

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

MONOCACY BATTLEFIELD

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Monocacy Battlefield (Boundary Increase & Additional Documentation)

Other Name/Site Number: Monocacy National Battlefield; Battle of Monocacy

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Monocacy National Battlefield (MONO, 4632 Araby Church Road) Not for publication: X

City/Town: Frederick Vicinity: X

State: Maryland County: Frederick Code: 021 Zip Code: 21704

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X

Public-Local: X

Public-State:

Public-Federal: X

Category of Property

Building(s):

District: X

Site:

Structure:

Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

17

1

17

5

40

Noncontributing

169 buildings

0 sites

42 structures

1 objects

212 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 23

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic	Sub: single dwelling
	Agriculture/Subsistence	Sub: agricultural
	Industry	Sub: mill
	Transportation	Sub: rail-related; road-related
	Landscape	Sub: natural feature (river)
	Defense	Sub: battle site
Current:	Domestic	Sub: single dwelling
	Agriculture/Subsistence	Sub: agricultural
	Transportation	Sub: rail-related; road-related
	Landscape	Sub: natural feature (river); national park

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Other

MATERIALS:

Foundation: Stone; Concrete
 Walls: Wood; Stone; Brick
 Roof: Wood; Metal; Asphalt
 Other:

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**Monocacy Battlefield National Historic Landmark 1973 Boundaries and 2015 Boundary Update**

Monocacy Battlefield was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1973. The 1973 boundary includes two discontinuous areas – here referred to as the Northern Section (Baltimore Pike/Rt. 144 area) and the Southern Section (Georgetown Pike/Rt. 355, Monocacy National Battlefield area). The two discontinuous boundaries appear to be drawn following straight lines irrespective of topography and/or property lines and the documentation does not include an explanation or justification for the chosen boundaries. The Southern Section, the larger of the two areas, overlies, but does not follow, the Congressionally-authorized Monocacy National Battlefield boundary (also the 2004 National Register (update) boundary). The Northern Section is a smaller area of about 400 acres, located north of the Monocacy National Battlefield park. This area encompasses the Baltimore Pike's former stone bridge crossing of the Monocacy River, about two miles north of the Southern Section. The Northern Section did not include Hughes Ford to the north or Crum's Ford to the south, both landmarks during the battle. However, it did extend west from the Rt. 144 Bridge (a 1940s realignment of the Baltimore Pike) to include part of Reich's Ridge. Some of this area has since been substantially altered with residential and commercial development and by a new alignment of Interstate 70. However, the original route of the Baltimore Pike remains, along with the abutments of the stone bridge, and a toll house dating from the battle era. Moreover, lands along the river traversed by the combatants remain largely intact.

This National Historic Landmark update documentation adjusts and expands the 1973 NHL boundary to accurately reflect the extent of the known nationally significant resources. In doing so, the boundary now, 1) includes all of the Congressionally-authorized Monocacy National Battlefield lands within the NHL boundary; 2) includes the Crum's and Hughes Ford crossings of the Monocacy River; 3) connects the two 1973 NHL discontinuous districts based on what we now know of troop movements and use of this area during the period of significance, and 4) the boundary now follows accepted courses such as natural features, roads or property lines that coincide with the defined nationally significant resources. Furthermore, this documentation includes descriptions of landscape features that were not thoroughly described in earlier documentation.

Introduction

The Battle of Monocacy, which took place on July 9, 1864, was a nationally significant American Civil War battle, often referred to as "the battle that saved Washington." The Civil War was in its fourth year by the summer of 1864. In early June, Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, newly appointed by President Abraham Lincoln to command the Union Army, threatened Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. In an effort to take the pressure off Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee's army, he sent Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early into Northern territory to threaten and, if possible, "capture Washington."¹ With a force numbering just 6,600 men, Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace faced the approaching Confederate force of nearly 15,000 men across the Monocacy River near Frederick, Maryland. The Monocacy Battle was focused around the primary crossings of the Monocacy River just south and east of Frederick – the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad, Georgetown Pike (Maryland Route 355), and Baltimore Pike (Maryland Route 144) – and several secondary fording places. At these crossings Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace's severely out-numbered Union troops managed to hold the invading Confederates under Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early long enough for a defense of Washington, D.C. to assemble. The Worthington Ford² of the Monocacy River, near the mouth of Ballenger Creek, served as a primary Confederate approach route to the battlefield from the Buckeystown Pike (Maryland Route 85). At the ford a skirmish took place

¹ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [OR], Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Correspondence – Confederate," General R.E. Lee to His Excellency Jefferson Davis, June 26, 1864, pp. 766-767.

² The fording place is today called the Worthington-McKinney Ford. The name "McKinney" refers to a later owner of the *Arcadia* farm on the west side of the Monocacy River opposite the Worthington Farm (*Clifton*).

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before the Confederate cavalry pressed on across the Worthington Farm and the Thomas Farm. Meanwhile, other Confederate forces advancing along the Georgetown Pike (now Maryland Route 355) attacked the rail and turnpike bridges. While this activity unfolded in the vicinity of the Georgetown Pike, other Union defenders charged with protecting the stone bridge crossing of the Baltimore Pike, along with the Crum's and Hughes Monocacy River fords, faced increasing pressure from advancing Confederate forces. The primary focus of this portion of the battlefield was the stone bridge, known locally as the Jug Bridge, and the approach from the west where a small Union cavalry force held the bridge to protect the Union retreat route to Baltimore. As the Union defenses around the Georgetown Pike eroded, Confederates overwhelmed their positions, including a field hospital at Gambrill's Mill. By early evening, the organized defense had collapsed and the Union troops retreated to the Baltimore Pike, turning east toward Baltimore. The Confederates chose not to pursue the retreating Union forces. They simply made camp on the battlefield. Total casualties were nearly 1,300 Union killed, wounded, captured, or missing and approximately 900 for the Confederates. Despite the Union loss of this one-day battle, it delayed the Confederate advance on Washington D.C. long enough for defenses there to be fortified. The Confederates continued toward Washington on July 10, the day after the battle at the Monocacy River, they arrived at Fort Stevens on July 11 and abandoned plans for a major attack on July 12. They withdrew to Virginia that evening.

Official federal recognition of the Monocacy Battlefield came on June 21, 1934, when Congress approved an act to establish a national military park at Monocacy. However, while the 1934 action created Monocacy as a national military park, no apparatus was set up to allow for the acquisition and maintenance of the properties encompassed by the authorized battlefield boundary. Most of Monocacy National Military Park remained in private hands and was actively farmed. In 1973 the Monocacy National Military Park, containing approximately 1,500 acres of the southern core battle area, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places and designated a National Historic Landmark. In 1976, Congress authorized funds to begin preservation of the designated battlefield by the National Park Service and allowed for condemnation, donation, or purchase of lands within its boundaries. Its designation was also changed from the Monocacy National Military Park to the Monocacy National Battlefield. Since the 1980s, Monocacy National Battlefield acquired five farms, (Thomas, Best, Worthington, Baker, and Lewis), plus the Gambrill Mill property, and holds scenic easements on other adjoining lands. The National Register nomination was updated and expanded in 2004, adjusting the boundary to conform to the boundary authorized by Congress for Monocacy National Battlefield.

The National Park Service has done much to preserve the historic landscape and its natural and manmade components as a means of enriching the interpretation of the battle and its impact on the Monocacy properties. The National Park Service has restored and stabilized a number of its 51 buildings, as well as recreating period rail fences. A Cultural Resource Study was completed in 2004 and Historic Structures Reports were completed for the Best House, Best Secondary House (draft), Thomas House, and Worthington House. Archeological investigations took place on the Best and Thomas farms to determine the course and details of troop locations and movements, and encampments. In addition, the National Park Service undertook archeological investigations on the site of slave housing on the Best Farm ("*L'Hermitage* Slave Village Archeological Site," NR listed January 2008) and on the Thomas Farm site of the tavern at Marshall's Ferry/Middle Ford on the Monocacy. In 2002-2003, a University of Maryland graduate student completed two archeological surveys and wrote a National Register nomination for the Camp Hooker archeological site (not submitted due to owner objection). These investigations are not contributing to this National Historic Landmark documentation because they are not associated with the July 1864 Battle of Monocacy, but the sites are very important in their own right and may be nationally significant within their own contexts. In addition, other archeological investigations conducted for various compliance projects have yielded evidence of extensive Native American occupations reflecting the earliest human use of the Monocacy Battlefield area.

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Maryland Route 355 (locally called Urbana Pike) has long been part of the Monocacy landscape, first known as the Georgetown Road and later as the Washington or Georgetown Pike; in the 1930s it became U.S. Route 240. The route's presence and development is an integral part of the area's history and it is considered a contributing resource in the Monocacy Battlefield NHL (update). Route 240 near the battlefield was supplanted by a dual alignment in 1953 and in 1956, with the advent of the Interstate highway system, the route was designated 70S (now I-270). The interstate abruptly bisects the battlefield, running southeast to northwest, and forming a physical barrier to the continuity of the landscape. The highway's visual and auditory intrusion is somewhat mitigated by trees lining the right-of-way. The I-270 alignment was in place before the boundaries of the Monocacy Battlefield NHL were originally defined in 1973, but after Congress had declared the site a national battlefield. On the battlefield there are five monuments placed as memorials to participants in the Battle of Monocacy. These are counted as noncontributing to the National Historic Landmark because they were not present during the period of significance. There are some other noncontributing elements within the Monocacy Battlefield NHL (update) boundaries, mostly buildings dating from the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century that were not present at the time of the battle.

On the borders of the battlefield there is intensive industrial, commercial and residential development, extending from Frederick on the northwest, from the Buckeystown Pike on the southwest and from Urbana on the southeast. On the northwest a shopping mall and an office park extend to the very edge of the Battlefield.

The floodplain of the Monocacy River and ridges northeast of Monocacy National Battlefield serve today and historically as a connecting corridor to the river crossings at Crum's Ford (today's Reich's Ford Road and Bridge), the Baltimore Pike (Rt. 144), and Hughes Ford (no longer an active road or crossing). These encompass the two northern core battle areas defined on the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) map (Figure 1). All of this area, which includes the 1973 NHL discontinuous Northern Section, remains in private or local government ownership and faces significant development pressure. A realigned section of I-70 now passes through the area north of Rt. 144. The area around Frederick Municipal Airport is being developed into a business park and there is residential, commercial and industrial development to the south of Rt. 144. Maryland Route 144 is a realignment of the original Baltimore Pike route over the stone arched bridge that collapsed in 1942. The original alignment leading to the old stone bridge abutments on the west side of the river now serves as an access road to residences along the road. Until recently, the former Baltimore Pike toll house was extant just west of the west bank abutment. Despite some alteration, the landscape remains intact enough to convey the strategic importance of this portion of the battle.

This Monocacy Battlefield NHL update describes and provides historical context for the cultural resources within the NHL boundary. Additionally, it revises the 1973 boundaries to reflect concentrations of nationally significant resources and also to bring the boundaries into a format more consistent with demarcations such as natural features or property lines, as well as the current condition of the landscape. With this NHL update, the boundary is expanded to link the two 1973 NHL discontinuous sections of the battlefield into one historic district and capture historically significant portions of the battlefield: the two northerly fords, Crum's Ford between Monocacy Junction and the stone bridge, and Hughes Ford to the north of the stone bridge. The revised boundary also resulted in reductions from the 1973 NHL boundary at five locations. These reductions occur where excessive modern development clearly disrupts the historic landscape and/or precludes any likelihood of intact archeological horizons.

Above all, the Monocacy Battlefield was a rural landscape at the time of the battle, much of which remains intact or identifiable within the modern landscape today. The ground over which the Monocacy Battle unfolded is also a rich archeological site, with the potential to yield information about the battle itself, the battle participants, and about the historic rural lifeways of Frederick County. For ease in understanding the resources

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on the battlefield, this description first addresses the landscape as a whole, then as a battlefield archeological site. The description of the specific cultural resources within this Monocacy Battlefield NHL (update) follows a general north to south sequence. Following the Monocacy River southward, the first three description areas are identified by the nearest Monocacy River crossing:

- Hughes Ford Area (Monocacy Battlefield NHL District Map 1)
- Baltimore Pike Stone Bridge Area (Map 1)
- Crum's Ford Area (Map 2)

At the center of the district are:

- Motter and Markell Farms (Monocacy Battlefield NHL District Map 2)
- Monocacy Junction Railside Properties (Wallace Headquarters) (Map 2)
- Gambrill Mill (Map 2)
- Monocacy Crossing & Frederick Railroad Junction (Georgetown Pike and B&O Railroad)(Map 2)

These areas served to funnel troops from the northern core battle areas to and around the southern core battle area (Figure 1), the area of the most intense fighting during the Monocacy Battle.

The southern core battle area is comprised primarily of the five farms known by the name of their battle-period farm owner or occupant's name:

- Best Farm (Monocacy Battlefield NHL District Map 2)
- Thomas Farm (Maps 2 & 3)
- Lewis Farm (Map 3)
- Worthington Farm (Map 3)
- Baker Farm (Map 3)

Also in the southern core area are adjoining parcels that were historically part of those farms, and the land along the west bank of the Monocacy River at the Worthington Ford.

The Landscape

This updated Monocacy Battlefield NHL contains 3,344 acres straddling the Monocacy River and Maryland Route 355, just southeast of Frederick in Frederick County, Maryland, and northeastward along the Monocacy River to the vicinity of the Maryland Route 144 crossing about two miles to the north. Flat river bottomland, gentle hills, and steep bluffs dominate the landscape, along with old fencerows and road networks, some of which date back to the mid-eighteenth century. Much of the land is farmed, used primarily for hay and grain production, and for pasture.

Monocacy Battlefield NHL encompasses three primary historic routes and their Monocacy River crossings that were integral to the battle as it unfolded: the Georgetown Pike (today MD Rt. 355), the Baltimore Pike (today MD Rt. 144), and the B&O Railroad (today CSX). While the two historic roads still exist, there have been alignment changes, new bridges constructed, and name changes over time. This nomination will use the road names in common use at the time of the 1864 battle: Georgetown Pike (MD Rt. 355) and Baltimore Pike (MD Rt. 144). Today, Maryland Rt. 355, also called Urbana Pike, is the modern evolution of the Georgetown Road, a market road which ran south from Frederick to Georgetown, Maryland (now in the District of Columbia). The Georgetown Road crossed the Monocacy River at the Middle Ford or Marshall's Ferry, approximately 350 feet southwest of the current Rt. 355 bridge. In 1828 the Washington Turnpike, more commonly known as the

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Georgetown Pike, realigned the road to cross the river via a wooden covered bridge that stood at the current bridge location. This bridge was burned during the Monocacy Battle and replaced in kind shortly after. The replacement wooden bridge was destroyed in 1889 by the rising waters that destroyed Johnstown, Pennsylvania at the same time. The iron bridge that replaced it collapsed in 1930, and was replaced with the existing steel truss bridge. At the same time, part of the approach route was straightened, with the old curved alignment becoming Araby Church Road, and the Georgetown Pike was renamed US Route 240. In the 1950s, Route 240 was dualized and realigned to the current Interstate 270 alignment (I-270; renamed in the 1970s), while the old route became the Urbana Pike or MD Rt. 355. For the purposes of this documentation, Rt. 355 (modern name) or Georgetown Pike or Georgetown Road (historic name) will be used.

The other main historic road, Maryland Route 144, also called Old National Pike today, was a 1940s realignment of the Baltimore Pike, also called the National Pike or US Rt. 40. The 1940s alignment crossed the Monocacy over a new concrete bridge built after the 1809 stone bridge washed out in a flood in 1942. The old approach routes to the stone bridge parallel Rt. 144 but dead-end at the old stone bridge abutments. In 1956 Rt. 40 was dualized, later renamed Interstate 70 (I-70), and a second parallel concrete and steel bridge was constructed. The I-70 Monocacy crossing was realigned in 1985, approximately one mile to the north. The 1940s concrete bridge (Rt. 40) was closed to traffic, leaving only the 1956 concrete and steel bridge as the active Monocacy crossing for the renamed MD Rt. 144. For this documentation Rt. 144 (modern name) or Baltimore Pike (historic name) will be used. The Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad crossing was also integral to the Monocacy Battle, its protection from the invading Confederate troops being the initial driving force to bring Union troops there to protect the railroad. The B&O also brought Union reinforcements to the battlefield and carried the wounded away. Today, the CSX Corporation owns and operates the former B&O Railroad using the same right-of-way through the battlefield landscape.

The Monocacy River landscape, with its cultural features and natural topography, was a critical component to the progression of the battle and continues to be so for interpreters and visitors to the battlefield today, a century and a half later. Commanders made crucial decisions about advances and defensive measures based on battlefield defining features making up the landscape. Key terrain in the landscape of the Battle of Monocacy is the serpentine river and its shallow crossings. The Confederate objective was to capture Washington D.C. and, to reach the capital city the army had to cross the river. Along the path of the river are floodplains of varying width, bounded by steep ridges or higher agricultural grounds back from the river's course. In places, the flat floodplain lands show evidence of older, abandoned river beds, appearing as thin crescents lined with trees. Tributaries such as Ballenger Creek, Bush Creek, and Linganore Creek, along with smaller unnamed watercourses, empty into the Monocacy at intervals. Also important to the battle were steep wooded ridges on the east side of the river, Brooks Hill at the south end of the battlefield, a corresponding unnamed hill north of the railroad tracks, and one farther north, locally called "Jug Bridge Hill," overlooking the Baltimore Pike stone bridge. Each figured prominently in the battle as cover for observation of the enemy's movements, as optimal defensive positions, and for artillery emplacements. Reich's Ridge, a more gentle rise along the west side of the Monocacy overlooking the Baltimore Pike, played a significant role in the Confederate advance and Union defense of the Baltimore Pike stone bridge and Crum's and Hughes fords.

Farmers and millers occupied the area along the Monocacy River since the mid-eighteenth century. By 1864, the transportation routes leading to and from the port cities of Georgetown and Baltimore, including the B&O Railroad, were well established routes through the landscape that would become a battlefield. In addition to the main roads, which collected tolls, a network of local roads and farm lanes led to long-known fording places where the Monocacy River could be crossed easily and safely on horseback or by wagon. They linked farms and mills and connected to other roads where grain, flour, and sawmill products traveled from farm to processor to market.

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The land was rich and agriculture produced a good living for farmers and millers. Central Maryland and the Cumberland Valley, along with the larger mid-Atlantic region, became America's breadbasket in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. The region contains some of the most agriculturally productive farmland in America. A long tradition of grain husbandry prevailed, mostly wheat and rye, which millers and distillers turned into flour and whiskey. By the time of the Civil War, the landscape in the vicinity of Monocacy Junction and the Baltimore Pike stone bridge south and east of Frederick showed the effects of long established farming. Split rail fences or vegetated hedgerows defined croplands divided into fields of typically ten to twenty acres. Fields were not necessarily square or rectangular, but followed natural features, such as rivers and streams, or they bordered manmade features like property lines, roads, or railroads. Farms also had pasture land for livestock and woodlots to provide fuel for cooking and winter heat, as well as lumber for fencing and building materials. These landscape features remain largely intact today, though tree cover is greater today than it was in the mid to late-nineteenth century.³ The B&O Railroad, Georgetown Pike (Rt. 355), and Baltimore Pike (Rt. 144) continue to be used. Abandoned roads are still visible as traces on the land.

The northern extension of the NHL boundary follows the floodplain and ridges along the east and west sides of the Monocacy River, and includes the former Hughes Ford crossing at the northern edge of the NHL boundary, the Baltimore Pike (Rt. 144) crossing, and the Crum's Ford/Reich's Ford Road crossing. Here, the Monocacy River continued its influence on the historic landscape, its floodplain of woods and cultivated fields, gently rising hills, and wooded ridges. Today, while the topography remains largely unaltered, the pastoral and wooded landscape survives, primarily where the river regularly inundates these areas, making development undesirable or prohibited. It was the flat open floodplains and the farm lanes that followed them that provided a corridor over which the Union forces of General Wallace moved to deploy to their designated defensive locations on the hills and wooded ridges along the river. Commanding the high ground at Reich's Ridge west of the stone bridge allowed the grossly outnumbered Union defense to hold the bridge for most of the day-long battle. At the end of the battle, the retreating Union troops followed routes behind the protection of the ridges to the Baltimore Pike. Parts of these retreat routes, historically little more than farm tracks, are no longer in existence, while some sections remain intact as private lanes or driveways.

Though the three defended Monocacy crossings north of the B&O Railroad—Hughes Ford, the Baltimore Pike stone bridge, and Crum's Ford—are all still evident on the landscape, flooding and resulting realignments have altered these routes to some degree. Hughes Ford is no longer an active crossing. Its access routes dead-end on privately-owned land on the east side of the Monocacy River, and on land held by the City of Frederick as part of the municipal airport on the west side. On the west side of the river, the Frederick Municipal Airport property and adjoining Bowman farm currently retain the open vistas between Hughes Ford and the Baltimore Pike, vistas which aided the Union defenders of the stone bridge and Hughes Ford. Some commercial development in this area does alter the landscape with a cluster of buildings and parking lots, in particular where several drainage ponds were excavated in previously open fields on the crest of Reich's Ridge. The 1985 realignment of I-70 also abruptly cuts through the wooded ridge on the east side of the river and across the north end of Reich's Ridge on the west side of the river, forming a visual intrusion and physical barrier. The once busy Baltimore Pike alignment is now a quiet road lined with residences which ends at the river. The historic toll house is extant and the old stone bridge abutments remain in place. The relatively steep grade of this road down to the former river crossing, and that of the segment on the east bank, provides a clear sense to the visitor of the significance for Union defenders of holding the high ground on the ridges above the stone bridge crossing.

³ Reed, *Tillers of the Soil*, p. 41.

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When the Baltimore Pike stone bridge was destroyed by a flood in 1942, it was realigned to cross the river via the concrete bridge of US Route 40 (now MD Route 144). Grading for this highway attempted to level the crossing somewhat, and when the road was dualized in 1956 (to become part of Interstate 70); the second concrete bridge provided a slightly more level crossing. The now-largely tree-covered residential development on "Jug Bridge Hill" on the southeast side of the bridges was already in place in the 1970s and excluded from the 1973 NHL boundary and remains outside of the updated NHL boundary. The open hillside of Reich's Ridge southwest of the bridge crossings are now covered with residential development with a significant degree of re-grading—to the extent that this area is not included within the updated NHL boundary. The open floodplain on both sides of the river, however, remains in cultivation on the west side and as a county park on the east side. This corridor of open land along the river leads southward to the Crum's Ford area. The Crum's Ford crossing was also known as Reich's Ford, after which the road was eventually named.⁴ A bridge was constructed sometime after the 1864 battle, shown on the 1873 Atlas map (Figure 2). By 1909 the road was realigned to cross a new bridge approximately 400 feet to the north of the old ford crossing (Figure 3). That bridge was destroyed by flooding caused by Hurricane Agnes in 1972 and the crossing was again realigned slightly southward when a new bridge was constructed in 1973.

South of Reich's Ford Road, the narrow floodplain is wooded and is bounded on the east by a small, unnamed ridge and on the west by land now extensively quarried for limestone. The floodplain widens as the river enters a wide southwesterly curve, providing rich, open land for two historic farms on the east and west banks, both bounded on the south by the B&O Railroad. This was a key area for the Union defense, providing a wide view of the battlefield from the eastern ridge, as well as defensive earthworks and artillery emplacements. An old road, today little more than a trace, which ran northward from Gambrill's Mill across Bush Creek, split at the base of the ridge, continuing on the west side to Crum's Ford and on the east side to Reel's Mill Road. These routes provided ingress and egress for the Union troops before and after the battle.

From the area of the railroad crossing, the Monocacy River winds its way southwesterly through the southern core battle area of the Monocacy Battlefield NHL encompassing the Monocacy National Battlefield. The area remains largely pastoral, bisected by the gentle hills that rise from the wooded river bottom, with intervals of wide cultivated floodplain bound by sharply rising wooded ridges. The hills and ridges, still evident today, provided a superior vantage point for Union forces defending the B&O and Georgetown Pike bridges.

Views from the Thomas and Worthington farmsteads across the river to the cultivated fields surrounding the Best house and barns (and vice versa) provided information regarding enemy troop movements and artillery positions. After crossing the river at the Worthington Ford, Confederate Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon used Brooks Hill, between the Baker and Worthington farms, to reconnoiter the Union defenses. He then prepared his attack in the Worthington meadow by the river, protected from Union view by the hills around him. Much of this battlefield viewshed remains intact today, but with industrial, commercial, and residential intrusions marking the northern, western, and southern edges of the Monocacy National Battlefield park boundaries.

The Monocacy River crossings—both natural and man-made—were key features in the historic landscape that shaped the Monocacy Battle. The B&O Railroad (today CSX Railroad) moves through the eastern battlefield landscape, passing below the south end of a ridge as the railroad parallels Bush Creek to its juncture with the

⁴ Glenn Worthington (*Fighting for Time*), who lived on the Worthington Farm (*Clifton*) at the time of the battle, noted both "Crum's Ford" and "Reich's Ford" between the railroad bridge and the Baltimore Pike stone bridge (Jug Bridge). None of the battle reports include Reich's Ford in their descriptions, mentioning only Crum's ford or "the ford" (singular). Additionally, all of the battle maps show only the location of Crum's Ford, which is also the case with the contemporary local maps. The road, later named Reich's Ford Road, crossed the Monocacy via a bridge just north of Crum's Ford by 1909 (USGS map). The road was realigned in ca. 1973 with a new bridge just south of the previous washed out bridge, which is now an access road in Pinecliff Park.

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Monocacy River. The railroad crosses the river via a flat deck bridge, still following the same alignment as the iron trestle that figured so prominently in the Monocacy Battle. On the west side of the river, the flat floodplain accommodates the Frederick Junction (called Monocacy Junction at the time of the battle), where the main branch continues along the river running southwest toward Harpers Ferry, and a spur extends northerly into Frederick. The landscape of the rail line through the battlefield is little changed from its historic appearance, though historically associated buildings are no longer extant. Just downriver from the B&O crossing, the historic wooden covered bridge, built in 1828, which carried the Georgetown Pike across the Monocacy River, also figured prominently in the battle until it was burned by Union troops to prevent a Confederate crossing. Today's steel truss bridge sits on the stone piers of the burned covered bridge, providing continuity of the bridge and road alignment with that of the historic battle. The construction of the 1828 bridge accompanied turnpike improvements on the east side of the river. Improvements to the road surface and a realignment of the road to meet the bridge were major accomplishments. This 1828 realignment created the sharp curve on the Georgetown Pike. In the early 1920s, the road, then called Route 240, was straightened to its present alignment to cut out the sharp curves, creating what is now called Araby Church Road. At the curve the abandoned road trace of the historic Georgetown Road (pre-1828) continues toward the old ford/ferry site. On the west side, the road was built up in about 1900 with the construction of a new overpass bridge. It was straightened in about 1930 with a new concrete overpass bridge. The Georgetown Pike—today's Route 355 and the Araby Church Road cut-off—was the primary conduit for Confederate troop movement prior to and after the battle.

The smaller, less prominent river fords provided better protected crossings for the advancing Confederate troops, as their approaches were—and remain today—obscured by tree growth along the river's edge. On the segment of the Monocacy River that flows through the southern area of the Monocacy Battlefield NHL there were two historic fording places, but neither had public access roads at the time of the battle. The Worthington Ford was a private ford used by local farmers. Located at the end of a farm lane leading from the Buckeystown Pike (Rt. 85) to just above the mouth of Ballenger Creek, it crossed the river to the lower floodplain meadows of the Worthington Farm. The ford was discovered by Confederate forces several hours into the battle, changing the already thin Union battle front from center to left. The river banks here are relatively steep and heavily wooded, much as they were historically as described by soldiers after the battle, and the Worthington Ford remains difficult to identify. The other fording place, known as the Middle Ford in the eighteenth century and later as "Marshall's Ferry" crossing, is approximately 350 feet downstream from the present Rt. 355 Bridge. The Middle Ford was part of the old road to Georgetown and is recorded in Frederick County Court records and on land plats. The trace of the old Georgetown Road leading to the crossing on the east bank is still evident on the landscape of the Thomas Farm and reappears on the west side of the river on the Best Farm as a faint trace in aerial photos. This was an active market road with ferry service across the ford from at least 1748 until 1828 when the first Washington [Georgetown] Turnpike Bridge was constructed upstream of the old crossing. Though the ford itself did not play a role during the 1864 battle, the sunken bed of the old Georgetown Road trace through the Thomas Farm served to shelter troops during the battle. Two other road traces through the Thomas and Worthington farms are also still evident on the landscape, one along the east bank of the river leading to the Worthington farmhouse, and the other leading from Araby Church Road (the old Georgetown Road alignment) to the Worthington Ford. All available roads and road traces were likely used during the Monocacy Battle to facilitate troop movements across the battlefield, particularly the old roads worn deep into the land from use, which provided extra protection from the barrage of bullets and artillery during the heat of the battle.

Industrial development encroaches on the NHL boundary on the west bank of the river near Ballenger Creek along the railroad alignment. Much of this development is obscured by the heavy woods along the river; however this southwestern viewshed is threatened by continued industrial development along this stretch of the river. Residential development along Araby Church Road and Bakers Valley Road, some of it dating back to

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the 1920s and 1930s, impacts the rural setting of the Thomas and Baker farms and may impact the battlefield viewshed from the west side of the river at the Best Farm and from the Visitor Center. Commercial development south of Frederick abuts the Monocacy National Battlefield boundary on the Best Farm and Visitor Center properties. It forms a visual boundary viewed from the eastern Thomas and Worthington farms, as well as from the Best Farm and Visitor Center. While the internal battlefield landscape within the Monocacy National Battlefield park boundary retains exceptional integrity, the surrounding viewsheds remain threatened by development.

Though residential, industrial, commercial, and transportation development has intensified south and east of Frederick during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, in some places within the expanded boundaries of the Monocacy Battlefield NHL (update), the historic land pattern still reads on the landscape. If a battle participant was to visit the Monocacy Battlefield again, he might marvel at the transportation improvements and other developments, but he would recognize the landscape and its important battle defining features.

The entire landscape within the Monocacy Battlefield NHL is considered a contributing site.

Archeological Resources

The Monocacy Battlefield NHL (update) contains a large number of very significant archeological sites, both pre-historic and historic. Some of these are nationally significant in their own right because of the information they contain about the past, its people, and their occupation on the land. Archeological investigations have yielded very important data about the eighteenth century domestic, commercial, and transportation history of the Monocacy landscape. Likely more information will be discovered from this early history with future archeological exploration. Monocacy Battlefield also saw significant Civil War activity and occupation in 1862 and 1863, as well as during the Battle of Monocacy in July of 1864. For purposes of this NHL, however, only archeological resources associated with the July 9, 1864 Battle of Monocacy are considered contributing to the National Historic Landmark's significance.

The Maryland Historical Trust Archeological Database Inventory includes a summary of the relevant archeological investigations completed to date within the Monocacy Battlefield NHL boundary. Most of the archeological investigations have taken place on the Federally-owned land area encompassing the 1,647-acre Monocacy National Battlefield and are identified as an archeological complex by the over-arching Federal ASMIS #MONO00004.000 (Maryland Site #18FR30; see **Monocacy Battlefield NHL District Archeology** map). The entire NPS site is considered an archeological site known as the "Monocacy National Battlefield Archeological Complex." Within the complex, a number of individual archeological sites have been discovered. No systematic survey of the non-Federal lands has been undertaken, however, potential exists for battle-related archeology on these non-Federal areas of the NHL. A comprehensive list of archeological reports for investigations in and around the Monocacy Battlefield can be found in the bibliography section below.

