

Endnotes

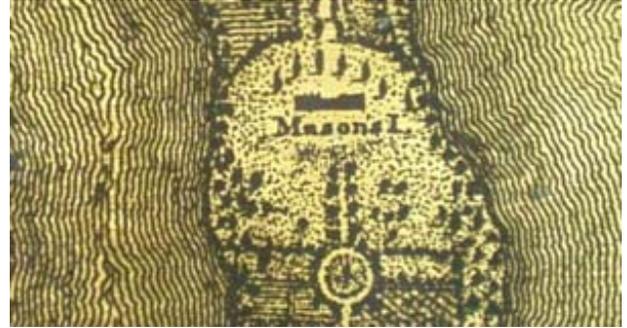
The C&O Canal Companion:
A Journey through Potomac History
Mike High
The Johns Hopkins University Press
2015

The Falls Region

Notes

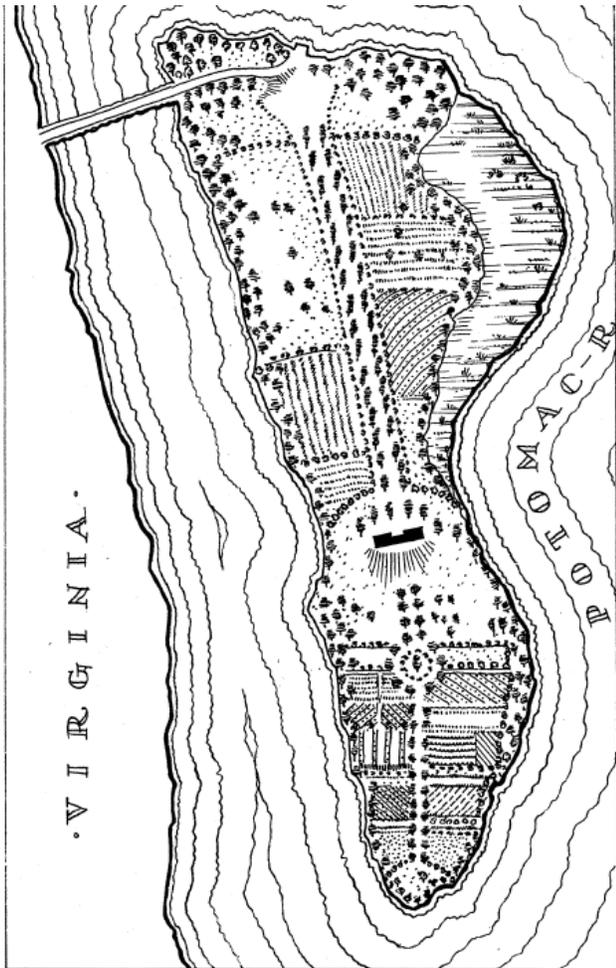
TRAIL GUIDE

Prologue –Masons Island



Mason's Island, detail from "A map of the city of Washington in the District of Columbia : established as the permanent seat of the government of the United States of America / taken from actual survey, as laid out on the ground, by R't King, surveyor of the City of Washington ; engraved by C. Schwarz, Wash'n." Published by W. Cooper, Washington, 1818. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. G3850 1818 .K5 Vault

Below: drawing of island based on Robert King map, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DC-28.



Remains of Mason mansion, circa 1880s (photographer unknown). Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DC-28.



Drawing showing probable original appearance of front of mansion, based on remains. Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DC-28.



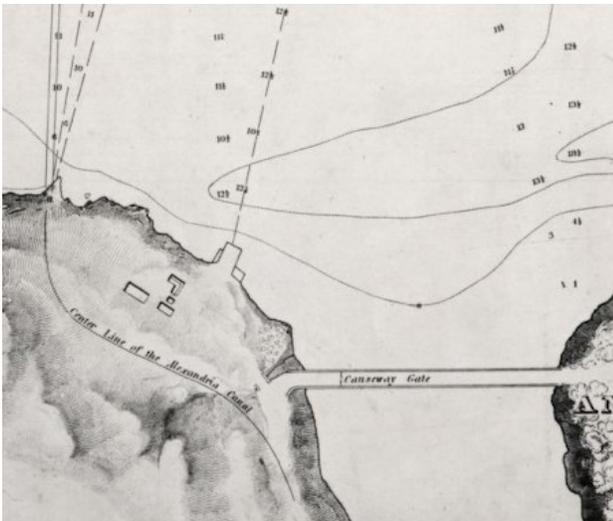
Detail of painting of Mason's mansion on Analostan Island (artist unknown). Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DC-28.



Sketch for Federal City by Thomas Jefferson, 1791, showing Mason's Island at left and the mouth of "Tyber Creek" at the right. Library of Congress.



Detail from "George Town and Federal City, or City of Washington," showing Analostan Island in the Potomac. Painted by T. Cartwright, "after George Beck," Atkins & Nightingale, London and Philadelphia, 1801. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZC4-530



View of the planned course of the Alexandria canal past Analostan Island, from Wm. Trumbull's hydrographic survey for the Potomac Aqueduct, 1832; Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. G3852.A55 1832 .T8

§ Studies of Mason/Analostan Island & John Mason...

Nan Netherton, *Delicate Beauty and Burly Majesty: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt Island*, a well-documented 113-page study prepared for the National Park Service, March 1980. [Available in the Virginia Room of the Arlington Public Library and the Fairfax County Public Library.]

- Plans for "South Haven," pages 37-38.

Mary E. Curry, "Theodore Roosevelt Island: A Broken Link to Early Washington, D.C. History," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, 1971-1972.

"John Mason of Analostan Island," Willard Webb, *Arlington Historical Magazine* 5 (October, 1976).

"Theodore Roosevelt Island." Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS No. DC-12), National Park Service; Richard O'Connor, Paul D. Dolinsky, David Vela, Bonita Muller, Andrew Wenchel, 2007. This well-documented 200-page study refers to many of the sources given above, but also includes valuable new information on the Civil War period.

"General John Mason of Analostan Island," Mollie Somerville, *The Ironworker*, published by the Lynchburg Foundry Company, Lynchburg, VA, Spring 1962. This brief article provides some interesting details, but unfortunately does not cite any sources.

The Gunston Hall Library & Archives is a good source of information on the Mason family, including John Mason. Gunston Hall, constructed by George Mason IV circa 1755-1758, is a National Historic Landmark and is open to the public.

<http://www.gunstonhall.org>

§ Exploration & Settlement

Guy Castle, "The Washington Area between 1608 and 1708," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, 1963-1965.

- Augustus Hermann's 1670 map identifies "Anacostien Island," page 3.
- Captain Brandt reported on the area between the Eastern Branch (Anacostia) and the "Falls of the Pottomock" in 1681, the year before he received his grant for the island, page 4.

Henry Fleet's voyage up the Potomac, see Metcalf, *Waters of the Potowmack*, pages 15-16 and Gutheim, *The Potomac*, pages 28-29.

Graffenried's description is from the French translation in Vincent H. Todd, *Von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*, page 248.

Braddock's crossing is documented in Wahll, *Braddock Road Chronicles*, particularly Orme's entry for April 12, 1755. Orme's note states that the "General was obliged to impress Vessels and apply to the Commodore for seamen to navigate them" which I take to refer to local craft. Another note, citing a dissertation by Franklin T. Nichols, indicates that some boats from Commodore Keppel's frigates were also used. On pages 128-129, Wahll discusses the location of Braddock's Rock, and suggests that much of it was dynamited in the construction of the connection between the C&O and the Washington City Canal.

Nan Netherton, *Delicate Beauty and Burlly Majesty*, provides more details on early references to the island:

- Henry Fleet's description of the Potomac below the falls (from Fleet's "Brief Journal," published in Edward D. Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, 1876), pages 6-7.
- "Anacostien Island" on Augustus Hermann's map, page 10.

- Captain Brandt and initial grant of island, pages 10-13.

§ The ferry

☞ The particulars of the ferry over to Rock Creek Landing (later the Georgetown waterfront) are somewhat confusing. There are early references to a "Magee's Ferry" (1737) and a ferry owned by Awbrey at this location. In 1748 the Virginia Assembly authorized a ferry in George Mason's name. At that time, the ferry may have crossed over to the foot of High Street (now Wisconsin Avenue). Later, it was said to have landed below Mason's warehouses at the west end of Georgetown.

There is always the possibility that there was more than one ferry landing at any given time, though the name is often given as "Georgetown Ferry" or "Mason's Ferry" in the singular. Since the Masons owned most of the land on the Virginia shore, any ferry landing on that side would have been on their property. To further complicate the picture, John Mason leased the ferry operation to others, such as the owner of one of the hotels on M Street.

For "Magee's Ferry," see "Potomac River Maps of 1737 by Robert Brooke and Others," James W. Foster, *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 2nd Ser., Vol. 18, No. 4., October 1938, page 410.

According to Nan Netherton, in *Delicate Beauty and Burlly Majesty*, a ferry from Awbrey's land below the falls of the Potomac authorized in 1738 [possibly ferry indicated as "Magee's Ferry" on Robert Brooke's 1737 map?]. A new ferry was authorized from George Mason's land in 1748 (after Awbrey's death); pages 18-19.

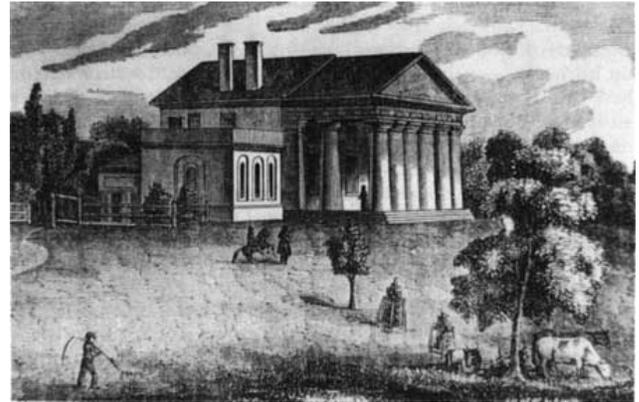
Phillips, *Historian's Guide to Loudoun County, Virginia*, states that John Awbrey operated a ferry in the 1750s at "Wankipin Branch near modern Roosevelt Bridge." He was the son of Francis Awbrey, who had

licensed a ferry on the upper Potomac (later known as Noland's Ferry, see mile 44.5). See pages 267-268 of the *Historian's Guide*.

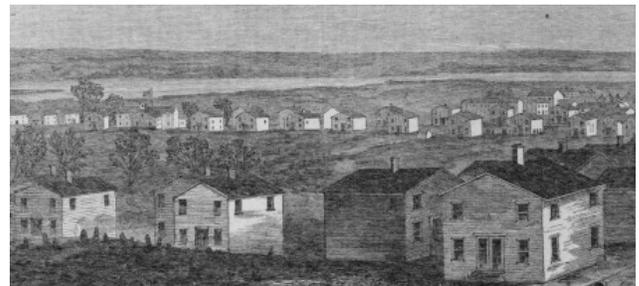
Clement Sewall, formerly the proprietor of the City Tavern, took over the operation of the Georgetown Ferry in 1799, "Stagecoach Days," Oliver W. Holmes, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Volume 50, 1948-50, page 19.

Sewall probably operated the Georgetown Ferry no later than 1814, "City Tavern," Oliver W. Holmes, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Volume 50 [revised numbering system], 1980, page 7.

§ Potomac neighbors—George Washington Parke Custis



Arlington House, circa 1845. National Park Service collection.



"Panoramic view of Freedman's village, Arlington, Virginia" [detail], Harper's Weekly, May 7, 1864, Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division. LC-USZ62-117892

Oddly, given his strong interest in a national monument to his namesake, George Washington Parke Custis is not listed as one of the members of the society that was formed for the monument. Among the notable members of the Society were John James Abert, George Bancroft, Thomas Blagden, George Bomford, William Wilson Corcoran, William Cranch, George Dewey, Peter Force, Edward Minor Gallaudet, Ulysses S. Grant, Gilbert Grosvener, James Kearney, Henry Cabot Lodge, James Madison, George Catlett Marshall, John Marshall, George W. Riggs, Winfield Scott, William Winston Seaton, Alexander Robey Shepherd, William T. Sherman, Henry Augustus Willard. See *A Brief History of the Washington National Monument Society, with a Biographical List of the Officers and*

Members of the Society, 1833-1953, typescript monograph prepared for the Society in 1953, on file at the Arlington Public Library.

Washington's will of July 9, 1799 provided that the 124 slaves who belonged to him outright would be freed when Martha Washington died. However, Martha's 153 "dower" slaves were not freed, and many of them must have been inherited by George Washington Parke Custis. See the editorial notes to the "Will of George Washington," *Papers of George Washington*.
<http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/>

Custis' exploits on the battlefield at Bladensburg are related by Sara B. Bearss, "The Federalist Career of George Washington Parke Custis," *Northern Virginia Heritage* 8, February 1986, pages 15-20. [Citing the *Georgetown Federal Republican* of September 1, 1814.]

Custis as experimental farmer, and political criticism by Republicans: Sara B. Bearss, "The Farmer of Arlington: George W. P. Custis and the Arlington Sheep Shearings," *Virginia Cavalcade* 38, 1989, pages 124-133.

Robert E. Lee and the manumission of G.W.P. Custis' slaves, see Emory M. Thomas, *Robert E. Lee; A Biography*, pages 176-179.

"Coming from the Shadow of the Past: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom at Freedmen's Village, 1863-1869," Joseph P. Reidy, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 95, No. 4, October, 1987:

- Freedmen's Village established in summer of 1863 through efforts of Danford B. Echols, American Missionary Association, and Col. Elias M. Greene, chief quartermaster of the Department of Washington.

- opportunities for employment in the war effort, tripling of black population in Alexandria and doubling in Washington.
- administered by Freedmen's Bureau from 1865 to 1870; subsequently placed under the authority of the commander of Fort Whipple (later Fort Myers); rents, evictions and protests.
- 1882 Supreme Court decision returns ownership of estate to Lees; sale of property to government in 1883.
- effort to remove residents as "squatters," circa 1889-1890; government eventually decides to compensate residents prior to removal in 1900.

"How Arlington National Cemetery Came to Be," Robert M. Poole, *Smithsonian* magazine, November 2009:
Meigs proposes creation of national cemetery in letter to Stanton, June 15, 1864; advocates that Lee be tried for treason; Lee's clandestine efforts to recover the property after the war; further efforts and petitions by wife and son; Meigs and family buried at the cemetery;

§ John Mason at Analostan Island & Georgetown

For a brief biography of John Mason, see pages 245-261 in Copeland and MacMaster, *The Five George Masons*.

- location of warehouses on north side of Water Street between Frederick and Fayette streets and on the southwest corner of Frederick and Key streets, page 254.
- Mason as friend of Joel Barlow, page 258.
- “lavish entertainment” for Louis Philippe, dated 1798, citing Mollie Somerville, page 258. [Louis Philippe’s account of his trip mentions a visit to Mason’s island in 1797, and a dinner in Georgetown, but makes no mention of a formal dinner on the island; see Nan Netherton’s paper, page 26.]
- residence at the corner of 25th and L streets and Pennsylvania Avenue, page 258.

Nan Netherton, *Delicate Beauty*, provides a description of the island as seen from the grounds of Georgetown College by Polish writer Julian Niemcewicz, during the first years of John Mason’s occupancy, page 25: “One discovers at one’s feet the whole course of the Potowmack and Mason’s Island which is separated only by an arm of the river...It is a floating garden with two small pavilions, some trees, some fields and orchards. What a delightful retreat for a sage!”

[Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree*, The Grassman Publishing Co., Elizabeth, NJ, 1965, pages 92-93.]

John Mason as Superintendent of Indian Trade:

- Washington’s recommendation to establish government control of the Indian trade was made in a message to Congress in 1793.
- Superintendent position created in 1806, with John Shee of Philadelphia appointed to the position; Mason appointed Superintendent in 1807, Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father*, page 121.

- Willard J. Webb states that Jefferson appointed Mason to the position in 1807, which he held until 1815 and discusses the authorizing statutes of 1796 and 1806; see “John Mason of Analostan Island,” page 30-31.
- Copeland and MacMaster, *The Five George Masons*, also provide the date 1807 for the appointment, page 257.
- Mary Curry gives 1811 for the appointment in “Theodore Roosevelt Island,” page 20, perhaps thinking that it coincided with his resignation from the militia.
- Herman J. Viola, *Thomas L. McKenney*, provides detailed information on the nature of the trade in his study of McKenney, Mason’s successor (1816-1822). John Mason’s role in setting up the government office is mentioned on pages 10 and 12; the trade routes to the factories are described on page 14.
- Both Viola and Prucha give favorable opinions of Mason’s success in setting up and running the office of the Superintendent.
- John Mason resigned the Superintendent position on April 1, 1816, giving as his reason “the necessity of attending to his private business because of his large family,” Prucha, *The Great Father*, page 127, citing John Mason to Secretary of War William Crawford, March 6, 1816.

Mason's Warehouses

One place was a source of never-ending delight, the old warehouses on the western part of the street near the aqueduct bridge, which in the early days of the town had been used as depots by the Indian traders. From time to time the iron-bound doors were opened and the boys allowed to rummage around. By digging in the moist dirt floors they were able to find Indian beads and bells. The beads were like sections of pipe stems about an inch long made of highly glazed earthenware, and in color red, blue, white and parti-colors, and being of varied degrees of rarity had established value amongst and were used for trading purposes by the boys.

Almost in front of these warehouses on the river bank was a large sawmill of heavy timber, not enclosed, where the logs which had been floated down the river were hauled up and sawed into lumber. Next to this mill was an iron furnace or smelter where to the delight of the boys the workmen, generally naked to the waist, moved about to the glare of the molten metal.

William A. Gordon, "Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Vol. 20, 1918, page 130.

John Mason and District militia:

- Appointed brigadier-general of the Columbian brigade on June 19, 1802, see "the Militia and Volunteers of the District of Columbia," Frederick Todd, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 50 (1952), pages 387-388:
"Mason was well-known socially, a prominent merchant, President of the Bank of Columbia, but with little or no military experience."
- also see Willard Webb, "John Mason of Analostan Island," pages 28-29 and Copeland and MacMaster, *The Five George Masons*, page 258.
- resignation attributed to conflict with duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, see *National Intelligencer*, April 6, 1811, page 3 and Willard J. Webb, "John Mason of Analostan Island," page 29.
- prospects for "reanimation" of the militia noted in *National Intelligencer*, April 16, 1811.

Corra Bacon-Foster notes the "advent of the brilliant John Mason" to the Patowmack Company's board of directors in 1796, see *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*, page 93.

"John Mason's Financial and Commercial Speculation in the District of Columbia; A Search for Pearls in an Urban Oyster," unpublished thesis, Margaret Jean Ventrudo, March 1994.

- Bank of Columbia chartered by Maryland in 1793, with Samuel Blodget as president, page 11.
- stockholders of the Bank elect John Mason as bank president in 1798, page 14.
- Gallatin begins moving U.S. funds to the Bank of Columbia in February of 1811, anticipating the end of the Bank of the United States (whose 20-year charter expired in 1812), page 15.
- Mason's tenure as bank president ended with the election of Nathaniel Frye in 1816, page 16.
- Bank of Columbia closed in 1825, page 17.
- John Mason's involvement with the Patowmack Company, pages 18-29.

Foreclosure on Analostan Island and other properties by Bank of the United States in 1833:

- Willard Webb, "John Mason of Analostan Island," citing Alexandria County Deed Book, page 34.
- Nan Netherton, *Delicate Beauty*, page 38.
- "Theodore Roosevelt Island" (HALS No. DC-12), page 14, states that Mason "mortgaged the island to the Branch Bank of the United States on 31 December 1825, executing a deed of trust to secure notes in the sum of \$28,560, and gave another trust on the island in 1829." [Source cited is the *Washington Star*, March 6, 1921, "The Rambler Traces the History of Analostan Island from Early Days"—"The Rambler" was a pseudonym used by J. Harry Shannon for his occasional articles on places in the Washington area.]

§ Visitors & descriptions of the island

Thomas Jefferson at Analostan Island...see the *Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia*, "Sites Associated with Thomas Jefferson"—

"Jefferson visited Analostan Island several times, both to visit its owner, John Mason, and to enjoy the farm and gardens."

- Bear, James A. Jr., and Lucia C. Stanton, eds. *Jefferson's Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

- Mason to Jefferson, Georgetown, March 20, 1801, in *PTJ*, 33:380.

<http://www.monticello.org/>
Accessed February 8, 2012.

Selections from the papers of Thomas Jefferson:

- Commission of John Mason as Justice of the Peace for Washington County, Thomas Jefferson to Senate, January 6, 1802.

- *Retirement Series*, Vol. 1, tribute to Jefferson on conclusion of his second term as President, page 22-23; use of Mason's ferry to cross Potomac, pages 51-52.

- Jefferson to John Mason, August 18, 1814, with respect to cotton "specimens" received: "They prove Mrs. Mason is really a more dangerous adversary to our British foes, than all our Generals. These attack the hostile armies only, she the source of their subsistence."

"General John Mason House, Analostan Island or Theodore Roosevelt Island, Washington, District of Columbia, DC.," Historic American Building Survey, HABS DC-28:

"Significance: The grey and stately ruin which crowns the highest ridge of Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Island was once the home of General John Mason. Built in the last decade of the eighteenth century, this building, along with Thomas Jefferson's Virginia State Capitol, is important in that it is one of the first houses erected for other than ecclesiastical

purposes to reflect the temple-structure influence.

This architectural style is generally known as the Classical Revival, and it is interesting to note that this building lends further credence to the statement that our country led in the acceptance and development of the classical influence."

Recollections of ship arrivals at the Georgetown wharves, "Shipping in Old Days," *Washington Post*, July 15, 1900, page 22.

A contemporary impression of the Masons' life on Analostan Island can be found in *A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia; The Seat of the General Government of the United States*, David Bailie Warden, printed by Smith, Paris, 1816, pages 134-149.

- According to Warden, the "President's house," the U.S. Capitol, and other buildings were part of view from the southern portion of the island.

- Georgetown and Barlow's estate of "Calorama" were said to be visible to the north.

- Warden describes the ferry at that time as a "flat boat, of a rude construction, awkwardly impelled by an oar."

George Washington Parke Custis' comments on the causeway at Analostan Island were recorded by Richard P. Jackson in *Chronicles of Georgetown*, pages 71-74.

Views of Mason's Island

Anne Newport Royall: After resting some time, I walked to General Mason's house, on the island; for he also has one in town, which he lives in one part of the year. The island lies in the Potomac river; and the General, at great cost, has built an elegant bridge over that part of the stream that bounds the Virginia shore. The scenery, from the bridge, in all directions, is beautiful; and the island, clothed in the most dense and luxuriant green, is eminently so. The house is some distance in the island, in the midst of a thick grove which completely conceals it. It is a large, elegant building, and stands on an artificial mount. The house fronts the course of the river, on both sides; the trees are mostly removed from that part of the island facing Washington, so as to command the view. On this part of the island, viz. the south front of the house, lie the garden and pleasure grounds. A great part of the garden, some acres, consists of culinary vegetables. That part adjacent to the house, is appropriated to flowers, shrubs, grapes, and every rare plant, consisting of the various species of the four quarters of the globe!

An avenue, planted with trees, leads from the house, south, to the river, dividing the garden into two equal parts. The margin of the island is fringed with natural growth, and forms innumerable grotesque coppices, of subtle, whimsical figures -- some entwined with the wild grape, form beautiful bowers and recesses, on the very brink of the river. Those natural bowers completely shut out the rays of the sun.

The whole of the kitchen and flower garden, is laid off with exquisite taste, and cultivated in the neatest style. The rear front of the house, or that part which faces up the river, has also undergone the hand of taste, and is beautifully decorated with trees; the orchard and some tillable land, and by far the largest part of the island, lies on this side of the mansion; the greater part, however, is covered with lofty, verdant trees.

Taking the whole together, it is the most enchanting spot I ever beheld! A smooth, noble river in front, encircled by the same on all sides -- the variety and richness of the dazzling flowers, intermingled with every shade of green -- the broad, straight walks -- the exact, level squares -- the wild, woven bowers -- the varied shrubbery, the lofty trees -- the melody of the birds, every where redundant in the nicest touches of taste and skill -- it staggers belief that such is reality, and fills the mind with intoxicating pleasure. "Here, too, dwells simple truth; plain innocence Unsullied beauty, sound, unbroken youth."

The General met me at the door, and gave me a cordial welcome, and introduced me to his family. Mrs. Mason was indisposed, but three beautiful and accomplished daughters did the honors of the

house; and, as I had but a very short time to stay, tea was ordered, while the ladies accompanied me in a walk over the garden, and through the island. The General has been at a vast expense in improving and decorating this spot, in which he has been for years engaged. He is a gentleman of great wealth, plain and easy in his manners, and hospitality itself.

Although this island, where we may say nature keeps her holiday, has so many allurements, yet it can be inhabited but a short part of the summer, it being sickly. In July they have to leave it, and return to town. This is really mortifying, it being the most delectable summer residence on the sea-board.

Besides daughters, the General has several fine looking sons, who are very promising. The family move on the island the first of April, annually.

Anne Newport Royall, *The Black Book: Or a Continuation of Travels in the United States*, Vol. 1., pages 273-274.

David Baille Warden: Annalostan Island, the seat of General Mason, is situated in the river Potomac opposite Georgetown and contains nearly seventy acres. A flat boat, of a rude construction, awkwardly impelled by an oar placed near each extremity, affords a safe conveyance between the island and the main land, a distance of about two hundred yards. The profits of the ferry are rented by General Mason for the sum of seven hundred dollars a year. Before the erection of the Potomac bridge it yielded more than double this amount. On one side the island is now connected with the main land by an artificial mound or causeway which was raised at the expense of the government for the purpose of stopping the current on this side of the island and thereby increasing the depth of the water in the Georgetown Channel. This current in 1784 was considerably deepened by the passage of an immense quantity of ice that forced itself down after a sudden thaw and carried with it large masses of the muddy bottom. The Georgetown Channel has been but little deepened by the erection of this causeway. Mr. Custis proposed to open a passage for vessels by means of floodgates he observes that there were formerly from fifteen to twenty six feet of water in this channel. Near the close of the year 1810 it was proposed to confine the current by mechanical means and to remove the soft bottom by increasing the velocity of the water. For this purpose the corporation of Georgetown entered into a contract with the proprietor of this plan, engaging to pay the sum of eight thousand dollars for its execution, with the guarantee of its duration for the space of two years. If, at the expiration of this time there remained fifteen feet depth of water from the Eastern branch to Georgetown they were to receive

an additional sum of two thousand dollars otherwise to expend from their own funds for other necessary labours a sum not exceeding three thousand dollars.

Annalostan Island is evidently of modern formation. In searching for water a mass of trees was discovered at the depth of fifteen feet. General Mason instructed a workman, Bryan Duffy, to cut through them. After having removed several of large dimensions he threw aside his axe swearing by J s that he now met huge ones with their tops upwards. In other places water was found at the depth of twenty five or thirty feet. The highest eminence on which the house stands is fifty feet above the level of the river. The common tide rises to the height of three feet.

I can never forget how delighted I was with my first visit to this island. The amiable ladies whom I had the pleasure to accompany left their carriage at Georgetown and we walked to the mansion house under a delicious shade. The blossoms of the cherry apple and peach trees of the hawthorn and aromatic shrubs filled the air with their fragrance. We found Mrs. M. at home in the midst of her family composed of nine children. Twin boys of a healthy mien and so like each other as scarcely to be distinguished were tumbling on the carpet of the saloon full of joy and merriment. Mrs. M. has so youthful an appearance that a stranger might readily suppose her to be the sister of her daughter rather than her mother. The house, of a simple and neat form, is situated near that side of the island which commands a view of the Potomac, the President's House, Capitol, and other buildings. The garden, the sides of which are washed by the waters of the river, is ornamented with a variety of trees and shrubs and in the midst there is a lawn covered with a beautiful verdure.

In July 1811, Mrs. M. gave a rural dance to the friends and acquaintance of her son, at the eve of his departure for France. Though the weather had been excessively warm during the day, in the evening, there was a delicious breeze. The young people danced on the lawn. Tea, coffee, cakes, fresh and preserved fruits, were presented to the guests, who sat or walked about conversing or silently admiring the dance under the shade of trees, illuminated by lamps, which were obscured by the bright light of the moon. The summer house is shaded by oak and linden trees, the coolness and tranquillity which invite to contemplation. The refreshing breezes of the Potomac, and the gentle murmuring of its waters against the rocks, the warbling of birds, and the mournful aspect of weeping-willows, inspire a thousand various sensations. What a delicious shade—

“Ducere sollicitae jucunda obilivia vitae”

The view from this spot is delightful. It embraces the picturesque banks of the Potomac, a portion of the city, and an expanse of water of which the bridge terminates the view. Numerous vessels ply backwards and forwards to animate the scene. Directing the eye over a corner of the garden, we perceive the sails only, as if by enchantment, gliding through the trees. A few feet below the summer house, the rocks afford seats where those who are fond of fishing may indulge in this amusement. From the portico on the opposite side of the house, Georgetown, Calorama, the beautiful seat of Joel Barlow, Esq. and the adjacent finely-wooded hills appear through a vista. To the left there is a prospect of the fields and woods on the opposite banks of the river. Every part of the island is romantic. Hawthorn and cedar hedges, and an improved cultivation, indicate taste and agricultural knowledge. By means of an hydraulic machine, water may be easily raised from the river, and conducted by pipes to every part of the surface. This island has a great variety of trees and shrubs owing to the seeds brought by the stream from mountainous regions—different species of oak, walnut, mulberry, poplar, locust, ash, willow, the papaw and spindle tree, or burning bush ...

David Baille Warden, *A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia*, 1816, pages 134-139.

§ War of 1812

I have found only two eyewitness accounts to the crossing of the Potomac on the evening of August 24, 1814:

- Paul Jennings, who was President Madison's slave, recalls the rendezvous of Madison's party at the "Georgetown ferry." Curiously, Jennings does not mention John Mason in his description of the events of August 24, 1814. Jennings lists Madison's companions at Bladensburg as General Armstrong, General Winder, Colonel Monroe, Richard Rush, Mr. Graham, Tench Ringgold, and Mr. Duvall; and the same party crossing on the Georgetown ferry at dusk. See Jennings, *A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison*, pages 10 and 12.

- Richard Rush, Madison's Attorney General, recalled the scene of Washington burning in a letter written in 1855. Rush stated that, in addition to himself, President Madison was "accompanied out of the city" by "General Mason of Annaloston Island," Secretary of the Navy Jones, Charles Carroll, and Tench Ringgold. Rush does not mention whether they left the city by ferry. Rush's letter is quoted in full in the *History of the invasion and capture of Washington*, John S. Williams, Harper & Bros., New York, 1857, pages 274-275.

Anthony S. Pitch, *The Burning of Washington*, pages 96 and 251 (footnote 38), cites two additional sources for his account of Madison's party (including

Mason) crossing by way of Mason's ferry:

- an undated memorandum by Secretary of Navy Jones in the Uselma Clarke Smith Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

- the description of the crossing in Charles J. Ingersoll's *Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States and Great Britain*, Volume 2, page 207. Published in 1849, Ingersoll's version describes Madison's party as crossing in a small boat (not necessarily a ferry boat).

Ingersoll does not give a source for this account, but seems to have relied on reminiscences of his contemporaries (which include some descriptions that are difficult to reconcile with other versions in memoirs and letters).

In his article on "John Mason of Analostan Island," page 31, Willard J. Webb states that Mason accompanied President Madison and Richard Rush out of the District, crossing the Potomac on Mason's ferry. His footnotes cite an exceedingly rare biography, *James Madison, Commander-in-Chief*, Irving Brant, Bobbs-Merrill, 1961, pages 293-304.

Rush's description of the scene at the ferry is quoted in part in *James Madison: A Biography*, Ralph Ketcham, originally published by Macmillan, 1971, University Press of Virginia, 1990 and 1994, page 579.

G.W.P. Custis at Bladensburg, see Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light*, page 136.

§ James Murray Mason

James M. Mason born on Analostan Island:

- Richard P. Jackson, *Chronicles of Georgetown, D.C.*, page 31.
- Mollie Somerville states “The island house was not just a summer home: its owner entertained there in winter as well as in summer, and several of his children were born there at various seasons over the years.”
- Anne Newport Royall, in her description of Analostan Island in 1828, says that the family would take up residence on the island on the first of April, but that “it can be inhabited but a short part of the summer...In July they have to leave it, and return to town.” Presumably they returned for the remainder of the summer and perhaps a portion of the fall, but Royall does not specify when they were accustomed to leaving the island for the remainder of the year.
- Robert J. Young, *Senator James Murray Mason*, pages 1-5, notes that some sources say that James M. Mason was born on Analostan Island, while others say that he was born in John Mason’s home in Georgetown. Young favors the latter site, based primarily on the reputation of the mansion on Analostan as the Mason “summer home.” (Young refers to the estate on Analostan Island as “Clermont,” which seems to be a confusion with Mason’s later estate in Alexandria.)

Robert Young discusses James Murray Mason and his views on slavery in Chapter 4 of *Senator James Murray Mason*.

Burton Hendrick provides a biographical sketch and contemporary opinions in *Statesmen of the lost cause*:

- as “dupe”; criticism of his selection as diplomat; contrast to Slidell; tobacco chewer; pages 234-235
- birth and early years in Georgetown and on Analostan Island; studied at University of Pennsylvania and awarded bachelor’s

degree in 1818; marriage and relocation to Winchester; pages 238-239

- appointed by Gov. to replace Senator Pennypacker in 1847; page 240.
- “Slavery worship”; antagonism to the North; pages 243-245
- comments by Sumner on Mason’s character and Mason’s defense of Preston Brooks; pages 246-247.

The Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason, With Some Personal History by Virginia Mason (His Daughter), The Neale Publishing Company, New York and Washington, 1906.

James Murray Mason on Slavery

[1848 debate on admission of Oregon] "Mr. President, when the Constitution was adopted in 1788, the institution of slavery formed an important part of the social condition of all the Southern and many of the Northern States. Its existence and influence upon the future destiny of the South, where from climate and other causes, it was most likely to become permanent, was recognised and discussed with mature deliberation. The antagonist interests of the North and East were brought out in full array; and after months of consideration and debate by the wise and patriotic men then assembled; after great and mutual concessions on all sides for the common good, a representative weight in the Federal Councils was assigned to the slave population, and secured to the States interested, by perpetual guarantee of the Constitution..."

[Private ruminations of Compromise of 1850, dated August 9, 1851]

"The pseudo compromise of the slave question, claimed to have been effected by the measures of this session, will, in its consequences, be found fatal, either to the Union of the States, or to the institution of slavery. The disposition of the subject made by the compromise laws has had the necessary effect of placing the Union of the States under a common government, in direct hostility to the institution of slavery, and an antagonism, not before even known to exist, has thus been established and placed broadly before the eyes of the people. ...

The safety and integrity of the Southern States (to say nothing of their dignity and honor) are indissolubly bound up with domestic slavery, and for the overthrow of the latter the Federal Government is now committed, to the world, and to the majority which wields its power.

[Reply to the speech of Senator Charles Sumner, May 1856]

"What, then, is the slave-power to which the Senator from Massachusetts, and all his confederates, so frequently refer? Mr. President, there is but one power left, and that is a great and controlling power, not alone in the halls of legislation, but in the world. It is the moral power of truth and justice; it is the moral power which recognizes the obligations of a compact, and observes it as you observe the compacts of honor; and when these Senators ascribe that power to the slaveholding States, they pay an involuntary, perhaps, but a high tribute to the institution of slavery, which they denounce..."

If there be any slave-power exerting an influence upon the counsels of this country, it is moral power diffused throughout the world, acknowledged everywhere, and to which kings and potentates bow—it is the moral power of truth; adherence to the obligations of honor, and the dispensation of those charities of life that ennoble the nature of man. That is the moral power which the Senator ascribes to the institution of slavery."

[Senate speech on admission of Kansas, March 15, 1858]

"I will not trace the condition of slavery, as belonging to the African, back to the Bible, because, although I recognise that as the law which to a great extent governs the relations between man and man, yet it is not a law which is to be enforced by any human tribunal. I will not undertake to say that the African got his condition of slavery *jure divino*, although it has been so ascribed. It is enough for me that such is the fact. I know of no race of men now upon the earth whose original normal condition was that of slavery but the African. You find him precisely in the same form of slavery in every land where he has gone, and at every age of his existence at home a slave, abroad a slave; and when that slavery of the African is brought within the influences of civilization, we know, upon the experience of our continent at least, that it has elevated him very far beyond the uttermost conceptions of his ancestors in the scale of being. The African upon this continent, in the bondage to which he is subjected here, compared with the African in his own country upon the continent of Africa, might be compared to the difference between a high degree of civilization and the lowest condition of the savage.

I will not undertake to say, or even to suggest, what great ends the Supreme Ruler of the world may have designed, and is now executing in the transfer of a portion of the African Race to this continent; but I have seen what feeble results have been obtained from the attempt to carry him back to his own continent. There is a philanthropic society, now in existence, formed some thirty or forty years ago, originating, I think, with some statesman of Virginia, intended to import the African back to his own country. I know that the colony which that society has established has been maintained as a very feeble colony only by the strong arm of civilized power to this day.

I know that wherever the African, even after he has been civilized in bondage, has been left to himself, he has lapsed into barbarism and savageism. I can not, therefore, but entertain a hope that there is some great end to be attained by the Deity who rules over all races, in the subjection of the African to bondage upon this continent, because I know that whilst in bondage he improves in civilization,

and when he is freed from bondage he sinks in the scale of humanity.

[Dispatch from London, January 25, 1864]

“In my conversations with English gentlemen, I have found it was in vain to combat their sentiment. The so-called anti-slavery feeling seems to have become with them a sentiment akin to patriotism. I have always told them that in the South we could rely confidently, that after independence when our people and theirs became better acquainted by direct communication when they saw for themselves the true condition of the African servitude with us, the film would fall from their eyes; and that, in the meantime, it was not presumptuous in us to suppose that we knew better than they did what it became us to do in our affairs.”

Virginia Mason, *The Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason*, pages 56, 84-85, 114, 135, and 462.

§ Clermont

The Clermont Woods Community Association provides this description of the Clermont estate in the year of John Mason's death, from a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* (May 28, 1849):

"FOR SALE --

This estate is distant about four miles from Alexandria, and one mile south of the Little Turnpike Road, leading to the Town, comprising about 320 acres of land. The arable land, of which about 160 acres is level bottom on Cameron Run, is in a state of high fertility, having been well drained, and the whole with about 40 acres of upland, judiciously cultivated and improved, by Clover and Plaister, with the free use of lime and other manure..."

§ Civil War



This Civil War era photograph from the upstream tip of the island shows a ferry crossing to Georgetown from the Virginia shore. The Alexandria Aqueduct is in the background. (Detail from Library of Congress LC-B811-0291, credited to George N. Barnard; cited elsewhere as Brady's Album Gallery carte, no. 291)

The most comprehensive discussion of this period is provided in Historic American Landscapes Survey for "Theodore Roosevelt Island" (HALS No. DC-12), pages 16-38, including Sojourner Truth's visit to the freedman's camp of 1864-1865, pages 31-32.

Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, discusses the encampment of regiments of black volunteers in 1863, see pages 253-254.

An uncommon soldier: the Civil War letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, alias Private Lyons Wakeman, 153rd Regiment, New York State Volunteers

Edited by Lauren Cook Burgess

Oxford University Press, USA, 1996

- Job as coal handler on Chenango Canal, pages 1, 10, 18.
- Trip to Mason's Island, pages 49-51.

§ Later Uses of Mason's Island

A potpourri of items in the Washington Post about recreation on Analostan Island:

- "RAH FOR RED AND BLUE, The Jersey Athletes Go Down Before the Columbias." A GREAT GAME OF BASEBALL," September 14, 1890. [Eastern championship of the Amateur Athletic Union; New Jersey Athletic Club vs. Columbia Athletic Club.]
- "THE COLLEGE BOYS WIN. Baseball Inaugurated by the Dartmouth and the C. A. C. Team," April 8, 1891. [Columbia Athletic Club vs. Dartmouth College.]
- "Baseball on Easter Monday," March 26, 1891. [Yale College team vs. Columbia Athletic Club.]
- "On Analostan Island. The Racing Programme Carried Out Yesterday," July 21, 1892. [League of American Wheelmen races.]
- "ACTORS PLAY BALL. Aborn Company and Canoeists in Seven-inning Drama on Analostan Island," June 10, 1907.

Purchase and proposed use of the island by Washington Gas Light Company, Nan Netherton, *Delicate Beauty*, pages 54-56.

The National Park Service rebuilt the causeway in 1950 to provide access to the island for development; causeway was removed in 1979. List of classified structures, Theodore Roosevelt Island, Causeway Remnants, Structure 2822. <http://www.hscl.cr.nps.gov/>

§ Theodore Roosevelt Memorial

"Conservation of a Monumental Outdoor Bronze Sculpture: Theodore Roosevelt" Paul Manship, Lynda A. Zycherman and Nicolas F. Veloz, Jr., *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Autumn, 1979), pp. 24-33

"Presidential Images, History, and Homage: Memorializing Theodore Roosevelt, 1919-1967," Alan Havig,

Mile 0.0 – Tidewater Lock & Rock Creek Basin

Cornelius W. Heine, "The Washington City Canal," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 53/56 (1953/1956), pp. 1-27.

