allies in the New World, Virginia Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood led negotiations between the English colonies and the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy known as the Treaty of Albany in 1722. Among the treaty's terms was a commitment by the Iroquois and their allies not to cross the Blue Ridge mountains, the established boundaries, without the consent of their respective authorities.

The end of hostilities and the departure of Native Americans from this region accelerated the pace of European settlement and land development. Large landowners including the Culpeper/

Fairfax family¹, who controlled more than five million acres the land not previously settled between the Potomac and the Rappahannock, found willing buyers when they divided their land into smaller parcels. Other settlers acquired land in exchange for fronting the cost of transporting new settlers to the colony.

The first section of land within the bounds of present-day Arlington was acquired through this latter practice in 1669. In exchange for transporting 120 people from England to Virginia, Robert Howson was awarded a 6,000-acre patent from William Berkeley, Virginia's Royal Governor, who was acting on behalf of King Charles II. The patent comprised land on the west bank of the Potomac in what is now Arlington County and the City of Alexandria between the southern point on Roosevelt Island and Hunting Creek. Within a month, Howson sold his interest to John Alexander (1677d) for "six thousand punds of tobacco and cask."

Around 1695, John Alexander's grandson, Gerrald Alexander began operations at Abingdon, the first plantation within the modern boundaries of Arlington. (The ruins of Abingdon Plantation can be found within the grounds of Reagan Washington National Airport.) Perhaps it was with Abington's construction and subsequent operations, that the first enslaved people came to Arlington. The mansion was completed in the 1740s. A 1760 account of the estate mentions that the estate was maintained by 24 enslaved individuals.

In 1748, the Virginia House of Burgess formally recognized and approved a petition to create a borough on the southern portion of Robert Howson's original land grant, naming the city Alexandria in honor of John Alexander. The city prospered as a leading port connecting Northern Virginia to the rest of the English colony. Much of that prosperity relied on the labor of enslaved people.

In 1778, John Parke Custis (1754-1781), George Washington's stepson, bought the Abingdon Estate. John Parke Custis' son, George Washington Parke Custis (1781–1857), inherited the northern 1100 acres of his father's land and using enslaved people began construction of a mansion in 1802 on the high hills rising above the Potomac River and Washington. Mary Anne Randolph Custis, George Washington Parke Custis' daughter, and her husband, Robert E. Lee oversaw completion of the mansion and lived there in what became known as Arlington House, from which Arlington County is named.

III - Glencarlyn Settled

At the turn of the 19th century Alexandria's population totaled more than 6,000. According to the 1800 census, an estimated 1,000 settlers lived in the rural outlying areas, and of those, about a third were enslaved people. Among those outlying areas was a 166-acre tract of land that John Ball purchased in 1743 from the original Lord Fairfax land grant. It was on this land that Ball built the log house and its frame lean-to addition that survive to this day. In 1748 his cousin Moses Ball (1717-1792) acquired a 91-acre parcel adjacent and just to the south of John Ball that followed the course of Long Branch. Both men farmed their land raising corn, wheat, and tobacco; kept sheep, cows, pigs, geese, and bees; and operated a grist mill at the edge of their holdings on Four Mile Run.

¹ Thomas Fairfax, son of Catherine Culpeper and Thomas, 5th Lord Fairfax of Cameron, controlled a massive land grant, known as the Northern Neck Proprietary. The propriety was the consolidation in 1719 of land grants awarded to seven English nobles in 1649, including his great grandfather, Lord John Colepeper, 1st Baron of Colepeper of Thoresway (1600-1660), who were loyal to Charles II during the English Civil War (1642-51).

When he died in 1766, John Ball directed that his property be sold and that the proceeds be divided among his wife Elizabeth and his five daughters². In 1772, William Carlin (1732-1820) purchased the farm for 100 pounds cash. Elizabeth Payne Ball (1714-1792), however, elected to take her widow's dower retaining one-third of the land rather than accept her husband's will.

Karl VanNewkirk with the Arlington Historical Society, who has conducted extensive research of the land records, believes Elizabeth lived in a separate house on her one-third parcel until her death around 1792. Following her death, the one-third parcel and house are likely to have been the same parcel and house that William Carlin leased, for life, to his brother-in-law Edward Skidmore (1765-1828). VanNewkirk thinks this house was located somewhere west of the Ball-Sellers House and could possibly be the same house or at least the location of the house that William's grandson William H.F. Carlin would one day call home.

