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Cultural Resources Study

Monocacy National Battlefield



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Introduction

Introduction

This project as amended, is to provide a detailed historic resource study of the properties included within the Monocacy National Battlefield, site of a crucial clash between Jubal Early's Confederate forces, numbering some 15,000 and a small, hastily assembled band of no more than 6,000 Federals under General Lew Wallace. Early was enroute to Washington DC to attack the national capital, relieve pressure on Robert E. Lee's beleaguered Army of Northern Virginia at Richmond, and to liberate thousands of Confederate prisoners confined at Point Lookout. The battle occurred on Saturday, July 9, 1864, near the end of the Civil War, but at a time when the Confederacy still had formidable armies. The Union defenders were protecting three bridges across the Monocacy River, two carrying major highways and one conducting the B&O Railroad. By the end of the day, the Federals had been routed, but they did manage to delay Early's progress long enough for General Grant to detach enough manpower from the Richmond area to return to the capital city's defense. Early, therefore, was not able to accomplish his mission, and General Grant's policy of military aggression continued, eventually overpowering the Confederacy.

Early's invasion north of the Potomac River in the summer of 1864 was the third of three Confederate advances into Union territory. All three had occurred in the summer: September of 1862, June-July of 1863, and July of 1864. All three targeted the same area of central Maryland and the Cumberland Valley, with designs on south central Pennsylvania. So, by July of 1864, the citizens of Frederick County perhaps anticipated the annual event. In fact the area fought over in the contest for the Monocacy bridges was the same that accommodated both armies in 1862, where Lee's Special Orders 191, directing his Army's movements through Maryland and into Pennsylvania were lost or left for the Union Army to find two days later. In 1863, Union forces passed through the same area and encamped enroute to locate and confront Lee's army in Pennsylvania, near Gettysburg. These repeated visitations to central Maryland were not accidental or coincidental. Lee's invasions were well planned and calculated to maximize advantages to the Confederate army.

Why did Robert E. Lee choose the same area for all of his incursions into the North? His reasons in all three cases were strategic, although the details of his plans varied. His overall goals were the same in all cases, to sway the public opinion of war weary Northerners to pressure Congress into a negotiated settlement; to replenish the Confederacy's depleted stores of cattle, horses, grain and gear; and to entice European powers to aid and support the Confederacy through Lee's show of force in the North. By moving into and through central Maryland and south central Pennsylvania, Lee availed himself of some of the most agriculturally productive farmland in America. Countless letters and diaries penned by Confederate soldiers attest to the lushness of the landscape, a marked contrast to the war-torn, ravaged and depleted farms of Virginia. Routing through central Maryland and south central Pennsylvania gave Lee access to several of the nation's major transportation routes: the National Road, the Georgetown Pike, the

B&O Railroad and the C&O Canal were all leading east-west transport corridors. Running north-south were prominent highways through the Cumberland and Shenandoah Valleys, a railroad through the Cumberland Valley, leading to Harrisburg; and through the piedmont were highways to Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Harrisburg was an objective because rail lines serving the Northeast converged there. Additionally, Lee could use the mountain ridges, which ran from northeast to southwest to protect the flank of his army as it advanced, or withdrew.

The Battle of Monocacy was a critical one-day event that had significant repercussions and affects, which helped to hasten the end of the Civil War. Yet the 1,647 acres of Monocacy Battlefield are part of a much larger cultural scene that played a major role in attracting the events of the Civil War in the first place. This project will attempt to place Monocacy into its cultural and historical setting, focusing on the development of the agricultural landscape and the transportation network that figured so prominently in the events of the 1860s. The families who populated the landscape are part of this picture, for they who had mixed emotions and leanings for or against the Confederacy lend drama to the story. It was through belief that strong support for the Confederacy resided in central Maryland that Robert E. Lee hoped to pick up momentum for his campaigns in the North. The story continues after the Civil War, too, with efforts among local citizens to preserve and commemorate the battle, culminating with official recognition of the Monocacy National Military Park in 1934.

Chapter I

Initial Settlement to 1763

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Initial Settlement to 1763.

The area now encompassed by the Monocacy National Battlefield has roots, which extend deep into Frederick County's and America's history. The five farms of the battlefield area are among a group that were initially held by well-to-do Englishmen migrating into the area from the tidewater section of the colony, by way of the Rock Creek vicinity and Montgomery County.[1] These families form colorful threads in the rich cultural tapestry that characterizes Frederick County's heritage. Also woven into this historic fabric was a majority of Germans who interacted with the English and settled the county concurrently with them; a few French refugees escaping from the terror of the Revolution in 1789 and slave unrest among the West Indies sugar plantations, and African Americans brought into the county as slaves. Members of these diverse groups blended, yet remained distinct as they combined to create Frederick County's cultural identity.

This chapter looks at the earliest period of Frederick County's Anglo-European history from initial contact with European settlement groups, through the close of the French and Indian War (the Seven Years War in Europe). This period extends from the 1720s when immigrants first passed through the county, or took up land grants, to 1763 when the Peace of Utrecht ended the French and Indian War.

Frederick County was established as a political entity in 1748, when it was partitioned from Prince Georges County as settlement of western Maryland proceeded. Yet, activity began either for investment purposes or for settlement more than 20 years earlier in the 1720s when fur traders passed through and also inhabited the area. Among these early adventurers were Edmund Cartledge, Abraham Pennington and Thomas Cresap. Although these men established some sort of initial locations and shelters, they did not officially hold title to the land. They tended to range over a large area, trading with the Indians. John van Metre was the first of these travelers to actually acquire title to land in present day Frederick County in 1724. Van Metre also explored the South Branch of the Potomac River in 1725, making claims there as well.

Permanent British and European contact with what is now Frederick County occurred through two separate and distinct processes. One involved eastern Maryland investors, who were non-residents taking up large tracts of land for the purpose of eventual subdivision and lease or sale; and the other German farmers entering Maryland from the north by way of the Monocacy Road from Philadelphia and southeastern Pennsylvania. The process of establishing occupation of the land first involved making a claim and obtaining a warrant. A warrant authorized a survey of

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[1]T.J.C. Williams, History of Frederick County, Maryland, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co. (1967, reprint of the original 1910 edition). p. 8.

the land. When the prospective claimant had his warrant, he could then proceed with the survey, the second step in establishing title to the land. The survey involved precise mapping of the parcel and defining its boundaries. The third and final step in the process was issuance of a "patent" which actually granted ownership rights to the land. One person could undertake the whole process, or a prospective landowner could transfer his warrant or survey to someone else.

Frederick County was in that part of Maryland, which was often in colonial period records referred to as "the Barrens." The early landscape was not fully forested and contained areas of relatively open meadow and occasional rock outcrops. These rocky, open areas were perceived as infertile and described as barrens. As a result of the concept that the backcountry was not fertile, settlement was not encouraged at first. Initial contact occurred when land grants were made to leading tidewater area citizens, and when Germans and Dutch from Pennsylvania and places further north passed through Maryland's Piedmont and Great Valley sections enroute to settle lands in Virginia. These early contacts occurred in the 1720s, and involved little in the way of actual settlement. According to Pioneers of Old Monocacy, by Grace L. Tracey and John P. Dern, Charles Carroll the Settler purchased from the Indians, a "Lycence to take up his tract of land in ye Fork of the Patowmeck and Monockkesey." This transaction occurred before Charles the Settler's death in 1720, but in July of 1722 Philemon Lloyd wrote to his co-partners about the event, and made the above statement.[2] Charles Carroll the Settler was a land agent for Lord Baltimore and came to Maryland from Ireland in 1688. For his work for the Calverts, he was awarded the 10,000 acre tract, for which he apparently later purchased the "Lycence" from the Indians in order to claim the tract. Upon Carroll's death, the Manor, called *Carrollton* passed to his son, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and subsequently was given to his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. The manor was actually surveyed after the first Charles Carroll's death, in 1723, apparently as part of the settlement of his estate. The manor remained intact until Charles Carroll of Carrollton began in the 1820s to divide it into parcels of several hundred acres each for his grandchildren. Parts of the manor remained in the Carroll family until the early 20th century. Carrollton Manor lies on the west side of the Monocacy to the south of the Monocacy Battlefield. The manor extended from Buckeystown south to the Potomac River.

The first survey in Frederick County was actually made on November 10, 1721 for William Fitzredmond, nephew of Charles Carroll. This survey was for *Hope* for 2,800 acres. The certificate of survey was transferred to Richard Bennett who had the piece resurveyed in 1723 and enlarged to 3,000 acres. *Hope* was located along the east side of the Monocacy, opposite Carrollton Manor.[3]

John Van Metre made a survey for 300 acres along the Monocacy on April 21, 1724. He subsequently took up another tract on November 18, 1725, along Carroll Creek in the vicinity of

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[2]Tracey Grace L. and John P. Dern, Pioneers of Old Monocacy, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., p. 13, citing Philemon Lloyd to Co-partners, July 28, 1722, Calvert Papers, MS 174, Document 1079, Maryland Historical Society. Carroll's land was eventually defined as "Carrollton" which was surveyed April 20, 1723.

[3]Tracey and Dern, p.25.

what is today southeastern Frederick City, near the Fairgrounds. This was called *Meadow*. There was also a tract surveyed on August 21, 1729, for a John Van Metre Jr., called *Pipe Meadow*, located to the east of *Meadow*, along Carroll Creek and the Monocacy. This is the same Van Metre family that is known for initial exploration and settlement activities in northwestern Virginia and eastern West Virginia.

Grace L. Tracey states that John Van Metre, his wife Margaret, sons Henry, Jacob, Abraham and daughters Rachel, Magdelena, Sarah, Mary and Elizabeth "made their home on '*Meadow*', which had been surveyed, for John on November 17, 1725. There he built his Dutch frame house 18 by 14 feet, clay and whitewashed outside, with stone chimney; a log house 20 by 16 feet, a frame house covered with shingles, a house raised four feet from the ground 18 by 14 feet, covered with boards."[4]

The Van Metres had come to Maryland from New York and were of Dutch extraction. They did not stay long in Maryland, though. In 1730, the Governor and Council of Virginia granted John and Isaac Van Metre 40,000 acres of Virginia land provided that they bring friends and family members from New York to settle on the land. This they apparently transferred to a man by the name of Joist Hite who was from Strasburg, Germany, but had settled along the Hudson River in New York. The Van Metres figure prominently in the settlement of Jefferson and Hardy Counties of West Virginia, which were at the time part of Frederick County, Virginia.

Also among the early surveys in Frederick County was one for Philemon Lloyd (the same gentleman who had written about Carroll's contract with the Indians). Lloyd was Lord Baltimore's resident Secretary of State and had a tract along Linganore Creek surveyed on November 20, 1723. It was never patented.[5] This would have been located northeast of Monocacy battlefield, on the east side of the river.

The next large survey was made May 1, 1724 for William Black, called *Black's Acre* for 437 acres. He soon added 1,186 more acres called *Happy Choice*. These were located on the east side of the Monocacy. William Black was a merchant from London.[6] In the same month Daniel Dulaney made a survey for Lord Baltimore (Charles Calvert, II). This 10,000 tract was called *Monocacy Manor* and was one of several colonial manors established by the Calverts who really would have liked to see Maryland develop like a feudal fiefdom. *Monocacy Manor* followed the east side of the River in the vicinity of Glade Creek. Eventually, *Monocacy Manor* was divided into 85 smaller parcels, which were leased out. Yet another of the earliest land surveys in Frederick County was made for Benjamin Tasker on April 15, 1725, for 7,000 acres. This was located along the west side of the Monocacy River and encompasses the site of Frederick. Tasker was a wealthy speculator who had served as mayor of Annapolis.

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[4]Dr. Grace L. Tracey, "Notes from the Records of Old Monocacy," manuscript, p. 5, citing Warrant of Resurvey records, BC and GS, folio 1.

[5]Tracey and Dern, p. 30.

[6]Ibid.

According to Grace Tracey, the 30th survey made in Frederick County was one called *Wett Work*, containing 1,400 acres. It like others in the 1720s was made for a land speculator, John Abbington, in 1729. The land was located along the east side of the Monocacy River, with its upper part crossed by present day route 355, and the lower part by present route 80. "Abbington devised half of *Wett Work* to his son Andrew, and the other half to the heirs of surveyor George Noble. In 1759, a large portion was conveyed to James Marshall who had a resurvey made, January 1, 1797."[7] The Marshall property eventually became that of John McPherson, who established *Araby*, site of a significant part of the Battle of Monocacy.

From these earliest surveys it is evident that they generally were for large acreages and that they were authorized for wealthy gentlemen or merchants connected with the Calverts or otherwise among the elite of Colonial Maryland. It was not their intent to be frontier residents or pioneers. Rather, they hoped to profit from speculation, through leasing the land or subdivision and resale. This situation in the 1720s tended to inhibit settlement of the interior parts of Maryland, since the speculators were holding the land until lease or resale would be profitable. During this decade, settlers were more inclined to pass through Maryland rather than stay and take up land. In part, they declined to stay in Maryland because of the preconceived notion that the land was not fertile, and because much of the land was already claimed by speculators. Better opportunities were available in Virginia.

In 1732, Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland, issued a proclamation opening Maryland's frontier for settlement. This was an effort to increase population and consequently income from the "back" parts of the colony. In part this was in response to an economic depression that had gripped the tobacco market intermittently since the mid 1600s. Tobacco planters devised various means to keep the price of tobacco up, such as limitation of production, destruction of inferior tobacco and prohibitions on shipping poor quality tobacco. The bottom line was that the amount of tobacco being produced was greater than the demand for it in British and European markets.[8] The depth of this depression occurred about 1730. For Monocacy Hundred (a hundred was an area of land inhabited by a hundred taxables), which included the area of Maryland from Frederick County west in the 1730s, lists of taxables were prepared in 1733, containing 106 names. Also a list with 83 names was made in 1734 by constable John Nelson, of those individuals who had no tobacco burnt as part of the price support program then in effect.[9] This shows that tobacco cultivation had been practiced at least to some extent in the western parts of Maryland. What is not clear, however, is whether those whose names appeared on the list as not having their tobacco burnt, grew no tobacco at all, or whether they grew high quality tobacco that was marketed and not destroyed.

After 1733, Maryland's economy experienced an upturn and economic growth ensued for several decades. Two new policies helped: the new use of paper money (rather than pounds of

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[7]Dr. Grace L. Tracey, "Notes from the Records of Old Monocacy," manuscript, 1958.

[8]Aubrey C. Land, "Provincial Maryland," Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds. Maryland, A History, Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974, p. 34.

[9]Tracey and Dern, p. 129.

tobacco) stimulated local trade; and a shift from tobacco production to grains. In fact, as western lands were increasingly settled, no tobacco was produced there at all. Further, the tobacco market did rebound abroad with Scottish merchant houses in Glasgow purchasing American tobacco for resale in France and northern Europe. Increased demand meant better prices for Maryland planters. Among the chief beneficiaries of the new prosperity were a group of merchant-planters who organized the commerce of the colony, assembling cargoes of tobacco, extending credit, and selling goods. "Provincial shippers, the merchant-planters in correspondence with consignment houses of Britain, dealt in volume unknown in earlier days. Some of them, moreover, were taking profits in the slave trade as an adjunct to their tobacco business. Opportunity had new dimensions for the aggressive and the prudent who could seize it."[10]

Among this cadre of wealthy merchant-planters were names familiar in Frederick County's early history: Daniel Dulaney, Benjamin Tasker, the Carrolls and Richard Bennett (who when he died in 1749 was thought to be the richest man on the continent). Dulaney, Tasker and the Carrolls actually formed a syndicate to develop an iron industry in Baltimore. The resulting Baltimore Iron Works eventually equaled the output of similar ironworks in England and paid handsome profits to the founders' partnership. Eventually other iron operations were established in Maryland, so that by the mid-1700s, "Maryland ironmasters were turning out annually an amount equal to about one-seventh of the output of England."[11] Thomas Johnson, Benedict Calvert, James Johnson and John Davidson established Catoctin Furnace in Frederick County, in 1768 on land that had belonged to the Carrolls.

Another aspect of the improved economy of Maryland after the early 1730s was the development of the western parts of the province. Influences on the course of settlement of Maryland's frontier were political, economic and geographic. Until Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon began their survey to establish a line between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in 1765, the boundary was contested, sometimes hotly. The border disputes and the attitudes of the two colonial governments to settlers along the border area affected the course of settlement as did the relationship of the colonial governments with the Indians who held land along the western frontier.

Frank W. Porter claims that "during the early decades of the eighteenth century economic and political conditions in Maryland mitigated against any westward movement."[12] He cites several factors delaying settlement in western Maryland, including border disputes of the 1730s and 1740s, the threat of Indians, the holding of warrants by speculators to large tracts of western land issued by the land office, and environmental misconceptions concerning the agricultural potential of western Maryland.[13]

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[10]Aubrey C. Land, p. 39.

[11]Ibid. p. 41.

[12]Frank W. Porter, "From Back Country to County: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, 70, (Winter 1975), p. 329.

[13]Ibid.

Both Maryland and Pennsylvania encouraged settlers to establish themselves in the border areas so that each colony would have a presence there. Those settlers of course were being used as pawns by both governments, a fact that resulted in no small frustration to them. Taking advantage of the intense Maryland-Pennsylvania border controversy, Virginia governor William Gooch granted the unhappy settlers from Pennsylvania land in his colony's backcountry. Gooch's motives, too, were political. He was involved in a land dispute with Thomas Lord Fairfax over the extent of Fairfax's Northern Neck Charter,[14] an area covering present northern Virginia and the eastern panhandle of West Virginia. The more land Gooch could grant under the name of the colonial government, the weaker the Fairfax claim would be. Gooch's land policy resulted in a stream of settlers from Pennsylvania passing through Maryland on their way to Virginia. They traveled on two principal routes, both known as the "Monocacy Road." The boundary dispute in Virginia and the migration of settlers passing through Maryland provided the impetus for Lord Baltimore to open his backcountry for settlement. He issued his proclamation in 1732, offering 200 acres of land in fee, subject to a four shilling per year quitrent per each 100 acres to any family who would settle and work the land in the area between the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers.[15] He thus employed methods similar to Governor Gooch's to entice settlers to Maryland's backcountry.[16]

The opening of the backcountry by Lord Baltimore only served to encourage profit-seeking speculators who could hold the land by warrant and thus not be subject to the quitrent. In other words, they would have the land warranted and surveyed, which would hold the land in their name, but not have it patented or actually granted which would make it subject to the quitrent. As might be expected, this practice eventually elicited concern within Maryland's colonial government, which responded by investigating the methods employed in reserving lands or warrants without issuing patents. Daniel Dulaney, a member of the committee investigating the situation (who was also among the first ten survey holders along the Monocacy), considered the practice "one which had prevented 'Great Quantities of Lord Baltimore's back Waste Lands (now of no Use or Advantage to Him) from being taken up and paid for.'"[17]

Dulaney's reference to the backcountry as "Waste Lands" is also significant. The early perception of much of the area west of the tidewater was of uninhabitable barrens. The term "waste lands" and "barrens" came about because portions of the interior were grasslands. To early eighteenth century settlers, trees were associated with fertility of the soil, so that the absence of trees meant to them poor and barren land. Frank Porter considers this misconception concerning fertility of the land one of the causes of delayed settlement in Maryland's backcountry.[18] The notion that the land might not be fertile, however, did not seem to discourage

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[14]Ibid. p. 334.

[15]Ibid. quoting Maryland Archives, 28:25.

[16]Ibid. p. 334.

[17]Ibid. quoting Maryland Archives, 37:506.

[18]Ibid. p. 337, and I. Daniel Rupp, The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams and Perry Counties, (Lancaster, PA: Gilbert Hills, 1846), p. 385.

wealthy planter-merchants from eastern Maryland from purchasing large tracts as investments.

In 1744, Daniel Dulaney bought *Taskers Chance* from the heirs of Benjamin Tasker. He advertised the land for sale to Palatine Germans from Pennsylvania, and in 1745 laid out the town of Frederick, which was named for Frederick Calvert, Sixth (and last) Lord Baltimore. Dulaney also subdivided and sold off other parts of *Taskers Chance* to German farmers. Daniel Dulaney (1683-1753) came to Maryland as an indentured servant in 1703 and went on to become one of its most wealthy and influential citizens. He served his indenture as a clerk in the law office of George Plater, who was for a time attorney general for the colony. Dulaney, after completing his term of work, set up his own law practice. He handled much of Charles Carroll's legal business and tended a lucrative practice.[19] In 1732 when Lord Baltimore made a visit to Maryland, (the first in 50 years), he established the use of paper currency to help the economy and instituted a system of quitrent collections. He appointed Daniel Dulaney to set up and administer the system paying him a substantial salary to do it. When in the same year, Lord Baltimore opened the backcountry for settlement, Dulaney and other merchant-planters invested in western land for future development. In 1744, Dulaney made a visit to the frontier and saw first-hand the migration route of Germans through the province. He then went after land for speculation with a vengeance.

> "He went after his western enterprise with such ardor that his neighbors questioned his sanity. Already a large landholder, he patented 20,000 acres of western land within half a decade, choice tracts selected and surveyed by his versatile agent [Thomas] Cresap. Dulaney went on to contact Dutch shippers and encourage them to bring Palatine Germans to the infant port of Baltimore, where his younger son, Walter took them in hand. Then, to induce the immigrants to purchase from him, he sold farms on long-term mortgages and laid out a market town, Frederick, as a commercial center for the west on a large tract he owned. Thus, combining development with speculation, Dulaney enlarged a respectable fortune into an immense one."[20]

Daniel Dulaney, along with Benjamin Tasker were also leasing agents for Lord Baltimore's *Monocacy Manor*. ..."[A] study of the time table of the land's [*Monocacy Manor's*] disposition shows that tracts possessed personally by the agents themselves in Frederick County were sold or leased much faster and earlier than the land on His Lordship's Manor."[21] It was not until August 23, 1741 that the first parcel of *Monocacy Manor* was leased. In contrast, adjoining land belonging to Dulaney had all been sold by 1743. This probably means, also, that the settlers were more interested in purchasing land than in leasing in the first place. Between 1741 and 1746, an average of about five leases per year were executed for His Lordship. By 1760, only 22 more lots were leased. The terms of the leases were usually for the life of the lessee, plus life of two other individuals, usually sons. In a time when life expectancy was not long, this arrangement gave an opportunity for the lease to remain in effect through two generations, with the hope that at least

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[19]Aubrey C. Land, p. 30.
[20]Ibid. p. 41.
[21]Tracey and Dern, p. 303.

one of the sons would survive the father. At the expiration of the lease, the land and any improvements reverted to Lord Baltimore. The lease rate was 10 shillings per 100 acres. After 1750, lease rates were raised to 20 shillings or £1 per 100 acres. After 1760, lease terms were changed to run for 21 years unless some other term was specified. Termination date for most of these later leases was set somewhere between 1783 and 1785. As it turned out, Monocacy Manor was confiscated as Tory property at the close of the Revolution in 1781 and sold. Leases made after 1760 totaled 33. Wheat, corn and rye were the main crops grown on the manor and there was a stipulation that tenants were to plant 100 apple trees.[22]

The effect of speculation, turmoil in the boundary areas, the allure of land in Virginia, attitudes concerning lack of fertility of the land, and Maryland's attitudes toward acquisition and use of the land are illustrated in the early survey records for the area along the Monocacy. First, most of the large investor surveys were located along the Monocacy River, from the Potomac River north to and into Pennsylvania. The Germans who began to take up tracts in large numbers after Lord Baltimore's land deal offer, settled along the route through the county from Pennsylvania.[23] They generally took up smaller tracts, which were used for general farming, and family members worked the farms. The larger tracts held by the English were, if not leased out or subdivided and sold, worked by slaves. Some of these landowners apparently intended to establish a plantation system typical of the tidewater area. For example, Carrollton Manor was producing tobacco by the 1760s,[24] the staple crop upon which the tidewater economy was based.

The smaller landholdings, most of which were held by Germans, and many of them under 200 acres, were associated with general farming. These small farms focused on growing wheat and other small grains as opposed to large land holdings associated with the plantation system already established in tidewater Maryland. In his study of economic conditions in the early settlement period of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Robert D. Mitchell has similar findings. He writes that in terms of labor, capital, and commodity options, the more flexible characteristics of general farming introduced from Pennsylvania led to an economy where a small proprietor mixed agricultural structure would eventually become dominant over the plantation system.[25]

It is significant that most of the actual settlement population in what is today Frederick County came from Pennsylvania, rather than from eastern Maryland. During its initial settlement period, Pennsylvania, unlike most of the other colonies, was distinctly heterogeneous in its mix of populations. The varied group of settlers who made homes in Pennsylvania did so because of a policy established by the founder of the colony, William Penn. Pennsylvania was established significantly later than most of the other colonies. After its organization in 1681, Pennsylvania grew quickly, and its major city, Philadelphia, came to be for a time the second largest city in the British Empire. The success of Pennsylvania's colonization was in part due to William Penn's

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[22]Tracey and Dern, p. 303-305.

[23]Tracey and Dern, p. 131.

[24]Thomas O'Brien Hanley, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Washington, DC: Catholic University Press. p. 141.

[25]Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and the Frontier, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), p.9.

foresight and long range development plan and also to the settlers' quest for a better life.

Mitchell points out that immigration of European settlers was concentrated at the port of Philadelphia between 1710 and 1755, which resulted in the growth of the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania. Mitchell illustrates that growth with population figures which show that between 1700 and 1780 Pennsylvania increased its share of population from 7% to over 13% and ranked second only to Virginia by the outbreak of the Revolution.[26]

In his geographical study of southeastern Pennsylvania, The Best Poor Man's Country, James T. Lemon contends that contrary to the long-held view that cultural traditions were the key to understanding the development of early Pennsylvania, perhaps a greater factor was how settlers, once they arrived, viewed their situation. "Inputs did come from the environment and cultural traditions, but they were interpreted in the light of what people expected to do and what they were able to do," Lemon writes.[27]

Those who chose to leave the old world were largely of the "middling sort" in terms of their economic situation. The economically successful had little incentive to leave a comfortable existence. Those who were destitute and without hope had neither the means nor the inclination to move. The middle group had the most to gain and it was they, for the most part, who set out to turn their fortunes in the new world. According the Lemon, "emphasis should therefore be placed as much on dissatisfaction and rising expectations as on unsatisfactory external conditions. This underlines the essential fact about a large proportion of the settlers, their desire for a better life."[28]

First, Quaker settlers in search of better conditions came to Pennsylvania in the seventeenth century and took up land in and around the new town of Philadelphia. The second major settlement group (and those who formed much of the population base in Frederick County, Maryland) were German-speaking people who came from western Germany and Switzerland. They were for the most part agrarians of various protestant religious groups (German Reformed, Lutherans, Moravians, Mennonites and Anabaptists) who had been persecuted in their homeland. In Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans, Scott Swank asserts that these Germans were a "Protestant bourgeois fragment" prone to the development of a capitalistic politically liberal society.[29] Between 1710 and 1730 thousands of these Europeans entered Pennsylvania through the port of Philadelphia. Since the English Quakers had already established themselves and occupied the land immediately around Philadelphia, the Germans settled on lands farther to the west. Many eventually migrated along the "Monocacy Road" through Maryland into Virginia. After 1732, when Lord Baltimore established his attractive land acquisition policy, Germans began to settle in Maryland, chiefly along the Monocacy Road.

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[26]Ibid. p. 16, citing "Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957," Washington DC, 1960, p. 756.

[27]James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), p. xv.

[28]Ibid. p. 4.

[29]Scott Swank, Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1983), p. 4.

Because of their foreign language and customs the Germans were both praised and disliked by the English-speaking people. They were generally acknowledged as being hardworking, industrious and good farmers, but the English felt overwhelmed by their sheer numbers. Eventually there was enough concern on the part of Pennsylvania's colonial government to undertake efforts to control Germans to prevent an "English plantation from being turned into a colony of aliens."[30]

The reaction of English-speaking people to the Germans was probably due substantially to the language difference and exclusive religious philosophy held by some Germans, which encouraged them to remain a distinct and close-knit group reluctant to blend with their neighbors. In central Maryland, for example, German-language newspapers were printed well into the nineteenth century and German was spoken in church services. These conditions supported the attitude of separateness, perceived or real, attributed to the Germans.

As settlement progressed from the initial interests of fur trading and subsistence farming there developed more substantial farms. Grain farming was prominent, and as a result many gristmills were established. The mills took advantage of the ample waterpower in Frederick County to convert grain into more easily transportable and marketable flour or meal. The prominence of milling was a significant feature of the local economy. It reflects the influence of Pennsylvania in that Frederick County developed a general agricultural economy with emphasis on small grains, rather than the staple economy focusing on tobacco (despite the attempts by large landowners like Charles Carroll) which developed in eastern Maryland. Lemon asserts that Pennsylvania's economy based on general farming was largely the result of markets that opened up at the time that Pennsylvania was being settled. Export trade with the West Indies, New England, southern Europe and Ireland, as well as to ships' provisioners, created a demand for flour, bread, wheat, as well as corn, limber and flax seed.[31] These trade markets opened up after older colonies like Virginia and Maryland had established bilateral trade with England, which limited their ability to develop an exchange in new commodities. Pennsylvania was founded about the same time as these new extended trade mechanisms were developed, causing its agricultural system to be significantly shaped by the contemporary market situation.[32] In contrast to Pennsylvania, according to Lemon, the tobacco colonies to the south had a lower average living standard, a slower rate of white population growth, and few subsequent towns, at least until they turned to wheat production. Unlike Pennsylvania's farmers and merchants, tidewater planters were restricted to trade with London and Glasgow merchants in a commercial structure which permitted less autonomy and flexibility.[33] We find that the economies of the tidewater plantation system and the general agriculture of small family farms introduced from Pennsylvania meet along

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[30]Speech of Governor Patrick Gordon, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1840), 3:362.

[31]Lemon, p. 29, citing Arthur L. Jensen, The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia, (Madison: State historical Society of Wisconsin), 1963), chap. 1, and Gordon Bjork, "The Weaning of the American Economy: Independence, Market Changes and Economic Development," Journal of Economic History, 24 (1964): 545.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid. p. 127.

the Monocacy in the middle third of the 18th century.

Eventually, grain production comes to dominate the economy of Frederick County. The long-term importance of wheat production in central Maryland is illustrated by records, which show that the region led the state in the production of wheat. As a result of the prominence of grain farming, many grist and flourmills were established to process bulk grain into more marketable meal and flour. By 1810, Frederick County had some 100 flourmills, and adjoining Washington County, more than 50. The annual value of their product amounted to more than one and a half million dollars. These two counties also led Maryland in the production of whiskey during the same period.[34] The early appearance of mills and distilleries indicates that the Monocacy area had developed its economic potential beyond subsistence agriculture and to a level of economic specialization with external trade systems by the mid 18th century.[35]

In addition to agriculture, manufacturing interests also developed early, as evidenced by investor interest in the iron industry in Maryland by the 1730s. Deposits of iron in the mountains of Frederick County made iron production feasible there at an early date. The area had all the ingredients of a successful iron operation: vast supplies of wood for making charcoal, limestone for flux, and iron ore. The early iron industry in Frederick County appears to have been closely linked with the Johnson family. From Calvert County, Thomas, James, Baker and Roger Johnson were involved with development of the iron industry. The first furnace was "Antietam Furnace" located near Mt. Aetna, in present Washington County. It was constructed about 1760.[36] The larger Catoctin furnace was established in 1768. By the 1770s, Thomas Johnson, one of the founders of Catoctin Furnace became more interested in politics, serving as a delegate to the Continental Congress and then as Governor of Maryland during the Revolution. The iron industry waned in the early 19th century due to depletion of the forests and advances in the production processes, which made 18th century methods and equipment obsolete.[37]

With all of the migration and transportation of goods, roads developed at an early date as well. Several roads, which passed through early Frederick County, were called the "Monocacy Road." As a matter of fact, the whole vicinity of what is today Frederick County was termed Monocacy. The main early roads were those which descended from Philadelphia and southeastern Pennsylvania, passed through from northeast to southwest, and carried on into Virginia, and those from the tidewater area, one following the north bank of the Potomac River, and one which approximates Old US Route 40, which led to Annapolis. The Roads from Pennsylvania came from Conestoga, Conewago and crossed into Maryland near Taneytown. After passing through Taneytown, the road divided, with one branch crossing the Monocacy near

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[34]James S. Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes: 1800-1850, Walsh and Fox, Maryland, p. 175.

[35]Mitchell, Commercialism and the Frontier, p. 3. Mitchell asserts that the pioneer economy has been associated with subsistence and that concept has influenced the interpretation of the economic foundations of frontier areas by fostering an overestimation of the duration of a primary subsistent agricultural economy.

[36] Susan Winter Frye, "Antietam Furnace," Maryland Historical Trust, Dec. 1984, p.16.

[37]Michael G. Thompson, "The Iron Industry in Western Maryland," (research paper, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV, 1976).

Creagerstown, staying on the west side and linking with the roads to Turners and Crampton's Gaps. This was the branch used mostly by Germans passing through the County and has been termed the "German Monocacy Road." The other branch kept on the east side of the Monocacy, crossing the river further south near Frederick. This route was known as the "Manor Monocacy Road" because it cut through Lord Baltimore's Monocacy Manor.

As population increased, so did the opportunity for towns and villages to develop. Frederick was laid out in 1744, as part of Daniel Dulaney's development scheme, but other communities developed as well. The first was Monocacy, a term which was used to refer to any habitation or collection of them in the area. However, there was a settlement, north of Creagerstown where a group of Germans formed a community in the 1730s and '40s. A Quaker settlement formed by Henry and Josiah Ballenger, also called Monocacy was located near the present site of Buckeystown on Ballenger's Creek, where the Ballengers erected a mill and where a Quaker meeting house was also established. This occurred in 1725. Small villages began to appear at crossroads and near mills. These might contain a tavern and blacksmith shop.

During the time that Frederick County was experiencing initial settlement, the international situation was volatile. England, France and Spain were vying for world dominance and the top two contenders, England and France had four major conflicts between 1698 and 1763. The last of these and the most violent, was the Seven Years War or to Americans, the French and Indian War, which erupted in 1756 and lasted until 1763. Even prior to the beginning of the war, hostilities were escalating along the frontier as expanding populations of English colonists clashed with Native American groups who resented the intrusion onto their lands. Many of these Native American tribes had formed trade alliances with the French. Consequently Native American populations found themselves dragged into a war between major European powers over European economic issues.

For Frederick County (which at this time still included all of western Maryland), the affect of the conflict was wholesale devastation. Settlements west of South Mountain were for the most part destroyed, and inhabitants fled to the east, returning only after the cessation of hostilities in the 1760s. In the province of Maryland, Fredericktown was the closest English settlement to the military theater of operations, and so became the military headquarters for operations against the French and Indians emanating from southern Pennsylvania, Maryland and northern Virginia. In April of 1755, British General Edward Braddock waited impatiently in Frederick while provisions were collected from the surrounding countryside in the three adjoining colonies to support his army which was to march to Fort Duquesne to vanquish the French and Indians. During this time, Colonel George Washington from Virginia and Benjamin Franklin, Post-Master General for the colonies, from Philadelphia, met with General Braddock in Frederick to see to the provisioning of the army and be briefed on strategies. The meetings occurred in a tavern on West All Saints Street in Frederick.[38] Despite pleas from George Washington and other American advisors, General Braddock insisted on following standard European rules of combat, which

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[38]TJC Williams, History of Frederick County, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co. 1967 (reprint of 1910 edition), p. 28.

involved forming regular battle lines for fighting on open terrain. The French, however, adopted the practices of their Indian allies who used guerilla tactics of ambush, hit and run. Braddock's British regulars were badly defeated by flank attacks from the French and Indians near Ft. Duquesne. Braddock's ill-fated venture, during which he was killed, perhaps even by his own angry men, opened up the whole of western Maryland, southwestern and south-central Pennsylvania and northwestern Virginia to attack by French forces and their Indian allies. It was during the period after 1755, that living conditions on the frontier became dangerous and most of the white population fled. The region did not calm until 1763, with the Peace of Utrecht ending the Seven Years War in April of 1763. The effect of this treaty was to bring all of the Indians who had supported France during the war under British control and subjugation. Some of these Indians did not want to acquiesce to English domination. Led by the warrior Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, they renewed attacks on frontier settlements in Pennsylvania and western Maryland through the summer of 1763 and 1764. Once again Frederick County was threatened with as much violence as that which occurred during the war with France. Thus, peace did not really come to the western parts of Maryland until 1764.

The war interrupted the growth and development of the western parts of Maryland, and such habitations as did exist were in many instances destroyed. Therefore, little remains of the built environment from the period of initial settlement in Frederick County. The true effective settlement in Frederick County occurred from the mid 1760s on. This pattern is evidenced in the existing historic architecture surviving in the county.

First period Architecture and Farmsteads in Frederick County:

The grand 18th century houses in Frederick County date from after 1763. In fact, there is little in the county that can be definitively dated prior to the French and Indian War. Further, very little written information survives about housing during the settlement period in Frederick County. The Frederick County Historic Sites Survey lists only three houses that may date to the 1750s or earlier. These are the Christian Kemp House (stone) along Ballenger Creek and Ballenger Creek Pike, west of the Monocacy River, ca. 1745, the Beatty-Cramer House (frame with stone nogging) on Liberty Road and Israel Creek near Ceresville, ca. 1730s-1740s, and the Daniel James House (frame) between Libertytown and New Market, ca. 1750s.[39] Schifferstadt in Frederick is believed to date from the 1750s or 1760s. These survivals would certainly have been among the more substantial buildings of their time. From the little data that can be gathered about first period housing in the larger region, it would seem that most of it consisted of small habitations of log or framed construction. One of the earliest documents describing housing was an inventory of tenant housing on Lord Baltimore's manor in what is now Washington County. Called "Conococheague Manor," it was approximately the same size as Lord Baltimore's Monocacy Manor and had about the same number of tenants. By 1767, Lord Baltimore had determined to sell Conococheague Manor, and consequently had the list made of improvements on the Manor. The list included the name of the tenant in possession and improvements with the condition of the "several buildings, lots and dimensions." This document is one of the few written

[39]Interview with Janet L. Davis, Historic Sites Surveyor for Frederick County, July 1998.

records of what was then Frederick County's earliest architecture. Most of the 80 tenants had dwelling houses, and nearly all of them were of log construction. A few frame houses were recorded. There were no stone or brick buildings. Following are representative entries from the list:

> 132 acres. Christian Miller.....Dwelling House 30 by 24 stone chimney 1/2 finished, orchard, 100 trees, no meadow, watered by a branch in winter, 100 acres woods, 1/3 rocky.
>
> 126 acres. Nicholas Rhodes.....Dwelling House 25 by 18 framed. Kitchen 20 by 16 round logs, cabbin [sic] roof. Stable 20 by 16 round logs, cabbin roof, very old. A good lasting spring, about 170 apple trees, 5 acres meadow, 80 acres woods, 1/6 rocky.
>
> 100 acres. James Butcher.....Dwelling House 20 by 18. Two stables, one 15 feet square, the other 10 feet square. All round logs with cabbin roofs. A good spring, no orchard. 3 acres meadow. 85 acres woods, 1/3 rocky.
>
> 130 acres. Eleanor Midley.....Dwelling House 23 by 20 hewn logs & shingled with stone chimney. Kitchen 15 by 15 round logs with cabbin roof. No orchard, meadow or water. 110 acres woods, land level, 1/8 rocky.
>
> 99 acres. Christopher Plunk.....Dwelling House 30 by 20 round logs, shingled. 1 ditto 30 by 18, hewn logs and shingled. Barn 60 by 28, round logs, shingled. 2 out houses, round logs. 8 acres meadow, a good spring. Orchard 200 trees. 40 acres woods. Land level. 1/10 rocky.
>
> 105 acres. Coodle & Grove.....Dwelling House 25 by 24 round logs and shingled. Stone chimney half built. 3 acres meadow. Orchard 100 trees. Winter spring. 60 acres woods 1/6 rocky.
>
> 100 acres John Judy.....Dwelling House 20 by 16, stable 16 by 14, round logs and cabbin roofs. Orchard 110 trees. 3 acres meadow. No spring. 20 acres woods. Watered in winter from a drain. Land level and about 1/10 rocky.
>
> 140 acres David Miller.....Dwelling House 24 by 20 round logs and shingled. Barn 30 by 20 round logs and covered with straw [thatched?]. Orchard 100 trees. No meadow or water. 118 acres woods. Very level land. 1/20 rocky.

107 acres Jacob Yeakill.....Dwelling House 21 by 17 round logs and clapboarded. Stable 21 by 14. 1 ditto 16 by 10, both round logs and cabbin roofs. No meadow, orchard or water. 70 acres woods. About 1/20 stoney.

150 acres Robert Jackson.....Dwelling House 20 square, round logs & shingled. 1 old ditto, 28 by 18 round logs and shingled. Smith shop, round logs and cabbin roof. Old shop 16 by 10, ditto. 10 acres marsh meadow watered by a run. 115 acres woods, 1/5 stoney.

The list concludes with two footnotes: "A cabbin roof is made by splitting trees into thin pieces which they lay one upon the other for a cover. It saves the expense of nails and is said to be as tight as clapboards." The second note explains why the survey had been made: "This manor was sold by the said Lord Baltimore to John Morton Jordon." All 80 properties on the manor were described similarly. The list is significant as the oldest known description of a sizable group of dwellings and farmsteads in Frederick County. Although Conococheague Manor was in the portion of Frederick County that nine years later became Washington County, (the manor was located along the Potomac River near Williamsport) the type of tenements on the manor were probably similar to those that were on Monocacy Manor, and very likely were typical of the average person's farmstead in the 1760s. It is possible that as tenant holdings, these properties do not reflect as much affluence as owner occupied properties might have. Nevertheless, the list does at least provide an excellent view of tenant holdings in the 1760s.

The list shows buildings that were constructed of round or hewn logs or framed, and that they were small. There seems to be no correlation between ethnic origin of surname and size or construction material used. Dimensions of houses appear not to have followed any particular pattern, ranging from ten to thirty feet. Some of the houses are described as having stone or brick chimneys; for others, chimneys are not mentioned at all, leading to speculation that they may have had clay-lined wooden chimneys, or perhaps, no chimneys at all. For some reason, only stone or brick chimneys were identified.

The use of the term "cabbin roof" is significant. The author of the list even goes to the trouble to define the term in a footnote at the end of the inventory. This notation seems to indicate that cabbin roofs were not familiar nomenclature, at least to the anticipated readers of the inventory. No extant houses are known to retain such roofing, although the term is also used in the US Direct Tax of 1798 for Fulton County, Pennsylvania for a few buildings. (Fulton County is located about 60 miles northwest of Frederick). Apparently a cabbin roof looked something like clapboards. While no examples of cabbin roofing have been discovered, some 18th century shingle roofs have survived to the present. According to the Lord Baltimore inventory, shingle roofs were found on more substantial buildings, while the cabbin roofs were on outbuildings and lesser houses. It seems that shingles were the preferred roofing material if they could be afforded.

The inventory also provides a view of agricultural lands during the settlement period, the amount of acreage tilled and the nature of agricultural production. Thus an image is formed of first period farmsteads that is probably consistent with what those along the Monocacy looked like. Large proportions of each tenant's acreage remained in woodland, indicating that the area actually farmed was small. In many scenarios, well more than half of the leased acreage was in woods. Some is identified as meadow. Acreage that was not designated as either woods or meadow was presumably under cultivation, although no particular crops were listed. Since wheat, corn and rye were being produced on Monocacy Manor in the 1760s, it is likely that the same crops grew on Conococheague Manor. Acreages were typical of the general family farms, which eventually became prevalent in Frederick County, 100-200 acres. The number of orchards and fruit trees listed seems surprisingly high, but so little is known about agricultural practices at the time that no explanation for the extent of orchards in the 1760s comes forth, other than it may have been a requirement in the lease, as was the case with Monocacy Manor. Probably the fruit yield was dried, used as sweetener or distilled into hard cider or brandy.

The inventory seems to affirm that first period housing in Frederick County was very modest. Buildings were small, roughly constructed (only a few were sided, a covering which became the norm for log houses in the later 18th and 19th centuries). Many were built of round logs, which means that the structural members were not even squared or hewn during construction. These first period houses may have been perceived as temporary, to be replaced when the farm prospered and money became available for a more worthy house. The same is true of barns, stables, and outbuildings. Barns were log, round or hewn and certainly smaller than the large forebay, bank "Swisser" barns that are associated with the later 18th and 19th century in Frederick County.

Cropland was small, too. In most cases in the inventory, fewer than fifty acres was under cultivation. The general belief in the 18th century was that about fifty acres under cultivation was required to sustain a family. The woods may have been used as pasture, a practice that was common in the 18th century. This type of pasturage kept the understory of the forested area down and provided good forage for hogs and sheep.

In conclusion, the first period of history along the Monocacy was one of instability, confused claims and settlement patterns and very modest material culture. Two main cultures met and began to converge: English investors and a few settlers from eastern Maryland, and German farmers from Pennsylvania. They took up settlements separately, the English along the river and the Germans along the Monocacy Road. Eventually, the German settlers began to buy or lease land from the English speculators and the two cultures began to mix. We leave this initial settlement period with as much instability and confusion as when it started. The devastation of the French and Indian War followed by Pontiac's uprising in 1763 and 1764 left the settlers threatened and much of their settlements destroyed or damaged. Coming up were to be 20 more years of instability as the American Revolution approached and passed. Yet Frederick County was about to see a period of unprecedented prosperity with the development of fertile farms and

intensive cultivation that made the region America's breadbasket for much of the 19th century. Chapter II will chronicle the events and trends from 1763 to the 1840s when Frederick County came of age.[40]

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[40]Much of the information used in this chapter was developed by the author, Paula Stoner Reed in her dissertation, "Building with Stone in the Cumberland Valley: A Study of Regional Environmental, Technical, and Cultural Factors in Stone Construction," The George Washington University, 1988.

Chapter II

Agricultural Prosperity and Intensification
1763-1840

Chapter II
Period of Agricultural Prosperity and Intensification, 1763-1840.

Despite the national and international turmoil that embroiled the latter years of the American colonies and the early years of the United States, Frederick County in general prospered. From the end of the French and Indian War through most of the first half of the 19th century, agriculture in Frederick developed, matured and profited with grain farming dominating. The farmsteads that now characterize the county were for the most part established and constructed during this time period. Population grew to the point that two new counties were formed from the old Frederick County in 1776: Washington County which became all of western Maryland from the ridge of South Mountain west, and Montgomery County, which encompassed the southern and eastern portions of the old Frederick County. These divisions established the boundaries of Frederick County in 1776 to include present day Frederick and part of Carroll counties. Carroll County was not created as a separate entity until 1836.

During the years from 1763-1840, the first period architecture was gradually replaced or enlarged into more substantial and permanent form. The large "Swisser" barns with cantilevered forebays and a ramp or bank at the back, hallmarks of central Maryland and south central Pennsylvania, replaced small log-crib stables and shelters for livestock and crops. Small log houses were improved with siding and additions, or replaced with stone or brick dwellings.

The population remained dominated by Germans who migrated into the county from Pennsylvania, although a substantial number of landowners from eastern Maryland, mostly well to do members of the upper levels of society, made their homes in Frederick County as well. Although the Germans had a major impact on Frederick County culture as evidenced in architectural and agricultural traditions, types of churches and language, the Germans were nevertheless a minority in the population. According to 1790 census tabulations, Frederick County's white population was 26,937. Of those, (according to surnames of heads of families) 5,137 (20%) were of German descent. The vast majority, 19,525 were labeled as "English and Welsh." The French population was counted as 265 in 1790. A surprising fact was that Frederick County had the highest white population of all counties in Maryland in 1790. In fact, with a total count of 30,791 it had the highest general population in Maryland. Neighboring Washington County had a smaller total white population of 14,472, but with 4,356 Germans, this group constituted 31% of the county's population. Washington County had only 59 French.[1]

Declining profits from tobacco and reduced opportunities in eastern and southern Maryland made the central and western portions of the state attractive to old-line families seeking to relocate and improve their fortunes. In addition to these residents of European and English descent were Africans and African-Americans who were brought into Frederick County

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[1] A Century of Population Growth From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970) p. 272.

by their planter-owners. During this period, only a few owners had more than 20 or so slaves, and records suggest that German farmers, long believed to be opposed to slavery often owned one or a few slaves for domestic and farm labor. Another group, while not numerous, was also important to the history of the Monocacy area. French refugees escaped the revolution in France in 1792-93 and also a slave uprising in San Domingo in the French West Indies, which occurred at the same time, by sailing to Maryland. The Vincendiere family that reunited in Frederick County fled both France and San Domingo (Dominican Republic) to acquire lands on the west side of the Monocacy River along the road from Frederick to Georgetown. They brought with them a few slaves for personal use through a special waiver in a Maryland law prohibiting importation of slaves from outside the US. The special provisions were to accommodate the French refugees.

> Etienne Belluoneaur de la Vincendiere arrived in Frederick in 1793 from San Domingo during the slave rebellion, one phase of the French Revolution. His wife, Marguerite and children Adelaide, Victoire and Etienne came from France to escape the Reign of Terror. The family was reunited in Baltimore and came to the Hermitage, three miles south of Frederick. Unlike many French who found temporary asylum in America during the French Revolution, members of this family did not return. They are buried in St. John's Catholic Cemetery in Frederick. The daughter Adelaide, married Bradley S.A. Lowe. They were the parents of Enoch Lewis Lowe, who was elected governor of Maryland in 1850. Demarest de la Vincendiere purchased lots in Frederick in 1793 when Dulaney property was confiscated after the American Revolution. John Payer Boisneuf, a native of San Domingo came here to visit the Vincendiere family near Frederick Junction, and decided to stay on....
>
> Louis Sebatian, Charles St. Martin de Bellvue, Frances Leuber, Herman Weber, Misses Debouline,...these and other refugees of the san Domingo uprisings and the French Revolution of 1793 were among the residents of a section of Frederick referred to as Frenchtown, Paris Street, or Little France.[2]

According to C.E. Schildknecht's book, quoted above, this French section was on North Market Street, in the 200 block, centering on #233.

The prosperity that grew in Frederick County during the latter 18th and early 19th centuries was the result of agricultural intensification as frontier conditions lessened and farming and support networks matured. Most prominent in the developing economy during the time period was the dominance of wheat and small grains and the shift away from less profitable tobacco. While southern Maryland remained committed to tobacco cultivation, the central and western counties increasingly turned to wheat production. Wheat was a more saleable product than tobacco and was not restricted by production legislation as tobacco had been. It was, however, on the list of commodities that by law had to be shipped to England in pre-Revolutionary days. Therefore, in the 1760s and 1770s, wheat profits were limited by market

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[2] C.E. Schildknecht, ed. Monocacy and Catoctin, Some Early Settlers of Frederick and Carroll Counties, Maryland and Adams County, Pennsylvania and Descendants, ca. 1725-1985. Vol. I, Shippensburg, PA: Beidel Printing House, Inc., 1985.

conditions in England. The increase of wheat production, though, promoted growth of Baltimore, Frederick and Hagerstown, as well as towns in south central Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. These places show evidence of significant growth in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. By 1790, Frederick was the most populous county in Maryland, and York County, Pennsylvania, which included present day Adams County, directly north of Frederick was the most populous county in Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia. Baltimore became important to the processing and shipping of grain and began to siphon trade from the grain producing areas of Pennsylvania, setting up a trade rivalry with Philadelphia.

In Frederick County, grain farming was conducted by the two dominant groups, owner/planters who either produced grain on their own land or leased land to tenants, and small farmers, many of whom were Germans. The Germans either migrated to Maryland from southeastern or south central Pennsylvania, or entered Maryland through the port of Baltimore. They acquired fertile land and developed family farms.

Eventually the region became known for grain production. Grain was sold in bulk, or processed into flour and meal, or distilled into whiskey. These commodities were shipped to markets in Baltimore or Philadelphia. Shipping from central and western Maryland and the grain growing regions of Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley was a problem, and hindered the growth and prosperity associated with grain production. There was no inland water route to the farming areas, although navigation of the Potomac and Susquehanna were promoted or opposed by various factions. Rail service did not develop until the 1830s, so highway transportation had to serve the freight hauling needs of the region. Maryland, therefore promoted turnpike development, although most of these toll routes were privately funded. The output and growth in population in the western areas of Maryland encouraged construction and improvement of roads which were generally described as "miserable and worst in the union" in the late 18th century.[3] Baltimore officials in 1787 laid out 20-foot wide roads to Frederick, Reisterstown and York, Pennsylvania. However, it was private turnpike companies and in some cases mill owners who actually constructed the roads.[4]

During the Revolution, the Continental Congress assigned Maryland and the other states a quota for supplying foodstuffs for the army. Maryland's was 20,000 barrels of flour, 200 tons of hay and 56,000 bushels of corn.[5] Although Maryland did not meet the quota, it did contribute substantially to the war effort. Frederick served as a powder depository and a prisoner-of-war camp for Hessian mercenaries.[6] Maryland's quota implies that the grain-growing value of the state was known and understood outside of the state's boundaries.

By the last decade of the 18th century, Frederick County had as many as 80 grist mills and 300-400 stills, along with two glass works, two iron furnaces, two forges and two paper mills.[7] These industries show the dominance of grain production through the high number of mills and

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[3] Brugger, p. 153.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Robert J. Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, (198), p. 125.
[6] Ibid.
[7] T. J. C. Williams, History of Frederick County, Maryland, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., (1967, reprint of the original 1910 edition). p. 267.

stills and the degree to which the area had developed marketable finished goods. Clearly, by the late 18th century, Frederick had passed well beyond the initial settlement, frontier stage. The 1790 census for Frederick County (which still included Carroll County) counted 30,791 inhabitants. Approximately 12% of those, 3641, were slaves. Frederick City's population was about 3,000 and the town had developed as a commercial and governmental center for the surrounding farmland. It also served as a stopping point on the turnpike from Baltimore to Cumberland. Frederick City also had a compliment of banks, law offices and printing establishments.

Along with the iron and glass works, Frederick and its environs also had 47 tanneries and manufactories for (not surprisingly) shoes, textiles, hats and wagons. The tanneries produced goods valued at approximately $140,000 annually in 1800, furnaces and forges, about $80,000 annually and breweries and distilleries, near $75,000.[8] The greatest output in value of product, however, was from the area's grist and flour mills. The difficulties of travel helped to promote the development of local commerce and manufacturing. The processing of grain into flour or whiskey is an example of local industry flourishing because transportation to distant processing facilities was difficult and expensive. Transporting bulky whole grains was more expensive than shipping grain already processed into flour, meal or whiskey. Therefore, Frederick County along with Washington County in the heart of the wheat belt had more processing facilities than Baltimore City and Baltimore County. In 1810, there were more than 50 flour mills in the Baltimore area, worth about $50,000 annually, but Frederick County in the wheat-growing region had nearly twice as many mills, with more in adjoining Washington County. These mills in the wheat belt had an annual value of product of more than one and a half million dollars![9] By 1810, Frederick and Washington Counties were distilling 350,000 gallons of whiskey a year, compared with Baltimore City and County's 140,000 gallons.[10] Finished products were being transported from Frederick County to Baltimore and from there they were shipped to the West Indies, other North American ports or overseas.

Although statistics show a high level of production from the wheat-belt counties, there were problems in the early 19th century. Difficulties stemmed from the international situation in the opening decade of the 19th century. The British and French went to war in 1803. Both of these powers attempted to destroy or hinder the shipping and imports of the other. Although the United States declared a policy of neutrality, both the British and the French commandeered American merchant vessels to prevent the transport of goods to the other. Neither of the warring powers recognized the neutrality of the United States. President Thomas Jefferson's administration, which tended to be somewhat more sympathetic to the French, placed an embargo on American shipping, to stop both powers from seizing American ships and to force both governments into recognizing American neutrality. The embargo went into effect in December of 1807, and at first received support from merchants and farmers in Maryland and other eastern states. They thought that both foreign powers would realize they needed American agricultural products and end their policy of harassment of shipping. Americans soon realized, however, that the embargo was more harmful to domestic trade than it was to either the British or

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[8] Walsh and Fox, p. 163.

[9] James S. Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes: 1800-1850," Walsh and Fox, p. 175.

[10] Ibid.

French who seemed to be relatively unaffected by the trade sanctions. From the port of Baltimore, flour exports decreased by half from 1807 to 1808, from 500,000 to 250,000 barrels.[11]

The unpopular embargo ended in 1809 when Thomas Jefferson left office. His successor, James Madison, attempted economic sanctions, but they had little or no effect. British and French warships continued to harass American merchant ships. The British were most aggressive, forcing sailors onto their warships and confiscating cargoes. Maryland merchants, farmers and millers were vocal in their opposition to Jefferson's and Madison's policies to get Great Britain and France to recognize American sovereignty. They wanted a declaration of war on England over the issue of impressment of sailors and taking of cargo. President Madison called for a declaration of war on June 1, 1812, and Congress responded with a positive vote. Maryland's congressional delegation voted seven to four in favor of declaring war on England.[12]

Those who supported the war effort thought that the conflict would be short because of Britain's need to concentrate on the ongoing war with France in Europe. This turned out not to be the case. The war lasted longer than most had expected, with more action than Americans were prepared for. Further, the war was not favored or supported by many Americans. Merchants and businessmen in New England were anti-war, and even organized in Connecticut to oppose it with talk of secession. The English fought largely a naval war against the Americans. They began blockading the Chesapeake Bay in 1813 and by 1814, essentially halted trade through the bay.

> While Maryland exports in 1812 were valued at five million dollars, the following year the figure fell by forty per cent to three million dollars, and in 1814, only some $200,000 worth of goods were exported. The only substantial profits stimulated by the war went to a few fortunate owners and captains of privateers. Sleek, swift Baltimore clippers sailed from the Maryland port in record numbers to harass British shipping and, if they escaped capture, won valuable prizes.[13]

Even with the economic difficulties presented by the war of 1812, population of Maryland's western counties continued to grow. The 1810 census showed Frederick County with 34,439 inhabitants of which 5,671 (17%) were slaves. There were also 783 free Negroes. To put these figures into context with the 1790-1840 time period, in 1790, the total population was 30,791 (3,641 slaves); 1820, 40,459 (6,685 slaves); 1830, 45,789 (6,370 slaves). In 1836, Carroll County was parceled off from Frederick and Baltimore Counties, so all census data through 1830 includes portions of today's Carroll County. The census numbers show that the largest increase of population (6,020 individuals) occurred in the decade 1810-1820 when Maryland's economic woes were heightened by the War of 1812.. During this decade, Frederick County also had the largest number of slaves in its history, 6,685. However, the percentage of slaves in the general population remained the same as in 1810 at 17%. The number of free Negroes also increased by 1820 to 1,777. From the census data, we conclude that despite the

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[11] Ibid. p. 176.
[12] Ibid. p. 177
[13] Ibid.

transportation hassles, Frederick County was attractive enough for substantial population growth, and the agricultural/industrial output indicates that the standard of living was fairly high.