In the northern core battle area the site of the Linganore Mill (18FR848), a feature of the Monocacy Battle landscape, was identified during a Phase I Reconnaissance Survey in 2005. The surveyor noted the "stone arch is extant on remnants of grist mill tail race, part of Linganore Mill, which was operated from 1800-1900 as part of Linganore Farms."⁵ To date (2014), this is the only identified archeological site in the northern core battle area that falls within the period of significance (July 8-10, 1864) for the Monocacy Battlefield NHL.

⁵ David Rue, Laura Trieschmann, and John Stiteler, "Phase I Cultural Resources Survey for Excess Property: Linganore Limited Partnership, Frederick County, Maryland," Archaeological and Historical Consultants, Inc., 2007, MDSHA Report No. 346 MHT #FR 221.

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The remaining identified archeological sites located on non-Federal property in the northern core area are noncontributing because they fall outside the period of significance for the battle:⁶

- 18FR22 Ballenger Creek
- 18FR41 Jug Bridge
- 18FR42 Jug Field
- 18FR136 Linganore East
- 18FR248 Romsburg
- 18FR724 BS-1
- 18FR794 Area JJ (Locus 3)
- 18FR849 Site A
- 18FR850 Site B
- 18FR851 Site C

To the south, the archeological sites within the MONO00004.000 designation includes a number of investigated sites identifying cultural resources present at the time of the battle or military sites that are battle- or encampment-related. In 1990, a Phase I and Phase II [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Archeological investigations completed under a cooperative agreement between the National Capital Region Regional Archeology Program (NPS) and the Center for Heritage Resource Studies (University of Maryland, Dept. of Anthropology) focused on the Best and Thomas farms.

The “Archeological Overview and Assessment and Identification and Evaluation Study of the Best Farm” (*Hermitage*) was a Phase I and II investigation completed between 1999 and 2004 to “identify, document, and evaluate previously unknown resources.”⁷ The project utilized pedestrian surveys, shovel test pits (STPs), and systematic metal-detector surveys in and around the main building complex and adjoining fields for the Phase I identification of “high probability” areas. Phase II excavations included standard units as well as backhoe trenches. [REDACTED]

Another metal-detector survey, completed as a Section 106 compliance project [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] however, STPs did not locate any associated features.⁹ The “Archeological Overview, Assessment, Identification, and Evaluation Study of the Thomas Farm,” completed between 2003 and 2008, included a systematic metal-detector survey in one of the farm fields, seeking to “provide information about the initial Union position on the Thomas Farm during the Battle of Monocacy,” and to “evaluate the condition of the farm’s battle-related archeological resources.”¹⁰ The results of the survey indicate that

⁶ The site locations of these noncontributing, mainly prehistoric sites are not provided on the attached district maps at the request of the Maryland State Archeologist. More information can be obtained by professional archeologists by contacting the Maryland Historical Trust.

⁷ Joy Beasley, ed., “Archeological Overview and Assessment and Identification and Evaluation Study of the Best Farm,” NPS, 2005, p. 1.1.

⁸ Beasley 2005, p. 19.3.

⁹ Beasley 2005, p. IX.24.

¹⁰ Joy Beasley, ed., “Archeological Overview, Assessment, Identification, and Evaluation Study of the Thomas Farm,” NPS,

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“unchecked, undocumented relic-hunting” has severely compromised the potential for battle-related archeological material on the Thomas Farm. A Phase I STP survey [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Phase II excavation units at these sites revealed their potential to yield “information about the historic configuration and appearance of the Thomas Farm,” [REDACTED]

Most recently, the 2014 investigations completed by TRC Environmental Corporation for the Maryland Department of Transportation, State Highway Administration’s “planned replacement of MD 355 over CSXT Bridge 10084,” [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The investigation included the possible site of the blockhouse that burned during the Monocacy Battle. To date, the exact location of the blockhouse has not been determined; however limited archeological investigation has been undertaken in the vicinity. The Maryland State Highway Administration’s Phase I archeological survey resulted in a recommendation for a Phase 2 National Register evaluation survey of an identified site that may be associated with the Civil War blockhouse.”¹²

While it is clear that years of relic-hunting have impacted the archeological potential of the well-known battlefield, it is also clear that archeological resources do still remain. Some are potential resources likely to be found in areas as yet uninvestigated within the NHL boundary.

The Monocacy National Battlefield Archeological Complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000; MD#18FR030), encompassing a number of individual sites, counts as 1 contributing archeological site.

The remainder of the area encompassed by the revised NHL boundaries constitutes another contributing archeological site. Thus, all of the land within the NHL boundary contributes to the archeology of the property. Because the entire NHL area is blanketed by the two archeological sites described above, other archeological sites, including ruins, are not counted separately.

Cultural Resource Descriptions by Geographic Area

Hughes Ford Area (see Map 1)

Between the north side of the Route 144 bridge crossing and the former Hughes Ford crossing to the north, the Monocacy River floodplain on the east side of the river is largely wooded and bounded by the ridge along which the asphalt-paved Linganore Road runs. The east edge of Linganore Road marks the NHL boundary line in this area.

Just north of the intersection of Linganore Road and Dr. Baxter Road (old Baltimore Pike), fronting onto the west side of Linganore Road, is a small linear residential development with eight houses dating from the 1950s-1960s. Lundgren Drive, a more recent residential development of five houses, runs west from Linganore Road curving southward and ending in a cul-de-sac on the west face of the ridge. From the northern edge of this cluster of houses, moving northward along the west side of Linganore Road, the hillside levels down to a wider, wooded floodplain, bisected by the 1985 alignment of I-70. Linganore Road is carried over I-70 via a concrete overpass. Just north of I-70, Linganore Creek winds its way across the floodplain, near the site of Linganore

2010, p. 150.

¹¹ Beasley, 2010, p. 151.

¹² Maryland State Highway Administration, Environmental Planning Division, Cultural Resources Section. *Archaeological Survey for the MD 355 Over CSXT Bridge 10084 Replacement Project, Frederick County, Maryland*. Archaeological Report Number 464. Prepared by TRC Environmental Corporation, DRAFT April 2014.

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Mill (MD Site #18FR848), and drains into the Monocacy River. Linganore Road crosses Linganore Creek via a modern concrete bridge.

The wooded floodplain widens and flattens out shifting to the cultivated fields of the former Linganore Farm (Figure 4), through which the route leading to Hughes Ford was located.¹³ Part of the old approach is now a private lane running west from Linganore Road (at Plant Road). The lane curves north and west, away from the old road trace, leading to a modern house and metal warehouse/garage building. The road trace (visible in aerial photos) continues to the river and picks up again on the west side of the river, marking the location of the old Hughes Ford.

On the west side of the river the floodplain is cultivated as it gently rises toward the north end of Reich's Ridge. Much of this land was formerly part of the Robertson Farm (Figure 4), more recently known as the Bowman Farm. The Hughes Ford Road Trace appears as an angled tree line dividing the former Brengle farm on the north side (Figure 4) and the Robertson-Bowman Farm on the south side. Much of the farm land is now slated for development as a business park. Paved access roads (including Bowman Farm Road) have been built and two drainage ponds excavated. Two large brick commercial buildings stand just south of the Hughes Ford crossing. The area is accessed from East Patrick Street by Bowman Farm Road, which briefly parallels East Patrick Street running east, then curves sharply northward following the route of the old farm lane along the crest of Reich's Ridge. At the curve stands a modern brick house. The area is bounded on the south by the 1985 I-70 alignment.

A. Hughes Ford Area Resources (Map 1)

3 contributing structures:

- A.3 Linganore Road
- A.4 Hughes Ford and access road trace (both sides of Monocacy River)
- A.5 Bowman Farm lane

5 noncontributing buildings:

- 6426 Linganore Rd. at Plant Rd., house and warehouse/garage, 2006
- 8400 Bowman Farm Rd., brick house, 1986
- 8400(A) Bowman Farm Rd., brick commercial buildings (2), ca. 2010

3 noncontributing structures:

- I-70 (1985 alignment)
- Linganore Rd. I-70 overpass
- Linganore Creek Bridge

Baltimore Pike Stone Bridge Area (Map 1)

In 1942, a flood of the Monocacy River destroyed the old Baltimore Pike stone bridge, built in 1809 and known locally as the Jug Bridge (Figures 5-7). The ruined bridge was removed and its signature "demijohn" jug-shaped stone monument was relocated, leaving only the cut stone abutments and paved dead-end access alignments of the old route on both sides of the river. On the east side of the river the old alignment is called Dr. Baxter Road. It provides access to the historic "E. W. Bremmerman Store" (1858 Bond map), now a

¹³ One of the parcels making up the Linganore Farm in the 1858 sale from Lewis Scholl to John Reifsnider (Frederick Co. Deed Book BGF 2, page 661) was part of a tract called *Benvenue*, originally patented in 1813 by Levy Hughes (Fred. Co. Patented Certificate 495, MSA S1197-559). *Benvenue* included a tract called *Ferry Landing* on the Monocacy River and is likely the genesis of Hughes Ford.

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residence, as the road curves down toward its dead end at the river abutment. On the west side the old alignment is called E. Patrick Street, an extension of E. Patrick Street through Frederick to which the Baltimore Pike was historically connected until the 1985 realignment of I-70 severed the connection. This west section of the Pike remains partly in use as an access road for the stone “Jug Bridge Toll House” (MIHP#F-3-128; built in 1809; a private residence since 1911), five twentieth century houses along the road, and the former Philip Reich Farm (house demolished in 2012, see below). The Todd-Mercer-Hargett House (MIHP#F-3-53), located on the old Baltimore Pike alignment at the site of the “T. Simpson” house on the 1858 Bond map, appears to be a ca. 1890 a Queen Anne-styled house with two corner towers and a center cross gable. The dwelling house is now used as a commercial business office (RV sales). As the old Baltimore Pike roadbed descends toward the remnant bridge abutments, the route is obscured by overgrowth; however it is visible in winter, from the river, and in aerial views. A power line crosses the river beside the old Baltimore Pike right-of-way.

The 1940s realignment of the Baltimore Pike, called US Route 40 or Old National Pike, moved the river crossing downstream approximately 300 feet, with a new three-arched concrete bridge which spans the river at a higher elevation than the old bridge and road system. Route 40 was dualized in 1956 as part of the Interstate 70 construction and a second, parallel concrete and steel bridge was constructed at yet a higher elevation. When I-70 was realigned to the north in 1985, the 1940s concrete bridge and its approach alignment was closed to traffic. Though no longer in use, the bridge remains intact and the abandoned approach roadbed is used for commuter parking. The still active alignment, now called MD Route 144, uses the 1956 concrete and steel bridge. While the numerous alignments at the historic stone bridge crossing created a confusing landscape, they preserve the original purpose of conveying the road to Baltimore over the Monocacy River.

The landscape between the old Baltimore Pike alignment and the 1985 I-70 alignment on the west side of the river is open floodplain that rises gently to a part of Reich’s Ridge that is now a private golf driving range. This section of Reich’s Ridge was historically part of the Philip Reich Farm and retains much of its essential historic topography relevant to the Monocacy Battle. The early nineteenth century Philip Reich farmhouse, thought to have been a tavern at one time, was demolished in 2012; however two barns, a brick silo, and three domestic and agricultural outbuildings remain intact. A golf range “tee shed,” two other modern sheds, and a parking lot occupy the crest of the hill near the barn complex.



The Maryland National Guard Armory (built 1985) and several more recent residential developments stretch the length of this part of Reich’s Ridge, blanketing the hillside landscape south from Route 144. The visual and topographical (grading) intrusion of this modern development is so dramatic that here the 1973 NHL boundary has been moved to exclude the new development.

On the east side of the river, south of Route 144 (Old National Pike/Route 40), a large modern (ca. 1970-present) residential development located on “Jug Bridge Hill” (as noted on tax maps) forces the NHL boundary to follow the narrow, wooded floodplain at the base of the hill. Mature deciduous trees serve to minimize the visual intrusion of this modern housing development.

B. Baltimore Pike Stone Bridge Area Resources (Map 1)

4 contributing buildings:

B.1 8721 Dr. Baxter Rd. “E. W. Bremmerman Store” (1858 map), ca. 1850

¹⁴ Daniel A. Masters, No Greater Glory: The 144th Ohio Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War (LuLu.com, 2010), pp. 84-85.

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- B.2 8614 E. Patrick Street, "Jug Bridge Toll House," 1809 (MIHP#F-3-128)
- B.3 8518 E. Patrick St. (Philip Reich Farm), bank barn, ca. 1850
- B.4 8518 E. Patrick St. (Philip Reich Farm), stone outbuilding, early nineteenth century

1 contributing structure:

- B.5 Baltimore Pike Alignment and stone bridge remnants (Dr. Baxter Road and E. Patrick St.)

1 contributing site:

- B.6 Philip Reich House site (formerly located at 8518 E. Patrick St.); not re-counted

25 noncontributing buildings:

- 6006-6044 Linganore Rd. Linear residential development (8 houses), 1950s-1960s
- 6001-6006 Lundgren Rd. and cul-de-sac residential development (5 houses), 1960s-1990s
- 8708 Dr. Baxter Rd., house, 1958
- 8428, 8434, 8504, 8602, 8608 E. Patrick St. (Baltimore Pike) houses (5), 1950s-1970s
- Golf range sheds (3), ca. 1990s
- 1501 E. Patrick St., (Triangle RV World) Todd-Mercer-Hargett House (MIHP#F-3-53)
- 8518 E. Patrick St. (Philip Reich Farm), gambrel roof barn, ca. 1930
- 8518 E. Patrick St. (Philip Reich Farm), frame shed, ca. 1900

4 noncontributing structures:

- 8518 E. Patrick St. (Philip Reich Farm), Brick silo, ca. 1900
- 8518 E. Patrick St. (Philip Reich Farm), Tile silo, ca. 1930
- 1940s abandoned U.S. 40 Concrete Arched Bridge and Road Alignment
- 1956 I-70 (today Rt. 144) Concrete and Steel Bridge and Road Alignment

Crum's Ford Area (Map 2)

Crum's Ford, located in the vicinity of today's Reich's Ford Road, crossed the Monocacy River between the southern end of Reich's Ridge on the west side of the river and the northern end of an unnamed ridge on the east side of the river. The floodplain is bounded by the two ridges and low hills along the river. The Crum's Ford/Reich's Ford Road Bridge crossing remains wooded along the west bank of the river and is partly wooded on the east side, opening across the playing fields of Pinecliff Park to the north of the crossing. The concrete and steel Reich's Ford Road Bridge is a 1973 realignment of the previous ca. 1900 bridge located approximately 400 feet up river. Though the earlier bridge is gone, the former approach road alignments remain visible and partly in use on both sides of the river. Historic maps and remnant road traces on the ground today indicate that the current bridge crossing may more closely approximate the original Crum's Ford crossing, which appears to have been just a few feet to the south of the current bridge. Remnants of the Crum's Ford road are visible through the woods leading down to the river.

On the west side of the river, the former bridge alignment access road appears as a dirt track leading across the wooded floodplain. The track then leaves the NHL boundary as it parallels the current Reich's Ford Road approximately 300 feet until it veers northward becoming a paved road called Ray Smith Road. On this west side of the Monocacy River only the relatively narrow, wooded floodplain remains undeveloped, overshadowed by a large condominium building sited on the crest of the south end of Reich's Ridge.

On the east side of the river, Pinecliff Park, owned and operated by Frederick County, spans approximately 95 acres along the east bank floodplain from Reich's Ford Road to just below the Rt. 144 crossing. Pinecliff Park includes five baseball fields, playground equipment, and a man-made pond in the lower floodplain area. About

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half of the acreage is wooded as the elevation rises away from the river. The property also includes a modern lodge building, seven picnic shelters, and three vaulted toilets.

Pinecliff Park is accessed from Reich's Ford Road using part of the pre-1973 bridge approach alignment, now called Pinecliff Park Road. Two twentieth century houses are sited on the south side of this access road (within the NHL boundary), one is a 1925 Foursquare-style house with a contemporary cast block barn and a non-historic metal barn; the other house is a ranch-style house built in 1975. Where Pinecliff Park Road turns sharply south toward its intersection with Reich's Ford Road, a trace of the old road continues southeastward (visible from satellite photos). The road trace rejoins Reich's Ford Road near the entrance to the Frederick County Fire Safety Training Center.

The Frederick County Fire Safety Training Center occupies a parcel on the south side of Reich's Ford Road, near the intersection with Reels Mill Road, at the base of the east face of a narrow ridge that parallels the east bank of the Monocacy River. The training center is accessed via a paved road called Public Safety Place past a large fire pond. It includes a pump house, a concrete block building used for training, two other buildings, and a large office/meeting building. The road continues up to the top of the ridge where a large metal water reservoir is sited with a non-historic building of unknown use.

At the south end base of the ridge, on the south side of the 1973 Reich's Ford Road re-alignment, is a late nineteenth century hipped roof building on stone foundation (possibly a store?), which appears to have been altered about 1930 with the addition of a gable-front extension on a concrete block foundation. The building is currently occupied as a dwelling house (8185 Reich's Ford Rd.). The driveway of this house, which passes along the length of the north elevation, may in fact be a remnant of the original Crum's Ford/Reich's Ford Road alignment leading to the ford and later bridge crossing of the Monocacy River (Figures 4 and 2). The 1973 realignment of the road curves away from the remnant road in a northwesterly direction to cross the Monocacy on the 1973 steel and concrete bridge, apparently just north of the original Crum's Ford crossing.

C. Crum's Ford Area Resources (Map 2)

2 contributing structures:

- C.1 Crum's Ford and approaches
- C.2 Reich's Ford Road (not including 1973 bridge and approaches)

4 noncontributing buildings:

- Pinecliff Park lodge (picnic and toilet facilities not counted), ca.1986
- 8343 Pinecliff Park Rd., ranch house, 1975
- 8331 Pinecliff Park Rd., Foursquare house, 1925
- 8185 Reich's Ford Rd., Gable-front house, 1890/1930

4 noncontributing structures:

- Reich's Ford Road realignments, ca.1900 (Pinecliff Park Rd. and traces, bridge gone)
- Reich's Ford Road Bridge and approach realignment, 1973

D. J. C. Motter Farm, west side of river (Map 2)

This farm, located on the floodplain between the river and the B&O (CSX) Railroad spur line as it runs northward toward Frederick, appears on the 1858 Bond map as the "J. C. Motter" farm (Figure 4). The land appears from satellite photos to encompass several old river alignments. Though part of the land is still under cultivation, the farm buildings are no longer extant and the property is part of a gravel quarry expansion;

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therefore only part of the farmland along the river bank is included within the NHL boundary. A treeline above the floodplain line defines the boundary.

The farmstead, which was demolished after 2009, included a two story brick L-shaped main house, built in 1811, a frame T-shaped tenant house built ca. 1860, a frame garage, a silo, two cast-stone barns, one frame barn, and two cast-stone hipped-roof buildings of unknown use. The property was recently purchased by a company representing the adjoining quarry landowner. The property was recorded in the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP#F-3-144) in 1995.

Markell-Ogle Farm and access road, east side of river (Map 2)

The southeast corner of this farm was included within the 1973 NHL boundary to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] However the 1973 boundary line cut arbitrarily across the farm property. This expanded NHL boundary includes the whole of the historic Markell-Ogle Farm.

Located on the east side of the Monocacy within a large curve of the river, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The cultivated floodplain fields of the Markell or Ogle farm (depending on whether one views the Union or Confederate battle map (Figures 9 and 10)—Markell owned the land at the time of the battle, but Ogle may have been the tenant farmer) afforded an unobstructed view from the ridge of both the Best Farm and the Georgetown Pike approach route coming south out of Frederick.

The farmstead is located on the high ground at the center of the curved farm, consists of a 1960s “ranch” style farmhouse, a stone domestic outbuilding, a mid-nineteenth century frame bank barn, and two ancillary agricultural buildings.

Two modern houses are located along the farm lane/historic road trace. One house, located in a wooded area on the west side of the lane, is a two story frame house, built ca. 1990. There is a modern “ranch” style house located off the east side of the lane, on the west side of the wooded ridge, approximately 800 feet from the Markell-Ogle farmstead.

The current farm lane was historically part of a road leading from Crum’s Ford to Gambrill’s Mill. It follows the base of the ridge from Reich’s Ford Road (northeast of the farm) southward, then leaving the road trace, the lane loops west to the farmstead [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The road to the mill continued south through the former railside community of Monocacy Junction to the Bush Creek ford leading to Gambrill’s Mill. Not only was this farm road an important route to Gambrill’s Mill and distillery, but it was also used by Wallace’s Union troops as an avenue of approach as they deployed from the Baltimore Pike to their various defensive positions on the evening of July 8, 1864.

E. Markell-Ogle Farm Resources (Map 2)

2 contributing buildings:

- E.1 Markell-Ogle Farm, Bank barn, mid-nineteenth century
- E.2 Markell-Ogle Farm, Stone outbuilding, pre-1864

1 contributing structure:

- E.3 Markell-Ogle Farm Lane and road trace

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5 noncontributing buildings:

8209C Reich's Ford Rd., frame house, 1982

8209B Reich's Ford Rd., ranch house on ridge, ca. 1970

8209 Reich's Ford Rd. (Markell/Ogle Farm), ranch house, ca. 1960

(Markell-Ogle Farm) Frame small animal barn, post 1950

(Markell-Ogle Farm) Frame large animal barn, post 1950

Monocacy Junction Railside Properties and Wallace Headquarters Area (Map 2)

On the east side of the Monocacy River along the B&O Railroad is a cluster of properties that were once part of the community known as Monocacy Junction, later Frederick Junction or Araby P.O. (Post Office). These names also referred to the railroad junction located west of the river (see Monocacy Crossing and Frederick Railroad Junction). For the purposes of this documentation, the name Monocacy Junction will be used in reference to the small community that developed on the east side of the river, primarily to the south of the railroad right of way.

The Monocacy Junction, [REDACTED] seems remote now, however it once was an active place. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Yet, in the nineteenth century, the junction community bustled and included the Gambrill distillery [REDACTED]. The area between the Gambrill Mill site and the railside properties is low and marshy, prone to flooding, while the north side of the tracks is dominated by a wooded ridge. A photograph of this community that developed east of the railroad junction and the Monocacy River is published in Williams' 1910 *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Figure 8).¹⁵ [REDACTED]

The old road trace, lined with telephone poles, and foundations of buildings and cellar depressions are all that is visible now of this formerly bustling community. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The brick warehouse may have been located further to the west from these foundations, in an area now covered with brush and rubble. The ca. 1910 photograph of the site shows the L-shaped frame building, probably the same one described in an 1897 sales advertisement quoted below. Although Williams states in the caption that this was the headquarters for Lew Wallace during the Battle of Monocacy, the building may date from after the war. Archeological investigation of the foundation remnants and site contents should help to establish a range of construction dates for the house. The photo also shows two small buildings to the east of the house. One of these probably sat upon the other remaining above-ground foundation. In the 1910 photo, the house has a shed-roofed porch across the front, inside end brick chimneys and windows with louvered shutters, closed on the east end wall. A paling fence extends in front of

¹⁵ T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, Baltimore, Regional Publishing Company (reprint of 1910 edition), facing p. 80.

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the buildings separating them from the railroad. The photo also partially shows what may be a larger gabled building immediately to the right of the house. Perhaps this was the brick distillery/warehouse.

In addition to the dwellings, their support buildings, and the warehouse, there was a military blockhouse erected on the east side of the river to protect the trestle crossing during the Civil War (another was located on the west side of the river near the railroad junction; see Monocacy Crossing and Frederick Railroad Junction [REDACTED])

[REDACTED]

It was along this "stream" that Pvt. Wild described the route of retreat the evening of July 9, 1864 as the Union defense of the Monocacy crossings collapsed. [REDACTED]

The route continued northeasterly along the fence line of both fields and at the northeast corner of the north field, turned at an angle to intersect with Reels Mill Road. This angled line is still apparent in the fence line pattern of the current property. The retreat continued along Reels Mill Road to Reich's Ford Road (at that time still Crum's Ford). The retreat route to the Baltimore Pike north of Reich's Ford Road is today heavily impacted by modern development and is therefore not included within the NHL boundary.

Monocacy Junction Railsite Properties and Wallace Headquarters Area Archeological Resources

The Monocacy Junction railsite community, in which General Wallace set up his headquarters for the Monocacy Battle, has the potential to yield information about the July 1864 battle and Gen. Wallace's presence there. The area includes the archeological remains of the village buildings that were present at the time of the battle and the nearby (east) Blockhouse site. [REDACTED]

Although the camp was abandoned in 1863, the defensive works continued to serve in the defense of the Monocacy crossings. Soldiers from the 14th New Jersey Regiment returned to the Monocacy area to reinforce the bridges and other strategic targets during the Gettysburg Campaign in July 1863. Part of Ricketts Division, the now seasoned veterans of the 14th New Jersey were the first regiment to arrive by rail at Monocacy Junction on July 8, 1864. General Wallace ordered them "to take up a position on our old camp ground (Camp Hooker)"

¹⁶ Frederick W. Wild, *Memoirs and History of Capt. F. W. Alexander's Baltimore Battery of Light Artillery – U.S.V.* (Baltimore, MD: Press of The Maryland School for Boys, 1912), p. 129.

¹⁷ Brandon Bies, "Camp Hooker," National Register of Historic Places documentation, written 2003, not submitted for listing.

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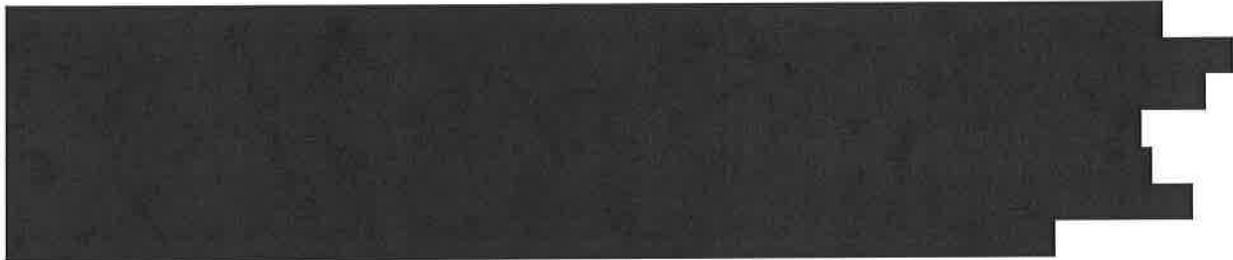
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the night before the battle. They were later ordered to “rejoin the main column at Monocacy Bridge.”¹⁸ Due to their intensive involvement with the Monocacy Junction area over the period of the Civil War, the 14th New Jersey eventually became known as “the Monocacy Regiment.”¹⁹ The 14th New Jersey Regiment suffered some of the heaviest Union casualties during the Monocacy Battle.

Archeological investigations in 2002 revealed the extent of Camp Hooker:



The 1973 NHL boundary has been expanded to follow the present day property lines (Fred. Co. tax map 86, parcel 11, 2 of 2).

F. Monocacy Junction Railsite Properties and Wallace Headquarters Area Resources (Map 2)

Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources that date to the period of significance found in this section count as part of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000), including, but not limited to:

- Wallace Headquarters
- Blockhouse site
- Defensive Trench
- Powder Magazine
- Troop assembly site before the battle (Camp Hooker field)
- Retreat Route road trace
- Monocacy Junction Townsite (including all above and below ground archeological features that date to the period of significance, such as the road trace, cellar foundations and distillery site)

Gambrill House and Mill (Map 2)

The Gambrill House (*Edgewood* or *Boscobel*) and the Gambrill Mill (Araby Mills) remnant are located on the east side of Route 355, east of the Monocacy River and south of Bush Creek. Most of the land associated with these buildings is low-lying, drained by a small run (called “Spring Branch” on a 1929 *Baltimore Sun* photograph) which once was part of the tail race for the mill. A spring fed livestock pond (not present at the time of the battle) sits to the northwest of the mill, which also drains into the small run. The mill headrace remnant runs northeast from the mill to Bush Creek where a dam, now in ruins, formed the mill pond. Confederate soldiers recalled bathing in the mill pond following the battle while encamped on the Gambrill Mill property.²¹ The Gambrill House sits on high ground to the south of the mill and faces north toward the mill and the Monocacy River.

¹⁸ John Foster, *New Jersey and the Rebellion* (Newark, NJ: Martin R. Dennis & Co., 1868; reprint, Bergen Historic Books, Englewood, NJ: Robert D. Griffin, 1996), pp. 366-367, f.n. 7, *Internet Archive*, accessed Dec. 16, 2013, <https://archive.org/details/newjerseyrebell00fost>.

¹⁹ “The 14th New Jersey – the Monocacy Regiment,” *Monocacy National Battlefield Maryland*, accessed Dec. 13, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/mono/historyculture/14th_nj.htm.

²⁰ Brandon Bies, “Camp Hooker,” National Register of Historic Places documentation, written 2003 (not submitted).

²¹ John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, (New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 239-240,

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Gambrill House (LCS#45031; MIHP #F-7-58). Built in 1872 the Gambrill House, called *Edgewood* and later *Boscobel*, is a three story Second Empire style brick mansion. It was individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1985.²² Its main character-defining feature other than its large size is its mansard roof. The building is an imposing structure, L-shaped with five bays across the front elevation and seven bays deep along the length of the L. The mansard roof is slate covered with decorative imbrication or a pattern of cut slates. Paired brackets trim the eaves. The dominant feature is a central projecting square tower. The brick walls are painted and a porch with square columns with brackets and collars and a balustrade at the top extends across the front. There is a late twentieth century two bay, gable-roofed garage behind the house.

Gambrill Mill (LCS#23290; MIHP #F-7-58; ASMIS#MONO00013.000; MD#18FR245). The Gambrill Mill was converted to a dwelling in the early twentieth century. Alterations included the removal of the upper stories of the mill and changing the original gabled roof to a hip. The original mill was a three story stone building, 40'x 45' built in 1830 by John McPherson. It was a merchant mill, which produced flour for market. Grinding stones were powered by water, drawn from Bush Creek approximately one-half mile from the mill. The mill's headrace runs at a diagonal (along a tree line) from the two stone wall and foundation remnants of the dam (LCS#45095 and 45097) which fed water from Bush Creek into the headrace, to an archway in the mill foundation at the northeast corner. There the water entered the mill to power the undershot wheel.²³ The tailrace emerges from the mill foundation near the northwest corner. It appears today as a shallow ditch running west until it merges with a small run (Spring Branch) which drains into the Monocacy River several hundred feet farther west.

Also included in the historic mill complex was a sawmill on a stone foundation, a chopping and plaster mill housed in a two story stone building 50'x 20'. There was also a dwelling house for the miller which was located across the entrance lane from the mill. It was a one and a half story stone house, 34'x 20' with an attached one story stone kitchen.²⁴ The property also included a crop barn, stable and a later servants' quarter behind the Gambrill House. All of these buildings are no longer extant.

The mill served as a Union field hospital and was in the line of fire during the Battle of Monocacy. The Gambrill Farm [Bush Creek] Ford Lane (LCS#45044), which runs northeast from the Gambrill house and mill to its crossing on Bush Creek below the mill dam, was used by Wallace's troops as they deployed to their defensive positions prior to the battle, and by Ricketts' men during their evening retreat.

The Gambrill house and mill support buildings are no longer present. However, there is now a metal NPS maintenance and office building to the northeast of the mill, and two gambrel roofed storage sheds.

G. Gambrill House and Mill Resources (Map 2)

Contributing sites (not re-counted):

- G.1 Gambrill Mill (ruin)
- G.2 Stone dam remnant

1 contributing structure:

- G.3 Millrace, including the headrace and tailrace

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/worsham/worsham.html>, accessed Nov. 19, 2012.

