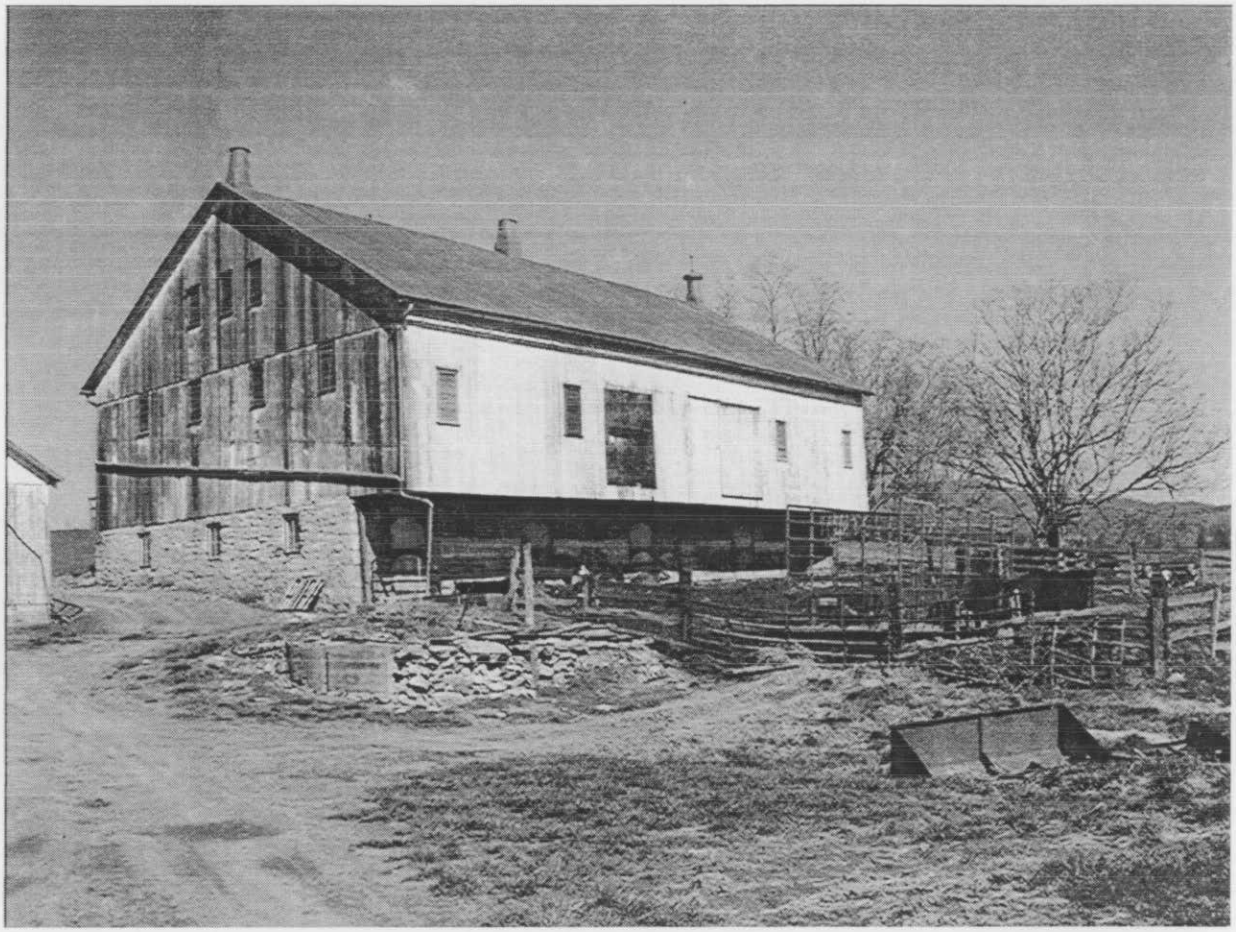

Farming Along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1828-1971

By
Perry Carpenter Wheelock

Farming Along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1828-1971: A Study of Agricultural Sites in the C&O Canal National Historical Park

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National Park Service
Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Executive Summary

The report that follows reveals the depth and richness of the agricultural history along the C&O Canal, and the close interrelationship between the canal and surrounding farms. Settlement along the fertile bottomlands of the Potomac River preceded construction of the canal by many years. As a result, the new canal passed through a well established agrarian landscape; some inhabitants were hostile to the canal due to property damage it would cause, others embraced it, while a substantial number fought to receive the highest monetary compensation that they could from the Canal Company. In sum, this research has uncovered an interesting and significant aspect of the canal's history that had not been addressed previously.

Only small, scattered remnants of agricultural land remain today within C&O Canal National Historical Park, as compared to the 19th century and even to the early 1970s when land acquisition began in earnest. This acquisition process had a significant impact upon how the park looks today, as lands along both sides of the canal were severed from their original farms to form buffer strips. In many, if not most, cases these strips were allowed to revegetate, obscuring the historical agricultural scene from the towpath and creating a new, more forested corridor.

The purpose of this report was to provide in-depth historical research on the tracts presently in the park's agricultural leasing program, to help determine their historical significance and provide management direction. It also provides a historical overview of agriculture in western Maryland, so that the individual tracts can be placed within an overall context. As such the report serves as a first step toward documenting the significant landscape features that should be preserved on the agricultural tracts. The next step would be to complete a cultural landscape inventory of these tracts.

Given the substantial decrease in agricultural land along the C&O Canal that has occurred since the 1970s, with the resulting loss in agrarian character, we recommend that all of the presently leased tracts remain in the agricultural program. It also is recommended that the fields at Noland's Ferry recently removed from the program be placed back in it or maintained as open space through another management technique, such as managed meadowland. The primary objective is to maintain the open character of the landscape that once existed along the canal.

As a result of field surveys conducted as part of this project, we also propose the following recommendations to improve the appearance and preservation of the agricultural resources of C&O Canal National Historical Park:

1. Trees along the edges of the fields should be cut back on a regular basis to prevent vegetation from encroaching on the fields and decreasing their size. This is a serious problem in the park; particularly along the towpath as it obscures the view of the fields from it.

2. The fields should be tied to the canal and towpath wherever possible, through limbing up, vista clearing in bands of heavy vegetation or removing bands of vegetation that separate the fields from the canal.

3. Many of the fields along the canal, particularly on the berm side, remain in private hands. Views of these fields can be "borrowed" through selective vista clearing and incorporated into the visitor experience.

4. Interconnections between agriculture and the C&O Canal could be tied into the park's interpretive program through development of waysides, expansion of park brochure, and education of park interpretive staff. It is not necessary to re-create past agricultural practices, but instead show agriculture change through time.

5. The park should develop an agricultural management plan that balances natural and cultural resource needs and outlines consistent, parkwide management practices for agricultural special use permits.

6. Serious consideration should be given to long-term leases through the historic leasing program for agricultural lands, which should promote better stewardship on the part of the lessee.

CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

> *The design of the State in fostering this work was not, we apprehend, so much for the purpose of earning dividends upon the great sums of money embarked in it, as to develop the resources of the State, to promote the prosperity of the people, and to furnish transportation to market from the coal mines of Allegany County and to regulate the price for transportation by competition with the railroad lines. The Canal in the past has not only done this and so added greatly to the wealth of the State and its taxable property, but it has been a public highway open to all. It has given occupation to great numbers of people and has itself been an excellent market for the products of the farming country through which it passes, most of which is remote from other markets.*[1]

This statement, written 100 years ago, appears in one of the many documents prepared in the equity case brought against the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company by holders of the company's stock. As the fate of the canal headed toward receivership, the author's choice of words aptly described the role originally intended for the waterway in the economic development of Western Maryland. What these words also reference is the importance of agriculture, the economic mainstay of the region. However, the author fails to elaborate on the significant and influential role of agriculture in the physical development and the day-to-day operation of the entire canal system. The report that follows has been based on expanding "farming" beyond a point of reference to a more complete understanding of how agriculture affected the relationship between the C&O Canal and the physical histories of the farm sites located along its banks.

PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

The focus of this report is the development of the rural landscape associated with agricultural properties within the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park (C&O Canal NHP) that are leased through special use permits. Analysis and evaluation of the physical history of these properties will add to the park's understanding of the cultural resources located on the individual sites. With this knowledge, appropriate action for the treatment of these lands will be possible. Through site specific leases, sensitive to the both the cultural and natural development of the tracts, the remaining open spaces and the historic character of the landscape will be preserved. An approach that examines the effects of change brought by both humans and

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[1] From "Second Report of Receivers, George S. Brown, et al. v. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company," Equity 4191 and 4198, Washington County Circuit Court.

nature can be used to preserve these areas. Preservation along the canal and river corridor will enhance the visitor's experience, while the knowledge gained through these efforts will contribute to and expand the park's ability to manage for the future.

METHODOLOGY

The Agricultural Land Use Study for the C&O Canal NHP has been divided into four parts: overview, historical context, individual landscape histories, and assessment. The overview outlines the relationships between the study sites and the park as a whole. The context section describes the agricultural history of western Maryland and the Potomac River Valley. The individual histories describe the existing conditions on the park tracts and the physical changes that have occurred on these sites over time.

Information on the agricultural history and the tracts is derived from the investigation of both primary and secondary sources. Among these were special collections at the Library of Congress, the Historical Society of Washington, D.C., the Frederick County Historical Society, George Washington University and the University of Maryland. Records of the C&O Canal Company and pertinent maps and drawings located in the National Archives were extensively examined. Important primary and secondary materials came from the collection of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park in Sharpsburg, Maryland. Among these are individual tract files and the files of the List of Classified Structures (LCS), an architectural survey, which documents park structures eligible for the National Register. Resources located in the Washington County Free Library and the Allegany County Public Library have also been examined. Both Susan Winter Trail, Branch Chief of Cultural Resource Management, and Park Ranger Dwight Stinson assisted in the valuable research of the land records from the courts of Washington and Allegany counties. Other assistance came from C&O Canal NHP staff, in particular: David Trail, Steve Kline, Pat Toops, Bill Spinrad, and Dianne Ingram and from Maureen D. Joseph of National Capital Region Systems Support Office.

Unfortunately, very few drawings or photographs have been located that depict or record the individual sites as they appeared historically. Photodocumentation has therefore been limited to indirect interpretation from other available canal images. Documentation of existing conditions involved the adaptation of contemporary land records, planning documents, archeological reports, maps and site visits to create written site descriptions. Identifiable landscape features have also been included in the descriptions. This information has been combined with the extant historical documentation to create individual landscape histories that reflect the transformation of the sites over time.

The assessment phase of the project involved identifying key landscape components and analyzing the development of these components. The determination of landscape significance was based on the evaluation of historic landscape features and patterns. Comparative analysis between the site descriptions and the significant components was then used to define the type and concentration of resources remaining on the leased agricultural properties. From this information, significant cultural landscape resources have been identified that, once protected, will help maintain and preserve the historic character of the site. Preliminary guidelines for management of these resources have been outlined in the report for the review and consideration

of park staff. However, detailed analysis and evaluation, comprehensive guidelines and design recommendations are beyond the scope of the present project.

CONTEXT OF THE CANAL AND THE PARK

> *From the banks of this canal of more than 40 year's antiquity there shot up, along its entire course, a variety of the most beautiful native trees...Beneath these trees, as far as the eye could penetrate, on either side, were seen in bright luxuriance growing, every species of plant and wildflower recorded in the Potomac Herbal.*[2]

Throughout most of its length, overhanging limbs and branches, thick upright trunks, protruding roots, understory growth and leafy canopy make a dense woods along both sides of the former Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The abandoned canal is the centerpiece of the C&O NHP, which was established by Congress in 1971 and is administered by the National Park Service (NPS). The route of the old waterway follows the meanders of the Potomac River for 184.5 miles on the north side of the river from Georgetown in Washington, D.C., to Cumberland, Maryland. Its course passes through cities, suburban neighborhoods, recreational and natural areas and rural communities located in Georgetown and Montgomery, Frederick, Washington and Allegany counties. In the less populated jurisdictions, the woods not only screen views of commercial establishments, highways, homes, camp sites and farms, but vistas through to the river as well. Occasional openings in the vegetation, however, reveal activity associated with daily life and glimpses of both the rugged and pastoral character of the Potomac and its opposite shore in Virginia and West Virginia.

The Canal and all its features comprise the largest and most significant landscape in the park. This cultural landscape, integral to the transportation and engineering history (1828-1924) of the canal corridor, includes the canal prism, towpath, berm bank, culverts, adjacent buildings, bridges, the Paw Paw tunnel, slackwaters, basins and other structural features. Segments of rail lines and roads such as the former B&O Railroad (now CSX Corporation), the former Western Maryland Railroad, the old National Turnpike/U.S. Route 40, and Interstate 70 run adjacent to the canal in certain locations and provide additional context to the history of the transportation and engineering in the corridor.

The centerpiece of this linear landscape is the remnant of the old canal prism. The prism, a tree-filled ditch for most of the course, shows the outline of the canal bed and the embankments of the towpath and the berm sides. The remaining locks and gates, lockhouses, culverts and aqueducts, many in need of repair and stabilization, help to demonstrate the physical structure and historic operation of the whole canal system. Adjacent to the prism, vestiges of other buildings associated with the operation of the canal, such as warehouses, stores and lockkeepers homesteads, are sometimes discernable through the vegetation. Frequently only overgrown ruins and crumbling foundations mark the locations of these sites.

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[2] Washington Journal, July 7, 1828, describing the old Potomac Canal near Little Falls on the occasion of the July 4, 1828, ground-breaking ceremony for the C&O Canal.

The land beyond the wooded embankments and the adjacent sites is even less visible through the trees. At times the vegetation screens large-scale contemporary land use, in other places it conceals varied patterns of use established long before the C&O Canal came into existence in 1828. Many of these patterns fall within the park's boundaries and represent distinct, individual cultural landscapes that have been shaped by physiographic, cultural, political and corporate determinations.

According to the park's Resource Management Plan, more than fifty individual landscape components can be identified along the canal, which are either agricultural, industrial or commercial in character. Some are active farmsteads, communities, towns or cities as mentioned above; others are remnant sites, which reveal only traces of their past history. In several cases these landscapes derive their significance from specific people and events. Other landscapes such as clusters of buildings associated with the lives of lockkeepers and the commercial activities of boatmen relate directly to the operation of the canal itself. A third type are landscapes that developed solely from their proximity to natural resources found in the Potomac River Valley. These would include historical sites such as those found at the sandstone quarries near Seneca, among the structural remains of the old iron works on Antietam Creek and at the former Round Top cement mill. Whatever their significance, type or character, analysis and evaluation of these individual areas as component, or contributing, landscapes are essential to understanding the larger cultural landscape of the canal corridor.

In 1994, the cultural and natural resource divisions of the C&O Canal National Historical Park determined that the analysis and evaluation of the physical history of selected agricultural sites located within the Park was a management priority. The specific properties chosen for study were farms or parts of agricultural enterprises that are currently or have recently been leased for cultivation or grazing. They are located at selected points along the berm or towpath side of the canal, ranging on the east from the Monocacy River in Frederick County to farmland west of Oldtown in Allegany County.

Funds to acquire adjoining acres and other parcels were set aside when legislation to establish the Park was enacted in January 1971. During the early stages of the park's development, planners identified adjacent tracts to incorporate into a buffer zone created on both sides of the canal, which was designed both to protect and preserve the old waterway. At that time, approximately 5,000 acres acquired for the C&O Canal NHP (roughly one-third of the total) were in open areas, fields and agricultural lands. Although the park administration established the C&O agricultural leasing program to help maintain an appropriate historical setting within the buffer, the reasoning behind why some tracts were maintained in agriculture and others were not remains unknown.

By 1990, through land acquisition and with the establishment of scenic easements on some additional properties, the National Park Service had amassed 14,069 acres of park land. Today, approximately 1,800 acres of farmland are presently in the leasing program, mostly in Allegany and Washington counties, although a few are under cultivation in Frederick County. The remaining agricultural tracts represent a significant reduction in the original 5,000 acres of

open space found along the full length of the historic waterway at the time of the park's creation.[3]

During the period of land acquisition, individual properties targeted for purchase by the federal government were delineated and assigned separate tract numbers. Since that time, the configuration of all the tracts, including the land administered in the leasing program, has continued to be determined by the boundaries established when the transfer of property to the government occurred. All written and verbal references use the tract numbers and the name of the landowner at the time of the government sale as well. Unfortunately, this system of nomenclature obscures the earlier physical history of the tracts. Historical documentation shows that throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many properties located along the canal were subdivided from larger landholdings. Frequently these larger properties were productive farms of several hundred acres. Such enterprises were common in the rich bottomlands of the Potomac River Valley. When the National Park Service purchased land for the park, the land acquired often represented further subdivisions of the bottomland farms. In many cases, whole properties were segmented, with fertile fields within the park separated from historic structures and clusters of farm buildings located outside the boundary.

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[3] Data on the acreage in open land is from Susan Winter Trail's analysis of segment maps found in L. Robert Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of Land Acquisition and Water Resources, June 1971, copies located at C&O Canal National Historical Park, Sharpsburg, Md.; acres in leased agricultural sites is taken from park files.

CHAPTER 2:
AGRICULTURE AND THE CANAL IN WESTERN MARYLAND

INTRODUCTION

The history of agriculture in United States is extensive and varies according to region and place in time. While this report cannot comprehensively outline the history of American agriculture and its relationship to the development of canal sites, it is essential to understand the larger historical context of agriculture as it pertains to the Potomac River Valley. In addition to agricultural development, the more specific account of the gradual industrialization of the valley and the role of the canal in that growth is another important element in the history of the farm sites along the C&O. Initial industrial enterprises grew out of and were based on the overall agricultural growth of the valley. Furthermore, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the relationship between agriculture and industry had changed to one of parallel, albeit separate, co-existence, each developing in independent ways.[1]

The historical narrative is divided into two chapters. The first discusses the role of agriculture and to a lesser extent that of industry in the development of the valley. The second focuses on the conditions presently found on the leased agricultural properites, or park tracts, and on the physical history of the individual farms associated with each of these tracts.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Early History

Native American tribes hunted, fished, cleared fields, quarried and established camp sites near the Potomac River and its tributaries centuries before the first Europeans explored its course. Archeological investigation reveals that the earliest Native American habitation in the upper Potomac River Valley probably dates from 10,000 B.C., when the paleoindian population existed primarily on large game. By the time of their initial contact with Europeans in the seventeenth century, various tribes were located along the entire length of the river, from tidewater to the western mountain ranges, where they lived on a variety of game and cultivated foodstuffs. Below the Fall Line, at Great Falls, was the territory of the coastal Algonquin tribes. Tribes with a Siouan based language lived above the Fall Line. Among the Siouan groups were the those who occupied the rich bottomlands found on the north bank of the Potomac. As European settlement gradually spread throughout the valley, the tribes abandoned their villages and fields, which in turn were cultivated by the new settlers. Later in the nineteenth century, the proposed route of the canal traversed many Native American village

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[1] The relationship between agriculture and industry in the valley is discussed in Frances C. Robb, "Industry in the Potomac River Valley, 1760-1860" (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 1991).

sites, camp sites and burial mounds. Indeed, canal construction may have disturbed a significant number of them.[2] Since the turn of the century, archeological investigation, above-ground surveys and oral tradition have been used to tentatively identify these early sites, many of which are on, or near, several of the leased agricultural properties along the canal and the river. For example, Gerard Fowke, an archeologist writing about his investigations in western Maryland in 1898, noted that several "small cairns on a hill above the river, on the Cresap farm, at Oldtown, were hauled away many years ago."[3]

At present, archeological research and documentation suggests that traces of Native American occupation are evident on the agricultural sites along the canal not only at Oldtown, but also at Town Creek, the crossing to Paw Paw, Licking Creek, the former Opequon Creek crossing, Dam Four, Antietam Creek and at the mouth of the Monocacy River.[4] Random surface examination of plowed fields on the leased properties in these areas also confirms the findings. While individual locations were probably utilized by Native American tribes in different ways, general patterns of habitation can be determined from sites that have been excavated.

During the Paleoindian period (9500-8000 B.C.) the Potomac Valley was marked by coniferous forests and open grassland ranges. By the Early Archaic period (8000-6000 B.C.), glacial melting had created the Chesapeake Bay, and riverine valleys had formed recognizable landforms. The Potomac River Valley was forested with deciduous species such as oaks, chestnut, maples, sassafras, black cherry, hickory and walnut. Grasslands and the number of clearings in the forest cover increased. Prehistoric groups from the Middle Archaic period were able to fell trees and open up the woodlands for hunting by using the innovation of the axe. By the Late Archaic period, Native Americans in the Potomac region lived communally and cultivated native plants in areas that were located along rivers and streams. Many of these sites were still in use during the Woodland period (about 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1700 in western Maryland). This relatively recent period is characterized by an increasingly sedentary way of life where hunting, fishing and gathering and the cultivation of crops, such as corn, squash and sunflower, were essential to the survival of Native Americans. By the Late Woodland period, slash and burn methods were used to clear additional lands for a more diversified agriculture, which included tobacco and beans.[5] Exchange of goods through trade networks that followed

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[2] Edward McMillan Larrabee, "A Survey of Historic and Prehistoric Archeological Sites Along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument, 1961-1962" (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1961), 31-33.

[3] Gerard Fowke cited in John F. Pousson, Archeological Excavations at the Moore Village Site, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Allegany County, Maryland (National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983), 13.

[4] For a list of probable Native American sites above the fall line, see Larrabee, "Survey," 18-47.

[5] W. Ralph Singleton, "Agricultural Plants," in Darwin P. Kelsy, ed., Farming the New Nation (Washington, D.C.: The Agricultural History Society, 1972), 73, states that "there were literally thousands of acres of corn growing in Virginia alone . . . in 1607." Native Americans may also have created or adapted existing meadows for hunting game. On an expedition to the area near the south branch of

valleys and watercourses also developed during this period. By the late Woodland phase, a Native American culture, referred to as the Monongahela culture, was evident in the upper Potomac River Valley.

On the bottomlands lying between the confluence of the north and south branches of the Potomac and the river crossing at Oldtown, several Native American occupations have been identified.[6] Characteristic dwellings at of one of these, known as Moore Village ***(Tract #51-136)***, are common to other Monongahela village sites, where the population may have been as great as 100. Moore Village included houses constructed of wattle and daub on posts and arranged within an oval-shaped and palisaded enclosure. Evidence of refuse ditches and storage pits for maize and other food products were also present the Moore site. Excavations of artifacts from post molds, pits and trench segments reveal that the earliest date for Monogahela type occupation of the Moore Village falls within A.D.1400-1470. The quantity and quality of artifacts also suggests that over time the village and other nearby sites became permanent settlements or were regularly reoccupied after fields been allowed to remain fallow.[7] One indication of this type of land use is the names chosen by Europeans at the time of early settlement to designate the open areas along the north branch of the Potomac. On a map published in 1736, two areas were called "Shawno Indian Fields deserted" (Figure 2.1). One of these lay directly above the confluence of the north and south branches, while the other was found much farther upriver, several miles southwest of present-day Cumberland, Maryland. Two others were named "Old Field." One "old field" was located on the southern shore of the north branch, in what is now West Virginia, opposite the Oldtown crossing. A second "old field" could be found to the north, just below Eagle Mountain on the Maryland side of the Potomac. All four designations probably referred to abandoned sites used by groups of Shawnee just prior to the establishment of European outposts in the area (ca. 1730). One Shawnee chief, King Opessa, is said to have established a village at the confluence as late as 1729. Oldtown derives its name from references to "old fields" and King Opessa's town.[8]

Near the junction of the Monocacy River with the Potomac, a fort, with dwellings on both side of the enclosure for some 300 occupants, was constructed by the Piscataway tribe on Conoy Island during the 1690s. The Piscataways had migrated to the area in search of areas protected from the more aggressive Iroquois and Susquehannock tribes and away from colonial

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the Potomac River, George Washington referred to an "Old Field" and a "Wild Meadow" where he was surveying for Lord Fairfax; see John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799 (New York: Klause Reprint, 1971), 1 and 11.

[6] See Larrabee, "Survey," 45-46.

[7] Pousson, Moore Village, 149-153.

[8] Benjamin Winslow, A plan of the upper Part of the Potomac River called Cohongorooto Surveyed in the year 1736, copy on file Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress; and Russell Handsman, "A Cultural resource Management Study of the Oldtown, Maryland Locality" (C&O Canal NHP manuscript, March 1977). Also see John Warner, The Courses of the Rivers Rappahanock and Potomac in Virginia as surveyed according to order in the years 1736 and 1737, copy on file Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

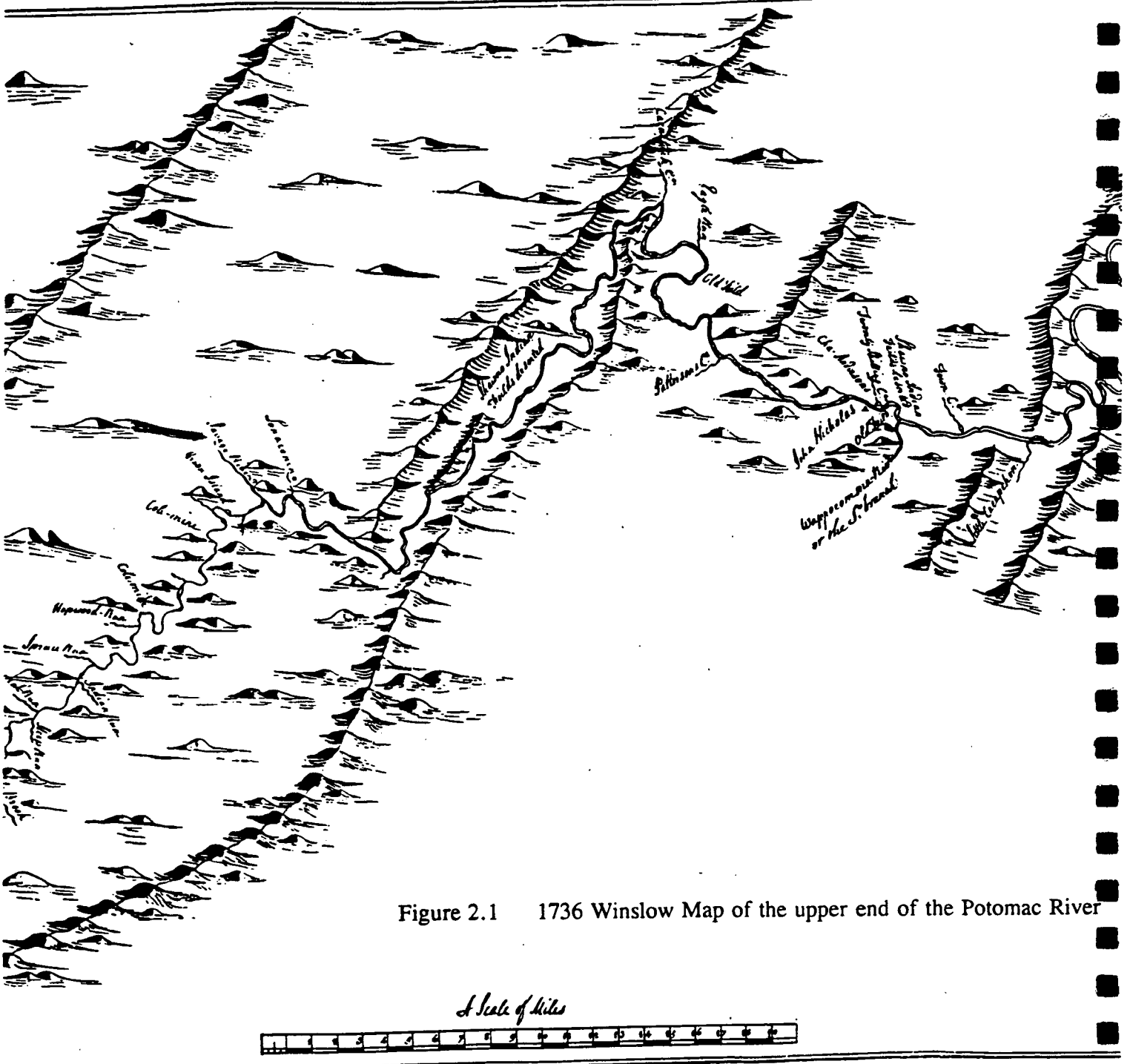
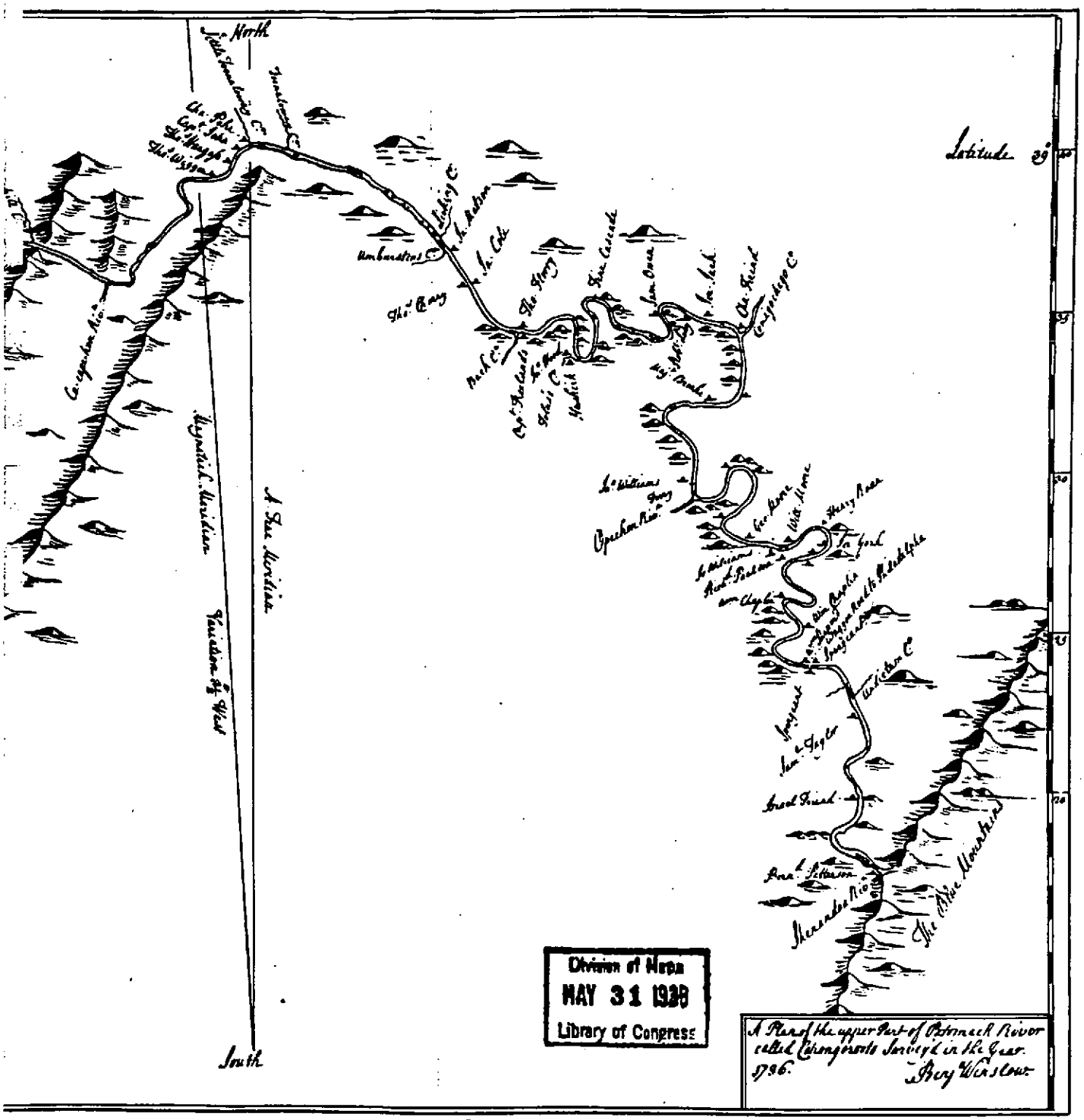


Figure 2.1 1736 Winslow Map of the upper end of the Potomac River



[from William and Mary College Quarterly, 2nd Series, Vol. 18, 1938, preceding page 149]
See J. N. Foster, ibid., pp. 149–157; ms. map in Enoch Pratt Free Libr.

European settlements in the Maryland tidewater. On Conoy, Piscataways lived in longhouses and cultivated crops, such as "fine Indian corn" and caught large quantities of fish from the river.[9] However, by 1704 they abandoned their island community after a smallpox epidemic eliminated a significant percentage of the tribe. The area was soon reinhabited by a French trader, Martin Chartier, who established a trading post along the shores of the Monocacy River at the confluence, and by a smaller group of Piscataways, who established their village on the Potomac shoreline just above the Monocacy. This combined settlement served as an entry for the fertile valleys that lay to the west, which early visitors to the area noted as "an exceedingly broad extent of country." Across the Potomac in Virginia also lay "choice land, abounding in and full of sugar trees. These trees are very handsome and are as tall as oaks. They grow only on rich soil."[10] No European settlement other than Chartier's was located above the fall line, and those below were clustered along the river between present-day Rock Creek and the Anacostia River.

Plowing and tilling by farmers over the last two hundred years and long-term surface collecting by scavengers at the former Chartier site have uncovered "Indian pottery, old glass and stone points."[11] Some of these artifacts probably remain from the Tuscarora tribe, which occupied the north side of the Monocacy by 1720, as well as from the earlier time of Chartier's trading post. The site "in this fork [where] Mr. Charles Carol laid out his great tract" was known as the "Tuskarora Indian Town" as late as 1721.[12] The fields between Monocacy River and Tuscarora Creek have been cultivated from the time of the Piscataway and Tuscarora occupations, through Charles Carroll's ownership, down to the present day ***(Tracts #12-108, #13-100 and #13-101)***. Thus, its agricultural history spans the chronological range of the study area that is the subject of this report.

The data from the archeological investigations conducted on the Moore Village site establishes a firm foundation for our understanding of early agricultural settlement in the Potomac River Valley. For the purposes of this report, the Moore Village site represents the only leased agricultural tract ***(Tract #51-136)*** within the C&O NHP that has been investigated according to accepted archeological practices. From the research at Moore, from superficial investigations at other locations such as the Chick Farm, and from documentary sources and oral tradition, the agricultural character of early occupations adjacent to the canal can be inferred and

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[9] See item H. from the map key provided by Baron Christophe Von Gaffenried, copy of map Project de L'Establishment..., 1712 and map key on file, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

[10] Baron Christoph von Gaffenfried, in V.H. Todd and J. Goebels, eds., Christoph von Gaffenfried's Account of the Founding of New Bern (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1973), 247, cited in Paul Thibault, "Late 17th and Early 18th Century People at the Confluence of the Monocacy and the Potomac Rivers; and Their Maps" (George Washington University manuscript, 1994). See also Gaffenfried map key item K., Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

[11] Thibault, "People at the Confluence of the Monocacy and Potomac River," 27.

[12] See "Powtowmeck above ye Inhabitants," Philemon Lloyd's sketch map of 1721, reproduced in both Thibault, "People at the Confluence of the Monocacy and the Potomac Rivers," and in Maryland Historical Magazine 30 (March 1935): 1-11.

the connection between the Native American use of the site and the subsequent utilization of the same rich bottomland for the earliest European settlements in Western Maryland demonstrated.

Colonial Settlement Patterns

While the colonial history of western Maryland is frequently characterized by the adventures of Thomas Cresap, the travels of George Washington, the establishment of the Ohio Company in 1748, the defeat of General Braddock and the "French and Indian War," this history, with the exception of the tracts at Oldtown, is tangential to the history of the leased properties within present-day C&O Canal NHP.[13] The significance of the overall agricultural history of the region has more direct bearing on the individual sites, but in many respects, the development of agriculture along the river cannot be site specific or separated from the overall history of agriculture in the different western counties. Agriculture was the economic mainstay of Western Maryland until the middle of the nineteenth century, and its value to the region is underscored by the earliest efforts to develop the Potomac River and its waterpower with industry and transportation networks that would support farm production. Once the construction, initial operation and subsequent expansion of the three major transportation systems, the National Road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were complete, the relationship of agriculture and its role in the region's economy changed considerably.[14]

By the 1730s Pennsylvanian Germans and Scotch-Irish began to move into the fertile valleys running from north to south along the Monocacy River, on both sides of the Catoctin Mountains and in the foothills of the Alleghenies. The steady stream of settlers soon became a sweeping migration through what is now called the Great Valley in Maryland to the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. Their increasing number brought on a wave of speculation as landowners such as Daniel Dulaney, Maryland's attorney general, and frontiersman Thomas Cresap, surveyor and agent for Lord Baltimore's western Maryland territory, leased or sold land to the first settlers. Settlers' homesteads were established at points along the river where creeks and streams flowed into the Potomac and where river crossings were possible. Some of these homesteads or small farms were located near sites that had been occupied previously by Native Americans, and later by frontier traders.[15] The colonials in turn adapted the open areas abandoned by their predecessors for their own agricultural needs.

Around 1735, Charles Anderson resided on the most western frontier, near the "Shawnee

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[13] The significance of these individuals and events is described in J. Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1968; originally printed 1882). The role of Thomas Cresap directly relates to the history of Tract #51-136 and is discussed in the individual tract history.

[14] The significance of the role of agriculture in the growth of the Potomac River Valley is discussed at length in Robb, "Industry."

[15] Like Martin Chartier on the Monocacy, Mary Vernon Mish, "Springfield of Farm of Conococheague," Maryland Historical Magazine 67 (1952), 315-316, states that Philemon Lloyd's 1721 map notes a "Indian trader's habitacon" at the mouth of the Conococheague Creek, suggesting that it is a probable site of a previous native American settlement.

Indian Fields deserted," above the junction of the north and south branches of the Potomac River.[16] Documentation suggests that Anderson lived on Twenty Shilling Creek, or present-day Mill Run, where he may have erected a saw mill or small custom mill to process grain and corn. The route of a Native American "Old Trail" crossed the north branch just below Anderson's and linked his establishment with that of John Nicholas on the opposite shore in Virginia. According to Benjamin Winslow's map of 1736 (Figure 2.1), Anderson and Nicholas's nearest neighbors had gathered in four homesteads some 40 miles downriver near Little Tonoloway Creek and above the area that would become Hancock, Maryland.[17] Here another north/south river crossing would also be established, although not as early as 1736.

Between Anderson's residence and the four homesteads at Little Tonoloway, rose the first high ridges of the Allegheny mountain range, which caused the meanders of the north branch of the Potomac. Winslow indicated the names of the larger streams intersecting with the river, among them Town Creek, the Little Cacapon in Virginia, Fifteen Mile and Sideling Hill Creeks. While the names for three of these waterways seem to be based on topographical or Native American descriptions, the Town Creek name is an apparent misnomer, since no "town" is shown on the map. However, the large rounded plain created by an oxbow in the course of Town Creek as it flows toward the Potomac may have been the site for an earlier Native American settlement or Indian town, similar to the Moore Village located at Oldtown.[18] Some time after Winslow's survey, a millseat was established on the creek.

In 1736 Charles Polk was one of the four settlers residing near Little Tonoloway Creek. In 1748 George Washington, exploring the upper Potomac as a member of a surveying party for Lord Fairfax, landowner of the vast Northern Neck proprietary in Virginia, forded the river at "Warm Springs" (Bath or Berkley Springs, West Virginia) to quarter his party's horses for the night at Polk's in Maryland, where there was ample pasturage. Returning to rest on the Virginia shore that night, Washington's group canoed back across the river [to Polk's] the next day and then traveled 40 miles to Oldtown on "the worst Road that was ever trod by Man or Beast." This rough road had not been indicated on Winslow's earlier survey. Yet the route may have developed from an informal trail along the river, connecting abandoned Native American sites to a more defined, yet crude, frontier road linking the various river crossings. The road along the river was not officially established until 1758. At Oldtown, the young Washington encountered both the legendary Thomas Cresap and "Indians," an event that he vividly describes

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[16]The discussion that follows is based on analysis of Winslow, "Upper part of the Potomac River...," 1736 survey map, cited above. Proper names noted by Winslow are difficult to determine. These individuals may be tenants or landowners; verification of their status and correct surname through colonial records is beyond the scope of this report. Coordination of sites marked on Winslow's survey with present-day C&O Canal NHP properties may be possible through computerized scanning.

[17] Winslow labels the four farmsteads as those belonging to "Chas. Poke," "Capt. John," "Thos. Hargass," and "Thos. Wiggon."

[18] See Larrabee, "Survey" for list of potential native American sites for archeological investigation; he notes that the "Warrior's Path" crossed the Potomac at the mouth of Big Run just downstream from Town Creek.

in his diary.[19]

Along the long stretch of river between Tonoloway Creek and the downstream bend above present-day Prather's Neck, spread three individual settlements along the Maryland side of the river, where the shoreline was relatively flat (Figure 2.1). These were located below Licking Creek and were occupied by settlers named Matson, Cole and Florry. Evidence of Native American occupation has been found throughout this bottomland, as well. Four settlements were located along the opposite shore in Virginia. An informal crossing may have existed at the point where Thomas Cherry's homestead in Virginia (near Cherry Run) was positioned directly across the Potomac from the settlement of James Cole in Maryland (near Big Pool). According to Winslow's survey, the Thomas Florry settlement was located on land that would later become the site of Fort Frederick, a defensive fortification established during the "French and Indian War" on the frontier.

Winslow marked the settlements of Samuel Owen, Jeremiah Jack and Charles Friend along the river above the Conococheague Creek and below the first bend, now known as Miller's Bend, where once again the topography of the shoreline was suitable for cultivation. The main route of the "Warriors Path," the trail followed by members of the Five Nations on expeditions to the south, is said to have crossed the river at Conocoheague. Jack and Friend were the first individuals to receive land grants on Conococheague Creek. Settlement here also benefitted from good stands of timber, suitable for building and fencing. The rest of the broad valley was apparently "destitute of timber except scrub-oak and hazel bushes."[20]

The only official ferry crossing on Winslow's survey was at Opequon Creek, a waterway that enters the Potomac from Virginia, just below the present mid-point of the C&O Canal. Winslow refers to the Opequon as a river and associates the Virginia ferry with the settlement of John Williams. There is no corresponding colonial settlement on the opposite shore in Maryland. Although evidence of Native American occupation has been found on both sides of the Potomac at the Opequon crossing, the Maryland side was apparently not selected for settlement in the early 1730s.[21]

Only two settlements, south of present-day Downsville, are noted on the Maryland side of the Potomac, both unnamed, between Conococheague Creek and the future site of C&O Canal Dam Four. Farther downstream (in the area generally west of modern Maryland Route 65), below the future dam site, were settlements occupied by George Moore, William Moore, Henry Roan, Jeremiah York, William Chaplin, and William Shepherd. These also lay above the river crossing of the "Waggon Road to Philadelphia," which would later be called "Wagon Road Foard" or Packhorse Ford. The name "Spurcart" is marked on both sides of the river at this

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[19] Fitzpatrick, George Washington, Diary 1, 6-7, entries for March 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 1748.

[20] Thomas J.C. Williams, A History of Washington County, Maryland (John M. Runk and L.R. Titsworth: Hagerstown, 1906), 25.

[21] See Mish, "Springfield Farm of Conococheague," 316-317, who contends that the area near and south of the Conococheague was probably occupied by Lord Baltimore's lessees and were omitted by Winslow because they were not landowners. The Opequon crossing figures in the history of Tracts #39-112 and #39-113 (Dellinger-Burnside).

point and is apparently associated with the ford across the river.[22]

Although a settlement was probably located at this fording point, no additional landowners are indicated between the wagon road and the Blue Ridge Mountains, the eastern boundary of Winslow's survey. In this most eastern part of the Cumberland Valley, where the watershed of the lower Antietam Creek is one of the primary topographic characteristics, the absence of early settlers would seem unlikely. However, local tradition holds that unrest between Native American tribes was prevalent in the area near Antietam Creek in the early part of the eighteenth century. The "strife," which may have prohibited early European settlement below the wagon road crossing, evidently culminated in a decisive battle between the Delawares and the Catawbas sometime between 1730 and 1736. Once comprehensive cultivation of the Potomac River Valley began in the later part of the century, "arrowheads, pestles, skinning-knives, and tomahawks" as well as skeletal remains, "pottery and flints" were uncovered in fields in the eleven mile stretch above the mouth of Antietam Creek.[23] Winslow's map indicates that there were a total of 34 homesteads or settlements, with nineteen located on the Maryland side of the Potomac. Four river crossings existed: a ford near Spurcarts, a ferry at Opequon and two unspecified crossings at Oldtown and at the Cole/Cherry settlements below Licking Creek. The crossings known to have existed near Tonoloway Creek (Hancock) and at Conococheague Creek (Williamsport) have been omitted from Winslow's survey or had not yet gained recognition as suitable places for river passage.[24] Only one road is shown, the wagon road known as the wagon road to Philadelphia, at Spurcart's crossing. Although the old trail at Oldtown does indicate the use of a second, more western, north/south route through the valleys.

Two notations allude to the natural resources of the region. The first is the "old fields" reference to the rich, fertile areas found along the river. Sites at Oldtown, below Licking Creek, and between the Opequon ferry and the Moore homesteads apparently were occupied and under cultivation during the first half of the eighteenth century. In addition, these areas may

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[22]The reference to "wagon road foard" is cited by Thomas Hahn, Towpath Guide to the C&O Canal (The American Canal and Transportation Center: 1990), 122 or Mile 71.39, as mentioned in a deed dated May 3, 1742, from Isaac Garrison to Moses Teague. The name Spurcart may relate to the name Spurgent that appears in the same general location on Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of maryland with Part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina, Drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson in 1751, 1755, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress; Spurcart is the only surname on the map without a first name.

[23] Thomas Scharf, The History of Western Maryland, 986-987.

[24] George Washington's diary states that he crossed the river just below Hancock to Bath, or Berkley Springs (in Fitzpatrick, George Washington Diary 4, 219, entry for October 14, 1794.); Virginia granted the ferry rights at Williamsport to Evans Watkins in 1744, noted by Thomas F. Hahn, The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal: Pathway to the Nation's Capital (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1982), 229.

have been farmed in the prior centuries by Native American "settlers."[25] The second reference is to the "cole mines" in the far west, beyond any European habitation, that would yield enormous quantities of coal in the next century.

Winslow's survey demonstrates the sparsely settled landscape of the Potomac River Valley of the early eighteenth century. However, by mid-century the population of Western Maryland had increased to include great numbers of former Pennsylvanians, who were predominantly of German and Scotch-Irish origin, as well as immigrants from the Rhenish Palatinate and relocated tidewater colonials who had been drawn to the Maryland frontier by the availability of fertile and relatively cheap valley farmland. The "flow of settlement," however, moved not only according to the easy passage through the valleys and along the Potomac, but also according to the actions of large landowners who acted to increase the value of the land through the transfer of deed and title.[26]

Two such speculators were Daniel Dulaney and Charles Carroll, who both owned vast tracts in the Monocacy River Valley. Dulaney and Carroll subdivided these holdings to sell or lease to tenants. To further promote the development of the region, Dulaney established the town of Frederick, and Carroll created Carrollton Manor. Both entities influenced and shaped the pattern of agricultural development in Frederick County. Frederick developed into a governmental and transportation center, while Carrollton Manor, which lay along the west side of the Monocacy, became a model for early agricultural production. Carroll's tenants were, in fact, the first occupants to farm the land abandoned by the Piscataways, Martin Chartier and the Tuscaroras.

> *That from Monocasy to Frederick Town (distant 12 or 13 Miles) nothing can well exceed them for Fertility of Soil, convenient Levelness, and luxuriant growth of Timber. The Farms seem to be under good cultivation, which is somewhat surprising, as the possession of them (on a Manner belonging to Chs. Carroll, Esqr. of Carrolton, who holds in one Tract, 12, or 14,000 Acres) are Tenants at will, paying for the low ground on Potomack and Monocasy 5/. Marland Curry. pr. Acre and for the high land 4/. for all the land within the respective boundaries of their respective Tenements.*[27]

In 1737 Thomas Cresap purchased from Daniel Dulaney a 500-acre tract along the Antietam Creek he called Long Meadow. Although he settled there briefly, Cresap continued

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[25] Additional analysis of the sites marked by Winslow will be possible once historic maps are scanned for comparative information; at the time of this report that information was not yet available. In addition, analysis and understanding of early native American occupation will only be possible upon the completion of thorough archeological investigations. Documentation collected thus far suggests that the early colonial sites have a direct relationship to the contemporary agricultural tracts in the leasing program.

[26] Analysis of deed research in both Allegany and Washington counties supports this conclusion, which was made by Frederick Gutheim in The Potomac (New York: Holt Rhinehart and Winston, 1977), 114.

[27] Fitzpatrick, George Washington Diaries 2, 338, entry for August 6, 1785.

to survey the frontier, to serve as Dulaney's and Lord Baltimore's land agent and to purchase tracts for himself throughout the region, which he in turn sold to settlers or other speculators. By 1740 Cresap had established a homestead near the Moore Village site. This pattern of accumulation and subdivision of large-scale tracts of land set by Cresap continued throughout the colonial era. All along the Potomac, the relatively open bottomlands found on either side of the river crossings and near the mouths of the feeder streams were thus plowed, while additional fields in the upland forests were cleared. When old fields no longer produced, they became pasture and the newer lands were fenced with rail enclosures. In this way, farmsteads of a few hundred acres or less were carved from the larger land holdings.[28]

While Winslow and subsequent cartographers designated each settlement by a single dot on their maps, the homesteads were most likely a group of structures. These farm clusters included not only simple homes but also barns and other frame structures or outbuildings. These would have been arranged according to function in a clearing above, or in an area adjacent to, the cultivated fields and meadows. The designs of the farm buildings frequently displayed forms of vernacular architecture associated with the different cultural traditions of colonial Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The houses of German settlers were originally constructed of logs, with four rooms and two or two-and-a-half stories. Distinctive barns, known as traditional German bank barns, were also an essential part of the settlements. Although the earliest barns may have been simple single crib buildings, by the mid-eighteenth century the two-and-a-half story and prominent forebay design of the barn, constructed with a stone foundation at the base of a slope, characterized farms throughout the valley, especially in what would become Frederick and Washington counties. These barns often served the dual purpose of grain storage and shelter for livestock. Among the other structures were spring houses or wells, ice houses, wood sheds, privies, cellars for food storage, dry houses, smoke houses and bake ovens and possibly hay barracks. Rail fences enclosed crops and areas around the building cluster to keep out animals and livestock.[29]

Riverside communities and upstream mill villages slowly expanded to maintain the Potomac crossings and to serve the inland farmers by processing grains, forging agricultural implements, selling trade goods and eventually by providing access to markets in the east. Here, the attraction of the economic benefits to be derived from the agricultural productivity of the region was most evident. The communities at Antietam Creek, Williamsport and Hancock are successful examples of this agricultural-based development.[30] However, the settlement pattern

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[28] John Solomon Otto, Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880 (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1994), 2.

[29] Discussion of early farmsteads is based on Allen G. Noble, Wood, Brick and Stone (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984). For additional information on the evolution and cultural significance of the bank barn see Robert F. Ensmiger, The Pennsylvania Barn (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

[30] See Susan Winter Frye, "Evolution of Mill Settlement Patterns in the Antietam Drainage, Washington County, Maryland," M.A. The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1984; Robb, "Industry," 46-86; and Thomas F. Hahn and Emory L. Kemp, Cement Mills along the Potomac River (Morgantown: West Virginia University for the History of Technology and Industrial Archaeology, 1994), 23-30.

in the upper river valley differs from one end to the other. With topography ranging from wide valleys near the Monocacy to steep ridges beyond the Tonoloway Creeks, the network of roads developed a north/south orientation in the eastern portion and shifted to an east/west direction in the western area.

The New Republic and a Vision for Economic Development

In the post-revolutionary period, the significant settlements along the upper river valley from the Monocacy River to Cumberland numbered between twelve and fourteen (Figure 2.2). These ranged from Antietam Forge, to Jacques' near Licking Creek, to Shellhorn's beyond Oldtown. Beyond Williamsport, these settlements were located next to a portion of the old 1758 road, which followed the river through Hancock and Oldtown to Cumberland. Some of these settlements, such as Hancock and Oldtown, were ferry crossings as well. The settlements usually contained a tavern or way station, where travelers, like George Washington, could stop for the night, and drovers, headed for eastern markets, could rest their animals.[31] In 1797 segments of this road were incorporated into the overall plans for the Baltimore Pike or the National Pike, a privately built turnpike that was later considered part of the federally funded National Road.[32]

Below Williamsport, the old north/south routes at the Potomac crossings defined the pattern of settlement well into the nineteenth century. The land between the routes remained lightly settled and relatively inaccessible, as no east/west shoreline road existed to connect the crossings that were located opposite Opequon Creek, Harpers Ferry and Swearingen's Ferry (near Shepherdstown) and at the mouth of Antietam Creek.[33] Of these, only Swearingen's crossing was linked to Williamsport, and that indirect connection was via a north/south road that passed through Sharpsburg and intersected with other roads from Frederick. In addition, a network of inland routes extending from Elizabethtown (Hagerstown) covered the central part of Washington County and provided access to most of the region's flour mills, which, for the most part, were also located inland, above the mouths of the creeks and streams. Washington

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[31] Number of settlements is derived from analysis of Dennis Griffith, Map of the State of Maryland laid down from an actual survey..., 1794, RG 77, Civil Works File, Cartographic Division, National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C.; and J.J. Abert, Map of the Survey of the Potomac Canal, 1825, RG 77, Civil Works File, Cartographic Division, NA. See also Fitzpatrick, George Washington Diary 2, entry noting that he stayed at "one Headricks" at "15 Miles Creek," (See September 7, 1784 and March 11, 1784); and reference to Shellhorn's Tavern in will of John Shellhorn, cited in Equity #322, JR HB, No. K., pp.268-274, 1826, Allegany County Circuit Court.

[32] Construction of the National Road began in 1806; it eventually connected Baltimore and Philadelphia with St. Louis. A history of this important public work is found in Merritt Ierly, Traveling the National Road (Woodstock, N.Y.: The Overlook Press, 1990).

[33] Map analysis indicates the Swearingen's and Harper's Ferry were major crossing points, while Opequon and Antietam had less significance; see also Williams, History of Washington County, 134.

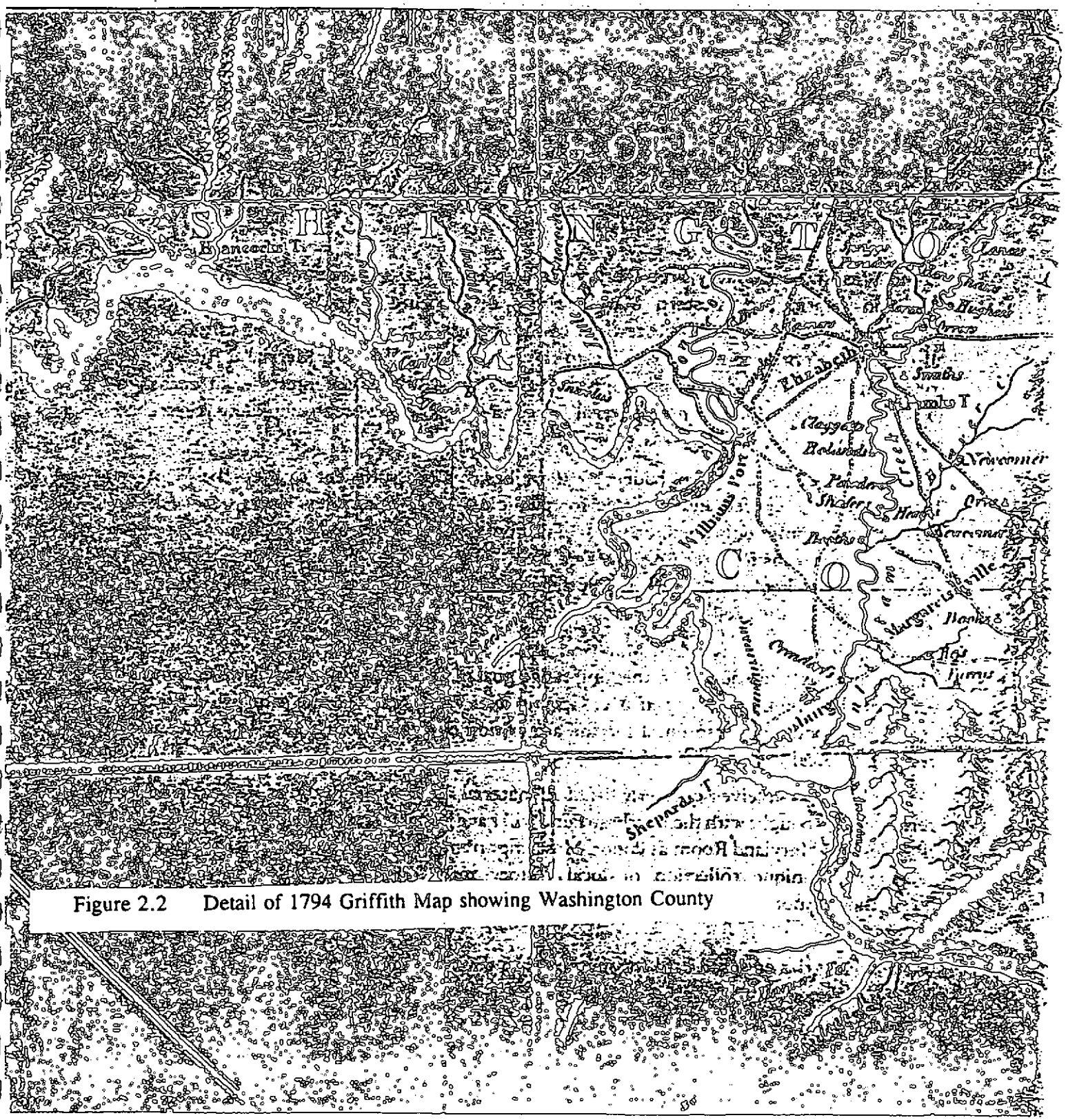

Figure 2.2 Detail of 1794 Griffith Map showing Washington County

Western Maryland Rail
copies?

County farmers in the eastern region of the Great Valley used these local roads to take their grain to mills for processing and then for shipping the flour in wagons to markets in Baltimore. The sporadic settlements in southern Frederick County, between the Monocacy and the Harpers Ferry crossing, followed this same pattern. John Quincy Adams, as late as 1834, described the country along the Potomac shoreline below Harpers Ferry as "generally beautiful, sometimes wild, and in other parts variously cultivated, but seemingly little inhabited."[34] To process their harvest, farmers situated along the Potomac in the southern part of Frederick and Washington counties thus had to haul their grain to mills located some distance away from the river, an otherwise logical shipping route for flour to market.

While the Potomac River may have been a logical shipping route, periodic floods, low levels in summer and rocky shoals above the fall line, made transporting goods on the river an impractical, even risky, venture. The need to improve the navigation of the Potomac had been long recognized for the role the waterway could have in the development of the western territories. As early as 1760, George Washington advocated adapting the unique conditions and resources of the Potomac River Valley to promote economic enterprise. From his first-hand knowledge of the region's topography, Washington knew that the falls and the rapids of the Potomac were a potential source for early industrial water power; that the surrounding hills and mountains were rich with marketable iron ore and timber, and that the fertile valleys and

bottomlands could be successfully cultivated.[35] Washington founded his vision of the development of the region on the abundance of these same resources. Included in his vision were not only the importance of water power, the growing iron industry of the upper Potomac and the potential for agricultural production, but also the availability of both primary and secondary water routes to the Ohio River Valley and beyond. Washington's entrepreneurial role in the formation of the Patowmack Canal Company was one way this vision was manifested.

The Patowmack Company was established in 1785. Its mission was to deepen existing river channels by removing rocks and to construct a series of small skirting canals and lift locks around hazardous falls and rapids in the river. The company was also empowered to improve navigation on the tributary streams and rivers, such as the Shenandoah, Antietam, the Conococheague and the Monocacy River. When the water level was high, boats designed to negotiate both the river's obstacles and the Patowmack Company's skirting canals carried primarily hay, flour and whiskey to Georgetown. For a while, trade between Washington County and Georgetown flourished.[36] However, even with the efforts of the Patowmack Company, little physical change came to the river valley during the first decades of the

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[34] Allan Nevins, ed., The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1859 (New York: Green and Co., 1928), 452.

[35] Fitzpatrick, George Washington Diaries 1, 138.

[36] Tolls were collected on the Patowmack Canal for the following: wine, rum, spirits, tobacco, flour, beef, pork, hemp, flax, potash, bar and pig iron, lime, coal, staves, lumber and timber. Whiskey and other spirits represented the most efficient way to boat corn and rye. For a complete history of the Patowmack Canal see Corra Bacon Foster, "Early Records in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West," Records of the Columbia Historical Society 15: 128; and Williams, History of Washington County, 64, 131.

nineteenth century. The lackluster economy of the region encouraged few new ventures. After construction at Little Falls, Great Falls and Harpers Ferry, the plan to complete the construction of additional Patowmack Company skirting canals was, for the most part, abandoned after 1815 due to lack of funds.

The upper Potomac River Valley also experienced an economic depression as a result of events in the lower Potomac. The expected Capital City building boom failed to materialize in Washington, D.C., and agricultural production in tidewater region declined considerably. Communities along the river relied on the Potomac transportation network; and when the river was impassable or too low, the ability to transport goods cheaply was directly impacted. Raw materials coming in and goods going out were landlocked. In spite of these periodic setbacks, general opinion held that additional improvement of the river was intrinsic to the economic well-being the valley.[37]

While communities sought ways to initiate internal improvements, one gradual, but significant, change did occur in the Potomac River Valley. The formation of additional individual farms from larger, older tracts, was brought about by progressive changes in farming practices and increases in agricultural output, especially in grain production. The steady increase in the number of farms gradually altered the look of the landscape in the Great Valley and along the Potomac river.[38]

> *This valley is the finest country as to scenery, fertility and situation in the United States. It is called Cononcocheague Valley and it lies between South Mountain (the Blue Ridge) and Alleghany Mountain. . . As you drive through the richest soil - fine houses - large fields of luxuriant, dark green wheat as far as the eye can see - the undulating mountains keeping pace with the traveler affords, one of the richest treats.*[39]

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[37] Without the stimulation of early transportation projects and internal improvements, the economy of Harpers Ferry stagnated. The regional context, Harpers Ferry's position at the head of the both the Potomac and Shenandoah River Valleys, is important for understanding the economic climate there. Analysis of intraregional economies in the early nineteenth century can be found in Thomas C. Cochran, Frontiers of Change: Early Industrialism in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 38-49; and more specifically in Diane Lindstrom, Economic Development in Philadelphia Region, 1810-1815 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 13-15.