After the War of 1812, wheat farmers were challenged again, this time by Hessian flies, which attacked the grain crop. Some farmers responded by turning to other crops like clover, expanding acreage, or growing livestock. Crop yields also increased through the use of fertilizers. Frederick County's farmers may have been able to circumvent some of the transportation problems caused by the War at the port of Baltimore, by shipping flour to Philadelphia over a longer but well traveled route.

Perhaps the attraction of Philadelphia as a rival market along with opening the Ohio Valley markets for Maryland caused businessmen to become interested in experimenting with rail transportation to develop a route from Baltimore to the Ohio River. A corporation was formed as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in 1827. While the cornerstone for the new railroad was being laid on July 4, 1828, with the help of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, last living signer of the Declaration of Independence, by then in his 90s, the first shovel of dirt was lifted by President of the United States, John Quincy Adams for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The canal was to follow the north side of the Potomac River from Georgetown to Cumberland, then overland to the Ohio River. Both of these projects affected Frederick County. The railroad fared much better than the canal, and by 1832 had reached the Potomac River at Point of Rocks in Frederick County. The railroad passed near Frederick, crossing the Monocacy River just above the Frederick and Georgetown Pike. At the same time, the railroad constructed a spur line into Frederick City. By the 1830s, the county's agricultural and industrial products could be shipped by rail to Baltimore. Ironically, the railroad helped to cause the decline of Frederick County's flour mills, distilleries and other processing industries. Now, raw materials could be shipped in bulk to processing centers in the city. Gradually, over the next two decades flour mills shifted from merchant mills producing for external markets to custom mills producing feed, meal and flour for local consumption.

As far as their political leanings were concerned, Frederick Countians in the early 19th century were mixed as to whether they were Federalists or Jeffersonian Republicans. In general, Republicanism was strongest in areas undergoing rapid growth and development such as western Maryland, where opportunity to acquire and cultivate land was more equal than in older established areas. So, in Frederick County, Republicanism was somewhat more prevalent, except during the years of Jefferson's embargo on foreign trade with England and France, which affected wheat growers directly. Members of Maryland's old-line elite families tended to adhere to the conservative Federalist party.[14] In 1802, the Jeffersonians had been instrumental in passage of a reform bill, which gave suffrage to all adult white males, and eliminated property requirements. The new suffrage law contributed new voters and encouraged a more democratic political climate in Maryland. In the presidential election of 1824, between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, western Maryland supported Jackson over Adams, the winner (although Jackson actually had the larger popular vote).[15] In 1828, Jackson was elected, but angered local

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[14] W. Wayne Smith, "Politics and Democracy in Maryland, 1800-1854," Walsh and Fox, p. 247.

[15] During the 1820s the political parties changed names. The old Federalists generally supported Adams under the name of "National Republicans" (later Whigs), while the old Jeffersonians (Republicans) generally supported Jackson as "Democratic Republicans" (later Democrats).

supporters by vetoing an internal improvement bill, which appropriated federal funds for a turnpike from Frederick to Georgetown. Maryland had committed its own funds for internal improvements, supporting construction of the B & O Railroad and the C & O Canal, and hoped for federal funding for these and other projects.

Throughout the period, politics trended toward greater democracy, with power shifting to more populous areas of Baltimore and western Maryland. Politicians were coming now from the ranks of lawyers, rather from the old landed elite. Nevertheless, Frederick County produced two governors during the 1780s and 1790s, Thomas Sim Lee and Thomas Johnson, indicating that even in its early history, Frederick County, presumably because of its greater population, could muster the political support and strength to elect state leaders.

Maryland was until 1865, with the passage of the 13th amendment, a slave state. However, Maryland had a higher number of free blacks throughout its history than most, if not all other slave states. This large population of free blacks is attributed to the affects of the shared border with Pennsylvania, a state that abolished slavery in 1808. Even in Maryland, there were early attempts to abolish the institution, although all were defeated. In one of the early drafts of Maryland's constitution in 1776, there was a clause abolishing slavery, but it was deleted.[16] Then, in 1789, legislators, Charles Carroll, Nicholas Hammond and John Hull introduced a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery. The bill included provisions for the education of female slaves who would be purchased by the state, bound out to work until age 28 at which time they would be freed. The bill was defeated and seemed to end legislative efforts to abolish slavery that had been promoted by Quakers and Methodists who were opposed to slavery.[17] However, in 1796, the legislature did approve the right of a master to manumit slaves.[18] Manumissions helped to create the large number of free blacks in Maryland during the first half of the 19th century. These free African Americans had ambiguous status. They did not have rights of citizenship. The 1803 law that abolished the property requirement for voting in Maryland, also disenfranchised free blacks. Free blacks also were not allowed to testify against whites in court. Thus, Maryland law declared blacks inferior to whites.[19]

Population figures show that Frederick County had many more slaves than is often assumed to be the case, particularly in the early 19th century. In 1810 and 1820, the slave population was 17% of the entire census count. In 1790, Frederick County's population was 30,791. There were in 1790, 3,641 slaves or 12% of the total. In 1800, the census counted 31,523 individuals in Frederick County, of which 4,572 were slaves, or 15%. Ten years later in 1810, the overall population was 34,439 with 5,671 slaves, 17%. In 1820, Frederick County's population was 40,459 with 6,685 slaves. This also was 17% of the total population. Finally in 1830, the population of Frederick County was 45,789, with 6,370 slaves or 14%. By 1840, Carroll County had been partitioned off, which caused Frederick County's population count to drop by approximately 12,000.

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[16] Richard Walsh, "The Era of the Revolution," Walsh and Fox, p. 118.
[17] Ibid. p. 128-129.
[18] Ibid. p. 131.
[19] James S, Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes: 1800-1850," Walsh and Fox, p. 158-159.

Tabulations from the 1790 census show that of the 4,377 families counted in Frederick County, 678 (15.5%) of them were slave owners. Conversely, approximately 85% of families in 1790 did not own slaves. Those who held slaves kept an average number of 5.4 slaves. Of the 678 slave holding families in Frederick County, 214 had only one slave; 234 had two to four slaves; 129 had five to nine slaves; 73 had 10 to 19; 26 families had 20 to 49 slaves; one family had 50 to 99 slaves and another had 100 to 199 slaves. To compare Frederick with other Counties in Maryland, it had among the lowest percentage of slaveholders. Washington County, adjoining Frederick on its west side had 11% of its families owning slaves. Montgomery County, which adjoins Frederick to the south, had 44.9% of families owning slaves. In contrast, Charles County had 60% of families owning slaves; Dorchester County, 44%; Kent County 57.5%; St Mary's County 58.3%; and Prince Georges County, 53.7%.[20] When the number of slaves in the Frederick County population increased in the 1810-1830 period, the number and percentage of slaveholding families may have increased as well.

The general census data recorded above shows a steadily increasing population in Frederick County with the biggest jump in numbers occurring between 1810 and 1820 with an increase of 6,020 inhabitants, and between 1820 and 1830 with an increase of 5,330. These two decades also witnessed the largest percentage of slaves in the population. The 20-year period between 1810 and 1830 was that in which transportation networks were improved and the agricultural development of the wheat belt was completed. This time period also coincided with the tribulations of the war of 1812, the trade embargo and the panic of 1819. Census figures indicate that Frederick County experienced steady growth through the period.

In addition to the tabulation of slaves in Frederick County, census records also give information of free blacks. Frederick County, which borders on Pennsylvania and received much of its population from Pennsylvania, was greatly influenced by Pennsylvania's culture. Pennsylvania abolished slavery early, and the state became a haven for free blacks and a haven for fugitive slaves. The proximity of Pennsylvania may account for steadily increasing numbers of free blacks in Frederick County's population. The count was as follows: 1790-213; 1800-473; 1810-783; 1820-1,777; 1830-2,716; 1840 (without Carroll County)-2,985. Although these numbers may seem high, they are still far less than the number of slaves in Frederick County.

As census data is analyzed further, it appears that there were areas of Frederick County where slavery was particularly concentrated. Areas of high concentrations of slave population included the Frederick(town), and Buckeystown districts, which converged along the Monocacy River among the five farms that, make up the Monocacy Battlefield. For example, in the 1820 census for Buckeystown District, the population was 1,872 whites and 1,113 slaves. Here the slave population was 38% of the total. In the same year, for the portion of the Frederick Town district that was outside of the town of Frederick, there was a population total of 6,411, of which 1,024 were slaves.

The property owners associated with the Monocacy farms were slave owners. In fact, in 1800, Victoire Vincendiere, who had the Hermitage, was listed in the Census of that year with 90

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[20] A Century of Population Growth From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth 1790-1900, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970) p. 289.

slaves. Victoire Vincendiere was the daughter of E.L.M. de la Vincendiere, the French planter from St. Domingo who came to Frederick County in 1793 and reunited with his family from France. The family purchased and developed a plantation, the Hermitage, on the west side of the Monocacy River, known on the Monocacy battlefield as the Best Farm. The 90 slaves must have been acquired after the family came to America since Maryland law did not allow importation of slaves. An exception was made for French refugees, to allow them to bring in up to five personal servants per family. In the 1820 census, Victoire is listed with 48 slaves in a household which included 11 people and four "other free" (free blacks). According to this record, 25 slaves were working in agriculture and one in manufacture. Two persons were noted as "not naturalized." By 1830, Victoire had 6 slaves and two free blacks in her household. By this time, however, she was living in Frederick Town, not on the plantation.

Other slave owners in the Monocacy area included Worthington Johnson (Araby) with 16 slaves in 1830, although he was listed with only three in 1820. In 1840, he had 13 slaves. John McPherson (Araby), was listed with 13 slaves in 1820. In 1840, Griffin Taylor, (Clifton) had 17 slaves, while neighbor Daniel Baker (the "Baker Farm" and "Lewis Farm") had a household with one slave and three "free colored" people. By 1850, the number of slaves had dropped significantly among the Monocacy owners. By then, most had only one black or mulatto farmhand or domestic servant. For example, the 1850 census lists Griffin Taylor with real property valued at $55,000, a wife, nine children and one mulatto laborer. Ten years earlier he had 17 slaves.

What these figures seem to indicate is that Frederick County probably had more slaves than most sources seem to indicate, although the number was low relative to the rest of the state, and that some owners had a large number (over 15) while many had only a few. Many households also had free blacks among their inhabitants, which may mean that some members of black families were free while other members were slaves. Apparently when there were manumissions, children of the manumitted person remained as slaves. According to The Negro in Maryland, by Jeffrey R. Brackett, a Maryland law enacted in 1809 stated that:

> Persons who should manumit slaves, after January of the following year, to be free after some specified time or on performance of certain conditions, might determine the condition of any issue which might be born meantime. Such issue if there was no provision to the contrary, would be slaves. When this bill was considered in the House, an attempt was made to change it so that such issue in all cases serve the owners of the mother 25 years for males and 20 for females, and should then be free; but this was defeated by a large majority.[21]

It seems that the slaves were living in the households of their owners, and that in many cases, free blacks were living in those same households. The free blacks may have lived more separate lives, perhaps in houses on the property, but more distant from the "big house." The census records seem to indicate that there was mixing of slave and free, and of slave owner and non-slave owner, and that any distinctions were legal ones more than social ones. It may be that there were more slaves in areas occupied by citizens of English or French descent, who had come from the tradition of slave-owning in eastern or southern Maryland, or the West Indies.

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[21] Jeffrey R. Brackett, The Negro in Maryland, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1889, p. 154-155.

According to calculations based on the 1790 census records, Frederick County's population was 73% English and Welsh (19,525 of the total population of 26,937), and 20% German (5,137 of the total). Within the state of Maryland in 1790, the highest number of French, 265, were found in Frederick County. Frederick County was by far the most populous in the state, exceeding even the combined population of Baltimore City and Baltimore County.[22] Slaves, it seems, were present throughout the county, and in substantial numbers. There were much smaller, but significant numbers of free blacks, most of whom, it would appear were interspersed among the slave population.

Records accessed for this chapter indicate that despite problems of international trade and war with Great Britain, Frederick County prospered during the period from 1763 to 1840. Farming and agricultural processing industries dominated, along with the iron industry. Wheat and corn (referred to in agricultural census records as "Indian Corn") were the largest crops, with swine and sheep being the dominant livestock produced. This information comes from the 1850 agricultural census, which probably recorded conditions similar to those in 1840 and earlier. Other crops included rye, oats, potatoes, orchard fruit, and hay. Wool and butter were also frequently listed in the 1850 agricultural census. The county grew in population and not surprisingly many farms have building complexes that date from this 50-year period. Substantial houses and "Swisser" barns (indicating the impact of German heritage) reflect the agricultural prosperity of the region. The French influence in local architecture can be seen in the house and barn on the Hermitage. Both, but the barn in particular, are distinctive in the region, which was dominated by German and English architectural traditions. While Frederick County was not dependent on slavery during the period, slave labor was certainly an important aspect of 19th century life, as suggested by the percentages of slaves in the general population. The slave population, however, declined sharply after 1840.

In the next time period, from 1840-1934, the county changes. Still agricultural, it feels the affect of industrialization, urbanization and the capriciousness of a market economy. Local industries based on agriculture decline as wheat production begins to slow and lose out to larger grain operations in the Plains states. The issue of slavery divides the county during the Civil War, with most families in the vicinity of Monocacy junction sympathizing with the Confederacy. We will explore these changes and conflicts in Chapter III.

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[22] A Century of Population Growth, p.272.

Chapter III

Agricultural Transition, Industrialization and Urbanization 1840-1934

Chapter III

Agricultural Transition, Industrialization and Urbanization, 1840-1934

The period of 1840-1934 covers nearly a century of transition and crisis. Frederick County was caught in the conflict of sectionalism and the Civil War, embracing both Southern and Northern views. The county was also caught in the conflict between urban and rural values as more people left rural areas to live and work in cities. Frederick County's proportion of industry and population decreased relative to Baltimore's rapid growth. Frederick County no longer had the largest population in the state and industry and manufacturing were concentrating in Baltimore.

Leading industries in Maryland, determined by value of product in 1860 included 1) Flour and Meal (always a leading industry in Frederick County); 2) Men's Clothing; 3) Cotton Goods; 4) Sugar, Refined; and 5) Leather. By 1870, the list had changed: 1) Sugar, Refined; 2) Flouring and Grist Mill Products; 3) Men's Clothing; 4) Cotton Goods; and 5) Iron, Forged and Rolled. The leading industries had shifted again by 1880: 1) Men's Clothing; 2) Flouring and Grist Mill Products; 3) Fruits and Vegetables, Canned; 4) Fertilizers; and 5) Cotton Goods. Ten years later in 1890, flour milling products had dropped to fourth place in value of product, behind men's clothing, brick and stone masonry, and canning and preserving fruits and vegetables. In 1900, flour and grist mill products had dropped again to the number five position behind men's clothing, fruit and vegetable canning, iron and steel, and foundry and machine shop products. Thereafter, flour and grist mill products don't appear among Maryland's major products at all.[1]

The value of product trends shown above indicates that Maryland was shifting from an agricultural based economy to one based on manufacturing and factory produced goods. In Maryland, by 1914, more people were working in industry than in agriculture, and more were living in urban areas than in the country.[2] Yet throughout the period, Frederick, Carroll and Washington Counties continued to lead the state in corn and wheat production and wheat and flour were among the top commodities exported from the port of Baltimore throughout the period, although there was a gradual decline.[3] Competition from Midwestern grain resulted in Maryland sharing a smaller percentage of the whole amount of grain produced in the US.

As the urbanization and industrialization process gradually transformed the economy of Maryland and of Frederick County, the County responded by shifting to dairy products, fruit and

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[1] Eleanor Bruchey, "The Industrialization of Maryland, 1860-1914," in Walsh and Fox, p. 483,484.

[2] Bruchey, p. 396, citing U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufactures: 1914, I, 553.

[3] Ibid. p.397 and 497.

vegetable production. Corn and wheat were still major agricultural products, but milling in Frederick County changed from production for market to custom work for local farmers and planters. Susan Winter Frye, in her study of milling in the Antietam drainage area in neighboring Washington County recorded similar findings concerning the decline in milling. "Several trends become apparent in the flour milling industry during the nineteenth century. First, large milling establishments had reached their pinnacle about mid century. By 1880, several of these large mills had converted to other lines of manufacture. Those merchant mills that continued producing flour decreased their output."[4] The fact that Frederick and Washington Counties were still producing large amounts of wheat and corn while decreasing mill output, indicates that grain was being shipped unprocessed to markets or mills in Baltimore, or was converted locally to animal feed. However, in seeming contrast to the trends indicated above, Araby Mills along the Monocacy River continued to run at full capacity during the second half of the 19th century. James Gambrill purchased the Araby Mill in 1856 and made substantial improvements to the existing facility that had been in operation since 1830.[5] Gambrill expanded the operation to two buildings and employed up to eight coopers. At peak operation the mills could produce 60 barrels of flour a day. According to the 1860 Census of Manufactures, Gambrill's mill was producing 12,000 barrels of flour annually, which placed it among the top three producers in Frederick County, and well above most mills in the county.[6] In 1878 Gambrill expanded again and bought the steam powered Frederick City Mill in downtown Frederick. This purchase allowed Gambrill to increase production to 45,000 barrels of flour per year. "Best Araby" and "Unsurpassed" were popular brand names produced by Gambrill.[7] Eventually, Gambrill's fortunes did turn, and production decreased at Araby Mills, and ceased completely in 1897, when Gambrill was forced to sell the mill property. The attached saw, chop (feed) and plaster mills had already been discontinued, probably around 1880.[8]

In addition to the economic changes experienced by Frederick County, there was the disruption of the Civil War, with major activity in the Monocacy battlefield area in 1862, 1863 and with the Battle of Monocacy in July of 1864. The issue of slavery seems not to have been as important to Frederick Countians during the Civil War as the issue of preservation of the Union. As we learned in the preceding chapter, slavery was declining in Frederick County by the 1860s. The institution was finally abolished in Maryland in June of 1864. It seems that some Frederick Countians sympathized with the Confederacy, but took little action when given the opportunity when Confederates appeared in the area during three successive summers. The Confederate presence in Frederick County during each of those summers could have allowed sympathizers to do much to support the Southern efforts. It seems that sympathetic response was limited and low key. Loyalty to the Union was stronger in Frederick County than the desire to preserve slavery. However, while the majority of Frederick Countians were Unionist, the fact that a substantial minority of the population were slave holders or former slave holders, and slavery was legal in the state, caused plenty of confusion if not outright conflict among residents.

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[4] Susan Winter Frye, "Evolution of Mill Settlement Patterns in the Antietam Drainage, Washington County, Maryland," p. 71.

[5] HABS Report, "The Gambrill House," p. 5.

[6] Ibid. p.18.

[7] Thomas J Scharf, History of Western Maryland, Vol. I, p. 598.

[8] HABS Report, p. 12.

The experience in Frederick County, and specifically the five farms of the Monocacy Battlefield, in the period from 1840-1934, is one of shifting from economic prominence as Maryland's major producer of wheat and flour, and supporting the largest population in the state, to a more subordinate role supporting Baltimore's rapid industrial and population growth. The county remained agricultural, while losing industries and the nature of agriculture changed to products that could be sold to the rapidly growing urban population developing some 40 miles to the east. Clearly, Frederick County's economic, social and political zenith had been in the 1763-1840 period. The county was certainly still prosperous, still continued to grow, but the focus had shifted to Baltimore. This whole process was accelerated as 20th century automobile travel facilitated transport of goods and people to the city.

At the beginning of the period, Maryland was caught up in the sectional and political controversies challenging the nation. In 1850, thirty-year-old Democrat, Enoch Louis Lowe was elected Governor by a large margin. Lowe was a lawyer from Frederick County and the son of Adelaide Vincendiere, who had been born in France in 1789 and came as a small child to live on the Hermitage along the Monocacy. With Lowe's election as governor, Democrats came to dominate in Maryland for years to come. The dilemma facing Maryland Democrats now was whether to support the party in the Southern states on the issue of the expansion of slavery.

> Marylanders, of course, had not been oblivious to the growing slavery and sectional controversy that plagued the nation. The slaveholders and slave population had steadily declined in Maryland, but the state's cultural attitudes aligned her with the South. Yet rare was the Marylander in the early stages of the sectional controversy who advocated secession in order to protect slavery. Attachment to the Union was as powerful a force in Maryland as was the attachment to slavery. Marylanders wanted slavery protected and maintained, but they also wanted to preserve the Union.[9]

Sectionalism, however, intensified and by the 1860 Presidential election, the two main political parties had disintegrated into four. Democrats split North and South, with the Northern Democrats nominating Stephen A. Douglas from Illinois and the Southerners choosing John C. Breckenridge, the current Vice-President, from Kentucky. A new political party replaced the Whigs, the Republicans who nominated Abraham Lincoln from Illinois. Another new party emerged in support of the Constitution and the Union, called the Constitutional Union Party with John Bell of Tennessee as their candidate.

Marylanders, including those from Frederick County did not support Lincoln, or even the Northern Democrat, Douglas. The two leading candidates in the state were Breckenridge and Bell. Although Lincoln and the Republicans won the national election, in Maryland, the contest was a close one between Breckenridge and Bell. Breckenridge carried the state with 42,482 votes to Bell's 41,760.[10]

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[9] W. Wayne Smith, "Politics and Democracy in Maryland, 1800-1854," Walsh and Fox, p. 298.
[10] Richard R. Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," Walsh and Fox, p. 309.

In Frederick County, the results were similar: voters preferred Southern Democrat John C. Breckenridge to Northern Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, with 3,170 votes to 439. Lincoln received only 103 votes in Frederick County.[11] However, Abraham Lincoln won in Adams County, Pennsylvania, adjoining Frederick County on the north, but he earned only 80 more votes than Stephen A. Douglas, the Northern Democrat, who was ambivalent on the issue of slavery. The comparison with an adjoining county in Pennsylvania illustrates the divisive nature of politics in the 1860s, particularly in the border areas between North and South such as Adams and Frederick Counties were.

While Lincoln prevailed a few miles to the north, in Frederick former Maryland Governor Enoch Lewis Lowe was an ardent supporter of the South and worked for the election of Breckenridge. After Lincoln won, Lowe pushed for Maryland to secede from the Union. When the Civil War started, Lowe moved to Virginia where he remained until the conflict was over, using his political influence within the Confederacy to help Maryland secede.[12] Lowe returned to Maryland eventually and is buried in St. John's Catholic cemetery in Frederick. Such extreme views within close proximity seems to have been characteristic of the region. However, since Maryland had such mixed views and since the state had strong commercial ties to both North and South, Maryland's reactions were tempered with a desire for compromise. This ambivalence was expressed by Maryland's Governor during the Civil War, Thomas H. Hicks from Dorchester County. In a "Proclamation to the People of Maryland," printed in the Annapolis Gazette, Hicks said that he wanted to always live in a slave state and denounced Union evasions of the Fugitive Slave Law. Hicks also said that secession was unwise and was an act only of the last resort. He closed by saying that he hoped to spend the remainder of his days in the Union.[13]

Federal officials concerned about keeping Maryland in the Union, by early 1862 were suppressing newspapers that were considered disloyal. Among those papers placed on the list of offenders was the Frederick Herald, which was forced to suspend publishing altogether. ("Punishments" for offending papers included arrest and possible imprisonment of the editor, denial of use of the federal mail or closing of the newspaper's office). In addition to the Herald and other newspapers around the state, at least nine papers in Baltimore were either permanently or temporarily suppressed.[14]

In April of 1861, Governor Hicks convened the state's assembly in Frederick instead of Annapolis, because of Frederick's Unionist reputation. President Lincoln kept a close eye on the assembly's activities and was prepared to take action in the event that a resolution for secession was adopted. He instructed "General Scott 'to adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even, if necessary, to the bombardment of their cities--and in the extremist necessity, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.'"[15]

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[11] Emile A. and Mary B. Nakhleh, Emmitsburg: History and Society. Emmitsburg, MD: Emmitsburg Chronicle, 1976, p. 41.

[12] T.J.C. Williams, History of Frederick County, p. 291.

[13] Richard R. Duncan, p. 337, citing Annapolis Gazette. Jan. 10, 1861.

[14] Ibid. p. 350.

[15] Ibid. p. 351, quoting Basler, Works of Lincoln, IV, 344.

The assembly continued the state's policy of open sympathy for the South while maintaining that the state was a member of the Union and would continue its obligations as such. The assembly also protested the federal occupation of the state. In September of 1861, when the assembly was to reconvene in Frederick, federal officials decided it would be prudent to arrest all members of the assembly who were sympathetic to the South. Martial law was proclaimed in Frederick, the town was closed off and no one could leave without permission. The disloyal delegates were arrested while simultaneous arrests were made in Baltimore, including the mayor. The prisoners were sent to Annapolis and then incarcerated at Fort Monroe.[16]

Maryland remained Unionist despite the federal intrusion. The Union sentiment combined with the strong federal presence in Maryland were significant factors in Maryland remaining Unionist when General Robert E. Lee brought the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia into the state in the late summer of 1862 and again in the summers of 1863 and 1864. One of General Lee's advisors was General Bradley Johnson of Frederick. Bradley T. Johnson was a descendent of Governor Thomas Johnson's brother Baker Johnson and his wife Catherine Worthington.[17] Johnson advised Lee that the western part of Maryland was Unionist and that Southern sympathizers would want some sort of assurance of continued Confederate occupation before they would come forward with open expressions of support. This response was not surprising given the action of the federal government in Frederick with the arrests of Southern sympathizers during the preceding summer.

General Lee wrote to Confederate President, Jefferson Davis on September 7, 1862, as his army assembled along the Monocacy outside of Frederick, near Bush Creek and the B &O junction. "Notwithstanding individual expressions of kindness that have been given, and the general sympathy in the success of the Confederate States, situated as Maryland is, I do not anticipate any general rising of the people in our behalf."[18] However, Lee hoped that former Governor Enoch Louis Lowe, who was an active supporter of the Confederacy, would join him in Maryland.[19] It is possible that Lowe guided Lee to the encampment place along the Monocacy, since the site was on lands formerly owned by Lowe's family and was his boyhood home, and Lowe would have known that their occupants might be sympathetic to the Confederate cause. Lowe, however, did not show up to meet Lee in Maryland. Unfortunately for the Confederates, Lee's sojourn in Maryland in 1862 was too short to provide the "continued Confederate occupation" that Maryland secessionists wanted to see. With Lee's return to Virginia on September 19-20, Maryland's allegiance to the Union was confirmed, and although the Confederates made two more major incursions into Maryland, in 1863 and 1864, the opportunity of turning the state to the Confederacy had been lost in 1862. By 1864, the Confederates treated Maryland like other Union territory, open to plunder and a source for provisions. In the summer of that year, Frederick, Middletown and Hagerstown were forced to pay ransoms or have their towns burned. Chambersburg in adjacent Franklin

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[16] Ibid. p. 352, and T. Scharf, History of Western Maryland, II, 205-206.
[17] T.J.C. Williams, History of Frederick County, p. 107ff.
[18] Richard R. Duncan, p. 357, quoting OR, series 1, XIX, pt 2, p. 590-592.
[19] Ibid., p. 359.

County, Pennsylvania, refused to pay the ransom and the town was torched. So, Maryland that was sympathetic to the Confederacy, but remained within the Union was treated no differently than Union strongholds like Pennsylvania.

Although slaves were freed in Maryland in June of 1864, they had no real rights of citizenship. In general, Maryland subscribed to president Andrew Johnson's view of reconstruction, which was that reconstruction was complete when the Southern states had reentered the Union and the slaves had been freed. Maryland restricted the vote to white males over the age of 21 until the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870, which guaranteed the right to vote for African-Americans.

After the Civil War, Maryland's urbanization accelerated. Population began to shift with internal migration from the countryside to the cities. Baltimore grew, but so did cities like Cumberland, Hagerstown and, to a lesser extent, Frederick. By 1910, Cumberland was the second largest city in Maryland, with a population of 21,838. Hagerstown was third with 16,507 and Frederick was the fourth largest city with 10,411 people. Baltimore City, however, had 43.1% of the state's population, ranking seventh in the nation.[20] So, in a little more than a century, Frederick County had moved from the most populous county in the state to a much lower ratio. The rapid growth of Baltimore, Hagerstown and Cumberland had to do with the multiple railroads serving these cities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Only a spur of the B&O served Frederick, while Hagerstown was a hub for four intersecting railroads. The good transportation opportunity led to growth of industries there and consequently population growth. While Frederick grew, it did not experience the accelerated growth that the three larger cities did.

From 1870 to 1920, Maryland's population grew from 780,894 to 1,449,661 while Baltimore City's' population over the same period grew from 267,354 to 733,826.[21] These figures show that by 1920, over half the population of the state was located in Baltimore. While agricultural pursuits continued in other parts of the state, their relative importance as the driving force of the economy declined.

For Frederick County, the agricultural census records are helpful in illustrating the trends in agriculture in the second half of the 19th century. In the 1850 census, producers in the Monocacy area concentrated on grains. Farms ranged in size from 100 acres to John T. Worthington's assembled spread of 6,770 acres. Regardless of the size of the farm, wheat and corn were the main agricultural products. Smaller stocks of rye and oats were also recorded. Livestock numbers were not large, usually fewer than a dozen horses, milch cows, cattle, and mules. These livestock figures hold true, even for Worthington's large property. In nearly all instances, however, there were larger numbers of swine and sheep. Forty or fifty swine were common and Worthington had 803 swine and 546 sheep. Other smaller farms typically anywhere from 20 to 100 sheep. Other agricultural products mentioned were potatoes, 20-40 bushels reported. Again, John T. Worthington leads with 1,307 bushels. Pounds of wool are also listed, ranging

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[20] William Lloyd Fox, "Social-Cultural Developments from the Civil War to 1920." Walsh and Fox, p. 503.
[21] James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," Walsh and Fox, p. 590.

from 30 pounds to Worthington's 1,346 pounds. A surprising quantity of butter is listed in the census, from a low of 300 pounds to 1,100 pounds. Worthington reported 8,525 pounds of butter. While the potatoes may have been for home use, certainly such large quantities of butter were for market, along with the wheat and corn. The livestock, except perhaps the hogs were probably for use on the farms, and it does seem amazing that so few dairy cattle could produce so much butter.

The agricultural census for 1860 is similar to the one for 1850. The largest quantities of product were wheat and corn, with much smaller amounts of oats and rye. New listings appear for orchards and hay. Since fruit trees and hay crops were grown in Frederick County since the 18th century, their new presence on the list may mean that they were only recently picked up in the recording process, or perhaps these listing were only for market crops of fruit and hay. The large amounts of butter were still being recorded.

Ten years later in 1870, wheat and corn are still the largest crops produced, and still plenty of butter, but value of orchard products and hay increase and there is a new product listed. Some farmers list milk sold. Jacob Lewis recorded 500 gallons sold and John E. Best sold 10,000 gallons. (The general census for 1870 lists John T. Best, while the agricultural census lists John E. Best. They were probably the same person.)

In 1880 in the agricultural census, no one among the farmers checked listed milk, but the number of cows has increased. John Best had 40, others had fewer. Wheat and corn production remain about the same, orchard trees are enumerated (apple and peach). A new listing appears for honey and bees wax. Bees are necessary for proper orchard maintenance and orchardists keep or rent hives of bees for pollination. It seems that the honey as a market product came to be when farmers started producing fruit. Unfortunately there are no more recent agricultural census records than 1880.

All of this agricultural activity required labor. As we have learned, slavery continued in Maryland until 1864, but the number of slaves had decreased substantially. What seems to have happened is that former slaves remained on the farms with the owner families working as farm laborers and domestic help. According to census records, many of the property owners in the Monocacy area had blacks living in or among their households. For example, the census listing for James H. Gambrill, proprietor of Gambrill Mill, in 1870 along with his wife and six children, listed in the household Henry Adams, 26, a black farm laborer, Louisa Adams, 32, a black domestic servant (who reads), and Clara King, 12, a black domestic servant. Also listed were two young white men who worked in the mill. Probably, these African-Americans were a family. The likely pattern, which seems to be supported by census data, is that in the mid 19th century, Frederick County residents who owned slaves, reduced their numbers through sale or manumission to just a few per household. Perhaps these few remaining slaves were trusted servants who the owners chose to have remain with their families. The slaves may have been related to one another by blood or marriage, since census records frequently indicated both free blacks and slaves as part of a white household. By June 1864, any remaining slaves would have been freed according to Maryland law. Again,

census records seem to suggest that the former slaves remained with their former owners, working as farm hands and domestics. If Frederick County freedmen followed the same practice as freed slaves farther to the south, they remained on the farm of their former owners, but removed their dwellings to more private locations away from the "big house." Some may also have moved on to established communities of free blacks, such as the one a few miles to the north in the southern sector of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, or established communities in Frederick city, closer to their former homes. In any case, the number of blacks living within white households after 1864 in Frederick County suggests that for many freedmen, their lives did not change appreciably after emancipation.

In the 1880 population census, the families of Monocacy continued to list black servants within their households, but the names of the individuals were different, suggesting some fluidity in relationships among blacks and whites in Frederick County. In the 1880 census notations beside names of some black servants indicated that their families lived nearby. This condition supports the premise that former slave families separated themselves physically from their former owners by moving to the edge of or just off the plantation or farm. The pattern described in the census records continues in 1900,1910 and 1920, although the later records are less detailed and specific.

In addition to the farms in the vicinity of Monocacy junction, was a settlement or small village that grew up near the rail junction and the Araby mill. The place was called "Araby," "Araby Mills," or "Frederick Junction" and was large enough to have its own post office. According to Scharf's History of Western Maryland, at the time of that publication in 1880s, the Post Master was W.T. Mullinex and the Assistant Post Master was F.B. Miller, who also served as dispatcher for the railroad. W.T. Mullinex, in addition to being Post Master, was also the railroad and express agent. Frank Mantz was the train superintendent and John O'Brien was a railroad foreman.[22] While Frederick Junction and Araby were used as names to refer vaguely to the community at and near to the mill and the railroad junction, the place names also referred specifically to the collection of dwellings along the railroad tracks, just east of the Monocacy River Bridge. These houses and their attendant outbuildings, which appear as ruins or only foundations now, were the homes of the above listed railroad employees. Now isolated and accessible only by foot, this place was once reached by a road, which led from the Georgetown Pike (US Route 355), north past the Araby Mill, across Bush Creek and past the rail side community. The road continued northward, eventually connecting with the Baltimore Pike (US Route 40). In addition to the houses of the rail employees, the community of Frederick Junction may also have included modest houses belonging to the neighborhood's free black families who were noted in the census records as "living nearby" their employers.

The trend toward urbanization and the shift of population to Baltimore continued into the 20th century. In 1920, Maryland had become 60% urban with slightly over half the state's population in Baltimore.[23] By the end of the 1920s, the number of farms in

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[22] Scharf, p. 599.
[23] James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," Walsh and Fox, p. 590

Maryland had decreased by 4,704.[24] Meanwhile suburban residential districts and recreational areas spread outward from Washington D.C. and Baltimore into Montgomery and Baltimore Counties, approaching Frederick and its environs. The conversion of farmland use to dairy and orchards in the county led to the decrease of local agricultural industries particularly milling and attendant businesses and industries. While Frederick County's population continued to grow, it grew much more slowly than the urban growth of Baltimore, as the rural population siphoned off to the more flamboyant life in the city.

In 1929, on the eve of the Great Depression, wheat was still a large income producer in Maryland, with an estimated gross income in the state of $9,053,000. Most of the state's wheat was still being grown in Frederick, Washington and Carroll Counties in the old wheat belt. The wheat production in gross income, however, fell far below the $25,156,000 produced from sales of milk in the same year. Due to the Depression and also to a bad drought year in 1930, the gross income from sales of wheat by 1932 had fallen to $1,715,000 and dairy to $16,875,000.[25] Even with the drop in income, the figures show that dairy farming had far outdistanced wheat production in the 20th century. Interestingly, during the depression years the gross income from tobacco and truck farms actually increased during the period from 1929-1932.[26] These agricultural products tend to be produced in eastern and southern Maryland, as opposed to the dominance of wheat and dairy farming in central and western Maryland. Thus the income figures suggest that the Depression of the 1930s may have hit agriculture in Frederick and adjoining counties harder than elsewhere in the state.

The 1930 drought brought more woes to Maryland farmers, with agricultural losses estimated at $38,000,000. While federal loans were available for relief to farmers, as many as 25% of Maryland's farmers were so destitute that they were unable to pull together the required collateral to qualify for the loan money.[27] In 1931, one of the major bank failures in Maryland was the Central Trust Company of Frederick and its 11 branches. When it collapsed, it affected 14 smaller banks in Western Maryland. This troubled the already depressed farming area in central and western Maryland even more. The bleak economic outlook for farmers in the region encouraged even more people to leave the land and try to turn their fortunes in the city.

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[24] Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," Walsh and Fox, p. 704.

[25] Ibid. p. 704, citing W.S. Hamill, The Agricultural Industry of Maryland, Baltimore: Maryland Development Bureau of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, 1934. P. 37,51-52,81,107,110-116,310.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid. p. 735.

Chapter IV

Civil War Impact and Memorialization Efforts

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The Civil War Impact and Memorialization Efforts

A very remarkable condition pertaining to the five farms that make up the Monocacy Battlefield is that they were directly affected by Civil War activity not only with the Monocacy confrontation in 1864, but with the Maryland Campaign in 1862 and the Gettysburg Campaign in 1863. The armies moved over the land, camped upon it and foraged there for short periods in the summer all three years. Of course, in July, 1864 actual fighting occurred on the land encompassed by all of the farms.

Summer, 1862:

The climax of the Maryland campaign was the Battle of Antietam, fought on September 17, 1862, along the Antietam Creek, near the small farming community of Sharpsburg in Washington County. The Maryland campaign began, however, as the Army of Northern Virginia waded across the Potomac River into Frederick County, Maryland, on the fourth of September. The Confederates made camp near Frederick, along the Monocacy River, near the junction of the Buckeystown and Georgetown Pikes. They settled on the property that came to be known as the Best Farm for its occupant at the time, although it belonged to C.E. Trail, and other lands adjoining. The hungry and ragged Confederates encamped briefly, before moving to capture the garrison at Harpers Ferry, or on to await further movements at Hagerstown.

When General Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, some 50,000 strong began wading across the Potomac River into Maryland on September 4, 1862, at White's Ford they launched the first Rebel invasion of the North:

> "On that Thursday, Lee led a collection of dirty, ill clothed, hungry and battle worn young men. ...General Lee himself acknowledged the truth of the matter: 'The army is not properly equipped for an invasion of an enemy's territory.' Having fought a major battle at Manassas less than a week before, the Southerners moved directly into their next campaign. Their numbers were small, particularly in view of the ambitious operations they were about to undertake north of the Potomac." [1]

The army was plagued by lack of supplies, most critically, food and shoes, which resulted in large scale straggling and some wholesale desertions. Yet, among those marching into Maryland, the soldiers' spirits were high. They had scored a series of victories and had great hopes for their invasion of the North. Why did Lee launch such an ambitious campaign given

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[1] Perry D. Jamieson, Death in September: The Maryland Campaign, Fort Worth: Ryan Place Publishers, 1995, p. 13-14.

the condition of his army, when he himself admitted that the Army of Northern Virginia was not ready?

For most of the past year, Virginia had absorbed the expense of the War, accommodating both the Union and Confederate armies. Agricultural stores and livestock had been depleted and property ruined by combat and encampments. Therefore, Lee hoped to relieve Virginia by moving the scene of the action, even briefly to Maryland and possibly, eventually to Pennsylvania. He also hoped to receive support from Confederate sympathizers in Maryland. Lee also wanted to capitalize on the disarray of the Union Army and the lack of sound military leadership that had frustrated the Lincoln administration and the people of the North. By invading the North, he hoped to force a negotiated peace through public pressure on Congress. Additionally, if Lee could score a strong victory in the North, the Confederacy would likely gain support from Great Britain and France, support that seemed immanent by the late summer of 1862. So, while the stakes were high, the Confederate Army was confident of its military ability and General Lee felt the time was right to press into the North.

Therefore, while his Army was encamped along the Monocacy River, Lee issued his orders. In a bold and risky plan, he divided and separated his army. Lee sent General James Longstreet's command north to Hagerstown, to await further developments and possibly preparation for an invasion into Pennsylvania. "Stonewall" Jackson led the remainder to capture the garrisons at Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry. Lee left part of General D.H. Hill's division (less than 5,000 men) at Boonsboro at the western foot of South Mountain to guard the rear of the army and two of the three passes over the mountain at Turner's, and Fox's Gaps. Some of General Lafayette McLaws Division with parts of J.E.B. Stuart's Cavalry, detached from Jackson's command, guarded the third pass, Crampton's Gap.

Although Lee's plan to divide his already undersized army while in enemy territory was a tremendous gamble, he knew that the Union army was not well organized. Leadership had just been transferred (for a second time) to General George B. McClellan and Lee knew him to be an excellent organizer, but slow to move and overly cautious. Therefore, Lee felt that his gamble would pay off and that he would accomplish the capture of the garrisons and have his army reunited and in or near Pennsylvania before the Union Army could react. If Lee's plan was followed, the garrisons would be captured and the army would be back together by September 12th or 13th.

When passing through Frederick, General Lee proclaimed to the people, addressing the citizens of Maryland, that the Confederates had come to restore their "independence and sovreignty," referring to the Federal efforts to thwart Confederate sympathies in Maryland. He declared that Maryland could decide its destiny without interference.[2] While, Lee did not expect any "general rising of the people" for the Confederacy, he certainly seems to have had hopes of greater support. At that time, too, he probably felt that a continued occupation, or significant action would bring Confederate sympathizers into more open support. What General Lee couldn't have known was that through carelessness or by design, forces were at work which would change the outcome of his campaign, and perhaps, the war.

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[2] O.R. series 1, XIX pt. 2, 601-02.

Unfortunately for Lee, a copy of his operational plan, which documented his intent to divide his army, was left behind when the Confederates vacated their campsite on the Best Farm. The plan, Special Order 191, dated September 9, 1862, was in an envelope that also enclosed three cigars. Within a short time Federals moving west in pursuit of the Confederates occupied the same camp on and around the Best Farm and found the cigars and the order. The information was quickly passed to General McClellan who saw the opportunity to take advantage of Lee's vulnerability and capture the divided Southern army. McClellan immediately put his forces (some 85,000 men) in motion to destroy the Confederates. However, McClellan thought that Lee's army outnumbered his and, as was his nature, proceeded slowly and cautiously. On Sunday morning September 14, 1862, the Union Army moved forward along the National Road toward South Mountain, not knowing exactly what they would find at its crest or on the other side.

The result of the loss of Special Order 191 was the Battle of South Mountain and the Battle of Antietam at Sharpsburg. The Battle of South Mountain on September 14, 1862, was a delaying action to protect the scattered Confederates until the army could reassemble and prepare for battle. The Battle of Antietam because of its magnitude and its ghastliness overshadows the other events of the Maryland Campaign. After the dramatic Confederate effort to hold Federal forces at bay until the Harpers Ferry capture could be completed, the Confederates hastily reassembled at Sharpsburg. When the threat at the mountain passes became apparent, Lee recalled Major General James Longstreet's division from Hagerstown to Boonsboro and Turner's Gap. Realizing that the Union army was very close in pursuit, Lee altered his plans to proceed to Hagerstown and Pennsylvania, and turned west from Boonsboro, toward Virginia. This movement would put him closer to the rest of his army as they returned from Harpers Ferry. Lee made the decision to form a battle line west of the Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, on a ridgeline between the creek and the Potomac River.

Lee had the advantage of choosing the ground, but again he was at risk because his back was to the Potomac River and a retreat, if necessary, could be made at only one nearby ford. His army was also severely depleted by stragglers and deserters. "The salient difference between Lee's decision to stand at Sharpsburg and most others that he made during the war is that at that time and place, and with the shrunken numbers available to him, Lee simply could not accomplish anything. ...For the only time during the war until its closing months, Lee did not have the resources to exploit any opening, no matter how appetizing."[3]

On Tuesday, September 16th, Lee's scattered army began to gather between the Antietam Creek and the Potomac River, near Sharpsburg. Under Lee's direction, they assembled a battle line, with forces stretched painfully thin, extending some four miles in length, north and south of Sharpsburg. Arrayed against him were McClellan's Federal forces, with many divisions kept in reserve east of the Antietam Creek.

With McClellan's strategy of attacking first the left of Lee's battle line, then the center, then the right, the Confederates managed to counter by moving their forces from location to location to defend against each Union advance. By the end of the day, more than 23,000

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[3]Robert K. Krick, "The Army of Northern Virginia in September, 1862," Antietam, Gary W. Gallagher, ed. p. 55.

combatants lay dead or were wounded, making September 17th, 1862 the single bloodiest day in American history. This record has stood through World Wars I and II, Korea and Viet Nam. The exhausted Confederates remained in place through the following day, September 18th, and began withdrawing into Virginia that night and the following morning. Again Robert E. Lee took a great risk for if the Federals had renewed the attack on September 18th, surely the Confederates would have been beaten, or at least dealt a crippling blow. Lee seemed to feel that McClellan would not press his advantage, and this in fact is what happened. Thus, the Battle of Antietam drew to a close with no clear victory and the cost of tens of thousands of lives.

President Lincoln seized the opportunity afforded by Lee's withdrawal to announce his plan to free the slaves in the rebelling states the following January. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation changed the nature of the war from one solely to preserve the Union to one in which the South's economic and social structure was at stake as well. The emancipation issue made it much more difficult for the European powers, particularly England that had abolished slavery a generation earlier, to recognize the Confederacy. Gary Gallagher concludes in Antietam:

> The nature of the conflict changed because of Lee's Maryland Campaign. The South might have won the old war--seemed in the giddy season of late summer and fall of 1862 to be doing so. But the new war would admit of no easy reconciliation because the stakes had been raised to encompass the entire social fabric of the South. The war after Antietam would demand a decisive resolution on the battlefield, and that the Confederacy could not achieve.[4]

Summer, 1863:

The following summer, in June of 1863, Lee again led the Army of Northern Virginia into Northern territory. This time his objectives were threefold. His military goal was to reach Harrisburg, capture the city and cut off rail traffic to Philadelphia and New York. He felt confident in this pursuit because the Army of the Potomac, under General Joseph Hooker, which was in the vicinity of Warrenton and Culpeper, Virginia, had been ordered to protect Washington, D.C. and to maneuver to keep the army between the enemy and the national capital. This gave General Lee plenty of latitude in his movements. A decisive Confederate victory on northern soil would have encouraged England and France to recognize the Confederacy and put pressure on the north to end the War. Lee's second purpose was to replenish supplies for his army. It is easy to underestimate the importance of this quest. By 1863, Virginia was severely depleted in livestock and agricultural produce. Up to this point in the war, both the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and the Union Army of the Potomac had occupied Virginia for almost the entire time. All available horses had been taken for use of the Confederate Army and no animals were available to farm the land or transport farm produce. One eyewitness reported walking from Fredericksburg to Richmond and back in Virginia in 1864 and not seeing a single head of livestock in private hands.[5] It was becoming clear that Virginia had nothing left to give.

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[4] Gallagher, p. 94.

[5]Robert Krick, "Dissolution of the Homefront" Keynote Address, Annual Conference, Civil War Medicine, Shepherdstown, WV, August 7, 1993.

It was critical for Lee to not only feed his army but to stockpile food stuffs for the following winter. Historically, the Cumberland Valley and Piedmont areas of Pennsylvania and Maryland had been regarded as America's breadbasket. This rich agricultural land was a great allure to Lee. He still held hopes of winning Maryland over to the Confederacy, however, so orders not to collect property and goods in Maryland were strictly enforced. Therefore, southern Pennsylvania was Lee's feeding ground. His third objective was political and strategic: to take advantage of the growing peace movement in the North by bringing war to its doorstep. Lee hoped that victory in the North would create demands for a compromised negotiated peace and separation.

Letters and diaries from men in Lee's army attest to the lushness of Pennsylvania and the fruits, vegetables and sleek animals found there. The food and supply gathering mission undertaken by the Confederates as part of the Gettysburg Campaign is well documented in the words of the Southern soldiers themselves. All were impressed with the agricultural productivity and bountiful landscape they saw. Thomas Ware (who, incidentally was killed a few days later at Gettysburg) recorded in his diary, "A great many cherries brought to Camps. Q Masters are gathering all the horses around, beeves &c. Several the boys have seen fine horses tied out in the woods. I eat a great many cherries today. Cooking up 3 days rations of flour."[6] A member of A.P. Hill's Third Army Corps wrote, "I have never seen any country in such a high state of cultivation. Such wheat I never dreamed of and so much of it."[7] Mention is made of Hill's men stripping the trees of cherries along the roads to Fayetteville (in Franklin County, west of Gettysburg).[8] T.N. Simpson wrote in a letter, "I'll send you some cherry seed which you must plant. The fruit is the large white cherry, as large, if not larger than a partridge egg and the finest I ever saw. I hope you may get some of them to come up and grow."[9]

Maj. Gen. William D. Pender, commander of the Third Division of A.P. Hill's Third Army Corps, wrote home to his wife, Fanny, on June 28, 1863, "Until we crossed the Md. line our men behaved as well as troops could, but here it will be hard to restrain them, for they have an idea that they are to indulge in unlicensed plunder. They have done nothing like the Yankees do in our country. They take poultry and hogs but in most cases put out money first. We take everything we want for government use."[10]

Other members of Pender's Division commented as well. In the words of J.F.J. Caldwell, an officer of Company B, First Regiment of the South Carolina Volunteers, "We are now in a beautiful county. In every direction yellow fields of grain extended themselves; on every farm were droves of the largest fattest cattle; gardens thronged with inviting vegetables; orchards

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[6]Mark Nesbitt, 35 Days to Gettysburg: The Campaign Diaries of Two American Enemies, (1992), p.135.

[7]Spencer Glasgow Welch, A Confederate Surgeon's Letters to His Wife, (1911), p. 150.

[8]John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade, (1893) p. 247.

[9]Guy R. Everson and Edward H. Simpson, Jr., Eds. Far, Far From Home, The Wartime Letters of Dick and Talley Simpson, Third South Carolina Volunteers. (1994) p.252. G. Moxley Sorrell, a major on Longstreet's staff at the time, remembered many years after the War that in late June, 1863, "The cherries were ripe and the trees bending with delicious fruit. I recall one special tree near Chambersburg that seemed beyond all the others to tempt me. Sitting quietly in saddle, branch after branch was gently drawn down to the rider's thirsty lips almost to repletion and good is the recollection even to this present day." General G. Moxley Sorrell, Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer, New York, (1905), p. 168.

[10]William W. Hassler, ed. The General to His Lady, The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender, (1962) p. 253.

pave promise of bounteous fruit yield, and already extended to us an earnest in the most delicious cherries; full dairies, flocks of sheep, and poultry were almost monotonously frequent."[11]

In contrast, only six months later flour was selling in Richmond for $1,200 per barrel and a cord of fire wood cost $150—this while a private in the Confederate Army earned about $11.00 per month.[12] Thus, the move into Pennsylvania was a logical one for the replenishment of food, horses and equipment.

Lee's Army of Northern Virginia entered Pennsylvania by way of the Cumberland Valley. The Cumberland Valley is a 30-mile wide lush passage extending northeastward from the Valley of Virginia to the Susquehanna River near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Rimmed on either side by mountain ridges, it had long been a travel route, first for Indians, then for white settlers passing into the Upland South. Choice of the Cumberland Valley afforded Lee protected passage for his army, with the South Mountain between him and Hooker's Union forces, and at the same time provided some of America's richest agricultural land, yielding plenty of forage and livestock.

The descriptions offered by Confederate soldiers of the lush landscape of south central Pennsylvania might as well have been said about Frederick County, Maryland at the time. The two areas are adjacent to each other and both lie within the great wheat belt that had contributed to the region's agricultural prosperity since the 18th century. Frederick County was not however, occupied by the Confederates, for while they were moving along the valley west of South Mountain, the Union forces were counteracting and marching into and through Frederick County.

General George G. Meade's Union army had been advancing in a northerly direction from Frederick and Westminster, Maryland. The two armies collided at Gettysburg, where major roads coming from all directions converged. The Union Army, charged with the responsibility of remaining between the Confederates and the nation's capitol, stayed on the east side of the mountains and took a parallel course to the Confederates, heading north. The Federals paused in the vicinity of Frederick and encamped along the Monacacy River in the same location that they had used less than a year earlier.

C.K. Thomas's farm, Araby, became the headquarters for Union General Winfield Scott Hancock for three days. Hancock was later wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg. Perhaps the appeal of the immediate area to both armies as an encampment site had to do with the proximity to main highways, the railroad and the river. Certainly, the B&O Railroad was concerned about the threat of all of this military activity to their tracks, bridge and equipment in the Monocacy vicinity. In the spring of 1863, the Union Army was discussing fortifications to protect the railroad bridge over the Monocacy. On March 16 of 1863, US Major General Halleck wrote to Major General Robert Schenck, in apparent frustration, "I must again call your attention to the importance of constructing block-houses for the defense of our railroad bridges."[13] General

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[11] J.F.J. Caldwell, The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians, (1984) p. 133.
[12] Robert Krick, op cit.
[13] OR vol. 25, Series 1, pt.2 p. 139.

Schenck replied on May 13, 1863, "What has been done about the block houses will be explained in detail by Colonel Reynolds as soon as he returns from the railroad, where he is now working at them."[14] Protection of the railroad had been important to the Union War effort since the beginning of the conflict. The Confederates early had targeted the B&O Railroad, and the bridge at Harpers Ferry was destroyed in June 1861. Temporary replacements were destroyed regularly throughout the war. Blockhouses were constructed at Monocacy Junction at the railroad bridge, one on each side of the river.[15]

Summer, 1864:

On March 1, 1864, Ulysses S. Grant was appointed Lieutenant General, in charge of the strategy and movement of all the armies of the United States, including Meade's Army of the Potomac. Grant would focus the Union's efforts relentlessly on multiple areas in Virginia, and sent General Sherman on his ruthless march through Georgia to the Atlantic coast.[16] As a part of this campaign, Grant began activity in the Shenandoah Valley with his Department of West Virginia under General Franz Sigel, moving him into the upper valley, attempting to stretch further Lee's dwindling Army of Northern Virginia. Following his defeat in the Battle at New Market, Sigel was replaced by General Hunter. General Sigel returned to the lower valley to continue his mission of protecting the railroad, supply, and communications centers of Winchester, Harper's Ferry, and Martinsburg. Hunter's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley began successfully, moving quickly south toward Lynchburg, destroying southern rail lines along the way. Early in June, Lee was forced to detach troops under Major General John C. Breckenridge, who had previously defeated General Sigel, and also sent the 2nd Corps, commanded by Major General Jubal A. Early, to face Hunter. On word that Early had arrived to save Lynchburg, Hunter quickly retreated west, ending the campaign in June, and leaving the valley open as far as Winchester.[17] Incidentally, General Breckenridge was the same John C. Breckenridge who served as Vice President of the United States 1856-1860, and who ran for President, as the Southern Democratic candidate in 1860. In that election, he carried Frederick County and the State of Maryland.

The concentrated activity of Grant and Sherman in the South once again created for Lee the need to distract the U.S. Government, and to attempt to draw off Union troops by moving Early and Breckenridge into and through the huge hole left in the Shenandoah Valley by Hunter. Early's orders from General Lee were to "threaten Washington City" if possible, by moving through the lower valley and crossing the Potomac River at Leesburg or Harper's Ferry. According to Early, he was also instructed, while in the lower valley, "to destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal..." The troops under Early found little resistance from Franz Sigel, now stationed at Martinsburg, as they approached through Hainesville and Leetown on July 3rd.[18] General Sigel reported: "...In order to enable me to concentrate our forces, I ordered Col. Mulligan to retire, if forced, as slowly as possible to

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[14] Ibid. p. 478.

[15] Benjamin Franklin Cooling, "Monocacy," Blue and Gray, Dec., 1992, p. 17.

[16] Symond, pp. 76-79.

[17] George E. Pond, The Shenandoah Valley In 1864 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886) pp. 9, 22, 33-37.

[18] Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. 4, "Early's March to Washington in 1864" by Jubal A. Early Lt. Gen., C. S. A., p.494.

Kearneysville and Shepherdstown. All stores were sent off on cars, and the remainder loaded on wagons. The train was sent to Shepherdstown to cross the river, and subsequently I withdrew the troops from Martinsburg ..." Sigel moved his troops to Maryland Heights via Sandy Hook on July 4th, probably following the canal towpath, as others had done before; Sigel's counterpart, General Weber, in command at Harper's Ferry, withdrew to Maryland Heights on July 5th.[19] General Early describes the progression of events through July 8th:

> During the night of the 4th the enemy evacuated Harper's Ferry, burning the railroad and pontoon bridges across the Potomac.... In the afternoon [of July 5th] Breckinridge's command moved to Shepherdstown and crossed the Potomac, followed by Rodes' and Ramseur's divisions early on the 6th. Gordon's division advanced toward Maryland Heights, and drove the enemy into his works. Working parties were employed in destroying the aqueduct of the canal over the Antietam, and the locks and canal boats. On the 7th Rodes moved through Rohrersville on the road to Crampton's Gap in South Mountain, and skirmished with a small force of the enemy, while Breckinridge demonstrated against Maryland Heights. McCausland had occupied Hagerstown and levied a contribution of $20,000, and Boonsboro' had been occupied by Johnson's cavalry.... My desire had been to maneuver the enemy out of Maryland Heights, so as to move directly to Washington; but he had taken refuge in his strongly fortified works, and I therefore determined to move through the gaps of South Mountain north of the Heights. [On July 8th Early sent] ...Rodes through Crampton's Gap to Jefferson; Breckinridge through Fox's Gap; and Ramseur, with the trains, through Boonsboro's Gap, followed by Lewis's brigade, which had started from Harper's Ferry the night before after burning the trestle-work on the railroad... [20]

The movements of Early's troops across South Mountain toward Frederick eventually forced Grant to send a division of infantry to stop Early. Also, General Lew Wallace, in Baltimore, was informed of the Confederate approach by John Garrett, president of the B&O Railroad. Wallace, who is perhaps better known as the author of Ben Hur, was not a part of Grant's command, rather he was commander of the Middle Department and the Eighth Army Corps. His duties were more defensive and administrative, with emphasis on training rather than combat. The jurisdiction of the Middle Department went to the Monocacy River, and from there west was Major General David Hunter's department.[21] However, Hunter had withdrawn deep into West Virginia when Jubal Early's Confederates appeared, which left the lower Shenandoah Valley, the B&O Railroad and the approach to Washington unprotected. With the main Union army in Petersburg, if any defensive action was to be taken, it would be Wallace's job to do. According to Benjamin Franklin Cooling's narrative on the Monocacy battle,

> Garrett informed him [Wallace] that the presence of Rebel raiders at stations along the B&O line between Harpers Ferry and Cumberland, Maryland betokened the usual Confederate summer invasion. Fearing for the safety of his iron railroad

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[19]O.R., Series I, Vol. 37, Part I, pp. 175-176, report of Major General Franz Sigel.
[20]Early, Battles and Leaders, pp. 494-495.
[21] Cooling, "Monocacy," p. 13.