²² Gary Scott, "Gambrill House," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1985.

²³ "Gambrill Mill (Araby Mill)," *Monocacy National Battlefield, Maryland*, accessed January 9, 2014,

www.nps.gov/mono/historyculture/gambrill_mill.htm.

²⁴ This description of the buildings is from an 1844 inventory recorded in the HABS Documentation for the Gambrill House.

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5 noncontributing buildings:

- Gambrill House
- Metal service building
- Garage
- Storage sheds (2)

1 noncontributing structure:

- Livestock pond

**Monocacy Crossing and Frederick Railroad Junction (see Map 2)**

Monocacy Crossing and Frederick Railroad Junction consists of the current MD Route 355 road, its steel truss bridge and concrete railroad overpass, the triangular split in the railroad known as Frederick Junction, and the railroad bridge across the river.²⁵ These crossings date from as early as 1828, when the Washington Turnpike Company constructed a bridge over the Monocacy on the Georgetown Road, a realignment of the road from the ferry crossing at the Middle Ford. Two years later, the B&O Railroad constructed a bridge over the river at Bush Creek, and a lateral line running north into Frederick forming the triangular Frederick Junction. Both road and railroad crossings were important features during the 1864 Monocacy battle. In addition their historic impact on the surrounding farms forms an important component of the cultural landscape of Monocacy Battlefield as well. Today, I-270, a busy commuter route to Washington D.C. constructed in 1950, crosses the Monocacy approximately ¼ mile south of the historic Middle Ford, bisecting the battlefield.

The current Route 355 Bridge is a double Parker steel truss structure erected in 1930. The interior ends of the two truss structures rest on a stone pier in the center of the creek. The stone-walled side abutments remain from an earlier bridge, likely the wood covered bridge built in 1828. That bridge was destroyed by Union forces during the Monocacy battle and later reconstructed. The replacement (post-1864) bridge was destroyed by a flood in 1889 and replaced with an iron bridge that collapsed in 1930 during repairs, killing three workmen.²⁶ At the time of the construction of the 1828 bridge, it was accompanied with a realignment of the road to meet the bridge and turnpike improvements to the road surface (Figure 11). The 1828 realignment began along the Best Farm frontage (then owned by John Brien) angling eastward toward the new bridge. On the east side of the bridge, the new route of the Georgetown Pike was forced to make two sharp curves around the Thomas Farm (then owned by John McPherson) to rejoin the old Georgetown Road. In the early 1920s, the road was straightened to its present alignment to cut out the sharp curves. The bypassed section of old Georgetown Pike became Araby Church Road.²⁷ On the west side of the bridge, a new railroad overpass constructed in 1931 (see below) also resulted in a realignment of the 1828 route, which straightened the road as it passed over the

²⁵ The "Y" railroad junction on the west side of the Monocacy River, like the raiiside village on the east side of the river, was known by various names, initially Monocacy Junction, and later Frederick Junction or Araby P.O. (Post Office). For the purposes of this NHL documentation – to avoid confusion with the Monocacy Junction RAILSIDE PROPERTIES – the west bank junction will be called Frederick Railroad Junction.

²⁶ "Bridge Falls: Three Killed and Six Hurt," *The Washington Post*, June 20, 1930.

²⁷ At the sharp curve on Araby Church Road (old Georgetown Pike) the abandoned road trace of the even earlier (pre-1828) Georgetown Road continues toward the old ford/ferry site through the Thomas Farm. The older road and ferry crossing was approximately 350 feet south of the present road and bridge. A rope ferry operated at this older site from the eighteenth century and its location is marked on property boundaries, which show a notch to accommodate ownership of the crossing place (included in Thomas Farm resource count and description).

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railroad cut. The two by-passed sections of the 1828 Georgetown Pike alignment (rather than the current 1930s alignments) were present during the July 9, 1864, Monocacy Battle and are considered significant resources.

The Frederick Junction, a triangular connection of the east-west B&O Railroad main line with the Frederick City spur line running north, is located on the north/west bank of the Monocacy River, within a horseshoe curve of the river. Still an active segment of the CSX Railroad, the tracks and right-of-way are well maintained. The main line of the B&O (CSX) continues west, passing under a concrete overpass constructed for Maryland Route 355 (formerly the Georgetown Pike), turning southwest toward Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. This concrete overpass, constructed ca. 1930 was a replacement of an earlier, ca. 1900 overpass bridge, its alignment located just to the south of the current bridge. The remnant of a concrete abutment remains embedded in the east embankment of the railroad cut. This ca. 1900 alignment, which today is part of the access road to the N.J. Monument east of the railroad tracks, continues as a trace visible from aerial views on the west side of the tracks through part of the Best Farm and probably follows the 1828 alignment (Figure 12).

Just east of the spur junction, the railroad main line crosses the Monocacy River, passing over a trestle bridge to the east bank of the river. The bridge is wide enough for two tracks, but carries just one. The bridge has stone piers, probably constructed about 1883, and a steel span with wooden decking, covered with a gravel bed.

A 1929 *Baltimore Sun* photograph (Figure 13) shows the junction as it appeared by the early twentieth century. The photo shows a two-story brick station building on the north side of the tracks in the curve just before the river crossing. On the south side of the tracks is a wood water tower and shed, a frame, two-story, ca. 1900 dwelling, and a possibly earlier two-story frame warehouse building. Within the junction triangle are two metal water towers and a shed.

Today, no above-ground evidence of any of these structures is visible. Along the east side of the spur rail line that runs north to Frederick are two brick chimneys and remnants of walls of two buildings. These structures appear to date from the early twentieth century. Their proximity to the tracks suggests that they were rail-related buildings.

Archeological Resources.

Its exact location has not been determined and no archeological investigation has been undertaken. Shovel Test Pits excavated in 2003 along a proposed utility trench site in the vicinity revealed no archeological material. According to accounts from the 14th New Jersey Regiment who constructed the blockhouses, they were log structures with loop holes.

H. Monocacy Crossing and Frederick Railroad Junction Resources (Map 2)

2 contributing structures:

- H.1 Georgetown Pike (Rt. 355 and Araby Church Road, the 1828 alignment)
- H.2 B&O (CSX) Railroad tracks and bed

1 contributing site (not re-counted):

- H.3 Stone bridge abutments for Rt. 355 Bridge over the Monocacy

4 noncontributing structures:

- Steel truss bridge (Rt. 355, built 1930)
- Concrete railroad overpass
- Railroad trestle (twentieth century deck on 1880s stone piers)
- Interstate 270 bridge and alignment (1950)

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2 noncontributing sites (not counted):

Unknown railside building ruins, probably early twentieth century

Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources that date to the period of significance found in this section are components of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000), including but not limited to the Blockhouse site (west bank), the Georgetown Pike bridge abutments, now supporting the Rt. 355 bridge.

The Best Farm (*Hermitage*) (ASMIS#MONO00015.000; MD#18FR792) (Map 2)

The Best Farm, or *Hermitage*, is located on the west side of the Monocacy River along Rt. 355 (Georgetown Pike), within the Monocacy National Battlefield boundary. Named the Best Farm for the occupants at the time of the battle (and generations before and after), it was originally named *L'Hermitage* by the Vincendieres, a French family that assembled the tract in the 1790s, and has throughout its subsequent history been known as the *Hermitage*. The property, now containing 273.69 acres, came to the National Park Service in 1993, from the family that had owned it since 1835.

Entrance lane. A gravel lane ("Entrance Lane") leading in a westerly direction from Route 355 provides access to the buildings which are situated about one quarter mile west of the highway. The buildings currently on the property include a multi-part stuccoed stone, brick and log house, the oldest part of which dates from the 1790s; a log and stone secondary dwelling dating from the 1790s; a mid-nineteenth century frame wagon shed; and a log outbuilding/smokehouse. Set apart from this complex and to the west, is a hip roofed stone barn, dating from the late eighteenth century. The main house faces east, toward Route 355 (Georgetown Pike). The stone lower story of the secondary dwelling was also oriented toward the east; however the log second story addition faces west toward the main house. To the west of the buildings is I-270. The interstate highway, lined with trees, forms a visual and physical barrier for the property. However, the land that made up this farm historically extended beyond the interstate highway to the Buckeystown Pike (MD Route 85), and could be accessed from that road as well as the Georgetown Pike. Near the east edge of the property is the B&O (CSX) Railroad and beyond that a flat area of floodplain along the west bank of the Monocacy River. The farm consists mostly of cropland on rich and fairly level bottomland nestled within a bend in the Monocacy River. Although most of the land lies west of Route 355, a portion is on the east side. Tree cover forms a band along the river; otherwise most of the land is open and currently used for hay and grain cultivation.

Main House (LCS#45055). The main house of the *Hermitage* is a multi-part, L-shaped stone, brick, log and frame building. The stone and brick portions are stuccoed and the log and frame sections are covered with various wood sidings, lapped or German. Stucco was applied to the house originally and the 1835 tax assessment described the house as roughcast. The current stuccoed surface dates from the mid twentieth century. However, remnants of earlier stucco, smooth surfaced with regular struck lines to resemble cut block can be seen where later stucco is missing.

The front or east elevation of the house has five bays with a central entrance. The southern three bays were built as a unit and are separate from the northern two bays. The northern two bays have windows set at a lower level and the roof span is much broader, creating a break in the roofline particularly visible from the south and west. The house is constructed into a slight slope, which drops away to the south, causing the three southern bays to have a raised basement. There is also a prominent water table at the top of the foundation of the south section. Windows in the south section have wide mortised and tenoned frames with pegged joints, ovolo trim and six-over-six-pane sash. The front door has six low relief panels and is hung beneath a four light transom. Exterior architectural evidence (also affirmed by interior investigation) shows that the south section was constructed in the 1790s; the north section appears to have been reconstructed in the 1820s from an earlier shed

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roofed stone structure. The present gables of the 1790s section were created in brick, probably at the time of the 1820s renovations. Architectural evidence indicates that the gables were constructed to replace an original hipped roof over the 1790s section.

Extending to the west from the back of the 1820s section are two wooden components, the first a two story frame infill and the second, at the extreme west end, a one story log kitchen which was raised to two stories with frame construction. The frame infill has a chimney extending up its south elevation, and the log part had an inside gable end chimney with an exposed brick back. Clues from the interiors of these back sections suggest that the frame infill section dates from the 1860s, and the log kitchen from the 1790s. The upper part of the log section, the framed second story, probably dates from the late nineteenth century.

The National Park Service stabilized the house in 2007.

Secondary Dwelling (LCS#45056). The secondary house is a two part dwelling consisting of a one story stone hall and parlor plan first story measuring approximately 18x36 feet with a log second story with two separate chambers. The log portion is covered with narrow gauge wood siding, which the National Park Service replaced in 2005. The house dates from the 1790s. There is a cellar under the south room, the parlor. The east elevation of the log second story has two windows placed close together near the center of the wall. The south gable elevation has one window and another within the gable. The west elevation has two windows opposing those in the east wall, plus doors into the each second floor chamber, giving the west elevation a symmetrical door, window, window, door fenestration pattern. A shed-roofed stoop or porch with stairs to provide access to the southern-most west side entrance appears in a ca. 1924 photograph which shows a portion of the building. The stone chimney is extended with brick. The interior of the log second floor section contains two rooms, each with separate access to the first floor and to the exterior. The north door in the west elevation was covered with wood siding when it was applied in the early twentieth century. When the NPS replaced this siding, the original doorway was re-covered as it had previously been. NPS stabilized and restored the building in 2005 to its 1920s appearance.

Log Outbuilding/Smokehouse (LCS#45059). Separated from the log section and to its west is a log outbuilding/smokehouse covered with vertical siding. This is a one story gable roofed building. It was stabilized by NPS in 2004.

The Stone Barn (LCS#45057). One of the most unusual features of this very extraordinary complex is the hipped roof stone barn set well behind the other buildings on the farm. It looks nothing like the barns that are common to the region, which typically have a ramp or bank at the back and a cantilevered forebay. These indigenous barns are German in origin and are often referred to in contemporary records as "Swisser Barns." The *Hermitage* barn has no ramp, no forebay, and no upper threshing floor. It is a rectangular structure with its broad sides facing east and west. The front and rear stone walls are interrupted by wide openings that extend from the ground fully to the roof. These openings are centrally located in the east and west walls. The upper portions of these open areas are currently filled in with vertical board siding. The siding infill may have been constructed like this originally, or there may have been doors across these openings at one or more levels. In the north end wall, there is a window, with a segmentally arched top. Seams in the stone work indicate that this north end opening was once a door which was later partially enclosed. There are no windows or other openings in the south elevation.

Phase II archeological investigations completed in 2003 revealed "a mortared stone foundation with the same orientation and axis as the stone barn" extending southward from the south elevation and measuring 25' x 35'.

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The structure is interpreted as a “shed or dependency.”²⁸ On the east elevation, there are two vertical vent slits. The walls are constructed of narrow flat courses of local stone with leveling courses at intervals. Stones protrude at intervals from the corners of the north elevation, which are possibly tie rocks for a proposed addition although there is no evidence (archeologically) that anything was ever constructed. The barn is set on a slightly raised flat area.

The barn until recently was used to shelter cattle. Its original use was more likely for crop storage. The overall form of the barn with the hipped roof and stone construction on leveled land is indicative of French traditions. It certainly dates from the Vincendiere occupation of the property, probably the 1790s, and is likely one of the improvements that made the 1798 tax assessment for the property so high in comparison with other assessments in that year. It is possibly the building that is referred to as the “old barn” in David Best’s Civil War damage claim document. The National Park Service performed stabilization work on the barn in 2008.

Frame Corncrib/Wagon Shed (LCS#102195). Situated approximately halfway between the house and the stone barn is a frame wagon shed and corncrib. The wagon shed is of timber frame construction and rests on limestone foundation piers. Its gables are set east and west and are open at both ends allowing for an equipment drive-through. The shed is covered with vertical board siding with space between the boards to allow air circulation through the corncrib. This shed is typical of a once numerous outbuilding type on central Maryland farms. Monocacy National Battlefield staff identified evidence that the building dates to ca. 1870 and was not present at the time of the battle. The wagon shed was stabilized in 2010.

Stone Wall (LCS#500554). Marking the boundary of the Best Farm along the B&O (CSX) Railroad right-of-way is a stone wall or fence, dry-laid, and in un-maintained condition. It runs intermittently from Rt. 355 to I-270. The wall is a contributing structure.

14th New Jersey Monument (LCS#45027; ASMIS#MONO00002.000; MD#18FR21). The monument commemorating the 14th New Jersey Regiment, part of the 6th U.S. Army Corps, was dedicated on July 11, 1907, by the State of New Jersey and re-dedicated in 2007. Two-thirds of the soldiers were lost during the battle, the most lost from a single regiment during the battle.

The striking New Jersey monument was the first placed on the battlefield. The granite pedestal has four bronze plaques. Two are original; another was placed at the centennial of the battle in 1964 by the Civil War Centennial Commission, State of New Jersey; and another was placed by the New Jersey Civil War History Association on July 7, 2007, at the rededication of the monument. A statue of a soldier stands on the elongated middle section of the monument, with a total height of about twenty-four feet. The front plaques are engraved with the following:

Erected by the State of New Jersey to commemorate the heroic servicers of the 14th Regiment, New Jersey Volunteer Infantry, 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 6th Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, at the Battle of Monocacy, MD. July 9th 1864.

The 14th Regiment New Jersey Volunteers was organized on the Monmouth Battle Ground, and mustered in to the United States service near Freehold, New Jersey August 26th, 1862, and was mustered out June 18th 1865, near Washington D.C.

and

²⁸ The feature was designated as “Structure 1.” Beasley, ed., “Archeological Overview and Assessment and Identification and Evaluation Study of the Best Farm,” Monocacy National Battlefield, 2005.

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The Union forces commanded by General Lew Wallace on the battlefield so stubbornly opposed the Confederate troops under General Jubal A. Early as to assure the safety of the National Capital.

The commission to erect the monument – Major John C. Patterson, President, Adjutant William H. Foster, Secretary, Corporal R. A. Clark, Treasurer, Captain Jarvis Wanser, Sergeant John Grover, Thos Manson & Son, Builders²⁹

The monument is located on land that was part of the Best Farm (*Hermitage*), along the south side of the railroad, west of the Georgetown Pike, near the old (pre-1830s) route of the pike from the ferry crossing. The land surrounding the monument is a grassy plane, set below the grade of the existing highway and with steps leading down to the New Jersey memorial. The plot of land is marked on the south and west sides by twenty granite bollards connected with two lines of metal railing. The north edge of the lot, overlooking the railroad tracks, has a low fieldstone wall (part of the wall mentioned above). The east side is unenclosed. The State of New Jersey still owns the monument; the NPS maintains it. The monument was cleaned and restored in 2007. It is a contributing object and the enclosure is considered a contributing landscape feature.

United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument (LCS#45028). The monument dedicated to Confederate forces was placed at the battlefield on July 9, 1914, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, by the Fitzhugh Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The Frederick, Maryland, chapter of the UDC placed the monument to command an overview of the battlefield on a parcel purchased by the UDC, but later conveyed to the NPS. The rectangular monolith of unpolished granite has a plaque with the inscription:

This boulder overlooks the Monocacy Battlefield and is in memory of the southern soldiers who fell in the battle fought July 9, 1864 which resulted in a Confederate victory. Erected July 9, 1914 by the Fitzhugh Lee Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy of Frederick, Maryland.

The monument is located on the Best Farm, west of the Georgetown Pike at the north edge of the property along Route 355, the old Georgetown Pike. The UDC monument and the Maryland Centennial monument rest on a shared concrete slab. Both are enclosed by delicate metal posts connected by a straight metal top rail and suspended metal chains. The monument was restored by NPS in 2007. It is a contributing object and landscape elements are considered contributing features.³⁰

Centennial Monument (LCS#45029). The last monument to be located at Monocacy was dedicated by the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission on July 9, 1964. The monument commemorates Union and Confederate troops and is situated on the Best Farm, immediately north of the UDC monument. The dates 1864-1964 are carved on the front face of the granite monolith. A bronze plaque, shaped like an open book, and mounted on the canted top surface of the monument, is inscribed with the following:

The Battle of Monocacy

The Battle that Saved Washington

Here along the Monocacy River on July 9, 1864, was fought the battle between Union forces under General Lew Wallace and Confederate forces under General Jubal A. Early. The battle, although a temporary victory for the Confederates, delayed their march on Washington one day, thereby enabling General Grant to send veteran reinforcements from Petersburg, Virginia, to the defenses of Washington in time to forestall the attack by the Confederates and thus save the Capital from capture.

²⁹ Hannah Grant and Dean Herrin, "And They Did Save It": The Monuments of Monocacy" in *Catoctin History* (Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, 2009), p. 29-30.

³⁰ Grant and Herrin, p. 28-29.

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*Dedicated on July 9, 1964,
to honor the Maryland soldiers who fought here
for the Union and the Confederacy.*

*J. Millard Tawes, Governor of Maryland
Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission
George L. Radcliffe, Chairman³¹*

The monument was restored by NPS in 2007. It is a contributing object.

Visitor Center. Located at the north edge of the Park near the border of the Best Farm is the Monocacy National Battlefield Visitor Center that was relocated to this new building in 2007. Constructed of concrete block and wood siding with a gambrel roof, it was designed to resemble the 1940s dairy barn that once stood on the Best Farm, but was removed in 2003. A gable roofed extension on the east side shelters the main entrance. Facing the road, a modern NPS sign with a fieldstone base reads "Monocacy National Battlefield."

Best Farm Archeological Features. Phase II archeological investigations in 2003 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In addition to these domestic sites was evidence of an extension to the stone crop barn's south end wall. It is unclear from documentation available at present whether these sites were standing at the time of the Battle in 1864. The slave housing, however, was not standing, as there is no recovered archeological material dating from after 1830,³³ and there are no accounts among Civil War participants noting the presence of buildings in the vicinity of the slave housing archeological site. The bank barn, noted as burned during the battle, was located just northwest of the secondary house. The barn was reconstructed after the battle and again after an 1878 fire, and finally was destroyed by a wind storm in 1990 and replaced with a pole barn. The pole barn and a twentieth century dairy barn to the north were removed by NPS in 2005.

Archeological sites [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The adjoining property has not been investigated for archeological potential.

[REDACTED] These Civil War sites are related to the 1864 Battle of Monocacy, or 1862 encampments, or both.

I. Best Farm (*Hermitage*) Resources (Map 2)

4 contributing buildings:

I.2 Main House

³¹ Grant and Herrin, p. 29.

³² Joy Beasley, ed., "Archeological Overview and Assessment and Identification and Evaluation Study of the Best Farm," Monocacy National Battlefield, Frederick, MD, 2005.

³³ Beasley 2005, p. 14.32.

³⁴ Beasley 2005.

³⁵ Beasley 2005.

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- I.3 Secondary House
- I.4 Log Outbuilding/smokehouse
- I.5 Stone Barn

2 contributing structures:

- I.1 Entrance lane (LCS #45056)
Stone wall along B&O/CSX right-of-way

3 contributing objects (all on Map 2):

- 14th New Jersey Monument, located on 1864 alignment of Georgetown Pike
- UDC Monument, located on Highway 355, Georgetown Pike
- Maryland Centennial Monument, located on Highway 355, Georgetown Pike

2 noncontributing buildings:

- Visitor Center
- Wagon Shed

1 noncontributing object:

- NPS modern sign at Visitor Center

Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources found in this section, including, but not limited to the Battle of Monocacy action site and Confederate occupation and artillery location sites, are counted as part of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000).

Potomac Valley Brick Property (Map 2)

This partly developed and partly wooded parcel of just over fourteen acres adjoins the Monocacy River and the Visitor Center parcel on the Best Farm and was historically part of the *Hermitage* property. [REDACTED]

Although grading of the developed south half of the property along Rt. 355 may have adversely impacted some archeological remains, the north half does appear to retain an intact landscape, both grass and wooded, that likely preserves intact archeological horizons. The entire property is part of the NHL boundary adjustment archeological site.

J. Potomac Valley Brick Lumber Property Resources (Map 2)

Noncontributing buildings under construction (not counted)

The Araby Farms: Thomas Farm and Lewis Farm (Map 3)

The *Araby* Farms embraces several distinctive resources that were historically associated with the 1,111-acre *Araby* tract surveyed for John McPherson in 1832. These include the Thomas Farm (*Araby* plantation) to which the Lewis Farm (McPherson Hill Farm) was attached. Following the breakup of *Araby* in 1844 these separate parcels were established: Araby Farm, Gambrill Mill, and The Hill Farm. The Monocacy Junction village (rainside properties) was subdivided from the Gambrill Mill property. The Gambrill Mill Property and the Monocacy Junction Rainside Properties have previously been described.

³⁶ Beasley 2005.

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Thomas Farm (*Araby*) (ASMIS#MONO00020.000; MD#18FR820)

The Thomas Farm, also known as *Araby*, containing approximately 240 acres is located on the southwest side of Maryland Route 355 and on the east side of the Monocacy River, opposite the Best Farm (*Hermitage*). Today, the complex of buildings constituting the Thomas Farm consists of an eighteenth century brick main house, stone secondary house, brick domestic outbuilding of unknown function, frame well/pump house, frame barn, frame shed, and a frame wagon shed/corn crib. Located some distance from the main complex is another building belonging to the Thomas Farm, a concrete block tenant house dating from around 1950, situated at 4460 Baker Valley Road.

In addition to the buildings there are significant landscape features including eighteenth and nineteenth century road traces, and the site of the Middle Ford and Marshall's Ferry with a house/tavern site, stable and smith shop at the ferry. One of the road traces leads from Baker Valley Road past the ruin of a blacksmith shop, the south side of the stone secondary house and across the fields to the southwest of the Thomas Farm building complex, heading toward the Worthington Farm and the ford near the mouth of Ballenger Creek. Another is the pre-1828 route of the Georgetown Road, a continuation of today's Araby Church Road from where it makes a right angle turn to the north to join the present Route 355 (Georgetown Pike) route. That trace of the original Georgetown Road continued straight to the site of Marshall's Ferry and the Middle Ford. A third road trace follows the east side of the Monocacy River and was the original access to the Worthington Farm (*Clifton*), and perhaps an even older route linking fords and/or ferries along the Monocacy. Some of these roads and features were in use at the time of the battle of Monocacy and are counted as contributing. The original path of the Georgetown Road, the ferry and the tavern/house at the ferry were bypassed in 1828. The tavern was already gone by 1864 and is therefore considered noncontributing to this NHL although very significant in the context of the historical development of the Monocacy landscape, and as a record of eighteenth century tavern material.

A driveway ("Entrance Lane") leads from Araby Church Road (the original Georgetown Road/Pike) to the main Thomas Farm buildings (4632 Araby Church Road), in a southwesterly direction for approximately two-tenths of a mile. Lined with mature overarching deciduous trees, the driveway heads straight to the house, then curves around it to the east. Nineteenth century illustrations and landscape evidence show that the driveway once circled in front of the house and a branch went straight along the west side of the house to outbuildings and the barn (Figure 14). The trace of it is still visible.

The house stands at the end of the driveway, facing northeast (referred to as north in this document), toward Araby Church Road, the old Georgetown Pike. Arrayed behind, to the southwest, are the domestic and agricultural support buildings, once more numerous than today. Ornamental plantings of trees and shrubs enhance the yard around the main house. A pasture sweeps to the east between the house and Baker Valley Road. To the west is cropland seamed with fencerows. Baker Valley, a narrow trough between Brooks Hill and a corresponding ridge called Flint Hill to its east extends southeast of the buildings. Baker Valley Road forms the east boundary of the property. Research has dated a row of Osage Orange trees that run along Araby Church Road to the mid-19th century.

In 1847, then owner of *Araby*, Isaac Baugher, took out an insurance policy on the farm's buildings with the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Frederick County. The insurance company's written description of the buildings covered by their policy survives. The insurance policy also records the house with its attached back building and the barn, along with very brief descriptions of some of the outbuildings. This description provides clues about the evolution of the domestic and agricultural buildings of the farm and will be referenced throughout this section.³⁷

³⁷ This 1847 insurance document from the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Frederick County for Isaac Baugher survives as a photocopy of the original insurance document. The photocopy is located at Monocacy National Battlefield.

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Main House (LCS#45130). The mansion house is a two story, five bay brick dwelling with twentieth century additions: a one story, two bay brick garage on the east end and a one story brick sun porch on the west end. Initially constructed by James Marshall, the house probably dates after 1780 when Marshall became more actively involved with the ferry and the *Arcadia* portion of his property on the north (west) side of the Monocacy River. Architectural features in the house display affinity with the 1780s. In addition to its eighteenth century characteristics, the house shows major neoclassical modifications from the 1830s-40s period and additional later nineteenth century renovations, likely as the result of damage sustained during the Battle of Monocacy. More recent alterations and accretions date from the 1950s and 1960s.

James Marshall initially built the house as a two story brick dwelling, one room deep with two rooms and a passage and a separate kitchen at the rear, which later became incorporated into an L extension. A narrow gallery porch seems to have been present originally along the south and east elevations. In the 1830s or '40s renovations and modernizations included adding neoclassical Greek elements at the front entrance, and front section mantelpieces with columns, updates probably done by the McPhersons after they acquired the property and renamed it *Araby* in 1812. The gallery porch was also widened. New additions after 1847 deepened the east wing of the house with the construction of a southeast room and a new stair passage. A new Italianate front porch also dates from the post-1847 time period. C.K. Thomas likely repaired and modified the house before and after the Civil War. A historic photograph showing possible bullet damage to the columns indicates that the Italianate porch was present during the battle (Figure 15).³⁸

The house is L-shaped with a two story wing extending to the southwest, and a broad double porch along the wing's east side. Three gabled dormers with arched windows pierce the front (north) slope of the roof. The Italianate front porch, dating from after 1847, was removed in 1952 and replaced with an open front elevation with a wooden band representing a belt course added.³⁹ Also in 1952 a "colonial" door surround was added to the 1830s period Greek Revival style entrance.

The front elevation masonry is laid in Flemish bond with common bond used at the side and rear walls, as was typical of mid-Maryland brick construction. The common bond is laid in a ratio of five stretcher rows to each course of headers, a pattern typical of the 1820s-1860s period. A brick veneer was installed on the house ca. 1860 (HSR), which explains the mid-nineteenth century bonding pattern. The building rests on low fieldstone foundations. Five brick chimneys with corbelled tops rise from inside each gable end (two of them from the east end wall) and midway in the length of the rear wing. The roofing material is a combination of slate and asphalt shingles.

The front elevation follows the basic Georgian form with five bays and a central entrance. All windows are six-over-six sash within narrow frames. The first story windows were elongated in 1860 to create jib doors, which opened onto a broad porch. The frames and sash were changed at that time as well. This woodwork was signed and dated by the carpenter who made and installed it. In 2013, repairs to the wood panels below the front door sidelights revealed battle-related bullet holes in both panels, which had been repaired with a wood plug and covered with putty or caulk. Alterations to the brickwork beneath the second story central front window indicate that it was converted to a door and then turned back into a window.

A late-nineteenth century engraving of *Araby* in Scharf's *History of Western Maryland* (Figure 14), shows the Italianate porch extending cross the entire front of the house.⁴⁰ Outlines of pilasters from this porch remain in

³⁸ Benjamin Franklin Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, p. 131. Photograph dated 1893 by Charles A. Davis (courtesy Vermont Historical Society).

³⁹ Joy Beasley and Thomas Vitanza, *Thomas House – Thomas Farm (Araby) Historic Structure Report*, NPS, 2010, p. 26-28.

⁴⁰ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Baltimore, 1882, reprinted Regional Publishing Company, 1969, facing page

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the faded paint on the first story front of the house. The porch also appears in an 1893 Charles A. Davis photograph (Figure 14 insert), and was present at the time of the battle. This Italianate porch probably replaced an earlier neoclassical porch that would have come with the other 1830s period accretions to the house. The 1847 insurance description of the house reports the presence of a “portico on the north side 44 feet long and 7 feet [wide] ...[?]...3 steps high, supported by 4 square columns covered with cedar shingles.”⁴¹ According to the insurance document, “[t]he following is a description of Mr. Isaac Baughers house and other buildings on his farm (called Araby) southeast of Frederick City about 4 ½ miles, and is occupied by Mr. Worthington Johnson—size of his house 42 feet front, and 33 feet 8 inches deep, 2 story high, built of brick, covered with cedar shingles, has 3 dormered windows on the north side, (lighten [sic] rod at the west end—).”⁴²

The dormer windows appear to be original from the eighteenth century and have changed little, except for the application of imbricated slates to their side walls. The dormers have arched upper sashes with molded trim and a central carved “keystone.” The gables form pediments trimmed with dentils and multiple courses of molding.

The east elevation of the rear wing or L-extension has a double-width, two-story porch, covering a broad work area. The present approximately 10-foot depth of the porch could be a nineteenth century alteration, but it is described much as it appears today, with a 10-foot 8-inch depth, in the 1847 insurance document. Approximately the north third of the porch was enclosed in the 1950s to form a utility room on the first story and bathroom above. The upper level of the brick wall beneath the shelter of the porch is stuccoed. All other surfaces of the brick are exposed. The 1893 Davis photograph shows a one story frame service structure, probably a bake house attached to the gable end of the rear wing.