[38] The following discussion is based on the works of Robb, "Industry," 386-413; Vivian Doris Wisser, "The Movement for Agricultural Improvement in Maryland, 1785-1865" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1963); and Williams, The History of Washington County.

[39] Excerpt from Anne Newport Royall, The black book; or a continuation of travels in the United States (Printed for the author 1828-1829), as cited in Williams, History of Washington County, 183.

Agricultural Innovation and Internal Improvements

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the production of grain, cereals and livestock brought profits to farmers in western Maryland. At that time the flat and gently sloping valleys were planted with grains, while the hill sections on the ridges were devoted to a combination of grain cultivation, native pasture, forests and wooded pasture. By 1850, the percentage of farmland acreage in Allegany County was forty-two per cent, while the acreage in both Washington and Frederick counties was closer to eighty per cent. Such increases were due in part to the subdivision of large estates and manors into smaller, more manageable and profitable farms of one hundred to five hundred acres in Washington and Frederick counties and of only fifty to one hundred in Allegany.

The agricultural press played a key role in influencing the overall increase in western Maryland agriculture. As early as 1797, the Almanac from Hagerstown was addressing "farm and garden" issues in its yearly publication.[40] More importantly, John Stuart Skinner started the American Farmer in 1819, a seminal journal published regularly in Baltimore until the Civil War. Skinner wrote extensively about the advantages of lime and guano as soil amendments for improving soils through Maryland and Virginia worn out by tobacco production in the eighteenth century.[41] Although fields in Western Maryland had not been intensely cultivated with tobacco, thorough fertilization practices, which used compost, animal manures, bone meal, Peruivan guano, as well as lime, revitalized the soil and improved crop yields here, too. Skinner also reported on patents for agricultural tools and machinery. Plows for deeper furrowing, self-raker reapers and wheat drills were among the newest inventions. Between 1847 and 1853, individuals had designed and developed a grain separator, a driller and a reaper in Washington County.[42] With the acceptance of these innovations, a thriving manufacturing sector co-existed with the agricultural, supplying farmers with the tools, machinery and fertilizers required for successful operations.[43] During this period of agricultural expansion, the number of farms and the general population increased, yet the number of slaves decreased, in part because of the new and more

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[40] Wisser, "Movement for Agricultural Improvement," 45.

[41] See Avery Craven, Soil Exhaustion As A Factor in The Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith Publishing, Inc., 1926). Tidewater and some areas along the Potomac above the fall line were cultivated with tobacco; Pleasant Valley in Washington County was such an area; see Williams, The History of Washington County, 373. Loudoun County in Virginia was another Potomac River Valley community, where soils were significantly improved through fertilizers.

[42] See Williams, History of Washington County, 356, which includes specific reference to the Hussey reaper.

[43] See Hugh Gilleece and Co. advertisement for their iron foundry at Harpers Ferry, which details Gilleece's ability to execute castings for a wide selection of farm equipment which he offered to ship via the C&O Canal or railroads, in Virginia Free Press, 4/14/1836, p. 3; also see advertisement by R.S. Blackburn and Co. on the C&O Canal near Harpers Ferry offering both Peruvian guano and plaster (lime) for sale, Virginia Free Press, 3/09/1854, p. 3, in newspaper database, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

efficient farming practices employed by individual landholders.[44]

Both John Blackford of Sharpsburg and John Piper of Flintstone exemplify the successful farmer of the era. Blackford, in Washington County, operated a diversified plantation, Ferry Hill, on the Potomac, opposite Shepherdstown. Here, Blackford combined grain, livestock and some fruit production with his ownership of the ferry operation across the Potomac. He also marketed quantities of cut wood for firewood. He collected rents from his tenant farmers and owned stock in internal improvement companies. Blackford's grain was processed by independent millers, located nearby on Antietam Creek.[45] John Piper in Allegany County was an equally enterprising farmer. Piper operated an inn, or boarding house, in Flintstone. He cultivated several types of wheat, clover, timothy, corn, oats, and barley, using guano and lime as fertilizers. His grain was processed at Shepherd's mill in Oldtown. He probably also sold grain to cattle drovers, who stopped at his establishment *en route* to market. In addition, Piper raised sheep, beef, hogs, ducks and chickens and grew apples for apple cider.[46]

Skinner also encouraged the establishment of county agricultural societies in his publication. Such groups were founded in the 1840s and 1850s in western Maryland, to promote innovations and the dissemination of information critical to successful farming on a local level. Societies were formed in Allegany County in 1848, in Frederick County in 1849 and in Washington County in 1852. While the Allegany group was short-lived, both Frederick and Washington counties had active organizations. The Washington County fair sponsored by the society in 1853 had some 7,000 to 10,000 in attendance. One of the events featured at the fair was a plowing contest. The possibility of establishing a Maryland agricultural college was addressed at the fair, as well. The overall result of the thriving agricultural economy was that "two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, and we find better homesteads, better out-houses, better fences, better gardens and greater care and neatness shown in all out-door affairs, than formerly."[47]

In this economic climate and time of rapid physical change, expedient and improved transportation to markets became an immediate priority. For western Maryland the development of a viable transportation network was an essential element in achieving a healthy economy for

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[44] Williams, The History of Washington County, 250 and 367, suggests that the proximity of western Maryland to the free states, especially Pennsylvania, and general distaste for fugitive slave problems helped to contain the expansion of slavery in the region; he states that 1500 Washington County slaves were set free at the end of the Civil War.

[45] John Blackford kept a daily farm journal, several of which are extant. Fletcher M. Green, Thomas F. and Nathalie W. Hahn, eds., Ferry Hill Plantation Journal, 4 January 1838 - 15 January 1839 (Shepherdstown, West Va.: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1975) was used to analyze Blackford's enterprise. Blackford's writings describes various forms of innovative agriculture practiced along the Potomac River, and his narrative reveals significant information about the social and cultural life of the era.

[46] John Piper, John Piper Farm Record, 1847-1851, copy on file, Marylandia Room, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

[47] Herald Mail [Hagerstown], October 3, 1860, cited in Wiser, "Agricultural Improvement," 366.

the region. The network, as it developed throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, included turnpikes, the National Road, railroads and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The individual systems were conceived by independent companies, financed with a combination of public funds and private subscription. These were constructed with great difficulty to ultimately create a impressive transportation corridor following the western course of the Potomac. The anticipation of the completion of these great public works and their positive effect on the local economies was high.

> *In addition to its natural advantages, its [Harpers Ferry's] importance as a place of trade, will be immensely augmented by the great public works which now connect it with the City of Baltimore and the District of Columbia on the one hand and the fertile valleys of the Potomac and Shenandoah, and the Coal region of the Cumberland on the other, viz.: the two Rail Roads above mentioned [Baltimore and Ohio and Winchester and Potomac Railroads] and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.*[48]

Unfortunately, the long-awaited arrival of both the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal (C&O) and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O) to the upper valley ultimately failed to bring large-scale economic expansion to communities, farms and other local enterprises along the river. Although the transportation improvements did generate a significant amount of additional commerce and business, it was to a lesser degree than originally anticipated.

While the National Road was completed to Wheeling [West Virginia] in 1818, construction on both canal and rail systems did not begin until 1828, in Georgetown and Baltimore, Maryland, respectively. Unlike the earlier Patowmack Company, the C&O company intended to construct a continuous navigable channel from the capital, along the Maryland side of the Potomac, to eventually connect with waterways in the Ohio River Valley. After a prolonged legal battle with the B&O over the right-of-way along the river near Point of Rocks, the C&O Canal reached the site of the planned lift locks opposite Harpers Ferry in November 1833.[49] B&O construction was completed to the same point on the Maryland shore in December 1834. In 1836, the rail line crossed over the Potomac near its confluence with the Shenandoah, on a newly constructed bridge, and entered Harpers Ferry. The line eventually recrossed the Potomac into Maryland at North Branch and reached Cumberland in 1842. The C&O, in turn, continued to excavate westward along the Maryland side, where the company experienced serious delays caused by epidemics, labor unrest, legal disputes, shortage of funds, and difficult terrain. The canal was finally completed to Cumberland in 1850.

While places such as Harpers Ferry derived exceptional benefit from both canal and rail

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[48] Virginia Free Press, 4/7/1836.

[49] The difficulties of constructing the C&O and the B&O are discussed in Edward Hungerford, The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1927 (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1928); Walter Sanderlin, The Great National Project (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946); and Hahn, The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. A description of the legal battle between the railroad and the canal is found in James D. Dilts, The Great Road (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

links with its Lower Town commercial area, the railroad by-passed other less populated areas, such as the western part of Washington County. The initial advantage of rail connections thus went to communities along the Virginia shore, until the line later recrossed the Potomac at North Branch and entered Allegany County.[50]

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, as a continuous, mostly self-contained water channel, affected the agricultural lands along the river in several ways. Initially, construction of the canal caused significant disruption and alteration to the landscape. Work commenced in Georgetown and progressed upriver in half mile sections, constructed simultaneously by different contractors. Using hand tools and teams of horses and wagons, axemen cut obstructing vegetation, while excavation crews dug, cut and filled with "borrowed" soil to create the canal prism, tow path embankment and berm bank. Stone for walls, culverts, dams, locks and aqueducts was quarried from different locations near the river. The transformation of the bottomlands included not only clear-cutting and leveling, but also the removal of existing structures, fences and other features that lay in the path of the canal's route. Mills and their source of power were affected as the flow of streams and creeks was redirected or reduced. The canal also obstructed adjacent landowner's access to the river. In addition, the large number of workers, horses and materials required, combined with the prolonged construction period, generated individual, semi-permanent, village communities. Usually these consisted of clusters of wooden shanties, originally erected near the work sites to house canal crews. In 1845, the subcontractors with apparatus and corps of laborers were "strewed all along the line from Dam No. 6 to Cumberland."[51]

Company agents negotiated with landowners located farther up river to buy the land necessary for the waterway in advance of construction. Their reports show that the agents assigned the highest monetary value to any arable land the company wished to buy. Initially, individual landowners willingly signed agreements with the C&O. However, a few proprietors in Frederick and Washington counties refused to settle amicably. The canal company was forced to proceed with extensive condemnation suits in the county courts. By forcing the condemnation, recalcitrant landowners hoped to receive more financially advantageous awards.

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[50] Washington County rail connections were later realized with the construction of spur lines.

[51] Niles' Register description cited in Harlan D. Unrau, "Chronological History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1828-1924, A Historic Resource Study" 4 (C&O Canal Restoration Team, C&O Canal NHP, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1976), 7. In 1850, 613 workers were employed by the company to perform the variety of tasks required to complete the canal: 37 bosses, 7 blacksmiths, 70 carpenters, 22 quarryman, 10 stone cutters, 20 masons, 33 mason tenders, and 414 laborers. An additional 104 drivers, 215 horses and numbers of carts and wagons were also necessary. The overall effect of the construction on the landscape was undoubtedly enormous. See Twenty-second Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to the Stockholders, June 3, 1850, copy on file, Historical Society of Washington, Washington, D.C..

Local juries determined the value of the land rather than company representatives.[52] With this precedent established, those seeking court awards in later transactions far exceeded the number of landowners willing to sell. One owner summarized the attitude of many farmers toward the C&O Canal by noting that "this great wealthy foreign Company should not be permitted to trespass upon the Farmer without being made to pay amply for it."[53] With this prevailing opinion, the transfer of land became progressively more difficult and more costly over time.

Details of these negotiations in canal company records indicate that many adjacent landowners had legitimate concerns about the negative impact the canal would have on their properties and livelihood. While the issues raised by owners of agricultural property are significant to the early engineering history of the C&O, they also reinforced the distinctive character of farming along the river. Farmers in Frederick, Washington and Allegany counties petitioned for relocating wagon roads and rebuilding fences affected by the canal construction. Some farmers who retained property between the canal and the river wanted access to the river via culverts for their wagons or cattle. Others requested additional ditches to drain their fields of the water expected to leak through the embankment.[54] They also asked for private boat basins and ferries across the canal. Landowners selling fields adjacent to the path of the canal sought the right for their tenants or for themselves to harvest the remaining crops growing there. Stipulations such as these reflected the value and importance of fences to keep residential areas, gardens and crops protected from livestock, to maintain reliable roads to market, to ensure easy access to water sources, to preserve the high degree of cultivation on fields near the river and the existing character of the owner/tenant relationship.[55]

Although the canal company agreed to the conditions of the leases, the company failed to implement many of the provisions. In several cases, the landowner released the C&O Canal Company from the responsibility of making a new road or constructing a ferry, and, as an alternative, requested an additional payment to undertake the construction himself. The number of basins and ferries that actually may have been constructed has yet to be determined. Once completed, the canal affected the daily activities of adjacent farmers more by its placement in the landscape as an obstacle to maneuver around, than by its economic viability.

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[52] Example of such inquisition cases include Christian Kemp et al. in Frederick County and Caspar W. Wever in Washington County. See Entry 219, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, NA. See also testimony in the condemnation proceedings against G.B Wager and others of Harpers Ferry, [Va.], 1832, in Box 2, Entry 217, RG 79, NA.

[53] Bender to Washington, May 7, 1836, cited in Sanderlin, Great Project, 125.

[54] Ditches are evident along the base of the towpath embankment in several Allegany County locations. A few ditches perpendicular to the embankment are also visible on former agricultural sites. Although the date of the ditches is unknown, the practice of ditching was used by Charles Carroll on his lands to drain meadows and low areas as early as 1794; see Wiser, "Agricultural Improvement," 53.

[55] The above description of the farmers' concerns comes from an analysis of the copies of deeds and correspondences contained in the C&O Canal Co. records, Entry 219-221, RG 79, NA. The traditional use of rail fences (worm or snake fences) to keep out livestock is discussed in Otto, Southern Agriculture, 79-80 and found in Blackford, Ferry Hill, 37.

Sometimes local residents used the canal in ways not intended by the company. The towpath and the aqueducts were abused as wagon roads or bridle paths. The waterway was also used for rafts and crude boats built by farmers for "incidental trade" or lumber trade on a single trip downstream.[56] Some enterprising farmers did run official boating operations to supplement their agricultural output.[57] Yet, little documentation has been found to support the idea that individual farmers regularly supervised their own shipments to market on the canal.[58] Rather, grain producers relied on nearby millers or agents in Point of Rocks, Brunswick, Harpers Ferry and Williamsport, who represented the commission houses in Georgetown, Alexandria and Baltimore, to sell and ship their flour via wagon, the canal or the railroad. Most agricultural products from Washington County transported on the canal were shipped from Williamsport.[59]

Transformation of Agriculture and Landscape

Prior to 1850, flour, wheat and corn were the primary products transported on the canal toward Georgetown.[60] Other shipped goods reflected, for the most part, the agricultural nature of the valley economy, as well. The ascending trade on the canal varied in types of goods, and demonstrates that, although toll rates were more advantageous for long-haul, short-haul trade also existed.[61] Once the canal reached Cumberland in 1850, the company began to expedite coal shipments from the Alleghenies and discourage further development of the grain business. From that point on, the primary cargo changed from wheat to coal. By 1870, the company

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[56] Sanderlin, Great Project, 186, 188, 271.

[57] Franklin Blackford, John Blackford's son and tenant, was part owner of a packet line that traveled to Georgetown regularly, see Virginia Free Press, 5/24/1838, p. 3; Franklin evidently hoped to ship cut wood from Ferry Hill down the canal for profit, see Blackford, Ferry Hill, 29. William Grove, a tenant farmer located near Williamsport, boated for Isaac Long. See Equity #2013 (3), unrecorded documents, Washington County Circuit Court.

[58] Packet boats were also used for "parties of pleasure," see Virginia Free Press, 11/28/1833. One unconventional use of the canal as a segment of the Underground Railroad is found in the account given by James Curry, a former slave, of his escape to the north, cited in Anthony Cohen, The Underground Railroad in Montgomery County, Maryland (Rockville: Montgomery County Historical Society, 1994), 8.

[59] See Blackford, Ferry Hill, 4-5, and Williams, History of Washington County, 256. See also notice of Wilson and Henshaw in Virginia Free Press, 3/24/1834; notice of O'Byrne for short haul to Point of Rocks, Virginia Free Press, 5/01/1834; announcement of C&O forwarding agents from Willamsport Banner in Virginia Free Press, 9/10/1835; and notice of Wm. H. Elgin and Co., Virginia Free Press, 1/11/1849.

[60] Barrels of flour were the first product from Washington County to be shipped on the canal, see Virginia Free Press, 11/14/1833, which states that an early traveler on the towpath passed boats carrying some 2000 barrels of flour.

[61] See descending and ascending lists in Twenty-second Annual Report, 23-24.

reported to the stockholders only the yearly tonnage of coal, not agricultural products, carried on the system. Indeed, from a high of 25,761 tons in 1851, flour on the canal had dropped to 11,087 tons in 1861.[62]

Although agricultural production was curtailed considerably during the Civil War, the decrease in flour tonnage on the canal both before and after the war was due to the fact that railroads gained control of the transportation of flour to market. Nevertheless, after the war quantities of wheat and corn continued to be shipped by the C&O as farmers in western Maryland continued to grow both wheat and corn as cash crops.[63] The importance of corn production was marked by an increase in the raising of livestock. The market for livestock and livestock products, such as diary goods, developed as a result of the growth in urban areas in the east and the ability of the railroad to ship these products quickly. Although other grains such as rye, oats and buckwheat were cultivated for feeds, hay production also increased to meet the rise in diary farming. The market for garden produce expanded with the growth of the cities, and influenced the development of market farming. Irish potatoes and tree fruits, especially apples and peaches, were transported to the east on the network of roads and rail lines that crisscrossed the valley by the end of the century.[64]

One of the rail connections was made when the B&O added a branch line in eastern Washington County from Weverton on the Potomac River to Hagerstown in 1867. Another connection that affected canal business was the Western Maryland Railroad. Completed from Baltimore to Williamsport in 1873, the WMRR eventually paralleled the route of the canal, creating, along with the original line of the B&O, a path of rails up the river valley to Cumberland, where the railroad was completed in 1904. The Western Maryland ran along the berm side of the C&O between Williamsport and Cumberland. On one level area in the Indian Spring District, the river, the canal, the rail line and the old National Turnpike lay side by side, forming a multi-layered transportation corridor.

The farm landscape reflected the changes in agriculture as well.[65] With the rise in demand for diary products, fodder to feed cattle was required to maintain milk production throughout the year. The "ensilage" of corn and other green crops, or the storage in silos of green food for cattle was developed in the 1870s. Diary farmers in Maryland were among the first to adopt this innovation, with silos of all shapes and sizes (rectangular wooden, covered

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[62] Robb, "Industry," 217-218; and Cumberland Citizen in Spirit of Jefferson, 11/12/1850, newspaper database, HFNHP. In December 1859, the Virginia Free Press noted that of the 111 boats passing Harpers Ferry in the prior week, 22 carried country produce, while 89 carried "Cumberland Coal"; see also Sanderlin, Great Project, 217.

[63] This analysis comes from Unrau, "Chronological History" 4, 12.

[64] M.L. Funkhouser and Co., Real Estate Journal, Hagerstown, Maryland, November 1889, original copy on file, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, extolled the economic viability of Washington County and mentioned it's developing peach industry and the advantageous transportation systems. One advertised farm was 28 acres in size and described as the "best trucking farm and small fruit farm on the market."

[65] Discussion of the post-Civil war agricultural landscape is based on Noble, Settlement Landscape 2, 69-128.

pits, circular fieldstone) added to the rural landscape. By the mid-1890s round, upright silos constructed of wooden staves were the widely accepted form. Masonry silos first appeared after World War I; the tall, metal "Harvestore" was not developed until the end of World War II. Dairy farmers also constructed milk houses next to their barns, which would have contained a cooling container and washing apparatus. With the increased emphasis on livestock production, chicken coops, pig pens and sheep folds were also constructed where needed. The farmer of the era was no longer allowed to let his animals roam free. By using appropriate structures and different types of fencing, he contained and enclosed his livestock, rather than his fields. Although the rail fence was still the most commonly used type, the post and rail and the board fence gained acceptance. Some farmers in the region undoubtedly established hedgerows along grazing areas by growing thorny shrubs and trees, such as rose, hawthorn, buckthorn and honey locusts. Barbed wire was developed in the midwest in the 1870s and gradually adopted in the east some time later.[66]

Illustrations of prosperous farmsteads in Washington County demonstrate the variety of fence types found there in the 1870s. Rail fences mark the distant pastures and orchard, board fences separate farm buildings and close-in fields from the public road, and picket fences surround the residences.[67] Indeed, the most valuable farms were "kept neat and attractive in appearance," with houses and barns painted in "neat harmonious colors," with hogs and other animals penned at the rear and front yards of "well kept blue grass." On "valuable" farms most of the acreage was under cultivation, with a few acres remaining in timber.[68]

As these changes were occurring in agriculture, the C&O Canal had become an industrial enterprise in its own right. With the emphasis on the through passage of coal, communities along the canal developed economies that supported and were subsidized by the activity on the waterway. Boatmen and their families, lock keepers and canal workers, feed stores, boat building, repair docks, warehouses, and merchants all depended on the operation of the C&O and the local economy it generated.[69] Western Maryland farmers provided products for this

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[66] Barbed wire fencing is the predominant fence type noted in an anonymously written survey of the canal and towpath between Williamsport and Fort Frederick, ca. 1960, copy in vertical file, Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library.

[67] See illustrations of the residences of Andrew Rentch, Wm. H. Grimes, Otho B. Smith, and Thos. J. Smith in Lake, Griffing and Stevenson, An Illustrated Atlas of Washington County, Maryland (Philadelphia: Lake, Griffing and Stevenson, 1877).

[68] See "Beautify," describing how to improve the value of farm property and listings Nos. 560, 565, 613, 616, 656, 668, in Funkhouser, Real Estate Journal.

[69] See advertisements listed in Lake, et al, Atlas of Washington County, especially for those communities and districts adjacent to the C&O Canal and the Potomac River. See also "Old Canalers Stories" in Emily Leatherman, Hancock, 1776-1976 (Hancock, Maryland: Emily Leatherman, 1976), 7-14. The works of Thomas Hahn, The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and The Towpath Guide, as well as Elizabeth Kytle, Home on the Canal (Cabin John, Md.: Seven Locks Press, 1983) emphasize the role of the canal community in the history of the C&O.

regional market as well.[70]

Periodic flooding wrecked havoc on the canal throughout its existence. The extensive damage caused by the flood of 1889 forced the C&O Canal into bankruptcy. As majority holder of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company bonds, the B&O Railroad assumed control of the canal and stabilized its financial position by establishing a coal towage company to transport coal of another B&O subsidiary, the Consolidation Coal Company. Once repaired, the canal operated at a reduced level until the 1924 flood finally closed the waterway for good.

The long history of the formation of the C&O Canal National Historical Park begins with the C&O Canal Company's refusal to repair and reopen the canal in 1924.[71] While efforts to create a national park out of the canal were underway, the former waterway lay "obsolete and useless, choked by vegetation, a mere reminder of its former economic importance." In turn, the effect of the canal's decline on the river valley was felt the most in the small rural communities that serviced the waterway.[72]

Agriculture in the Park

During its years of decline as a transportation company, the use of the canal for recreation developed. Touring by barge, tug and motor boat was a popular pastime that has been documented in travel accounts, oral histories, vintage photographs and in early film footage.[73] Although the company never marketed canal touring in the same way that the B&O Railroad promoted excursions through the scenic Potomac River Valley, individual packet operators and boatmen with their own vessels did carry groups for leisurely trips on the waterway. Passengers on boat trips remarked on the historical and natural points of interest, and the overall picturesque character of the route, noting that "in pleasing beauty and simple

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[70] Several oral histories compiled between 1966 and 1974 describe the impact of the canal on small riverside communities and the unique way of life for boatmen and their families living along the canal. See Oral History Transcripts, C&O Canal NHP.

[71] For a complete discussion of the Park's history, see Barry Mackintosh, C&O Canal, The Making of a Park (Washington, D.C.: History Division, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991).

[72] Writer's Program of the Works Progress Administration in the State of Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), 88.

[73] See Virginia Free Press, 06/05/1834; Spirit of Jefferson, 07/29/1851 and 06/16/1891. See "The Writer's Motor Boat Ride on the Canal," 11; photograph of the "Oriole" and caption; "Fourth of July Celebration - 1877," 27-28 in Leatherman, Hancock. See also photographs of "Sometub" on file, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP; film of a canal trip, ca. 1920, on view at Hancock [Maryland] Visitor Center, C&O Canal NHP; and letterhead titled "The Mule Yacht," on anonymous letter to Mrs. H.L. Miles, mailed August 6, 1894, on file, vertical file, Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown, Maryland.

grandeur the varying scenery of the Potomac is unsurpassed."[74] The pastoral quality of nearby fields, pastures and orchards is also captured in the photographs that survive from this era (Figure 2.3).[75]

In areas adjacent to the canal, several properties were converted to private hunting and fishing clubs.[76] At least two of the clubs, the Cardinal Club (ca. 1920) and the Potomac Fish and Game Club (ca. 1949), were established on former agricultural tracts. In 1940, a restored and rewatered section of the canal between Seneca and Georgetown was officially set aside for public recreational use by the National Park Service, as the federal agency responsible for the C&O after the federal government's purchase of the property in 1938.[77] In 1944, NPS granted the request of the Maryland Game and Inland Fish Commission to rewater a segment of the canal between Oldtown and Town Creek for recreational fishing. The annual Oldtown fishing "rodeo" grew out of this redevelopment effort.

One of the first well-known excursions was the canal trip from Georgetown to Harpers Ferry taken by President John Quincy Adams in 1834. Perhaps the most famous trip on the canal was the Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas history-making hike along the towpath from Cumberland to Georgetown in March 1954. The justice's well publicized trip greatly influenced the final creation of the C&O National Historical Park in 1971.

Notes made on the Douglas hike, photographs and condition reports of the era indicate that cultivated fields were an integral part of the overall canal landscape.[78] At locations above the locks at Oldtown, near Lock 68, above the Paw Paw tunnel and at the mouth of the Monocacy, photographs show that only a narrow band of overgrown vegetation separated the former waterway from fields and pastures. This was probably the case in many locations along the canal. The Douglas hikers stopped to enjoy a picnic on farm land above Hancock and walked adjacent fields when they were deterred by the overgrown condition of the towpath between Parkhead and Ernstville. Once past Big Pool, one hiker noted three large cultivated

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[74] From a collection of news clippings, ca. 1894, documenting a three-day, round trip excursion from Four Locks to Cumberland, copies on file, Vertical File, Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library.

[75] See E.B. Thompson photographs 74-14 and 74-15 on file Cultural Resources Divisions, C&O Canal NHP; see also Robert Shriver, "Up South Branch from French's Brick House," September 4, 1905, Eleanor LeFevre Holshu collection, and photograph of Four Locks community with bookmobile wagon, ca. 1910, copies on file Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library.

[76] The best known of these is the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club, located west of Hancock and founded in 1870 by Grover Cleveland and others. In its heyday, the club was known for an extensive game preserve and well-appointed facilities.

[77] Mackintosh, C&O Canal, 31-43.

[78] See W. Drew Chick, Jr., "Report of Justice Douglas-Washington Post Hiking Trip Along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, March 24-27, 1954," C&O Canal NHP; see Abbie Rowe photographs L70-4, L68-2, and PPT-57, April 29, 1955, C&O Canal NHP; aerial view of Monocacy Aqueduct in Jay Johnston, "Waterway to Washington, the C&O Canal," National Geographic (March, 1960), 436; and anonymous notes from a survey of existing conditions between Williamsport and Fort Frederick, vertical file, Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library.

Figure 2.3 Early Twentieth-Century Photograph of canal boat loading hay

sections between Fort Frederick and Williamsport.

In other areas, local residents and farmers had taken over segments of the abandoned canal and adapted them for their own use. Longstanding concerns over access to the river were evident from the vehicle tracks left in the towpath, the few narrow bridges built across the dry canal bed and fishermens' trails between the towpath embankment and the river.[79] In several locations farmers had allowed cattle to graze at the very edge of the canal or in the prism. Some farmers had constructed fences along the canal border, while others placed fences directly across the canal bed and towpath. In a more settled area, above Antietam Creek, residents had established a sweep of lawn spreading from their front yards through the canal bed and along the river bank. Observations such as these underscore the important role the tradition of agriculture and an appreciation for the pastoral had in the early years of the park's development.

While the pursuit of recreation gained popularity, the transformation in agriculture that had occurred in western Maryland in the nineteenth century was sustained in the twentieth. However, trucks, tractors and other engine-powered farm machines had replaced horse and steam power and by mid-century were common to most farms. Without horses, the farmer needed less land for grazing. Agricultural census data indicates that total farmland acreage decreased in western Maryland after the turn of the century, with the average farm size reduced to a range of 100 to 175 acres. However, between 1900 and 1930 the number of individual farms in both Washington and Allegany counties increased, while Frederick experienced a slight decrease. (Frederick had far more farms than Allegany). Although wheat was no longer primarily grown as a cash crop, the need for livestock feeds throughout the state meant that grain production, in both wheat and corn, remained at high levels in western Maryland.[80] Modern farm buildings took one of two directions during this period. Small-scale farmers continued to utilize existing structures, adapting them to modern practices without extensive additions. On the other hand, large farm operations incrementally enlarged existing barns, by adding or connecting other buildings, sheds and silos.[81] They subsequently expanded with "the purchase of more land, plus the rental of additional acreage, and the corresponding increase in the size and number of farm structures to house machinery, store products and maintain livestock."[82]

By the time of Justice Douglas's hike along the canal, the number of farms in Washington and Allegany counties had decreased from the highs noted in 1930. The agricultural census data for 1955 reported 864 farms in Allegany County. Of these, 344 were commercial operations and 350 were residential farms. In Washington County, more than half of the 1,934

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[79] See photograph L71-3, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP.

[80] W.S. Hamill, The Agricultural Industry of Maryland (Baltimore: Maryland Development Bureau of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, 1934).

[81] See properties in the vicinity of the canal and near sites presently in agricultural leasing program of the C&O Canal NHP that are listed in "Washington County Historical Sites Survey," Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library. See files WA II-126, II-404, II-417, II-456, II-446, II-448, V-043, V-162, and V-163.

[82] Ensminger, Pennsylvania Barns, 182.

farms listed were commercial enterprises. In the eastern portion of Washington County, some of the farms contained large orchards on the foothills, while others were devoted to fields of grain and open pastures. In the county's broad central valley the conversion to dairy farming continued. The cultivation of corn and grains for feed increased, while wheat production dropped dramatically. To the west, in the Indian Spring district near Hancock, general and diary farming dominated, although most produce was consumed on the farm or sold locally. Here commercial agriculture was predominantly in fruit farming, especially tree fruits, which were sold at local shipping points or small local centers. The trend toward feed crops, especially oats and barley, occurred in Allegany County, as well. However, the number of residential and part-time farms in Allegany outnumbered the commercial farming enterprises.[83]

With the decrease in the number of farms and the shifts in the agricultural economy, the character of the rural landscape in Western Maryland was affected. The farms along the canal, historically independent of the canal operation, also changed according to the same agricultural trends. When Congress created the C&O Canal National Historical Park in 1971, it not only accelerated the process of change for farms along the canal, but also changed the nature of the relationship between the rural landscape and the C&O. Historic patterns of agriculture were altered as adjacent land on farms, historically independent of the canal, were purchased by the Park Service to create a buffer zone between the public park and private properties. When these portions were sold off from larger agricultural parcels, the sections incorporated into the park were often leased or taken out of cultivation. In effect, these actions created a mixed zone of limited agriculture and naturalized landscapes without historical precedent. The history of the leased properties that follows demonstrates how these and other changes occurred along the canal over time.

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[83] Discussion derived from A.B. Hamilton, Comparative Census of Maryland Agriculture by Counties, University of Maryland Extension Service, College Park, Maryland No. 32, March 1956; from Mohammad H. Alta'i, "Geographical Analysis of Washington County, Maryland, and its Fruit Industry" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1953); and from Roy W. Lennarton, "An Economic Analysis of Marketing Fruits and Vegetables by Motor Truck from Western Maryland Farms" (M.S. thesis, University of Maryland, 1936).

CHAPTER 3: ALLEGANY COUNTY TRACTS

INTRODUCTION

The agricultural sites covered in this report are located in areas that begin with separate and distinct landscape histories. Each site is grouped according to the historical context of its local area. As previously mentioned, the early history of six tracts from above Oldtown to Town Creek are associated with Native American settlement. They are also associated with Thomas Cresap, his colonial "fort," and the Western Maryland frontier. At the far eastern end of this study, the three properties on the Monocacy also have associations with Native American settlement, but their early establishment is based on the successful and productive use of tenant farming on Carrollton Manor. Between Oldtown and the Monocacy, the discovery and subsequent development of the iron ore industry (ca. 1760-1765) near Antietam Creek and Green Spring influenced the growth of small, self-sufficient manufacturing centers, which in turn shaped the later settlement of the nine agricultural tracts studied in these areas. The remaining seven properties appear to have developed according to more general patterns found throughout the valley, where individual farmers purchased tracts from absentee owners, who had speculated in the future value of unsettled land along the Potomac River.

Each site also is identified by a C&O Canal NHP tract number and the names of two landowners. The first refers to the landowner historically associated with tract at the time of the canal company's purchase of land for the construction of the canal. The second refers to the owner of record at the time of the government's purchase of adjacent land for the creation of the park. A contemporary description of each tract precedes a narrative of the properties' physical, or landscape, history.

These landscape histories focus on the cultural resources of agricultural sites and how those resources are evident in land use activities, spatial organization, responses to the natural environment, circulation patterns, cultural traditions, boundary lines, buildings and vegetation. In addition, many of the tracts share aspects of their landscape history with contiguous properties. Information about the individual properties has not only been organized by local region, but also discussed according to cultural relationships, ownership patterns and chronological events. Missing from these histories, however, are the familial, social, cultural and political relationships that shaped the development of rural farms along the canal in the river valley. Research on these issues has yet to be gathered and will be essential for a complete understanding of the development of the canal corridor landscape.[1]

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[1] The importance for scholars of rural history to focus on these issues is discussed in Hal S. Barron, "Old Wine in New Bottles? The Perspective of Rural History," in Frederick V. Cartensen, Morton Rothstein and Joseph A. Sweanson, eds., Outstanding in His Field (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993).

FROM ABOVE OLDTOWN TO PAW PAW RIDGE

Existing Conditions of Tracts

Tract #49-103, Kelly-Dean, 76.11 acres

Tract #49-103 lies a short distance upstream from Oldtown, between the canal and the North Branch of the Potomac River, and is part of the larger historic Kelly-Dean Property (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). This property once included a 125-acre island, now known as Buckley Island. The State of Maryland owns this parcel and holds a right-of-way across C&O Canal NHP land for access to the island, which it leases for agricultural use.

Wheel ruts are visible near the entrance of a road culvert (Culvert 223) under the canal that was once used as a pass-through for wagons from the primary farm buildings located on the berm side. Documentation indicates that the existing lane from the culvert to a ford to the island, which passes by a mid-twentieth century barn, may be based on historic circulation patterns. The barn has chutes and spaces for cattle; the old silo once attached has been removed. A second farm lane extending from the barn downstream into the lower field also appears to be part of a historic circulation pattern.

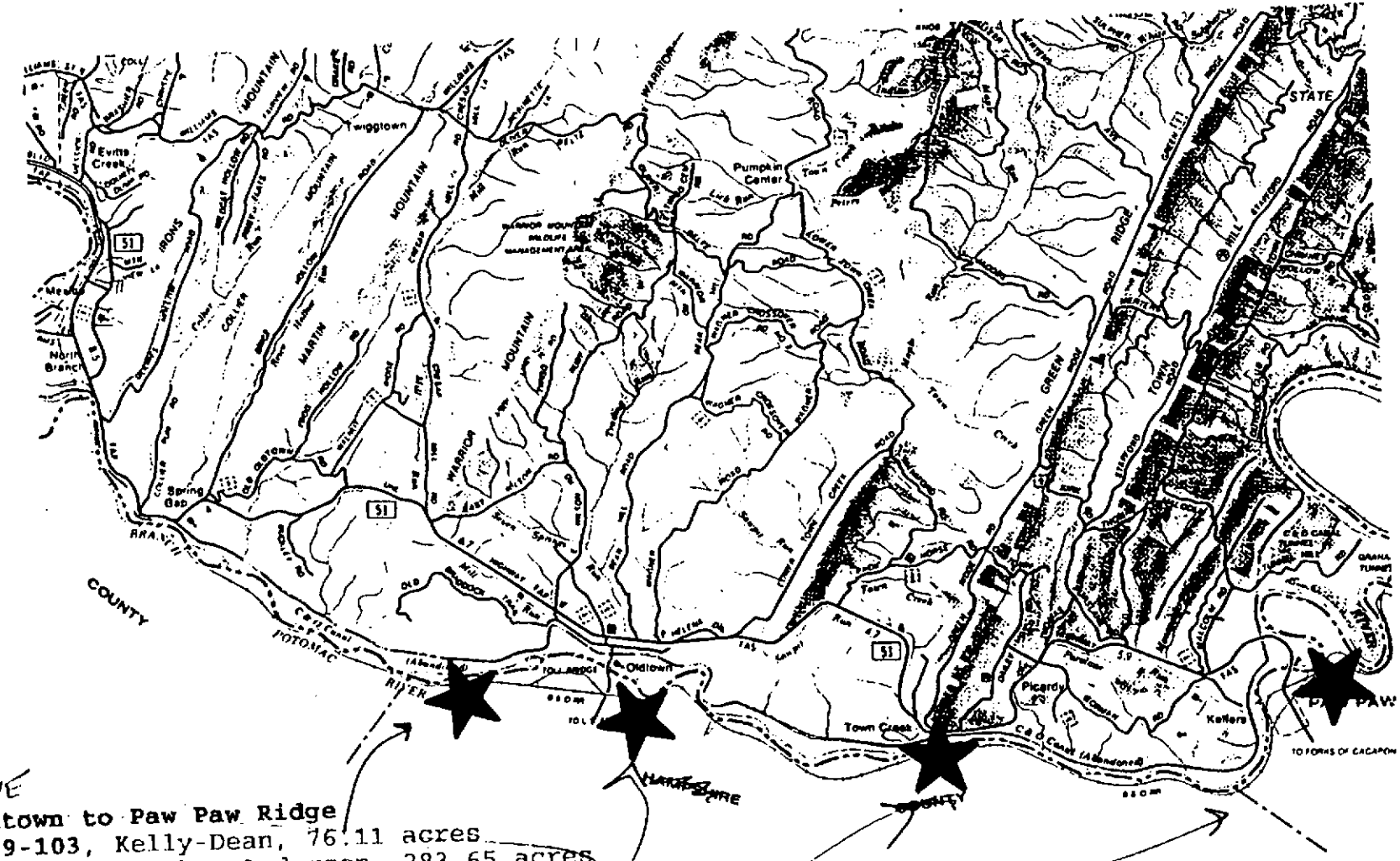
The upper and lower ends of the tract presently consist of hayfields. The field around the barn has become overgrown, obstructing the view of this structure from the towpath, and requires clearing of locust saplings and scrub pine, if it is to be used for grazing or haymaking again. A succession of fence lines are visible where past permittees have failed to cut back growth from the perimeter of the field, thus reducing the size of the open area. Narrow groves of woody vegetation have also become established in low, wet areas lying between the towpath embankment and the river.

Tract #50-101, Prather-Anderson, 283.65 acres

Tract #50-101 adjoins the east side of Tract #49-103 and extends downstream to Lock 71 at Oldtown (Figure 3.3). It is a long, narrow tract situated between the canal and river and encompassing prominent Alum Hill. The lower half of Tract #50-101, below Pigman's Ferry Hiker-Biker, has not been in agricultural use since acquired by the park and is slowly reverting into forest. The upstream half was leased as pasture land in recent years, but sections have become overgrown with pines and thorny bushes due to lack of cyclical mowing to control vegetation growth and poor soil conditions resulting from lack of fertilizer and lime (Figure 3.4).

Here, as elsewhere along the towpath embankment, old fence lines have been lost to a succession of newer lines established by a lack of vegetation trimming by permittees. Former fence lines co-exist in selected sections with the present fence line. The overgrown vegetation along both the new and the old lines obscures the view of the fields from the towpath. Old drainage ditches run along the base of the towpath and were probably dug to carry leaking water

Figure 3.1 Overview of Study Tracts from Oldtown to Paw Paw Ridge



ABOVE

From Oldtown to Paw Paw Ridge

Tract #49-103, Kelly-Dean, 76.11 acres
Tract #50-101, Prather-Anderson, 283.65 acres
Tract #51-104, Cresap-Carder, 1.33 acres
Tract #51-136, Taylor-Moore, 118.22 acres
Tract #53-100, Harness-Stegmeier, 187.14 acres
Tract #53-101, Harness-Stegmeier, 41.15 acres
Tract #54-103, Tidball-Roeder, 84.04 acres
Tract #83-113, Mitchell-Larkin, 56.01 acres

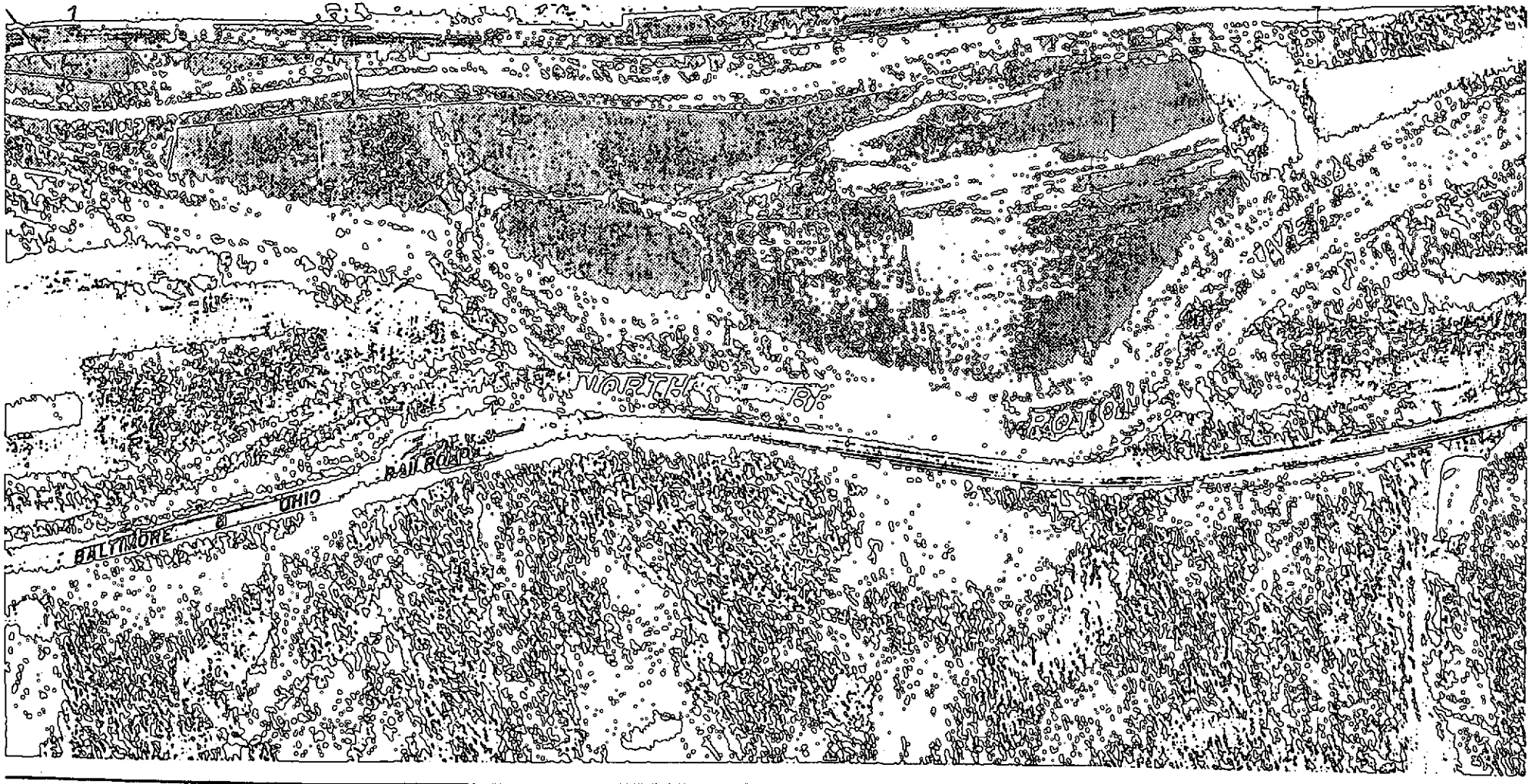


Figure 3.2 Tract #49-103, Kelly-Dean

400 0 400 800 1200 1600

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
OFFICE OF LAND ACQUISITION AND
WATER RESOURCES

Figure 3.3 Tract #50-101, Prather-Anderson

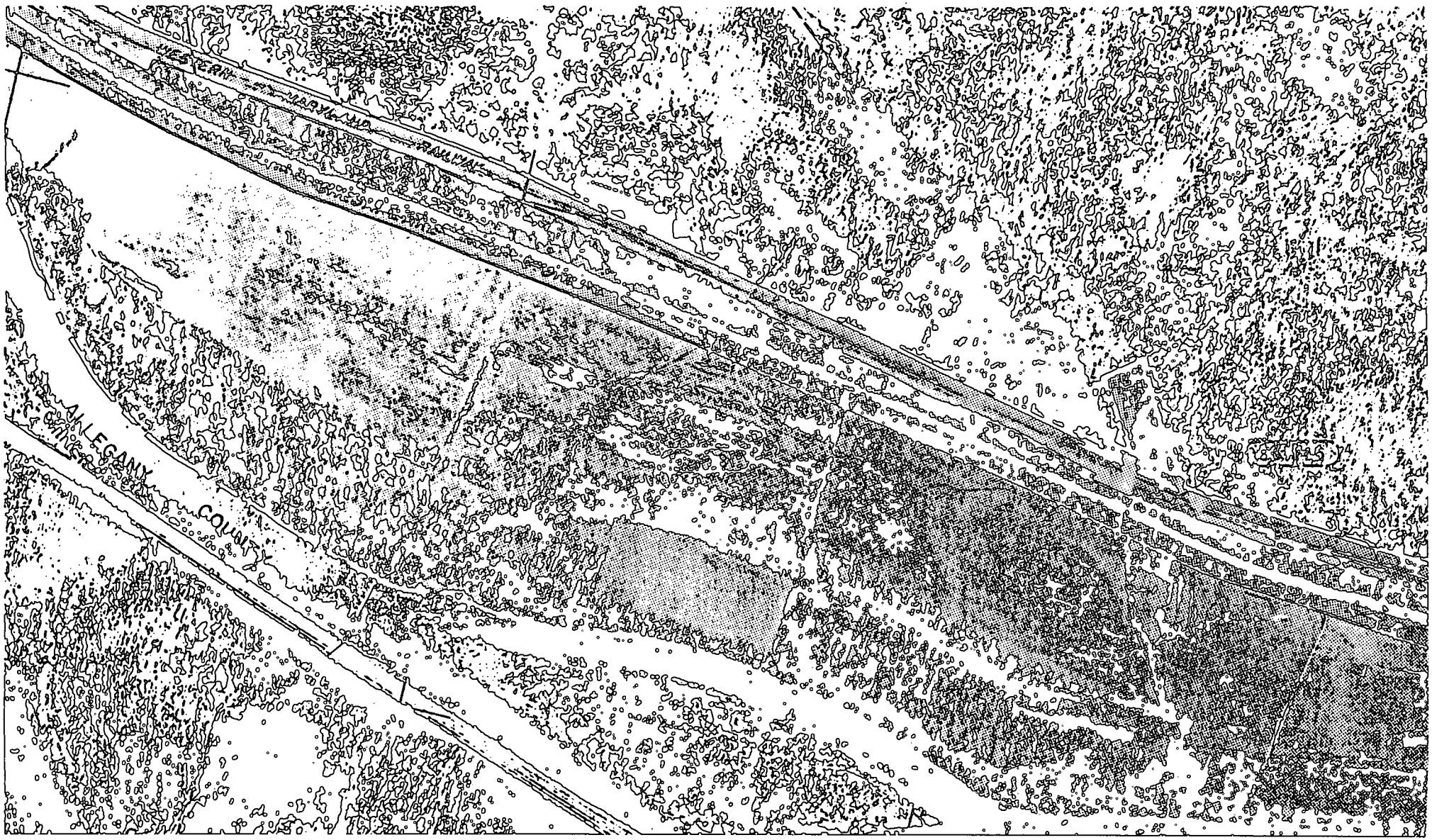


Figure 3.4 Overgrown agricultural field at Pigman's Ferry, Tract #50-101

away from the canal. These connect with perpendicular ditches that drain the fields when these low areas are flooded and also serve as field divisions. These perpendicular ditches are now tree lined.

Ruins of a large stone foundation sit adjacent to the towpath near milepost 169 (just below Pigman's Ferry Hiker-Biker) and comprise a prominent landscape feature (Figure 3.5). Additional remnant stone foundations lay toppled just beyond, to the south, and also are visible from the towpath. An indistinct pattern of trees near the ruins suggests that fruit trees may have been cultivated in this area; one was blooming in the spring of 1995.

Tract #51-136, Taylor-Moore, 118.22 acres

Tract #51-136 consists of a high promontory extending along the east end of Oldtown (Figure 3.6). It is bounded on its north and south sides by the canal and river, respectively, to the west by Greenspring Road and to the east by Seven Springs Run. Most of the river end of the tract has reforested, while the remainder consists of pasture lands in poor to fair condition. The extreme northeast corner of the property is overgrown by a large mass of "multiflora rose." Stands of deciduous trees line the river bank and both sides of the stream running through the property.

An imposing brick house stands on a high bluff in the northwest corner of Tract #51-136 and overlooks the canal. This structure may have been constructed on or near the site of historic Thomas Cresap's Fort. The house and the adjacent outbuildings form a farmstead cluster that underscores the agricultural character of the entire property ~~(Figure 3.7)~~.

These fields contain the documented Native American site known as "Moore Village." Because of the presence of this archeological resource, the agricultural leasing program permits grazing only on this field. Post and wire fencing secures the grazing area.

Tract #53-100, Harness-Stegmeier, 187.14 acres

Tract #53-100 is a long cultivated field extending from Lock 68, at the confluence of the north and south branches of the Potomac River, downstream nearly to Town Creek (Figure 3.7). The lower end of the tract is slowly reverting to wetland due to beaver activity and water seepage from the canal, while the upper three-fourths is rotated in corn and soybeans. Crops for cattle feed and berries have traditionally been grown in these fields.

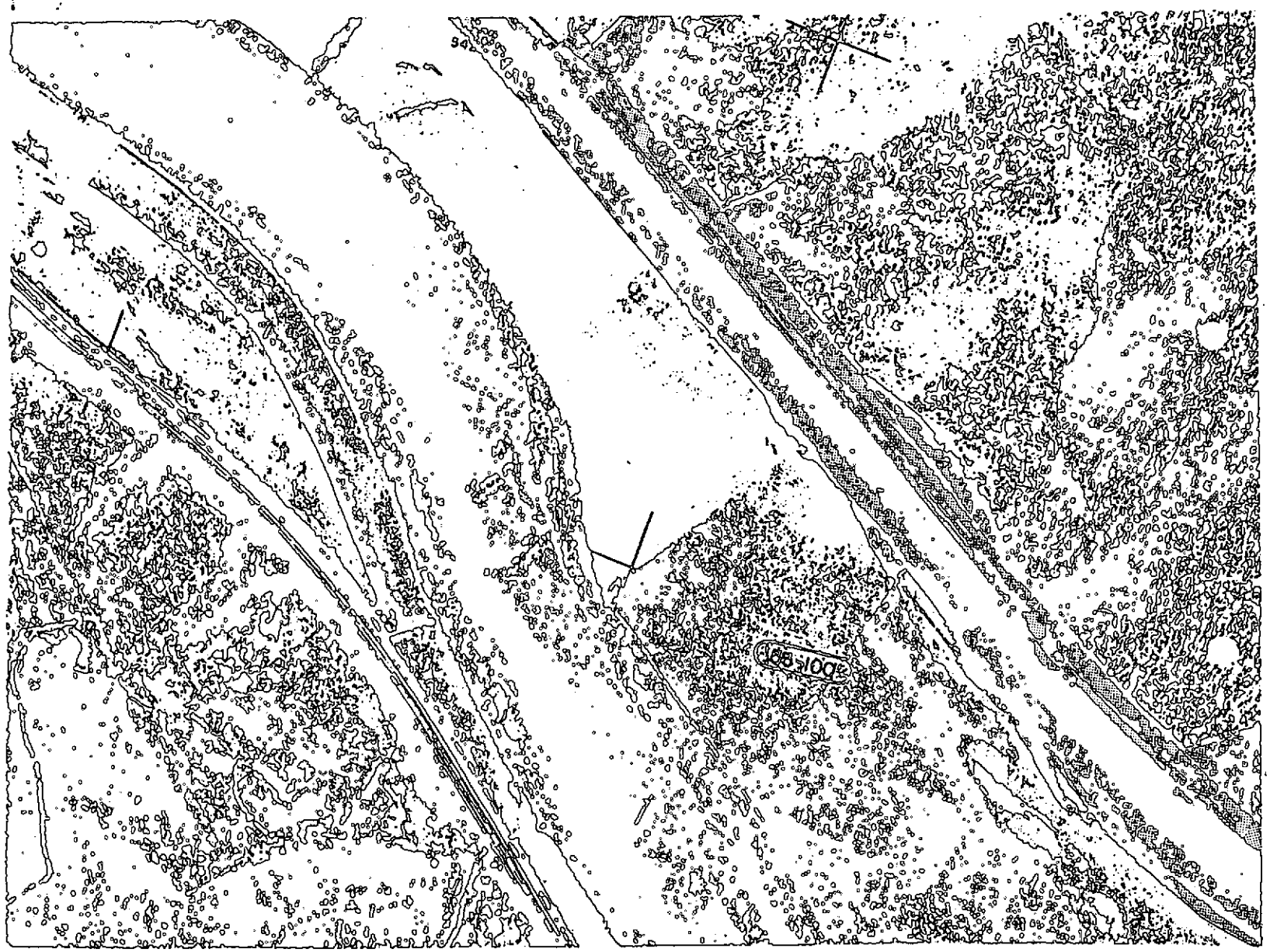
An early twentieth-century iron bridge passes over Canal Lock 68 to connect the upper bluff area with the lower fields located along river and the former ferry to the South Branch of the Potomac River (near French's station on the B&O Railroad). A brick residence sited on the bluff above the canal overlooks the fields, as well as the confluence of the north and south branches (Figure 3.8). The canal prism expands out along one section of the berm bank below the brick house and between the bluff and the towpath embankment to fill an area that may have been used as a boat basin.

Remnants of domestic garden plantings are evident in the large weeping cherry tree (*Prunus sibhertella*) growing next to the lock keeper's residence at Lock 68 (Crabtree's Lock).

Figure 3.5 Stone foundation wall near Milepost 169, Tract #50-101

Figure 3.6 Tract #51-136, Taylor-Moore

Figure 3.7 Tract #53-100, Harness-Stegmeier



83-100

Figure 3.8 Field on Tract #53-100, with Harness-Stegmeier house on bluff in background

The tree's presence also suggests that the yard of the old canal landscape "blended" into the cultivated fields, which lay between the canal and the river.

Tract #54-103, Tidball-Roeder, 84.04 acres

Tract #54-103 encompasses a large oxbow in Town Creek just above its confluence with the Potomac River (Figure 3.9). The area inside the oxbow (approximately one-third of the entire tract) presently serves as a hayfield, while the remainder of the tract outside the oxbow has reverted into forest. A twentieth century barn sits in the middle of the hayfield, with ruins of other outbuildings situated nearby (Figure 3.10). Vegetation is encroaching on the edges of this field due to trees limbs that have not being kept trimmed back.

The ruins of a mill, or mill dam and raceway, are still evident in the dry bed of the former race. The entrance to this raceway is blocked by a substantial stone wall along the west bank of Town Creek. The Western Maryland Railroad bed (abandoned) runs next to the canal at this point; the bed of this rail line adds another transportation element to the scene.

Tract #83-113, Mitchell-Larkin, 56.01 acres

Tract #83-113 sits inside a large bend in the Potomac River, directly across from the community of Paw Paw, West Virginia (Figure 3.11). It is bisected by Maryland Route 51. the west edge abuts against the Western Maryland Railroad and the C&O Canal and the east side against a tract known as Larkin's Addition (also owned by the park) that is part of the agricultural lease. The north and south sides of **Tract #83-113** extend to the river.

This tract is part of an actively farmed property. A distinctive cluster of buildings, including a large ca. 1920 bank barn, is the centerpiece surrounded by a series of expansive fields located along both sides of Route 51 at the highway bridge crossing to Paw Paw. Since the park's acquisition of the property, the fields in question have been under a permit for grazing or hay-making. The permittee has most recently used the tract for livestock grazing. In 1986, after the November 1985 Flood, portions of the tract served as a Boy Scout Clean-up Camporee site.

Landscape History of Individual Sites - Oldtown Area

As discussed in the beginning of this report, the area near Oldtown was known as "old field" in the early colonial era. Archeological investigation shows that a site on the north shore of the north branch was occupied and cultivated by Native Americans long before European settlement. During the late Woodland period, the river crossing at Oldtown served Native American travelers following the "Warriors' Path," the north/south route used by various tribes. Shawnees are reported to have settled a short distance down river from the crossing at the confluence of the north and south branches in the late seventeenth century. King Opessa, a

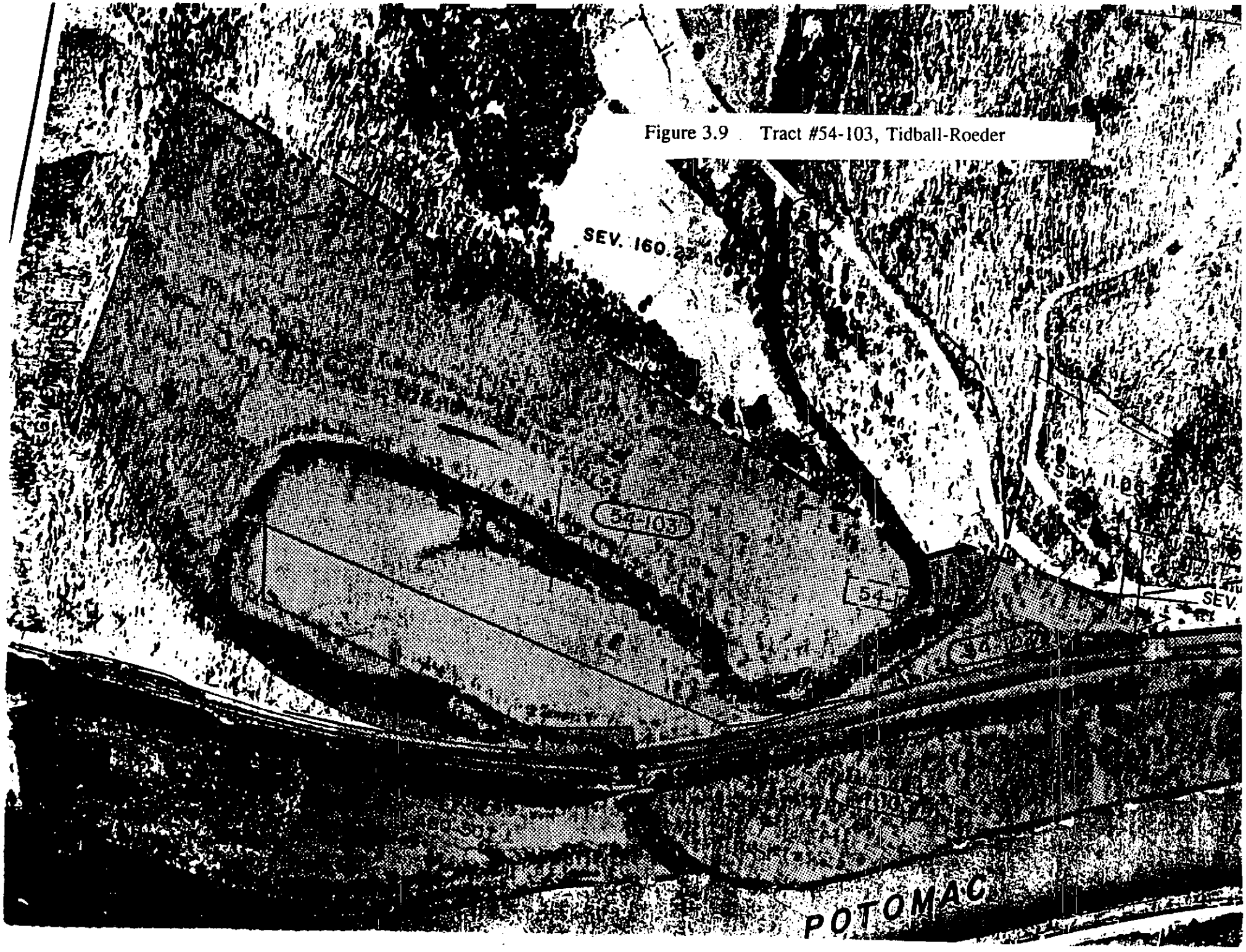


Figure 3.9 Tract #54-103, Tidball-Roeder

Figure 3.10 Barn on Tract #54-103

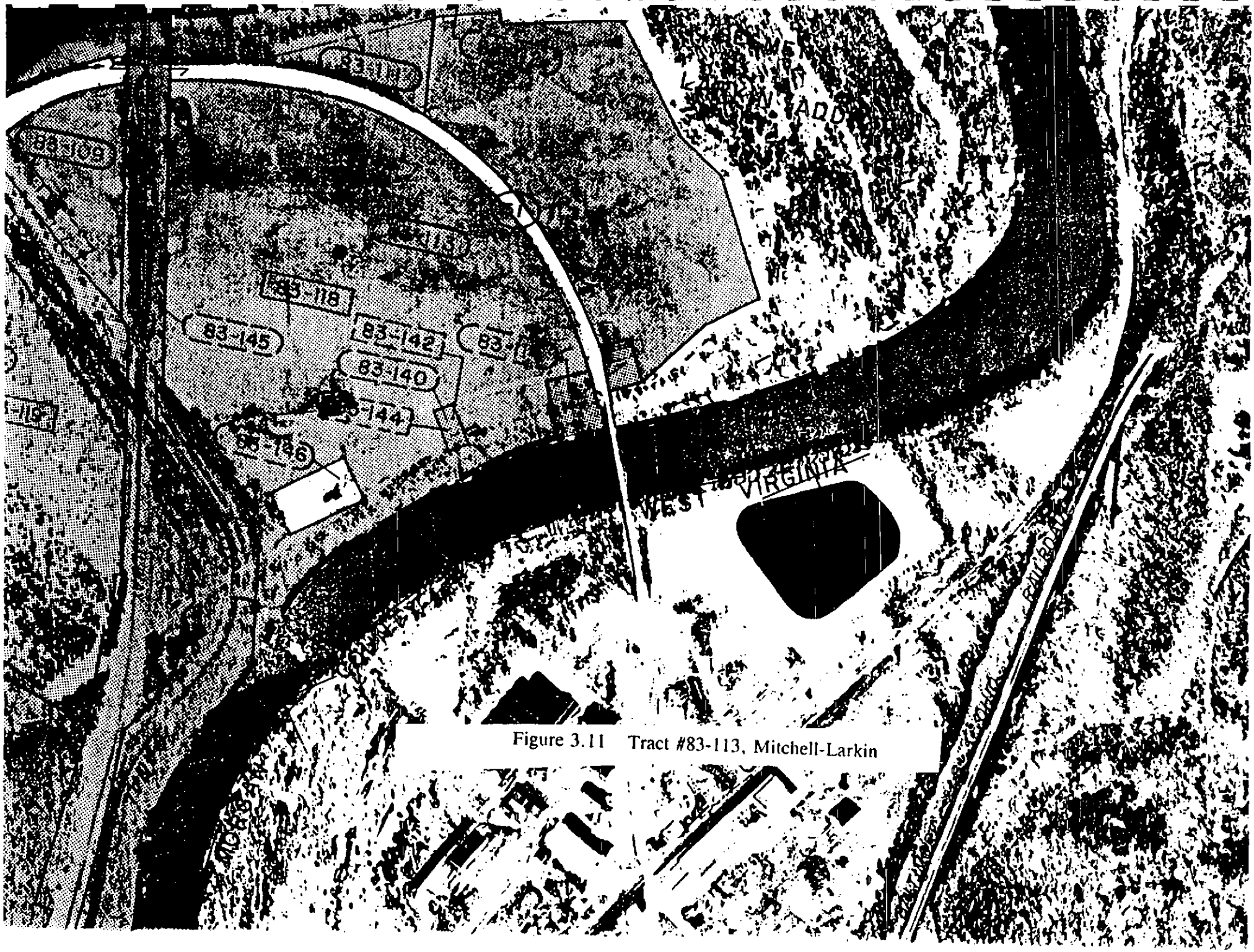


Figure 3.11 Tract #83-113, Mitchell-Larkin

Shawnee chief, is said to have established his village on this site around 1711. When the Shawnee abandoned the village at the confluence (ca. 1730) the site was described as "Shawno Old Fields deserted."