> bridge over the Monocacy River below Frederick, Garrett demanded protection. Forty-eight hours later, railroad officials informed Wallace that Harpers Ferry had been evacuated and its defenders had moved atop Maryland Heights. Wallace expressed concern that he could be of any help in what was technically Hunter's department, but vowed to protect Garrett's bridge over the Monocacy as it was located on the border with his own jurisdiction.[22]

It seems that Early's invasion of Maryland in 1864 was not taken particularly seriously by the War Office in Washington, or by General Grant, although there was fear and concern in the District of Columbia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, as residents recalled the horror of the Gettysburg Campaign only a year before. By July 4th the Confederates had cut telegraph lines and communication to Washington had become limited. Confederate raiding parties north of the Potomac River were not uncommon and the magnitude of Early's movement apparently was not known, or not appreciated. "It was perhaps the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company more than anyone else that recognized the peril and took steps to inform government officials and cajole them into action."[23]

Meanwhile, other Federal authorities gradually began to respond to the threat. Major General Henry W. Halleck in Washington sent reinforcements to help General Sigel who had been isolated on Maryland Heights. By the time Federal troops arrived on the scene, Early's Confederates had already bypassed Harpers Ferry and were bearing down on Frederick. Instead of gathering information about the size and strength of the enemy force, the Federals merely re-positioned at Harpers Ferry.[24] With General Hunter withdrawn and the Harpers Ferry garrison staying put, only Lew Wallace with his promise to protect the B&O bridge at Monocacy Junction stood between the Confederates and their planned destination of Washington D.C.

Wallace was able only to gather about 3,000 men from his command for the defensive effort, and many of them were inexperienced. He, with an aid, took a night train to the Monocacy bridge and the following morning, July 5th, looked over the terrain and planned strategy. With his limited manpower, Wallace could not cover all crossing places of the Monocacy. He focused on the railroad bridge, as he had promised Garrett; the wooden highway bridge, just to the southwest, which carried the road to Washington; and the National Road bridge (Jug Bridge), about two miles to the north (in the event that Early's destination was Baltimore rather than Washington). Besides Wallace's men, the only other military presence was that of a detachment of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, sent by General Halleck to patrol the Potomac River between Washington, D.C. and Point of Rocks, Maryland. General Grant also sent Brigadier General James Ricketts' division of the Sixth Corps from Petersburg to Baltimore by steamship, in case Lee had planned to attack Washington. Grant sent this force despite the assurance from the War Office in Washington that the Rebel action was nothing more than summer raiding. No one from the army informed Wallace of Grant's order; he found out from John Garrett, who said he would transport the veteran troops out by rail as soon as they docked in Baltimore. Ricketts' division however, was supposed to be heading to Harpers Ferry, not Monocacy. Wallace had to convince Ricketts to stay and help with the defense at Monocacy.

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[22] Cooling, "Monocacy," p. 13.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

> By this time, Early's veterans had already turned eastward, headed for the passes of South Mountain and Catoctin Mountain, five miles west of Frederick. Behind them lay mass confusion, as upper Maryland was wild with rumors of rebels running amuck, and Major General Darius Couch's Department of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania was in an uproar as to what defensive measures it might take to halt the invaders. Meanwhile Early's continuing passage through the Maryland countryside was marked by ransoming tiny Middletown...and open foraging by foot soldiers and cavalrymen alike. By the night of July 8 the invaders were ready to descend upon the even more attractive Frederick area.[25]

So, General Lew Wallace wound up commanding the defense of Washington at the Monocacy River, an action that was totally unauthorized, because the War Office in Washington had not responded adequately to the Confederate approach. Wallace defended against a much larger Confederate force, made up of battle hardened veterans. His chances of being the victor were remote and he knew it. Wallace's hope was to delay the Confederates long enough for reinforcements to be sent, or for a proper defense of Washington to be assembled.

The consternation that the Confederates provoked was rooted in the experience of the two previous summers when invasions threatened the very same areas of Maryland and Pennsylvania. So, while the military authorities seemed unruffled by the Confederate approach (except for Wallace), the Civilian population was deeply affected. However, this time, the Confederates were not greeted with enthusiasm by pro-Southern citizens. By now, most Marylanders had come to accept that the Confederacy would eventually lose the war.

As the Confederate force with nearly 15,000 men[26] approached on July 8th, Wallace was compelled to pull his small band of defenders, except for a few skirmishers, to the east side of the Monocacy. There, high ground afforded protection and a good, commanding view of the landscape to the west. Wallace supposedly kept headquarters in a house near the east end of the bridge, and/or in the blockhouse, which was located on the ridge north of the tracks. Judge Glenn Worthington's account of the battle, Fighting for Time, says that "[a]t first General Wallace's headquarters were in the blockhouse at the east end of the bridge, but they were soon after transferred to a small dwelling house just across the railroad, it being the second house on the south side of the railroad tracks, east of the bridge."[27] The house apparently belonged to Benjamin F. Brown and John McF. Lyeth.[28] Apparently, Lyeth was a Captain of the First Maryland Regiment that was often assigned guard duty at the junction during the war.[29] The frame dwelling house was on a parcel that Benjamin Brown acquired in 1860 from Wheatley, Ball and Gambrill, a partnership that owned a distillery adjacent to Gambrill's Mill. A photograph of this house appears in T.J.C. Williams History of Frederick County, Maryland (1906), with a caption identifying it as "Headquarters of General Lew Wallace, During Battle of

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[25] Ibid. p. 16.

[26] "Monocacy National Battlefield," NPS literature. Estimates of the number of Confederates in Early's command vary. Cooling in "Monocacy" says 8,000-10,000 (p. 11). Philip Pendleton in the HABS documentation for Clifton says 15,000 or more (page 22).

[27] Glenn Worthington, Fighting for Time, Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1985, p. 65.

[28] Frederick County Land Records, CM1/58, December 3, 1867.

[29] Monocacy Research notes, citing Prowell, P. 179

Monocacy" (facing page 80). A similar photograph of the same building is published in Cooling's "Monocacy" article, with the caption identifying it as Lew Wallace Headquarters (page 15). However, in the text of the article, Cooling reports that Wallace' memoirs say that upon arriving at Monocacy, Wallace went to a nearby blockhouse guarding the bridge. The frame dwelling pictured in the historic photographs appears to date from the late 19th century and may not have been standing at the time of the battle. So, it is still a mystery just where General Wallace maintained headquarters during the Battle of Monocacy.

Regardless of the exact location of Wallace's headquarters, on the morning of July 9th he, the other Union defenders and residents of the Frederick area waited tensely. "Keefer Thomas, who had moved to the "Araby" farm from Baltimore in 1860, told his black farm hands to bridle the farm animals and take them to the wooded folds of nearby Sugar Loaf Mountain for safety."[30] Jubal Early demanded a ransom of $200,000 from Frederick, which after extended negotiations was paid by local banks. Wallace fretted about the fate of Frederick, afraid that as a supply post for the Union, county seat and prominent commercial center, it would be destroyed.

The battle began tentatively about 8:00 am and escalated sharply a few hours later. It became clear to Wallace that the main Confederate thrust was to be at the south end of his lines in the vicinity of the railroad and Washington Road bridges. The Confederates used the old ford at Ballenger Creek to cross the Monocacy onto the Worthington Farm, from which they hoped to turn the left flank of Wallace's defense. Fortunately for the defenders, battle hardened members of Ricketts division of the Sixth Corps manned this part of the Union line and were able to hold the Confederates at bay for several hours. Meanwhile, artillery dueled with a 24-pound howitzer from Alexander's Baltimore Battery responding to Confederate artillery at the Best Farm.[31] Finally the Confederate surge became too much and the Federal forces fell back, and by 5:00 or 6:00 PM, the Union resistance was gone.[32]

Prior to the battle, B & O Railroad employees scurried to save as much as they could of their equipment, and moved east with engines and cars to Monrovia. After 1:00 PM, F.[rancis] Mantz telegraphed from Monrovia (telegraph Plane No. 4) to W.P. Smith, "I have worked all trains back this far. Enemy opened on us heavy this morning with artillery and pressed hard on our forces to get position. They seem determined. I think the force is larger than has been estimated. We did not leave until the very last moment. I fear they have too much artillery for us. I think my house is burned, the station house or the large wood bridge over the Monocacy on Washington Road. The troops ought to be sent forward."

Less than an hour later in a telegraphed message received at 2:16 PM, to W.P. Smith, F. Mantz reported, "I have started all empty cars East that could be got hold of. 4 trains now which will soon be at No. 1. Last train had some 10 loads of sick and wounded. I have received no instructions where to send them. Officers in hurry getting them away. No cars left back except such as had commissary stores in them. They are now standing at Gambrill's switch on East side of bridge." The following note was written on the back of this telegram:

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[30] Ibid. p. 48
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid. p. 54.

"With the appearances in the vicinity of Frederick it is desirable to get all your equipment returned to Baltimore as quickly as possible. Mantz should be instructed to have commissary stores, etc., unloaded and the cars returned.

It should be explained to the military authorities that as we are making very heavy movements to Washington, etc., it is important to unload, and give us the control of the equipment at the earliest practicable moment." This note was signed, J.W.G. [John W. Garrett, president of the B & O].

At 2:00 PM, July 9th, W.P. Smith received a telegram from A. Flowers at Annapolis Junction, stating, "Engine 82 with wounded from Frederick for Annapolis arrived here at 1 o'clock 45 minutes AM I was not notified of their coming until they arrived. Detained here until 1:30 PM. Waiting on engine from Annapolis."[33] At 1:45 AM on July 9th, the trainload of wounded from Frederick may have been casualties from July 7th and 8th. The telegrams show how big a role the railroad played in the day's events.

As the battle swept from the southwest, the Worthington farm, Araby and the Gambrill properties were engulfed. Confederate troops massed on the Best farm. The fire that Francis Mantz alluded to in his telegram was the wooden covered bridge on the Washington Road, set ablaze under orders from Wallace. As a result, Union skirmishers were marooned on the west side of the river. "Lieutenant George Davis earned a Medal of Honor for bravely leading his contingent of skirmishers from the 10th Vermont to safety by crossing the railroad bridge in single file, one railroad tie at a time, under galling fire."[34]

As the Union defense eroded, Confederates overwhelmed their positions, including the field hospital at Gambrill's Mill. By early evening, organized defense had collapsed. The Confederates chose not to pursue Wallace toward Baltimore. They simply made camp on the battlefield. Generals John B. Gordon and John C. Breckinridge were at the Worthington House. Breckinridge told Gordon that this fight ought to immortalize Gordon. In Gordon's opinion, "the victory was won 'at a fearful cost' largely by his division, 'but it was complete and the way to Washington was opened for General Early's march.'"[35] Total casualties were 1,300-1,500 Union killed, wounded or missing and about the same for the Confederates. The next day, the Confederates marched on to Washington, but their energy was spent. In his report on the campaign, General Early wrote, "Some of the Northern papers stated that, between Saturday and Monday, I could have entered the city; but on Saturday I was fighting at Monocacy, thirty-five miles from Washington, a force which I could not leave in my rear; and after disposing of that force and moving as rapidly as it was possible for me to move, I did not arrive in front of the fortifications until afternoon on Monday, and then my troops were exhausted...."[36] On the 12th, Early's jaded forces skirmished at Ft. Stevens with reinforcements who had just arrived from Petersburg. That night they withdrew. The Confederates recrossed into Virginia at White's Ford, taking with them 2,000 head of cattle, 1,000 horses, and supplies as well as prisoners and close to $225,000 in cash.

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[33] William E. Bain, ed. The B & O in the Civil War. From the papers of William Prescott Smith, Sage Books, Denver, 1966.

[34] Cooling, p. 51.

[35] Ibid. p. 56.

[36] Quoted from Monocacy National Battlefield, NPS, literature.

Early eventually returned to the Shenandoah Valley, a rich source of food for the Confederacy, and part of the same grain-growing region in which Frederick was located. From there, raids into the Union commenced. On July 30th John McCausland's Cavalry that had participated in fighting on the Worthington farm, rode into Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, demanding a ransom, as they had done in Hagerstown and Frederick. When the town's officials refused to pay, the town was burned, and has the distinction of being the only town in the Union destroyed by Confederates. The frustrating presence of Jubal Early's army led the Union to initiate General Philip Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign in the late summer of 1864, with the express purpose of driving Early out of the Valley. On August 6, 1864, General Ulysses S. Grant met with Sheridan on the Monocacy Battlefield, at Araby, along with Generals Ricketts, Hunter and Crooke to formulate plans for the mission to eliminate Early's forces.

Immediately after the Battle of Monocacy, there was no particular note of its significance in saving the capital of the United States. General Wallace returned to his administrative duties for the remainder of the war. He was offered no special commendation from General Grant, or recognition of the sacrifice that his command made. However, years later in the 1880s, Ulysses S. Grant wrote in his memoirs:

> [T]he situation of Washington was precarious and Wallace moved with commendable promptitude to meet the enemy at the Monocacy. He could hardly have expected to defeat him [Early] badly, but he hoped to cripple and delay him until Washington could be put into a state of preparation for his reception. ...They [Wallace and Ricketts] met the enemy and, as might be expected, were defeated; but they succeeded in stopping him for the day on which the battle took place. The next morning Early started on his march to the capital of the Nation, arriving before it on the 11th.... If Early had been but one day earlier he might have entered the capital before the arrival of reinforcements I had sent. Whether the delay caused by the battle [of Monocacy] amounted to a day or not, General Wallace contributed on this occasion, by the defeat of the troops under him a greater benefit to the cause than often falls the lot of a commander of an equal force to render by means of a victory.[37]

For his part, Wallace felt that his mission had largely failed. In his battle report, written the next day, Wallace asserted that he "had gone into battle with three simple objectives: first, to keep open the railroad link with Harpers Ferry; second, to cover the roads to Washington and Baltimore; third, to make Early disclose the size of his force. 'I failed in all but the last.'"[38] When he wrote the report, on July 10th, the fate of Washington was as yet unknown. Neither Early nor Grant's reinforcements had reached the city yet. Weeks later, Wallace reassessed, believing that his men had fought to save Washington and were successful in the long run.[39] He proposed a monument to be dedicated to the Union dead from the battle and that it be inscribed to read "These men died to save the National Capital and they did save it."

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[37] Cooling, "Monocacy," quoting Ulysses S. Grant's Memoirs, p. 60.
[38] Ibid. p. 56.
[39] Ibid. p. 56

Civil War Damage Claims:

Considering all of the activity that occurred on the Monocacy properties during the Civil War, the damages claimed to the Federal Government for reimbursement were meager. Nearly all of the claims were for damage done by Union troops enroute to Antietam in 1862. John T. Worthington made a claim for damages during the Battle of Monocacy, as did James H. Gambrill. The process for making claims must have been a frustrating one. The claimant had to prove loyalty to the U.S. Government, and offer proof, as well, that the damage was done by Union troops. No compensation was offered for damage done by Confederates. Then, there had to be witnesses to affirm that the claims were just and accurate. Additionally, most claims were heard a long time after the war was over, so claimants had to wait 15-20 years before their requests were even considered. Usually the actual awards, if any, were much smaller than the amount requested. Of course, it is possible that neighbors got together and colluded to inflate the cost of the damage on their respective properties. The Government's wariness about the justification of claims indicates that integrity was a concern. Finally, nearly all claims were through the auspices of the Quartermaster General. The Quartermaster office, after the early years of the war, considered only claims for supplies taken or damaged, not for property damage. Therefore, no claims were considered and apparently were not submitted for damage to buildings or personal property.

More of the property owners at Monocacy who submitted claims did so for 1862. Few were put in for 1863 when Union encampments intruded on the landscape, and only two were submitted for 1864. Several explanations come to mind for the pattern of the claims. First, the frustration with the whole process may have discouraged potential claimants. Having experienced the process for 1862, they may not have wanted to pursue additional claims for the subsequent years. Second, claims were considered only for Union damage. With the Battle of Monocacy, where a much greater number of Confederates than Federals were involved in the fight, it may have been difficult to establish that the damage was caused by Union troops. Finally, most of the Monocacy landowners were slave owners and may have been Southern sympathizers. Their loyalty may have been questioned and difficult to prove.

For the Best Farm, owned during the Civil War by C.E. Trail and tenanted by first David and then John T. Best, Charles E. Trail submitted a claim for destruction of fence on the Lower Hermitage Farm. "[t]hat the panels of fence for, to the best of his knowledge, were all six-rail post and rail & [outside] fences; that the first item was new fencing and the other lines appraised according to their age, thus accounting for the differences in prices allowed. The number of panels being arrived at by counting the post holes."[40] The claim was for damage done by Federal troops in the months of September, October and November of 1862, and was for $3,249.85. The amount awarded was $1230.22. The claims were confused and lengthy. A representative from the Quartermaster General's office noted that C.E. Trail had four farms near Frederick, and it was difficult to establish which claim was which. For the Best farm or Lower Hermitage, the claim states that the "fencing was used by the troops for fuel, the most of it being taken by Gen'l McClellan's army enroute for South Mountain; that besides this, troops were on the place for the whole time [covered?] by the appraisements; in fact throughout the war, as it

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[40] Damage Claim, RG 92, R-153, National Archives.

was a regular post, with a blockhouse on the farm..." The claim also complains of loss of wheat straw, corn on the stalk and potatoes dug up by the troops.[41]

The claim also includes wheat, corn, hay and fencing taken July 1-15, 1863, but it is not clear whether this was for the Hermitage or for another farm owned by C.E. Trail and tenanted by Hezekiah Bailey. This other place was located ½ mile east of Frederick City and is addressed in claim 66-315. The investigator assumes that the 1863 damage was on the property east of Frederick, not the Hermitage.

As to loyalty, from claims records: "David Best Certifies as to his own loyalty as follows: states he was as loyal as any man at all times—was pointed out to the soldiers once as a rebel and the troops killed his hogs and sheep; this while he was sick in bed: took the oath of allegiance when the appraisers [present?]: didn't [grant?] the South grain, [granted?] the North grain always: voted for Lincoln in 1864.

"John T. Best, son of David Best corroborates the above statement and says that both he and his father were democrats before and during the war; that they tried to keep out of both sides as well as they could [illegible] [if they] had taken sides at all, it would have been for the Union, and is satisfied that was his father's position, though he took no sides so far as affirmant knows nor did he vote to affirmant's knowledge."

The claim continues: "The loyalty of Mr. C. E. Trail during the war was well known here, he being prominent in measures to sustain the government during the war, being one of a committee to raise troops, &c."

David Best, also claimed that the United States Army while enroute to Antietam used his blacksmith shop in September 1862. The claim is for $145, of which $95 was for the blacksmith shop and tools and the remaining $50 for a harness.[42] The claim was disallowed.

C.K. Thomas of Araby made a claim for miscellaneous Quartermasters Stores taken in 1862. He claimed $6,088, but received only $2454.[43] In 1864, shot and shell heavily damaged the Thomas house and grounds, but no mention of that appears in the claims records. Confederates probably did the majority of this 1864 damage.

Daniel Baker made a claim for $75 for miscellaneous Quartermaster's Stores taken in 1862.

Only John T. Worthington of Clifton farm and James H. Gambrill, the miller, attempted to retrieve expenses for action in 1864 as well as 1862. For 1864, Worthington says he lost 60 acres of corn in the field, 30 bushels of wheat in stock, 360 fence rails, 80 rails to the cord, and there was weeklong occupancy of 360 acres. Worthington stated that the damages were caused by General Hunter's command in 1864.[44] General Hunter was far away in West Virginia during

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid. RG 92, B-1828.
[43] RG 92, G-2264.
[44] RG 92, G-2129.

the Battle of Monocacy. The damage in Worthington's claim was probably done during a later Union occupation, which occurred in late July and early August. This would explain the notation of a week's occupancy. Worthington asked for $3,543, but received only $1,054.

Gambrill's claim in 1864 was for $5,000.00 for hay, fodder and wood. He was awarded $2,700.00.[45] Apparently, this claim was misfiled among a group from 1862. We suspect that perhaps more 1864 claims were recorded, but that their location may be separated from existing claims from that year. A good, time-consuming search among the National Archives claims records may yield a group of 1864 claims from Monocacy.

Memorialization of the Battlefield:

"Johnny, if a boy dies for his country the glory is forever, isn't it?"
Confederate soldier, Will Pope's dying words to his friend, Johnny Green, Shiloh battlefield, TN, April 7, 1862[46]

By the late 19th century, aging veterans of the Civil War began efforts to record and commemorate the drama of the conflict. First, veterans pressed for the formation of national cemeteries to honor war dead. The 1880s and 1890s interest in memorializing the Civil War produced regimental histories, memoirs and studies of battles, actions and troop movements. A series of reunions and cantonments at major battle sites helped to promote interest in marking the sites and commemorating battles from the war. Veterans groups placed monuments and memorials to mark important action sites. "The movement to construct monuments dedicated to individual units in the 1880s gave many battlefields their current park-like appearance."[47] In 1890, Congress authorized Chickamaugua-Chattanooga Battlefield in Georgia as the first national military park. In this action, Congress approved for the first time, acquisition of property through purchase or through condemnation by the power of eminent domain.[48] Thus began a new concept: that of preserving whole battlefields as historic landscapes, rather than the earlier practice of placing monuments at specific sites.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Monocacy, like many battlefields was known by some, but not recognized. Thomas Scharf's History of Western Maryland, describes the battle, and eyewitness accounts by Glenn Worthington were published in 1927 and 1932. The land, however, was privately owned and there was no official recognition of the place. However, as part of the growing interest in memorialization, the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Vermont as well as the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected monuments commemorating specific actions at Monocacy. These commemorative efforts occurred in the early 20th century beginning in 1907 with the New Jersey monument. It is located on the Best

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[45] G-3111.

[46] Patrick W. Andrus, National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields. NPS, 1992, p. iv, quoted from Emory M. Thomas, Travels to Hallowed Ground. A Historian's Journey to the American Civil War, Columbia, S.C.: University of S.C. Press, 1987, p. 52.

[47] Andrus, Bulletin 40., p. 3.

[48] Ibid., p. 2.

Farm lands (South Hermitage), along the south side of the railroad, west of the Georgetown Pike. It is near the old route of the pike from the ferry crossing and commemorates the 14th New Jersey Regiment, part of the 6th U.S. Army Corps. The second memorial to be placed was the Pennsylvania Monument dedicated in November of 1908. It is located on a half-acre plot that formerly belonged to *Araby* near Araby Church, on the east side of the old Georgetown Pike (Araby Church Road). The monument commemorates the 67th, 87th and 138th regiments of Pennsylvania volunteers, part of the 6th U.S. Army Corps. The Vermont Monument was dedicated in 1915 at the intersection of Baker Valley Road and Araby Church Road to commemorate efforts of the 10th Vermont infantry, part of the 6th U.S. Army Corps. These three markers commemorate Union regiments who fought at Monocacy. There is also a monument to Confederate forces that was dedicated at the 50th anniversary of the battle on July 9, 1914. The United Daughters of the Confederacy placed this monument. It is located on the South Hermitage, west of the Georgetown Pike at the west edge of the property. The last monument to be located at Monocacy was dedicated by the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission on July 9, 1964. It is situated on the property of the United Daughters of the Confederacy monument. The New Jersey and Vermont monuments still belong to the respective states, with agreements with the National Park Service for maintenance of the of the grounds and structures. The State of Pennsylvania and the United Daughters of the Confederacy have conveyed title to their properties to the National Park Service in 1994 and 1997 respectively.

These early efforts at memorializing the Monocacy Battlefield were sponsored by state committees and organizations. Official recognition of the battlefield came on June 21, 1934, when Congress approved an act to establish a national battlefield at Monocacy. However, while the 1934 action created Monocacy as a national battlefield, no apparatus was set up to allow for the acquisition or maintenance of property. Most of Monocacy remained in private hands and was actively farmed. Eventually though, the battlefield containing approximately 1,500 acres was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.

Finally, in 1976, Congress authorized preservation of the battlefield and allowed for condemnation, donation or purchase of lands within its boundaries. Since the 1980s, Monocacy National Battlefield has acquired four farms (Best, Worthington, Baker and Lewis) and the Gambrill Mill property. Efforts are now underway to record and preserve the historic landscape and its natural and manmade components as a means of enriching the interpretation of the battle and its impact on the Monocacy properties.

Chapter V

The Monocacy Properties

Chapter V: The Monocacy Properties

The five farms that make up the Monocacy Battlefield have had varying degrees of research done. Historic structures reports and historical documentation have been assembled for the Worthington Farm and the Gambrill House. Some documentation was assembled for the Best Farm, which was acquired by the Park Service within the past few years. The Thomas farm remains in private hands. This report focuses upon the properties not already studied. We will summarize findings for those properties that have had extensive studies already, and spend more time developing histories of those places where little information has been gathered. In addition to the farmsteads, is the collection of modest properties, which once existed along the railroad, east of the river at Monocacy Junction, and scattered dwellings, or remnants of dwellings within the separate farms. While this chapter addresses mainly the buildings on the properties, the real significance of Monocacy is the cultural and natural *landscape*. The setting, terrain and juxtaposition of natural and manmade features contribute mightily to the importance of this place.

I. The Best Farm (Hermitage):

The property known as the "Best Farm" received its name from the family who tenanted the place during the Monocacy Battle. The Bests never owned the property; it belonged to Charles E. Trail at the time of the battle. The Bests did however, live there through several generations. The farm is located on the Rockville Pike (US Route 355), known historically as the Washington Road or Georgetown Pike, west of the Monocacy River and the B&O Railroad. The buildings are accessed by a lane leading in a westerly direction from the Rockville Pike and are situated about ¼ mile west of the highway. The property, now containing 273.69 acres, came to the National Park Service in 1993, from the family that had owned it since 1835.

The buildings currently on the property include a multi-part stuccoed brick and log house, the oldest part of which appears to date from the 1790s; a log and stone secondary dwelling dating from the 18th century; a mid 20th century dairy barn; a 19th century frame wagon shed; a log smoke house and various 20th century sheds and outbuildings. Set apart from this complex and to the west, is a hip roofed stone barn, dating from the late 18th century. Both of the houses face east, toward the Georgetown Pike, although the log secondary dwelling was modified, apparently in he late 18th century, to face west toward the main house. To the west of the buildings is I-270. The interstate highway forms a visual and physical barrier for the property. However, the land that made up this farm historically extended to the Buckeystown Pike (MD Route 85), and could be accessed from that road as well as the Georgetown Pike. Near the east edge of the property is the B&O Railroad and beyond that a flat area of flood plain along the west bank of the Monocacy River. The farm consists mostly of cropland on rich and fairly level bottomland nestled within a bend in the Monocacy River. Although most of the land lies west of

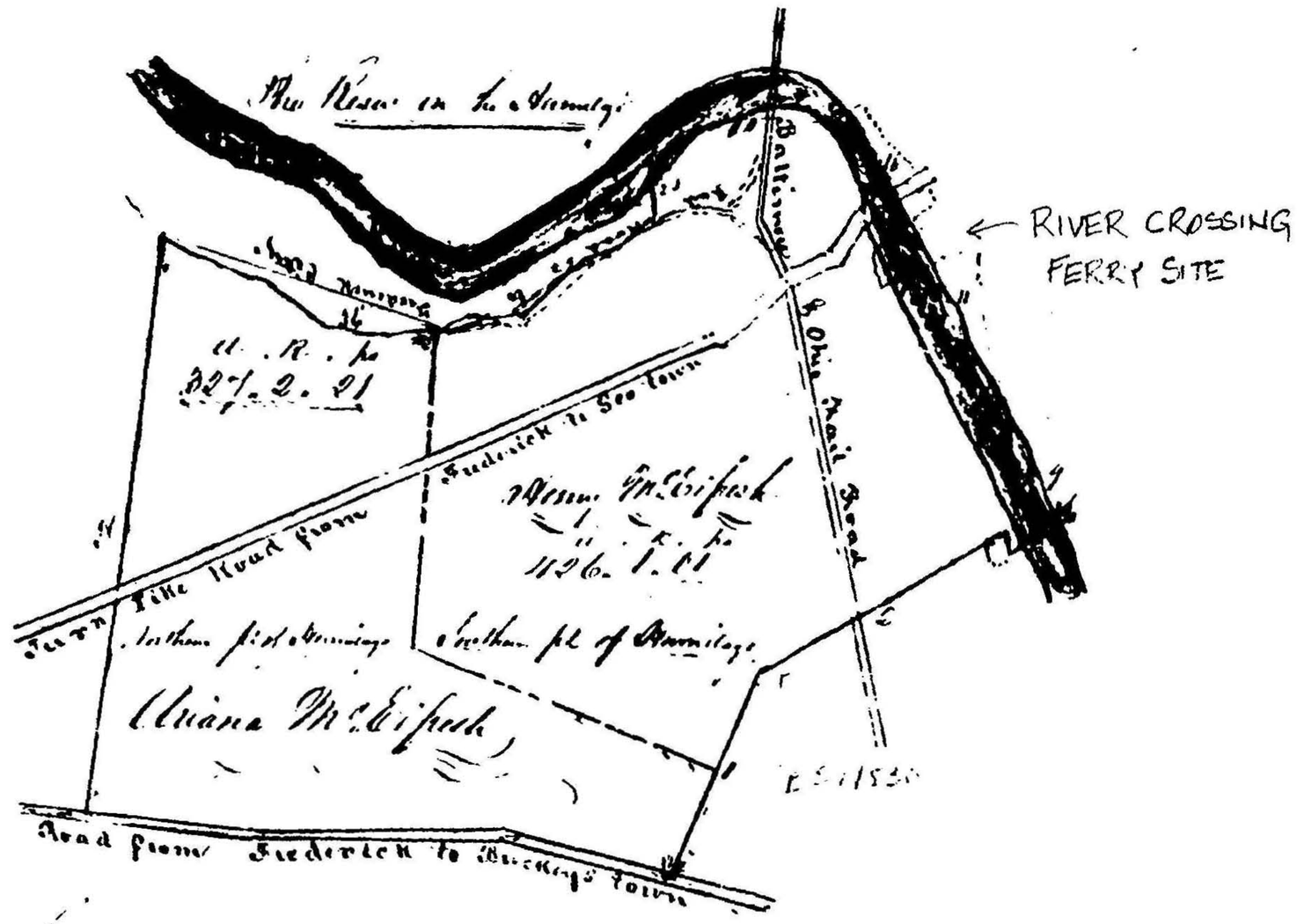
Ballenger Cr
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RIVER
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Lime Kiln
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481
527
MONOCACY
240
280
Buckeystown
Brick Kilns
Run
80
Hope
Hill
522
Michaels
Mill
258
450
Hope Hill
Cem
382
220
Claggett Diocesan
Center
482
507
Branch
500

Annual Plat No. 14.

Henry McElfresh, Anna Mary McElfresh,
"
Arianna McElfresh, Caspar W. McElfresh

} No 1141 Equity
In the Frederick County Court

The annexed is a true plat of as the lands at law of Allen A. McElfresh and Theresa McElfresh deceased, of which petition is to be taken as a part of the commissioners return to said commission.



By a Scale of 160 ft.

SOUTH HERMITAGE
1847

Route 355, a portion is on the east side. Tree cover forms a band along the river, otherwise most of the land is open and used for pasture or hay and grain.

The property has been known as the "*Hermitage*" or "*South Hermitage*," "*Resurvey on Locust Level*," and originally as "*Locust Level*." The farm also includes part of "*Arcadia*." *Locust Level* was a land grant patented to Daniel Dulaney in 1740. When Dulaney originally acquired rights to the land, it contained 3,180 acres. In 1756, Dulaney added more land and had the piece resurveyed into the *Resurvey on Locust Level*, with an increased total of 3,902 acres. *Locust Level* extended from the area of the point where the Buckeystown Pike and Route 355 merge (Evergreen Point) south nearly to the Ballenger Creek. As shown in Chapter 1, Dulaney was a speculator who acquired a large amount of land in Frederick County, which he subdivided and sold or leased. In fact, records indicate that Dulaney leased out parts of *Locust Level* through an agent, Joshua Testill. On October 23, 1778, John Hanson who became President of the United States' Continental Congress in 1781 and was a resident of Frederick, leased 150 acres of *Locust Level*. "The lease was for 14 years, with a yearly rental of £30. The terms required Hanson to build a dwelling 25 x 20 feet in dimensions, 'with brick or stone chimney' and to 'keep in good repair the barn now erected thereon.'"[1] On the same day, Hanson's son-in-law, Dr. Philip Thomas, also leased 104 ¼ acres of *Locust Level* for 14 years at £20 per year. By the terms of his lease, he was required to build a house similar to Hanson's and a barn as well.[2] At this time, no information is available to indicate where on the 3,902 acres of *Locust Level* these leaseholds were. However, in July of 1779, Hanson also leased from Dulaney 105 acres, part of "*Albin's Choice*" and "*Spring Garden*."[3] These tracts were located on the west side of the Monocacy River north of *Locust Level*, close to the location of the today's Frederick Airport and US Route 40. Perhaps the Hanson leases on *Locust Level* were on its northern part, closer to his other leaseholds. Even before these, Dulaney was leasing out parts of *Locust Level*. George Beckwith Sr. on June 10, 1761, leased from Daniel Dulaney, esq., 100 acres of *Locust Level*, "for and during the natural lives of him the said George Beckwith and of Basil and Benjamin," sons, and for the life of the longest liver of them. This was a typical colonial period lease in Maryland. The rent was £ 2, 10 shillings, annually and the tenants "further shall keep in good tenantable repair the house already erected on the said devised premises, and to erect or build others of equal goodness."[4] What is significant from these leases to a study of the Best Farm is that Dulaney appears to have had a standard lease form, which required the leasee to build a dwelling of a specified minimum size, and with a stone or brick chimney and a barn. These stipulations may have relevance to the buildings on the Best farm, particularly to a portion of the log and stone secondary dwelling which may predate the other buildings on the property. At least we know that *Locust Level* had several habitations upon it prior to the 1790s.

On March 24, 1795, Daniel Dulaney, Barrister at Law, Esquire, of Baltimore County sold to Mademoiselle Victoire Pauline Marie Gabrielle Delavincendiere, (also spelled De La Vincendiere or just Vincendiere) part of *Locust Level*, containing 457 acres exactly. For this land, Victoire paid £4,113, current money of Maryland.[5] A few years later on April 27, 1798,

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[1] Millard Milburn Rice, New Facts and Old Families, Baltimore: Geneological Publishing Co. 1984, p. 70, citing Frederick County land Records WR 1/342.

[2] Ibid., citing Frederick County Land Records, WR 1/406.

[3] Ibid. , p. 71, citing Frederick County Land Records, WR 2/207

[4] Frederick County Land Records, K/64-65.

[5] Frederick County Land Records, WR 13/397.

Victoire purchased an additional tract of adjoining land, of 291 acres, part of the *Resurvey on Locust Level*, and part of *Arcadia*. This she bought from James Marshall for £2,910. Marshall had acquired at least part of this land from Dulaney in 1791.[6] This piece of land was probably located to the south of the first purchase, since Marshall owned adjoining land, which was part of *Arcadia* and *Wett Work*. These Marshall holdings bordered the southeast edge of *Resurvey on Locust Level*.[7] The total acreage assembled by Victoire was 748.

A fascinating story is waiting to be told about this French woman and her family, one of several who came to the Frederick area to escape the French Revolution, and a related slave uprising in the French West Indies. At the time she made the first purchase, Victoire, who was born in San Domingo (Dominican Republic) in 1776, was only 19 years old, if sources are correct. Yet she apparently owned and managed a large plantation with one of the largest slave populations in Frederick County (and for that matter, the state). According to Victoire's headstone in the St. John's Catholic Cemetery in Frederick, she was born in 1776 and died in 1854. The 1850 census for Frederick County lists her as 73 years old and her place of birth as St. Domingo. The 1800 Census for Frederick County lists Victoire as the head of a household of 18 people, and with 90 slaves. The 1790 census records for Frederick County show only one person in the county with 50-99 slaves, and one person with 100-199. The 1820 census shows her with 11 people in her household and 48 slaves. The 1820 census also records "4 other free" which would mean free Blacks, and "2 not naturalized," probably either referring to two of the free blacks or to French citizens within the Vincendiere family.

Victoire came with her family either from France or from San Domingo. Why she wound up as head of house and owner of record for the family's real estate and slaves remains at this point a mystery. Both of her parents lived into the 19th century. Tombstones at St. John's cemetery show in addition to Victoire, her father, Etienne Belluonear De La Vincendier, born in France in 1735 and died 1820; her mother, Margeurite Elizabeth Pauline De Magnan [De La Vincendiere], born in France, died in 1819; sister, Adelaide V. [incendiere] Lowe, died March 19, 1861, aged 72 years [born in France, 1789, according to census records]. Another Vincendiere, Etienne Belluonear De La Vincendiere (perhaps a son of the other Etienne) is also buried with the family, having died in 1816. One of these men is also referred to as "Magnan" in local histories. (This person, known as "Magnan" may be the son, Victoire's brother, since De Magnan was his mother's maiden name.) We know that Victoire never married and remained in possession of the property at *Locust Level*, which the Vincendieres named *L'Hermitage* until 1827, when she sold it. The only recorded documents found pertaining to the Vincendiere parents are "Certification of Negroes" papers in the Frederick County Land Records.[8] One of these was for E.L.M. Delavincendiere, one for Magnan Vincendiere and one for M. DelaVincendiere. The declaration for E.L.M. Delavincindiere "was recorded 28th December 1793 to wit...I the underwritten proprietor planter of the French part of St. Domingo at this time resident in Frederick Town in the Maryland State accordingly to this law of this aforesaid state of the third and twenty day of December of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety two declare it has been said to use from St.Domingo three servants slaves my property came to this aforesaid town the fifth day of last November to wit Marianne about forty years old, Cécile her

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[6] Frederick County Land Records, WR 10/124.
[7] Dr. Arthur Tracey, Maps of Monocacy area land grants.
[8] Frederick County Land Records WR 11/755ff.

Daughter eighteen years old, and Souris fifteen years old, whom all I keep for my own Service as I am authorized to by the aforesaid Law.—Made in Frederick Town in the Maryland State the eight and twenty day of December of the year seventeen hundred and ninety three." Signed, E.L.M.Delavincendiere.

The Vincendieres, as shown by the above documents, did not settle immediately on *Locust Level*. At the time of the purchase they were living in Frederick. When they acquired the *Locust Level* property, they called it *L'Hermitage*, a name by which it has been known throughout the rest of its history. Some time in the 1790s, the family built the stuccoed brick south section of the main house on the property. They also constructed in the 1790s a separate one-story log back building. This log structure was eventually incorporated into the west wing of the house, which was added later. Evidence in the attic of the north section of the main house also suggests that the present 1820s stuccoed brick north section replaced some earlier structure.

The Vincendiers at the same time they were building the main house, probably also had constructed, or outfitted the upper log portion of the log and stone secondary dwelling, as the interior woodwork in the log portion matches that in the south wing of the main house. The Vincendieres definitely were responsible for the construction of the stone French style barn on the property. There were probably other buildings on the property, as well. If Victoire had 90 slaves by 1800, they had to live somewhere, unless she leased them out to other farmers.

In the 1798 tax assessment for Frederick County, "Victoria" Vincendiere is assessed for part of *Arcadia*, with the notation "James Marshall" (at the time of the assessment, she would have recently purchased this from Marshall), 222 ½ acres; 68 ½ acres, also from James Marshall, noted, significantly with "New Improvements." These two tracts would total the 291 acres Victoire bought from Marshall in April 1798. Also listed is 528 acres from the heirs of Daniel Dulaney (the 1792 deed records 457 acres). According to the tax assessment of 1798 the acreage was valued at $1,923, and the value of "new improvements since the last assessment" were $400, for a total assessment of $2,323. A glance at other entries in the same assessment record shows the Vincindieres' holdings to be among the most valuable, both for value of buildings and of land. Frustratingly, assessment entries describe buildings on other properties in more detail, for example, John Weller, was assessed for a "New Brick House" at $75, and Jacob Weller for a "Saw Mill and Small Brick House" for $100. Judging from these other entries, Victoire built something pretty substantial, and the construction occurred not long before the assessment was made. A question remains as to what exactly was standing in 1798 when the assessment was made. With Victoire having just purchased the property in April, one might wonder just how much construction could be accomplished before the assessors arrived. Perhaps the Vincendieres and James Marshall had a prior agreement that permitted the construction to begin.

The 1808 map of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland, by Charles Varlé, shows "V. Vincendiere" noted with a symbol of a house used by Varlé to denote the location of major plantations. Apparently the Vincendiere family lived on the property some or all of the time for approximately the next 30 years. Many well to do families had country houses and town houses and floated between the two seasonally. This may have been the case with the Vincendieres, since we know the family lived in town both before and after their association with *The Hermitage*.

Victoire's younger sister, Adelaide, who would have been a small child when *L'Hermitage* was put together by her sister and parents, grew up to marry Bradley S.A. Lowe. Bradley Lowe was a graduate of the US Military Academy, and served in the War of 1812 and the "Florida war." [Seminole Wars?][9] Their son, Enoch Lewis Lowe, future governor of Maryland, was born August 10, 1820. About six months after Enoch was born, his parents, probably already estranged, recorded a legal document, "Articles of Separation," dated February 23, 1821. In it Bradley agrees to return all of Adelaide's personal property that was hers before the marriage. "[H]e the said Bradley in consideration thereof hath agreed to deliver all such household Goods, furniture and personal property which belonged to the said Adelaide before her marriage to the said Victoire Vincendiere in trust never the less for the sole and separate use Benefit and disposal of the said Adelaide C. [sic] Lowe."[10] It seems that Victoire was acting as a guardian or trustee for her younger sister (who was in her early 30s). By this time the Vincendiere parents had died, leaving Victoire in charge of the family holdings, although she seems to have assumed that role from the beginning.

Young Enoch Lowe attended St John's Catholic School in Frederick, and then at age 13 was sent to Ireland to study. Later he studied at the Catholic College of Stoneyhurst in Lancashire, England. Eventually he returned home and was admitted to the Frederick County Bar in 1842 and established a law practice.[11] Although he moved to Richmond during the Civil War, Lowe returned to Frederick where he died in 1892 and is buried in St. John's cemetery next to his mother. According to local tradition, and as stated in Williams' History, Enoch Louis Lowe was born at *L'Hermitage* and spent his childhood years there. Local tradition also states that General Lafayette visited the Vincendieres at *L'Hermitage* in 1824, and that Lafayette was a distant relative.[12] He is also believed to have visited Col. John McPherson, who owned Araby, nearby.

In the 1820 census record, Victoire Vicendiere is shown as head of house for Frederick Election District (outside town) with 11 people, 48 slaves and 4 other free (free blacks). Her household had decreased in size from 1800 when she had 18 people and 90 slaves. By 1820, her parents and brother had died, and she had other sisters who apparently married and left the household.

In 1827, on June 14th, Victoire sold *L'Hermitage* to John Brien for $24,025.00, a sizable sum at that time. The deed describes the two tracts separately, the first containing 457 acres acquired from Dulaney, and the second part being the 291 acres from John Marshall. The De La Vincendieres apparently moved to their town house on Second Street in Frederick. Victoire spent the rest of her life in the town house, leaving it to sister Adelaide in her will. In 1830, census records have Victoire living in Frederick Town with 5 people, 6 slaves and 2 "other free." In 1840, she was still listed in Frederick City with 4 people and 4 slaves. In the 1850 census, "Victoria" is listed as head of her household, which included Adelaide Lowe, age 61, Enoch L.

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[9] T.J.C. Williams, History of Frederick County, Baltimore, Regional Publishing Co., 1967, (originally published, 1910), p. 290.

[10] Frederick County Land Records JS 12/429.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Interview with Theresa Mathias Michel and NPS Staff, Jan. 16, 1997

Lowe, lawyer, age 29, with his wife and four children, Charles Smith, physician, age 27, one girl from Ireland and one black woman.

John Brien was a real estate developer who was involved with the iron industry in Frederick and Washington Counties with the Johnson and McPherson families. John Brien was the son-in-law of Colonel John McPherson who owned the adjoining *Araby* property. Col. John McPherson, Sr. came to Frederick County in 1781 and according to Scharf's History of Western Maryland, "was the largest manufacturer of iron and owner of real estate in Western Maryland." He died in 1829. Col. John McPherson, Jr. in 1823 married Fanny Johnson, the grand daughter of Governor Thomas Johnson. Lafayette visited the younger McPherson in 1825.[13] While John Brien owned the *Hermitage*, his in-laws were assembling the *Araby* properties on the other side of the river, and adjoining *Arcadia*.

John Brien died in 1834, or earlier since he does not appear in the 1830 census, and his estate was placed in equity court to settle his debts. John McPherson was appointed trustee to "sell and dispose of the real estate of John Brien, late of said county deceased, for the payment of his debts, all of which fully appear from the proceedings in [Court of Equity case] No. 1399 on the Equity Docket of Frederick County Court..." On January 29, 1835, McPherson sold *The Hermitage* to John H. McElfresh for $26,367.00. The property was the same as that acquired by Victoire Vincendiere, containing 748 acres. Portions of the property remained in the McElfresh and related families until 1993 when the National Park Service acquired 273.69 acres, the southeastern portion of *The Hermitage* with the buildings. The deed from McPherson to McElfresh in the metes and bounds description refers to the "stone planted on the north side of said river, and on the west side of the old road leading from Frederick City to the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, then running across the said old road now shut up..."[14] This passing reference indicates that the old road was closed sometime between 1827 when the same property with the same metes and bounds was purchased by Brien and 1835 when Brien's Trustee sold it. This portion of the description, incidentally, refers to the 291-acre tract that Victoire purchased from John Marshall.

No information is available yet as to whether John Brien actually lived on the Hermitage during his brief ownership of the property, or whether he leased it out. The north wing of the house and the first room of the L extending to the west in the *Hermitage* have woodwork that dates from the 1820s. The manner in which this part of the house is joined to the older 1790s part suggests that the early 19th century section replaced something older. Whether Brien did this renovation after he purchased the *Hermitage* in 1827, or whether the addition was constructed by Victoire before she sold the place remains a mystery.

The *Hermitage* property remained in the hands of John H. McElfresh until his death in 1841. Apparently, McElfresh had the property resurveyed into the "*Resurvey on the Hermitage*" in 1835 and acquired some additional land to make the total 761½ acres. According to the resurvey document, "By virtue of a special Warrant of Resurvey granted out of the Land office for the Western Shore to John H. McElfresh of Frederick County, bearing the date the 24th of June, 1835 to resurvey 748 as. in two parcels being part of a tract of land in the Resurvey of

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[13] Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland, p. 459.
[14] Frederick County Land Records JS 49/ 146.

Locust Level originally on the 11th of July 1750 granted Daniel Dulaney for 3902 as. and part of a tract of land called Arcadia originally on the 31st of August 1793 granted James Marshall for 881 as. To resurvey said land amend and correct errors and add any contiguous vacancy. I therefore certify that I have carefully resurved [sic] for and in the name of him the said John H. McElfresh the aforesaid parcels of land lying and being in the county aforesaid and find them to contain 755 as. Clear of the elder surveys to which I have added (by recent purchase) a small tract called 'Kemp's Diamond' (not named in the warrant) containing 1 1/5 as. and also one piece of surplus land containing 5 1/20 as. Making in the whole 761¼ as...." The survey record continues with the metes and bounds and a plat, and is signed by surveyor Horatio G. O'Neal.[15] In the 1835 Frederick County Tax Assessment, John H. McElfresh is assessed for 748 acres improved with a roughcast [stuccoed] house and stone barn. The property was valued at $4,987.00.

McElfresh may not have lived on the property. The land, at least, was leased out in 1836 to Thomas B. Murray.[16] In the 1840 census, John H. McElfresh was listed as a resident in Frederick City, not in the part of Frederick district outside the city, heading a household with six people and two slaves. McElfresh only had the place for a few years, since he died in 1841. He left four children, Anna May, Henry, Ariana and Caspar M. The *Hermitage* and other lands belonging to John H. McElfresh were divided among the four children. Henry McElfresh and Ariana McElfresh divided the southern part of *Resurvey on the Hermitage*, while Anna Mary McElfresh and Caspar M. McElfresh divided the northern part.[17]

According to a Deed of Partition, dated December 14, 1852, the two brothers, Caspar and Henry McElfresh had died, leaving the two sisters, now Mary Anna Kunkel and Ariana Trail as tenants in common for the *Resurvey on the Hermitage* and other property. In the Deed of Partition, the Trails and the Kunkels divide the property with the Kunkels taking the *North Hermitage* and the Trails taking the *South Hermitage*. The portion allotted to Charles E. Trail and Ariana McElfresh Trail was 426 acres.[18]

Charles E. Trail owned a large amount of farmland as well as a fine Italianate style residence on Church Street in Frederick. The Trails did not live on the *Hermitage*, but leased it out. No information has been found to pinpoint the date that the Best family came to the *Hermitage* as tenants, but David Best probably took over operations there after the Trails inherited the property. According to statements made in the Best family damage claims from the Civil War, David came to the property in 1852 or 1853, and John T. Best took over the lease in 1863. The farm descended through the Trail family until received by the National Park Service in 1993.

According to Frederick County tax Assessment records, in 1852 Charles E. Trail was assessed for 753 ½ acres of land in two farms (*Hermitage* lands), valued at $60.00 per acre.

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[15] Frederick County Survey Record THO 1/pages 510-512.

[16] An indenture, made February 27, 1837, records a debt of $233 owed by Thomas B. Murray to John H. McElfresh to be secured by Murray's wheat and rye crops growing at the *Hermitage*, of which Murray was in possession. Murray sowed the crops in 1836. (Land Record HS 4, page 306-307).

[17] These divisions are recorded in Liber WBT 2, page 210-211 Frederick County Equity Court records for the settlement of the estate in 1847.

[18] Frederick County Land Records ES 1, pages 530-533.

David Best was assessed for livestock valued at $12.00 and household furniture at $40.00. Yet in the 1850 Agricultural Census, David Best had much more. He was farming 315 acres valued at $12,700.00. He had 10 horses, nine milch cows, five cattle, 40 swine all valued at $772.00. He had 1,500 bushels of wheat, 1,100 bushels of corn, 300 bushels of oats 30 pounds of wool, 18 bushels potatoes, a $10 orchard and $10 market garden, 780 pounds of butter and six tons of hay. He had implements valued at $225.

Ten years later in 1860, David Best had more acres being farmed, 375 improved and 50 acres unimproved, valued at $25,500.00 and he had $600 worth of implements. In the 1860 Agricultural Census David Best was listed with 12 horses, nine cows, three cattle, 20 sheep, 40 swine valued at $1,265.00. He had 2,500 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of rye, 2,800 bushels of corn, 300 bushels of oats, 133 pounds of wool, 50 bushels of potatoes 550 pounds of butter, six tons of hay and 10 bushels of clover seed. Farmer Best seems to have substantially improved his lot between 1850 and 1860, which would have included the move to the *Hermitage*.

In the 1870 Agricultural Census, there is a William Best and a John E. Best. Probably the John E. Best is really John T. Best, son of David Best. John T. Best took over the farming responsibilities on the *Hermitage* when his father retired. (David is listed as a retired farmer in the 1870 census). The younger Best was now farming 425 acres, improved, valued at $53,000.00 with $600 in implements, $3000 paid in wages, 16 horses, 23 cows, 12 cattle, 34 sheep, 45 swine all valued at $4,400.00. He had 2,200 bushels of wheat 3,000 bushels of corn and 100 of oats. He had 240 pounds of wool, 50 pounds of potatoes, an orchard valued at $100.00, 800 pounds of butter, and 10,000 gallons of milk sold. He also had 75 tons of hay and 22 bushels of clover seed. This listing tells us that John T. Best converted to dairy farming between 1860 and 1870. This switch probably occurred after the Civil War since damage claims for the property do not indicate dairy cows or products.

Finally, in 1880, the Agricultural Census notes that John Best "rents for shares" and that he tilled 425 acres and had 100 acres of meadow. The land was valued at $24,000.00; $2,000.00 in implements and $2,000.00 in livestock. The big increase in value of implements reflects a national trend among farmers to acquire new technology in the form of expensive machinery such as reapers and threshers. Best also was listed in 1880 with $500.00 worth of fencing, $500.00 in fertilizers and $2,000.00 in wages. He had 15 horses, 40 cows and 25 "other" [cattle?], 25 sheep (with 600 pounds of wool) 45 swine, 156 poultry. He had 2,000 bushels of corn, 4,500 of wheat, 50 of potatoes and 170 apple trees, 125 peach trees valued at $15.00. Also noted were 4 pounds of honey and 100 pounds of wax, 80 tons of hay and 18 bushels of clover seed.

General census records show in 1850 that Charles E. Trail was living at home with his parents in Frederick Town. He was 25 years old and a lawyer. David Best was living in the Frederick Election District. He was a farmer with a wife and four children. In addition, according to the 1850 Slave Census records, David Best had seven slaves: a 56 year old male, a 25 year old male, a 17 year old male, a 14 year old female, an 11 year old male, a nine year old female and a six year old male.

Ten years later in the 1860 census, Charles E. Trail is listed as a lawyer with property valued at $115,000. In his household were a wife, Ariana and four children, and a 30-year old mulatto female. In the 1860 Slave census, he is listed with three slaves: a 30-year-old male, a 35-year-old female and a 32-year-old female. These records indicate that between 1850 and 1860, Charles E. Trail gained a great deal of property, much of it apparently coming from the estate of his father-in-law, John H. McElfresh. In 1860, David Best had six slaves, four males, ages 20,18, 15 and 4; and two females, aged 19 and 15.

By 1870, in the census records David T. Best is listed as a retired farmer, aged 65, with a household consisting of Mary, aged 68, Elizabeth aged 35 and Victoria Barrick (white) aged 12. John T. Best is listed with a separate household. His age is given as 31 and his occupation farmer, with real estate valued at $6,000.00. In his household is Margaret, 29, Charles E., 4 (perhaps named for Charles E. Trail), and William, 2. Also in the household are Emily Riggs, 32, Rosa, a domestic (white), five white farmhands and one mulatto farmhand. There is no indication whether the David Best and John T. Best households were on the same property, or whether David Best had moved away when he retired.

In the 1880 census John T. Best's family had grown, but David Best is no longer listed. John, 41, was still a farmer. Wife Margaret, 38, kept house and there were six children, Charles E.T., 14, William H., 12, John T., 6, Oliver D., 4, James H. G., 3, and a baby, 4/12. Charles E. Trail, now 55, and listed as President of a bank, had in his household in Frederick, Ariana, 52, keeping house, Arianna, 27, at home, Florence 25, at home, Charles, 23, student of law, Anna M. 20, at home, Harry 18, at school, Bertha 15, at school, Arthur 12, at school and Rachel Bowie, black, 60, domestic servant.

In the census of 1900, John T. Best is listed as a "capitalist," aged 61, along with a new wife, Emily, 42, John T. Jr. 26, farmer, Harry 21, and Mary Handley, 31, servant. In 1910, the census records for the Frederick district do not list John T. Best, the elder. His son, John T. is listed as owning his own property. Thus, by 1910, the Best family had left the *Hermitage*. This would coincide with the transition in ownership of the *Hermitage* from Charles E. Trail to his son, Charles B. Trail in 1909.

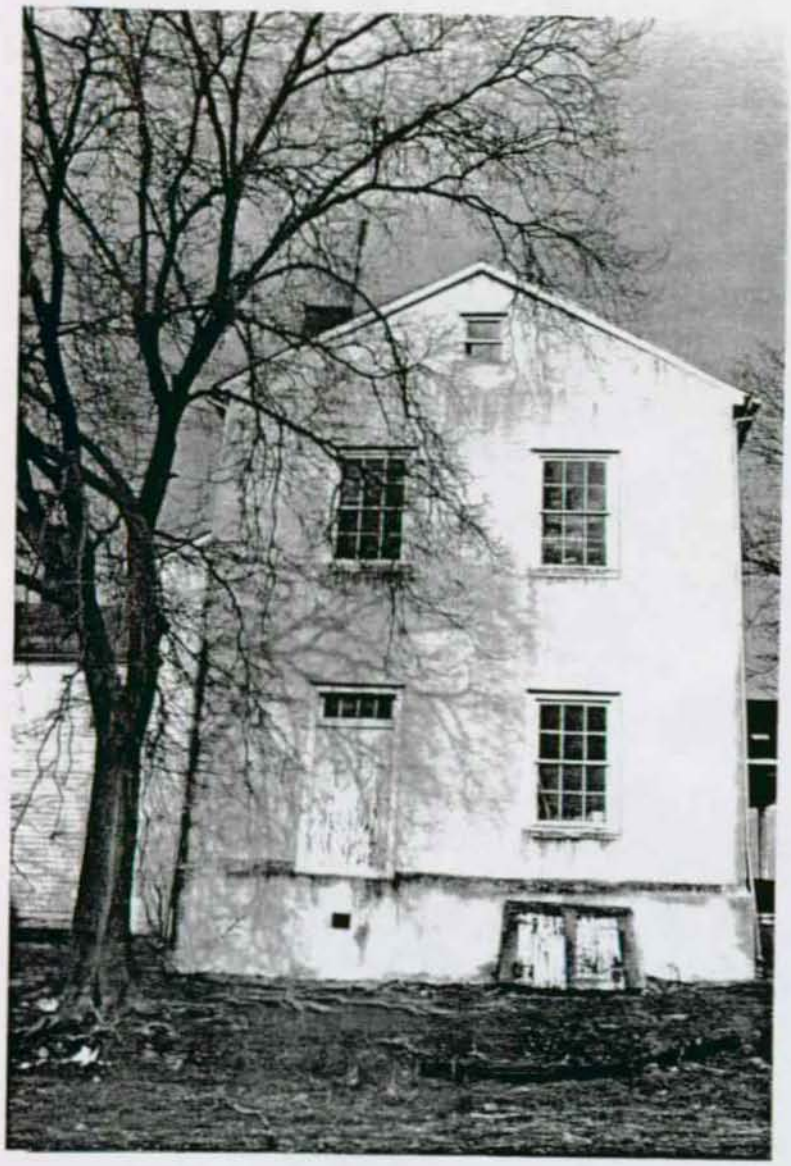
All of the people residing in the Best household possibly from 1850, but definitely from 1860, (slave or free) were living on the *Hermitage* property, in the nine-room main house and in the four room log and stone secondary dwelling. Likely, the log and stone building housed slaves, or a combination of slaves and hired hands. Hired hands may also have stayed in the upper back rooms of the main house.