Interior. The interior of the house reflects original eighteenth century work, along with remodeling episodes in the ca. 1830s, 1860s and 1950s. The front door opens into a central entrance and stair hall with rooms on either side. A formal staircase ascends along the east wall of the passageway. The west rooms sustained the most damage during the Battle of Monocacy. According to Scharf’s *History of Western Maryland*, “[d]uring the bombardment, which lasted from 9:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. the house was much battered. A portion of the wall of the dining-room (in which latter apartment the Union sharpshooters were posted) was beaten down, and in that room, as well as in the library and dining-room, are still visible great indentations made by shells and rifle shots. The west side of the structure suffered the most damage, but altogether the injury was by no means as great as it was feared it would be. Eight shells penetrated the interior...”⁴³

The northwest room was probably the “library” in Scharf’s description. Cupboards now lining the wall between these two rooms replaced the folding doors between the dining room and library, probably those “beaten down” by shells. Various accounts from the battle mention damage to the house. Mary Tyler Gatchell who was among the civilians hiding in the Thomas House basement during the battle recalled years later, artillery “twisting huge limbs from the trees, level[ing] down the chimneys and [tearing]out an angle of the house.”⁴⁴ Glenn Worthington reported that a shell penetrated the brick wall of the dining room and exploded on the Thomas’s table. ⁴⁵“I have rarely seen a house more scarred by battle than was his [Mr. Thomas],” wrote Union Lt. John Rodgers Meigs in an August 1864 letter to his mother, “...7 shells struck the house and I counted 26

574.

⁴¹ 1847 Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Frederick County inventory for Isaac Baugher, Monocacy National Battlefield.⁴² Ibid.⁴³ Scharf, p. 573.⁴⁴ Andrew Weil, “A Brief History of *Araby* and Its Residents During the Civil War and the Battle of Monocacy,” in *Archeological Overview, Assessment, Identification and Evaluation Study of the Thomas Farm*, Joy Beasley, ed. NPS, 2010, p.57, quoting MSA SC 213-1-9.⁴⁵ Ibid. quoting Glenn H. Worthington, *Fighting for Time: The Battle of Monocacy*, 1932, p. 136.

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musket balls on *one side* of the house and discovered more afterwards.”⁴⁶ Meigs was among Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan’s staff, encamped at the Thomas house enroute to Harpers Ferry and the start of Sheridan’s Shenandoah Valley Campaign. The house was rehabilitated for adaptive reuse as park administrative headquarters in 2008-2012.

Stone Secondary House (Stone Tenant House LCS#419543). The 1847 insurance description reports that “southeast of the house about 150 feet stands a one story stone building, used as a servants house...” No further description exists. The secondary house is located behind and to the east of the main house. Its south elevation faces an old road trace, which passes immediately outside the building and leads to Baker Valley Road to the east. Since James Marshall had 16 slaves, this building may well date from his occupancy and may have served as slave’s quarter.⁴⁷ Certainly it was being used as such in 1847. The extensive alterations were made to the building in the twentieth century.

The secondary house is constructed of roughly coursed, flat shale-like rock that crumbles easily by hand. It is five bays in length with an entrance in the second bay from the east end of the north elevation. Wood shingles cover the roof. The building currently has no chimney, fireplace or hearth. The south elevation has doors in the first bay from the west end and also the central bay. Windows have six-over-six light sash and window and door frames are narrow and mitered, probably replacements. There are also windows centered in the end walls at the main and attic levels.

The National Park Service stabilized the secondary stone house in 2010.

Brick Outbuilding (LCS#323372). Standing behind the main house is a small brick outbuilding, most recently used as a garden shed. It is gable roofed with a shelf-like projection of brick at the base. While this building may appear to be a smokehouse, it is not the same smokehouse described in the 1847 insurance document, which referenced a log building located 42 feet southeast of the main house, which would have been closer to the Stone Secondary House. The National Park Service stabilized this building in 2007.

Other Domestic Outbuildings. A gable-roofed frame well house (LCS#500443) is located southeast of the main house. It is a twentieth century structure, but it covers a 50-foot-deep hand dug well that may be an original feature of the complex. A depression in the ground, located southwest of the house marks the site of a partially subterranean icehouse. In 1929 a *Baltimore Sun* photographer took a picture of the icehouse with the Worthington Farm in the background (Figure 15). It appears identical to the icehouse in the Scharf illustration, a gable roofed rectangular structure with a central cupola for ventilation. The National Park Service stabilized this building in 2007.

Frame Shed (LCS#323375). A gable fronted frame shed stands to the southwest of the main house along the fence separating the domestic area from the farm fields. This shed (or one like it) shows in the illustration from *Scharf’s History*. The National Park Service stabilized this building in 2007.

Tenant House (4660 Baker Valley Road). Along Baker Valley Road at a side driveway into the Thomas Farm stands a concrete block tenant house, which appears to date from the 1950s.

Bank Barn (LCS#323376). The Thomas Farm barn is a Pennsylvania style frame bank barn, facing east, with a ramp at the back and a closed-side cantilevered forebay. A fenced barnyard is immediately east of the building.

⁴⁶ Mary A. Guinta, ed., *A Civil War Soldier of Christ and Country: The Selected Correspondence of John Rodgers Meigs, 1859-1864* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2006), p. 234.

⁴⁷ U.S. Population Census, 1800, Frederick Town District No. 2.

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This barn dates from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. It replaced a brick barn (shown in the ca. 1880 Scharf engraving) that probably dated from the 1830s and well before 1847, because it is described in the insurance list with an "old" roof. "[S]outh of the corn cribs about 105 feet stands the barn sized 75 feet 2 inches long and 49 feet deep including the overjut on the east side, the basement story is built of stone, the other part is built of brick, and has 2 division walls runing [sic] a cross the barn, as high as the square of the building built of brick 14 inches thick. Barn is covered with oak shingles. The roof is old, lightening rod at the North end." As pictured in the Scharf illustration, the brick barn had three square cupolas projecting from the gable and granary outshots on either side of the threshing floor. Geometric brick ventilators pierced the brick gable walls. The present barn stands on the site of the older barn. There may also have been a first period barn as well, dating from the eighteenth century. Vertical board siding sheaths the current barn's frame and it rests on stone foundations, which may survive from the earlier barn. The current roofing material is sheet metal. The barn was stabilized in 2003-2009.

Corn Crib/Wagon Shed (LCS#495222). North of the barn stands a frame corncrib and wagon shed. It is an elongated structure with its gable ends facing east-west. Vertical slats enclose the corn storage area with space between for air circulation. It rests on stone piers. The 1847 description says that frame corn cribs stood west of the stone building. The late nineteenth century engraving in Scharf's *History* shows two corn cribs. One of them is north of the other and this one, the survivor, seems to be the southernmost of the two. The corn crib was stabilized in 2003, and additional preservation work completed in 2011.

Brick Silo (LCS#640327). A brick silo remains at the southwest corner of the barn. It is a round structure set in common bond and may date from the late nineteenth century, although it does not appear in the Scharf engraving. The silo was preserved and restored along with the barn in 2009.

Fences. A prominent aspect of the *Araby* landscape is the fencing. Board fences defined the fields near the house while post and American wire fences enclosed the further agricultural fields. The landscape also incorporates examples of traditional living fences in the form of hedgerows.

Blacksmith Shop Ruins (LCS#572675; ASMIS#MONO00023.000; MD#18FR871).

The masonry utilizes the flat friable stone typical along the Monocacy, like that used in other buildings in the area.

The National Park Service stabilized the foundations in 2008. Phase II archeological investigations completed in 2007, showed the shop measured 16' x 35'. The layout consisted of two rooms, divided by an interior wall.

Pennsylvania Monument (LCS#45026; ASMIS#MONO00001.000; MD#18FR020). Located on a half-acre plot that formerly belonged to *Araby* near Araby Church, on the south side of the old Georgetown Pike (Araby Church Road), the monument commemorates the 67th, 87th and 138th regiments of Pennsylvania volunteers, part of the 6th U.S. Army Corps. The 35-foot-tall monument was the second memorial to be placed on the Monocacy Battlefield. It was dedicated on November 24, 1908 by the State of Pennsylvania, with 250 veterans of the battle attending the dedication. The 67th Pennsylvania Regiment actually did not fight in the battle,

⁴⁸ Chapter 13, pgs. 115-121, *In Archeological Overview, Assessment, Identification, and Evaluation Study of the Thomas Farm*, Joy Beasley, ed., Occasional Report No. 19, Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. 2010.

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because they were detained in New Market, Maryland. After the war, they were known as part of the “missing brigade.”

The three-part monument is made of blue western Rhode Island granite. A polished cube with a Doric column at each corner rests on the square base. The north side of the cube has the following inscription:

*Erected by the Commonwealth of Penna
in commemoration of
the bravery, sacrifice,
and patriotism of the
67th, 87th, and 138th regiments
that fought on this battlefield
July 9, 1864
Commissioners
Wm. H Lanius, Capt. Co. I 87th
Robert T. Cornwell, Capt. Co. I 67th
M. Coppleberger, Priv. Co. A. 138th*

A column extends above the cube, with a polished sphere on top, bearing a Greek cross, the symbol of the Union Army’s VI Corps of which these regiments were a part.⁴⁹ The monument is enclosed by twelve granite bollards connected by two lines of metal rail. The piece of land where the monument rests is a flat, grassy plane. At each corner a small, cube-shaped stone was placed with the following inscription:

*67th – 87th
AND 138th
PA. VOL.*

The State of Pennsylvania conveyed title to the property to the National Park Service in 1997. The monument was cleaned and restored in 2007. It is a contributing object and the landscape elements are contributing features.

10th Vermont Monument (LCS#45025). The Vermont Monument, located at the intersection of Baker Valley Road and Araby Church Road, was dedicated in 1915 by the State of Vermont to commemorate the contributions of the 10th Vermont infantry, part of the 6th U.S. Army Corps. Participating in fighting at the Thomas Farm and at Monocacy Junction, two members of Company D were awarded Medals of Honor for their bravery.

The monument is a rectangular monolith made of white granite. It stands eight feet high. A bronze tablet in the shape of a Greek cross bears the following inscription:

*This monument
was erected by the
State of
Vermont
to designate the position of
the 10th Vermont Infantry
during the battle fought here*

⁴⁹ Grant and Herrin, p. 30-31.

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*on the ninth day of July 1864
to save Washington, "and we saved it."
Seven companies occupied the Washington
Pike, while three companies occupied
the Buckeystown Road
opposite the
Thomas House.
1915.⁵⁰*

The monument rests on a small, grassy rise, with three granite steps leading to the monument. The small plot is not fenced, but three granite bollards mark two corners and the back of the lot. The ground still belongs to the State of Vermont, but an agreement with the National Park Service is in place for maintenance of the grounds and structure. The monument was cleaned and restored in 2007. It is a contributing object and the landscape elements are contributing features.

Middle Ford Ferry Site. Belonging to the Thomas Farm is the site of the old ferry crossing known as the Middle Ford or Marshall's Ferry. The site is approximately 350 feet downstream from the present Route 355 highway bridge. On land plats, the ferry site shows as a notch in the property line jutting across the river. When the ferry was sold out of the Marshall family in 1812, improvements on the 5-acre tract included a dwelling, stable and a blacksmith shop. Above ground evidence of the ferry building complex site appears only as architectural debris (brick fragments). An archeological investigation of the site occurred in 2004, 2006 and 2008 (The Middle Ford Ferry Tavern site, ASMIS#MONO00019.000; MD#18FR819) which located evidence of a log or frame 14x19 foot building oriented to the Georgetown Road trace and revealed well preserved deposits dating from at least as early as 1751 to as late as the third decade of the nineteenth century, plus the tavern's cellar footprint.⁵¹ The ferry and ferry house locations are well documented on the 1794 Griffith map, as Hammett's Tavern, and the ca. 1830 Monocacy Lateral Canal map (Figure 11), as well as descriptions of the 5-acre tract found in deeds. The trace of the road leading to the ferry on the south (east) side of the Monocacy River reads on the landscape (see road trace description below). A depression in the land marks the path of the pre-1828 old road as it descends a hill from the east, past an American sycamore tree,⁵² through a natural swale and straight across the river. On the west side of the river, the road trace disappears in the often-flooded plain between the river and the B&O Railroad.

When the Georgetown Road was rerouted to its present location (now Route 355) and a bridge across the Monocacy constructed in 1828, the old road was closed and the buildings apparently abandoned. Thus, the buildings at the ferry, which were very significant within the context of eighteenth century taverns and ferry operations, were gone by the time of the Battle of Monocacy in 1864, and therefore the site does not contribute to the significance of this NHL.

Ruins near Rt. 355 Bridge. Between the ferry site and the present bridge, and not within the 5-acre ferry parcel, are features and ruins of unknown function and origin. One feature is a mound or lining of the embankment along the river, a slate ramp with flat-laid pieces forming a level top or deck. The structure is well above the water's edge. A wooden post protrudes from the top surface. Upstream from this slate embankment, close to the west side of the bridge are foundation ruins of a building or buildings. Built into the steeply sloped

⁵⁰ Grant and Herrin, p. 31.

⁵¹ Beasley 2010, p. 151.

⁵² The tree has been documented by the NPS, Historic American Landscape Survey as a part of its "Witness Tree" program. See Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/md1749/> The tree fell in June 2006.

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bank, there are two side-by-side sets of foundations. They are exposed a full story on the creek side and made of the local flat stones found along the river. The foundations have been extended with several courses of concrete block for a more recent building dating from the twentieth century. Most of the surface debris dates from the twentieth century feature, but the stone foundations beneath are older. They were probably not associated with the ferry, however, since they are outside of the boundary of the 5-acre ferry tract.

Road Traces. Four old road traces remain on the Thomas Farm property and they could date well back into the eighteenth century. One is the access road to the ferry site leading from Route 355 along the east bank of the Monocacy as far as I-270 and beyond (LCS#819343, Thomas Farm, and Lower Worthington Carriage Road). This road is clearly marked, graded out of the steep terrain and equipped with stone culverts over gullies and ravines (LCS#500512, Lower Worthington Carriage Road, Culvert). In the nineteenth century, this was an access road to the Worthington farm (*Clifton*), a farm developed in the 1840s when *Araby* was subdivided. The road appears on the 1864 Hotchkiss map of the Monocacy Battle (Figure 10) and on a 1937 aerial photograph (Figure 12). However, this thoroughfare could have been an older route linking fords and ferries along the Monocacy. The second road trace is the Upper Worthington Carriage Road (LCS#500446) which branches off from the Lower Road, running southeasterly away from the river and up the hill toward the Worthington farmstead. This road is only partially in evidence; much of it was destroyed by the construction of the I-270 road bed.

The third road trace is the original route of the Georgetown Road to Marshall's Ferry (Middle Ford/Ferry) (LCS#500232), abandoned in 1828 after the new bridge realignment was completed. It continues from Araby Church Road at a point where it makes a right angle turn to the north to join present-day Route 355. The old trace continues straight along a fence line, then angles northwest over the crest of a hill and down the steep slope to the river. This old route is discernible in aerial photographs, both current and 1937. It appears on the landscape as a dip or trough. The trace continues through the Best Farm, barely discernable on aerial photographs west of the railroad tracks as it angles toward its junction with the 1828 realignment. The current route of Araby Church Road shows on the 1858 Isaac Bond Map of Frederick County, and dates from 1828 when the Monocacy was bridged and turnpiked from the river into Frederick.⁵³ The older road trace dates as early as the 1740s. An ancient sycamore tree, said to be approximately 250 years old (2014), stood on the north side of the road trace near the river tree line. This "witness" tree stood here as travelers passed along the Georgetown Road to or from Marshall's ferry crossing, and witnessed the bloodshed of battle on July 9, 1864. The tree fell in June 2006.

The fourth road is the one that crossed Baker Valley Road and leads through the Thomas Farm immediately past the stone secondary house and continues to the west through farmland to the river and Worthington Ford (LCS#500431, Thomas/Worthington Road Trace). This route also shows in part on aerial photographs and on Jedediah Hotchkiss' 1864 map of Monocacy Battlefield (Figure 10). It, too, may have been part of a much earlier road system dating back to the mid eighteenth century. It does not seem to be apparent on the 1937 aerial photograph, however.

Thomas Farm (*Araby*) Archeological Resources. Extensive prehistoric artifacts have been found along the Monocacy River near the original route of the Georgetown Road. Beginning in 2003, the National Park Service undertook a combination of surveys and Phase II excavation units on the Thomas Farm. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. There were also metal detector surveys in an agricultural field

⁵³ Frederick Town Herald, May 24, 1828.

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to the west of the Thomas Farm buildings to identify troop movements during the Battle of Monocacy, but results were inconclusive due to extensive relic hunting on the property prior to NPS ownership.⁵⁴

K. Thomas Farm (*Araby*) Resources (Map 3)

4 contributing buildings:

- K.1 Main house
- K.2 Secondary house
- K.3 Corn crib/wagon shed
- K.4 Frame shed

1 contributing structures:

- K.5 Entrance lane

4 contributing sites:

- 4 road traces (not counted)

2 contributing objects, both on Map 2:

- Pennsylvania Monument, located on Araby Church Road
- 16th Vermont Monument, located on Araby Church Road

4 noncontributing buildings:

- Tenant house (1950s)
- Brick outbuilding of unknown function
- Well house
- Bank barn, ca. 1880

1 noncontributing structure:

- Brick silo, ca. 1900

3 noncontributing sites, not counted (may contribute to other important historical contexts):

- Ferry and house/tavern site
- Civil War occupations from 1862 and 1863
- Ruins near bridge (2)

The Civil War associated action site at the Blacksmith Shop Ruins is counted as part of the overall battle archeological site. Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources that date to the period of significance found in this section count as part of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000).

Araby Church Road Area (Map 2)

Twentieth century residential development along Araby Church Road, Baker Valley Road, and the Georgetown Pike (Rt. 355/Urbana Pike) began as early as the 1920s after the re-alignment of the Georgetown Pike. Although the buildings along these roads do impact the visual integrity of the area, it does appear that very little re-grading has occurred. Thus the significant topography of the area is preserved as well as potential archeological material. Araby Church Road, still the Georgetown Pike in 1864, was integral to troop movements as the Monocacy Battle unfolded through the afternoon of July 9, 1864. Baker Valley Road was

⁵⁴ Archeological Overview, Assessment, Identification and Evaluation Study of the Thomas Farm, 2010, NPS.

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also a significant corridor of troop movement. The high potential for significant archeological material in these areas warrants continued inclusion of these properties within the NHL boundary.

Built from the 1920s to the present, the buildings consist of one and two story dwellings with occasional sheds, garages, and barns. Most of the development is located in the area between Araby Church Road and Rt. 355 (including Williams Ave., Rickie Ave., and Arthur Ave.), and along the east side of Baker Valley Road. The development is not dense, with parcels approximately ½-acre and greater.

L. Araby Church Road Area Resources (Map 2)

1 contributing structure:

L.1 Baker Valley Road

(Araby Church Road counted as Georgetown Pike in Monocacy Crossing & Frederick Railroad Junction)

94 noncontributing buildings (date range 1920s-1980s):

8009 and 8034 Ball Road:

2 houses

4604-4620 Urbana Pike (Rt. 355):

3 houses

4502-4749 Araby Church Road:

29 houses

20 garage/shed/barns

4610 Williams Avenue:

3 houses

2 sheds (not counted)

4602-4623 Rickie Avenue:

2 houses

2 sheds (not counted)

4550-4602C Arthur Avenue:

3 houses

2 shed/garages

4201-4527 Baker Valley Road:

11 houses

14 shed/garage/barns

4396 Early Road:

1 house

Lewis Farm (McPherson's Hill Farm) (see Map 3)

The farmstead of the Lewis Farm ("McPherson's Hill Farm") is situated on high ground with a west-facing, two-part, sided log house, a southeast-facing frame closed forebay bank barn and a frame wagon shed and cornerrib. Located a short distance east of the wagon shed is a frame springhouse constructed over a strong

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spring, which flows southwestward to and under Baker Valley Road. The house appears to date from the 1850s, while the barn and wagon shed are more typical of the 1870s or 1880s. The barn's original foundation was replaced with concrete block sometime in the mid-twentieth century.

House (LCS#45124). The house is covered with plain lapped wood siding, with its more formal façade facing west toward Baker Valley Road. The house appears to have been constructed in two parts, although the two sections could have been built at the same time. The total façade width is five bays, with the three bays to the north having a window, door, and window arrangement. Slightly separated are the two southern bays. Windows have six-over-six panes. The roof is covered with sheet metal and there are chimneys inside the north gable and at the interior between the two sections of the house. At the west elevation, there was a small shed roofed entrance porch, which has been removed; and at the east elevation a shed roofed porch extends the entire length of the house. The house may have been built during the ownership of Henry Layman (1849-1856), or by the following owner, C.K. Thomas, as a tenant house.

Barn and Outbuildings. The barn (LCS#323363, corncrib/wagon shed (LCS#323365) and springhouse (LCS#323364) are the other three remaining buildings on the property. Their detailing is consistent with construction in the 1880s. Since the outbuildings appear to be more recently constructed than the house, there may be below ground evidence of former outbuildings.

M. Lewis Farm (McPherson's Hill Farm) Resources (See Map 3)

1 contributing building:

M.1 House

1 contributing structure:

M.2 Entrance lane (LCS #71919)

3 noncontributing buildings:

Barn

Wagon shed

Springhouse

Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources that date to the period of significance found in this section count as part of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000; MD#18FR030).

N. I-270 Overlook (see Map 3)

Located immediately south (and uphill) of the Lewis Farm, the overlook consists of a loop asphalt paved road and parking area. The overlook itself is a low, stone-walled enclosure paved with brick with a panoramic view of the Monocacy Battlefield to the north and west.

1 noncontributing structure (overlook road)

Worthington Farm (Clifton) (ASMIS#MONO00018.000; MD#18FR791) (see Map 3)

The Worthington Farm (*Clifton*) sits on a hill overlooking the Monocacy River. It is situated within the wide curve of the river that turns from its approximately two-mile east-west stretch through Monocacy National Battlefield, to continue its course southwest to the Potomac River. The farm is mostly wooded now, with a sweeping hayfield east and northwest of the house. The farm and house are accessed via a wooded driveway, which parallels I-270 westward from Baker Valley Road, then turns to the southwest onto the historic lane route (LCS#45035, Worthington Lane) to reach the house. Historically the Worthington/*Clifton* farm complex was

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accessed by the Upper and Lower Carriage Roads following the river from the Georgetown Pike (see Thomas Farm section, Road Traces), however, the dualized Route 240 (today's I-270) intersected the lane in the 1950s. The only historic building remaining on the Worthington Farm is the main house. It faces northeast toward Araby Mill and the Georgetown Pike.

Main House (LCS#45030): The Worthington House is a two-story, five bay brick dwelling with an L-extension to the rear. The main façade has Georgian-inspired fenestration, with a central door flanked by two windows on either side. However, the detailing exhibits strong influence from the Greek Revival and Italianate styles from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The house may have been built in 1851 for Griffin Taylor after he left *Arcadia* and, if so, was probably considered by him to be temporary, since he seems to have been considering—if not negotiating—the purchase of the *Araby* mansion farm. *Clifton* was described as a “new” dwelling when it was advertised for sale in 1856, after Taylor’s death. The *Clifton* house is notably smaller than *Araby*, and appears more modestly appointed, except for the handsome painted decoration in the entrance hall and parlor, embellishments believed to have been added by later owners, Wheatley and Ball.⁵⁵

The National Park Service reconstructed the Italianate full front porch in 2004. This porch reconstructs the original porch for the house, remnants of which the National Park Service salvaged and preserved. The porch is raised on brick piers exposing cellar windows below the porch deck. Square columns with collars and bracketed tops support the porch. A balustrade encloses the deck and a central flight of steps provides access. At the rear of the L-shaped building, entrances opened onto a one-story work porch. An open deck with a balustrade was added in 2004 for access. This deck does not attempt to replicate the original porch for which details are unknown. There was also some sort of porch leading to an entrance in the north elevation of the L. That has not been replaced.

The brick masonry at the front elevation displays common bonding, as do the side and rear walls, all with a 5:1 stretcher to header course ratio. The house rests on stone foundations. Windows have six-over-six light sash hung beneath wide wood lintels, and flanked with pairs of louvered shutters. The shutters are replacements of the originals, based on a historic photograph.⁵⁶ The window frames are narrow and rounded at the surface with mitered joints. A raised basement has half-sized windows, which open beneath the front porch. One four-over-four light, double-hung sash window in the south wall of the L-extension lights the back stairway. Brick chimneys extend from inside each gable end. A wood shingle roof, part of the 2004 restoration covers the building.

The front entrance is in the center bay. The entrance detailing combines the influence of Italianate and Greek Revival styles, with a four panel door flanked by a transom and sidelights. Dividing the transom are fancy scroll brackets terminating with acanthus leaf forms. Over the door is a prominent wooden lintel. The door panels and matching paneled jambs are trimmed with Grecian ogee molding. There are five additional entrances: one in the rear elevation of the front section; one from the rear kitchen wing on the south side; one from the north side of the kitchen wing; one from the cellar at the foot of a flight of stone steps at the rear of the front section; and another from the cellar of the L in the south wall. The main level entrances have four-panel doors and the south kitchen wing door has a three-light transom. None other than the front door has sidelights.

⁵⁵ Jacob Engelbrecht wrote in his diary on March 30, 1861: “Fire near Monocacy Junction - yesterday afternoon between one & two o’clock (Good Friday March 29, 1861) the two story brick house# belonging to T. A. Ball & occupied by Conrad I. Layman caught fire & was burnt down except the brick work. Ball’s loss was about 2000\$ & no insurance - Layman’s loss about 25\$.” It is not clear if this refers to the main house (Worthington House) or a tenant house on the property (see discussion below). Oehrlein & Assoc. (Historic Structure Report) found no indication of a catastrophic fire during their investigation of the Worthington House.

⁵⁶ Philip Pendleton, HABS No. MD-1052, “Clifton Farm,” 1991, p. 27.

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The interior of the house follows a single pile, center passage plan with a one-room service L-extension to the rear with back stairways. The front door opens into a formal stair and entrance passage with a rear entrance in the west wall. To the south of the passageway is the formal parlor, with a painted medallion in the ceiling and painted trompe l'oeil moldings.

The most significant feature of the house is the decorative painting in the entrance hall and parlor. The work, done by the hand of a master, is combined trompe l'oeil (fool the eye) and stenciling to give the illusion of paneled walls and molded plaster cornice work. The paint has deteriorated due to neglect of the house during the mid-twentieth century, but is certainly restorable.⁵⁷

The 1856 sale advertisement mentioned the house, kitchen (which may or may not have been in a separate building), a frame barn and corncrib. It seems unlikely that these were the only buildings on the property, although the *Clifton* complex may still have been under construction at the time it was sold. If Griffin Taylor lived there only a short time before moving on to the *Araby* house, the group of buildings that normally characterize a farmstead may have been left unfinished. There was no mention in the advertisement of typical support structures such as chicken houses, hog pens, smoke houses, springhouses and other domestic buildings. It is possible that the advertisement only highlighted the main buildings, leaving the ubiquitous service buildings unnoted. No slave quarters were mentioned, although they seem not to be included in enumerations of buildings in general in Frederick County.

Writing in 1932, Glenn Worthington recalled the Battle of Monocacy around his home and farmland, and mentioned slave quarters standing to the south of the house. A ca. 1930 drawing of the farmstead made by late Frederick County artist Helen Smith shows the house, barn, slave quarters and several other domestic and agricultural structures. Also shown is a combination of rail and paling fence around the yards. The slave quarters are shown to be wooden, with vertical board siding, one story in height with a central chimney. A set of photographs taken for the *Baltimore Sun* newspaper in December 1929, though incomplete, adds to the historic arrangement of the Worthington complex. One photo (Figure 16) shows the farmstead viewed from the Thomas house yard. In this picture the Worthington complex includes the house and bank barn, along with another barn and at least three other outbuildings. Another photo provides a close-up view of the barn yard (Figure 17), showing what appears to be a hog barn (right), shed (middle), and poultry house (left). The rail fences are constructed with five horizontal rails. The fourth photo shows a two-part, log slave quarter (Figure 18). The partial view of the building shows one door with a window in the door in the four-sided crib and one door and one window in the three-sided crib addition. The whitewashed building does not appear to have ever been sided. The wood shingled roof has a central brick chimney and a wide eave overhanging the front elevation. A second log building depicted in the photo is described as one of the "slave quarters" but appears to be a hipped-roof structure, possibly a smokehouse. It is also whitewashed log with a wood shingle roof. Between the two buildings is a concrete capped well with a cast iron pump. In the background is a paling fence. Archeological investigation in the likely location of the additional buildings may yield more information about the number, type and age of associated buildings for the Worthington Farm. After slavery was abolished in Maryland in 1864, the John Worthington family continued to include blacks in their household as farm workers and domestics.

For a complete architectural description of the Worthington Farm house, refer to Philip Pendleton's HABS documentation, 1991 and also in a historic structure report "Worthington House Historic Structures Report" by Oehrlein & Associates Architects, 1995.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Philip Pendleton, HABS No. MD-1052, "Clifton Farm," 1991 p. 9.

⁵⁸ Philip Pendleton, HABS No. MD-1052, "Clifton Farm," 1991 and Oehrlein and Associates Architects, "Worthington House Historic Structure Report: Physical History and Condition Assessment, Monocacy National Battlefield, Frederick, Maryland, March

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While the main Worthington house has been extensively investigated, remnants of another dwelling complex on the farm were only discovered recently. This domestic site is located on the south side of an old fence line at the northwest base of Brooks Hill, south of the *Clifton* house. A pair of very large white oak trees stand like gateposts on either side of what may have been a path or walkway to the house.⁵⁹ All that remains of the dwelling is a stone foundation, a two-room cellar depression and a brick chimney which fell outward from what was most likely the north gable end of the house. There was also some scattered surface debris around the site, which is overgrown with saplings and small trees. The house does not appear on any historic maps of the property, nor is it shown on recent topographical maps. According to Monocacy National Battlefield personnel, surrounding property owners who were asked had no knowledge of the place.⁶⁰

Barn: Set in a wooded area to the southwest of the Worthington House is gable-roofed pole barn with steel siding. The barn dates from 2012.

Sunken Lane (LCS#45053): This road trace leads along a fence line from behind the barn area southward toward Brooks Hill and the Monocacy River. Along portions of the sunken lane, the roadway is bordered by living fencerows made up of a variety of vegetation, including Osage Orange. This reflects the historic use of living fences to define fields and separate fields from roads and other functions.

Worthington Ford: A fording place on the Monocacy River historically known as the Worthington Ford, which provided access between the Worthington (*Clifton*) and *Arcadia* (later McKinney) farms. It was located near the mouth of Ballenger Creek and may have been in use much earlier for access to the Ballenger mill. Confederates used this ford to cross the river onto the Worthington Farm on the morning of July 9, 1864. According to John Worthington who grew up on the farm and as a child witnessed the battle, the ford was just downstream from the mouth of Ballenger Creek.

O. Worthington Farm (*Clifton*) Resources

1 contributing building:

O.1 Worthington (*Clifton*) House

2 contributing structures:

O.2 Worthington Lane

O.3 Sunken Lane

1 noncontributing building:

Pole Barn

Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources that date to the period of significance found in this section count as part of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000). These include, but are not limited to the Worthington Ford of the Monocacy at Ballenger Creek, battle actions site and encampment site.

P. Frederick County Water Treatment Facility (see Map 3)

27, 1995.⁵⁹ The trees have been documented by the NPS, Historic American Landscape Survey as a part of its "Witness Tree" program. See Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/md1752/>⁶⁰ Susan Trail, personal communication, 1999.

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This industrial complex is located on the west bank of the Monocacy River, on the north side of Ballenger Creek, and is bounded on the west by the CSX Railroad. It includes a number of buildings and water containment structures necessary for the municipal water treatment process. Tree cover along the river bank blocks the complex visually from the Worthington Farm on the opposite (east) bank of the river.