- city forces C&O Canal Company to build connecting extension from Rock Creek basin; completed in 1833; C&O also built stone lockhouse at junction of the extension with the WC Canal; pages 12-13 and 23.

William M. Franklin has provided the most detailed study of the Rock Creek terminus in "The Tidewater End of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Winter 1986, Vol. 81, No. 4, pages 289–304:

- terminus located in "most unlikely and little-known spot; Rock Creek as "muddy stream"; page 289.
- choice of Locks Coveas terminus of Little Falls canal indicates influence of Virginians in Patowmack Company according to Benjamin Latrobe; page 290.
- Mercer's conflict of interest; page 291.

For six of these years (1828-1833) he was also president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company—a classic case of conflict of interest. Mercer was touchy on this subject. In the brief memoir that he wrote in retirement he stated emphatically that in his years as chairman of the Roads and Canals Committee "not a single instance occurred of an attempt to introduce or carry any measure by what is vulgarly, but aptly, called 'logrolling.'" Every project supported by the committee, he wrote, was national in character, and no moneys were appropriated until after surveys and estimates by skillful engineers.

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The spot had another advantage for President Mercer and his directors: It was in Maryland (just over the District line) and thus gave no indication of where the

canal was to come down to tidewater. Furthermore it was standard practice in digging a new canal to begin somewhere in the middle so that construction teams could work in opposite directions.

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One plan had the canal stopping at the western boundary of the town; the other sketched it in as far as the market house.

Both

plans were intentionally left incomplete with respect to a Georgetown terminus, and the conclusion is inescapable that Mercer wanted it that way so as to retain all his options as long as possible.

There was one off-beat group in Georgetown that wanted the canal to end at Locks Cove. These were conservative, prosperous gentlemen, led by Francis Scott Key, who were vigorously opposed to having the dirty canal with its noisy traffic invade their tidy town. They particularly feared that the dreaded "autumnal fevers" that plagued the upper Potomac would be brought into Georgetown by canal water. They undoubtedly remembered with concern the violence that had broken out among labor gangs working for the old Patowmack Company. As stockholders they also objected to the very large amounts that the company would have to pay for a right-of way into or through the built-up area of Georgetown. Behind this objection, however, lurked the fact that several of these proto-environmentalists, notably Mr. Key, owned cherished property that ran down toward the river and would probably be condemned by the canal company. Lawyer Key had bought one share of canal stock which served as his entry ticket to the stockholders meeting on September 10.

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The committee adopted the engineers' plan and placated Alexandrians by recommending an aqueduct across the Potomac for a branch canal to the Alexandria

harbor. The committee's report even contained the assurance for the Georgetown environmentalists that the canal through town would be cleanly walled with stone and would have enough current to avoid stagnation.

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The engineers all agreed that the best location for the terminus would be at deep water on the Eastern Branch or in Baltimore harbor.

Neither of these seemed to be politically feasible, but the engineers—in order to preserve the option—insisted on running the canal through Georgetown at the high level of thirty feet above the river.

Then came the ingenious compromise: Instead of crossing Rock Creek on an aqueduct, canal boats would descend through four locks to an artificial harbor formed by raising the creek to a level three feet above high tide. This would be done by closing what was then the wide, shallow mouth of Rock Creek by a structure 1,080 feet long, of which two hundred feet on the Washington side would be a "tumbling dam" over which excess water from the basin would flow into the river. The remaining 880 feet would be a solid earthen promontory, averaging 120 feet in width, jutting out from the Georgetown side of the creek. Since this manmade peninsula could be built from the rock and soil of the canal ditch to be cut through Georgetown, its cost would be slight while its long-term value to the company would be considerable. The "mole," as they called it in French style, would be fitted out with wharves on both sides—for ships on the Potomac, for canal boats in the Rock Creek basin. To facilitate the exchange of cargoes, the canal company would lease lots on the mole to shippers and canalers for warehouses, work shops, and stables. The tip of the mole, next to the tumbling dam, would be sliced by a tide-lock, allowing canal boats and other small craft to pass at any time in either direction between canal and river.

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Rock Creek did not willingly submit to the engineers' plan. With a dam across its mouth, the creek dumped tons of silt in the basin, which required frequent dredging even for shallow canal boats. The water on the river side of the mole was not deep enough for ocean-going ships; only coastal sloops and schooners could be accommodated. Thus the inadequacy of the Rock Creek terminus placed a severe limitation on canal commerce right from the start.

There was the possibility that the outlet at deep water on the Eastern Branch would be an improvement, and with this hope the Washington municipal government took over the city canal in 1831 and had it dredged and repaired.

Two years later, when the C and O Company completed the short connecting canal to the Tiber estuary, it was possible for canal boats to proceed from the Rock Creek basin to deep water near the Navy Yard. Unfortunately the Washington city canal, despite the renovation, soon developed its old troubles—siltation and rotting lock timbers. The amount of traffic was not great enough to justify another expensive repair job on what was fundamentally a poorly built canal in an unsuitable terrain. When the C and O Canal reached Cumberland in 1850, the coal trade into and across Washington should have been a major item, but by this time, the city canal had greatly deteriorated, and within a few years it became impassable. There were no riches there.

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Of course, all canals quickly lost passenger traffic to the speedy railroads as the latter attained reliability in the late 1830s; but the canals maintained a tremendous cost advantage over the railroads in the transport of bulky, heavy goods where speed was not a major consideration. It

was in this type of trade that the Erie Canal and its enlarged version, the New York State Barge Canal, continued to turn in a handsome profit for a century against the stiff competition of the New York Central Railroad and its predecessors whose tracks paralleled the canal from Albany to Buffalo. The C and O had no such direct railroad competition because it was not until 1868 that the B and O completed its line from Washington to Point of Rocks where it joined the old line to Cumberland and points west. There was some price competition in the haulage of flour from Harpers Ferry, but in the coal business the railroad actually helped the canal for two years (1843-1845) by hauling coal at two cents a ton per mile from Cumberland to the head of navigation on the canal, which was then fifty miles from Cumberland. When the railroad discontinued this arrangement, it stated that the canal trade was too small to bother with.⁴¹ The figures are interesting: In 1850 the canal carried only 7,956 tons of coal, while the railroad hauled 148,000 tons, of which

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125,000 tons went to 697 ships at the B and O's wharves at Locust Point in Baltimore harbor.⁴² The canal rate on coal to Washington was only one-quarter cent per ton/mile, whereas the B and O rate to Baltimore was 1.5 cents per ton/mile. The same disparity persisted even after the canal was well established at the coal wharf in Cumberland. For the five years from 1855 through 1859 the canal carried 1,072,560 tons of coal, while the B and O hauled 2,218,357 tons—despite the great price differential in favor of the canal.⁴³ Obviously the canal was suffering—not from railroad competition—but from a limited demand for coal in the District of Columbia.

The commercial limitations of the District seem never to have been considered by Congressman Mercer and his associates

who assumed that any well-built canal would duplicate the profitability of the Erie. Any thoughtful market analysis would have revealed enormous differences in the eastern termini of the two waterways. The Erie serviced not just Albany but New York City, for canal boats and barges were regularly rafted together and towed up and down the Hudson river.⁴⁴

Baltimore was the only possible eastern terminus for the C and O Canal that offered population, industry, capital, and shipping facilities at all comparable to those that brought such success to the Erie Canal.

The able engineers who designed the C and O Canal were all convinced of the value to the canal of having its eastern terminus in Baltimore harbor. Isaac Briggs, the engineer who worked with the joint commission of 1822, assumed that the canal would go to Baltimore. In an address which he made in the summer of 1823 as part of the campaign to obtain Maryland approval of the canal company's charter, Briggs said enthusiastically, "From Pittsburg to Washington and Baltimore, the whole line of canal will be a chain of beautiful and flourishing villages."

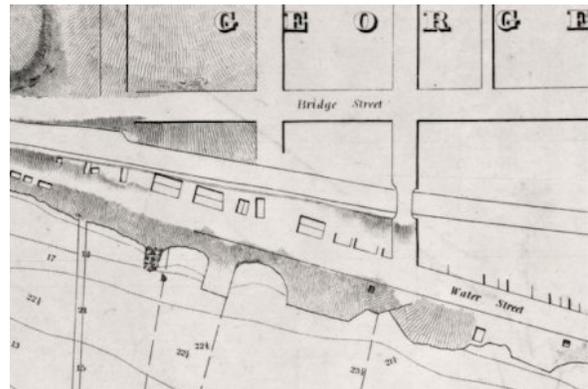
Congressman Mercer and his associates turned a deaf ear to this good advice, hoping to keep the canal's "riches" within the District of Columbia. As events were to show, it was the canal that needed Baltimore, not the other way round. By failing to go to the Chesapeake, the canal lost its chance for a

booming trade that might have given it the strength to reach the Ohio.

Georgetown - History



View of the suburbs of the city of Washington (circa 1795), George Isham Parkyns, ca. 1750-ca. 1820



View of the Georgetown waterfront, from Wm. Trumbull's hydrographic survey for the Potomac Aqueduct, 1832; Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. G3852.A55 1832 .T8



"Washington, D.C. Georgetown waterfront with sailing vessels, seen from Mason's Island" (detail), William Morris Smith, LC-B817- 7894, Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division.



Georgetown waterfront and Aqueduct Bridge, detail from "The national capital, Washington, D.C. Sketched from nature by Adolph Sachse, 1883-1884." Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division G3851.A3 1884 .S3

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP "Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study"):

- Ninian Beall's "Rock of Dunbarton" patent taken out in 1703, "and he was certainly living there by 1712, when his residence was shown on the Graffenried map"; page 79.

MacMaster, Richard K., "Georgetown and the Tobacco Trade, 1751-1783," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 66/68 (1966/1968), pages 1-33.

- in 1734, George Gordon purchased "Knave's Disappointment," consisting of 100 acres on the Potomac at the future site of Georgetown, page 8.
- the founders of Georgetown were Scots and Whitehaven merchants, who were the leaders in the tobacco trade on the Potomac River, page 9.
- John Semple opened a store in Georgetown in 1763 to buy grain, p. 24, n99.
- Ohio Company's 1753 advertisement of the storehouse at Rock Creek with connection to "Connococheegue" by road, boat to Will's Creek, and wagon road to the head branches of the Ohio, page 25.
- possible effect of Ohio Company's activities on Maryland Assembly's action to create Georgetown, page 26.
- development of a "small trade with the West Indies on the eve of the Revolution," page 32.

Petitions concerning town to be erected at Rock Creek, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1748-1751*, Archives of Maryland, Volume 46:

- May 20, 1751 [page 510, also see page 546.]. "Read the Petition of George Gordon, and Several of the Inhabitants of Frederick County praying a Sum of Money may be allowed for building a Prison in the said County, Referred to the Consideration of the Lower house of Assembly and Sent by Daniel Dulany Esq.

Read the Petition of Several Inhabitants of Frederick County praying that a Town may be erected at Rock Creek in the said County rejected Notice not appearing to have been given to the Proprietor of the Land of this application

Read the Petition of Sundry Freeholders of Frederick County praying a Bill may be brought in for a division of the said County and ordered to lye on the Table.”

• December 15, 1751. [page 644, also see pages 664-665] “Read the Petition of George Gordon of Frederick County Praying a Bill may be brought in to explain the Act for laying out and erecting a Town on Patowmack River above the Mouth of Rock Creek in Frederick County made at the last Session of Assembly Referred to the Consideration of the Lower house of Assembly by Col Tasker.”

An Act for laying out and erecting a Town on Potowmack River, above the Mouth of Rock Creek in Frederick County

[June 8, 1751] Whereas several Inhabitants of Frederick County, by their humble Petition to this General Assembly, have set forth, that there is a convenient Place for a Town on Potowmack River, above the Mouth of Rock Creek, adjacent to the Inspection-House in the County aforesaid; and prayed that sixty Acres of Land may be there laid out, and erected into a Town.

Be it therefore Enacted by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Lordship's Governor, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That Capt. Henry Wright Crabb, Master John Needham, Master John Clagett, Master James Perry, Master Samuel Magruder the third, Master Josias Bealle, and Master David Lynn, shall be and are hereby appointed Commissioners for Frederick County aforesaid; and are hereby authorized and impowered, as well to buy and purchase sixty Acres, Part of the Tracts of Land belonging to Messieurs George Gordon and George Bell, at the Place aforesaid, where it shall appear to them, or the major Part of them, to be most convenient, as to survey and lay out, or cause the same to be surveyed and laid out, in the best and most convenient Manner, into eighty Lots, to be erected into a Town.

* * *

Provided always, That it shall not be lawful for any Person to take up, enjoy, have, or possess more than one of the same Lots, within twelve Months after the same are divided and laid out as aforesaid. Provided also, That all and every the Person and Persons aforesaid so taking up the Lots aforesaid, or any of them, shall, and are hereby obliged and required, within two Years after they shall take up their respective Lots as aforesaid, and Entry thereof made as aforesaid, to erect, build, and finish thereon one good and substantial House, that shall cover four hundred square Feet of Ground at the least, and that it be made in every Respect tenantable, with one good Brick or Stone Chimney thereto; and that all and every of such Taker or Takers-up, who shall neglect to build as aforesaid on their respective Lots aforesaid, within the Time herein for that Purpose limited and appointed, shall lose such...

* * *

And whereas it may be advantageous to the said Town to have Fairs kept therein, and may prove an Encouragement to the back Inhabitants and others to bring Commodities there to sell and vend :

Be it Enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Commissioners of the said Town, to appoint two Fairs to be held therein annually, the one Fair to begin on the second Thursday in April, and the other on the first Thursday in October, annually; which said Fairs shall be held each for the Space of three Days, and that during the Continuance of such Fair or Fairs, all Persons within the Bounds of the said Town shall be privileged and free from Arrests, except for Felony or Breach of the Peace...

Maryland State Archives, Vol. 46, page 630-635

Copeland and MacMaster, *The Five George Masons*, pages 154 and 258.

- When Fenwick and Mason established itself in Georgetown in 1792, John Mason built a four-story warehouse on the north side of Water Street between Frederick and Fayette Streets, and another warehouse on the southwest corner of Frederick and Key Streets.
- Mason also had a residence at the corner of 25th and L Streets and Pennsylvania Avenue.

According to Richard P. Jackson, *Chronicles of Georgetown, D.C.*, pages 118-119:

- Until 1805, when the stone causeway was built from the Virginia side to Analostan Island, most of the warehouses were at the west end of Georgetown (near the later site of the Alexandria Aqueduct). After 1805, shipping took the “eastern channel” around the island, and warehouses were erected along the “south side of Water Street and nearer to the river center of Georgetown.” Page 118.

[Note: other sources give 1807 as the date that the construction of the causeway was authorized.]

- In 1822, to accommodate the increase in tobacco trade, the City of Georgetown passed an ordinance for building two new tobacco warehouses on lots 46, 47, 48, west of High and south of Bridge Street. As many as 5,000 hogsheads of tobacco were shipped to Europe annually. Page 119.
- The tobacco trade “continued prosperous” until the death of the last of

the prominent tobacco merchants, John Laird, in 1833, and the subsequent dissolution of his firm, Laird & Sons. Page 119.

Description of counting house from “Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown,” William A. Gordon, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 20, 1918, page 132.

Oliver W. Holmes, “The City Tavern: A Century of Georgetown History, 1796-1898,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 50 [“implied” numbering system], 1980, pp. 1-35.

- Suter’s Tavern was probably a wood-frame structure that had “outlived its usefulness as a suitable tavern building when its host, John Suter, died in 1794”; operated for several years afterward, then converted to an oyster-house; page 2.
- Georgetown’s leading taverns were the City Tavern and the Union Tavern (opened in 1796) and the Columbian Inn (corner of Cherry Street and Wisconsin Avenue, opened in 1799); pages 2-3.

“The City Tavern,” Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DC-81, prepared by Worth Bailey and Russell Jones, Nov. 1959.

“An Intimate Journey through Georgetown in April 1863,” Mary Mitchell, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 1960-1962, Vol. 62.

Walt Whitman’s comments on black soldiers, McElroy, *The Sacrificial Years*, pages 48 and 63.

Mile 0.2 – Godey Lime Kiln

“Godey Lime Kilns,” HABS DC-441, prepared by Donald B. Myer, 1965:

- William B. Godey began lime operation at another operation in 1858; moved to location on C&O Canal in 1864.
- in operation in 1884 as “Washington Lime Kilns,” under Edward Godey.
- owned by John McL. Dodson from 1897-1907.

Mile 0.3 – West Heating Plant

WEST HEATING PLANT

Description from General Service Administration web portal, Historic Buildings section:

<http://www.gsa.gov/portal/ext/html/site/hb/category/25431/actionParameter/exploreByBuilding/buildingId/351#>

Accessed January 9, 2012.

Description

“The West Heating Plant is situated at the northeast corner of 29th and K Streets, N.W. and consists of four units - the heating plant itself, the coal and ash house, the storage yard, and the steam distribution lines. The component parts work in close conjunction with each other to generate and supply heat to several government buildings in the northwest quadrant of the District.

Cast in the mold of the Central Heating Plant (1933-34) - a monumental, buff-colored structure replete with Art-Deco flourishes such as rhythmically recessed and projecting wall planes, curved walls, and abstract imagery - the West Heating Plant echoes its pyramidal composition, recessed and streamlined entry bay, and buff-colored brick exterior. However, unlike the Central Heating Plant which is a robust interpretation of the Art Deco style, the West Heating Plant is realized in a simplified Art Deco style.

The building, a muscular steel and masonry structure, relies upon the interaction of large cubic masses for architectural effect. The superposition of progressively smaller cubes results in a stepped -pyramid composition within which the main block of the building, the entrance and stacks are articulated as discrete, yet related, units. The structural steel skeleton of the building is clad in buff colored brick. The solidity of the brick surfaces is relieved by bays of industrial windows. The rhythmic juxtaposition of solids and voids generates a tension that enlivens the facade.”

Significance

“The West Heating Plant, completed in 1948, was designed by W.M. Dewey Foster (b. 1890), a private architect. The West Heating Plant generates and supplies fuel to the western group of Federal buildings. As coal was the

principal source of fuel, the plant was conveniently sited adjacent to the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. ... Upon its opening, the West Heating Plant burned approximately 900 tons of coal per day, and served government buildings north of 15th and C Streets, N.W. At full capacity the plant could generate 1,000,000 pounds of steam per hour. The essential components of the West Heating plant are the main building to house the boilers and adjunct mechanical equipment; a coal-receiving and ash-processing building; a enclosed yard for coal storage; and pipes for steam distribution to various government building. The Heating plant building forms the nucleus of this composition, with all the other components either feeding into or from it. The West Heating Plant is a six-story, near monolithic structure realized in a vestigial Art Deco style. The solidity of the brick exterior is relieved by rhythmic, linear fenestration - the whole depending upon the play of voids against solids for architectural effect. The coal house and ash house, sited in close proximity to the main heating plant building, echoes the plant's architectural composition - both in terms of massing and material.

The West Plant was to supply heat to existing and future government buildings in downtown, thereby providing relief to the overburdened Central Heating Plant at 13th and C Steets, S.W. Appropriations required for the construction of the West Heating Plant were made in 1940 as the plant was "a necessity not only for serving the needs of additional space facilities which are developing in connection with the national defense program but also as a supplement to the present plant in taking over part of the load in the event of a breakdown." (Quoted in "Washington Evening Star," June 23, 1940). Additional appropriations were made in 1941 setting construction costs at 7 million dollars. The project was commenced in March 1942, but was suspended in September as the United States' entry into World War II required steel for battleship construction. With the end of the War in 1945, construction on the West plant was resumed with urgency as the Central Plant was now serving over 130 buildings in the District. A steam distribution network was established in which a primary tunnel radiated from the West Heating Plant, ran along Virginia Avenue, and interfaced with the old system at 21st and D Streets, NW."

Mile 0.4 – Duvall’s Foundry



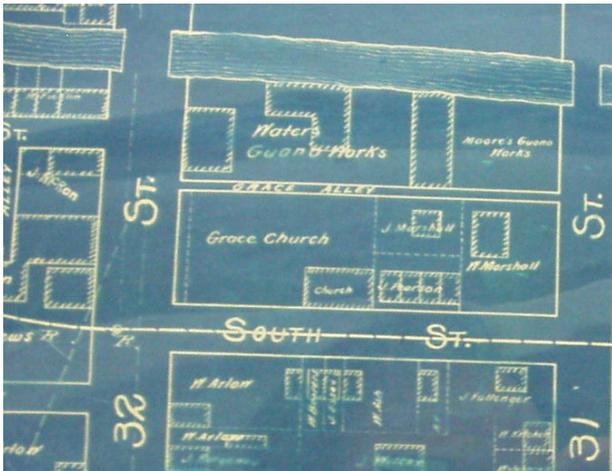
Veterinary hospital at Lock #3. National Park Service collection.

Duvall’s Foundry is described in *Georgetown Historic Waterfront*, Commission of Fine Arts, 1993, pages 64-66.

“Duvall Foundry,” Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS DC-154, prepared by William R. Gwin, 1967:

- Duvall acquired the property in 1854, date of erection is 1856.
- deed history shows that this was part of “Thomas Beall’s Addition”; Duvall bought Lots 26 and 27 in 1854; separate “deeds in trust” to both Hugh Caperton and John Marberry (sic) in 1856 to borrow \$2,200 (unclear if this was the total sum for both); another deed in trust in 1866 to J. Carter Marbury; sold the property in 1867 to Charles M. Matthews.
- William T. Duvall listed as “machinist” in town directories of 1853 and 1855; Boyd’s lists Duvall as owner of machine shop in 1865 and in 1867 as Duvall & Co. (in partnership with Dawson), “founders and machinists.”
- biographical notes on Beall family and John Marbury.

Mile 0.5 – 31st Street & Canal



Railroad survey of Georgetown, showing Guano Works between C&O Canal and Grace Episcopal Church. National Archives.

C&O Canal Company House, see *Georgetown Historic Waterfront*, Commission of Fine Arts, 1993, pages 69-70.

For the history of the guano industry in 19th century America, see *The Great Guano Rush: Entrepreneurs and American Overseas Expansion*, Jimmy M. Skaggs, Palgrave Macmillan, 1994.

Gregory Austrian, *Herman Hollerith:*

- Hollerith receives patents in 1889, page 23.
- marries and rents house in Georgetown, 1890, pages 76-77.
- Austrian census, pages 80-82.
- sets up office and shop in Georgetown, pages 97-106.
- marketing to transportation industry, “rail, water, or otherwise,” page 199.

Use of “Hollerith machines” in Germany, Edwin Black, *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation*, Little and Brown, London, 2001.

Mile .6 – High Street in Georgetown



Along the towpath, C & O Canal, Washington, D.C. Ca. 1910-1920; Library of Congress Detroit Publishing Company Collection LC-D4-73253



Left: the Market House and “Old Fish Market”
Center: the Washington & Georgetown Railroad buildings along the canal in Georgetown.
From “A complete set of surveys and plats of properties in the city of Washington, District of Columbia,” published by G. M. Hopkins, Philadelphia, PA, 1887.

§ Gordon's tobacco warehouse

For location of George Gordon's and later tobacco inspection warehouse along High Street (Wisconsin Avenue), see *Georgetown Historic Waterfront*, Commission of Fine Arts, 1993, Pages 10-15:

- The warehouse lot was advertised for sale by Andrew Hamilton in December, 1790.
- At this time, a new tobacco warehouse was erected on the property of Francis Loundes.
- The tobacco trade declined dramatically after the death of the last of the large tobacco merchants in 1834.

“An Act for laying out one Acre of Land convenient to Rock-Creek Landing, on Potomack River, on the Land George Gordon now lives on, and for Building a Rolling-House thereon.”

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747, Archives of Maryland, Volume 44, page 218.

Rolling road from Monocacy to Georgetown:

“The large “plantations” to the south of Frederick ... continued to produce the Maryland cash crop, tobacco... Their preferred transportation routes led southward along the lower Potomac River drainage toward the tobacco warehouses at Bladensburg, Piscataway, Port Tobacco, Alexandria, and “the Rolling-House which George Gordon built” near the mouth of Rock Creek...

In 1748, Frederick County was carved from the western reaches of Prince Georges County with the southern boundary beginning at the mouth of Rock Creek on the Potomac River. George Gordon's warehouse, on Rock Creek and near the landing on the Potomac, was the only tobacco inspection warehouse located in Frederick County.”

Monocacy National Battlefield: Cultural Resources Study

By Paula Stoner Reed, Edith B. Wallace, Interior Dept., National Park Service, Washington DC, 2004
pages 66-68

Statistics on tobacco shipments:

- The *Observations on the River Potomack*, a 1793 pamphlet attributed to Tobias Lear, claimed that a ship had been loaded with 700 hogsheads of tobacco at Georgetown (and another with 1,200 hogsheads at Alexandria).
 - *The Great National Project*, Sanderlin, page 305, Table III, Potomac Company Trade, 1800-1828
- Curiously, according to Sanderlin's table, the peak year for tobacco shipments was 1801 (100 hogsheads), dropping precipitously to 5 hogsheads in 1802, and 12 hogsheads in 1803, *after* the locks at Great Falls opened.

§ Wisconsin Avenue and M Streets



Old Stone House in Georgetown, between 30th and 31st streets, E. B. Thompson, circa 1890.

Oliver W. Holmes, “The City Tavern: A Century of Georgetown History, 1796-1898,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 50 [“implied” numbering system], 1980, pp. 1-35.

- Corner of Wisconsin and M was envisioned as the center of Georgetown, as evidenced by the changes in street names at that point.
- Wisconsin Avenue above M Street was called High Street; below M Street it was Water Street.
- M Street was called Bridge Street to the east of the intersection (because it led to the Rock Creek Bridge); to the west, it was Falls Street, because it led to Little Falls.

Farmers & Mechanics bank:

- founded 1814, became a national bank by Act of 1864, Richard Plummer Jackson, *The Chronicles of Georgetown, D.C.*, pages 96-98.

Riggs Bank:

- “The Long History of Riggs,” *Washington Business Journal*, Jeff Clabaugh, July 16, 2004.
- “At Riggs Bank, A Tangled Path Led to Scandal,” Timothy L. O’Brien, *New York Times*, July 19, 2004.
- “Riggs Bank Had Longstanding Link To the CIA,” Glenn R. Simpson, *Wall Street Journal*, December 31, 2004.

- “Riggs, PNC Reach New Merger Agreement,” Terence O’Hara, *Washington Post*, February 11, 2005; Page E01.

“Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown,” William A. Gordon, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 20, 1918, page 132.

- description of Union Hotel, “formerly Crawford’s,” at 30th and M Streets; apparently rented for long-term accommodations; Pompeian hall (ballroom); stables in back; pages 137-138

Oliver W. Holmes, “The City Tavern: A Century of Georgetown History, 1796-1898,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 50 [“implied” numbering system], 1980, pp. 1-35.

- location of Lot 47 and subdivision into properties; City Tavern location adjacent to property on corner of Wisconsin and M; on the other side was the site of Bank of Columbia; pages 3-4.
- Clement Sewall opened the City Tavern in 1796, after having briefly managed the Fountain Inn (formerly Suter’s Tavern); pages 4-5.
- Sewall takes over operation of the Georgetown Ferry; McLaughlin managing the City Tavern by July 1799; page 5.
- Union Tavern located on northeast corner of 30th and Wisconsin, page 5.
- President John Adams banqueted at City Tavern on June 3, 1800 and spends the night, page 8.
- McLaughlin moves to Union Tavern in 1801; City Tavern property sold to Sprigg family, who acted as absentee landlords until 1835; page 10.
- the “City Tavern” became the “Indian King” (under Joseph Semmes, 1801-1806, and William Graham, 1806); pages 10-11.
- Semmes moves to the “Columbian Inn” on Water Street; pages 11-15.
- building vacant ca. 1807-1808, possibly because of Bank of Columbia’s move to new building on north side of street; John Mason arranges for Office of Indian Trade

to take up residence in the old Bank building next to the Tavern; pages 19-20.

- Semmes moves back to the City Tavern, renaming it the Columbian Inn, 1809-1812; pages 20-21.

- November 1808 notice of Potomac Company meeting at Semmes' Tavern; company uses Tavern for its meetings in subsequent years; page 21.

- dissatisfied with his situation in the building on Bridge (M) Street, Semmes relocates to Water Street, "near the ferry," again as Columbian Inn, 1812-1822, pages 22-23.

- City Tavern building operated as a boarding house, 1813-1822, page 23.

- Semmes announces that he is returning to his "former stand," on Bridge and Water Streets [M and Wisconsin], October 26, 1822; page 25.

- competition with the "revived" Union Tavern, now known as the Union Hotel, 1825, page 27.

- Semmes dies at age 85 in 1832, pages 28-29.

- the United States Hotel under McCandless and Connelly, 1832-1834, pages 29-30.

- Georgetown Hotel under Mrs. Elenor Lang; slaves (10) emancipated in 1863 with compensation; Mrs. Lang dies ca. 1865-1866; son John continues hotel until his death in 1870 at age 52; grandsons run hotel until 1875, when it became the "Morgan House," with one of the Lang grandsons as barkeep; this Lang grandson seems to regain part interest around 1883; both grandsons are listed as operators of the hotel in 1890, through to 1898; pages 30-34.

"Stagecoach Days," Olivier W. Holmes, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Volume 50, 1952.

- "Fountain Tavern," cited by traveler in 1796, alternate name for Suter's Tavern, page 13.

- Winemiller's stage from Frederick to Georgetown stopped at the Clement Sewall Tavern next to the Bank of Columbia

building; in 1800 it shifted to the Union Tavern, page 15.

- John Holland Barney began a short-lived line to Frederick from "Barney's Columbian Inn" in Georgetown, 1800-1801, page 15 and 19.

- "Accommodation Line" to Frederick started in 1804 by Joseph Semmes of the Indian King Tavern in Georgetown in partnership with Henry Brish of Frederick, pages 15-16.

- Valentine Snyder began an Annapolis to Georgetown stage route in 1800, to McLaughlin's City Tavern in Georgetown, pages 16-17.

- John Smith began a short-lived rival Annapolis-Georgetown stage route in 1802, stopping at the Union Tavern, later shifting to Semmes' Indian King Tavern, page 17.

- Joseph Semmes began a stage route to Port Tobacco in 1801; later extended to Leonardtown and to Laidlaw's (formerly Hooe's) Ferry, page 17.

- Charles McLaughlin succeeded Clement Sewall at the City Tavern; Sewall took over operation of the Georgetown Ferry; in 1801, McLaughlin moved to Union Tavern; page 19.

- completion of Long Bridge over the Potomac in 1809 meant that stage traffic could bypass the Georgetown Ferry, page 23.

- "Richmond and Despatch" stage line begun in 1814, starting at Semme's Columbian Inn, proceeding through Washington down to Laidlaw's Ferry and over to Virginia, page 25.

- steamboat line initiated in 1815 between Washington and "Acquia" Creek, page 26.

- steamboats rapidly replaced stages where feasible, except in winter, as the paddle wheels could not operate in even minimal ice, page 27.

- Union Tavern owned by William Crawford and the Indian Queen by John Davis (?), page 27.

- busiest period was 1825-1835, with ten stage lines running between Baltimore and Washington (Brown's and Gadsby's hotels), page 29.

- first railroad opened into Washington in 1835, leading to end of stagecoach era, page 30.
- stage lines to Leesburg-Winchester-Romney-Cumberland, and to Charlottesville-Lynchburg, page 32.

§ Capitol Traction power plant

For the Capital Traction power plant between Grace Street and canal, see the *Street Railway Review*, Volume VII, 1898, Windsor & Kenfield Publishing Co., Chicago, IL, pages 16 and 184.

➤ The Capital Traction Company also had a power plant on the K Street riverfront that supplied electricity from 1911 to 1942 (per the Historical American Building Survey, DC-145, 1969—other sources indicate 1933 as end date for actual period of generating electricity). It appears to have been a much larger operation, and it is reasonable to suppose that it replaced the power plant on the canal at some point.

LeRoy O. King, Jr., *One Hundred Years of Capital Traction: The Story of Streetcars in the Nation's Capital*, Taylor, Dallas, TX, 1972:

- Original Vanderwerken stable at 3222 M Street and conversion to Washington & Georgetown streetcar line in 1862, pages 3-4.

§ Wisconsin below M (High Street, formerly Water Street)

Founding of Grace Episcopal Church as a mission to canal workers and sailors, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 839.

Reminiscences of High Street: “Old-Time High Street,” *Washington Post*, August 12, 1900, page 20.

Dodge warehouse:

- *Georgetown Historic Waterfront*, Commission of Fine Arts, 1993, pages 21-23.
- “Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown,” William A. Gordon, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 20, 1918, page 131.
- owners of the *Salem* and slaves participating in the *Pearl* escape attempt, see Lesko, *Black Georgetown Remembered*, pages 14-15.

- Francis Dodge, Jr., as secretary of Metropolitan Railroad Company, owner of villa at 30th and Q Streets, forced to sell house due to financial crisis of 1857, see Mary K. Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl; The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad*, William Morrow, 2007, pages 260-261, 286-287, and 321.

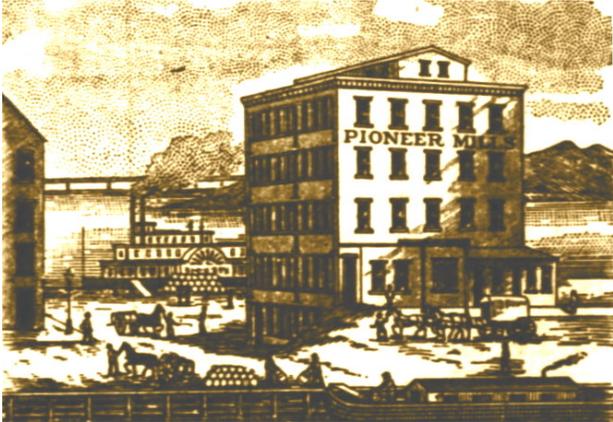
The Dodges and the *Pearl* escape attempt:

- Mary K. Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl*, 2007, pages 77, 102, 103, and 243.
- Josephine F. Pacheco, *The Pearl; A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 2005, pages 58, 60, 67, 164, and 165.

PERSONAL MEMOIR Of DANIEL DRAYTON, For Four Years And Four Months A PRISONER (FOR CHARITY'S SAKE) IN WASHINGTON JAIL Including A Narrative Of The VOYAGE AND CAPTURE OF THE SCHOONER PEARL (1855):

“...it being ascertained that the Pearl had actually sailed between Saturday night and Sunday morning, preparations were soon made to pursue her. A Mr. Dodge, of Georgetown, a wealthy old gentleman, originally from New England, missed three or four slaves from his family, and a small steamboat, of which he was the proprietor, was readily obtained. Thirty-five men, including a son or two of old Dodge, and several of those whose slaves were missing, volunteered to man her; and they set out about Sunday noon, armed to the teeth with guns, pistols, bowie-knives, &c., and well provided with brandy and other liquors. They heard of us on the passage down, from the Baltimore steamer and the vessel loaded with plaster. They reached the mouth of the river, and, not having found the Pearl, were about to return, as the steamer could not proceed into the bay without forfeiting her insurance. As a last chance, they looked into Cornfield harbor, where they found us...”

Mile .7 – Bomford & Herr's Mills



The Canal Company's right to sell water to manufacturers was not fully settled until 1837. Unrau, *C&O Historical Study*, pages 655-657.

In general, the dates for the flour, cotton, and corn meal operations (Bomford, Pioneer Flour Mills, and Washington and Indian Head Corn Meal) are based on the information given in *Georgetown Historic Waterfront*, Commission of Fine Arts, 1993, pages 62-63.

More specific dates for different owners are given in the Historical American Building Survey, HABS DC-143. Note that the Herrs shared ownership of the Pioneer (formerly Bomford) Mill with the Cissel family for several years; this is easily confused with their partnership with respect to the Columbia Mill two blocks to the west. Page 8 of the HABS report gives the following summary of ownership for the Bomford/Pioneer Mill:

George Bomford: ca. 1832 – ca. 1850
(Bomford died 1848)

Thomas Wilson: ca. 1850-1866

Abraham H. Herr: 1866 – ca. 1876.

During this time he was variously in partnership with James S. Welch.

A.H. Herr and George W. Cissel: 1879-1885

Austin Herr: 1886-1887

Austin Herr & Company: 1888-1889

With Arthur B. Cropley

Arthur B. Cropley: 1890-1891

George W. Cissel & Co.: 1892-1914

Wilkins-Rogers Milling Company: 1914-1967

For George Bomford's oversight of the Harpers Ferry Armory, see Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory*.

Bomford's public and private life in Washington is discussed in "The Story of Kalorama," Corra Foster-Bacon, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 1910.

An alternate possibility for the name *Columbiad* is the grandiose 1807 poem by Joel Barlow, who happened to be the prior resident of the Kalorama estate.

The destruction of Abraham Herr's mill on Virginus Island and his relocation to the District in 1862 are detailed in Mary Mitchell, *Divided Town*, pages 158–161.

For Abraham Herr's mills on Virginus Island, see

- "A Nineteenth-Century Mill Village: Virginus Island, 1800-60"

Mary Johnson, *West Virginia History*, Volume 54, 1995, pages 1-27.

- *Where industry failed: Water-powered mills at Harpers Ferry*, West Virginia, Dave Gilbert, Pictorial Histories Pub. Co., Charleston, West Virginia, 1984.

For "drug smuggling" on the canal, see Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, note on page 745: "According to Mary Mitchell in her study of Georgetown during the Civil War, the only underground activities carried out in that town were initiated by small local tradesmen, laborers and citizens of obscure origins. Her research in Old Capitol Prison records revealed that "time and again, drovers, brewers and boatmen, who gave Georgetown as their residence, were

incarcerated for blockade running, smuggling and disloyalty, denied *habeas corpus*, and released only after the interrogation of the prison authorities had extracted all possible information from them.””

John Crumbaugh story— Mary Mitchell, *Divided Town*, pages 122–123.

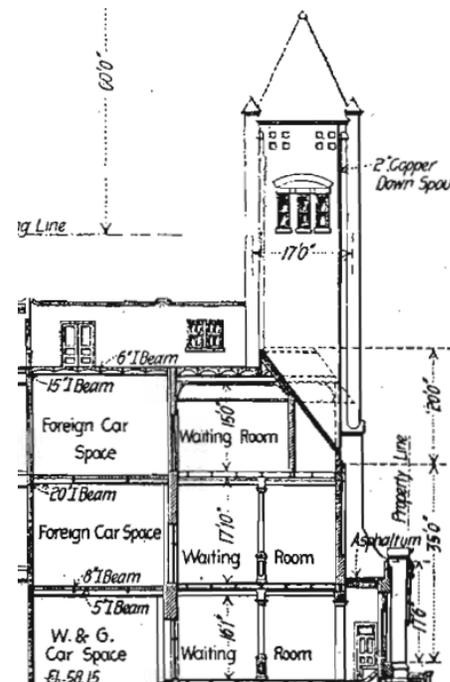
Mile 1 – Francis Scott Key



“The Key House” by John Ross Key, c. 1908.
 [Inscription lower left - “Copyright 1908 J. Ross Key”]
 Courtesy of the Diplomatic Reception Rooms, U.S.
 Department of State, Washington, DC.

Architectural details and quotes for the Georgetown Car Barn are from:

- *Buildings of the District of Columbia*, Pamela Scott and Antoinette J. Lee, Society of Architectural Historians, page 405.
- “Union Street Railway Station in Washington,” *Street Railway Review*, Volume VII, 1898, Windsor & Kenfield Publishing Co., Chicago, IL, pages 440-444.



LeRoy O. King, Jr., *One Hundred Years of Capital Traction: The Story of Streetcars in the Nation's Capital*, Taylor, Dallas, TX, 1972, pages 64-65.

§ Francis Scott Key House

Francis Scott Key House, 3518 M Street Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC
Historic American Building Survey
HABS DC-23

Description of Key's house in Georgetown— Francis Scott Key-Smith, *Francis Scott Key*, pages 89-90.

Most of the details on Key's residency in Georgetown are found in "The Loss of the Francis Scott Key House: Was it Really?" by C&O Canal Park historian Barry Mackintosh. (Unpublished paper, July, 1981)

Mackintosh cites Washington Post reporter Tom Zito as the original source of the claim that the house had been put in storage and subsequently "lost." *Washington Post*, May 13, 1981: "The Case of the Lost Landmark: What So Proudly They Nailed is Gone."

Francis Scott Key Smith's description of the cobbler's shop and peanut and fruit vendor is from a quote in John DeFerrari's *Lost Washington*, page 86.

Preservation of the Francis Scott Key Residence: A Possible Home for the Columbia Historical Society, F. S. Noel, 1947.

The Key House (and Foxall's house) are also profiled in *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings*, James W. Goode, Smithsonian Books, 2003, pages 8-11.