Description of Buildings on the Best Farm:

Main House: The main house of the Hermitage is a multi-part, L shaped brick, log and frame building. The brick portions are stuccoed and the log and frame sections are covered with various wood sidings, lapped or German. Apparently, stucco has been applied to the house at least since 1835, when the tax assessment of that year describes the house as roughcast.



Main House, Hermitage (Best Farm). Northwest view, front elevation. P. Reed 2/99.



East end wall, Hermitage
(Best Farm), 1790s section.
P. Reed 2/99.

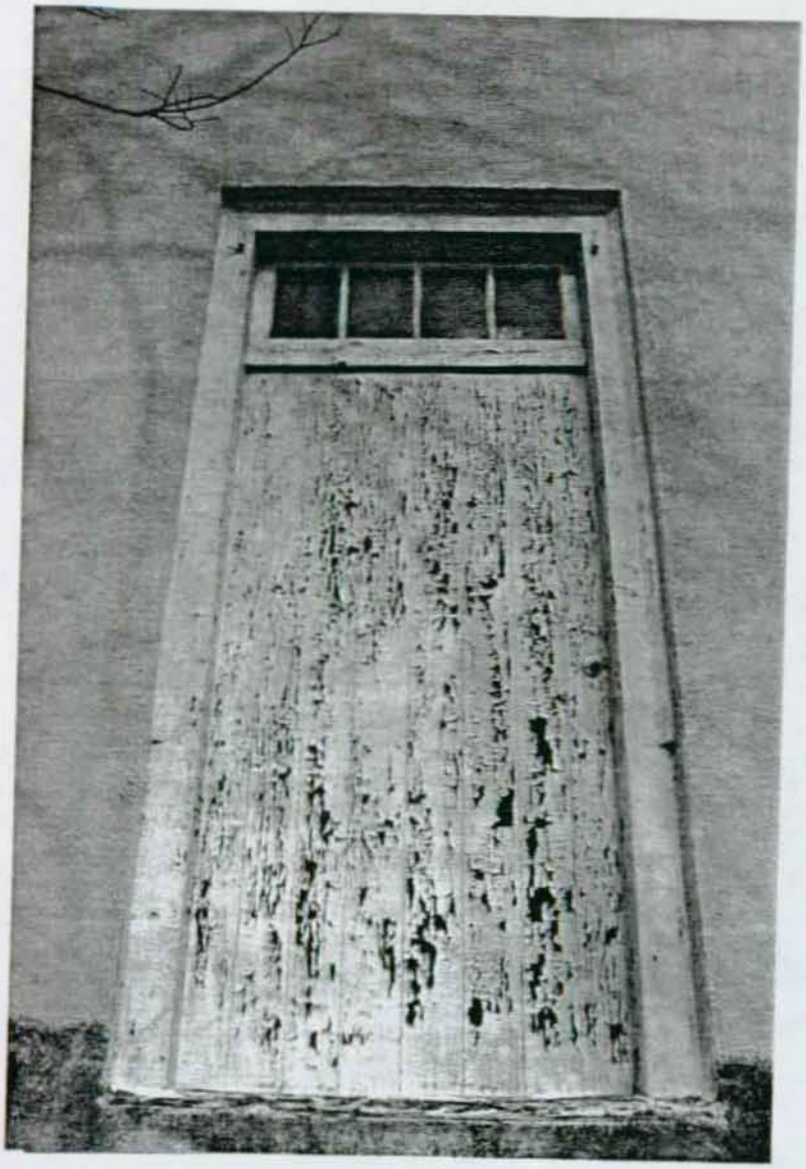
The front or east elevation of the house has five bays with a central entrance. However, the southern three bays were built as a unit and predate the northern two bays. The northern two bays have windows set at a lower level, and the roof span is much broader, creating a break in the roofline particularly visible from the south and west. The house is constructed into a slight slope, which drops away to the south, causing the three southern bays to have a raised basement. There is also a prominent watertable at the top of the foundation of the south section. Windows in the south section have wide mortised and tenoned frames with pegged joints and ovalo trim. Windows have six over six-pane sash. The front door has six low relief panels and is hung beneath a four light transom. A gabled entrance porch, which appears to date from the mid 20th century, replaces the original entrance shelter. An unusual feature of the house is the chimney placement. For the south section, the chimney is centered in the west elevation, rising along the middle of the back wall. For the north portion, the chimney extends from the roof ridge, placed centrally in the width of the span. The roofing material is standing seam sheet metal, applied in 1998. Exterior architectural evidence (also affirmed by interior investigation) shows that the south section was constructed in the 1790s; the north section was added some time in the 1820s.

The south elevation is the gable end wall of the 1790s section. It is two and one half stories high with a cellar bulkhead entrance. Beneath the bulkhead doors, stone steps descend to a segmentally arched entrance into a large cellar room. The gable wall has four openings at the main two levels. Originally all were windows, but the west window has been converted to a door. Its original frame is intact, although extended to create the entrance opening. Openings have wide pegged frames with ovalo molding. A small window lights the attic. Its sash and perhaps the frame have been replaced. The roof pitch for this part of the house appears unusually shallow for 18th century construction.

The west elevation reveals the way in which the house grew over time with various additions and extensions. In the 1790s south section there are three windows, one in a stair landing midway between stories, and a door exiting from a stair hall. The 1820s addition or north section juts several feet to the west, extending several feet beyond the back wall of the older section. It has two south facing windows, one at each story. Both of these sections are fully covered with stucco.

Extending to the west from the back of the 1820s section are two wooden sections, the first a two story section of frame infill and the second, at the extreme west end, a one story log kitchen which was raised to two stories with frame construction. The frame infill section has a chimney extending up its south elevation, and the log part has an inside gable end chimney with an exposed brick back. Separated from the log section and to its west is a log smokehouse covered with vertical siding. This is a one-story gable roofed building. Clues from the interiors of these back sections, described below, suggest that the frame infill section dates from the 1860s, and the log kitchen from the 1790s. The upper part of the log section, the framed second story, probably dates from the late 19th century.

The interior of the house has five rooms at the first story, each with its own fireplace. The front entrance opens into a broad entrance and stair passage, which extends front to back through the 1790s brick section. The staircase is constructed against the north wall of the hallway. The staircase has raised fielded panels with ovalo trim, decorative carved trim at the



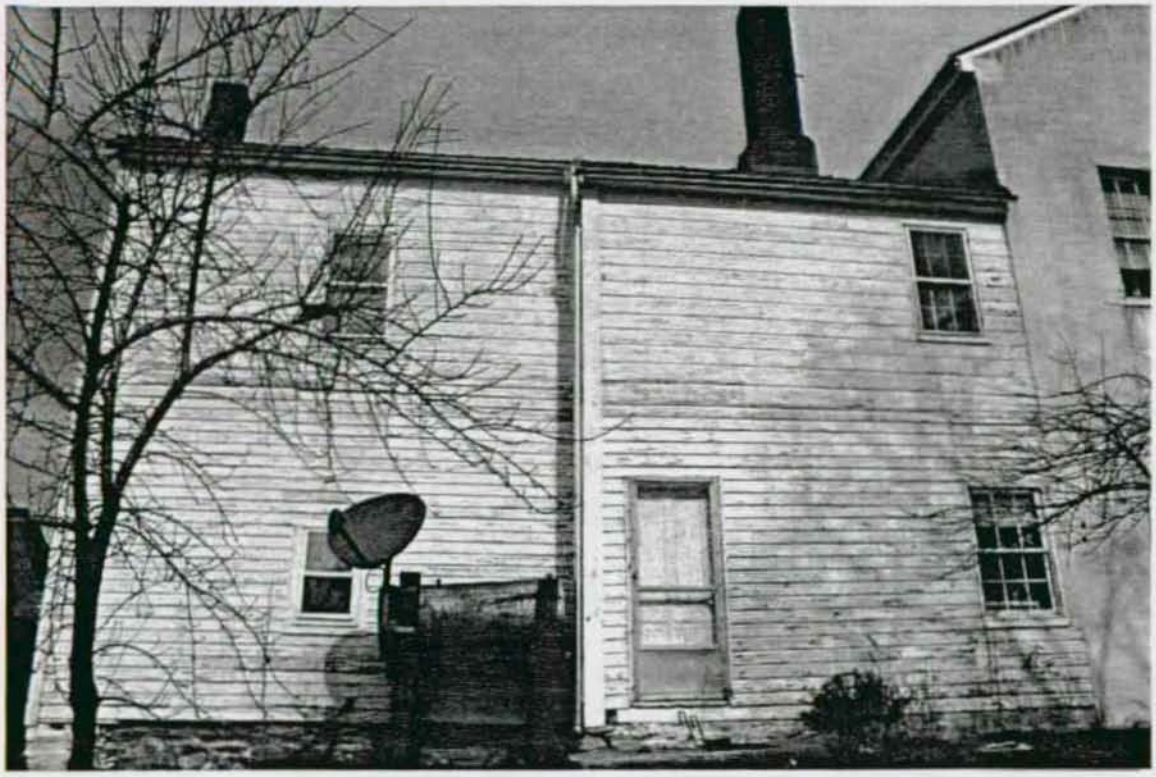
East end entrance to parlor, Hermitage (Best Farm). Note that it was originally a window extended to door length. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage (Best Farm). Rear elevation showing five components of the house. From left, one story sided log room with frame second story; two story frame section; two story 1820s stuccoed brick section; and two story stuccoed brick 1790s section with watertable. P. Reed 2/99.



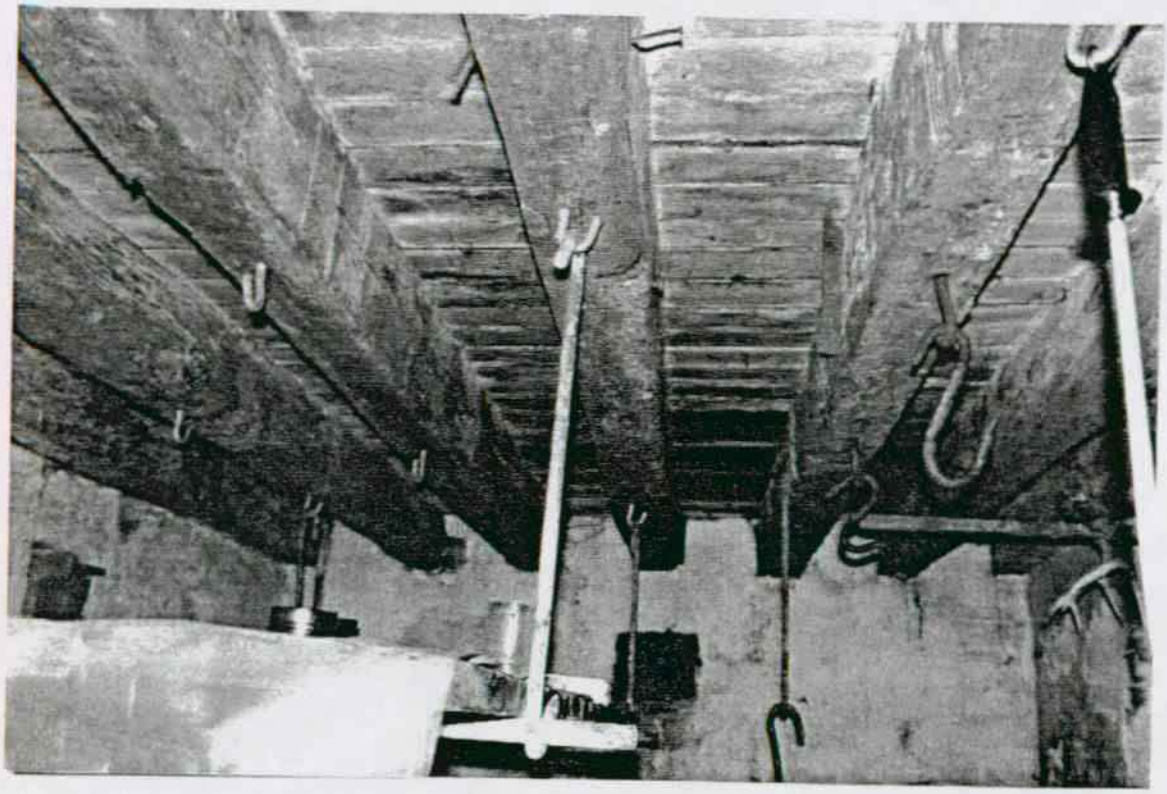
Hermitage (Best Farm). Detail, northeast view 1790s section and attached 1820s addition. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage (Best Farm). Rear extensions. On left is one story log portion, 1790s with second story frame addition, and on right a two story frame central section. P. Reed 2/99.



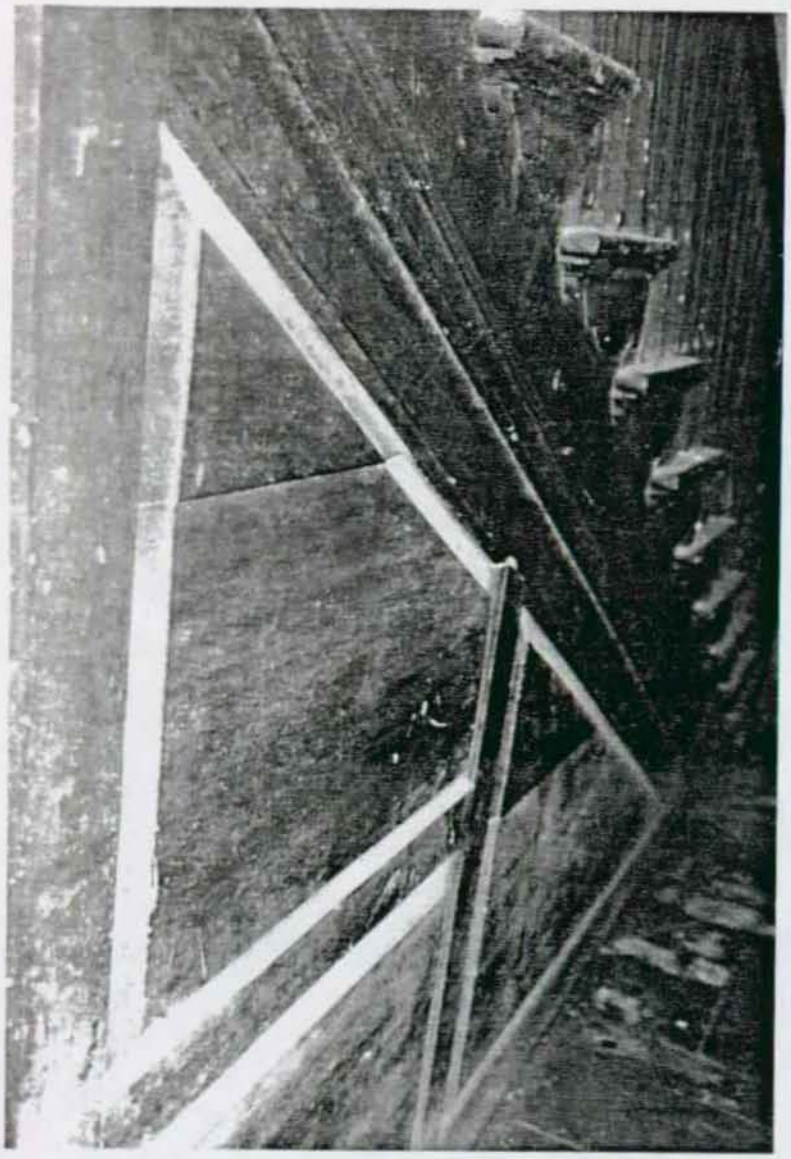
Hermitage (Best Farm). View of house and landscape from the stone barn. East view. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage, cellar under 1790s section. Note closely spaced joists. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage, stair, entrance passageway, 1790s section.
P. Reed 2/99.



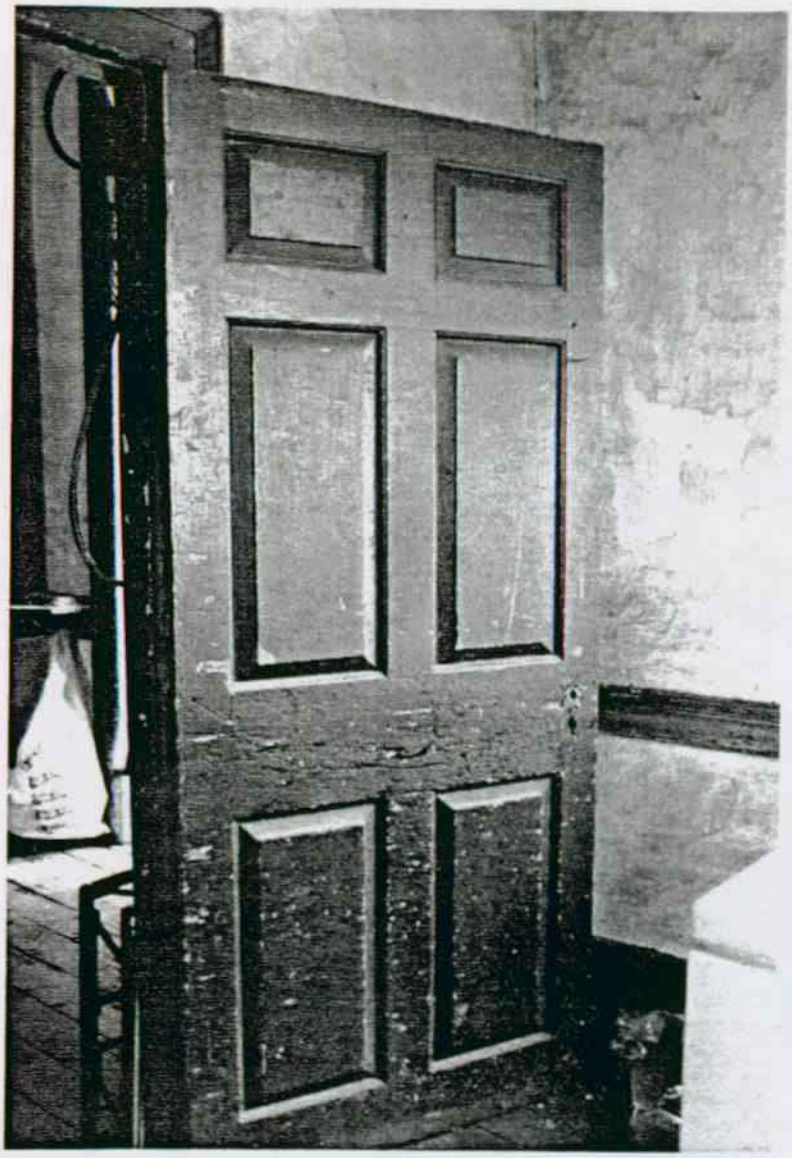
Hermitage, detail, staircase,
1790s section. P. Reed 2/99.



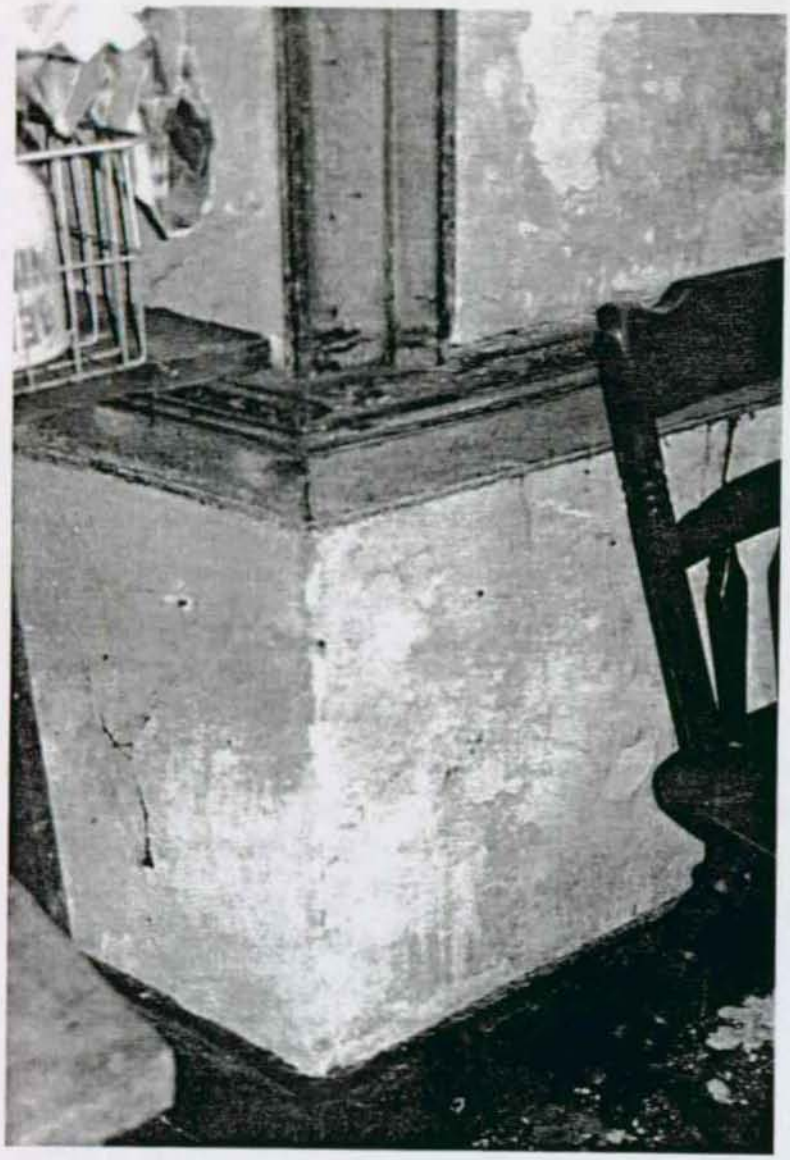
Hermitage, stair, entrance hall, door to exterior, rear and door to cellar stairs. P. Reed 2/99.



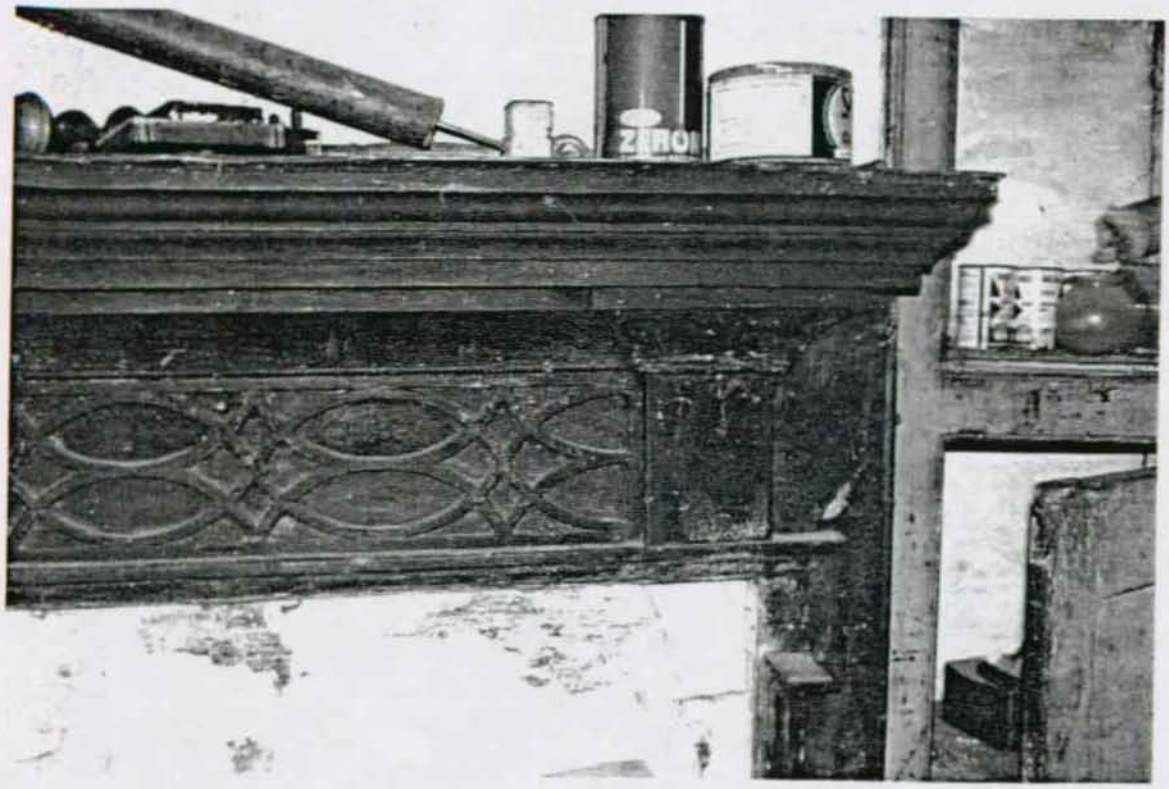
Hermitage, door to first floor parlor, 1790s section. Paint ed surfaces are original. P. Reed 2/99.



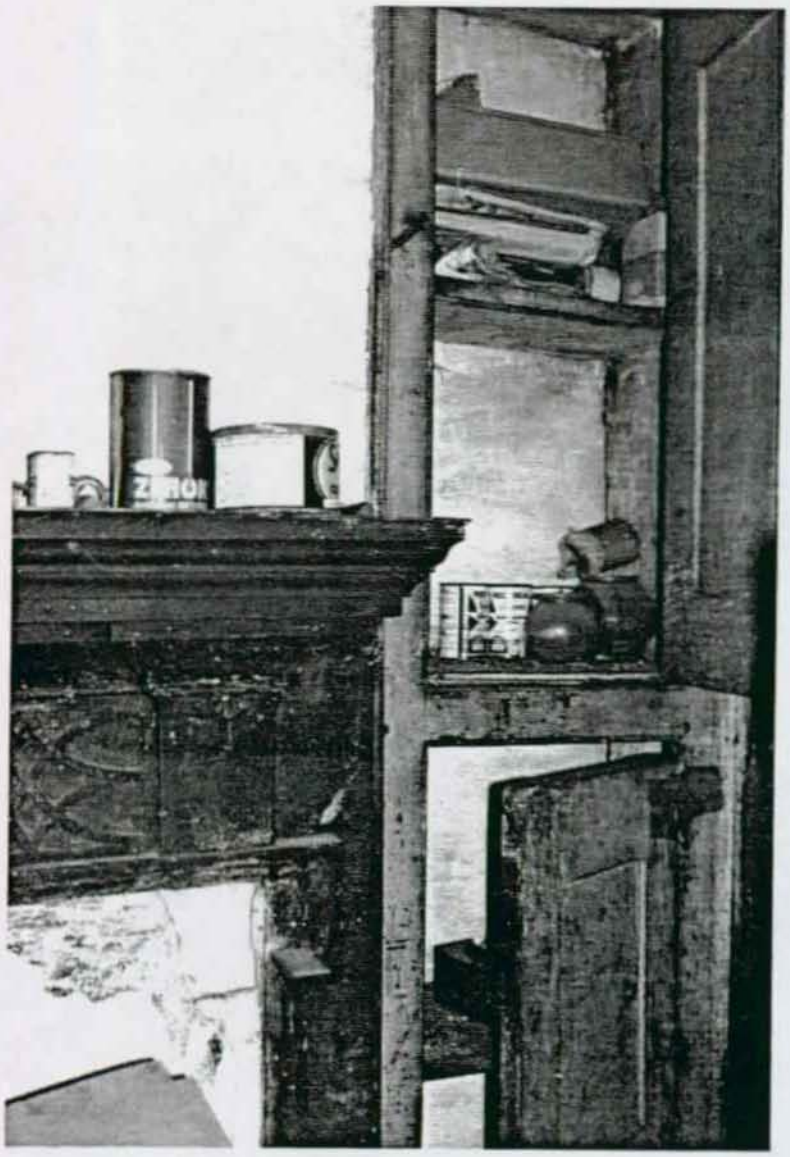
Hermitage, door to first floor parlor, 1790s section. Paint on woodwork is original. P. Reed 2/99.



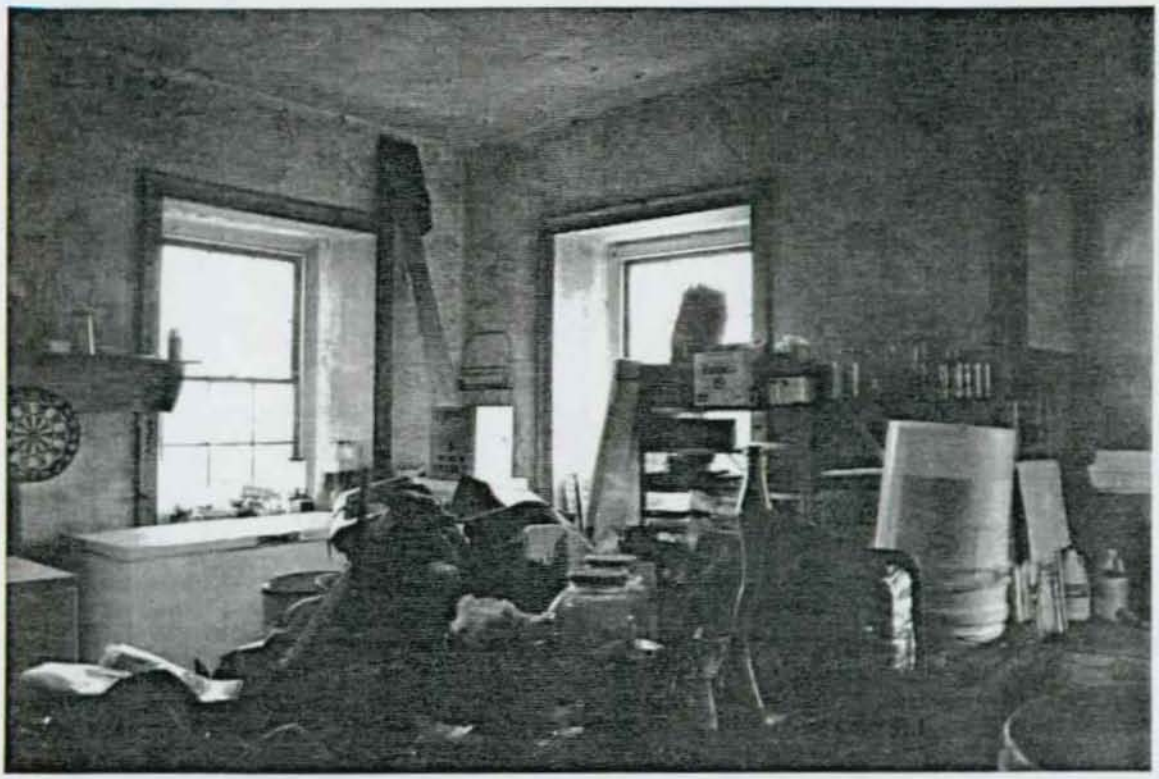
Hermitage, detail chairrail, window recess and baseboard. Parlor, 1790s section. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage, detail parlor mantel, 1790s section. P. Reed 2/99.



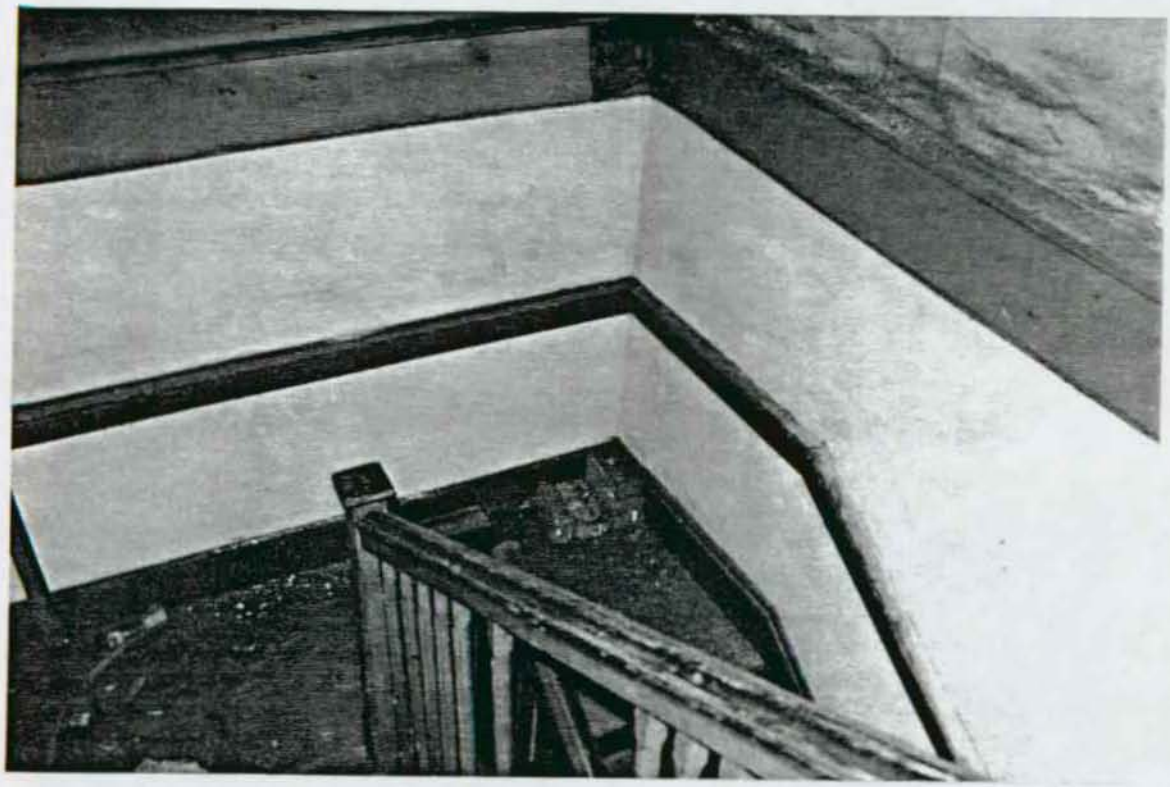
The Hermitage. Detail parlor mantel and cupboard, 1790s section. P. Reed 2/99.



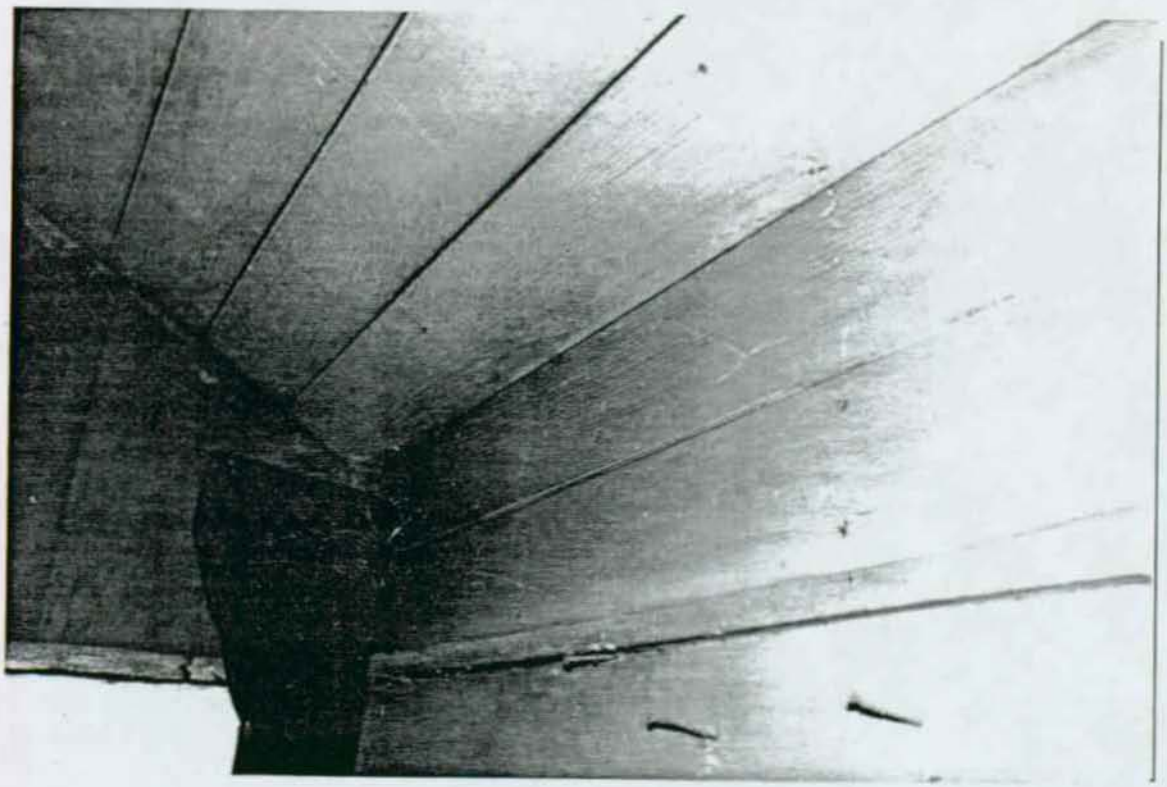
The Hermitage. Parlor, 1790s section, southeast view from fireplace. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Parlor 1790s section, southwest view. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage, stair well from attic with landing between attic and second floor. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage, beaded board ceiling at head of stair well at entrance to attic. P. Reed 2/99.

ends of the risers and cavetto molding under the treads. There are three chamfered balusters per step, supporting a flattened handrail, trimmed with bolection molding above a cavetto. Chairrail with molding matching that of the handrail is attached to all walls. Doors open to rooms on either side of the hall and to the outside, front and back, as well as to the cellar stairs beneath the main stair. The doors have six raised panels with ovalo molding and architraves have a beaded inner edge and ovalo at the outer edge. An unusual feature of the hallway is that the floorboards run side to side, rather than the more typical front to back. This is because the joist system usually runs opposite in the stair hall to help support the staircase. The stairway is finished to the attic, and at the upper level, the original or early paints seem to be intact. The ceilings appear to be high, approximately 10 feet.

To the south of the hallway and part of the same construction is a formal room, clearly intended to be a parlor. Four large windows brighten it, and a fifth was converted to a door, probably in the late 19th or early 20th century. According to the current tenant, whose family has rented the property since the late 19th century, this room was at that time used as a kitchen. The placement of the fireplace in this room is very unusual, being set in the back wall rather than the more typical gable end wall. The mantelpiece retains its original black paint and is in its design a transition between the Georgian and Federal styles. Crossettes embellish an architrave around the plastered firebox. Above, a carved frieze with interlocking repeated swags forms a wave-like pattern of ovals. Above this a molded cornice has ogee and cavetto moldings along the mantelshelf. Also in this room the base boards have their original paint as well as the chairrail in a fawn/gray color. The chairrail, like that in the hallway has bolection molding and cavetto with a bead at the bottom edge. Immediately north of the fireplace is a narrow cupboard. Window jambs extend to the floor and are finished with chairrail and baseboard. The are splayed slightly to allow more light in. The architraves begin at the chairrail to enframe the windows.

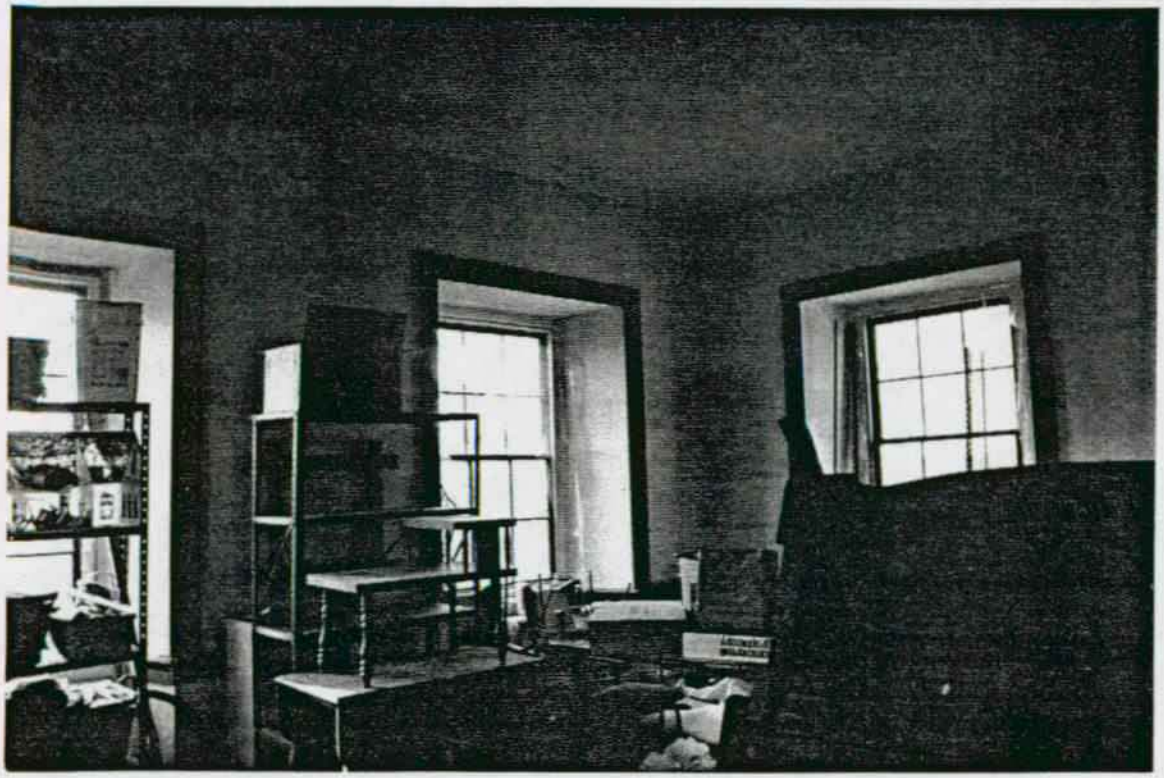
The room directly above at the second story has the same layout, although it is appointed more simply. The mantelpiece, also with its original black paint, has a molded architrave with ovalo molding and a mantelshelf with molded cornice (ogee and cavetto). There is no cupboard. There are five large windows with architraves like those already described, and a raised panel door leading to the hallway.

The north section, dating from the 1820s, consists of four rooms, two up and two down. The chimney rises along the partition between the rooms, providing a fireplace in each room. Chairrail is absent in this part of the house. Doors have six low relief panels, with the panels trimmed with small ogee molding. Architraves have Grecian ogee molding with a rabbet and a bead at the inside edge. Window jambs have flush molded panels defined by a beaded edge. In the front room, the mantelpiece has round freestanding colonettes below a paneled frieze and a molded shelf with Grecian ogee trim. The moldings are very small and delicate. In the rear room to the west, the trim is similar, but the colonettes on the mantelpiece are oval. On the second floor, the trims are similar, bur simpler. The mantelpiece has pilasters rather than freestanding colonettes.

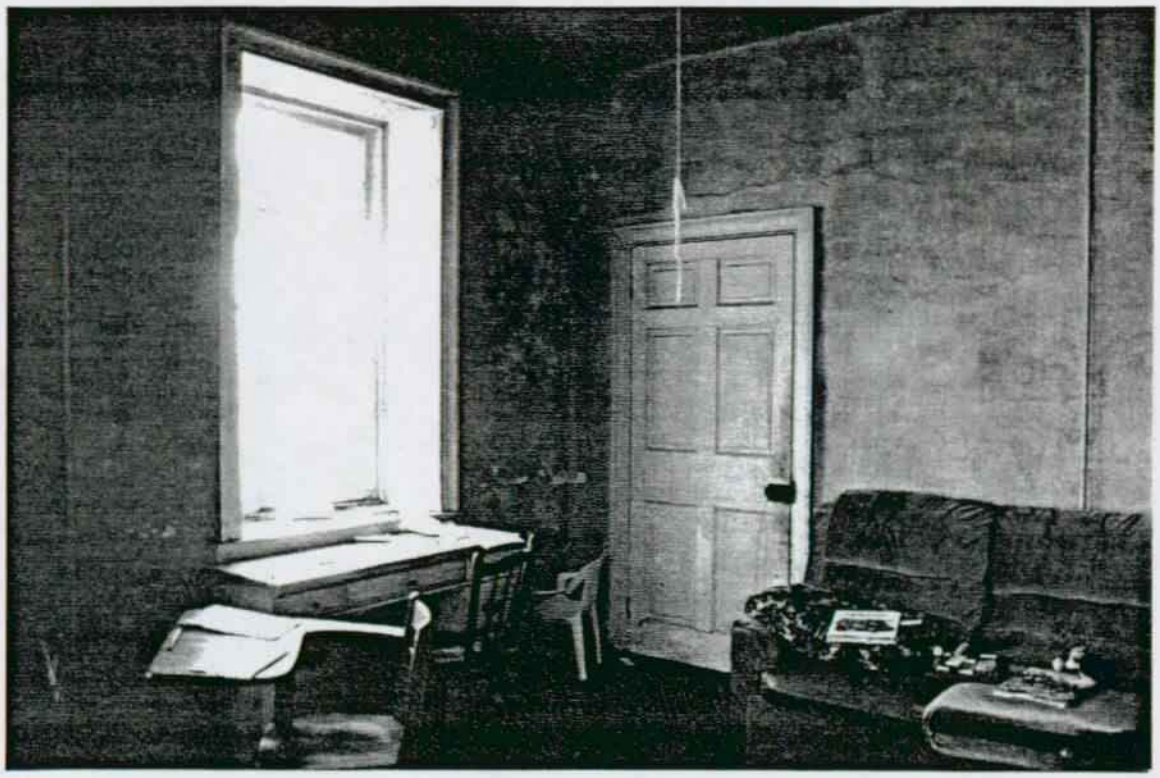
A door in the west wall of the 1820s portion opens into a section of frame infill. It has a closed corner stair in the northeast corner of the room, a window and door to the outside in the north wall, and a window, door and fireplace in the south wall. The fireplace in this room



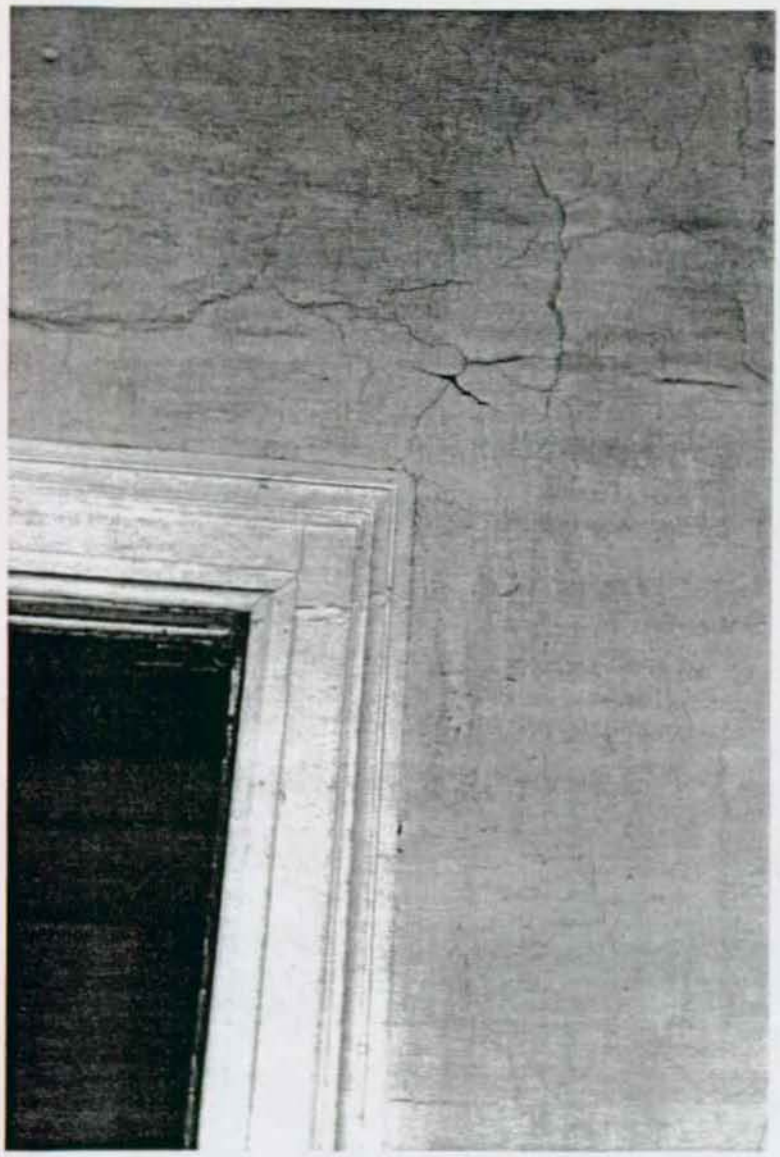
The Hermitage. Second floor, 1790s section, fireplace. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Second floor, 1790s section, southeast view. P. Reed 2/99.



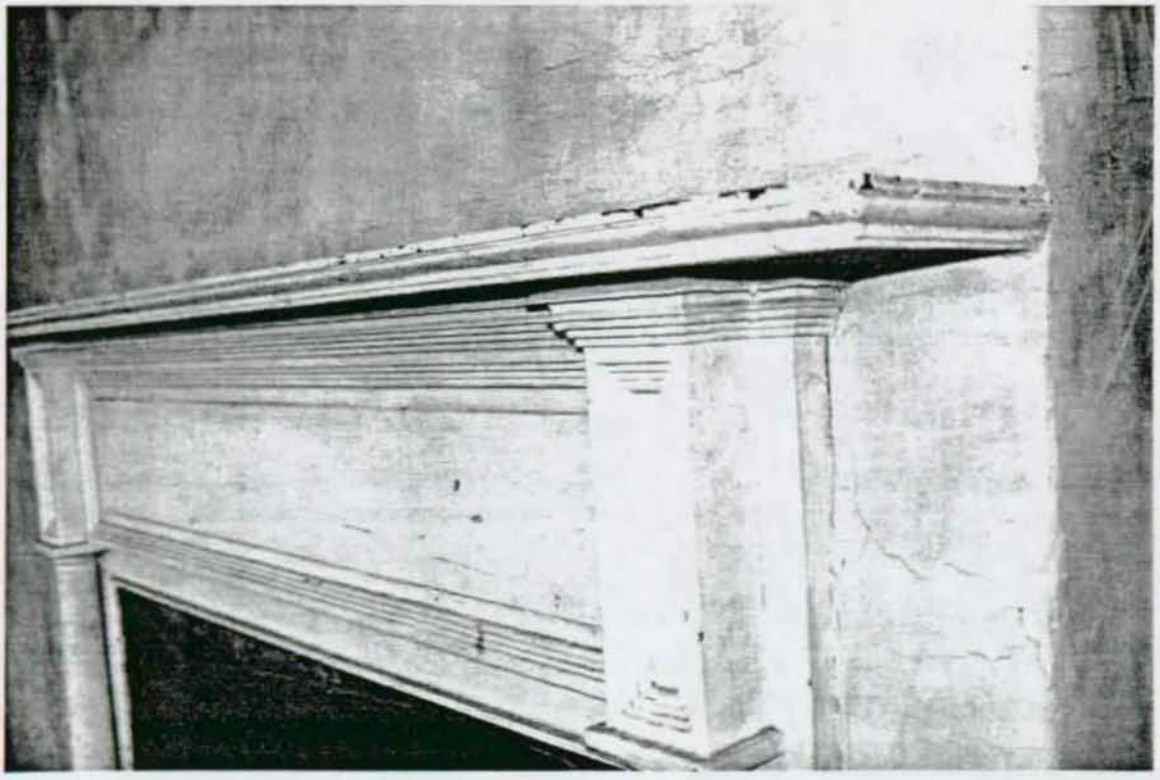
The Hermitage. Addition, 1820s, first floor, northeast room, southeast view. P. Reed 2/99.



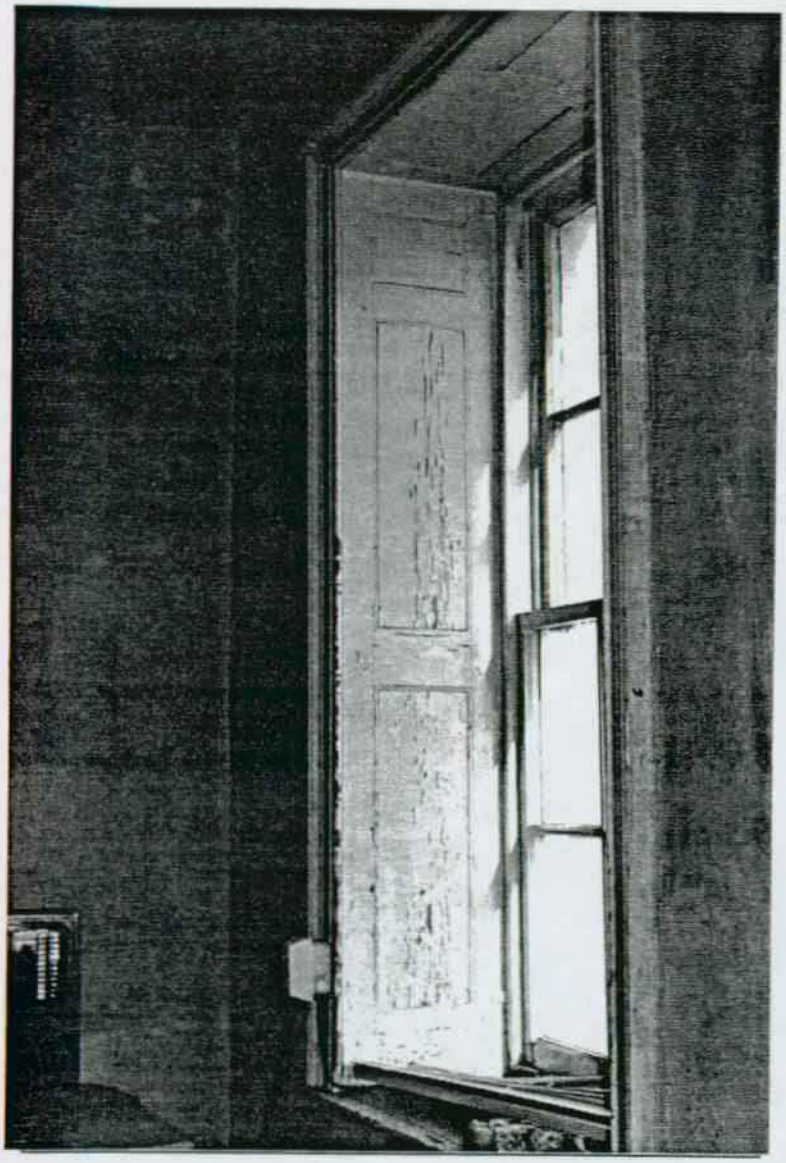
The Hermitage. Detail door architrave, 1820s section, northeast room. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. First floor northeast room, fireplace, west view, 1820s section. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Detail, mantelpiece, 1820s section, first floor, northeast room. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Window woodwork, 1820s section, northeast room, first floor. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Second floor, northeast room, 1820s section. P. Reed 2/99.



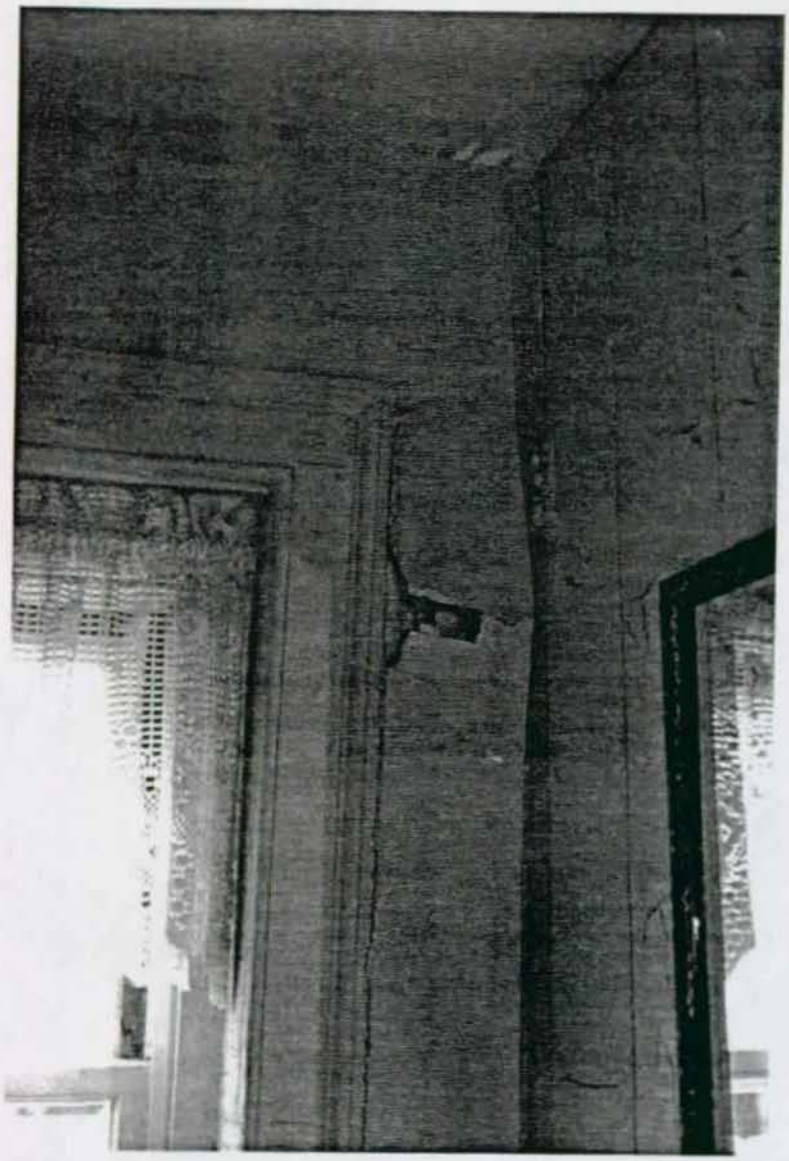
The Hermitage. First floor, northwest room. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Frame extension, mid 19th century, south view. P. Reed 2/99.