Thomas Cresap arrived at the river crossing in 1741. Here he built a fortified house and trading post, which he called "Skipton." Various descriptions of this frontier outpost have survived. While one would imagine that the structures and compound would have been situated on a high and commanding bluff, the following description from 1755 indicates that "Cresap's Fort" was on level ground.

> *We arrived about two o'clock at a plantation of one Cresap's, most delightfully situated on land that gave me great pleasure, 'twas a piece of low ground entirely surrounded by the mountains, the prospect romantick, high rocks on the side of the mountains some hundred feet perpendicular to the river Potomack. Here we lodged in a comfortable house."*[2]

Other sources contradict this information, stating that Cresap resided in a "fine situation on the Banks of the Potomac; with cleared ground about it." He is described as living in a stone house, situated on a high hill about one half mile southeast of the town and within four hundred yards of the Potomac River (Figure 3.12).[3] Yet another description referred to the house as a hunting lodge and a block house, with very thick stone walls, and only two rooms, each about twenty feet square.[4] From Cresap's 1763 account of an attack on his property, we know that several families were living at the Oldtown site, where they cultivated wheat. Cresap wrote a vivid letter to Governor Sharpe containing some details about the community.

> *6 men were shocking some wheat in the field. . . . 5 Indians fired on them & Killed one. . . . 5 Indians fired on about 16 men who were Sitting and walking under a Tree at the Entrance of my Lane about 100 yards from My House. . . . Mr. Saml. Wilder was going to a house of his about 300 yards Distant from mine. . . . my House which is Inclosed by a small Stockade for Safety.*[5]

At this frontier village by the river crossing, Cresap enjoyed many roles. These roles ranged from that of farmer, trader, land speculator, adventurer, to stockholder in the Ohio Company. George Washington was among the many travelers who stayed at the Cresap

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[2] Journal of Capt. Charles Lewis, a soldier in Braddock's army, Dec. 2, 1755, cited in Foster, Potomac Route, 99.

[3] Excerpt from a Braddock expedition journal cited in Gutheim, The Potomac, 128.

[4] Thomas, History of Washington County, 40; James W. Thomas and T.J.C. Williams, History of Allegany County Maryland (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., Reprint, 1968), 435; and Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1458.

[5] Letter from Thomas Cresap at Oldtown to Governor Sharpe, July 15 1763, cited in Thomas and Williams, History of Allegany County, 441-442.

Figure 3.12 Drawing of Thomas Cresap's Fort

compound on their way up the Potomac to the Ohio region. Cresap also acted as commissary, supplying at least oats and "Indian corn . . . but no hay," for Gen. Braddock's troops when they camped at Oldtown in 1755 during the campaign against the French in the west. After Braddock's defeat, Cresap and his frontier neighbors were forced to flee east to an outpost near Conococheague (Williamsport). In 1758, Cresap lobbied the Maryland General Assembly for the construction of a continuous road along the river from Fort Frederick, established for defense along the frontier in 1756, to Fort Cumberland, established in 1749 by the Ohio Company, thus eliminating a route that had required crossing the Potomac several times.

Cresap returned to Oldtown in 1767, subdivided his property into lots to establish a "country town," which he advertised for sale in the Maryland Gazette. The advertisement stressed Oldtown's proximity to the natural shipping point on the north branch of the Potomac, affordable half acre lots, as well as the availability of some five acre lots. Cresap also offered a large quantity of good meadow land near the town, which the subscriber could lease for twenty-one years or three lives. He advertised free lots to encourage the establishment of the following trades: carpenter, tailor, hatter, blacksmith, weaver, saddler, tanner, and shoemaker.[6]

Long after Cresap reestablished his family at Oldtown, other families with names like Barth, Alterton, Wagoner, Stump, Kelley, and Ginnevan settled in the community. Many of these families farmed the meadows near Oldtown, cultivating corn, wheat and hay. Their names are found on deed transactions occurring well into the twentieth century.[7] The early community flourished until the route to Cumberland was relocated to the Cumberland Road, some ten miles inland, at the turn of the nineteenth century. At about this same time the history of the individual tracts covered in this report begins.

Although Oldtown remained a single street town, mills and several large farms did develop on both ends of the small village. In addition, three taverns were located along the river road to Cumberland. One had been established in the town, while the other two lay beyond. Abel's Tavern lay to the east, at the base of "Ragged Mountain" (or the east face of Green Ridge), below Town Creek. A set of mills at the mouth of Town Creek included a good brick dwelling, miller's house, cooper's shop and distillery.[8] Shellhorn's tavern was located above Saw Mill Run west of Oldtown.[9] A mill with a miller's house and other out buildings was situated on Saw Mill Run (Mill Run) and probably operated at this time as well.[10]

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[6] Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1459.

[7] *ibid.*

[8] December 1807 advertisement of Thomas Beall cited in Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1432.

[9] See Griffith, Map of the State of Maryland; and see Equity 141, CR 2, 219-228, Allegany County Circuit Court, which states that a public sale of land occurred at the Tavern of William Riley in Oldtown on December 5, 1828.

[10] See Deed Research files, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP for Tract #51-104 and specifically Michael C. and Mary Sprigg to Luther M. Cresap, DB S, p. 274, 4/29/1836, Allegany County land records, which refers to James M. Cresap's mill; James Cresap was the grandson of Thomas Cresap and the mill was probably an original Cresap family mill.

Farms Above Oldtown

Tract #49-103 was originally part of a 209-acre tract known as Moor's Amendment, located west of Oldtown near a large island in the river (presently known as Buckley Island). At the time of the death of its owner, William Moore, in 1805, the property had been farmed with the slave labor "of blacks or persons of color," a practice that continued until the final sale of his estate in 1828. William Moore had owned this parcel in Allegany County since 1792.[11]

In 1795 Charles Prather sold part of Resurvey on Choice ***(Tract #50-101)***, which was located just east of Moore's property and upstream from Oldtown, to John Shellhorn, owner of the tavern noted above. Documentation reveals that Shellhorn operated a tavern and farm together. His "plantation" lay on both sides of the road to Cumberland, with a tavern building, a residence, gardens, a graveyard and fields nearby. He considered his most valuable possessions to be his stills, livestock, household furniture, and farming utensils. Sometime after Shellhorn's death, the tavern may have been converted to an additional dwelling.[12]

In 1833 James Kelly purchased the 209 acres of Moor's Amendment and 11 acres of the adjacent White Oak Swamp from Moore's estate and consolidated them into other, adjacent tracts, (known as Rappho and Pomona). At about the same time, James Prather had acquired 213 acres from various parcels that were once part of the Shellhorn estate.[13] Analysis of canal company records and surveys for the proposed canal route confirm that a log house, well and log barn occupied by Prather were located at the foot of the hills and cliffs near the road and northeast of his two lower fields, which contained both crops and pasture (Figures 3.13). Structures noted in the survey as the former Shellhorn buildings lay to the northwest of the same fields. The planting patterns indicated for the fields on the historic survey correspond, or are similar, to the same found on contemporary park surveys.

Analysis of the historic Abert (1825) survey just noted and the later Geddes and Roberts (1827-1828) survey (Figure 3.14) also indicate that farms inhabited by Jacobs and Perry, as well as Kelly, were located at the upstream end of the property along the river that would become James Kelly's in 1833. Future research may reveal that Jacob was a tenant working for Moore's estate and then later for Kelly. On the earlier Abert survey, the island historically associated with the Moore tract was designated Jacobs Island. Yet on the subsequent Geddes and Roberts survey the reference to Jacob's farm and Jacob Island, has been replaced by the notation of the

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[11] Jacob Lapp to William Moore, DB A, p. 172-174, 03/02/1792, Allegany County land records.

[12] See Mary Ann O'Neale vs. Ann Jackson, John Shellhorn, Jacob Shellhorn and others and John Shellhorn will, 04/10/1800 in Equity 46, DB H.B. No. K, p. 268-274, Chancery Records, Allegany County Circuit Court. Determination of the exact location of Shellhorn's tavern might be possible with additional analysis of maps such as Griffith, Map of the State of Maryland, and the later Abert, Potomac Canal. Analysis of topographical features shown on historic maps suggests that Shellhorn's buildings may have been removed by construction of the canal and later by that of the railroad.

[13] See DB Q, p.319, 05/07/1833; DB O, p.437, 1829, both in Allegany County land records.

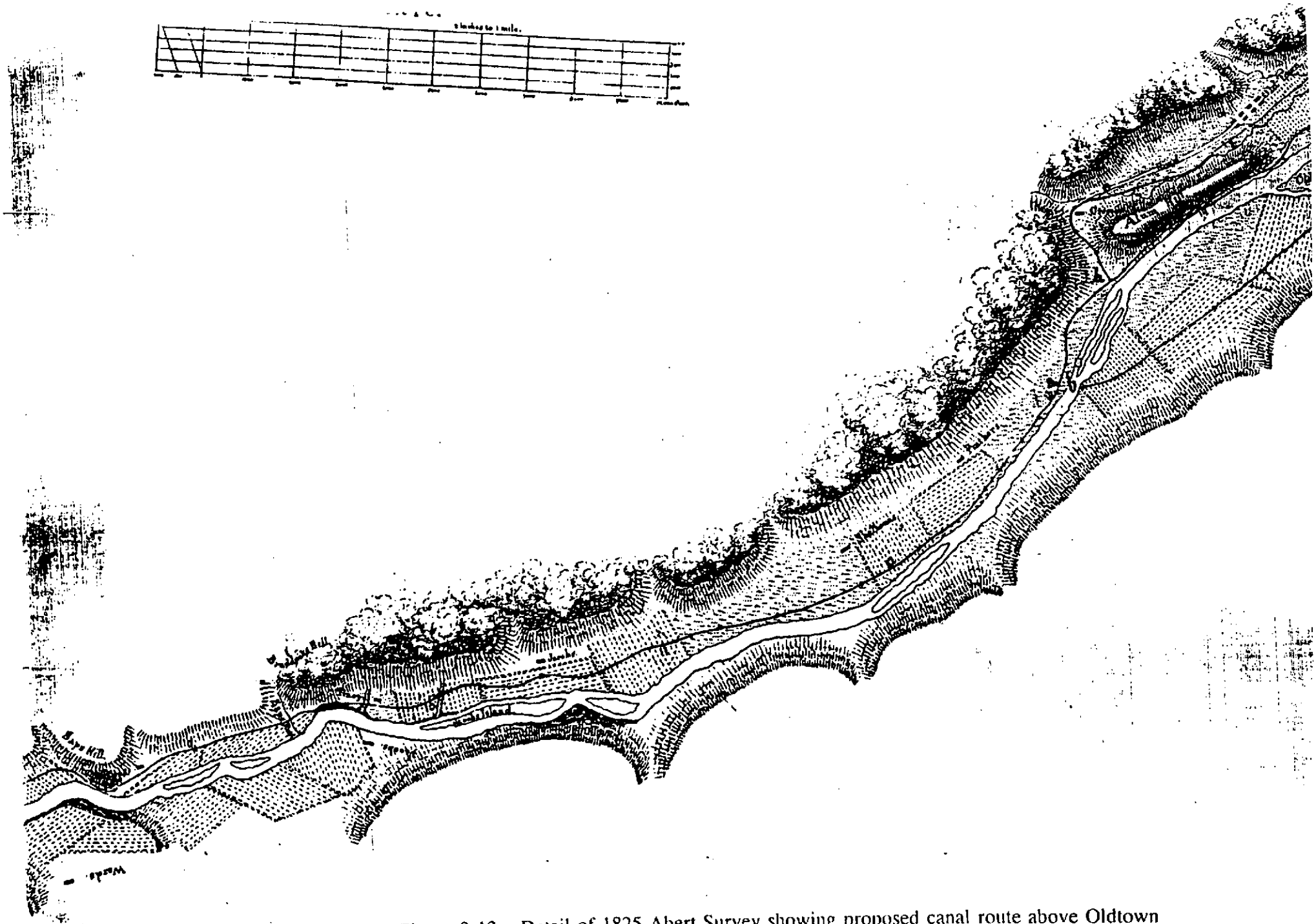
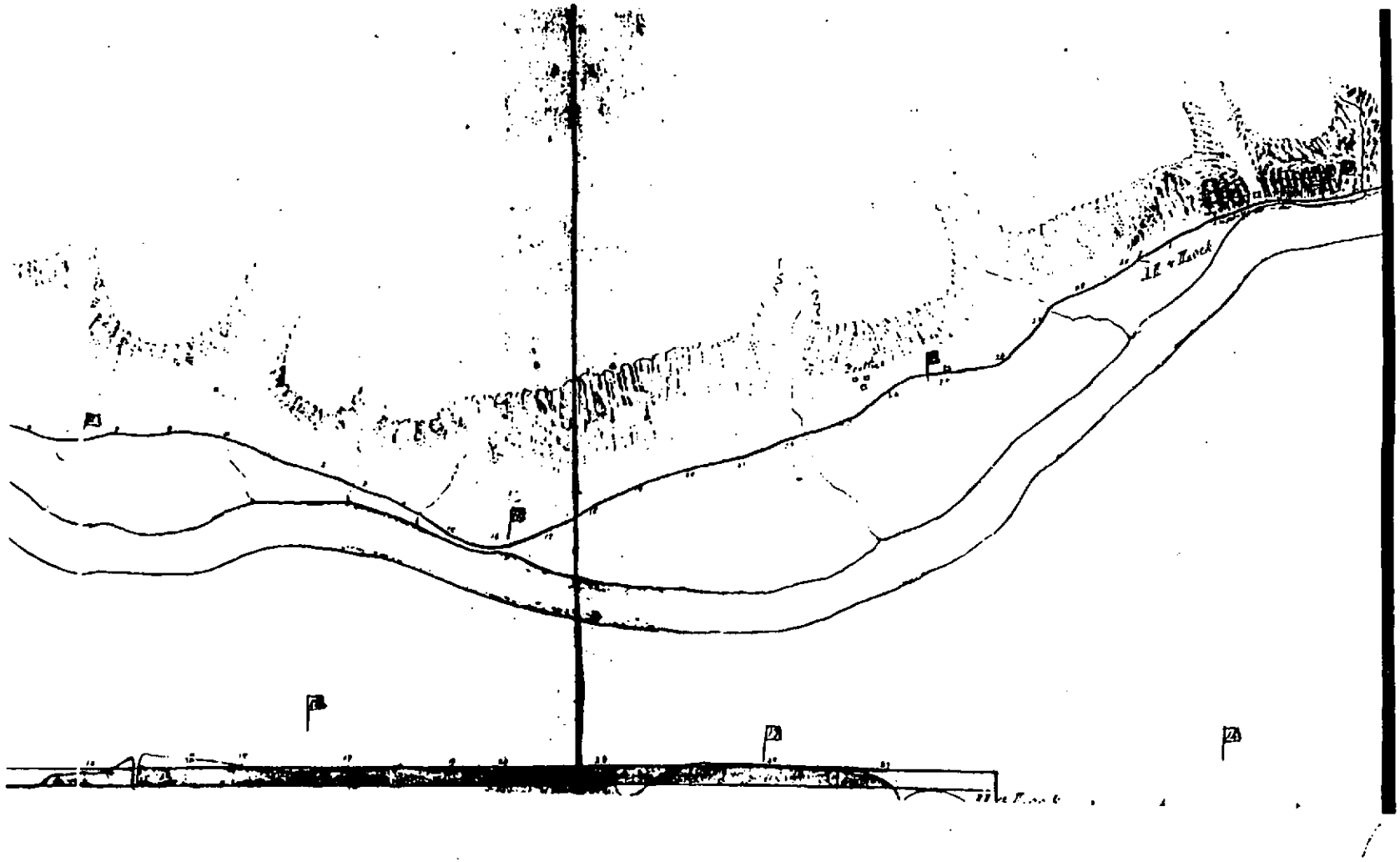


Figure 3.13 Detail of 1825 Abert Survey showing proposed canal route above Oldtown

Figure 3.14 Detail of 1828 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal route above Oldtown



two adjacent farmsteads, Kelly and Perry. Geddes and Roberts referred to the island as Buck Island. As with the arrangement of Prather's bottomland fields, the outline and pattern for Jacob's, later Kelly's, fields shown on the Abert survey persist through to the time of modern park surveys.[14]

Both Prather's and Kelly's dwellings, outbuildings and gardens were scheduled to be dismantled and moved from their original locations just prior to construction of the canal in 1839. The crumbling stone foundation of a small barn or granary, built into the towpath embankment, may be a remnant from one of Prather's original structures (See Figure 3.5).[15]

Prather and Kelly also retained access to the river once the canal was in place. Prather negotiated with the C&O for a culvert for his stock and a private ferry, while Kelly called for a ferry near the site of the affected dwelling house, access to his island in the river, and an award for any damage done to the crops growing on the fields adjacent to the construction.[16] Kelly's access right may have instigated the construction of the arched road culvert (Culvert #223) that carried Kelly's farm road under the canal to the river and to Buck Island. The construction of the culvert was part of an agreement reached between Kelly and the C&O in 1849. In the agreement Kelly withdrew his request for a ferry in exchange for fencing along the berm embankment for his own use. The C&O, in turn, wanted the culvert and a ditch along the berm to drain periodic high water from a ravine above the canal. At this time, Kelly's

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[14] Abert, Potomac Canal, was published in 1825, while the Geddes and Roberts, work, The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, is attributed to the years 1827-1828.

[15] Canal company records refer to one set of Prather structures; whether Prather's buildings include any of the former Shellhorn buildings can not be determined from the available documents. The composition of the foundation remnant appears to be from the late nineteenth century; however, comparison of both historic and twentieth-century maps suggests that the foundation is in the approximate location of the Prather structures shown on Abert, Potomac Canal. A unidentified structure is shown in this location on Jas. Geddes and N.S. Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1803 [1828], survey conducted 1827-1828, in RG 77, Civil Works File, Cartographic Division, NA; in ca. 1940 notations made on B.F. Mackall and A.W. Brown, Property Maps of the C&O Canal, 1896, 110.2 - 110.16, RG 79, National Park Service, Cartography Division, NA; and on Maryland Geological Survey, Map of Allegany County showing the topography and election districts, [based on survey conducted 1897-1898], 1905, file copy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. The structure shown on the Maryland Geological Survey presumably marks a residence. The remnant foundation was also noted on Alster and Associates, Topography, Hancock to Oldtown, Chesapeake and Ohio Parkway, 1954. Map studies, using a computer format, coupled with archeological testing is necessary to complete the analysis.

[16] See George Bender to Hon. G.G. Washington, 12/19/1835, letter on file Folder 2, Box 1. Entry 221, RG 79, NA; James Prather and Harriet Prather Indenture, 06/09/1837, DB A.B. No. T, pp. 232-234, Allegany County land records; Abert, Potomac Canal; and Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Indenture reveals that Prather wanted to postpone moving until April 1, 1838, after the fall harvest, thus delaying canal construction. The culvert he requested was to be large enough for livestock to pass through; the ferry would require a boat basin on either side of the canal prism. The culvert was apparently never built. See Joseph Dilley road proposal, 11/07/1838, copy in Folder 2, Box 2, Entry 221, RG 79, NA; James Kelly Inquisition, 06/29/1837, DB A.B.Q., p. 270, Allegany County land records; and "339 to 341 Sections," in Folder 2, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

residence and barn were located near the ravine and above the berm, in what may have been their original locations.[17]

In 1837 and 1838 Prather sold his holdings along the river to Bene S. Pigman.[18] Pigman, who frequently represented the canal company in Allegany County, temporarily transferred four acres to the C&O for a construction work area. However, Pigman's tenure was short-lived. Land ownership changed again, when James Kelly, greatly increasing the extent of his river property, bought the Prather/Pigman tract from the Pigman estate in the summer of 1850.[19]

The agricultural census conducted in November of 1850 indicates that Kelly's farm contained 460 acres of improved land and 840 acres of unimproved. On his 1300 acres, Kelly cultivated "Indian corn," nearly double the amount he grew in wheat and oats combined. He cut hay and produced Irish potatoes and a relatively large amount of tree fruit. He owned 6 "milch" cows, which produced 450 pounds of butter, and 44 cattle, more than any other farmer in the Oldtown area. While the physical layout of his operation is not documented, the improved acres probably lay in the bottomland along the river.[20]

Upon James Kelly's death, his three sons inherited their father's land and one of them, Christopher Kelly, bought his brothers' shares. These transactions occurred between 1850 and 1856. Known as Christopher Kelly's Farm, containing 100 less acres than when under the father's ownership, the tract along the river had increased its productivity. In 1860 the younger Kelly continued to focus farm production on livestock, especially cattle (100 head) and swine (23 head). The number of cows and horses increased as well. To support the increases in livestock, he had quadrupled production of "Indian corn" (4000 bushels) and more than tripled wheat production (2000 bushels). He maintained his orchards and the diary output. And like his father, Christopher Kelly did not cut timber for market. Throughout the 1860s, Kelly's success continued along the same pattern. He used paid labor to help him maintain approximately 400 acres of improved land. By 1870 he had decreased the number of cattle, swine and horses, but added mules and sheep. He continued to grow feed for his stock,

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[17] Copy of articles of agreement between Charles B. Fisk and James Kelly, 05/08/1849, Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 221, Rg 79, NA. Whether Kelly ever moved his house as required in the original condemnation is not clear from the 1849 document.

[18] "Pigman's Ferry" is located on the tract Pigman bought from Prather and may refer to the ferry required in the land transfer to the C&O.

[19] See C.H. Randolph to Fisk, about 10/08/1838, cited in James P. Noffsinger as "Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, Office of the Chief Engineer, Letters Received Dec. 19, 1835 - Dec. 11, 1838" (C&O Canal NHP manuscript, 1961); and DB 6, p. 96, 01/29/1850, Allegany County land records. Pigman's Ferry is not designated on any of the historic maps; its name probably refers to the ferry requested by Prather that was constructed at the time of Pigman's ownership.

[20] Analysis of 1850 Agricultural Schedule, Agricultural and Manufacturing Census, Maryland State Library, from copy on microfilm, Marylandia Room, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. The listing for dairy cows on the agricultural censuses is usually written as "milch cows."

concentrating on corn, with secondary production in winter wheat.[21] Any relationship that Christopher Kelly may have had with the C&O Canal during this period is not well documented. Kelly apparently "fenced in . . . for some distance each side [of the] Canal, [but with] no lease, no rent." An explanation for the fences has not been found.[22]

By 1880 Kelly's real estate had grown by an additional thousand acres, mostly in woodland and forest. He devoted 500 acres to tilled fields, pastures and meadows, 8 acres to orchards and 125 to "old fields." He used fertilizer, employed extra hands, and cut hay from over two-thirds of his grass land. The concentration on livestock and livestock products continued, with increases in cattle, sheep and the addition of poultry. Christopher Kelly's farm was the second most valuable in Allegany County's Oldtown district (Election District No.2). Kelly added to these holdings in 1882 when he purchased property near the mouth of Town Creek ***(Tract #54-103)***. However, the most valuable farm along the river in 1880 lay east of Oldtown and belonged to Isaac Long.[23]

Farms Below Old Town

Isaac Long, like Christopher Kelly to the west, had accumulated a large tract along the Potomac east of Oldtown. Most of the 2,035 acres he acquired was purchased between 1861 and 1875 and came from the former holdings (2,166 acres) of William and Joseph Harness, which had also been subdivided in the 1850s prior to the sales to Long. The Harness property had consisted of bottomland ***(Tract #53-100)*** and well-timbered upland, most of which belonged to a tract of almost 1,340 acres that the Harnesses called "Mohican." Mohican was their nineteenth century name for former Cresap family tracts extending east from the area around the junction of the north and south branches of the Potomac, just below Oldtown. These had been known as "Cresaps Prospect" and "Indian Fields," the latter derived from the historic "Shawnee

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[21] From analysis of 1860 Agricultural Schedule, Agricultural and Manufacturing Census, Maryland State Library; and "Agricultural Recapitulations for Maryland," Agricultural Census, 1870, U.S. Bureau of the Census, from copies on microfilm, Marylandia Room, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. For the purposes of this report, feed grains such as "Indian corn" will be discussed simply as "corn."

[22] According to "Physical Condition Report" conducted in 1889, the fences were located on lot 23, between Lock 72 and Lock 71; see Second Report of the Receivers, 03/03/1890, in George S. Brown et al vs. C&O Canal Company, Equity Case 4191 and 4198, Washington County Circuit Court, from copy on microfilm, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP.

[23] From analysis of "Agricultural Recapitulations for Maryland," Agricultural Census, 1880, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Maryland State Library, from copy on microfilm, Marylandia Room, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. C&O Canal NHP Tracts #53-100 and #53-101 form part of Isaac Long's vast holdings.

Oldfields."[24]

The Harness brothers apparently farmed the property as one agricultural unit. Using slave labor, they concentrated on the development of livestock and livestock products. Although the Harness family had farmed a portion of the property since 1814, the large tract had been created through the accumulated purchases of smaller properties during the 1820s and 1830s. The main residence was located on the high ground adjacent to "Oldtown Bluff" (See Figure 3.8), near the junction of the two river branches. The residence may not have been constructed until 1826.[25] By 1850, the Harness property amounted to 174 acres of improved land and 1,604 acres of unimproved. The Harnesses owned more livestock than any of the adjacent farmers, primarily cattle and swine, which was valued at $1,449. Livestock feed came from wheat and corn, which were harvested in almost equal amounts. Like James Kelly, the Harnesses produced Irish potatoes and butter from cows. They also cultivated fruit trees.[26]

The Harnesses, like other farmers along the canal, did not wholeheartedly welcome construction of the canal. The records of the Harness inquisition illustrate the concerns of these landowners about the value of their bottomlands and about restricted access to the river for grazing and cultivation. During condemnation proceedings in 1838, the testimony of a neighboring farmer revealed that the Harness property along the river was

> *decidedly the best and most fertile Tract of land on the Potomac with which I am acquainted, and I am acquainted with the land along the river generally. I would call the land condemned on this farm prime bottom land - Such of the land condemned as is corn land, will produce in ordinary seasons fifty-five bushels of corn per acre, as an average crop. And on part of it [I] have seen by actual measurement eighty bushels per acre, upon three acres of it. The grass land condemned as a moderate crop, will produce two tons per acre. . . . I think that the balance of the land between the canal and the river is greatly depreciated, by the cutting of the canal through the farm.*[27]

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[24] See Isaac Long purchases in DB 28, p. 205, 05/07/1868; DB 29, p. 256, 11/24/1869; DB 19, p. 435, 04/19/1861; and DB 44, p. 669, 07/26/1875, in Allegany County land records. "Mohican" was surveyed in 1837, patented for 1339 7/8 acres by William and Joseph Harness, and included Part of the Resurvey on Indian Fields, Cresaps Prospect and Big Hollow as noted in Patent Book, Surveyor's Office, also in Allegany County land records.

[25] See William Harness will cited in Equity 1096, Judgement Record H.R. 10, p. 358, Allegany County Circuit Court. The location of the Harness house is not indicated on Abert, Potomac Canal, but is shown on Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; examination by a qualified historical architect is necessary to determine if the present house dates to this era.

[26] Analysis from Agricultural Census, 1850. The livestock included 14 horses, 9 milch cows, 111 cattle, and 60 hogs.

[27] Testimony of Isaac Baker, April 27, 1838, submitted in William Harness et al, Inquisition, June 4, 1838, DB A.B. No. 2, p. 507, copy in Envelope 189, box 4, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

The testimony also indicates that the route of the canal had affected all the meadow land or arable areas and springs on the property. Other issues concerned new fencing to enclose about 100 additional acres of pasture and the destruction of a house and a cabin, known as the Wilson and Albaugh houses. In addition, the excavated prism, dug out of the hillside long before the canal officially opened in 1850, had been neglected and threatened to turn the adjacent fields into swamp land (Figure 3.15).[28] The canal company compensated the Harnesses financially. A wooden pivot bridge across Lock 68 was promised and in place by the time of the canal's completion in 1850.[29]

By 1870, just after Isaac Long's initial purchase of the former Harness property, the number of improved acres had increased relative to the figure enumerated in the 1850 agricultural census, leaving 1,100 in woodland. Over that same twenty-year period the numbers of cattle and swine had decreased, yet the numbers of bushels of corn and other grains remained similar to the earlier production levels under Harness. As before, the farm had a higher carrying value than its neighbors. Unlike the majority of the adjacent farmers, Long employed paid workers. In subsequent years, Long apparently sold off acres of woodland, for in 1880 he owned only 400. However, he may have leased a tract of canal company land, of some 20 to 30 acres, located west of the Town Creek Aqueduct. His improved land was mostly pasture for his cattle and cows, the number of which had remained fairly constant. He installed new fencing, added poultry, purchased fertilizer, developed apple and peach orchards, and he continued raising hogs and growing Irish potatoes. Like Kelly, Long's record demonstrates that in the post-Civil War era, successful farmers worked to diversify their agricultural operations.[30]

In 1871 Isaac Long entered a lease agreement with the C&O Canal for a strip of land on the berm side at Lock 68. At this site, situated below his residence, he planned to construct a warehouse fronting on the lock. Presumably Long planned to store, ship or sell his products on the canal. However, the lease for the warehouse land is not noted in the canal company's 1889 physical condition report, which may mean that Long never constructed the facility.[31] Long's access over the canal to his fields along the river was assured by the replacement of the wooden pivot bridge over Lock 68, destroyed during the Civil War by Confederate forces, by a second bridge located just below the lock. The country road carried on this new bridge led not only from Long's farm buildings to the river fields, but also to the ferry passage at the confluence

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[28] See testimony; and C.H. Randolph to Fisk, 05/01/1838, in Noffsinger, "Calendar, Letters Received."

[29] Thomas E. Fields, "Historic Structure Report, Iron Bridge at Lock 68, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park" (Washington, D.C.: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1976), 2.

[30] See "Physical Condition Report," Equity 4191 and 4198; and see Agricultural Census, 1870 and 1880.

[31] See copy of lease from "C & Ohio Canal to Isaac Long," Box 5, Entry 217, RG 79, NA; and "Physical Condition Report," in Equity 4191 and 4198.

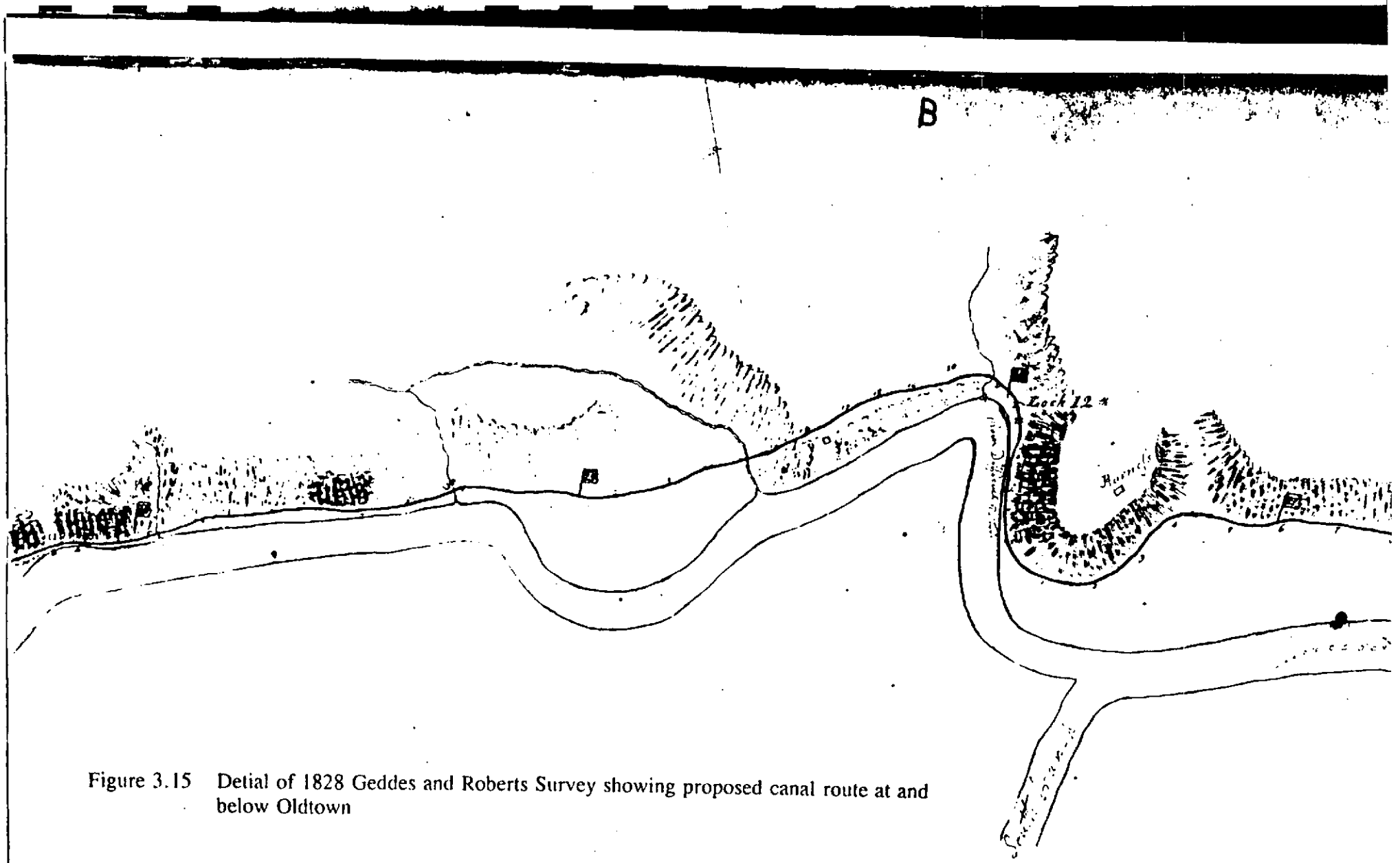

Figure 3.15 Detial of 1828 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal route at and below Oldtown

of the North and South Branches of the Potomac River (Figure 3.16 and 3.17).[32]

Adjacent to the downstream end of the Isaac Long Farm lay a tract that had been retained by relatives of the Harness family. This property, located at the mouth of Town Creek ***(Tract #54-103)***, contained an old grist mill, saw mill and other related structures, that had been owned by the Tidball family at the time of the canal's construction (Figure 3.18).[33] Issues of access and damage to existing property had been of particular concern to the land owners, the miller (named Ash) and other tenants, one named David Ellis and the other William Harness.[34]

To accommodate the concerns of the landowners, the jury for the inquisition proceedings regarding the property required the canal company to construct a new tail race, allow access to an existing well, provide for damages to crops growing on fields adjacent to the canal construction and realign affected portions of the road to Oldtown along the berm side of the waterway. Upon completion of the aqueduct in 1838, the road had been relocated, a dike to block the old mill race had been constructed, and a bridge had been built across the old mill race for the county road.[35] The years of operation for the mill have yet to be determined. A cluster of buildings at the approximate location of the old mill were standing as late as 1898, but their condition and function presently is undetermined.[36]

Christopher Kelly purchased the 272-acre tract at Town Creek in 1882. For a ten-year period, Kelly owned both the large tract west of Oldtown discussed previously, and the smaller one at Town Creek, east of Oldtown. The Town Creek property passed to Kelly's heirs, who in turn sold it in 1921 to the Cardinal Club Association.[37] The Cardinal Club developed the property for recreation in a limited way with a small, informal club house and a few cabins. A tenant farmer probably continued to lease the areas not occupied by the club's facilities. Some fields may have been leased to the Canal Towage Company for mule pasturage. One of

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[32] See Fields, "Iron Bridge," 2.; see Maryland Geological Survey, Allegany County; and see Historic Photograph L68-2, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP.

[33] Cresap to Sharpe, July 15, 1763, in Thomas and Williams, History of Allegany County, 441-442.

[34] See Joseph Tidball et al, Heirs of Tidball, Inquisition, June 6th, 1838, Liber A.B.Q., folio 494, copies on file in Envelope 188, Box 4, Entry 219, RG 79, NA. Ash employed two undershot wheels in his grist mill and two flutter wheels in his saw mill; the mill dam had 100 feet of waterway, and the head and fall of the mill was 10 feet. In Morris to Fisk, 09/15/1835, cited in Edward C. Bearss, "Historic Structures Report, Part II, Town Creek Aqueduct, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument" (Washington, D.C.: Division of History Studies, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1966), Endnotes, 1.

[35] See "322 to 325 Sections," Folder 2, Entry 219, RG 79, NA; and see Bearss, "Town Creek Aqueduct," Appendix D.

[36] See Maryland Geological Survey, Allegany County. When the tenant/occupant for this period is identified, specific farming activities on this tract can be determined from the Agricultural Census.

[37] See DB 57, p. 383, 04/01/1882; DB 122, p. 513, 06/09/1917; and DB 137, p. 271, 07/01/1921, all in Allegany County land records. See also Christopher Kelly will, Wills J, p. 264, 03/03/1911, Allegany County wills.

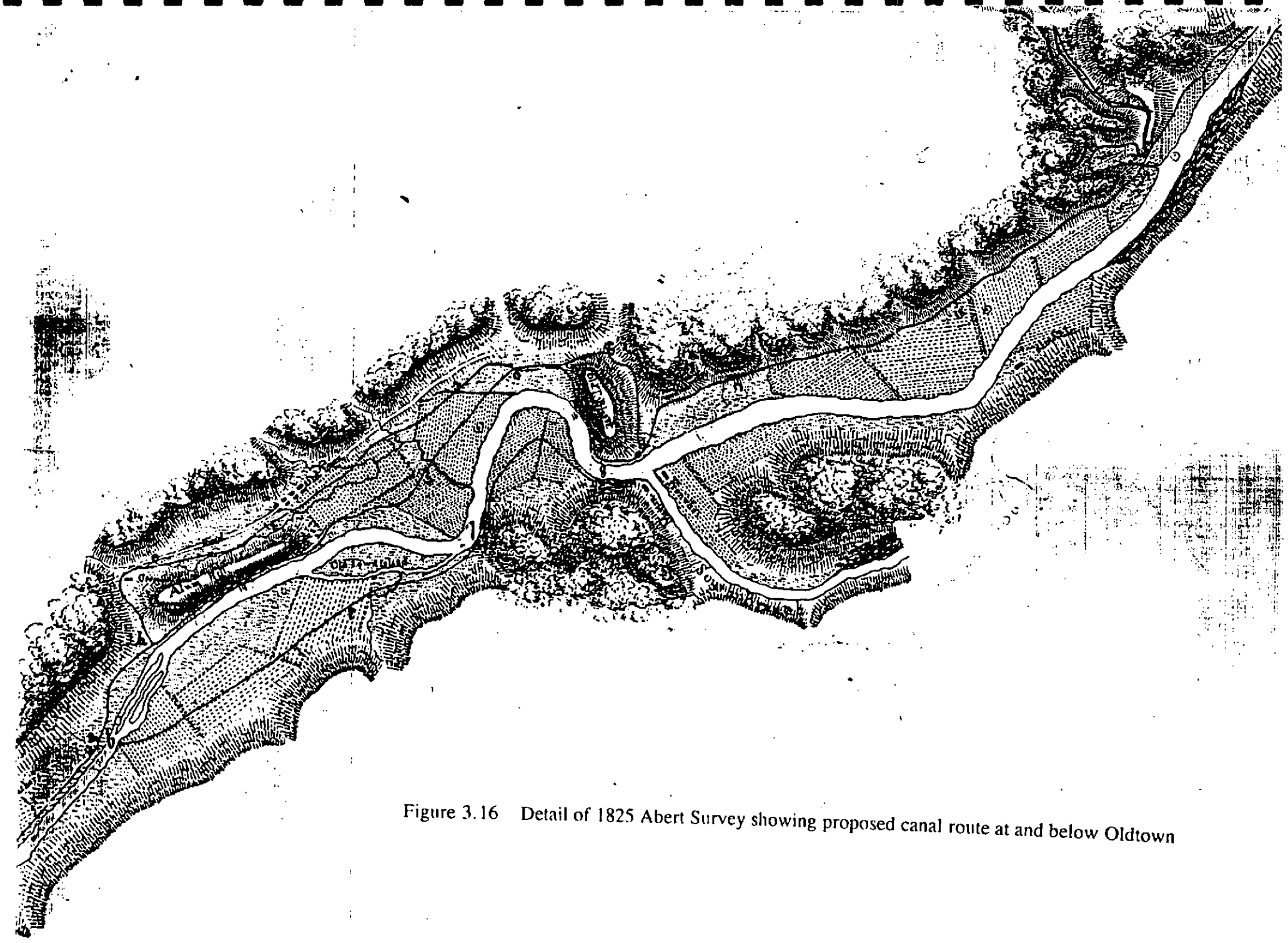

Figure 3.16 Detail of 1825 Abert Survey showing proposed canal route at and below Oldtown

Figure 3.17 Ca. 1955 aerial view of confluence of North and South Branches of the Potomac

Figure 3.18 Detail of 1828 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal route in Town Creek area

the highlights of the club's history was Justice Douglas's stay there during the first night of his historic 1954 canal hike. The club's members decided to sell the property and shortly thereafter in 1969 it was sold to Charles and Sylvia Roeder. By that time, the farm house had burned, many outbuildings were in disrepair and only a barn, built in 1940, stood as a structural reminder of the longstanding agricultural land use (See Figure 3.10).[38]

Engineers surveying for the C&O canal Company in 1825 noted that for five miles along the river the relatively flat land near the mouth of Town Creek was both "favorable and easy" for the proposed canal.[39] This refers to the Harness/Long tract on the west side of the creek and to a parcel ***(Tract #83-113)*** farther downriver near Paw Paw Ridge known as "Ayr" that belonged to John Mitchell. Abert's 1825 survey for the proposed canal route shows a substantial farmstead, labeled "Bozwells," situated on the peninsula near the crossing to Paw Paw, [West] Virginia (Figure 3.19). The survey shows that three cultivated fields and a crescent of unarable river slope covered the entire peninsula. The point where the three fields came together, near the center, marks the location of the farm buildings. Little is known about Bozwell and the early use of the land. However, the presence of old fish traps in the river suggest that long before Bozwell farmed the peninsula, Native Americans had settled there and may have cultivated the same broad fields.[40]

John Mitchell apparently did not reside on this tract, given the notation of Bozwell on the 1825 survey map, but his ownership is clear from the name of the landform, Mitchell's Neck, and from the reference to the property, Mitchell's Farm, in the inquisition with the C&O.[41] In his negotiations with the company in 1837, Mitchell requested a private ferry across the canal for access to the fields and barn located below the towpath embankment.[42] Soon after, the C&O established a construction camp adjacent to the towpath on the land the company purchased from Mitchell. In addition, Mitchell allowed the contractor for Locks 69, 70, and 71 to store stone excavated from the Paw Paw quarries on his property. With construction activity for the Paw Paw Tunnel prolonged both by labor unrest and the financial difficulties of the canal company, the establishment of the camp, the stone yard, as well as the

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[38] Adapted from James Bishop, "The Cardinal Club, 1907-1969," copy in the Appalachian Collection, Allegany Community College, Cumberland, Md.; sale to Roeder in DB 428, p. 347, 03/11/1969, Allegany County land records.

[39] Recommendations of Moore and Briggs in preliminary report of the U.S. Board of Engineers, 02/14/1825, cited in Unrau, "Chronological History," 3, 52.

[40] Larrabee, "Survey," 43; and Hahn, Towpath Guide, 203.

[41] See Ninth Annual Report of the Directors, June 6, 1837, 151-152, Historical Society of Washington; and John Mitchell Inquisition, DB AB No. Q, p. 289, 07/24/1837, Allegany County land records. Deed research shows that David Mitchell (possibly John's father) received a patent for land in this area in 1786. The C&O first negotiated with Mitchell in 1828 for options to buy this land, much of which was repatented as Ayr in 1840, thus suggesting that Bozwell was Mitchell's tenant.

[42] See "322 to 325 Sections" in Folder 2, Entry 219, RG 79; and George Bender to President and Directors, 11/27/1837, in Folder 2, Box 1, Entry 221, RG 79, NA.

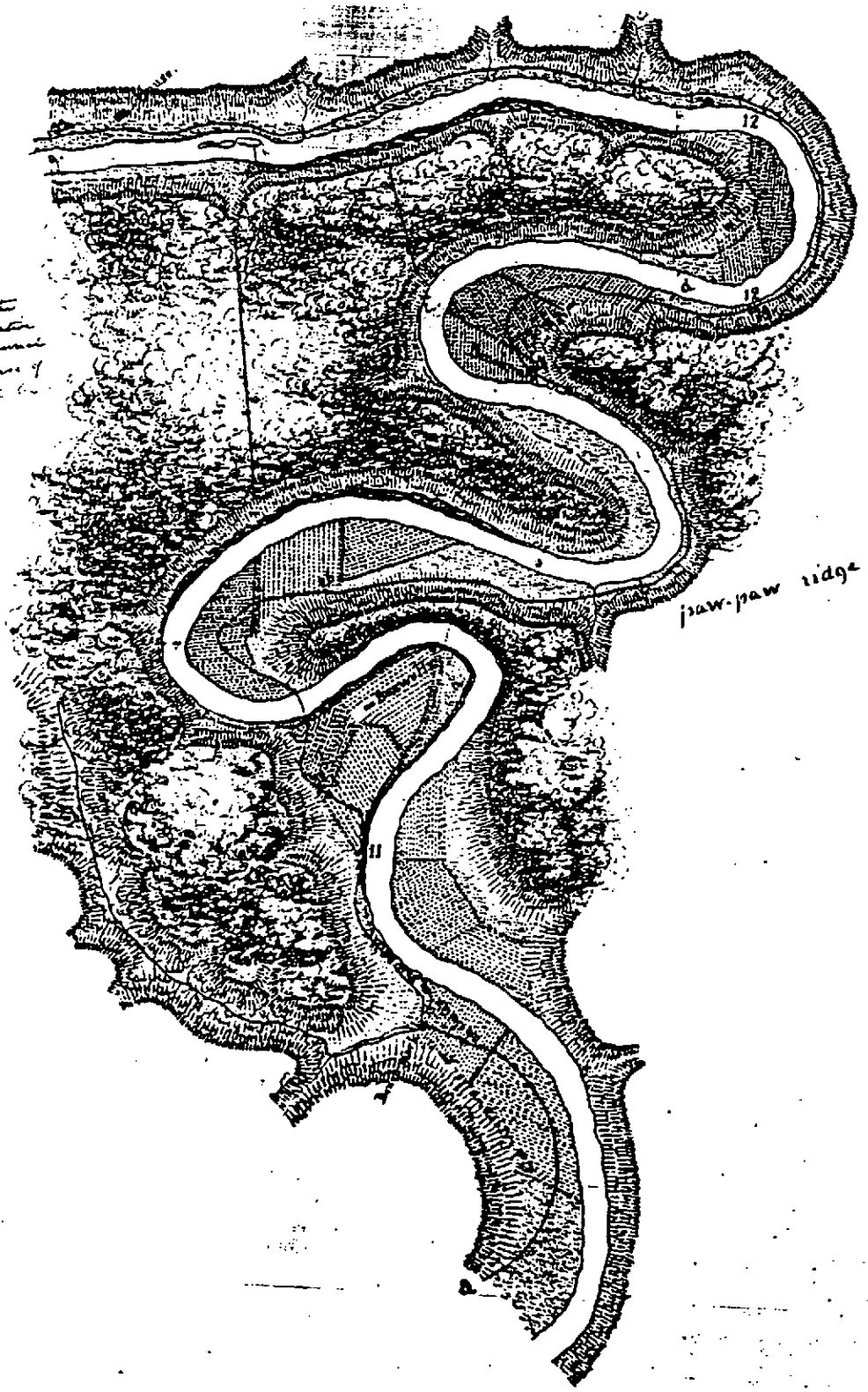

Figure 3.19 Detail of 1825 Abert Survey showing proposed canal route in Paw Paw area

construction of the canal itself, may have deterred any further development of Mitchell's Farm.

Throughout the succeeding decades the property continued to be owned by absentee landowners. By the end of the century, map surveys indicate that no structures were located on Mitchell's Neck, with the exception of warehouses and other structures next to the towpath.[43] In 1904 the property was acquired by Minta M. Hesser. Sometime after the Hesser purchase, a farm house (ca. 1910) and a bank barn (ca. 1920) were constructed. Miscellaneous structures, including a machine shed, two tenant cottages, a stable, chicken coop, hogpen, corn crib and a garage, were added over time. By the mid-1950s a substantial cluster of farm buildings was situated in the narrow southwestern corner of the tract between the canal and the river. The realignment of Maryland Route 51 through the property occurred in the middle of the twentieth century when the bridge to Paw Paw was constructed. The curved road bed divided Mitchell's Neck in half, separating the fields and altering their arrangement.[44] The Hesser family sold 55 acres, including improvements, in 1959 to Ray Larkin, who continued to keep the land in agriculture, mostly for grazing. In 1970, Larkin subdivided a portion of the property along the river into small lots, which were subsequently sold for recreational homesites. The farm buildings were in a state of decline and disrepair when the main house burned in 1976.[45]

Farms Above and Below Oldtown in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Christopher Kelly sold the 1,709 acres contained in his 1872 patent for "Kelley's Resurvey," located along the river west of Oldtown, in 1892 to William Percy and David Sloan.[46] Few descriptions of the property exist from this time. C&O Canal Property maps indicate that a community or neighborhood of buildings and warehouse-type structures called Cunningham's was clustered on the berm side of the canal near its intersection with Kelly Road (Figure 3.~~15~~30). Cunningham's may have served canal boat operators at the end of the nineteenth century, with Kelly and subsequent landowners having rented this site to tenant operators. However, by 1904, when the route of the Western Maryland Railroad was constructed directly through the property, several of the Cunningham structures were probably dismantled or

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[43] The grave sites of canal workers are also located near the canal on Mitchell's Neck and may have been an additional deterrent to development. See Hahn, Towpath Guide, 197-203; "Certificate of John Mitchell," Box 1, Entry 217, RG 79, NA; Larrabee, "A Survey of Historic and Prehistoric Archeological Sites," Appendix (Paw Paw Quadrangle); Maryland Geological Survey, Allegany County; and United States Post Office Department, Rural Delivery Routes, Allegany County, Maryland (Washington, D.C, 1925), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

[44] See Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Segment map 83; and see Historic Photograph PPT-57, on file Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP.

[45] Based on analysis of Allegany County land records, Allegany County Courthouse; Larkin Property in "Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties," AL-I-078; Tract File #83-113 and #83-110, C&O Canal NHP.

[46] DB 71, p. 646, 06/10/1892, Allegany County land records.

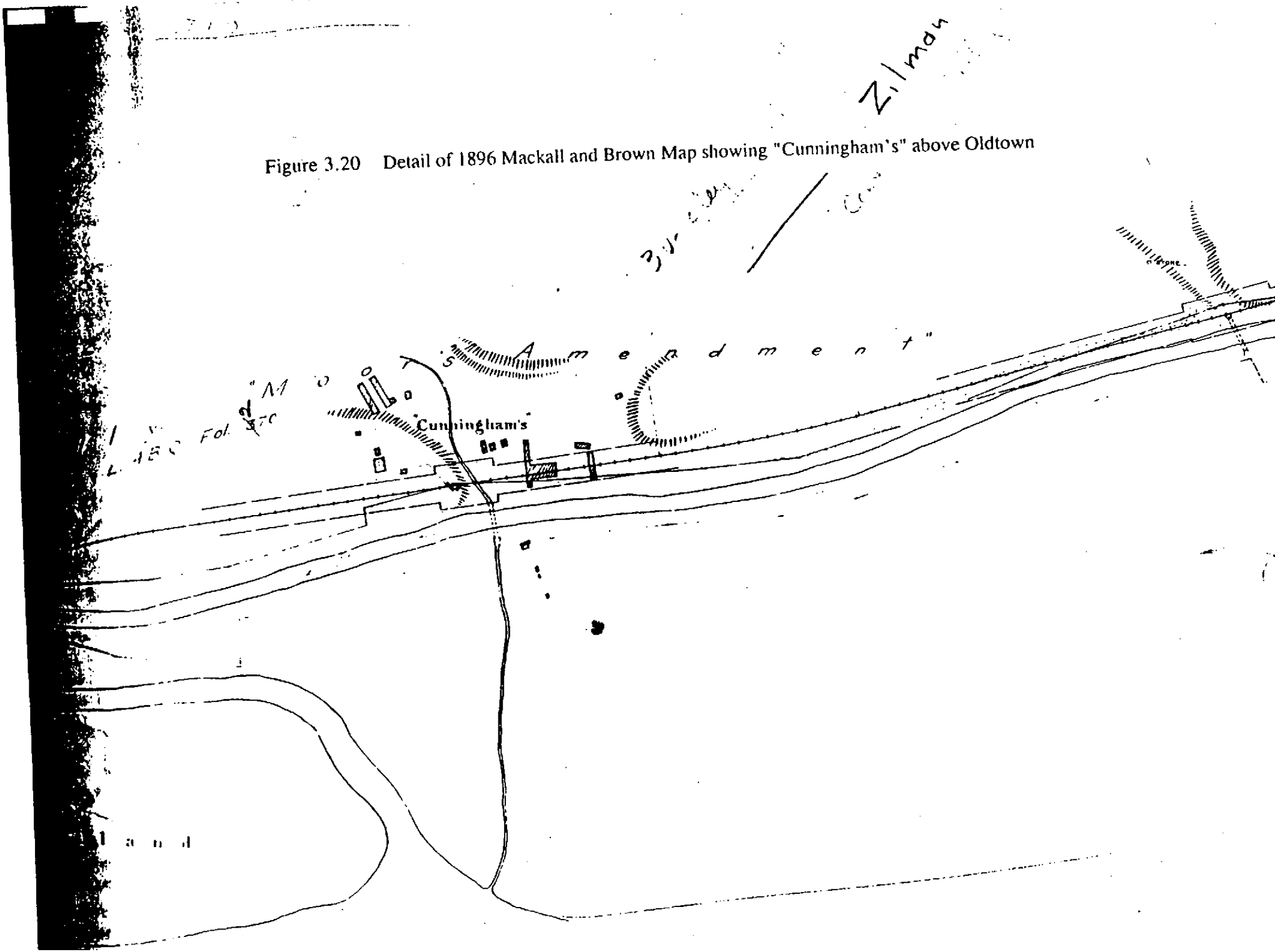

Figure 3.20 Detail of 1896 Mackall and Brown Map showing "Cunningham's" above Oldtown

Figure 3.21 1910 view of Oldtown from site of Cresap's Fort

relocated.[47]

In 1914 areas along the river were sold by the heirs of Percy and Sloan to Claude W. Wagner. The Wagner property was subdivided between 1918 and 1922, with the easternmost portion acquired by Merton English, the middle section remaining with the Wagner family, and a 558-acre section (Tract #49-103 represents a portion), referred to as Farms No.4 and No.5, purchased by Lemuel Buckley. Claude E. Saville shortly thereafter bought the 90-acre English property in 1920, a portion of the Wagner tract in 1922, adjacent acres on his eastern boundary from Branson Sisler in 1924, and finally the remaining Wagner parcel at public sale in 1943. The Wagner farm had been "maintained in a high state of cultivation and is equipped with owner's residence, tenant houses and other necessary and adequate farm buildings."[48]

The Saville Farm ***(Tract #50-101)*** extended from Alum Hill near Oldtown to the "Buckley Place" on the site of the original James Kelly tract. By the time of the Douglas hike in 1954, 254 acres of the Saville farm were owned by Thomas and Viola Smith. A large barn, outhouse, two storage sheds and two ponds were situated in open fields on a bluff above the canal, while the residence was located closer to Oldtown. In 1958, Paul and Lois Anderson acquired the property. As late as 1974, the property continued to be farmed as one agricultural unit, although the operator was a tenant.[49]

Claude Wagner had sold Farms No. 4 and No. 5 of the Kelly or Wagner farm to Lemuel Buckley in 1918. Included in the transaction was Hawkins Island, the 125-acre island in the Potomac River previously known as Jacob and as Buck Island. The name Hawkins, as well as that of Cunningham, may refer to tenant operators and farmers who worked the two farms associated with this portion of the Kelly/Wagner tract. Although Buckley defaulted on his mortgage in the 1930s, he continued to operate the farm as a tenant into the 1950s and 1960s. The property was called the Buckley Place, with the road passing under the canal through the arched culvert referred to as Buckley Road and the island as Buckley Island. In 1955 Buckley installed a Martin Steel silo next to the cattle barn in the field below the canal. While the barn may have been erected in the general vicinity of earlier structures from the nineteenth century, it was probably constructed by Buckley, as well. Following the barn's construction, the

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[47]See Mackall and Brown, C&O Canal Property Map. The name "Cunningham" is not found in deed transactions for the properties associated with this site. Maryland Geological Survey, Allegany County, does not indicate structures existing in this area; Drew Chick refers to hiking by "Cunningham's" on the 1954 Douglas Hike. Deed research on **Tract 54-103** shows that Kelly was residing in 1882 in Hampshire County, W.Va. Kelly may have been a longstanding Hampshire County resident, leasing farmland across the river in Allegany County. A review of Western Maryland Railroad deeds may yield additional information on "Cunningham"s.

[48] Excerpt from Cumberland Daily News, advertisement for public sale 06/03/1935, evidence in Equity 448, Judgement Record 72, p. 537, Allegany County Circuit Court, Cumberland, Md.

[49] The Alum Hill farm buildings associated with Tract #50-101 are no longer extant. See Tract File #50-101, C&O Canal NHP, Sharpsburg, Md., and ca. 1942 notations on Mackall and Brown, C&O Canal Property Map. See DB 115, p. 661, 12/23/1914; DB 130, p. 352, 11/01/1919; DB 196, p. 394, 06/15/1943; DB 145, p. 714, 06/03/1922; DB 134, p. 575, 10/23/1920; DB 219, p. 27, 02/26/1948; and DB 297, p. 27, 03/05/1958, all in Allegany County land records.

alignment of Buckley Road was shifted from the original straight route of Kelly's road to the island and curved toward the barn before sloping down to the river's edge.[50]

The twentieth-century history of the former Harness/Long Farm below Lock 68 differs from that of the Kelly/Wagner/Saville property. After Long's death the property was not subdivided. Instead, the farm of approximately 2,035 acres remained intact because of its configuration and because there was only one farm house on the site. Documentation from the twentieth century indicates very little about the farm operation. The owners continued to raise cattle. Passage over the canal at Lock 68 was provided by an iron bridge built around 1910 by the landowners to replace the deteriorated wooden pivot bridge.[51] After World War II, three hundred acres of the Long Farm were subdivided into over fifty small lots and parcels. These were located along the old county road and were purchased by individuals throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s.[52] However, the core of the original property retained much of its agricultural character. The present collection of landscape features demonstrates the gradual changes in the farming operation that have occurred throughout two centuries of occupation. These include the Long family cemetery, the brick residence, tenant house, brick outbuilding, silo, metal clad pole building, mobile home, greenhouse, garden, fields and farm roads.[53]

Cresap's Fort Site

Throughout the nineteenth century, Oldtown retained much of its rural character and remained a one-street town. In the twentieth century, the Western Maryland Railroad and a toll bridge across the Potomac formed a new transportation junction at Oldtown's historic crossroads. Even with these improvements, the community continued to be most noted for its association with Thomas Cresap (Figure 3.20).[31] In 1940, a traveler following the dirt road out from the village center to the new concrete bridge at the "Old Potomac Ford," was advised to look east (downstream) toward the fields *(Tract #51-136)* overlooking the river to see the ruins of a stone chimney. The lone chimney was said to have marked the site of the old fort. By 1954, when most physical evidence of the fortification was no longer readily apparent, the Douglas hikers rested at the historic "fort," and mentioned the appeal of the Cresap legacy at Oldtown.[54]

After being abandoned by the Cresap family, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth

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[50] DB 123, p. 527, 04/01/1918; DB 180, p. 496, 04/29/1938; DB 181, p. 574, 09/22/1938; DB 190, p. 593, 07/09/1941, all in Allegany County land records. See Tract File #49-103, C&O Canal NHP, Sharpsburg, Maryland.