- The location of Foxall's house is fixed on the southeast corner where 34th street

crosses the canal,. [The canal did not exist during Foxall's residency.]

Location of Foxall's house in Georgetown, is also mentioned by Henry Ridgely Evans, "Old Georgetown on the Potomac," *Virginia Historical Magazine*, vol 44, 1936, pp. 158-9:
"In his old home, which was on what is now 34th St., between the canal and Water street, he entertained such men as Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Gouverneur Morris, Francis Scott Key, and others."

§ Francis Scott Key; biographies

Francis Scott Key, Edward S. Delaplaine, originally published in 1937 by Biography Press, Brooklyn, NY. Available in various reprint editions.

Francis Scott Key; Author of the Star-Spangled Banner; What Else He Was and Who, Francis Scott Key-Smith, National Capital Press, Inc., Washington, DC 1911.

"Reluctant Patriot," Norman Gelb *Smithsonian* magazine, September 2004.

§ Francis Scott Key; C&O Canal, Alexandria Aqueduct

Judge Cranch's decision against Francis Scott Key's lawsuit challenging the condemnation of his property in Georgetown is documented in the canal company's first annual report (1829), pages lii-lviii.

Lawsuit against the Alexandria Aqueduct; Francis Scott Key-Smith, *Francis Scott Key*, pages 28-31.

Key as the leader of the Georgetown property owners who were opposed in September 1928 to the entry of the canal into Georgetown; Stephen Dilts, *The Great Road*, Dilts, page 101.

Unrau's *Historical Resource Study* discusses the opposition of Georgetown merchants to the canal and to the Alexandria Aqueduct (pages 62-62) and cites the following cases:

Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company vs. Key, U.S. Reports, 3 Cranch C.C. 599; Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company vs. Mason, *ibid*, 4 Cranch C. C. 123; and Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company vs. Union Bank, *Ibid*, 4 Cranch C. C. 75, 5 Cranch C.C. 509.

§ Francis Scott Key; Slavery, Colonization & Abolitionism...

See *Charles Fenton Mercer*, Edgerton, pages 105-112, for Mercer's role in founding the American Colonization Society.

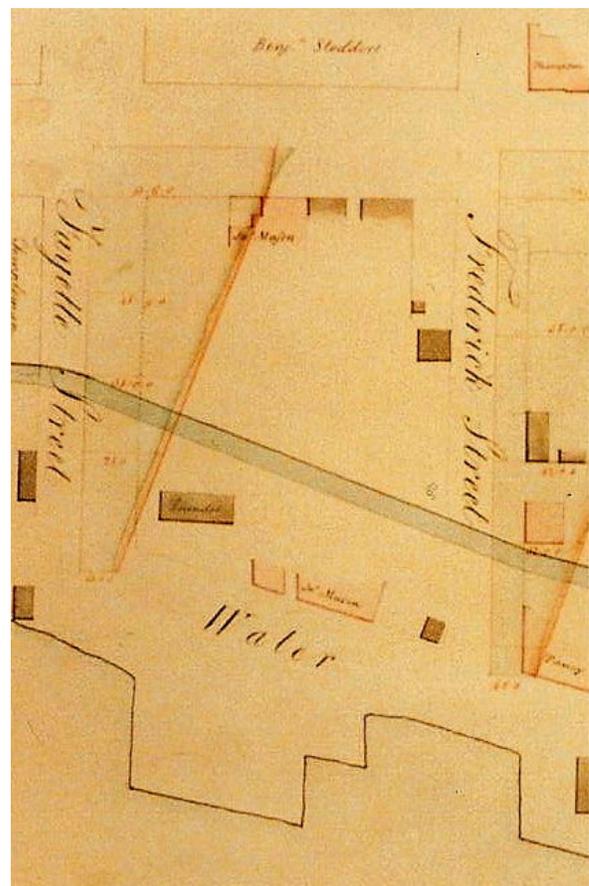
"Crusader for Colonization, Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key*, pages 191-218. For Key's 1838 views on slavery, see page 446.

"The Trial of Reuben Crandall," Neil S. Kramer, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 50, Washington, D.C., (1980), pp. 123-139.

"The 'Snow Riots'," Jefferson Morley, *Washington Post Magazine* Sunday, February 6, 2005; Page W14.

§ Location of John Mason's House in Georgetown...

Several sources allude to an office kept by Mason on the west end of Georgetown, near his warehouses. (This is shown on the map of the area around Key Bridge that is included on one of the markers for the Francis Scott Key Park on M Street.) The only confirmation that I have found to date is Latrobe's map of 1802, which shows Mason's house on Falls (M) Street, between Fayette and Frederick Streets, across from Benjamin Stoddert's.



No. III of Plans and Sections of the proposed continuation of the canal of the Little Falls..., Library of Congress.

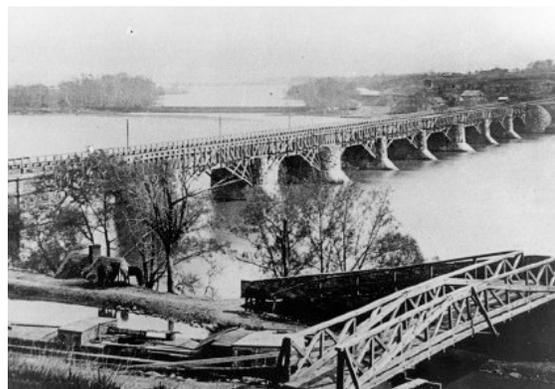
Other sources mention that Mason built a house at 25th Street and L. This is likely to have been later in his career, as the location was in the previously undeveloped area east of Rock Creek.

Note the potential confusion with Quality Hill, a nearby house in Georgetown that was inhabited by John Thomson Mason (nephew of George Mason) from 1798-1807. The *Historical American Building Survey* (DC-167 provides more information on Quality Hill (later, Worthington House), located at 3425 Prospect Place.

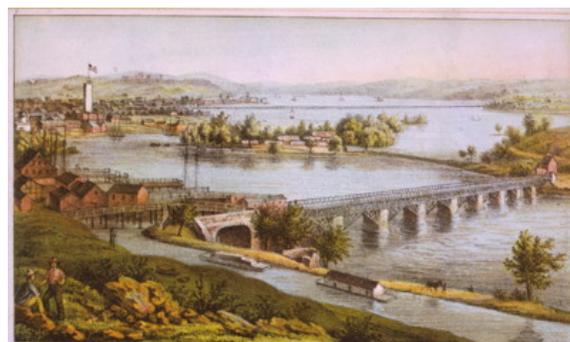
Mile 1 – Georgetown Aqueduct & Key Bridge



Probably a pre-Civil War view of the aqueduct, as the canal trough is exposed. C&O National Park archive.



Civil War-era photograph, showing queen-post construction of aqueduct.



This illustration shows the original construction of the aqueduct at Georgetown, with “queen post” trusses and diagonal braces on each side of the piers. ‘Aqueduct of Potomac, Georgetown, D.C., Drawn from nature by F. Dielman’; lithograph by E. Sachse & Co., Baltimore; detail from digital image, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs.



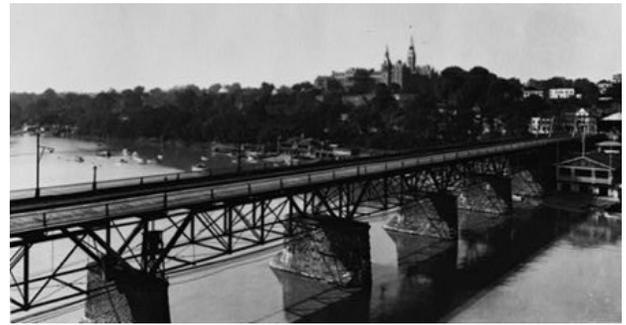
The postwar aqueduct bridge with Healy Hall in the background, circa 1880s. DC Public Library, DCPL Commons.



This drawing, circa 1880s, shows the postwar aqueduct with Mason's Island in the background. "View of the Potomac in Front of Washington," Drawing by F. Turner, from *Washington and its Environs*, Keim, 1888 edition (but not 1874), page 51.



The metal truss bridge, ca. 1900. DC Public Library, DCPL Commons.



"Potomac Aqueduct, Georgetown abutment at Georgetown waterfront," *Historic American Buildings Survey - HABS DC, GEO, 1-19*.

"The Old Alexandria-Georgetown Canal and Potomac Aqueduct," Arthur G. Peterson, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 40, No. 4, October 1932, pages 307- 316.

- Congress authorizes canal from Georgetown to Alexandria in 1812; two-year requirement expires during war; page 308.
- planning begins in 1830, work begins 1833; page 309.
- physical description; pages 309-310.
- first boat of flour arrives in Alexandria, Dec. 2, 1843; page 310-311.
- highly profitable "crop year" of 1846 followed by effects of competition from railroad; pages 313-314.
- "Coal shipments gave new life to canal trade"; interruption during war; as late as 1880, carried annual freight of 125,931 tons; rapid decline after 1880; abandoned by 1888; pages 314-315.

Gary A. Burch & Steven Pennington, *Civil Engineering Landmarks of the Nation's Capital*, pages 36 and 74-79:

- 1830-1843. Aqueduct Bridge constructed under supervision of Major Turnbull of the U.S. Topographical Engineers; financed by Alexandria Canal, Railroad, and Bridge Company.
- Civil War. Canal drained, roadway place in trough.
- 1868. Private bridge company leases aqueduct, restores boat channel, and adds toll roadway on top.

- 1885. Congress authorizes purchase of aqueduct bridge for \$125,000;
- 1887-1888. Completion of work to replace wooden superstructure with metal truss bridge built on original piers. (Pratt deck truss constructed by Mt. Vernon Bridge Company; work directed by Peter Hains of the Army Corps of Engineers.)
- 1916-1923. Bridge piers in poor condition; Key Bridge authorized and constructed.

Donald Beekman Myer, *Bridges and the City of Washington*, pages 10-14:

- built between 1833-1843 for \$575,000.
- 1857 proposal for masonry arched structure with lower level for canal and upper level for railroad.
- aqueduct restored to private ownership in 1866 and toll road built on top in 1868; queen-post trusses replaced with Howe trusses with “large wooden arches added on the sides.”
- Georgetown residents complained that the tolls were too high and petitioned for a new bridge at Three Sisters.
- Congress authorized purchase of the aqueduct bridge or construction of new bridge in 1881; owners eventually accepted offer of \$125,000.
- new “light iron truss bridge” built; opened June 30, 1888.
- Old Aqueduct Bridge retained until Key Bridge opened in January 1923; old superstructure removed in 1933; piers not removed until 1962.

William Davies, *The geology and Engineering Structures of the Chesapeake And Ohio Canal*:

- original superstructure of aqueduct was 9 timber queen-post spans with diagonal supports below the spans at each pier; 8 piers constructed of granite from upriver quarries; page 25.
- opened to traffic on July 4, 1843 [probably symbolic ceremony; note Peterson’s description of first boat reaching Alexandria on Dec. 2, 1843.].
- aqueduct commandeered by U.S. government on May 23, 1861 and

converted to roadway with timber bridge over C&O canal; page 27.

- returned to Alexandria Canal Co. in 1866 and subsequently leased to Alexandria Canal, Railroad, and Bridge Co. on May 16, 1866; page 27.
- new superstructure built with 9 trusses “of the Howe type later reinforced with laminated timber arches”; “lower chords supported a canal trunk 17 ft. wide and a towing path; a 20 ft. roadway and 4 ft. walkway were on the upper chord”; page 27.

Condition of the Aqueduct bridge in 1865, see *Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 46, Part III—

- Quartermaster-General Meigs to U. S. Grant on May 18, 1865 (page 1169): “It is impossible to know the precise condition of every stick of timber in the Aqueduct Bridge, which is old and has frequently been repaired. Its main timbers are concealed by sheathing.”
- Report of Lieutenant Colonel B. S. Alexander, May 20, 1865, with recommendation for pontoon bridge to Analostan Island (page 1170).
- Special Orders 239, describing the route of the review and the order of march, dated May 18, 1865 (page 1171).

Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, to the Secretary of War, for the year 1882, Part III, Government Printing Office, pages 2012-2033. Also note the discussion of the option to build a separate bridge using the Three Sisters islands (mile 1.7).

Other sources:

- “Potomac Aqueduct Bridge,” Commission of Fine Arts, *Georgetown Historic Waterfront*, pages 54-60.

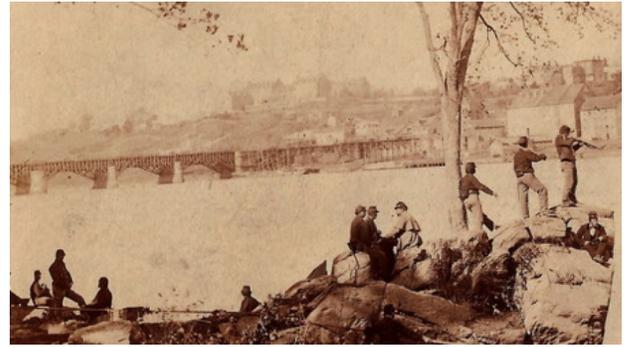
Report on new aqueduct superstructure, 1868

Agreeably to my instructions, I examined the bridge and its approaches on the day of the receipt of the letter, the 31st of December, as carefully as the state of the weather would permit...

The Potomac Aqueduct at Georgetown was constructed to carry the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal across the Potomac River, and was designed and partly executed in stone. It was built under the superintendence of Captain Turnbull of the United States Topographical Engineers. The piers, every third one forming an abutment pier, are most substantially built of heavy blocks of gray limestone, laid in hydraulic cement, and upon them rests a wooden superstructure, consisting of the trunk of the aqueduct and tow path. Above that, on the deck of the aqueduct, the bridge proper, composed of the roadway, footway, and parapets for the passage of persons, animals, and vehicles, is being completed. The bridge proper across the river itself consists of two trusses of the Howe combination, strengthened by arches and chords. The cross-joists or floor girders of the roadway are placed upon the upper stringers of each truss. Although the wooden arches are made to abut against each other, an iron plate, separating the ends instead of being imbedded in the stone piers, still the entire upper structure is substantially constructed, and possesses the requisite strength and stillness. The dimensions of the wooden beams which form the chords, strings, joists, diagonal braces, and posts, and the iron bolts connecting the upper and lower strings, and the arches and chords are sufficiently large for the purpose. At the north end of the bridge proper a trestle-bridge carries the roadway over the caual and connects it with one of the streets of Georgetown. At the south end another trestle bridge connects with the causeway leading to it...As the result of my inspection of the bridge proper, and in view of the work on the approaches being pushed rapidly forward, I have the honor to report that "the bridge is so far completed as to be ready, fit, and convenient for the passage of persons, animals, and vehicles."

Letter of Major N. Michler to Chief of Engineers
Jan. 2, 1869, from Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War for the Year 1876
[Also see subsequent report of Lieutenant Thomas Turtle, March 8, 1876, listing defects in the bridge.]

Mile 1.2 Georgetown University



Detail of Georgetown College and the Aqueduct Bridge, from Brady's Album Gallery, no. 289, 1862.



Detail of view of Healy Hall (Georgetown University) and the second version of the Aqueduct Bridge, circa 1880s. Attributed to Library of Congress; see variant in Washingtoniana collection at D.C. Public Library.

John Carroll chronology, based on *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry:

- b. at Upper Marlboro, Maryland, 8 Jan., 1735; died in Baltimore, 3 Dec., 1815.
- 1748 – At age 13, goes abroad to study at St. Omer's College in French Flanders.
- 1753 – Joins Society of Jesus (Jesuits).
- 1773 – Pope suppresses and dissolves the Society of Jesus.
- 1774 – John Carroll returns to America.
- 1789 – Pope appoints John Carroll to be first Catholic bishop in the United States.
- 1791 – Georgetown College founded.
- 1808 – Becomes Archbishop.

“The Founding of Georgetown College,” Chapter XXIV, in *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore*, Peter Guilday, The Encyclopedia Press, New York, 1922.

The 1755 restrictions on Catholics are found in *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755-1756, Archives of Maryland*, Volume 52, page 441-443. The requirements for licensing of schools included “test oaths” (see next note) to exclude Catholics.

Oaths of abhorrence and abjuration

The oaths of abhorrence and abjuration are described by John Thomas Scharf in his *History of Maryland: from the earliest period to the present day* (Volume 1, 1879, pages 382-382):

The oath of abhorrence ran thus —“I do swear from my heart that I abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that Damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes may be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome; and do declare, That no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within the Kingdom of Great Britain or any the Dominions thereto belonging, So help me God.

The oath of abjuration consisted in abjuring the claims of the pretender and declaring King George to be the lawful and rightful King of the Realm of Great Britain and all other Dominions and Countries thereunto belonging. They were also required to declare “That I do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or in the Elements of Bread and Wine at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.”

None were capable of holding offices or places of trust who refused to take these tests and in case of such refusal if the person refusing attempted to hold or exercise any such office his commission or appointment was declared void and he himself subjected to a fine of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

It was also enacted, “That in case any person who holds any office or trust within this Province and has taken the oaths appointed by this law shall afterward be present at any Popish assembly, conventicle or meeting, and join with them in their services at Mass, or receive the Sacrament in that Communion, he shall not only forfeit his office and incur the penalty in this act limited, but also be incapable of taking, holding, or executing any commission or place of trust within this Province until he shall be fully reconciled to the Church of England, and receive the Communion therein.”

Events at Georgetown University during the Civil War are from Mary Mitchell, *Divided Town*, pages 40-43.

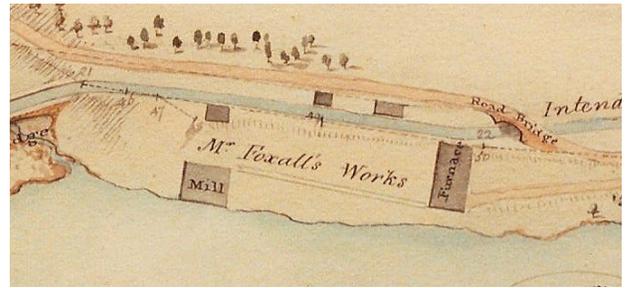
Architectural studies:

- Healy Hall constructed between Nov. 1877 and Nov. 1879; interior work continued for several years; Gaston Hall not completed until 1896-1897; see Georgetown University, Healy Building, HABS No. DC-248, prepared by Daniel D. Reiff, Architectural Historian, Commission of Fine Arts, September-October 1969.
- Healy Building, National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form, prepared by Carolyn Pitts, Historian, National Park Service/History Division, July 22, 1986.

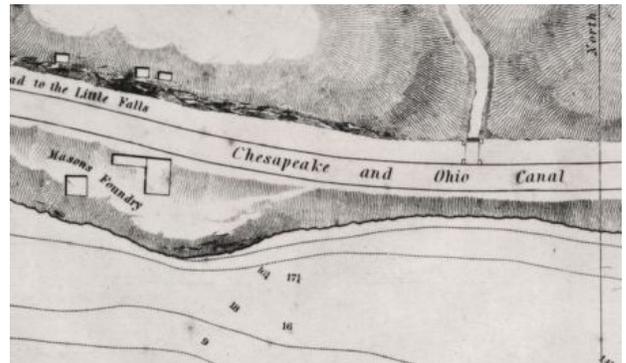
The story of the Healy family is told in *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920*, James M. O'Toole, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003.

- Michael Healy emigrates to America from Galway in 1815, page 6.
- increase in Healy's slaves from 1830-1850, page 12.
- lives with Eliza Clark, 1829-1850, page 14.
- children, page 20.
- begins sending sons to New York City for education in 1837, page 24.
- encounter with John Bernard Fitzpatrick in March 1844, page 25.
- Patrick Healy named president of Georgetown University in 1873, page 159.
- lays cornerstone for new building in December 1877, page 165.
- resigns in 1882, page 167.
- trip to Alaska in 1883, pages 168-169.
- "little of the drama or demands of his early career," page 168.

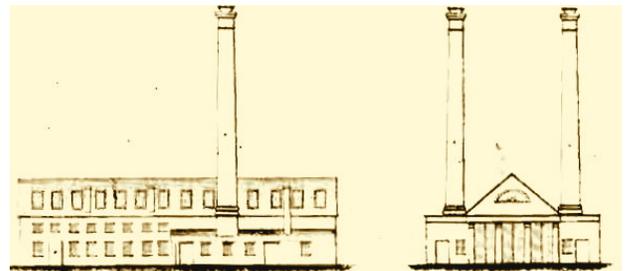
Mile 1.5 – Foxall's Foundry



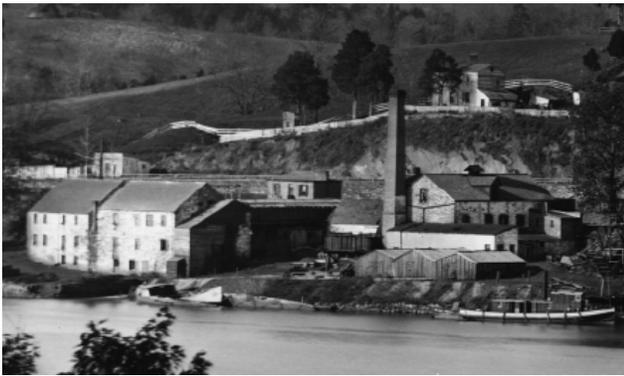
"Mr. Foxall's Works" as shown in Benjamin Latrobe's 1802 drawings for a proposed canal extension from Little Falls into Georgetown. National Archives.



View of the Georgetown waterfront, from Wm. Trumbull's hydrographic survey for the Potomac Aqueduct, 1832; Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. G3852.A55 1832 .T8



Plan for national foundry as sketched by George Starbuck, possibly modeled on the Columbia Foundry, where Starbuck had previously worked. National Archives.



Foxall Foundry, detail from "Washington, District of Columbia. View of Georgetown from across the river," LC-B817- 7846, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs.

“The Foxall-Columbia Foundry: An Early Defense Contractor in Georgetown,” Louis F. Gorr, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, 1971-1972.

The Old Cannon Foundry Above Georgetown, D.C., and its First Owner, Henry Foxall, Madison Davis, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Volume 11, 1908.

- In his argument that no foundry existed on this site prior to Foxall’s, Davis identifies the “Potomac Canal” as a critical factor for the transport of iron to a foundry located so far from the ore banks (pages 5 and 18-19).
- According to Davis, most of the foundry buildings were still extant in 1908 (pages 11-12).
- Davis suggests that government’s award of a contract to Foxall in December of 1800, just before he secured the land above Georgetown for the foundry, indicates that the Government had given a promise of encouragement to Foxall. Davis refers to this as support for the tradition that Jefferson himself invited Foxall to relocate from Philadelphia to Washington (Page 16.)
- Davis provides a biographical sketch of Foxall, beginning on page 23, citing as his primary source an article by Reverend Joseph Entwistle in the August, 1824

issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*.

- With respect to Foxall’s social connections, Davis says “the story goes that around the social board at his house were not infrequently gathered such men as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Henry Dearborn, Gouverneur Morris, Francis S. Key, General John Mason...” (page 26).
- For the story of Foxall’s contribution of the Foundry Chapel, attributed to his gratitude that British troops were not able to destroy the foundry in 1814, page 28.
- Foxall quote on the contrast between his occupation and his religious principles, page 28.
- Foxall’s dislike of slavery, but ownership of slaves, pages 33-34.
- Foxall’s residences, page 35.
- 1836 report on condition of the Columbian Foundry, pages 37ff.

☞ With regard to the tradition that Jefferson personally invited Foxall to establish himself in the capital city, see letter of introduction and recommendation from Robert Morris to Thomas Jefferson, May 6, 1801, *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, Volume 34, page 46. Robert Morris had been Foxall’s partner in the Eagle Ironworks in Philadelphia; it seems unlikely that this letter would have been needed if Jefferson had already corresponded with Foxall.

§ Foxall’s cannon foundry and the War of 1812

Battle of Lake Erie: Building the Fleet in the Wilderness, Rear Admiral Denys W. Knoll, USN (Ret.), Naval Historical Foundation, Washington D.C., Spring 1979:

“Shipping the cannon to Erie was a hazardous undertaking; in all 65 cannons were sent—37 from Washington and the remainder from Sacketts Harbor. Fourteen wagons with four men each carried the carronades from Washington to Pittsburgh, requiring more than one month for the

trip. The carronades were made at the foundry of George Foxall in Georgetown.” [Contrary to the more popular tradition of the origin of the Foundry Chapel, Knoll states that Foxall promised to build the church if Perry was victorious.]

☞ The cannon that Jackson’s men used at the Battle of New Orleans were taken from two American ships, the *Carolina* and the *Louisiana*. To date, I have not been able to directly identify the source of the cannon on these two ships. However, from the information below, and the information on the foundry at Pittsburgh (which probably did not produce cannon until 1816) it would appear that Foxall’s Foundry is the most likely source of the cannon on the *Louisiana*.

- The *Louisiana* received its replacement cannon towards the end of 1813, via Pittsburgh, before the foundry at Pittsburgh had added its boring mill—probably the same wagon route was used as for Commodore Perry’s cannon.
- The “Cecil Foundry,” in Cecil County, Maryland, was producing cannon for Navy frigates in the early 1800’s, but was destroyed by the British in 1813; Dudley, *The Naval War of 1812*, Volume 3, page 329.
- the British were aware of other cannon foundries near Richmond; Dudley, *The Naval War of 1812*, Volume 3, page 134.
- The *Louisiana* (formerly a merchant ship named *Remittance*) was fitted out April 1813; alternated between Plaquemine and Balize for the next 5 months; gun deck found to be too weak to support 24-pounders; lighter cannon received via Pittsburgh and substituted at the end of 1813; Dudley, *The Naval War of 1812*, Volume 2, pages 647, 649, and 665-666.
- *The Louisiana*, with 16 guns, was listed at New Orleans in a report dated June 6, 1814; Dudley *The Naval War of 1812*, Volume 3, page 787.
- The *Carolina* was built at the Charleston Navy Yard in 1812; was not manned until sometime after May 1813; research by

Commander John Dullum, USN, undated, accessed January 16, 2013 at:

<http://umbrigade.tripod.com/articles/usscarolina.html>

- The *Carolina* was probably in 1813, so it is possible that its guns were made at the Cecil Foundry or even the foundry in Richmond, if the latter was manufacturing guns for the U.S. Navy.

Description of Foxall's foundry, circa 1812

About a mile beyond Georgetown on the Potomac river there is a cannon foundry belonging to Mr Foxhall, a native of England, the machinery of which was erected by a Scotsman of the name of Glasgow. There are two boring mills situated near each other. In one, five cannons are bored at the same time; in the other, three. The streams which move the machinery are small, but the water falls to great advantage over an overshot wheel of twenty nine feet in diameter. By the aid of dams, which receive rain water, there is a constant supply during the summer. About thirty workmen are employed, chiefly emigrants from Europe—Foremen have two dollars; moulders, one a half; and common workmen, two thirds of a dollar per day. The iron ore of an excellent quality is brought from the banks of Potomac, near Harper's Ferry. It is rare a gun bursts in firing it with a double charge. A cannon was lately cast at this foundry, of a hundred pounds ball, to which was given the name of Columbiad. It requires two days to make a cannon and two to bore it. The price is fifty pounds currency per ton. The profits of this establishment are very considerable.

A partial listing of some of the proposals for a government foundry:

- a committee of the House of Representatives reported on January 16, 1798, that “the United States experience the want of a foundry for casting of cannon suitable for public service,” and proposed a resolution to authorize the President to establish such a foundry at a site of his choosing. See *American State Papers*, House of Representatives, 5th Congress, 2nd Session
Naval Affairs: Volume 1, page 32.
- March 19, 1798. In a message to the Senate and House, President John Adams repeated his request for the authority to establish “foundries and military manufactures.”
- November 19, 1807. A committee of the House reported on a resolution to appropriate an unspecified amount for the construction of a national armory in the city of Washington. See *American State Papers*, House of Representatives, 10th Congress, 1st Session, Military Affairs: Volume 1, page 215, Document No. 71. [Foxall's letter appended]
- 1836. A Bill To provide for the establishment of a National Foundry (H.R. 628).
- 1839. A Bill To establish a national foundry for the fabrication of cannon for the use of the army and navy of the United States (H.R. 1032).
- 1843. A Bill To establish a national foundry for the fabrication of cannon for the use of the army and navy of the United States (H.R. 817).
- 1860. A Bill To provide for the appointment of a commission to ascertain and recommend a proper site for a national foundry (H.R. 659).

Foxall's Comments on the National Foundry Proposal

Letter from Henry Foxall to the Secretary of War, dated Columbia Foundry, August 1807, relative to a National Foundry:

Honored Sir,

I shall now endeavor to make some remarks on the substance of several conversations that have passed between us, on the subject of a large foundry and boring mill intended solely for public use.

I find your wish is to have such an establishment erected as soon as the nature of the thing will admit of it. I also find, or at least I think I do, that it is not in any addition to the works I have already in operation in Georgetown that would be satisfactory, but one to be built on the public land on Greenleaf's Point city of Washington.

Your wish for my establishing such a work in that place at once presented to my view several difficulties which did, and still do, appear insurmountable, at least to my becoming proprietor of such a concern, a few of which I shall candidly notice for your consideration.

Although I have been, for aught I know, successful in giving general satisfaction in my professional habits as a man of business to every department for which I have been engaged, and cheerfully acknowledge the obligations I am under to the administrators thereof for the attention I have constantly received from them, yet it is possible this might not always be the case: I might not always be so fortunate as to please. Was I to erect so large an establishment as is contemplated, at my own expense, I should stand in an enviable situation (or it might be thought so) by gentlemen of my profession; an attempt no doubt would be made to wrest the business out of my hands, or leave it with me not worth following. But, if none of these difficulties, with many more I could mention, take place, there is one which I earnestly hope will arise, which is this—that Government will not stand in need such an establishment to be kept, constantly in operation. Although it is absolutely necessary that a government like ours should have such an establishment under their control, independent of all private ones through the continent (which can be called in to their aid on so much better terms in all cases of emergency), nevertheless it does follow that this itself will be kept in continual operation.

I should suppose a few years would give you a sufficiency of ordnance for your forts, your garrisons, and ships, and this before any adequate return could be made of the expense of building the works. Were I to build the works on my own land,

and no longer wanted for the public, I might convert them into mills for making flour or some other manufactory; but were they built on your land, that would be out of the question. No person could be found to purchase my right at a time you had no orders to give; and I suppose the public would find a disinclination to purchase property they had no immediate use of. Under this view of the subject, the works would at be useless to the United States, and, in the end, destructive to me; and at the time, I might have no just cause complaint, yet should be left without remedy. When we were on the spot at Greenleaf's Point, looking at the situation, I saw it was good, and the conveniencies for its adoption many. But how the plan could be effected by me, to mutual advantage, I was at a loss to understand; for no sooner was one difficulty overcome than another presented itself to my mind; nor did this view of the subject, which I am about to lay before you, strike my mind after I parted with you. The more I consider it, the more unexceptionable it appears to me. In it you will have all you contemplated answered, and, it may be, some new ideas brought into view.

To erect a cannon manufactory in the city will require the agency of a steam engine for the several purposes, turning, boring &c. &c. This, with all the necessary buildings, say foundry, furnaces, boring mill, and all the component parts, I will undertake to build on Greenleaf's Point, for the United States, their extent and magnitude to be determined by you. I will engage to make all the models, in brass or iron of the different calibers, of every kind of ordnance with complete iron flasks to each caliber; the patterns completely turned, with all the moulding and joints from end to end; and in the same way prepare moulds and flasks for all sizes of mortars, together with shot moulds turned complete.

I will establish in your factory a brass furnace for brass cannon, with turning machines such as I have now in use, and in every way make it worthy of the name of a *National Foundry*, on as large, or on as small a scale as you may determine. The utility of metal models for casting cannon from, is not inconsiderable. It not only prevents a continual making and repairing of patterns; for, when the size and form are correctly ascertained, and a pattern made therefrom, it may be cast from for years, and every cannon, in size and form, shall be alike. No extension from damp weather, or contraction from heat, will take place, which is always the case where wood is used for patterns. This is a part of the business I never yet attended to. The reason has been, I did not consider you would be willing to go into the expense; but you may be assured that every nation has them, or, at least, ought to have them, of every caliber, thus prepared.

I will now mention an idea that has struck me with much force, the propriety of which, I must leave you

to be the judge. Might you not, within the limits of this establishment, have all your shops for smiths, carpenters, &c. &c. which are now fixed on that contracted spot at the end of Greenleaf's Point? You might take as much power from the steam engine as would be necessary to turn your lathes, grind stones, blow your smiths' fires, and many things now done by manual labor, and your place of deposite for mounted and unmounted cannon much better arranged.

I have now painted out some of the advantages that would unquestionably arise to Government by the establishment of such a work, and offer my services to them for the completion of it in all its parts, (the steam engine excepted, the building of which I do not pretend to understand) and all that I ask for erecting and putting into complete operation the establishment, is the use of the same without rent or charge, with a contract sufficient to keep it at work for two years after its completion. It is proper for me to observe, that the plan I suggest does not go to necessitate or compel Government to manufacture their own ordnance because they are at the expense of erecting the works; for, after the two years are expired, should there be still a want of ordnance, I would gladly pay them a rent for the use of the works: that would be satisfactory, for as long a time as it might be necessary to keep them in operation.

I recollect you mentioned that it might possibly be the wish of the Government to have one or more young gentlemen instructed in the art of fabricating cannon, mortars, &c. I feel no objection of meeting your ideas on that score, under certain restrictions; what I mean is for them not to be sent to me under the idea of power to control, but for the special purpose of being instructed.

Before I conclude this letter, permit me to make some few general observations on the whole. My reason for thinking the works ought to be built at the expense of the public, in preference to any individual, is because they will derive much advantage therefrom, by having an establishment to resort to in case of emergency; but may I not say they ought in point of economy also: for they will have it in their power to ascertain the fair price that ought to be given for every article in that line when they have to resort to contracts; and also there can be an uniformity of artillery established by this means, which will be next to impossible in any other way. For, while officers are at liberty to give direction for ordnance according to their own ideas, the cannon will differ in size and shape in as many instances as there are officers empowered to give directions. And in this place, I will not only give it as opinion, but state it as a fact, that we stand in the greatest need of a national regularity and uniformity with to ordnance.

I have been intimately acquainted with the heads of the Departments of War and Navy for about ten

years past; not one of those gentlemen (till you came into office) ever pretended to depend on their own judgment what to be the dimension of any piece of ordnance; and the best it was possible for them to do, was to depend on abilities of that officer in whom they had the greatest confidence. This has been the cause of the great diversity of size and shape of the same caliber which our arsenals, dock yards, and vessels of war present to the eye of the visiter [sic].

Honored sir, I have to entreat you not to understand these remarks as reflections on the Government in general, or on any officer in particular, because that would be doing me injustice; but it is the importance of the subject I have now under consideration which has called forth these remarks. But lest I should tire your patience, I will here state but one more reason why I think it would be most proper for Government to build at their own expense: because they could then, without injury to an individual, set them in motion or let them stand unemployed as suited their conveniency.

I will now give you my opinion in point of the expense of erecting such an establishment. As there will be no land to purchase, I am of opinion that the works may be completed on a liberal scale, that is to say, the steam engine, foundry, boring mill, and the shops necessary thereto, for the sum of thirty thousand dollars. It may be extended to cost more, or one may be completed for less. The expense of patterns and flasks will be an additional charge, which will much depend on the materials, whether made of brass or iron, and the manner of finishing. As it regards the moneys necessary to carry on this work, I would observe, as the work would be for my use for a certain time after completed, I could wish the general impression was the same while building. If I make contracts in my own name, and become personally responsible for all engagements I enter into for materials bought, and men employed, I have no doubt but I shall get through the business with much less difficulty, in a shorter time, and with much less expense, than if it were built under the authority, and for the express purpose of, the United States national works. All sums of money drawn from you on this account, I would hold myself accountable for, agreeable to a contract that should be entered into previous to the commencement of the undertaking.

I would cause to be kept a regular set of books of expenditures, together with taking care to have vouchers of all moneyed transactions, as far as practicable, which books and papers should be open at all times to the inspection of any person you might appoint, and, at the completion of the works, the books and papers to be given up into your hands. This security, together with some confidence I flatter myself Government has in my integrity, will, I should suppose, be a sufficient guarantee for

moneys advanced, particularly as they are to be expended on their own premises.

While I have been endeavoring to throw my ideas together on paper, and give my opinion at large on the necessity and utility of a national foundry, I think you will agree with me that I have done it like one that had no establishment of the kind of his own, and not like one who has an establishment of the kind, and has nearly his all invested in it, and this done at the particular request of Government, and at the time they shall withdraw their aid and patronage therefrom, as a manufactory, with all its expensive machinery, become useless and of little value to me its proprietor. The above is submitted to your consideration by your obliged servant,
Henry Foxall

American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, Class V, Military Affairs, Volume 1, published by Gales & Seaton, 1832, pages 215-217

Use as a “mill and distillery,” see Richard P. Jackson, *Chronicles of Georgetown, D.C.*, page 31.

Harlan Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal; Historic Resource Study* page 839:
The Mission On The Towpath was established in 1874 by Mrs. S. E. Safford for canal men and their families about 1/4 mile above the Potomac Aqueduct. The mission was located in a low, one-story brick building “almost under the eaves of the Independent Ice Company” that had served originally as the office of the Foxhall Foundry. Here the boatmen’s children were taught to read and write, and the adults were instructed in industrial arts and assisted in locating temporary housing in winter when the canal was closed to navigation. Sometime after 1905 the mission was moved to another building on the old Foxhall Foundry site. In December 1913, the mission was closed, due in part to the reduced number of boats operating on the waterway...

Mile 1.7 – Three Sisters

END OF THE ROADS

In the Interstate Era, Congress ruled Washington like a fiefdom. Then a fight over some freeways inspired a biracial, neighborhood-level movement to fight the federal power

Bob Levey; Jane Freundel Levey,
Washington Post Magazine, November 26, 2000.

“Three Sisters Bridge; A Ghost Span over the Potomac,” Mathilde D. Williams,
Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., Vol. 69.70, 1969-1970, pages 489-509.

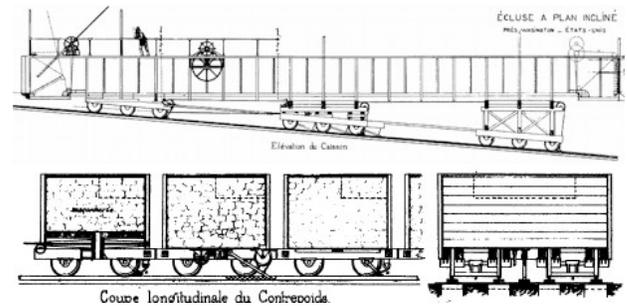
Mile 2.2– Mary Meyer

The details of the murder and trial are found in Nina Burleigh’s book, *A Very Private Woman, The Live and Unsolved Murder of Presidential Mistress Mary Meyer* (Bantam Books, 1998). The location of the assault and murder is pinpointed as 1 mile east of Fletcher’s Boathouse, and 2/10 of a mile west of the Foundry Road underpass (page 233).

The CIA’s involvement in testing LSD on “unwitting subjects” was acknowledged in Admiral Stansfield Turner, Director of the CIA 1977-1981. See transcript of the Joint Hearing of the Senate’s Select Committee on Intelligence and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research (Committee on Human Resources), August 3, 1977, page 21.

For additional details on CIA research with “unwitting subjects,” see *The Search for the “Manchurian Candidate”*; *The CIA and Mind Control*, John Marks, Times Books, 1979, reprinted 1991 by W. W. Norton & Company. The details of “flophouses” run under Project MKULTRA to test LSD on the clients of prostitutes in New York and San Francisco are discussed on pages 87-104; also see endnotes on pages 220-221. *Acid Dreams, The CIA, LSD, and the Sixties Rebellion*, Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, Grove Press, 1985, pages 32-33, and endnotes, page 299.

Mile 2.3 – Inclined Plane



Caisson for canal boats (above) and counterweights (below), from illustrations provided for Paris Exposition of 1878, Hutton Collection, Smithsonian.



Incline plane, showing the counterweights in the foreground, right, and the caisson dripping water at top. C&O National Park archives.

“The Georgetown Canal Incline,” Harold Skramstad, *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 4m Oct., 1969, pages 549-560.

- change in plan, from outlet lock to inclined plane, 1872-1873 [Skramstad attributes the idea to the chief engineer; does not note Canal company’s earlier interest in an inclined plane, see below]; pages 551-552.
- construction begun spring 1875; first boat uses the incline on June 29, 1876; total cost, \$146,556.79; pages 553-554.
- Skramstad states that the need for the incline had “almost entirely vanished” by the time it was completed; however, he records that 1,918 boats used it in 1878; constant operation ceased in late 1879; pages 554-555.

- exhibited at Paris Exposition of 1878; page 555.
- accidents and criticism; pages 566-558.
- caisson used with or without water; pages 557, 558, and 559.
- cited in support for Isthmian Ship-Railway proposal; also used to criticize the plan; pages 558-560.

☞ According to William Bauman’s research, 5,525 boats were recorded as passing through Lock 75 in 1878. While some of these boats stopped at destinations short of Georgetown, and others may have begun their trips below Lock 75, this figure gives us a general idea of the significance of Skramstad’s figure of 1,918 boats using the inclined plane in 1878.

Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*:

- idea of inclined plane first proposed by Georgetown merchant in 1864; Spates and the C&O directors visit the Morris Canal to view inclined; page 754.
- construction of inclined plane in 1870s; pages 479-480 and 481.

Sanderlin notes testimony of Alfred Spates (president of C&O, 1861-1865 and 1867-1869) before a committee of the Maryland General Assembly, 1880, stating that the company had to postpone improvements such as the inclined plane because of other expenses; *The Great National Project*, page 218.

“The Outlet Lock,” Richard P. Jackson, *Chronicles of Georgetown, D.C.*, pages 333-335.

Mile 3.2–Fletcher’s Cove & Little Falls Skirting Canal



View of Little Falls skirting canal, showing Chain Bridge and the locks as Fletcher’s Cove; from “Survey of the Potomac Canal, 1825” by Lt. Col. J.J. Abert; National Archives, RG77.



Antique train on B&O Railroad’s Georgetown Branch along canal near Fletcher’s Cove. C&O National Park archive.

On December 10, 1770, George Washington attended Ballendine’s sale at “little Falls,” in which Ballendine was trying to pay his debts by leasing his enterprises at the falls and selling other property, including about 100 hogsheads of tobacco, a large amount of wheat and corn, 50 head of sheep, one set each of blacksmith’s and cooper’s tools, some household furniture, and land in Prince William County and Fauquier County. According to the editorial notes to the *Diaries of George Washington* (Volume 2, page 329), Ballendine made two such attempts to sell his property and meet with his creditors, as noted in the

Virginia Gazette, R, 29 Nov. 1770 and 2 May 1771.

“The Potomac Company’s Canal and Locks at Little Falls,” Dan Guzy, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 96, 4 (Winter 2001), pages 421-438.

Robert Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal*:

- Ballentine begins work at Little Falls, 40-42.
- initial construction at Little Falls by Potomac Company, pages 70-75, 79, 86.
- new locks, 273-274.

“The Patowmack Canal and Locks,” Gary A. Burch & Steven Pennington, *Civil Engineering Landmarks of the Nation’s Capital*, pages 29-33.

The Locks at Little Falls

“The three locks at the Little Falls of the Potomac were the first constructed, they were made 18 feet wide and of wood, the next which was finished was the upper lock at Great Falls—this was made 14 feet wide. A little farther experience satisfied the Directors of the Company that the width of 12 feet was sufficient for any vessels that would navigate the river, and so were formed all that followed. The remedy in this case as to the upper lock at Great Falls, was soon applied, its greater capacity aided by an adjoining basin, was made to serve to fill more readily the lower locks, At Little Falls ... it is proposed when the wood decays to rebuild of granite (of which there is a quarry of excellent quality on the canal just above, belonging to the Company, reserved for the purpose.) and then to contract them to 12 feet in width.”

From the reply of the Potomac Company to Secretary of Treasury (Albert Gallatin), January, 1808, in Corra Bacon-Foster’s *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*, pages 174-175.

◉ ◉ ◉

“...unfortunately about two years ago, the set of locks at the foot of the canal round the lower falls, which having been constructed of wood, gave way, and in such a manner that it became necessary to renew them entirely. It was determined as most conducive to the interest of the company, and most consistent with the object of the institution, to occupy a different scite for the locking of this place, and to construct the locks and their appendages, wholly of stone and solid mason work. These locks, four in number, and locking a fall of thirty seven feet with their guard walls, &c. have cost a heavy sum of money, and their erection has forced the company into a large and unexpected expenditure, and obliged it to contract new debts to provide for it; they are however nearly compleated, and will be ready to pass boats at the commencement of the spring navigation.”

Communication of President and Directors of the Potomac Company to the board of public works in Virginia, December, 6, 1817, from Appendix D of Corra Bacon-Foster’s *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*, pages 181-182.

Mile 3.7 – Arizona Avenue Railroad Bridge

Historical details gleaned from “History of the Georgetown Branch,” Coalition for the Capital Crescent Trail website:

http://www.cctrail.org/CCT_History.htm
accessed January 9, 2012.

Mile 4.5 – Auxiliary water supply system

Water intake as temporary measure; concerns about the salinity and pollution in “estuary” water; Harry C. Ways, *Washington Aqueduct*, pages 137-139.

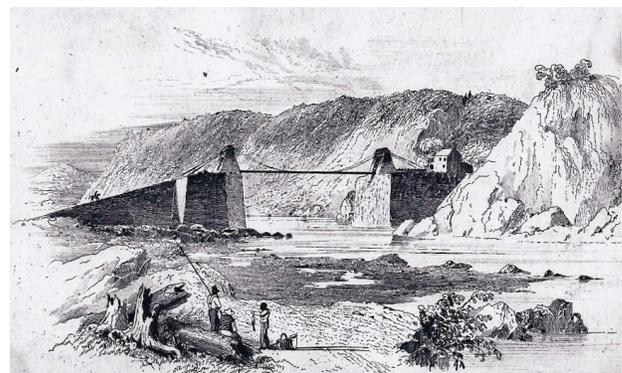
Mile 4.2 – Chain Bridge



The very first Bridge at Little Falls, as viewed shortly after completion in 1797 by Benjamin Latrobe. Latrobe collection, Maryland Historical Society.



Chain Bridge at Little Falls, 1839, Augustus Kollner, 1839. Library of Congress



“Potomac at the Little Falls,” circa 1850, published by W.H. and O.H. Morrison.

§ Fort at Little Falls...



Chain Bridge under guard during the Civil War, William Morris Smith, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-B817- 7656



Chain Bridge as a metal truss bridge, 1874-1938. C&O National National Park archive.



Chain Bridge, extension over the canal; carpenter's shop in background, on berm side of canal. C&O National National Park archive.

For “New Scotland” and the events at the “fort at the falls of the Potomac,” see:

- “The Washington Area between 1608 and 1708,” Guy Castle, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 1963-1965, especially page 4 noting Captain Brandt’s 1681 report of an Indian fort at the “ffalls of the Pottomock,” and pages 9-11.
- “The Old Indian Road,” William B. Marye, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, page 109.

Further details on Colonel Addison and the fort are found in “The Baltimore County “Garrison” and the Old Garrison Roads,” William B. Marye, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June 1921.

➤ Marye notes an order by the Maryland Council dated October 16, 1697 (misprinted in the article as 1797) that indicates that “Col. Addison and Mr. Hutchins” owned the land upon which the garrison was being kept. (“Hutchins” appears in the order; Marye identifies him as “William Hutchinson.”)

The original sources on Addison, Brightwell, and the garrison at the falls are found in Volume 22 (pages 22, 90) and Volume 23 (pages 234, 247, 305-306, 325-326, 327-328, 404) of the *Maryland State Archives*.

For the proximity of the Addison/ Hutchins(son) property to the falls, see the following local studies:

- PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY; 23 RECREATION FACILITIES WASHINGTON DC, 1984.

Produced by Engineering-Science, Janice G. Artemel, et al. for the District of Columbia Department of Recreation

➤ The entry for the “Palisades Recreation Center” notes that John Addison and William Hutchinson patented land in this vicinity—adjacent to the falls and, later,

Chain Bridge—containing about 759 acres (Survey Patent recorded, Charles County Liber BB#3, Folios 164-165).

- A registration form for the National Register of Historic Places, nominating the former Chain Bridge School at 2820 Chain Bridge Road (adjacent to Battery Kemble Park), which notes:

“Historically, this area was part of a 759-acre grant made to Colonel John Addison and William Hutchinson in 1695. The tract, which included what is today known as the neighborhood of the Palisades, was patented as *White Haven*.” (Section 8, Page 2).

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Brightwell’s ranger fort was probably located on the bluffs overlooking the foot of Little Falls ; “the inlet at the base of those bluffs, where Fletcher’s Boat House now stands, was known for decades as Garrison Cove”; page 58.

§ The Lee family & Pimmit Run



Thomas Lee of Stratford Hall

Biographical details for the Lee family are taken from Nagel, *The Lees of Virginia*, particularly pages 31 and 34-36 for Thomas Lee, pages 65-76 for disputes between Philip Ludwell Lee and his brothers, and pages 160-172 for “Lighthouse Harry” Lee.

For licensing of warehouse at Pimmit Run in 1742, see Volume V of the *Statutes at Large* of Virginia, compiled by William Waller Henings.

The activities of Robert Carter as Fairfax’s land agent are discussed in Stuart E. Brown’s *Virginia Baron*, but oddly, Thomas Lee is not mentioned. See further discussion in these notes under *History I:1*.

For Philip Ludwell Lee’s incorporation of “Phillee,” see “Early Landmarks between Great Hunting Creek and the Falls of the Potomac,” Charles O. Paullin, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* Vol. 31/32, 1930, page 70 [citing Hening, *Virginia Statutes*, V., pages 66 and 143.]

Francis Lightfoot Lee was born in 1734, moved to Loudoun in 1757 or 1758, and in 1769 relocated to Richmond County, on the Rappahannock, to live near his stepfather’s estate at Mount Airy.

Francis Lightfoot Lee, the Incomparable Signer, Alonzo Thomas Dill, published by the Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission, Williamsburg, VA, 1977, pages 3, 9, and 17.

Mark Twain on Francis Lightfoot Lee

This man's life work was so inconspicuous that his name would now be wholly forgotten, but for one thing—he signed the Declaration of Independence. Yet his life was a most useful and worthy one. It was a good and profitable voyage, though it left no phosphorescent splendors in its wake.

* * *

He did no brilliant things, he made no brilliant speeches; but the enduring strength of his patriotism was manifest ... the purity of his motives was unquestioned, his unpurchasable honor and uprightness were unchallenged.

* * *

In short, Francis Lightfoot Lee was a gentleman—a word which meant a great deal in his day, though it means nothing whatever in ours.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, I, no. 3, 1877, pages 343-345.

§ Bridges at Little Falls...

Date sequence for different bridges at Little Falls based on information from Donald B. Myer, *Bridges of Washington*, [Commission of Fine Arts], pages 3-5:

1797. First bridge constructed of timber by Georgetown Bridge Company.

1804. Bridge collapses, GBC builds second bridge of timber; destroyed by flood six months later.

1810. Third bridge (first chain suspension bridge) built; designed by Judge James R. Finley of Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

1812. Third bridge destroyed by floods; another chain bridge (4th bridge) built in its place.

1840. Fifth bridge (also chain suspension) built.

1850s. Sixth bridge built on new piers, with arch-reinforced trusses (not chain suspension).

1874. After the 6th bridge was destroyed by floods in 1870, the Army Engineers built a 7th bridge, described as a “lightweight iron structure.” This bridge was inadequate to modern automobile traffic in the early 1900s, but was kept in operation until washed away by the great flood of 1936.

1939. Eighth bridge completed, using the 1870 piers. [The date is incorrect; the Washington Post reported on the opening ceremony in June of 1938. Also note that the “1870 piers” were actually built in the 1850s, according to earlier reference.)

Burch and Pennington, *Civil Engineering Landmarks of the Nation's Capital*, have several additions to and variations from this chronology (pages 69-70).

1812. Federal government authorized use of public funds for construction of 4th bridge; however, tolls were charged by the Georgetown Bridge Company until 1833.

1833. District of Columbia Common Council and Georgetown Board of Aldermen purchase bridge from Georgetown Bridge Company.

1852. Federal government takes over the structure and rebuilds main span.

1874. Last real “chain bridge” replaced by an “eight-span Pratt through truss with pin connections,” built by the Phoenix Bridge Company. [The reference to the “last chain bridge” is a mistake, as the Civil War photographs clearly show that the bridge had been converted to an arched truss system.]

1938. Continuous steel girder bridge built by Tuller Construction Co.

Further details on the bridges are provided by Richard P. Jackson, *Chronicles of Georgetown, D.C.*, pages 81-86:

- Legislature of Maryland incorporates Georgetown Bridge Company in 1791; in 1795, authorizes company to build a road from the bridge into Georgetown.
- In 1832, bridge is “taken down” by the bridge company because of accumulation of ice on the river and “banking of the same” against the bridge.
- Congress appropriates money in 1833 for the Corporation of Georgetown to build a free road on the Virginia side and to purchase the bridge at Little Falls, on condition that Georgetown pass an ordinance to make the bridge and road free to the public.
- The bridge was replaced by “a more substantial structure”; this was carried away in an ice freshet in April 1852.
- The bridge was partially destroyed by a freshet in October 1870; efforts to repair the bridge appearing to be insufficient, Congress appropriated \$100,000 in June 1872 to rebuild it as “a substantial iron structure, upon plans approved by the chief of engineers of the army, and under his supervision and direction.”
- General Babcock raised the piers by two feet and chose a “Murphy Whipple Truss” design.

The reminiscences of Joseph Merritt about his father’s service as keeper of Chain Bridge are recounted in “Old Chain Bridge Demolition Lamented by Its Neighbors in Virginia; Son of First Keeper Recalls Experiences of his Father During Service,” *The Washington Post*, August 3, 1937, page 13.

Related stories in *Washington Post*—

- January 10, 1938.
“Vault Reveals Old Papers on Chain Bridge”
- January 16, 1938
“Saga of Old Chain Bridge Recalled as New Span Goes Up,” Elisabeth C. Taylor
- June 18, 1938
“New Chain Bridge Dedicated with Address of Senator Glass”

Use of bridge by the Leesburg and Winchester stagecoach line, see “Stagecoach Days,” Olivier W. Holmes, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Volume 50, 1952, page 32.

Diary of My Travels in America, Louis Philippe, King of France, 1830-1848, Translated by Stephen Becker, published by Delacorte Press, New York, NY, 1977. [Translated from *Journal de Mon Voyage d’Amerique*, published by Librairie Ernest Flammarion in 1976--includes a helpful description of the first bridge as it was nearing completion on April 4, 1797, as well as mentioning the locks for the skirting canal.)

Text from old historical marker on Pimmit Run trail, just above intersection of Chain Bridge Road and Glebe Road:

Thomas Lee patented land in this area in 1719. Here at the head of navigation of the Potomac River, he established an official tobacco inspection warehouse in 1742, the beginning of Arlington's first industrial complex. After 1794, Philip Richard Fendall and Lewis Hipkins, then owners of 200 acres in the Pimmit Run region built a grist mill, brewery, distillery, cooper and blacksmith shops, and other structures. After 1815, a cloth mill, woolen factory, and paper mill were established along the run, later to be abandoned. In the 1890s the Columbia Light and Power Company used Pimmit Run to generate electricity. Stone from nearby quarries was loaded on scows moored to the iron ring that can still be seen embedded in the rocks below.

Text from new historical marker on Pimmit Run Trail:

Thomas Lee received a land grant of the property and started development in 1719. A grist mill and tobacco inspection warehouse were established. In the 1790s Philip Richard Fendall and Lewis Hipkins gained ownership of the property and improved the property with the construction of a merchant mill, distillery,

brewery and more.

During the War of 1812, a State Department clerk Stephen Pleasonton gathered the Declaration of Independence, journals of the Continental Congress, correspondence of George Washington and other valuable papers and placed them in bags which he hid in the grist mill at Pimmit Run. The documents were later moved to Leesburg for safekeeping until they could be safely returned to the federal city.

Historic marker at Chain Bridge, Virginia side:

In 1797, the merchants of Georgetown built here the first bridge over the Potomac River in order to compete with the Virginia port of Alexandria. The Falls Bridge allowed trade from the "upper country" of Virginia to move directly to Georgetown over the Georgetown-Leesburg Road. After the first two bridges were destroyed by floods, a chain suspension bridge, considered a marvel of engineering with a span of 128 feet between stone towers, was built in 1808. Although this bridge has been replaced by other forms of construction, the popular name Chain Bridge continues to be used. The present bridge was built following the flood of 1936.

§ War of 1812 & dueling grounds

Life and Letters of Dolly Madison, Allen C. Clark, Press of W.F. Roberts, Washington D.C., 1914, pages 157-187.

Strength and Honor: The Life of Dolley Madison, Richard N. Cote, Corinthian Books, 2004, pages 287-313.

Accounts of the duel between Randolph and Clay:

- Garland describes the duel as taking place "on the banks of the Potomac," which strikes me as a figure of speech; he also refers to the sun setting over the blue hill, which is probably also a figure of speech, given the stormy weather that day, also note that the sun would already have vanished by that hour of the day in April if the duel were taking place at the mouth of Pimmit Run; *Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, pages 254-261.
- the duellists took up their positions on an east-west line in a "little depression" while Benton stood on a little hillock nearby; William Cabell Bruce, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, Vol I, pages 515-524.
- Bruce notes "the reconciliation between Clay and Randolph was too dramatic, however, to last..."; *John Randolph of Roanoke*, Vol II, page 751.
- Heider & Heidler, *Henry Clay*, pages 197-199.
- Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay*, pages 293-295.

Randolph and Mercer in 1816; Egerton, *Charles Fenton Mercer*, pages 135-137.

§ Sleeping Sentinel...

Abraham Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel of Vermont, by Waldo Glover, published by The Vermont Historical Society in 1936 and reprinted in 1998.

- Newspaper editorials are discussed on pages 34-44.

Don't Shoot That Boy! Abraham Lincoln and Military Justice, Thomas P. Lowry, Savas Publishing Company, 1999.

- Lincoln's role in the pardon of Private William Scott, pages v-x.
- other sleeping sentinel cases, pages 234-245.
- Lowry notes that 1,922 men were tried for sleeping on duty (out of 43,634 court martial records) and 78 of them received death sentences, but "Lincoln spared the life of every man who was found asleep on duty as a sentry, guard, picket, or sentinel."

Lincoln in American Memory, by Merrill D. Peterson, Oxford University Press, 1994,

- poem by Francis De Haas Janvier and performances by James E. Murdoch, pages 103-104.
- William E. Barton's allegation that Lincoln was not personally involved in Scott's pardon, Waldo Glover's research confirming Lincoln's role, pages 243-244.

Civil War Justice, Union Army Executions under Lincoln, Robert I. Alotta, White Mane Publishing Co., 1999.

Mr. Lincoln's Forts: A Guide to the Civil War Defenses of Washington, Benjamin Franklin Cooling III and Walton H. Owen II, White Mane Publishing Company, 1988. [Detailed and profusely illustrated--discusses Fort Ethan Allen and Fort Marcy along the Virginia approaches to the bridge, as well as the works on the north side of the river.]

Mile 4.7 – Montgomery County

Archives of Maryland, Volume 78, *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, 1774-1776* page 242

Whereas, it appears to this convention, that the erecting two new counties out of Frederick county will conduce greatly to the ease and convenience of the people thereof:

Resolved, That after the first day of October next, such part of the said county of Frederick as is contained within the bounds and limits following, to wit:— beginning at the place where the temporary line crosses the south mountain, and running thence by a line on the ridge of the said mountain to the river Potowrnac, and thence with the lines of the said county so as to include all the lands to the westward of the line running on the ridge of the south mountain as aforesaid to the beginning, shall be and is hereby erected into a new county by the name of Washington county.

Resolved, That after the first day of October next, such part of the said county of Frederick as is contained within the bounds and limits following, to wit: beginning at the east side of the mouth of Rock creek on Potowmac river, and running with the said river to the mouth of Monocacy, then with a straight line to Par's spring from thence with the lines of the county to the beginning, shall be and is hereby erected into a new county by the name of Montgomery county.

Resolved, That the inhabitants of the said counties of Washington and Montgomery shall have, hold, and enjoy, all such rights and privileges, as are held and enjoyed by the inhabitants of any county in this state.

The speeches in the British Parliament concerning General Montgomery (March 21, 1776) were reported in the *Maryland Gazette* on July 4, 1776, and the *Virginia Gazette*, July 20, 1776.

Mile 5 – Lock 5

Details and dates for lock construction:

- use of Aquia freestone; Abert and Kearney's report of 1831; pages 10-11.
- McNeill's report of 1833 (submitted to Congress Jan. 14, 1834); page 19. [Also see Unrau, *Masonry Locks*, Appendix D.]
- also see Thomas Hahn's research notes for the National Park Service and his *Towpath Guide*.

Lengthening of lock with addition of drop gates:

- Harlan Unrau, *Masonry Locks*, page 53: "During the winter of 1875-76 work was commenced on lengthening Locks Nos. 5-7. The masonry on these structures was taken down and rebuilt in a lengthened form with granite, and new drop gates installed."
- according to Davies, the lock was altered for a drop gate in 1876; the drop gate was replaced by a swing gate in CCC restoration of 1939; see Davies, *Historical engineering geology of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*.

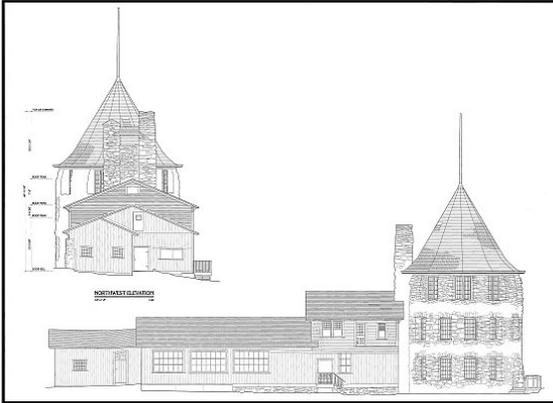
Mile 5.6 – Lock 6

- Abert and Kearney's report of 1831 describes this lock as comparable to Lock 5; page 11.
- according to Davies, the lock was altered for a drop gate in 1876; "swing gate used 1939-40."
- Hahn states that the lock pocket was extended 16½' (in contrast to relocation of the lock pocket at Locks 7, 9, 10, 12; distance between lock pockets is 90'8" (92' by my measure); see Thomas Hahn, *Towpath Guide*.

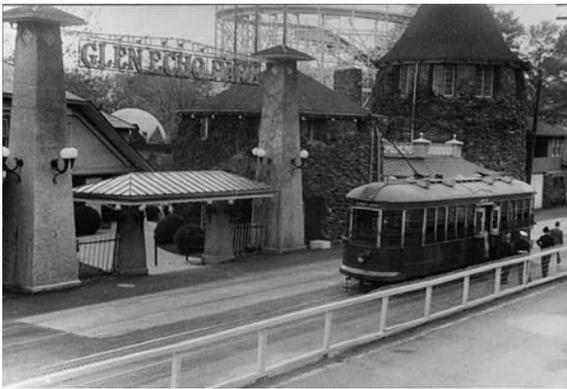
Mile 7 – Lock 7

- Abert and Kearney's report of 1831 notes that the use of Aquia freestone ceased at this point, with granite being used for Lock 7; page 11.
- according to McNeill's report, the granite for this lock came from a quarry just 1/8 of a mile away; granite from this quarry was also used for locks 9, 10, and 12; see page 18. [Also see Unrau, *Masonry Locks*, Appendix D.]

Mile 7.1 – Glen Echo & Clara Barton



*Glen Echo Park, Chautauqua Tower, HABS MD,16-
GLENEC.*



*"A view of the entrance of Glen Echo Park, showing
persons alighting from a Cabin John streetcar in front of
it," David Myers, 1939. Library of Congress Prints and
Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-129912*

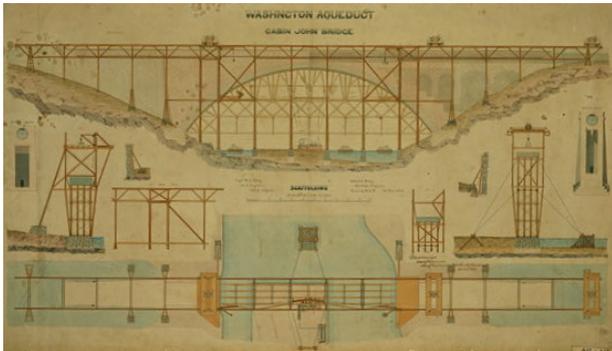
*Glen Echo Park : a story of survival : a
photo history of how a fabled Chautauqua
and legendary amusement park became a
thriving arts colony, Richard Cook and
Deborah Lange, Bethesda Communications
Group (2000)*

Elizabeth Brown Pryor, *Clara Barton;
Professional Angel:*

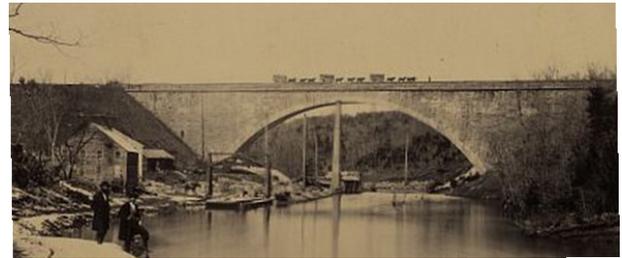
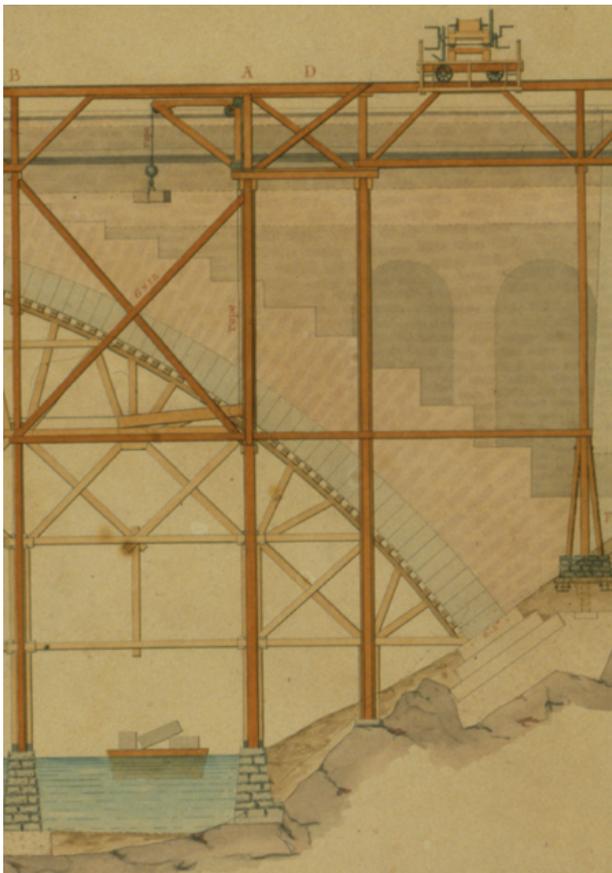
- invitation from Baltzley brothers to relocate to Chautauqua site at Glen Echo, page 264.
- moves household to Glen Echo in 1897, page 298.
- George Pullman and "former prostitutes, chronic debtors, and other misfits" at Glen Echo house, pages 300-301.

- events leading to resignation from presidency of American Red Cross in 1904, pages 330-354.
- need for professional management of Red Cross, page 343.
- commingling of personal and official records, page 357.
- efforts to remove Barton from Glen Echo house, including roller coaster around her house, ca. 1907; life at Glen Echo in fall, winter, and spring; pages 360-361.

Mile 7.6 – Cabin John Bridge & Bobinger Hotel



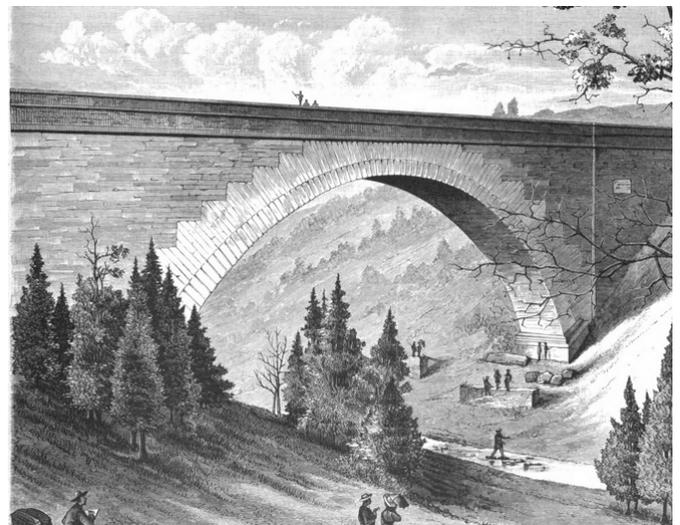
*“WATERCOLOR RENDERING OF CABIN JOHN BRIDGE SCAFFOLDING. CAPTAIN M.C. MEIGS, CHIEF ENGINEER; ALFRED RIVES, ASSISTANT ENGINEER, DELINEATOR. NOVEMBER 30, 1859”
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division
Call Number: HAER MD,16-CABJO,1--12 (CT)
Detail showing blocks of stone being lifted from barges:*



*Detail from “Cabin John Bridge, looking up stream,” circa 1861-1865, Andrew J. Russell, photographer.
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division
Call Number: LOT 4336, no. 17*



“Perspective view of Union Arch, Washington Aqueduct, built by Gen. M.C. Meigs”. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. LC-DIG-ppmsca-08303



*UNION ARCH, CABIN JOHN CREEK.
Scientific American, July 23, 1881*

References on the Washington Aqueduct and the Cabin John Bridge:

- *History of the Washington Aqueduct*, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Washington, DC, 1952.
- *The Washington Aqueduct 1852-1992*, Harry C. Ways (Chief of the Aqueduct, 1971-1992).
- "Cabin John Bridge," William T. S. Curtis, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 2, 1899.

Cabin John Bridge is discussed by Harry C. Ways in "Montgomery C. Meigs and the Washington Aqueduct," in *Montgomery C. Meigs and the Building of the Nation's Capital*, edited by William C. Dickinson, Dean A. Herrin, and Donald R. Kennon, Ohio University Press, Athens, OH, 2001.

- See pages 40-44 for a discussion of the inscriptions on the arch.

§ Jefferson Davis inscription

The details on the Jefferson Davis inscription are based on *The Restoration of the Name of Jefferson Davis to the Cabin John Bridge, Washington, District of Columbia*, published by The Confederate Southern Memorial Association, of New Orleans, Louisiana, 1909.

Other notes on the Jefferson Davis inscription:

- Although Davis' name was chiseled out, the title of "Secretary of War" was left untouched (see photo above).
- The order to remove Davis' name has traditionally been attributed to Caleb Smith, the Secretary of the Interior, at the suggestion of Representative Galusha Grow of Pennsylvania, who was Speaker of the House.
- The Confederate Southern Memorial Association passed a resolution in 1907 calling for the restoration of Jefferson Davis' name to the tablet, and began a lobbying campaign through Secretary of War Luke Wright, who was a Confederate

veteran. (Wright had enlisted as a 15-year old in Tennessee and was cited for bravery under fire in the battle of Murfreesboro, 1863.) There was some doubt that Roosevelt would grant the Association's request—a sympathetic Senator advised them in January 1909 that "it is a matter that may very well be left with Mr. Taft," the incoming President, whose inauguration was approaching in March.

- Southern newspapers hailed the decision to restore Davis' name as conciliatory step, but also used it as an opportunity to attack the original decision:

"The mutilation of the tablet by order of a vindictive Congress in 1862 was perhaps the pettiest act of which the National Legislature, in all its history, has been guilty ... By the mere removal of his [Jefferson Davis'] name from the tablet, his would-be detractors could not rob him of the credit that accrued from his participation in the planning and construction of the bridge, any more than they could have destroyed the fact that he was one of the nation's ablest War Secretaries, by mere mutilation of the official records at Washington." [*Times-Democrat of New Orleans*, February 25, 1909, as cited in *The Restoration of the Name of Jefferson Davis*.]

- One of the arguments made by those who wanted to remove Jefferson Davis' name was that work on the Cabin John Bridge portion of the aqueduct system was begun in 1857, shortly after Davis had left the post of Secretary of War, and that the plans that Davis had approved showed a five-arch structure, rather than the single arch that was constructed.
- In 1885, Theodore Roosevelt mentioned Jefferson Davis in an attack on Grover Cleveland's administration. Roosevelt criticized some of the "southern appointments," including that of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar to the Supreme Court. In Roosevelt's opinion, "a Tory of 1776 had far more right on his side than had a Confederate of 1860," and

Lamar was a “professional apologist” for Jefferson Davis.

As to Davis, Roosevelt wrote that he “enjoys the unique distinction of being the only American with whose public character Benedict Arnold need not fear comparison.” See “The President’s Policy,” page 393, *The North American Review*, Volume CXLI, New York, NY, 1885.

- The contract to resurface the tablet “in place” and recarve all of its lettering was awarded to J.B. Shelton & Co. for \$147. According to newspaper accounts at the time, the stonecutter on the job was a Mr. J.B. Horne, a native of Mississippi, who happened to be in Washington for Taft's inauguration when the contract was advertised. Sympathetic to the cause, he had submitted what he thought would be a low bid of \$210. When he learned that he had been underbid by Shelton & Co., he subcontracted the work from them for \$127.75. The job took him from April 13 to May 19, 1909, and Horne subsequently sold the tools to the southern memorialists for display.
- Luke Wright biographical note from the U.S. Army Center for Military History.

§ Bobinger Hotel



View of the Bobinger's Cabin John Bridge Hotel, Montgomery County Historical Society.

Sources:

- Cabin John historical marker (on MacArthur Boulevard, next to west abutment of aqueduct bridge), Cabin John Citizens Association, 2001, based on research by Gerald Quinn and Peter Vogt.
- letter of Col. George H. Elliott, Office of the Washington Aqueduct, June 19, 1894, included in Report 1418, House of Representatives, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session.
- Judith Welles, “Cabin John: A one-time summer getaway hides a mystery in its name,” *Bethesda Magazine*, November-December 2009.
- Pamela Schipper, “Our Own Shangri-La: The Cabin John Bridge Hotel,” *Montgomery Magazine*, May/June 2013.
- “History of the Cabin John Hotel” and “The Cabin John Bridge Amusement Park,” by Richard Cook, *Glen Echo – Cabin John* website, last accessed August 14, 2012. <http://glenecho-cabinjohn.com>

Origins of the Cabin John Bridge Hotel

George H. Elliott, Colonel of Engineers, Office of the Washington Aqueduct, June 19, 1894:

General,

In respect of bill S. 2118 [authorizing sale of a parcel of land to William H. and George Bobiuger]:

Joseph Bobinger, the father of the persons above named, was one of the workmen employed under the late Gen. Meigs in the construction of Cabin John bridge about thirty years ago. After the completion of the bridge he purchased land west of the bridge, on both sides of what is now known as the Conduit road, and built a small hotel, which was enlarged from time to time into the extensive and well-known Cabin John Bridge Hotel, which my survey found to encroach on the Government land, as shown on the plat herewith. It is now, as I understand, owned by Mr Bobinger's sons, but they do not know, and I do not suppose that anyone now living knows, how the encroachment happened to be made, but I am satisfied it was done in ignorance of the boundary line of the United States land and without any wrong intent. The sale would not be detrimental to the Washington Aqueduct, and I recommend that the bill, amended as hereinafter mentioned, be passed...

Printed in United States Congressional Serial Set, The Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 1418.

Mile 14.4 Great Falls

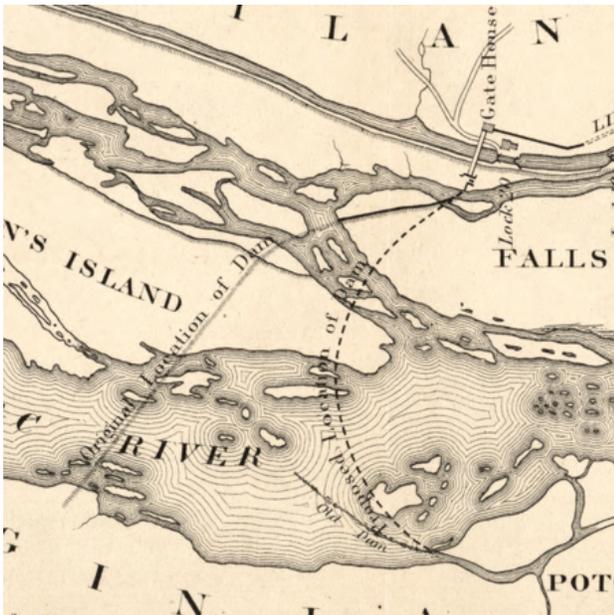


"Great Falls of the Potomac," drawn by George Beck, Philadelphia, engraved by J. Cartwright, London, dated 1801. Published by Atkins & Nightingale, London, 1802. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZC4-1721

George Washington owned original paintings by George Beck of Great Falls and Harper's Ferry, in much darker colors than this engraving. Originally painted in 1797 and hung in the executive residence in Philadelphia, they were moved to Mount Vernon and hung in the large dining room when Washington retired.

See George Washington's Mount Vernon on the web. [<http://emuseum.mountvernon.org>]

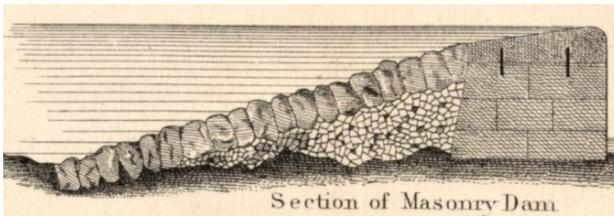
Great Falls surveyed as part of "Bear Den" for William Offutt April 4, 1729, Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Volume 1, page 788.



Plan for the Aqueduct dam [above] and section of the dam [below]. Note the “original location of dam” and the “proposed location” crossing Conn Island and Falls Island. Neither corresponds to the current location of the dam. Also note the “old dam” leading into the channel for the Potomac Company’s skirting canal on the Virginia side.

Maps of the Washington Aqueduct, Md. and Washington D.C., to accompany supplemental report of Chief Engineer dated Feb. 22nd 1864.

Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.
G3842.W3 svar .M3



Topographical map of the Estate of Great Falls Manufacturing Company, Fairfax Co., Va, 1866; Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.
G3883.F2 1866 .C3



Packet boat Louise at Great Falls Tavern.
National Park Service collection.



Great Falls Tavern seen from downstream.
Photo by M. High



Gatehouse for the Washington Aqueduct system [above]

*Additional buildings [below]
Photos by M. High*



§ Great Falls Park, Maryland

Harlan Unrau provides many details on the hotel and tavern operation, based on company records, in the *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*:

- “On November 20 W. W. Fenlon, who already had applied for permission to commence a packet service between Georgetown and Great Falls, was confirmed as the keeper of Locks Nos. 15-20...”; page 787.
- “Less than a week later, the board determined to make some special arrangements with Fenlon for having taken charge of Locks Nos. 15-20. In addition to a salary increase to \$400 per year, Mercer was authorized to spend \$200 for the addition of a kitchen to Lockhouse No. 12, \$500 for an additional building, and \$100 for other outhouses. These outlays would enable Fenlon to establish a hotel at Great Falls, which was soon named Crommelin House. Within eight months it was decided to make further improvements to Fenlon’s hotel at company expense, the principle projects being the outside plastering of the lockhouse, the construction of a second story, and the erection of a porch in front of the stone center portion of the house.” [Page 788]
- packet boats to Great Falls; page 339.
- decision by board of directors to name company’s property at Great Falls for Crommelin firm, circa 1831; description of buildings; pages 665-666.
- exception to 1831 ban on lockkeepers selling intoxicating liquors; page 802.
- board decides to discontinue rental of the lockhouses at Rushville and Crommelin as taverns, effective July 1, 1850; page 802
- in 1851, the board authorizes company rental of the Ball Room at Crommelin House in return for allowing Daniel Collins, the tender at Locks Nos. 19 and 20, to operate a grocery store in the building; page 832.
- attempt to ban sale of liquor on the steam packet *Congress*, in response to allegations

by Montgomery C. Meigs that the boat was providing liquor to workers on the Washington Aqueduct, 1855; page 356.

- board permits Henry Busey, tender at Locks Nos. 19-20, to reestablish use of the lockhouse as hotel or “ordinary” in 1858; pages 802-803.
- apparently Busey was almost immediately succeeded by George W. Case, as Unrau states that Case, “the keeper of the locks at Great Falls from 1858 to 1872, was allowed the privilege of continuing to operate the hotel under the same conditions.” [Page 803]
- C&O company authorizes George W. Case, the tender at Locks Nos. 19-20, to establish a tavern at Crommelin House, Sept. 24, 1864; page 752. [Unclear if this included the sale of liquor, per the previous reference]

The description of the tavern in 1859 is from the account edited by Ella E. Clark and published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* as “Life on the C.&O. Canal: 1859,” Vol. 55, No. 2, June 1960, page 115.

Most of the details on the construction of the Aqueduct’s intake works and the gatehouse at Great Falls are from the National Historic Landmark study prepared by Ben Levy and Paul Ghioto of the National Park Service in 1973, revised in 2001 by Eliza Burden and Hugh B. McAloon; see page 7 on the gatehouse.

Meigs’ survey for the Washington Aqueduct; ceremonies and dinner at Great Falls:

- description of “Grand Celebration” in Meigs’ journal and the *National Inquirer*; Harry C. Ways, *Washington Aqueduct, 1852-1992*, pages 13-16.
- Harry Ways, “Montgomery C. Meigs and the Washington Aqueduct,” in *Montgomery C. Meigs and the Building of the Nation’s Capital* (Dickinson, Herrin, Kennon, editors); pages 21-28.