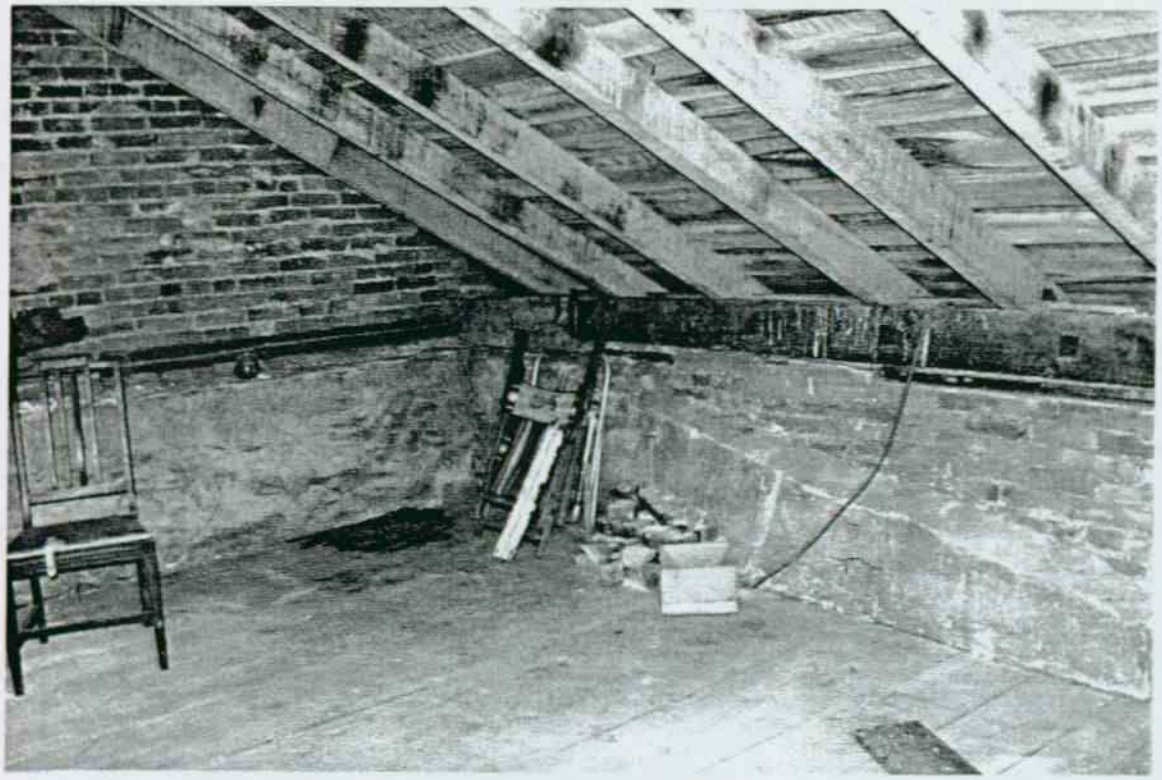
The Hermitage. Log, one story west extension ca. 1790s. Former door, south wall with original architrave. P. Reed 2/99.



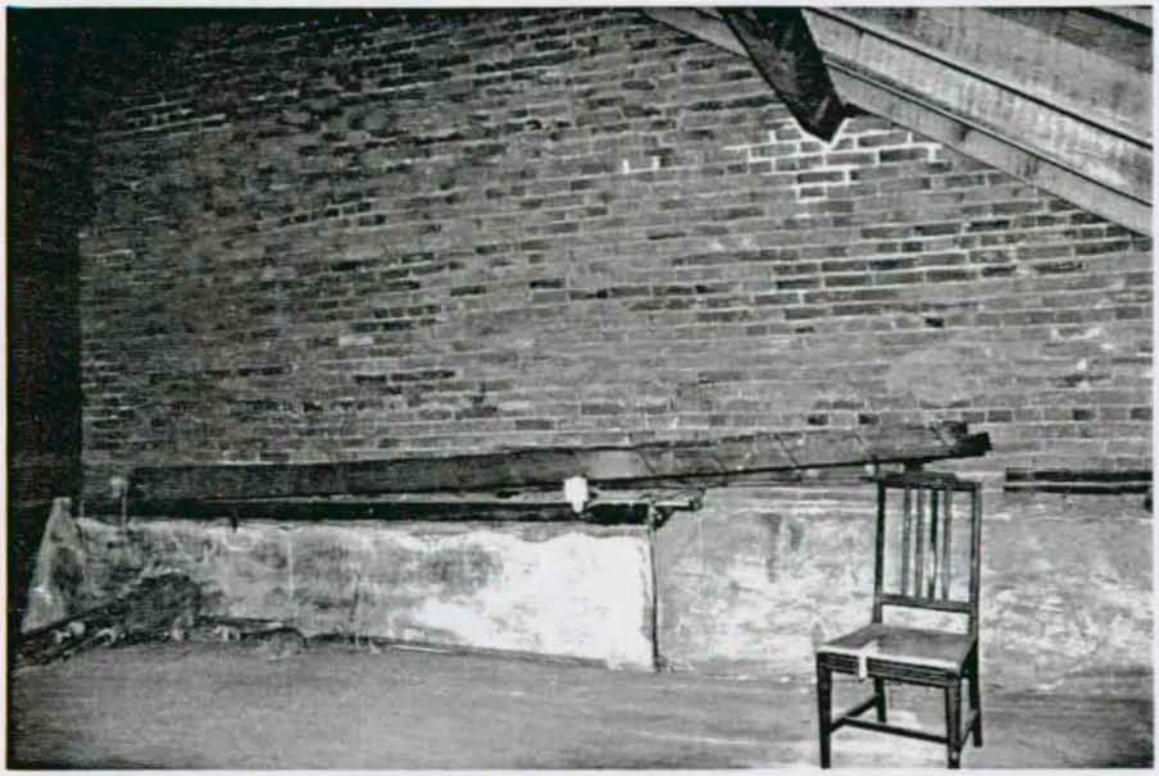
The Hermitage. Detail, 1790s architrave, former door, west log section. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Attic 1790s section. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Attic, 1820s addition. Note parged wall remnants from former shed-roofed extension. P. Reed 2/99.



The Hermitage. Attic 1820s section. Note vertical seam to left of chair marking original northwest corner of 1790s section, and remnant of former north extension predating 1820s extension. P. Reed 2/99.

(which presently serves as a kitchen) has mixed Greek and Gothic Revival influence, of a type common in the 1860s in central Maryland. Simple pilasters flank the fireplace opening which has a frieze outlined with a very shallow Tudor arch. The mantelshelf is curvilinear.

A door from this room opens through a wall made of log, which is the east wall of the log crib. This room was once the kitchen for the main house. It has a door in its north wall, a window in its south wall which was originally a window, converted to a door, then converted back to a window, and a large service fireplace in the west wall. The window retains original 18th century ovalo trim similar to that in the older part of the house. It seems likely that this log section, along with the south brick section, are the earliest remaining components of the house.

The attic over the brick sections reveals much about the construction history of the place. The whole front section was reroofed recently. However, from the attic over the 1820s section, faint evidence in the brick gable of the 1790s section and a seam in the wall extending above the floor level indicate the original end wall profile. The entire north gable of the earlier 1790s section (visible in the attic) was reworked to accommodate the much wider 1820s addition. However, the bricks of the north gable of the 1790s section do not show much evidence of weathering, given that the 1820s part was constructed 20-30 years after the older section. There is also a parged knee wall which extends even with the location of the northwest corner of the 1790s brick section west to the present southwest corner of the 1820s addition, then tapers downward to the north. Brick infill has been placed on top of this to even the west wall of the 1820s section. This modification suggests that some sort of earlier structure was attached to the north wall of the 1790s section and that it extended to the north. To it was attached a section extending to the west the width of the current 1820s section and it had a shed roof, sloping to the north. These structures were almost completely removed when the present 1820s section was built. This scenario is quite conjectural until further detailed investigation of the building happens. Also remaining in the attic is a profile of the original cornice molding and boxing from the west wall of the 1790s brick section.

The 1790s parts of the main house were certainly built by the Vincendieres. The unusual features that make it distinctive among the English and German houses typical of central Maryland may be attributed to the French and French West Indies heritage of the family who built it. The house merits further investigation. The Vincendieres could have built the 1820s addition before they sold it in 1827, or John Brien may have constructed the addition. It is unlikely that this section dates from much after 1830, based on the interior details. Important features of the house are the 18th century woodwork, especially where original paint remains, and the floor plan.

Secondary Dwelling: The second house on the *Hermitage* farm is one that has been called variously "slave quarters" and "frontier log cabin." Written documentation is scanty for this building, and it, like the main house, deserves further detailed study. However, architectural information and written records available to date allow for a plausible theory for the history and function of this house.

The building appears to have been constructed in two parts. First was a one story two room stone dwelling following the English hall and parlor plan. The house faced east and there

was a cellar under the south room, the parlor. The two-room house was built of local limestone laid in neat flat courses. It has a stone chimney in its north gable end, along with a window, no openings on the west elevation, a single window on the south elevation and two doors, one into each room on the east elevation. A partition divides the stone part into two rooms. Later, a brick chimney was added at this partition, giving each room a fireplace. The original fireplace in the stone chimney system has an arched opening, generally indicative of pre-1790 construction in central Maryland. The stone fireplace is large, taking up much of the north end wall. The walls in the stone section were plastered directly on the stone, although much of the plaster has leached away. The ceiling joists are covered with hand-split lath and plaster, but the floor joists beneath them show evidence of whitewash, indicating that they were exposed. In the southeast corner of the north room of the stone section, the hall, is an enclosed staircase to the second floor. The stair enclosure is of stud construction with hand-riven lath and plastered. The partition separating the hall and parlor is partly of the brick central chimney with lath and plaster over studs for the rest. The door leading from the hall to the parlor is located to the east side of the brick chimney. The walls and ceiling of the parlor are plastered, and immediately to the west of the fireplace is a built-in cupboard, although its doors are now missing. The brick firebox in the parlor was plastered and the fireplace had a mantelpiece. It has gone, but its outline remains. Architrave trim surviving on the parlor side of the doorway from the hall is ovalo molding similar to that found in the 1790s section of the main house. The two exterior doors in the east elevation and the windows in the north and south walls no longer have any of their framing.

Sometime after the stone section was completed, but also in the 18th century, a log second story was added. This addition changed the orientation of the house from east-facing to west-facing. The east elevation of the log section has two windows placed close together near the center of the wall. The south gable elevation has one window and another in the gable. The west elevation has two windows opposing those in the east wall, plus a door into the south room. There was also a second door in the west wall into the north room, which gave the west elevation a symmetrical door, window, window, door fenestration pattern. The north door was covered over with lath and plaster on the interior and with the current early 20th century narrow gauge siding on the exterior. There must have been some sort of porch or stair system to provide access to the two west side entrances.

At the time the log second story was added, the stone chimney was extended with brick to accommodate the higher elevation and the central chimney and additional fireplaces were constructed. The interior of the log section contains two rooms. Walls are fully plastered and architraves and trim have ovalo molding like that in the main house. There is a small stair "closet" against the central chimney wall which allowed separate access from each of the upper level rooms to the lower level hall and also to the attic above. In the south room there is a fireplace with its original mantel in place, with a simple shelf and a band of ovalo architrave molding. To the west of the fireplace, constructed along the west wall is a built-in cupboard. It also is trimmed with ovalo molding. There were no openings in the north wall at the upper level. Other openings have been altered in size as indicated by seams in the interior plaster. The present narrow mitered window and doorframes probably date from the late 19th or early 20th century. At that time, original heavy mortised and tenoned frames were probably removed and the north door was probably covered. The present exterior siding was probably put on at this



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling, east elevation, ca. 1760s-1770s, with 1790s log top story. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling, northwest view, ca 1760s-1770s with 1790s log top story. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling, west elevation stone section, ca. 1760s-1770s, log addition ca. 1790s. Note door on left in log section, closed in. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. Detail, west elevation. Note enclosed door. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. North room ground level, ca. 1760s-1770s. Note arched fireplace opening. P. Reed 4/98.



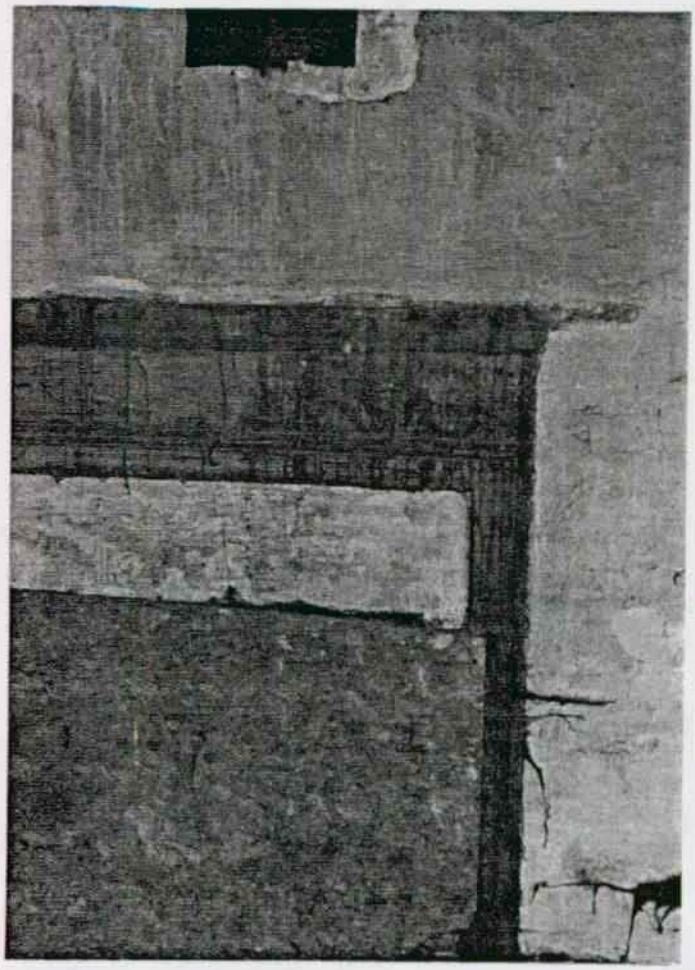
The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. North room, ground floor, enclosed stairs. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, ground level. Note added fireplace, ca. 1790s. P. Reed 4/98.



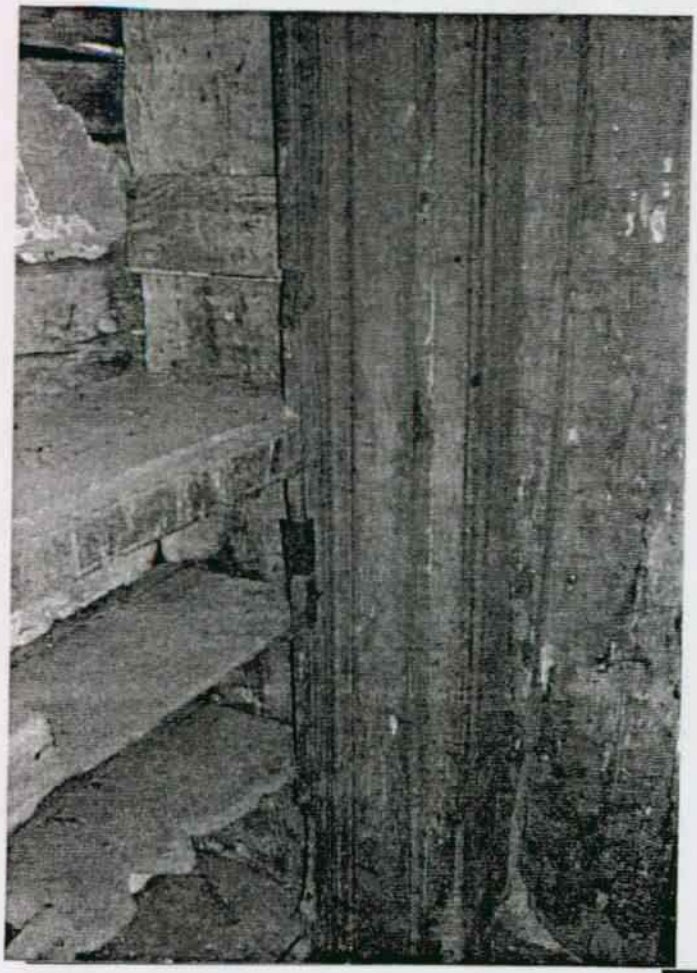
The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, ground floor. Fireplace edge with cupboard. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, second floor. Note 1790s mantelpiece. P. Reed 4/98.



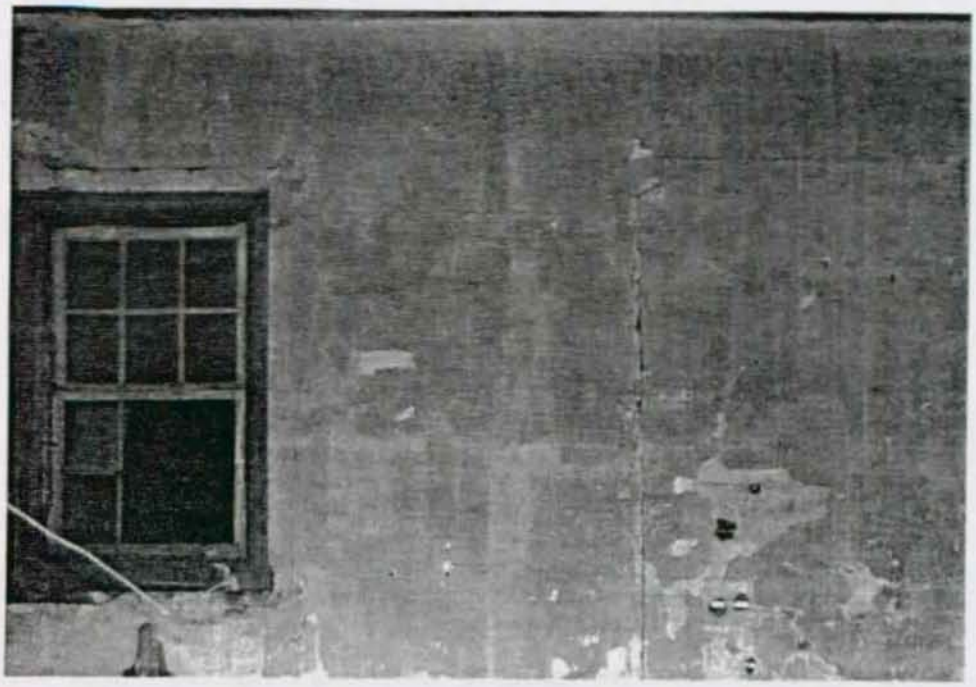
The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, second floor, cupboard. Note 1790s ovalo trim. P. Reed 4/98.



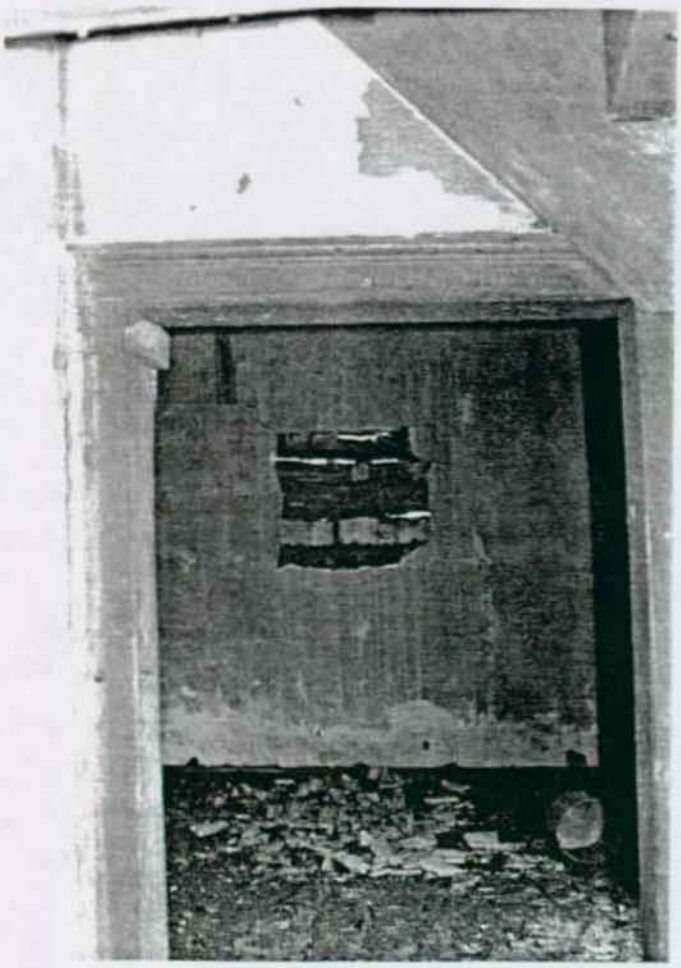
The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, second floor, detail, cupboard. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, second floor, window. Note change of size. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. Second floor, north room, west wall, window. Note outline of door, filled-in, change in size of window, and marks in plaster indicating a peg rail between window and door. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. South room, second floor, looking through stair passage into north room. Note 1790s ovalo molding on architrave. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. Attic construction, ca. 1790s. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. Detail, attic construction ca. 1790s. P. Reed 4/98.



The Hermitage. Secondary dwelling. Attic with central chimney added. P. Reed 4/98.



Araby. Setting, Northwest view from Baker Valley Road. P. Reed 4/98.



Hermitage stone barn. Northwest view. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage stone barn. North view. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage, frame wagon shed/corn crib. Mid 19th century. P. Reed 2/99.



Hermitage, frame wagon shed/corn crib. P. Reed 2/99.

time as well, replacing earlier siding. A standing seam roof may well have been applied at that time, covering earlier wood shingles. This roof was replaced in 1998.

The attic of the log section was not finished. Windows are located in both gable ends and the central chimney rises through the space. An unusual feature is that the rafter plate, instead of being at the same level as the floor joists is placed above, raising the height of the space by the width of one log. Original flooring remains largely intact.

We speculate that the history of this building began with a stone, one story, two room, east-facing dwelling. It followed the English hall and parlor plan and had a exterior stone chimney. It was probably one of the several leasehold improvements on Daniel Dulaney's land, all of which reverted to the owner at the expiration of the lease. It would have met Dulaney's minimum lease requirements of a dwelling with a stone or brick chimney and dimensions of at least 20 x 25 feet. The stone dwelling may have dated from the 1760s or 1770s, contemporary with other known leases on the *Locust Level* property. This would have been an existing improvement on the property when James Marshall acquired it from Dulaney in 1791. (The buildings from the *Hermitage* seem to be on the 291acre part of the property purchased from Marshall in 1798.) When Victoire Vincendiere acquired the property, she apparently immediately began to construct the brick house. The existing stone dwelling was remodeled into quarters for some of her growing number of slaves by the addition of the log section. The new log structure was clearly oriented to the big house with doors opening to face it. Being situated slightly north of the mansion house, the new slave quarters were convenient to the service wing and back buildings, and did not interrupt the view from the main house to the east, toward the river crossing and the highway. The new quarters presented a fairly symmetrical face toward the main house. The place does seem to have had a fair amount of refinement. It had nice moldings, plastered surfaces and trim. It probably was the home of the trusted house servants, close and convenient to their place of work.

According to census records, Victoire had 90 slaves in 1810, 10 years after these buildings were constructed. Except for the few slaves who might have lived in the stone and log secondary dwelling, they did not live in any of the buildings remaining on the property today. The majority of the slaves probably resided in less comfortable and substantial habitations, possibly arranged in a row or rows somewhere between the stone barn and the back of the main house. Additional research and archaeological investigation is needed to determine where the slave housing was located.

The Stone Barn: One of the most unusual features of this very extraordinary complex is the hipped roof stone barn set well behind the other building on the farm. It looks nothing like the barns that are common to the region, which typically had a ramp or bank at the back and a cantilevered forebay. These indigenous barns are generally assumed to be German in origin and are often referred to in contemporary records as "Swisser Barns." The *Hermitage* barn has no ramp, no forebay and no readily apparent exterior access to the upper threshing floor level. It is a rectangular structure with its broad sides facing east and west. The front and rear stone walls are interrupted by broad openings that extend from the ground fully to the roof. These openings are centrally located in the east and west walls. The upper portions of these open areas are currently filled in with vertical board siding. The siding infill may have been constructed like

this recently, or there may have been doors across these openings at one or more levels. In the north end wall, there is a window, with a segmentally arched top. Seams in the stone work indicate that this north end opening was once a door and was partially enclosed. There are no windows or other openings in the south elevation. On the east elevation, there are two vertical vent slits. The walls are constructed of narrow flat courses of local stone. The barn is set on a slightly raised flat area or terrace, which extends eastward in a straight line from the barn to the house. This terraced area seems to be a component of the original construction of the complex.

The barn until recently was used to shelter cattle. Its original use was more likely for crop storage. The overall form of the barn with the hipped roof and stone construction on leveled land is indicative of French traditions. It certainly dates from the Vincendiere occupation of the property, probably the 1790s, and is likely one of the improvements that made the 1798 tax assessment for the property so high in comparison with other assessments in that year. It is probably the building that is referred to as the "old barn" in David Best's Civil War damage claim document. This barn definitely deserves further investigation when it becomes more accessible.

Frame Wagon Shed: Situated approximately halfway between the house and the stone barn is a frame wagon shed and corncrib with a shed extension to the north side. The wagon shed is of timber frame construction and rests on limestone foundation piers. Its gables are set east and west and are open at both ends allowing for an equipment drive-through. The shed is covered with vertical board siding with space between the boards to allow air circulation through the corncrib. The boards are more snugly placed at the gable ends and there are doors within the gable to allow access to the storage area within. This shed is typical of a once numerous outbuilding on central Maryland farms and probably dates from the mid or late 19th century. The wagon shed is in deteriorated condition.

Other Buildings: The complex on the Hermitage also includes a collection of 20th century farm buildings of varying size and function. Among these is a concrete block dairy barn with a gambrel roof that dates from the 1930s or '40s, a modern metal pole barn and numerous frame sheds, coops, hog pens and metal corn cribs. There was a frame bank barn that apparently replaced one that was destroyed during the Monocacy battle. According to NPS information, the barn blew down after 1991 but before the Park service acquired the property in 1993. This barn may be the same structure that was listed as a "new barn" in Frederick County Tax Assessment Records in 1869 on the property for Charles E. Trail.

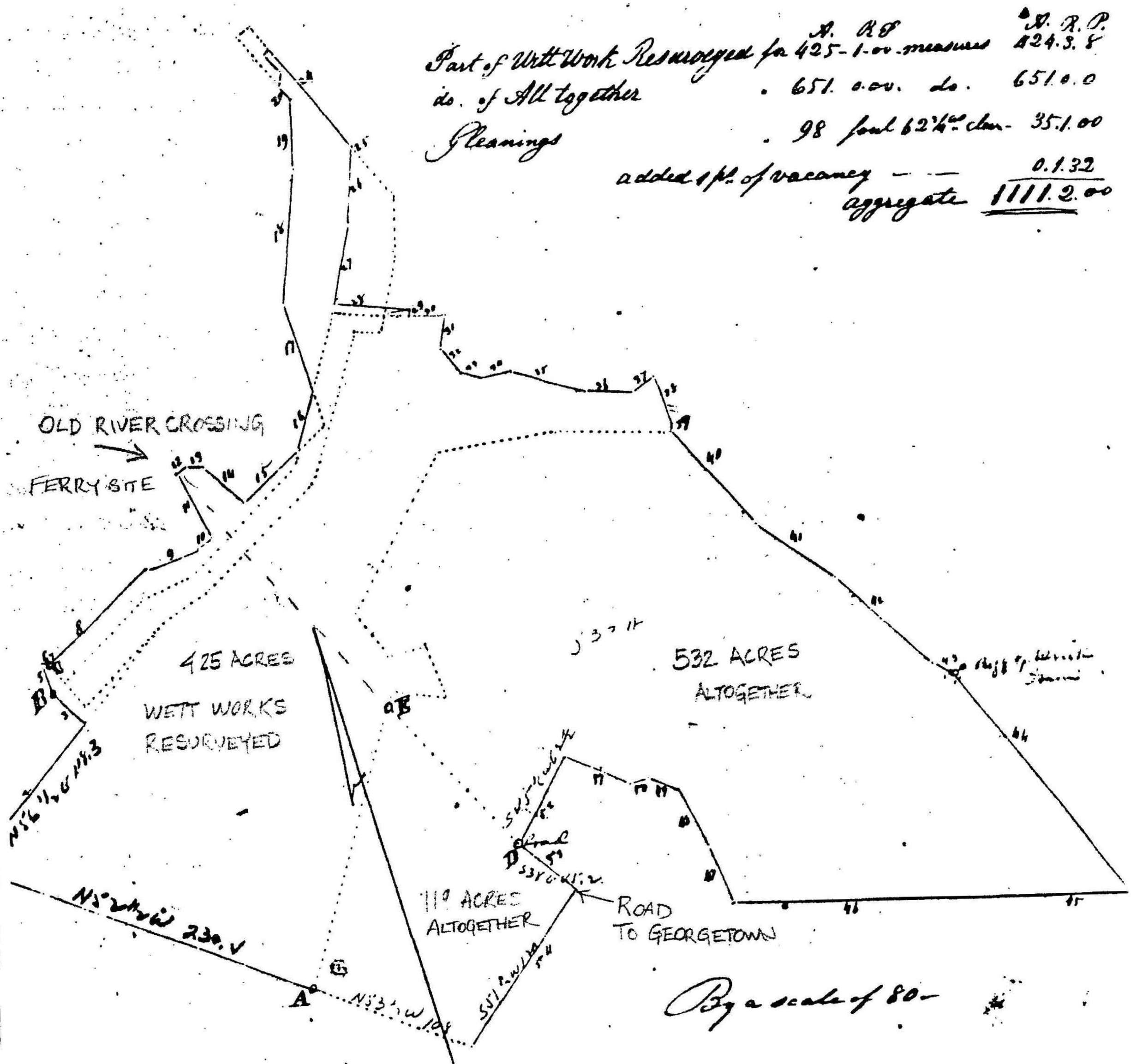
II. Araby

Known as the C.K. Thomas farm during the Battle of Monocacy, *Araby* was a tract of 1,111 ½ acres, assembled by John McPherson and resurveyed by John McPherson, Jr. and renamed "*Araby*" in 1832. It is mostly made up of land grants called "*Wet Work*" and "*Altogether*." It seems that most of today's Araby farm is on the original land grant, "*Wet Work*." According to Dr. Grace L. Tracey and John P. Dern in Pioneers of Old Monocacy, *Wet Work* was the 30th survey made in Frederick County, for land speculator John Abington, in 1730.

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433
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Lime Kiln
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527
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MONOCACY
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Buckeystown
Brick Kilns
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Michaels Mill
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Hope Hill
Hope Hill Cem
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Branch
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Claggett Diocesan Center
482

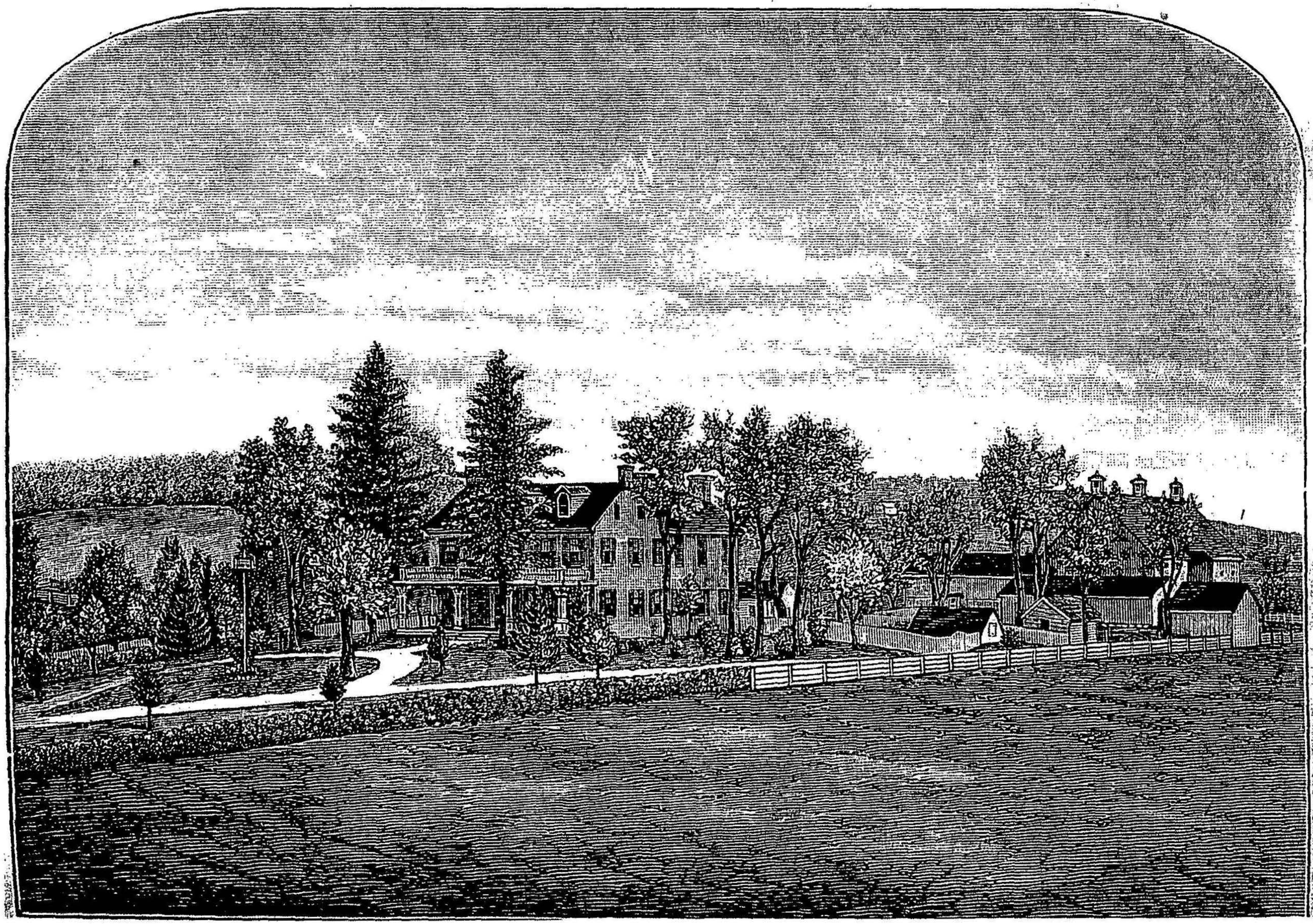
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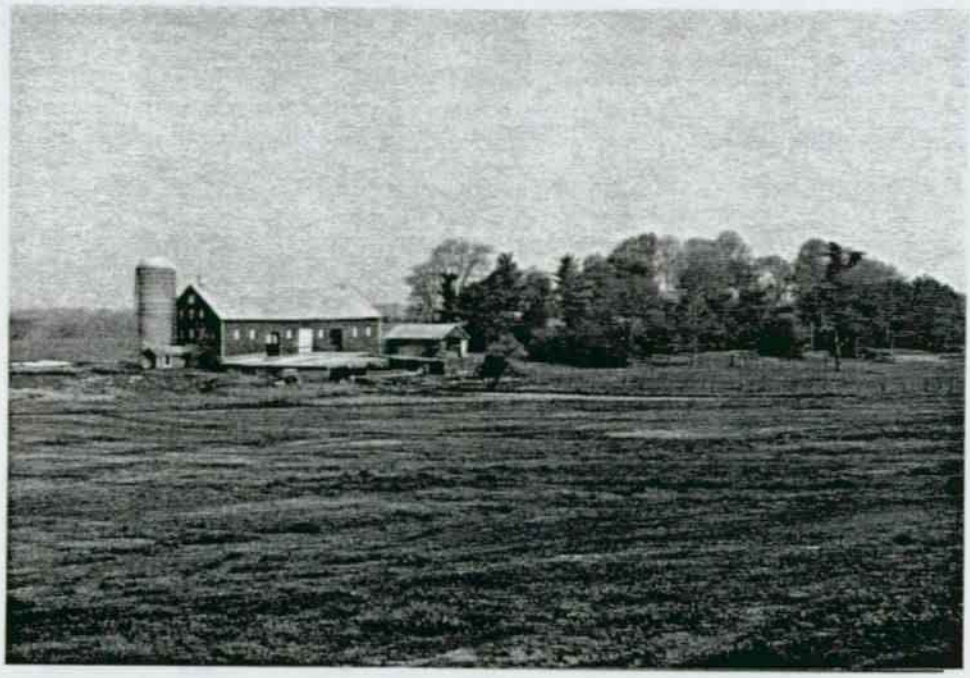


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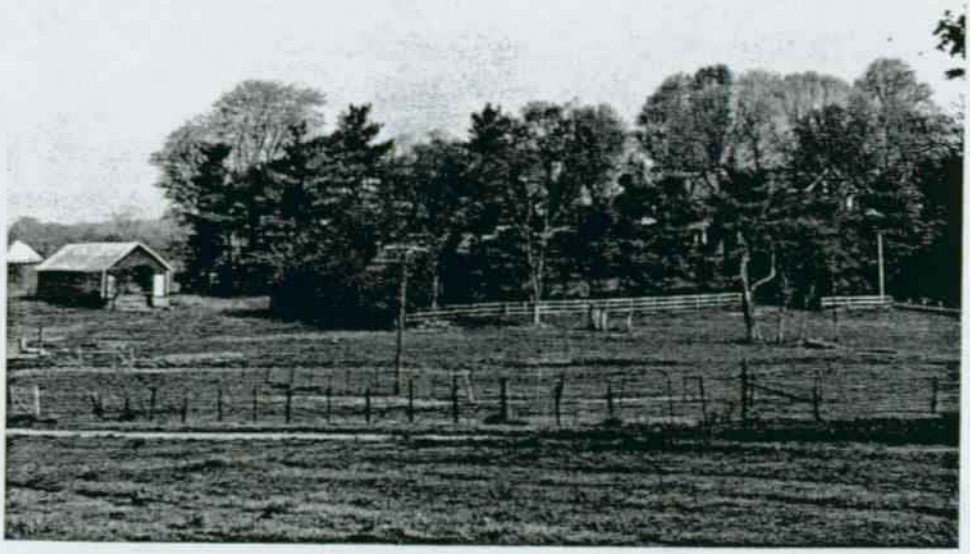
he State of Maryland to wit: By virtue of a special warrant of Resurvey, bearing date the 6th of tober 1831 granted out of the western shore land office to Dr. Wm Willcoxy of Frederick Co. resurvey the following parcels of land lying and being in the county aforesaid and contig us to each other viz: 89 ac. in two parts of "Brothers Good Will" originally on the 7th day October 1754 granted James Hawkins for 600 ac. 159 ac. part of "Fieldens Manor" orig: ly on the 27th day of October 1762 granted Fielden Gantt for 8151 ac. - 8¾ ac. called "The ble purchase, originally on the day of granted for ac.



FROM THOMAS J. SCHARF, HISTORY OF WESTERN MARYLAND



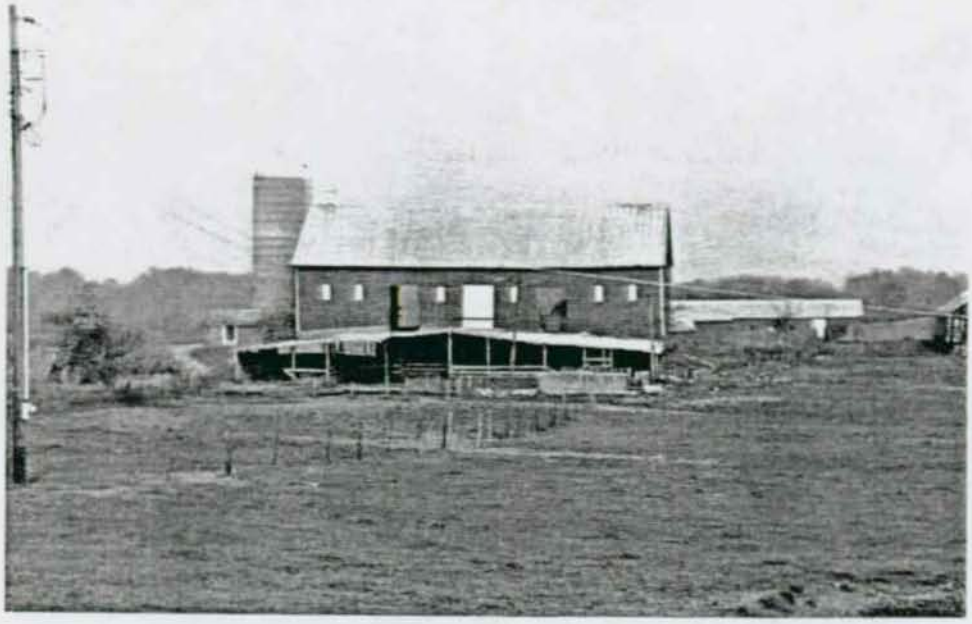
Araby. Setting. Northwest view from Baker Valley Road. P. Reed 4/98.



Araby. Setting. Northwest view from Baker Valley Road. House partially visible at right. P. Reed 4/98.



Araby. Barn and wagon shed. West view. P. Reed 4/98.



Araby. Barn, west view. P. Reed 4/98.

On November 3, 1729, John Abington had "Wett Work" surveyed. (ref. C/S: AM 1: 311). Its 1,400 acres were located along the east side of the Monocacy River, crossed today by Interstate Highway I-270 between State Routes 80 and 355. Abington devised his share of "Wett Work," which he had taken up in partnership with surveyor George Noble, to his son Andrew and the remainder to Noble's heirs. In 1759 a large portion was reconveyed to James Marshall (ref. Frederick County Land Records F: 654) who had a resurvey made on January 1, 1797. (ref. C/S: IC4: 206). There he built a brick mansion, which is still standing. By his 1799 will Marshall directed that his lands be sold and recommended that his 'esteemed friends, Norman Bruce and his son Upton Bruce' assist the executors. John McPherson's 1832 "Araby" of 111 [sic] acres was a further resurvey...(ref C/S: GGB 2: 388).

Wett Work was a long narrow strip of land, which extended from a bend in the Monocacy near the present railroad track south along the east side to a place approximately opposite Buckeystown. The piece of land is hook-shaped, and excludes Brooks Hill, which hugs the east bank of the river for the length of approximately a mile. Adjacent to *Wett Work* and the river was a tract called "*Arcadia*," which also extended across to the west side of the river. *Arcadia* was a grant of 881 acres made to James Marshall in 1793. Most of that land eventually became the property of Col. John McPherson, Sr.

James Marshall was a Scottish merchant, who from the above information established an early presence in Frederick County. His will was made in 1799 and proved in 1803. According to land records, Marshall was actively acquiring lands of *Wet Work* in 1759 and 1760. In these early recordings, his occupation is listed as "merchant." In one out conveyance dated 1778, James Marshall is identified as "farmer." He apparently lived somewhere on the property. In 1800, census records list him in the Frederick Town District, in a household that included 4 people and 16 slaves. He did maintain contacts with family in Glasgow and returned to Scotland for at least seven months in 1771. He left provisions for these people in his will. In the 1798 tax assessment for Frederick County, James Marshall is assessed for "*Wett Work Resurveyed*" with 1,066 acres valued at $2,150. The property was improved with a sawmill, but there was no added value for "new improvements since the last assessment." Thus the total assessed amount remained $2,150. Like his neighbor Victoire Vincendier across the river, his valuation was among the highest in the listings. Values under $500 seem to be the norm. Therefore, there must have been fairly substantial improvements on the property pre-existing the 1798 tax, and so not considered as new valuations.

James Marshall's will reveals that he wanted his property to be sold. He says, "But in case that such sale or sales of my lands should not be made within one year after my decease in that case my Executors may Divide my said lands into convenient parts and Divisions and after giving Public Notice of the sale thereof as aforesaid the lands so Divided may be exposed to Public Sale by Divisions to the highest bidder..." Marshall thus provides for the subdivision of his land if necessary.

Marshall's will continues, "And Whereas I have sundry Negroes and other Personal Property, my will is that such Negroes and other Personal Property (except what is yet herein to

be excepted) Shall be sold at Public Sale...I give to my Sisters Janet, Elizabeth and Susanna Marshall in Glasgow one hundred pounds sterling...I give to the children or heirs of my Uncle William Marshall [living in and about Glasgow] two hundred twenty five pounds Sterling...for Sundry sums that I believe he paid for me in 1771 as also for my note for forty three pounds Sterling then passed to him in Glasgow—I give to my cousin Mr. Claud Marshall writer in Glasgow & to his heirs Sixty pounds Sterling for my Entertainment at his house for seven months in the year 1771—Now, Whereas I have five children living with me on my land by the names of Chloe Marshall, William Marshall, Mary Marshall, Eleanor Marshall & Mary Ann Marshall..." (In the 1800 census record, William Marshall is listed as living alone in the Buckeystown Election District.) Marshall gave to daughters Mary and Mary Ann, each 500 pounds current money, and a good bed and all the furniture for it. Mary Ann was also given a mulatto girl named Maria, daughter of Mulatto Jane, until she reached the age of 25—Maria was seven at the time. (He gave Jane her freedom, twenty pounds, a bed and bedclothes and a new suit of clothes). Half of the rest of his estate he gave to Chloe and William divided equally between them. William also got all of the goods and furniture "he now has in my house at the ferry, also one Negro man named Joe." Chloe received in addition, one good bed and all furniture, Marshall's silver watch and a Negro boy named Jack, son of Rachel. Then, he gave the other half of his estate to "my Dear Daughter Eleanor Marshall," along with the remainder of his household goods, "silver plate of all kinds," his gold watch, all of his framed and glazed prints, a Negro boy named Israel, son of Esther, and another Negro boy named Ned, son of Jane along with what of his books she chose. William, Chloe and Eleanor were named as executors.

The will reveals a good bit about James Marshall. His favorite child appears to be Eleanor, the only one to whom he refers as "dear." She certainly was bequeathed the greater part of his estate. Marshall had amenities of a prosperous life with "framed and glazed prints" and several beds with their full complement of furniture (hangings). There was a separate house at the ferry. This ferry was probably at the crossing on the old Georgetown Road, just south of the present bridge (its location is indicated by a notch in the property outlines for *Araby* and for the *Hermitage*). No further information has been located about the ferry or the house that was there, although it is marked on Charles Varlé's 1808 map of Frederick and Washington Counties. Since the ferry site is well marked on the land plats, archaeological investigation may reveal more about the site of these resources. The notch in the land plats for *Araby* and the *Hermitage* puts the crossing place into the *Araby* tract. The house at the ferry would probably have been, therefore, on the east side, since the cut out notch in the boundary extends only to the west side riverbank.

Oddly, it seems that none of the Marshall women were married. All of the devisees, both here and in Scotland retained their maiden names. Eleanor did eventually marry John L. Harding, who owned adjoining property.

Despite the indications in the will, Chloe eventually acquired 910 acres of the 1,278 of her father's *Resurvey on Wett Work*. In August 1806, Chloe acquired the property at public sale, for a sum of $18,100.00 after having first renounced executorship for the estate. In addition to the 910 acres of the *Wett Work* resurvey, the purchase included "also all that part of a tract of land called '*Arcadia*' lying in Frederick County next adjoining the ferry formerly owned by the said James Marshall deceased on the river Monococy [sic] which is reversed [reserved?] to him

the said James Marshall in his deed made to Arthur Shaaff bearing date on or about the ninth day of May eighteen hundred and one."[19] This latter piece of land is a small tract adjoining the land Marshall sold to Victiore Vincendiere in 1798, and would have been adjacent to the ferry on the Georgetown Road. The deed further specifies that the remainder of the land conveyed by Marshall to Shaaf in 1801 is excepted in the deed to Chloe. Apparently the small piece near the ferry had been mistakenly included in the 1801 deed to Shaaf.

Chloe died shortly after completing the purchase of her father's land. Her will was dated March 1, 1807 and probated May 20, 1807.[20] In her will she left to her brother William "all the lands I hold or am seized with lying in Frederick County and state aforesaid being the land conveyed to me by the Acting Executors of the last will and Testament of my father James Marshall (Deceased)." There was no reference to what the land was.

In August, 1812, William P. Marshall sold to Colonel John McPherson "the whole real estate devised in fee to him the said William P. Marshall by his sister Chloe Marshall..." The price paid was $25,250.00 and there was no specific description of the land, but it is indicated as 410 acres.[21] Chloe sold some of the land in 1806, immediately after her purchase to sister and brother-in-law, Eleanor and John L. Harding. In fact, the whole sale to Chloe in 1806 may have simply been a mechanism for the executors to carry out the terms of their father's will—to sell the property—and at the same time to purchase it for themselves. Chloe may have withdrawn from the executorship in order to become the purchaser, and then reconvey the property to her siblings, the Hardings and William Marshall. The records are not clear in the matter of these transactions and more research needs to be done.

While the Marshall lands are thus snarled, Thomas Johnson, former governor and one of the iron dynasty of Johnsons, had land called "*Altogether*" created from a group of earlier surveys to him and to others in a "Patent of Confirmation" in 1805. Altogether contained 4,289 ½ acres and was located to the east and north of *Wett Work*. Then, Johnson began selling off portions of the assembled tracts. Some of these eventually become part of the *Araby* tract and part of the "H. Lewis" farm.

Thomas Johnson, the first Governor of Maryland, was born in 1732, and died on October 26, 1819, at the home of his son-in-law, John Graham in Frederick. In addition to his political career, he was actively engaged in the iron industry with his brothers James, Baker and Roger. They had operations along Bush and Catoctin Creeks.[22] The Johnsons also had an iron furnace near the mouth of the Monocacy. We surmise that some of the holdings that eventually became "*Altogether*" in 1805 included the Bush Creek iron operation. At Bush Creek, the Johnsons had a forge, rather than a furnace, such as they had at Catoctin and at the mouth of the Monocacy. We also surmise that the Thomas Johnson who was selling off pieces of *Altogether* in the early 1800s was Thomas, the Governor, rather than his son, Thomas. In 1810, the former governor would have been 78 years old, in failing health, and probably ready to dispose of his property.

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[19] Frederick County Land Records WR 29, page 362-366.
[20] Will Book GMRB 1/275.
[21] Frederick County Land Records WR 43/185.
[22] Scharf, p. 389, 392.

In 1810, Thomas Johnson sold 532 acres of *Altogether* to John McPherson for $4,788.00.[23] Considering that two years later McPherson paid more than $25,000.00 for the Marshall land with fewer acres, this Johnson piece probably had no valuable improvements.

Then in 1819, John L. Harding (husband of Eleanor Marshall), sold to John McPherson, *Junior*, part of *Altogether*, 119 acres, for $3808.00. This is part of a 200-acre parcel of *Altogether*, which Harding acquired from Henry Bantz on May 19, 1810. Bantz had acquired 600 acres of *Altogether* from Thomas Johnson in 1810. This deed is particularly interesting because it in great detail releases Harding's right to water from a spring, which he piped to his distillery:

> John McPherson and his heirs and assigns shall and may at any time hereafter have the right priviledge use and benefit of the water of the spring which lays [sic] near to and on the south side of the second line of the piece or parcel of land herein before described and hereby intended to be conveyed and which is the same spring from which the said John L. Harding now doth or lately did carry the water from said spring in pipes to supply and keep in operation the distillery on the said land and the said John McPherson his heirs and assigns shall have all and every right and priviledge to lay pipe or pipes into the said spring, and from thence extend the said pipes from the said spring so as to carry the water thereby on any part of his farm as he the said John McPherson or his heirs or assigns may think proper, that then and in such case the said John McPherson, his heirs or assigns shall and will let in such overplus of the water into its present and natural water course at the place where the water now crosses the aforesaid line below the distillery aforesaid, and the said John McPherson and his heirs or assigns may at all times hereafter have a free and uninterrupted right and priviledge of entering on and into the land of the said John L. Harding at or near the place where the aforesaid pipes are now laying (by which the said John L. Harding now does or lately did carry the water to the aforesaid distillery) for he purpose of raising or taking up the present pipes or for repairing or cleansing the same or for any other purpose which may be thought necessary for more effectively carrying the water from the said spring into the land herein before described and hereby intended to be conveyed...nor shall he or they or either of them carry or conduct the water of said spring in any other way or direction whatever than the way the same is now or may hereafter be carried or conducted by the said John McPherson...neither shall the said John L. Harding, his heirs or assigns, at any time hereafter make use of the water in said spring in any other way than that of family use (that is) in case he or they shall at any time hereafter build at or near the said spring and that then and in such case he and they shall only have as much of the said spring water as may be sufficient for drinking and for the use of the kitchen...[24]

One of the boundary lines for this piece of property ran along the edge of the road from Frederick to Georgetown, and is shown in a dotted line in the plat of Araby when the property

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[23] Frederick County Land Records WR 38/177-178.
[24] Frederick County Land Records JS 9/459-462.

was resurveyed by McPherson when he inherited it from his father. It is a diamond shaped piece south of the turnpike on the southeast corner of the *Araby* tract, and it eventually came to be known by the National Park Service as the "Lewis Farm". It is not clear whether the younger McPherson intended to operate the distillery or another business on the premises. There is no mention of the distillery in the property conveyed, only in the water rights discussion. In the 1800 and the 1810 census records, John L. Harding, the seller, is listed as heading a household of nine people and one slave. In the 1825 tax assessment for Frederick County, John L. Harding is listed with 500 acres, part of *Wett Work* (that which came from his wife's father, James Marshall), 81 acres of *Altogether* and 5 acres of *New Breman*. The 81 acres of *Altogether* would be the remainder of the 200 he purchased from Bantz in 1810, having sold 119 acres of it to McPherson in 1819. All of this was in the Buckeystown Election District where Harding lived. However, by 1830, census records have Harding living in Frederick Town with a household of 10 people and 5 slaves. (Much of the Harding land eventually became the Baker and Worthington farms.)

These properties purchased by John McPherson and his son John, eventually were resurveyed to form *Araby*. Colonel John McPherson, the elder died on October 21, 1829. The property that was to become *Araby* was devised by will to John McPherson, the son, except for portions he already owned. McPherson (the younger) then commissioned a resurvey of the various tracts, creating *Araby* with 1111 ½ acres. The resurvey and its attached plat show the property, the Georgetown Road and the ferry area. Research already compiled indicated that John McPherson the younger, who was married to Fanny Johnson, granddaughter of Thomas Johnson, the governor, established the mill at *Araby* in 1830, about the time of the construction of the B & O Railroad. He may, however, have had plans for some industry on the property earlier, since he bought and so carefully recorded the water rights associated with the distillery that John L. Harding formerly operated. The *Araby* mill was designed to be a merchant mill and probably was created with the new rail service in mind for a profitable operation of buying local grain and selling processed flour in Baltimore.

The warrant that led to the creation of *Araby* occurred on the 5th of September, 1831 and is recorded in Survey Record THO 1, pages 434-437, the plat from which is included in this report. Its purpose, according to the survey document, was to resurvey 425 acres, part of a tract called "*Wett Works Resurveyed*," 532 acres, part of "*Altogether*," and 119 acres, also part of "*Altogether*," 37 ¾ acres, part of "*the Gleanings*," amend all errors and add contiguous vacancy. The result was 1,111 ½ acres "resurveyed the 19th day of April, 1832 and called 'Araby.'" The *Araby* plat from the 1832 resurvey was drawn at the same scale as the modern USGS quad map for the same area. The plat can be overlaid upon the USGS for a good look at how all the pieces of *Araby* fit together on today's landscape.

In the 1825 tax assessment, Col. John McPherson (the father), is listed with lands, part of "*Rocky Creek*," a brick house, a barn and grist mill, 335 acres, and part of "*Locust Level*" with a large brick house and stone barn, 549 acres. These properties would have been on the west side of the river, probably along Ballenger Creek and in the vicinity of the junction of today's I-70 and US-340. *Rocky Creek* was one of the early land grants of Frederick County, originally surveyed in 1725. It was mapped in the studies by Dr. Grace Tracey along with other early surveys in the Monocacy area. *Rocky Creek* adjoined *Taskers Chance* on its north and *Locust*

Level on its east. It lies west of the Monocacy Battlefield study area. The 1798 tax assessment listed Col. McPherson with a "new Brick House and Kitchen" on the *Rocky Creek* tract. Census records for 1830 show John McPherson (the younger, since father died in 1829) living in Frederick Town with a household of five with one slave and three free blacks. In 1840, he is still listed as living in Frederick City, but with six people and six slaves. Therefore, if John McPherson lived at *Araby*, and written sources say that he did, it must have been for a relatively short time between 1830 and 1840, unless he continued to maintain his principal residence in Frederick, using *Araby* as a country retreat. According to HABS documentation for the Gambrill Mill property, McPherson built the complex of mills known as *Araby* in 1830.

Sadly, all did not go well for the McPhersons. By 1844 John McPherson and his wife Fanny were deeply in debt. The debt may have been generated by failure of the iron business that John McPherson was involved with through both his father, Col. John McPherson, and his father-in-law, Thomas Johnson. On August 31, 1840, the Baltimore American published notice of the sale of Catoctin Furnace and Antietam Iron Works. Perhaps the economic troubles were part of the larger slump occurring nationwide in the late 1830s and early 1840s. In February of 1844 in a deed of trust, John McPherson and Fanny R., his wife, conveyed to William R. Ross, attorney and trustee, their real estate and personal property to sell for the payment of debts.[25] This transaction sets into motion the break-up of *Araby*. William Ross, the attorney, was also a cousin of Mrs. McPherson, the former Fanny Johnson. He was a grandson of Col. Baker Johnson who was Fanny Johnson's great-uncle.[26] Equity case No. 1985, which contains records pertaining to the transfer of property in trust to William Ross, lists the McPherson debt as $72,668.31. Among the records was a bill to William Ross from Thomas H. O'Neal for surveying and platting *Araby* in April and May 1844, 18 days of work. There was also an invoice from David Boyd for $26.19 "for clothing Negros." It included muslin, plaid cotton, stripe cotton, thread and buttons. In the 1840 Census Records McPherson had six slaves. (Despite their economic woes, the McPhersons seem to have managed well and recouped some of their losses, although they lost *Araby*.)