[51] See Equity 5813, Judgement Record JWY 48, p. 593, Allegany Circuit County Circuit Court; and Fields, "Iron Bridge," 3.

[52] Based on analysis of land transactions, Allegany County land records.

[53] See Historic Photograph L68-2, Cultural Resources Division, and Tract File #53-100, #53-101, C&O Canal NHP.

[54] Writer's Guide, Old Line State, 357, 358; and Chick, "Douglas Hike," 2.

century, the old fort was occupied as a house for several years.[55] The 1825 canal survey indicates that open land below Oldtown along the river was highly cultivated and arranged in fields that extended east from Alum Hill to a marshy area just above the Oldtown bluff (See Figure 3.15). The survey does not designate any individual landowner in this area. Since agricultural use of this bottomland goes back to early Native American occupation, the field lines from 1825 may in fact demonstrate longstanding agricultural patterns used in this area.[56] Documentation suggests that the site may have been occupied or cultivated by John Harness, father of William and Joseph.

A portion of the "Indian Fields" property downstream from the fort site subsequently was sold to the John Harness heirs by one of the Cresap descendants in 1814. This sale marks the beginning of the creation of the productive Harness tract ***(Tract #53-100/101)***, later called "Mohican," that lay between Oldtown and Town Creek. Another portion of "Indian Fields" had been sold by the estate of Michael Cresap to Osburn Sprigg in 1791; Sprigg sold a portion of this parcel ***(Tract #51-136)*** to John Burbridge, who in 1813 sold it to Jacob Taylor of Hampshire County, [West] Virginia.[57]

The two tracts were held by members of the Harness and Taylor families at the time of the canal construction. While the Harness canal condemnation was contentious, the negotiations with James Taylor resulted in a relatively easy land transfer. Elwood Ginnevan purchased both tracts in the mid-1860s, but may not have resided on the property until 1878, when his brick house was constructed on a ridge above the canal "near the site of the Cresap fortress and Cresap cabin."[58] Ginnevan's farm was smaller than the Kelly and Long properties. With exactly half of his three hundred acres improved and the other in woodland, Ginnevan, like the others, devoted the majority of his production to livestock and livestock products. He raised mostly cattle and hogs and produced slightly more bushels of wheat than corn. He also had a small number of horses and cows.[59]

By 1880, Ginnevan had almost doubled his landholdings to include three hundred acres of improved land. His farm ranked third highest in value in the district, behind Kelly's and Long's. He had ten people living in his household, and employed additional labor to help with production. Ginnevan planted his fields in wheat (18 acres), corn (8 acres) and grasses (mostly

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[55] Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1458.

[56] An arrangement similar to the 1825 patterns is also evident on Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park, segment map 51.

[57] See Osborn Sprigg (est. of Joseph Sprigg) to George Harness and William Cunningham, DB H, p. 19, 12/02/1814; and see Jacob Taylor to Simon Taylor, DB H, p. 14, 12/13/1815, which cites the deed between Burbridge and Sprigg in Allegany County land records.

[58] Information taken from "Oldtown, Maryland," Heritage Today (Allegany County, Md., March 1972). The date for the house construction is not verified by any other documentation. Ginnevan is listed on the 1870 Agricultural Census; he may have lived in a pre-existing house or not occupied the site until the brick house was built.

[59] Analysis of Agricultural Census, 1870.

mown). A small amount of land was devoted to growing potatoes. His livestock operation had grown through the addition of more cattle and poultry. His orchard was laid out with 100 apple trees and 60 peach trees. Ginnevan was also the largest honey producer in the district. He leased from the canal company several acres of C&O property located between the waterway and the river below Lock 69.[60]

Two hundred acres of the Ginnevan Farm were sold five different times to a succession of different individuals between 1894 and 1911. The specific changes made to the farm by these owners are not documented. However, one distinctive characteristic of the period is the way the landform was adapted by the occupants. As late-nineteenth and twentieth-century farm buildings were constructed on the ridge above the canal, their foundations may have incorporated the original foundation of Cresap's fort. A cluster of otherwise typical farm buildings may have been built over and within the outline of the old fortification's walls, with the remnant stone chimney marking for many years the location of the west side of the former Cresap residence. Over time, the cluster included the brick house, a root cellar, cave, smoke house, barn and corncrib, threshing shed, equipment shed and other outbuildings. Burial sites from the Cresap occupation may be situated on the southeast corner of the ridge, at the end of the farm lane.[61]

Two mills had longstanding associations with the Cresap family and the Oldtown settlement. One lay west of the Oldtown crossroads, along the course of Saw Mill Run on the northern slope of Alum Hill, below the canal. This mill ***(Tract #51-104)***, the miller's house and other buildings had belonged to James M. Cresap, grandson of Thomas.[62] In the 1830s the property was transferred to Luther Martin Cresap, although early canal documentation refers to the property as the mill of Mrs. Cresap and her son. The final canal condemnation in 1836 indicates that the company negotiated with Luther Cresap and his wife over their concerns about access to the mill and the detrimental effect the proposed canal would have on the mill's waterpower. At this time, the C&O agreed to Cresap's request for a permanent bridge across the canal and towpath, a new mill pond, allowance for the tail race, an outlet for overflow of the "branch" on the berm side, and realignment of portions of the road to the mill that might be affected by canal construction. The road, which originally connected Oldtown to Cumberland, was critical to the mill's operation, for it linked the farms of Prather, Kelly and others along both sides of the river to Cresap's enterprise. In 1848, Cresap released the C&O from the concessions granted in the earlier agreement. In exchange for a monetary award, Cresap agreed to construct and maintain the bridge and road and to make the other improvements himself. The

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[60] Analysis of Agricultural Census, 1880; research data, Moore Property, LCS file; and "Physical Condition," Equity 4191 and 4198.

[61] Findings developed from Writer's Guide to the Oldline State; from excerpted news article in LCS file; and from Robert B. Moore, property owner, in Wayne E. Clark, "Inventory-Nomination Form, National Register of Historic Places," August 1974, copy C&O Canal NHP, which states that the northern wall of the fort runs up against the bluff, the southern wall may have been destroyed during the construction of present structures, and the foundation of the eastern and western walls are extant.

[62] As indicated previously, a mill has probably been located on this site since the early colonial era. See Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1459.

extent to which these were implemented has yet to be determined.[63]

The other mill was located on the lower end of Alum Hill, also below the canal. This mill, once known as Spriggs Mill, had belonged to members of the Cresap family before it was sold to Fielding Shepherd, prior to the C&O's condemnation. Waterpower for the operation was to be diverted by the company from Mill Run to land "lying close along the side of the towpath line," where water "intended for Shepherd's mill and that flowing from the tail race of Cresap's mill ran together. However, in 1849, shortly after the Shepherd condemnation, the C&O purchased the mill outright to avoid the delays and expense the company had encountered in the Luther Cresap case. The eventual configuration of the shared millrace may have been affected by the final outcome of this land transfer.[64]

Luther Cresap appears to have residences in both Oldtown and across the Potomac at Green Spring Run in Hampshire County, [West] Virginia.[65] While he is not listed as the farmer/owner in the 1850 Allegany County agricultural census, his reports for 1860, 1870 and 1880 show that although Cresap's Allegany farmland was not vast, he nevertheless had a productive operation. In 1860 the greater part of his 1400 acres near Oldtown was unimproved land. On the improved portion, like the other farmers along the river, he raised livestock, mostly cattle and hogs, and harvested more corn than wheat, oats and hay. Both Cresap and Christopher Kelly owned 12 cows, but Cresap produced greater quantities of butter.

Cresap had decreased his holdings by the time of the next census. In 1870 his holdings consisted of 1000 acres, mostly improved, with a smaller cattle herd and greater production of winter wheat than corn and oats. The operation continued to contract during the next decade, when his property contained only 125 cultivated acres with the rest in woodland, forest and old fields. He employed extra hands to farm the 30 acres of corn, 25 of wheat and 20 of oats, and to cut hay and tend the quarter-acre plot of potatoes. The mill apparently continued to operate throughout these decades.[66] After Cresap's death, a small portion of the property remained with Cresap descendants until 1943, when they sold the "Mill Lot" containing one and one-third acres ***(Tract #51-104)*** to Floyd and Evelyn Carder.

By the turn of the century, the "Mill Lot" contained at least the mill, a main residence and two smaller houses located on the farm, one constructed of log. When Carder took over

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[63] See George Bender to G. G. Washington, 12/19/1835, Box 1, Entry 221, RG 79, NA. See also both Luther M. Cresap and Wife, Inquisition, 10/21/1836, DB AB No. T, p. 9 and 399; and Luther M. Cresap and Wife to Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, DB HB No. 4, p. 560, Allegany County land records; and Twenty-second Annual Report, 1850, 5, copy Historical Society of Washington.

[64] See McFarland to Bender, 01/02/1836, cited in Bearss, "Town Creek Aqueduct, 4.; Chesapeake and Ohio Canal vs. U.S.A. and the heirs of Lantz, 07/01/1837, DB A.B.Q, p. 283; and Amos P. Shepherd and Wife to Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, 06/29/1849, DB HB No. 5, p. 136, Allegany County land records.

[65] Scharf gives conflicting information about Cresap's residence in History of Western Maryland, 1459.

[66] Luther Cresap's will, 02/28/1896, (Orphan's Court Administrative Accounts, Book M, p. 237, Allegany County Court), included some 1136 acres of land, the mill and mill seat and five dwelling houses. Some of the property may have been located in West Virgina.

the property, he removed "several old buildings," and built a new dwelling house (1967). During his ownership, the property contained a one story frame house, a barn, a root cellar/cave, sheds and outbuildings, as well as the mill site. Water from Mill Run ran through a pipe underneath a bridge spanning the canal prism to the site, much in the way originally devised by Cresap and the C&O. A log bridge provided connections to the residence, fields above the canal and the county road. Farm roads led from the residence and followed the towpath embankment in both directions.[67]

[67] See Orphan's Court Administrative Accounts, Book M, p. 237; and Historic photograph L70-4 and Tract File #51-104, C&O Canal NHP.

CHAPTER 4: WASHINGTON COUNTY TRACTS

FROM LICKING CREEK TO PRATHER'S NECK

Existing Conditions of Tracts

Tract #72-100, Dick-Dasher, 31.04 acres
Tract #72-101, Snyder-Sampson, 43.78 acre

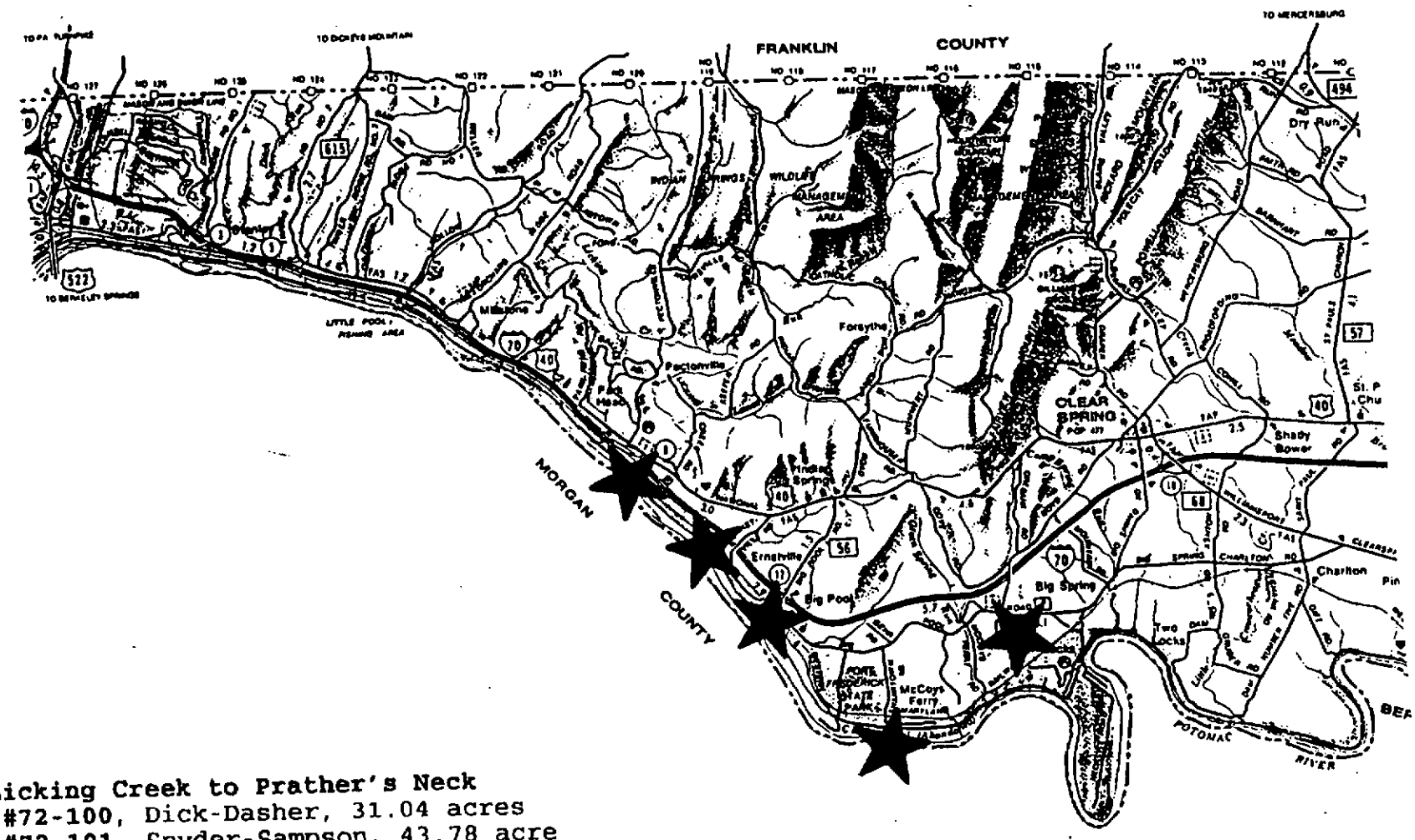
Tracts #72-100 and #72-101 extend upstream from the west bank of Licking Creek as a narrow band of tilled agricultural fields situated between the canal and the Potomac River (Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). Other features of this narrow transportation corridor, including the abandoned Western Maryland Railroad, I-70 and a segment of the old National Road, lie on the berm side of the canal. The breadth of the fields currently under cultivation on these tracts has been significantly reduced by encroaching vegetation. In several places wide bands of trees and other woody vegetation obscure views of the fields from the towpath.

A small crossroads community associated with historic Parkhead Forge (with a church, cemetery and stone house) is visible through the trees. A cemetery associated with the Snyder family is located above the berm embankment on ***Tract #72-102***. Superficial examination reveals that the fields below the towpath were occupied at one time by Native Americans. A hand-dug well also has been found below the towpath embankment, along the edge of ***Tract #72-101***.

Tract #73-100, Chambers/Miller-Big Pool Holstein, 47.57 acres
Tract #73-101, Chambers/Miller-Big Pool Holstein, 24.10 acres
Tract #73-113, Johnson/others-West. Md. RR Co., 116.26 acres

These three tracts are located at the community of Big Pool. ***Tract #73-100*** is a series of long, cultivated fields situated between the C&O Canal and Potomac River and divided by small drainages (Figure 4.4). A small wooded strip of this parcel extends to the east across the mouth of Cherry Run. Paralleling this first tract is ***Tract #73-101***, a narrow strip sandwiched between the canal and the Western Maryland Railway. Most of this land presently is overgrown, with some open areas used for pasture. ***Tract #73-113*** adjoins the east end of Tract #73-100, and extends downstream between Big Pool and the river (Figure 4.5). The west end of #73-113, along the banks of Cherry Run, is wooded. Within these woods are structural foundations associated with the Big Pool community. The remainder of the tract is in cultivation. The railroad crosses this tract as it turns southward to cross the Potomac into West Virginia.

Figure 4.1 Overview of study tracts from above Licking Creek to Prather's Neck



From Licking Creek to Prather's Neck

Tract #72-100, Dick-Dasher, 31.04 acres
Tract #72-101, Snyder-Sampson, 43.78 acre
Tract #73-100, Chambers, Miller-Big Pool Holstein, 47.57 acres
Tract #73-101, Chambers, Miller-Big Pool Holstein, 24.10 acres
Tract #73-113, Johnson and others-West. Md. RR Co., 116.26 acres
Tract #75-100, Jaques-Bowman, 45.64 acres
Tract #75-101, Jaques-Bowman, 128.00 acres
Tract #76-100, Lowe-Costlow, 122.27 acres
Tract #76-102, Lowe-Costlow, 44.82 acres

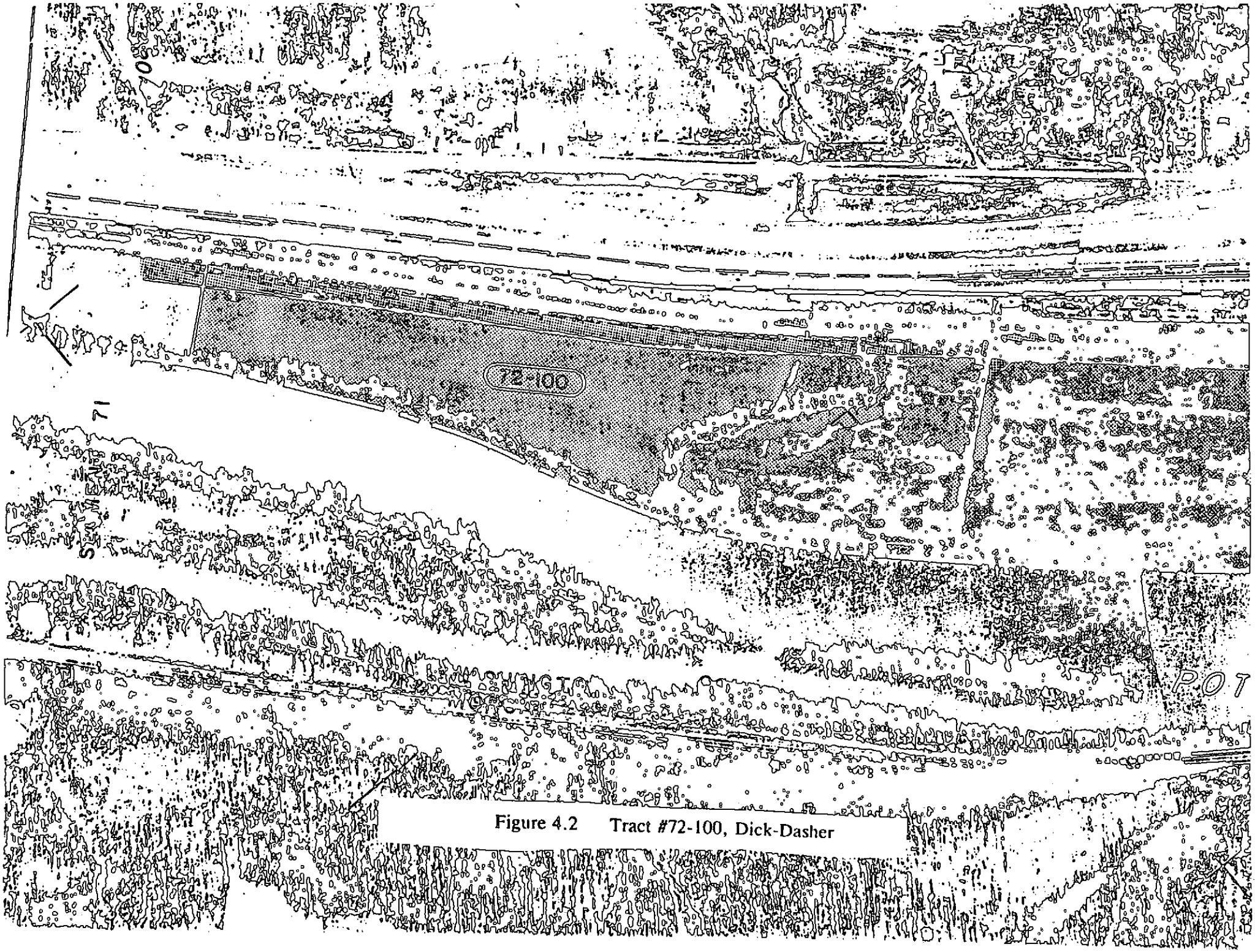


Figure 4.2 Tract #72-100, Dick-Dasher

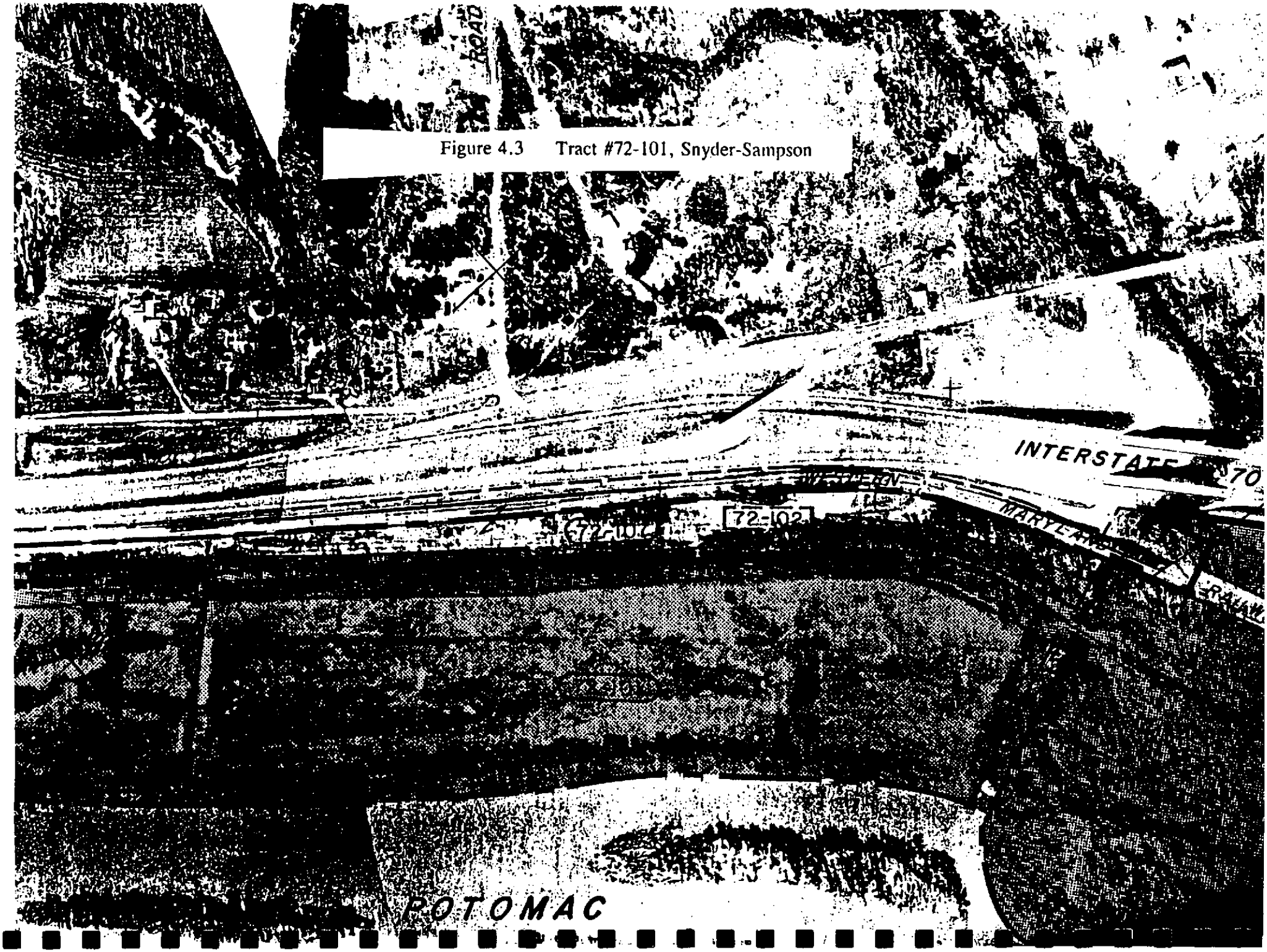


Figure 4.3 Tract #72-101, Snyder-Sampson

Figure 4.4 Tracts #73-100 and #73-101, Chambers/Miller-Big Pool Holstein

Figure 4.5 Tract #73-113, Johnson and others-Western Maryland Railway Company

Drainage ditches are visible on Tracts #73-100 and #73-113, both parallel and perpendicular to the towpath embankment. A drive-through culvert (Culvert 150) allows old Cherry Run Road to pass under the canal to a former ferry landing. This road also provides access to the agricultural fields on the two tracts.

Tract #76-100, Lowe-Costlow, 122.27 acres
Tract #76-132, Lowe-Costlow, 44.82 acres

Tract #76-100 sits on high ground overlooking the Potomac to the south and the historic community of Four Locks to the east (Figure 4.6). The Western Maryland Railway angles across its northwest boundary. Access is along a dirt road extending from Four Locks to a farm building complex centrally located on the tract. This complex presently consists of a substantial nineteenth-century bank barn, corn crib and the remnants of a residence that burned in the mid-twentiethth century. The location of the latter is defined by remnant ornamental plantings.

The two upper fields west of the farm building complex are separated by an old fenced and overgrown sunken farm road that extends west from the building complex. The more southern field of the two is in the first stages of reverting to woodland. A portion of the field on the northeast side of the barn is presently used as a NPS firearms practice range. The entrance road is lined by shrubby overgrowth that was probably at one time hedgerows.

Until recently, the farm supported a small herd of sheep that were confined to the barnyard and the field to the southeast of the farm building complex. Since these areas were not maintained during this time, the southeast field has reverted to an early succession woodland composed primarily of exotic species, and the barnyard is filled with thistle.

Landscape History of Individual Sites - Licking Creek to Prather's Neck

Native Americans almost certainly were the first to establish camps and villages on the flat, broad land along the river bottom near Licking Creek.[1] The earliest European settlers may have predated the first grant in the area to Thomas Cresap in 1739 for a tract called Skye Thorn, located near Conococheague Creek. In 1765 and 1766, respectively, two patents, one to Robert Harrison for Roses Neglect and the other to Ezekiel Cox for Good and Bad, were issued for land above Licking Creek. Another tract called Kindness Enlarged at the base of North Mountain was surveyed for owner Thomas Johnson in 1773.[2]

Entrepreneur Lancelot Jacques was Johnson's partner in two western Maryland

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[1] Larrabee, Survey, 37-38, and Cherry Run Quadrangle Map in Appendix.

[2] See Winslow, Upper part of the Potomac River; Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 986; and Michael D. Thompson, "The Iron Industry in Western Maryland" (West Virginia University manuscript, 1976), 67. See also Abraham Cox to John Snider, 11/22/1793, DB H (8), p. 711; William Harrison to John Palmer, 08/09/1779, DB (2), p. 75; George Chambers and wife to Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 04/04/1836, DB RR, p. 803.

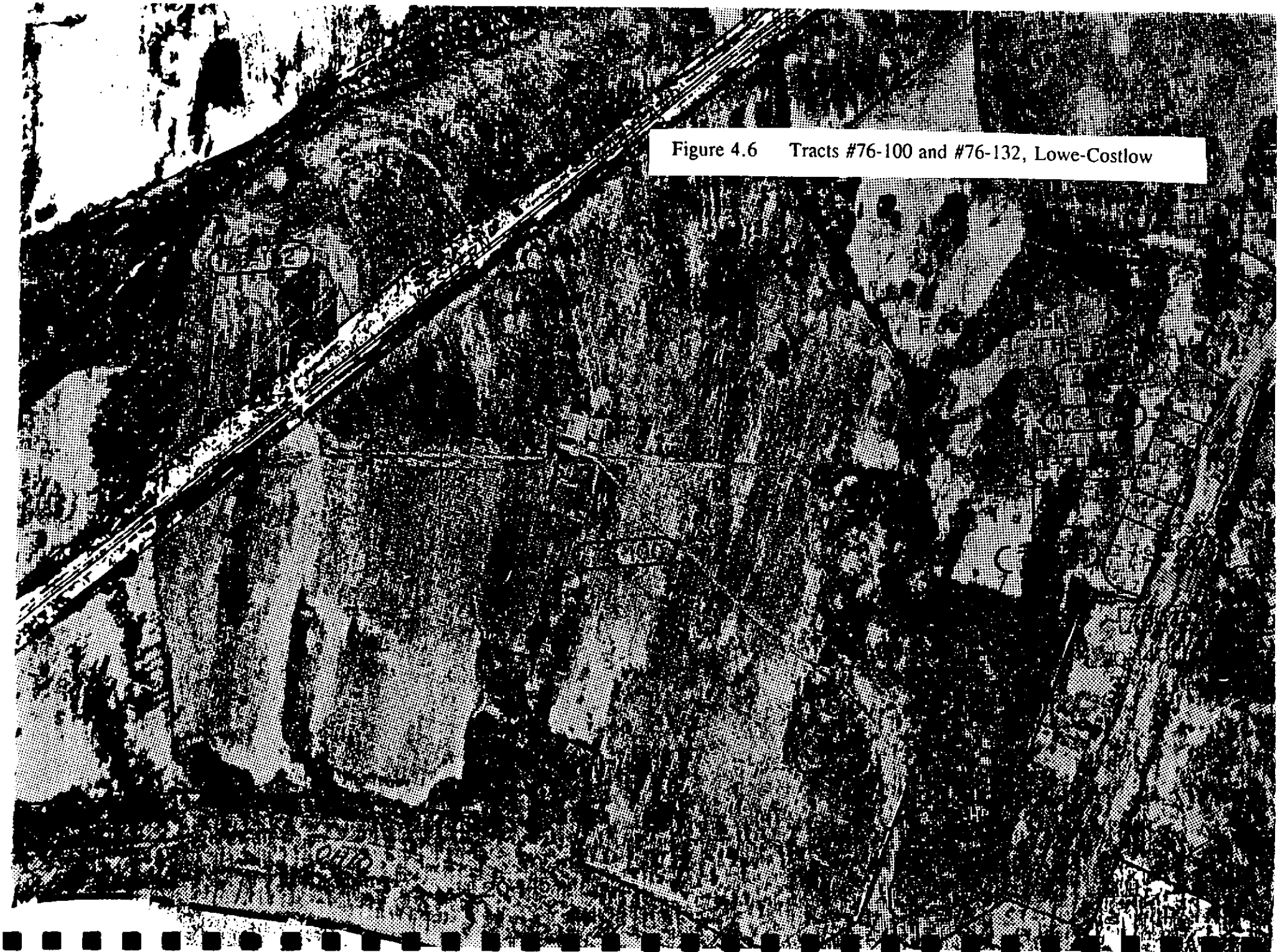

Figure 4.6 Tracts #76-100 and #76-132, Lowe-Costlow

ironmaking enterprises. Green Spring Furnace was located at the base of North Mountain, while the associated Fort Frederick Forge lay to the west on Licking Creek, approximately one-quarter mile above its confluence with the Potomac River (See Figure 2.2).[3] Lancelot Jacques eventually received a patent for this area, which included Green Spring, Fort Frederick and Indian Springs, and renamed it Parkhead. Denton Jacques, nephew of Lancelot, subsequently acquired Johnson's share of the furnace and forge, the latter which then became known as Parkhead Forge.

Charcoal heated the furnaces that processed the ore into iron. Charcoal was created from the slow, controlled burning of large quantities of wood cut from stands of timber located near the ore bank and furnace.[4] Charcoal also was required for the operation of forges, which refined the pig iron produced by the furnace. While many of the acres owned by the Jacques were dense with forest, some of the area between Licking Creek and North Mountain was "high and broken land covered with pines." At one time, Denton Jacques's holdings stretched for approximately nine miles along the Potomac River, from Green Spring to what would later be known as Millstone Point.[5] The road to Cumberland that connected with those leading to Williamsport and Hagerstown passed through the property along the upper edge of the more arable bottomland. Parkhead Forge was a relatively large settlement that consisted of a grist mill, a saw mill, as well as worker cabins and stores.[6]

While Denton Jacques's reputation was based on his vast landholdings and the production of iron, his enterprise also focused on agriculture. Between North Mountain and the Potomac River at Green Spring, Jacques owned 2,000 acres of land, of which 700 to 800 acres were good farm land: "There is about 230 acres of cleared land and the remainder well timbered, two never failing springs and two wells of good water on the same and open to an extensive mountain range. The quality of the soil and healthy situation makes it more valuable and may be divided into two or three farms."[7] The extent of his agricultural operation was revealed when financial difficulties forced Jacques to sell several tracts in 1806, among them the Green Spring property. He listed in his sale notice nine slaves, twenty head of cattle, fifteen horses, and different types of farming equipment. Among the tracts sold during this period were properties that encompassed the arable bottomland along the Potomac River. Jacques sold one of these larger tracts to the Chambers family from Pennsylvania.[8]

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[3] See "Indian Springs District," in Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1292-1298.

[4] Robb, Industry, 48-61.

[5] Hahn, Towpath Guide, 61, 66-67; and Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1298.

[6] The road to Cumberland generally follows the route of present-day Route 56. Some of these workers may have been slaves owned by Jacques; see Thompson, Iron Industry, 71.

[7] From The Frederick Town Herald, 11/22/1806, cited in Thompson, "Iron Industry."

[8] Thompson, "Iron Industry," 67-75.

Varle's 1808 Map of Washington County shows that Denton Jacques owned tracts in the area surrounding the Furnace, and that an unidentified tavern was located on the Cumberland Road between old Fort Frederick and Licking Creek (Figure 4.7). This tavern may have been the same one that appeared a few years earlier on the 1795 Griffith map under "Carlisle" (See Chapter 2). Farther up river at Licking Creek were situated a grist or merchant mill, Parkhead Forge, and a tavern belonging to A. Snyder. Dr. Lancelot Jacques, a descendant of the earlier Jacques by that name, resided along the river, beyond Licking Creek.[9] The Cumberland Road, which would shortly become part of the National Turnpike, was an important defining feature of the rural landscape in this area along the river.

Farms Above Licking Creek

Individuals other than Lancelot and Denton Jacques had established themselves in the valley west of North Mountain. William Harrison and Robert Harrison had settled on the early Fort Frederick/Fort Cumberland Road between Licking and Tonoloway creeks. John Snider purchased a portion of the former William Harrison property on the west side of Licking Creek from Abraham Cox in 1793 ***(Tract #72-100)***.[10] Here he operated a farm with sheep, cattle and a boat. He laid out fields for cultivation along the Potomac on the west side of the mouth of Licking Creek (Figure 4.8). At his death, Snyder designated that a burial plot be set aside on land that he bequeathed to his son Anthony. The Snyder family selected a slight rise on the west side of the creek for the family plot. Later, the Snyders donated a small lot for the establishment of the Union, or Parkhead, Church.[11] The subdivided Snyder property remained in the family for several decades and, by the time of the Canal condemnations in 1835, was held by two Anthony Snyders, an uncle and a nephew.[12]

The early settlers in the area between Fort Frederick and Tonoloway Creek first had their property subdivided when the road to Cumberland was constructed through their land. The road

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[9] Charles Varle, "A Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, State of Maryland," 1808, copy on file Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress; and Griffith, Map of the State of Maryland.

[10] See DB H (8). p. 711, 11/22/1793, Washington County land records; and see description of "Roses Neglect" and "Good and Bad," in Box 1, Entry 22, RG 79, NA.

[11] Will Book A, p. 470, Washington County Courthouse; and Powles to Corderman, 04/03/1915, DB 146, p. 521, Washington County Land Records, Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Md. See Abert, Potomac Canal. See also listing for Park Head Level Graveyard in Mrs. Warren D. Miller, "Washington County, Cemetery Records, IV," n.d., Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library; and interview with Hilda Cushwa, 04/20/1993, in LCS research files, C&O NHP. According to the Writer's Guide, 340, the Parkhead Evangelical Church was erected in 1833, with an upper gallery for slaves, and was used during the Civil War by guards on picket duty. However, the church is outside the C&O Canal NHP boundaries.

[12] One of the Anthony Snyders owned a slave at the time of his death. See Will Book D, p. 651, Washington County wills.

Figure 4.7 Detail of 1808 Varle Map showing western Washington County

(Figure 4.9).[15]

F.B. Snyder's upstream neighbor John Hetzer, who with his partner Thomas Charlton acquired the Dick farm in 1862 and the Joseph Chambers property on the east side of Licking Creek in 1863, owned only 207 improved acres of farmland, with a total value significantly lower than that of the Snyder farm. This partnership harvested fewer bushels of grain that supported a smaller number of cattle, horses and sheep than raised by Snyder. Hetzer and Charlton also produced a smaller amount of potatoes and no butter. Only one farmstead, on the south side of the turnpike, was located on this property ***(Tract #72-100)*** according to an 1859 map of Washington County (See Figure 4.9).[16]

By the time of its sale out of the family to Abraham Ditto in 1884, the Snyder holdings consisted of two tracts of over 400 acres, which may have been farmed at that time by tenants.[17] In turn, Ditto cultivated the land for a almost twenty years. At Ditto's death in 1904, the substantial farm had 230 of 380 acres under cultivation, with 40 of those considered "fine bottom land."[18]

> *Improved by a good Frame and Log Dwelling house containing nine rooms, with cellar, cistern, and well at the house, a large Bank Barn about 80 feet by 50 feet, built about 9 years ago, a large cistern is at the barn; also on this farm is an ice house, corn crib and wagon shed, blacksmith shop, implement house, hog pens, wind mill, etc. This farm is in a good state of cultivation, under good fencing, close to church and school house and store, at Pectonville, distant about one mile. There is some good young timber upon the land.*[19]

Some of the fine farm buildings described in the advertisement were probably constructed by the Snyders. Others, such as the "large bank barn," had been added by Ditto, while the school mentioned was probably the one built on land that Ditto donated to the county.

In the early-twentieth century the type of production on the old Snyder farm changed from a focus on livestock to tree fruit. In 1920, the owners, the Fultons, established a substantial orchard, known as Octagon Fruit Farms, on the property. During the Depression,

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[15] See land transfer to Frederick Snyder, DB IN, p. 5, 01/16/1851, Washington County land records. See Agricultural Census, 1860; and Thomas Taggart, A Map of Washington Co., Exhibiting the farms, election districts, towns, villages, roads, etc., etc. from actual survey by Thomas Taggart, 1859, copy on file Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

[16] See Agricultural Census, 1860; and Taggart, Map of Washington Co..

[17] See Frederick B. and Virginia Snyder to Abraham Ditto, DB 85, p. 394, 04/01/1884, for a tract called Parkhead Amended, 164 acres, and a tract called Union, Snyder's Landing, Lubber Land and Maidenhead, 250 acres, also with a right-of-way to the Snyder family burial ground. Snyder was listed as a residing in St. Louis, Mo.

[18] See advertisement for public sale cited in Equity 7508, Chancery Record 44, p. 160, Washington County Circuit Court.

[19] *ibid.*

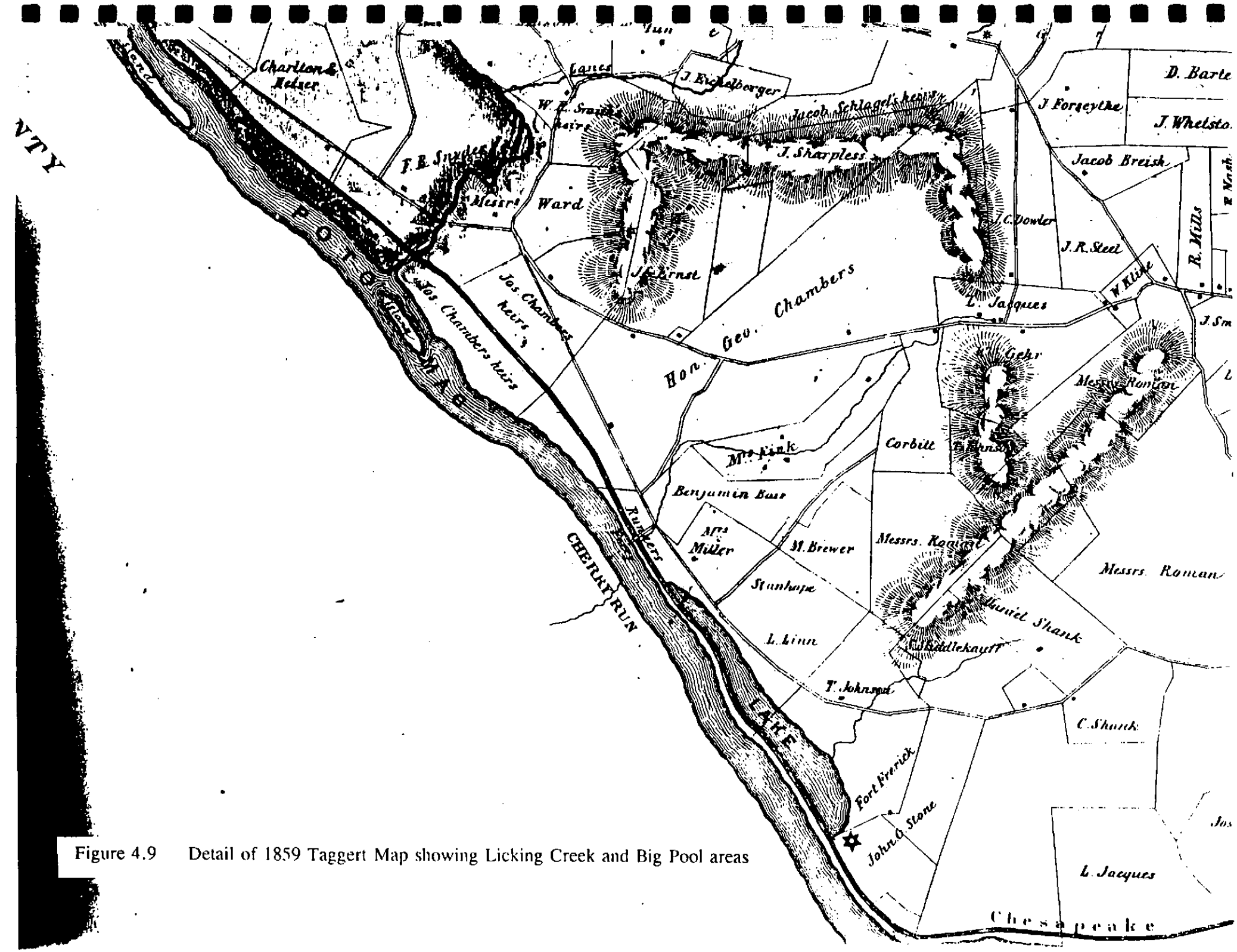

Figure 4.9 Detail of 1859 Taggert Map showing Licking Creek and Big Pool areas

the fruit farm was sold at public sale due to default on a loan by the owners. At that time the property consisted of approximately 366 acres, with two residences fronting on the old National Pike road and a large barn and other out buildings. A portion of the farm was "covered by an extensive apple orchard of suitable age for fruit bearing," some timberland, and 93 acres in "a high state of cultivation."[20]

The Hetzer and Charlton partnership, established in the mid-nineteenth century, had been dissolved after the death of John Hetzer in 1864. The Maidenhead portion of their holdings, or the former Dick farm, went to Hetzer's heirs, who held the property until the 1920s. Geological survey maps from the turn of the century show that the Hetzer farm above the turnpike backed up to a forest of hardwoods, while the Ditto property had more cleared land. Two residences apiece were located on the Hetzer farm and on the Ditto farm. The survey also indicates that the main dwelling on the Hetzer farm may have been moved by the family from the south side of the turnpike, where it had been located earlier in 1859, to the north side.[21]

After its sale out of the family in 1923, the former Hetzer farm remained intact through the 1950s, during which time the property was owned by J. Marvin Sites. At Sites's death the tract was subdivided. In the 1970s the Dasher family reassembled some of the original subdivisions.[22] At the time, the farm with a main dwelling, a bank barn, loafing shed, garage and several outbuildings was leased to tenants. Interstate 70, as well as the old National Pike (U.S. Route 40), the canal, and the Western Maryland Railroad tracks separated the structures and the upper hills of the tract from the Potomac River. "The flat, fertile, bottom land" belonging to the Dashers lay on the far side of these transportation lines, which their tenants could pass under by means of a road culvert.[23]

During the mid-twentieth century the adjacent property to the east had been adapted into a private recreational area. The owner, Harry Sampson, had allocated the lower fields, once farmed by the Snyders and Ditto, for access to the river and the upper side for campgrounds. A few structures, such as the main dwelling and a bank barn, remained from the earlier agricultural use. However, the addition of a trailer park, a store, picnic shelters, trash collection stations, and outdoor toilet facilities underscored the change in use. Instead of farm roads, a network of camping roads and trails circulated through the property. Replacing the row crops along the bottomlands was the canopy of twenty years worth of overgrown woody vegetation.[24]

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[20] See advertisement cited in Equity 12,976, Chancery Record 56, p. 204, 07/16/1936, Washington County Circuit Court.

[21] Besley, F.W., Map Washington County showing the forest area by commercial types, Maryland Board of Forestry, 1913, based on geological survey 1898-1910, copy on file Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

[22] See Mason to Trumpower, DB 166, p. 676, 11/05/1923; Trumpower to Sites, DB 224, p. 450, 11/06/1943; Sites to Shives, DB 293, p. 4, 02/19/1955; Shives to Michael, DB 528, p. 423, 08/05/1971; and 1973 land transfers to Dasher et al in DB 559, p. 591 and DB 568, p. 614, Washington County land records.

[23] Cited in Thomas M. Poss, real estates appraisal, Tract file #72-100, C&O Canal NHP.

[24] Tract file #72-101, C&O Canal NHP.

Farms Downstream of Licking Creek

During the post-revolutionary period, Lancelot Jacques, Thomas Johnson and Denton Jacques, as well as Thomas Cresap, owned large tracts located west of North Mountain and along the Potomac River between Licking Creek and Green Spring Run. One patent held by Johnson and Lancelot Jacques amounted to 7,323 acres. Throughout the late-eighteenth century Cresap, the Johnson and Jacques partnership, or Denton Jacques alone, exchanged or sold parcels from their holdings, specifically Kindness, Kindness Enlarged, Sky Thorn, Chance and Chance Lost. When the configuration of the tracts was altered by real estate exchanges, new surveys were conducted and the patents renamed, as in Resurvey on Chance. In 1791 Parkhead Amended was created for Lancelot and Denton Jacques in this way and included Parkhead Forge and 2,646 acres of land east of Licking Creek.

Information about the settlers who occupied the patents is sketchy at best. In 1798, Denton Jacques leased to Richard and Isabella Dowles a 59-acre farm near Licking Creek. Jacques agreed to build the Dowles a "comfortable dwelling house and barn on the premises."[25] In time, more farmsteads developed, mostly at the ferry crossings at Cherry Run and near Williamsport. Other farms were located along the roads, such as those connecting the Furnace at Green Spring with the Forge at Licking Creek, and the old road to Fort Frederick. However, along the Potomac between Fort Frederick and Licking Creek, only three significant settlements had been established by 1825, all of which were most likely farmed by tenants (Figure 4.8). Even the delineated, cultivated bottomland near Fort Frederick, especially on the northwest, west and southwest, was not occupied by its owner.[26] Later, when the C&O Canal completed construction through this area, these fields were flooded to create a large body of water, noted originally as "Lake" and later referred to as "Big Pool."

The Jacques' focus and that of subsequent landowners on the iron industries at Green Spring Furnace and Parkhead Forge may have delayed the establishment of more permanent farming settlements on the river land. When market fluctuations adversely affected the iron industry, Denton Jacques sold off portions of his vast holdings.[27] Jacques sold portions of Resurvey on Chance and Kindness Enlarged to Mathias Otto in 1783. These and other properties combined to create a tract of some 373 acres for Otto. Otto's land was in turn sold in 1808 to Peter Miller. Miller's heirs exchanged and sold divisions of this property ***(Tract #73-113)*** through mid-century, when the ownership patterns indicate complex familial relationships. Although a description of the Miller property has not been found, the probable location of the "home" farm is indicated below Dry Run on the 1827 Geddes and Roberts survey for the canal

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[25] See Washington County Patent Books, Washington County land records; see also Jacques to Dowles, 04/27/1798, DB L, p. 334, also in Washington County land records. A farmstead for Dowlie is shown on Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, located between Licking Creek and Millstone Point.

[26] See Abert, Potomac Canal; the three identified sites bear names that do not match the owner's names in the deeds of record.

[27] Thompson, "Iron Industry," 69-71.

(Figure 4.10). The other major property in the vicinity (portions in ***Tract #73-113***) was probably the farm of Tobias Johnson, east of Miller's, which had passed through the Johnson family for several generations, having been "sold by Thomas Cresap to James Johnson, deceased."[28]

In 1799 Denton Jacques sold Parkhead Forge, the grist mill, sawmill and parts of Parkhead Amended and Kindness Enlarged (2,239 acres) to representatives of George Chambers of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. This vast tract (including ***Tracts #73-100 and #73-101***) was located west of Peter Miller's holdings and extended to the west bank of Licking Creek. The right for the Dowles to lease and occupy the 95-acre farm granted to them by Denton Jacques also transferred with this landmark sale. The entire Chambers tract remained intact until 1820, when a subdivided portion of 943 acres was transferred to one of the Chambers descendants, also named George. This Chambers, like his predecessors, did not occupy the property. The farm located there was rented by unidentified tenants.[29] In 1836, the renting farmer was raising both wheat and livestock. His house and barn were located by one of the streams that flowed directly to the river.[30]

A report to the C&O Canal Company on the acquisition of land located down river from George Chambers stated the following about property owned by Tobias Johnson:

> *The canal passes upon the face of a ridge dividing the upper from the lower bottom, at the base of which the ground is low and [muddy], some new fencing may be required, but I think it may be obviated by shifting the position of the present cross fencing. I called unsuccessfully three times to see him; his family estimate the damages @ $100 for 11 1/2 acres equal to $1150. A road culvert or ferry will be required.*[31]

Access issues in this area, subsequently known as Big Pool, differed from those in other areas adjacent to the canal. Because canal engineers inundated the low area below the ridge, making a lake rather than excavating a ditch and prism, a ready supply of water for cattle and other livestock was created on the berm side, as opposed to the river side of the waterway. In his inquisition, the Washington County jury awarded Tobias Johnson and his heirs "the privilege

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[28] See DB MM, p. 741-744, 11/18/1831, Washington County land records, showing deeds transferring family-owned property to Tobias Johnson.

[29] See Benjamin Chambers estate to Joseph Chambers, DB EE, p. 664, 06/07/1820 and Joseph Chambers to George Chambers, DB EE, p. 667, 06/08/1820, both in Washington County land records. Abert, Potomac Canal, indicates that the names of two of Chambers tenants may have been Smith and Reeder; however Reeder may be associated with property belonging to Peter Miller's estate.

[30] In Chamber's Inquisition, he transferred a "quantity of land out of a [rented] Farm", to the Canal company; also Chambers sought a culvert for his tenant's stock to pass through to the river side and the tenant sought settlement for damage done to his wheat crop.

[31] Unidentified author, "Acquisition of Land," Folder "Landlists 1828-1830," Box 8, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

Figure 4.10 Detail of 1827 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal at future Big Pool area

of access to the canal at such places as he and they may think proper on the Northern side thereof for the purpose of watering his cattle."[32] However, to create the lake, the company divided highly cultivated fields, by taking approximately 87 acres of Johnson's land. Of that over half was arable, with 49 acres in bottomland and 17 acres in tillable upland. The remainder taken was mostly in swamp and thickets and included a small section of steep hillside.[33]

Other properties west of Johnson's bordered the proposed taking for the lake. These were owned by Elijah Lynn and Daniel Miller's heirs, all of whom derived their ownership as descendants of Peter Miller. As with Tobias Johnson, the value of the condemnation award from the jury was based on the amount of arable land to be taken by the company. Although company reports noted "arable upland" in the condemnation of both George Chambers's and the most western portion of the original Miller tract, the center portion of Miller's was characterized as "swamp," or "swampy bottom meadow," and given a lesser value. To rehabilitate wet bottomlands for cultivation, drainage ditches were usually excavated. However, due to the light settlement in this area, they may not have been employed to alleviate the wet conditions.[34]

In his negotiations with the company during the spring of 1836, George Chambers's concerns focused on more traditional issues of access. On behalf of his tenant, he requested the expansion of a planned stream culvert to accommodate herding livestock to the river. In addition, Chambers asked for free passage through the road culvert located downstream on Peter Miller's land at Dry Run. Such a provision was designed to give Chambers and his heirs access to the road that ran parallel to the towpath along the outer side of the canal embankment. The tenant farmer in turn agreed that no lane to the canal, or to the river, would be made from the public road running through the farm, with the exception of the lane that existed opposite to his home. The lane opposite the farm house may have been the cow path designated for the stream culvert, noted by Chambers in his request.[35]

Several miles downstream from Ft. Frederick lay two tracts bordering the Potomac River and associated with the early Green Spring enterprise that were still held by the original partners, Lancelot Jacques and Thomas Johnson, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As mentioned earlier, the debts of Denton Jacques had strained the iron works partnership to the point of dissolution. While the Jacques were forced to sell much of their holdings at Green Spring and other locations, Thomas Johnson also sold portions of his share. In 1806, Thomas Johnson transferred his portion of Kindness Enlarged to John McPherson. Lancelot Jacques,

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[32] See "Copy of Inquest on Land of Tobias Johnson, 6th October, 1836," Envelope 59, Box 3, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[33] Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[34] See references to lands of Louisa Miller, Peter Miller and George Chamber's in Folder 1, Box 1, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[35] See George Chambers and wife to Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co., April 4th, 1836, Liber RR/803, agreement April 6, 1836, to build and let him use culvert for stock and road outside towpath, in RG 79, Entry 219, Box 2, file 135, NARA. This agreement pertains to land exchanged in DB RR, p. 37, 04/04/1836, Washington County land records.

however, maintained his ownership of a tract along the river, which Denton had transferred to him in 1782.

In 1809, McPherson sold 458 acres of Kindness Enlarged to Nicholas Lowe. The Lowe farmstead was well-established by the time of the canal surveys in the mid-1820s (Figure 4.11). The property ***(Tract #76-100 and #76-132)*** was at that time occupied by a descendent and owned jointly by several heirs.[36] The farm buildings had been constructed in a narrow area between the river and a series of ridges. On either side of the buildings were fields cultivated to the river's edge (Figure 4.12). Another cultivated area was located on a hill to the northeast. The route proposed by the C&O divided the property. It passed through a garden, between some of the outbuildings and the main dwelling, and required new fencing. Of the thirty acres eventually taken by the company, twenty-one were arable, five were on the river slope and three were wooded.[37]

The 1859 Taggart Map of Washington County indicates that by mid-century the tracts along the river from Four Locks to Licking Creek were owned by E. Tice, Joseph Kinsell, John G. Stone, L. Jacques, T. Johnson, L.[E.] Lynn, Benjamin Baer, Mrs. Miller and George Chambers (Figure 4.9).[38] Emanuel and Samuel Tice acquired approximately 180 acres of the former Lowe property in 1841 when they purchased it at public sale. Emanuel became the sole owner in 1851. Lancelot Jacques, son and namesake of the earlier Jacques, inherited all (296 acres) of his father's farm in 1843. E. Lynn was an heir of the Peter Miller estate. Benjamin Baer had purchased parts of Parkhead Amended and Kindness Enlarged at the public sale of his father Christian Baer's estate in 1854. The other properties that pertain to this project (Johnson and Chambers) had not changed owners. Of note is the name for the ferry at Cherry Run, Runners Ferry, a reference to William Runner, the deceased partner of Daniel Miller.

The Agricultural Census for 1850 reported on the farm properties of several individuals who shared the same last names as landholders in both the deeds of record and on Taggart's 1859 map of Washington County. Some of the information, however, is not conclusive, especially in instances where the first names do not match or the complete name is one that appears on the respective deed after the 1850 census. Such information suggests the existence of a landholder with a tenant farmer.

The separate listings for both Samuel and Emanuel Tice in the 1850 census may indicate that Emanuel was the sole operator of the farm along the river. This supposition is supported by Emanuel's purchase of Samuel's share of the former Lowe property in 1851. Emanuel Tice's farm had 145 improved acres and 35 unimproved. He raised a diverse group of livestock

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[36] In Nicholas Lowe et al vs. the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co., JR 20, p. 145, 11/04/1835, Washington County land records.

[37] See Abert Potomac Canal; Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; and "Acquisition of Land," Folder 1, Box 1 Entry 219, RG 79, and Folder "Landlists 1828-30," Box 8, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[38] Taggart, Map of Washington Co. According to this map, only three of the properties had residences on them. This information appears unreliable given the descriptions found in the C&O Company Records and the statement in Will Book D, p. 511, 10/14/1843, Washington County, that Lancelot Jacques, Sr. left "to only son Lancelot all that part of my farm where I reside."

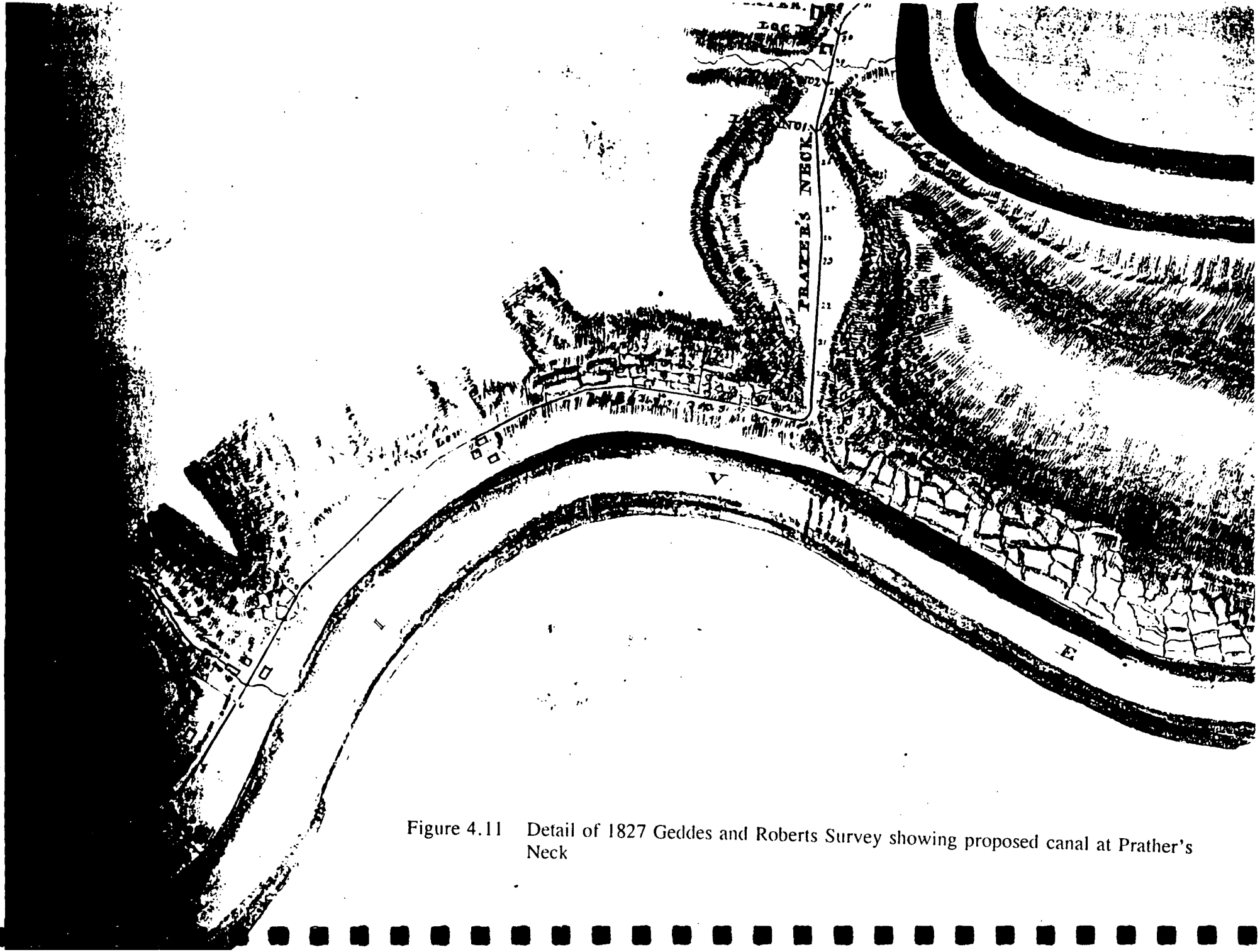

Figure 4.11 Detail of 1827 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal at Prather's Neck

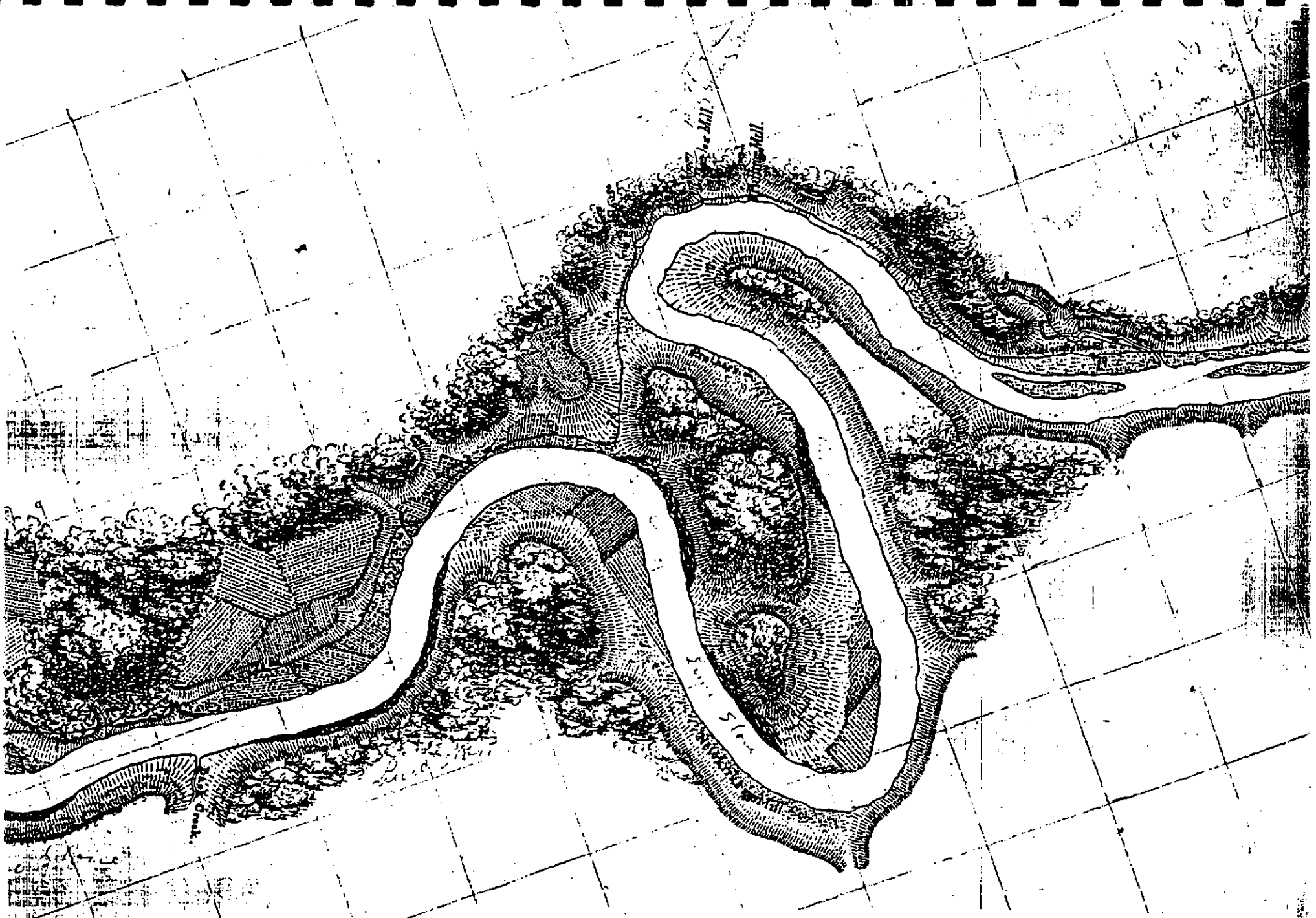

Figure 4.12 Detail of 1825 Abert survey showing proposed canal at Prather's Neck

animals: 6 horses, 6 cows, 10 head of cattle, 11 sheep and 30 swine. Tice grew large quantities of wheat (900 bushels) and corn (750 bushels), and was one of the bigger grain producers in the Green Spring area. He was not, however, the largest wool producer, with a moderate level of output at 40 pounds per year. To this he added a small amount of potatoes (5 bushels), an average number of pounds of butter (250) and substantial quantities of hay (18 tons). He had cleared more land by 1860, at which time 155 acres were improved. Tice had a large number of horses, 9 cows, 14 head of cattle, 30 hogs, and 12 sheep that yielded 60 lbs. of wool. Tice continued in succeeding decades to be a large grain producer with 900 bushels each of wheat and corn, to which he added 200 bushels of oats and some rye. He had increased potatoes to 50 bushels, added a small orchard and was credited for 750 pounds of butter, 20 tons of hay and 4 bushels of clover seed.