No enslaved people were listed among John Ball's possessions on his will. Given the small size of his farm and the fact that several of his relatives lived nearby, the Arlington Historical Society does not believe that John Ball ever owned enslaved people. Even if John Ball did not, there is always the possibility that he hired enslaved people from their owners on neighboring farms to help work his land and run his mill.

From the original records of that time, which Fairfax County still maintains, we know that the owners of four of the six parcels abutting John Ball's property did own enslaved people³. They were George and James Mercer, who owned land south and east that bordered the west bank of Four Mile Run; John Alexander, who owned land immediately south along Columbia Pike; Simon Pearson, who owned land at Seven Corners; and William Hardin, who owned land east of John Ball just across Four Mile Run.

In 1774 George Washington became a neighbor to Glencarlyn when he acquired the George and James Mercer property. Eleven years, however, would pass before Washington found time to inspect and survey the Mercer property. The initial survey attempted on April 21, 1785 failed when William "Billy" Lee, who had accompanied Washington, seriously injured his knee.

Washington returned on May 5 the following year to complete the survey. It is thought that during this second survey attempt Washington marked a corner of his new land holdings with his initials on a prominent oak tree at the confluence of Long Branch and Four Mile Run. The tree was brought down by a storm in 1899. A segment of the tree still bearing George Washington's initials can be found in the Glencarlyn Library.

William "Billy" Lee, the man who accompanied Washington on the first survey attempt, is another largely untold story. Born into slavery around 1750, William Lee along with his brother Frank were purchased on May 27, 1768 by George Washington from the estate of the late Colonel John Lee of Westmoreland County, Virginia, for sixty-one pounds and fifteen shillings. William kept the surname "Lee," denoting the same famous Virginia Lee family that claims two signatories to the Declaration of Independence and later the commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia.

² Stacy Dowdall, Mary Hardin, Milly Thompson, Winifred Rollings, and another (possibly Elizabeth) who was married to James Gray.

³ There is a fascinating digital <u>map</u> that Elizabeth Mitchell, a local amateur historian, produced. Not only does the map show the early local road network, churches, and mills that existed in 1760, but it also shows the names of the individual owners and tenants of each parcel of land and whether they held enslaved people, based largely on land records and last wills and testaments.



Washington's records referred to William Lee as "Mulatto Will," suggesting that William and perhaps Frank were born to an enslaved mother and a white father. Descendants of William Lee and historians assert that William and Frank Lee were the illegitimate sons of Colonel John Lee. In his diary, Washington expresses a fond devotion to William Lee. Lee remained close to Washington, accompanying him to every battle throughout the Revolutionary War and serving as his personal valet.

Following William Lee's knee injury, Washington procured metal braces to support his injured leg and arranged for him to take on work as a cobbler at Mount Vernon until Washington's death in 1799. The man holding General Washington's horse in John Trumball's 1780 painting entitled "George Washington," is thought to be William Lee. Trumball's portrayal of Lee may say more

about the artist and his conceptualization of African Americans than what Lee may have actually resembled in person. Lee is the only enslaved person George Washington directed to be freed immediately upon his death.

Moses Ball and William Carlin were most likely aware of George Washington's survey work. Both men would visit George Washington at Mount Vernon that same month. There is a journal entry Washington made in May 1786 that states that, "When I returned home, I found Moses Ball, his son John Ball, and William Carlin here, the first having his effects under execution wanted to borrow money to redeem them. Lent him ten pounds for this purpose." It is not clear what "effects" the president was referring to, but perhaps it was one of Moses Ball's farming instruments or a farm animal he wanted to buy back. Moses Ball is known to have faced chronic financial troubles. William Carlin provided the security for the Moses Ball's loan from George Washington.

Another African American, Benjamin Banneker, is associated with survey work that was conducted on the Carlin property. While it is unlikely that he visited the Carlin property, Banneker (1731-1806) was a self-taught astronomer, and by some accounts a freed slave, whose mathematical talents were sought out by Major James Ellicott to work on the survey team that then Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson recruited in 1791 to determine the boundaries of the nation's new capital. A boundary stone marking the western edge of the federal city can be found on the Carlin property at Carlin Springs Elementary School. Today it marks the boundary between Arlington and Fairfax County.