It was not long after William Ross took over the handling of the McPherson debt that he sold parts of *Araby* to various buyers. The "*Mansion House Farm*" with the brick house built by James Marshall was sold in two parcels to Worthington R. Johnson on April 23, 1844, for $15,302.00.[27] The parcels were 226 acres and 51 acres. These same two parcels were sold on August 4, 1847 to Isaac Baugher for $14, 841.51.[28] Also on August 14th 1847, Worthington Johnson sold another 33 acres of the *Mansion House Farm* to Isaac Baugher.[29] This small piece of land was along the river, next to Griffin Taylor's right-of-way to Clifton Farm and had been purchased by Worthington Johnson from William Ross in April of 1847. (Clifton was located on the southern part of *Araby* and was accessed by a lane that extended from the Georgetown Pike southward to the property. It, too, had been sold off of *Araby* in 1847 and is discussed in the *Worthington Farm* section of this report.) The *Araby Mill* property containing 66 acres was sold

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[25] Frederick County Land Record H.S. 21/ Page 26.
[26] Scharf, p. 454.
[27] Frederick County Land Record WBT 4, page 25.
[28] Frederick County Land Record WBT 5/226.
[29] Frederick County Land Record WBT 5/230.

separately to Elias Crutchley in 1844. According to HABS documentation prepared by Philip E. Pendleton, Historian, in the summer of 1991 for the Gambrill House,

> An insurance survey taken in that year [1844] at Crutchley's behest, preserved in the collection of the Mutual Insurance Company of Frederick County, showed that the Araby gristmill was a three-story merchant flour mill built of stone, forty-five feet long by forty feet wide, and fitted with two pairs of burr (flour-milling) stones and a single water wheel.... The complex also included a sawmill on a stone foundation, fifty feet by fifteen feet, and a "chopping and plaster mill," a two-story stone building, fifty feet by twenty feet, housing water-powered machines for making animal feed and for grinding gypsum into fertilizer [and also plaster, perhaps]. The two latter buildings were attached and were served by a single water wheel. The gearing throughout the mill complex was made of wood. Next to the mills stood the dwelling for the miller, a one and a half story stone house, thirty-four feet by twenty feet, with an attached one-story stone kitchen, nineteen and a half feet by sixteen feet. In John McPherson's time the Araby miller had probably generally been an individual who ran the mills on a basis of an agreement to share the proceeds with the owner. The roofs of all the buildings in the complex were covered with oak shingles save that of the merchant mill, which was roofed with cypress shingles.[30]

Further information on the *Araby Mill* and the *Gambrill House* will be found in the HABS Report, and is included here by reference, since the focus of this report is on properties not previously studied.

Worthington Johnson owned only the northwestern portion of *Araby* with the mansion house farm and he retained it only for three years before selling it to Isaac Baugher in 1847. He, like Ross, was related to the McPhersons. Worthington Johnson was a grandson of Col. Baker Johnson who was brother of Governor Thomas Johnson. Therefore, Worthington Johnson, William Ross and Fanny McPherson were cousins.[31]

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[30] Philip H. Pendleton, HABS Report, Gambrill House, 1991, p. 6.

[31] Scharf, p. 454. Family members in Worthington Johnson's household listed in the 1850 census also suggest the familial relationship. In that census he is listed in the Frederick Election District (*Araby* is in the Urbana district, but it was not created yet.). In 1850, Worthington Johnson was listed as a farmer, age 48. In his family was Ross Johnson, age 21, a lawyer; Matilda McPherson, 50, insane; Margaret Nokes, 50; Elizabeth Nokes, 30, insane and Mary Perry, 26, black. His property was valued at $25,875, but this was not *Araby*, since he had already sold that in 1847. In 1840, Worthington Johnson was in the same election district in a household, which included seven people, one "other free" and 13 slaves. In 1835, according to the Frederick County Tax assessment of that year, Worthington Johnson was living on part of *Locust Level* (this is west of the river) on a farm of 320 acres with a roughcast (stuccoed) house and stone barn. In 1852 he was assessed for 177 ½ acres "with improvements" valued at $10,350.00. The 1850 Agricultural Census for Frederick Election District shows Worthington Johnson with 305 acres improved land and 15 acres unimproved, valued at $25,600. He had eight horses, 11 milch cows, 12 cattle, 115 sheep, 38 swine valued at $1,242.00. Also on the farm were 1,068 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of rye, 1,100 bushels of Indian corn 20 bushels of oats, 40 bushels of Irish potatoes, 40 pounds of wool, $10 worth of orchard products, a $10 market garden, 750 pounds of butter, 35 tons hay, nine bushels of clover seed, three bushels other grass and one pound of hops. Farm implements were valued at $300.00. In the 1850 slave census, Worthington Johnson in the Frederick Election District is listed with three slaves, 27 and 14 year old males and a 17-year old female. With these substantial holdings elsewhere, Worthington Johnson probably never lived on *Araby*, but rather

In 1852, Isaac Baugher's heirs sold the 226-acre Araby mansion farm to Griffin Taylor. Taylor had previously purchased adjoining acreage to the south from William Ross in 1847. The Baugher-Taylor transfer in 1852 and a following transaction occur in a very confusing chain of events and recordings. The "*Araby Mansion Farm*" was sold, but never officially conveyed by James Baugher, et al (trustees for the estate of Isaac Baugher who had died) to Oscar Baugher. James Baugher, Lewis Coppersmith and Grayson Eichelberger had been appointed trustees in a Court of Equity proceeding in September of 1848 to sell the real estate of Isaac Baugher, deceased, and sold the property to Oscar Baugher. Then, in a subsequent transaction, James Baugher, this time acting as trustee for Oscar Baugher, sold *Araby* farm and other real estate belonging to Oscar to Griffin Taylor on May 23, 1852.[32] James Baugher sold the property, but it again was never officially conveyed. Griffin Taylor died in 1855 and his property was sold at public sale. Among other properties, his real estate included the *Araby Farm*, and adjoining Clifton Farm to the south. Taylor had purchased *Araby* and it was part of his estate even though the conveyance had never been properly made.

Taylor's trustees, Godfrey Koontz and Michael Kreps handled the public sale of his real estate. Finally, in April of 1856, the property was legally conveyed by Koontz and Kreps, of Frederick, along with James Baugher, of Baltimore (to complete his earlier transaction to Taylor) to John F. Wheatley and T. Alfred Ball of Georgetown. At this point the *Araby* mansion farm property contained slightly more than 254 acres and it was purchased by Wheatley and Ball at public sale for $19,606.12 ½. This is all recorded in Frederick County Land Records ES 8/561 and confirmed in ES 8/558. What this all means for the history of *Araby* is that between 1844 and 1856, the ownership of the place was quite unsettled. Griffin Taylor, however, was living in the house at the time of his death, apparently having moved there from Clifton. In the 1850 census records, Griffin Taylor was listed in the Buckeystown District as a farmer with property valued at $55,000.00 (a substantial amount) and a wife, nine children and one mulatto labourer. (In the 1850 slave census, Griffin Taylor is listed in the Buckeystown District with 18 slaves.)

A decade earlier, in 1840, he was also in the Buckeystown District in a household with nine people and 17 slaves. In the 1835 Frederick County Tax Assessment, he was assessed for 626 acres of "*Arcadia*" (mostly on the west side of the Monocacy, just south of *Locust Level*, and southwest of *Araby*). In the Agricultural Census of 1850, Griffin Taylor was farming 860 acres in the Buckeystown District, and also had 155 acres of unimproved land, for a total of over 1,000 acres, at the $55,000.00 value listed above. He had 24 horses, nine asses and mules, 10 milch cows, 10 cattle, 24 sheep, 100 swine for a total stock value of $5,500.00. He had 5,000 bushels of wheat, 5,000 bushels of Indian corn, no rye, oats or tobacco, 150 pounds of wool, 600 pounds of butter and implements valued at $800. According to an 1856 advertisement in the Frederick Examiner, *Araby* contained 261 acres, more or less and substantial improvements. The ad reads,

> This farm was the residence of the late deceased [Griffin Taylor] and is one of the most desirable in the county. It lies three miles South of Frederick, on the Georgetown road and within half a mile of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and in sight of a large Flouring Mill. The improvements are of the best order,

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held it for resale, although he lost money in the process. In 1860, Census records have Worthington Johnson listed in Frederick City, as a retired farmer, with property valued at $2,000.00.

[32] Frederick County Deed of Trust, WBT #14/669.

> consisting of a large two story brick **MANSION HOUSE** with Back Building, suitable for a large family; a stone tenant HOUSE, Blacksmith Shop, a large Switzer Barn, Corn Crib, Smoke House, Ice House, with all other suitable necessary out-buildings; running water in nearly every field, and a pump and running fountain in the barnyard. ...There is also a large APPLE ORCHARD on the premises.[33]

The advertisement continues with a similar description of the second farm, Clifton.

Wheatley and Ball were partners and shortly after purchasing *Araby* and the adjoining Clifton, they formed a business relationship with James H. Gambrill, owner of the *Araby Mill*. According to Philip Pendleton's HABS documentation, in 1857, the Ball and Wheatley partnership formed a consortium with neighboring miller, James H. Gambrill, to operate a distillery which they built at Gambrill's *Araby Mills*.

> It is likely that the three men had actually come up with this idea in 1856, when Araby and Clifton were on the market. Gambrill had purchased the mills as recently as 1855, and is said to have immediately embarked on ambitious renovations. He was no doubt open to new ventures for the mill. The firm was known as "Wheatley and Gambrill;" Ball farmed Clifton and Araby to raise the necessary grain (rye or barley), Gambrill ground it into malt and Wheatley ran the distillery. The timing was not right to begin this seemingly cost-efficient operation, however. An economic recession set in 1857, which continued until the onset of the Civil War (1861). The distillery failed in 1860. Ball and Wheatley sold Araby Farm to C.K. Thomas, and Wheatley moved away. Ball, evidently the partner who resided at the Clifton House, stayed on for a time.[34]

Evidence of the hard times encountered by the Wheatley, Ball and Gambrill trio in establishing their distillery is also shown in a bill of sale recorded among Frederick County Land Records on October 16, 1858. In this document James H. Gambrill sold to his father Robert Gambrill of Baltimore County $1,500.00 worth of personal property, household furniture, milling equipment, crops and livestock. It is possible that James Gambrill needed capital to keep the distillery venture going.[35]

On the 24th of August 1860, John F. Wheatley and his wife Catherine, and Turner A. Ball, and his wife, Elizabeth, sold *Araby* to Christian Keefer Thomas for $17,823.75. The acreage was 254, 2 roods and 24 square perches.[36] Stability came to *Araby* with C.K.Thomas' purchase, as the family owned it for 50 years.

According to Scharf's History of Western Maryland, Col. C.K. Thomas was a native of Frederick County, but had moved to Baltimore where he was a merchant. In 1860, he returned to Frederick County and purchased Araby. He was hardly settled there when the Civil War intruded. In 1863, during the Gettysburg Campaign, General Winfield Scott Hancock made

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[33] Pendleton, HABS Survey, Clifton Farm, p. 8
[34] Ibid.
[35] Frederick County Land Records B.G.F 2, page 495.
[36] Frederick County Land Records volume B.G.F. 6, page 109.

Araby his headquarters for three days. In 1864, during the Battle of Monocacy, the house suffered damage. Eight shells penetrated the house, with most damage being on the west side. Union sharpshooters were stationed in the house, and interior damage included destruction of the dining room wall which was "beaten down." One month after the battle, eight Union generals held a council of war in one of the upper rooms of the house. These included Generals Grant, Hunter, Ricketts, Crook and Sheridan.[37]

Civil War damage claims do not provide much information. C.K. Thomas did make a claim, but as a quartermaster's claim, it only addresses supplies taken, not damage to buildings. The claim dated October 4, 1873, included wood, a saddle and bridle, and hauling in 1862, and quartermaster stores valued at $6088.00. The payment approved was $2,454.00.[38]

Aside from the Civil War damages and activities, C. K. Thomas worked the *Araby* farm. He apparently had retired from his merchant activities in Baltimore, but arrived too late in 1860 to be included in the Frederick County census records for that year. We see him first in an 1866 tax assessment in the Urbana District. He was assessed for two sets of farm buildings on 299 acres, valued at $100.00 per acre for a total value of $29,900.00. In the 1870 population census, C. Keefer Thomas is listed as a farmer, aged 52, with property valued at $27,100. In the household is Evelina (his wife), aged 49, keeping house; Samuel, aged 24, farmer; and Mary aged 13. There was also Lydia Layman, housekeeper, aged 28 (she was not noted as black). There was, however, listed in the household a black family and three black and one mulatto farm laborers. The black family was that of Hanson Giddings, aged 30, farm laborer; Caroline, aged 36, domestic; Mary, aged 10 and John, aged 9. Separately listed farm laborers included David, aged 25, Isaac, aged 18, Vernon, aged 16, and Henry, a 20 year-old mulatto, who was the only one who could read or write.

So little information is given that we don't know whether the status of the Giddings family was different from that of the other black farm laborers. Hanson Giddings was listed as well as a farm laborer, but he and his family were listed separately and with a last name. The group of farm laborers was listed by first name only, in the manner of slaves. Were these blacks former slaves on the Araby plantation?

In the 1870 Agricultural Census, C. Keefer Thomas was shown with 300 improved acres, valued at $24,000, improvements valued at $1,000.00 and wages of $1,500.00. Livestock included 13 horses, 2 mules, 9 cows, 2 oxen, 18 cattle, 9 sheep and 48 swine valued at $3,385. Products included $2,300 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels rye, 2,500 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of oats, 200 bushels potatoes, 500 pounds of butter and 25 tons of hay.

A decade later in 1880, in the population census C. Keefer Thomas' household included himself, at age 62, Evelina aged 59, Alice, aged 31 and Virginia aged 21. Also in the household were Edmund Stone, Thomas' brother-in-law, aged 50, and Cecelia, a niece, aged 20, and David Butler, a 32-year old black laborer.

Upon the death of C. K. Thomas, *Araby* farm was subject to equity court proceedings, which resulted in the property being sold in May 1894. *Araby* was sold to Samuel S. Thomas

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[37] Scharf, p. 573.
[38] Claim # G-2664.

and Alice Thomas Anderson (who had married since the 1880 census), for $15,277.50. The acreage was nearly the same as that acquired by C.K. Thomas back in 1860, 257 acres, 2 rods and 20 square perches. Apparently, Alice acquired Samuel's interest, since at her death which occurred in 1909 or 1910, the property was entirely hers. Alice Thomas Anderson lived in Washington, D.C., and her will was probated there on February 11, 1910.[39] She had directed that *Araby* be managed and sold by her trustee, Charles M. Staley. Therefore, on September 7, 1910, Staley sold the *Araby* farm to Eugene Sponseller, of Frederick City for $20,317.15. The amount of land included in the sale was 257 acres and 18 square perches.[40] Alice stated in her will that Charles M. Staley should hold out for $100.00 per acre for the farm. However, he didn't and the sale price was actually less than $80.00 per acre.

Eugene Sponseller and his wife Amanda only had *Araby* for a year, selling it on September 6, 1911 to William G. Baker. The acreage was the same, 257 with 18 square perches.[41]

Apparently William G. Baker owned a substantial amount of property. Sons, John H. and William G. Jr. and their wives jointly held this land. In a July 30, 1932, Deed of Exchange, William G. Baker Jr. received seven parcels totaling nearly 2,700 acres, while John Baker got all of the property in Buckeystown. Among the seven parcels conveyed to William Jr. was *Araby* farm with its 257 acres.[42] Sometime between 1932 and 1949, William Baker Jr. moved to Baltimore County, where he died. In June, 1949, Mary S. Baker (wife of William G. Baker, Jr.), John H. Baker (his brother), and the Safe Deposit and Trust Co. of Baltimore as executors for William G. Baker, deceased, sold the *Araby* farm, containing 257 acres to C. Edward Hilgenberg for $32,000.00.[43] In August 1954, C. Edward and Anne J. Hilgenberg conveyed the property to Robert E. and Josephine R. Clapp. At this point, the acreage conveyed was 240, being most of the traditional *Araby* farm but with a few adjustments, including right-of-way to the State Roads Commission for the path of Maryland Route 240, essentially following the route of today's I-270.[44] *Araby* farm is still owned by the Clapp family.

The Buildings on Araby Farm:

Since Araby is still in private ownership, there has been no opportunity to undertake an architectural survey and evaluation. The property has been observed only from the public right-of-way. The main buildings include the brick house, frame "swisser" barn, corncrib and wagon shed and various domestic and agricultural outbuildings. Individuals who have been close to the house report that it has a brick water table, which is a clear indication of 18th century construction.

The 1856 sale bill for the property also mentions a stone tenant house. Without further physical investigation of the property, it is difficult to say where this dwelling is or was. Perhaps

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[39] The will is recorded in Frederick County in will book W.B.C. 2, page 239.
[40] Frederick County Land Record H.W.B.-292, page 470.
[41] Frederick County Land Record H.W.B.-298, page 201.
[42] Frederick County Land Record 401, page 1.
[43] Frederick County Land Record 479, page 464.
[44] Frederick County Land Records Book 535, page 348.

it was the house at the ferry that was occupied by James Marshall's son, William, or maybe the stone building that is located behind the main house on *Araby*.

If the Araby property becomes accessible for view, this section should be expanded with an architectural description and evaluation of the buildings.

III. The Baker Farm

The Baker Farm is located on the west side of Baker Valley Road, just south of Araby. Now, I-270 passes between the two farms, making their separation seem greater than it actually is. The Baker Farm is entirely on the *Wet Work* tract as acquired by James Marshall in 1759 and resurveyed by him in 1797. The Baker Valley Road appears to have been an old boundary road for *Wet Work*, and takes its name from the Baker family who has owned the narrow valley from the 1840s. The valley extends from Brooks Hill on the west to another ridge just east of the road and runs in a northeast-southwest direction.

The Baker Farm has had a much more stable history of ownership than *Araby*, the Gambrill Mill, or the Best Farm. Only three families have owned the property for its entire history. For the early history of this farm, the story of the assemblage of *Wet Work* and its resurvey by James Marshall is recounted above in the discussion of *Araby*. When James Marshall died, he divided his remaining lands between his son, William and daughter, Chloe on the one hand and Eleanor Marshall Harding on the other. The will is discussed in detail and quoted above. These three children of James Marshall were made executors of the estate. In order to settle affairs and divide the property among the children, Chloe removed herself as executor and became the purchaser of 910 acres of *Wet Work*. She immediately (on the same day, August 28, 1806) conveyed 500 acres to her sister, Eleanor. Chloe retained the remaining 410 acres, which included the mansion house (*Araby*) and the ferry. Chloe died in the spring of 1807, leaving the remaining acreage to her brother, William. That 410 acres was the same that William Marshall conveyed to Col. John McPherson in 1812, and which became the heart of *Araby*. Eleanor's 500 acres was located to the southwest of the 410 acres that Chloe retained.

According to the August 28, 1806 deed from Chloe Marshall to Eleanor Harding, wife of John Lackland Harding, "...John Lackland Harding and Eleanor, his wife together with William Marshall as executors of James Marshall deceased by deed bearing date equal with these presents have conveyed unto the said Chloe Marshall certain lands purchased by her from the said executors under the will of James Marshall deceased which include the lands hereby conveyed...."[45] For the sum of £5, Chloe relinquished the 500 acres. This low price certainly indicates that this was an internal transaction to distribute the property under the terms of John Marshall's will.

The 500 acres was in the vicinity of other property owned by John L. Harding to the east. The Hardings retained the land until September 28, 1841, when trustees William Ross, Madison Nelson and James M. Harding sold 512 acres to Griffin Taylor at $35 per acre or $17,920.00. (Frederick County Land Record H.S. 14, page 304). This is the same Griffin Taylor that purchased portions of *Araby* in 1847 and 1852. Taylor kept the whole property for only a month,

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[45] Frederick County Land Record W.R. 29, page 369.

Ballenger Cr
Ballenger
85
270
280
355
BM
266
Frederick Junction
BM
268
287
290
280
2 LANE
2 LANE
Bush
260
Cr
BM
256
RIVER
300
400
433
306
300
240
284
Lime Kiln
BAKER
838
400
300
400
527
280
MONOCACY
400
300
400
300
85
Buckeystown
Brick Kilns
Run
80
Michaels
Mill
258
300
382
220
450
Hope
Hill
Hope Hill
Cem
400
500
500
522
2 LANE
2 LANE
400
400
507
Branch
400
Claggett Diocesan
Center
482



Baker Farm. Setting. West view from Baker Valley Road. P. Reed 4/98.



Baker Farm. Setting. Southwest view from Baker Valley Road. P. Reed 4/98/

selling 380 acres of it to Daniel and Edward Baker on October 25, 1841, and retaining 132 acres which became part of Taylor's Clifton farm.[46] Taylor purchased the 512 acres as the result of an equity court decree declared July 25, 1839 in a case where Griffin Taylor was complainant and James M. Harding et al defendants. Probably, James M. Harding was the son of John L. Harding and Eleanor Marshall Harding and was named after his grandfather, James Marshall. The equity court proceeding may have had to do with the settlement of the estate John L. Harding.

We don't know yet just where John and Eleanor Harding were living during their ownership of the portion of *Wet Work Resurveyed* that was to become "The Baker Farm." The 1800 census lists John Harding in the Buckeystown district with nine people and one slave. In the 1810 census (which did not provide district names) a J. Harding is listed as head of a household with nine people and one slave. The tax assessment for Frederick County in 1825 included John L. Harding in District 1 (Buckeystown) with 500 acres, part of *Wet Work* (the land from Eleanor), 81 acres of *Altogether* (the remainder of 200 acres Harding had purchased from Henry Bantz in 1810 and subsequently sold 119 acres to John McPherson in 1819), and five acres of *New Bremen*. In the 1830 census, Harding was listed in Frederick Town with a household of ten people and five slaves. In the 1835 tax assessment, John L. Harding, still in District 1, is taxed for 616 acres, part of *Wet Work*, *Altogether* and *New Bremen*. In this same assessment, a Sarah Harding is recorded with 93 acres of *Wet Work* and a stone house. Sarah Harding was the wife of James M. Harding, who is presumed to have been the son of John L. Harding.

Neither the 1808 Varlé map nor the 1856 Isaac Bond show any Harding property or Harding's distillery. In the deed for the 119 acres of *Altogether* sold to John McPherson in 1819, reference is made to the possibility of John L. Harding building a house near the spring, which piped water to his distillery. The house site would have been on property adjoining the 119 acres sold to McPherson. That could have been the remaining 81 acres of the *Altogether* piece, or the 500 acres of *Wet Work Resurveyed*, which Harding acquired through his wife. The house that is now the centerpiece of the Baker Farm is a replacement dwelling built about 1914 when the Geisbert family acquired the farm. Therefore, the present dwelling does not offer a clue to what might have been standing when the Hardings owned the property.

The 380 acres of the 500 conveyed by Harding remained in the hands of Daniel and Edward Baker until January 6, 1849 when the two brothers divided the property.[47] In this division, Daniel received 214 acres that came to be known as the "Baker Farm" and Edward got 150 acres adjoining to the southwest. The farm remained in the hands of Daniel Baker until his death. Daniel, by the way, is referenced as Daniel of F., indicating his father's first initial to distinguish him from any other Daniel Bakers.

On October 12, 1903, William D. Baker, acting as administrator for the estate of Daniel Baker of F., sold the Baker Farm to David A. Baker for $7,063.00. The farm was described as containing 221 acres on the west side of Baker Valley Road, adjoining the lands of the late C. Keefer Thomas, John T. Worthington (Clifton) on the north and west, the Monocacy River on

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[46] Frederick County Land Record H.S. 14, page 401.
[47] Frederick County Land Record W.B.T. 8, page 605.

west and the lands of Charles and Laura Baker (Edward's parcel) on the south.[48] The property also included two acres on the east side of Baker Valley Road. The 1873 Atlas Map of Frederick County shows a United Brethren Church on the east side of Baker Valley Road opposite Daniel Baker's Farm. Perhaps it occupied the two-acre piece referenced in the deed. There was also a school indicated across the road (west side) from the church.

On March 30, 1914, David Baker sold the Baker farm to Charles G. Geisbert.[49] The acreage was the same 221 as previously recorded. The property remained in the Geisbert family until acquired by the National Park Service in 1989. The Geisberts continue to farm the land and occupy the house and farm buildings.

The Baker Farm is distinctive in that it had only a few owners through its history. It was in Marshall/Harding ownership from 1759-1841, Baker from 1841-1914 and Geisbert from 1914 until 1989, although, as noted, the family retained a life estate and still resides on the property.

Although Daniel Baker did not own the farm until 1841, census records for 1840 show him living in District 1. His household included five people, plus three "free colored" and one slave. In the 1850 census, he is listed as a farmer with property valued at $3,000.00 and a household, which included a wife, four children, two farm hands and two servant women. The farm hands and servant women were not noted as black. In the 1860 census, he is listed (now in the Urbana district) with real estate valued at $12,000.00, a wife and two children. Ten years later in the 1870 census, Daniel Baker is listed as aged 59, with a wife, Margaret, aged 53 who was keeping house, a daughter Margaret, aged 23 and one domestic servant (who was also a Baker). His real estate was valued at $15,750.00. He is not listed in the 1880 census. In the 1866 Frederick County Tax Assessment, Daniel Baker of F. in listed with improved real estate valued at $70 per acre for a total of $15,750.00 for 225 acres. Slave census records for 1850 list Daniel Baker with one, a 51-year old male. In the 1860 slave census he is listed with two slaves, 40 and 18-year-old females.

The 1860 agricultural census records list Daniel Baker, Urbana District, with 200 acres improved, valued at $1,000.00, and with a $6.00 value for implements. There is no explanation of why this is so low. His brother Edward's land next door with less acreage was valued at $10,000 and implements at $200.00. In the 1860 general census Daniel's property was valued at $12,000.00. The agricultural census counted three horses, four cows, three cattle, 20 swine valued at $560.00. Agricultural products included 1,000 bushels of wheat, 1,000 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of potatoes, $30 orchard products, 600 pounds of butter, 12 tons of hay and 5 bushels of clover seed.

The 1870 agricultural census seems a little more realistic in its valuations. Daniel Baker still has 200 improved acres and 25 unimproved, valued at $15,750.00, implements valued at $407.00 and agricultural wages of $300.00. Livestock consisted of eight horses, nine cows, four cattle, and 40 swine, valued at $1,162.00. Farm products included 1,100 bushels of wheat, 25 bushels rye, 1,200 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of oats, 100 bushels of potatoes, 240 pounds of

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[48] Frederick County Land Record D.H.H. 17, page 738.
[49] Frederick County Land Record H.W.B 308, page 277

butter, 15 tons of hay and 60 pounds of honey. Daniel Baker is not listed in the 1880 agricultural census although his younger brother Edward is.

Although Daniel Baker of F. had only a few slaves, he was active in buying and selling, as shown by the following land records. None of the slaves recorded in the land records seem to match the age or gender of those listed in the census. On May 16, 1856, Daniel Baker of F. purchased from Jacob Lewis the services of a slave woman Savilla for a set term of 12 years, after which she was to be manumitted. This agreement is to be found in Land Record E.S. 7, page 424. Simultaneously, Daniel Baker of F. signed and agreement with Henry Williams, "free negro," who also happened to be Savilla's husband. Williams pledged to sell himself into servitude for six years to Daniel Baker of F. if Baker would agree to reduce Savilla's time to six years. This Daniel Baker agreed to, but less than a year later, he sold Savilla to a Samuel Hoke, and along with her the services of Henry Williams as stipulated in their prior agreement. However, in the bill of sale between Baker and Hoke for Savilla, her term of service is still given as 12 years, less the year she had already served with Baker. An immediately following agreement pertaining to the services of Henry however, references the terms and conditions of the agreement reached between Henry and Daniel Baker. Perhaps Savilla did not trust either Daniel Baker or Samuel Hoke, because, on the same day of the bill of sale for her to Samuel Hoke, she secured a written manumission document from her former owner, Jacob Lewis. This stated that she would be freed May 16, 1868. No mention is made of Henry Williams' agreement with Daniel Baker.

Following are excerpts from several courthouse documents:

Land Record E.S. 7, page 424: May 16, 1856 between Jacob Lewis and Daniel Baker of F.

...I Jacob Lewis of Frederick County for and in consideration of the sum of six hundred dollars to me in hand paid by Daniel Baker of F. ... doth grant bargain, sell and deliver to the said Daniel Baker of F. my negro woman Savilla aged about twenty four years. She being a slave to me for life, to serve until the sixteenth day of May Eighteen Hundred and Sixty Eight, when the said Negro woman Savilla is to be free and manumitted...and the issue of the said slave Savilla which may be born of her during her said term of servitude to serve the said Daniel Baker of F. ... the males for thirty years and the females for twenty five years respectively from the time of their birth after which to be free, and if the female issue of the said slave Savilla should have issue during their said term of servitude, said issue shall serve the said Daniel Baker of F. ... the males for thirty five years and the females for thirty years respectively from the date of their birth after which to be free, and so with the issue in succession except the youngest child of the said slave Savilla which she may have at the time of the expiration of her time of servitude, which youngest child ... shall be manumitted and free.

Land Record E.S. 7, page 425: May 16, 1856, between Daniel Baker of F. and Henry Williams, free Negro.

...whereas the said Daniel Baker of F. has purchased of Jacob Lewis a negro woman named Savilla for a term of twelve years by a bill of sale dated the sixteenth of May Eighteen hundred and fifty six, ... and the said Henry Williams being the husband of the said slave Savilla and wishing to shorten the term of servitude of his said wife Savilla—the said Daniel Baker of F. doth hereby promise and agree that in case the said Henry Williams shall well and truly serve him the said Daniel Baker of F. for the term of six years from the date of this agreement then in that case the said Daniel Baker of F. doth hereby promise and declare that the said slave Savilla shall be free and manumitted from the time of the expiration of the said six years from the date of this agreement, together with the youngest child which the said Savilla may have at the time of the expiration of the six years which shall also be free from said time—and in case the said Henry Williams should die before the expiration of the said six years having served the said Daniel Baker of F. up to the time of his death, the said Daniel Baker doth hereby agree that the said slave, Savilla shall be free from the end of the term of six years...with her youngest child aforesaid—and the said henry Williams doth hereby promise and agree for and in consideration of the above promises to serve well and faithfully the said Daniel baker of F. for the aforesaid term of six years...

Land Record E.S. 10, page 295: April 15, 1857, Bill of Sale between Samuel Hoke and Daniel Baker of F.

I Daniel Baker of F.... in consideration of the sum of five hundred dollars paid me by Samuel Hoke ... do hereby sell ... my negro woman Savilla aged about twenty five for the term of eleven years, one month and one day, to serve the said Samuel Hoke until the 16th day of May 1868. With the same right to the issue of said negro woman that may be born during that period. ...

Land Record E.S. 10, page 295: April 15, 1857, agreement between Samuel Hoke and Daniel Baker of F.

...Whereas the said Daniel Baker of F. by his article bearing the date the 16th day of May 1856 and duly recorded among the land records of Frederick County did enter into a written contract with a certain Henry Williams to which reference is hereby made for the particulars thereof. Now this article of agreement, witnesseth that for and in consideration of the purchase by said Samuel Hoke of the said negro woman therein named and the sum of five dollars cash in hand paid the said Daniel Baker of F. hath assigned transferred and set over...unto the said Samuel Hoke his executors administrators and assigns the herein before recited article of agreement with it all his the said Daniel Baker's right thereunder to the services of the said Negro man Henry Williams subject to the provisions, stipulations and conditions set forth and contained in said article of agreement....

Land Record E.S. 10, page 293: April 15, 1857, Manumission Savilla, Negro Woman and Jacob Lewis.

> I Jacob Lewis of Frederick County and State of Maryland do hereby manumit and set free my negro slave Savilla, a large yellow woman with no particular marks about twenty five years of age her freedom to commence on the sixteenth day of May in the year Eighteen hundred and sixty eight her issue that may be born prior to that time to serve until the period and ages designated in the bill of sale from me to Daniel Baker of F. dated 16th day of May 1856...

In addition to these rather poignant transactions, Daniel Baker of F. purchased other slaves as well. On March 5, 1860, he bought from William T. Ervin of Frederick County, for $525.00 his "negro slave 'Martha' who is a dark mulatto for the term of twenty-three years from the twenty eighth day of February Eighteen hundred and sixty and no longer. The said negro girl 'Martha' being a slave for life, and now about twelve years of age." The bill of sale continues with the manumission of Martha upon expiration of the agreement on February 28, 1883.[50] On May 15, 1862, Baker paid $250.00 for Negro slave William Henry, late the property of Joseph Crist, for a term ending on the 23rd of December 1875. William Henry was to be manumitted upon that date. Henry was among a group of slaves conveyed by George Hosselbock to Joseph Crist on December 23, 1846. Crist had died and his executors William Ross and Louis Remsberg were handling the sale.[51]

These dealings show that while Daniel Baker was not a large slave owner, he had no problems with ownership of slaves. The records also point out the ambiguity with which slaves were treated in mid-19th century Maryland. As was indicated in Chapters II and III, slavery in Maryland was diminishing. Slaves were being converted from slaves for life to slaves for a finite term of years. However, from these records, it seems that no one anticipated the end of slavery. Terms of service stretched into the 1870s and 1880s and beyond, even as the Civil War was underway.

Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to Savilla and her husband Henry Williams, except that the Civil War did intervene and regardless of the written terms and agreements and whether they were followed or not, the Williams would have been freed in 1864. Another interesting question is where were these manumitted slaves living? The most likely scenario is that they were residing in modest wooden houses at the edges of the big farms, close-by for convenience, but far enough away to demonstrate their independence.

Incidentally, the Jacob Lewis who originally manumitted Savilla lived at *Locust Level*, the plantation home located just north of the junction of the Georgetown Road and the Buckeystown Pike. Its location is marked on the 1856 and 1873 maps of Frederick County.

One other piece of history associated with the Baker property, and *Araby* as well, is a record of the change in location of Baker Valley Road. The northern two miles of Baker Valley Road were affected, and were relocated to the west to straighten the course of the road and make it more level (see attached plat). The road change occurred in 1845.[52] It seems that the original road ran along the hill to the east of the present road location, on higher ground. This location

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[50] Frederick County Land Record, B.G.F 5, p. ?68.
[51] Frederick County Land Records, B.G.F 7, p. 486.
[52] Frederick County Land Records W.B.T.1, p. 594.

was on what the road record document calls "McPherson's Hill Farm," or the 119-acre portion of *Altogether* that John McPherson bought from John L. Harding in 1819.

According to the road alteration document, "...Eli Thomas, J.C. Keller, Jas. L. Davis and others—Gentlemen of Frederick County have made application to the Frederick County Court to alter and amend a part of Public Road No. 232 [Baker Valley Road]...." They recommended changing the road to follow the boundary line between Worthington R. Johnson's land and McPherson's Hill Farm. This would have been the old boundary between *Wet Work* and *Altogether*.

The commissioners granted the petition to relocate the road with the following rationale: "We further report that the reasons that influenced us in our judgement that the public convenience was to be promoted by the alteration of said road, are as follows viz.: That there is more directness given in the present [new] location; and that the ground over which it runs is more level and better adapted for a road than the former route." The record was completed May 22, 1845. The county originally surveyed Baker Valley Road in 1843.[53]

Description of Buildings on the Baker Farm:

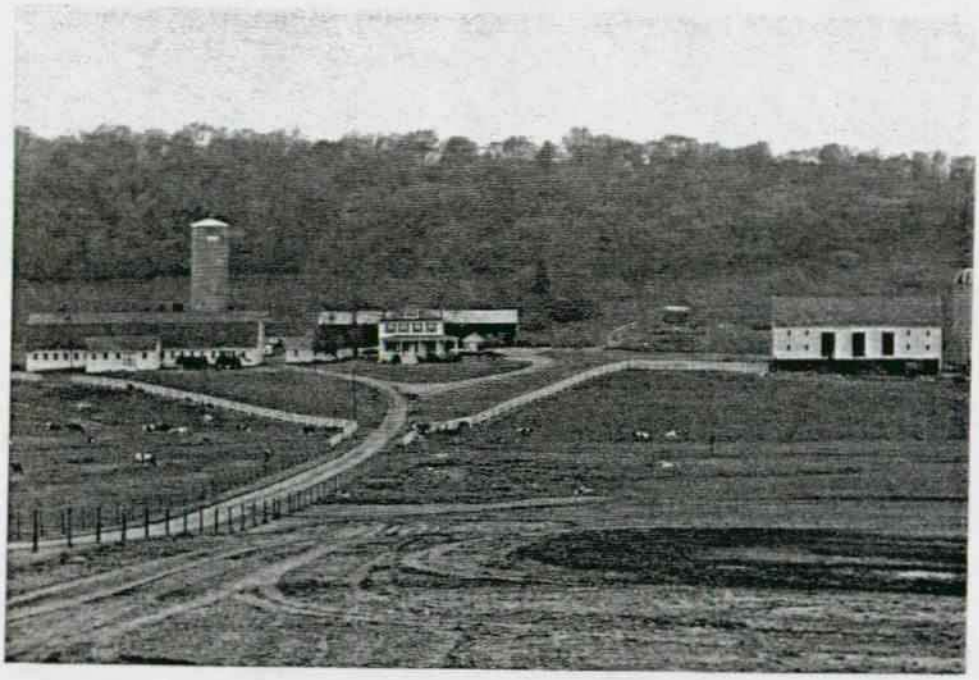
The Baker farmstead is still occupied by the Geisbert family, and therefore there was not complete access to the buildings on the property. The house, barns and outbuildings are arranged approximately on an axis and are set well back from Baker Valley Road against the rising slope of the east face of Brooks Hill. From Baker Valley Road, the landscape slopes downward to the west, then begins to rise, forming Brooks Hill. A small run is located at the lowest point. It flows northeastward and around Brooks Hill and into the Monocacy. From Baker Valley Road the vista is one of pasture and cropland, with a tree line forming about two thirds of the way up Brooks Hill.

The house on the Baker farm is located directly at the head of the lane leading to the buildings. It faces southeast. To its northeast is a frame forebay bank barn or "swisser barn" with an unusual round brick silo, and a more conventional mid 20th century stave silo. Behind the house is a modern metal equipment shed, and to its south is a ca. 1920s gambrel roofed dairy barn and an accompanying milk house. There are two more silos near the dairy barn. There is also a wash house/summer kitchen and a springhouse. These outbuildings and the dairy barn are made of cast concrete block, all prominently used in the 1910-1930 period.

The house is a frame, two story, American Foursquare style dwelling, which Mrs. Geisbert reports was built by her father-in-law shortly after he acquired the farm in 1914. The new house was, however, built directly upon the foundations of the older dwelling it replaced. The house has a four bay façade with a window, window, door, and window arrangement. The side elevations are two bays deep. A one-story porch extends across the front and partially along the north side of the house, and another crosses the rear elevation. The hipped roof is covered with standing seam sheet metal and shed dormers extending from its south, east and north slopes. Brick flues rise from inside the north and south elevations. Windows have either six over one or single pane sash. The foundations are stone, older than the rest of the house.

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[53]Frederick County Land Record H.S. 19, page 94.



Baker Farm. Setting. West view from Baker Valley Road. P. Reed 4/98.



Baker Farm. Setting. Early 20th century house, dairy barn and milk house, southwest view. P. Reed 4/98/



Baker Farm. Early 20th century house. Mid-19th century barn. Northwest view. P. Reed 4/98.



Baker Farm. Cast stone smoke house. P. Reed 4/98.



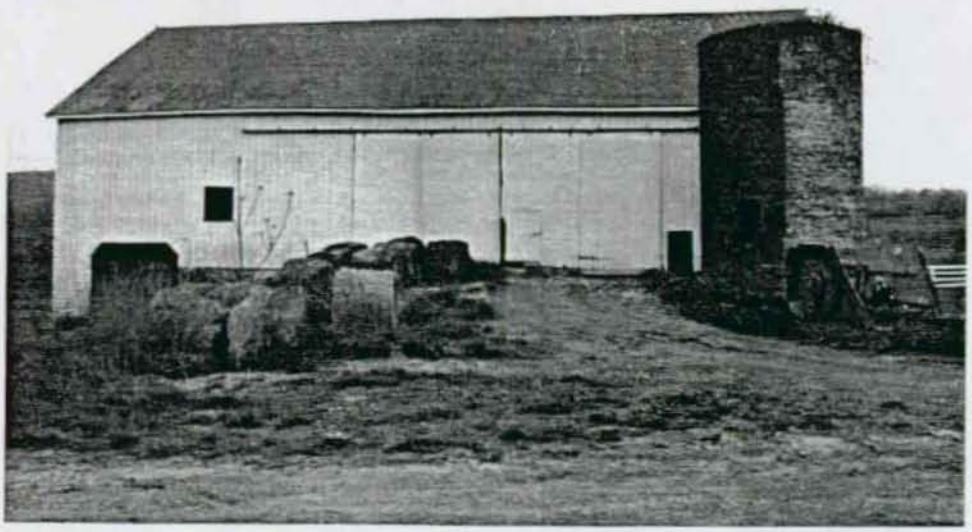
Baker Farm. Dairy barn and summer kitchen, early 20th century, southeast view. P. Reed 4/98.



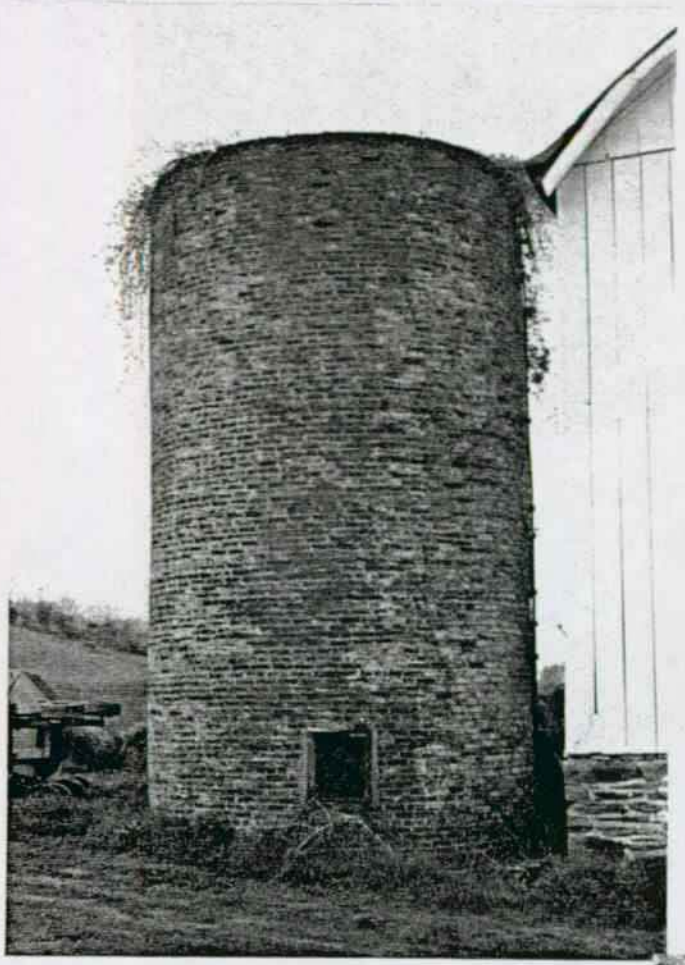
Baker Farm. Setting. Milk house and dairy barn, early 20th century. P. Reed 4/98/



Baker Farm. Mid-19th century barn, northwest view. P. Reed 4/98.



Baker Farm. Setting. Mid-19th century barn, east view with brick silo. Reed 4/98/



Baker Farm. Brick silo, north view. P. Reed 4/98.



Baker Farm. Brick silo interior. P. Reed 4/98.

The frame barn appears to date from the mid or late 19th century. This assessment is based on exterior observation only of its overall form and proportions and the materials used. It is covered with vertical board siding and has a broad roof span with the ridge centered over the entire width of the building including the forebay. There is an attached wagon shed at the north end of the barn. The barn bank is located on the barn's west side, providing access to the threshing floor inside. An unusual feature is the round brick silo located at the southwest corner of the barn. The silo displays common bond brickwork and is parged with cement on the interior. It no longer has a top, and ferns and other vegetation are growing inside. It is a rare survival and could date from the original construction of the barn or perhaps earlier.

The buildings appear to be in excellent condition. While only the forebay barn and brick silo appear to survive from the period of Baker ownership, the buildings are in their original pattern and arrangement. The Edward Baker farm (Daniel of F.'s brother who took the southern part of the whole tract) remains intact with a mid 19th century house and arrangement of buildings similar to those on the Daniel Baker Farm, except that their order is reversed—the barn is to the south of the house rather than to the north.

IV. The "Lewis" Farm (John McPherson's Hill Farm):

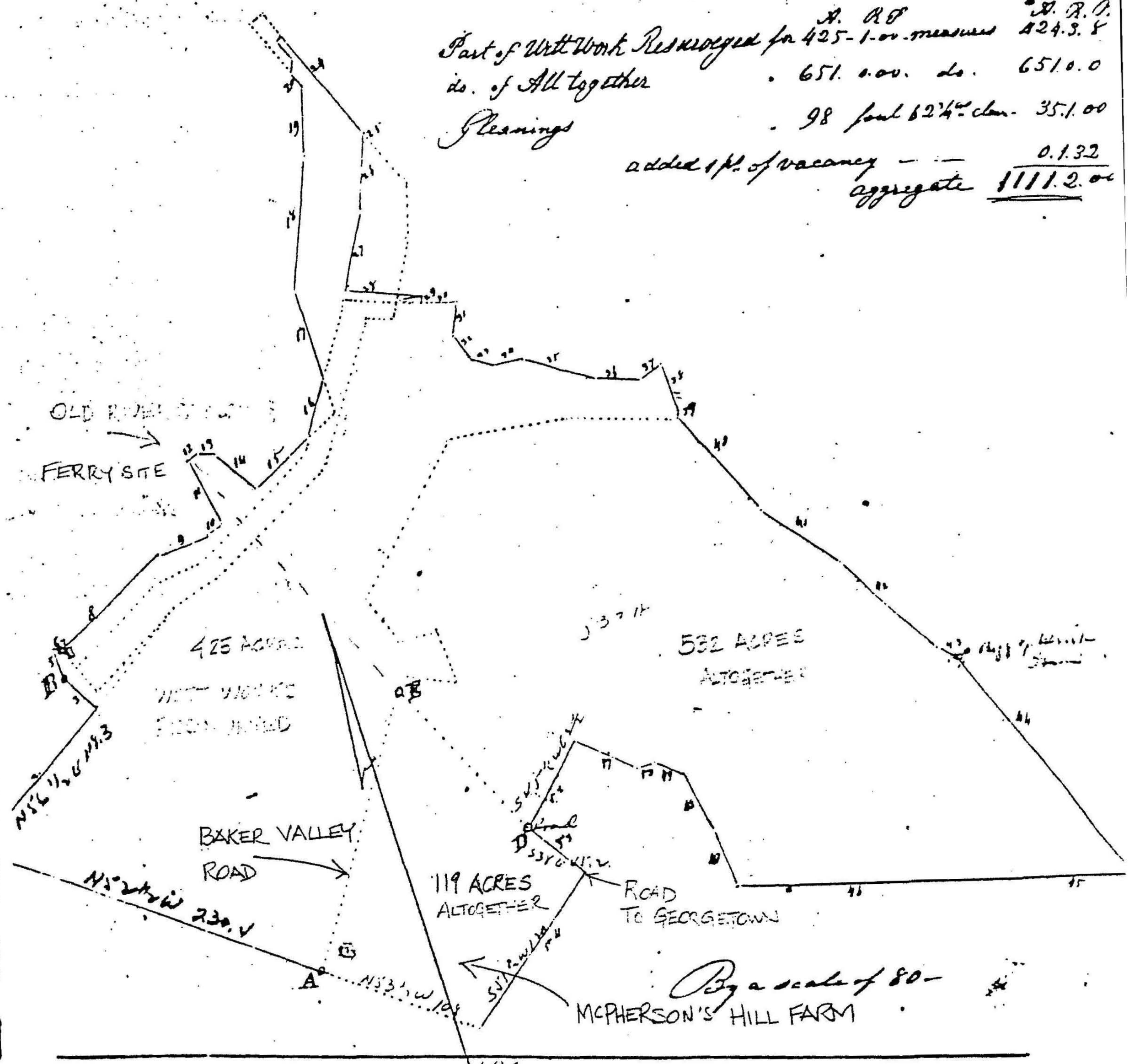
The "Lewis Farm" is located along the east side of Baker Valley Road opposite *Araby* and north of I-270 at the eastern edge of the Monocacy Battlefield. The property is a diamond-shaped piece with Baker Valley Road forming one side of the tract and the Old Georgetown Road forming another. It was once part of John McPherson's "Hill Farm," which he acquired from John L. Harding, in 1819. The Harding purchase contained 119 acres of *Altogether* and New *Bremen*. The 1819 purchase eventually became part of *Araby* in 1832. There are actually two historic farmsteads within this Hill Farm property, the "Lewis Farm" belonging to the National Park Service and one other located just to the north. The other farmstead, although not examined closely, seems to be contemporary with the Lewis Farm. The particular property on the Monocacy Battlefield lands is that known as "Tract 101-26." It contains 60.97 acres. It was acquired by the National Park Service in 1989 from Betty B. Geisbert et al, and unknown others. This same conveyance also included the adjoining Baker Farm on the opposite side of Baker Valley Road.

The farm occupies high, broken ridge land, no doubt the reason for the for the name "Hill Farm." The soil appears slatey and not particularly fertile, when compared with the broader and more gently sloping croplands of the other Monocacy farms.

The Hill Farm is made up of parts of land grants *Altogether* and *New Bremen*. *Altogether* as we have seen before, was created by Thomas Johnson to consolidate his holdings in 1805. *New Bremen* was a land grant surveyed in 1786 for John Amalung, and patented the following year. *New Bremen* contained 1,822 acres and it was on this property, apparently off Park Mills Road that the Amalung Glass Works was established. The Hill Farm would have been at the very western edge of this piece.

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Ballenger
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BM 266
BM 268
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338
HILL FARM
284
Lime Kiln
49
300
400
527
280
MONOCACY
400
300
400
300
400
500
522
85
Buckeystown
Brick Kilns
Run
80
Michaels Mill
258
450
Hope Hill Cem
300
382
220
507
Claggett Diocesan Center
482
Branch
400

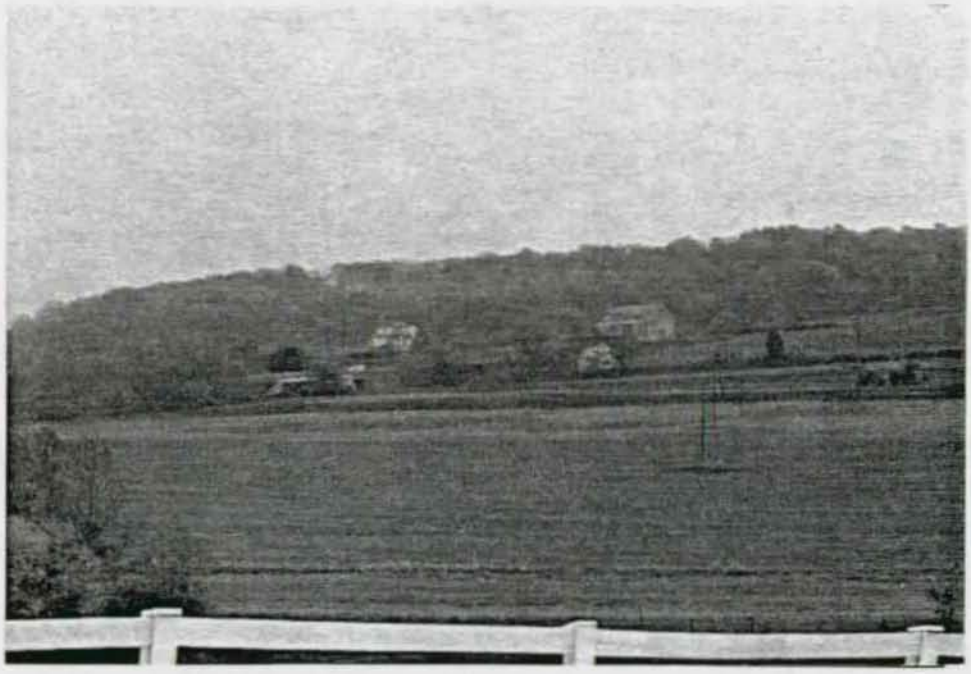
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	A. R P	D. R. P.
Part of Witt Work Resurveyed for	425-1-00 measure	424.3.8
do. of All together	651.0.00 do.	651.0.0
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added 1 pl. of vacancy	— —	0.1.32
	aggregate	1111.2.00

X 362

The State of Maryland to wit: By virtue of a special warrant of Resurvey bearing date the 6th of October 1831 granted out of the western shore Land Office to Dr. Wm Willcoxy of Frederick Co. - resurvey the following parcels of land lying and being in the county aforesaid and contiguous to each other viz: 89 ac in two parts of "Brothers Good Will" originally on the 7th day October 1754 granted James Hawkins for 600 ac 159 ac part of Fieldens Manor originally on the 27th day of October 1762 granted Fielden Gantt for 8151 ac - 8¾ ac called The able purchase, originally on the day of granted for ac



Hill Farm (Lewis Farm). Setting. View from the Baker Farm, northeast. P. Reed 4/98.



Hill Farm (Lewis Farm). West elevation, east view. P. Reed 4/98.

The property does seem to be the one that was referred to in deed and road records as "John McPherson's Hill Farm." It was part of *Araby*, and is shown on the 1832 plat of *Araby* as the 119 acre lot within the wedge formed by Baker Valley Road and the Georgetown Road. The 1832 plat is drawn at the same or nearly the same scale as the modern USGS map, so the two can be overlaid to show how *Araby* fit onto today's landscape. The 119-acre Hill Farm is the same that the National Park Service identifies as the "Lewis Farm." The Hill Farm was eventually sold when *Araby* was broken up, although there appears to have been some hope that Fannie McPherson, John McPherson's wife might be able to hold on to this parcel. That unfortunately did not happen. In a deed made April 24, 1849, William J. Ross, trustee, John McPherson and Fannie R. McPherson conveyed the property then containing 104 acres 1 rood and 14 perches to Henry Layman.[54]

According to this deed, John McPherson and Fanny R. McPherson had conveyed all of their real and personal estate to William J. Ross in trust:

> to sell the same and distribute the proceeds among the creditors of said John McPherson, and the said Fanny R. McPherson in lieu of her contingent right of dower, and whereas the said William J. Ross in pursuance of the trust vested in him having sold the property hereinafter mentioned to the said Fanny R. McPherson as and for her sole and separate estate and for her exclusive use and benefit, and whereas the said Fanny R. McPherson having paid a part of the purchase money and having failed to pay the residue, has agreed that the hereinafter described property be sold to pay such unpaid purchase money...

The property is described as all that part of the "Hill Farm, being part of Araby, next to the Mansion Farm part of Araby, bounded by the road to Georgetown and a county road from the Georgetown Road to Buckeystown" (Baker Valley Road), and bounded by the "Still House Lot."

The purchaser, Henry Layman, may already have been residing on the property, although there is no evidence one way or another to affirm this. The mention of the "Still House Lot" is curious. Perhaps it was connected in some way with the distillery property that John Harding had and referenced in his deed conveying the Hill Farm to John McPherson. Henry Layman owned the Hill Farm until his death in February 1856. His will leaves to his wife Lydia, "my plantation whereon I now live" containing 110 acres more or less, for her life and after her decease to be sold and the proceeds divided.[55] (Lydia may be related to the Lydia Layman who was listed in census records as a domestic for C.K. Thomas). Henry Layman is shown on this property in the 1853 Isaac Bond Map of Frederick County. By 1863 Henry Layman's wife had died, and the heirs sold the property to C. K. Thomas for $4434.75 on December 28, 1863. The property contained 110 acres, made up of the "Still House Lot," which Henry Layman acquired from Otho T. Cook in 1849, with a little over 6 acres, and "The Hill Farm," part of *Araby* containing 104 acres, purchased in 1849.[56]

At this point there is the gap in records from 1863 to 1873 or later. However, the 1866 Frederick County Tax Assessment for the Urbana District, includes a property owned by Charles

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[54] Frederick County Land Record WBT 10, page 276.
[55] Frederick County Will Record G.H. 1, page 108.
[56] Frederick County Land Record JWLC 1, page 75.

E. Trail of Frederick City, containing 110 acres, valued at $25.00 per acre. The 110-acre figure matches the acreage that Henry Layman specified in his will, and that which C.K. Thomas purchased in 1863. Jacob Lewis, also of Frederick City, was assessed for 43 acres of unimproved real estate at $33.00 per acre. Other farms nearby such as the two Baker places and C.K. Thomas at *Araby* have much higher valuations ($70.00 per acre for each of the Bakers and $100.00 for Thomas), and improvements are noted in most cases. The two parcels in the 1866 tax assessment charged to Charles E. Trail and Jacob Lewis may be those that eventually came to be known as the "Lewis Farm" on the Monocacy Battlefield. Unfortunately no records have been found to show how the property passed from C.K. Thomas and who owned it next. It is shown with the name "H. Lewis" on the 1873 Frederick County Atlas map. Later records show, however, that Charles E. Trail eventually owned the Hill Farm.

Apparently Charles E. Trail acquired the farm in bits and pieces during the late 19th century. Among the transactions to C. E. Trail was one from Jacob Lewis who was serving as executor for a property containing 50 acres. It had come to Elizabeth Lewis from Hobart and Rebecca Lewis in November 1878. This could be the connection that explains the "H. Lewis" label on the 1873 Atlas map on this property, and why it is now referred to as the Lewis farm. There is some evidence that the property was in the Lewis family from 1871 to 1879, when Trail purchased the 50-acre parcel.

Upon Charles E. Trail's death, his land holdings were received by his heirs and eventually sold. The "Hill Farm" on October 22, 1921, was transferred from Milton G. Urner, Trustee to Florence Trail, Anna M. Harding, Henry Trail, Bertha Trail, heirs of Charles E. Trail and Grace W. Trail Jr., Florence Trail Davidson, Theresa McElfresh Trail, Beatrice N. Trail and Charles B. Trail, Jr., children of Charles B. Trail, deceased son of Charles E. Trail. Another heir, Ariana Trail Belt had already died. The children of Charles E. Trail got 1/6 share of the proceeds of the sale and the children of Charles B. Trail, deceased, got 1/5 of their late father's 1/6 share (or 1/30) of the proceeds. The sale price was $8,645.50.[57] The farm is also described as the one on which Whitmore is tenant. The farm is further described as the one which C.E. Trail devised in trust for the use and benefit of his son, Arthur Trail for his life, and at Arthur's death, the farm was to be sold and the proceeds were to be divided among C.E. Trail's residuary legatees. Apparently Arthur had a drinking problem and could have the farm only if he successfully cleaned up his act. Since the farm wound up in the hands of the legatees and was ultimately sold to the Whitmores, who were tenants on the property, we can only assume that Arthur continued his drinking.