The 1850 listing for Peter Miller may be for a farm site transferred from the heirs of Daniel Miller. This farm was a small property containing 64 acres of improved land and only 10 acres of unimproved. Since its size was relatively small, the limited numbers of livestock such as swine (20), horses (3) and cows (2), is understandable. Miller's listing also reported wool production, yet he was not credited for raising sheep. On the other hand, Miller's grain production, as compared to some of the other farmers along the river, was considerably greater, with 200 bushels each in wheat and corn, as well as 50 in oats. He also produced 5 bushels of potatoes and 150 pounds of butter in 1850.

In the 1860 agricultural census, portions of the Miller property may have been listed with Charles Hawbecker, whose property contained 180 acres of equal amounts of improved and unimproved land. Hawbecker also had a diverse operation with a full complement of livestock: 6 horses, 4 cows, 7 head of cattle, 18 sheep, and 10 hogs. His grain production included 100 bushels of wheat, 20 of rye, 10 of corn and 200 of oats. He also grew potatoes (20 bushels), as well as small quantities of buckwheat and barley (10 bushels each). To this he added 150 pounds of butter, 15 tons of hay, 2 bushels of clover seed and 15 pounds of honey.

Listings for other farmers in the study area in the 1860 census are not readily identifiable, with the exception of the inventory for Tobias Johnson's farm. Johnson had 130 acres of improved land and only 70 of unimproved. His livestock included 4 horses, 3 cows, 15 head of cattle, 29 sheep, and 35 hogs. Grain production consisted of 400 bushels of wheat, 100 of rye, 700 of corn, and 100 of oats. He also grew potatoes (10 bushels), had a smaller orchard than Tice, his dairy cows yielded 300 pounds of butter and he cut 20 tons of hay.[39]

New Farms, New Owners

Between 1870 and 1890, various changes in ownership had altered the configuration of the farms between Green Spring and Licking Creek, especially in the area near Big Pool. At the western end of this large lake created by the canal engineers, a small canal-side community called Ernstville developed around the Cherry Run ferry and post office (Figure 4.13). Michael Zimmerman, one of the farm owners, built a store here in 1882. The post office was located in the store, with Zimmerman as the postmaster. In about 1892 the post office was relocated

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[39] Analysis of Agricultural Census, 1850 and 1860.

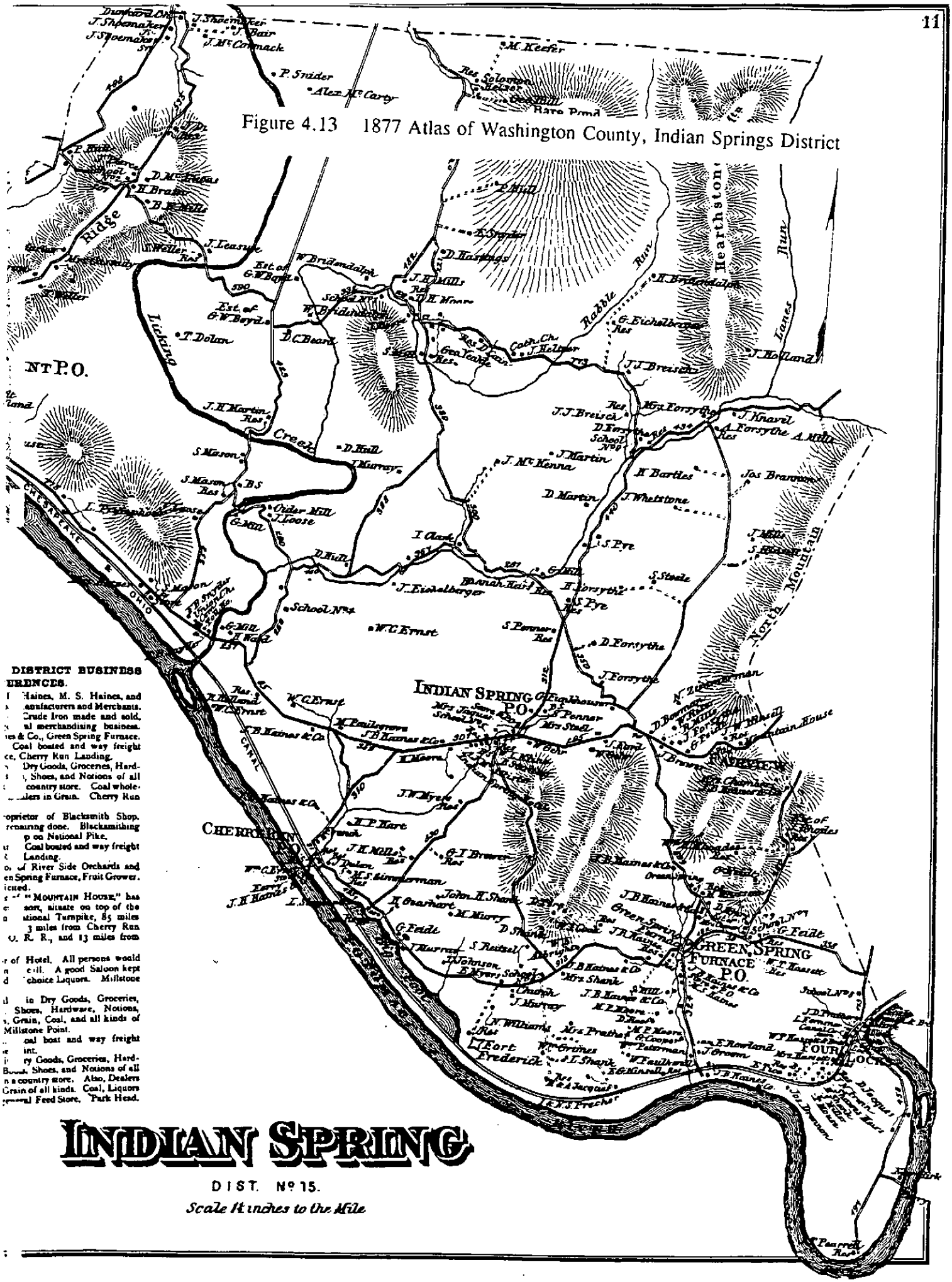

Figure 4.13 1877 Atlas of Washington County, Indian Springs District

to the Western Maryland Railroad Station and the village then referred to as either Big Pool or Ernstville.[40]

The 1870 agricultural census indicates that Zimmerman's small farm was limited to 45 acres of improved land and only five acres of unimproved. Yet, he raised three horses, four cows, six head of cattle and seven hogs. Feed grain came from the 150 bushels, each, of wheat and corn, and the 52 bushel of oats that he harvested. In addition he grew small amounts of potatoes and tree fruits and produced 150 pounds of butter, 20 tons of hay and 6 pounds of clover seed. Zimmerman's farm represented the portion of the former Daniel Miller property that had been purchased by Hawbecker in 1862 and transferred to Delilah Zimmerman in 1864.[41]

Another enterprise at Big Pool, or Ernstville, besides the Zimmerman store, was that of J.B. Haines and Company. The Haines Company, owned by partners Moses Whitson, Jeremiah B. Haines and Mark Haines, had purchased the Green Spring Furnace in 1864. The Chambers family also sold 905 acres near the old Parkhead Forge to the Haines group in 1867. This tract included the land formerly owned by George Chambers that had been farmed by tenants. The Haines partnership apparently did not change this arrangement. Even after production at the furnace ceased in 1874, the firm continued to operate "three fine farms in the vicinity," at least one of which lay along the river between Cherry Run and Licking Creek.[42]

> *This land is improved by a large two-story Stone House, with parlor, hall, sitting room and kitchen, on the first floor, five rooms on the second floor, and two rooms in the attic, also a large stone bank barn, and other buildings, all in good condition, water by means of a wind pump is delivered to the barn and house. There is on this land a very valuable limestone quarry, producing large blocks of limestone such as were used in building the bridge on the Potomac Valley Railroad at Cherry Run and culverts adjacent thereto.*
>
> *The land is in every respect first-class and productive, both the bottom and upland, good for wheat, corn or hay. This land is well set in large orchards of apple, quince and pear trees and an abundance of good timber. If desired by purchasers the tract of 40 3/4 acres containing the rock quarry and lying east of the road running from Ernstville to the said turnpike road, will be offered separately from the main tract [192 1/2 acres]. There is about three acres of this land improved by a log and Weatherboarded Dwelling House now occupied*

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[40] From unidentified description of mail service in western Washington County, Hancock Historical Society, "Big Pool" vertical file, copy on file LCS file, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP.

[41] Analysis of Agricultural Census 1870; and property transfers found in DB IN 15, p. 502, 04/15/1862, in DB IN 17, p. 689, 02/09/ 1864, and in Equity 1542, John G. Stone vs. Sarah A. Miller at al., Chancery Record 7, p. 392, 1859, Washington County Circuit Court; and Lake, Indian Spring Map, Atlas of Washington County.

[42] Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 1295; Moses and Mary Catherine Whitson, et al, to J. Mitchell Stover, DB 94, p. 467, 03/17/1890, Washington County land records; and Lake, Indian Spring Map, Atlas of Washington County.

by. Mr. Harry Hart, under leases for five years from April 1, 1894, lying on the east side of the road leading from Ernstville to the said turnpike.[43]

East of Zimmerman's operation was the farm belonging to Benjamin Baer. Baer had held this tract since 1854. By 1870 this property was almost equally divided between improved and unimproved acreage, at about 100 acres each. At that time Baer, like the others near Big Pool, concentrated on raising livestock and on livestock products. He owned 5 horses, 6 cows, 14 head of cattle, 10 sheep and 7 swine. His grain output was considerably larger than Zimmerman's, with 400 bushels of wheat, 25 of rye, 300 of corn, and 200 of oats. As did other farmers along the river, Baer grew potatoes, cut hay, and collected clover seed. His sheep produced 33 pounds of wool and his cows 300 pounds of butter. A portion of Baer's farm was sold to Jacob B. Wolford in 1882 and another to John Dolan in 1887. At the time of the sale to Wolford, Benjamin Baer resided in Kansas.[44]

To the east, George Feidt operated one of the larger farms situated along the Green Spring Road. In 1869, he gained control of the tract along the river designated in the 1830s for Louisa Miller, Daniel Miller's heir. With this transaction, Feidt added approximately 30 acres at Big Pool and along the river to his existing holdings. The 1870 agricultural census indicates that Feidt's farm contained 345 acres overall, of which 190 acres were improved and 155 were not. His livestock figures show that he raised 5 horses, 6 cows, 15 head of cattle, 28 sheep and 21 swine. Feed for these animals came from the 800 bushels of wheat and 1,035 bushels of corn Feidt harvested. However, his relatively large herd of sheep yielded only 30 pounds of wool. His cows yielded 200 pounds of butter. He cut 16 tons of hay and gathered 10 bushels of clover seed, while his other market produce consisted of potatoes (14 bushels) and tree fruit (60 dollars worth). T. Belt Johnson purchased the thirty acres of the Feidt property at Big Pool in 1876. Johnson, in turn, added this parcel to others that he had acquired along the northern bank of Big Pool and along the river that had originated with the Peter Miller estate and with his father Tobias Johnson.[45]

During the last part of the century, the Tice property, located just below the Green Spring Furnace at Four Locks, was still owned by the Tice family, but mortgaged, and apparently operated by John Tice. The farm remained the same size, but Tice had moved from a concentration on sheep and swine to one based on cattle. The large increase in wheat (1050 bushels) and corn (750 bushels) production in 1870, over the 1860 figure (900 and 750 respectively), may be indicative of this livestock shift. Tice's sheep produced 40 pounds of wool and his cows 500 pounds of butter. For market, John Tice harvested 25 pounds of potatoes and

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[43] Citation from advertisement of public sale listed in Equity 5005, Chancery Record 29, p. 144, 07/17/1896, Washington County Circuit Court.

[44] See land exchanges between Baer and others in DB 82, p. 481, 1882; DB 90, p. 675, 1887; and see Lake, Indian Springs Map, Atlas of Washington County.

[45] Agricultural Census, 1870; and land transfers recorded in DB IN 15, p. 486, 03/09/1861; DB WMcKK 2, p. 618, 04/09/1870; and DB MWcKK 4, p. 13, 07/30/1876, all Washington County land records.

50 dollars worth of fruit. He cut 30 tons of hay and collected 2 bushels of clover seed.[46]

Thirty farms in the Indian Spring Election District reported agricultural returns in the 1880 census. Twenty of these were farmed by their owners, the remaining ten by tenants who rented for a share of the production. Of the properties in this study, only two were readily identifiable. Near Big Pool/Ernstville, both Michael Zimmerman and John Dolan were noted. Dolan and Zimmerman's operations were small in comparison to other farms. Dolan had reported only four acres of cultivation, half of which was mown, while Zimmerman's amounted to 134 acres of improved land and 24 acres in woodland. Zimmerman had employed farm labor for a mere three weeks during the reporting year, probably to help with the grain harvest. He owned 2 horses, 15 mules, 9 swine, 3 head of cattle, 4 cows that produced 240 pounds of butter, and 19 poultry birds that produced 240 dozen eggs.

Twentieth Century Developments Around Big Pool

By the turn of the twentieth century, additional consolidation of farm land had occurred. Although most of the river land remained open and free of woods, both the 1880 census and the geological survey map suggest that there were fewer farmsteads, or "home farms," between Green Spring and Licking Creek. The structures formerly associated with the Tobias Johnson farm, for example, do not appear on the survey maps. This omission may be due to George H. Bloom's purchase of the property in 1908. The former Johnson property was among several tracts located below the C&O Canal and along the river near Big Pool acquired by Bloom over an eleven-year period. The other four tracts were contiguous portions of the old Kindness, Kindness Enlarged, Chance, Chance Lost, Sky Thorn and Parkhead Amended, lands that since the beginning of the nineteenth century had passed from the Miller and Johnson families through many different owners.

With these parcels, Bloom put together a single 107-acre tract for cultivation only. The tract's most distinguishing landscape feature was the Western Maryland Railroad spur line that curved through the property to cross the Potomac near Cherry Run. The boundaries of the old Johnson farm lost their definition within the larger configuration of Bloom's holdings. However, structures from the old farmstead may have been incorporated into a crossroads community, known as Shanktown, which had developed by 1910 just north of the Johnson site.[47] In 1914 George Bloom sold to Isaac and Edith Spielman two tracts of land, one of which was the farmland tract between the river and the canal. In 1927, the Spielmans sold these 107 acres to the Western Maryland Railroad. Throughout the succeeding decades, the land was actively farmed under longterm leases with the railroad. A tenant occupied a one-story frame cottage and an outbuilding on the property; a one-lane road culvert under the C&O Canal provided

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[46] Agricultural Census, 1870; and Tice to David and Keedy, DB GBO (78), p. 41, 04/14/1879, Washington County land records; and Equity 3460, Chancery Record 46, p. 74ff, 02/29/1884, Washington County Circuit Court.

[47] See DB 143, p. 589, 03/27/1914, Washington County land records; Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County; and Washington County Maryland - 1910 -, Library Wagon Routes, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

access to the site.[48]

Throughout this period of consolidation, as exemplified by George Bloom's acquisitions, the small communities of Ernstville and Big Pool continued to develop and be served by both the canal and the railroad. Each contained a railroad station, churches, schools, homes and stores grouped together in such a way as to create two separate villages. The Indian Springs road, the ferry and rail line crossing at Cherry Run formed the dividing line between the two.[49] Further study to determine the distinctive character of both Ernstville and Big Pool is necessary.

Two of the properties in the study area did remain intact. One was located between Big Pool and Ernstville on the land once associated with Park Head Forge and formerly owned by George Chambers. In 1890, the Haines partners sold the farm to a new owner, who began to develop the property into a model of western Maryland agriculture. Not only was the main residence refitted into a "splendid mansion house, built of stone, all in elegant repair, with a new slate roof," but the wagon shed, corn crib, hog pen, carriage house, chicken house, blacksmith shop and ice house were also in "first class condition." This enterprise of 233 acres had expanded to include a 28-acre apple orchard of approximately 500 trees, mostly of the York Imperial variety, that had yielded 2,800 bushels in 1908. About 30 to 50 acres were planted in wheat, about 50 acres were in timber, and the remainder was cleared. Ellwood-type fencing enclosed the land. As before, water was piped to the barn by a windmill pump and stored in a tank; a cistern with hand pump supplied water to the house. These changes had probably occurred under the ownership of Samuel Johnston, who had purchased the 233-acre tract in 1900.[50]

This farm continued to operate under four successive owners throughout the twentieth century. In 1936 it was purchased by Charles and Josephine Weber. In 1962 they conveyed approximately 324 acres to Big Pool Holstein Farms, Inc. At this time the farm was a dairy operation, with many of the buildings described in the advertisements from the ca. 1936 public sales still in use. At the site of the main residence, a dairy barn and dairy house, a frame bank barn, two silos, a feeder shed and pole barn, a hog pen, a wagon shed and other outbuildings formed a large cluster of farm buildings. Of these, the dairy barn and dairy house, the silos and the pole barn were probably twentieth-century additions. One silo, of concrete staves, predated the second, which was a "Harvestore" model constructed in 1959. The tenant property, also described earlier in the advertised sales, had been enlarged to further serve the dairy operation. Here were also located a two-story frame residence, a dairy barn and dairy house, another concrete stave silo, a wagon shed and a two-car garage.[51]

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[48] See DB 143, p. 589, 03/27/1914 and DB 177, p. 46, 04/05/1925, Washington County land records; and Tract File #73-113, C&O Canal NHP.

[49] Maryland Geological Survey, Maryland; Besley, Washington County forest areas; and Washington County Maryland - 1910 -.

[50] See DB 112, p. 403, April 3, 1900; and testimony of Frank L. Johnston and advertisement of public sale in Equity 7114, Chancery Record 38, p. 242, 1910, Washington County Circuit Court.

[51] See DB 201, p. 182, 05/27/1936, Washington County land records; and real estate appraisal in Tract Files #73-100 and #73-101, C&O NHP.

The second farm was the old Tice farm. Although this property was smaller and not as extensive as the Samuel Johnston enterprise, the owners/operators maintained its physical size and continued the agricultural diversification begun by previous generations. The farming operation apparently centered on the uplands portion of the Tice property. The geological survey from the beginning of the century indicates that a group of buildings were clustered at the eastern end of a straight farm lane, which separated fields in that area. These buildings were probably the same structures found on the property some seventy years later in 1972, and included a frame bank barn with cement block silo, a wagon shed with corn cribs attached, a storage shed and a residential cottage.[52] Although no longer operated by members of the Tice family at the time of the geological survey, the tenant, Jeremiah Trumpower, farmed land of "the best quality limestone." The property consisted of "180 acres of excellent farming land...improved by a large dwelling house, large barn, corncrib and other necessary buildings. The land is in a fine state of cultivation, good fencing, and the buildings are in good repair."[53] In 1898, trustees sold the Tice Farm to Abraham Snyder. With the exception of a right-of-way granted earlier in 1890 to the Potomac Valley Railroad, the configuration of the property remained intact through several owners until the 1970s.

FROM BELOW WILLIAMSPORT TO DAM NO. 4

Existing Conditions of Park Tracts

Tract #41-102, Lefever-Schetrompf, 59.35 acres
Tract #41-103, Lefever-Schetrompf, 35.59 acres

Tracts #41-102 and #41-103 are located inside a large bend of the Potomac River a short distance downstream from Williamsport, and are bisected by an unmaintained, dirt section of the old Falling Waters Road (Figures 4.14 and 4.15). The latter tract is situated between the C&O Canal and the Potomac River, and is now overgrown and out of cultivation. The first tract lies above the canal and consists of rolling, cultivated fields that slope down toward the river. The Schetrompf farm complex, once situated in the center of this tract, has been removed by the NPS.

Adjoining the downstream end of these two tracts is the Potomac Fish and Game Club, a private organization. This club surrounds what is probably the former Lefever residence. Members have access across the canal to the river; boat trailers and pontoon boats are in dry-dock on the lawn in front of the club house. A family cemetery associated with the Lefevers

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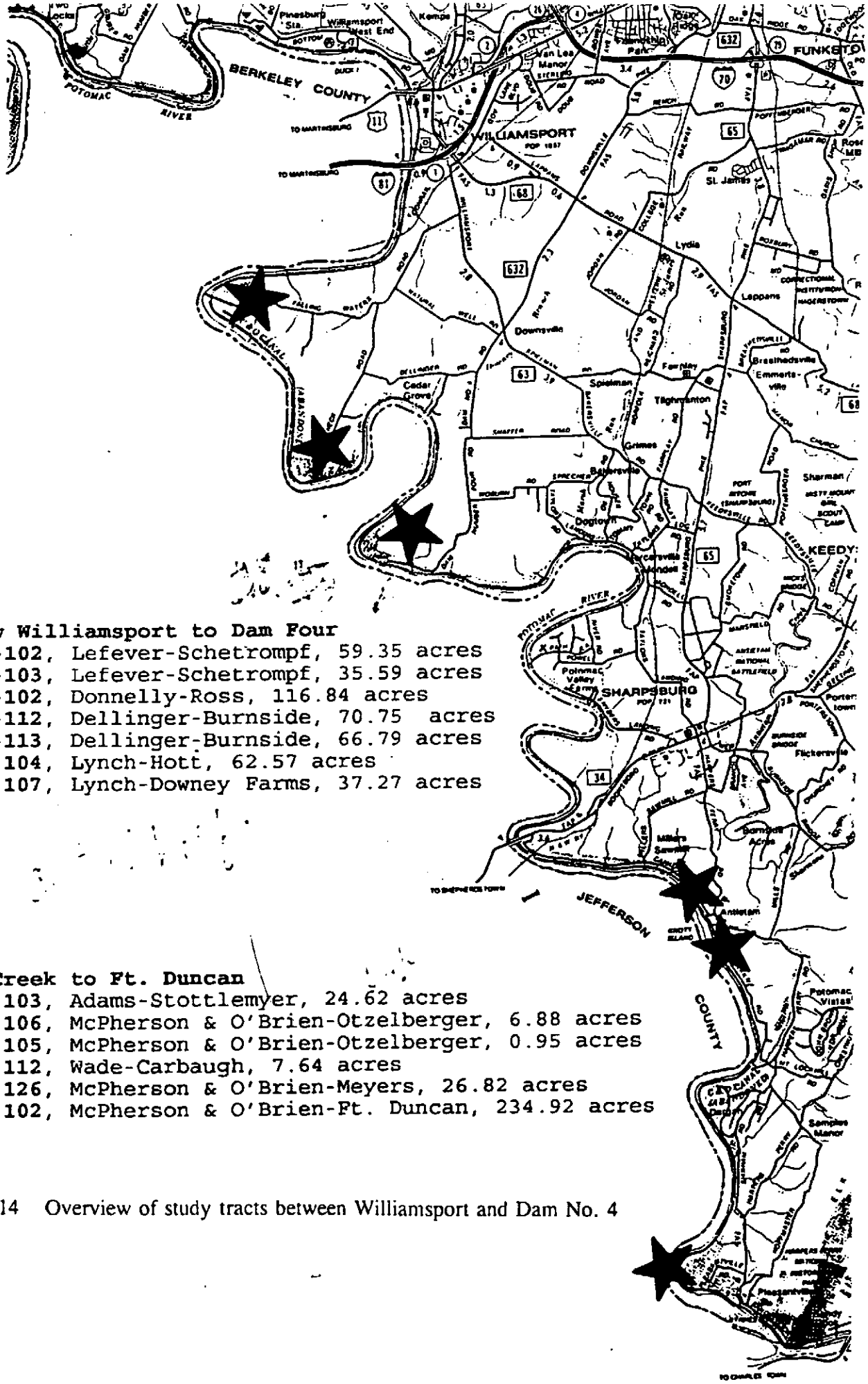
[52] See Tract File #76-100, C&O Canal NHP.

[53] Advertisement for public sale cited in Equity 5166, Chancery Record 29, p. 178, 1897, Washington County Circuit Court; and advertisement cited in J.C. Lane (trustee) to Sarah E. Tice, DB 104, p. 58, 10/10/1895, Washington County land records.



om Below Williamsport to Dam Four

ract #41-102, Lefever-Schetrompf, 59.35 acres
ract #41-103, Lefever-Schetrompf, 35.59 acres
ict #39-102, Donnelly-Ross, 116.84 acres
ict #39-112, Dellinger-Burnside, 70.75 acres
ract #39-113, Dellinger-Burnside, 66.79 acres
ict #37-104, Lynch-Hott, 62.57 acres
ict #37-107, Lynch-Downey Farms, 37.27 acres

ntietam Creek to Ft. Duncan

ict #22-103, Adams-Stottlemyer, 24.62 acres
act #22-106, McPherson & O'Brien-Otzelberger, 6.88 acres
ract #22-105, McPherson & O'Brien-Otzelberger, 0.95 acres
ict #22-112, Wade-Carbaugh, 7.64 acres
ict #22-126, McPherson & O'Brien-Meyers, 26.82 acres
ract #01-102, McPherson & O'Brien-Ft. Duncan, 234.92 acres

Figure 4.14 Overview of study tracts between Williamsport and Dam No. 4

Figure 4.15 Tracts #41-102 and #41-103, Lefever-Schetrompf

is supposed to be located on this property.

Tract #39-102, Donnelly-Ross, 116.84 acres

Tract #39-102 is a large parcel located inside a bend of the Potomac River at the end of Dellinger's Neck (Figure 4.16). The bottomland of this tract consists of a very narrow open field approximately 10-12 acres in size extending along the bermside of the canal. The remaining slopes and upland sections of Tract 39-102 have been reverting back to woodland, although some sections have been fenced for pastureland.

This tract was once part of a larger farm that was accessed from Neck Road. A cluster of gray farm buildings and a large brick residence near the end of this road remain in private hands outside the park boundary. The present permit for **Tract #39-102** allows general farming and grazing for cattle.

Tract #39-112, Dellinger-Burnside, 70.75 acres
Tract #39-113, Dellinger-Burnside, 66.79 acres

Tracts #39-112 and #39-113 also are located on Dellinger's Neck, adjoining the downstream end of ***Tract #39-102*** (Figure 4.17). Although all of ***Tract #39-112*** was open when acquired, all but the bottomland along the berm side of the canal has been abandoned for agricultural use. This has created a narrow, cultivated strip that is rapidly being encroached upon by the surrounding woodland; in fact, it is barely visible from the towpath.

Tract #39-112 also contains a late eighteenth-century stone house and several associated outbuildings. Constructed in three separate sections, the dwelling sits on a rise above a nearby streamside community or mill village. A red frame barn, presently in poor condition, located in front of the house emphasizes the agricultural character of the site.

Tract #39-113 borders the west side of #39-112; it is listed as a separate tract only because it lies outside the present legislative boundary of the park. The middle section of this parcel, comprised of a fairly steep ravine, has returned to woodland since its acquisition by the NPS. The flanking upland terraces presently consist of open, cultivated fields.

Access to the upper fields in ***Tract #39-113*** is along a dirt farm lane that extends from the entrance road along the west side of the house. The lower field in ***Tract #39-112*** is reached from a road trace that extends between the house and barn down to a historic ferry crossing.

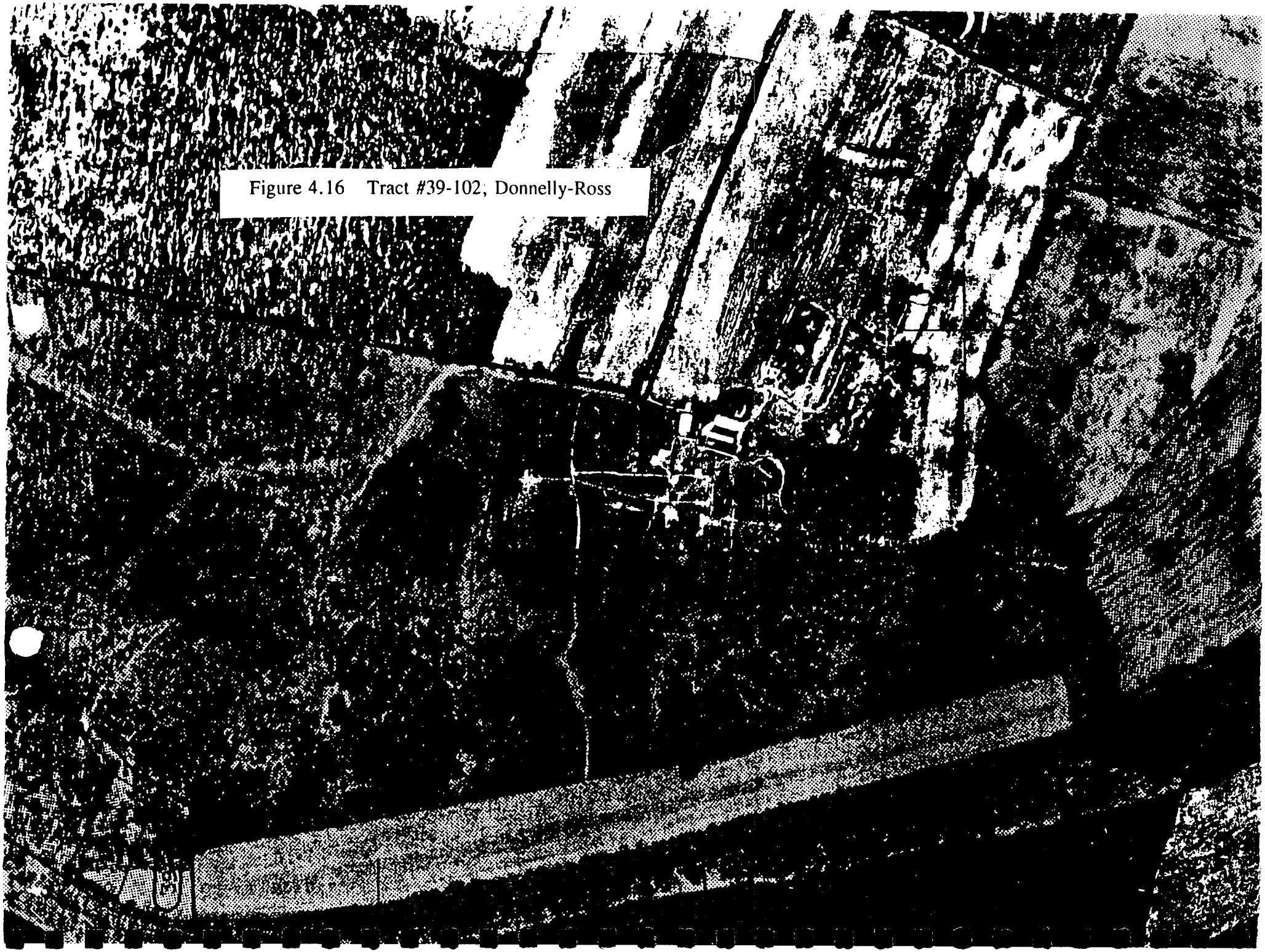


Figure 4.16 Tract #39-102, Donnelly-Ross

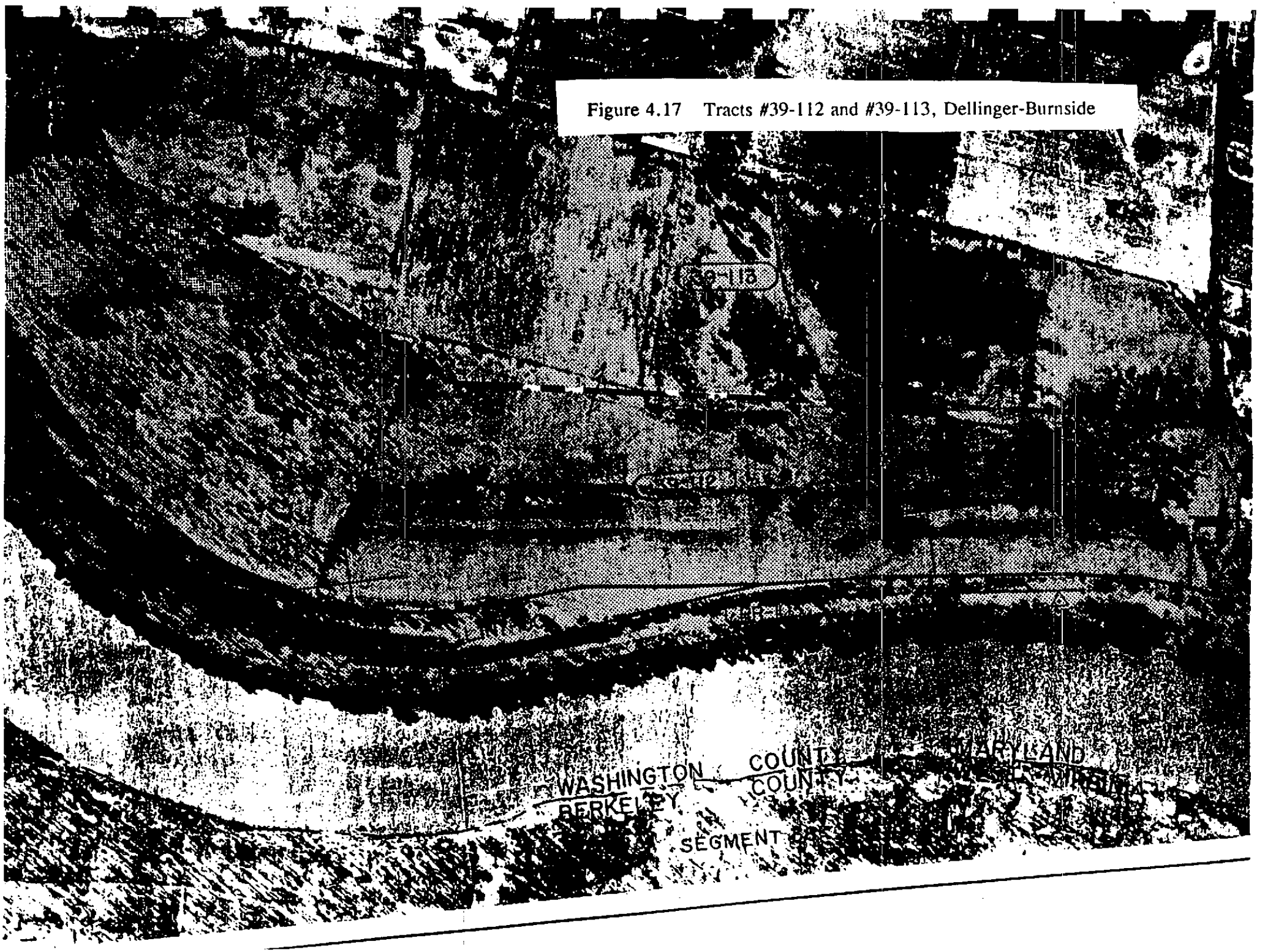
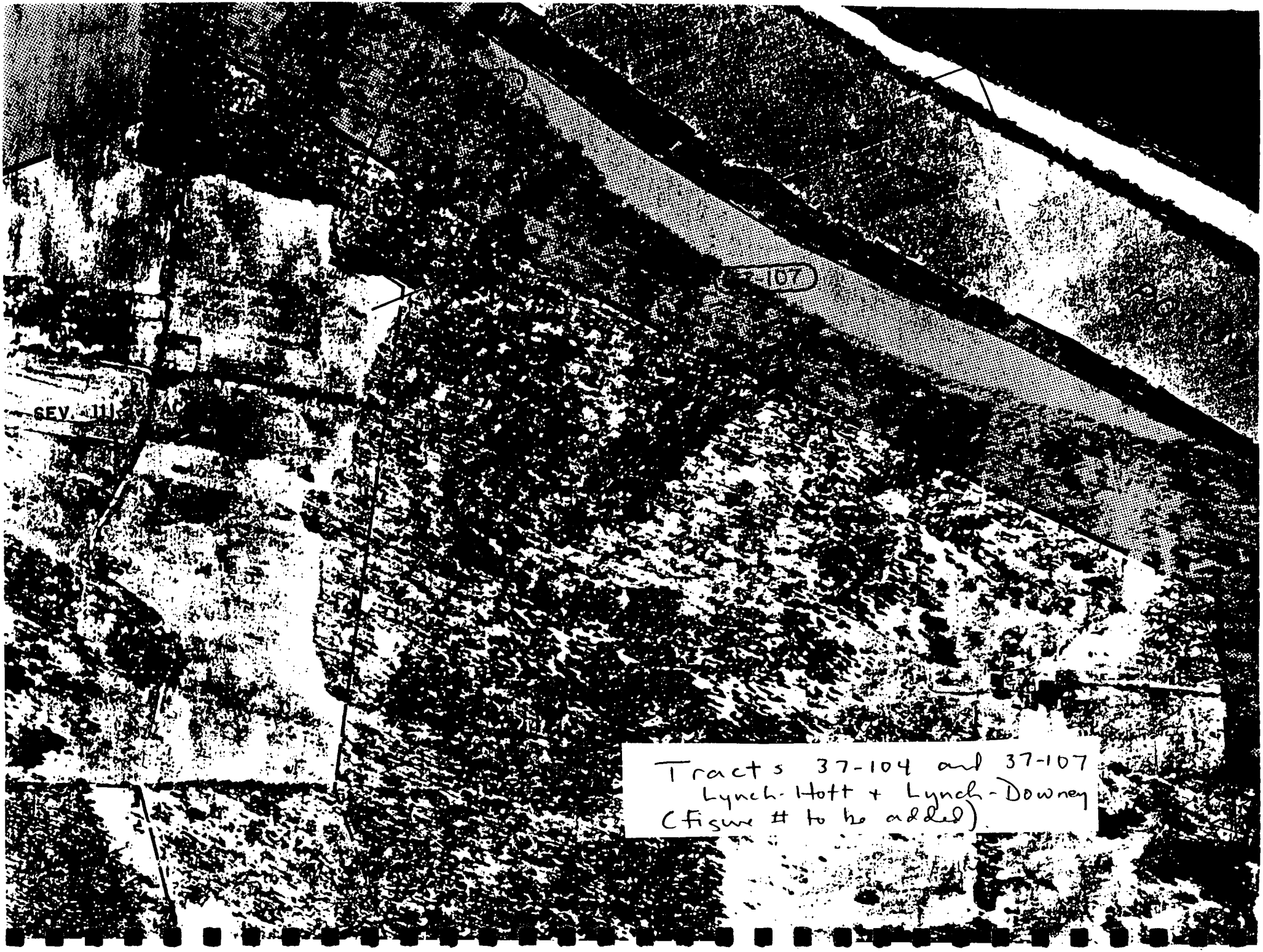


Figure 4.17 Tracts #39-112 and #39-113, Dellinger-Burnside



Tracts 37-104 and 37-107
Lynch-Hott + Lynch-Downey
(figure # to be added)

Landscape History of Individual Sites - Upper, Middle and Lower Necks

> *The extraordinary winding course of the river, on this subdivision, renders the line of canal very circuitous; the direct distance between Williamsport and the mouth of the Antietam being but about 13 miles whilst the route pursued will be 30 1/2 miles. For the first ten miles there are no serious obstacles to encounter; though several steep hill sides and rocky points are met with yet they are overcome without much difficulty.*[54]

In 1736 Lord Baltimore set aside for himself 10,594 acres of land in what would eventually become Washington County. This land included the area near the mouth of Conococheague Creek. He also established open reserves around this proprietary manor, called Conococheague Manor. Lord Baltimore leased various farms within the tract; a 1767 inventory indicates that tenements constructed on his lordship's land were small log structures.[55] Because patents to individual owners were not issued for some time, permanent settlement of this section of the river valley was delayed. Instead, early settlers occupied the land for a brief time and, when failing to obtain permanent title to the property, moved westward. Thus the area remained sparsely settled.[56]

John M. Jordan acquired most of Conococheague Manor in the 1760s and also patented part of the reserves. Yet even with this change in ownership and subsequent land transactions, certain areas along the river remained undeveloped. Charles Varle's 1808 map reveals that on the three necks of land south of Williamsport, shaped by the meanders of the Potomac, the farmstead of Joseph Sprigg and a grist mill were the only significant settlements (Figure 4.18).[57] The topography and the physical configuration of these peninsula-like necks may have also contributed to their remote, undeveloped state. At the time of Varle's survey, no public road paralleled the river or connected Williamsport and Sharpsburg.[58] The earliest canal survey does show that by 1824, however, a secondary road had developed that followed the

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[54] U.S. Board of Engineers, Preliminary Survey Reports, 1824-1826, cited in Unrau, Chronological History, 3, 58.

[55] Information on Lord Baltimore's landholdings in Washington County cited in Paula Stone Dickey, National Register Nomination for WA II-417, ED 20, M.60, D.81, on file Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library.

[56] Mish, "Springfield Farm of Conococheague," 316.

[57] Washington County was created from Frederick County in 1776. Joseph Sprigg served as a member of the House of Delegates from Washington County between 1777 and 1782. See Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 987.

[58] Varle, Map of Frederick and Washington Counties. The grist mill located on Downey Branch has had various owners and operators since its inception. According to Hahn, Towpath Guide, 138, they are: Shanks, Charles, Avis, Shaffers, Old Flouring, Galloways, Cedar Grove and McMahon's Mill. The mill still stands and is owned by the National Park Service.

Figure 4.18 Detail of 1808 Varle Map showing area around Williamsport

course of the river and linked Williamsport and Sharpsburg.[59] At that time, each neck was marked by an individual farm or settlement. On the upper, or more western neck just below Williamsport, George Lefever had established his plantation. On the middle neck, opposite the Opequon Creek Ferry in Virginia, Joseph Sprigg had expanded his farmstead to include a mill. And on the lower, or more eastern, neck, where the "high and perpendicular rocks come down to the water's edge," the grist mill noted on Varle's map continued to operate as Galloway's.[60]

Upper Neck

Land was cultivated immediately adjacent to the river on only two of the necks. The greater area of cultivation was on the upper neck, on George Lefever's two original tracts, Woodland Hills and Lefever's Inheritance, which had been marked off in patents in 1811 ***(Tract #41-102, #41-103)***. The first had derived from Samuel Ringold and the second had passed to George Lefever from David Lefever, his father. By the time of the C&O Canal condemnation proceedings, Lefever had acquired 360 acres of Lefever's Inheritance and two small portions of Woodland Hills. His residence, a structure with a main central portion and two side wings, was located on a rise overlooking the southern side of the neck (Figure 4.19).[61] George Lefever purchased the largest portion of Woodland Hills in 1842 from the estate of W.C. Drury. With this purchase, he had accumulated approximately 666 acres of "fertile flatt extending on the river nearly three miles." In several hilly locations on Lefever's land, canal surveys noted deposits of limestone, which company engineers probably hoped to quarry for construction mortar. Lefever may have collected and processed lime from these deposits to use both as a soil additive on his own farm and to ship to other agricultural markets.[62]

The jury's award in the C&O Canal condemnation of George Lefever's land was contested by the company for its excessive amount. In the condemnation, the company sought a little more than 43 acres of land. In dispute was whether most of this land and the land to be cut off by the construction was arable, "first rate bottom," and therefore valuable, or "wet and swampy," even though it had been in cultivation with old corn stalks left standing on it. Lefever also sought remuneration, or in-kind compensation, for new fencing and for damages to the flow of existing springs. He also requested easy access to his property on the towpath side (Figure

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[59] E.H. Courtenay, Map of the Country between Washington and Pittsburg, showing the proposed route of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1824-1826. Rg 77, Civil Works Map File, Canals 79, Cartographic Division, NA.

[60] From U.S. Engineer's report, cited in Unrau, Chronological History, 3, 58.

[61] See small sketch of "LeFevre" residence on Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

[62] See DB BB, p. 447, 08/06/1816; DB FF, p. 10, 01/15/1821; DB HH, p. 467, 04/12/1825; and DB ZZ, p. 583, 09/30/1842, Washington County land records. Description from Thomas F. Purcell to President and Directors, 03/16/1833, in George Lefevre Inquisition, Judgement Record 20, p. 17, 05/28/1833, Washington County judgement records, in File 28, Box 2, Entry 219, RG 79, NA. See also Abert, Potomac Canal.

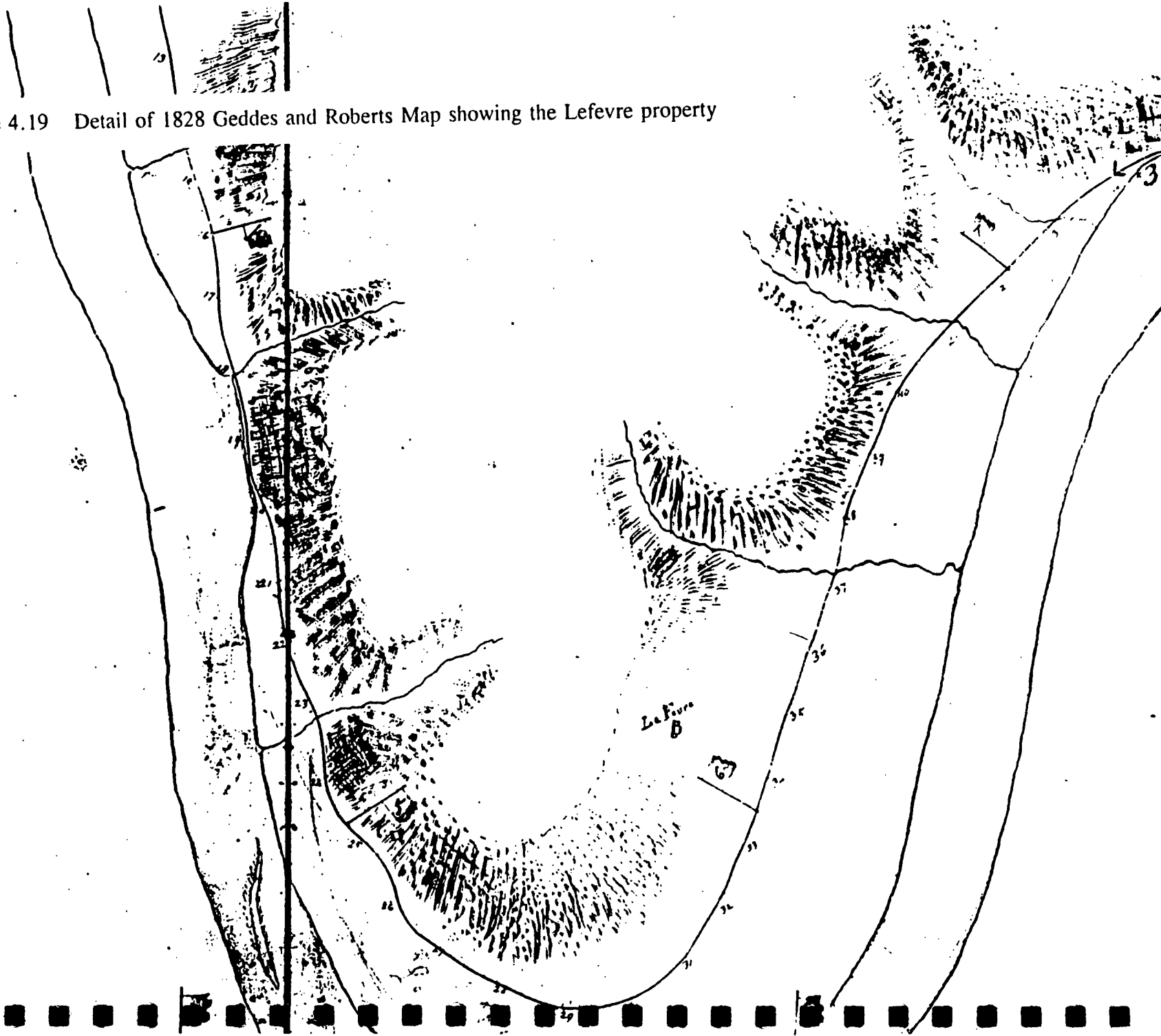

Figure 4.19 Detail of 1828 Geddes and Roberts Map showing the Lefevre property

4.20).[63] Although the company constructed a bridge from Falling Water Road across the canal, for "convenient access" to fields and the ferry to Virginia, Lefever thought "that by having a boat on the canal he may transport wood and other produce of his farm, to & from its various parts more conveniently & cheaply than by wagons & teams."[64] The canal company also contended that the completion of the canal through Lefever's property would "cheapen the transportation of his wheat, rye, beef, pork and other produce to market, as well as his plaister of paris, salt fish & other necessaries & thus enable him to live cheaper upon the same means."[65]

Two independent farms developed on the Lefever holdings. One was probably the "home farm," occupied by George. The other was occupied by Daniel Lefever, George's son, and derived from the 212 acres purchased from the Drury estate in 1842.[66] In 1850, the agricultural census was conducted in July just after George Lefever's death in April. By that time, Daniel had inherited the "home farm," and the figures reported under his name may reflect the land formerly occupied by his father. The Daniel Lefever tract showed 200 acres of improved farmland, with 100 unimproved. His livestock holdings were composed of 14 horses, 10 cows, 10 head of cattle, 30 sheep and 40 swine. Grain production concentrated more on wheat (1500 bushels) than on corn (100 bushels) or rye (70 bushels). The sheep yielded 100 pounds of wool, the cows 300 pounds of butter. While he did cut 5 tons of hay, unlike many of the other farmers in the area, Daniel Lefever did not grow potatoes.[67]

An additional 275 acres belonging to Lefever's heirs also were reported in the 1850 agricultural census. This property may represent the farm formerly occupied by Daniel and inherited by George's daughter, Elizabeth. Of this property, only 75 acres were not improved. The farm inventory for livestock was fairly typical, listing 8 horses, 6 cows, 8 head of cattle, 25 sheep and 30 swine. Production of grains was overwhelmingly in wheat (1000 bushels), while rye (50 bushels) and corn (400 bushels) completed the harvest. Other farm yields include 100 pounds of wool, 300 pounds of butter, 25 bushels of potatoes and 10 tons of hay.[68]

By the time of the 1860 agricultural census, both Daniel and Elizabeth had died; however, their respective estates were not settled until 1866 and 1869. Prior to his death in 1857, Daniel Lefever owned a farm of 283 acres, and Elizabeth Lefever Byers, at the time of her death in 1859, possessed a 244-acre farm. Together, these farms covered an area that

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[63] "Inquisition of Damages, Objection to the confirmation of the inquisition, field by the Canal Company," in George Lefever, Inquisition, Judgement Record 20, p. 17, 05/28/1833, Washington County Circuit Court, in File 28, Box 2, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[64] *ibid.*

[65] *ibid.*

[66] See will of George Lefever WB E, p. 67-71, 04/30/1850, Washington County wills; see also unidentified structure on Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, located northwest of "LeFevre" residence.

[67] See Agricultural Census, 1850.

[68] Agricultural Census, 1850.

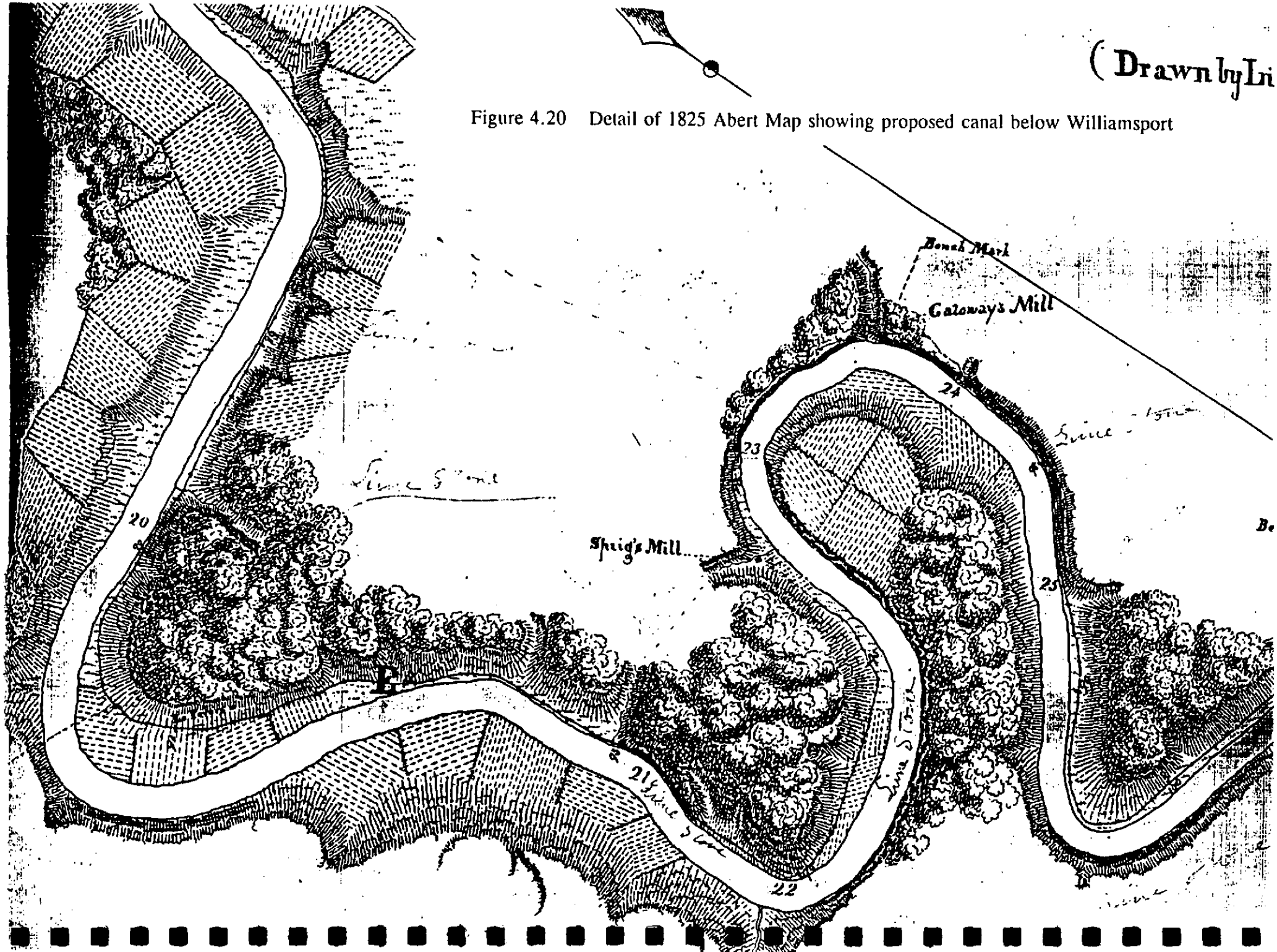

Figure 4.20 Detail of 1825 Abert Map showing proposed canal below Williamsport

spread across the southern portion of the upper neck, below Falling Waters Road, and the northern portion of the middle neck, west of Neck Road (Figure 4.21). The management of the two farms may have been intermingled, as a Byers farm was not listed in the 1860 census, and the Lefever farm reported the same 300 acres as in 1850. This discrepancy suggests that George's holdings were larger than Daniel's inherited portion, or that during the 1850-1860 decade, Daniel Lefever farmed portions of both his and his sister's tracts.[69] Of the 300 acres reported by Daniel in 1860, 200 were improved. He had fewer livestock: 7 horses, 5 cows, 8 head of cattle, 8 sheep and 15 swine. His grain cultivation had shifted, with an increase in rye (900 bushels) and significant decrease in corn (100 bushels) and wheat (50 bushels). With fewer sheep and cows, his yield was down to 50 pounds of wool and 200 pounds of butter. Lefever had added potatoes (40 pounds) and doubled his cutting of hay (10 tons).[70]

By 1870 the two farms were further divided and no longer owned by descendants of George Lefever, but by unrelated individuals. William Buxton owned the former Daniel Lefever farm, while Andrew Boppe owned the farm that had been given earlier to Elizabeth Lefever Byers. In the census for that year, the 283 acres of land owned by Buxton is reported under Henry S. Buxton. Immediately above this listing is one for Andrew Pope of 235 acres; Andrew Boppe may have been listed as Andrew Pope, or had a tenant named Pope (Figure 4.22).[71] These properties reported nearly identical figures for livestock inventory. Buxton had 10 horses, 7 cows, 6 head of cattle, 14 sheep and 19 swine, while Pope had 8 horses, 6 cows, 6 head of cattle, 12 sheep and 20 swine. Buxton's grain production far surpassed that of Pope's. Buxton harvested 550 bushels of wheat, 13 of rye, 800 of corn, and 650 of oats. Pope's listing indicated that his harvest contained 400 bushels of wheat, 15 of rye, 50 of oats and no corn, which seems unlikely. The comparison bears added relevance from the number of improved acres (200) farmed by Buxton and the number farmed by Pope (215). Buxton's sheep yielded 102 pounds of wool; Pope's only 44. Buxton harvested 10 pounds of potatoes and Pope only 5. Both farmers focused on tree fruit for market production. Here Pope surpassed Buxton with $7500 compared to $5000 worth of orchard products. In addition, Pope's butter output amounted to 250 pounds, while Buxton's was 200 pounds. Buxton on the other hand cut 20 tons

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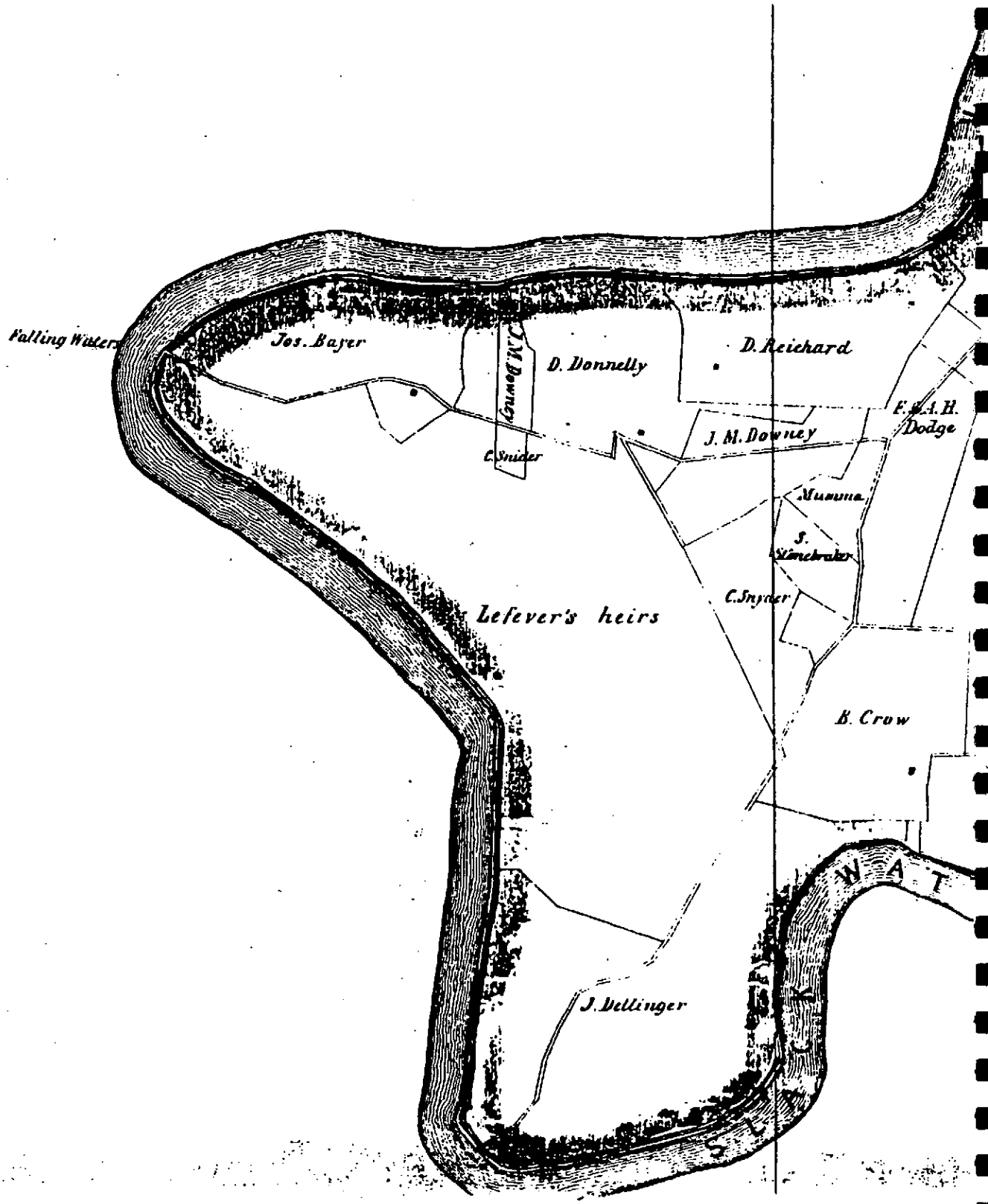
[69] Although Daniel Lefever died in 1855, the property was held by his wife Elizabeth Lefever until her death in 1863. Taggart, Washington County, shows the Lefever property as one large tract, with one structure located on the south side of Falling Waters Road; it does not show what is considered to be the traditional Lefever residence. The 1870 agricultural census lists a small tract of 123 acres under Daniel Lefever, which may represent a portion of his holdings passed on to his heirs. A J. Lefever residence is noted in Lake, Atlas of Washington County, County in the approximate location of the George Lefever residence as shown on the earlier Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. However, this portion of the Lefever property containing the old residence is not one of the tracts included in the agricultural land use study.