IV - The Carlins

We may never know what prompted William Carlin (1732-1820) to purchase the Ball-Sellers house in 1772 from the estate of John Ball. A plausible theory is that John Carlin's first wife, Sarah Payne,⁴ was related to and possibly the sister of Elizabeth Payne Ball. If so, acquiring the Ball farm may have been prompted by the family's interest in supporting Ball's widow Elizabeth. Whatever the reason, the English immigrant and Alexandria tailor, who counted George Washington and George Mason among his customers, settled here and planted deep roots.

⁴ Not much is known about William Carlin's first wife Sarah Payne.

Over the course of the next 100 years, the Carlins worked the farm and acquired several adjacent properties. A careful review of census data and recorded wills shows that William Carlin's second wife Elizabeth Hall and their children held enslaved people. There is no evidence among surviving records that William Carlin held enslaved people, but lack of evidence does not rule out the possibility. Virginia records from the 1790 and the 1800 census have been lost and there is no record of the Carlins of Alexandria or Alexandria County (Arlington County's name at that time) in 1810 census.

Records from the 1820 and 1830 census indicate that when Elizabeth Carlin was the head of household, enslaved people lived at the Ball-Sellers property. Two enslaved women are listed in the 1820 census and one enslaved women between the ages of 55 to 99 is listed the 1830 census. Early census records did not provide the names of the enslaved people only their status and approximate age. But we can speculate that the elderly enslaved woman mentioned in the 1830 census was named Nancy. Among the expenses listed by the executors of William Carlin's estate is ten dollars paid "to old Negro Nancy" who was identified only as Elizabeth's helper or nurse. Elizabeth Carlin died in either 1834 or 1835.

When William Carlin died in 1820, he directed in his will that his land,⁵ which comprised approximately 370 acres, be sold in lots small enough for persons with little money to purchase them, with the proceeds divided among his wife and children⁶. Either because of difficulty finding interested buyers of the smaller lots or because his children clearly preferred to remain on the land and continue farming, a different arrangement emerged. The executors of the William Carlin's estate arranged for close relatives and in-laws, two⁷ of whom were the executors of Carlin's estate, to buy back most of the property and deed it to members of the Carlin family. Control of the original Ball parcel fell into the hands of William Carlin's three sons: Wesley (1788-1875), James Harvey (1800-1846), and George Whitfield (1786-1843).

Wesley acquired control of 34 acres of the Ball tract on the west side of Carlin Spring Road and 40 acres land from the Colville tract where he lived in a house that still stands today in Arlington Forest at the intersection of Carlin Springs Road and North First Place just north of Arlington Boulevard.

James Harvey acquired control of 94 acres of the Ball parcel that was referred to as the "mansion house tract" that he purchased for \$874. He also acquired 38 acres of the Colville tract that consisted of steep slopes and the stream valleys of Lubber Run and Four Mile Run. Today we know the mansion house as the Ball-Sellers House and the 94 acres as the area that corresponds to present-day Glencarlyn.

⁵ The original 166-acre Ball tract was at some point expanded to 191 acres and an additional 185 acres from the original Colville tract found on Mitchell's 1760 map was purchased in 1792. This second parcel covers much of today's Arlington Forest and contiguous parts of Barcroft.

⁶ There are conflicting accounts on the total number of daughters in the family. Assuming the higher number, the daughters are Hannah Carlin (1784-1819), Mary Carlin (1790-1814), Elizabeth Carlin (1892-1877), Catherine Rebecca Carlin (1793-1854), Sarah Carlin (1796-1877), and Jemimah Carlin (-1819).

⁷ The two executors were John Richards, who was married to Catherine Rebecca, and Jacobs Bonds, who was married to Mary Carlin.

George Carlin acquired 63 acres of the original Ball tract located west of Carlin Springs Road that he sold in 1839. George relocated to the City of Alexandria and became a school master. The 1820, 1830, and 1840 census records show George presiding over large households of up to 12 people. The 1820 census lists a free colored child, and the 1840 census shows a Carlin residence with a "free colored woman" and a "free colored child." His descendants prospered as merchants and later operated a hardware store in Alexandria that bore the family name.