§ Matildaville, Widow Myers, Dickey’s Farmhouse, the Potts and Wilson ironworks, and the canal at Great Falls, Virginia



Dickey’s Tavern, from DCPL Commons, DC Public Library.

Robert J. Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal*:

- tenure of Captain Myers, 1796-1797, hiring of Leonard Harbaugh (June 1797), pages 97-100.
- composition of Harbaugh’s labor force, pages 102-103.
- stone from Seneca, page 103.
- completion of canal and locks at Great Falls, pages 104-108.

Corra Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*:

- Henry Lee, condemnation of property at Great Falls, and Matildaville, pages 84-85 and 87.
- Harbaugh and completion of the locks at Great Falls, pages 94, 102
- machinery for hoisting merchandise at Great Falls, page 98.

“That forty acres of land at the Great Falls of the Patowmack in Loudoun County, in the possession of Bryan Fairfax shall be and they are hereby vested in George Gilpin, Albert Russell, William Gunnell, Josiah Clapham, Richard Bland Lee, Levin Powell and Samuel Love, gentlemen trustees, to be

by them or a majority of them laid off into lots of half an acre each with convenient streets and established a town by the name of Matidaville.

Chapter XLV, "An act to establish several towns," passed the 16th of December, 1790, Hening, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, pages 170-172.

History of Patowmack Canal:

Matildaville: a discussion of the Patowmack Company, its canal, and Matildaville, George Washington Memorial Parkway, Great Falls, Virginia, Arthur G. Barnes, Williamsburg, Va. : Southside Historical Sites, Inc., 1978.

- the study states that Henry Lee purchased 500 acres of land at Great Falls sometime prior to 1790, page 51. [Without a precise date or citation for the transaction, this is somewhat questionable especially considering the lease cited by Debbie Robison below, and the specifications for the town of Matildaville given in the 1790 statute.]

- Matildaville chartered by Virginia legislature in 1790 and abolished in 1839, page 74.

- first auctions of lots in 1795 and 1797, page 75.

- buildings at Matildasville (never more than a half-dozen at any one time), page 78-81.

Debbie Robison, "Formation and Development of the Town of Matildaville, Virginia," *Northern Virginia History Notes*, August 11, 2011.

[<http://www.novahistory.org>, last accessed September 9, 2012.]

- Robison states that Henry Lee leased land at Great Falls from Bryan Fairfax for 900 years, citing lease dated September 3, 1793, Fairfax County Chancery #1832-006.

- the Patowmack company built a two-story superintendent's house, and adjacent lodgings for workers on Lot 1; after Christopher Myers died, his widow opened a tavern in the superintendent's house (advertised in 1799). Lucy Lee was

operating it as a boardinghouse by 1845, when a newspaper account of a visit to the Falls described it as a "ruined house"; and probably continued to do so until her death in 1873.

- building on Lot 4 operated as tavern as early as 1820, by William Hubbell (1820), Isaac Adams (1821), William Hubbell again, Lewis Sewell (1829, also briefly proprietor of Crommelin House on the canal).

- tavern sold to Thomas Ap Catesby Jones in 1846; William Dickey operated it under lease as early as 1844; briefly leased by William Henry in 1854; Dickey resumed operation of tavern through 1880, when his son James was listed as head of household; Wm. Dickey died in 1887; James Dickey died in 1896; his wife Julia continued to operate the tavern and ferry; Dickey family moved away in 1935, after which Mr. and Mrs. David Shifflett rented the house until it was destroyed by fire in 1950.

Further details from *Washington Post* articles cited in Debbie Robison's research:

- James Dickey paralyzed while attempting to row cyclists (local cyclists, Baltimore cyclists, and Harlem Wheelmen) across Potomac; "Stricken Down in His Boat," *The Washington Post*, February 18, 1896.

- "Trip to Great Falls" promotes carriage excursions from the end of the trolley line at Cabin John; describes Dickey's; *The Washington Post*, July 14, 1901.

- description of flood at Great Falls; "Falls are Wiped Out," *The Washington Post*, March 2, 1902.

- recollection of Teddy Roosevelt, "as president," walking the towpath and dining at Dickey's; "Who Remembers," *The Washington Post*, November 23, 1924.

The "Potts and Wilson Forge/Foundry Site" is described in a Registration Form for the National Register of Register of Historic Places, prepared for the Great Falls Historic District, by Edie Wallace, historian, and Paula S. Reed Ph.D.,

architectural historian, Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc., Hagerstown, MD, April 2008-September 2010.

- See pages 7-8. The entry for the forge/foundry site concludes: “Wilson and Potts operated the forge and foundry until 1804 when the property was transferred to Fernando Fairfax. The forge and foundry may have operated as late as 1830 but would have ceased when the canal was abandoned in that year, removing opportunity to transport products.”

The Potts and Wilson Iron Forge/ Foundry, Patowmack Canal, Great Falls Park, Virginia, Charles G. Troup, Arthur G. Barnes, et al, Williamsburg, Va. : Southside Historical Sites, Inc., 1978.

- The study notes the paucity of documentary evidence on the existence and operation of the forge/foundry; suggests that it was in operation by 1793, was probably continued in operation by Fernando Fairfax after the sale of 1804; and probably ceased operation in 1828, when the Patowmack Company was absorbed into the C&O Canal. [This last date was suggested based on the operation’s need for water; however, water would have been available at least until 1830, as the C&O continued to operate the canal at Great Falls until it had completed construction on the Maryland side of the river.]

- Neither the review of official documents or the archeological work produced any evidence of a blast furnace at the forge/foundry site, leaving open the question of the source of pig iron for the works. [The authors make no reference to Potts and Wilson’s operation at Keep Triste, which was producing pig iron in the same period.]

The business relationships of Wilson, Potts, and Henry Lee, at Great Falls and at Keep Triste, are discussed in Chapter 8 of the *History of Eastern Jefferson County*, West Virginia, William D. Theriault, Hagerstown, Maryland, 2009.

Last accessed August 15, 2012.

<http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org>

Works not yet accessed:

- *Archaeology of Patowmack Canal, Matildaville : an archaeological survey pf the general environs of the Canal*, George Washington Memorial Parkway, Great Falls, Virginia, Charles G. Troup, Williamsburg, Va. : Southside Historical Sites, Inc., c/o Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1978.

§ Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, South Lowell, & the Great Falls Manufacturing Company

Gene A. Smith, *Thomas Ap Catesby Jones: Commodore of Manifest Destiny:*

- Great Falls Manufacturing Company, and South Lowell; pages 95-96.
- arrival at San Francisco, November 20, 1848; return to Washington, DC, July 15, 1850; pages 135 and 147.
- trial and execution of Peter Black and John Black, pages 146 and 147.

Quote from Jones ["To send troops out here would be needless..."] from J.B. Holliday, *The World Rushed In; The California Gold Rush Experience*, pages 35-36.

Rand Richards, *Mud, Blood, and Gold: San Francisco in 1849:*

- Geary arrives in San Francisco, March 1849, page 32.
- Geary elected alcade of San Francisco and takes office on August 6, 1849, pages 130-131.
- description of execution of Peter Black and John Black, pages 161-162.
- Geary elected first mayor, May 1, 1850, page 195.

Frank W. Gapp focuses on Thomas Ap Catesby Jones' activities in the Pacific, including the capture of Monterey, in "'The Kind-Eyed Chief': Forgotten Champion of Hawaii's Freedom," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Hawaii Historical Society, 1985.

Descriptions of Great Falls

Went early in the morning to Georgetown where Mr. Frank Dodge, Mr. Tenney and I took horses and went up to the Great Falls, about twelve miles. Visited on the way the cannon foundry, saw them boring the solid cast iron cannon. Viewed the locks at the lower Falls where the boats pass with ease. The canal is about two miles in length. Passed the great bridge which is a very handsome one and well built in the form of the bridge over the Merrimac above Newburyport. The river very narrow near and at the bridge, but said to be deep. Arrived at the Great Falls and put up at Mrs. Myers. The appearance of the river is singular; filled with rocks about three fourths of a mile—no large cataracts but frequent falls and brought into a narrow bed with high rocky banks at the locks. At the lower locks appeared about forty feet wide; said to be thirty five feet deep. The work of the locks (six in number) very neat. The lower lock cut through a solid rock by blasting about forty seven feet deep and twelve feet wide. The water was to have passed this day, but not being quite completed is to be opened for the passage of boats on Tuesday, February second. The canal is three fourths of a mile. It is a place capable of much business by water works, but indolence reigns and the country through which we passed the picture of laziness, negligence and poverty. Old fields and woods.

Manaseh Cutler, January 30, 1802, from Corra Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*, pages 103-104.

I now ascended a hill that led to the *Great Falls*, and on a sudden my steps were suspended by the conflict of elements, the strife of nature. I beheld the course of a large river abruptly obstructed by rocks, over which it was breaking with a tremendous roar; while the foam of the water seemed ascending to the clouds, and the shores that confined it to tremble at the convulsion. I gazed for some time in silent awe at this war of elements, when having recovered from my admiration, I could not help exclaiming to the Great Maker of Heaven and of Earth, "Lord! What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou regardest him?" For several hours I continued gazing at these Falls lost in musing over the grandest object the Universe can supply and when I beheld the wilderness around me I could not but be impressed with the idea that nature delighted to perform her wonders in the secrecy of solitude.

The obstruction of these Falls to boats conveying the produce of the interior country to Alexandria and the city of Washington has been obviated with unremitting labour by the construction of locks and large boats ascend and descend without much difficulty. Of these locks it may be expected that I should give some account; but after the noble spectacle of the Falls, I had no disposition to examine an Aqueduct devised probably by the incitement of avarice or luxury. When I journeyed fifteen miles out of the beaten road, it was not art but nature that called me.

John Davis, *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America: during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, published in London, 1803, pages 338-339.

The wild and romantic scenery of the Great Falls, which are seen most to advantage from the Virginia side, is scarcely to be equaled. There a stupendous projecting rock covered with cedar, where one may sit and gaze at waters dashing with impetuosity over the rugged surface. At the close of winter, vast masses of ice, rolling over the rocks with a hideous crash, present a scene sublime. To those whose curiosity leads them to visit this terrific sport of nature, it may be useful to mention that, at a small distance, M. de Caraman, and the author of this account found a hospitable cabin that afforded oats to their horses, and eggs, milk, and ham for themselves.

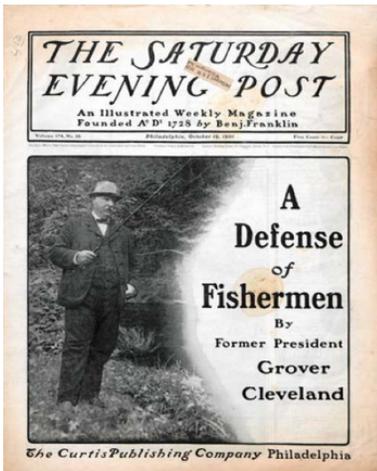
David Baille Warden, *Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia*, published in Paris in 1816, pages 11-12.

Mile 17.7 – Watts Branch

Louis Berger, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Walter Evans patented “Dung Hill” on Watts Branch in 1715; mill shown on that site by 1737 (Winslow’s map); in 1752 Evans patented an adjacent tract he called “Beggars Benison”; page 79.

Mile 19.6 – Pennyfield Lock



“A Defense of Fishermen,” by Grover Cleveland, cover of *Saturday Evening Post*, October 19, 1901. Also see *Fishing and Shooting Sketches*, Grover Cleveland, *Outing Publication Company*, New York, 1907.

Pennyfield Lock, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal NHP Cultural Landscape Inventory, 2004.

- family name spelled “Pennifield,” page 3.
- Dufief’s warehouse and wharf at Lock 22, circa 1848-1860; stored flour shipped downstream and fertilizer shipped up from Georgetown; pages 40-41.
- Grover Cleveland’s fishing trip(s) and stay at the Pennifield house, page 55.

“Historic home, once a stopover for Grover Cleveland, comes down,” Erin Donaghue, *The Gazette*, Gaithersburg, Maryland, Wednesday, Oct. 7, 2009. Historical dating credited to Clare Kelly, the research and designation coordinator for Montgomery County’s Historic Preservation office.

Henry F. Graff, *Grover Cleveland*:

- *Buffalo Evening Telegraph* article; pages 60-62.
- White House wedding; pages 78-80.

Grover Cleveland quote on government support; H.W. Brands, *American Colossus*, pages 433-434.

“Tobytown Cemetery,” Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, prepared by Clare Lise Cavecchi, M-

NCPCC, May, 1994; and Worksheet prepared by Michael F. Dwyer:

- community established by William Davis, Ailsie Martin, and Emory Genus; in 1875, Davis paid John and Susan Rouzee \$8 for 4 acres of land; Martin and Genus bought a 5-acre parcel from the Rouzees for \$100.
- Pennyfield Lock Road was known as Warehouse Road, DuFief Road, and Muddy Branch Road.
- classes held in Baptist church.
- described as “small kinship community” with few ties to the nearest black communities of Berryville, Seneca, and The Pines.
- residents worked as laborers, domestics, cooks, and gardeners; decline in demand for rural labor as farms in the area were turned into exclusive estates.
- circa 1965, community used a single well; houses did not have indoor plumbing or electricity.
- Montgomery County Council designated Tobytown an “urban renewal area” in 1967; 26 townhouses built in 1972, replacing earlier houses.

Mile 19.7 – Muddy Branch



Flour being loaded onto a rowboat at the Muddy Branch, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 12, 1861, page 342.

Pennyfield Lock, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal NHP Cultural Landscape Inventory, 2004.
• Dufief's mill described as being at the mouth of Muddy Branch, but actually two miles upstream; petition for Dufief's road; pages 40-41.

Mosby's Raid 1863, see Skirmish at Seneca Mills, Md. REPORTS, [Official Records](#) Series 1, Volume 27 (Part II), June 10, 1863.

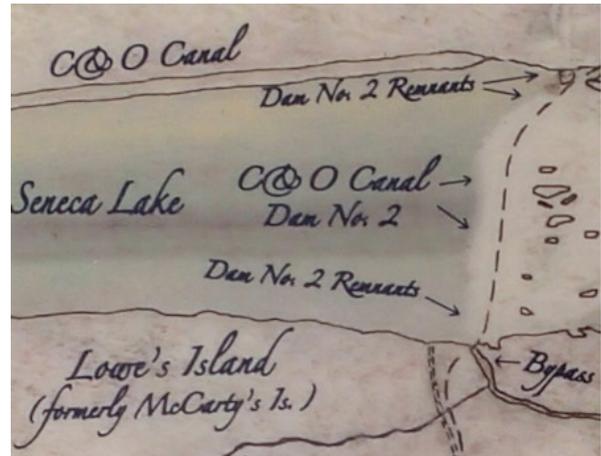
Mosby's Raid 1864, see [Official Records](#), Series 1 - Volume 37 (Part II), page 353.

Major Ludlam and Major Waite at Muddy Branch; see [Official Records](#), Series 1 - Volume 43 (Parts I and II); for disappearance of Waite, see Part II, page 311.

Charles T. Jacobs, *Civil War Guide to Montgomery County, Maryland*, 36-38.

Mosby's Rangers, A Record of the Operations of the Forty-Third Battalion, Virginia Cavalry, by James J. Williamson.

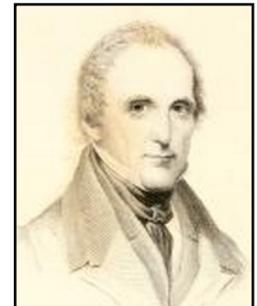
Mile 22 – Dam #2 and Rowsers Ford



Location of Rowser's Ford, as shown on interpretive marker at Seneca (Virginia) Park.

The cavalry crossing at Rowser's Ford is described in Major Henry B. McClellan's memoir, *I Rode with Jeb Stuart*, Indiana University Press, 1985, pages 323-324.

“Richard Rush of Pennsylvania,” *Democratic Review*, April, 1840, No. XXVIII. — “Political Portraits with Pen and Pencil,” reprinted by William H. Colyer, New York, 1840, pages 21-22:



“He ceased to be Secretary of the Treasury in March, 1829, when General Jackson's administration commenced, and a couple of months afterwards went to England at the united request of the City of Washington and towns of Georgetown and Alexandria, to negotiate for them a loan of a million and a half of dollars, which Congress had authorized them to make at six per cent., for the purpose of meeting their subscriptions to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The credit of these places being supposed to be but little known in Europe, no sanguine expectations of his success appear to have been entertained. There were merchants in Baltimore who alleged that he would not obtain it under

twenty per cent., and bankers in Philadelphia who predicted that it could not be got at all. His first attempts to get it in England were not successful. In July he crossed over to Holland, where he was also thwarted at first, and returned again to England, where he encountered adverse influences a second time ; and did not, as hinted in his communications, consider himself as having been treated with any extreme measure of liberality by the Barings. Staying in London throughout the autumn, and waiting events, a correspondence was opened between himself and the house of the Cromelines of Amsterdam — that ancient house of scrupulous honor, and endeared to the United States by having been first to trust them in their glorious but perilous Revolutionary struggle. This correspondence was actively yet silently carried on for some months, and ended in Mr. Rush's obtaining the whole loan at Five and a half per cent., with which he returned home in January, 1830. He made a full report of his proceedings to his three constituents, and the City of Washington published it. The municipal government of the City, and that of each of the towns, passed resolutions approving of his course in the whole matter, and thanking him for his judicious and successful exertions. This trip to Europe renovated his health, which has since been uninterrupted.”

Mile 22.7 – Seneca Aqueduct & Riley’s Lock



South Elevation of Seneca Aqueduct, Historic American Engineering Record, HAER MD-22.



Riley's Lockhouse. Photo by author, 2011.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- according to a lease dated 1722, Henry Thickpenny was settled at the mouth of Seneca Creek; first mill built on Seneca Creek dated to 1732, based on survey of Seneca Creek Ford for Cornelius Elting; Tschiffelys rebuilt the mill circa 1900 and operated it until 1931; page 79.

Harlan Unrau, *Monocacy Aqueduct Historic Structure Report*, page 30:

- Water was let into the canal in the last weeks of October 1833; Engineer Cruger reports on November 1: “There is four feet [of] water from Harpers ferry to the 1st Lock below the Monocacy, and navigable water thence to the Beaver Dam Culvert, and the water is coming on rapidly to Seneca; it will reach here by 12 o’clock today. There is no leak or appearance of break on the whole line; the manner in which the canal holds water is a subject of

admiration to all those who are witnessing it.”

Chronology of construction from *The Seneca Aqueduct Historic Structure Report*:

OCTOBER 21, 1828: The C & O Canal Company formally accepted the bid of Holdsworth and Isherwood to construct Aqueduct No. 1.

DECEMBER 1831 or JANUARY 1832: The C & O Canal Company formally accepted the bid of Obediah Gordon to construct the wing walls of Aqueduct No. 1.

MARCH 31, 1832: The C & O Canal Company formally accepted the bid of Gideon Davis to construct the railing for Aqueduct No. 1.

APRIL 28, 1832: A final estimate was presented to the C & O Canal Company regarding the contract of Holdsworth and Isherwood. The aqueduct was probably completed in early spring of that year.

WINTER 1873-74: The berm parapet and spandrels of Aqueduct No. 1 were rebuilt.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1971: The west arch of the parapet collapsed during a heavy flood. Following the storm, the National Park Service took steps to stabilize the aqueduct.

Harlan Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 230 and 239:

- Lock No. 24

October 25, 1828: Contract let to Holdsworth and Isherwood.

March, 1829: Work commenced on lock.

May 5, 1830: Contract assigned to Richard Holdsworth.

March, 1832: Work completed on lock.

Cost: \$8,886.88

- Seneca Aqueduct

Aqueduct No. 1 [Seneca Aqueduct]: Section No. 35

October 25, 1828: Contract let to Holdsworth and Isherwood.

July, 1829: Work commenced on aqueduct.

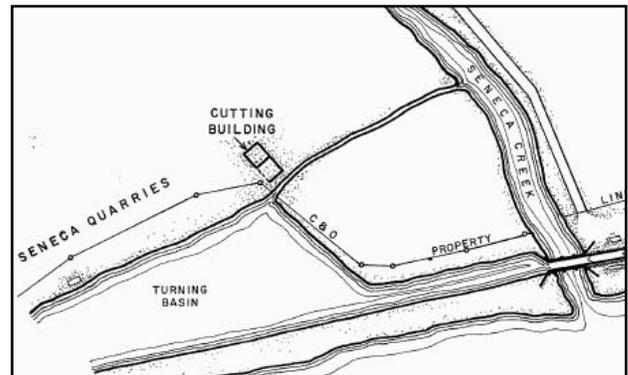
March–April, 1832: Work completed on aqueduct.

Cost: \$24,340.25

Reminiscences of Raymond Riley about life on the canal and his father’s work at Lock No. 24; Elizabeth Kyle, *Home on the Canal*, pages 226-241.

The Piedmont & the Sugar Lands

Mile 22.8 – Seneca stonecutting mill & quarries



Detail from map of Seneca area prepared by the Historic American Building Survey, HABS MD-299.

Chesapeake and Ohio Canal: Official National Park Handbook:

- “quarry sap”; mill constructed 1837; stone cut for other quarries and used for U.S. Capitol and Washington Monument; pages 68-69.

Method used to test stone samples; choice of lilac-gray color; see “Sandstone, Canals, and the Smithsonian,” Paul H. Douglas and William K. Jones, *Smithsonian Journal of History*, Spring, 1968.

Seneca Sandstone Cutting Mill, MD 17-52, National Register of Historic Places, Nomination Form, prepared by Nancy Miller, historian, and Michael Bourne, Surveyor, Maryland Historical Trust, 1972. [Cites “Sandstone, Canals, and the Smithsonian,” Paul H. Douglas and William K. Jones, *Smithsonian Journal of History*, Spring, 1968.]

- quarries established on lands granted to Richard Brightwell in 1695.

- James Renwick selected stone for construction of the Smithsonian building 1847-1848; quarry then owned by John Peter.

[Appended pages] According to researcher Robert Kasparak:

- mill building was constructed in the 1830s and later enlarged.
- ownership changed hands several times, with Clement Smith selling the quarry to John Parke Custis Peter in 1837.
- Seneca Red Sandstone Company worked the quarry in 1850.
- Seneca Red Sandstone Company “assumed control of the quarries in 1867”; forced to sell the quarries to Seneca Stone Company in 1891; quarries closed in 1900.

“Peter’s Quarry”:

- Stone from quarry used for the locks at Great Falls; Kapsch, *Potomac Canal*, pages 98 and 103.
- Robert Peter, businessman and mayor of Georgetown, was the father of Thomas Peter, who married Martha Washington’s granddaughter, see editorial note to entry for March 14, 1797, *Diaries of George Washington*, Jackson and Twohig, Vol. 6, 239.
- Robert Peter bought land at Seneca in 1781, and leased 100-acre lots to tenant farmers; his sons developed sandstone and marble quarries along the Potomac; John Parke Custis Peter was the son of Thomas Peter; see Clare Lise Kelly, *Places from the Past*, pages 152-153 and 165.

Harlan Unrau, *The Seneca Aqueduct, Historic Structure Report*:

- condemnation of J.P.C. Peter’s land for canal right of way, 1829-1830; “By the terms of the deed, the company was given the right to quarry 20,000 cubic yards of material from an adjacent piece of ground owned by Peter”; page 3.

Journal of the Board of Regents, Reports of Committees, Statistics, Etc., edited by William Rhees, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1879:

- Report of the Building Committee for 1847; page 589

- Letter from John Peter, dated Dec. 9, 1847 [1846?] offering stone from his quarry; page 599.
- Report of Dr. David Dale Owen, submitted March 15, 1847; pages 612-614.
- Report of Dr. Renwick, submitted March 24, 1847; page 661.
- Letter from Jame Coale, Pres., C&O Canal; page 680.

“Enslaved Labor and Building the Smithsonian: Reading the Stones,” Mark Auslander, Central Washington University, e-published by the *Southern Spaces* journal, Dec. 12, 2012 [updated/corrected Dec. 18, 2012].

- John Parke Custis Peter, son of Thomas Peter and Martha Custis Peter, grandson of Robert Peter, negotiated with the building committee to provide stone for the Smithsonian in 1847; died without a will in early 1848.
- circa 1795, 11 families of slaves owned by George and Martha Washington transferred to Martha Custis Peter as “patrimony” or “dower slaves”; Martha Custis Peters also inherited approx. 30 slaves after Martha Washington’s death in 1802.
- Thomas Peter passed on many of these slaves to his sons.
- “probable” that at least two of the slaves listed as J.P.C. Peter’s in 1848 were descended from the “dower slaves” that Martha Custis brought to Mount Vernon circa 1759.
- oral histories, supported by other evidence, indicate that most or all of the stonecutters at the Seneca Mill were slaves; after the war, the mill was worked by Irish and African-American laborers.

John P. C. Peter biography; died January 19, 1848 of “lock jaw”; see Maryland State Archives, *MSA SC 5496-035966*

Maryland Geological Survey, Vol. 2. Maryland Geological Survey, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, MD, 1898:

- tests on Seneca sandstone; pages 94 and 104-105.
- ownership of quarry by John Peter at time of Smithsonian interest; page 200.
- quarry most extensively operated was the “College quarry” [stone used for Georgetown college]; west of Peter’s quarry primary operators were Lee, Peter, and Vincent; page 201.
- Peter sold his interest to H. H. Dodge in 1867; Dodge formed Potomac Red Sandstone Co.; page 201.
- quarry closed in 1874 due to litigation; company reorganized in 1883 and “work pushed rapidly forward” until the canal was closed in June 1889 by flooding; page 201.
- property purchased in 1891 by George Mann of Baltimore and organized as the “Seneca Stone Company; page 201.
- characteristics of the “Seneca rock”; 203-206.
- contrary to earlier statements regarding litigation in 1874, gaps in operation of the quarries are ascribed to variable demand for sandstone; no work carried on at Seneca from 1875-1874; considerable activity from 1888-1891 [contradicts earlier statement that quarry was inactive 1889-1891 due to flood damage on canal]; almost no output in 1893; page 236.

Mile 26 – Horse Pen Branch

“Horse pens” used to trap horses, see *Cohongorooto: The Potomac above the Falls*, page 76.

Mile 27.2 Brightwell’s Hunting Quarters

William B. Marye, “The Old Indian Road,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume XV, 1920, page 392:

“Probably the earliest mention of this place is in a survey called “Brightwell’s Hunting Quarter” laid out August 29th, 1695, for Captain Richard Brightwell, about 20 miles above the falls of Potomack River on the land called the Sugar land.”

T. H. S. Boyd, *History Of Montgomery County, Maryland*, page 31.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Brightwell’s Hunting Quarters (also referred to as the plantation at Sugarlands) became the property of John Bradford, circa 1720, but no tenants noted; by 1733 there were 156 settlers listed in the “Patowmack Hundred” from Rock Creek to the Monocacy; pages 79-83.

Mile 30 – Edwards Ferry



Images of Edwards Ferry from National Park Service.

Edward's Ferry & Goose Creek

Harlan Unrau discusses the attempt to lengthen of the locks in the *Masonry Locks* study, pages 52-58. See the notes for Hist:IV:2 for additional information on the program to lengthen the lock walls.

Edward's Ferry as a crossing point for runaway slaves; see *Life in Black & White, Family and Community in the Slave South*, Brenda E. Stevenson, Oxford University Press, 1996, page 253.

Eugene Scheel, Loudoun County historian, cites Samuel Ellzey as the person who wrote in his memoirs about the Edwards Ferry escape route, alleging that the ferryman was the "underground agent of these organized thieves."

Washington Post, Loudoun Extra, May 27, 2001.

"The Goose Creek and Little River Navigation," W. E. Trout, III, *Virginia Cavalcade*, Library of Virginia, Winter, 1967. [The Balch Library in Leesburg has on file a longer draft of the article, including sketches of the skirting canals and the location of the many mills along Goose Creek and Little River.]

THE GOOSE CREEK SCENIC RIVER ATLAS, Historic Sites on the Goose Creek and Little River Navigation in Loudoun County, By Wm. E. Trout, III, [Virginia Canals & Navigation Society](#).

The story of the imprisonment and release of Elizabeth White and her companions is told by Mrs. John Sellman (Annie Hempstone) in Volume XXXV of *The Confederate Veteran*, 1927.

Report of Humphrey Brooke Powell is quoted on page 552 of *Landmarks of Old Prince William, A study of origins in Northern Virginia*, Fairfax Harrison, Richmond, Virginia, 1924, reprinted by the Prince William County Historical Commission. [Prince William County in its present state is located south of the Occoquan River, but before of Fairfax and Loudoun counties were created out of it, it stretched all the way to the Blue Ridge.]

§ The Civil War at Edward's Ferry



Detail from "Successful retreat of the National troops from the Virginian shore across a canal boat bridge at Edward's Ferry, on the night of 23rd October"; appears to depict a bridge across the river, but no pontoon or other bridge across the Potomac existed at this time. [A pontoon bridge was constructed at Edward's Ferry in 1863 for the crossing of the Union army during the Gettysburg campaign.]

Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper, 1861 Nov. 16, pp. 408-409. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZ62-90283

Captain Delany's testimony taken from pages 398-399 of the *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, 1863-1866*, U.S. Congress. [Pages 252-510 of the Report are reprinted as *The Battle of Ball's Bluff*, Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, New York, 1977]

Description of pickets crossing in winter is from a letter by Joseph Spencer, quoted in *LAST FULL MEASURE: The Life & Death of the First Minnesota Volunteers*, by Richard Moe, Holt, NY, 1993 [Contains a chapter on the 1st Minnesota's experiences while stationed at Edward's Ferry in 1861.]

See the description of likely crossing points for the Union army in Series 1, Volume 27, Part III the [Official Records](#) -- Chief Engineer Brigadier-General G.K. Warren's report of June 16, 1863; Major General Butterfield to Engineer Major Spaulding on June 19; Spaulding's request for additional pontoons on June 20; and Major-General Slocum.

Ballooning at Harper's Ferry:

- F. Stanbury Haydon, *Military Ballooning during the Early Civil War*.
- *The Eye of the Storm, Scrapbooks of Private Knox Sneden*, published in print and on-line at the [Musarium](#). [Entries for April contain interesting accounts of Professor Lowe's balloon corps in operation during the Peninsula Campaign in the spring of 1862.]

Other sources on Edwards Ferry during the Civil War:

- Charles T. Jacobs, *Civil War Guide to Montgomery County, Maryland*.
- John Schildt, *Roads to Gettysburg*.
- James A. Morgan, III, *A Little Short of Boats: The Battles of Ball's Bluff and Edwards Ferry, October 21-22, 1861*.
- Byron Farwell, *Ball's Bluff, A Small Battle and Its Long Shadow*.

Mile 35 – Whites Ferry



Bridge over canal at Whites Ferry, with warehouse in background. C&O National Park Archive.

For a description of the bridge over the canal at Whites Ferry, see Bearss, *Bridges*, pages 88-91.

Civil War Guide to Montgomery County, Maryland, Charles T. Jacobs.

Elijah V. White

The best reference for the life of Elijah White is the two-part biographical sketch authored by Charles and Marian Waters Jacobs, “Colonel Elijah Viers White,” published in *The Montgomery County Story*, Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, MD, Volume 21, No. 4 and Volume 22, No. 1 (November 1978 and February 1979).

Further details on the clandestine activities of Mrs. White appeared in Charles T. Jacobs, “Civil War Fords and Ferries in Montgomery County,” Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, MD, Volume 40, No. 1, February 1997, pages 418-41.

35th Battalion, Virginia Cavalry, John E. Divine, H.E. Howard, Inc., Lynchburg, VA, 1985. This highly sympathetic account of the Confederate unit combines the Jacobs’ research with other sources on the activities of “White’s Comanches.”

- biographical details from White’s youth, and speculation as to his reasons for going to Kansas and leaving, page 1.
- formation of “White’s Rebels” in January 1862, page 3.
- White’s recruiting notice during Maryland campaign, page 11.
- resumption of independent status after Gettysburg, page 36.
- desertion of 60 men from companies A and C, December 1863, pages 42-43.
- Patterson Creek raid, January 1864, page 44.
- John Mobberly, page 54-56.

Virgil Carrington Jones, *Gray ghosts and Rebel raiders; The Daring Exploits of the Confederate Guerillas*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1956. The classic account of the partisan fighters along the Potomac, told with a literary flair but essentially accurate and well-footnoted.

- White's quarrel with J.E.B. Stuart (based on account by Myers in *Comanches*), pages 112-113.
- near mutiny of White's men upon transfer to regular duty, page 137.
- Patterson Creek raid, pages 214-215.

Frank M. Myers, *The Comanches, A History of White's Battalion, Virginia Cavalry*, Kelly, Piet & Co., Baltimore, MD, 1871. [Myers is the most-frequently cited reference to the battalion's activities; he was a Captain in White's Battalion, and the front page states "Approved by all the Officers of the Battalion."].

- quarrel with J.E.B. Stuart in Frederick, Maryland, 107-109.
- "White's Battalion" mustered into regular service (Army of Northern Virginia), page 121.
- near mutiny of White's men upon transfer to regular duty, page 148.

Jubal Early, *Narrative of the War Between the States*:

- White's cavalry during Gettysburg campaign, pages 255-258 and 263-264.

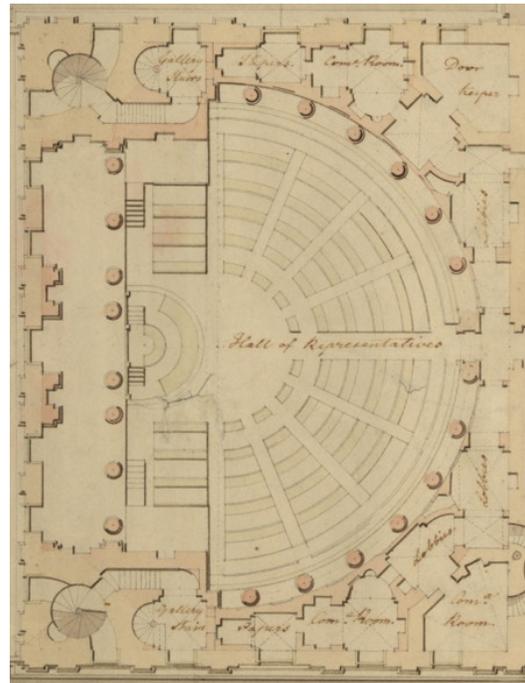
Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: the life and times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA, defender of the lost cause*:

- White reinforces Jubal's command at Chambersburg and proceeds on raid to Wrightsville, June 1863, page 179-180.
- opinion of Imboden's command and of partisan irregulars, 221-223.

Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia:

- White, Elijah V., Vertical File
- Elijah V. White's Ball's Bluff Address (SC 0023)

Mile 38 – Marble Quarry



The positions of the breccia columns are indicated in Latrobe's 1817 plan for the Hall of Representatives, south wing of the U.S. Capitol (now Statuary Hall). Detail from "Principle floor plan, vestibule, library & senate chamber, House of Representatives," dated March 18, 1817. Library of Congress.

Latrobe's letters on the Potomac breccia are included in *The Correspondence & Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, edited by John C. Van Horne, Yale University Press, 1988. In particular, see the letter dated August 8, 1815. The original copy of Latrobe's letter to the commissioners is in the National Archives.

Latrobe recounts how he came across the marble stone and arranged to obtain it for columns in the Capitol in a letter to the *National Intelligencer*, January 18, 1817.

Further evidence of the location of the quarry is found in a sketch of Latrobe's entitled "Breccia Marble Rock opposite Clapham's Island, March 14, 1816," held by the *Maryland Historical Society*. (Clapham's Island is present-day Mason's Island, not to be confused with

Analostan/Roosevelt Island, which was sometimes also called Mason's Island.)

David Grimstead writes about the marble stone in "Conglomerate Rock," the concluding chapter of *A Republic for the Ages, The United States Capitol and the Political Culture of the Early Republic*.

Mile 38.9 – Whites Ford

Jubal Early, *Narrative of the War Between the States*.

- White's ford, pages 134-135.
[General Jubal A. Early was under the command of Stonewall Jackson at the Second Battle of Manassas and during the ensuing Maryland Campaign.]

Make Me a Map of the Valley--The Civil War Journal of Stonewall Jackson's Topographer, Jedediah Hotchkiss, edited by Archie P. McDonald, [Southern Methodist University Press](#), 1973:

- crossing White's ford during 1862 Maryland campaign, pages 78-79.
- crossing White's ford after Early's 1864 raid on Washington, page 215.

Heros von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*:

- description of White's Ford, pages 129-130.

[Heros von Borcke was a Prussian officer of giant stature who accompanied J.E.B. Stuart's command for much of 1862 and 1863, until he was wounded on July 19, 1863 in a skirmish at Middleburg Virginia at the beginning of the Gettysburg campaign. In his writings he often waxes poetic about the beauties of war, but in this passage his (somewhat purple) prose pays homage to the Potomac River just below the mouth of the Monocacy.]

The story of Major Harman is told by John D. Imboden as a footnote in "Incidents of the First Bull Run," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Volume 1, The Century Company, New York, 1884-1887, page 238.

"How Stuart Got Back Across the Potomac," by Col. Wilbur S. Nye, *Civil War Times Illustrated*, Volume IV #9, January 1966.

Descriptions of the crossing at Whites Ford

Jedediah Hotchkiss: It was a noble spectacle, the broad river, fringed by the lofty trees in full foliage; the exuberant wealth of the autumnal wild flowers down to the very margin of the stream and a bright green island stretched away to the right.

Heros von Borcke: About two o'clock in the afternoon we received orders to move on, and after a dusty and very much impeded march of two hours, winding through infantry columns, and compelled frequently to halt, we reached the Potomac at White's Ford, where the cavalry were to cross. The banks of this noble river, which is of great width at this point, rise to the height of about sixty feet above the bed of the stream, and are overshadowed by gigantic trees of primeval growth, the trunks and branches of which are enwrapped with luxuriant vines, that, after reaching the top, fall in graceful streamers and festoons to the ground, thus presenting tangles of tender verdure rarely seen in the forests of Europe. At White's Ford the Potomac is divided into two streams by a sandy strip of island in the middle. This island is half a mile in length, and offered us a momentary resting-place half-way in our passage of the river. It was, indeed, a magnificent sight as the long column of many thousand horsemen stretched across this beautiful Potomac. The evening sun slanted upon its clear placid waters, and burnished them with gold, while the arms of the soldiers glittered and blazed in its radiance. There were few moments, perhaps, from the beginning to the close of the war, of excitement more intense, of exhilaration more delightful, than when we ascended the opposite bank to the familiar but now strangely thrilling music of "Maryland, my Maryland." As I gained dry ground, I little thought that in a short time I should recross the river into Virginia, under circumstances far different and less inspiring. The passage of the Potomac by the cavalry column occupied about two hours, and was attended with some difficulty to our artillery, as the water in many places rose quite up to the middle of the horses' bodies. Having safely accomplished it, we continued our march towards the little town of Poolesville.

Report of the crossing at White's Ford by Colonel Bradley T. Johnson, Second Brigade, CSA:

"Tuesday morning, September 2, the column marched beyond Dranesville and bivouacked. Wednesday and Thursday it passed through Leesburg. Friday it crossed the Potomac at Whites Ford into Montgomery County, Maryland; thence forded the Monocacy at the old Glass Works, and encamped by the Three Springs, near Buckeystown."

[Official Records](#), Series 1 – Volume 19 (Part II), page 667.

Other first-person accounts:

- *The Rebel Yell & the Yankee Hurrah, The Civil War Journal of a Maine Volunteer, Private John W. Haley*, edited by Ruth L. Silliker, Down East Books, Camden, Maine, 1985. [See entry for October 29, 1862]
- *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, John H. Worsham, edited by James I. Robertson, Jr., McCowal-Mercer Press, Inc. Jackson, Tennessee, 1964. [See page 84]

Other general sources on Whites Ford:

- *Civil War Guide to Montgomery County, Maryland*, Charles T. Jacobs, , pages 60-63.
- Charles T. Jacobs updated his research on Whites Ford in a 1997 article, "Civil War Fords and Ferries in Montgomery County," *Montgomery County Historical Society*, Rockville, MD, Volume 40, No. 1, pages 421-423. In particular, he noted minor crossings by the 17th Maine Infantry on October 28, 1862, and the 11th New York cavalry on two occasions in 1863.
- Frank M. Myers: *The Comanches: A History of White's Battalion, Virginia Cavalry*.
- John E. Divine, *35th Battalion Virginia Cavalry*.
- James I. Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*.
- John W. Schildt, *Roads to Antietam*.

Mile 40.6 – Dickerson Power Plant

New pollution controls at Dickerson plant are described in Chapter Four of *Maryland Power Plants and the Environment: A review of the impacts of power plants and transmission lines on Maryland's natural resources (Cumulative Environmental Impact Report, CEIR-16)*, Maryland Department of Natural Resources, Power Plant Research Program, January 2012.

Winter fishing below the Dickerson discharge, “Anglers get a charge fishing near PEPCO plant in Dickerson,” Lonnie Weaver, *Baltimore Sun*, February 18, 1996.