12 noncontributing buildings

18 noncontributing structures

Baker Farm (Map 3)

The Baker farm containing about 220 acres is located on the west side of Baker Valley Road, immediately southwest of the Thomas Farm (*Araby*). Today, the two farms are separated by I-270. The house, barns and outbuildings are arranged approximately on an axis and are set well back from Baker Valley Road against the rising slope of the east face of Brooks Hill. From Baker Valley Road, the landscape slopes downward to the west, and then begins to rise, forming Brooks Hill. A small stream known as Harding Run is located at the lowest point. It flows northeastward and around Brooks Hill and into the Monocacy River. From Baker Valley Road the vista is one of pasture and cropland, with a tree line forming about two thirds of the way up Brooks Hill.

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

House (LCS#320036). The house is a frame, two story American Foursquare style dwelling, which was built by Charles G. Geisbert after the Geisberts acquired the farm in 1914. The new house was, however, built directly upon the foundations of the older dwelling it replaced. The house has a four bay front façade with a window, window, door, and window arrangement. The side elevations are two bays deep. A one story porch extends across the front and partially along the north side and another crosses the rear elevation. The hipped roof is covered with standing seam sheet metal and shed dormers extending from its south, east and north slopes. The foundations are stone, older than the rest of the house.

Smokehouse (LCS#320112). The ca. 1920 smokehouse is a gable front, rusticated concrete block building. The plank door on the east (front) elevation has a wood lintel. There are narrow openings between several blocks on the side elevations. The roof is covered with corrugated metal.

Bank Barn (LCS#45115). The frame barn appears to date from the mid nineteenth century and is generally believed by the National Park Service to have been standing at the time of the battle. It is covered with vertical board siding and has a broad roof span with the ridge centered over the entire width of the building including the forebay. There is an attached wagon shed at the north end of the barn. The barn bank is located on the barn's west side, providing access to the threshing floor inside.

Brick Silo (LCS#45117). A round brick silo stands at the southwest corner of the barn. The silo displays common bond brickwork and is parged with cement on the interior. It no longer has a top, and ferns and other vegetation are growing inside. It probably dates from the late nineteenth century, and is similar to a brick silo on the adjacent Thomas Farm.

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Milk House #1 (LCS#320049). In the south yard of the house, within the circular drive around the house, is a one story rusticated concrete block milk house. The building has two doors on the west elevation. A door in the south gable end fronts directly toward the earliest section of the dairy barn (separated by the circular drive). A brick chimney rises from the northeast corner of the building.

Dairy Barn (LCS#320043). The dairy barn was constructed in two sections, the northern-most section, c.1920, is constructed of rusticated concrete block (like milk house #1). The southern addition, constructed of plain concrete block, nearly doubled the size of the barn to approximately 100 feet long. The entire barn has a gambrel roof sheathed with metal sheets. Four conical metal vents are located along the roof peak. A breezeway connects the barn with milk house #2.

Milk House #2 (LCS#320048). This milk house is probably contemporary with the dairy barn addition. It is constructed of plain concrete block and sits near the center of the east elevation of the dairy barn, connected by a breezeway.

Concrete Stave Silos. Standing on the west side of the dairy barn are two concrete stave silos with metal straps. One is very tall with a conical metal roof; the other is of more typical height with a domed metal roof. A third silo is located off the northwest corner of the bank barn; this is a small concrete stave silo with domed metal roof.

Rusticated Concrete Block Silo. ca. 1920, stands on the west side of the older dairy barn.

Free Stalls. This frame barn houses the stalls for cows, required to be separated from the milking area. It is of recent construction.

Breeding Barn. A large, one-story concrete block building of recent construction used to house breeding cows. A series of plastic domed "calf huts" are placed in rows within a fenced area outside the north elevation of the barn.

Milk Barn. A new frame milking barn with metal siding, the north elevation is open.

Equipment Shed. This large frame equipment shed is of recent construction. The south end of the building is completely enclosed with metal siding and has a sliding door in the east elevation. The north two-thirds of the building is open on the east elevation. It is used for large equipment storage.

Q. Baker Farm Resources (Map 3)

1 contributing building:

Q.1 Bank Barn

1 contributing structure:

Q.2 Entrance lane (LCS #45111)

9 noncontributing buildings:

House

Block Dairy Barn

Milk Houses (2)

Smokehouse

Metal equipment shed

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Milk barn
Loafing shed
Breeding barn

5 noncontributing structures:

Concrete stave silos (3)
Brick silo
Rusticated concrete block silo

Not counted: small sheds

Civil War era artifacts and archeological resources that date to the period of significance found in this section count as part of the Monocacy National Battlefield archeological complex (ASMIS#MONO00004.000).

Evaluation of Integrity

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) of the National Park Service was authorized by Congress to maintain and update the work of the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Survey (CWSACS) and to promote the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with all wars on American soil. In order to improve American battlefield identification and protection, the ABPP published a "Battlefield Survey" manual in 2000 (updated in 2008) to aid in the identification of battlefields and their significant features. Identification begins with the "historic landscape," both natural and cultural, over which a particular battle took place. Additionally, surveyors are instructed to become familiar with the "military terrain," that is "to view the terrain through the soldiers eyes" looking for "Key Terrain, Obstacles, Cover and Concealment, Observation and Fields of Fire, Avenues of Approach and Retreat." These historic and military landscapes are characterized on the modern landscape through "four broad classes" of battlefield resources, including "*natural features, cultural features, military engineering features, and artifacts.*"⁶¹

Natural Features

The natural terrain or topography of the landscape is defined by the drainage pattern and relative elevation. Natural features include rivers, streams, and swamps, hills and valleys, and the natural land cover—forest, meadow, desert. Often nuances of the terrain that are not apparent on a map influenced how a battle was fought. Rocky outcrops or a simple fold in the ground might have provided cover for attacking troops at a crucial moment. It is important to assess how much the terrain has changed since the battle event. Have streams been diverted or channeled? Have swamps and bogs been drained? Terrain features are typically the most durable of battlefield resources. Terrain is altered only by erosion or erased by the bulldozer and earthmover.

Cultural Features

Cultural features are elements of the historic landscape created by humans. In many cases, the battle landscape was farmland or forest. The features of the American agrarian landscape included the network of turnpikes, farm roads, canals, and railroads, the distribution of small

⁶¹ "American Battlefield Protection Program, Battlefield Survey Manual," compiled by David W. Lowe, January 2000, pp. 6-9. While this evaluation relies mainly on the military terrain analysis for defining contributing features of the battlefield, the National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Program uses a similar method to describe the tangible and intangible characteristics of cultural landscapes. The list of characteristics were developed to provide consistency in the terminology when documenting a landscape and can be crosswalked with the military terrain analysis terms. The categories analyzed include the following: *Natural Systems and Features; Spatial Organization; Land Use; Cultural Traditions; Cluster Arrangement; Circulation; Topography; Vegetation; Buildings and Structures; Views and Vistas; Constructed Water Features; Small-Scale Features; and Archeological Sites.*

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villages and hamlets, isolated farms, mills, churches, and other structures, and the pattern of fields and fences, woodlots, and forests as determined by prevailing agricultural practices. This cultural landscape, in turn, was shaped by topography--natural drainages, elevations, gaps, fords, and soil quality. Based on topography, farmers chose which crops to plant, where to plant, and which farming techniques to employ. Farming practices varied regionally from large-scale plantations utilizing slave labor to small-scale homestead farms using only family labor. Different farming methods shaped population density, the distribution of structures, the road network, and the mosaic of fields and woodlots.

The cultural landscape influenced the location and direction of combat. Road networks determined the collision of armies and influenced the direction and speed that military units could travel to reach the battlefield to extend or support the battle line. The edge of a woodlot or a sunken road among open fields provided both protection and a clear field of fire. Linear resources such as wood and stone fences enabled troops to form up in relative protection. Buildings and structures were singled out for use as headquarters, hospitals, or sniper posts. Cultural resources are susceptible to decay and alteration: buildings collapse; fields grow up; fences disappear; new roads bypass old roads; natural vegetation reclaims abandoned farm lots, roadways, and even houses. Often, however, historical research will guide the surveyor to remnants of these features if they do not appear visible at first glance.

Military Engineering Features

Military earthworks (field fortifications, entrenchments, trenches) constructed by soldiers or laborers are an important resource for understanding a battle event. Surviving earthworks often define critical military objectives, opposing lines of battle, and no-man's land. It is important to examine surviving earthworks and document their locations and condition as accurately as possible. Military earthworks were employed to some degree by all of the armies that have fought on American soil, although construction was certainly more extensive during the American Civil War. Many earthworks began to disappear almost immediately after they were abandoned. Farmers filled in ditches to replant their crops or towns expanded into the battlefields. Nevertheless, examples survive from the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War. If on the battlefield for a sufficient time, military engineers might construct military roads and logistical facilities in support of front line troops.

Artifacts (Contributed by Sue Henry-Renaud)

There is more to the battlefield than meets the eye. Although the visible landscape today may present a quiet, pastoral scene, it belies the relics and debris of a violent, destructive event. Beneath the surface is the physical archeological evidence of the actions that took place there: soldiers waiting, fighting, building and defending fortifications, doctors treating the wounded in hospitals, burial details interring the dead. The archeological record provides a direct physical link to battle events; archeological evidence physically anchors the events to the place. An artifact's ability to inform us about the past lies in the structure of the archeological site. An artifact is only valuable in terms of its relationship to other artifacts. Undisturbed patterns and relationships among soil layers, artifacts, features, and sites convey important information about past events and connect the physical reality of the battle to its broader landscape. An archeological study may reveal unmarked graves, firing lines, routes of attack and retreat, bullets or cartridge cases, fragments of clothing, traces of lost roadways, old campsites, vanished

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buildings, lines of earthen fortifications, and even ships sunk in naval battles. Archeologists and historians use this evidence to

- Verify troop movements
- Map out battle actions in time and space to interpret a battle's progress
- Reveal previously unrecorded facets of the battles
- Confirm locations and uses of destroyed buildings and structures
- Verify or disprove long-believed myths or "official" accounts
- Understand the effects of battle on civilians and other noncombatants
- Offer a more complete picture of the life of the soldier in camp and in battle
- Identify soldiers' graves⁶²

The Monocacy Battlefield National Historic Landmark as updated (2014) retains all of the significant features identified by the ABPP – Natural Features, Cultural Features, Military Engineering Features, and Artifacts – all with a high level of integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. The majority of the acreage making up the NHL lies within the Monocacy National Battlefield's congressionally established boundary. The National Park Service has worked to protect and preserve the historic character of the property within its boundary including the Best, Thomas, Worthington, Baker and Lewis farms as well as the Gambrill Mill area and railroad junction. Collectively, these properties form the Monocacy National Battlefield. In addition, the NHL's boundary includes other areas where significant battle related activity occurred and which retain a high level of historical integrity. Thus the NHL retains exceptional integrity of **location** and **setting**, with natural and manmade landscape features keeping nearly the same appearance as at the time of the battle in 1864. In particular these features include the river and its natural fording places (Worthington and Marshall's/Middle fords, as well as Crum's and Hughes fords further upstream), topography, and patterns of vegetation. Manmade features that contribute to this historic landscape include the layout of farmsteads, fields and fences, woodlots, roads and road traces that were present at the time of the battle and in some cases long before; the railroad, bridges and buildings. Many, but not all of these manmade components were present at the time of the battle, and many appear much as they did in 1864. **Design, materials** and **workmanship** are the definers by which these manmade features can convey the appearance and the experience of the landmark's history. The Best, Worthington and Thomas Farms all appear much as they did at the time of the Battle, according to historic maps and other documentation, and the Markell Farm is substantially intact. However all had support buildings that are no longer present and all have undergone some change. But enough of the design, materials and workmanship that was present in 1864 remains to make these properties clearly recognizable to civilian or military participants in the battle. Additionally, based on archeological investigations performed throughout the battlefield, the archeological resources retain a high degree of stratigraphic and patterned integrity such that they have provided and can continue to provide important information for understanding the battle.

Some of the buildings and structures that make up today's landscape were constructed after the battle, such as most of the buildings on the Baker and Lewis Farms, the Gambrill House and the current rail and highway bridges. For purposes of this National Historic Landmark documentation, they are considered noncontributing, but some of these complexes have significance in their own right unrelated to the battle. For example, the Gambrill House is individually listed in the National Register, under Criteria A and C. The post-battle buildings and structures, while they do not contribute to the historic significance of the Monocacy Battlefield NHL, nonetheless contribute to the agricultural and transportation landscape, following historic patterns. In contrast, clearly detracting from the landscape is I-270 which slashes across the landmark, interrupting its otherwise cohesive appearance. Constructed in 1950, the dualized route 240, which eventually became I-270, has been in place for over 60 years. Likewise, a 1980s realignment of I-70 through Reich's Ridge in the

⁶² "American Battlefield Protection Program, Battlefield Survey Manual," compiled by David W. Lowe, January 2000, pp. 6-9.

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northern core battle area also interrupts an otherwise cohesive landscape. While these highways sever the landscape, the alterations occurred long ago, and are the only major intrusive elements in the NHL.

Within the boundaries of the NHL, the scene is tranquil and pastoral, despite the presence of I-270 and I-70, and evokes the **feeling** and conveys the **historical and visual associations** of this landscape with the event of July 9, 1864.

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: Locally: Applicable National
Register Criteria:A X B C D XCriteria Considerations
(Exceptions):A B C D E F X G

NHL Criteria:

Criterion 1 and Criterion 6; Criterion Exception 7

NHL Theme(s):

IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
3. Military Institutions and Activities

Areas of Significance:

Military

Period(s) of Significance:

July 5-10, 1864; 1907; 1908; 1914; 1915; 1964

Significant Dates:

July 9, 1864

Significant Person(s):

N/A

Cultural Affiliation:

N/A

Architect/Builder:

N/A

Historic Contexts:

VI. The Civil War
B. War in the East

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The Monocacy Battlefield, located in Frederick County, Maryland, is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 for the pivotal role that the July 9, 1864 battle played in the protection of the Federal City of Washington from the invading Confederate force of Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early. The exceptional significance of Monocacy Battlefield is developed in NHL Theme IV, "Shaping the Political Landscape," Subtheme 3, "Military Institutions and Activities," within the historic context of the American Civil War. Monocacy Battlefield is a remarkably intact historic landscape that retains key geographical and cultural features that were present during the July 9, 1864 Civil War battle. The hill and valley farms and mill seat, located along the banks of the Monocacy River near the town of Frederick, formed the battleground over which the Monocacy battle unfolded. Confederate Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early and approximately 15,000 troops, on a mission to "threaten Washington," were confronted approximately 6,600 Union soldiers cobbled together by Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace. Wallace held the higher ground on the hillsides east of the river, as the Confederate approach was funneled by the bridges crossing the Monocacy – the Baltimore Turnpike (also known as the National Pike; today's Route 144), Washington Turnpike (Georgetown Road or Pike; today's Route 355) and Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (CSX) – and several fords. It was a topographical advantage that helped Wallace stall Early's advance by one day – time enough for Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant to send reinforcements to the Washington defenses, preventing any threat to the Union capital. Though ultimately the one-day Battle of Monocacy was a Confederate victory, Wallace later wrote of the battle, "These men died to save the National Capital and they did save it."⁶³ The Monocacy Battle saved not only Washington, D.C., but also "spared the Lincoln government a potential disaster" in the election of 1864.⁶⁴ The Monocacy Battlefield site includes a variety of archeological resources that have and can continue to provide significant information about the battle, including troop movements, battle actions, locations of use and destruction, verification or refutation of official documentary accounts, the effects of the battle on civilians, noncombatants, and soldiers, and soldier life in camp, battle, and retreat. Therefore, they are contributing resources under NHL Criterion 1 and NHL Criterion 6, and they meet National Register Criteria A and D. The five monuments installed at the battlefield between 1907 and 1964 to commemorate Maryland, New Jersey, Vermont and Confederate soldiers, and the centennial of the battle meet NHL Criterion Exception 7 as commemorative properties, and National Register Criterion Consideration F.

NHL Theme IV: "Shaping the Political Landscape," Subtheme 3, "Military Institutions and Activities"

By the summer of 1864, the American Civil War had entered its fourth year of conflict. The Confederate army, though tattered and shaken by a growing number of defeats at the hands of Union forces, was still intact and threatening on several fronts. President Abraham Lincoln had placed Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant in command of the Union forces, who by the end of June, had laid siege to Petersburg and Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. However, to the west of Richmond in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Union Maj. Gen. David Hunter was repulsed by the Confederate force led by Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early, sending Hunter across the mountains into West Virginia. Seizing the opportunity to take the pressure off of Richmond and Petersburg, Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee sent Early up the Valley to cross the Potomac River into Northern territory in an effort to threaten Washington and, if possible, capture it. Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace and his band of 6,600 Union troops, who had moved to protect the vital B&O Railroad supply line near Frederick, Maryland, found themselves to be the only line of defense at the Monocacy River crossings against the approaching Confederate force of nearly 15,000 men. Though the battle lasted only a day and ended in the defeat and retreat of Wallace's Union forces, most agreed that the delay of Early's troops saved Washington. Ulysses S. Grant

⁶³ OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace..." (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 200.

⁶⁴ As cited in Marc Leepson, *Desperate Engagement*, (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007), p. 222.

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emphasized the significance of the Monocacy battle in his memoirs noting, “If Early had been but one day earlier he might have entered the capital before the arrival of reinforcements I had sent...”⁶⁵ Jubal Early quipped to his officers following their failure to break through the reinforced Union defense at Fort Stevens, “...we haven’t taken Washington, but we’ve scared Abe Lincoln like hell!”⁶⁶ President Lincoln did fear that the threat on Washington would sway war-weary voters in the upcoming 1864 election. It appears, however, that Early’s invasion may have swayed voters in the opposite direction. Lincoln won the popular vote by a large margin over “Peace Democrat” candidate Gen. George McClellan, giving him the mandate needed to defeat the Confederacy on the battlefield.

The Monocacy Battle, like many other Civil War battles, was defined by its geography. In the case of the July 9, 1864 battle, Maryland’s Frederick County and its county seat of Frederick City was just a few miles north of the Confederate state of Virginia and connected by major routes to both Baltimore and the Federal City of Washington. Frederick Town (later Frederick City or just Frederick) was established in 1745, just three years before Frederick County – then covering the entire western portion of Maryland – was carved from Prince Georges County. The region had grown rapidly since its initial settlement in the 1720s and 30s, based on a profitable agricultural economy of grain production and the associated milling and distilling industries. Frederick Town served as the market center for the region and was connected to the larger shipping ports of Baltimore and Georgetown, first by early wagon roads, but early in the nineteenth century by major turnpike routes—the Baltimore Pike and the Georgetown Pike. By the mid-1830s, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) crossed the Monocacy River just south of Frederick, passing between the stone arched bridge of the Baltimore Pike and the wooden covered bridge that carried the Georgetown Pike. Frederick County in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a melting pot of cultures, including English, Scots-Irish, German, and French. The rich limestone soil and readily accessible transportation routes attracted yeoman farmers as well as wealthier planters, who established large plantation-styled farms along the Monocacy River south of Frederick. It was these farms, laced by the roads, railroad, and river, that formed the battlefield landscape of July 9, 1864.

The period of significance for Monocacy Battlefield is July 5-10, 1864, covering the arrival of Wallace to prepare the Union defenses, the Union retreat on the 9th, and the withdrawal of Confederate troops on the 10th of July. The individual years the monuments in recognition of Union and Confederate losses were placed at the battlefield constitute additional periods of significance: 1907, 1908, 1914, 1915, and 1964.

History and Context

Setting the Stage – The Monocacy Neighborhood

The majority of the land that makes up the cultural landscape of the Monocacy Battlefield was once owned by one man, James Marshall. As a young merchant from Scotland, Marshall immigrated to America to make his mark in the lucrative tobacco and commodities trade triangle between Britain, the American colonies, and the West Indies. His foray into the western “barrens” of Maryland began in 1758 with the purchase of *Wett Work*, a large tract of land on the east side of the Monocacy River just south of Frederick Town. This land was divided after Marshall’s death in 1803 into the later Gambrill Mill property, and the Thomas (*Araby*), Worthington (*Clifton*), and Baker Farms. In 1765, Marshall purchased another large tract on the west side of the river, which he called *Arcadia*, and which later formed the nucleus of the *Hermitage* or Best Farm.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Benjamin Franklin Cooling, “Monocacy,” (*Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992) quoting Ulysses S. Grant’s *Memoirs*, p. 60.

⁶⁶ Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 296.

⁶⁷ Only the Lewis Farm sits outside of the eighteenth century boundaries of James Marshall’s land.

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James Marshall's influence on the development of the river crossing and the land he owned and sold is imbedded in the Monocacy Battlefield landscape. It is a rich, multi-layered history that highlights the rise in importance of Frederick County as a center for agriculture and trade, as well as the region's cultural diversity. As the land was sold or divided following Marshall's death, the agricultural development of the neighborhood intensified and the various farms took on the appearance much as they are seen today. The historic development of the road, railroad, river, and land by Marshall and later owners had a profound impact on this neighborhood's central role throughout the American Civil War, culminating in the July 9, 1864 Monocacy battle. The late nineteenth-century decline in large-scale grain agriculture and the rise in dairy production left the area only slightly changed with the loss of the mill and the gain of several dairy barns.

Before James Marshall began purchasing the tracts to establish his estate in Frederick County, the land followed a regular process for speculation and development that took hold of the backcountry in the early eighteenth century. Frederick County land, then part of Prince Georges County, saw its earliest speculators and settlers in the 1720s, coinciding with the migration of Pennsylvania German farmers to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. Passing through Maryland's western country, *en route* to Virginia along the several "Monocacy Roads," a number of these farmers chose to set their roots in the fertile soil of what was called by many Maryland colonials "The Barrens." While land speculators like Benjamin Tasker, Thomas Cresap, and Daniel Dulany snapped up huge tracts of land for later subdivision, a determined core of farmers, primarily of German descent, began to work the land.

As the settlement of the Monocacy River valley intensified through the 1730s and early 1740s, the land's potential for grain production blossomed. In 1745, Daniel Dulany sought to direct the region's development by establishing a centralized market town in the form of "Frederick Town," on the west side of the Monocacy River. Frederick Town became the county seat of the new Frederick County, carved from Prince Georges County in 1748. By 1755, Frederick County was the most populous county (of free white males) in the colony.⁶⁸

Movement of agricultural products through and out of Frederick County, far from the navigable creeks and rivers surrounding the Chesapeake Bay, determined many of the ensuing transportation routes. In a land quickly concentrating on grain production rather than the southern and eastern counties' primary crop, tobacco, secondary roads to and from flour and gristmills began to spider web across the countryside. When the new Frederick County Court convened in March 1748, it designated the main county roads and assigned overseers to maintain them. Among the roads described were several sections of a road on the east side of the Monocacy River leading from George Gordon's warehouse at Rock Creek – by 1751 the site of Georgetown then a part of Maryland– to Frederick Town. The road crossed the Monocacy River at "the middle ford" just south of Frederick Town.⁶⁹ A succession of landowners, beginning with Henry Ballenger through James Marshall, operated a ferry at the Middle Ford, on what was soon known as the Georgetown Road.⁷⁰

Despite the national and international turmoil that embroiled the second half of the eighteenth century with the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, mid-Maryland in general prospered. Population grew to the point that both Washington County and Montgomery County were carved from Frederick County in 1776. The phenomenal growth in the Monocacy region, both economically and in population, with Frederick Town at

⁶⁸ "The Population of Maryland, 1755," from *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 34 (1764), Peabody Library Collection of the Johns Hopkins University, MdHR [Maryland State Archives] G 1213-449, as cited in Edward Papenfuse and John Coale, III, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1982), p. 37.

⁶⁹ Maryland State Archives, Frederick (FR) Co. Court Judgment Records, March Court 1748 (1749); also transcribed in Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, pp. 436-437. Note that the actual year of this record by a current calendar would be 1749, however at that time the calendar year began later in March.

⁷⁰ Maryland State Archives, FR Co. Judgment Records.

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its center, brought with it a growing class of landed gentry. Lawyers, physicians, merchants, and planters established their country manors on the fertile ground surrounding Frederick. At the same time, an increasing number of “yeoman” farmers worked their smaller tracts and leaseholds scattered throughout the county. By 1774, both the Georgetown Road and the Road from Frederick Town to Baltimore Town were defined as “Principal market roads” by the Maryland General Assembly.⁷¹

About 1780, James Marshall constructed a new manor house on his tract on the east side of the Monocacy River, later known as *Araby*. Fourteen years later, in 1794, Marshall operated as agent for Daniel Dulany in the sale of 457 acres located on the west side of the river, between the Georgetown and Buckeystown roads.⁷² Victoire Vincendiere, just 19 years old at the time, purchased the property. Victoire, her mother Magnan, her siblings and several friends and relatives arrived in the United States as refugees from the slave revolt in the French West Indian colony St. Domingue (Haiti). Marshall himself sold a piece of his adjoining land to the Vincendieres a few years later. The combined acreage purchased by the refugees was called *L'Hermitage*, and by 1800 they were among the largest slave-owners in the county with 90 slaves. Their French Caribbean-influenced manor house and stone barn, as well as the relatively large number of slave houses lining the Georgetown Road frontage on *L'Hermitage*, formed a distinctive cultural landscape within the largely German/English-influenced countryside. By the middle of the nineteenth century, these two large estates were subdivided. Marshall's land, divided and sold by his heirs after his death in 1803, formed the farms known as *Araby* (Thomas Farm and Gambrill Mill), *Clifton* (Worthington Farm), and the later Baker and Lewis Farms. *L'Hermitage* was sold in 1827. Known by later owners as the *Hermitage*, it eventually became a tenant farm (Best Farm).

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 expanded the nation westward. Construction of the National Road, beginning in Cumberland in far-western Maryland and extending into the vast new territory, spurred a rash of like-minded private road improvements. Local banks and public stock sales financed the turnpike road companies. Through the first half of the nineteenth century, a web of turnpikes spread across Maryland. Many of them were improvements on already established public roads. Beginning in 1805, the Baltimore and Frederick-town Turnpike Road, commonly called the Baltimore Pike, was an improvement on the old road from Frederick to Baltimore.⁷³ The Baltimore Pike's stone bridge over the Monocacy River was completed in 1809 and with its iconic “jug” monument placed at the east end, locals called it “the Jug Bridge.”⁷⁴ The Baltimore Pike formed the first leg in a series of turnpikes, known collectively as the National Pike, connecting the Baltimore port to the National Road. Also in 1805, the Washington Turnpike Company was chartered to improve the old Georgetown Road between Frederick and the Federal City of Washington.⁷⁵ A bridge over the Monocacy River replaced the old Middle Ford Ferry in 1828.⁷⁶ The new wooden covered bridge crossing moved the road more than 300 feet up river (northeast) of the old ferry landing. With the closing of the old roadbed leading to and from the ferry, nature and the plow obscured its trace on the west (*Hermitage*) side of the river. On the east side

⁷¹ Archives of Maryland Online, Vol. 64, p. 394.

⁷² Dulany Papers, Special Collections, MdHS. 12 December 1794, James Marshall, acting as agent for Daniel Dulany, contracted initially with Payen Boisneuf but by December 16th, the contract was finalized and signed by Victoire Vincendiere for 457 acres of Locust Level for £4,113. According to the contract, Boisneuf paid half of the purchase price (£2,579) as a deposit on the 13th of December to Dulany in Baltimore, on behalf of Victoire Vincendiere and with her money. The deed for the land was conveyed on the 24th of March 1795 when Victoire Vincendiere paid the remaining amount in full to Dulany (FR Land Record, Liber WR 13, folio 397).

⁷³ *Archives of Maryland* Online, Vol. 562, p. 34, <http://aomol.net> on www.msa.md.gov. The same 1805 act also chartered turnpike companies to improve both the Reisterstown and York roads out of Baltimore.

⁷⁴ Milton A. Seaman, “The History and Construction of the Jug Bridge near Frederick, Maryland,” January 16, 1931, digitized manuscript, *Internet Archive*, accessed Nov. 25, 2013, <https://archive.org/details/TheHistoryAndConstructionOfTheJugBridgeNearFrederickMaryland>.

⁷⁵ Maryland State Archives, Turnpike Records, 1819-1845.

⁷⁶ *Frederick Town Herald*, May 24, 1828, microfilm collection, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

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of the Monocacy, the abandoned “sunken” road trace was rediscovered and used as cover by Union troops during the 1864 Battle of Monocacy.⁷⁷

On the heels of the road improvements came two other transportation projects that reached the Frederick area in the 1830s. The Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Canal passed to the southwest of Frederick along the Potomac River. More importantly, the B&O Railroad passed immediately south of Frederick, crossing the Monocacy River between the Georgetown (Washington) Pike and Baltimore Pike bridges and bisecting the south end of the *Hermitage* farm. On the west side of the Monocacy River, a spur line peeled off of the mainline at the Frederick or Monocacy Junction running to the B&O Railroad depot in Frederick Town. Each of these advancements in transportation, as they reached the western counties of Maryland, improved the ability of local farmers and mill operators to transport their products to markets more cost-effectively. The first half of the nineteenth century was the age of prosperity for Frederick and its surrounding farms.

A Rising Tide of Disunion

In 1859, the simmering disagreement between the states over slavery came to a boil at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers in Virginia. John Brown, known for his violent anti-slavery activities in Kansas, believed he could free the slaves by arming an “army of liberation.” Brown chose Harpers Ferry, Virginia to begin his war, where he planned to seize the weapons stored at the U.S. Arsenal there. In what one Frederick resident referred to as the “Great excitement,”⁷⁸ on Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, John Brown and his men entered Harpers Ferry. Within hours they were met by a small contingent of U.S. Marines led by Col. Robert E. Lee. Brown was captured and several of his men killed when the Marines stormed the guard house where they had barricaded themselves with their hostages. By mid-day on Monday, the incursion was ended.⁷⁹

News of John Brown’s failed raid on Harpers Ferry shocked the nation, both North and South. John Brown was hanged for his attack on a Federal installation, saying at his end: “I...am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood.”⁸⁰ Certainly the starkly opposing reactions to the raid and to Brown’s execution in Republican and Democratic newspapers highlighted the brewing conflict over the issue of enslaved labor and its economic and political repercussions. On the one hand, the editor of the Republican Pittsburgh *Gazette* praised Brown and his cause, saying “...a contemplation of this heroic old man’s character will irresistibly compel thinking men to ask themselves whether it is John Brown, of Osawatimie, or the system of slavery which has failed in this conflict.”⁸¹ The editor of the Raleigh, North Carolina “Opposition” newspaper the *Register*, however, celebrated the execution of Brown and three of his co-conspirators, noting the failed insurgency “will prove to the Abolitionists at the North that although they make an occasional foray into a Southern State, and commit a few murders and arsons, they can never maintain a

⁷⁷ Glenn Worthington, *Fighting for Time*, (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1985, originally published, 1932), pp. 125, 135, and 137-139. The metes and bounds description in a 1835 deed for the *Hermitage* referred to the “stone planted on the north [west] side of said river [Monocacy], and on the west side of the old road leading from Frederick City to the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, then running across the said old road now shut up...” (FR Land Record, Liber JS 49, folio 146).

⁷⁸ David H. Wallace, transcriber, *Frederick Maryland in Peace and War 1856-1864, The Diary of Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell [Markell Diary]*, (Frederick, MD: The Historical Society of Frederick County, Inc., 2006), p. 68.