[70] Agricultural Census, 1860.

[71] Lake, Atlas of Washington County, indicates that much of the area formerly owned by the Lefevers was occupied by Andrew Pope; research of land titles indicated that Boppe was the owner's name in 1877.

Figure 4.21 Detail of 1859 Taggert Map showing lefevre and Dellinger properties



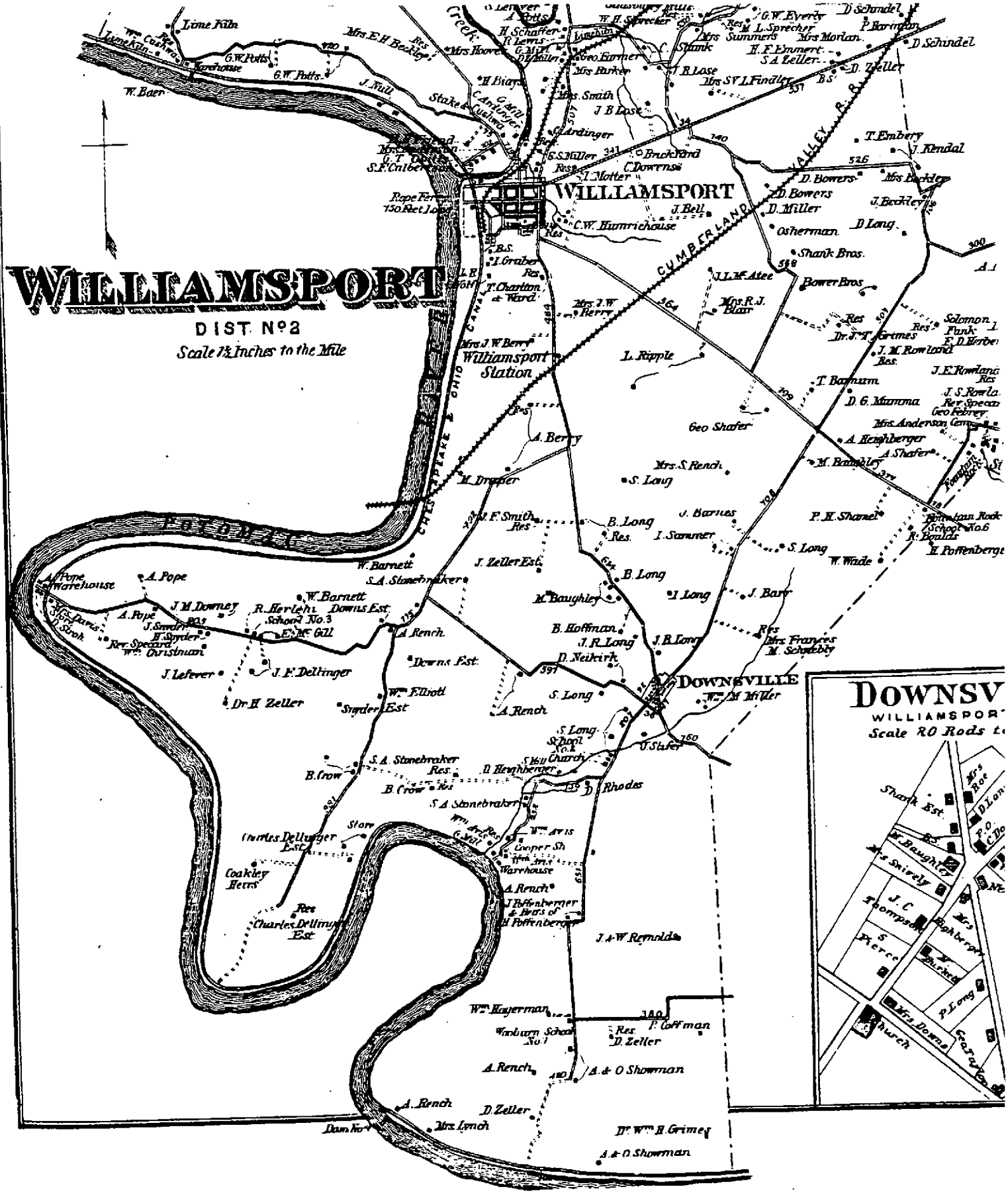


Figure 4.22 1877 Atlas of Washington County, Williamsport District

of hay and Pope cut only 2.[72]

The Buxton family sold 44 acres of the Henry S. Buxton farm to Daniel Stroh in 1874. Between this date and 1901 Daniel Stroh acquired an additional 21 acres from this farm and 40 from the Boppe property.[73] By 1889 Andrew Boppe had died, and in that year his 244-acre estate was described in the following avertisement for public sale:

> *One-hundred-sixty-four acres is cleared land, under fencing, and in good state of cultivation, and 80 acres is in good timber. There are about 15 acres lying between the canal and the river...The improvements are a TWO-STORY LOG ROUGHCAST DWELLING HOUSE, with back building, a good large bank barn, with corn crib, wagon shed, hog pens, and other out buildings. There are 3 springs on the place which is laid out in 10 fields, all of which can be watered from the spring. There is also...a fine lot of good fruit trees consisting of a young apple orchard, pears, peaches, cherries and plums.*[74]

The farm apparently remained within the Boppe family, for the Samuel Boppe estate sold the entire farm to Richard Beckley in 1906.[75]

By 1913 stands of culled hardwood timber grew on the land rising above the cultivated fields that lay along the river near the Falling Waters ferry crossing.[76] Some of these stands of trees belonged to the Boppe estate and others to the Beckley Farm. The 105 acres belonging to Daniel Stroh lay in the open area along the canal at the crossing, where a small community associated with the ferry, bridge and canal traffic had developed. In 1879, noted bridge engineer Wendell Bollman proposed an iron bridge similar to the present one at Williamsport for the Falling Waters Road crossing over the canal.[77] Bollman's design was never implemented. In 1889 the existing bridge was destroyed by the spring flood that damaged much of the canal works in this area.

The tracts of farm land lying across the end of the neck passed from the heirs of Daniel

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[72] Agricultural Census, 1870.

[73] See DB GBO 73, p. 49, 11/10/1874; DB WMcKK 6, p. 803 11/11/1874; DB 93, p. 515, 06/12/1889; and DB 114, p. 236, 04/04/1901, in Washington County land records.

[74] The number of acres within the description amount to 259; the deed specifies 244. According to Brown vs. the C&O Canal Company, Equity 4191 and 4198, the "Bopps" estate possessed several acres of the C&O Canal Company land, with "rent unknown," and this may explain the discrepancy. See advertisement for public sale in Equity 4098, Chancery Record 28, p. 484, 07/07/1889, Washington County Circuit Court.

[75] See land transfer of 244 acres from Boppe to Beckley in DB 123, p. 699, 05/05/1906, Washington County land records.

[76] Besley, Washington County with forest areas, 1913.

[77] See W. Bollman to A.P. Gorman, 09/17/1879, Box 2. Entry 217, RG 79, NA. The Bollman Bridge at Williamsport was constructed in 1879.

Stroh and Richard Beckley to others. Between 1912 and 1950 parcels from these tracts were conveyed to the Cumberland Valley Railroad and to Myrtle Waugh Schetrompf. In 1949, the railroad sold 41 acres on the southern side of the neck to the Potomac Fish and Game Club. The Schetrompf's property, amounting to approximately 137 acres, was located along Falling Waters Road near the river crossing, but above the Club property. While the Schetrompfs continued to cultivate their fields for their dairy, and later their beef operation, the Potomac Fish and Game Club set aside small plots in rows parallel to the canal for the recreational use of their members. These were used for boat and camper storage.[78]

In 1973, the Schetrompfs transferred 117 acres to the United States for the creation of the park. The transfer consisted of six individual tracts, which featured 80 tillable acres, 35 acres for pasture and a cluster of farm buildings situated on 2 acres of land. The arable portion lay on both sides of the canal and spread across the end of the Falling Waters neck. By the time of the sale to the government, however, the Schetrompfs had subdivided the bottomland section between the canal and the Potomac into 93 small riverfront lots and 4 rear lots, which they leased for recreational use. These lots were contiguous to those on the east owned by the Potomac Fish and Game Club. The Schetrompf's tenants gained access to the riverfront area by a private road that coursed through the property.

Under a lease arrangement with C&O Canal NHP, the Schetrompfs continued to farm the property, occupy the two-story frame house and use the bank barn and miscellaneous outbuildings. These structures included two silos, a loafing shed, cattle shed, metal corn crib, a two-story storage shed with addition and a two-story garage. By 1981 the buildings had been removed and all tillable fields were farmed by a non-resident permittee, James T. Harp. That year Harp planted C&O Tracts #41-102, #41-103, as well as #41-192 and #41-194, in barley and wheat.[79]

Middle Neck

At the time of the 1825 canal survey, Joseph Sprigg's widow Ann owned a mill and a large stone house along the eastern side of the middle neck. A thin slice of bottomland on the eastern and southern sides of the middle neck was, like George Lefever's on the upper neck, under cultivation (Figure 4.20). And like Lefever's, this latter property was part of a parcel derived from the larger Conococheague Manor and Reserve No.5. It was called Cedar Grove, perhaps for large groups of cedar trees growing there, and had passed through the estates of Samuel Ringold and then those of the Newcomers (the families of Emanuel, Jonathan and Peter). Ann Sprigg's dower rights were acknowledged in the sale of one 32-acre tract from the estate of Peter Newcomer to Jacob Dellinger in 1829. The Dellinger purchase, which included

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[78] See DB 132, p. 605, 04/22/1910; DB 212, p. 713, 04/17/1940; DB 318, p. 114, 12/13/1956; DB 223, p. 530, 08/10/1943; DB 139, p. 532, 08/03/1912; DB 251, p. 459, 03/15/1949; DB 256, p. 40, 03/09/1950; and DB 318, p. 116, 12/13/1956, in Washington County land records.

[79] From Tract File #41-102, 41-103 and 41-190 it appears that the Schetrompfs occupied and used some of the same farm buildings as advertised in the 1889 sale.

Sprigg's Mill, bordered the Potomac on the upper, eastern side of the neck.[80]

In 1828 Jacob Dellinger had acquired 266 acres from the estate of Emanuel Newcomer. Although neither canal survey indicate the existence of structures or settlements other than Sprigg's on the Dellinger properties (See Figures 4.19 and 4.20), Emanuel Newcomer may have resided on the parcel Dellinger purchased in 1828, as his wife, Catherine, had been granted dower rights in the land transfer. Dellinger's combined purchases of 32 and 266 acres created a farm ***(Tract #39-112, #39-113)*** that spread along the southeastern portion of the neck.[81] Two other tracts from the Peter Newcomer estate had been sold in 1828 to Daniel Donnelly.[82] One of Donnelly's tracts ***(Tract #39-102)*** was adjacent to Dellinger's property on the west and ran along the Potomac near the Opequon crossing at Foreman's Ferry.

In early negotiations with the C&O, both Dellinger and Donnelly granted the company options or rights-of-way across their land. These were recorded in 1828, just after Donnelly and Dellinger had made their purchases.[83] Not until 1835, however, did Dellinger accept a $2,700 settlement for the 39 acres required by the company to construct the canal through his property. Dellinger had already acquired the Sprigg Mill site, yet the effect of the canal on the mill's operation was not mentioned in the final settlement. The culvert designed to carry the mill stream to the Potomac may have been adequate for both the stream and the waste water from race, if the mill was still operating.[84] In the canal's course across the Dellinger farm, two lift-locks were constructed (No. 41 and No. 42) and a half-mile long pool, known later as Dellinger Widewater, created.

Donnelly requested a convenient watering place for his cattle, permission to build a warehouse on the towpath side of the canal, and the right to change the direction of the public road, or the Opequon Road, to join with any bridge erected by engineers across the canal. Evidence suggests, however, that Donnelly never acted on these specific requests. In addition, the company paid Donnelly $900 for taking approximately 17 acres of land, seven of which were arable.[85] Donnelly's relationship with the canal company at the Opequon crossing ended in

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[80] See Tract #39-112, #39-113, C&O Canal NHP. See Jonathan Newcomer (est. of Peter Newcomer) to Jacob Dellinger, DB KK, p. 833, 06/13/1829, Washington County land records.

[81] Isaac White (Emanuel Newcomer est.) to Jacob Dellinger, DB II, p. 831, 03/28/1828, Washington County land records.

[82] See notes labeled "Jonathan Newcomer, Exct. to Daniel Donally" in Folder 3, Box 1, Entry 221, RG 79, NA; and DB KK, p. 406, 11/19/1828, Washington County land records.

[83] Dellinger file 80, DB KK, p. 280, 07/11/1828, and Donnelly file 89, DB KK, p. 297, 07/11/1828, both in Box 2, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[84] It is also possible that Sprigg's mill was no longer in operation by the time of Dellinger's 1835 settlement with the C&O. On May 4, 1835, a Jacob Dellinger was sworn in to the office of flour inspector at Williamsport; this may be the same Jacob Dellinger (see DB PP, p. 860, Washington County land records).

[85] Daniel Donnelly to Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, Deed, DB OO, p. 652, 11/25/1833, in Envelope 106, Box 3, Entry 219. RG 79, NA.

1846, when he sold the two tracts purchased from Peter Newcomer's estate to Jacob Dellinger. One tract containing 157 acres was located northeast of Dellinger's existing holdings, but was not adjacent to the canal. The other, smaller tract of 72 acres also was contiguous to Dellinger, on the southwest, and was adjacent to the canal near its intersection with the Opequon Road, or present-day Neck Road.[86]

With a large tract of 484 acres that included a home farm and the Donnelly farmstead, the Dellinger property operated as two separate agricultural units. Jacob occupied the original stone residence, located on the eastern portion on a rise above the Potomac and the canal. His son Charles Dellinger farmed the former Donnelly tract.[87] In 1850, Jacob reported agricultural figures on 240 acres, while Charles reported for 230 acres. Each claimed 200 acres of improved land. Jacob's was valued at $7,000 and Charles's at $6,000. Each owned 9 horses, 7 cows and 7 head of cattle. Jacob's 25 sheep and 35 swine outnumbered Charles's 18 sheep and 24 swine. Jacob produced 900 bushels of wheat, 400 of corn and 350 of oats, while Charles harvested only 600 bushels of wheat and 100 bushels of corn. Charles did report a larger amount of wool (136 pounds) and butter (300) as compared to Jacob's 125 pounds of wool and 200 pounds of butter. There were no potatoes grown on either farm. Jacob cut 14 tons of hay, while Charles cut only 8.[88]

Jacob Dellinger died in 1859. Although ownership was not determined until 1865, Charles Dellinger farmed his father's estate. In 1865, Charles purchased his siblings' share of the property and became the sole owner. In 1860, Charles had listed in the agricultural census 400 acres of improved land, or the combined amount indicated in 1850. He noted 60 acres of unimproved land. His livestock holdings amounted to 10 horses, 9 cows, 16 head of cattle, 37 sheep, and 25 swine. Dellinger based his grain production in wheat and corn, with 1550 bushels of the former and 100 of the latter. Other products included 220 pounds of wool, 20 bushels of potatoes, 250 pounds butter, and 20 tons of hay. The productivity of the Dellinger farms was confirmed by the advertisement that had been posted for the public sale required in the settlement of Jacob Dellinger's estate:

> *2 valuable farms property of Jacob Dellinger situated near the C&O Canal in the Opequon Road about five miles from Williamsport. No.1 - the home farm (about 245 acres) all of which is arable except 20 acres in timber - improvements are large 2 story stone house with stone wings (kitchen and wash house) large stone stable and granary, corn house and a "never failing" spring near the house. These farms are in a high state of cultivation and the finest quality of wheat land in the County both under good fencing a large portion of which is post and*

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[86] DB INN 1, p. 893, 06/20/1846, Washington County land records.

[87] See Equity 1611, Chancery Record 10, p. 514. In 1852 Jacob Dellinger sold an additional 11 acres to the C&O Canal and he also received back 12 perches of land; see DB IN 7, p. 130, 09/20/1852, Washington County land records.

[88] See Agricultural Census, 1850.

rail.[89]

The settlement of Charles Dellinger's estate in 1884 brought about the division of the tract into three portions, each owned separately by three of his sons, Jacob, William and Cyrus Dellinger. Although Charles had exclusive ownership of the property until his death, Cyrus and William had farmed individual sections of it. In the 1870 agricultural census, Cyrus, William and Charles all reported figures for farms subdivided from the larger tract. Cyrus listed 125 acres of improved land and 35 unimproved, William 118 acres of improved and 42 unimproved, and Charles 145 acres improved and 15 unimproved. Each farm was valued at $4000. Charles owned greater numbers of livestock than his sons; Cyrus and William's horses, cows, cattle, sheep and swine were all valued at $522, while their father's were estimated at $1445. Charles harvested 1500 bushels of wheat, 20 of rye, 1200 of corn and 300 of oats. Cyrus did not report any grain or garden market production, which may mean that Cyrus and Charles's figures were added together. William reported only 700 bushels of corn, but he did indicate 50 pounds of wool, 12 bushels of potatoes, 200 pounds of butter, 12 tons of hay and 7 bushels of clover seed. Charles, on the other hand, reported large amounts of wool (300 pounds), bushels of potatoes, 350 pounds of butter, 20 tons of hay, but no clover. Fruit production for both Charles and William yielded 2,500 and 3,000 dollars respectively.

The 1880 agricultural census enumerates Cyrus and Jacob Dellinger as operating similar sized farms. William did not report any figures for that year, but his farm may have been reported by a tenant, perhaps A. R. Dellinger. Jacob was probably renting the home farm from his father's estate. Near the site of the old Sprigg mill, overlooking Lock 42, a small cluster of structures had developed along a wagon road (present Spring Dell Road) that led west from the C&O Canal to the Opequon Road (Figure 4.22). Within this group was located the home farm residence, the limestone house originally associated with the mill. The residence on the adjacent William Dellinger tract may have been situated just north of the old stone house, on the other side of the wagon road, which also separated William's farm from the one cultivated by Jacob. Cyrus Dellinger's property covered the southern portion of the neck.[90]

Refinements in the reporting of agricultural census data for 1880 provided more detailed information concerning the distribution of improved and unimproved land on the three farmsteads. Tilled land consisted of 140 acres for Cyrus, 150 for Jacob and 220 for A.R. Dellinger. Each had 40 acres in permanent meadows. A.R. and Cyrus had woodlots of approximately twenty acres, while Jacob's larger portion in the middle contained 45 acres. Both Cyrus and Jacob reported "old fields, not growing wood" at approximately 30 acres, while A.R. reported none. Jacob cultivated 20 acres corn and 60 acres wheat, A.R. 33 acres corn and 60 acres wheat, and Cyrus 31 acres corn and 65 acres wheat. Cyrus had 15 acres laid out in peach

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[89] Advertisement for sale scheduled, 02/03/1863, in Equity 1611, Chancery Record 10, p. 514, Washington County Circuit Court.

[90] Taken from analysis of Lake, Atlas of Washington County; Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County; and Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal national Historical Park, Segment Map 39. See also Tract Files #39-112, #39-113, #39-102, C&O Canal NHP. Unrau in Chronological History 4, 46, states that Charles Dellinger died in 1877.

and apple orchards, with two-thirds allotted to peaches. A.R. and Jacob devoted little land to fruit production: three acres each to apples and one and two acres, respectively, to peaches. With regard to farm values overall, livestock and machinery excluded, their operations differed considerably: Cyrus stated a value of $5,600, A.R. listed $8,000, and Jacob reported $10,000.[91]

The 1880 census reporting for agricultural products also demonstrates differences between the three farms. The value of A.R. Dellinger's livestock exceeded that of the other two, as did his expenses for fencing, fertilizer and manual labor. Yet A.R. and Cyrus reported the same amount for the value of their total farm production ($1,200), while Jacob placed his total yield at $1,800. The differences between the three may indicate that Jacob's was the more established property and that the other two were relatively new farm units. However, both A. R. and Cyrus achieved greater yields from their cows and sheep than did Jacob. They also raised swine and poultry, while Jacob concentrated only on poultry. Jacob collected 150 pounds of honey, Cyrus 60 pounds, and A.R. only 25 pounds. All three cut similar numbers of cords of wood, ten to twelve, a number which suggests that they cut for their own use, rather than for commercial distribution.[92]

Access both to the C&O Canal and to timber lands influenced the character of the 1884 subdivision of Charles Dellinger's estate among his three sons. The wagon road connecting the C&O Canal with the Opequon Road was established as a 16-foot right-of-way through William's and Jacob's tracts with use granted to all three. By that time the Opequon Road no longer served the old ferry crossing at the southern end of the neck. Instead, the road stopped at Cyrus Dellinger's gate, opposite his home and farm buildings, where it became a farm lane and followed its former course through Cyrus's tract. The deeds also designated this lane as a right-of-way for William and Jacob to access their 21-acre, interior wood lots.[93]

The deeds demonstrate how the road circulation had changed since the opening of the C&O Canal. Formerly, the Opequon Road and Foreman's Ferry at the established river crossing had been the focus of potential commercial development in the aftermath of C&O land transactions. Daniel Donnelly's earlier request for a warehouse and road realignment were probably based on such speculation. Canal-related development, in fact, occurred subsequently at the opposite, or downstream, end of Dellinger's property (See Figure 4.22). Here, near the home farm residence, the wagon road, the old Sprigg Mill site, two-lift locks and the western endpoint of slackwater navigation, a small community based on canal trade was created. A

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[91] Taken from analysis of Agricultural Census, 1880. Assignment of A.R. Dellinger's farm to William Dellinger is based only on the evidence currently available and needs to be verified through additional research.

[92] The extent of possible comparative analysis between the three farms is great and should be developed further for use in a cultural landscape study of the Dellinger Neck area.

[93] See DB 86, p. 200, 07/22/1884; DB 86, p. 394, 07/22/1884, both in Washington County land records; and Order of the Court, 08/19/1983 and Memorandum Opinion, Equity 35,985, Washington County Circuit Court, copy in Tract File #39-102, C&O Canal NHP. According to the real estate appraisal in Tract File #39-102, the Cyrus Dellinger farmhouse was constructed in 1886.

wagon road along the berm side of the canal connected the areas around the two locks, the lockhouses and at least one warehouse. Near Lock 42, Daniel Dellinger rented a storehouse and hay shed that was located on the berm side and had been formerly rented by Charles Dellinger. The storehouse was used for keeping grain, corn and other goods prior to shipment. Farther inland, near the intersection of the wagon road and the Opequon Road, the Dellinger School was established sometime around the turn of the century.[94]

Throughout the succeeding years the three properties remained intact, although under different ownership. Some of the landowners were Dellinger descendants. However, the extent to which these farms remained within the Dellinger family has yet to be determined. The three Dellinger properties continued in agricultural use well into the twentieth century. During Luther J. Petre's ownership (1943-1964) of the former Cyrus Dellinger farm, Petre acquired the old timber tracts of William and Jacob, which had been contiguous to Cyrus's holdings and were consistently managed as such into the twentieth century.[95] Indeed, the 1913 survey of commercial forest areas in Washington County shows that a distinct tract of merchantable hardwoods was located in the western corner of the Dellinger holdings.

After Hyman and Jane Ross purchased the former Cyrus Dellinger property ***(Tract #39-102)*** from Petre in 1964, they razed all the farm buildings except for the residence. In 1968, to create a "modern beef farm," the Rosses constructed a barn of concrete block and aluminum and a feeding shed with a concrete stave silo. Other improvements constructed at the same time were an implement shed, a storage building, a hog pen, meat house, and two frame chicken houses. A board fence enclosed the residence, which was remodeled, the lawn and driveway areas. The concentration on cattle meant that both the surrounding pasture land and some of the tillable bottomland adjacent to the canal was used for grazing.[96]

In 1928 the former Jacob Dellinger farm passed out of the ownership of Harry and Bessie Dellinger. These Dellingers had owned the property, with some interruption, between 1914 and 1928. For almost 25 years the farm was owned and operated by Norman and Charlotte Rowland, who then sold it to Charles and Ruth Burnside ***(Tract #39-112, #39-113)***. The Burnsides farmed the property for another 25-year period, before its sale to the United States government in 1977. Like the former Cyrus Dellinger tract, longterm periods of ownership may

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[94] See Mackall and Brown, C&O Canal Property Map, with ca. 1940 notations, C&O Canal NHP; see also Lake, Atlas of Washington County; Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County; and Physical Condition Report, in Equity 4191 and 4198, which states that in 1890, between Lock 42 and Lock 41, the No. 42 lockhouse was still standing, the No. 41 lockhouse had been destroyed by the 1889 Flood, a storehouse and granary on the berm side was leased to Daniel Dellinger for 36 dollars per year, and a third dwelling, a two-story structure without a lease or rent, was also located on the berm side. Unrau, in "Chronological History," vol.6, p.46, cites a C&O Canal company document stating that Charles Dellinger was renting the storehouse, etc. in 1877. After Charles Dellinger's death in 1877, his farm real estate was divided into three parcels in 1884. Daniel was one of the sons who did not take a farm property.

[95] DB 224, p. 133, 09/09/1943; DB 368, p. 271 and 275, 06/07/1961; and Memorandum in Equity 35,985, cited previously.

[96] See DB 406, p. 627, 04/15/1964; and real estate appraisal in Tract File #39-102, C&O Canal NHP.

have helped to preserve the agricultural character of the sites. In 1977, a description of the Burnside farm stated that it contained approximately 19 acres of tillable bottom land adjacent to the C&O canal, 45 acres of rolling, tillable land and 70 acres of rolling permanent pasture. The homestead, with its house of native limestone constructed between 1760 and 1780, occupied three acres. Other improvements on the site included a bank barn with stone foundation, timber framing and metal roof, a concrete stave silo adjacent to the barn, a free-standing frame garage with metal roof, and a detached concrete block milk house. The variety of the structures and the materials used to build them demonstrate the evolution of farming practices in western Maryland from the time of the main dwelling's construction through to the mid-twentieth century. In addition to these buildings were other unidentifiable structures, thought to be "slave quarters."[97]

Lower Neck

The agricultural development of the lower neck was transformed by the design of the C&O Canal. Here, about a mile below Galloway's mill, engineers proposed a "dam of moderate height" to increase the water supply available the canal. The construction of the dam, known as Dam No. 4, as well as a guard lock, stop gate, and guard bank made an engineering complex that provided the necessary water supply, allowed for the continuation of river navigation, and was designed to mitigate the effects of seasonal high water and freshets. A smooth lake-like slackwater was thus created between the dam and the Dellinger property upstream on the eastern side of the middle neck. Rather than excavate a separate canal channel in this area, the slackwater behind the dam was incorporated into the overall canal plan, and between Dam 4 and Dellinger's, boats travelled on the river.[98]

Prior to the canal's construction, surveys of this area indicated that the river lands on the neck were not highly cultivated, with only marshy bottom noted.[99] Two settlements, both owned by Samuel Lynch, had been established on the southern and western sides of the neck. The southern settlement, near the future location of Dam No. 4, consisted of several structures, centered around a ferry crossing to Virginia. The western settlement, located just below a ridge of picturesque cliffs, was apparently smaller and may have been associated with a river ford in that area (Figures 4.19 and 4.20).

Samuel Lynch had acquired quantities of land extending across the southern, or bottom

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[97] Ownership of slaves by any of the landowners prior to 1863 has yet to be determined. The designation for these structures comes from "Mystery house awaits new tenants," in The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Maryland, 06/22/1987, copy in Tract File # 39-112, #39-113, C&O Canal NHP.

[98] Edwin M. Dale, "Guard Lock Number 4 and the Dam 4 Complex, Historic Structures Report, Part I," 1, 2, 13; U.S. Board of Engineers, "Preliminary Survey Report," cited in Unrau, Chronology 3, 58; and Hahn, Towpath Guide, 135-138.

[99] The extent to which this property had been developed is not clear; to render these marshy bottom lands tillable, ditches to drain the area would have been required.

portion of the neck between 1796 and 1812. Most of these parcels came from tracts known as Chaney's Neck (or Cheney's Neck), Resurvey on Chaney's Neck, Addition to Chaney's Neck, Snowdon's Friendship and Chew's Farm. Several of these were combined to create a tract of 332 acres called Lynch's Establishment, the lines of which were marked by boundary stones bearing the initials S.L.[100]

Negotiations in 1832 between the C&O Canal Company and Samuel Lynch focused primarily on the value of the land wanted for the construction of the canal. Canal surveyors originally marked off two tracts of 24 acres and 14 acres, for a combined total of 38 acres, which were said by witnesses to be valued at 100 dollars per acre. Most of the first (western) tract consisted of arable land, while the second, downstream tract was less suitable for cultivation with only four arable acres. A Washington County jury granted Lynch $2500 for the condemnation. The C&O Canal Company contested the amount of the award, claiming that their engineer's survey encompassed far more land than was required for the work.[101]

> *The engineer or surveyors have included in the condemnation more land than we require for canalling purposes. For example, a strip of bottom land lying between the canal and the river, which would have been of no value to the owner for cultivation, was included with the generous view of taking it off his hand at a fair price.*[102]

Documentation of the negotiations does not indicate whether these proposed takings near the river had ever been marked off into planted fields. Whether Lynch's bottomlands had been cultivated or not, the Lynch tract proved to be one of the more expensive condemnations for the C&O in Washington County. Within the next five years the company would acquire either through inquisition or by deed some 50 acres of Samuel Lynch's property on "Chaney's Neck" along the river.[103]

In 1836 the executor of Samuel Lynch's estate sold 129 acres of part of Lynch's Establishment in the middle of the neck to William Grove and his partner, John W. Holliday ***(Tract #37-104)***. Throughout the next two decades this tract and another of 115 acres would be transferred back and forth between Grove and Holliday, with no clear record of ownership. The property may have been farmed by tenants, as Holliday resided in Berkley County, [West] Virginia, and William Grove occupied a farm owned by Isaac Long. Sale of the property after William Grove's death also noted the lack of improvements on the tract.

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[100] See DB I, p. 523, 1796; DB N, p. 11, 1800; DB P, p. 210, 1803; DB R, p. 250, 1805; DB Y, p. 33, 1812; DB Y, p. 405, 1812, Washington County land records. For survey of Lynch's Establishment, see DB 2, p. 362, 05/04/1812; and for reference to S.L. boundary stones, see DB OWH 1, p. 776, 05/20/1843 in Washington County land records.

[101] William Price letter, 04/26/1833, in Box 7, Entry 217, RG 79, NA.

[102] William Price to G. F. Mercer, 09/08/1832, in Box 7, Entry 217, RG 79, NA.

[103] DB 20, p. 45, 08/16/1832; DB 20, p. 162, 10/31/1833; DB RR, p. 100, 07/13/35; and DB SS, p. 843, 06/15/1837 in Washington County land records.

TRUSTEE'S SALE OF VALUABLE REAL ESTATE

About 129 acres of land, where of William Grove dec'd., died possessed lying a short distance above Dam No. 4 , and about 600 yards from the C&O Canal. This land adjoins the lands of Henry Neukirk; George W. Grove and others, about twenty acres of timberland, and the balance in a good state of cultivation. There are no improvements on the land. Growing crops are reserved.[104]

William Grove had also "boated" on the C&O Canal for Long, carrying on one trip from Georgetown to Shafer's Mill, where the cargo was delivered to Long, a cargo consisting of "fine plaster, herring, 300 shad, and fine shingles." On another trip Grove had carried "corn in the ears" in the hull of his boat. In addition to these distinctions, he also owned a slave, one "Negro girl named Martha."[105]

William Grove acquired additional tracts from Lynch's Establishment, which after subsequent deed exchanges came to be owned by his son, George Grove. George Grove's two parcels on the western side of the neck ***(Tract #37-107)*** amounted to 205 acres and also bordered the C&O Canal. In 1850 he farmed 170 acres of improved land and 35 acres of unimproved.[106] George Grove concentrated on raising pigs (40), although he did own 5 horses, 6 cows, 12 cattle and 6 sheep. His sheep yielded 25 pounds of wool and his cows 300 pounds of butter. Grove's grain production centered on wheat (750 bushels), and to a lesser degree on corn (400 bushels) and oats (100 bushels).[107]

In 1860, George Grove's agricultural census figures indicate that some of his cultivation had shifted from its prior focus on wheat to a broader base of grains and grasses. According to the census, his farm increased to 200 acres of improved land and 50 acres of unimproved. His inventory of livestock had decreased slightly to 4 horses, 3 cows, 12 cattle and no sheep, while he still had the same number of pigs. Grove's cows produced 200 pounds of butter. Grove's wheat production had decreased to 500 bushels and oat production to 50 bushels, while it remained at 400 bushels for corn and expanded to include 50 bushels of rye. In addition he

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[104] Advertisement for public sale located in file of Andrew K. Syester vs. George Grove et al in Equity 2013, Decree dated 01/23/1867, Chancery Record not recorded, Washington County Circuit Court.

[105] See file of Equity 2013, Washington County Circuit Court. See also DB 00, p. 902, 04/26/1834: William Grove's list of slaves states that he had moved to Washington County on or about 03/28/1834 with the intention of becoming a citizen of Maryland; he did not bring Martha "into the state for the purpose of sale" and she was a slave for life.

[106] See file for Equity 2013, which states that William Grove occupied Isaac Long's "Cow Farm" in 1853 as a tenant. The figures reported by William Grove in the agricultural census reflect cultivation and production on a neighboring tract of similar size and value, probably the one he farmed for Isaac Long and not the 129-acre property in this study. If the 129-acre property was reported in the 1850 Agricultural Census, it was done under the name of an unidentified tenant.

[107] Agricultural Census, 1850.

cut 6 tons of hay.[108]

Both Grove farms were managed by either tenants or operators, not their owners, throughout the 1870s and 1880s. A wagon road following the Slackwater section of the canal from Dam No. 4 to the guard, or inlet, lock may have served as a connection between the two Grove farms.[109] Andrew Rentch, owner of several properties located south of Downsville on "Chaney's Neck," purchased the 129-acre tract in 1868 at a public sale held to settle William Grove's estate (See Figure 4.22). For the next 42 years this farm and another parcel were held by Andrew Rentch's descendants until the property of almost 194 acres was acquired by David Easterday in 1926.[110]

The second Grove farm was acquired by Daniel Startzman in 1868. Startzman, like Rentch, did not reside on this property; his "home farm" was located two miles west of Hagerstown, near the National Pike. Startzman's ownership of two farm properties, the "home farm" and the "river farm," underscores his interest in agricultural innovation and improved cultivation, which is also documented by his membership and role as officer in the Washington County Agricultural Improvement Society.[111] An 1888 public sale notice for the Startman estate described the River Farm:

> *A Farm containing about 205 acres of land, known as the George W. Grove Farm situated about 3 miles below Downsville, along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, improved by a good two-story frame house, log barn, corn crib, hog pens, granaries and other buildings, a well of good water and a good apple orchard. There are about 10 or 15 acres of oak and hickory timber on the place. The land is in a good state of cultivation.*[112]

Trustees for Startzman's estate eventually sold the River Farm in 1891, three years after the initial sale held to settle it. Isaac Long and Grafton Downs purchased the property as equal partners. In 1909 Long sold his share to Downs. At that time the tract was called the Avalon Frisch Farm, a name that suggests a continuing tenant operation for this site "lying along

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[108] Agricultural Census, 1860.

[109] See Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County.

[110] Figures from the 1870 and 1880 Agricultural Census are not readily identifiable for these two tenant operated farms. See also DB LB 2, p.669, 03/23/1868; DB 149, p.365, 07/14/1916; DB 152, p.372, 01/25/1917; DB 152, p.374, 05/10/1917; and DB 174, p.232, 03/01, 1926 in Washington County land records.

[111] See DB 4, p. 381, 02/14/1872; see Equity 3950, Chancery record 37, p. 370, 1888, Washington County Circuit Court; and see Wisser, "Agricultural Improvement," 563-564, for one Daniel Startzman's record of service in the Agricultural Society of Washington County, ca. 1853.

[112] Advertisement for public sale of the Startzman properties, 11/13/1888, in Equity 3950, Chancery Record 37, p. 370, 1888, Washington County Circuit Court.

Slackwater."[113] Little is known about the management of the farm in the early part of the twentieth century. The property remained agricultural, as did most of the land on "Chaneys Neck." During this time period, Dam No. Four Road formed a north-south dividing line from Downsville to the middle of the neck. Both the Downs's River Farm and the old Rentch farm lay to the west and southwest of this main road and were connected to it by farm lanes and gravel wagon roads, which followed the geometric route set by field and fence lines. On the ridge above the River Farm bottom land and the upland fields, selected hard wood trees had matured to form a band of vegetation separating different agricultural areas.[114]

Between the two farms, near the intersection of their entrance roads and Dam No. Four Road, lay a tract of "merchantable" hardwoods. The exact location of this woodlot has not been precisely determined, but it may have belonged at one time to the Andrew Rentch farm located west of the main road, in the mid-section of "Chaneys Neck".[115] Although Rentch did not occupy the lower farm at Dam No. Four, his daughter, Alice R. Miller, may have lived there for some time prior to her death around 1915. From the time the tract passed out of the Miller family in 1926 until Riley and Violet Hott purchased the property in 1949, the former "Grove Farm" changed hands regularly, never in continuous ownership for more than six years at a time.[116]

After approximately twenty years of ownership, the Hott's were farming the property to a limited degree "with just a few head of cattle and horses." The Hotts also conducted "gardening" and cultivated corn on some fourteen acres, out of a potential 24 acres of tillable land. Sometime after 1867, under prior owners, a two-story frame dwelling with a wash house addition, frame bank barn with stone foundation, an implement shed, a storage shed, and a granary had been constructed on land just east of the fields that lay across the lower portion of the neck. The Hotts used these building and subsequently brought three mobile homes to the farm to provide additional housing for their sons.[117]

While the Hott farm had changed over time from a tenant farm, with "no improvements," to an owner-operated property, the old "River Farm" had become a subsidiary of a larger

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[113] DB 133, p. 302, 06/12/1909, Washington County land records.

[114] Description of the neck is derived from analysis of Lake, Atlas of Washington County, Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County; and Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The band of culled hardwoods may have been a permanent landscape feature on the River Farm; they are specifically marked on Besley, Washington County forest areas.

[115] See Besley, Washington County forest areas.

[116] The dwelling located on the site in 1972 was without plumbing, thus probably dating the construction of improvements on the farm to Rentch's tenant, Alice Miller or to her descendants. See DB 149, p. 365, 07/14/1916; DB 152, p. 372, 01/25/1917; DB 152, p. 374, 05/10/1917; DB 174, p. 232, 03/01/1926; DB 187, p. 52, 11/05/1930; DB 199, p. 612, 11/01/1935; DB 215, p. 710, 06/30/1941; DB 255, p. 209, 10/29/1943; and DB 236, p. 486, 09/06/1946, in Washington County land records. Analysis of landowner's names after 1926 suggests that they were not descendants of the Rentch/Miller family. See Lake, Atlas of Washington County.

[117] See Tract File #37-104, C&O Canal NHP.

commercial agricultural operation, known as Downey Farms. Frederick and Ruth Downey had purchased the farm from the widow of Grafton Downs in 1942 and incorporated the enterprise in 1965. The farm's production was based on dairy and beef cattle, with 100 head of livestock and thirty brood cows. Downey cultivated corn for both silage and grain to use as feed. These, he grew on approximately nine acres of bottomland; Downey designated the open, upper fields for grazing and hay. A house occupied by the Downey Farms' tenant was situated in the uplands, above the river and the long established band of vegetation, which separated the corn fields from the grazing areas. The Downey Farms enterprise represented a modern version of the old "Home Farm"/tenant farm relationship.[118]

FROM ABOVE ANTIETAM CREEK TO FT. DUNCAN

Existing Condition of Park Tracts

Tract #22-103, Adams-Stottlemyer, 24.62 acres
Tract #22-106, McPherson & Brien-Otzelberger, 6.88 acres
Tract #22-105, McPherson & Brien-Otzelberger, 0.95 acres
Tract #22-112, Wade-Carbaugh, 7.64 acres
Tract #22-126, McPherson & Brien-Meyers, 26.82 acres

The tracts listed above are all located at the village of Antietam, at the mouth of Antietam Creek (Figures 4.23 and 4.24). One of the largest of these, ***Tract 22-103***, is a remnant of the Stottlemyer Farm, most of which lies on the east side of Harpers Ferry Road, although the parcel does include the farm buildings. The tract is bordered by Harpers Ferry Road to the east and Canal Road to the west and south. The bottomland presently is a cultivated field, while a terrace and slope to the north of the barnyard consists of young forest growth. Goats presently have free access to the latter area and are destroying all young growth and creating erosion on the slopes.

Tract 22-106 is a small cultivated field bordered to the north by Canal Road, east by Harpers Ferry Road, south by Antietam Creek and west by the C&O Canal. Vegetation is encroaching along the edges of this field. Tucked in the northeast corner of Tract 22-106 are two small lots, ***Tracts 22-104 and 22-105***. Each contained structures when acquired by the NPS that have since been removed.

On the east bank of Antietam Creek are two long, narrow parcels, ***Tracts 22-126 and 22-112***, tucked between Lime Kiln Road and the canal. Both of these cultivated fields have vegetation encroaching along their edges.

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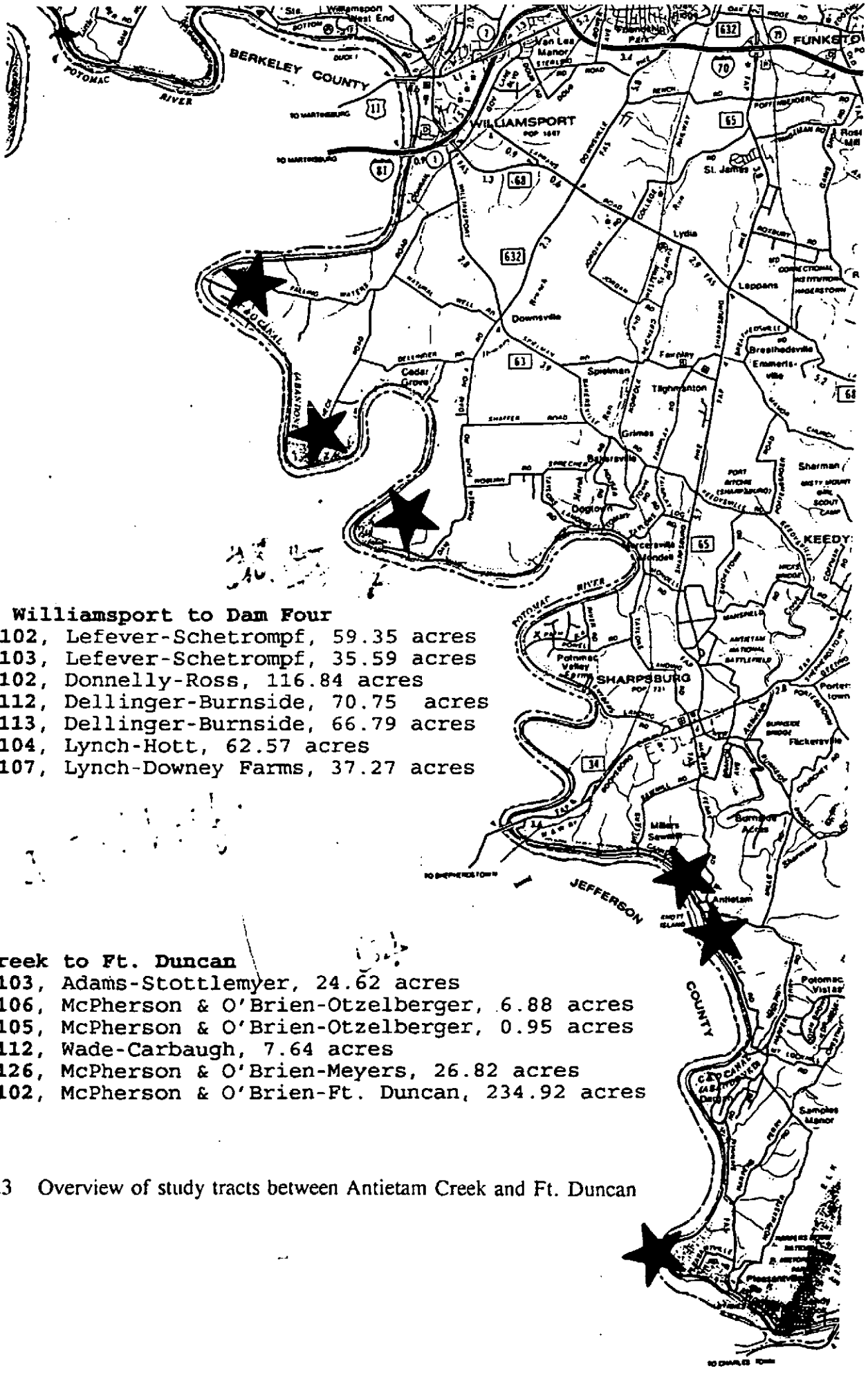
[118] See tract File #37-104. See also DB 221, p. 110, 11/13/1942; and DB 433, p. 299, 11/30/1965. The name "River Farm" persisted through to the Downey ownership.



From Below Williamsport to Dam Four

Tract #41-102, Lefever-Schetrompf, 59.35 acres
Tract #41-103, Lefever-Schetrompf, 35.59 acres
Tract #39-102, Donnelly-Ross, 116.84 acres
Tract #39-112, Dellinger-Burnside, 70.75 acres
Tract #39-113, Dellinger-Burnside, 66.79 acres
Tract #37-104, Lynch-Hott, 62.57 acres
Tract #37-107, Lynch-Downey Farms, 37.27 acres

Antietam Creek to Ft. Duncan

Tract #22-103, Adams-Stottlemyer, 24.62 acres
Tract #22-106, McPherson & O'Brien-Otzelberger, 6.88 acres
Tract #22-105, McPherson & O'Brien-Otzelberger, 0.95 acres
Tract #22-112, Wade-Carbaugh, 7.64 acres
Tract #22-126, McPherson & O'Brien-Meyers, 26.82 acres
Tract #01-102, McPherson & O'Brien-Ft. Duncan, 234.92 acres

Figure 4.23 Overview of study tracts between Antietam Creek and Ft. Duncan

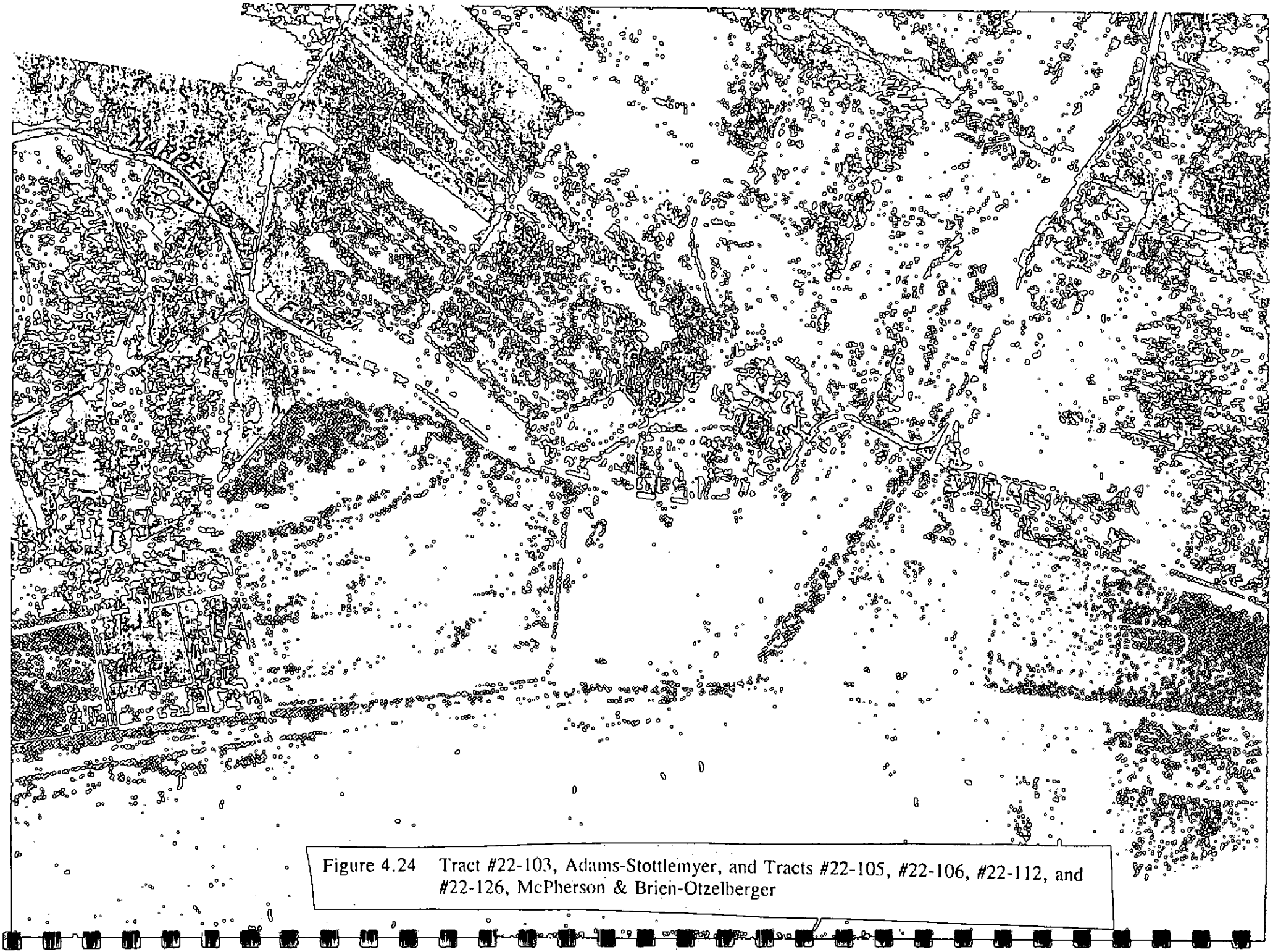


Figure 4.24 Tract #22-103, Adams-Stottlemyer, and Tracts #22-105, #22-106, #22-112, and #22-126, McPherson & Brien-Otzelberger

Tract #01-102, McPherson & Brien-Ft. Duncan, 234.92 acres

This large tract consists primarily of a prominent wooded knoll once known as Huckleberry Hill, overlooking a sweeping bend of the Potomac River a short distance above Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (Figure 4.25). When the NPS acquired ***Tract 01-102***, the few remaining open fields concentrated around the main dwelling, known as the Myers House. Those around the house have disappeared, leaving only two small fields. The first is located on the south side of the dirt road leading from Pleasantville to the house, while the second is located a short distance south of the house, on the west side of the dirt road. Neither field is leased at this time, and both are maintained as open meadow by park maintenance.

The large brick Meyers house faces southeast toward the entry road, at the point where it makes a sharp turn toward the south. A twentieth-century barn, a small nineteenth-century brick smokehouse, and a frame privy are all that remain of the outbuildings. Both the front and rear yards of the dwelling have been reduced by encroaching vegetation. Parallel fence lines are visible northwest of the house, indicating the existence of an old farm road. In the spring, flowers from narcissus bulbs planted in the woods below the front of the house emerge.

Landscape History of Individual Sites - Antietam Creek and Fort Duncan

> *On the Maryland side the mountains were divided into ridges leaving openings between in some were small hamlets...*[119]

Charles Varle's 1808 map shows two 8,000-acre tracts below Sharpsburg along the Potomac River (Figure 4.26). One, at the mouth of Antietam Creek, was a community with a grist and merchant mill, furnace and a forge. The other, just above Harpers Ferry on the Maryland side, was called Sample's Manor. This latter tract lay just west of Elk Mountain and had no symbols of settlement to mark its establishment. Sample Manor represented the holdings of John Semple and parts of the tracts called Keep Tryst and Little I Thought It. Although Semple had acquired the 8,081 acres of the manor in 1763, he did not have clear title to the land. Rather, controversy over the ownership pitted Semple and the ironmaking partnership of Samuel Beall, Jr., David Ross, Richard Henderson and Joseph Chapline against each other and delayed determination of the title. Prolonged litigation also prevented the development of the property. Semple died in debt in 1773. Ownership eventually was settled by Chancery Court in 1810, when trustees sold Sample's Manor to John McPherson and John Brien owners of Antietam Ironworks. At the time of the sale the manor, consisting of Ore Hill, the Gleanings

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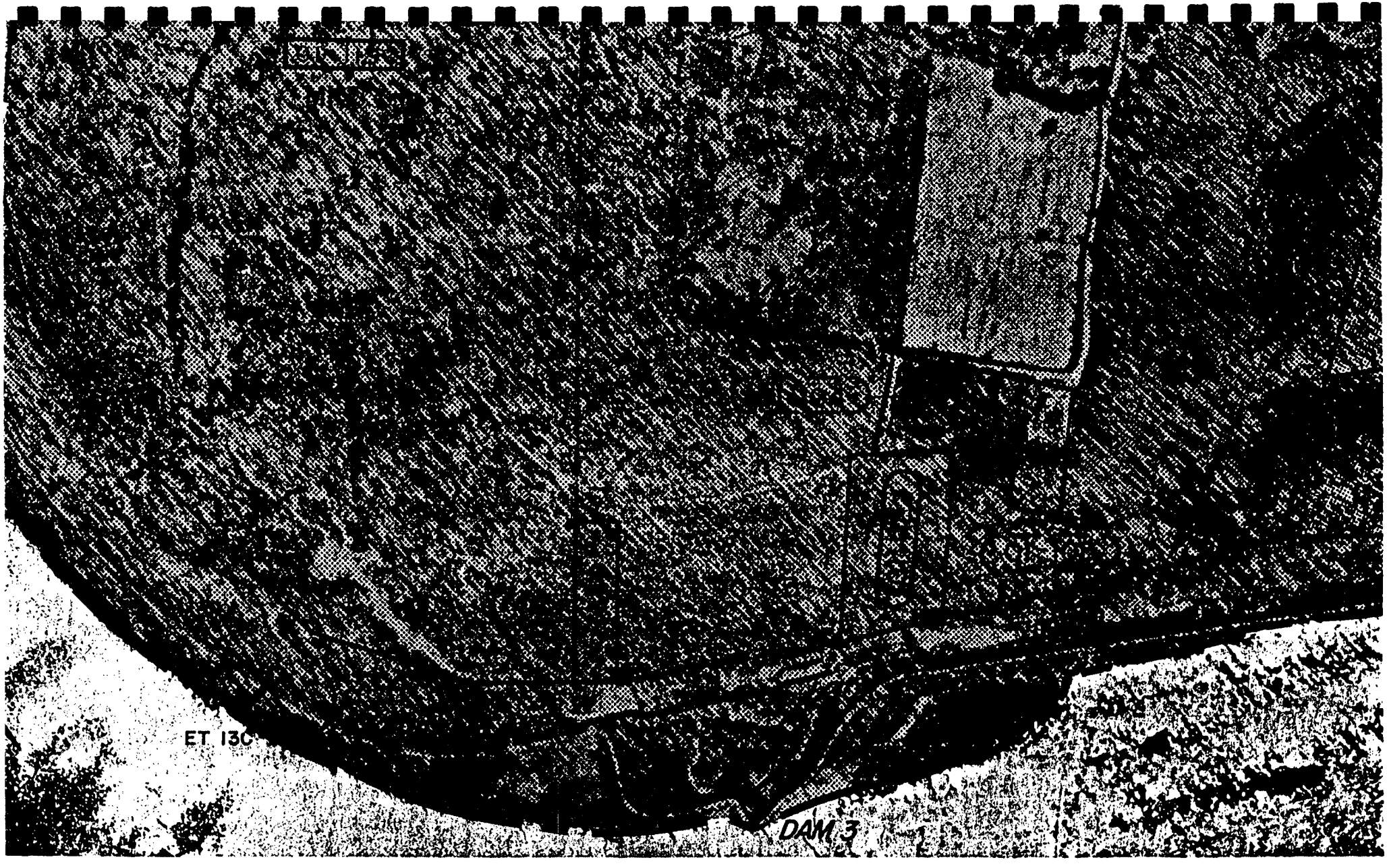
[119] Journal of a Canal Boat voyaging on the Cumberland Canal, 1858 [1859] taken from Thomas F. Hahn, The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 69-71. As transportation systems developed in the nineteenth century, numbers of American and European tourists journeyed through the American countryside and the Potomac River Valley, encountering farms, towns, small industries and picturesque scenery. Among the journals from these travels that described the Potomac Valley and were published are Frederick Law Olmsted, Journey to Texas and William Cullen Bryant, ed., Picturesque America.



		DN. BY MP	CK. BY WSpiri
		APPR. BY Lars 10/29/71	
	M.A.S.	REGION 6	
	S.K.		
	M.D.B.	DRAWING NO.	

ESTABLISHED: JANUARY 8, 1971

Figure 4.25 Tract #01-102, McPherson & Brien-Ft. Duncan

and parts of Keep Tryst and Little I Thought It, had been subdivided into twenty lots.[120]

Antietam Village

The settlement at the mouth of Antietam Creek was similar to other early industrial villages in western Maryland located near iron ore deposits. By the mid 1760s, Frederick Forge was operating at the mouth of the Antietam. By 1783 a furnace had been constructed on the site as well, and the operation had become known as the Antietam Ironworks. By this date, it was owned solely by Richard Henderson.[121] At the time of Henderson's acquisitions, John and Rachel Bank resided on a tract that covered the lower, east side of the creek's bank and part of the "upper or west side of the Anti Eatam." Purchases made by Henderson included part of Little I Thought It (6,352 acres), from Chapline's heirs, part of Dutch's Loss, and a tract located on the hill above the old Frederick Forge, which derived from Jon Vandiver, the original owner.[122]

Two tracts, one comprising 572 acres and the other 520 acres, passed from Richard Henderson to John Ritchie in 1802. The first parcel lay west of Antietam Creek, along the Potomac River. The second parcel contained parts of "sundry tracts" including Antietam Bottom and Little I Thought It, and lay east of Antietam Creek along the river.[123] The two tracts together flanked the site of the Antietam Ironworks. The first tract remained in the Ritchie family until 1828, when it transferred to Mary Anna (Ritchie) Adams, widow of Archibald Ritchie, and her husband, John Adams, whom she had married in 1832. By that time the property had expanded to 580 acres and was referred to as the West Farm, which "lay along the Road from Sharpsburg to the Antietam Iron Works."[124]

In 1803, John Ritchie sold a portion (266 acres) of the second parcel on the east side of Antietam Creek, shortly after he himself had acquired it, to John Wade. This property was later known as the Antietam Farm, and it remained in the Wade family through to the twentieth century.[125] Both this tract and the West Farm sold to the Adams included parts of "Antietam

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[120] See DB W, p. 288, 09/19/1810, Washington County land records.

[121] Thompson, "Iron Industry," 30-32.

[122] Information derived from DB G, p.855; DB I, p.42, Washington County land records, cited in Thompson, "Iron Industry," 32.

[123] DB G, p. 855; DB I, p. 42, Washington County land records, cited in Thompson, "Iron Industry," 32. Also see DB O, p. 371, 05/04/1802, Washington County land records.

[124] See Archibald Ritchie will, WB C, p. 369; DB NN, p. 528 and p. 529, 09/12/1832; and DB IN 11, p. 512 and p. 513, 11/27/1856, in Washington County wills and land records.

[125] See DB O, p. 754, 03/22/1803, and subsequent title transfers between John Wade, Henry Wade, Elie and William Wade, and J. Hubert and Helen Wade in Washington County land records.

Bottom," with segments that ran adjacent to the Potomac River.