Mile 41.5 – Spink’s Ferry

Information on Clapham’s Ferry is from *Historian’s Guide to Loudoun County*, John T. Phillips, III, pages 265 and 271-272. Also see *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, Fairfax Harrison, pages 460, 502-3, and 663, 664, 665.

In 1989, the Virginia Department of Historic Landmarks identified a surviving two-story residence on the Virginia side of the Potomac, built of red sandstone, known as “Clapham’s Ferry,” which was the residence of Haulings and Spinks in the first half of the 19th Century. (The Claphams never lived there.)

“Catocin Rural Historic District”
U.S. Department of Interior registration form, National Register of Historic Places, certified by Virginia Department of Historic Landmarks on January 31, 1989.

According to a 1997 registration form proposing Clapham’s Ferry for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, William Hauling took over the operation of Clapham’s Ferry in 1816 and purchased the ferry tract in 1820. In 1833 the tract was sold to John Spinks, and the ferry became known as Spinks’ Ferry.

Form certified by Virginia Department of Historic Resources, July 18, 1997.

In January 2011, I reconnoitered the berm side of the canal above Lock #27, and concluded that it might have been substantial enough to carry wagon traffic back in the 1830s and 1840s. Hahn’s *Towpath Guide* mentions a road on the berm side of the canal from Lock #27 to Monocacy Basin. (See note for Culvert #69 at mile 41.97.)

One detail that still puzzles me is why travelers could not have reached the ferry more easily by following the path under the aqueduct, identified by Union engineer G.K. Warren as leading to Hauling Ford.

Official Records; Series 1 - Volume 22 (Part I), page 149.



Martenet's 1865 map of Montgomery County shows two roads approaching "Spinks Ferry" on the Maryland side, joining and crossing the canal well above the Little Monocacy.

Historian Eugene Scheel of Waterford, Virginia, has discussed Spinks Ferry in his articles on Loudoun County history. See pages 56-57 of *Loudoun Rediscovered*, Volume 2. (Note that the description of the location of "Spinks Ferry Lock" is inaccurate—the Lock is about 1/2 mile downstream from the Mouth of the Monocacy.)

When researching the first edition of the *Companion* in 1995-1996, I consulted the C&O Canal Company's letterbooks for the Civil War period to confirm the Walters incident, and found a transcription of the petition on his behalf, but no return correspondence.

Captain Robert F. Bamford's accusations against George Spates are described in Snyder's *Trembling in the Balance*, pages 123-124. Bamford is a relatively obscure figure, mentioned in the *Official Records* as a member of the "Maryland regiment" in 1862, and "Provost-Marshal" at Point of Rocks in 1864.

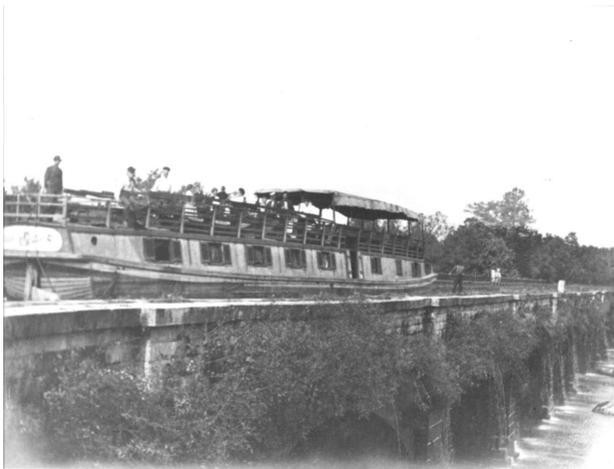
Mile 42 – Montgomery/Frederick County line

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP "Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study"):

- "Gunder's Delight" surveyed in 1726 for Gunder Erickson at "straddling the county line" at the mouth of the Monocacy; most of property sold off due to indebtedness; Richard Deakins named in Erickson's will, providing a possible connection to Francis Deakins, who owned property near the mouth of the Monocacy [note that G. Washington and Deakins communicated in 1790 about this property as possible site of the federal city]; pages 86-87.

Damage to the culvert for the Little Monocacy River and the subsequent repairs are described by Timothy Snyder in *Trembling in the Balance*, pages 126, 132, 138, 141, and 150.

Mile 42.2 – Mouth of the Monocacy & Monocacy Aqueduct



Canal boat crossing Monocacy aqueduct. National Park Service collection.

Dan Guzy discusses the Monocacy in *Navigation on the Upper Potomac River and its Tributaries*, pages 71-75.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Frederick County court appoints Meredith Davis to operate a ferry across the Monocacy in 1739; page 91.
- short-lived community at the Mouth of the Monocacy, ca. 1799; petition for abandonment of road in 1812; pages 93-94.

§ Monocacy Aqueduct

Note: The first edition of the C&O Companion states that the Monocacy Aqueduct was built of “pink quartzite.” I am unable to determine the precise source of this reference. Hahn describes the aqueduct as being made of “white and pink quartz sandstone,” but Unrau’s Historic Structures Report for the aqueduct (cited below) clearly describes the stone as “white granite.”

The reference to “inadequacies of wooden locks and the mysteries of hydraulic

cement” is quoted from *Internal Improvements*, John Lauritz Larson, page 77.

Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, Monocacy Aqueduct, 42.2 Miles above Tidewater (above Lock 27), Dickerson, Montgomery County, MD, Historic American Building Survey, HABS MD-19 [undated description with photos and sketches].

The Monocacy Aqueduct, Historic Structures Report, Harlan D. Unrau, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Denver CO, January 1976.

- Criticism of first contractor (Alfred B. Hovie of Hovie & Legg) by Inspector of Masonry (Robert Leckie), July 23, 1829, page 6; Nov. 14, page 9.
- Hovie abandons the work in December, 1829, pages 10-11.
- Canal accepts proposal from Asher P. Osborn, the contractor for Sections Nos. 13-14 and Culvert No. 17, for construction of the Monocacy aqueduct, December 9, 1829, page 12.
- Charles Carroll builds home in 1765 on Tuscarora Creek near the Mouth of the Monocacy; retires in 1804; resists condemnation of land for canal; pages 14-15, note 7.
- Wright reports in April that Leckie had resigned due to poor health, page 15.
- Chief Engineer Wright, on July 7, 1830, recommended to the board “that the three piers erected for the Aqueduct No. 2, of sand stone, be taken down, and be rebuilt of the granite from Johnson’s quarry.” Page 17.
- “At his request, Osborn, on August 7 [1830], was allowed by the board to assign his contract for Aqueduct No. 2 to Byrne and LeBaron of Pennsylvania. The new contractors were to be bound “in all respects” by the existing contract.” Page 18.
- “The red free stone first chosen for this work having proved defective, it required to be built of a white granite; for the transportation of which, the contractor has found it necessary to construct a railway

exceeding two miles in length.” [Quoted from Third Annual Report] Page 22.

- “A temporary railroad has been constructed to the quarry, from which the stone for this work is obtained, and which is situated about three miles back from the river. We visited the quarries. The stone lies high, and is of easy access; its color a dull white. It is of the kind usually called by workmen mountain granite, but by geologists it would be called a gray wacke. It splits well, hammers without fracture, is fine grained, and in our opinion, a very lasting stone.” [Quoted from the report of Col. John J. Abert and Col. James Kearney, United States Topographical Engineers, 1831.] Page 24.

“Benjamin Wright, Bad Stone, Poor Cement and One Hundred Miles to Go: Building the Monocacy Aqueduct of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal,” Robert J. Kapsch, *American Civil Engineering History: The Pioneering Years, Proceedings of 4th National Congress on Civil Engineering History and Heritage*, 2002, pp. 439-463.

- Kapsch gives “Hovey and Hitchcock” as the name of the first contractor on the aqueduct, as opposed to “Hovey and Legge,” given by Unrau (below), page 446.
- prohibitive cost of using stone from Seneca quarry; agreement on April 6, 1829 for use of Mrs. Eliza Nelson’s land for quarry, page 447.
- Board of Engineers predicted that no limestone would be found near canal [Report dated December 7, 1826, page 28]; Benjamin Wright contracted with John Cocke, Jr. to locate suitable limestone around Leesburg; Cocke finds limestone near Shepherdstown [noted in *Proceedings of the President and Directors*, October 11, 1828]; page 451.

Notes on Benjamin Wright:

- Biographical sketch, Harlan Unrau, *Historic Resource Study: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal*, pages 33-37.

- Lack of professional training for American civil engineers; founding of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1824; Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River*, page 36.
- appointment of Benjamin Wright to supervise Erie Canal construction, Robert J. Kapsch, *Canals*, pages 17-18.
- “Conflicts and Trends: The Progress of Benjamin Wright,” Chapter V in Daniel Calhoun, *American Civil Engineer*, pages 104-122.
- Permission obtained from the canal company in Philadelphia for William Weston to visit the canal works at Great Falls, see George Washington to Tobias Lear, December 12, 1794; December 21, 1794; January 12, 1795; March 5, 1795.

Also see:

Monocacy Aqueduct on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, Robert J. and Elizabeth Perry Kapsch, Medley Press, 2005.

Other sources identified but not found:

- *Benjamin Wright and the Design and Construction of the Monocacy Aqueduct*, Robert J. Kapsch, excerpted from *Canal History and Technology Proceedings*, Volume XIX, March 18, 2000, (Easton, PA, National Canal Museum, 2000)
- “Monocacy Aqueduct on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the ‘Principles of Economy, Usefulness and Durability,’” John R. Miele and Hugh C. Miller, *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1973), pages 71-83.
- “The Rehabilitation of the Monocacy Aqueduct of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park,” Robert J. Kapsch, from *International Conference on Preservation of the Engineering Heritage, Gdansk Outlook 2000*, (Gdansk, Poland: Technical University of Gdansk, 1999)

§ Monocacy Aqueduct during the Civil War

September 19, 1861, R.H. Chilton, Assistant Adjutant General, to Lieut. Col. Turner Ashby (Hailtown, Jefferson County, Va.): "... I am instructed to inform you that it has been our object, with the President, for some time past, to destroy the canal at any point where it could not be repaired. If this can be accomplished at the mouth of the Monocacy, the destruction would be irreparable for an indefinite period. The destruction of the canal and the railroad have been cherished objects, and a disappointment at the failure of all past attempts to effect them has been proportionate to the importance attached to their achievement."

Official Records, Series 1 - Volume 5, page 858.

Ashby ultimately attempted to shell Dam no. 4 on September 26, 1861, and Antietam Aqueduct on October 9, 1861, see Timothy Snyder, *Trembling in the Balance*, page 61.

Major General Daniel H. Hill's report on attempt to destroy the aqueduct: "On the 4th, Anderson's brigade was sent to fire on the Yankee trains at Berlin, and, with two brigades, we drove away the Yankee forces near the mouth of the Monocacy, and crossed the Potomac. That night and the next day were spent in destroying the lock and canal banks.

The aqueduct could not be destroyed for want of powder and tools. The night of the 5th, my division followed General Jackson to within a few miles of Frederick."

September 4, 1862, *Official Records*, Series 1 - Volume 19 (Part I), page 1018-1019.

General Walker described his attempt to destroy the aqueduct on September 9, 1862 in "Harper's Ferry and Sharpsburg," John G. Walker, *The Century Magazine*, May 1886. [Page images viewable on-line as a part of Cornell University's [Making of America](#) collection.]

Union Engineer G.K. Warren, looking for good crossing points in June 1863 (as the Army of the Potomac set out in pursuit of Lee) reported that "Hauling Ford is good; the approach on the Maryland side passes under the aqueduct over the Monocacy."

June 16, 1863; Warren to General Butterfield; *Official Records*; Series 1 - Volume 22 (Part I), page 149.

Phillip M. Thienel, *Mr. Lincoln's Bridge Builders*, page 112.

§ Johnson Furnace; Monocacy site considered for capital; Monocacy Village

Johnson Furnace, see Singewald, *Iron Ores of Maryland*, pages 148-149:

“The Johnson furnace was erected by the owners of the Catoctin furnace in 1787. It was located on the south side of Furnace Branch, a tributary of the Monocacy River, a mile and a half northwest of Dickerson. When the property of James Johnson and Company was divided in 1793, this furnace fell to Roger Johnson and was operated by him until some years after 1800. The ore was brought from the banks at Point of Rocks in boats on the Potomac and by wagons.” [Also see page 146 for Roger, Baker, James, and Thomas Johnson and Catoctin Furnace.]

The Johnson Furnace is also mentioned in:

- *Sugarloaf: The Mountain's History, Geology and Natural Lore*, Melanie Choukas-Bradley, University of Virginia Press, 2003.
- *The Life of Thomas Johnson*, Edward S. Delaplaine.
- *A Celebration of Iron*, Stanley K. Dickinson, pages 39-40.

The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, Volume 6, Edited by Dorothy Twohig and others, [University Press of Virginia](#), Charlottesville, Virginia, 1996.

[See discussion of Washington's trip up the Potomac in October 1790, pages 571-572, and Francis Deakins' letter to Washington dated November 12, 1790, on page 647. The editors note that the enclosed plat of the Monocacy area has not been found.]

Through a Fiery Trial, Building Washington, 1790-1800, Bob Arnebeck, Madison Books, Lanham, Maryland, 1991. [An extensive examination of the period of construction, based on letters, accounts, planning documents, and newspaper articles; also discusses Washington's choice

of site and includes several references to William and Francis Deakins.]

The Potomac, Frederick Gutheim—the opening chapter describes Francis Deakins as head of the welcoming party when President Adams arrived in Washington in June of 1790.

Grain warehouse at the Monocacy basin:

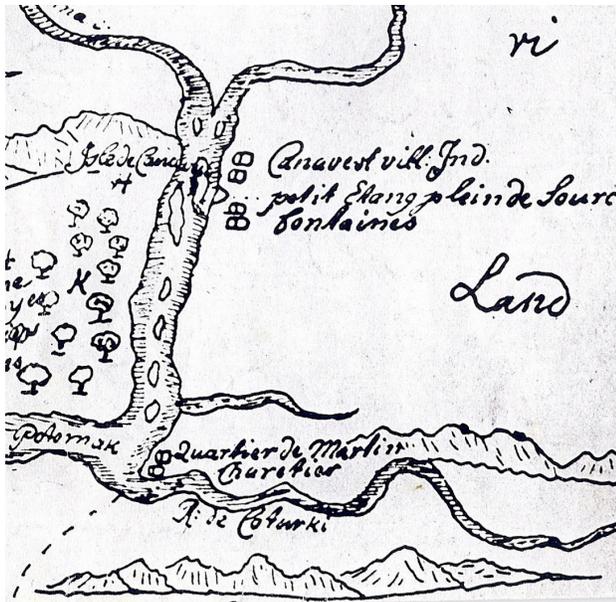
- Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, M:12-28, prepared by Michael F. Dwyer, Senior Park Historian, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, October 24, 1972.
- C&O Canal Environmental Assessment, 2005, page 73.

Post office at the Mouth of the Monocacy:

- seven post offices established along the canal in 1828-1829; Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 189-190.
- Expansion of U.S. postal system, 1815-1830; de Tocqueville's observations; newspaper readership; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*; pages 225-227.

Mile 42.4 – Indian Flats & Carrollton Manor

§ Early explorers & Indian traders



Detail from Christophe Graffenried's map of the Potomac, circa 1712, showing the "quarters" of Martin Chartier just above the mouth of Monocacy.

§ Chartier's Quarter and Tuscarora Town

The date that Michel, Chartier, and Bezaillon built their cabins at the Mouth of the Monocacy is open to interpretation. As shown below, the date of 1707 is based on the statement in the minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania in February 1708 (dated February 24, 1707 in the old style) that they had established themselves on 1) the branches of the Potomac, within Pennsylvania, 2) on the forks of the Potomac.

Based on the original references, I think it is entirely possible that "forks" refers to the mouth of the Monocacy, for the reasons given in my analysis of the records of the Pennsylvania council (see below). If this reference is not to the Mouth of the Monocacy, the traders must have relocated to the Monocacy between the summer of 1707 and Graffenried's arrival in 1712.

Minutes of Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Volume 2, pages 420-422: Feb. 24, 1707 (1708, New Style), Council in Pennsylvania receives word that Mitchel, Martin Chartiere, James le Tort, Peter Bezalio, and several other French-speakers had "seated themselves and built Houses upon the branches of the Patowmeck, within this Govmt. and pretended that they were in search of some Mineral or Ore." Only Bezalio had a license to trade.

The next day, the Governor informed the Council that he had spoken with Mitchel the previous summer, and Mitchel told him that he was working on behalf of the Swiss, who were "in treaty with the Crown & Propr. with respect to a convenient tract of land upon which to settle a colony of their people."

The Governor, already having some "Notion of Mines," seems to have raised no further objection at that time, and introduced Mitchel to two trustworthy Indian guides.

The Board then resolved to order any traders from Pennsylvania who were at the "above mentioned place, on the forks of Patowmeck," to return, unless they had a special order from the governor.

Thus, there are two different references to the location of the trading cabins.

➤ Charles Hanna is apparently relying on the reference to "the branches of the Patowmeck, within this Govmt." when he says that Bezalio "was reported as early as 1708 [1707, old style] to have joined with James Le Tort and Martin Chartier in building cabins on the upper branches of Potomac (Antietam and Conococheague creeks, what is now Franklin County, Pennsylvania)..." See Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, page 170.

➤ The second reference places the cabins at the "forks of Patowmeck," which in that early time would have meant the juncture with the Shenandoah (where the Patowmeck was known as the Cohongaruton), rather than the forks of the North and South Branches. Charles

Kemper adopts this interpretation in “Documents Relating to Early Projected Swiss Colonies in the Valley of Virginia, 1706-1709” (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 1921, pages 3-4). However, the Pennsylvanians did not seem to employ a consistent terminology, and it is quite possible that the the “forks of Patowmeck” referred to the juncture with the Monocacy. (In the late 17th century, the Monocacy was sometimes called the “North East Branch” of the Potomac.)

➤ Reading between the lines, one can discern the power struggle between the governor and the council. It also indicates that Governor Evans was using French-speaking traders on the fringes of the English colony to pursue his own interests, much as James Logan did. (See Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, pages 256-257, for a discussion of James Logan’s relations with the French traders—Evans and Logan were political and commercial allies.)

““Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants,” A Commentary on an Old Map,” William Marye, *Maryland Historical Magazine* 30, March & June, 1935:

- Marye discusses the authorship of the map (showing the “Tuskarora Town”) and attributes it to Philemon Lloyd, Jr., pages 1-11.
- Philemon Lloyd noted that “without encouragement, people will not go so far back as between Monoceasie and Connatachequa,” page 8.
- Lloyd also noted in a letter of July 28, 1722, that Charles Carroll had “purchased from the Indians a lycense to take up his Tract of Land in the ffork of the Patowmeck and Monockesy,” page 8.
- Marye states that “Monocacy” is a Shawnee name; he notes alternate names on Michel’s map (Quattaro) and Graffenried’s map (Coturki); page 116.
- Sources for Tuscarora Indian Town discussed on pages 125-126.

- Sources for “King Opessa’s Town” discussed on pages 126-133.

Michel’s story can be traced in “Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, (1) 1701-December 1, 1702,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*:

- Parts I and II were published in Volume 24, 1916, pages 1-43, 113-41.
- Part III was published in Volume 29, 1921, pages 275-303.

Charles Kemper presents a collection of documents from the British Public Record office showing the efforts by Michel, Ritter, and Graffenried to get the Queen of England’s permission and Swiss support for a colony. See “Documents Relating to Early Projected Swiss Colonies in the Valley of Virginia, 1706-1709” (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 1921.)

Graffenried’s account of the colony in New Bern and his later trip up the Potomac are given in somewhat different versions (French and German), in the original and in translation in *Von Graffenried’s Account of the Founding of New Bern*, with a historical introduction by Vincent H. Todd.

It is possible that Charles Anderson was still trading here as late as 1725, given the reference to the “house of Charles Anderson near Mononknisea” in the Proceedings of the Council of Maryland. See *Maryland State Archives*, Volume 25, pages 442-443. This source is discussed more fully in the notes to Oldtown, mile 166.7. [Note that Charles Hanna, using the same source, incorrectly places Anderson’s house on “Monocacy Creek,” which is a smaller tributary located in Pennsylvania—see *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. 1, page 157.]

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls*. (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

• Martin Chartier (also spelled “Shortive,” sometimes confused with Casteen) and the Shawnee (Stabbernowles) at Pequa; Chartier dies in Conestoga in 1718; pages 61-63.

Graffenried’s account of the upper Potomac

Historical Introduction

[Page 89] The places chosen for the new start were just below the falls of the Potomac about where Washington now stands and at an island which he calls Canavest, further up the river. Graffenried went as far as the Shenandoah River, which he writes Senantona, but seems to have preferred the location nearer the English settlements, which he describes as a most charming location at the head of navigation for large vessels. The Governor gave him the necessary patents, and several gentlemen from Pennsylvania came to confer with him about mines. The soil and situation pleased him, but the best search he could give showed no signs of silver (and never has since, though a tradition to the effect that silver exists somewhere in the mountains thereabouts causes a few people to search for it even to this day).

[Page 103] As a reward for their zeal in bringing him to the throne, Charles II gave to several gentlemen a large tract in North America with power to create hereditary titles of nobility. According to the French version [page 326], Graffenried was made Landgrave of Carolina, Baron de Bernberg, and Chevelier du Cordon Bleu, and in addition was given a medal. The regalia of his orders he wore whenever he went to the assembly, and he found it increased people's deference for him.

Graffenried (translation of French version), page 246-248:

The place was not far from the falls of the Potomac, with a civil, generous, and well-to-do man named Rosier, settled upon the mainland. There a certain baronet and other gentlemen from Pennsylvania came to meet me in order also to see how it was with the silver mine of which Mr. Michel had told and in which they were interested, and on this account had been to much expense. After we had waited there in expectation of Mr. Michel and the Bern people who were coming with him, after such a long delay and no news coming from him we became impatient, and in consideration also of Mr. Michel's strange actions with regard to the mines, we got the idea of visiting the place ourselves following the plans given us to ascertain the truth. We equipped ourselves for this truly dangerous journey, yet because I had had it in mind to do this even when the other gentlemen had not yet arrived, I had as a precaution, received patents from the Governor of Virginia, to whom I communicated my design, and orders had been given that at the first notice I could summon as many of the rangers stationed nearest as I considered necessary.

When we came to Canavest, a remarkably beautiful spot, about four miles above, before the falls, we found there a band of Indians and in particular a Frenchman named Martin Chartier, who had married an Indian woman, and thereby was in great credit with the wild Indians of the nations which live beyond Pennsylvania and Maryland. He also, leaving Pennsylvania on the representations of Mr. Michel, had settled himself there. Before this he had also gone with Mr. Michel to look for the mines and had been to much labor and expense. He warned us that the Indians of this same region where the silver mines were supposed to be, were very much alarmed at the war which we had had with the Tuscarora Nation, and therefore we ought not to expose ourselves to such danger without especial necessity. We believed him and postponed the matter to a convenient time. Meantime we made a league with the Canavest Indians, a very necessary thing, as well in respect to the hoped-for mines as for our little Bern Colony which we wanted to settle there. We also examined the admirable situation of the same region of country and in particular the charming island of the Potomac River above the falls, to this hour regretting that I can not live in this beautiful land.

From there we went further back upon a mountain of the highest in those parts, called Sugar Loaf, for it has the form of a loaf of sugar. We took with us Martin Chartier, a surveyor we also had with us, and there came with us several Indians. From the mountain we viewed an exceedingly broad extent of country, a part of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Carolina, used the compass, made us a map, and observed especially the mountain where the silver mines were said to be, found that they were beyond Virginia, and incidentally from the two Indians that they had looked up and down the mountain but had found not the slightest sign of minerals, and that the map that had been given us did not correspond to the report at all. This disturbed us greatly. What else happened on this account is not necessary to relate here. We discovered still finer land and three broad mountains each higher than the other. When we came down from the mountain we stayed overnight with Martin Chartier, and returned the next day to Mr. Rosier's quarters below the falls, where I stayed a considerable time in hopes of receiving my people there, as had been agreed. The other travelers returned to Pennsylvania, but not very well satisfied on account of the confused plan.

I believe there is no more beautiful site in the world than this which we intended to divide into two small colonies; the first directly below the falls where there was a very cheerful island of good soil and opposite, in a corner between the Potomac River and a smaller one called Gold Creek, suited to receive everything which comes up or down before the falls, and the greatest merchant ships can sail

there. The other site was to be at Canavest as the map shows.

Page 383, note 45, probably misnumbered—corresponds to 44 on page 246 of the text: The place of our rendezvous was at the home of a very gallant man. Mr. Rosier, near the falls of the Potomac, where several gentlemen from Pennsylvania who were also interested with us had come to meet me, in the hopes of seeing what there was of this fine and rich silver mine of which Mr. M. had made so much noise and for the find of which they had already furnished so much money. Having staid a rather long time at this place without learning any news either of Mr. M. or of the colony which we were awaiting for daily with impatience, the strange vagaries of this M. made us almost doubt, and not without reason, of the reality of his advances. That is why we took the resolution to go ourselves to visit the place of the mines, of which he had given us a map. And so we prepared in a rather good manner to make this journey, although it was very dangerous. And as I had formed the design before I had been given notice of this rendezvous, I took my precautions, communicating my design to the Governor of Virginia who gave me patents, even published commands by which he ordered that at my first request or at the first notification, rangers should follow and accompany me. When we came to a small village called Canavest, a very pleasant and enchanting spot about 40 miles above the falls of the Potomac, we found a troop of savages established there, and in particular a Frenchman from Canada, named Martin Charetier, who had married an Indian woman or savage. He was in great credit among the savages beyond Pennsylvania and Maryland, and at the fine advances of Mr. M. had settled himself there, leaving for this his place where he was well established in Pennsylvania. This same Martin Charetier had also made the journey to Senantona to look for mines with Mr. M. and contributed a good sum of money to it. This man warned us that the Indians, who were in the vicinity of this mountain of S. where the mines were said to be, were much alarmed by the war which we were having with the Tuscaroras, and told us that not to risk ourselves on so dangerous a journey without necessity. We gave heed to this, postponing the plan for a more secure occasion and time. We made an alliance, however, with these Indians of Canavest, a very necessary thing, in connection with the mines which he hoped to find there as well as on account of the establishment which we had resolved to make in these parts of our small Bernese colony which we were waiting for. After that we visited those beautiful spots of the country, those enchanted islands in the Potomac River above the falls. And from there, on our return, we ascended a high mountain standing alone in the midst of a vast flat

stretch of country, called because of its form Sugar Loaf which means in French pain de sucre, taking with us a surveyor, the above named Martin Charetier, and some savages. From this mountain we saw a great extent of country, a part of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Carolina. By use of the compass we made a map, and observed particularly the mountain Senantona where our mines were said to be. We found that this mine was situated beyond Virginia, and not beyond Pennsylvania as the map of it had been given to us.

§ Carrollton family & Carrollton Manor

Suppression of Catholicism in Maryland after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland; A Middle Temperament*, pages 48-56.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP "Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study")

- Tuscarora settlement on the Potomac; 1719 deed to Charles Carroll (preserved in Carroll papers); p. 59.
- Carrollton's property did not extend to the riverbank, perhaps because of presence of the Tuscarora at the time he was acquiring it; the Potomac bank was acquired by Arthur Nelson in 1924-1925; pages 94-95.
- 1796 dispute over boundaries of Carrollton Manor involved testimony of 16 individuals, all with English names, supporting the idea that German settlers were concentrated to the north in Frederick, while "the lands along the Potomac were occupied by the descendants of the English and Welsh families who first settled there in the 1730s"; page 95.

Tracey and Dern, *Pioneers of Old Monocacy*.

- "Carrollton" surveyed April 23, 1723 for children of Charles Carroll "the Settler." [Land described as having been "purchased from the Indians."] Page 25, also map on page 29.
- Tract extended four miles west of the Mouth of the Monocacy, and 9½ miles inland, page 28.

Ronald Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500-1782*.

- the will of the first Charles Carroll in Maryland (1660-1720) mentioned 20,000 acres of unpatented land in then-Prince Georges County; Charles Carroll of Annapolis (1702-1782) laid out part of this tract as Carrollton in 1723, page 66.

- in 1733, Charles Carroll of Annapolis began drawing up leases for 52 anticipated tenants; the surviving leases are for 21-year terms, with rents doubling every 7 years; tenants required to plant an orchard and keep their dwellings and tobacco barns in good repair; pages 112-113.
- Charles Carroll of Annapolis switched from cash to tobacco rents after 1755, when the first leases had expired, pages 118-119.
- Charles Carroll's "bastard" son, later "Charles Carroll of Carrollton," educated in England, returns and begins updating rent rolls at Carrollton around 1766, pages 120-121.
- changes during Revolutionary period, including shift from payment in tobacco to payment in cash, and then back to tobacco/wheat, pages 140-145.
- note 13 Moravian families, of whom 9 moved to Wachovia, NC, and shipment of 120 hogsheads of tobacco from Rock Creek Landing in fall of 1774, page 141.
- participation in mission to Canada and signing of the Declaration of Independence, pages 299, 300, 304, and 308-309.
- concern about popular threats to "Liberty & Power," 311-313.

End of proprietary government and discrimination against Catholics:

- Overthrow of proprietary government in 1689, Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament*, pages 38-40.
- Loyalty oaths and oaths denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, Brugger, pages 54-55.
- The oaths of "Allegiance & Abhorrency" are given in the *Maryland State Archives*, Volume 20, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1693-1697*, page 3:
 "I doe sincerely promise and sweare that I will be faithful and beare true Allegiance to their Majties King William & Queen Mary. Soe helpe me God & Ca I do sweare that I doe from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious & hereticall, that damnable doctrine & position, that Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or

any Authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or Murdered by their Subjects, or any other Power.

And I doe declare that noe fforreign Prince, person, prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, power, superiority or Authority Ecclesiasticall or spirituall within the Kingdome of England or the Dominions therevnto belonging,

Soe help me God.

- The requirements for the oath repudiating transubstantiation are not specified, but an example is given in Volume 20, page 99, July 27, 1694: "Wee the Subscribers doe declare that Wee doe believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper or in the Elements of bread & Wine at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever."
- The Act of 1704 to "prevent the growth of Popery in the province" instituted penalties for any Papist who keeps school or undertakes the "Education Government or Boarding of Youth." *Maryland State Archives*, Volume 26, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, September, 1704-April, 1706*, page 341.
- Further restrictions proposed in 1755 and 1756 but defeated, *Maryland State Archives*, Volume 52, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, February 1755 - October 1756*, pages 18-19 and 24-25.

Unpublished letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton: and of his father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan, edited by Thomas Meagher Field, United States Historical Society, 1902:

"As I have said upon your Return to Maryland I will give you my Manor of Carrollton and ye Addition thereto, and my Share of ye Works I will also settle on you my Manor of Doughoregan and Chance and ye Slaves thereon on my Death." (February 12, 1764, Letter XXIII, page 84)

The house that Charles Carroll built on the Carrollton tract in 1765 has not survived, but the Maryland Historical Trust has documented a house built on the Manor tract in 1820 that he may have used on occasion:

“The house was built on the property of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, longest living signer of the Declaration of Independence, presumably for his granddaughter Mariana Caton and her husband Robert Patterson, and apparently served as a retreat from which Carroll could oversee the operation of his 12,000-acre estate in southern Frederick County.”

Maryland Historical Trust, Inventory Number F-1-019, 11/17/1997.

Charles Carroll and Potomac navigation:

- interest in Ballentine project, Corra Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West*, page 27.
- one of commissioners representing Maryland in discussions with George Washington in Annapolis in December 1784, Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal*, pages 51-52; , Corra Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, page 46.
- George Washington to Charles Carroll, January 10, 1785.
- George Washington to Charles Carroll and Thomas J. Stone, December 3, 1785.
- Charles Carroll to George Washington, August 5, 1799.

Charles Carroll's resistance to condemnation efforts for the C&O Canal, see Unrau, *The Monocacy Aqueduct; Historic Structure Report*, page 15, citing Robert G. Ferris, *Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, pp. 43-44, 180-81, and Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, pp. 79-80

Aubrey Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland*, Chapter XI, “The Western Enterprise.”

History of Carrollton Manor, Frederick County, MD, William Jarboe Grove, Nabu Press, 1922.

- construction of manor house by Charles Carroll, pages 5-6.
- construction of Catholic church by Charles Carroll at Tuscarora village, pages 7-8.
- flour milling in Carrollton Manor, page 35.
- Manor Mounted Guards, page 96.

Monocacy National Battlefield: Cultural Resources Study, by Paula Stoner Reed, Edith B. Wallace, Interior Dept., National Park Service, Washington DC, 2004, pages 66-68:

The large “plantations” to the south of Frederick, primarily settled by English, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish families, continued to produce the Maryland cash crop, tobacco, for export. Their preferred transportation routes led southward along the lower Potomac River drainage toward the tobacco warehouses at Bladensburg, Piscataway, Port Tobacco, Alexandria, and “the Rolling-House which George Gordon built” near the mouth of Rock Creek.

Mile 43—Fish Weirs

“Rock Dams in the Upper Potomac,” by Horace P. Hobbs, Jr., published in four issues of the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* -- March 1964, June and December 1965, and September of 1966.

- Hobbs describes the location of several fish dams, and provides a map showing the location of five fish dams between the Monocacy River and Nolands Ferry.

“Photoarcheological Analysis of Potomac River Fish Traps,” by Carl H. Strandberg and Ray Tomlinson, in *American Antiquity*, July 1969.

- Using stereoscopic analysis of aerial photographs, Strandberg and Tomlinson identified 36 fish traps between Harpers Ferry and the lower end of Heaters Island at Point of Rocks. They assigned each trap a "location designator" including the letters "WA" for Washington County and "FR" for Frederick County. Traps located within the same 1,000 meter grid square were given the same number, but with different letter suffixes (A, B, C, etc.).

“Fish Weirs in the Upper Potomac River,” by Dan Guzy, in *Maryland Archeology*, March 1999, published by the [Archeological Society of Maryland, Inc.](#)

- A definitive survey of historical accounts and earlier archeological research.

Dan Guzy posits that the Potomac Company also built V-shaped weirs, in addition to “oblique wing dams” for navigation purposes; *Navigation on the Upper Potomac*, page 23.

Mile 44—Tuscarora Creek

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Carrollton’s property did not extend to the riverbank, perhaps because of presence of the Tuscarora at the time he was acquiring it; the Potomac bank was acquired by Arthur Nelson in 1924-1925; pages 94-95.

- Arthur Nelson and son John as important landowners along Potomac above Monocacy; sometimes thought to be English or Scottish, but possibly Swedish (Nilsson), since John patented a “Sweed’s Folly”; pages 87-90.

- the Nelsons owned land along the Potomac near the mouth of Tuscarora Creek (Hobson’s Choice); also Nelson’s Island (1724, now Heater’s Island) and Broken Island (1728, Nolands Island); page 88.

The Monocacy Aqueduct, Historic Structures Report, Harlan D. Unrau, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Denver CO, January 1976.

- Agreement made with “Messrs. Brackett & Guy”; permission sought for quarrying of limestone near Tuscarora Creek, from Charles Carroll and his tenants, page 14.

- July 1830, Shepherdstown cement unavailable; Leckie (resigned in April?) and Cruger decide that Tuscarora cement is “very little, if any, inferior to the Shepherdstown cement.” Unrau notes that “Five kilns had been constructed at Tuscarora Creek, and there were between 15,000 and 20,000 bushels of the raw materials used for making cement at the kilns.” Page 17.

- By October 1830, the lime from Tuscarora had been judged to be defective. Page 19.

- Cost differential allowed to contractor for shipment of lime from Shepherdstown, page 25.

Mile 44.6 – Nolands Ferry

§ Early settlement

“Broken Island” patented by Arthur Nelson; possibly “Anders Nilsson”; see Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

§ Awbrey's Ferry & Noland's Ferry

The Historian's Guide to Loudoun County, Virginia, Volume 1, John T. Phillips II, pages 264-285.

Landmarks of Old Prince William, Fairfax Harrison:

- history of ferry ownership; pages 503-504.
- diary of a German Moravian traveling from Bethlehem, PA, to “Salem in Wachovia, North Carolina” (now Winston-Salem) recounts crossing at Nolands in 1780; thefts by Thomas Noland’s slaves on both sides of the Potomac; pages 461-462.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- ferries and intermarriage; questionable whether Francis Awbrey could have run a ferry at the base of Conoy Island (ca. 1735); suggests that Awbrey may have had two ferries, citing will of 1741; ferry might have been located at site of Conrad’s/White’s ferry; Philip Noland marries Awbrey’s daughter (ca. 1740); Thomas Noland marries daughter of William Lockett; deposition of 1796 mentions crossing on Lockett’s Ferry in 1756; pages 91-93.
- diary of a German Moravian recounts crossing at Nolands in 1780; thefts by Thomas Noland’s slaves on both sides of the Potomac; citing Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks*; pages 461-462; page 93.

Historical American Building Survey report for “Noland Ferry House,” VA-538. [On file at Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia.]

§ Revolutionary era crossings

Jefferson’s crossing:

- *Jefferson's Memorandum Books, Accounts with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826*, Volume 1, edited by James A. Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ. [See page 417]

Sources on the crossings by British/German prisoners (also see Fort Frederick, mile 112.1):

- Lewis N. Barton, “The Revolutionary Prisoners of War in Winchester and Frederick County,” *Men and Events of the Revolution in Winchester and Frederick County Virginia*, Vol. IX, 1975. p. 33. [750 Hessian prisoners from Trenton were moved after the arrival of Howe’s invasion force in mid-August 1777; in Winchester by October 23rd, 400 subsequently dispersed to Shepherdstown, Martinsburg, Stovers Town (Strasburg), and Miller’s Town (Woodstock)]
- Ralph S. Walker, *Iron Worker*, Autumn 1973. [Narrates the peregrinations of the Trenton and Saratoga prisoners; notes that the Pennsylvania escort left the Trenton prisoners when they reached Virginia (e.g. Nolands Ferry?), whereupon the American commander directed them to follow him to Winchester on their own.
- Lucy Leigh Bowie states that 2,340 British and 1,949 Germans set out for Charlottesville, out of the 2,442 British and 2,198 Germans who were captured at Saratoga—the difference largely due to escape and desertion; see “German Prisoners in the American Revolution,” in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1945, page 191.
- Description of Germans in Maryland and the town of Leesburg, see pages 146-147,

Journal of Du Roi the elder: lieutenant and adjutant, in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, 1776-1778, translated from the original German manuscript in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. by Charlotte S.J. Epping, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1911.

- Another description of Frederick, Maryland and the Potomac crossing can be found in *Travels through the interior parts of America*, by Thomas Anburey (British lieutenant); see Letters LXI and LXII, pages 178-183.

- *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army*, William M. Dabney, The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1954.

- *Letters and Journals Relating to the American Revolution and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga*, by Mrs. General Riedesel, translated by William L. Stone, printed by Joel Munsell, Albany, NY, 1867.

- *The Baroness and the General*, Louise Hall Tharp, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1962. [Based on the letters and writings of Major-General von Riedesel and Baroness von Riedesel, as well as others who were among the Saratoga prisoners who made it to Charlottesville.]

- References to the care and transportation of the British and German prisoners are found throughout Volumes 2-5 of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1952. [As Governor of Virginia, Jefferson was very involved in the details of constructing barracks and securing provisions for the prisoners at Charlottesville and Winchester, as well as their removal to Maryland in 1780-1781.]

- [Maryland Archives](#) - Archives of Maryland Volume 47, Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1781, page 119.

- [Maryland Archives](#) - Archives of Maryland - Volume 45, Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1780-1781, pages 659-660.

- *Jefferson and his Time, Volume One: Jefferson the Virginian*, Dumas Malone, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, Massachusetts, 1948.

General Anthony Wayne's crossing and the mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line:

- Paul David Nelson describes the mutinies of January and May in *Anthony Wayne, Soldier of the Early Republic*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1988, pages 119-131.

- "ball, powder, and bayonets" kept under guard, see Nelson, op.cit., page 133.

- for additional details on the mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line, see Gary B. Nash, *The unknown American Revolution*, pages 357-360.

§ Licksville slave market

William Jarboe Grove describes the Licksville slave market in his *History of Carrollton Manor*, 1924 and 1928, pages 63-64 and 106 [note that the 1928 reprint edition is single-column and numbered differently]

Kathleen A. Ernst provides some additional observations on the Licksville slave trading operation in *Too Afraid to Cry*, page 10.

Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South*:

- George Kephart's activities as a slave trader on the upper Potomac in the early 1830s, with advertisement for purchase of "FIFTY Likely Young Negroes" in *Maryland Journal and True American*, Feb. 14, 1832-Jan. 8, 1833, business conducted in Rockville, Fredericktown, or residence "near Nowland's Ferry." (pages 64-65)
- Kephart operating in Alexandria with Wm. H. Birch, J. C. Cook, and C. M. Price under the name of Price, Birch & Co., circa 1859, partnership dissolved Dec. 1859, Kephart abandons business in Alexandria in 1861, pages 91-92.