⁷⁹ “Report. The Select Committee of the Senate appointed to inquire into the late invasion and seizure of the public property at Harpers Ferry,” June 15, 1860 (Government Printing Office), Ruth Scarborough Library, Shepherd University, Shepherdstown, WV.

⁸⁰ As cited in Gary W. Gallagher et al., *The American Civil War: This Mighty Scourge of War*, (Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2003), p. 26.

⁸¹ “No Title.” *Gazette*, 3 December 1859, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, *Secession Era Editorials Project, Furman University Department of History*, <http://history.furman.edu/editorials/see.py?menu=jbmenu&location=%20John%20Brown>, accessed Oct. 25, 2012.

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foothold on Southern soil for more than forty-eight hours.”⁸² These editors’ comments foreshadowed the coming conflict, though it was still more than a year away.

The presidential election of 1860 further divided the country as Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln and the Constitutional Union Party nominated John Bell. The Democratic Party split into Northern and Southern factions, the National Democratic Party with Senator Stephen Douglas as nominee and the Constitutional Democratic Party nominating John C. Breckenridge. Civil War historian Bruce Catton highlighted the implication of this divisive election noting, “...so now there were four tickets, each supported by men who felt that they were following the only possible path to salvation.”⁸³ With the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860, the die was cast. While Lincoln’s supporters celebrated in Springfield, Illinois, observed Catton, “Charleston was as jubilant and as excited as Springfield... Here too there was a feeling of release from tension. ...There would be a new nation, it would be born in South Carolina, and it would begin to take shape at once.”⁸⁴

On December 20, 1860, the South Carolina state legislature voted to secede from the United States. They were soon joined by the states of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas. In May, Virginia ratified secession from the Union by popular vote, joining the other southern states to form the Confederate States of America (CSA). A significant corps of former U.S. Army officers, including Col. Robert E. Lee of Virginia, forsook their oaths and followed their home states into the Confederacy. The remaining, mostly northern states stayed in the Union, determined to restore the United States. Four border states—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—also remained within the Union though somewhat tenuously. Thus began the American Civil War, the war between North and South. With Jefferson Davis as President, the Confederacy moved their capital from Montgomery, Alabama to Richmond, Virginia, just 100 miles south of the Union capital in Washington, D.C.

The Civil War: War in the East⁸⁵

The Civil War was fought on multiple fronts; in the East the fighting was focused primarily on Virginia. Up to September of 1862 in the Eastern Theater, most of the war had not gone well for the Union forces. Because Union efforts to invade Virginia had misfired at a number of battles, President Abraham Lincoln switched commanders of his Army of the Potomac to try and gain success. He pinned his greatest hopes on Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan and in the spring of 1862, McClellan came close to success. In a bold move, General McClellan placed his men on transport vessels in April and sailed them to the tip of the “The Peninsula” – formed by the York and James rivers in Virginia. His huge Army of the Potomac was now east of Richmond, and poised to drive on the Confederate capital from an unexpected direction. For a number of reasons however, some out of his control, McClellan moved slowly enough up the Peninsula that Confederate president Jefferson Davis was able to shift Gen. Joseph E. Johnston and his troops from Northern Virginia to the endangered capital. With McClellan at Richmond’s door, Johnston launched a counterattack resulting in the Battle of Seven Pines, fought May 31-June 1, 1862. The attack successfully halted McClellan, but Johnston suffered a wound during the fighting. In response, Davis sent his military advisor Gen. Robert E. Lee to command the army, changing the character of the war in the East.

⁸² “Execution of the Four Conspirators.” *Register*, 21 December 1859, Raleigh, North Carolina, *Secession Era Editorials Project*, Furman University Department of History, <http://history.furman.edu/editorials/see.py?menu=jbmenu&location=%20John%20Brown>, accessed Oct. 25, 2012.

⁸³ Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1961), p. 69.

⁸⁴ Catton, p. 111.

⁸⁵ This section of the context is drawn from Paula S. Reed & Associates, “Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park,” National Register documentation update, 2009, and Paula S. Reed & Associates, *Cultural Resource Study: Monocacy National Battlefield*, (Washington D.C.: Gov. Printing Office, 2004).

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Born into the plantation aristocracy of Virginia, Lee attended West Point and began his military career in the Mexican War. He remained in the military, but with Virginia's secession from the Union in 1861, he joined the service of the Confederacy. In early 1862 he was still a relatively unknown quantity to the soldiers in the field. They soon found out that Lee was aggressive in temperament and with the force he named the "Army of Northern Virginia," he drove McClellan's men back down the Peninsula by July of 1862.

Soon after, Lee began to shift his men west to take on another Union threat, the Army of Virginia led by Maj. Gen. John Pope. He handled that threat by defeating Pope's men at Cedar Mountain and the Second Battle of Manassas just west of Washington at the end of August and the beginning of September 1862. During the same time period, McClellan began to shift his men back to the Washington area. Unhappy with the turn of events, Lincoln temporarily removed McClellan from command, but realized he had little other choice and reinstated him as Lee was moving north of the Potomac River into Maryland.

Maryland – On the Border

Throughout the first year of the Civil War Maryland's commitment to the Union was fragile, with a divided legislature and many families divided with fathers, sons, and brothers joining the fight in one or the other opposing army. Still, the majority of Marylanders professed their loyalty to the Union, though perhaps sympathetic to the Southern cause. With the U.S. capital city of Washington located within the state's borders, Federal forces aimed to keep the state within the Union. Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee's Maryland Campaign in the late summer of 1862 sought to test the waters of rebellion in Maryland, and perhaps ease the strain of near constant occupation and fighting in Virginia.

Through most of the previous eight months, Virginia had absorbed much of the depredation of the war accommodating both the Union and Confederate armies. Agricultural stores and livestock were nearly exhausted and property ruined by combat and encampments. Lee hoped to relieve Virginia by moving the scene of action to Maryland and possibly eventually to Pennsylvania. At the same time, General Lee hoped to capitalize on the disarray of the Union Army and the lack of sound military leadership that had frustrated the Lincoln administration and the people of the Northern states. By invading the North, he hoped to force a negotiated peace through public pressure on Congress and by gaining support from Great Britain and France, support that seemed imminent by the late summer of 1862.

The Maryland Campaign began on the 4th of September, 1862 as the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, approximately 50,000 men, waded across the Potomac River into Frederick County, Maryland.⁸⁶ The army was plagued by lack of supplies, most critically food and shoes, which resulted in large-scale straggling and some wholesale desertions. Yet, among those marching into Maryland, the soldiers' spirits were high. They had scored a series of victories and had great hopes for their invasion of the North.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Lowe, a Democrat, served as governor from 1851 to 1854, but fled to Richmond at the start of the war. By 1862 the *Hermitage* property belonged to C.E. Trail, though it came to be known as the Best Farm for its tenant farmer at the time, John Best.

As he passed through Frederick, Lee proclaimed to the citizens of Maryland that the Confederates had come to restore their "independence and sovereignty," referring to the Federal efforts to thwart Confederate sympathies in Maryland. He declared that Maryland could decide its destiny without interference.⁸⁷ While Lee did not

⁸⁶ Perry D. Jamieson, *Death in September: The Maryland Campaign*, (Fort Worth, TX: Ryan Place Publishers, 1995), pp. 13-14.

⁸⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 19, Pt. 2, pp. 601-02.

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expect any “general rising of the people” for the Confederacy, he certainly seemed to have had hopes of greater support. At that time, too, he probably felt that a continued occupation or significant action would bring Confederate sympathizers into more open support. Indeed, as Lee and his officers entered Frederick, they found a warm welcome in the society home of Fred and Catherine Markell. “General McLaws and staff, General Kershaw and staff, took tea with us,” wrote Mrs. Markell on September 8, 1862, “some 20 officers and many girls here until midnight.”⁸⁸ What Lee couldn’t have known was that through carelessness or by design, forces were at work that would change the outcome of his campaign, and perhaps, the war.

On September 9, Lee issued his “Special Order 191,” the operational orders for the Maryland Campaign, while still in camp on the Best Farm. In a bold and risky plan, he divided his army. Lee sent Maj. Gen. James Longstreet’s command north to Hagerstown, to await further developments and possibly prepare for an invasion into Pennsylvania. Maj. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson led the remainder to capture the garrisons at Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry. Lee left part of Maj. Gen. Daniel H. Hill’s division (less than 5,000 men) at Boonsboro at the western foot of South Mountain to guard the rear of the army and two of the three passes over the mountain at Turner’s and Fox’s Gaps. Some of Maj. Gen. Lafayette McLaws’ Division with parts of Maj. Gen. James E. B. Stuart’s Cavalry, detached from Jackson’s command, guarded the third pass at Crampton’s Gap. Seven copies of Special Orders 191 were prepared to be delivered to Lee’s commanders.⁸⁹

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

Unfortunately for Lee, when the Confederates vacated their campsite on John Best’s farm September 10, one of the copies of his Special Orders 191 was lost.⁹⁰ On the evening of September 13, Federals moving west in pursuit of the Confederate column found an envelope with two cigars, and the lost order. The information was quickly passed to McClellan who saw the opportunity to take advantage of Lee’s vulnerability and capture the divided Southern army. McClellan put his forces in motion the following morning, September 14. The Army of the Potomac moved forward along the National Pike through the Middletown Valley toward South Mountain. From his vantage point atop South Mountain, where a Confederate defense was by then entrenched, Gen. D. H. Hill viewed the sea of blue beginning to mass at the base of the mountain: “It was a grand and glorious spectacle, and it was impossible to look at without admiration.”⁹¹

The result of the loss of Special Orders 191 was the Battle of South Mountain followed by the Battle of Antietam at Sharpsburg. The Battle of South Mountain on September 14, 1862, was a delaying action to protect the scattered Confederate forces until the army could reassemble and prepare for battle. The Battle of Antietam, because of its magnitude and its ghastliness, overshadows the other events of the Maryland Campaign. When the threat at the mountain passes became apparent, Lee recalled Maj. Gen. James Longstreet’s division from Hagerstown to Boonsboro and Turner’s Gap. Realizing that the Union army was very close in pursuit, Lee

⁸⁸ Wallace, *Markell Diary*, p. 106.

⁸⁹ Wilber Jones, Jr., “Who Lost the Lost Orders: Stonewall Jackson, His Courier, and Special Orders No. 191,” *Civil War Regiments: A Journal of the American Civil War*, Vol. 5, No. 3, (1997), p.3. The number of copies written as seven, plus the extra one written later for D. H. Hill that was lost.

⁹⁰ “Special Order No. 191,” Monocacy National Battlefield, www.nps.gov/mono/historyculture/so191.htm, accessed October 24, 2012.

⁹¹ Daniel Harvey Hill, “The Battle of South Mountain or Boonsboro: Fighting for Time at Turner’s and Fox’s Gap,” *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. II (New York, 1884-1887), p. 564.

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altered his plans to proceed to Hagerstown and Pennsylvania and instead turned west from Boonsboro toward Virginia. After the dramatic Confederate effort to hold Federal forces at bay at South Mountain until the Harpers Ferry capture could be completed, the Confederates hastily reassembled at Sharpsburg. This movement would put them closer to the rest of the army as they returned from Harpers Ferry. Lee made the decision to form a battle line west of the Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, on a ridgeline between the creek and the Potomac River.

Lee had the advantage of choosing the ground, but again he was at risk because his back was to the Potomac River and a retreat, if necessary, could be made at only one nearby ford. His army was also severely depleted by stragglers and deserters.⁹² On Tuesday, September 16, Lee's scattered army began to gather between the Antietam Creek and the Potomac River in and around Sharpsburg. Under Lee's direction, they assembled a battle line, their force of around 45,000 men stretched painfully thin, extending some four miles in length north and south of Sharpsburg. Arrayed against him was McClellan's Federal force of 65,000, with an additional division kept in reserve east of the Antietam Creek.

McClellan's initial dawn attack targeted the left of Lee's battle line, where the heaviest fighting occurred in the Cornfield and West Woods of the D. R. Miller farm. About 9:30 a.m. came Union attacks on the center across the Roulette, Mumma, and Piper farms and on the right by Maj. Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside at the Lower Bridge over Antietam Creek, later known as Burnside's Bridge. Burnside's attack on the bridge was slowed considerably by a surprisingly small number of Confederates (around 400 men) who held the high ground on the Otto farm overlooking the bridge. The timing of the attacks and the delay at the bridge allowed Lee to counter the Union advances by moving his forces from location to location, and provided time for Confederate Gen. A. P. Hill's troops to march from Harpers Ferry to reinforce the Confederate defense on the right. By the end of the day, more than 23,000 combatants lay dead, wounded, or missing, making September 17, 1862 the bloodiest single day in American history. The exhausted Confederates remained in place through the following day, September 18, and began withdrawing into Virginia that night and the following morning. Again Robert E. Lee took a great risk, for if the Federals had renewed the attack on September 18, surely the Confederates would have been beaten, or at least dealt a crippling blow. However, the Union force did not attack and thus, the Battle of Antietam drew to a close with no clear victory and at the cost of thousands of lives.

Lincoln seized the opportunity afforded by Lee's withdrawal to announce his plan to free the slaves in the rebelling states the following January. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation changed the nature of the war from one to preserve the Union to one in which the South's economic and social structure was at stake as well. The emancipation issue made it much more difficult for the European powers, particularly England that had abolished slavery a generation earlier, to recognize the Confederacy. "The war after Antietam," concludes historian Gary Gallagher, "would demand a decisive resolution on the battlefield, and that the Confederacy could not achieve."⁹³

Lee Invades the North Again: Summer 1863

The following summer, in June of 1863, Lee again led the Army of Northern Virginia into Northern territory. Once again, his objectives were similar. Politically, he sought to take advantage of the growing peace movement in the North by bringing war to its doorstep. Again, Lee hoped that victory in the North would create demands for a compromised negotiated peace and separation. Strategically, Lee believed a decisive Confederate victory on Northern soil would again encourage England and France to recognize the Confederacy

⁹² Robert K. Krick, "The Army of Northern Virginia in September, 1862," in Gary Gallagher, ed., *Antietam: Essays on the 1862 Maryland Campaign*, (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), p. 55.

⁹³ Gallagher, *Antietam*, p. 94.

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and put pressure on the North to end the War. And finally, as it was in the Maryland Campaign of 1862, Lee's underlying objective for a Northern invasion was to replenish supplies for his army.

It is easy to underestimate the importance of this quest for supplies. By 1863, Virginia was severely depleted in livestock and agricultural produce. Up to this point in the war, both the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and the Union Army of the Potomac had occupied Virginia for almost the entire time. All available horses had been taken for the use of the Confederate Army and no animals were available to farm the land or transport farm produce.⁹⁴ It was becoming clear that Virginia had nothing left to give. It was critical for Lee to not only feed his army but to stockpile foodstuffs for the coming winter. Historically, the Cumberland Valley and Piedmont areas of Pennsylvania and Maryland had been regarded as part of America's breadbasket. This rich agricultural land was a great allure to Lee. He still held hopes of winning Maryland over to the Confederacy, however, so orders not to collect property and goods in Maryland were strictly enforced. Therefore, southern Pennsylvania was to be Lee's feeding ground.

Lee's military goal then was to reach Harrisburg, capture the city and cut off rail traffic to Philadelphia and New York. He felt confident in this pursuit because the Union Army of the Potomac, under the command of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, which was in the vicinity of Warrenton and Culpeper, Virginia, had been ordered to protect Washington, D.C. and to maneuver to keep the army between the enemy and the national capital. This gave Lee plenty of latitude in his movements.

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

While the Confederates were moving along the valley west of South Mountain, Union General Hooker was replaced with Maj. Gen. George G. Meade, who kept the Union troops on the east side of the mountains protecting the capital. They followed the Confederate advance on a parallel course, moving in a northerly direction through Frederick and Westminster, Maryland. The two armies collided at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where major roads coming from all directions converged.

As the Federals passed through Frederick County on their way to Gettysburg, they paused in the vicinity of Frederick and encamped along the Monocacy River in the same location on the Best Farm that they had used less than a year earlier. Nearby, C.K. Thomas's farm called *Araby* became the headquarters for Union Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock for three days. Repeated use of the farms south of Frederick as an encampment site by both armies was likely because of the proximity to main highways, the railroad, and the river.

Certainly, the B&O Railroad was concerned about the threat of all of this military activity to their tracks, bridge, and equipment in the Monocacy vicinity. An important supply line, protection of the railroad had been essential to the Union war effort since the beginning of the conflict. The Confederates had early targeted the B&O Railroad, destroying the bridge at Harpers Ferry in June 1861. Temporary replacements were destroyed regularly throughout the war. In the spring of 1863, the Union Army discussed fortifications to protect the railroad bridge over the Monocacy. On March 16 of 1863, U.S. Maj. Gen. Halleck wrote to Maj. Gen. Robert

⁹⁴ Robert Krick, "Dissolution of the Homefront" Keynote Address, Annual Conference, Civil War Medicine, Shepherdstown, WV, August 7, 1993.

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Schenck, in apparent frustration, "I must again call your attention to the importance of constructing block-houses for the defense of our railroad bridges."⁹⁵ Schenck replied on May 13, 1863, "What has been done about the block houses will be explained in detail by Colonel Reynolds as soon as he returns from the railroad, where he is now working at them."⁹⁶ Blockhouses were constructed at Monocacy Junction at the railroad bridge, one on each side of the river.⁹⁷

The three-day battle that occurred at Gettysburg in July 1863 once again ended with the retreat of Confederate forces from Northern territory. They re-crossed the Potomac River at Williamsport and Falling Waters into the newly formed Union state of West Virginia and followed the Shenandoah Valley southward into Virginia.⁹⁸ Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia never again invaded the North. However, there were repeated Confederate forays for supplies, and one final attempt to ransom a peace by threatening the U.S. capital city of Washington.

Jubal Early's Northern Invasion of 1864

On March 1, 1864, President Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant as Lieutenant General in charge of the strategy and movement of all the armies of the United States, including the Army of the Potomac, by then under the command of Maj. Gen. George G. Meade. Grant would focus the Union's efforts relentlessly on multiple areas in Virginia, and sent Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman on his ruthless march through Georgia to the Atlantic coast.⁹⁹ As a part of this campaign, Grant began activity in the Shenandoah Valley with his Department of West Virginia under Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel. Attempting to stretch Lee's dwindling Army of Northern Virginia further, Grant moved Sigel into the Upper Valley. However, following his defeat in the Battle at New Market, Sigel was replaced by Maj. Gen. David Hunter. Sigel returned to the Lower Valley to continue his mission of protecting the railroad, supply, and communications centers of Winchester, Harpers Ferry, and Martinsburg.

Hunter's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley began successfully, moving quickly south toward Lynchburg, destroying southern rail lines along the way. Early in June, Lee was forced to detach troops to face Hunter. Lee sent Maj. Gen. John C. Breckenridge's division, who had previously defeated Sigel, and also the Second Corps commanded by Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early. On word that Early had arrived to save Lynchburg, Hunter quickly retreated west, ending the campaign in June and leaving the Valley open as far north as Winchester.¹⁰⁰

In the meantime, Grant's Union forces laid siege to the city of Petersburg and were beginning to threaten Richmond, the capital of the Confederate States. Lee, a master of devising impossible plans that repeatedly saved his army and the Confederacy, mulled over a new plan with President Jefferson Davis in a letter dated the 26th of June, 1864. By 1864, the ranks of the Confederate army had grown thin, both in physical condition and in numbers. Lee's plan, he hoped, would avoid a confrontation with Grant's army, while at the same time supply his army under siege, add to his shrinking ranks, and draw Union troops away from Petersburg:

I am less uneasy about holding our position [against Grant] than about our ability to procure supplies for the army. I fear the latter difficulty will oblige me to attack General Grant in his intrenchments [sic], which I should not hesitate to do but for the loss it will inevitably entail. A

⁹⁵ OR, Series 1, Vol. 25, pt.2, p. 139.

⁹⁶ OR, Series 1, Vol. 25, pt.2, p. 478.

⁹⁷ B. Franklin Cooling, *Monocacy: The Battle that Saved Washington*, (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1997), p. 42.

⁹⁸ The State of West Virginia was formed on June 20, 1863; Sheldon Winston, "Statehood for West Virginia: An Illegal Act?" *West Virginia History* (Vol. 30, No. 3 (April 1969), pp. 530-534), accessed Nov. 25, 2013, http://www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh30-1.html.

⁹⁹ Craig L. Symonds, *A Battlefield Atlas of the Civil War*, (The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1983), pp. 76-79.

¹⁰⁰ George E. Pond, *The Shenandoah Valley In 1864*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), pp. 9, 22, 33-37.

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want of success would in my opinion be almost fatal, and this causes me to hesitate in the hope that some relief may be procured without running such great hazard.¹⁰¹

Lee proposed sending Maryland troops under the command of Marylander Col. Bradley T. Johnson to release the Confederate prisoners held in the Union prison at Point Lookout, located on the Potomac River in southern Maryland. Once freed and armed they could, with assistance noted Lee, "capture Washington" or at least "march around it and cross the upper Potomac where fordable." "Provisions &c.," wrote Lee "would have to be collected in the country through which they pass." Lee concluded, "The sooner that it is put into execution the better... At this time, as far as I can learn, all the troops in the control of the United States are being sent to Grant, and little or no opposition could be made by those at Washington."¹⁰² Assistance would come from Early and Breckenridge then moving into and through the huge hole left in the Shenandoah Valley by Hunter.

Apparently Lee was already convinced of the value of his plan, sending orders to General Early on June 12, fourteen days prior to his letter to President Davis. Lee ordered Early to begin moving through the Lower Valley to the Potomac River crossing at Leesburg or Harpers Ferry, and to "threaten Washington City" if possible.¹⁰³ Enroute to Harpers Ferry, the troops under Early found little resistance from Union General Franz Sigel, now stationed at Martinsburg, as they approached through Hainesville and Leetown on July 3.¹⁰⁴ Sigel reported the situation:

...In order to enable me to concentrate our forces, I ordered Col. Mulligan to retire, if forced, as slowly as possible to Kearneysville and Shepherdstown. All stores were sent off on cars, and the remainder loaded on wagons. The train was sent to Shepherdstown to cross the river, and subsequently I withdrew the troops from Martinsburg...¹⁰⁵

Sigel moved his troops to Maryland Heights, a prominent cliff on the Maryland side of the Potomac River overlooking Harpers Ferry, via Sandy Hook on July 4, probably following the C&O Canal towpath as others had done before. Sigel's counterpart, Brig. Gen. Max Weber, in command at Harpers Ferry, withdrew to Maryland Heights on July 5.¹⁰⁶ According to Early, he was also instructed by Lee "to destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," a task, recalled Early, partially completed by Weber's retreating Union troops who burned "the railroad and pontoon bridges across the Potomac" behind them.¹⁰⁷

Early and Breckenridge crossed the Potomac River into Maryland from July 5, 1864, with the intention to force a surrender of the Union troops on Maryland Heights before continuing across South Mountain into Frederick County on their approach to Washington. Early described the progression of events through July 8:

In the afternoon [of July 5] Breckenridge's command moved to Shepherdstown and crossed the Potomac, followed by Rodes' and Ramseur's divisions early on the 6th. Gordon's division advanced toward Maryland Heights, and drove the enemy into his works. Working parties were

¹⁰¹ OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Correspondence – Confederate," General R.E. Lee to His Excellency Jefferson Davis, June 26, 1864, pp. 766-767.

¹⁰² OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Correspondence – Confederate," General R.E. Lee to His Excellency Jefferson Davis, June 26, 1864, pp. 766-767.

¹⁰³ Jubal A. Early Lt. Gen., C.S.A., "Early's March to Washington in 1864," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. 4, p. 492.

¹⁰⁴ Early, *Battles and Leaders*, p. 494.

¹⁰⁵ OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Reports of Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel, U. S. Army Commanding Reserve Division, Department of West Virginia, of operations July 2-8." pp. 175-176.

¹⁰⁶ OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Reports of Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel, U. S. Army Commanding Reserve Division, Department of West Virginia, of operations July 2-8." pp. 175-176.

¹⁰⁷ Early, *Battles and Leaders*, p. 495.

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employed in destroying the aqueduct of the canal over the Antietam, and the locks and canal boats. On the 7th Rodes moved through Rohrer'sville on the road to Crampton's Gap in South Mountain, and skirmished with a small force of the enemy, while Breckinridge demonstrated against Maryland Heights. McCausland had occupied Hagerstown and levied a contribution of \$20,000, and Boonsboro' had been occupied by Johnson's cavalry.... My desire had been to maneuver the enemy out of Maryland Heights, so as to move directly to Washington; but he had taken refuge in his strongly fortified works, and I therefore determined to move through the gaps of South Mountain north of the Heights. [On July 8th Early sent] ...Rodes through Crampton's Gap to Jefferson; Breckinridge through Fox's Gap; and Ramseur, with the trains, through Boonsboro's [Turner's] Gap, followed by Lewis's brigade, which had started from Harper's Ferry the night before after burning the trestle-work on the railroad...¹⁰⁸

John Garrett, president of the B&O Railroad, who rightly feared for the safety of his railroad, sent a telegraph informing Union Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace, in command of the Eighth Corps and Middle Department was headquartered in Baltimore, of the Confederate movements.

Historian B. F. Cooling's narrative on the Monocacy battle highlights the central role of B&O Railroad president John Garrett in drawing Gen. Lew Wallace to the Monocacy River crossing in July of 1864:

Garrett informed him [Wallace] that the presence of Rebel raiders at stations along the B&O line between Harpers Ferry and Cumberland, Maryland betokened the usual Confederate summer invasion. Fearing for the safety of his iron railroad bridge over the Monocacy River below Frederick, Garrett demanded protection. Forty-eight hours later, railroad officials informed Wallace that Harpers Ferry had been evacuated and its defenders had moved atop Maryland Heights. Wallace expressed concern that he could be of any help in what was technically Hunter's department, but vowed to protect Garrett's bridge over the Monocacy as it was located on the border with his own jurisdiction.¹⁰⁹

The western boundary of Wallace's Middle Department stretched from Baltimore to the Monocacy River.¹¹⁰ However, Hunter had withdrawn deep into West Virginia when Jubal Early's Confederates appeared, which left the lower Shenandoah Valley, the B&O Railroad and the approach to Washington unprotected. Notes Cooling, "It was perhaps the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company more than anyone else that recognized the peril and took steps to inform government officials and cajole them into action."¹¹¹

It seems that Early's invasion of Maryland in 1864 was not initially taken particularly seriously by the War Office in Washington, or by Grant. Confederate raiding parties north of the Potomac River were not

¹⁰⁸ Early, *Battles and Leaders*, pp. 494-495. Here "trains" refer to supply wagons.

¹⁰⁹ Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, p. 13.

¹¹⁰ Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid on Washington: 1864*, (Baltimore, MD: The Nautical & Aviation Publishing Co. of America, 1989), p. 53. Cooling notes: "A serious question may be raised about Wallace's judgment. Wallace, for whatever reasons (whether to aid Garrett, a desire for combat, or a plan to retrieve lost glories and his reputation through a victory), may well have consciously exceeded his authority and pushed some thirty actual miles beyond his official departmental jurisdiction. According to reorganization orders published in March and June, Wallace's boundary came nowhere near the Monocacy. General Order 97, Adjutant General's Office, March 12, 1864, established the Middle Department as '...the eastern shore of Maryland, and Cecil, Harford, Baltimore, and Anne Arundel counties in Maryland.'" General Order 214, Adjutant General's Office, June 21, 1864, prescribed the Department of the Potomac "to consist of that part of the State of Maryland west of Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties, east of the Monocacy, and north of a line from the mouth of the Monocacy to Annapolis Junction..." See Raphael P. Thian (John M. Carroll, editor), *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United State, 1813-1880* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979) pp. 91, 104."

¹¹¹ Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, p. 13.

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uncommon and the magnitude of Early's movement apparently was not known, or not appreciated. Still, there was fear and concern in the District of Columbia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, as residents recalled the horror of the Gettysburg Campaign only a year before. Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck in Washington did send reinforcements to help Sigel who had been isolated on Maryland Heights. But by the time Federal troops arrived on the scene, Early's Confederates had already bypassed Harpers Ferry and were bearing down on Frederick. Instead of gathering information about the size and strength of the enemy force, the Federals merely re-positioned at Harpers Ferry.¹¹² With Hunter withdrawn and the Harpers Ferry garrison staying put, only Lew Wallace with his promise to protect the B&O bridge at Monocacy Junction stood between the Confederates and their planned destination of Washington D.C.

Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace was a Democrat and a volunteer officer, somewhat out of place among an officer's corps of West Pointers. Still, he was a veteran of the Mexican War and had proved himself to be a competent commander during the Civil War, which earned Wallace the rank of Major General.¹¹³ His duties in Baltimore were more defensive and administrative, with emphasis on training rather than combat. With the main Union army at Petersburg, Wallace perceived it would be his job to take any defensive action. For Wallace, this too was perhaps an opportunity for redemption.

From his command at Baltimore, Wallace was only able to gather about 3,200 men for the defensive effort, and many of them were inexperienced. Besides Wallace's men, the only other military presence was a detachment of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, sent by Halleck to patrol the Potomac River between Washington, D.C. and Point of Rocks, Maryland. Taking a night train to the Monocacy Junction, Wallace and an aide arrived the morning of July 5, looked over the terrain and planned a strategy. With his limited manpower, Wallace could not cover all the crossing places of the Monocacy River. He focused on the railroad bridge, as he had promised Garrett; the wooden highway bridge just to the southwest, which carried the road to Washington; and the Baltimore Pike stone bridge about two miles to the north in the event that Early's destination was Baltimore rather than Washington. His chances of being the victor against a larger, battle-hardened Confederate force were remote and he knew it. Wallace's hope was to delay the Confederates long enough for reinforcements to be sent, or for a proper defense of Washington to be assembled. Significantly, it was also Gen. Robert E. Lee's hope that Early's threat to Washington would force Grant to send reinforcements, thus drawing Union troops away from Petersburg and Richmond.¹¹⁴

While the initial Federal response to Early's invasion was relatively anemic, the civilian population was deeply affected. The consternation that the Confederates provoked was rooted in the experience of the two previous summers when invasions threatened the very same areas of Maryland and Pennsylvania. So, while the military authorities seemed unruffled by the Confederate approach (except for Wallace), this time the Confederates were not greeted with enthusiasm by pro-Southern citizens. By now, most Marylanders had come to accept that the Confederacy would eventually lose the war. The Confederate invaders likewise viewed Maryland as a lost cause and liberally helped themselves to supplies and plunder.¹¹⁵

At 1 p.m. on July 8, Sigel, still at Maryland Heights, sent a message to Washington reporting that "The enemy is advancing in strong force said to be a whole corps, in the Middletown Valley...it seems certain that the enemy with his whole force is marching for Frederick."¹¹⁶ In fact, Union cavalry – the Eighth Illinois under command of Lt. Col. David Clendenin – had already skirmished with Confederate cavalry east of Middletown

¹¹² Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, p. 13.

¹¹³ Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid...*, p. 55.

¹¹⁴ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Reports of Gen. Robert E. Lee, C. S. Army, commanding Army of Northern Virginia, of Early's Operations July 23-July 26," p. 346.

¹¹⁵ Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid...*, p. 42.

¹¹⁶ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel," p. 180. The message was received in Washington at 3:00 p.m.