The early canal survey from 1825 shows that the Ritchie property known as West Farm *(Tract #22-103)* contained cultivated fields on the bottomland west of the mouth of Antietam Creek (Figure 4.27). An unidentified structure west of Antietam Creek belonging to the Ritchie property is shown on the Geddes and Roberts survey, and may be the farm cluster for West Farm (Figure 4.28). The narrow band of bottomland on the east side of the creek belonging to the Wade family was not cultivated, however *(Tract #22-112)*.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal required a little more than 19 acres for its passage through West Farm. In 1832 John and Mary Anna Adams sold the company the needed acreage, of which approximately 12 acres were arable and 6 acres river slope.[126] At the time of the C&O Canal negotiations, Henry Wade, who owned property downstream, requested compensation for two specific concerns, both involving access. One was to maintain the existing "Public Road" located "over his land . . . on the Potomac River, near the Forge of McPherson and Brien."[127] The other was to allow "H. Wade" to build a private basin "at his sugar camp," near the "Margin of the River." The request from H. Wade could have also come from Hezekiah Wade, whose property was located much farther upriver. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the Wade in question is Henry. Structures and a boat landing that appear on later maps may be related to Wade's request for a basin, even if the basin itself was never constructed.[128]

Both the Adams property and the Wade property reported figures for the 1850 Agricultural Census. With its 580 acres, West Farm was one of the more valuable farms in the Sharpsburg district. The Wade farm figures list Nancy Wade as the owner and that the operation was a more modest enterprise. John Adams reported 400 acres of improved land, with 170 of unimproved. Wade reported 200 acres of improved and 60 of unimproved. Adams owned twice as much cleared land as did Wade, and their cultivation and production figures demonstrate that Adams had not only a larger, but more diversified enterprise. Adams listed 9 horses, 13 cows, 2 oxen, 20 head of cattle, 30 sheep and 100 swine. Wade's figures indicate that her livestock would not require as much grazing land as Adams. Wade owned 6 horses, 6 cows, 16 head of cattle, and 27 swine. The sheep on the Adams farm gave 100 pounds of wool and the cows produced 600 pounds of butter. Wade's cows produced 300 pounds of butter. Each farm grew potatoes, with Adams harvesting 200 bushels and Wade only 20. Grain production for both featured wheat (Adams 1800 bushels; Wade 1100 bushels), rye (Adams 120 bushels; Wade 80 bushels), corn (Adams 600 bushels; Wade 800 bushels), and oats (Adams 150 bushels; Wade 125 bushels). Adams also reported $30 in orchard products.[129]

By 1860, cultivation of wheat and some livestock had expanded on the Adams's West Farm. The Wade farm's figures were reported by William Wade, who probably was one of

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[126] DB NN, p. 567, 10/05/1832, Washington county land records.

[127] See Henry Wade to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, unrecorded deed, 05/24/1833, in File 23 3/4, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[128] See "H.Wade Proposal," 03/04/1834, in Box 2, Entry 219, RG 79, NA.

[129] Agricultural Census, 1850.

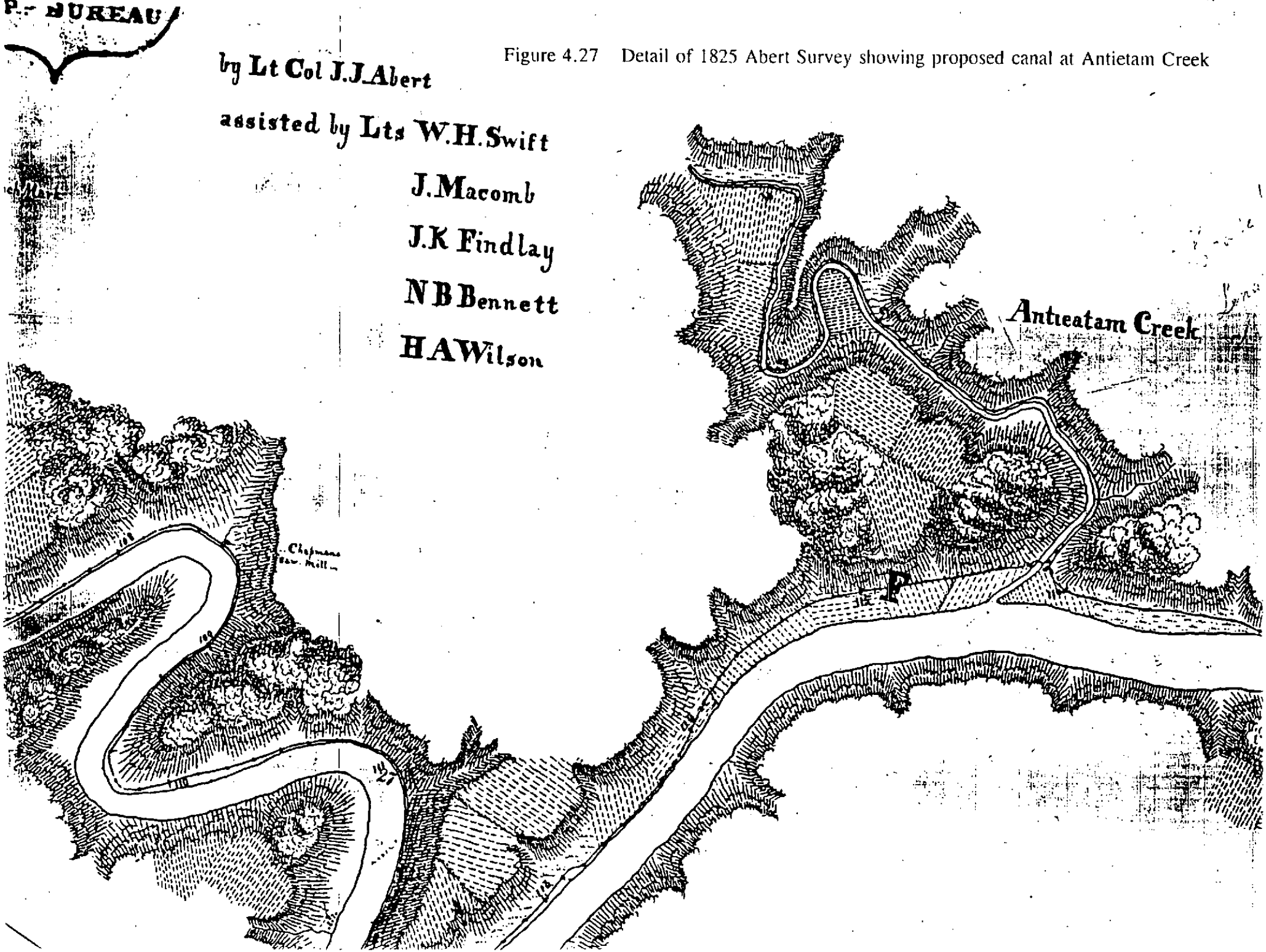

Figure 4.27 Detail of 1825 Abert Survey showing proposed canal at Antietam Creek

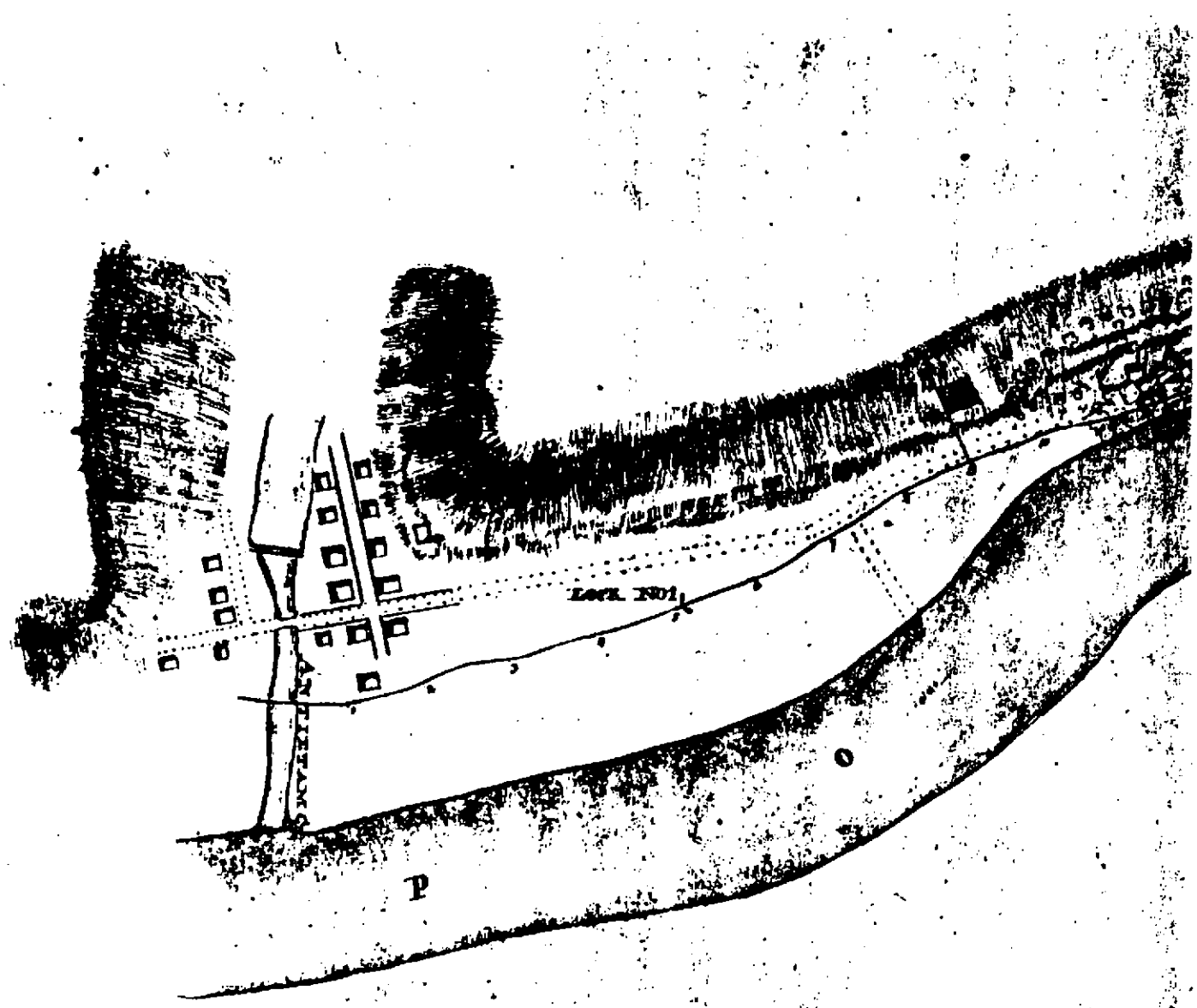

Figure 4.28 Detail of 1828 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal at Antietam Creek

Henry Wade's sons. Production on this tract had increased slightly from the earlier levels. Improved acres on West Farm were again at 400; unimproved at 160. On the Wade farm, the improved/unimproved ratio had remained the same at 200/60. Adams reported 16 horses, 16 cows, 20 head of cattle, 50 sheep, and only 50 swine. The sheep yielded 300 pounds of wool and the cows 400 pounds of butter. Wade reported 9 horses, 7 cows (100 pounds of butter), 25 head of cattle and 25 swine. Grain production at West Farm again concentrated on wheat over the other grain types. Adams harvested 2500 bushels of wheat, 50 of rye, 1500 of corn and 100 of oats. Wade harvested a more balanced crop of 900 bushels each of wheat and corn, 60 of rye and 125 of oats. Adams reported 50 bushels of potatoes; Wade reported 20 bushels. In addition, Adams listed $25 in orchard products, 19 tons of hay, and 11 bushels of clover seed. Wade did not report for these categories. Wade, however, may have gained economic benefit from the lime kilns located adjacent to his property and along the "public road," which ran parallel to the canal toward Mountain Lock (Lock 37). A boat landing, called Wade's Landing, and a group of storehouses were also located on the berm side of the canal, just west of the lime kilns (Figure 4.29).[130]

In the 1870 Agricultural Census, the figures for the West farm underscore the larger trends beginning to occur in western Maryland agriculture. The amount of cleared, improved land necessary for a successful farming enterprise was less than in the previous twenty years. Adams listed 300 acres improved with 200 unimproved; the value of the farm had increased slightly. The breakdown of his livestock shows that he had added 2 mules (or asses) to his 12 horses, 6 cows yielding 250 pounds of butter, 20 cattle, 22 sheep giving 125 pounds of wool, and 20 swine. Overall grain production continued to center on wheat, but this had declined to 1640 bushels of wheat, 80 of rye, 150 of corn and 60 of oats. Garden market products reported by the Adams's operation included 50 bushels of potatoes, 70 dollars worth of orchard products, 100 tons of hay, and a new listing for 16 gallons of wine. Increases in the amount of cut hay, the value of fruit harvested and the addition of viticulture indicate diversification and more intensive agricultural practices used on the Adams property.

The farm operation reported by William Wade in 1870 had decreased considerably from its 1860 levels. Wade reported figures on only 42 acres of land and such numbers may reflect changes occurring within the Wade family that are not evident in the ownership patterns found in property deeds.[131]

Neither property reported under the name Adams or Wade in the 1880 agricultural census. At this time the Adams property was the subject of a lawsuit over the final settlement of the estate of John Adams. Prolonged settlement of the estate suggests that West Farm may

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[130] Locations of lime kilns are noted on Taggart, Washington Co.; these are also noted in Lake, Atlas of Washington County. Wade's Landing is among the ca. 1940 notations on Mackall and Brown, C&O Canal Property Map, copy in Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP; although this notation is a twentieth-century reference, it is indicative of the Wades' longstanding ownership of the adjacent farm.

[131] Lake, Atlas of Washington County, Sharpsburg District map, indicates that property associated with a J.Wade and the estate of Wm. Wade were located adjacent to each other and along the river at Antietam Creek, suggesting changes in ownership.

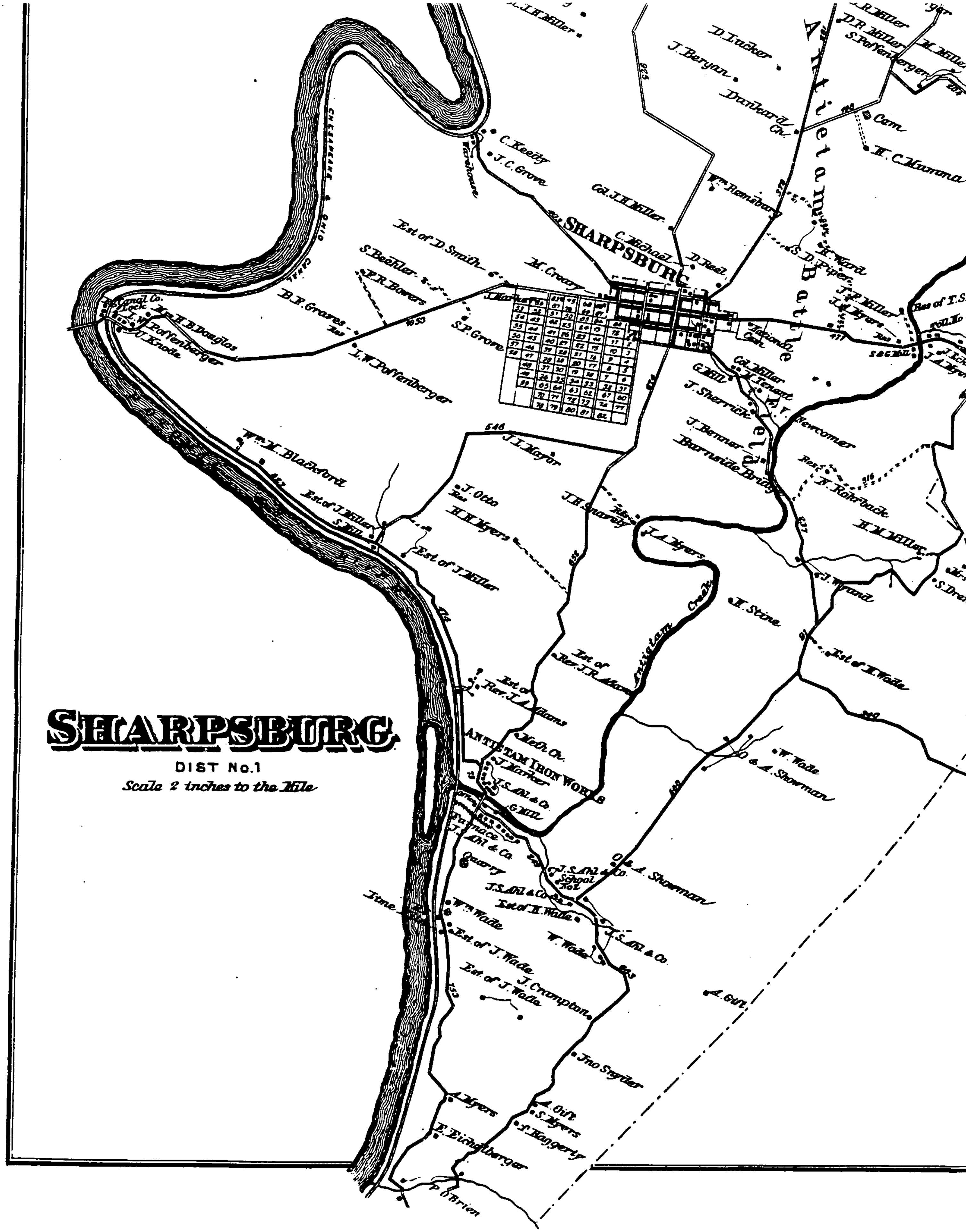

Figure 4.29 1877 Atlas of Washington County, Sharpsburg District

have been farmed by tenant operators for many years prior to the public sale of the Adams real estate. The subsequent dispersal of the property also supports the likelihood of a tenant.

In 1879, several tracts from Adams estate were advertised for sale as required by the court. The entire estate was described as "600 acres of first class limestone land, in fine state of cultivation and under good fencing."[132] Tract Four's listing, which included the farmland along the river, stated that it contained "230 acres about 50 of which is in the most excellent timber, no better in the county . . . and all well adapted to farming . . . large portion in fine and rich bottom land. . . . it is improved by a large two story stone dwelling house, large stables and other necessary buildings and it well watered."[133] The stone house mentioned was probably one of several structures noted in the 1877 Washington County atlas belonging to the Adams estate (Figure 4.29). This cluster of buildings was located on a secondary lane off of the public road that followed the canal between the mouth of the Antietam and the Shepherstown ferry. A warehouse for the canal trade may have been associated with these structures, as well.

In 1881, trustees for the estate conveyed approximately 177 acres of the above tract to George Burgan. The 1880 agricultural census for the Sharpsburg District indicates that "George Bergan" was the proprietor of a 177-acre farm, which consisted of 100 acres of improved land and 77 acres of unimproved land. In 1879, Burgan used a minimal amount of paid labor and a moderate amount of fertilizer to cultivate and harvest 660 bushels of corn, 30 bushels of oats and 150 bushels of rye. Unlike his predecessors on the land, he did not grow wheat. Twelve acres were required for the corn, 2 for oats and 35 for rye to produce the number of bushels cited. Cut hay, clover seed and fire wood amounted to eight tons, four bushels, and 20 cords respectively. Burgan also reported that yields from his one-acre plot of potatoes were 100 bushels. Since he did not list fruits or wine in 1880, orchards and vineyards referenced in the 1870 census may not have been located on Tract Four of the old West Farm.[134]

Burgan's complement of livestock also reflected a shift away from agricultural practices formerly followed on the Adams property. He reported only 7 horses, possibly 6 cows, and 12 swine (the listed figures cannot be easily determined). He did not raise sheep, but did have 81 poultry birds on hand in June 1880. The number of acres Burgen and his successors kept in timber is also in doubt, as the forestry map for 1913 does not indicate any significantly wooded areas on, or near, this property.[135]

At the sale of George Burgan's estate in 1884, a trustee sold the property in subdivided parcels.[136] A process of subdivision and subsequent reassembly by related owners continued throughout the end of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries. In 1945 Fannie and

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[132] Advertisement of public sale held 02/04/1879, cited in Equity 2694, Chancery Record 21, p. 597, 1878, Washington County Circuit Court.

[133] *ibid.*

[134] Agricultural Census, 1880.

[135] See Besley, Washington County forested areas.

[136] See Charles G. Biggs, trustee, to B.A, Benner, DB 111, p. 516, 01/05/1894, Washington County land records.

Austin Stottlemeyer acquired full interest in 164 acres of the old West Farm.[137] During the years of the Stottlemeyer's ownership the property was managed as a dairy farm, known as Potomac View Farm. The acreage extended from both sides of Harpers Ferry and Canal roads. Tillable bottomland lay below between the roads and the canal, while rolling and tillable pastureland lay above. The cluster of farm buildings and residences associated with the operation were located at the intersection of the two county roads. The main dwelling occupied a site on the east side of the Harpers Ferry and Antietam Road. The frame bank barn, dairy house, concrete stave silo, metal grain bin, wagon shed, garage, concrete block calf pen, a hog pen, other outbuildings and an ornamental well head were on the southwest side. Two other residences, a tenant house and a rental home also were located along the same road, one to the north of the farm buildings and the other southeast of the main dwelling. The residence, with its late nineteenth-century facade, had been surrounded by lawn and enclosed by a stone wall. The front of the barn was distinguished by the painted sign of a cow's head and the farm's and owner's names.[138]

By 1904, the Wade property, near the canal and east of Antietam Village, was known as the Antietam Farm and farmed as a tenant operation.[139] Antietam Farm was one of several parcels owned by members of the Wade family until the property passed to Frederick and Vivian Carbaugh in 1958.[140] During this half-century, the bottomland portion of the farm located along the canal and the road to Mountain Lock remained mostly open and level and was probably used for general farming purposes. No significant structural improvements had been erected on the parcel, with the exception of a small frame cottage, two storage sheds and a privy. The upper portion of the farm, located above the steep wooded and rocky embankment on the north side of the road, contained rolling hills divided into cleared pasture, woods and tillable farmland. In addition to cultivating the bottomland, Carbaugh also leased five vacant lots along the road, presumably for recreational use.[141]

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[137] See DB 208, p. 647, 02/08/1939; and DB 229, p. 116, 01/29/1945, Washington County land records.

[138] See real estate appraisal in Tract File #22-103, #22-125, C&O Canal NHP. The name of the owner shown on the front side of the barn was that of Fannie M. Stottlemyer, rather than that of her husband. The farm had passed to her through her family.

[139] Elie Wade became the sole owner of the farm on 02/14/1898 (see DB 107, p. 658); at his death in 1904, he left "to my son J. Hubert Wade the Antietam farm containing 120 acres . . . tenanted by John Marshall." (see WB J, p. 351).

[140] Based on analysis of Washington County land records.

[141] Based on analysis of Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County; Besley, Washington County forest areas; and Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park. See also real estate appraisal in Tract File #22-112, C&O Canal NHP.

Small Farms at Mouth of Antietam Creek

Tenant-operated farms and cultivated plots were situated on both sides of Antietam Creek at the east and west ends of the C&O Canal Aqueduct. These farms and plots ***(Tract #22-105, 22-106 and Tract #22-126)*** historically had been part of the Antietam Iron Works and their management inexorably linked to the furnace, forge and manufacturing operation located on that site. Iron workers and their families occupied the numerous dwellings in the nearby village; some may have originally been constructed for slaves, who were among the earliest workers associated with the iron works. In 1790, twenty-five slaves were listed among the company's assets; there were 56 in 1800. In 1806, the Antietam Iron works were sold at a sheriff's sale to John McPherson and John Brien.

At the time of the McPherson and Brien acquisition, the iron works consisted of the workshops and village on the banks of the Antietam and the ore bank located just above Harpers Ferry on the Maryland side of the Potomac River. Here the ore was mined, carted to the river's edge, then loaded on barges and carried up the river to the landing at Antietam Iron works, where, by the 1820s, McPherson and Brien had expanded their physical plant to accommodate a larger iron manufacturing operation. Within the village, a blast furnace, a forge with five fires, merchant flour and grist mill, sawmill, tilt hammer and smith's shops, ironmaster's house and sixty to seventy dwellings for workers were located. McPherson and Brien's manager, Thomas Dunn, oversaw the iron works operation at Antietam.[142]

The large frame merchant mill, powered by two water wheels, was located on the east bank of the creek, near the river and beside the wagon road bridge spanning Antietam Creek. During negotiations with the canal company over compensation for land taken by condemnation, the Antietam Iron Works were owned by John Brien and his son, John McPherson Brien. The proposed design for the canal allowed for it to be constructed below the public roads that intersected at the Briens' property. The canal passed over the Antietam Creek via a stone aqueduct. Just downstream from the aqueduct, Brien constructed a boat basin, basin lock and probably warehouses to facilitate shipping on the canal. To reach the river front, sand banks, and the ferry to the opposite shore in Virginia, where additional ore banks owned by the iron works were located, passage under the canal was provided by a wagon road under the easternmost span of the aqueduct, and by a road culvert and a pivot bridge erected further downstream near Wade's Landing.[143] However, impeded access was not the only concern expressed by the Briens with regard to the canal's passage across their land. Issues over the obstruction of water power and over the effect of the canal's construction on Antietam Iron Works customers up and down the river disturbed the owners. Other points for settlement were based on the destruction of Brien property, particularly fences, located near the canal workers'

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[142] Robb, "Industry," 60.

[143] See Thompson, "Iron Industry," 88-89; Hahn, Towpath Guide, 118, mentions a lost road culvert connecting to McShane's Ferry; also "On the 15th day of July 1833 . . .," account of jury's meeting on the lands of McPherson and Brien, and "The defendant offered in evidence to the Jury . .." in Box 1, Entry 217, RG 79, NA; and "Statement showing that an additional team is not required . . ." in Box 2, Entry 217, RG 79, NA, notes the use of a "Culvert Landing."

"shantys," woods and timber growing outside the land taken by the company, and the removal of soil from the premises.[144]

Survey maps made for the C&O Canal Company indicate that cultivated fields lay on both sides of the mouth of Antietam Creek, with more extensive cultivation on the upstream side (Figure 4.27). The remains of old Native American fish dams, noted by Patowmack Canal Company engineers in this part of the creek as late as 1802, suggests that these same fields may have been under cultivation long before the establishment of the Antietam ironmaking operation.[145] The same fields also would have been adversely affected by canal construction activity and the destruction of fences and adjacent stands of trees. Documentation from the C&O Canal Company's 1833 inquisition against the Briens suggests that the land belonging to the iron works on the east bank of Antietam Creek was kept in meadow grasses, which were probably cut for hay, or planted with fruit trees.[146] The total amount of land on both sides of the mouth of the Antietam taken by the C&O from the Briens came from "Lot No. 1" and comprised approximately 75 acres, of which 24 was first quality bottomland, 12 of inferior quality, 30 rocky hillside and the remainder untillable river slope.[147]

S.S. Downin's 1858 survey of Antietam Iron Works designates the "mansion house" on the lower side of Harpers Ferry Road, below the south bank of the creek. Taggart's 1859 Map placed structures on the upper side of the public road, and does not mark a mansion house or any other improvements below the road or near the canal. The cluster of structures shown on Taggart's map may represent the blacksmith shop, store office, meat house, barns, stables, as well as dwelling houses associated with the iron works. While the discrepancy between the two maps cannot be readily resolved, both indicate that the bottomlands on either side of the creek were open for possible cultivation.[148] By 1840 the iron manufactory employed 250 workers,

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[144] See two copies (one in draft form) of "Memorandum. On the trial before the Jury . . ." and copy of Bill of Injunction, 03/25/1833, in Box 1, Entry 217, RG 79, NA.

[145] See Hahn, Towpath Guide, 120. An extensive survey of Antietam Creek and all its mill, dams and manufacturing sites was conducted for the Patowmack Canal Company by Thomas Harbaugh as part of the company's efforts to improve navigation on 38 miles of the creek, from Pennsylvania to the Potomac River; see Entry 162, RG 79, NA for further documentation concerning the Antietam village area.

[146] See The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company vs. John Brien and John McPherson Brien in Box 1, Entry 217, RG 79, NA, which states that a road under the southern or eastern arch of the canal aqueduct was required to allow passage for wagons "laded with hay or other produce," and that the road was to be constructed on an embankment next to the creek at the level of the "meadow land." In DB 20, p. 55, 07/26/1833, a notched and blazed apple tree was used as a marker tree to describe the metes and bounds of the property deeded to the C&O Canal Company.

[147] *ibid.*; see also DB 20, p. 55, 07/26/1833, Washington County Land records.

[148] See S.S. Downin, "Plat of the Antietam Iron Works," 1858, E.E. Piper copy on display Washington County Courthouse; see Taggart, Washington Co.; and see Thompson, "Iron Industry," 94. According to Lloyd Crampton, (excerpt of interview cited in John Frye memorandum, 06/27/1987, in Tract File #22-106), the former Antietam Grocery store, located along the Harpers Ferry Road, adjacent to the fields presently cultivated north of the creek, may have been built around the

among whom was a group of 53 slaves of working age. Houses and cabins for employees and their families in all likelihood continued to be located within walking distance of the workshops. Garden plots and farm fields for these households may have been adjacent to the dwellings or at a convenient location along both sides of the public road.[149]

The Brien operation became entangled in financial difficulties in 1841. These uncertainties plagued the Iron Works throughout most of the 1840s, forcing its eventual sale in 1853. During these troubled years, the works employed 150 hands, although conditions were such that at one time in 1848, there was little food for the slaves and no forage for the livestock.[150] At the time of the 1853 sale from the Brien family heirs to William Clark, the property consisted of four tracts totalling some 1100 acres, with the tracts near the mouth of the Antietam amounting to 132 acres.

A succession of absentee owners held the Antietam Iron Works from 1853 until it was subdivided and sold to local residents in 1890.[151] In an advertisement for a public sale held in June 1865, a description of the property emphasized the ore bank tract, Lot 220, the flour and grist mill, the blacksmith shop, storehouse, office, the "large and commodious mansion house," and dwelling houses, "all sufficient for the operations of the works and their families," and "all other buildings necessary and usual about such works." Other features mentioned included a large well, substantial stone dam, canal landing and "a capacious boat basin." For a subsequent sale held in 1886, the advertisement for the iron works site focused, not on the specific manufacturing capabilities, but on the village and on the structures that could be adapted to a variety of industrial uses. The tenement dwelling houses numbered twenty-one and "the commodious mansion house came "with all necessary stabling and outhouses." Also listed were the "well-built wharf on the canal," and "25 acres of rich cultivated bottom land."[152]

How this rich, cultivated bottomland was managed beyond what has been previously stated cannot be readily determined from the Agricultural Censuses of 1850-1880. Indeed, the names of the iron works owners are not listed in 1850, 1860 and 1870. Although Daniel V. Ahl

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iron works black smith shop or machine shop. Current local tradition refers to the structure "as the old blacksmith shop."

[149] Thompson, "Iron Industry," 90. The names of the occupants of dwellings owned and rented by the Antietam Ironworks is worthy of further investigation in the Antietam Iron Works Ledger Book and Washington County Court records.

[150] Many slaves were sold in 1848, when the iron works ceased to operate because of John McPherson Brien's financial problems. See Thompson, "Iron Industry," 91.

[151] Thompson, "Iron Industry, 102, states that "lots of the Antietam Iron Works, probably containing tenement houses, were sold to local residents John W. Burgan, John W. Gray, Mary A. Jameson, T.B. Gray, Emma R. Ebersole, Alfred Showman, and Peter Otzelberger" in November 1890.

[152] See DB 55, p. 218, 12/21/1854; DB IN 9, p. 365, 02/06/1855; DB IN 11, p. 556-560, 10/06/1856; DB IN 17, p. 685, 05/22/1864; DB W McKK 5, p. 8-9, 07/02/1872; DB 92, p. 61, 12/28/1887; DB 92, p. 62, 01/10/1888; DB 92, p. 62, 05/17/1888; DB 92 p. 65 06/22/1888; and DB 97, p. 290, 05/28/1891 in Washington County land records. See also Equity 1854, Chancery Record 23, p. 589-608, 1865; and Equity 3591, Chancery Record 27, p. 74, 1886, in Washington County Circuit Court.

obtained full ownership of Antietam Iron Works in 1864 and then sold the property to John A. Ahl between 1866 and 1868, the Ahl brothers, who were most likely affiliated with J.S. Ahl Company, are listed only in the 1880 census as farmers from the Sharpsburg District.[153] In addition, the 1880 Agricultural Census indicates that the Ahl enterprise had only 19 acres under cultivation, while 1000 lay in timberland and another 100 were unimproved or "old fields." The exact location of the 19 acres is not evident from the listed information. The Ahl Company reported minimal agricultural production, with only one cow in the livestock category and cultivation limited exclusively to planting corn.[154]

Peter Otzelberger was among a group of local residents who purchased portions of the old iron works tract at the turn of the century. In 1890, Otzelberger obtained approximately nine acres of land on the north side of Antietam Creek. Otzelberger may have resided in one of the former iron works tenement dwellings, located on the upper side of the public road, while the fields he acquired in the 1890 transaction were on the opposite side, below the road. He may have used these fields for pasture.[155]

Another purchase from the iron works tract occurred in 1892, when Sylvester and Belle Hanes acquired a 37-acre parcel on the south side of the creek. A "large frame dwelling house," stone barn and corn crib were situated on this property, which may the former "commodious" mansion house and surrounding outbuildings that originally belonged to the Brien operation and were listed in the public sale advertisement. Also transferred in this conveyance was a 20-foot right of way across the north edge of the property, which allowed passage between the C&O Canal and the flour mill located along the south bank of the creek.

Aaron Wyand purchased the 37 acres in 1898. The farm passed out of the Wyand family in 1902 when Peter Otzelberger acquired the property. With this transaction, Otzelberger owned the bottomland on both sides of Antietam Creek near its confluence with the Potomac River.[156]

The Otzelberger properties remained in the family through the next two generations. In 1939, they passed to Peter's two sons, Walter (9-acre tract) and John (37-acre tract), with the stipulation that Peter's widow, Mary, was permitted to live in and enjoy the house and adjacent

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[153] See DB IN 17, p. 623-624, cited in Thompson, "Iron Industry," 100; see Lake, Atlas of Washington County; and see Agricultural Census, 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880.

[154] Agricultural Census, 1880.

[155] The 1896 tax assessment listing for Peter Otzelberger indicates that he owned 9 acres of land, a house and lot, livestock and furniture. The reference to the house and lot suggests that they were separate from the taxable land. The assessment for livestock suggests that his land was used for grazing. See 1896 tax list for Washington County, cited in John Frye memorandum, 06/27/1987, in Tract File #22-106. Frye interprets the tax list to demonstrate that a house was located on the 9-acre tract.

[156] See DB 97, p. 290, 05/28/1891; DB 99, p. 483, 09/21/1892; DB 108, p. 520, 08/01/1898; DB 110, p. 537, 05/08/1899; and DB 116, p. 204, 04/10/1902, in Washington County land records. See also Equity 5444, Chancery Record 32, p. 281, 1899, Washington County Circuit Court.

yard on John's farm, where she and Peter had resided.[157] John transferred title to his sister, Ida and her husband John Myers in 1944. The Myers continued to maintain the farming operation, which was primarily devoted to dairying. In addition to the two-story frame house, a frame dairy barn, a machinery shed, two outhouses, and a concrete block concession shed were located on the property. The farm was distinguished by a area of "level, cleared, tillable field" below the public road and "wooded, rocky, steep to rolling" land above. In the early 1970s, the tillable land was utilized for pasture.[158]

Although the tract located on the north side of Antietam Creek contained only nine acres, it provided the Otzelbergers with another farm parcel to pass on to successive generations. Peter Otzelberger and his immediate descendants may have never lived on this property, as the only improvements to the site apparently occurred in the later part of the twentieth century. In 1969-1970, Jerry and Sarah Otzelberger constructed a one-story frame house on a lot of less than one acre, which had been subdivided from the nine acres and given to them for $1 and "natural love and affection" by Cecil and Donald Otzelberger. Another descendant, Janice Pittsnogle, and Ronald her husband had also constructed a similar structure on another subdivided lot, slightly greater than one acre, which had also been given to her by the Otzelberger brothers.[159]

High Ground above Dam No. 3 at Fort Duncan

Although Sample's Manor and other tracts associated with the furnace and forge on Antietam Creek had been subdivided into 20 lots for their court-ordered sale in 1810, the new owners, McPherson and Brien, kept the vast property intact. After the manufactory failed in 1848, the court permitted John McPherson Brien, then the sole owner, to subdivide the entire Antietam Iron Works property. Brien created about 250 lots, some of which he, in turn, sold to others to finance his court-approved repurchase of the property. In 1853, Lot 183 of the Antietam Iron Works ***(Tract #01-102)*** was sold by Brien's widow, through Brien's trustees, to Christian Smith.[160] This lot consisted of over 280 acres, was bordered by the Ore Bank Tract on the west, and spread across the top of a knoll, a short distance upriver from Harpers Ferry

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[157] See will of Peter Otzelberger in WB 18, p. 382, 1939, Washington County wills; and DB 211, p. 101, 01/06/1939 and DB 211, p. 107, 11/22/1939, in Washington County land records.

[158] See DB 228, p. 38, 10/21/1944, in Washington County land records; and Tract File #22-126, C&O Canal NHP.

[159] See transactions between the Otzelbergers for a 9-acre parcel in DB 116, p. 99, 03/29/1902; DB 143, p. 648, 03/26/1924; DB 211, p. 101, 01/06/1939; DB 224, p. 268, 10/14/1943, DB 406, p. 290, 02/05/1964, and DB 471, p. 201, 06/05/1968, all in Washington County land records. The two subdivided lots are known as Tracts #22-104 and #22-105; see C&O Canal NHP tract files.

[160] According to the family tradition recounted by Norman Thompson, interview 09/27/1995, Christian Smith was an engineer for the B&O Railroad, who drove the first engine across the railroad bridge at Harpers Ferry. The construction on the B&O's bridge was completed there in 1836.

and C&O Canal Dam No. 3.[161]

The Ore Bank tract of slightly more than 92 acres, "the greater part being well set in timber," was also part of the former Antietam Iron Works. It derived from Sample's Manor, which, as noted previously, had been formed by John Semple in the early 1760s.[162] As with the other portions of the iron works property, the Ore Bank Lot passed to Thomas Ahl in 1888. Ahl sold various lots, such as the nine-acre parcel to Peter Otzelberger, but the ore bank was not sold until 1895, when it was purchased by John Hays. The entire 92-acre parcel remained as one, never subdivided, throughout the twentieth century until 1967, when owner Ruth O'Brien consolidated the Ore Bank Lot, parts of old Lot 183 and other adjacent parcels into a larger property, known as Fort Duncan Park. O'Brien and her husband, John had acquired the ore bank in 1961; after John O'Brien's death, his widow's apparent intention was to develop the site into separate, individual, residential properties. The name, Fort Duncan Park ***(Tract #01-102)***, derived from remnants of the Civil War fortification located nearby.

Fort Duncan had been established on the highest point of Lot 183 by the Union Army as a infantry redoubt in the fall of 1862. This installation comprised the western end point of the Barnard Line, a linear arrangement of military forts and batteries designed to defend Maryland Heights and the Potomac River crossings at Harpers Ferry from Confederate attack.[163] Between Antietam Creek and Harpers Ferry, the C&O Canal followed a course between the river and "steep rocks and hill sides, intermixed with some portions of favorable ground."[164] At Fort Duncan, the canal passed around one of the steeper hillsides and accommodated the change of level with two adjacent locks, Lock 35 and 36. Between these and Lock 34, located further downstream, were a feeder dam (Dam No. 3) and a canal boat repair area, as well as remnants of the earlier Patowmack Company's "long canal."[165]

Prior to Christian Smith's purchase of the hill property, Lot 183 had been mostly in timber.[166] In the years between the purchase and the military occupation, Smith cleared some

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[161] Derived from Frye, Susan Winter and Dennis E., Maryland Heights: Archeological and Historical Resources Study (Washington, D.C.: Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1989). See DB IN 9, p. 174, 05/30/1853, Washington County land records. The hill has been called Huckleberry Hill (in Lake, Atlas of Washington County), and Turkey Hill (on Washington County Maryland - 1910-).

[162] From advertisement of public sale, 09/21/1886, in Equity 3591, Chancery Record 27, p. 74, 1886, Washington County Circuit Court.

[163] See Jack Sanderson, "The Historic Significance of the Fort Duncan Area," September 4, 1974, C&O Canal NHP; and Frye and Frye, Maryland Heights.

[164] U.S. Board of Engineers, Preliminary Survey Report in Unrau, "Chronological History" 3, 89.

[165] Hahn, Towpath Guide, 111-113.

[166] Before Smith's purchase, Brien's wooded tracts may have been marked by small homestead clearings and timber roads, such as that at the base of Maryland Heights described in the following deposition of Dennis O'Byrne in The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company vs. James B. Wager, et al, 06/29/1832, p. 16, RG 79, Entry 219, Box 2, NARA. The deposition recorded the following:

of the land, constructed a residence and outbuildings, and farmed the property. For as yet undetermined reasons Smith's operation is not listed in the 1860 Agricultural Census. This omission may indicate that the land was not developed until after 1860, that Smith was not the owner of record at that time, or that a census oversight occurred.[167] In any event, by 1863 documentation shows that Smith's L-shaped, brick residence, barn and two outbuildings formed a farmstead cluster near the base of the highest point, where the fort was sited (Figure 4.30). A lane led east away from the farm buildings to the fields below and connected Smith's tract to the main road leading from Antietam to Harpers Ferry. This latter route formed the eastern boundary of old Lot 183 and ran south, downhill to the canal at Lock 34, turned southeast, and ran parallel to the C&O. According to military maps, Smith's open land lay mostly toward the southeast in front of the residence. Union engineers may have adapted existing farm lanes in this area into part of a larger network of roads created to link other fortifications in the eastern section of the Barnard Line. The remaining portions of the farm on the south, west and northwest were wooded.[168]

Access to Fort Duncan on top of hill, and to the adjacent encampment and battery on the southern slope, came from new roads cut by troops and from what were probably old logging trails that had been originally designed to follow the course of the difficult terrain. These old trails found their outlet at the C&O Canal at the base of the hill, near Locks 35 and 36. Relations between the C&O Canal Company and John McPherson Brien and the later owners of Lot 183 were relatively minimal, with the exception that canal locks 34, 35 and 36 all bordered the property. Early canal surveys had not included the upper portions of Lot 183, since the proposed route for the canal coursed around the base of the hill. The only distinguishing feature noted at the time of the surveys was a deep ravine located on the ore bank

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> There is a house on the Mountain side in the rear of and above Mr. Wager's land on the premises of Brien to which a small garden and a small[?] potatoe patch is attached, that house was put up for the purpose of entertaining the hands employed in putting up the abutement of the Bridge [the original wagon bridge at Harpers Ferry], that house was built about 4 years ago, the tenant of that house (Chester) built the house himself and pays no rent for it. He acts as agent for Brien and takes care of his timber, etc., and gets the land for that service.

[167] Taggart, Washington County, assigned Lot 183 to John Peacher, suggesting that Peacher may have held a mortgage on the property in 1859. Oblique references to John Peacher found on the deed copied in DB IN 9, p. 174, 05/30/1853; DB 364, p. 574, 02/01/1961; and DB 257, p. 12, 05/16/1950, all in Washington County land records, suggest that Peacher had some claim to the land, although no mortgage record has been found to date. In addition, the Taggart map shows structures on Lot 183; Smith sold 99 acres from Lot 183 to John Peacher in 1865, as recorded in DB IN 19, p. 297; Lake, Atlas of Washington County indicates that one G. Peacher resided on the southeastern portion of the hilltop.

[168] Based on analysis of survey map by John Donn, Potomac River (Upper Part), 1865, RG 77, Civil Works File, Cartographic Division, NA; and George Kaiser, "Maryland Heights from Fort Duncan," and "Plan of Campgrounds and Fortifications on Maryland Heights," January 1863, from NA and featured in Frye and Frye, Maryland Heights, 175 and 177. Mortgage on the Christian Smith Farm in DB 121, p. 548, 03/18/1905, states that the property had been "improved by a brick house with barn and other outbuildings."

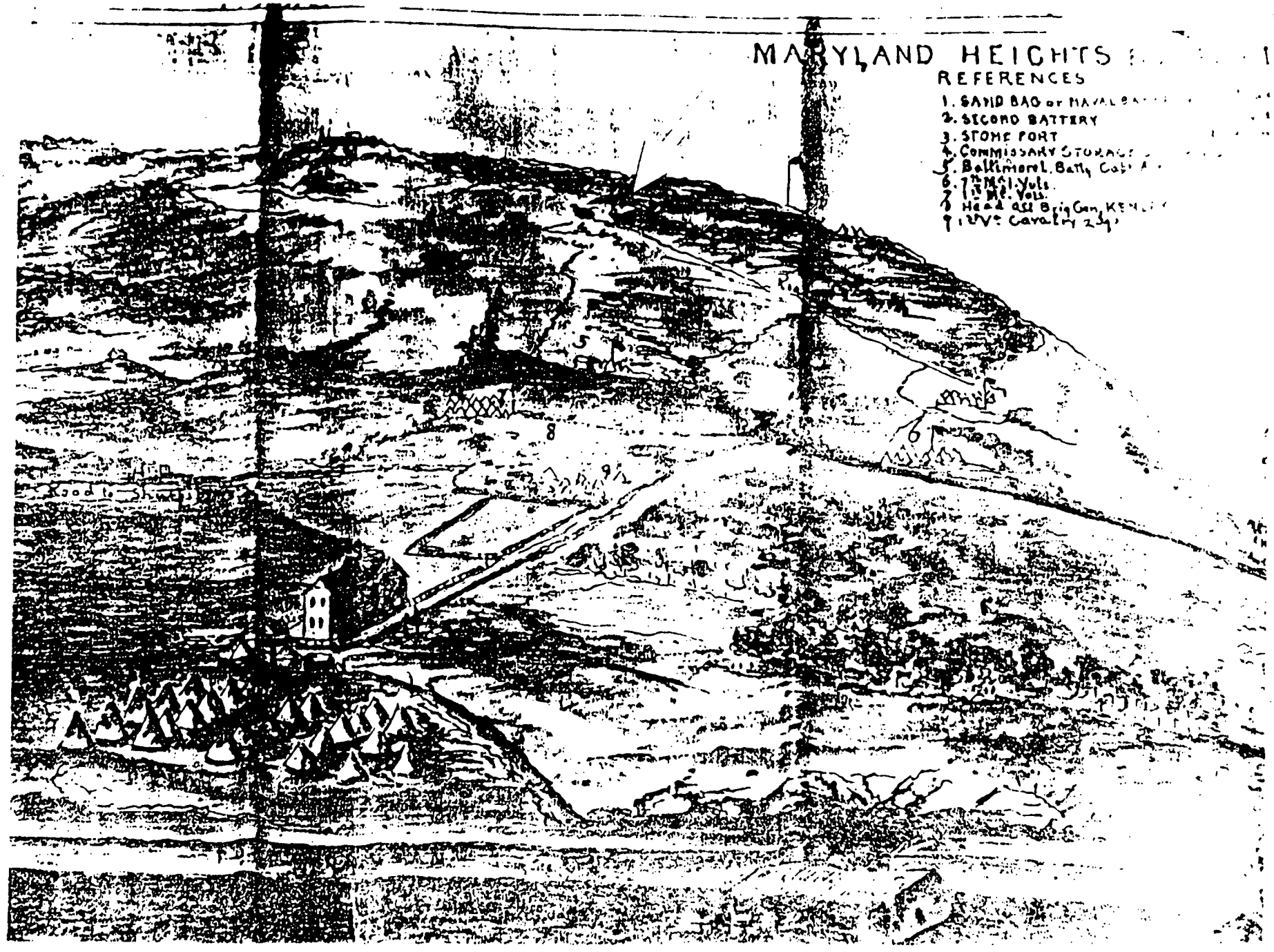

Figure 4.30 1863 view from Ft. Duncan showing Smith residence

tract.[169]

During the military's use of the farm, trees were felled not only to open vistas through to the Virginia hills on the opposite side of the Potomac, but also to provide construction timber, to defend the fortifications, and for fuel for the camps. Fences were also dismantled for their wood. Livestock and produce were also probably taken from the farm. The longterm effect of the military occupation, combined with the sale of 99 acres from the farm in 1865, may explain the apparently small output of Smith's operation in the years after the war. In addition, Smith may have allowed land cleared by troops to lay fallow, which would have further reduced the post-war potential for cultivation.[170] An indirect reference to the uncultivated and overgrown character of the hilltop may lay in the descriptive name, Huckleberry Hill, which is shown on the 1877 Atlas of Washington County (Figure 4.31).

In 1870, Christian Smith reported that he had farmed 50 acres of improved land, while keeping 120 acres in woods. His operation was small compared to others in the lower sections of Washington County. Yet the $550 value of Smith's farm indicates that his was one of the larger ones in the district. He raised 3 horses, 3 cows, 4 head of cattle and 9 swine. To support his livestock, Smith grew wheat (120 bushels), rye (30 bushels, corn (200 bushels) and oats (100 bushels). Smith's market crops included 30 bushels of potatoes, 140 pounds of butter and $100 worth of orchard products. Smith had also cut one ton of hay.[171]

By 1880, Christian Smith had cleared more land on the hill. He reported 70 acres improved by tilling, 6 in permanent meadow, and 103 in woods and forest, for a total of 179 out of a possible 180 acres.[172] In the year prior, Smith had employed extra labor for 104 weeks. His livestock inventory had increased to 6 horses, 4 cows, 6 head of cattle, 20 swine, 56 poultry animals, all of which yielded in market products 200 pounds of butter and 404 dozen eggs. Livestock feeds came from 14 acres of corn, 8 acres of oats, and 18 of wheat. From these Smith harvested 500 bushels of corn, 150 bushels of oats, and 300 of wheat. He also cultivated greater numbers of potatoes (100 bushels). In addition to the growth in production from livestock, grains and market products, Smith's operation had increased orchard production to achieve yields of 150 bushels from 50 apple trees on four acres and 900 bushels of peaches from 250 trees planted on 2 acres. The value of his tree fruit production had increased from $50 to $200.[173]

The patterns of agriculture established by Smith probably continued through to succeeding owners of the hill top farm. According to Christian Smith's great-grandson, the apple orchard lay south of the entry road, in an open area that extended all the way to a "substantial ravine." Other fields beyond the main residence were "planted in hay and livestock fodder, such as corn."

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[169]See Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

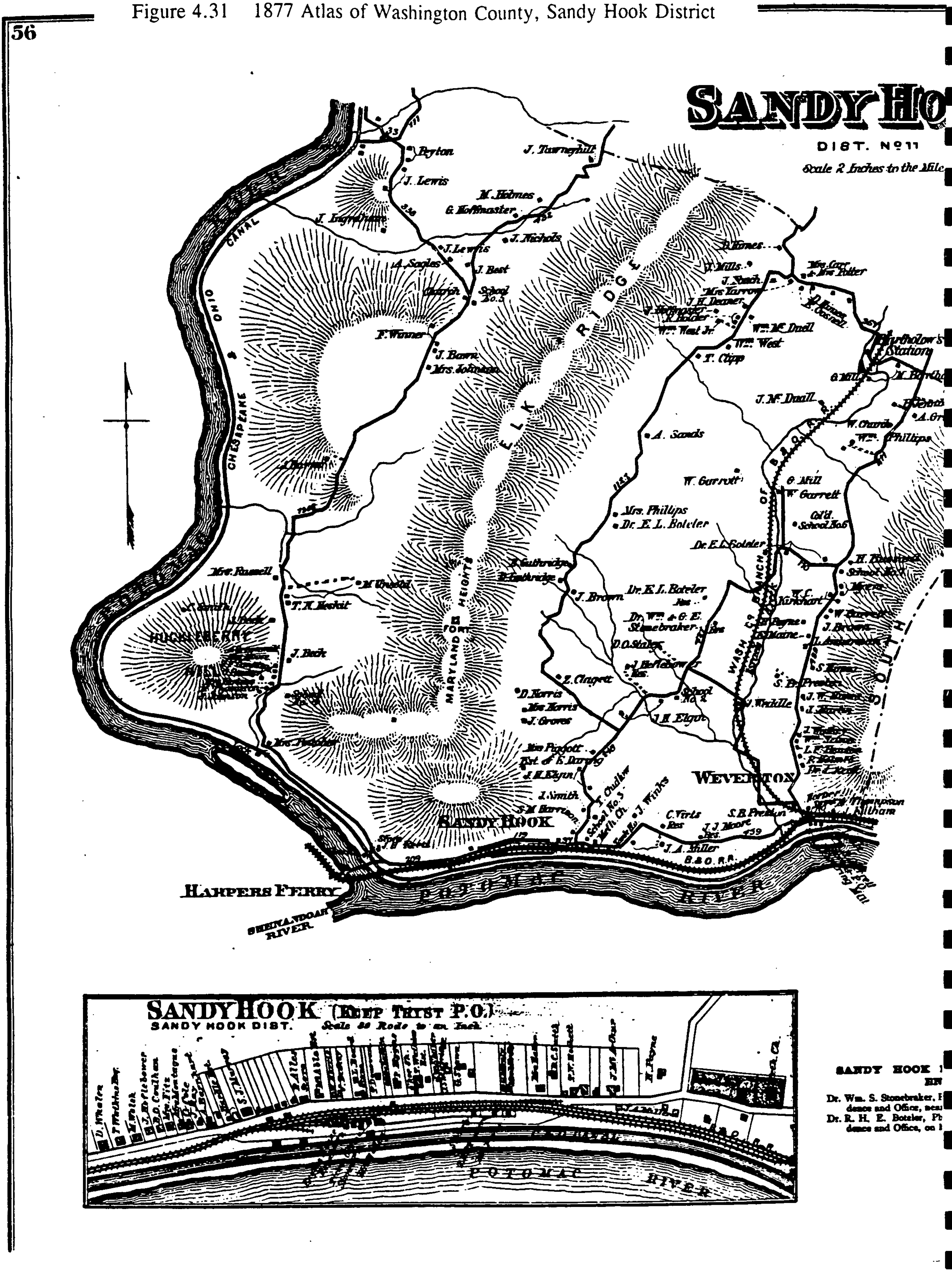
[170]See Christian Smith to John Peacher, Jr. in DB 19, p. 297, 1865, Washington County land records.

[171]Agricultural Census, 1870.

[172]In addition to the 99 acres sold to John Peacher, Jr., in 1865, Smith had sold an acre lot, near Lock 34, to John Crowley in DB IN 9, p. 144, 04/11/1854.

[173]Agricultural Census, 1880.

Figure 4.31 1877 Atlas of Washington County, Sandy Hook District


56
SANDY HO
DIST. No 11
Scale 2 Inches to the Mile
ELK RIDGE
MARYLAND HEIGHTS
FORT
CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL
HUCKLEBERRY
WEVERTON
SANDY HOOK
HARPERS FERRY
SHENANDOAH RIVER
POTOMAC RIVER
B.&O. R.R.
WASH. CO. BRANCH OF B.&O. R.R.
Bartholow's Station
J. Tawneyhill
Peyton
J. Lewis
M. Holmes
G. Hoffmaster
J. Nichols
J. Best
Church
School No. 3
F. Winner
J. Bawn
Mrs. Johnson
A. Sands
W. Garrott
Mrs. Phillips
Dr. E. L. Boteler
J. McDuall
T. Clipp
Wm. West
Wm. West Jr.
Wm. McDuall
Mrs. Russell
J. Brown
D. Harris
Mrs. Harris
J. Groves
J. Smith
J. Winks
C. Virts
S. B. Preston
J. A. Miller
SANDY HOOK (KEEP TRYST P.O.)
SANDY HOOK DIST.
Scale 80 Rods to an Inch
SANDY HOOK
Dr. Wm. S. Stonebraker,
dence and Office,
Dr. R. H. E. Boteler,
dence and Office, on

This area of cultivation covered the western side of the hill top, between the farm buildings and the ascent to the old fort. The field near the fort was called "Fort Field," while woods grew within the outline of Fort Duncan itself. The area to the north and the area between the fort and the canal were also in timber and may have been managed as wood lots.[174]

By the time of Smith's death in 1904, he had subdivided portions of the property into small lots and given these to several of his children. Most of the lots were located along the south, east and northeast boundaries of the farm. The lot given to Smith's daughter, Eugenia Hoffman, contained an old log house, situated near the large ravine, at the top of the hill, south of the main house. This site, presently known as the Maggio property ***(Tract #01-104)***, was converted into a modest homestead with a frame residence, a few outbuildings and a garden plot. Later, other descendants established a similar homestead on an adjacent lot.[175] With such subdivisions, the "Christian Smith Farm" was reduced to approximately 143 acres, with some 35 acres transferring to offspring between 1891 and 1900.[176]

In the early part of the twentieth century, the cluster of buildings marking the Smith family farm included the L-shaped brick residence surrounded by a moderate-sized front lawn and yard, a brick smokehouse located on the northern edge of the rear yard, and a large barn and a blacksmith shop situated southwest of the residence and along the farm road leading to the upper fields near the fort.[177] In addition to the "Christian Smith Farm" and the two homesteads on the hilltop near the ravine, another homestead was located on the south side of the gravel entry lane. The area covering the hilltop remained relatively open, marked by rectilinear field lines and distinct stands of commercial quality timber growing on the slopes above locks 35 and 34 and on the hills upstream from the Fort Duncan site.[178]

After the dissolution of Smith's estate, the farm property was held by absentee owners and mortgaged. Mortgage default and subsequent sales in 1916 resulted in the farm's transfer

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[174]Derived from Norman Thompson interview, 09/27/1995.

[175]See Norman Thompson interview, 1-2; see also Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County.

[176]See DB 97, p. 531, 1891; DB 103, p. 160, 1895; and DB 113, p. 342, 1900, all in Washington County land records. See also DB 121, p. 548, 03/18/1905, in Washington County land records, citing mortgage of Charles and Laura Merritt held by George W. McBride for 143 acre-property, "improved by a brick house with barn and other outbuildings," on the Christian Smith Farm.

[177]See Norman Thompson interview.

[178]Besley, Washington County Maryland forest areas, shows the second homestead on the entry road and the pair near the ravine. Norman Thompson confirms the existence of the second house, stating in his interview that during his youth a "lazy" uncle resided in the residence located on the entry road. Secondary farm roads and any remnant military or logging roads are not featured on Besley's survey, although they may have still been in use. Interpretative site plans developed in the 1970s by the National Park Service for Fort Duncan indicate that traces of old trails were still visible at that time.

to Abram and Bessie Kaplon.[179] The 143 acres remained intact until Mabel and Robert Kenney purchased the land in 1950. At that time the Kenneys added two adjacent hill top properties, which they had purchased a few years earlier, to the former Smith farm to create a larger tract of approximately 251 acres. Analysis of deeds shows that portions of the Kenney's holdings included former Antietam Iron Works Lot 183 and the old Ore Bank lot, both formerly associated with the Brien's operation on Antietam Creek.[180]

The Kenneys sold their property to John and Ruth O'Brien in 1961. In 1967, the O'Brien's consolidated these holdings with other adjacent acreage and Ruth O'Brien subsequently transferred her ownership to a corporation, known as Fort Duncan Park.[181] Fort Duncan Park consisted of over 337 acres, with approximately 50 of these in farm land. The open areas lay in five separate fields or meadows, which continued to be partially delineated by the angular course of the entry lane and farm road. The ruins of Fort Duncan remained obscured by forest, and, because of the extent of the wooded conditions, traces of the "Fort Field" were not readily apparent.[182] At the time of Fort Duncan Park's creation, improvements on the site included the old Christian Smith brick residence, a frame barn, a small wood shed, old brick smoke house, a one-story frame rental cottage and a one-story concrete block barn with adjacent concrete block shed (probably used originally for a small dairy operation). The farmstead was occupied by tenant caretakers. North of the entry lane and west of the Harpers Ferry Road, at some distance from the brick residence, were located the cluster of farm buildings and the cottage, a two-story frame dwelling with a general purpose barn and two other outbuildings.[183] Approximately 235 acres of Fort Duncan Park's 337 acres was sold to the United States in 1973

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[179]Abram and Bessie Kaplon were Russian immigrants who established Kaplons' Department Store, a large emporium located across the river in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. In 1939, the Kaplons sold the farm to Harold L. and Frances Kaplon Gouker, their daughter, who held it until 1944. See DB 148, p. 683-684, 03/13/1916; DB 208, p. 490, 01/21/1939; and DB 229, p. 338, 12/16/1944, all in Washington County land records. See also Harpers Ferry Newspaper Database.

[180]Trustees for the Antietam Iron Works had sold the 92 3/4 acre Ore Bank Lot in 1853-1854 to William Clarke. The tract remained intact throughout many transfers of title until William Keedy's purchase of it in 1949. Keedy acquired other nearby land, including the Smith/Kaplon/Gouker 143 acres; he sold his holdings to Mabel and Robert Kenney in 1950. Taken from Deed Research, Tract File #01-102, Cultural Resources, C&O Canal NHP.

[181]See Coleman to O'Brien in DB 367, p. 320, 05/12/1961 and in DB 389, p. 559, 01/13/1963; also O'Brien to Fort Duncan Park, Inc. in DB 452, p. 119, 03/04/1967, Washington County land records.

[182]See Kimball, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, segment map 01.

[183]Derived from Richard Bowers appraisal, 10/02/1972, in Tract File #01-102, C&O Canal NHP. The frame cottage and the concrete block barn and shed may have represented one smaller farmstead. The two-story frame residence and barn on Harpers Ferry Road are not shown on Maryland Geological Survey, Washington County (surveyed in 1898-1910); it may postdate the Christian Smith era and have no relation to the Fort Duncan farmstead. These structures have since been removed; documentation in the tract file does not identify the locations of the presently non-extant structures found on the site in 1972.

to be included in the C&O Canal National Historical Park.

CHAPTER 5: FREDERICK COUNTY TRACTS

FROM TUSCARORA CREEK TO THE MOUTH OF THE MONOCACY

Existing Condition of Park Tracts

Tract #12-108, Carroll-Gum, 111.81 acres
Tract #12-109, Carroll-Unknown, 1.82 acres
Tract #12-110, Carroll-Unknown, 1.82 acres
Tract #12-111, Carroll-Unknown, 12.86 acres

Tract 12-108, located at Noland's Ferry near the village of Tuscarora, consists of a triangular wedge tapering upstream (Figure 5.1). It is bounded along its north side by the Metropolitan Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, south by the C&O Canal, and to the east by ***Tract 13-100***. Noland's Ferry Road runs through the western end of Tract 12-108, and Tuscarora Creek and a tributary to it meander through its center. Before its purchase by the NPS, this tract was part of a much larger farm, the majority of which lay north of the railroad.

At the time of NPS acquisition, almost all of ***Tract 12-108*** was comprised of open, cultivated fields. These lands have not been leased for several years, however, and are in the beginning stages of returning to woodland. The two fields on either side of Noland's Ferry Road are still open meadow with some young, woody growth. The large field on the east side of Tuscarora Creek, south of the tributary, is further along in succession with a thick growth of small saplings in some areas, particularly along the canal. Three small fields on the north side of the tributary are still open meadow. Remnants of old fence lines can be seen along this small stream.