Sale of Alexandria slave pen to Kephart in 1836; Kephart ceases advertising in 1843; firm of Bruin & Hill begins advertisements; Bruin as disciple of Kephart; see *ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BRUIN SLAVE JAIL (SITE 44AX0172)*, a study of the property at 1707 Duke Street in Alexandria, prepared by Lisa Kraus, John Bedell and Charles Lee Decker of The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, DC, January 2010, pages 33 and 39. [With respect to Kephart and Bruin's business fortunes, the study cites Ricks, *Escape on the Pearl* and Josephine Pacheco, *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac*.]

According to an archeological study of the site of the Franklin and Armfield Office in Alexandria, George Kephart lived in Frederick County, Maryland "in the 1830s"

and dealt with Franklin and Armfield as a regional buyer. See pages 34-41 of *The Alexandria Slave Pen; The Archeology of Urban Captivity*, Janice G. Artemel, Elizabeth A. Crowell, and Jeff Parker, October 1987 (on file at Alexandria Archeology Museum).

According to the Virginia abolitionist, Moncure Daniel Conway, Kephart & Co. of Alexandria, Virginia, was "the chief slavedealing firm in that State, and perhaps anywhere along the border of the Free and Slave states." *Testimonies Concerning Slavery*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1865, pages 21-25.

Bridge over canal—see Bearrs, Bridges, pages 92-97.

New Designed Road—see William Jarboe Grove, *History of Carrollton Manor*, pages 138 and 139-140.

William Jarboe Grove's recollections of the Licksville slave "barracks" and slave trade

Two taverns, several stores, blacksmith and wheelwright shop made it a place of considerable business. The sporting fraternity also gathered here in large numbers, as there were several race tracks here.

Licksville was probably the greatest slave market in Maryland. It was here the buyers from as far south as Alabama would come to purchase slaves. They were sold from the block on regular sale days. This being a large slave holding section many owners would sell their slaves, some for the want of money, others because they become unruly, others were sold into slavery for crime, and others whose moral sense considered slavery was wrong, these generally after they had sold their slaves became abolitionists. There were many who ran away to Pennsylvania and the North. If they were captured these were generally sold to Southern dealers. The old slave barracks have long disappeared, they stood on the north side of the road running to Point of Rocks, directly opposite the old tavern, which stood at the intersection of the mouth of Monocacy and Point of Rocks road.

George Kephart a Southern gentleman of the old school lived near Licksville on the farm now owned by the Thomas Brothers, where George S. Allnut once lived... Mr. Kephart was probably the largest slave dealer in the County. He had two underground jails built where he kept the unruly, as well as a brick jail above ground.

Thomas Sinn was associated with him for a while and sold slaves all over the far South, many of whom had run away from their masters and afterwards captured, were sold, others were convicted of crime and were sold into slavery for a certain number of years. Or if these sturdy Quakers from Pennsylvania or the sporting slave holders from the South would come to Licksville to buy slaves from their northern brethren and stop at the cock pit at dry Branch Hollow to see the chicken fight, or stop at George Kephart's to see the dog fight, or at Nathaniel Kidwillers to see the bear fight, or at Solomon Stover's to see the elephant, or at Wesley McAbee's to have your

foot measured for a pair of boots, or at Peter Leaply's blacksmith shop to get a horse shod, or to stop at one of the Taverns to get a drink of liquor, or to stop at the Slave Market to buy a man or woman.

§ Underground Railroad

Sources on the Christmas Eve escape and the Underground Railroad:

- The account of the "Christmas Eve" escape is told on pages 116-122 of *The underground rail road : a record of facts, authentic narratives, letters, &c. narrating the hardships, hair-breadth escapes, and death struggles of the slaves in their efforts for freedom, as related by themselves and others, or witnessed by the author ; together with sketches of some of the largest stockholders, and most liberal aiders and advisers of the road*

William Still (1821-1902), reprint, Johnson Publishing Co., 1970.

- Brenda E. Stevenson discusses this event in *Life in Black & White, Family and Community in the Slave South*, page 253.
- Loudoun County historian Eugene Scheel identifies Cooling Springs as a likely place of shelter for the Wanzer escape party, *Washington Post*, Loudoun Extra, February 7, 2010.

The story of Cooling Springs and the Michaels family is told in:

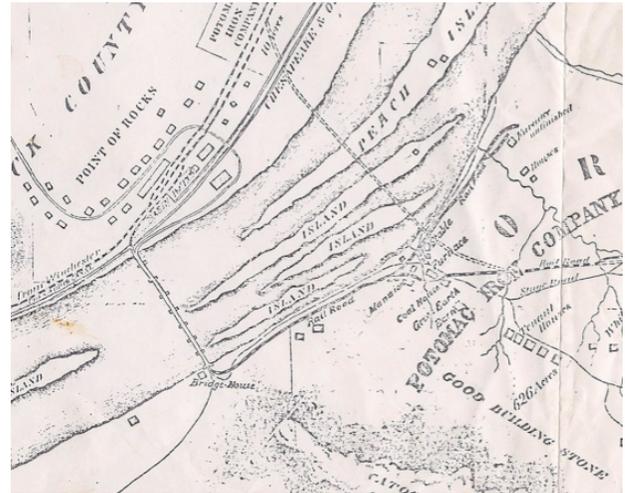
An American Family of the Underground Railroad, Peter H. Michael, Authorhouse, Bloomington, Indiana, 2005.

Mile 47.6 – Kanawha Springs

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Graffenried describes Canavest as “petit etang plein de sources de fontaines” likely the Kanawha Springs, where Maryland archeologists found the remains of an Indian settlement; “Kanawha” derived from Canavest or Conoy; Conoys suffer epidemic in 1704; still living on Heaters (Conoy) Island in 1712, but soon after that they moved on to the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania [however, note that Pennsylvania Archives list a Conoy party from an island of the Potomac as among the tribes in the 1701 treaty]; occupation of the Conoy Fort ceased around 1710; appears that “at least some Piscataways lived along this stretch of the Potomac until 1722, when they were admitted by treaty to the lands of the Six Nations in New York (Harrison 1924:100)”; page 60.

Mile 48.2 Point of Rocks & Potomac Furnace



Map of Potomac Furnace property at Point of Rocks, 1856.

Pivot Bridge, see Edwin Bearss, *Bridges*, pages 97-98.

On the demolition of houses as part of flood mitigation, see “This was home,” by Pamela Rigaux, *Frederick News-Post*, November 10, 2007.

Signal Corps on Catoctin Mountain during the Antietam campaign:
[Official Records](#), Series 1 - Volume 19 (Part I), page 118.

§ Catoctin and the Underground Railroad

Charles Peyton Lucas escaped by crossing the Potomac and hiding on Catoctin Ridge; he said later: “We tied our provisions into bundles on our backs, and started for Potomac River—whether to wade it, swim it, or get drowned, we knew not. We waded and we swam, changing ground as the water deepened.” He ended up in Toronto, a popular destination on the “underground railroad” because Canada had passed a law forbidding the return of runaway slaves to their owners. Under the name Charles Bentley, he became one of the city’s best blacksmiths.

Charles Peyton Lucas’ story is included in

The Refugee or The Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada, Benjamin Drew, John P. Jewett & Co., Cleveland Ohio, 1856, pages 105-109.

[Reprinted as *The Refugee: A North-side View of Slavery* by Addison-Wesley Pub. Co. Reading, Mass., [1969] and *The Refugee: Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada* by Dundurn Press, Toronto, Canada, 2008.]

Autobiography of a fugitive Negro; his anti-slavery labors in the United States, Canada & England.

Ward, Samuel Ringgold
Chicago, Johnson Pub. Co., 1970.

Make a way somehow: African-American life in a northern community, 1790-1965
Kathryn Grover, Syracuse University Press, 1994.

Mile 48.4 Conoy Island & Potomac Furnace

1699 visit to Conoy Island by Giles Vandercastille and Burr Harrison, see *Calendar of Virginia State papers and other manuscripts: 1652-1781, Volume 1*. Arranged and edited by Wm. P. Palmer, R.F. Walker, Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, Virginia, 1875.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Piscataways at Heaters Island, pages 59-60.
- “Nelson’s Island” patented by Arthur Nelson; possibly “Anders Nilsson”; pages 87-88.

☞ The story of the removal of the Conoy Indians to the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania can be pieced together from the Maryland and Pennsylvania archives, as given below. The Piscataway chief, Oquotomaquah, reneged on the terms of the 1700 treaty with Governor Blakiston, in which he promised to come with his family to live on the Pamunky River. Instead, the chief of the “Gawanese, inhabiting at the head of the Patowmeck” (recorded as Weewhinjough) entered into the 1701 treaty with William Penn.

The Marylanders seem to have gotten wind of this just before the treaty with Penn was signed—by the old style calendar, the second month of 1701 would have been May 1701—but concluded that nothing could be done about it. The Maryland account suggests that the Piscataway chief who treated with Penn (Weewhinjough) may have been Oquotomaquah’s brother. This could have reflected a schism in the tribe, with some choosing to stay on Conoy Island, but it might well have been Oquotomaquah’s plan to have his brother deal with Penn, so that he could not be accused of violating his promise to try to

persuade his people to come and live with him on the Pamunky.

Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1693-1697*, Vol. 19, page 556:

[June 1, 1697] William Barton's report of his conversation with the Emperor of the Piscataway and his "great men" gives their reasons for removing from Maryland, in particular blaming Colonel Addison who "taxed them severely" over the murder of a negro boy and allegedly told the Piscataway: "that there could be no murder committed but what they either did or knew off, and that they had no body else to tax but them."

The Piscataway also complained that: "there would be neither hogs or shotts killed but they were still blamed for it and called Rogues and Doggs.

And that the English do yearly tyme after tyme pull down their fences and destroy their Corne fields with there horses before they can gather it."

Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1698-1731*, Vol. 25, Page 87-88:

[Treaty with Governor of Maryland April 8, 1700]

Articles of Peace & Amity concluded & Agreed upon between his Excy Nathaniel Blakiston Esqr Captain General & Governor in Chief in & over his Majstys Province of Maryland & the Territory thereunto belonging & Oquotomaquah Emperor of Piscattoway the 8th day of April 1700...

6thly In Case any Servants or Slaves run away from their Masters & come to any of the Indians Towns within the Territorys of the said Oquotomaquah & his Subjects they shall be bound to apprehend the said Fugitives & bring them to the next english Plantations to be Conveyed to their Masters...

And lastly as a full & ample Proof & assurance of the said Emperors Fidelity truth & sincerity he does Solemnly promise

engage & oblige himself with his wife & Children to come and Live at pumuncky within two months time from the date hereof & will do his utmost endeavour to perswade all his Indians to come and live there...

Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Volume II, Harrisburg, PA, Theo Fenn, 1838, page 9:

[Treaty with William Penn, "Att a Council held at Philadia ye 23rd of 2d month, 1701"]
PRESENT: The Proprietary and Governor, wth some members of Council & divers others, with the Sasquehannagh Indians. Connoodaghtoh, King of the Sasquehannah Minquays or Conestoga Indians, Wopaththa (alias Opessa), King of the Shawanees, Weewhinjough, Chief of the Gawanese, inhabiting at the head of the Patowmeck ; Also Ahoakassongh, brother to the Emperour or great King of the Onondagoes of the five nations....After a Treaty and Several Speeches, the following Articles were solemnly agreed on.

Archives of Maryland, Vol. 24, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, April 26, 1700-May 3, 1704*, pages 145-146:

[May 13, 1701]

His Excellency Imparts to the Board That whereas he has rec^d Information That a Certain Indian belonging to the Emperor of Piscattaway (some say his brother) has been to Apply him selfe to M^r Pen at Philadelphia who seemed to be inclinable to receive him into his Province wherefore in as much as it cannot att present be known what ill Consequences may happen to this Province from their removal thither, whether it be not adviseable to propose the same to the house of Delegates for their Advice to prevent their removal. To which it is the Opinion of the Board that there is no Occasion of any such Proposall to be made to the house in regard that if the Indians are disposed to go to the Province of Pensilvania we do not know how to prevent it, and further that this Board seem

to be pretty well Assured that the said M^r Pen upon his Excellencys L^{re} to him will not give them any Encouragement harbour or Protection in his Province.

Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Volume IV, Harrisburg, PA, Theo Fenn, 1851, pages 656-658: [June 6, 1743]

The Governor of Pennsylvania presents a letter written by a Mr. Cookson on behalf of the Conoy Indians, which relates how they came from an “island in the Patowmeck” in “Old Proprietor Penn’s time”... But that now the Lands all around them being settled by white People their hunting is spoiled And they have been long advised by the six Nations to leave the place and go higher up the River...

§ Other Sources & References on the Conoy

Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, pages 111-112.

1699 Encounter With Piscataway Indians Was a First, by [Eugene Scheel](#), published in the Washington Post, June 15, 2003.

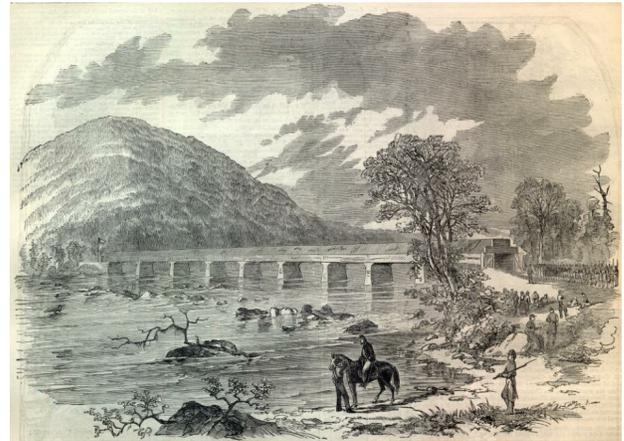
Landmarks of Old Prince William, Fairfax Harrison, “The Migration of the Piscataway,” pages 93-103, see in particular page 98.

'America and West Indies: April 1700, 1-5', *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 18: 1700* (1910), pp. 144-56; 327-340; 446-462.

URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

Date accessed: 29 November 2011

Mile 48.4 Point of Rocks Bridge, Potomac Furnace & Civil War



“Leesburg Bridge,” described as being on the Potomac, 13 miles below Harper’s Ferry, as depicted in Harper’s Weekly, June 29, 1861, page 405, with text on page 407. I am indebted to the Maryland Covered Bridge site for pointing out this image.

[<http://www.mdcoveredbridges.com>]

§ Potomac Furnace

For the discussion of the Potomac Furnace, I have relied primarily on the article “Furnace Mountain,” Eugene Scheel, in *Loudoun Discovered*, Volume Two, pages 57-63. [Also see Scheel’s article, “When Iron Was Hot in Loudoun County,” in the *Washington Post*, October 2, 2005.]

Geological Report, Potomac Iron Company’s Property in the States of Virginia and Maryland, John C. Clark & Sons, Philadelphia, 1856.

[Includes report from G. Jenkin Phillipps, Geologist, to Col. John W. Geary; company charter from state of Virginia; company by-laws.]

For material on John Geary as manager of Potomac Furnace, see Irvin Wiley, *A Politician Goes to War*.

“Potomac Steam Hot-blast Coke Furnace, owned by J.W. Geary, and managed by Michael Mullen, Point of Rocks P.O. Loudon county, Virginia, stands on the Virginia bank of the river three-quarters of

a mile below Point of Rocks, was built in 1839, rebuilt in 1846 and used charcoal until 1848, is 8 feet across the bosh by 30 high, has made no iron since 1854 but has received a larger engine and will average 60 tons per week, with brown hematite ores from a bank reached by a branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which passes the furnace, three-quarters of a mile to the southeast.” (Lesley, J.P., 1859, p. 63 *Iron Manufacturer's Guide to the Furnaces, Forges and Rolling Mills of the United States*. New York: J. Wiley, 1859

“Potomac Furnace, Furnace Mountain Forge and Gun Factory” and “Potomac Iron Company Furnace,” Stanley K. Dickinson in *A Celebration of Iron*, pages 41-45. ➤ Dickinson states that Josias Clapham built a furnace along Catocin Mountain in 1763 and subsequently added a forge and a factory that manufactured muskets for the Continental Army. Unfortunately, he does not provide any sources for this statement, which is not supported by any other research that I have found.

Note Geary’s attempt to build a railroad “from a point on the Potomac river at or near Potomac furnace in a direct line as near as may be to the town of Leesburg and to connect with the Alexandria Loudoun and Hampshire...” See “An ACT to incorporate the Potomac furnace and Leesburg railroad company in the county of Loudoun,” March 12 1856, page 112, *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia: passed in 1855-6, in the eightieth year of the commonwealth*, Richmond, VA, 1856.

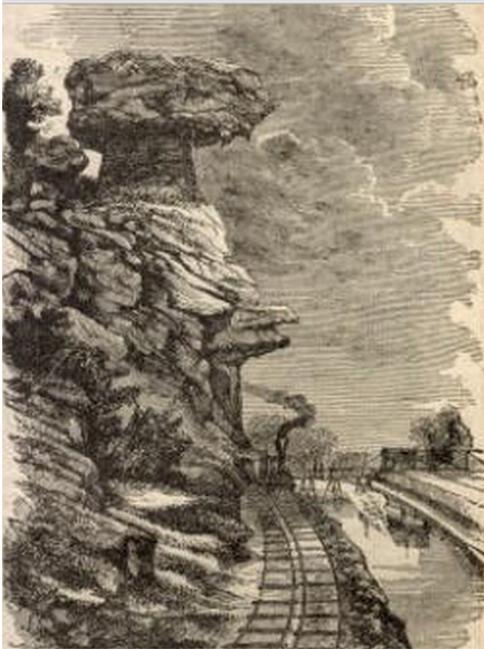
“The first furnaces south of the Potomac which successfully used coke as fuel appear to have been Clinton furnace, 9 miles south of town in Monongalia county, West Virginia; and Potomac furnace, on the Potomac in Loudoun county, Virginia, about three-quarters of a mile below Point of Rocks. These furnaces were originally built to charcoal but they used small

quantities of coke a few years before outbreak of the civil war. We know of no other coke furnaces of the Potomac and the Ohio rivers prior to 1860 Even the two have been mentioned were not signally successful. The Potomac furnace was owned in 1859 by Mr. John W. Geary, afterwards governor Pennsylvania.” • James Moore Swank, “The Iron and Steel Industries of the United States in 1887 and 1888,” in *Mineral Resources of the United States*, reprinted in the *Congressional Edition*, Volume 2655, 1889, page 22.

“Potomac furnace is said by Lesley to have commenced to use coke in 1848 ... We presume that all these drew their supply of coke from the Frostburg region.” Page 371, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages*, James Moore Swank, Philadelphia, 1892.

[Other versions of Eugene Scheel’s articles are posted on <http://www.loudounhistory.org>]

§ Civil War events



*"Bollman's Rock, Point of Rocks, Harper's Ferry
Thrown Down by the Rebels to Obstruct the Railroad
Track"; Harper's Weekly, June 8, 1861.*

C&O President Spates visits Harper's Ferry on March 27 to negotiate with General Johnston; reports that a rock had been "thrown down" at the Point; Timothy Snyder, *Trembling in the Balance*, page 38.

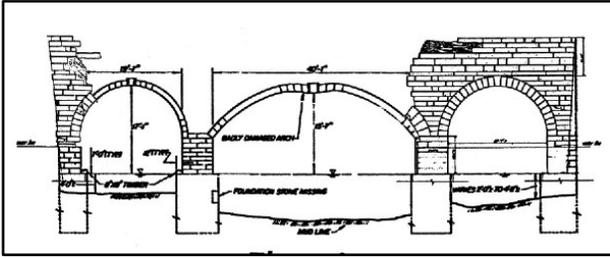
Sampling of events at Point of Rocks in the *Official Records*:

- Robert E. Lee to T.J. Jackson, May 12, 1861: "I am concerned at the feeling evinced in Maryland, and fear it may extend to other points, besides opposite Shepherdstown. It will be necessary, in order to allay it, that you confine yourself to a strictly defensive course. I presume the points occupied by you at Point of Rocks, Berlin, and Shepherdstown are on our side." Series 1, Vol. 2, page 836.
- Gen. J. E. Johnston to Col. R.S. Garnett, May 26, 1861:
"Captain Ashby, commanding near the Point of Rocks, was instructed by my predecessor to break the railroad whenever he found such a measure necessary for his defense. Those instructions were repeated by me. Captain Ashby reported this

morning that in consequence of intelligence just received he was about to throw a mass of rock upon it, by blasting." Series 1, Vol. 2, page 881.

- Col. Geary's report of skirmish at Point of Rocks, September 24, 1861, referring to "the ruins of the bridge at Point of Rocks," Series 1, Vol. 5, pages 214-215.
- General D. H. Hill's report that "I returned last night from Point of Rocks. Private houses in that vicinity have been bombarded from the other side of the river; private carriages, with ladies in them, have been fired at, horses have been stolen, & c." Series 1, Vol. 5, page 999.
- Lieutenant Colonel De Korponay's account of the artillery duel on December 19, 1861 is found in Series 1, Vol. 5, pages 472-473.

Mile 51 – Catoctin Aqueduct



Elevation of Catoctin Aqueduct, Historic American Engineering Record, HAER MD-22.

Elizabeth Kyle discusses the arches of the Catoctin Aqueduct in *Home on the Canal*, page 78. In her interview with J.P. Moses (page 143), he states that it was called the Crooked Aqueduct because “you come in crooked and you went out crooked.”

According to the *Historic Resource Study*, Harlan D. Unrau, 1976, the contractor’s work on the Aqueduct was not finished until February 1834 (page 239):

Aqueduct No. 3 [Catoctin Aqueduct]: Section No. 91
February 25, 1832: Contract let to Tracy and Douglas.
April, 1832: Construction commenced on aqueduct.
February, 1834: Construction completed on aqueduct.

Stephen Dilts describes the truly heroic efforts of John Littlejohn, who completed the railroad bridge at Catoctin despite increased expenses caused by the railroad’s delay in settling the route, the cholera epidemic, the abandonment of his financial partners, and reduced payments from the railroad. After investigating Littlejohn’s claim for reimbursement, the railroad not only awarded him additional payment but acknowledged his extraordinary efforts. See *The Great Road*, Dilts, pages 194-195.

Stephen Dilts also discusses the legacy of Caspar Wever:

- Wever’s advocacy for stone bridges rather than wooden trusses, circa 1828-1829, pages 73-79.

- Wever’s role in the construction of the Thomas Viaduct (1833-1835), giving equal credit to Benjamin H. Latrobe, Jr., pages 159-163 and 168.

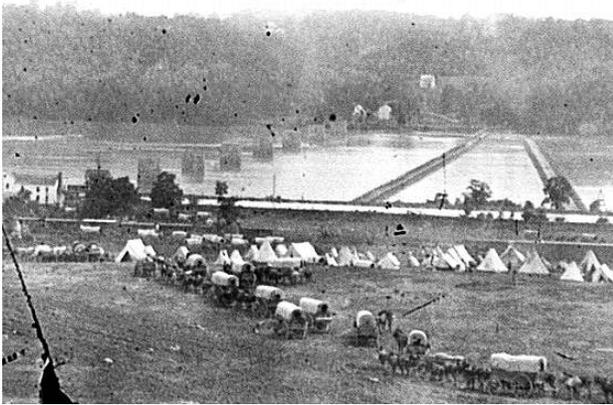
The initial study for the restoration project showed that Ms. Kyle was essentially correct, concluding: “the geometry of the elliptical arch develops tensile forces at the quarter points that would cause the stone masonry arch to deform and fail. Therefore, the arch was bound to fail eventually...”

Catoctin Aqueduct Restoration Draft Environmental Assessment, Appendix, Public Review Draft March 2008 (unpaginated)

News stories on restoration:

- “Restoration to Begin on Catoctin Aqueduct,” Ed Waters, Jr., *Frederick News Post*, April 25, 2010.
- “‘Pipe dream’ turns ‘miracle,’” Brian Engler, *Frederick News Post*, October 16, 2011.

Mile 55 – Brunswick



Union wagon trains and encampment next to pontoon bridge and ruins of the stone bridge at Berlin, October 1862. From the Berlin side of the river (note canal in foreground). Detail of photograph by Alexander Gardner, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Two views of the pontoon bridge and ruins of the stone bridge, from the Virginia side of the river, October 1862. Details of photographs by Alexander Gardner, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Louis Berger Group, *Cohongorooto: the Potomac above the Falls* (Part 1 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Abraham Pennington, another Indian trader from the Conestoga area and possibly associated with Charles Anderson, had a cabin and trading post (and ferry!) at site of Brunswick, ca. 1728-1734; property had been surveyed in 1728 for Thomas Wilcoxon and was named “Coxson’s Rest”; Brunswick known as “Eeltown” or “Buffalo Wallow”; page 94.
- Abraham Pennington hunted in the valley of Catoctin Creek, which was once known as “Abraham’s Creek”; page 94.

Pennington’s cabin, Coxson’s Rest, and Merry-Peep-O’Day are documented in Tracey and Dern, *Pioneers of Old Monocacy*, pages 15, 40, and 94-98.’

Brunswick Historic Resource Study:

- town laid out by Leonard Smith in 1787; page 1.
- conflict between Jordan and Wenner over store and warehouse; merger of Jordan, Wenner, and Graham; pages 4-7.
- dates for the first bridge at Berlin, page 6. [Citing “The Bridges of Berlin,” *Brunswick Blade-Times*, June 2, 1955.]
- B&O’s reasons for relocating switching yard to Berlin from Martinsburg, page 8.
- mill said to have been begun by Mortimore Wenner in 1845; taken over by Charles Wenner ca. 1853; became part of Jordan, Wenner, Graham partnership in 1870s; after Wenner’s death (1882) became Jordan, Crampton, & Co.; abandoned in 1962; burned in 1872; page 11.

Harlan Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, pages 667-668: “In December 1874 Berlin was described by the *Cumberland Times* as “a small village of Frederick County, containing sixty voters” whose principal business was “the mill of Messrs. Jordan, Graham and Wenner, which is run by the water from (the) canal.””

Capture of Wenner's canal boat at Berlin and confiscation of his flour in April of 1861; Timothy Snyder, *Trembling in the Balance*, pages 30-31.

The Civil War crossings at Berlin are described in the *Official Records*:

- 1861: Series 1 - Volume 2, page 889.
- October-November, 1862: Series 1 - Volume 19 (Part I), pages 84-86, 433; Part II, page 494; Series 1 - Volume 21, pages 148-149.
- July 1863: Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part I), pages 94, 148, 204, 303, 312, 670, 694, 710.

Size of Berlin in 1890, population estimated at 200; reasons for construction of B&O yards at this location; creation of "railroad town" in 1890-1894; saloons of a "low order" around the outskirts of town until 1904; Williams and McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, page 237-239.

Second Bridge at Berlin/Brunswick, *Brunswick Historic Resource Study*, page 10.

Brunswick incorporated in 1890 with prohibition on sale of alcohol, *Brunswick Historic Resource Study*, page 10. [Citing Williams and McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, pages 238-239, and "Brunswick's Historic Past," *Brunswick Blade-Times*, October 17, 1940.]

Brunswick as railroad town; B&O Railroad's influence in liquor prohibition; Gilbert Gude, *Small Town Destiny*, pages 81-87; quote on taverns/churches, page 83; quote on coal dust and children, page 82.

"Brunswick's "Blessed Curse": Surviving an Industrial Legacy," Richard Love, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 88, No. 2, Summer 1993:

- John Hawkins receives royal grant of 3,100 acres in 1753; named the tract Merry Peep-'O-Day; Hawkins' heirs sold it to the original surveyor of the tract, Leonard Smith, in 1780; Smith laid out the town immediately and by 1787 the town of Berlin, Maryland appears on land records; around 100 residents by 1800; page 133-134.
- name changed from "Berlin" to "Barry" when Post Office established in 1832; page 134.
- B&O RR surreptitiously purchases land for new classification yards in 1890; town renamed Brunswick; eastbound yards completed by 1893; population grows to 3,000 from 300; westbound yards by 1907; page 135.
- electric power and streetlights arrive in 1909; page 135.
- conversion from steam locomotives to diesel around 1950-1953 meant that trains no longer had required extensive servicing in Brunswick; pages 136-137.
- despite assurances from B&O officials, more and more workers were laid-off, especially when the westbound classification yards were relocated to Cumberland in 1960; pages 137-140
- segregated facilities at train station; page 140.
- Chesapeake & Ohio RR wins battle with New York Central for acquisition of the B&O, forming Chessie System in 1962; pages 140-141.
- by end of 1960s, nearly as many residents were commuting to Washington (400) as were employed by the railroad (430); page 142.
- 1971 USDOT study recommends cutting commuter service off at Gaithersburg; Brunswick counters with its own study showing ridership growing; page 143.
- in contrast to other cutbacks, first half of new coal classification yards completed by 1978; pages 143-144.

- continuing loss of interest in downtown by residents who now lived in suburban area; resistance to establishing a downtown historic district; pages 144-145.
- Chessie becomes CSX in 1987; Brunswick eliminated as a division stop (to change crews) in 1988; coal classification yards abandoned; pages 145-146.
- “native” residents continue to oppose historic district and preservation of roundhouse, concerned about private property rights, taxes, and municipal services; pages 146-147.
- “The idealized vision of a modest, friendly village with white clapboard houses surrounding a Main Street lined with local businesses shimmers like a mirage on the horizon, one answer to the problems of life in a modern society. Still, small towns are plagued by their own demons, and they may have profound effects on the lives of their citizens. The close-knit sense of community developed in small towns all across the country rests on a combination of shared experience, background, and employment. When changing times threaten these foundations, the very qualities that people find most attractive in small towns are often the first to disappear.”

*Wheat, Wealth, and Western Maryland
The Growth and Evolution of Flour
Milling in Frederick County, Maryland
1748-1789*, John F. Kvatch, Thesis
submitted to the College of Arts and
Sciences at West Virginia University,
Morgantown, WV, 2002.

Prohibition in Brunswick 1890-1916

The Maryland Assembly spent an inordinate amount of time trying to regulate the consumption of alcohol in Brunswick. A sampling of the entries in the Maryland State Archives, 1890-1916:

- Volume 396, Session Laws 1890, page 743. “It shall not be lawful for any person or body corporate to sell directly or indirectly at any place within the limits of the town of Brunswick, or give away at his place of business in said town any spirituous or fermented liquors or lager beer or intoxicating drinks of any kind, cider and home made wine excepted...”
- Volume 397, Session Laws 1892, page 781. “AN ACT to prohibit the granting of licenses for the sale of spirituous or fermented liquors or lager beer at any place within one-half mile in every direction from the town of Brunswick in Frederick County, Maryland.”
- Volume 209, Session Laws 1904, page 1320. “No. 288. An Act to prohibit the issuing of any license for the sale of spirituous or fermented liquors or lager beer at any place in Petersville, District No. 12, in Frederick County, except in the village of Knoxville, in said district, and to prevent the sale of all kinds of intoxicating drinks in the above described limits.”
- Volume 533, Session Laws 1914, page 1012. “...it shall not be lawful for any person or persons or body corporate to sell any spirituous or fermented liquors or lager beer at any place in Petersville Election District, No. 12, in said County...”
- Volume 534, Session Laws 1916, page 907. “SEC. 14. It shall not be lawful for any person or body corporate to sell, directly or indirectly, at any place within the limits of the town of Brunswick or to give away, at his place of business, or upon any street, alley or thoroughfare in said town, any spirituous or fermented liquors or lager beer, or intoxicating drinks of any kind...”

Mile 58 – Weverton



Weverton and the “Old Cotton Mill,” as shown in the Atlas of Frederick County, Maryland, 1873

✂ Peter Maynard’s monograph on Wever (cited below) prompted me to correct two items in the 1st and Revised editions of the *C&O Companion*:

- Following Hahn’s research, the first edition stated that Wever came across the location for Weverton as a result of his surveys for the railroad. Peter Maynard’s research (*Wever of the B&O Railroad*) indicates that Wever bought his first property here in 1821, seven years before he was hired by the railroad.
- Hahn’s description of the reformation of the Weverton Manufacturing Co. also implies that Wever had died by 1847; Maynard documents that Wever died in 1861.

Wever of the B&O Railroad and Weverton, Peter Maynard, Brunswick Publishing House, 1996.

- Early life, b. 1786 in Lancaster County, pages 28-31.
- While living in Hagerstown in 1821, Wever purchases land along the Potomac at the future site of Weverton; in 1823 buys additional land there; pages 90-91.
- Purchase of mill on Israel Creek in 1823, pages 91-92.

- Wever possibly influenced by the example of the “industrial villages” of New Harmony, Indiana, and Lowell, Massachusetts.
- purchase of land by the Canal company and railroad, 96-97.
- community of Weverton in 1860 and later, pages 118, 125.

Caspar Wever’s work with the B&O Railroad is described in greater detail by Stephen Dilts in *The Great Road* (1993):

- Wever provides documentation for B&O estimates while superintendent of the National Road west of Wheeling, 1826, page 54.
- hired by B&O Railroad in spring of 1828, pages 62-63.
- Wever’s disputes with the B&O board of engineers, pages 73-80.
- encourages local residents to make demands for ferry, dock, and road at Point of Rocks, page 117.

Wever’s responsibility for the defects in the bridge at Harpers Ferry:

- Stephen Dilts, *The Great Road*, pages 218-220.
- Michael J. Caplinger, *Bridges Over Time*, pages 23-24.
- Peter Maynard, *Wever of the B&O Railroad and Weverton*, pages 80-88. [Both Dilts and Caplinger are critical of Wever; Maynard argues in his favor.]

Wever’s efforts to obstruct the progress of the C&O canal are mentioned in Sanderlin, *The Great National Project*, pages 91-92, citing C&O company memoranda, and John F. Stover, *History of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad*, page 39.

I have only found scattered references to the proposal for a national foundry.

- National Foundry Report of 1836, published in 1836 by the War Department. (See Foxall’s Foundry, mile 1.7).
- Caspar Wever sent a memorial dated December 6, 1841, to the Senate and House of Representatives recommending

Weverton as the site for a national foundry: “the Weverton Manufacturing Company possess, in the opinion of the undersigned, the very best site in the Union for a national foundry, whether the locality, the water power, the quantity, quality, and cheapness of all the requisite materials for the fabrication of cannon, safety from attack, or abundance and cheapness of subsistence, be regarded.”

Memorial letter signed: Caspar W. Wever, secretary of the W.M. Company.

Resolutions and report of the meeting of citizens of Frederick and Washington counties signed: J. Thomas, chairman.

Emory Edwards, secretary. O. Horsey.

Samuel Clagett. Edward Garrott. Peter

Miller. Heze. Boteler, Jr. Benedict Boone.

Thomas Crampton. George W. West. John

Fink. Horation Clagett. August 30, 1839.

• Maryland proposal in 1838 (*Works of James Buchanan*, Volume 3, p. 379).

Buchanan’s remarks suggest that this proposal was for a foundry at Havre de Grace.

• Thomas J.C. Williams (*History of Frederick County, Maryland and History of Washington County, Maryland*)

mentions a federal proposal in 1858 in his entry on Weverton, which may be a typo for 1838. I have found no reference to any lobbying effort by Wever in 1858; the state of North Carolina developed a proposal touting the advantages of the Deep River valley in that state.

A description of the Weverton project, circa 1910, is included in Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County Maryland*, 218, 271-274. This furnishes some interesting details, but the chronology of events is unreliable.

An potential source of information about the dispute over the future of the Weverton Manufacturing Company is *The minority report, of a committee appointed on the 11th of October 1850 by the stockholders of the Weverton Manufacturing Company, to examine the report of the directors, made*

to said company in October 1850, printed by D. Schley and T. Haller, Frederick, MD, 1851.

Retrospective view of Weverton

Casper Wever bought a large tract of land at the foot of Pleasant Valley, and the water power of the Potomac between the present Hagerstown Junction and Harper's Ferry—an almost unlimited power as the quantity of water is enormous and the fall in two miles and a half not less than fifteen feet sufficient for three hundred thousand spindles. The design of Wever was to establish a manufacturing town upon his property, the power to be furnished at an annual rental. It was claimed that no place in the Union was more favorably situated for manufactures. The water power was equal to that of Lowell while the climate was less rigorous and there was a greater abundance of food which would make labor cheaper. A company was accordingly formed with George Jacobs of Waynesboro, Pa., as President; Mason Kinsell of Chestnut Hill, Pa., Capt. Hezekiah Boteler, Edward Garrett, Lewis Bell, John Gray and Barton Boteler, directors. In May, 1847, the first sale of lots was advertised. Twenty-six lots were sold at an average price of \$75—being \$1800 for less than an acre of land. A contract was made with Jos. I. Shannan to construct a dam for \$25,000, the work to be supervised by Charles B. Fisk, the engineer of the Canal. Lots were offered at a nominal price for factory seats and free to any church.

But lots were sold upon the condition that no liquor should be sold. ... The Potomac Company erected a large mill but it was never operated. The Henderson Steel and File Manufacturing Company also erected a building in 1846 and continued operations until the approach of the war, about which time Caspar Wever died. William Lougliridge also had a marble works furnished with power by the Weverton Company. William Loughridge was the inventor of the Air Brakes and various important appliances.
* * *

The great scheme of Wever finally collapsed and there is nothing now left but a number of stone houses erected for the mill operatives, many of them in ruins and also some other ruins.

Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland*, Volume 1, Part 1, originally published in 1906, pages 248-249.

Analysis of the Weverton site, circa 1880

The next site is where the river breaks through the Blue ridge, just below Harper's Ferry. From Weverton, 3 miles below Harper's Ferry, to dam No 3, a mile above that place, the fall is almost continuous, forming really but one shoal or rapid; but as the part above the ferry could best be used at or above the town, it is best to consider the shoal in two parts. From Harper's Ferry the stream falls 25 feet in a distance of 3 miles, the bed being rocky and the banks, though in places steep, as a rule, favorable for a dam and with numerous sites for building. It was at one time attempted to develop this power, and in 1834 the Weverton Manufacturing Company was incorporated with this object in view. The site was surveyed by E. N. Dickerson of Paterson, New Jersey, who reported on the property in glowing terms [1845], and subsequently a dam was built and a cotton mill and some other mills started; afterward a file factory was put up, together with a large flour mill on the other side of the river, but for some reason none of them continued long in operation and at present the site is altogether unimproved.
* * *

On account of the rapid fall of the stream above, the pond would be small unless the dam were very high. It is stated that fine building materials abound in the immediate vicinity; and as far as transportation is concerned the advantages are excellent, the canal and the railroad passing directly by the place. As regards facilities for dams and races, there would also be no difficulty except perhaps that the freshets might cause a stoppage of work at intervals.

• “Report on the Water-Power of the Middle Atlantic Water-Shed,” by George F. Swain, pages 43-44, in *Statistics of power and machinery employed in manufactures*, United States Census Office, 10th census, 1880.

Mile 58.2 – Pleasant Valley & the Yarrows



Detail of painting of Yarrow Mamout by James Alexander Simpson, circa 1822, Peabody Room, Georgetown Public Library.

James H. Johnston chronicles the Yarrow and Turner families in *From Slave Ship to Harvard: Yarrow Mamout and the History of an African American Family*.

"The Man in the Knit Cap," James H. Johnston, *Washington Post Magazine*, Feb. 5, 2006.

"Ms. Yarrow and the Road to Antietam," James H. Johnston, *New York Times*, "Disunion" Opinionater Blog, September 11, 2012

"The Search for Yarrow Mamout," Candace Wheeler, *Washington Post*, December 26, 2012.

Mile 59 – Sandy Hook

Geary's letters, along with biographical notes, are presented in Wiley, *A Politician Goes to War*. The quote describing Geary's inflated battle reports is from Wiley's commentary.

The letter to his wife was dated August 6, 1861.

Geary's reports of skirmishes at Pritchard's Mill above Harper's Ferry (September 15, 1861) and at Point of Rocks (September 24, 1861) are classics of his self-aggrandizing style.

Strother's impressions of Geary and Lee were noted in his diary for that period, as published later in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October, 1866, page 549. In publishing his note on Lee after the end of the Civil War, Strother was well aware that history would give Lee a great deal more credit than the officers he spoke with in 1861.

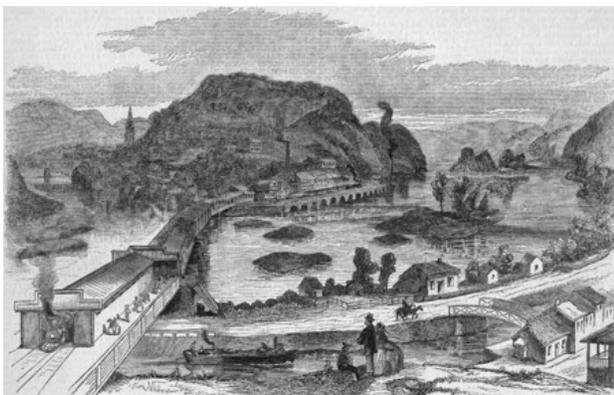
III. The Blue Ridge & the Great Valley

Mile 60.7 – Harpers Ferry

Bridges at Harpers Ferry



Covered B&O bridge in 1859. Historic Photo Collection, Harpers Ferry NHP Catalog No. **hf-0066**.