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through much of the previous day, July 7. Clendenin reported placing the two guns of Alexander's Battery on the side of Catoctin Mountain, which helped to slow the Confederate approach. But as the size of the column behind Confederate skirmishers grew, Union defenders withdrew back to Frederick.¹¹⁷

The Confederate force, rumored to be as many as 30,000 men, alarmed Wallace. Encouragement came in the form of news from Garrett. Veteran reinforcements sent from Petersburg to Baltimore by steamship would arrive at Monocacy Junction via the B&O Railroad by July 8.¹¹⁸ Still, Wallace fretted about the fate of Frederick, afraid that as a supply post for the Union, county seat and prominent commercial center, it would be destroyed. Wallace recalled:

About 6 o'clock in the afternoon [July 8] Colonel Catlin telegraphed me that a heavy force of rebel infantry was moving toward Urbana by the Buckeystown road. This threatened my line of retreat and the position at Monocacy bridge. What was more serious, it seemed to disclose a purpose to obtain the pike to Washington, important to the enemy for several causes, but especially so if his designs embraced that city, then in no condition, as I understood it, to resist an army like that attributed to Early by General Sigel. I claim no credit for understanding my duty in such a situation; it was self-apparent. There was no force that could be thrown in time between the capital and the rebels but mine, which was probably too small to defeat them, but certainly strong enough to gain time and compel them to expose their strength... I made up my mind to fight, and accordingly telegraphed General Halleck: "I shall withdraw immediately from Frederick City, and put myself in position to cover the road to Washington, if necessary."¹¹⁹

Under cover of night, Wallace withdrew his men from Frederick to Monocacy Junction:

Our way was along the Baltimore pike. Crossing the river at the stone bridge we turned to the right, and with some stumbling through the dark, deepened by the trees overhanging the road, at last regained headquarters at the junction.¹²⁰

Leaving Clendenin's cavalry in line of skirmish on the west side of the Monocacy, Wallace prepared his line of defense on the east side of the river. "Here," wrote Wallace on July 8, 1864, "as the situation appeared to me, the fate of Washington was to be determined."¹²¹

The high ground along the east bank of the Monocacy River afforded protection and a good, commanding view of the landscape to the north and west. Wallace located his headquarters there. "At first General Wallace's headquarters were in the blockhouse at the east end of the iron bridge," wrote Judge Glenn Worthington in his account of the battle, *Fighting for Time*, "but they were soon after transferred to a small dwelling house just across the railroad, it being the second house on the south side of the railroad tracks, east of the bridge."¹²² Worthington's account was at least partly confirmed by Wallace's own memoirs which stated that upon arriving at Monocacy (July 5), he went to a nearby blockhouse guarding the bridge. The rail-side dwelling house later used by Wallace belonged to Elenora Lyeth and her husband John, who purchased it from Benjamin F. Brown in March 1864. John Lyeth was a Captain of the First Maryland Regiment that was often assigned guard duty at the junction during the war.¹²³

¹¹⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Report of Lt. Col. David R. Clendenin," p. 219.

¹¹⁸ Leepson, p.81.

¹¹⁹ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace," p. 195.

¹²⁰ Wallace, as cited in Worthington, p. 86.

¹²¹ Wallace, as cited in Leepson, p. 85.

¹²² Worthington, p. 65.

¹²³ FCDB, Liber JWLC 1, folio 356, March 1, 1864; Monocacy Research notes, citing Prowell, p. 179. T.J.C. Williams' *History*

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On the north side of the B&O Railroad tracks a long narrow ridge loomed above the Markell Farm, the Monocacy Junction community, and the east bank of the Monocacy River. Along the west face of the ridge was a long defensive trench dug by the men of the 14th New Jersey during their 1862-1863 deployment at the railroad bridge. This Wallace would put to use. His strategy was simple; to defend the river crossings south and east from Frederick – from Hughes Ford to the stone bridge on the Baltimore Pike, Crum’s Ford, and the railroad and Georgetown Pike crossings. From there the Monocacy River curved around the hilly landscape upon which the Thomas and Worthington houses were perched, and the heavily wooded Brooks Hill, behind which the Daniel Baker farm was nestled in a valley. Just below the Worthington farmhouse the river turned south near the Buckeystown Pike, where a ford used only by local farmers crossed at the mouth of Ballenger Creek. With his troops already stretched thin, this ford, thought Wallace, would have to be only lightly guarded.¹²⁴

The reinforcements, in the form of Brig. Gen. James Ricketts’ division of the Sixth Corps, began arriving the morning of July 8. Oddly, Halleck had actually ordered the division to reinforce Sigel at Maryland Heights. As the train approached the iron bridge at Monocacy Junction, they were flagged to a stop. Col. William W. Henry, commanding the Tenth Vermont Infantry, had to be convinced by Wallace that the fight would be there, not at Maryland Heights.¹²⁵ More troops arrived through the day, Wallace recalled happily, and immediately made camp, “and there were a hundred little fires started, each with black pot in the blaze or hanging from a cross-stick, and each the center of an expectant group of rugged soldiers, whose handiness with fire, skillet, and coffee-pot bespoke the veteran.”¹²⁶

The men of General Ricketts’ division provided much needed additional bodies, but more importantly they added combat experience to Wallace’s defensive line. He now had at his disposal approximately 6,600 men, including his own men from the Eighth Army Corps. Wallace detailed the make-up of his men from the Eighth Corps, “concentrated under General Tyler, making a force of scant 2,500 men of all arms, and composed as follows:”

Third Regiment Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Col. Charles Gilpin; Eleventh Maryland Infantry, Colonel Landstreet; seven companies of the One hundred and forty-ninth and three companies of the One hundred and forty-fourth Ohio National Guard, consolidated temporarily, under Col. A. L. Brown; Captain Alexander’s (Maryland) battery and 100 men of the One hundred and fifty-ninth Ohio National Guards, serving as mounted infantry, and commanded by Capt. E. H. Leib, Fifth U.S. Cavalry, and Capt. H. S. Allen In addition, I had the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Clendenins squadron of cavalry, 250 men, and four companies: the First Regiment Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, about 200 strong, under Captain Brown. Of this force, it is proper to add, the Eleventh Maryland and all the Ohio troops were 100-days’ men.¹²⁷

Ricketts’ brought with him two brigades including, according to Wallace’s post-battle report:
 First Brigade, Col. W. S. Truex commanding, 1,750 strong--One hundred and sixth New York.
 Captain Paine commanding; One hundred and fifty-first New York, Colonel Emerson;

of Frederick County, Maryland includes a photograph with a caption identifying it as “Headquarters of General Lew Wallace, During Battle of Monocacy” (facing page 80). The dwelling pictured appears to date from the late nineteenth century and may not have been standing at the time of the battle.

¹²⁴ Cooling, *Monocacy*, p.110.

¹²⁵ Leepson, pp. 82-83.

¹²⁶ From Lew Wallace autobiography, as cited in Leepson, p. 83.

¹²⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, “Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace, U.S. Army, Commanding Middle Department, Battle of Monocacy,” August 1864, pp. 193-194. “100-days’ men” were volunteers for 100 days of service, primarily for routine duties in order to free up veteran soldiers for battle duty.

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Fourteenth New Jersey, Lieutenant-Colonel Hall; Tenth Vermont, Colonel Henry; Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Stahle.

Second Brigade, 1,600 men, Colonel McClennan commanding--One hundred and thirty-eighth Pennsylvania; Ninth New York, Colonel Seward; One hundred and twenty-sixth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Ebright; One hundred and tenth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Binkley.¹²⁸

Additional troops from Ricketts' division were scheduled to arrive over the next few hours, though much to Wallace's disappointment, they did not.¹²⁹

In the early hours of July 9, Wallace set up his line of defense:

The right, forming an extended line from the railroad, was given General Tyler, who, by direction, had left Colonel Brown at the stone bridge on the Baltimore pike with his command, and the company of mounted infantry. Upon the holding of that bridge depended the security of my right flank, and the line of retreat to Baltimore. Three companies of Colonel Gilpin's regiment were posted to defend Crum's Ford – midway the stone bridge and railroad. Landstreet and Gilpin were held in reserve at the railroad. The battery was divided – Ricketts and Tyler each received three guns. On the left, as it was likely to be the main point of attack, I directed General Ricketts to form his command in two lines across the Washington [Georgetown] pike, so as to hold the rising ground south of it and the wooden bridge across the river. Still farther to the left, Colonel Clendenin took post to watch that flank and guard the lower fords with such detachments as he could spare. On the western bank of the river, Captain Brown's detachment of the First Regiment Potomac Home Brigade was deployed as skirmishers, in a line three quarters of a mile to the front. A 24-pounder howitzer was left in a rude earthwork near the block-house by the railroad, where it could be used to defend the two bridges and cover the retirement and crossing of the skirmishers.¹³⁰ (Figures 9 and 10)

As the defenders of the Monocacy crossings took their places, Jubal Early's Confederate force, approximately 15,000 strong, entered Frederick City. Early demanded what he called an "assessment" of \$200,000 from the City of Frederick, which after extended negotiations the local banks paid.¹³¹ Several hours passed while Union defenders and residents of the Frederick area waited tensely. In anticipation of the coming battle, recalled Glenn Worthington, the Worthington and Thomas families took shelter in their cellars:

Mrs. James Gambrill, with her sons, Richard and Staley, came from her home at the mill to the Thomas house...and went into the cellar there, with the family. Mr. Gambrill remained at his mill, which was constructed of stone, and was therefore a tolerably safe place to be.¹³²

¹²⁸ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace, U.S. Army, Commanding Middle Department, Battle of Monocacy," August 1864, pp. 195-196.

¹²⁹ Col. J. Warren Keifer noted in his official report: "The 6th Maryland, 67th Pennsylvania, and the remainder of the 122nd Ohio, under the command of Col. John F. Staunton, did not, in consequence of unnecessary delays caused by him, arrive at Monocacy, but joined the brigade after the battle of the 9th of July." OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Col. J. Warren Keifer, 110th Ohio Infantry, commanding Second Brigade, of Battle of Monocacy," p. 206.

¹³⁰ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace, U.S. Army, Commanding Middle Department, Battle of Monocacy," August 1864, p. 196.

¹³¹ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Lt. Gen. Jubal A. Early, C.S. Army, The Battle of the Monocacy and Operations Against Washington, D.C.," p. 766; Cooling, *Monocacy*, pp. 97-98.

¹³² Worthington, p. 104.

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Throughout the early morning both Thomas and Worthington had their slaves gathering as much of the harvested wheat in the fields as possible prior to the looming battle. Finally, as the skirmishing intensified, Thomas instructed his men to take the horses to safety on the nearby Sugar Loaf Mountain.¹³³

The Monocacy Battle, July 9, 1864***The Stone Bridge and Baltimore Pike Defense***

Brig. Gen. Erastus B. Tyler had been placed in command of Wallace's 3,200 men of the Eighth Army Corps. Charged with defending the river crossings north of the railroad bridge, they formed the right of the two and a half mile long battlefield. The defense of the stone Baltimore Pike bridge, Hughes' ford to the north, and Crum's ford to the south depended largely on this collection of mostly green troops. Many of them were "100-days' men," whose light training could not have prepared them for the coming battle. Tyler detailed his deployment:

Saturday morning found us in line of battle, my command forming the right of the line, my left resting on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and connecting with General Ricketts, the One Hundred and forty-ninth Ohio National Guard and three companies One Hundred and forty-fourth Ohio National Guard holding the extreme right [Hughes' Ford]; Colonel Gilpin's Third Regiment Potomac Home Brigade, Maryland Volunteers, and three companies First Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, under Captain Bamford, extending along the base of the hill holding the ford [Crum's Ford] between the stone bridge and Junction, and the Eleventh Maryland, Colonel Landstreet, completing my line.¹³⁴

The battle began tentatively between 6:00 and 8:00 a.m. and escalated sharply a few hours later. The initial Confederate thrust came as a line of skirmishers, the men of Rodes' division, moving eastward out of Frederick down the Baltimore Pike toward the stone bridge. There they met resistance from Col. Allison Brown's Ohio men posted "on the crest of a ridge on the Frederick side of the river..."¹³⁵ (Figure 9) The smaller Union line was pushed back toward the bridge but held. Meanwhile Brown observed "rebel cavalry making disposition to turn my right at the ford [Hughes']..." which they also repulsed. Wallace instructed Colonel Brown "to hold the bridge over the Monocacy at that point to the last extremity," the Baltimore Pike being the Union army's best route for retreat. Though by mid-morning it appeared the main thrust of the battle would be along the Georgetown Pike, still the Confederate brigade under command of Brig. Gen. Robert D. Lilley remained determined to take the stone bridge. "About 11:30 a.m.," reported Brown, "the attack came;"

...a heavy force of infantry had been deployed on the extension of my line of skirmishers and marched by the flank to within range of my extreme left. All this had been done under cover of the ground, which at that point was very favorable to the enemy for that purpose. The superiority of his numbers enabled him to push back my left and take position so as to enfilade my line. In order to dislodge the enemy from this position and restore my line it was necessary to have recourse to the bayonet, which in this instance proved very effective...I ordered Company B, One hundred and forty-ninth, to charge the enemy's position, which it did, but was repulsed. I then took Companies B, H, and G, One hundred and forty-fourth, re-enforced, drove the rebels from their position and re-established my lines. During this charge my loss was quite

¹³³ Worthington, pp. 101-102.

¹³⁴ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Brig. Gen. Erastus B. Tyler, U.S. Army, commanding First Separate Brigade, Eighth Army Corps, of operations July 7-10, including battle of the Monocacy." p. 213.

¹³⁵ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Col. Allison L. Brown, 149th Ohio Infantry, of battle of Monocacy," July 14, 1864, p. 217.

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severe, owing to the fact that the enemy was posted behind the fence, while my men were compelled to charge across an open field, up the hill in fair view, and within short range of his guns.¹³⁶

Brown's men held the bridge throughout the day, but by early evening, after "the firing had ceased at Monocacy Junction" and apparently unaware of the Union retreat, the defenders were nearly surrounded by a final Confederate thrust "pressing from the west side, and those in the woods [on the east side] and wheat-field south of my position."¹³⁷ Capt. Edward H. Leib of the Fifth U.S. Cavalry attached to Brown's defense of the stone bridge found all escape routes but one closed off:

The men commenced moving to the bridge, and were crossing, [when] the enemy arrived in force on the opposite side and attacked our men on the left flank. I pushed all the men over I could, and when I started to cross I found the rebels in strong force in my front, and when I started to move to the rear found it impossible to move in that direction... The way open was up the river, and I started in that direction. The rebels closing in all directions, I could not strike the ford, and was compelled to ride my horse down a very steep bluff into the river.¹³⁸

Of the approximately 660 men in his command at the start of the day, Col. Allison Brown reported "bringing off about 300" in their chaotic retreat.

Defense of Monocacy Junction and the Georgetown (Washington) Pike

General Early sent his main thrust of skirmishers out of Frederick along the Georgetown (Washington) Pike shortly after the 6 a.m. skirmishing began along the Baltimore Pike at the stone bridge. Moving toward the bridges at Monocacy Junction through the north end of the Best farm (*Hermitage*) Brig. Gen. Robert D. Johnston's North Carolina Brigade (of Maj. Gen. Stephen Ramseur's Division) met the Union line of Capt. Charles J. Brown's two companies of the First Maryland Potomac Home Brigade and a detachment of 75 men from the 10th Vermont, occupying the Junction.¹³⁹ Brown was given orders to evacuate and burn the blockhouse. Finding himself overwhelmed, Brown turned command of the Junction to Lte. George Davis, 10th Vermont. For his actions, Davis would be awarded the Medal of Honor. Davis was able to hold his position until roughly 4 p.m. when he "fell back across the railroad bridge and occupied the rifle-pits on the east side of the Monocacy," before being sent east to reinforce the stone bridge.¹⁴⁰ Enroute, he was ordered to retreat. Faced with overwhelming numbers at its front, the Davis line collapsed and he too was forced to retreat across the railroad bridge.

Ricketts' line of veterans near the east blockhouse was deployed across the Georgetown Pike onto the Thomas farm (*Araby*) and Gambrill Mill. The east bank provided excellent cover and a panoramic view of the open fields on the opposite (west) side of the river, fields over which the Confederate troops must pass to approach the railroad and turnpike river crossings. Near the east blockhouse, Wallace placed three of the six available

¹³⁶ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Col. Allison L. Brown, 149th Ohio Infantry, of battle of Monocacy," July 14, 1864, p. 217.

¹³⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Col. Allison L. Brown, 149th Ohio Infantry, of battle of Monocacy," July 14, 1864, p. 218. Confederates who had crossed the river at the Monocacy Junction following the collapse of the Georgetown Pike defense found their way north to the Baltimore Pike bridge.

¹³⁸ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Capt. Edward H. Leib, 5th U.S. Cavalry, commanding Mounted Infantry, of operations July 6-10, including battle of the Monocacy," July 18, 1864, p. 222.

¹³⁹ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Capt. Charles J. Brown, First Maryland Infantry, Potomac Home Brigade, of battle of the Monocacy," July 20, 1864, p. 215.

¹⁴⁰ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Capt. Charles J. Brown, First Maryland Infantry, Potomac Home Brigade, of battle of the Monocacy," July 20, 1864, p. 215.

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Union artillery pieces and the one 24-pounder howitzer to protect the two bridges. Union Brig. Gen. Erastus B. Tyler reported:

Three guns of Captain Alexander's battery (three having been sent to General Ricketts) and a 24-pounder howitzer soon checked their [the Confederates] advancing lines; and the action in my front, with the exception of sharpshooters and skirmish firing, was an artillery fight. This at times was quite spirited, continuing until near the close of the action, we maintaining our position without serious loss.¹⁴¹

Capt. Frederick W. Alexander, commanding the Baltimore Battery, reported:

...at 9 a.m., I was ordered to place three guns on the hill beyond Monocacy, toward Frederick, and commenced firing on the enemy as they advanced on both sides of the pike from Frederick. They soon returned with artillery, but with little effect. ...The enemy brought, as nearly as I can judge, about sixteen guns to bear on us, but, owing to the advantage of the ground...did but little damage...¹⁴²

Wallace also estimated about sixteen Confederate guns, specifically the heavier caliber Napoleons.¹⁴³

Artillery played an important role during the morning skirmishes, with the Union guns located on the hills along the east bank of the river battling Confederate guns placed on strategic hilltops across the Best farm (Figures 9 and 10). Pvt. Frederick W. Wild, stationed with one of the guns of Alexander's Battery on the hill north of the railroad recalled firing on Confederates in John Best's barn:

...[the] barn was filled with sharpshooters, so we directed our attention to them, the second shot burst inside of the barn, and so did the third, and the fourth; the barn was soon on fire, and we had the satisfaction of seeing some of them being carried away on a litter, and put in an ambulance.¹⁴⁴

Confederate batteries answered from the north end of the Best farm before moving in with the skirmish line to positions near the farmstead overlooking the railroad and the river. The actual number of Confederate guns used remains unclear. But reports indicate that nine batteries with 36 total guns (18 encased) and four batteries of horse artillery were used.¹⁴⁵ Early's division had "nine batteries of regular artillery and four batteries of horse artillery (totaling 48-56 guns)" at its disposal and some of these additional guns likely came into play during the mid-day phase of the battle.¹⁴⁶ Wrote Captain Alexander: "When more guns of the enemy began to appear on our left with infantry, I moved two more guns from the hill on the right to the hill on our left."¹⁴⁷ Artillery provided cover for the infantry and its placement could be key to success or failure in battle.

¹⁴¹ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Brig. Gen. Erastus B. Tyler, U.S. Army, commanding First Separate Brigade, Eighth Army Corps, of Operations July 7-10, including battle of the Monocacy," July 14, 1864, p. 214.

¹⁴² OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Capt. Frederic W. Alexander, Baltimore (Maryland) Battery, of action at Frederick and of battle of the Monocacy," July 13, 1864, p. 222.

¹⁴³ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace, U.S. Army, Commanding Middle Department, Battle of Monocacy," August 1864, p. 196.

¹⁴⁴ Wild, 1912, p. 125, as cited in Best Farm Archeological Report, 2005, p. 3.19.

¹⁴⁵ Best Farm Archeological Report, 2005, p. 3.20.

¹⁴⁶ Best Farm Archeological Report, 2005, p. 3.20. The Hotchkiss map shows only four batteries and their various positions, however Confederate reports may indicate additional batteries, specifically Chapman's and Lowry's, were used as well. "By the end of the day the Confederates engaged 18 of their 36 pieces of artillery." Brett Spaulding, Interpretive Ranger, Monocacy National Battlefield, personal communication, April 2014.

¹⁴⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Capt. Frederic W. Alexander, Baltimore (Maryland) Battery, of action at Frederick and of battle of the Monocacy," July 13, 1864, p. 222.

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The placement of Confederate artillery on the Best farm and the continuous press of skirmishers along the Georgetown Pike were a strong indication that Early's main offensive thrust would target the road to Washington, not Baltimore. Early, believing he faced only a small number of unproven militia, was unaware that Wallace's defense had been reinforced with the veterans of Ricketts' brigades. Still, the Union defense of the Monocacy crossings along the Washington route—the wooden covered bridge, the nearby railroad bridge, and old Middle Ford—had the clear advantage of higher ground and cover, supported by the six guns of Alexander's Battery. Though Early's larger line of skirmishers had pressed the Union line back to the junction, the crossing defenses still held. Another route across the river had to be found.

Confederate cavalry, under the command of Brig. Gen. John McCausland, who just a few days earlier had ransomed the city of Hagerstown, arrived at the Monocacy battlefield on July 9 by a southern route. Passing through the Middletown Valley to Jefferson, they rode through the highly productive farms of Carrollton Manor along the Manor Road and Buckeystown Pike adjacent the Monocacy River to the south of Frederick.¹⁴⁸ Certainly as they approached they could hear the artillery and musket fire of the early engagements. Following a farm road to the right along Ballenger Creek, McCausland's scouts discovered a ford of the Monocacy River located about a mile down river from the Monocacy Junction bridges. It was described by one soldier as nothing more than "a small path on the river bank leading down to water, and on the opposite bank a similar one, denoting a ford used by neighbors for crossing the river."¹⁴⁹ With an eye to flank the Union left, McCausland crossed the river about 10:30 a.m., landing on the lower fields of the Worthington Farm. A small detachment of Colonel Clendenin's Eighth Illinois Cavalry initially defended the ford, pushing the first Confederate thrust back. Shortly thereafter, Clendenin was about to reinforce the guard with the rest of his mounted regiment coming from the junction when McCausland reappeared:

I moved with all the available force I had to our left, where I had been informed the enemy were making demonstrations with their cavalry. I had posted one company on the left of the infantry to cover a ford across the Monocacy and was down between the river and the road to Buckeystown, which was the line I designed taking up when the enemy charged across the river with a brigade of cavalry upon the company I had just posted. Lieutenant Corbit, in command of the company, drove the advance back and for a few minutes held his ground, then retired in good order to the Buckeystown road...¹⁵⁰

As the Union cavalry fell back to the Georgetown Pike, McCausland's Confederate cavalry continued across the ford, dismounted, and met a determined resistance from a Union battleline on the Thomas farm:

Silently, in ambush, the Federals watched the cavalry come at them on foot with guidons waving and the shrill "rebel yell" yip-yip on their lips. Suddenly, Ricketts' men rose to their feet, rested their muskets on the fence rails, and delivered a blinding volley into McCausland's men. When the smoke had cleared, the corn field seemed to hide the dead, dying, and cheerless living crawling back to safety out of range of the deadly Yankee muskets.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Cooling, *Monocacy*, p. 116; OR, Series 1, Vol. 43, Part 1, "Report of Capt. Jed. Hotchkiss, Topographical Engineer, C. S. Army, of operations of the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia and Army of Valley District, May 3-November 14, 1864," p. 1021.

¹⁴⁹ John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, (New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1912), p. 237, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/worsham/worsham.html>, accessed Nov. 19, 2012.

¹⁵⁰ OR, Vol. 35, Part 1, "Report of Lieut. Col. David R. Clendenin, Eighth Illinois Cavalry, of operations July 4 – 10, including battle of the Monocacy." p. 220.

¹⁵¹ Cooling, *Monocacy*, pp. 118-119.

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Surprised by the veteran cunning and precision of the Union line, where they had expected to find only Wallace's green militia, the Confederates fell back to the Worthington House. With pressure from both sides of the river, Wallace ordered the covered bridge to be burned. A second attack was launched about 2:00 p.m. This time they secured the Thomas House, but Union infantry launched a counter attack and the dismounted Confederate cavalry were once again forced to fall back to the Worthington House.

Now five hours into the Monocacy battle, very little Union ground had as yet been lost. As Wallace later related in his memoir, he was "fighting for time" in order to slow Early's advance on Washington, and their position at noon gave him reason to feel encouraged. Wallace believed if he could hold through the afternoon, at the very least Early would have to wait until the following morning to move again, giving Grant time to send reinforcements to Washington.¹⁵² Wallace was still expecting the arrival of roughly 1,000 soldiers from Ricketts' Division, earlier reported by Garrett to be expected about 1:00 p.m. However, unknown to Wallace, those troops only came as far as Monrovia, to the south, where much of the B&O Railroad equipment at Monocacy Junction had been taken prior to the battle. The last rail car, which had been parked on the east side of the river near Wallace's headquarters to transport the injured from the battle, was removed in a panic by B&O station agent Francis Mantz sometime before 1:00 p.m. Mantz telegraphed from Monrovia to W.P. Smith in Baltimore "after 1:00 PM":

I have worked all trains back this far. Enemy opened on us heavy this morning with artillery and pressed hard on our forces to get position. They seem determined. I think the force is larger than has been estimated. We did not leave until the very last moment. I fear they have too much artillery for us. I think my house is burned, the station house or the large wood bridge over the Monocacy on Washington Road. The troops ought to be sent forward.¹⁵³

The fire that Francis Mantz alluded to in his telegram was the wooden covered bridge on the Georgetown Pike (Washington Road), set ablaze under orders from Wallace.¹⁵⁴

General Early still held a large reserve of men at the south end of Frederick, near the intersection of the Georgetown and Buckeystown turnpikes known as Evergreen Point. General Breckenridge's Corps, two divisions, rested near the Mt. Olivet Cemetery, observing the action in front of them. The morning's skirmishing revealed the ford at the Worthington Farm to be the best course for attack. At 2:30 in the afternoon, according to Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon's report, Breckenridge ordered Gordon's division to move in that direction, a four-mile march. Judge Glenn Worthington, then a six-year-old boy living on the Worthington Farm at the time of the battle, wrote of their approach in his history of the battle (published 1932):

...it was 3 o'clock when Gordon's Division, consisting of three brigades, under command of Generals Evans, York and Terry, respectively, had marched from Frederick out the Georgetown Road one mile to the Buckeystown Road [Pike], and thence by that road three miles more to Ballenger's Creek. After crossing Ballenger's Creek on the Buckeystown highway, Gordon's column turned abruptly to the left on McGill's, now McKinney's land, crossed the railroad...and came to the Monocacy. Here the men stopped to remove their shoes before wading into the water, but the order was given to jump in and not stop to remove shoes. Reaching the opposite bank, the men came up out of the water into a meadow on the Worthington farm.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Cooling, *Monocacy*, p. 119, citing Wallace, *Autobiography*, II, pp. 774-775.

¹⁵³ As cited in William E. Bain, ed., *B&O in the Civil War: From the papers of William Prescott Smith*, (Denver, CO: Sage Books, 1966), p. 126.

¹⁵⁴ Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, p. 51.

¹⁵⁵ Worthington, p. 129.

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Worthington, who was born and raised on the farm that became part of the Monocacy Battle, stated emphatically that “Gordon’s place of crossing the river was below the mouth of Ballenger’s Creek.”¹⁵⁶ This, perhaps, in response to Jedediah Hotchkiss’ map which indicated the crossing located above the mouth of the creek. Gordon’s men reformed their lines in the Worthington meadow, “well protected from the view of the enemy by the higher ground that lay between this meadow and the upper fields of the Thomas and Worthington farms,” where they prepared for battle.¹⁵⁷

It was the battle hardened troops of Ricketts’ Division of the Sixth Corps, men from New York, New Jersey, Vermont, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, who occupied this part of the Union line and faced the Confederate onslaught. Their lines encompassed the Thomas farmstead, where just four days earlier the Thomas family had been celebrating the 4th of July.¹⁵⁸ After reconnoitering from his vantage point on Brooks Hill, Gordon described the battle landscape as his division prepared to join the fight:

...the enemy was posted along the line of a fence on the crest of the ridge running obliquely to the left from the river. In his front lay an open field, which was commanded by his artillery and small-arms to the extent of their range, while in his rear ran a valley nearly parallel with the general direction of his line of battle. In this valley I discovered from a wooded eminence in front of his left another line of battle in support of the first. Both these lines were in advance of the Georgetown road. The enemy’s line of skirmishers covered the front of his first line and stretched far beyond it to the left.¹⁵⁹

Gordon sent out skirmishers and directed Brig. Gen. Clement A. Evan’s brigade “under the protection of a dense woodland about 700 yards in front of the enemy’s left, to move by the right flank and form so as to overlap the enemy’s left.”¹⁶⁰ The Confederate advance was hindered without the wounding of Evans and other officers and slowed by “a field covered with wheat-shocks and intersected by fences...However, this temporary confusion did not retard its advance, which, as I had anticipated, forced the enemy to change his front under fire.”¹⁶¹ With the assistance of Confederate Brigadier General Zebulon York’s brigade, the union defense fell back to the Georgetown Pike. Gordon’s final brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. William Terry, attacked the Union’s right flank.

Capt. Alexander reported, “Our ammunition almost gave out about 4 p.m., but the guns were kept in position until the order was given from General Ricketts to retire by the Baltimore road.”¹⁶²

Without hope of fresh reinforcements, Ricketts’ two brigades remarkably stood their ground for more than an hour against the swarm of Gordon’s men, compounded by the pounding of artillery:

...I discovered the enemy advancing directly on my left flank. I immediately changed front so as to confront the advancing lines. The Ninth New York then moved to the left and formed on the prolongation of my line. We held this position for nearly one hour longer, when I received orders to advance, which I did under a murderous fire of musketry and artillery, the latter coming obliquely from the front and rear and directly from the right. Finding it impossible to hold my position under such a fire, I fell back a few rods and formed along a cut in the Washington

¹⁵⁶ Ibid..

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 129-130.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 169.

¹⁵⁹ OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Part 1, “Report of Maj. Gen. John B. Gordon, C. S. Army, The Battle of Monocacy,” July 22, 1864, pp. 350-351.

¹⁶⁰ OR, Gordon, p. 351.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² OR, Alexander, p. 224.

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turnpike. Still exposed to the fire of the artillery, and having received orders to fall back when I could hold my position no longer, and seeing the enemy coming down upon us in overwhelming numbers, with imminent danger of having my command annihilated, the balance of the line having given way and the line on my right having been withdrawn, I gave the order to fall back.¹⁶³

By 5 o'clock, the organized defense had collapsed. Confederates overwhelmed their positions, including the field hospital at Gambrill's Mill. Union forces were retreating across the countryside and back roads to the Baltimore Pike. Pvt. Frederick Wild, with Alexander's Battery, described their retreat along "a narrow road with a small stream on one side and woods on the other."¹⁶⁴ The road (now just a trace) ran from behind Gambrill's mill property along the fields east of the ridge. (Figure 9) Confederate troops had already occupied the ridge above with "twelve pounders," recalled Wild, "fortunately they again fired too high; the shells went over our heads and burst with terrific noise into the woods..." Despite what might be imagined to be an urgent retreat, "the order was passed along the line to walk, this was trying on the nerves, but we had to do it..."