Perhaps to hide the potential conflict of interest, William Carlin estate's executors did not record the deeds in court until more than two decades after his death. One deed records Mary Carlin (1818-1905), the granddaughter of William Carlin, as the buyer of the 40-acre parcel her father Wesley Carlin controlled and occupied. Mary Carlin was five years old at the time of the purchase and there is no record of any payment recorded for the purchase. The deed for the parcel James Harvey Carlin acquired was filed in 1848 two years after James Harvey died. Since James Harvey Carlin was no longer alive, the deed was assigned to his widow, Letia (1797?-1866), and their four children, John Edward Fletcher (1822-1900), William H. F. (1825-1901), Anne (1828-1892), and Andrew Wilson Franklin (1831-1885).

Census records confirm that the second generation of Carlins also held enslaved people. Wesley Carlin is recorded in the 1830 census with three enslaved people. The 1840 census lists four enslaved people, one woman and three children, the 1850 census, a 16 year-old enslaved female, and the 1860 census, two enslaved girls, ages five and seven.

For James Harvey, who was living at the Ball-Sellers House, the 1840 census lists two free elderly African Americans, one man and one woman. When James Harvey's widow, Letia Marcetta Skidmore Carlin, was head of household, the 1850 census registry for enslaved people records one six-year old enslaved boy. Among the residents listed at the Ball-Sellers House in the 1860 census are Letia, her children William, Anne, and Andrew, an 18 year old White male named Albert Donen, and a free 16 year old male named Washington Roberts who is assigned "mulatto" for race. For profession, both Albert Donen and Washington Roberts are recorded as "laborers." The 1870 census record lists two of James Harvey Carlin's children, Anne and Andrew, his brother-in-law, Isaac Skidmore (1806-1883), and Washington Roberts, who is recorded as a male "mulatto" "farm hand" age 25.

It seems plausible that Washington Roberts could be the enslaved person listed as six years of age in the 1850 census but listed as free in 1860⁸. Perhaps he is even related to the Carlins. When Anne died in 1892 her will⁹ directed that \$100 be left to Washington Roberts "as an evidence of his faithful services." From later census data we know that Washington Robert married Mina Whaite in 1884, lived nearby, and died at the age of 67. He is buried at Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in Fairfax County.

The Carlins' attitudes toward slavery appears to be complex. When the Civil War broke out, James Harvey's son, William H. F., served as a private in the Virginia Third Infantry Regiment of the Confederate Army. As noted, George, lived in the City of Alexandria with free African

⁸ While there are numerous data entry errors in the decennial surveys, separate registries were maintained for enslaved people and Whites and free African Americans, making the erroneous entry of a free person in the enslaved registry less likely.

⁹ Her will also directed that headstones be erected in the Carlin Cemetery for her brother Andrew and her Uncle Isaac Skidmore and his wife. Some of these markers can be seen today piled to one corner of the cemetery.

Americans, but his son, James F. Carlin (1820-1882), is listed in the 1850 census with three enslaved people, a 25-year-old woman and two children. After the war, Andrew Wilson Franklin filed claims with the Southern Claims Commission, a court established after the war to reimburse war-related property losses of Southerners who were sympathetic to the Union cause, that were rejected. As were in the cases of many with proven sympathies to the Confederacy, the claims were rejected.

William H.F. Carlin married his cousin Margaretta Skidmore (1824-1888) in 1866 and lived on and farmed a 20-acre parcel he bought from his uncle Wesley on the west side of Carlin Spring Road. He lived until 1901. William's house and grounds may have been the same house and grounds that Elizabeth Ball and later Edward and Letia Lydia Hall Skidmore occupied. It was torn down in the 1950s to make room for Kenmore Middle School.

James Harvey's third son, John Edward Fletcher Carlin (1822-1900) moved to Alexandria, worked as a carpenter and a grocer, and married Helen M. Green (1825-1895) in 1848 and Martha Mankin (1831-1880) in 1868. He fathered five children. No enslaved people are listed in his household in any of the census records.

Andrew and Anne continued lived in the Ball-Sellers house, continued to work the farm, started a dairy operation, and replaced part of the existing structure sometime in the 1880s with the 2story farmhouse structure we see today. In the 1870s they also built and operated Carlin Springs, a pavilion featuring a restaurant, health springs, and picnic grounds near the W&OD railroad station. They ran the pavilion for more than 10 years and built a small railway shelter on their property, arranging for the Washington, Ohio, and Western Railroad (today's Washington & Old Dominion) to schedule stops when the pavillion was operating.