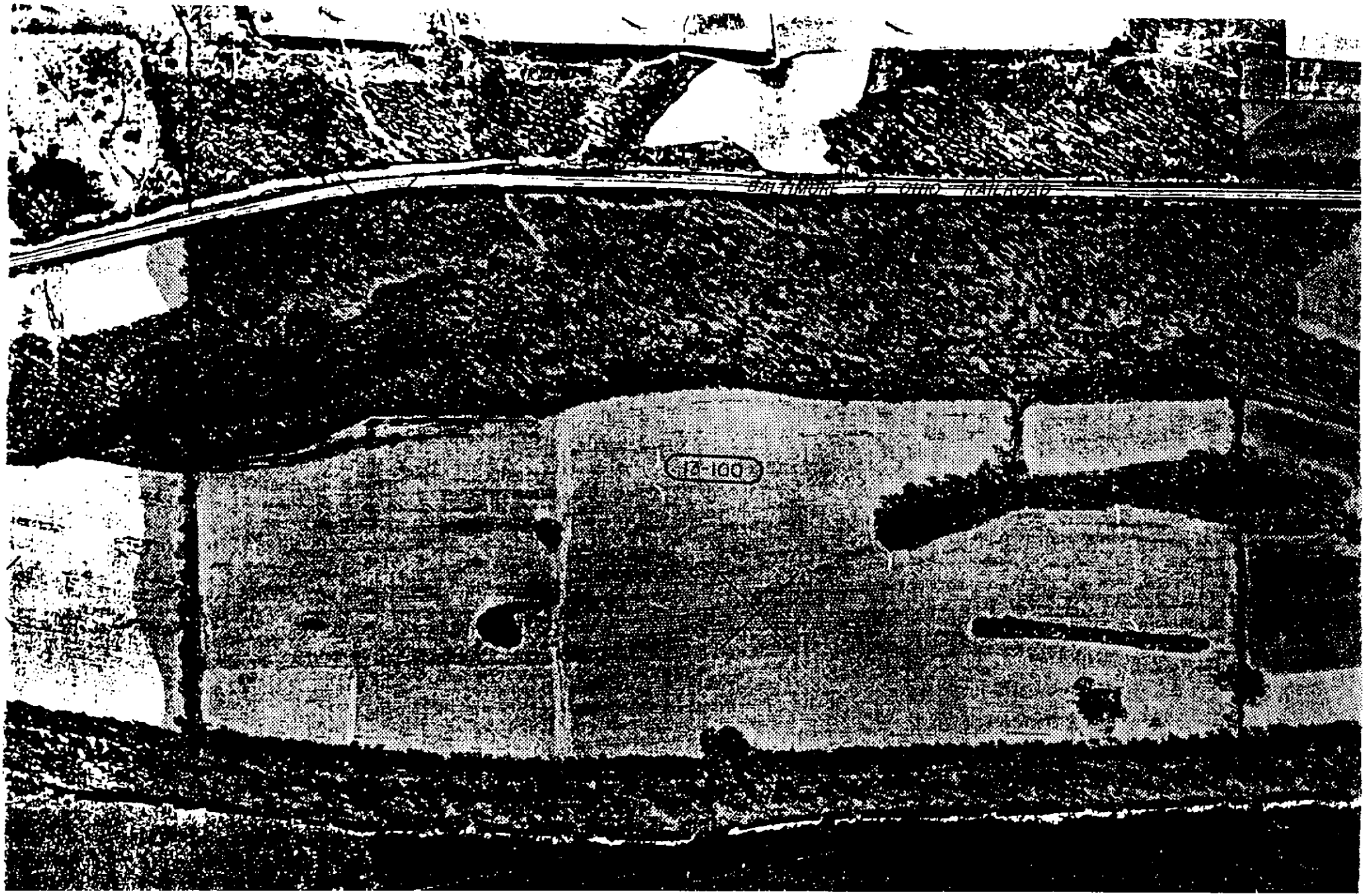
In the field between Noland's Ferry Road and Tuscarora Creek are twelve contiguous small lots lining the berm side of the canal, part of an original division of Carrollton Manor. Two of these lots ***(Tracts #12-109 and #12-110)*** conveyed to the NPS as part of Tract 12-108, while ownership of the others was unknown and resulted in condemnation proceedings.

Tract #13-100, Carroll-Bick, 176.16 acres

Tract 13-100 is roughly rectangular in shape and adjoins the downstream side of ***Tract 12-108***. It also is situated between the railroad and canal (Figure 5.2). The small tributary of Tuscarora Creek located on the latter tract also traverses ***Tract 13-100***. Sections of this stream may have been channelized; old drainage ditches are evident in other areas of this tract as well. One-third of the parcel on the north side of the stream is wooded, while on the south side is a large field that has not been leased in several years and is in early succession.

Figure 5.1 Tracts #12-108, Carroll-Gum, and #12-109, #12-110, and #12-111, Carroll-Unknown

Figure 5.2 Tract #13-100, Carroll-Bick



Tract #13-101, Carroll-Brown, 182.48 acres

Tracts 13-101 and 13-124 comprised an entire farm when purchased by the NPS; both are still actively farmed (Figure 5.3). ***Tract 13-101*** is rectangular in shape, bounded by the railroad to the north, canal to the south, the mouth of Monocacy River to the east, and ***Tract 13-100*** to the west. About two-thirds of this land is comprised of four large fields. As one enters the farm along Chick Road, the first field to the right is in hay. Within this field is a narrow, linear bank of trees that mark the remnants of an old road trace. The other three fields are in cultivation. Vegetation is encroaching along the wooded edges of all of theses fields.

On the west edge of ***Tract 13-101*** and abutting ***Tract 13-100***, are two smaller fields that have not been in agricultural use for several years. They presently consist of overgrown meadow lands with some woody growth. These fields are separated from the main fields by a thin band of trees delineating a low-lying, wet area.

Chick Road ends at a ca. 1870 farm house. A lane continues from that point to the barnyard complex consisting of a collapsing nineteenth-century frame barn and two early to mid-twentieth century milking barns (Figure 5.4). A rough lane extends about 100 yards from this complex perpendicular to the entrance lane, toward the Potomac River. On the east side of this lane are enclosures that may have served as animal pens. The projected continuation of this land southward serves as a field division line. The two eastern-most fields along Monocacy River are separated from each other by a wooded fenceline that follows the same course as the old road trace located in the first field.

Landscape History of Individual Sites - Carrollton Manor

The land holdings of the Carroll family between the Catoctin Mountains and the mouth of the Monocacy River were part of a tract called Carroll Manor, and later Carrollton Manor. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the tract, which was managed by resident agents of the Carroll family, ranged from 15,000 to 17,000 acres in size, lying across an area south and southwest of the city of Frederick. As noted previously, Native Americans had first inhabited the area, living off cultivated foodstuffs, game and fish. Two miles west of the Monocacy, these early inhabitants had established a river crossing over the Potomac, part of the "Monocacy Trail," a segment on the larger "Indians Road" that ran from the Susquehanna River to the Carolinas.[1]

The Noland family operated a ferry at the Potomac River crossing as early as 1758. Just north of the crossing a "thriving" community consisting of stores, a blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, taverns and a wagon shop developed to serve the commercial traffic using the ferry. Virginia farmers and drovers from the Shenandoah Valley crossed the Potomac, as Native Americans had before, to Maryland on their way across Carrollton Manor to Frederick and on

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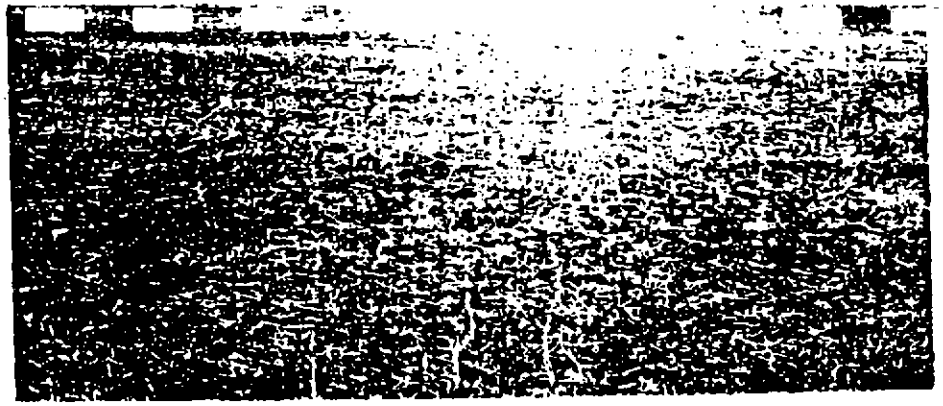
[1]See Hahn, Towpath Guide, 80. Remains of native American fishing weirs can be seen from the C&O Canal towpath near Nolands Island.

Figure 5.3 Tracts #13-101 and #13-124, Carroll-Brown



LOOKING WEST FROM FIELD SOUTH OF BARN

LOOKING NORTH FROM FIELD SOUTHWEST OF BARN

Figure 5.4 Chick Farm Complex

to markets in Baltimore (Figure 5.5).[2] However, activity at the ferry landing must have declined during the first half of the nineteenth century, as neither Abert nor Geddes and Roberts noted the Nolands Ferry in their surveys conducted for the C&O Canal Company.

By 1808, the Manor had been reduced to 12,375 acres. At that time, Charles Carroll of Carrollton owned the estate. The manor was not only distinguished by productive farmland, but by three mills on Tuscarora Creek, a ford across the Monocacy, Noland's Ferry across the Potomac and public roads linking the manor with Virginia, the lower Potomac, and Frederick as well.

> *The land is level but rolling enough to make good drainage, the quality of the land with its clay subsoil could not be surpassed, the immense forest trees was an evidence of its fertility. Limestone land is always recognized as the best with the finest springs and water flowing in every direction, made it the equal of any farming section in these United States.*[3]

Carroll's original settlers had been tenant farmers inhabiting "single log rooms, chinked and dobbed, with one door and two windows, the stone chimney and fireplace being the most pretentious." Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, succeeding tenants added to the "old log houses [and] slave quarters were built nearby."[4]

The tenant/overseer arrangement persisted until the mid-nineteenth century, when Robert Boone, the first non-resident manager of the estate, began to sell many of the Carrollton Manor farms. Even with the gradual dissolution of the manor following Carroll's death in 1832, the strong sense of community that began with the original tenant arrangement under single ownership continued to characterize the large farming area of southern Frederick County.[5]

Charles Carroll's reputation as a model landowner concerned with the improvement of agriculture was manifested in his efforts to raise grain on a large scale and to improve livestock breeds on his estates. It also became evident in his financial support of agricultural enterprises and in internal improvements such as the Ellicott Mills on the Patapsco River, wagon roads and turnpikes, the Patowmack Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. His interest in farming practices and agricultural production began before the end of the eighteenth century. By 1799, Carroll grew not only tobacco, but also cultivated corn, rye, wheat, turnips and clover. He instructed his workers to drain low-lying areas; he had lime, burned in his own kilns, applied on these and other fields. Cattle were housed, fed and fenced together to collect large quantities

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[2]See Varle, Frederick and Washington Counties; and Hahn, Towpath Guide, 80.

[3]William J. Grove, The History of Carrollton Manor, Frederick County, Md. (privately printed, 1922), 19.

[4]Quotation from Grove, Carrollton Manor, p. 8. Discussion based on analysis of Varle, Frederick and Washington Counties; Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 567; and George Washington's notations on the relationship of Charles Carroll to his tenants, cited earlier.

[5]Based on analysis of Grove, Carrollton Manor. Many of names associated with the subject properties are listed in Grove's History as those of longstanding residents of the community. See pp. 9-10, p. 14.

Figure 5.5 Detail of 1808 Varle Map showing southern Frederick County

of manure. He followed this same practice with his hogs. In addition to these efforts to restore productivity to the soil, Carroll experimented with plowing under stands of corn and other vegetation.[6]

Not only did Carroll back the construction of the turnpike connecting the city of Frederick with markets in Baltimore, but he also assured delivery of farm products from his estate by promoting the establishment of a network of wagon roads leading to Frederick from different locations on the manor.[7] Although Carroll was an early backer of the Patowmack Canal Company, foreseeing the advantages in rendering Potomac "navigation not merely practical, but easy to tidewater," improvements made by the company to the Potomac and its tributaries may not have had a significant effect on Carrollton Manor. Only in 1827, at the end of the Patowmack Company's existence, were five miles of improvements to the Monocacy completed. Projects such as this had been designed to facilitate shipments of grain or flour from the eastern portion of Frederick County, as well as products from the Sugar Loaf region in Montgomery County to the Potomac ports of Georgetown and Alexandria.[8]

This interest in agriculture, production and transportation remained with the Carroll family well into the next century. Richard Caton, Charles Carroll's son-in-law and land manager of one of his estates was a member of the Maryland Agricultural Society, which was established in 1818. Like Charles Carroll, the state society advocated the completion of internal improvements for enhanced access to and the expansion of markets. The society also held that restoration of long-cultivated land and exhausted soil would increase agricultural production and in turn increase market share.[9]

Whether these attitudes influenced tenants farming the most southern portion of Carrollton Manor ***(Tracts #12-108, #13-100, and #13-101)*** has yet to be determined. This section of the manor followed the course of the Potomac west from the mouth of the Monocacy River, across Tuscarora Creek, to the foot of the Catoctin Mountains. It is possible that access to lime kilns located on the estate and the general leadership of the Carroll family and their agents in agricultural matters encouraged tenants to achieve higher yields on the bottomland fields located near the Potomac and the Monocacy. Jury awards made in 1829 to settle the C&O Canal Company's negotiations with Charles Carroll and adjacent landowners to the west appear

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[6]Wiser, "Agricultural Improvement," 28, 52-53.

[7]See discussion of the history of the roads on Carrollton Manor found in Grove, Carrollton Manor, 19-20, 22-23.

[8]Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Daniel Carroll of Duddington cited in Robb, "Industry," 78. Monocacy improvements are also discussed in Robb, 94-95, and found in Entry 160 and Entry 163, RG 79, NA. In 1837 heirs of several of the backers of the Monocacy improvements petitioned the C&O Canal Company for renewal of their original Patowmack Company stock certificates. Charles Carroll's estate is not among those listed; see Power of attorney to Richard Potts and published subscriber's notice in Box 1, Entry 217, RG 79, NA.

[9]Wiser, "Agricultural Improvement," 106. Caton is not listed by Grove in Carrollton Manor as a manager of that estate; he probably managed another Carrollton estate.

to substantiate this possibility. The jury assigned Carroll's land the highest value, $30 per acre.[10]

Of the 67 acres of Carrollton Manor wanted by the C&O for the construction of the canal, 31 of them were farmed by a lessee named William Eagle. The remainder were apportioned among three others: Joseph Osborn (16 acres), George Elliott (8 acres) and John and Samuel Jarboe (11 acres). The extent of Eagle's fields appear to have spanned the Potomac shoreline from the mouth of the Monocacy to the mouth of Tuscarora Creek. Abert's survey for the canal route indicates that three large fields lay along the Potomac immediately east of Tuscarora Creek, while three other cultivated areas were located slightly northeast of these, between the first westerly bend in the Monocacy and the low, marshy ground just west of the mouth (Figure 5.6). In Geddes and Roberts' survey, conducted a few years later, they sketched the topography of this area and noted the residences of "Shelton" and "Tawney," which were set back from the Potomac on higher land (Figure 5.7). William Eagle may have resided at some distance from fields shown by Abert and from the two residences, with "Shelton" and "Tawney" representing the homes of tenants working for either the manor or for Eagle. In 1858, two farmsteads marked with Eagle's name were located several miles to the north.[11]

The proposed route for the C&O Canal in this area crossed the same, southern portion of Carrollton Manor. Reconnaissance from one preliminary survey stated that "from the Coctotin [sic] ridge to the Monocacy, about 6 1/2 miles, the ground is favorable, with the exception of one small portion, where a deep cut will be necessary."[12] Carroll's attitude toward the C&O, however, was far from favorable and was best summarized with the following statement in 1829: "When it is completed, the value of my estate no doubt will be much increased, but when it will be completed, if ever, is uncertain."[13] Carroll also held that prolonged construction of the canal would prohibit cultivation of the affected farm lands. In turn, manor farmers would be unable to realize their rents owed to him.[14] In addition to the documented statements made by Carroll, his opposition to the C&O was undoubtedly influenced

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[10]See Christian Kemp et al, Inquisition, March 24, 1829, Liber JS 31, folio 225, in RG 79, Entry 219, Box 5, Env. 337, NA.

[11]See Abert, Potomac Canal; Geddes and Roberts, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; and Jesse Bond, Map of Frederick County, Maryland, 1858, copy in Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. The J.C. Osborn shown on the Bond Map may be the same Joseph Osborn cited in the C&O inquisition as one of Charles Carroll's lessees. Osborn is the only one of the four 1829 Carroll lessees residing near the Potomac in 1858.

[12]U.S. Board of Engineers, Preliminary Survey Report cited in Unrau, "Chronological History" 3, 91.

[13]Charles Carroll of Carrollton to C.F. Mercer, 02/26/1829, cited by Robb in "Industry," 183, from Entry 190, RG 79, NA.

[14]*ibid.*

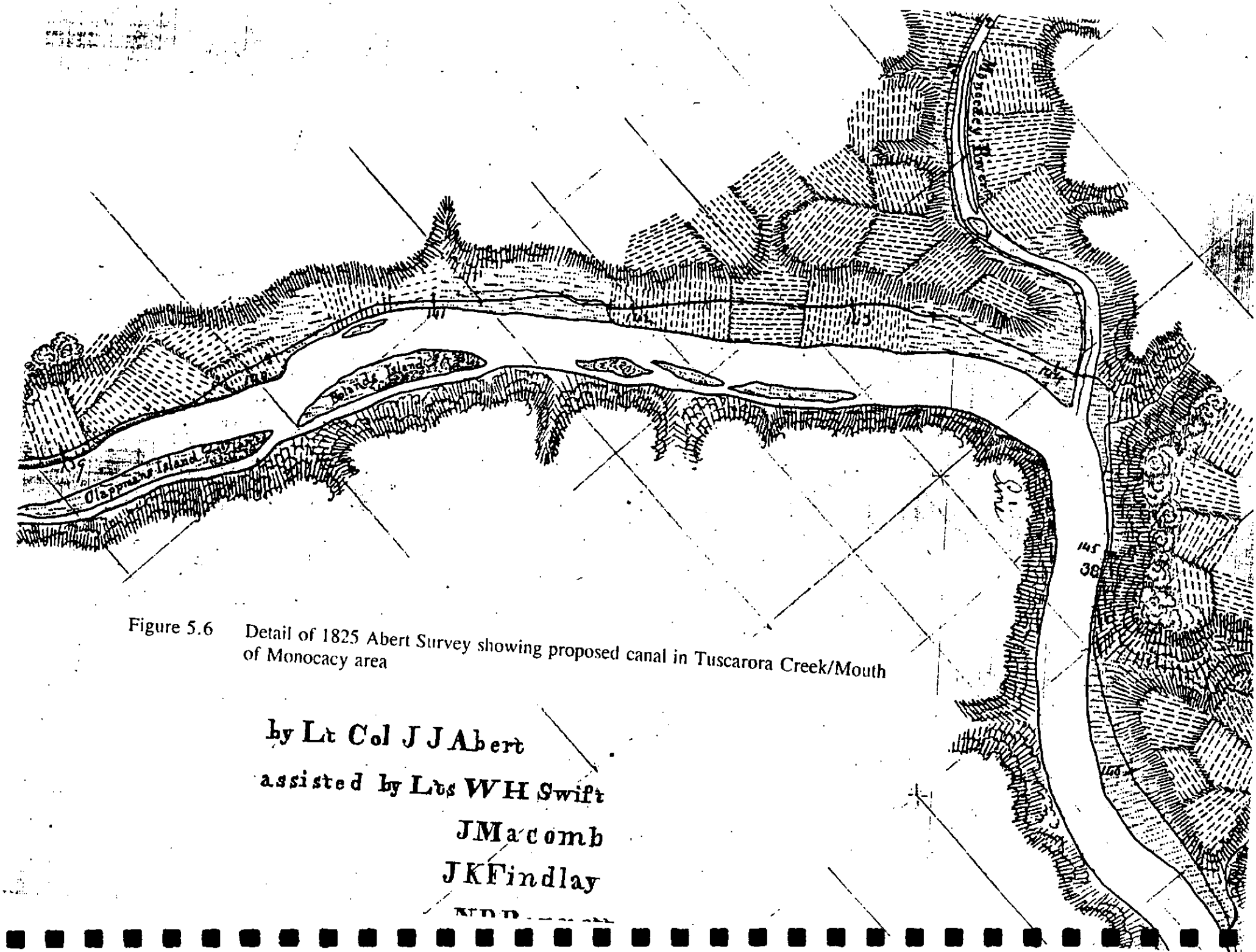

Figure 5.6 Detail of 1825 Abert Survey showing proposed canal in Tuscarora Creek/Mouth of Monocacy area

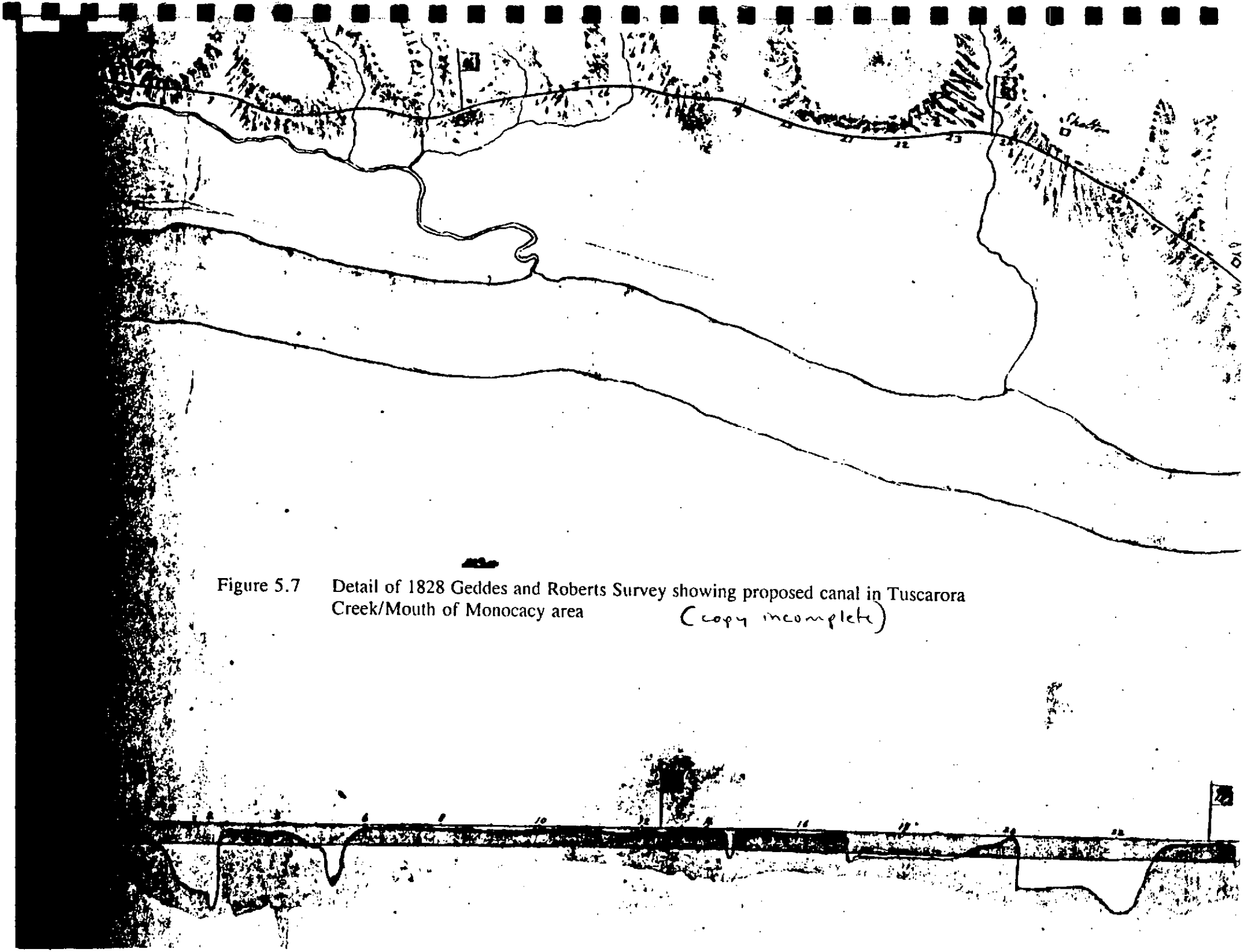

Figure 5.7 Detail of 1828 Geddes and Roberts Survey showing proposed canal in Tuscarora Creek/Mouth of Monocacy area (Copy incomplete)

by his role as the single largest stockholder of the rival B&O Railroad.[15]

Canal construction did disturb the landscape at the confluence of the two rivers and disrupt agricultural production in the area. The construction of the Monocacy Aqueduct, the canal's largest, required in 1831 alone an extensive construction force of some 235 men and the use of 15 four-horse teams to haul stone and cement. Farther upriver, canal excavations in 1833 blocked regular travel across the Potomac at Nolands Ferry. Here, Virginia customers of a merchant and flour mill in Buckeystown, a community located just outside the eastern boundary of the manor, were frequently thwarted in their efforts to use the ferry. Even after the canal's completion, transporting goods across the C&O continued to be difficult. In 1848 a timber bridge over the canal near Noland's replaced the boat that had been in use up until then.[16]

By the time of the Civil War, occupation and use of the land from the mouth of the Monocacy to Tuscarora Creek had apparently changed very little from earlier times. In 1858, only the homestead of C.B. Offutt anchored the west edge of the fields that stretched along the Potomac in this area (Figure 5.8). Documentation uncovered thus far fails to indicate the fate of the "Tawney" and "Shelton" homesteads; Offutt's farm appears to have been located north of the bend in Tuscarora Creek. It was also situated on the southwest side of the main wagon road that came from southern Montgomery County, crossed the Monocacy at a ford north of the aqueduct, followed the low ridge across the southern end of the manor and headed north to intersect with other roads at Licksville (Figure 5.9).[17]

Even with the disruption of agricultural production during the Civil War, field lines established by topography, the C&O's boundaries and traditional road alignments remained in set patterns. In 1865 "James H. Bell," located directly north of the westerly bend in Tuscarora Creek, occupied the former Offutt farm. A residence, at least two outbuildings, and a long farm lane characterized the layout of the "Bell" farm (Figure 5.8). According to documentation, Beall, who had farmed the tract for some time, completed his purchase of the property from Reverend Thomas Foley of Baltimore in 1867. At that time the farm consisted of two parcels. The first was known as "Lot No. 2, part of Lot No. 1, one of the grand divisions of Carroll's Manor," and contained 225 acres. The second was an eleven-acre wood lot from "Lot No. 1," or part of Lot No. 1.[18]

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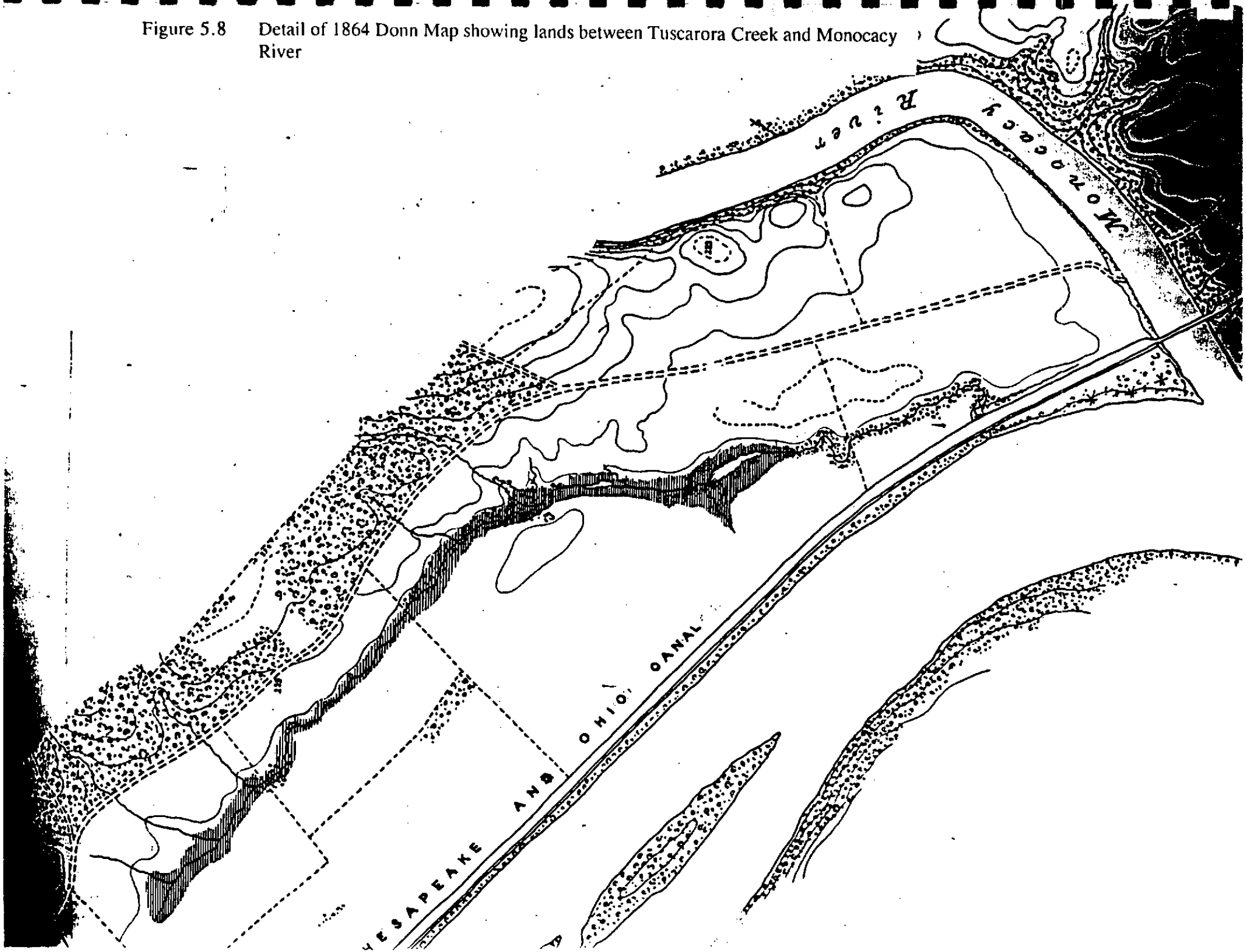
[15]See Robb, "Industry," 183-192, for a summary of the competition between the C&O and the B&O. For a more comprehensive discussion see Sanderlin, The Great National Project; for a detailed account of the legal fight between the two companies, see Dilts, The Great Road.

[16]Hahn, Towpath Guide, 81-82.

[17]Licksville is present-day Tuscarora. Preliminary archeological investigation suggests that the Tawney and Shelton farms may have been located on the present-day Chick Farm, or Tract# 13-101.

[18]Beall was probably the lessee or tenant operator of this property several years prior to his purchase of it. In 1863 a group of properties on Carrollton Manor were willed to Rev. Foley by Emily McTavish, one of Charles Carroll's granddaughters. Foley in turn, agreed to sell the one farm to Beall in installments. Beall made the final payment August 31, 1867. See Equity 3633, Daniel Foley vs. Thomas Foley, Levin Beall et al., in Equity Record HWB 3, p. 488, 1871, in Frederick County land records. Beall is also listed on the 1860

Figure 5.8 Detail of 1864 Donn Map showing lands between Tuscarora Creek and Monocacy River



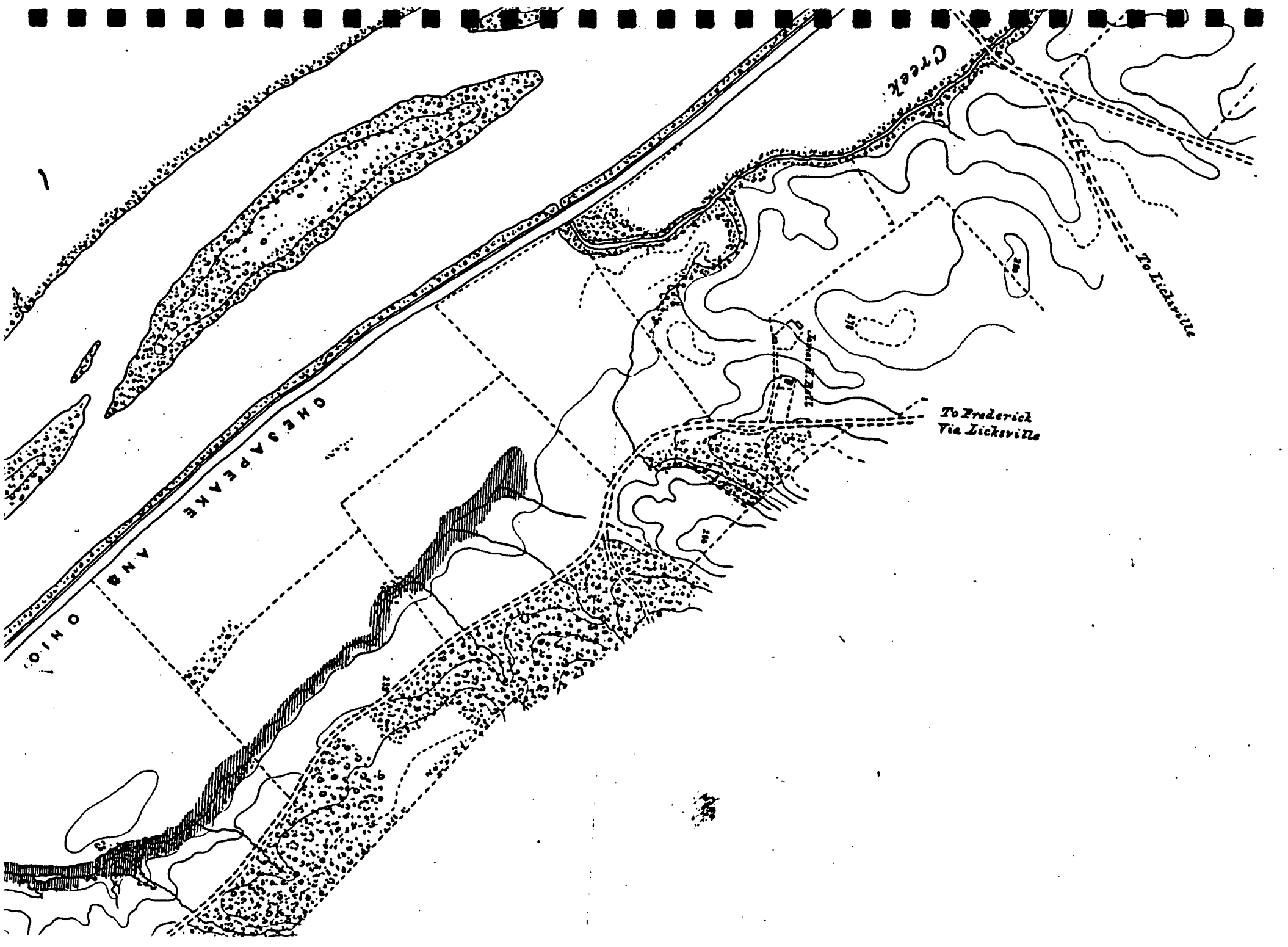

Creek
To Licksville
Lynn's Mill
To Frederick
Via Licksville
CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO

Figure 5.9 Detail of 1858 Bond Map showing outlines of Carrollton Manor

The 1860 Agricultural Census shows the acreage and production for the "Jas. H. Beall" farm. In that year Beall reported that he had 218 acres of improved land, which carried a cash value of $12,000. He listed no unimproved land. Bell's livestock inventory amounted to 8 horses, 32 cows, 6 cattle, 11 sheep (giving 60 pounds of wool) and 20 swine. His fields yielded 1400 bushels of wheat, 1000 of corn, and 2 tons of hay. While these figures were relatively high, other farmers in the vicinity with larger holdings surpassed his production. Missing from his report is the cultivation of potatoes, which appear to have been commonly grown in the area. Although Beall may have simply failed to report a figure for unimproved land, one possible explanation for its omission in the listing is that James Beall's farm may have been one of three contiguous farms operated as a single unit by Jas. H. Beall, L.C. Beall and Cobb Beall for the Carroll heirs. Reports for all three farms are combined in the agricultural census. Total improved acreage for the combined farms was 473 acres, with 19 unimproved.[19] Although James Beall died in 1870, the farm remained in the family for several more decades.

In 1870 the farm east of Beall's, which may have been associated with the designations of "Tawney" and "Shelton" on the early canal survey, was purchased by Otho W. Trundle, a longtime Frederick County landholder.[20] Prior to Trundle's purchase, the farm had passed quickly from Reverend Foley to Robert Johnston and Peter Leapley and then to Trundle. Known as "Lot No. 3 and part of Lot No. 1," also one of the "grand divisions of Carroll's Manor," the tract contained 227 acres.[21] In 1865, the C&O Canal company had granted Trundle permission to construct, under the direction of the Monocacy Division superintendent, three warehouses or granaries. One was to be sited at the boat basin located on the east side of the mouth of the Monocacy, another at Nolands Ferry, and the third farther upriver at Point of Rocks. The agreement with Trundle required him to pay $36 per year rent, to place the structures so as not to interfere with canal navigation and to prohibit the sale of alcohol from these locations.[22] Trundle's desire to construct three warehouses along the canal underscores the potential for agricultural use of the C&O Canal at mid-century.

"O.W. Trundle" reported figures for the 1870 Agricultural Census on 175 acres of improved land and 146 unimproved. Because this acreage exceeds the size of the tract at the mouth of the Monocacy, the amounts listed in Trundle's agricultural report could reflect combined properties or another farm all together. However, the listing for the 224-acre farm

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Agricultural Census for a farm in the southern part of the manor.

[19]Based on analysis of Agricultural Census, 1860. Further research of land surveys and the Carroll family papers, at the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland Hall of Records, should indicate the apportionment of land and rents among the heirs.

[20]See DB CM 5, p. 628, 09/28/1870, in Frederick County land records. According to research on file, Cultural Resources, C&O Canal NHP, Otho Trundle's listing in the 1850 census shows him as a farmer, owning 7 slaves. He died in 1891 and was buried in Frederick at Mt. Olive Cemetery.

[21]See DB CM 5, p. 469, 02/14/69; DB CM 5, p. 628, 09/29/1870; and DB CM 10, p. 315, 08/06/1873, in Frederick County land records.

[22] From Unrau, "Chronological History" 4, 45.

of one Joseph T. Trundle on the census may be for the Monocacy farm in question, as a leased or family-tenanted property. While O.W. Trundle valued his larger property at $15,000, Joseph valued his at $8,000. O.W. Trundle owned 10 horses, 4 cows, 16 cattle and 25 swine. He harvested 1600 bushels of winter wheat, 1500 of corn, and 30 bushels of potatoes. Other yields for this property included 100 dollars worth of orchard products, as well as 270 pounds of butter and 4 tons of hay. The smaller Joseph Trundle property listed 5 horses, 4 cows, and 28 swine. An individual cattle and a sheep were also indicated. Crop production amounted to 694 bushels of winter wheat and 1990 bushels of corn, with 16 tons of hay cut.[23]

In 1873 O.W.Trundle transferred his Monocacy farm, including "buildings and appurtenances," to William and Sarah Brosius of Baltimore. At the time of Trundle's sale to the Brosiuses, the size of the farm had been reduced to 212 acres by the sale of parcels to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In 1873, the Metropolitan Branch of the B&O Railroad was completed from Washington, D.C., through Montgomery and southern Frederick Counties. From the Monocacy westward, the route taken by the line paralleled the Potomac River and the C&O Canal. As it coursed across the southern end of old Carrollton Manor, the B&O followed the ridge line, just above the lower fields formerly farmed by Offutt and Beall.

The overall effect of the B&O in this part of the county was to encourage the development of dairy farms. The railroad provided ready transportation for perishable farm products shipped to the growing capital city. In addition, the construction of the rail line transformed the properties lying in its path by dividing the farmland and creating new boundaries. Just north of the westerly bend in Tuscarora Creek, the railroad lay next to the old public road that connected the Monocacy ford with the roads to Licksville, Nolands Ferry and Buckeystown. The railroad's proximity to the road bed may have caused the wagon route to be realigned. The railroad's proximity to the site of the old Beall farmstead may have also forced the removal of those structures. No farmstead is shown in that area on the geological surveys made after the turn of the century.[24]

One of the dairy farms that developed with the advent of the Metropolitan Branch was the Thompson/Collins farm **(Tract #12-108)**, lying west of the Beall property along Tuscarora Creek. Historically, this 225-acre property represented "Lot No.1, part of Lot No. 1 of the grand division of Carroll's Manor," just as the Beall and Trundle farms were Lots 2 and 3. The Thompson/Collins farm may be associated with the C.B. Offut property shown on the 1858 Map of Frederick County. William and Annie Thompson had purchased this tract from Robert Foley in 1869.[25]

Lots 1, 2 and 3 represented almost half of the original extent of Carrollton Manor's

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[23] See Agricultural Census, 1870, and C.O. Titus, Atlas of Frederick County, 1873.

[24] See Maryland Geological Survey, Frederick County, 1913, copy in Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

[25] See Frederick County DB CM 4, p. 236, 12/09/1869. William Thomspon apparently was married to Annie O. Thompson, whose middle initial may indicate that she was descended from the C.B. Offut shown on the 1858 map; DB TG 1, p. 213, 02/06/1874; and Titus, Atlas of Frederick County.

frontage on the Potomac River, with the exception of a subdivision of small lots at Noland's Ferry that Charles Carroll apparently had created. At some time prior to his death in 1832, Carroll divided a portion of his property near the mouth of Tuscarora Creek into 12 contiguous lots of approximately 1.8 acres each. These lots were located west of the mouth of the creek and east of the river crossing at Noland's Ferry, and may have been set aside in anticipation of future commercial development at the ferry crossing.[26] At the time of the Abert and Geddes and Roberts surveys, the land in question was noted as marshy and uncultivated (Figure 5.6). This may have been the case as late as 1865, when all the land south of Tuscarora Creek appeared to be undeveloped, with, as discussed earlier, the "James H. Bell" farm the only property at this location.[27]

That both William Thompson, who owned the property between 1869 and 1874, and Mary Collins, the owner between 1874 and 1877, resided in the District of Columbia, may explain why the name of the farm operator in the agricultural censuses for 1870 and 1880 could not be determined without additional research. Mary Collins deeded the tract to Catherine Collins and her descendants in 1877. At the time of the settlement of Catherine's estate in 1880, the improvements on the property consisted of a new residence and other structures associated with the farming operation.

> *There are two sets of buildings on the farm. One new and elegantly finished, the other a tenant House. There is a barn, a Corn House, and there are all other necessary outbuildings. There are several springs of water, one near the house and never failing. There is a large orchard of all kinds of fruit just beginning to bear. Tuscarora Creek runs through the farm, making it one of the finest Diary Farms in the state. About one hundred acres of River bottom land, the balance of the farm is first-class lime stone land.*[28]

It is not clear whether the new house was constructed under the Thompson or Collins ownership. However, there is a subsequent deed reference to the "Collins House."[29]

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[26]Information on the creation of these lots is not well documented. Title searches conducted in the 1970s indicated that these lots were part of an "unrecorded plan of Carrollton," and "that in the early eighteen hundreds subject property was owned by Charles Carroll who laid off a subdivision of his land known as 'Carrolton,' of which subject property is part." See Tract Files for Tracts #12-109, #12-110, and #12-111, C&O Canal NHP Tract Files.

[27] See Donn map, Potomac River.

[28] Advertisement from Equity Record A.F. 1, p. 373, Frederick County Court Records.

[29] Francis G. and Faye Wells to James W. Gum, DB 716, p. 590, 01/18/1965, Frederick County land records.

In 1889, John C. Lamar purchased the farm, which then consisted of the main parcel of 218 acres and a smaller one of 37 acres, from the Moffet family, which had owned the larger parcel since 1880 and the smaller since 1887. According to one source, John Lamar was a resident of Licksville (now Tuscarora) and Hays Lamar occupied a farmstead located on the ridge north of the Tuscarora and south of Licksville in the triangle created by the intersections of the road to Noland's Ferry, the Licksville Road (Chick Road) and the rail line. In addition, both of the men probably operated a business, known as "J. and H. Lamar's Shop," at the Tuscarora Station on the Metropolitan Branch of the B&O. The property containing the "Collins House" remained in the Lamar family until 1935. During some of these and subsequent years, William Milo Chick may have operated the farm. The Titus family sold the farm to Francis Wells in 1958. When Wells sold it and several other nearby tracts to James Gum in 1965, the farm was considered part of "Parcel 2, which contained approximately 254 acres." At the time of this sale, the "Collins House" lot of slightly more than one acre was excluded.[30]

The Gum holdings of some 608 acres contained several contiguous farmsteads, including the "Parcel 2" farmstead. The heirs of James Gum sold over 111 acres of the farm **(Tract 12-108)** to the United States government in 1973 for the creation of the C&O Canal NHP. At the time of the sale "Parcel 2" included a brick dwelling, a dairy barn and a dairy house, and a bank barn, and other outbuildings. However, these structures, located north of the railroad, were not included in the land transfer.[31]

At about the same time the Thompsons sold their river bottom farm to Mary Collins, William Brosius sold his tract at the mouth of the Monocacy to two partners, David Engel and Levi Condon of Baltimore. During the next several years, this tract was subdivided, held jointly, and exchanged among subsequent owners, all absentee.[32] In 1881 Samuel H. Brown,

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[30] Florence V. Moffett to John C. Lamar, DB WIP 9, p. 114, 04/01/1889; Meta Lamar Melvin to J. Marshall Melvin, DB 401, p. 27, 11/30/1935; J. Marshall and Jennie Melvin to Lee F. and May G. Titus and Tom B. and Lucy E. Titus, DB 401, p. 30, 11/30/1935; Lee F. Titus, et al, to Francis G. Wells, DB 598, p. 408, 01/04/1958; and Francis G. and Faye Wells to James W. Gum, DB 716, p. 590, 01/18/1965, all in Frederick County land records. See also Eugene Scheel map, "The Potomac River Valley."

[31] Will of James W. Gum, TME 3, p. 586, 02/08/1956, Frederick County Wills; DB 907, p. 478, 04/04/1973, Frederick County land records; and appraisal of Delbert S. Null, 02/24/1972, Tract File #12-108, C&O Canal NHP.

[32] See DB CM 10, p. 135, 08/06/1873; DB CM 10, p. 317, 09/04/1873; DB TG 4, p. 107, 07/05/1875; DB TG 5, p. 605, 03/08/1876, DB TG 11, p. 237, 06/25/1878; and DB AF 4, p. 136, 09/07/1881, in Frederick County land records. The name of the farmer managing the property for the owners at the time of the 1880 Agricultural Census has yet to be confirmed. The owners of record were Ephraim and Belinda Stoner of Carroll County and Jesse C. and Laura E. Engle of Baltimore. One farmer, renting for a share of the products, listed in the Buckeystown District on the census is Eli H. Engle, possibly a relative of one of the co-owners.

a prominent Frederick County citizen, purchased the farm. Transferred with "the buildings, improvements and appurtenances" were "all the posts, rails and lumber now on said farm." A rental arrangement was in effect, as well, with "one half of the year's rent of said farm due April 1, 1882."[33] The 212-acre tract remained in the Brown family through nine decades until 1973, when most of the property was sold to the United States **(Tract 13-101)** for the creation of the C&O Canal National Historical Park.[34]

In the meantime, the Beall farm had been enlarged to 346 acres. Most of the increase had come from a transfer of 119 acres of adjacent farm land belonging to Levin Beall to Josephine Beall, James H. Beall's widow, and her daughters. This tract was located north of the B&O rail line and joined to the original bottomland farm by a narrow two-acre parcel. Three linear shaped sections had been subdivided from the bottomland portion and sold to the B&O in 1872 for construction of the Metropolitan Branch rail line. In 1910 this older portion, without any structures, was described as "fertile and productive," while the more recently acquired parcel was noted for its "good state of cultivation," seven acres of timber and fine wire fencing ("recently put up"). In addition, the second parcel had been improved with a "new frame dwelling house" (containing six rooms), a "frame barn with stabling for six or seven horses and about 15 cows, a tenant house and other outbuildings." The land was "well watered," good for the production of wheat and corn, and was "particularly adapted to stock raising and dairy farming on a large scale." The entire property was being used as one farm.[35]

The lower portion of the farm eventually became known as the "Riverbottom" tract. Although the last owner named Beall sold the property in 1938, the general configuration of the larger farm remained intact under subsequent owners until the 1960s, when the two major parcels were separated again. At that time 186 acres of Riverbottom were acquired by the Bick family. As in 1910, no buildings were standing on this property, a situation that continued through the United States purchase of the land **(Tract #13-100)** in 1972 from the Bick family for the formation of the park.[36] At that time, almost 80 acres were wooded, while some 96

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[33] See DB AF 4, p. 136, 09/07/1881, Frederick County land records. According to LCS file, Cultural Resources Division, C&O Canal NHP, Brown was a trustees of the Frederick Presbyterian Church and a director of the Farmers and Mechanics National Bank; both Brown and his wife, Sarah, served on committees of the Frederick County Fair. In his history, Grove notes that well into the twentieth century some manor land was still held under a 99 year lease arrangement, with the tenants able to make future purchases of their farms at a "stipulated price." See Grove, Carrollton Manor, p. 17.

[34] See DB DHH 7, p. 716, 02/26/1891; DB DHH 7, p. 718, 12/02/1895; DB 452, p. 35, 01/10/1946; and DB 966, p. 388, 10/31/1973 in Frederick County land records.

[35] See DB CM 3, p. 13, 05/15/1868; DB CM 8, p. 440, 05/06/1872; DB TG 12, p. 172, 07/22/1879; DB JLJ 7, p. 411, 09/28/1894; "Property Map of the late James H. Beall, 07/26/1910"; and advertisement for public sale, 09/01/1910, in Equity 8508, Equity Record HWB 3, p. 516, 06/11/1910, all in Frederick County land records.

[36] See correspondence between Otis Haines and C&O Canal NHP, in Tract File #13-100, C&O Canal NHP. See DB 411, p. 400, 02/12/1938; DB 519, p. 211, 06/23/1953; DB 684, p. 558, 05/21/1963; DB 762, p. 540, 03/16/1967; and DB 886, p. 573, 08/05/1972, in Frederick County land records.

acres were suitable for cultivation. Of the latter, approximately 82 acres were "vacant and fairly level" tillable land that lay between the B&O railroad and the C&O Canal.

From the mid-1920s the Chick family leased the Brown property and managed it as a dairy farm. During the early years of the Chicks' management, Frederick County led the state in production of wheat, hay, milk and livestock.[37] The layout and organization of the Chick farm illustrates, on a smaller scale, an emphasis on the same kind of production. The farm, as leased by the Chicks from the Browns, consisted of 206 acres, most of which was land for cultivation. Only 40 acres lay in woods, pasture and yards. Improvements on the site included the two-story frame residence, a dairy barn with silo, a dairy house, a bank barn, an ice house and privy, two chicken houses, hog pen and two hog sties, a machine shed and corn crib, a garage and other small outbuildings.[38] Analysis of the Chick farm's fields conducted for the 1975-1976 growing year shows that Elmer Chick allotted one field for grazing and one for pasture. Two fields were devoted to growing and cutting hay, another for silage corn. Chick had tried to grow barley in one area and a combination of barley and wheat in yet another field. The barley had failed overall, but the wheat portion had yielded 360 bushels. Shortly thereafter, the focus of Chick's production shifted from crops to livestock. By 1984, two of the cultivated fields had been turned over to pasture.[39]

In spite of the family's lessee status, their tenure on the property was long enough to warrant a local road, Chick Road, being named after them. Ironically this route, which served as the entry lane and drive to the farmhouse, comprised a remnant section of the old public wagon road leading from the historic Monocacy River ford to Licksville. Over time, portions of the old road, lying southeast of the farm buildings, had been incorporated into the arrangement of the fields that spread west from the Monocacy. Traces of the road bed are still visible in field and fence lines in this area of the Chick farm.[40]

In recent years, a number of different individuals have leased ***Tracts #12-108 and #13-100.*** In the early years of leasing, the fields once belonging to the Gum Farm were producing corn; after 1979, small grains were harvested on both these fields and those associated with the adjacent Bick Farm. Problems with the use of pesticides and herbicides by farmers leasing the

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[37]See appraisal of Delbert S. Null in Tract File #13-101, C&O Canal NHP; see Scheel map, "The Potomac River;" and WPA, Guide to the Old Line State, p. 64.

[38] See Appraisal in Tract File #13-101, C&O Canal NHP.

[39] See "Operation of Farm from April 1975 to April 1976" and "Conservation Plan Map, Gladys Chick, March 1984," in Tract File #13-101, C&O Canal NHP. In Elmer Chick's report for 1975-1976, the accompanying map shows that each field was assigned a number. The numbering is not consecutive, suggesting that the missing numbers belong to fields leased and managed by Chick that were not part of the Brown Farm. The fields in both reports directly correspond to the open areas indicated on the Kimball Map. Although the information contained in the two reports concerns production occurring after the farm became park property, the 1975-1976 figures probably reflect practices followed before the government's acquisition, and the 1984 plan is included to demonstrate subsequent changes.

[40] See Maryland Geological Survey map, Frederick County, 1913 and 1927, both in Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress; and Kimball map, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park.

two tracts prompted the C&O Canal NHP to withdraw these fields from the agricultural leasing program in 1991. At about the same time, a portion of ***Tract #12-108*** was leased for a ten-year period for the cultivation of Paw Paw trees (*Asimina triloba*). Such management practices have brought about the gradual reforestation of two of the three park tracts that extend west along the Potomac from the mouth of the Monocacy River to the mouth of Tuscarora Creek in the historic agricultural area that was once part of Carrollton Manor.[41]

[41] See Tract File #12-108, C&O Canal NHP.

CHAPTER 6:
PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

INTRODUCTION

Based on National register criteria, there are two historically significant periods for the cultural landscapes of the agricultural areas adjacent to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The first falls between 1800 and 1850, when the initial efforts to improve agricultural production in western Maryland coincided with land acquisition and construction of the canal. The second occurs between 1850 and 1900, when the development of transportation networks in the Potomac River Valley and new agricultural innovations transformed western Maryland farms from grain operations into more diversified agricultural enterprises. Other periods, less significant than the first two, are those of prehistory, the era of settlement (1740-1800), and the decline of the canal and the creation of the park (1900-1971).

Identification and documentation of the structural and landscape features that remain from these two primary periods of significance and that reflect both the broad pattern of nineteenth century agricultural history and the unique agrarian history of Western Maryland will need to be undertaken. In addition, features that relate to the construction and specific development of the C&O Canal during the significant time frame will require identification and documentation, as well. Archeological investigation may also be necessary for the verification of subsurface features.

Conducting a "Cultural Landscape Inventory" of individual agricultural sites is one method to use for the identification and documentation of all these features. Through such an assessment of each location, appropriate action for the preservation and future interpretation of the resource can be initiated. A more thorough study of a site's features would include undertaking a "Cultural Landscape Report" and/or a full-scale archeological survey.

The landscape characteristics discussed below are evident on many of the agricultural tracts studied for this project. The range of features listed may reflect the ways in which the overall topography of the land within the park's boundaries differs according to location and region. Many land forms found along the Potomac River and the C&O Canal in Allegany County are unlike those found in Washington or Frederick Counties. However, some of the features are not easy to discern for many of them as they are obscured by overgrown vegetation. Vines, low hanging limbs, understory growth and encroaching woods frequently hide features such as remnant foundations, original field boundaries, former fences and fence lines and views of the overall site.

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT CHARACTERISTICS

Land Use

Land use in agricultural areas adjacent to the canal would be found in the overall patterns evident on the site. These would include general farming, truck farming or market gardens, dairy, or commercial crops. Fallow fields and overgrown or abandoned grazing areas are additional evidence of agricultural land use. Mill seats and sites of warehouses and stores reflect commercial enterprises based on agricultural production and the operation of the C&O Canal. In addition, evidence of land use unique to specific sites, such as military occupation of Fort Duncan and the iron manufactory at Antietam Village, should be considered. Non-extant sites associated with canal history and Native American occupation may also be evident from close examination of the area or an above-ground survey.

Spatial Organization

The arrangement and organization of fields, orchards, woodlots and building clusters should be analyzed for any longstanding, historic patterns. Organization of functional spaces such as yards, kitchen gardens, millseats, warehouse and other commercial areas, canal boat and private ferry landings, road, railroad and highway rights-of-way, as well as historic recreational areas should be examined for their place within the larger context of land use. Fences and walls and remnants of fence lines and walls are a manifestation of the spatial organization of a site.

Response to Natural Features

Hydrology and its effect on the bottomland areas found along the canal route is manifested in the arrangement of secondary water courses, drainage ditches in fields and drainage ditches on the towpath embankment, field boundaries, watering sites for livestock, the locations of mills and mill races, farm wells, and Native American occupation. The economic advantages of adopting available waterpower for manufacturing and of harvesting natural resources such as iron ore, timber, fish and game affected the development of other sites in the areas adjacent to the C&O Canal and the Potomac River.

Structures

All buildings and above ground, remnant foundations should be documented. Structural types include residences, tenant houses, bank barns, dairy barns, silos milk houses, machine sheds, ice

houses, livestock facilities, privies and all other outbuildings. In addition, buildings and structures associated with the operation of mills, manufacturing centers and storehouses should be counted in any cultural resource assessment.

Vegetation

Analysis of vegetation on an agricultural site is concerned with not only the types of crops and market produce, but also woody trees, shrubs and vines and grasses. Because of historic practices used in the management of woody vegetation, trees, shrubs and vines growing in fence rows, on wood lots, and in unarable areas should be also considered in the examination of character defining features. In addition, on many contemporary agricultural properties, ornamental and invasive exotics are known to grow along side, and threaten, commercial crops and grazing areas. However, many of the ornamental and exotics were introduced by farmers and landowners in the past to establish hedgerows, protective barriers, as well as ornamental and residential gardens. Furthermore, in former fields and meadows and in recently-formed wetlands, native herbaceous plants and woody vegetation have reemerged in the favorable conditions created by the overgrowth. Through thorough documentation and assessment of the historic plant material, existing conditions and contemporary agricultural selections of commercial crops and feed crops, vegetation is a significant factor in understanding the continued agricultural use of the site.

Circulation

Determination of historic circulation patterns can be accomplished through documentary research and comparative analysis of contemporary roads, drives, trails and paths over time. Consideration of routes used by vehicles, pedestrians, and livestock should be broadened to include the examination of farm lanes, wagon roads, highways, rail lines, waterways, rail crossings and water crossings, walkways, footpaths, trails created by both humans and animals, and the towpath.

Small-scale Features

Small-scale features pertaining to agricultural sites are structural, have mass and scale similar to small buildings, yet they differ. For C&O Canal NHP agricultural tracts, the category includes not only farm-related features, such as windmills, but also features related directly to the canal's construction through Western Maryland farm land: culverts for the passage of livestock, wagons or farm equipment; remnants of private ferry landings; and pivot and fixed bridges over the canal. Possible features for further investigation might include historic and contemporary

boundary markers, entry gates and gateways, property signs, exterior lighting, well heads, feeding troughs, stiles for passage over fences and walls, discarded mill stones and abandoned farm machinery. Interpretative waysides installed on the towpath embankment near the subject tracts would be a significant addition to this category.

Views and Vistas

Views from the towpath across cultivated fields or meadows toward the Potomac River or toward the inland ridges are intrinsic to the documentation of the features found on sites traditionally used for agriculture. Identification of historic viewsheds and vistas on both sides of the canal prism is also critical to understanding the historical context of cultural resources on park land. Many park tracts are segments of former or operating farms; frequently the farmstead or building cluster associated with the tract is not on park land, but remains under private ownership. In other cases, farm buildings that were located on park tracts have been removed or dismantled because of their unstable condition. By "borrowing" views of the farm and farmstead landscapes located beyond the park's boundaries and "adding" them to the adjacent agricultural tracts, a more complete understanding of the important role of agriculture in the history of the C&O Canal would be evident to the visitor from the towpath.

Archeology

The following areas were identified by Edward Larrabee in 1961 as possible sites of Native American occupation. Those listed are located near the leased agricultural properties research for this project.

> ***Tract #13-100, #13-101, #12-108*** [Monocacy site] - A confirmed site lays on the upstream shore of Monocacy River at the confluence with the Potomac River. Another has been identified immediately below the Monocacy Aqueduct at the east corner of the canal basin and on the Virginia shore, just above the subject tract, opposite Nolands Ferry.
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> ***Tract #22-103, #22-106, #22-105, #22-112, #22-126*** [Antietam Creek] - Historical accounts relate that a small village existed at the mouth of Antietam Creek. A battle between hostile tribes occurred in this area sometime between 1730 and 1736; two small [burial] mounds also were located near the mouth of the creek.
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> ***Tract #37-104, #37-107*** [Dam Four] - A mound and a cemetery associated with Native Americans were believed to have removed during the excavations for the

construction of the C&O Canal.

Tract #75-100, #75-101 [McCoys Ferry] - The ferry crossing is adjacent to the downstream end of these tracts, which are historically associated with the Jacques family. The river crossing at this location may have been part of the Warriors Path, the north/south route established by Native Americans.

Tract #72-100, #72-101 [Licking Creek] - Two sites have been identified on the west side of Licking Creek. One is north of Rt.40/170, west of the bridge and near the community church. The other is located upstream from the mouth of the creek, between the canal and the river. Two camp sites have also been identified just downstream from the former Parkhead train stop, between the canal and the river and near the western end of ***Tract #72-100.***

Tract #83-113 [Paw Paw] - Remains of fish traps, constructed in the river by Native Americans are found in several locations throughout the Paw Paw area. One of these is near ***Tract #83-113.***

Tract #54-103 [Town Creek] - Another branch of the Warriors Path or Trail crossed the Potomac at the mouth of Big Run, just below the mouth of Town Creek, where this tract is located.

Tract #53-100, #53-101 [South Branch] - This Native American village site is located above the confluence of the North and South Branch. The subject tract and the village site represent portions of the larger, historic Harness/Long property.

Tract #51-136 [Old Town] - The agricultural fields associated with this site occupy the same ground as the earlier Moore Village site, which has been investigated and documented by John Pousson.