This was good military tactics, for had the men or horses been the least excited, or some accident happened to the horses and the road been blocked, we would have been at their mercy.¹⁶⁵

During the retreat, Union Corporal Alexander Scott, 10th Vermont, saved his regiment's national flag and was later awarded the Medal of Honor. The Union retreat, according to the "Official Atlas" map (Figure 9), continued onto Reel's Mill Road, intersecting the road east from Crum's Ford (today's Reich's Ford Road), where the ford's defenders joined the retreat. Turning north again onto a back road, they "crept along until we reached the pike," Pvt. Wild recalled, "and then we did go on a trot for a mile or two..."¹⁶⁶ While Alexander's Battery apparently followed an orderly retreat, for most of the Union troops structure fell apart as Gordon's infantry closed in and the last regiments received the order to retreat. It was every man for himself as fleeing Federals took to the woods and railroad to escape. The men who were able to get away following the railroad re-grouped with Wallace at Monrovia. Continuing the retreat east along the Baltimore Turnpike through New Market (Maryland) and on to Ellicott's Mills (today's Ellicott City), Wallace sent several messages, first to B&O Railroad president John Garrett:

I did as I promised. Held the bridge to the last. They overwhelmed me with numbers. My troops fought splendidly. Losses fearful. Send me cars enough to Ellicott's Mills to take up my retreating columns. Don't fail me.¹⁶⁷

Then to Halleck in Washington he wrote:

I fought the enemy at Frederick [Monocacy] Junction from 9 a.m. till 5 p.m., when they overwhelmed me with numbers. I am retreating with a foot-sore, battered, and half-demoralized

¹⁶³ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Lt. Col. Otho H. Binkley, 110th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, of battle of Monocacy," p. 208.

¹⁶⁴ Frederick W. Wild, *Memoirs and History of Capt. F. W. Alexander's Baltimore Battery of Light Artillery – U.S.V.* (Baltimore, MD: Press of The Maryland School for Boys, 1912), p. 129.

¹⁶⁵ Wild, p. 129. The retreat route (according to the official map) continued north from today's Reich's Ford Rd., possibly on Aylor Dr. (now a private driveway) and Tobery Rd. (no longer a through-road) into Bartonsville and to the Baltimore Pike.

¹⁶⁶ Wild, p. 129.

¹⁶⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 2, message from Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace to J. W. Garrett (received 8:33 p.m.), relayed by Garrett to Sec. of War Stanton, p. 139.

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column. Forces of the enemy at least 20,000. They do not seem to be pursuing. You will have to use every exertion to save Baltimore and Washington...¹⁶⁸

Indeed, as Wallace had hoped, the Confederates chose not to pursue his retreating troops toward Baltimore and instead they simply made camp on the battlefield. Recalled Private Worsham with the Twenty-first Virginia Regiment:

It was about sunset now, and my brigade went into camp in an orchard near the road, on the same ground over which we chased the enemy a few minutes before... I had a full haversack that I had taken from the body of a dead Yankee on the hill...

A mill pond was near us, and many of us took a bath, which refreshed us very much. I ate a good supper out of my Yankee haversack, and soon went to bed for the night.¹⁶⁹

Breckinridge told Gordon that this fight ought to immortalize Gordon. In Gordon's opinion, he had sacrificed too many men for the victory, "but it was complete and the way to Washington was opened for Early's march."¹⁷⁰ Again, as Wallace had hoped, the march was delayed by a full day; a day during which Halleck telegraphed Grant requesting troops be sent to Washington. Grant's reply: "If you think it necessary, order the Nineteenth Corps as it arrives at Fortress Monroe to Washington...if the rebel force now north can be captured or destroyed I would willingly postpone aggressive operations to destroy them, and could send in addition to the Nineteenth Corps, the balance of the Sixth Corps."¹⁷¹ That evening, Halleck sent a message to the Commanding Officer, Fort Monroe: Troops arriving from New Orleans will be sent immediately forward to Washington."¹⁷²

Back on the battlefield at Monocacy, Surgeon George K. Johnson, Medical Inspector of the U.S. Army, reported the grim results of the battle:

The Federal dead left on and near the field at Monocacy on the 9th instant, were buried under my supervision on the 10th and 11th instant. There were buried on the field, 117; and in the neighborhood, 4; making a total of 121.¹⁷³

The number of Union wounded taken to the army hospital in Frederick was listed as 204 men. Johnson estimated 150 to 275 Confederate dead. Concerning the wounded he noted,

The Confederates left 405 of their wounded in the hospital of Frederick. In addition to these a number of cases, not fewer, I think, than 30, were left in various country houses, making the total number now in our hands at Frederick 435. Most of these were serious cases and could not be carried away.¹⁷⁴

Total casualties were 1,300 Union killed, wounded, captured, or missing and about 900 for the Confederates.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 2, Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace to Maj. Gen. Halleck (received 11:40 p.m.), "Crossing of the Baltimore Pike and Railroad, July 9, 1864," p. 145.

¹⁶⁹ Worsham, pp. 239-240.

¹⁷⁰ As cited in Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, p. 56.

¹⁷¹ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 2, Correspondence etc., Halleck to Grant, July 9, 1864 (1 p.m.) and Grant to Halleck, July 9, 1864 (received 7:30 p.m.), p. 133.

¹⁷² OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 2, Correspondence etc., Halleck to Fort Monroe, July 9, 1864 (11:30 p.m.), p. 137.

¹⁷³ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, "Reports of Surg. George K. Johnson, Medical Inspector, U.S. Army," July 14, 1864, p. 203.

¹⁷⁴ OR, Johnson, p. 204.

¹⁷⁵ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Composition and losses of the Union forces in battle of the Monocacy," pp. 201-202.

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On to Washington

On July 10, the Confederates resumed their march to Washington, but their energy was spent. Throughout the day on July 11, Early rested his troops near the Washington defensive fortification known as Fort Stevens. Small groups of skirmishers spent the day reconnoitering the strength of the fort and its forces, described by Topographical Engineer Major Jed Hotchkiss as “of a very formidable character and fully manned.”¹⁷⁶ Apparently unknown to the Confederates, the fort had only a small garrison of 78 Ohio National Guardsmen, 72 men of the Thirteenth Michigan Battery, and 52 convalescents.¹⁷⁷ Initial reinforcements to the Washington defenses, approximately 7,800 men under the command of Maj. Gen. Alexander McCook, came in the form of Veteran Reserves, Quartermaster’s men, and Volunteer regiments stationed in the area.¹⁷⁸ On the 12th, Early’s jaded forces skirmished at Fort Stevens with fresh Union reinforcements from the Sixth Corps. They had traveled from Petersburg to Washington by steamship. Early recalled the situation at Fort Stevens:

...I determined to make an assault on the enemy’s works at daylight next morning. But during the night a dispatch was received from General Bradley T. Johnson from near Baltimore, that two corps had arrived from General Grant’s army...I had, therefore, reluctantly to give up all hopes of capturing Washington, after I had arrived in sight of the dome of the Capitol, and given the Federal authorities a terrible fright.¹⁷⁹

That night Early withdrew his men. The Confederates re-crossed into Virginia at White’s Ford and Conrad’s Ferry, taking with them 2,000 head of cattle, 1,000 horses, and supplies, as well as prisoners and close to \$225,000 in cash.

Historically there were differing opinions as to whether Lee and Early ever actually intended to attack Washington’s defenses.¹⁸⁰ Early had sent a letter to Lee on June 28, 1864, stating that he would “. . . proceed according to your instructions to threaten Washington and if I find an opportunity to take it.” In his 1884 essay for *Battles and Leaders*, “Early’s March to Washington in 1864,” Early said his orders from Lee were “to threaten Washington city.”¹⁸¹ He qualified this statement in a letter to the editors, included as a footnote to the essay, stating:

General Lee did not expect me to be able to enter Washington. His orders were merely to threaten the city, and when I suggested to him the idea of capturing it he said it would be impossible.¹⁸²

Early also addressed the implication by “some Northern papers” that he dawdled in his march to Washington, “. . .that, between Saturday and Monday, I could have entered the city,” and thus probably never intended to capture the capital.¹⁸³ To this suggestion Early answered that “on Saturday I was fighting at Monocacy,” that his army had marched up the Shenandoah Valley hungry and some barefoot, and were exhausted following the Monocacy Battle. By the time they were ready again for battle, the Washington defenses had been reinforced:

¹⁷⁶ OR, Hotchkiss, p. 1021.

¹⁷⁷ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, “Report of Lt. Col. John N. Frazee, 150th Ohio Infantry [National Guard], of the Defense of Washington,” July 16, 1864, p. 246. Lt. Col. Frazee was in command at Fort Stevens at the time.

¹⁷⁸ OR, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1, “Report of Col. Norton P. Chipman, Additional Aide-de-Camp, U.S. Army, of status of the U.S. Forces, July 12.” Fort Stevens, July 12, 1864, pp. 234-235. These were spread between the northern fortifications “above the Potomac,” including Fort Stevens, Fort Totten, Fort De Russy, and Fort Slocum.

¹⁷⁹ Early, *Battles and Leaders*, p. 498.

¹⁸⁰ Leepson, pp. 211-224.

¹⁸¹ Early, *Battles and Leaders*, p. 492.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

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...My small force had been thrown up to the very walls of the Federal capital, north of a river which could not be forded at any point within forty miles, and with a heavy force [Hunter's] and the South Mountain in my rear...a glance at the map...will cause the intelligent reader to wonder, not why I failed to take Washington, but why I had the audacity to approach it as I did, with the small force under my command.¹⁸⁴

Early may have believed that had the opportunity presented itself, that he would indeed have captured Washington, though it appears that Lee did not believe it would be possible. In the end, the Union capital was not captured but Lee's plan to draw Federal troops away from the siege at Petersburg and from threatening the Confederate capital at Richmond was successful.

Even with the withdrawal of Early's forces from Washington, at that time there was no Union recognition of the Monocacy Battle's significance in saving the capital of the United States. Wallace was in fact initially demoted, then reinstated and returned to duty for the remainder of the war.¹⁸⁵ Wallace was offered no special commendation from Grant, or recognition of the sacrifice that his command made. However, years later in the 1880s, Ulysses S. Grant did acknowledge the Monocacy Battle and the important role that Wallace played:

...the situation of Washington was precarious and Wallace moved with commendable promptitude to meet the enemy at the Monocacy. He could hardly have expected to defeat him badly, but he hoped to cripple and delay him until Washington could be put into a state of preparation for his reception. ...They met the enemy and, as might be expected, were defeated; but they succeeded in stopping him for the day on which the battle took place. The next morning Early started on his march to the capital of the Nation, arriving before it on the 11th.... If Early had been but one day earlier he might have entered the capital before the arrival of reinforcements I had sent. Whether the delay caused by the battle amounted to a day or not, General Wallace contributed on this occasion, by the defeat of the troops under him a greater benefit to the cause than often falls the lot of a commander of an equal force to render by means of a victory.¹⁸⁶

For his part, Wallace felt that his mission had largely failed. In his battle report, written the next day, Wallace asserted that he "had gone into battle with three simple objectives: first, to keep open the railroad link with Harpers Ferry; second, to cover the roads to Washington and Baltimore; third, to make Early disclose the size of his force. 'I failed in all but the last.'"¹⁸⁷ When he wrote that report on July 10, the fate of Washington was as yet unknown. Neither Early nor Grant's reinforcements had reached the city yet. Weeks later, Wallace reassessed, believing that his men had fought to save Washington and were successful in the long run. He proposed a monument to be dedicated to the Union dead from the battle inscribed to read, "These men died to save the National Capital and they did save it."¹⁸⁸

The significance of the Monocacy Battle endures whether the capture of Washington was intended or not. At the same time that Lee's plan may have saved the Confederacy, the plan also appears to have helped save Lincoln from defeat in the 1864 election. Early's invasion into Northern territory, the third major Confederate invasion in as many years, and the imminent threat to the U.S. capital was viewed by Lincoln's opponents as perhaps the final blow to a failing administration. Copperheads, also known as "Peace Democrats," sensed an

¹⁸⁴ Early, *Battles and Leaders*, p. 498.

¹⁸⁵ Leepson, p. 221.

¹⁸⁶ Cooling, "Monocacy," *Blue and Gray*, Dec. 1992, quoting Ulysses S. Grant's *Memoirs*, p. 60.

¹⁸⁷ OR, Series I, Vol. 37, Part 1, "Report of Maj. Gen. Lewis Wallace..." p. 192.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

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opportunity to influence the upcoming election, defeat Lincoln, and end the unpopular war.¹⁸⁹ Lincoln, however, defeated the Democratic candidate Gen. George McClellan, by a wide margin of the popular vote. Lincoln and Grant construed the 1864 election as a mandate to continue the war to its necessary conclusion: the defeat of the rebellion and reunification of the United States.¹⁹⁰ According to Civil War historian Gary Gallagher, "...it can be said with confidence that Wallace's troops spared the Lincoln government a potential disaster, and for that reason the battle of the Monocacy must be considered one of the more significant actions of the Civil War."¹⁹¹

Period of Commemoration

Commemoration of the Battle of Monocacy through the construction of monuments languished for several decades after the battle, despite Lew Wallace's immediate intent to memorialize the heroic efforts made to save Washington. In his closing report about the battle to his superiors, Lew Wallace wrote:

Orders have been given to collect the bodies of our dead in one burial ground on the battle-field, suitable for a monument upon which I propose to write, "These men died to save the National Capital, and they did save it."¹⁹²

Monuments were built at many Civil War battlefields, beginning shortly after the end of the war. Often the veterans themselves initiated monument building, but as they aged others took over, often motivated to build a monument while some veterans were still alive. The fiftieth anniversaries of battles presented an opportunity for the unveiling of many monuments with celebrations involving veterans. By the centennial, the veterans were gone, but many states created centennial commissions to finish the job of Civil War monument building and to plan centennial celebrations.

Over the years, veterans attempted to erect a monument the Monocacy battlefield, but because nothing was built the states took the initiative. The State of New Jersey was first, building the monument to the 14th New Jersey Regiment in 1907. Pennsylvania followed, building the monument to the 67th, 87th, and 138th Pennsylvania regiments in 1908. The State of Vermont and the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy built the third and fourth monuments. Finally, to mark the centennial of the battle in 1964, the State of Maryland erected the final monument.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy were engaged in many post-war efforts to honor the war dead and Confederate veterans. Besides tirelessly trying to re-locate bodies and graves from northern battlefields to the south, UDC chapters raised funds to build monuments. Frederick, Maryland, chapter members, whose homes were in the shadow of the Monocacy battlefield, raised the funds to build a monument honoring Confederate soldiers who were killed in the Monocacy battle, on the occasion of the battle's fiftieth anniversary.

The monuments at Monocacy reflect a nationwide movement to honor veterans and those killed in the war effort. They stand as expressions of grief, pride, and honor, with relatives, veterans, states, and organizations pushing for and contributing to their construction.

¹⁸⁹ Leepson, p. 222, citing James McPherson.

¹⁹⁰ Timothy P. Townsend, "Lincoln, Grant, and the 1864 Election," *Lincoln Home, National Historic Site*, accessed Nov. 27, 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/liho/historyculture/lincolngrant.htm>.

¹⁹¹ As cited in Leepson, p. 222.

¹⁹² Grant and Herrin, p. 28.

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Comparative Sites***Eastern Theater Battlefields in Northern (Union) Territory***

The Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (CWSAC) 2002 report on the state of the nation's Civil War battlefields defined what they believed to be the "principal battles" of the American Civil War:

Some 10,500 armed conflicts occurred during the Civil War ranging from battles to minor skirmishes; 384 conflicts (3.7 percent) were identified as the principal battles and classified according to their historical significance.

Class A and B battlefields represent the principal strategic operations of the war. Class C and D battlefields usually represent operations with limited tactical objectives of enforcement and occupation.

- 45 sites (12%) were ranked "A" (having a decisive influence on a campaign and a direct impact on the course of the war);
- 104 sites (27%) were ranked "B" (having a direct and decisive influence on their campaign);
- 128 sites (33%) were ranked "C" (having observable influence on the outcome of a campaign);
- 107 sites (28%) were ranked "D" (having a limited influence on the outcome of their campaign or operation but achieving or affecting important local objectives).

The 384 principal battles occurred in 26 states. States with fifteen or more include: Virginia (123), Tennessee (38), Missouri (29), Georgia (28), Louisiana (23), North Carolina (20), Arkansas (17), and Mississippi.

Civil War battlefields located in Northern (Union) territory in the Eastern Theater are few in number because most of the fighting occurred in the South. Outside of minor skirmish areas, encampments, and the occasional Confederate forays into Northern territory for supplies, only four battlefields saw significant action with sizable troop engagements, where the outcome had a significant impact on the war and the associated campaign: Gettysburg Battlefield in Pennsylvania (Gettysburg Campaign, 1863, Class A); in Maryland South Mountain (Maryland Campaign, 1862, Class B), Antietam (Maryland Campaign, 1862, Class A), and Monocacy Battlefields (Early's Raid, 1864, Class B).¹⁹³

Among these four principal Northern territory battlefields, Monocacy is relatively small in size but comparable in its historic integrity and significance. Like the South Mountain battle, Monocacy served as a delaying action that significantly impacted the outcome of the ensuing encounter. Gettysburg and Antietam, on the other hand, were large battles both with extensive casualties. Like Gettysburg and Antietam, the Monocacy battle had a significant impact on the political landscape of the Civil War, when Early's failure to take Washington positively impacted President Lincoln's re-election in 1864. Also like the Gettysburg, Antietam, and South Mountain battlefields, Monocacy retains a remarkable amount of historic integrity to its period of significance as a Civil War battlefield, with many of the historic battle defining features still intact and clearly recognizable. At all of these battlefield locations, important roads and river crossings are perhaps altered in physical appearance over time by new technologies, but are still identifiable by their location and landmarks.

American Civil War battlefields, including Monocacy Battlefield, face significant modern development pressures. However, Monocacy National Battlefield and the other battlefields discussed here—Antietam National Battlefield, South Mountain State Battlefield (Maryland State Park), and Gettysburg National Military

¹⁹³ The CWSAC recognizes five additional battles in Pennsylvania and Maryland ranked as Class C or D, having a lower impact on the outcome of their respective campaigns: Hanover, PA (Gettysburg Campaign, 1863, Class C); Williamsport, MD (Gettysburg Campaign, 1863, Class D), Boonsboro, MD (Gettysburg Campaign, 1863, Class D); Folck's Mill, near Cumberland, MD (Early's Raid, 1864, Class D); and Hancock, MD (Jackson's Operations against the B&O, 1862, Class D).

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Park—are substantially preserved through the efforts of the National Park Service, the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, non-profits, and private citizens.

South Mountain State Battlefield

Boonsboro, Maryland

The battle of South Mountain took place on September 14, 1862, on and around the three primary passes over South Mountain – Turner’s Gap, Fox’s Gap, and Crampton’s Gap – between Frederick County and Washington County in Maryland. It was the first major Civil War battle on Maryland soil, occurring during Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee’s Maryland Campaign, the first Confederate invasion into Northern territory. General Lee’s plan for the campaign was laid out in his Special Orders No. 191, a copy of which was mislaid in the field near Monocacy Junction. The “Lost Orders” were delivered to Union General McClellan, who, now privy to Lee’s plan to divide his army between Harpers Ferry, Boonsboro, and Hagerstown, pursued Lee as he moved northwest toward Hagerstown and the Pennsylvania line. In order to slow the Union advance until his whole army could reunite at Hagerstown, Lee set up a defense of the three mountain passes:

Although not a planned battle, the battleground for the Battle of South Mountain was carefully chosen by Lee’s generals for its rugged terrain, stonewall entrenchments, and a network of farm lanes and logging roads over which troops could be moved. More importantly, the primary Union approach routes were limited to the three narrow mountain gaps around which the battle ensued. Thus the far fewer Confederate defenders held the high ground over a severely constrained larger Union force.¹⁹⁴

The high ground allowed them to hold their ground for most of the day, but on the 15th of September the Confederates retreated toward Sharpsburg, where the two armies clashed again on September 17 in the Battle of Antietam (or Sharpsburg). As a delaying action, the South Mountain Battle served its purpose for the Confederates, but at a relatively high price for both armies with approximately 5,000 dead, wounded, or missing. Many were buried in shallow graves on the mountainside where they fell, remaining there until the end of the war.

The National Pike, which passed through Turner’s Gap near Boonsboro, remained an important transportation route between Baltimore and points west as late as 1930. Still, the remote mountain terrain changed little over the years. Hardscrabble farms with fields delineated by stone fences, the nearby small communities, and rugged county roads remained essentially unaltered as progress passed them by with the 1933 construction of U.S. Route 40 to the north of Turner’s Gap and later Interstate Route 70. Now bisected by the Appalachian Trail, segments of the battlefield are currently maintained as the South Mountain State Battlefield, administered by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources. Much of the historic battlefield area remains in private ownership and is beginning to face serious development pressure. In 1987, the South Mountain Battlefield was considered for National Historic Landmark designation but a majority of the private owners objected to the designation and the Secretary of the Interior could not act. “South Mountain Battlefields,” a Multiple Property Documentation consisting of two discontinuous districts (Turner’s and Fox’s Gap District, and Crampton’s Gap District) covering an extensive area of Federal, state, and privately-owned land, was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in January 2011 with national significance under Criterion A for its role in the American Civil War.

¹⁹⁴ Paula S. Reed & Associates, “South Mountain Battlefields,” Multiple Property Documentation Form, Section E, “Statement of Historic Context,” March 2008.

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Antietam National Battlefield

Sharpsburg, Maryland

Antietam National Battlefield represents one of the finest preserved American Civil War battlefields, with few intrusions of modern alterations on the landscape. Located in Maryland, within the Union North during the Civil War, the farmland along the Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg became the apex of Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee's 1862 Maryland Campaign, a bold invasion into Northern territory. Greatly outnumbered by the Union Army of the Potomac, under the command of General George McClellan, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia managed to hold their ground for much of the day-long battle on September 17, 1862, before retreating south across the Potomac River into Virginia the following day. Though not a clear Union victory, President Abraham Lincoln used the moment of this Confederate retreat to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the rebelling states, and making the South's hope of British or French support for their cause all but impossible. The Antietam battle resulted in over 23,000 dead, wounded, or missing soldiers and remains the bloodiest single-day battle in American history.

In 1890, the U.S. War Department designated the Antietam National Battlefield Site to commemorate the battle, but purchased only the land on which the state monuments stood and for four road rights-of-way. The primary farms over which the battle unfolded were left in private ownership. In 1933, Antietam National Battlefield Site was transferred to the Department of the Interior, administered by the National Park Service. Over the years, many of the most significant farms have been purchased by the U.S. Government to preserve this important battlefield. The remarkable preservation of the Antietam Battlefield landscape is largely due to the continued viability of agriculture in Washington County through much of the twentieth century. Antietam Battlefield was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982 (administratively listed in 1966) and updated in 1999, with national significance for its important role in the American Civil War.

Gettysburg National Military Park

Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Immediately adjoining the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Gettysburg National Military Park is the only major Eastern Theater battlefield located north of the Mason-Dixon Line. This large battlefield was the scene of the three-day battle which took place July 1-3, 1863, the apex of General Lee's second invasion of the North. The Gettysburg Battle is referred to by some scholars as the high-water mark of the Confederacy, marking the northern-most point reached by the Confederate army, and after which they began to suffer a series of defeats that ultimately led to Lee's surrender in April of 1865. Over 50,000 dead, wounded, or missing were recorded following the three-day battle, making it the bloodiest battle in American history.

The importance of commemorating this momentous battle was acknowledged as early as 1864, when the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA) was formed to preserve the landscape over which the battle occurred. In 1895, the GBMA transferred their holdings to the U.S. War Department, which administered it as the Gettysburg National Military Park. It was transferred to the National Park Service in 1933. While a large part of the battlefield is well-preserved, there are significant sections adjoining the town of Gettysburg that were altered in the decades following the battle as a tourist industry grew around it. Gettysburg Battlefield was administratively listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1966 with national significance for its important role in the American Civil War.

Conclusion

Monocacy Battlefield is nationally significant for its role as a delaying action, in which approximately 6,600 Union troops commanded by Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace delayed 15,000 Confederate troops under the command of

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Gen. Jubal Early from reaching a lightly defended Washington, D.C. on July 9, 1864. The historic landscape over which the Monocacy Battle unfolded remained substantially preserved by the productive farms scattered along the Monocacy River south of Frederick. In 1934, Congress authorized the Monocacy National Military Park and was renamed Monocacy National Battlefield in 1976. The park was opened to the public by the National Park Service in 1991. As one of only four principal Civil War battlefields, located in what was Northern (Union) territory in the Eastern Theater ranked by the CWSAC as Class A or B for their significant impact on the Civil War, the Monocacy Battlefield represents an important resource for the commemoration and interpretation of the American Civil War.

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- Previous documentation on file (NPS):
- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register.
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark. NR#66000908; Designated November 8, 1973
- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

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Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository):

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 2,925 acres

Latitude/Longitude References:

Datum: NAD 1983

	Latitude	Longitude
A.	39.418185	-77.362464
B.	39.416436	-77.355340
C.	39.396752	-77.361989
D.	39.389216	-77.372356
E.	39.365646	-77.374331
F.	39.344161	-77.388510
G.	39.342353	-77.391582
H.	39.349798	-77.409986
I.	39.356895	-77.416165
J.	39.359058	-77.416723
K.	39.375340	-77.406058
L.	39.400634	-77.370662
M.	39.402815	-77.377595
N.	39.410066	-77.373191

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary of the Monocacy Battlefield NHL District is depicted on the attached series of maps titled: *Monocacy Battlefield National Historic Landmark District Overview, Monocacy Battlefield National Historic Landmark District – Map 1, – Map 2, – Map 3.*

Boundary Justification

The updated boundary is drawn to connect the two discontinuous sections of the 1973 NHL district, and to include intact battlefield landscapes along the Monocacy River. These lands played a significant role

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immediately before, during, or immediately after the July 9, 1864, battle, and are generally based on recommendations from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP).¹⁹⁵

The new boundary significantly enlarges the original NHL boundaries. Boundary extensions are drawn to include the legislated Monocacy National Battlefield (MONO) boundaries, or where original NHL boundaries failed to follow parcel lines or natural features, such as topographic contours or obvious fence lines. Significant additions to the boundary include:

- 1) The Hughes Ford area on both sides of the Monocacy River was identified as a Core Area by the ABPP.¹⁹⁶ Consideration was given to including a wider stretch of the land along the west side of the Monocacy River, but development by the City of Frederick at the airport, and in the vicinity of the airport by Frederick County and the State of Maryland, has impacted the landscape to some degree and may have impacted archeological integrity. The City of Frederick was opposed to expansion of the NHL boundary into airport land because of planned airport expansion. It also objected to the inclusion of land associated with the former Robertson/Bowman Farm, where development plans are moving forward. Both areas are in the Hughes Ford area, west of the proposed NHL boundary. The archeological potential of these areas should be considered if any land disturbing activities are proposed.
- 2) Dr. Baxter Road/Linganore Road, hillside approach of the Baltimore Pike to the stone bridge, east side of Monocacy River, identified as Core Area by the ABPP.
- 3) Floodplain fields and wooded areas along the Monocacy River, including Crum's Ford (now Reich's Ford Road) which was defended by Union troops during the battle. This stretch of the river also effectively connects the two 1973 NHL discontinuous battlefield segments.
- 4) The Markell/Ogle Farm and Smith Farm, east and west sides of the river, these open agricultural terrain forms an integral part of the visual landscape of the battlefield. The Markell/Ogle Farm lane is the historic road to the Gambrill Mill from the north and was used by the Union troops to deploy to their defensive positions. The Markell/Ogle Farm was partly included in the 1973 NHL boundary however the line cut arbitrarily through the farm property.
- 5) Ridge line, Camp Hooker property, and Retreat Route, adjoining the Markell/Ogle Farm, the Railside Properties and Bush Creek. The ridge line served as a vantage point for Union forces, Camp Hooker served as an assembly area for reserve troops, and the Union retreat from the battlefield followed a lane (now a trace) through these fields north toward the Baltimore Pike. The north end of this route is now heavily developed, thus the additional boundary to include the retreat route ends at Reels Mill Road and Reich's Ford Road. The land at the north end of the ridge was considered for inclusion within the revised boundary, as was the east side of the ridge, but these areas were eliminated from consideration because of Frederick County's completed and planned expansion of the county water storage system in this area. The archeology of these areas has the potential to yield information about the battle, and should be considered worthy of investigation if the land is to be disturbed.
- 6) The Potomac Valley Brick property, n/s of Rt. 355 adjoining Monocacy National Battlefield Visitor Center parcel and the west side of Monocacy River. This parcel is located in the middle of the large battle core area identified by the ABPP. Additionally, archeological investigations conducted on the

¹⁹⁵ ABPP was directly consulted during the development of this boundary determination. . The authors consulted the original 1993 Civil War Sites Advisory Committee's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields (CWSAC Report, 1993), as well as the January 2010 update for the State of Maryland (CWSAC Report, Update, 2010).

¹⁹⁶ A Core Area represents the areas of most intense fighting on the battlefield. Positions that delivered or received fire, and the intervening space and terrain between them, fall within the Study Area. Some resources (floodplain, woods, Markell/Ogle Farm) in the NHL expansion areas fall within the "Study Area" identified in the CWSAC Report Update (2010). The Study Area represents the full historic extent of the battle as it unfolded across the landscape and contains historic and archeological resources known to contribute to the battle event.

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adjoining Visitor Center property indicate a strong potential for significant archeological deposits on the Potomac Valley Brick property.

Additional areas of the historic battlefield, including land south and east of the Frederick Municipal Airport north of Route 70 and near the Frederick County Public Safety campus on Reich's Ford Road, were considered for inclusion in the expanded boundary, but were excluded, in part, because of recent built intrusions that somewhat compromise the rural character and integrity of the battle landscape. In addition, Frederick County objected to expansion in the vicinity of the public safety campus. These areas may retain archeological integrity and yield information regarding the battle; however they have not been tested.

Reductions from the 1973 NHL boundary occurred at five locations. These reductions occur where excessive modern development clearly disrupts the historic landscape and/or precludes any likelihood of intact archeological horizons:

- 1) West boundary on the south side of Rt. 144, Reich's Ridge: Recent construction of the Maryland National Guard Armory in the 1980s and an adjoining housing development (ca 2000), both with extensive re-grading of the hillside, has altered the landscape to such a degree that its historical and archeological integrity is significantly diminished.
- 2) West boundary of the battlefield area, west side of I-270: Here the 1973 NHL boundary took an unexplained right angle turn from running SW to running SE. Whatever the reasoning in 1973, today that line crosses as many as eight private parcels, all with modern commercial/industrial buildings on them. The updated boundary is reduced here to follow the Congressionally-authorized Monocacy National Battlefield boundary.
- 3) Southwest boundary of the battlefield area, west bank of Monocacy River: Here again the 1973 NHL boundary crosses at an angle through several parcels now occupied by modern commercial/industrial buildings. The updated boundary is reduced here to follow the west bank of the Monocacy River.
- 4) East boundary of the battlefield area, Wallace Lane cul-de-sac off Araby Church Road: Here the 1973 NHL boundary line was drawn through what was probably then just open landscape on the eastern edge of the Lewis Farm. This area is on the periphery of the battle core area and was not the site of any significant action or movement. Now developed with modern houses, its inclusion is no longer warranted due to its lack of historic integrity and a low probability of archeological significance. The revised boundary is drawn to follow property lines and the authorized Monocacy National Battlefield boundary.
- 5) Northeast boundary of the battlefield area, north side of Rt. 355 extending across Ball Road: This area is located in the Core Area and partially in the Study Area. . The 1973 NHL boundary here crosses several property lines, now developed with residential and commercial buildings. Its inclusion is no longer warranted due to lack of historic integrity and a low probability of archeological significance. The reduced boundary follows the authorized Monocacy National Battlefield boundary, property lines, and the Rt. 355 alignment.

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