The dairy farm¹⁰ was sold in 1863 to William H. Torreyson whose family expanded its size and continued its operations for close to a century. When Andrew died in 1885, he left his one-quarter interest in the "old Homestead estate" to his sister Anne. Anne continued to operate the farm for a year and a half with the help of Washington Roberts. She spent the last few years of her life living with her brother William at his home.

As many Glencarlynites may be aware, the Carlins sold the two parcels James Harvey acquired including the mansion house to William W. Curtis and Samuel F. Burdett in 1887. The two developers subdivided the parcels into parkland and 384 lots to be sold at \$100 a lot to "all men and women of moderate means or who receive stated salaries." First named Carlin Springs, the subdivision was renamed Glencarlyn in 1896. It is certain that "all men and women of moderate means" did not include African Americans. Restrictive covenants on deeds adopted in the 1920s throughout Virginia and in many states prohibited the sale of residential property to people of color.

¹⁰ Torreyson's daughter Lucy T. Reeves and her husband George and their son Harvey Reeves operated the farm until 1954. Today the farm is known as the Reeves Farm. The farmhouse still stands in Bluemont Park. Torreyson also came to acquire the Ball parcel that George Carlin sold in 1839.



The last known Carlin to live in the neighborhood was Wesley Carlin's daughter, Mary Carlin, pictured here. She was a teacher, living her entire life in the house at North First Place. Mary Carlin died in 1905 and is also buried in Carlin cemetery. Standing to the left of Mary Carlin in the photograph is a male African American thought to be Joshua Devaughn.

We know a little more about Joshua Devaughn by way of Munson H. Lane's *Brief History and Recollections of the Village of Glencarlyn and Vicinity* that was published in the May 1970 issue of the Arlington Historical Society's magazine. Lane, who moved into Mary Carlin's house in 1906 as young boy, knew Joshua Devaughn as "Uncle Josh." By Lane's account "Uncle Josh" and his niece Emma "looked after Mary Carlin in later years." Lane also mentions that Mary gave Joshua Devaughn a parcel¹¹ of land across a little stream where he built a home and lived with Emma and another niece, Mary, until his death several years later. Elsewhere in his recollections Lane mentions that Joshua Devaughn, was a Baptist minister and "a very devout man."

There are conflicting accounts about Joshua Devaughn in the census records. The 1880 census lists two African Americans, Joshua Devaughn, age 55, "laborer" and his wife Nancy, age 45, living in close proximity¹² to Anne and Andrew Carlin. There is no mention of Devaughn for the next two decades. The 1890 census was destroyed by fire and 1900 census worker either misfiled the pages or neglected to survey the neighborhood, The 1910 census, however, lists a Joshua Devaughn age 66 with the occupation of "clergyman" and industry of "Baptist" with a wife named Louisa, age 40. The previous entry into the census book recorded the Lanes, including Munson Lane, age 13, presumably in the house Mary Carlin once occupied.

A great deal can happen in 30 years. People can remarry and change professions, but it is doubtful they can slow the aging process. Somehow in the 30 years between the 1880 and 1910 Joshua Devaughn aged only 11 years. A 1922 death certificate appears to split the difference between the two ages. Joshua Devaughn's death certificate states that he was minister, married to Louisa, and born in April 1831 in Warrenton, Virginia. He died at the age of 91.

The photograph of Mary Carlin and Joshua Devaughn offers an interesting and perhaps appropriate way to conclude this series on Glencarlyn. The photograph, like this series, invites more questions than it provides answers. There are still too many unknowns to complete the story or fully understand the past. Having survived to the present day, the photograph forces us to acknowledge that Mary Carlin and Joshua Devaughn are both a part of our neighborhood's

¹¹ There were actually two separate, but adjacent three-acre parcels Mary deeded to Joshua Devaughn. The second parcel was granted through execution of her will.

¹² The early census surveys did not list street addresses but the proximity of two households in a survey listing can be a close approximation to the proximity of actual residences since survey work was performed by individuals who walked from house to house. In the 1880 census Anne and Andrew Carlin are listed on line 202 and Joshua and Nancy Devaughn are listed on line 204. Mary Carlin is listed on line 213.

history. Like the photograph, the records of Mary Carlin, Joshua Devaughn, Anne Carlin, and Washington Roberts provide us with a more complex but still incomplete picture into our neighborhood's past.