These terms are all spelled out in C.E. Trail's will dated June 2, 1906. Trail states in his will, "I give and devise unto my sons Charles and Henry in trust for my son Arthur the farm in Baker Valley now tenanted by Whitmore containing about two hundred acres." (He also provided for Arthur another farm south of Buckeystown) The will stipulates that Charles and Henry shall pay to Arthur out of the rents and profits of the farms the sum of $500 per year in quarterly installments. "If my son Arthur shall begin within one year after my death to reform his dissipated habits and for three consecutive years wholly and totally abstain from all alcoholic liquors the farm in Bakers Valley shall be released from the trust and shall belong to him and his heirs forever.... But if my son Arthur shall not begin to reform...the trustees above named shall

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[57] Frederick County Land Record p. 336, p. 335.

then hold the Whitmore farm in Bakers Valley during the lifetime of my son and pay to him all the nett [sic] income thereof in lieu of the annuity before mentioned and at his death said farm shall be sold and proceeds divided among my residuary legatees." This is what happened to the farm and tenants, Frank and Clinton Whitmore purchased it. Charles E. Trail owned many farms in Frederick County, including the Best Farm (*Hermitage*), also named for its tenant, already discussed in this chapter.

Frank and Clinton Whitmore initially received the property on March 31, 1924 from Florence Trail and the heirs of Charles E. Trail. The property was described as containing 216 acres and 22 square perches of land, 1/4 mile south of Araby Chapel, and known as the "Whitmore Farm in Baker Valley." Thus the property was known as the Whitmore Farm even before the Whitmores owned it. On October 12, 1932 Frank Whitmore and Clinton Whitmore conveyed the farm to H. Keiffer Delauter for the purpose of reconveying it to Frank and Clinton Whitmore and Lewis Jamieson. Given the fact that this transaction occurred during the Great Depression, it may have been a response to financial maneuvering. Then, Frank Whitmore died in September of 1935. Clinton M. Whitmore and Lewis Jamieson conveyed the farm, containing 216 acres and 22 perches, to James H. and Pearl I. Whitmore on December 19, 1936. Pearl received the place when James died. Pearl then made a conveyance to Dorothy Keyes for the purpose of reconveyance to herself and Charlotte M. Whitmore. (Charlotte was apparently James' unmarried sister).[58] The acreage was throughout these transactions 216 with 22 square perches. Charles C. Geisbert acquired the property on April 30, 1945 from Pearl I. Whitmore, widow, and Charlotte M. Whitmore, unmarried.[59] The property was described as the Whitmore Farm containing 216 acres and 22 square perches of land.

In 1954, Dorothy Keyes conveyed the farm to Ira C. Geisbert. This property contained two parcels, Parcel I, with 82.194 acres that is our subject property, and Parcel II, for 85.631 acres.[60] This transaction was some type of reconveyance, because on October 10, 1950, Charles G. Geisbert, et ux conveyed to Ira C. Geisbert and Cassie O'Delle Geisbert, Parcels I and II, containing a total of 167.825 acres. On January 28, 1958, Ira C. Geisbert, unmarried, conveyed property known as "Parcel I," with 82.194 acres to Howard R. and Virginia P. Shafer, for 1/2 interest, and Anna Virginia and George D. Knill for the other 1/2 interest.[61] On May 1, 1958, Parcel I, part of the old McPherson Hill Farm, now with 60.97 acres was acquired by Earl F. and Betty B. Geisbert from Howard R. Shafer and Virginia P. and Anna V. and George D. Knill.[62] Apparently, the approximately 21-acre difference in the acreage between January and May of 1958 was the result of land being sold off separately. The National Park Service acquired the farm in 1989.

Description of Buildings on the Hill [Lewis] Farm:

The farmstead of the McPherson Hill Farm is situated on high ground with a west-facing, two part, sided log house, a southeast-facing frame closed forebay bank barn and a frame wagon

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[58] These transactions are described in Frederick County Land Record 404, page 594; 439, page 287 and 439, page 288.

[59] Frederick County Land Record 446, page 589.

[60] Frederick County Land Record 531, page 720.

[61] Frederick County Land Record 595, page 441.

[62] Frederick County Land Record Book 599, Page 147.



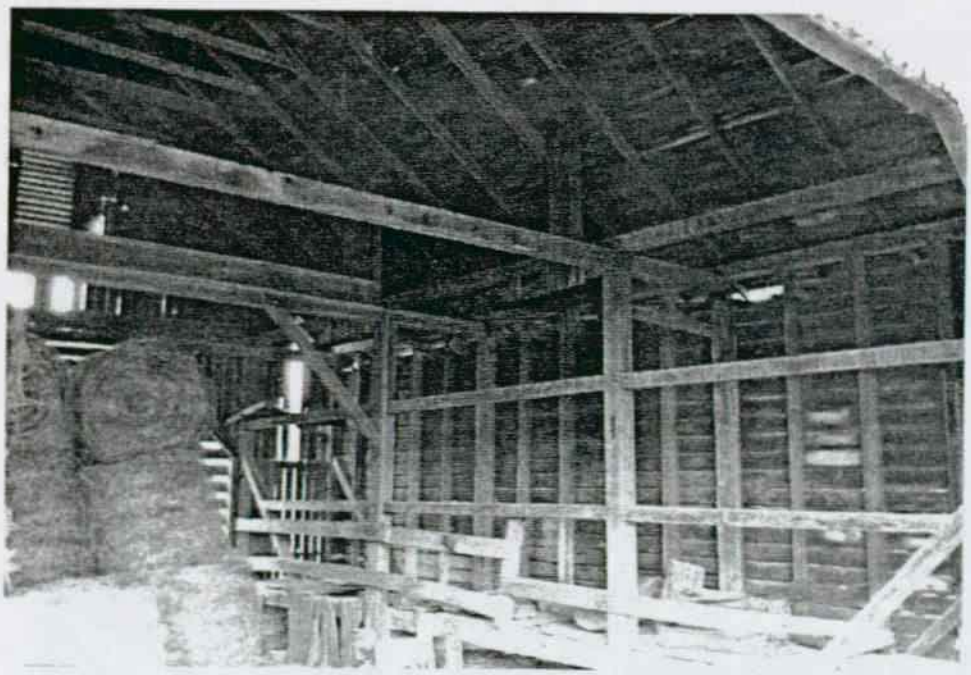
Hill Farm (Lewis Farm). Northwest view, east and south elevations. P. Reed 4/98.



Hill Farm (Lewis Farm). East elevation, west view. P. Reed 4/98.



Hill Farm (Lewis Farm). Wagon shed, northeast view. P. Reed 4/98.



Hill Farm (Lewis Farm). Interior, wagon shed. P. Reed 4/98.

shed and corncrib. The house appears to date from the 1850s, while the barn and wagon shed are more typical of the 1870s or 1880s. The barn's original foundation was replaced with concrete block sometime in the mid-20th century.

The house is covered with plain lapped siding, with its more formal facade facing west toward Baker Valley Road. The house appears to have been constructed in two parts, although the two sections could have been built at the same time. The total facade width is five bays, with the three bays to the north having a window, door, and window arrangement. Slightly separated are the two southern bays. Windows have six over six panes, although most have been covered with plywood in an effort to protect and stabilize the building. The roof is covered with sheet metal and there are chimneys inside the north gable and at the interior between the two sections of the house. At the west elevation, there is a small shed roofed entrance porch; and at the east elevation a shed roofed porch extends the entire length of the house. The house is one room deep with three rooms at the first story level. The main staircase rises from just behind the front entrance. The front door has four panels. In the northernmost room is a fireplace with a mantelpiece having an architrave and a bracketed shelf. The brick firebox is plastered, as was typical. Some walls have narrow width wainscoting, generally a late 19th century feature. These architectural features suggest that the house dates from 1850s at the earliest and probably had some features added later, in the 1880s. The house may have been built during the ownership of Henry Layman (1849-1856), or by the following owner, C.K. Thomas, as a tenant house.

The barn and wagon shed are the other two remaining buildings on the property. They were probably built during the Trail ownership, since their detailing is consistent with barn construction in the 1880s. The barn, located southeast of the house and facing away from it, is a frame closed forebay bank barn sheathed with vertical board siding. The foundation walls, almost certainly originally stone, were replaced with concrete block, probably in the 1940s, and the interior of the barn was adapted for dairy. This alteration would coincide with the purchase of the farm by the Geisbert family, who continue to operate a dairy farm on the Baker Farm, across the road from this place. The walls of the barn are embellished with arched-top louvered ventilator openings, arranged in tiers, with a pair of them in the peak of the gable. These are a Victorian period decorative feature, indicating a ca. 1880s construction date. North of the barn is a frame wagon shed and corncrib with vertical siding on the gable walls and horizontal siding on the sides. A shed extension on the east side was added to shelter machinery. In the gable is an arched louvered ventilator opening similar to those in the barn, except this one has a pointed rather than rounded arch. Since the barn and wagon shed appear to be more recently constructed than the house, there may be below ground evidence of former outbuildings.

Since records pertaining to this property are incomplete, more research is needed to try to determine who owned and resided upon this property during the Civil War. Sketchy documentary evidence now available suggests that at the time of the battle, the property may have been occupied by tenants of C.K. Thomas, since he acquired the property on December 28, 1863.

IV. The Worthington (Clifton) Farm:

BUCKEYSTOWN

Frederick Junction

Bush

RIVER

CLIFTON

MONOCACY

Lime Kiln

Buckeystown

Brick Kilns

Run

Michaels Mill

Hope Hill

Hope Hill Cem

Claggett Diocesan Center

Brandch

2 LANE

BM 256

BM 266

268

287

290

280

260

300

284

240

306

481

838

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522

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85

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382

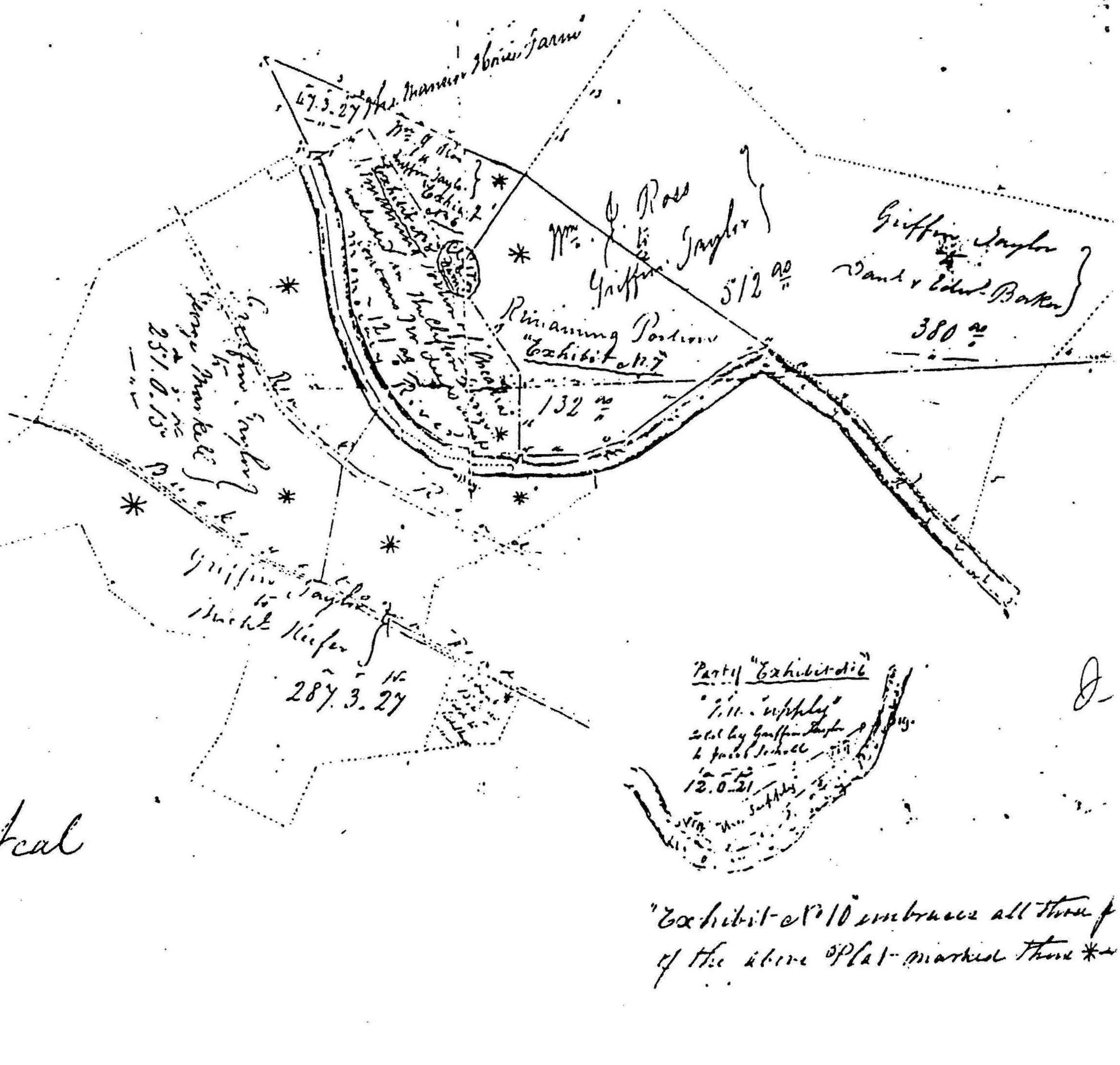
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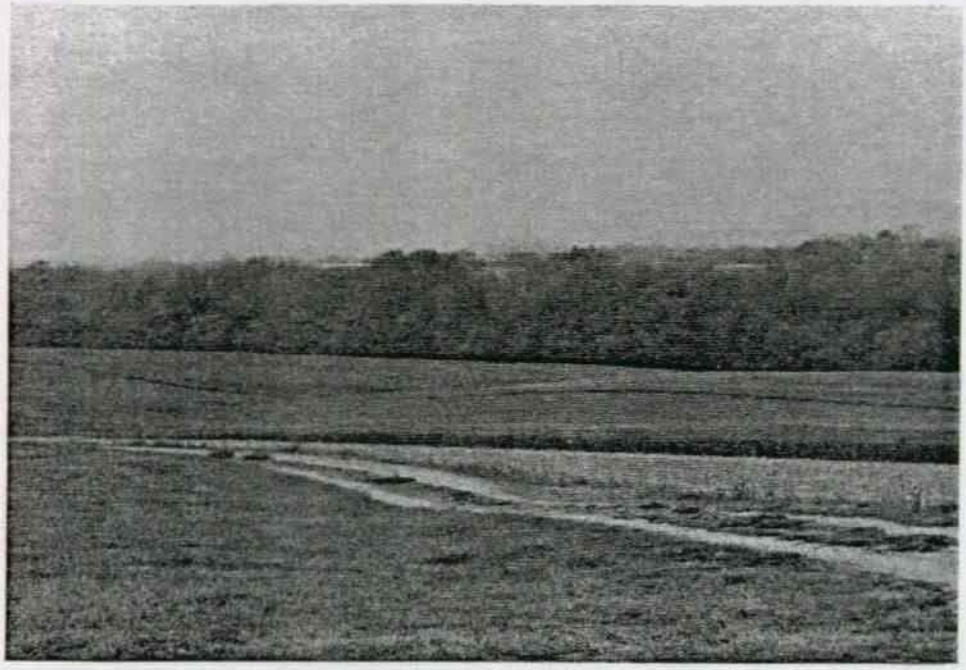
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CLIFTON FARM
(Worthington Farm, Riverside Farm)
HABS NO. MD-1052 (page 43)

Figure #3 Plat (1856) showing process by which Clifton Farm was created, and disposition of other parts of parent properties. Frederick County Equity Papers, Case #2638, Estate of Griffin Taylor, 1856.



"Exhibit-No 10" embraces all those parts of the above Plat marked thus *



Clifton. Setting, west view from house. Tree line marks old river path, now dry. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Setting. Old road trace to Monocacy Ford, west view. P. Reed 4/98.

The Worthington Farm, known as Clifton, is located immediately west of Araby, west of I-270 and northwest of the Baker Farm. Containing approximately 300 acres, the farm was assembled by Griffin Taylor from portions of adjoining tracts in the 1840s and early 1850s. The northern and western boundaries of the property are formed by a curve in the Monocacy River, and the east boundary is the crest of Brooks Hill. A long, thin neck of land extends to the northeast from the main body of the Clifton land, along the river to the Georgetown Pike. This constituted the original access corridor to the property. On the west side of the Monocacy, opposite this farm, Ballenger Creek enters the river. Just above this juncture is an old colonial period fording place, which gave access to Ballenger's mill and a small settlement near the mouth of the creek. This ford was the main Confederate crossing place during the Monocacy battle. Known at the time of the battle as the Worthington-McKinney Ford, it was the route used by Confederate forces to cross the river to clash with Ricketts Division of the US Army's Sixth Corps.

Most of the farm is open cropland today, with a tree line following the course of the river, and an inner parallel tree line following what appears to be a former river edge. Along the southeast side of the property, Brooks Hill, a wooded ridge, rises to a height of 480 feet. Along the west base of Brooks Hill is a small intermittent stream, Hardings Run, which emanates from high ground east of Baker Valley Road. The Clifton House is located on the highest point on the property (except for Brooks Hill), and faces east.

In 1835, Griffin Taylor purchased *Arcadia*, containing about 400 acres, from John McPherson, who was acting as trustee for the estate of John Brien. Presumably Taylor moved into the late 18th or early 19th century manor house on *Arcadia* (located on the west side of the river), which had previously been Brien's residence. James Marshall had the original grant made for *Arcadia* in 1793, for 881 acres (see preceding discussion of James Marshall's lands). Eventually, Taylor sold 287 of the 400 acres of *Arcadia* to Michael Keefer in 1851. He kept the 121 acres that were on the east side of the Monocacy.[63]

In 1841, Taylor acquired 512 acres from John L. Harding's estate, but almost immediately sold 380 acres of it to Daniel and Edward Baker (see Baker Farm discussion above).[64] The 132 acres that Taylor kept was the northwestern part of Harding's land, adjoining *Arcadia* and *Araby*. Harding's land was his wife Eleanor Marshall's inheritance from her father, James Marshall. Then, in 1847, Griffin Taylor purchased 47 acres of *Araby* from William J. Ross, trustee for the McPhersons.[65]

During the time that Taylor was assembling the lands from Harding's estate and *Araby*, he was living at *Arcadia*. In the year that he sold the main portion of *Arcadia* to Keefer, (1851) he also began construction of the complex of buildings which he named Clifton. It seems that Taylor's intent was to create a separate landholding and residential seat, east of the Monocacy and adjoining *Araby*. Perhaps Taylor had planned to acquire *Araby*, which by 1844 was in the hands of trustees. However, *Araby* was then sold to Isaac Baugher, who subsequently died in 1848. Taylor did eventually acquire the *Araby* Mansion Farm in 1852, and moved his residence there. Thus, if Taylor lived at Clifton at all, it was only for a year, from 1851 to 1852.

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[63] Frederick County Land Record JS 48, folios 522-524.
[64] Frederick County Land Record HS 14, folio 304.
[65] Frederick County Land Record WBT 5, folios 282-283.

Griffin Taylor died in 1855, at the age of 51. His trustees, Godfrey Koontz and Michael Keefer advertised the two farms, *Araby* and Clifton, for sale in 1856. The buyers were John F. and Catherine Wheatley of Baltimore and Turner A. and Elizabeth Ball of the District of Columbia. They formed a partnership along with James H. Gambrill to operate a distillery associated with Araby Mills (see *Araby* discussion above).[66] In the sale advertisement published in the Frederick Examiner, Clifton is described as adjoining *Araby*, containing 300 acres: "280 acres are in a high state of cultivation, the residue in Timber, and is acknowledged to be one of the most productive Farms in Frederick County. There is running water in every field. The improvements consist of a *new* [emphasis added] TWO-STORY BRICK HOUSE AND KITCHEN, a good Frame barn and Corn Crib, sufficiently large to house 400 barrels of corn; with a large number of FRUIT TREES..."

Unfortunately for the partnership, the distillery venture failed. In 1862, Clifton was sold to John T. Worthington.[67] The partnership had sold *Araby* two years earlier to C.K. Thomas. Apparently T.A. Ball continued to live at Clifton until 1862, when the farm was sold to John T. Worthington. Worthington seems to have been yet another wealthy landowner of Frederick County. In the 1850 Agricultural Census, John T. Worthington was recorded with 6,770 acres of improved land, and 2,490 acres unimproved, all in the New Market District (that would be east of the Georgetown Pike and east of the Monocacy River). The value of the real property was $124,080.00. In addition, he had livestock valued at $13,895.00, including 153 horses, 150 milch cows, 16 oxen, 177 cattle, 546 sheep and 803 swine. Crops included 5,882 bushels of wheat, 14,150 bushels of corn, 4,867 bushels of oats and lesser quantities of other products, such as peas and beans, rye, barley and buckwheat. Like other farm producers in the Monocacy area, Worthington seemed to have an inordinate amount of butter: 8,525 pounds. His farm implements were valued at $3,810.00. These figures, when compared with other Monocacy producers discussed above, show that John T. Worthington by far outproduced his neighbors.

Twenty years later, the 1870 agricultural census lists John T. Worthington with 276 acres improved and 25 unimproved (Clifton only), valued at $24,600.00. This was slightly higher than the value of adjoining *Araby* with 300 acres valued at $24,000.00, and substantially higher than Daniel Baker's 225 acres at $15,750.00. Worthington's livestock was valued at $1,465.00 and his farm implements at $400.00. He was paying $700.00 out in wages. On Araby, implements were valued at $1,000.00 and wages paid were $1,500.00, for comparison. Thus, while Worthington's land had a higher value than C.K. THOMAS' did, Thomas had more value in livestock and crops.

In 1860 general census records, John T. Worthington is listed in the Urbana District. By 1866, he not listed in assessments for the New Market District. He is listed in the Urbana District for only the land on Clifton Farm, 300 acres valued at $90.00 per acre and livestock valued at $350.00. In the 1870 general census, John T. Worthington's age was given as 44, which means that he would have been only 24 when he held such a large amount of property in 1850. In 1870, he is also listed with family members Mary, 36, keeping house, John H., 13, works on farm, Glenn, 12, who also worked on the farm, and Clark, aged 5. In addition to his wife and children, the Worthington household in 1870 included, Rolander, 14, a white farm worker; Fanny, a 16-year old black domestic, her one-year old son, John; Estelle, an 18-year old

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[66] Frederick County Land Record, ES 8, folios 564-566.
[67] Frederick County Land Record BGF 7, folios439-440.

mulatto domestic; and James, a 19-year old black farm worker. It is interesting that non-family members living in the household, whether black of white, are listed by first name only in the manner of slaves.

The 1880 general census lists John T. Worthington, aged 54, occupation, farmer, with Mary, 48, keeping house; Glenn H., 22, working on farm, Clark, 16, working on farm. In addition the household included Miranda Snowden, 55-year old black servant; John H. Posey, a 14-year old black farm laborer (the Posey family lived nearby, and had their own separate listing in the census); and James King, a 15-year old black farm laborer. In this record, non-family members listed by first and last name, suggesting that they were accorded a little more respect than 10 years earlier.

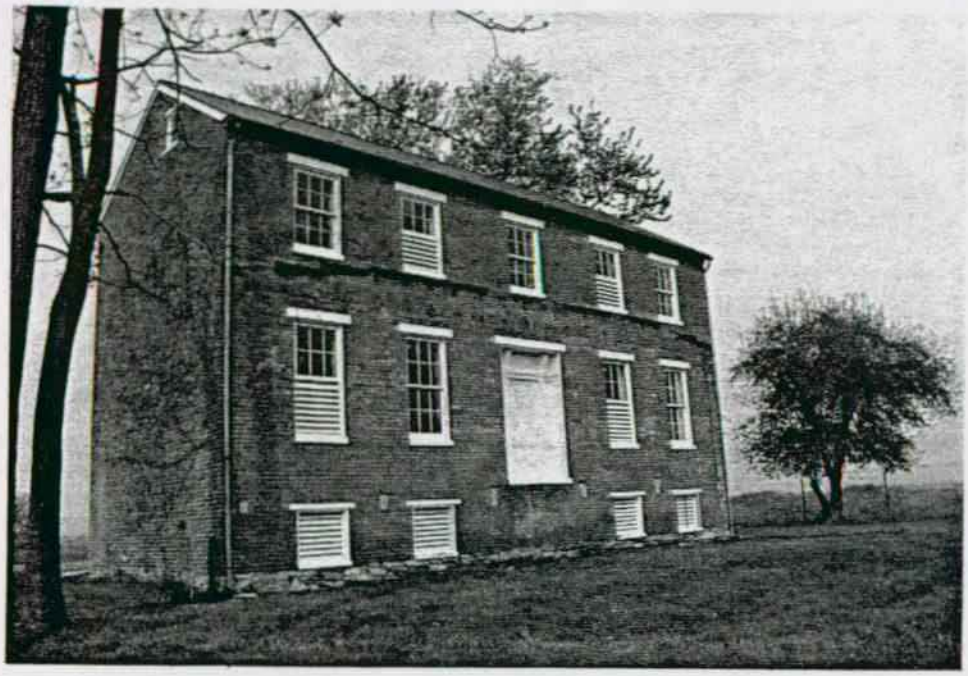
It seems that the Worthington family maintained the tradition of using blacks as a source of labor, whether slave or free, through the 19th century. Whether these people lived in the former slave quarters located south of the brick house, or whether they lived elsewhere on the property, or completely separately remains a mystery. If the blacks living with the Worthington family were former slaves, they may have preferred to affirm their freedom and independence by establishing their residence separate and apart from the main house.

The Worthington family retained the Clifton Farm property until 1953. The above property history summary was in part condensed from Historic American Buildings Survey documentation for the property prepared by Philip E. Pendleton, Historian, summer 1991. This HABS study included extensive historical background and description of the buildings at Clifton and is incorporated into this report by reference.

Buildings on the Worthington Farm (Clifton):

The only building remaining on the Clifton property is the house. It is a two-story, five bay brick dwelling with an L-extension to the rear. The house faces east, typical of Maryland farmhouses, and is designed with a Georgian-inspired window, window door, window, window plan. However, the detailing exhibits strong influence from the Greek Revival and Italianate styles from the third quarter of the 19th century. The house may have been built in 1851, for Griffin Taylor to move into after he left *Arcadia*, and, if so, was probably considered by him to be temporary, since he seems to have been considering, if not negotiating the purchase of the *Araby* mansion farm. Clifton was still described as a "new" dwelling when it was advertised for sale in 1856, after Taylor's death. The Clifton house is notably smaller than *Araby*, and appears more modestly appointed, except for the handsome painted decoration in the entrance hall and parlor, embellishments believed to have been added by later owners, Wheatley and Ball.

The sale advertisement mentions the house, kitchen (which may or may not have been in a separate building), a frame barn and corncrib. It seems unlikely that these were the only buildings on the property, although, the Clifton complex may still have been under construction at the time it was sold. If Griffin Taylor lived there only a short time before moving on to the *Araby* house, the group of buildings that normally characterize a farmstead may have been left unfinished. There is no mention in the advertisement of typical support structures such as chicken houses, hog pens, smoke houses, springhouses and other domestic buildings. It is possible, of course that the ad only highlighted the main buildings, leaving the ubiquitous service



Clifton. Front Elevation, northeast view. P. Reed 4/98.



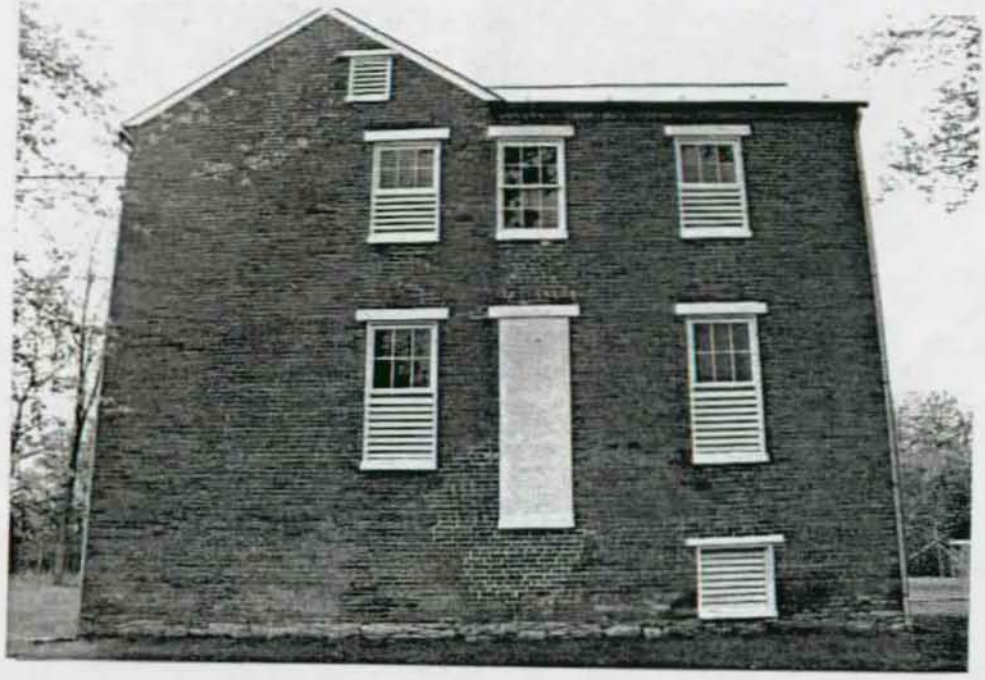
Clifton. Setting. Old road trace to Monocacy Ford, east view. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Front (East) Elevation, ca. 1851. P. Reed 4/98.



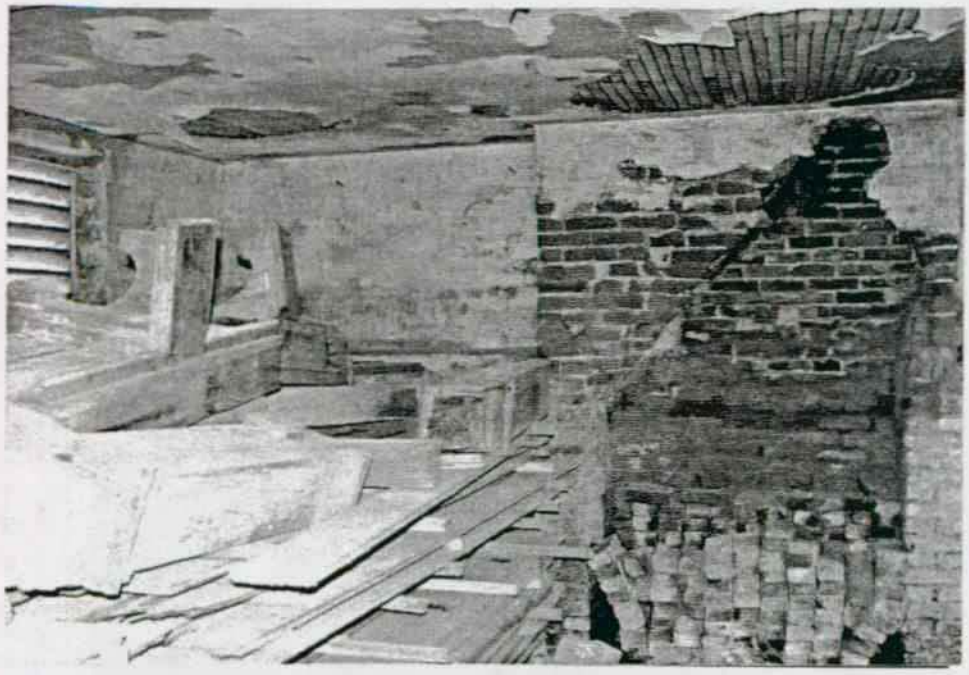
Clifton. Detail, front door and trim.
P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. North Elevation. P. Reed 4/98.



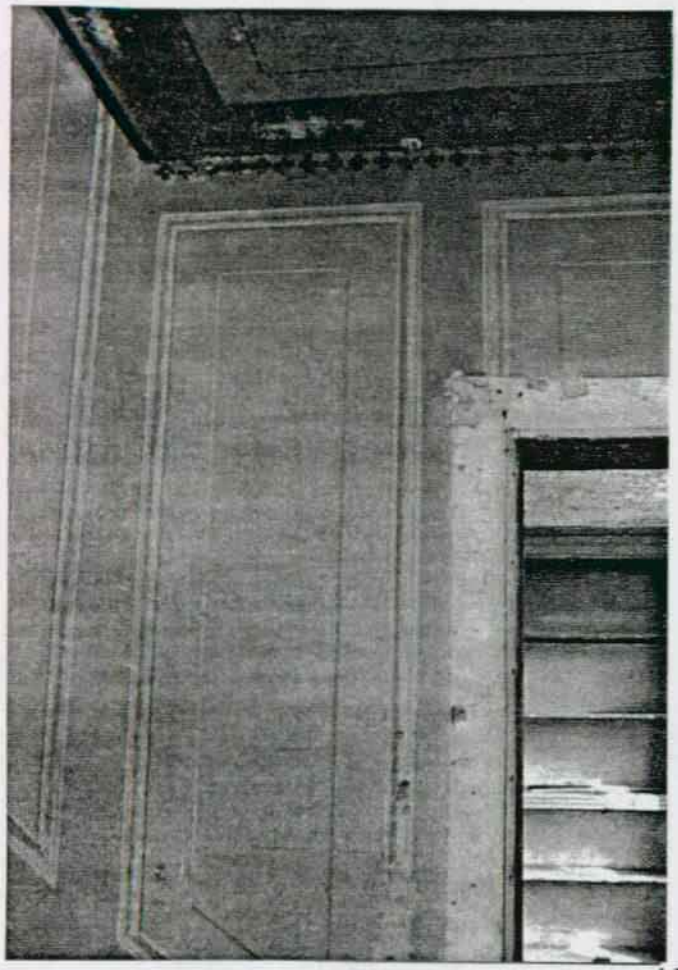
Clifton. Northeast view, rear elevation and kitchen wing. Several outbuildings were in this vicinity. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Interior, cellar, south room. P. Reed 4/98.



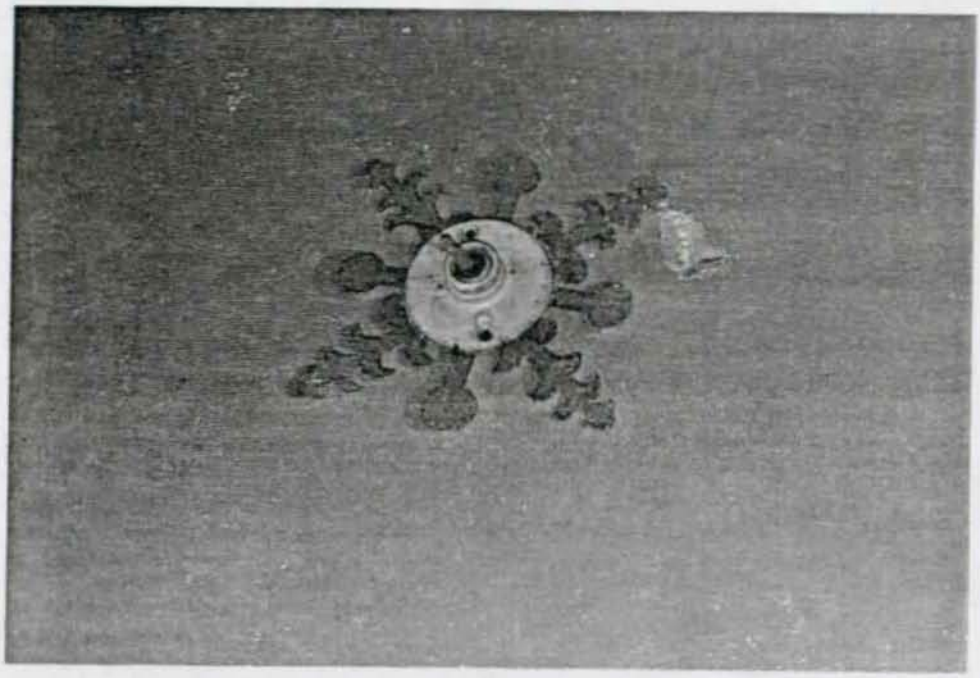
Clifton. Interior, main entrance and stair hall. Note decorative painting. P. Reed 4/98.



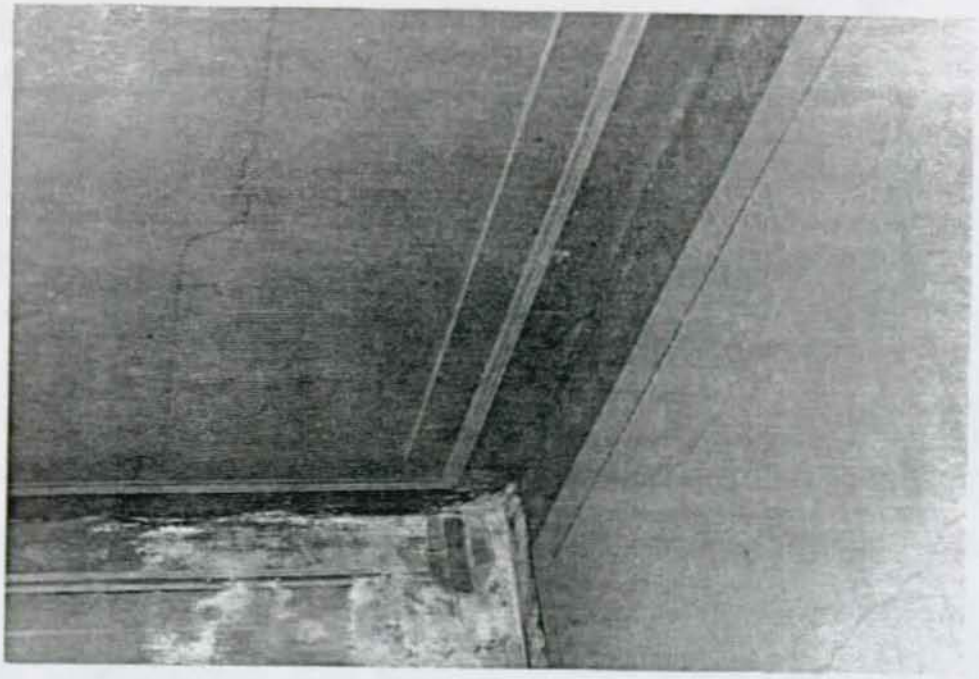
Clifton. Interior, main entrance and stair hall with decorative painting. P. Reed 4/98.



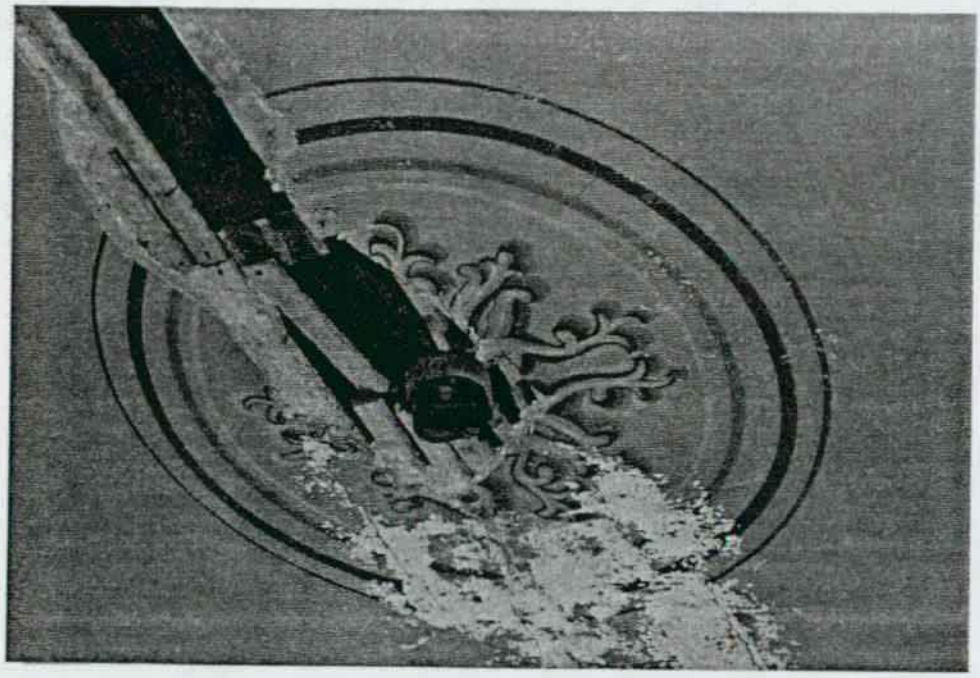
Clifton. Main staircase with decorative painting on walls P. Reed 4/98.



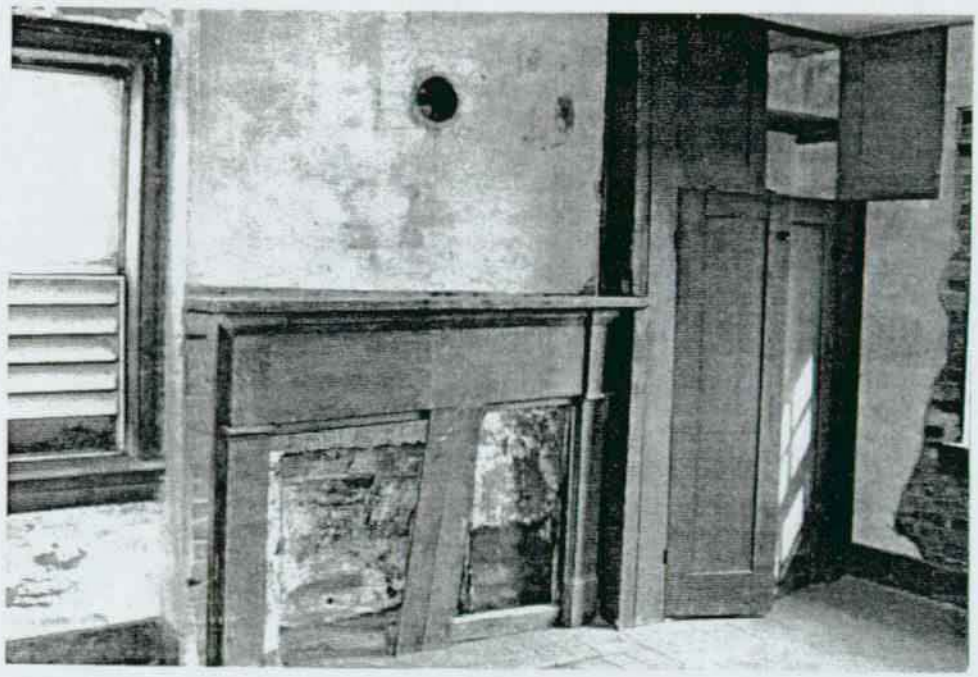
Clifton. Decorative painted ceiling medallion in entrance hall. P. Reed 4/98.



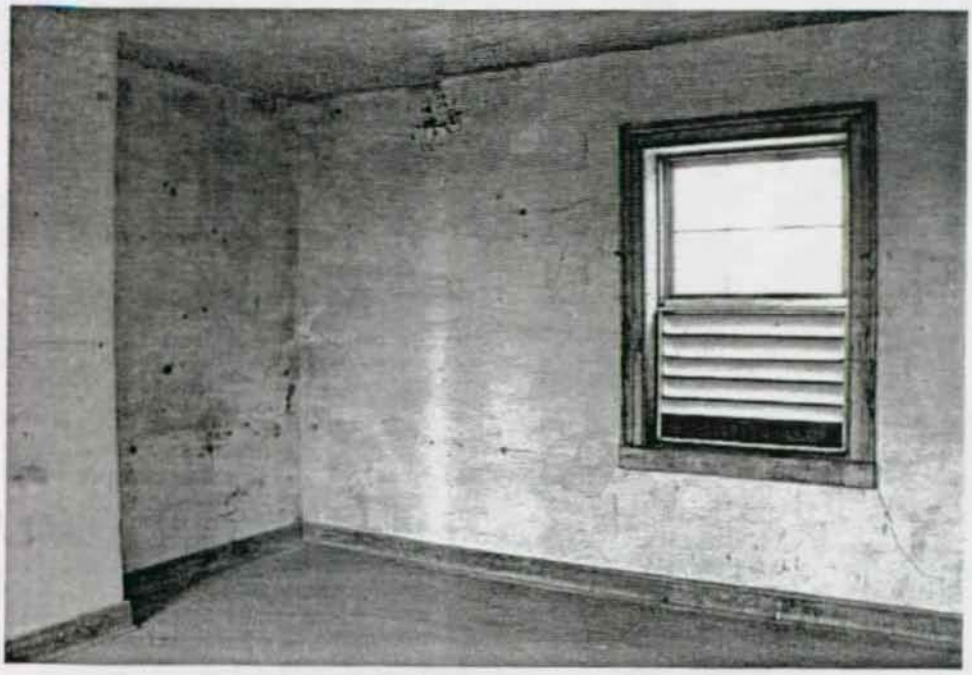
Clifton. Decorative painted ceiling and cornice, first floor, south room. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Decorative painted ceiling medallion, first floor, south room. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Second floor, north room, fireplace mantel and adjacent cupboard. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Second floor, west room in rear wing. P. Reed 4/98.



Clifton. Secondary dwelling site. Old fence row just north of house site, east view. P. Reed 4/98.

buildings unnoted. No slave quarters were mentioned, although they seem not to be included in enumerations of buildings in general in Frederick County.

Griffin Taylor was a slave owner. In the Slave Census of 1850 (while he still would have been living at *Arcadia*) he was listed with 18 slaves, men and women, ranging in age from five years to 60 years. In the 1860 Slave Census, John T. Worthington, who was to acquire Clifton in 1862, had seven slaves. T.A. Ball who lived at Clifton from 1856 to 1862 is not listed. However, in the general census for 1860, Adam Ball is listed in the Urbana District with a wife and four children. While Ball may not have owned slaves, certainly the owners before and after him did. It is likely therefore that the collection of buildings that were Clifton's farmstead included slave quarters. From information above, it is clear that the John Worthington family continued to include blacks in their household after slavery was abolished as farm workers and domestics.

Writing in 1932, Glenn Worthington, recalled the Battle of Monocacy around his home and farmland, and mentioned slave quarters standing to the south of the house. A ca. 1930 drawing of the farmstead made by late Frederick County artist Helen Smith shows the house, barn, slave quarters and several other domestic and agricultural structures. Also shown is a combination of rail and paling fence around the yards. The slave quarters are shown to be wooden, with vertical board siding, one story in height with a central chimney. Allowing for some artistic license, the drawing probably depicts the farmstead fairly accurately, for it includes the type and arrangement of buildings typical of Frederick County farms. Archaeological investigation in the likely location of the additional buildings may yield more information about the number, type and age of associated buildings for Clifton.

For the house, the most significant feature is the decorative painting in the entrance hall and parlor. The work, done by the hand of a master, is combined trompe l'oeil (fool the eye) and stenciling to give the illusion of paneled walls and molded plaster cornice work. The paint has deteriorated due to neglect of the house during the mid 20th century, but is certainly restorable. The work has been attributed to Constantine Brumidi, the Italian artist who created the frescoes in the US Capitol building. Brumidi was working on the capitol in the mid-to-late 1850s. Several other houses in Frederick County have decorative painting attributed to Brumidi, and apparently he did supplement his income with commissions in the vicinity of Washington. Experts on Brumidi's work may be able to identify for certain whether this attribution is correct.

For a complete architectural description of Clifton Farm's house, please see Pendleton's HABS documentation.

While the main Clifton house has been extensively investigated, remnants of another dwelling complex on the farm were only discovered recently. This domestic site is located on the south side of an old fence line at the northwest base of Brooks Hill, south of the Clifton house. A pair of very large trees stands like gateposts on either side of what may have been a path or walkway to the house. All that remains of the dwelling is a stone foundation, a two room cellar depression and a brick chimney which fell outward from what was most likely the north gable end of the house. There was also some scattered surface debris around the site, which is overgrown with saplings and small trees. The house does not appear on any historic maps of the property, nor is it shown on recent topographical maps. According to Monocacy National Battlefield personnel, surrounding property owners who were asked, had no knowledge of the



Clifton. Secondary dwelling site. Pair of large marker trees in front of house site, northeast view. P. Reed 7/98.



Clifton. Secondary dwelling site. Old fence row just north of house site, west view. P. Reed 7/98.



Clifton. Secondary dwelling site, cellar depression. P. Reed 7/98.



Clifton. Secondary dwelling site. Pair of large marker trees, west view from house site. P. Reed 7/98.



Clifton. Secondary dwelling site, foundation remnant. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. B&O bridge, Frederick Junction, west view. P. Reed 4/98.

place. Definitely this house site is worthy of further study and archaeological investigation. The brick chimney, which is now horizontal, lying as it fell, is made of hard red bricks, is small in size and appears to date from the late 19th century. This is flimsy evidence for dating the whole house, but there was nothing specific at the site to suggest a construction date earlier that the late 19th century. If the house dates from after the Civil War, that explains why it does not appear on battle-era maps.

The small size of the house and the fact that it is not remembered, and was not maintained or preserved leads to speculation about who lived there and what happened to them. Perhaps this was the home of one of the freed slave families who had been associated with either Griffen Taylor or John T. Worthington. In particular the Worthington association would fit the supposed time period of the house ruins. We know that Worthington had black farm workers and domestic servants in his household during the 1870s and 1880s. While to be listed under the Worthington household in the census records meant that these persons were living with the family, certainly other members of these African-American families were living nearby. For example, John H. Posey was a black farm laborer living in the Worthington household in 1880. However, the Posey family had their own census listing, and appearing near the Worthingtons on the census list meant that they were living nearby. While it is risky to assume that the Poseys were living in the mystery house, the ruins of which are on the Clifton Farm, it is quite possible that one of the neighborhood's African-American families lived there.

One of the puzzles of Monocacy is where did the freed African-Americans live? Census records show that after the Civil War, African-Americans continued to have a significant presence in the households of the owners of the Monocacy farms. While some of these individuals lived within the white households, the rest of their families did not. The assumption is that African-American families lived in modest houses on rented land at the edges of the large farms. This is a pattern that prevailed throughout the South, and probably occurred in Maryland as well. There now appears to be little or no presence of African-Americans in the Monocacy study area. The families must have moved on, perhaps to Frederick, or nearby communities, or to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where an African-American community had been established in the 3rd Ward since the early 19th century,[68] or to Baltimore or Washington where other opportunities awaited.

V. Railside Properties

On the east side of the Monocacy River along the B&O Railroad is a cluster of properties that were once part of the community known as Frederick Junction, Monocacy Junction, or Araby. These were the names given to a siding and junction area near the railroad bridge across the Monocacy River. The actual junction or split in the railroad was located west of the river, but the small community that developed in the vicinity was on the east side. It was from here that goods produced at Araby Mills and distillery were shipped out by rail. It was also here that General Lew Wallace maintained headquarters during the Battle of Monocacy, and on high ground north of the railroad where defensive positions were established during the battle, and

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[68] Reed, Paula S. and Associates, Inc. "S. Washington St.-Breckenridge St. Survey Area Final Report," June, 1999.

BUCKEYSTOWN QUAD

RAILSIDE PROPERTIES

RIVER

MONOCACY

Frederick Junction

Bush

Lime Kiln

Buckeystown

Brick Kilns

Run

Michaels Mill

Hope Hill

Hope Hill Cem

Claggett Diocesan Center

Branch

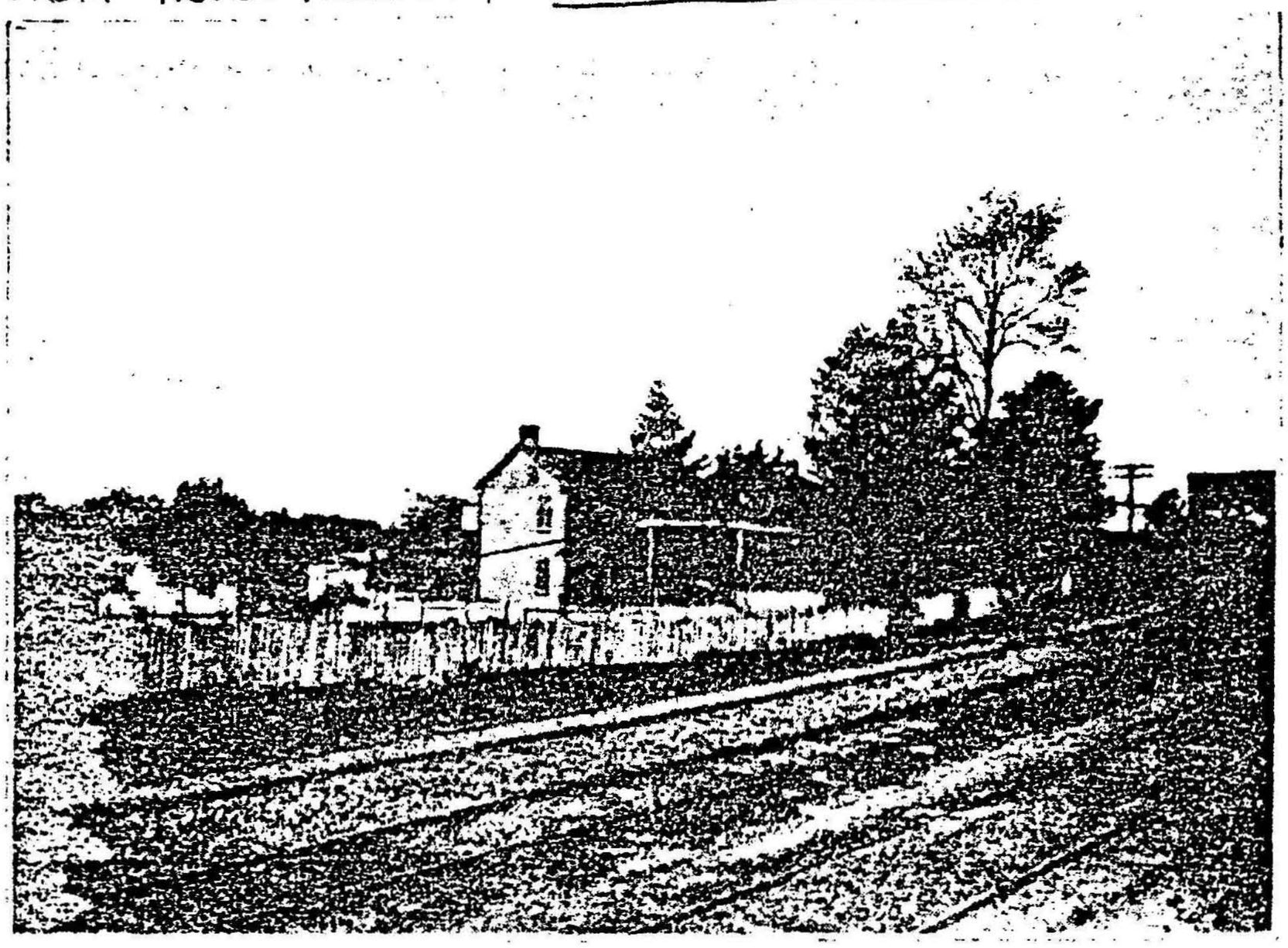
2 LANE

BM 266

BM 268

BM 256

FROM T.J.C. WILLIAMS, HISTORY OF FREDERICK COUNTY (FACING P. 80)



Headquarters of Gen. Lew Wallace, During Battle of Monocacy.

throughout the war to protect the rail crossing. A public road once ran through the settlement, north to south, linking roads to the north at Crum's Ford across the Monocacy and ultimately the National Pike with the Georgetown Pike. This road provided access to the railroad from Araby Mills and distillery, as well as access to the National Road, and served farmers living all along its route. Now all that is left of the road is a trace, in some places passable as a field access lane, in others it is a leveled grade along the cliffs above the Monocacy, no longer navigable except as a foot path. The road is shown on Civil War era maps, and portions of it are shown on current USGS maps. It is shown as a public road on a 1933 plat of the Markell Farms, which lay north of the railroad and east of the river.[69]

According to Scharf's History of Western Maryland, the vicinity known as Frederick Junction included in the 1880s, a post office, and a community of railroad workers and tradesmen. "Araby sometimes called Frederick Junction is on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, three miles from Frederick. W.T. Mullinex is postmaster; F.B. Miller, assistant post master and dispatcher; W.T. Mullinex, railroad and express agent; Frank Mantz, train superintendent; John O'Brien, railroad foreman; Charles Reach, merchant; J.E. Divelbiss, cooper; Harry Hartman, blacksmith; W.H. Kemp, carpenter; J.H. Gambrill, Thos. Kenna and C. Staley, millers."[70]

Although it is not clear just when this rail side community developed, the B&O Railroad has a definite construction period and figures importantly in the development of the study area. By 1831, condemnation proceedings were underway for lands in the railroad's path, both for the main line and for the spur into Frederick, indicating that construction was planned for both routes simultaneously.[71] Key landowners in the Monocacy battlefield area when the railroad was developed were John McPherson, John Brien, Horatio McPherson and John McPherson Brien who among them owned *Araby, L'Hermitage* and *Arcadia.* In fact, as the right-of-way proceedings were underway in the late summer and fall of 1831, John McPherson was having *Araby* surveyed and patented and he had established the Araby Mills along the proposed route of the new railroad in 1830. Brien had purchased *L'Hermitage* from Victoire Vincendiere in 1827. Perhaps the McPhersons and Briens (who were related) acquired these properties to take advantage of opportunities that would come with the railroad.

Although the area where the railroad crosses the Monocacy and splits with the main line turning southwest and the spur heading northwest into Frederick seems remote now, it once was an active place. There is now no easy access to the site of this settlement; one must either walk across the railroad bridge or ford Bush Creek. The area between the Araby Mill site and the junction is low and marshy, prone to flooding, while the north side of the tracks consists of rugged high ground. Yet, in the 19th century, the junction vicinity bustled and included the distillery, near the mouth of Bush Creek, a warehouse and several dwellings and their support buildings. These building were located on the east side of the river. A photograph of the community that developed just east of the junction and the Monocacy River is published in Williams' 1910 History of Frederick County, Maryland. Now all that remains are foundations of the buildings, which hugged the south side of the tracks, and faced onto them. Other buildings were set between Bush Creek and the railroad. Some of the foundations are of concrete, indicating 20th century construction, in addition to the remains of older buildings. The railroad at

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[69] Frederick County Land Record, Book 511, p. 127.
[70] Thomas J. Scharf, History, Vol. I, p. 599.
[71] Frederick County Land Record, JS 37, p. 48 ff.

this point runs along the north side of Bush Creek. The two are tightly compressed just to the east, as they pass through a narrow ravine between two ridges.

The foundations of buildings and cellar depressions are all that is visible now. Obvious foundations remain from two buildings. One foundation located closest to the river and trestle bridge defines a two-room cellar with an L-extension to the rear. A concrete porch deck remains at the front of the site along the tracks. The other foundation, a short distance to the east is smaller and raised, with a full story exposed at the rear (south) side. The cellar may have had a walk-in entrance on this side. The second foundation is much smaller than the first, and may have been for a small dwelling or support building. The brick warehouse may have been located further to the west from these foundations, in an area now covered with brush and rubble. The ca. 1910 photograph of the site, published in T.J.C. Williams' History of Frederick County, Maryland, shows the L-shaped frame building, probably the same one described in an 1897 sales advertisement quoted below. Although Williams states in the caption that this was the headquarters for Lew Wallace during the Battle of Monocacy, the building may date from after the war. Archaeological investigation of the foundation remnants and site contents should help to establish a range of construction dates for the house. The photo also shows two small buildings to the left (east) of the house. One of these probably sat upon the other remaining aboveground foundation. In the photo, the house has a shed roofed porch across the front, inside end brick chimneys and windows with louvered shutters, closed on the east end wall. A paling fence extends in front of the buildings separating them from the railroad. The photo may also show (slightly) a larger gabled building partially hidden by a tree immediately to the right of the house. Perhaps this was the brick distillery/warehouse.

In addition to the dwellings and their support buildings, and the warehouse, there were blockhouses erected on each side of the river to protect the crossing during the Civil War. On the north side of the tracks on the high ground above the river are Civil War fortifications, still evident today in the form of shallow ditches (trenches) paralleling the old road trace, and a rectangular cavity in the ground (likely a powder magazine).

The portion of this junction area on the east side of the river was part of the *Araby* tract. When *Araby* was broken apart in the 1840s, the rail side area became part of the Araby Mill property. In 1897, James Gambrill, owner of the Araby Mills since 1855, was forced to sell the property because of failure of his business. The advertisement of sale of the Gambrill Mill property includes a description of the railside properties at that time. "There is on this property [Araby Mills tract] a private switch and brick warehouse along the main stem of the B&O R.R. Also a stone and weatherboard dwelling house two stories high, in good condition. The trustees reserve off of this property a small lot containing about 1 ¼ acres of land sold by James H. Gambrill to one William M. Moler with the right to convey the same."[72] There was also a private siding for the mill to accommodate the warehouse. The warehouse was actually an adaptive reuse of the unsuccessful distillery that had been built by the partnership consisting of Gambrill, Wheatley and Ball. Wheatley and Ball together owned the Araby Mansion farm and Clifton, which they bought in 1856. Gambrill owned the Araby Mills. The partnership in the distillery was formed in 1857, and the distillery had failed by 1860. The brick "warehouse" was the former distillery, according to Pendleton's HABS report. If so, it probably dated from 1857.

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[72] Frederick County Equity Records, No. 6708. Sale of James Gambrill real estate, 1897.



Railside Properties. Foundation of L-shaped frame house, south side railroad, southwest view. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. Stone foundation of small building south side of railroad, northeast view. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. Old road trace to Frederick Junction, north of railroad, south view. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. Old road trace to Frederick Junction, north of railroad, north view. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. North side of railroad, north view of remnant of trenches, just left of center. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. North side of railroad, old road trace and possible trench fortification, southwest view. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. Northeast view across Markell Farm, north side of railroad track. Union encampment site, 1863, 1864. P. Reed 4/98.



Railside Properties. Dug depressions in ground, possible powder magazine location. P. Reed 4/98.

However, it is possible, even likely that some buildings may have been at the rail siding as early as the 1830s, when John McPherson built the Araby mill, knowing full well that the railroad was coming.

The railside properties are on three separate parcels as acquired by the National Park Service: 101-01, 101-02 and 101-29. The first two are on the south side of the railroad tracks and the third is on the north side, including part of the old road trace and the Civil War fortifications. Parcels 101-01 and 101-02 adjoin each other and were part of a larger 9 acre and 20 perches tract that James Gambrill conveyed to the partnership consisting of himself, John F. Wheatley and T. A. Ball, on August 12, 1857.[73] The partnership was recorded as "Wheatley, Ball and Gambrill." The transaction was handled through an attorney/trustee, William Ross. The deed refers to the property as part of the "Mill Lot..." "Beginning in the middle of the railroad at the end of 2 ¼ perches on a line drawn...from the northeast corner of the 'New Distillery' erected on the parcel now being described..." Thus the nine-acre piece included the "new" distillery in 1857. From buildings shown on topographical maps, it is evident that the distillery was on the parcel that came to be the National Park Service acquisition 101-02. The nine-acre distillery lot was part of the larger Araby Mill property, containing 65 acres, which James H. Gambrill purchased from George M. and Margaret Delaplaine on March 31, 1855 for $10,000.00.[74] The 65 acres included part of *Araby* and part of the *Resurvey on the Hermitage*. The Delaplanes had acquired the property in 1847 from William Ross, the attorney/trustee handling the sale of John McPherson's estate.[75]

After the demise of the distillery in 1860, the partnership of Wheatley, Ball and Gambrill sold the nine acres and 20 perches, the distillery property, to Benjamin Brown for $4,000. This transaction occurred on June 4, 1860.[76] Then, in February of 1864, Benjamin Brown conveyed 5 ¾ acres of the nine-acre distillery parcel back to James Gambrill.[77] This 5 ¾ acres encompassed the parcel currently identified as 101-01, which is only 1 ¼ acres, and seems to have included the distillery as well, although at some point it was converted to a warehouse, either by Brown, or by Gambrill, when he bought the property back.

James Gambrill held the 5 ¾ acres until his business failure in 1897, when all of his mill property was sold to pay creditors. Gambrill's personal financial crisis in 1897 was probably part of a major economic depression that gripped the United States in the mid 1890s. In 1897, Gambrill's trustees conveyed 1 ¼ acres (of the 5 ¾ acres) to William and Nannie Moler.[78] Apparently, Gambrill had already sold the property to Moler, prior to the trustees' acquisition of the property, according to a reference in the equity court records, and the deed record above confirms the earlier transaction. Probably William Moler either worked for the railroad or had been an employee of Gambrill Mill. The 1 ¼ acre lot is the property that becomes known as parcel 101-01.

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[73]Frederick County Land Record ES 10, page 523, 524.
[74] Frederick County Land Record ES 6, page 405.
[75] Frederick County Land Record WBT 5, page 358.
[76] Frederick County Land Record BGF 5, page 653.
[77] Frederick County Land Record JWLC 1, page 137.
[78] Frederick County Land Record JLJ 16, page 362.

On March 31, 1900, William M. and Nannie May Moler sold the lot to John F. Booker for $575.00.[79] The lot remained in the Booker family until 1977, descending from John Booker to Joseph Booker to William Booker to Jesse Willard Booker. From the 1 ¼ acres, two small parcels were conveyed off, .028 acre to the B&O Railroad in 1908 and .064 acre to Lucian R. Osborne in 1912. On February 15, 1977, the tract (now containing 1.16 acres) was conveyed to George A. Eckenrode, Jr.[80] Then, on September 29, 1984, George A. and Mary Eckenrode sold parcel 101-01 to the National Park Service.[81]

Parcel 101-02 comes from a different part of the nine-acre tract that Benjamin Brown purchased from Wheatley, Ball and Gambrill. This piece went through numerous transactions, and includes the site of the buildings pictured in Williams' History. On March 31, 1864, Benjamin F. Brown with his wife, Dorcas, sold 4 1/8 acres to Elenora Lyeth for $1500.00. On the same day, John McF. Lyeth and Eleanora his wife signed a mortgage document for $1200.00 with interest.[82] On December 13, 1867, Benjamin Brown, together with John McF. Lyeth sold 4 1/8 acres to Charles J. Taylor for $1,600.00.[83] A year later on December 7, 1868, Taylor sold the same parcel for the same price to Francis B.G. Miller.[84] F. B. Miller was listed in Scharf's history as the assistant postmaster and dispatcher for Frederick Junction.

On September 19, 1870, Francis B.G. Miller sold the same 4 1/8 acres to Ann R. Johnson.[85] Ann Ross Johnson could have been, possibly, a daughter of William Ross, the attorney who handled the break up of *Araby* for his cousin Fanny McPherson and John McPherson. On April 3, 1872, Worthington Johnson and Ann R. Johnson, his wife, conveyed the 4 1/8 acres to Tideman Hull.[86] Apparently Tideman Hull later defaulted on his mortgage, and the 4 1/8 acres, as the result of Equity Court proceedings, was sold to J. and M. Cronise for $900.00.[87] In 1880, March 16th, Joseph and Margaret R. Cronise sold the 4 1/8 acres to James M. Howard for $1,025.00.[88] Like Tideman Hull before him, James M. Howard defaulted on his mortgage and through an Equity Court proceeding, the 4 1/8 acres was sold on December 7, 1881 to Francis Mantz for $850.00.[89]

Francis Mantz was, according to Sharf's History, the train superintendent at the Junction. In 1864, he had the same job and was hurriedly moving railroad cars from the junction back to Baltimore during the Monocacy Battle emergency. He was living in the vicinity of the junction in 1864, but in 1881 he purchased the subject 4 1/8 acres. Mantz and his wife kept the property until June 27, 1888, when they sold it to Woodward and Sarah Roberts for $900.00.[90] The Roberts subdivided the property into three smaller lots. One lot the Roberts retained, and the

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[79] Frederick County Land Record DHH 5, page 595.
[80] Frederick County Land Record 1010, page 842.
[81] Frederick County Land Record 1257, page 42.
[82] Frederick County land Records JWLC 1, pages 356 and 357. Mrs. Lyeth's name is spelled both as Elenora and Eleanora.
[83] Frederick County Land Record CM1, page 58.
[84] Frederick County Land Record CM 2, page 572.
[85] Frederick County Land Record CM 5, page 593.
[86] Frederick County Land Record CM 8, page 400.
[87] Frederick County Land Record TG 8, page 110.
[88] Frederick County land Record AF 1, page 413.
[89] Frederick County Land Record, AF 4, page 379.
[90] Frederick County Land Record WIP 6, page 364.

other two were sold off in the 1930s. However, the two that had been sold off eventually were conveyed back to Woodward and Sarah Roberts, one in 1933, and one in 1937.[91]

By 1946, Sarah Roberts owned the whole piece of property; probably Woodward had died by then. She sold the property to Elmer J. and Hattie A. Shelton for $10.00 as payment for their caring for Sarah and for a Mrs. Beard.[92] In 1960, Hattie A. Shelton sold the property, containing all three subdivided parcels to Bert L. and Kay Santen.[93] Following a pattern that had developed with the property, in 1967, Kan Santen, alone, sold the property to Charles P. and Letitia Staley, who in 1972 sold it to George and Mary Eckenrode.[94] This was parcel 101-02, which the Eckenrodes sold to the National park Service in 1984.[95]

This is the property with the foundations of the L-shaped frame house. Modern topographical maps indicate that two other houses were also located on the tract. Civil War era maps show the distillery and warehouse, but no particular dwellings. Certainly the railroad switchman had to live very near these properties. During the Monocacy Battle Francis Mantz reported that he wasn't sure if his house was on fire, or if it was the railroad bridge. Railroad personnel probably lived in the immediate vicinity since the 1830s. Given the numerous times these properties changed hands, and the low price of the land, the buildings may have come and gone, several times. Most sources agree that General Lew Wallace had headquarters in a frame house on the south side of the railroad, just east of the bridge. That area would be encompassed by parcel 101-02, which at the time of the battle was owned by Eleanora Lyeth although it was mortgaged to the former owner, Benjamin Brown. According to research assembled by Monocacy Battlefield personnel, Captain John McF. Lyeth was in the Union service in the 1st Maryland Regiment and he owned the house where Wallace established his headquarters. Clearly, the railroad properties need further archaeological study to establish their age, and the extent of resources standing at the time of the battle.

The third parcel making up the railside properties at Monocacy is the 6.38-acre piece on the north side of the railroad. This is identified on National Park Service Maps, as parcel 101-29. It is bounded on the west by the Monocacy River and on the south by the B&O Railroad. This is part of a 45-acre tract from *Araby*. When *Araby* was subdivided and sold in the 1840s, John Markell purchased this piece, described as "lot No. 15,", on July 1, 1844.[96] The Markell family assembled several farms along the north side of the railroad totaling 859 acres. The property descended through the Markell family until 1944, when John Usher Markell sold Markell Farm #3 to William F. Atkinson, et al. Farm #3 contained a little more than 355 acres, including the old 45-acre piece from *Araby*. There was also a reservation of a right-of-way for ingress and egress to the farm on an 8-acre tract of woodland. This reserved right-of-way may be the path of the old road to Frederick Junction.

On April 1, 1949, William F. Atkinson, et al sold the property to Francis H. and Barbara M. Ladson.[97] They, in turn sold 6.38 acres to the National Park Service in 1987.[98] On this piece

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[91]These various transactions are recorded in Land Records 390/15; 409/518.
[92]Frederick County Land Records 457, page 131.
[93]Frederick County Land Record 632, page 298.
[94]Frederick County Land Records 768, page 616, 887, page 491.
[95] Frederick County Land Records 1257, page 45.
[96]Frederick County Land Records HS 1, page 537.
[97]Frederick County Land Record 479, page 7.

of property are remnants of Civil War fortifications. The land extends up a high, steep bluff above the river with a commanding view across to the southwest. It provided an ideal location for guarding approaches to the river and both the railroad and highway bridges over it. Union guard units did just that. Depressions in the ground near and along the old road trace to the junction are manmade trenches and a rectangular hole dug nearby has the appearance of having been part of a powder magazine. These fortifications probably predate the Battle of Monocacy, since the railroad junction was an important place on a major Union supply and transportation route. The B&O was guarded (with mixed success) throughout the war.

During the late 19th century, Frederick Junction was a viable community, as suggested by the description in Scharf. However, by the turn of the century the situation gradually began to change. In 1897, James H. Gambrill was forced to sell the mill and his other property to pay debts. With the mill business diminishing, the warehouse activity stopped and the action at the Araby siding slowed. None of the cluster of buildings that formed the little community at the railroad tracks remains; only foundations and rubble mark what was once there. The road, which once gave access to the rail siding, ceased to be used and became overgrown, although still discernable. The Civil War fortification remnants lie protected by undisturbed woodland. The visual feeling of the junction area is quite different now from its appearance through most of the 19th century. However, much remains to tell the story of the settlement, development and decline of this small community.

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[98]Frederick County land Record 1427, page 888.

Chapter VI: Conclusions

The Monocacy National Battlefield properties form a significant cultural resource reflecting three centuries of occupation of a cohesive historic landscape. The peopling of the Monocacy area is particularly important. The place drew investors and families from the Tidewater region of Maryland, German farmers from Pennsylvania, French refugees, Scots and a sizable number of African-American slaves. These groups blended and interacted on the five farms that make up the Monocacy battlefield. This study has brought to light some new information about many of these connections and has left more questions about the people who lived within this landscape, and their cultures.

Onto this rural, but sophisticated landscape was overlaid the drama of the Civil War, which was played out at Monocacy over three successive summers in 1862, 1863 and climaxing with the Monocacy Battle to Save Washington in 1864. The importance of Monocacy rail crossing and junction in the Civil War is underscored by protection accorded to the area which was occupied by Union troops from 1861-1865. The military presence was to protect the railroad bridge and thus the rail route, plus routes into Frederick, which was an important Union supply base during the war. The significance of the Civil War association at Monocacy was officially recognized on June 21, 1934, when Congress approved an act to "establish a national battlefield at the battlefield of Monocacy." The cultural history of Monocacy, however, was never fully studied and assembled into one document. This project attempts to pull together the history of the cultural landscape that is the Monocacy battlefield to provide for a broader understanding of the historical events that have occurred here. What was found is that the historical associations of Monocacy are so large and complex that this report merely begins the process, and hopefully will become a basis for further study and development of important research.

This report does provide adequate information for updating the Monocacy battlefield's National Register nomination to address new contexts and new information about resources in the park. The nomination can be prepared with this information base. Only the Araby farm property was unexplored, and will need to be visited and photographed, when appropriate to do so.

The following recommendations for additional study result from new questions, which have come to light as part of this cultural resource study.

A. General.

1. Conduct further study of the African Americans who contributed to the history of Monocacy, first as slaves, and then as freedmen, but continuing work among the landowning families of Monocacy. What was their path from slavery to freedom and how did freed African Americans fare in the process

of becoming independent as they continued to live and work among former slave owners?

B. Hermitage.

1. For the Hermitage, do an archaeological study to determine the location of the slave quarters, which must have been extensive on the property. Victoire Vincendiere was the second largest slave owner in Frederick County and one of the largest in the state. The accommodations for slaves in western Maryland is an area of research that has received little study, and good data may be available beneath the ground at the Hermitage.

2. Prepare Historic Structure Reports for the historic buildings on the Hermitage. There are unusual, if not unique examples of 18th century architecture here. The construction history of the main house is complex and confusing. So much early material remains, such as original paints and finishes in the 1790s section, that this building should be recorded fully prior to any work being done on the property. The log secondary building appears to have as its first story remnants of a two-room settlement (ca.1760-1770s) period dwelling, to which the log second story was added. If this is true, it is among a very few remaining colonial period dwellings surviving in Frederick County. It, too, deserves full recordation and research that can be provided by a historic structure report. The stone barn appears to be unique, probably to the state and region and also should be recorded. Also, the role of these buildings during the Battle of Monocacy ought to be studied further. To what extent were they damaged and utilized by Confederates during the conflict?

3. Do further research on the Vincendiere family and how it came to be that Victoire held so much property in her own name.

C. Araby.

1. Do further study of the Monocacy ferry crossing area. The location is clearly marked on the property boundaries for Araby and the Hermitage. There are references to a house at the ferry. Are any remnants of it left? Does any of the road trace remain that was the original route of the Georgetown Pike?

2. When appropriate, the Araby buildings must be photographed and recorded. Since the property is privately owned, no access was available during the preparation of this report.

3. Prepare a historic structures report for the Araby buildings.

D. "Lewis" (Hill) Farm.

1. Conduct further research to fill the information gaps in the chain of title for this property.

2. Prepare a limited historic structures report for the buildings, to determine their age and construction history.

E. Clifton (Worthington farm).

1. Do an archaeological study to determine the location, size, quantity and function of associated buildings near the main Clifton house.

2. Remnants remain of an unrecorded dwelling on the Clifton property, at the northwest base of Brooks Hill, some distance from the main house, yet close enough to be convenient to it. Present are parts of a foundation and a chimney with a depression in the ground that was the cellar. Some landscape features that mark the place and a dwelling site are also present. No written information has been found pertaining to this house site. We believe it was the home of one of the free African-American families who continued to work among the land-owning families of Monocacy after the Civil War. If so, this is a significant cultural resource. An archaeological study of the house site may reveal who lived there and when.

F. Railside properties.

1. All that remains of a once viable small community at the railroad junction are foundations and rubble. We recommend a thorough archaeological study to determine the layers of history associated with this settlement. General Lew Wallace' headquarters was located in one of the buildings, and there was Civil War activity here throughout most of the war. There was also the ill-fated distillery created by Gambrill, Wheatley and Ball, and some type of depot or building for the train master. The exact location and identification of these buildings is unknown. The archaeological data will help with sorting out the appearance of this settlement and the age and function of the buildings and their associated features.

2. On the north side of the railroad are visible Civil War fortifications. These should be fully recorded and explored for the information they can yield about the extent of the defenses at Monocacy during the war.

The story of the Monocacy Battlefield properties is part of a much larger cultural history that framed the events of the Civil War, climaxing with the battle on July 9, 1864. This project has attempted to place Monocacy into its cultural and historical setting, focusing on the development of the agricultural landscape and the families who populated that landscape. The Monocacy National Battlefield preserves not only an important piece of Civil War history, but also a significant slice of Maryland's developmental history with unique physical expressions of that heritage.

Property Ownership Chart

Altogether
T. Johnson
1805 4,289½a

Johnson to Bantz
1810 600a

Bantz to J.L. Harding
1810 200a

Johnson to McPherson
1810 532a

J.L. Harding to McPherson
1819 119a (651a)

Will to John McPherson 1830 released "Arcadia" for Araby land
1812 410a

to Col. J. McPherson
1812 410a

"Araby"
John McPherson
1832 1111½a

Wm. Ross, trustee
1844 to pay debts

L.J. Layman
1849 110a

C.E. Trail
1879 50a

C.E. Trail Will
(tenant Whitmore)
1909 200a

1924-1945
Whitmore 16a

1945-1989 Geisbert
168a

1989 USA

Wet Works
Abington
1730 1,400a

Resurvey on Wet Works
Marshall
1797 1,278a

Chloe Marshall
1806 910a

Will to Wm. Marshall
1807 410a

to Harding
1806 500a

to G. Taylor
1841 512a

to D. & E. Baker
1841 380a

E. Baker
1849 150a

"D. Baker"
1849 214a

1903 David Baker
221a

1914-1989 Geisbert

?1989 USA

G. Taylor
1841 132a Wet Work
1835 135a Arcadia
1847 47a Araby
"The Clifton Farm"
314a 1851

John Wheatly & T. Alfred Ball
1856

"John T. Worthington"
1862 "Clifton"

"Araby Farm" to Worthington Johnson 1846 267a

"Araby Mill"
1844 Crutchley

1847
Delaplane

1855
J. Gambrill
"Gambrill Mill"

to Isaac Bangher
1847 277a

to Wheatley & Ball
1856 273a

to "C.K. Thomas"
1860 254a

see Araby title chain

Arcadia
Marshall
1793 881a

to A. Schaaf
1801 100a

to A. Schaaf
1806 400a

Will to C. Marshall
1806 400a

"Arcadia"
A. Schaaff
1811 656a

to Col. J. McPherson
1826 656a
"Arcadia"

Will to H. McPherson and J. McPh. Brien 1830 released Araby for "Arcadia"

to John Brien 1833
656a "Arcadia"
J.S. 44/412

Possibly becomes the 1862 "G. Markell" farm

to V.P.M.G. dela Vincendiere
1798 291a

"L'Hermitage" 748a
V.P.M.G dela Vincendiere

to John Brien
1827 748a

1835 John McPherson, trustee to John H. McElfresh 748a
"The Hermitage"

(tenant, Thos. Murray)

"Resurvey on The Hermitage" 1837
John H. McElfresh
761½a

Will to Anna May (McElfresh) Kunkel
1852 "N. Hermitage" 355½a

and

Locust Level
Dulany
1740 3,180a

Resurvey on Locust Level
Dulany 1756 3,902a

to V.P.M.G. dela Vincendiere
1792 457a

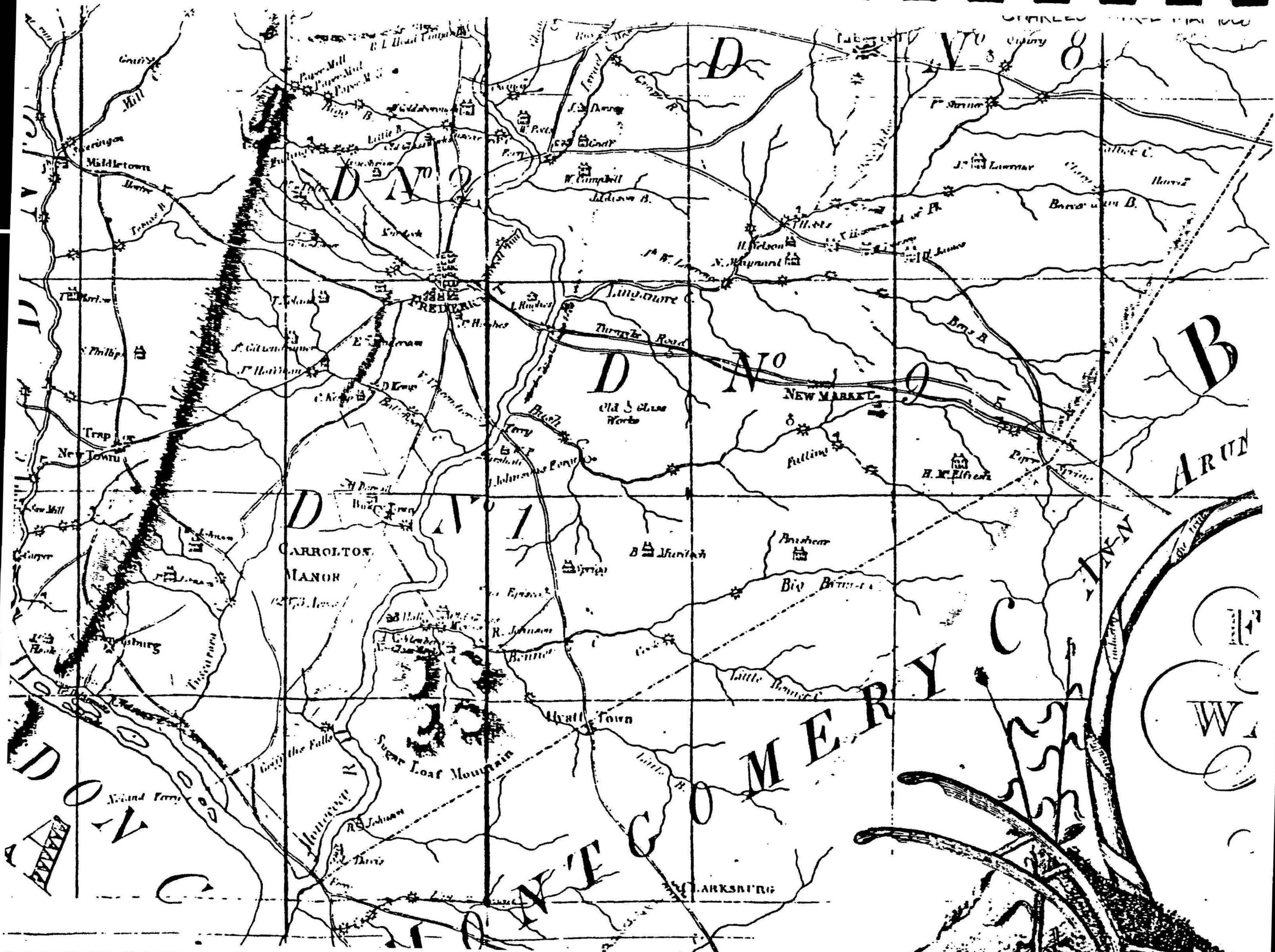
(D. Best, tenant)
Ariana (husband C.E. Trail)
(McElfresh) Trail
"South Hermitage"
1852 426a

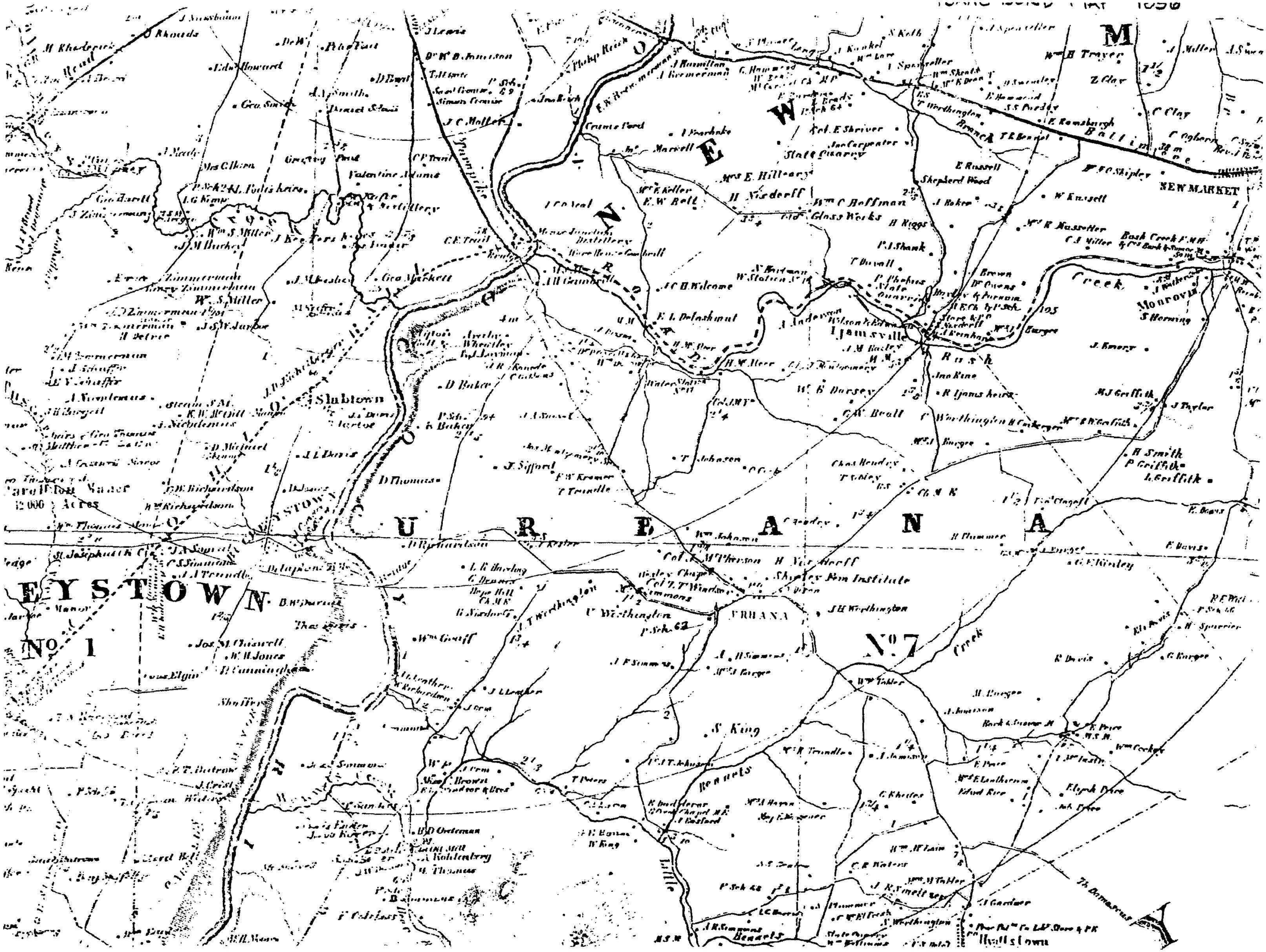
(tenant, Wiles)

C.B. Trail
1909 426a

1993 USA

Historic Maps


DAV^o 2
DAV^o 1
DAV^o 8
DAV^o 9
MONTGOMERY CO
Middletown
FREDERICK
NEW MARKET
CARROLTON MANOR
Sugar Loaf Mountain
Hyatt Town
CLARKSBURG
Old Glass Works
Turnpike Road
Big Bennett
Little Bennett
Monocacy R.
Potomac R.
Seneca
Barnesville
New Town
Trap
Johnson
Davis
Burch
Long Corner C.
Bens R.
Little R.


EYSTOWN
No 1
U R B A N A
No 7
Slabtown
Urbana
NEW MARKET
Ballinger
Monrovia
Hyattsville
Hyattstown
Bennetts
Creek
Branch
Little
Carroll Dist. Number
12 000 Acres

Division of Maps
JUL 30 1948
Library of Congress

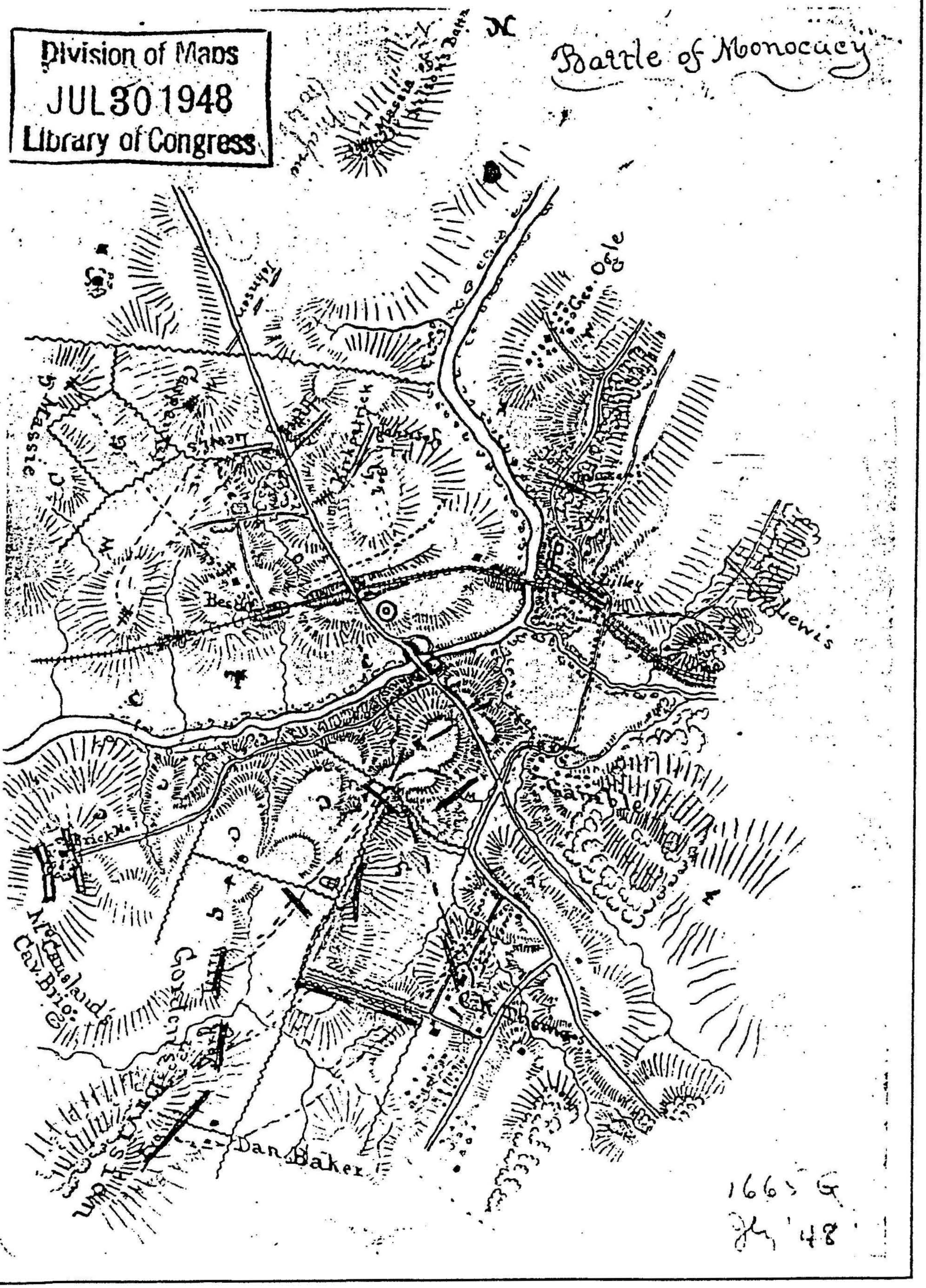
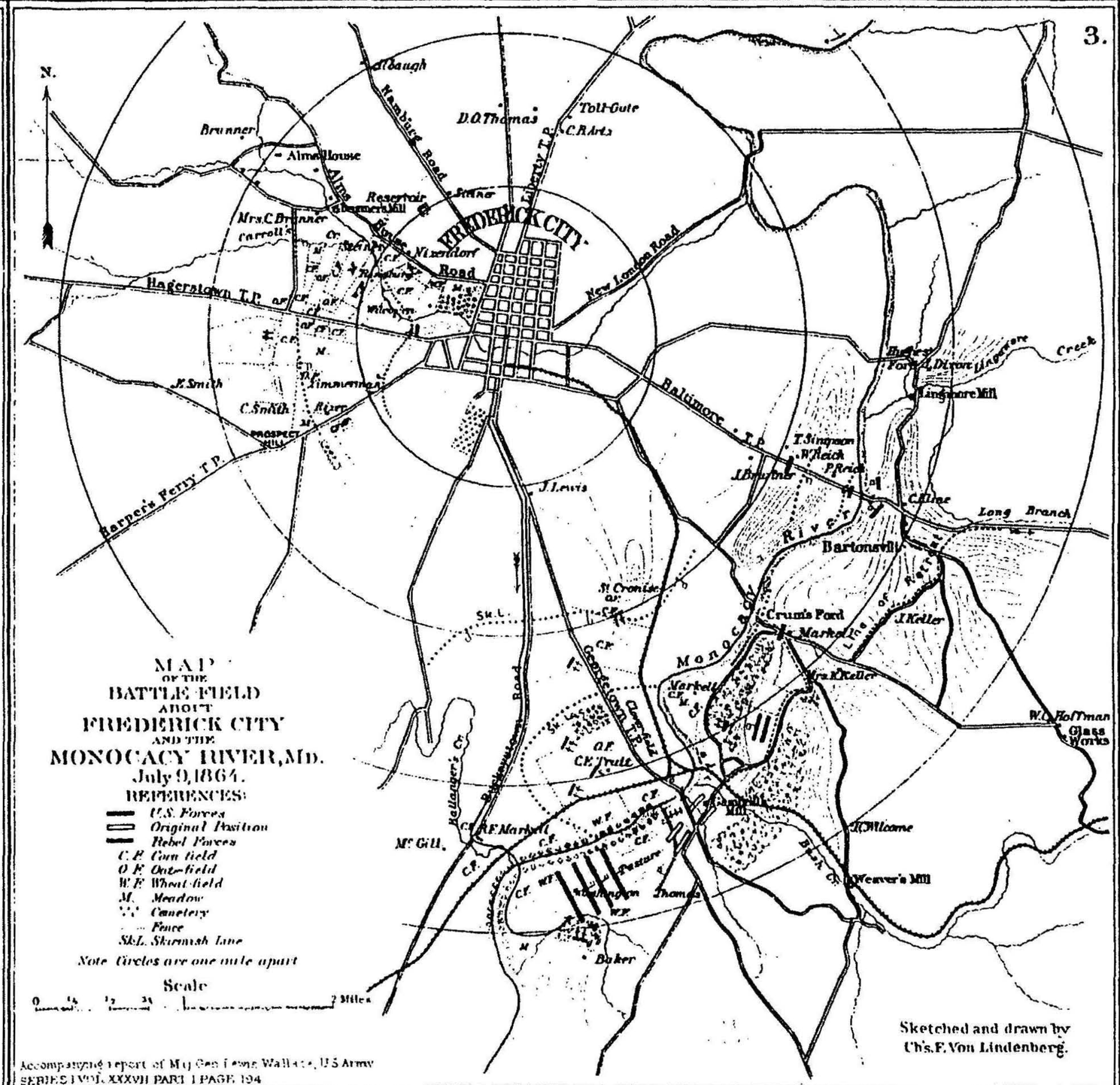

Battle of Monocacy
N
Geo. Ogle
Lewis
Beall
Dan Baker
Gen. Rickett's Div.
Gen. Ramseur's Div.
Gen. Gordon's Div.
Maj. Gen. Breckinridge's Div.
Maj. Gen. Wharton's Div.
Maj. Gen. Ramseur's Div.
Maj.

Plate 94

FROM: THE OFFICIAL MILITARY ATLAS OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1983

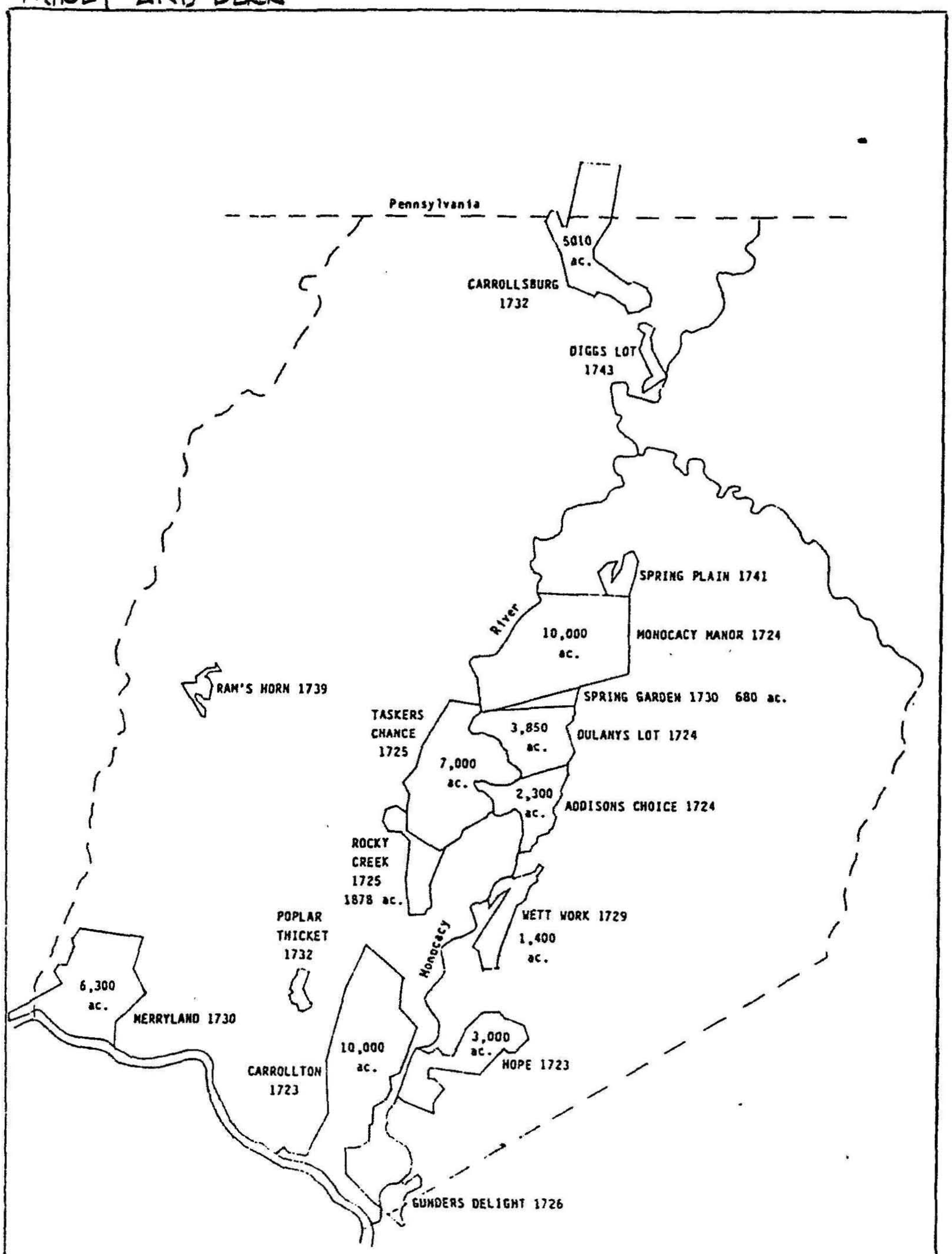
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N.
Baldaugh
Hamburg Road
D.O.Thomas
Toll-Gate
C.R.Arts
Brunner
Alms House
Alms House Reservoir
Shemer's Mill
Mrs.C.Brunner
Carroll
Cr.
Liberty T.P.
Stone
Winebrenner
Winebrenner
FREDERICK CITY
Winebrenner
Hagerstown T.P.
New London Road
Baltimore
Creek
Long Branch
Langmore Mill
T.Simpson
W.Reich
P.Reich
J.Baughman
C.Line
J.Lewis
Harper's Ferry T.P.
R.Cronise
Bartonsville
Crum's Ford
Market
J.Keller
Mrs.Keller
Verbeke
W.C.Hoffman
Glass Works
Georgetown Road
Kellinger's Cr.
Baltimore Road
Mc Gill.
R.F.Markell
J.C.Malcome
Weaver's Mill
Baker
Thomas
Prospect Hill
C.Smith
J.Smith
Zimmerman
Barton's Mill
Monocacy River
Line of Rifle Pits
Sk.L.
Cr.
Fence
Pasture
Meadow
Orchard
Trees
Fd. of Cl. Trees
Fd. of Cl. Trees
Fd. of Cl.

Survey Plats

From files of Dr. Grace Tracey and from County Survey Records

TRACEY AND DERN



MAJOR INVESTOR SURVEYS

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7 T

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LOCUST LEVEL

P.B 13/13
LOCUST LEVEL 3/1905
5-10-1746
DANL DOLANEY
10-12-1750
DANL DOLANEY JR
BY A SURVEY

MEADOW
11-15-1724
10 SQ PERCHES

END 19TH LINE ROCKY CREEK

ROCKEY CREEK

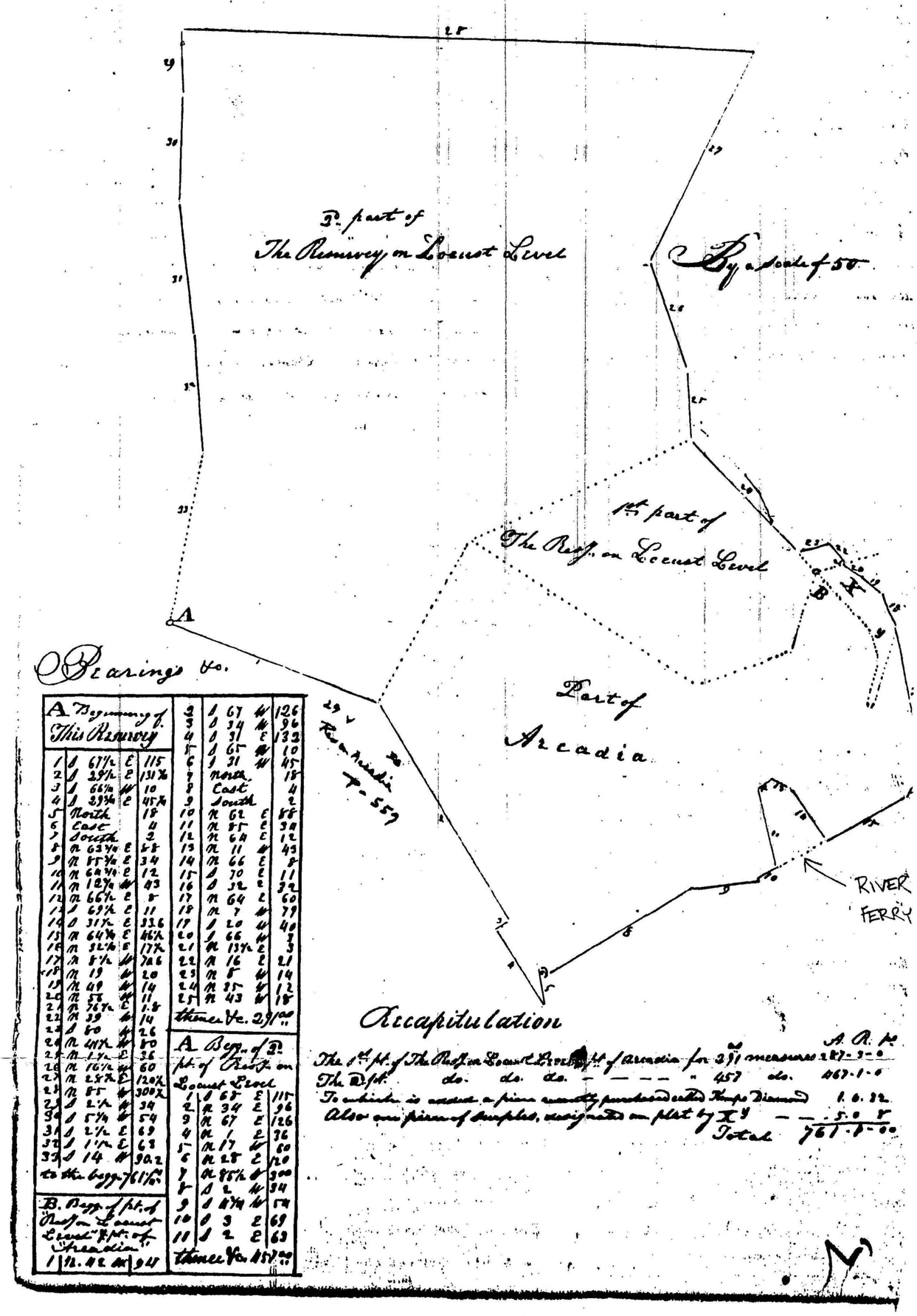
T.H.O.

12.

then by and with said road S 2¼ W. 34 Pes. S. 5¼ W. 54 Pes. S. 2¼ E. 69 Pes. S. 1¼ E. 63 Pes. then S. 44 W. 90 Pes. to the first place of beginning containing 761¼ Acres of Land.

Resurveyed the 5th day of August 1835 and called The Resurvey on the Hermitage

for. Horatio G. O'Neal. Jun. Esq.



A Beginning of This Resurvey			
1	S	67½	E	115
2	S	29½	E	131¾
3	S	66¾	W	10
4	S	33¾	E	45¾
5	North			15
6	East			4
7	South			2
8	N	63½	E	58
9	N	88½	E	34
10	N	69½	E	12
11	N	18¾	W	43
12	N	66¾	E	8
13	S	69¾	E	11
14	S	31¾	E	336
15	N	64¾	E	46¾
16	N	32¾	E	17¾
17	N	8¾	W	7a6
18	N	19	W	20
19	N	49	W	14
20	N	53	W	11
21	N	76¾	E	1.8
22	N	29	W	14
23	S	60	W	26
24	N	44¾	W	80
25	N	1¾	E	32
26	N	16¼	W	60
27	N	25¾	E	120¾
28	N	85	W	300¾
29	S	2¼	W	34
30	S	5¼	W	54
31	S	2¼	E	69
32	S	1¼	E	63
33	S	44	W	90.2
to the begg.				761¼

B. Begg. of pt. of Resv. on Locust Level & pt. of Arcadia			
1	N.	12. 12 W.	94
2	N	67	W	126
3	S	34	W	96
4	S	31	E	132
5	S	61	W	10
6	S	31	W	45
7	North			15
8	East			4
9	South			2
10	N	62	E	58
11	N	88	E	34
12	N	64	E	12
13	N	11	W	43
14	N	66	E	8
15	S	70	E	11
16	S	32	E	32
17	N	64	E	60
18	N	7	W	79
19	S	20	W	40
20	S	66	W	3
21	N	13¾	E	3
22	N	16	E	21
23	N	8	W	14
24	N	35	W	12
25	N	43	W	18
thence				1126

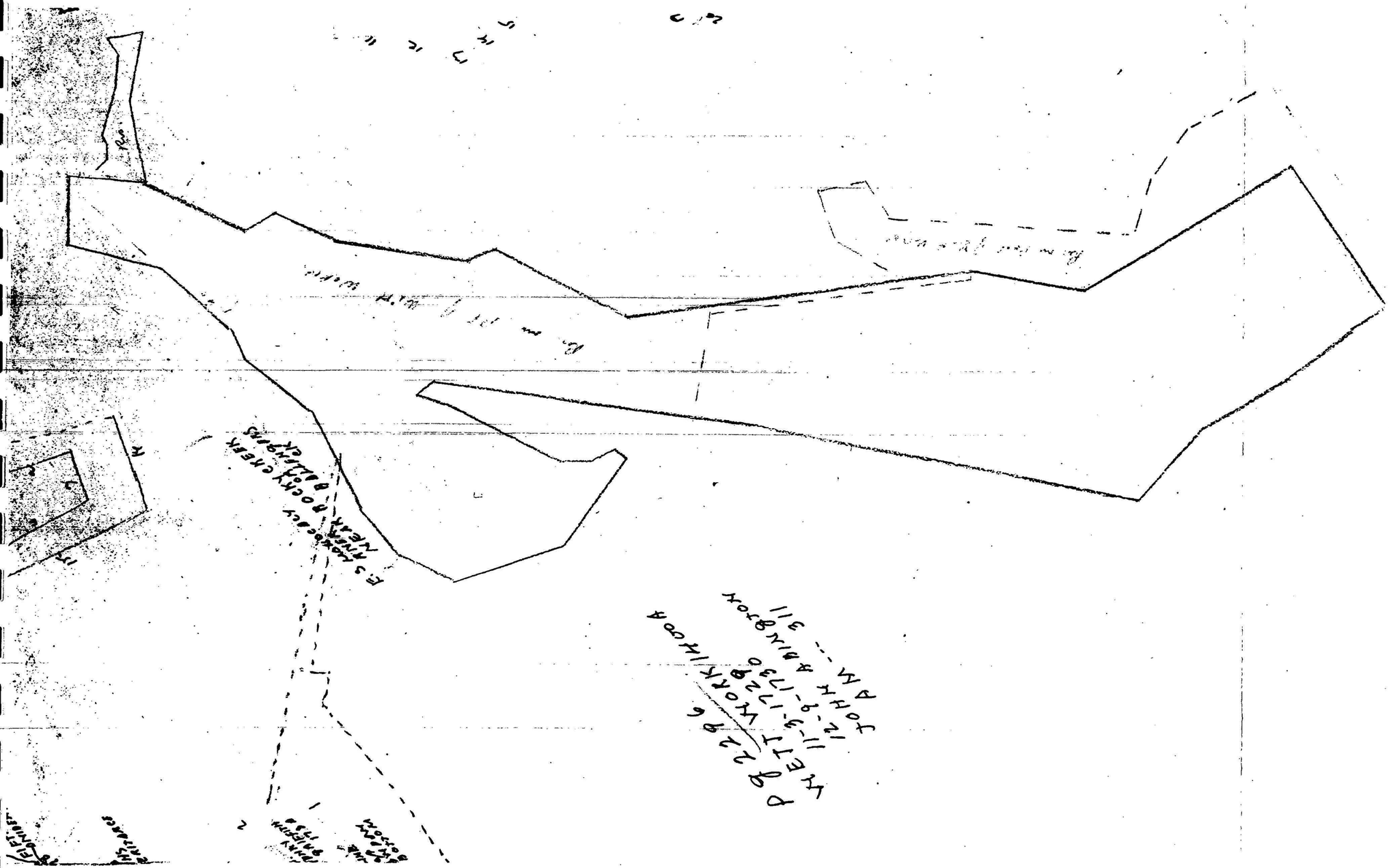
A Begg. of B. pt. of Resv. on Locust Level			
1	S	67	E	115
2	N	34	E	96
3	N	67	E	126
4	N	1	E	76
5	N	17	W	60
6	N	28	E	120
7	N	85¼	W	300
8	S	2	W	34
9	S	8¾	W	54
10	S	3	E	69
11	S	2	E	63
thence				1457

Recapitulation

	A.	R.	P.
The 1st pt. of The Resv. on Locust Level & pt. of Arcadia for 251 measures	287	3	0
The B pt. do. do. do. — — — — 457 do.	467	1	0
To which is added a piece recently purchased called Hope Diamond	1	0	32
Also one piece of Surplus, designated on plat by X — —	5	0	8
Total	761	1	00

RESURVEY ON THE HERMITAGE, 1835

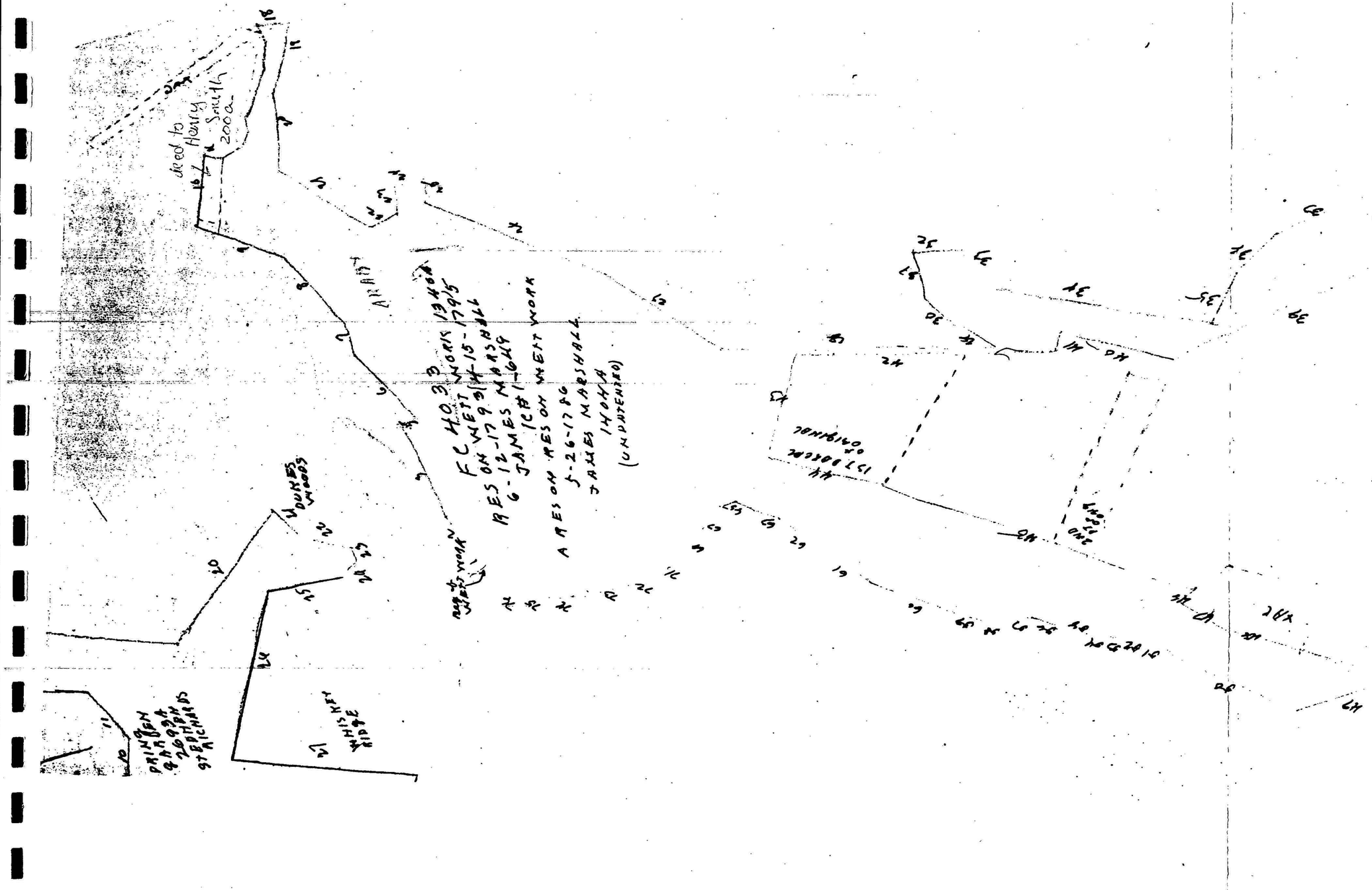
WETT WORK, 1730



ALTOGETHER

RESURVEY ON WETT WORK

1793



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