“Harpers Ferry—The Scene of the Late Insurrection”
Harper’s Weekly, October 29, 1859. Library of Congress
Prints and Photographs, LC-USZ62-71343 LOT 4387-A



Ruins of B&O bridge at Harper’s Ferry, Historic Photo Collection, Harpers Ferry NHP



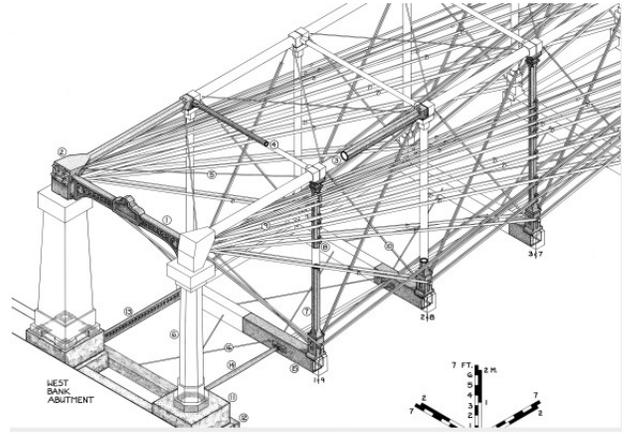
Ruins of Harpers Ferry bridge, with pontoon bridge under construction, circa 1862, Mathew Brady.



Musket Factory ruins, foreground, and the B&O bridge in the background circa 1865. The center spans were converted to Bollman iron trusses in the spring of 1863. Historic Photo Collection, Harpers Ferry NHP Catalog No. **hf-0038**.



The bridge with the Bollman trusses of 1863/1868 (photo ca. 1875, per Michael Caplinger), carried highway traffic as well as the railroad. Historic Photo Collection, Harpers Ferry NHP Catalog No. **hf-1763**.



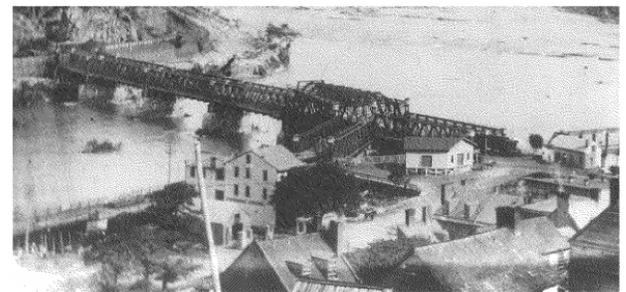
The Winchester span of the Harpers Ferry bridge, iron truss designed by Wendell Bollman. The canal span and the two spans on the Harpers Ferry side were converted to Bollman trusses in 1868, *Historic American Engineering Record*.



The railroad bridge with the 1863/1868 Bollman trusses. Photograph taken around 1886-1887; published as a postcard by W.L. Erwin in 1908, *Historic Photo Collection*, Harpers Ferry NHP Catalog No. **hf-0476**.



Two views of the postwar B&O bridge crossing the C&O Canal. From "Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Crossing of the Potomac River," *Maryland State Archives*, WA-III-027.



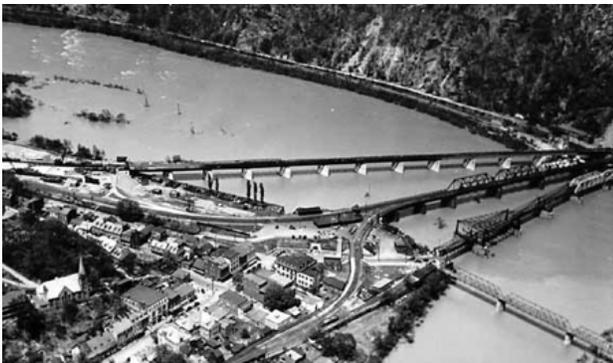
Enlargement from HAER WV-86, showing the Potomac House tavern/hotel (three-story white building), which served as B&O station house until it was torn down to make way for the realignment of the railway line through the armory grounds.



The 1894 bridge to the left, and the 1863/1868 Bollman Bridge to the right. Published by W.L. Erwin as postcard in 1908. Historic Photo Collection, Harpers Ferry NHP Catalog No. hf-0480.



Downstream bridge (1894) during the September 1996 flood, weighted by railroad cars filled with gravel. Photo by Mike High.



Aerial view of bridges at Harpers Ferry, 1932, showing the old 1863/1868 Bollman bridge to the right, the 1894 bridge, and the 1931 bridge. (National Park Service)



Satellite view of bridges at Harpers Ferry, circa 2012 (Google Earth)

Chronology of bridge construction at Harpers Ferry, primarily based on Michael J. Caplinger, *Bridges Over Time*:

- 1824-1826. Wager Bridge built (Wernwag)
- 1832-1836. First B&O bridge built, connecting to the Winchester & Potomac RR in Harpers Ferry. (Latrobe/Wernwag)
- 1839. B&O buys toll and ferry rights at Harpers Ferry; dismantles Wager bridge.
- 1840-1842. Bridge modified by Latrobe to provide for the extension of the B&O to Cumberland and Wheeling, adding a “we span” for the new route that turned upstream, crossing Armory grounds. The other part of the “Y,” which still connected to the Winchester & Potomac, became known as the “Winchester Span.”
- 1851. Winchester span converted to an iron truss bridge designed by Wendel Bollman.
- 1861. Bridge demolished by Confederate forces.
- 1862. After several repair attempts had been interrupted by floods, the line reopened briefly in the summer, only to be destroyed in early September by the Confederates during the Antietam campaign. The bridge reopened on October 2.
- 1863. [February-April] The B&O replaced the central spans (3-6) with Bollman iron truss spans that would remain in place until the great flood of 1936.
- 1868. The remaining spans were converted to Bollman iron trusses: the canal span on the Maryland side, and the “curved span” and the Winchester span on the Harpers Ferry side.
- 1894. New railroad bridge and tunnel completed; Bollman bridge converted into “exclusively highway bridge.”
- 1931. New railroad bridge constructed upstream from the 1894 bridge. Cars used the 1894 bridge until 1949, when Route 340 was completed.

- 1936. The Bollman Bridge (1863 & 1868) is washed away by the largest recorded flood on the Potomac. Only the stone piers remain.

Sources on the B&O bridges:

- Michael Caplinger, *Bridges over Time. A Technological Context for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Main Stem at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia* [1997].
- “Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Harpers Ferry Station,” HAER No. WV-86, documentation prepared by Andrew Lee, 2002. [Although the subject is the station-house that was constructed 1892-1894, this 108-page study provides extensive background information on the Potomac bridges.]
- “Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Crossing of the Potomac River between Maryland Heights, Maryland, and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia,” National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, Maryland State Archives, WA-III-027, Paula Stoner Dickey and Robert Vogel, 1970.

§ Early years of Harpers Ferry

Chronology of the founding of Harpers Ferry:

- 1747 – Robert Harper, said to be a builder and millwright from Pennsylvania, travels to vicinity of present-day Winchester to help build a Quaker meeting-house; visits the Potomac near the confluence with the Shenandoah.
- 1751 – Harper obtains a patent for 125 acres.
- 1761 – Virginia General Assembly grants ferry license to Robert Harper.
- 1763 – Virginia General Assembly establishes the town of "Shenandoah Falls at Mr. Harper's Ferry."
- 1775 – Harper begins building a new home in the Lower Town.
- 1782 – Harper dies (home completed that year, but never occupied by Harper).

Joseph Barry's account of the origin of Harper's Ferry

Robert Harper, from whom the place gets its name, was a native of Oxford in England. He was born about the year 1703 and, at the age of twenty years, he emigrated to Philadelphia where he prosecuted the business of architecture and millwrighting. He erected a church for the Protestant Episcopalians in Frankfort, which edifice, however, through some defect of title, was afterwards lost to the congregation for which it was built. In 1747 he was engaged by some members of the Society of "Friends" to erect a meeting-house for that denomination on the Opequon river, near the site of the present city of Winchester, Virginia, and, while on his way through the then unbroken wilderness to fulfill his contract, he lodged, one night, at a lonely inn on the site of what is now the city of Frederick, Maryland. While staying at this hostelry, he met a German named Hoffman to whom, in the course of conversation, he communicated the business that took him on his journey and, also, his intention to proceed to his destination by way of Antietam, a name now so famous in our national history, for the terrible battle fought there during the late rebellion. Hoffman informed him that there was a shorter route, by way of what he called "The Hole," and, as an additional inducement, he promised him a sight of some wonderful scenery. Harper agreed to go by the way of "The Hole" and, next night, he arrived at that point and made the acquaintance of a man named Peter Stevens who had squatted at the place which was included in the great Fairfax estate. Harper was so much pleased with the scenery that he bought out Stevens for the sum of fifty British guineas. As, however, he could only buy Stevens' good will, the real ownership being vested in Lord Fairfax, he, next year, paid a visit to Greenway, the residence of that nobleman, and from him or his agent he obtained a patent for the lands formerly occupied by Stevens on the precarious tenure of squatter sovereignty. Stevens had held the place for thirteen years and the agents of Lord Fairfax had experienced great trouble from him. They were, therefore, very glad to be [Pg 13] rid of him. Harper settled down there and established a ferry, when the place lost the

undignified name of "The Hole" and acquired the more euphonious title of "Harper's Ferry" by which it has, ever since, been known and by which, no doubt, it will be designated by the remotest posterity. At that time, there was but one dwelling there—the Stevens cabin—which was situated on what is now called Shenandoah street, on the site of the house at present owned by Mr. William Erwin and used as a drug store, liquor saloon, and a boarding house. Harper lived in this house, many years, until about the year 1775, when he built one about half a mile farther up the Shenandoah, where he died in 1782.

[According to the National Park Service, Harper never took up residence in the house that he began building in 1775, which was completed in 1782, the year that he died.]

The Strange Story of Harper's Ferry, with Legends of the Surrounding Country, by Joseph Barry, A resident of the place for half a century, Thompson Brothers, Martinsburg, West Virginia, 1903.

§ Jefferson's description & other views of Harpers Ferry



"View from Jefferson Rock," from *Picturesque America, or The Land We Live In*, William Cullen Bryant, ed., 1894, page 93.

Dating of Jefferson's description of the scene at Harpers Ferry is based on my email correspondence with Douglas L. Wilson, March 15, 2011.

➤ The Continental Congress had first intended to send Jefferson to Paris to participate in the negotiations with the British, but his trip was delayed and his appointment canceled in April of 1783. He would finally sail for Europe in May of 1784, where he would replace Benjamin Franklin as ambassador.

See Douglas L. Wilson, "The Evolution of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*," *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 112, No. 2, 2004.

Louis-Philippe's observation is from *Diary of My Travels in America*, translated by Stephen Becker, Delacorte Press, New York, 1976 and 1977, page 39.

➤ Louis-Philippe had crossed the mountains at Key's Gap, on his way to Winchester, but he says that his party made a detour from the main road to see the place where the "confluence" of the Shenandoah and the Potomac cuts a gap through the "blue ridge," phrasing that sounds like it is derived from Jefferson's description. Louis-Philippe was a well-read man, and it is likely that Jefferson's *Notes* were recommended to him at some

point as he made his way along the East Coast.

➤ As Henry Steele Commager notes in the preface to the *Diary*, Louis-Philippe was an "involuntary visitor" to America. The "reign of terror" was over in France, but Louis-Philippe still had reason to avoid his native country. He had fought for the Republic in his early years, but he was later implicated in a plan by his commanding general to ally with the Austrians and had to flee France. In 1797 he was encouraged by the "Directory" then ruling France to emigrate from his place of exile in Europe to America.

John Quincy Adams visited Harpers Ferry on May 23-25, 1834, and said of the view from Jefferson's Rock:

"There is not much of the sublime in the scene and those who first see it after reading Mr Jefferson's description are usually disappointed."

He also visited the Armory:

"At one o'clock we all dined together at the inn and after dinner first visited the Armory where the rifles are made but the works are not comparable to those at Springfield."

See *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Volume IX*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1876, pages 140-142.

Description of Harpers Ferry in 1836 from Thomas Cather, *Journal of a Voyage to America in 1836*, reprint by Rodale Press, 1955, p. 28.

"I have gazed on Harper's Ferry, or rather the rock at the Ferry. I have seen it towering up in simple grandeur with the gentle Potomac gliding peacefully at its feet and felt that that was God's masonry and my soul had expanded in gazing on its sublimity."

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, quoted in *Still's underground rail road records: with a life of the author*, William Still, Philadelphia, 1886, page 760.

§ Armory & Arsenal

Tobias Lear's role as lessee of the lands to be used for the "arsenal," *The Checkered Career of Tobias Lear*, Ray Brighton, page 141.

A Walker's Guide to Harpers Ferry, David T. Gilbert:

- large arsenal built 1799-1802; small arsenal built 1806-1807; both burned by retreating federal troops on April 18, 1861; page 42.

Harpers Ferry, West Virginia Contributions towards a Physical History, prepared by James P. Noffsinger, National Park Service, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, November 1958.

"I had the additional pleasure here of seeing the progress of the works on the Potomac. About 50 hands were employed at these falls, or rather rapids, who seemed to have overcome the greatest difficulties. Their plan is to slope the fall by opening the bed of the river, in such a manner as to render a lock unnecessary, and, by means of ropes fastened to the rocks, to pull up and ease down the boats where the current is most rapid."

Letters and other Writings of James Madison, Vol. I, page 42; a letter to Thomas Jefferson written in Philadelphia, Pa. on August 12, 1786.

For an analysis of the government's acquisition of the property for the armory at Harper's Ferry, see "Establishment of the Harper's Ferry Armory," prepared by the Attorney General of the United States, submitted to the Committee of the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, December 5, 1867. [Posted at <http://www.wvculture.org>]

Harpers Ferry Armory and New Technology, Merritt Roe Smith:

- The arrival of Superintendent Dunn and his murder, pages 253-256.
- Dismantling of the armory buildings and relocation of equipment to Richmond and Fayetteville, pages 320-323.

§ Virginius Island & Hall's Rifle Works

Harpers Ferry Armory and New Technology, Merritt Roe Smith:

- In the appendix "Map and Tables," Smith lists "selected" private industrial buildings that were operating on Virginius Island, circa 1859: Abraham Herr's flour mill, Herr's cotton factory, Lewis Wernwag's sawmill, Wernwag's machine shop, Hugh Gilleece's iron foundry (formerly tannery/oil mill), and Gilleece's chopping mill.

A Walker's Guide to Harpers Ferry, David T. Gilbert:

- Harpers Ferry & Shenandoah Manufacturing Co. builds two cotton mills 1847-1849; second mill burned in 1852; company later goes bankrupt; in 1852, Herr obtains buildings and uses them to store grain; Child & McCreight buy mill site in 1867 and convert to flour mill; resumes production after 1870 flood; new ownership in 1884 modernizes the machinery; conflict with Shenandoah Pulp Co. over water rights; finally shut down by the flood of 1889; pages 76-87.
- Patowmack Co. authorized to improve navigation of the Shenandoah River in 1802; work begins in 1806; double locks built at later site of Shenandoah Pulp Mill; pages 92-94. [Canal around Virginius Island excavated in 1907; see page 103.]
- pulp mill was originally the site of Robert Harper's sawmill; Thomas Savery purchases Hall's Rifle Works in 1884 for \$810; builds Shenandoah Pulp Mill in 1887-1888; mill operates until 1935; pages 94-97.
- Hall awarded government contract in 1819; builds rifle factory in 1820; takes leave of absence in 1840 and dies next year; factory substantially rebuilt 1844-1853, including addition of two Boyden turbines; destroyed by Confederates in June 1861; pages 103-106.
- original grist mill built by John Peacher around 1820-1823 [according to Mary

Johnson, below, Peacher was a boatman and did not build a mill]; acquired by Fontaine Beckham in 1824; burned in 1839 and rebuilt next year; acquired by Abraham Herr in 1848; burned by Confederates in 1861; pages 109-113.

"A Nineteenth-Century Mill Village: Virginius Island, 1800-60," Mary Johnson, *West Virginia History*, Volume 54, 1995, pages 1-27.

- Patowmack Company excavated canal around Virginius Island in 1806-1807.
- "a decade later," New Shenandoah Company built a dam rubble dam across the river above Sawmill Falls.
- total Harpers Ferry population approximately 1,400 by 1820.
- a boatman named John Peacher purchased the island from Daniel McPherson in 1817; sold it to James Stubblefield in 1823; in 1824, Stubblefield sold it in four lots to Townsend and Fontaine Beckham, Edward Wager, and Lewis Wernwag.
- Wernwag came to Harpers Ferry in 1824 to direct construction of a bridge for the Wager family; built machine shops on island.
- Wager, Wernwag, and the Beckhams petitioned the Virginia Assembly to incorporate the island as "Virginius," Dec. 1826; approved in act of Jan. 1827; at that time, the island was occupied by an "extensive Saw-Mill, Merchant Mill, Oil Mill, Tannery, and about twelve dwelling houses"; merchant mill was on Fontaine Beckham's parcel.
- 1827 and 1829 inquiries into Stubblefield's conduct; improper dealings with Wernwag; Stubblefield resigns.
- the cotton mills in U.S. were growing faster than either the cotton supply or the market for goods; the cost of raw cotton rose sharply, while the price of the yarn or cloth product held steady or declined.
- Herr sold machinery in cotton mill; planned to convert it to a flour mill; sold mill property in 1867.

The story of the destruction of Herr's flour mill is told by a resident of the town, Joseph Barry, in his engaging remembrance, *The strange story of Harper's Ferry: with legends of the surrounding country*, pages 119 and 131.

David Hunter Strother relates that General Johnston received a telegram from General Bearegard directing him to arrest Abraham Herr, and this led to the requirement that Herr post a \$30,000 bond. See "Personal Recollections of the War, by a Virginian," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, June 1866, page 24.

Colonel Geary's account of the events at Harpers Ferry in mid-October 1861 is found in his report in the *Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 5, pages 242-243.

The destruction of Herr's mill is also described by Chester G. Hearn, *Six Years of Hell*, pages 84-89.

Maryland Heights; Archeological & Historical Resources Study, Susan E. Frye & Dennis E. Frye, Occasional Report #2, Regional Archeology Program, National Capitol Region, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 1989.

§ John Brown Raid

Disposition of John Brown's men on Monday, October 17, 1859:

- ▶ Killed in retreat from bridge to engine-house
 - Daingerfield Newby*, killed 10.17.59
 - Stewart Taylor*, died 10.17.59*
 - Oliver Brown*, died 10.17.59*
- ▶ With John Brown at engine-house
 - William Thompson*, killed 10.17.59
 - William Leeman*, killed 10.17.59
 - Watson Brown*, wounded 10.17.59, died 10.18.59
 - Dauphin Thompson*, killed 10.18.59
 - Jeremiah Anderson*, killed 10.18.59
 - Shields Green*, captured, hung 12.16.59
 - Edwin Coppoc*, captured, hung 12.16.59
 - Aaron Stevens*, wounded, hung 3.16.60
- ▶ At arsenal
 - Albert Hazlett*, escaped, captured, hung 3.15.59
 - Osborne P. Anderson*, escaped
- ▶ At Hall's Rifle Factory
 - John Kagi*, killed 10.17.59
 - Lewis S. Leary*, wounded, died 10.17.59
 - John Copeland*, captured, hung 12.16.59
- ▶ At schoolhouse (Maryland)
 - John Cook*, escaped, captured, hung 12.16.59
 - F.J. Merriam*, escaped
 - Charles Tidd*, escaped
 - Owen Brown*, escaped
 - Barclay Coppoc*, escaped

* Hinton (*John Brown and His Men*, page 488) quotes a letter written by Edwin Coppoc (while in prison, Nov. 22, 1859) that states that Oliver Brown and Stewar[t] Taylor were shot outside the engine-house; Oliver dying within 15 minutes, and Taylor within 3 hours. Most accounts describe Oliver as still alive when dragged inside the engine-house; Coppoc's account suggests that Taylor was also brought inside, where he lingered in great pain. Coppoc also identifies Dauphin Thompson and Jeremiah Anderson as the two men killed in the assault on the engine-house on the morning of the 18th.

§ Maryland Heights & Defense of Harpers Ferry

☞ There is a difference of opinion on the attitudes of the Confederate generals concerning Harper's Ferry.

- In *Six Years of Hell*, page 71, Chester Hearn writes: "Neither Johnston or Jackson, or for that matter Lee, shared the popular belief that Harpers Ferry was worth defending."

- James Robertson, on the other hand, writes in *Stonewall Jackson*, page 242, "Like Jackson, Lee did not want to surrender Harpers Ferry." Based on Jackson's famous reference to Thermopylae and Robertson's expertise on Jackson, I have relied on the latter statement.

Stonewall Jackson on Harpers Ferry, message to Robert E. Lee, May 7, 1861: "I am of the opinion that this place should be defended with the spirit which actuated the defenders of Thermopylae, and, if left to myself, such is my determination."

☞ Thermopylae, of course, turned into a heroic "last stand" for the outnumbered Greek forces defending it, but while Jackson thought the defense of Harpers Ferry would be inspirational, he did not intend to be annihilated. His message to Lee indicated that he planned to fortify the Heights, which would have been a key to the defense of the town.

"I would rather take the place twenty times than undertake to hold it once," A.P. Hill, September 15 1862.

See *General A. P. Hill – The Story of a Confederate Warrior*, James I. Robertson. Random House, New York, 1987.

Gen. J.E. Johnston reservations about the occupation of Harpers Ferry: Memorandum in relation to Harper's Ferry, May 26, 1861.

* * * There is no danger of attack in front, but the position is easily turned by crossing the river above or below. The present force

is not sufficient for defense against a superior one, attacking from the Virginia side. Relief, in case of investment, could not be furnished. Considered as a position, I regard Harpers Ferry as untenable by us at present against a strong enemy. We have outposts at the Point of Rocks, near the ferry at Williamsport, and the bridge at Shepherdstown, the extreme points being at least thirty miles apart.

* * *

Jackson's communications with Lee on the subject of Maryland Heights are discussed by James Robertson in *Stonewall Jackson*, pages 234-236.

General R. Patterson to Col. E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General, June 18, 1861, *Official Records*, Series 1, Vol. 2, page 881:

"To remedy many inconveniences, and to reopen the line of communication, and to protect the channels of trade, I propose what I consider a military necessity the rebuilding of Harpers Ferry Bridge, protected by a force from this side, and the reoccupation of Harpers Ferry. For this purpose, and to fortify the heights in its vicinity, I wish the artillery under Doubleday."

Winfield Scott to General R. Patterson in Hagerstown, MD, June 20, 1861:

"I desire you to cause to be examined the Maryland Heights, overlooking Harpers Ferry, with a view to a battery sufficient to hold the same..."

Official Records, Series 1 - Volume 2, pages 702, 709.

Plans for fortifying Harpers Ferry were submitted by C.B. Comstock, Lieutenant of Engineers, on October 17, 1862. General Halleck's response came the next day. See *Official Records*, Series 1 - Volume 19 (Part II), pages 441-442.

§ Postwar industry, floods, &tc

Flood of 1870 and John Wernwag; Joseph Barry, *The Strange Story of Harper's Ferry*, pages 151-160.

"A Nineteenth-Century Mill Village: Virginius Island, 1800-60," Mary Johnson, *West Virginia History*, Volume 54, 1995, pages 1-27.

- paper and wood pulp industry continued to rely on the traditional waterpower, flour and grist mills switched to steam or closed; flour mill closed in 1889.

A Walker's Guide to Harpers Ferry, David T. Gilbert:

- large arsenal built 1799-1802; small arsenal built 1806-1807; both burned by retreating federal troops on April 18, 1861; page 42.
- Thomas Savery purchases site of Musket Factory in 1884 (along with Hall's Rifle Factory); erects building for Harpers Ferry Paper Company in 1890; turbines installed for electricity in 1910 and 1923 and leased to Harpers Ferry Light & Electric Company; flood of 1924 destroys paper mill; new hydroelectric plant built in 1925; small generator shut off in 1969 and large generator in 1991; pages 59 and 64.

"Potomac Power Plant," HAER WV-61, prepared by Dean Herrin, 1998.

- the Armory's "tilt-hammer" shop (1834) replaced by rolling mill in 1853; destroyed in 1861.
- purchase by Thomas Savery in 1884.
- Shenandoah mill was "built in 1887" and that Potomac mill began operation in 1889; Potomac pulp mill operated from 1889 until fire on Jan. 14, 1925.
- details of pulpmaking; most timber brought by railroad; water pollution problems.
- idea of hydroelectric power considered by paper company in 1898; John Livers of Gettysburg, Pa., gets contract for arc lighting in Harpers Ferry and leases

electricity from mill; Harpers Ferry Paper Co. purchases electric plant and established Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Co. in spring of 1899, with Savery as president.

- sequence of later ownership, eventually ending in the hands of Potomac Edison.
- description of company's rights to the armory dam; uncertainty on exact dates for installation of some of the turbines and dynamos.
- [Appendix]1998 survey of machinery in the power plant, as documented by Robert C. Stewart.

Reported in the *Electrical Review*, Vol. 45, Dec. 17, 1904:

"CUMBERLAND MD. The Harper's Ferry Electric Light Company is making preparations to supply the town of Brunswick, six miles down the Potomac river with light. The supply wire from Harper's Ferry to Brunswick will be erected on the Chesapeake & Potomac telephone poles."

Also see "Hydroelectric Power Plant/Potomac Power Plant," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, report prepared by Edith Wallace of Paula S. Reed & Associates, 1999 (revised 2000).

Other sources:

- *Waterpower Mills, Factories, Machines & Floods At Harpers Ferry, West Virginia 1762-1991*, David T. Gilbert, Harpers Ferry Historical Association, 1999.
- *Where industry failed: Water-powered mills at Harpers Ferry*, West Virginia, Dave Gilbert, Pictorial Histories Pub. Co., Charleston, West Virginia, 1984.

§ John Brown's Legacy

Teresa S. Moyer and Paul A. Shackel, *The making of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park: a devil, two rivers and a dream*.

In addition to the discussion of the Heyward Shepherd memorial in Moyer and Shackel, there are two scholarly articles on the subject:

- “An “Ever Present Bone of Contention”: The Heyward Shepherd Memorial,” Mary Johnson, *West Virginia History*, Volume 56, 1997.
- “Heyward Shepherd: The Faithful Slave Memorial,” Paul A. Shackel, *Historical Archeology* 37(3), 2003.

There are several versions of Pearl Tatum's comments at the 1931 ceremony; I have used the quotation given in Moyer and Shackel, *The Making of Harpers Ferry National Park*, page 154, attributed to the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Oct. 24, 1931.

Dennis E. Frye discusses the opposition to any commemoration of the centennial anniversary of John Brown's raid; “John Brown's Smoldering Spark,” *Hallowed Ground Magazine*, FALL 2009.

Mile 61.5 – Lock No. 34 & the John Brown Raid

Cook told about meeting Mrs. Hardy and Mrs. Read at the lock in his “Confessions,” reprinted in many newspapers of the day. A version is included as an appendix to Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and his Men*, pages 700-714. [Hinton recalls that Cook worked at a canal lock on the north end of the armory grounds, pages 474-475.]

A writer named Ralph Keeler visited with John and Owen Brown and recorded Owen's account of the raid in “Owen Brown's Escape from Harpers Ferry,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Volume XXXIII-No. 197, March, 1874.

According to the testimony of Lind F. Currie to the Mason Commission, given on January 11, 1860, the school-house was about 3 miles from Harpers Ferry, and roughly half-way between the Ferry and the Kennedy Farm. Lind was a farmer who lived near Charlestown; he testified that he had been teaching school “in connection with his farming activities.” He gave an average attendance of 25-30 students, ranging in age from 8 to 15 or 16.

Death of Owen Brown:

- Villard gives the date as 1899, but that is a typographical error.
- A notice of Owen Brown's funeral was published in the *New York Times* on January 12, 1889.
- On the same date, a detailed description of the funeral was published in the *Pasadena Standard*.

See notes for History I:1 for documentation of Cook's other activities at Harpers Ferry.

Mile 62.3 – Dam #3 (Armory Dam)

Harlan Unrau, *Historic Resources Study*:

- August 18, 1832: “At the recommendation of John J. Abert, the board determined to dispense with the construction of Dam No. 3. Instead, the company engineers were directed to make arrangements to use the water backed by the government dam at Harpers Ferry. Accordingly, a head gate or guard lock was designed for such a connection between the dam and the canal...” [Page 200]

- “Dam No. 3 was ... built by the United States Government to supply water power to the musket factory of the United States Amory at Harpers Ferry. Two dams, built in 1799 and 1809, preceded the government dam used by the canal company.

July, 1820: Contract let to John Lowstetter.

1821: Work completed on government dam.”

[Page 241]

Mile 62.4 – Elk Run, Friend’s Orebank, Keep Triste Furnace

“Friend’s Orebank and Keep Triste Furnace,” William D. Theriault, *West Virginia History*, Vol. XLVIII, 1989, pages 43-60.

- Israel Friend’s possible intention to mine iron ore and build smelting furnace, page 45.

- Theriault speculates that the Friend family left the area during the hostilities with the Indians because they were Quakers, and Quakers were being jailed for refusing to participate in defensive measures, page 45.

[I am doubtful of the theory that the Friends left because of their religious beliefs. The idea that the Friends were Quakers seems to be derived mainly from local tradition, and descendants and relatives of Israel Friend settled elsewhere in the Valley during this period. A case in point was Israel’s son, Jonas Friend, who served as a corporal during the French and Indian war, bought land far down the South Branch of the Potomac, on its North Fork, and moved even further into frontier territory, into the Tygart River valley, in 1772.]

- John Ballendine buys orebank from Jacob Friend in 1763, page 46.

- John Semple and Keep Triste Furnace, pages 46-51.

- property transfers to Lee family, page 46.

- partnership of Potts, Wilson, Hobart, and North formed Jan. 1, 1790; operates furnace, 1792-1800, pages 47-54.

- U.S. buys mining rights and furnace property, page 55.

- use of orebank by McPherson and Brien, pages 55-57.

- George Bomford 1837 letter on potential usefulness of the orebank; court decision on government’s rights; page 56.

- later ownership by Ahl and Thropp; demise of mining operation during World War I, pages 58-61.

Theriault provides additional documentation of the Friend family and their role in Valley settlement in the Bakerton area (upstream from Harpers Ferry on the West Virginia side of the Potomac) in Chapter III of *History of Eastern Jefferson County, West Virginia*. Chapter VIII of this study discusses the business relationships of Wilson, Potts, and Henry Lee at Keep Triste; and further details are provided in the discussion of ironworks in Chapter X. See *History of Eastern Jefferson County, West Virginia*, William D. Theriault, Hagerstown, Maryland, 2009. Published on-line at the website for the Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission:
<http://jeffersoncountyhlc.org/>

Allegations that the Harpers Ferry armory obtained poor quality iron from Juniata; presents given to managers and workers; see Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*, pages 166 and 170.

☞ The legal dispute over the orebanks resulted in the ruling that the government did not have exclusive rights to the orebank. Although John McPherson Brien (owner of the Antietam Ironworks) could continue to mine ore there, he could no longer use the government's wharves to ship the iron, and had to have it carried in horse-drawn carts along the Virginia side of the river to Brien's Ferry, where it was carried across the Potomac to the mouth of the Antietam. It is uncertain how long this arrangement lasted, but the C&O company records from the mid-1850s suggest that the canal served as an alternate route to carry iron from the orebanks up to Antietam. The same records suggest that the river lock was used for shipments of iron products from Antietam back down to the Harper's Ferry Armory.

Mile 66 –Houses Falls & Cow Ring Sluice

Richard L. Stanton, *Potomac Journey*, describes the falls and the sluice on pages 58-61. [Stanton mentions that the falls are also sometimes called Fishpot Falls and Riverbend Falls, and describes Knotts Quarry just above the sluice.]

Robert J. Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal*, discusses House's Falls, pages 11, 14, and 157; and compares Semple's, Ballendine's, and Washington's plans for improvements, pages 28-29, 39, and 47.

"Friend's Orebank and Keep Triste Furnace," William D. Theriault, *West Virginia History*, Vol. XLVIII, 1989.

- after Friend's death in 1749 or 1750, his wife married John House, owner of the "Two Wives" tract on Knott's Island, page 45.
- use of horse-drawn carts to carry ore to Brien's Ferry (John McPherson Brien), page 56.

Mile 69.4 – Antietam Aqueduct



Antietam Aqueduct, Historic American Engineering Record, HAER MD-22.

Aqueduct No. 4 [Antietam Aqueduct]:
Section No. 126; chronology from Harlan
Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic
Resource Study*, page 240:

June 5, 1832: Contract let to Gibson, Noonan,
Midler and Fresh and Co. October, 1832: Work
commenced on aqueduct.

April, 1835: Work completed on aqueduct.

Damage to the Antietam Aqueduct during
the Civil War, Harlan Unrau, *Chesapeake
& Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*,
pages 758-759 and 761.

Mile 69.4 – Antietam Ironworks



*“Antietam Rolling-Mill,” from Picturesque America, or
The Land We Live In, William Cullen Bryant, ed., 1894,
page 103.*

§ Israel Friend & the “Indian Deed”

Indian burial ground at site of coke-yard
for the Antietam Furnace; story of battle
between Catawba and Delaware Indians,
John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western
Maryland*, page 1213. The earliest version
of the story of a great battle at the mouth of
the Antietam is probably the one related in
the early pages of Samuel Kercheval’s
History of the Valley of Virginia (1831).
This story is described as “almost certainly
a myth” in *Through the Great Valley and
into the Mountains Beyond*, Louis Berger
Group, pages 70-71.

*The family of Nils Larsson Frände
(Friend)*, Peter S. Craig, Washington, DC,
August 1988. [Typescript manuscript,
catalogued as “The family of Nils Larsson
Friend” at the Library of Congress and the
Historical Society of Wisconsin.]

- Craig notes that Dr. Amandus Johnson
(*Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*,
page 716) believes that Nils Larrison arrived
in 1654 on the *Örd*, but argues that it is
more likely that he arrived on the *Swan* in
1648, because colonial documents indicate
that he had incurred a debt dating to 1650.
(Page 1)

- Court records of 1680 identify “Cornelis Larssen Vrende” as being the same person as “Neles Learson.” (Page 3)
- Nils Larsson established himself in Upland Township on the Delaware River (formerly Finlandia, later Chester Township).
- In 1686, Nils Larsson’s son succeeded him as constable of Chester Township; the Chester County Court refers to the son as “Andrew Friend.” Andrew Friend subsequently moved to New Castle, Pennsylvania.
- Craig documents a series of court cases involving members of the Friend family. (Pages 13- 21)
- John Friend is listed (along with John Cox and Enoch Enochs) in a list of Swedish parishioners in Ridley Township, Crum Creek, compiled in the summer of 1697. (Page 17)
- Two of Nils Larsson’s daughters may have married into the Cock family. (Craig notes that the name “Cock” is derived from “Kock,” and later evolved into “Cox.”) Craig suggests that Maria Nilsson, born around 1663, is the same as Maria, the wife of Gabriel Cox, noted in the 1697 list compiled by Pastor Rudman. The children of Gabriel and Maria include several who moved to or through the upper Potomac region: Gabriel Cock, David Cock, Isaac Cock, Friend Cock. (Pages 22-25 and 31-32) See notes to *Mile 162* for further details.
- John Nilsson Friend was born around 1666, his sons John and Nils (or Nicholas) Friend show up as a tithables in the Monocacy Hundred in 1733. Later (circa 1754-1755), John and Nils Friend had adjoining tracts of land surveyed in Frederick (now Hampshire) County, Virginia, on the Potomac. Their brother Andrew also moved to Frederick County, no later than 1763, taking out 252 acres on the Potomac, at the “upper end of Long Bottom.” (Pages 32-33)
- Israel Friend is identified as the “eldest known surviving son of Andrew Friend.” The unusual name Israel may be derived

from Israel Helm, who lived in the vicinity and whose daughter might have married Andrew Friend. (Page 26)

- Andrew Friend moved to North East, Maryland, in 1710, and joined Charles Mounts Anderson in a lawsuit in 1712 against Anne Le Tort “over goods used in the Indian trade.” (Page 28)
- By 1740, Andrew Friend had moved to Israel Friend’s home on the Potomac. Israel Friend was born no later than 1693; his will of 1749 names his children Jonas, Jacob, Charles, Catharine and Mary, as well as his brother Charles. (Page 28)

One of the sources for the tradition that the Friends were Swiss is T.J.C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland*, Volume II, Part 1, page 785:

“According to tradition, three Friend brothers emigrated from Switzerland in 1732 and settled near Williamsport.” [Of course, the date of 1732 would exclude Israel Friend, who made his deed for land on the Antietam in 1727.]

On August 6, 1725, Governor Calvert instructed Israel Friend to take a message to the Shuano Indians expressing disappointment that they had failed to appear at the “houe of Charles Anderson” (on the “Mononkisie”) to meet with the governor and members of his Council. *Maryland State Archives*, Vol. 25, pages 450-451.

“Friend's Orebank and Keep Triste Furnace,” William D. Theriault, *West Virginia History*, Volume 48, 1989, pages 43-60.

- Theriault notes that an appraisal of Friend’s estate after his death in 1749/1750 did not include any items that would have been used for digging or smelting iron, page 45.
- Theriault cites T. J. C. Williams’ claim that the Friends were three brothers who arrived from Switzerland, page 43.

Louis Berger Group, *Through the Great Valley and into the Mountains Beyond* (Part 2 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

• Indian names for Captain Civility were recorded as Tagodraney, Tagotolessa, Taquatarensaly, and Tioquataraghse, page 59.

“Israel Friend’s Mill Road,” running east-west through Catocin, from Monocacy to the mouth of the Antietam; noted in 1734 as landmark in survey; made a public road with overseer in 1738; see Tracey and Dern, *Pioneers of the Old Monocacy*, pages 55, 171, 222, and 228.

ISRAEL FRIEND’S DEED

(enrolled November 27, 1730)

Whereas be it known to all manner of persons whom it may concern, that we Cunnawchala [Cunnawchahala], Taw Wenaw [Taw Senaw, Taw Tenaw], Captain Sivilite, Taile Hangee [Toile Hangee], Shoe Hays, and Callakahahatt [Calakahatt], being Kings and Rulers of the five Nations, for natural love and affection we bear to our brother Israel Friend.

We give unto him and heirs, executors, administrators and assigns a certain piece of land lying between the [lying and being upon] Potomack River, beginning at the mouth of Audietum Creek at Cox Elders, marked with three notches on [one] every side and [to] run up [the] said river two hundred shoots as far as an arrow can be flung out of a bow and to be one hundred shoots right back from the river so containing its square until [til] it intersects with the said creek again with aforesaid land against the mouth of the creek which said land we said Indians and our heirs do warrant and forever defend unto the said Israel Friend, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns forever with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging as fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, and all other privileges thereunto belonging with paying unto some of us two ears of Indian corn for every year if demanded as witness our hands and seals this tenth day of January one thousand seven hundred and twenty seven.

[The six chiefs signed with their marks.]

§ John Semple and Ross & Co.

Susan W. Frye & Dennis E. Frye, *Maryland Heights*, pages 28-30.

- February 4, 1763, Samuel Beall, Jr., David Ross, Richard Henderson, and Joseph Chapline formed a partnership to purchase lands on Antietam Creek and the Potomac River, and to erect an Ironworks, furnace and forges. Chapline was initially reluctant to join the partnership; his land holdings between Antietam Creek and South Mountain were crucial to the enterprise.
- September 2, 1763, Samuel Beall, Jr., obtained a writ of *ad quod damnum* from the Lord Proprietor of Maryland for land ¼ mile from the mouth of the Antietam, on.
- January 1764, John Semple bought several tracts of land near the mouth of the Antietam.
- Beall and his partners appeared before the Maryland Provincial Court to contest Semple's claims, and a compromise was reached in September 1764.

The history of Semple's widespread enterprises and his furnace/forge operations are analyzed by David Curtis Skaggs in "John Semple and the Development of the Potomac Valley, 1750-1773," *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography*, Vol. 92, No. 3, July 1984.

- seeking a source for iron for his Occoquan forge, Semple purchased 10,000 acres on both sides of the Potomac (at the time, Frederick County, Maryland and Frederick County, Virginia), circa 1763, pages 293-294.
- alternate spellings in colonial records: Keeptriste, Kepttryst, Keeptryst, Keep Tryste. Note 10, page 294.
- January 1763, Dr. David Ross and Richard Henderson form partnership with Samuel Beall of Frederick County (Ross & Co.) to build an ironworks (Frederick Forge) at the mouth of Antietam Creek, page 295. [Note that other sources date

this to early February and include Joseph Chapline in the partnership.]

- September 18, 1764, Semple exchanges his property on Antietam Creek (including forge and sawmill) to Ross & Co. for land in Maryland opposite his Keep Triste furnace; Semple's workers to operate Frederick Forge and Semple to receive ½ share of profits, page 295.
- April 11, 1765, Ross & Co. agree to buy first 300 tons of pig iron produced annually by Keep Triste furnace, page 295.
- arbitration on March 27, 1767, involving George Mason, awards 2,412 acres on Maryland side to Semple, but mineral rights to Ross & Co., page 300.
- Semple unable to provide quantities of pig iron promised to Frederick Forge; in 1767, the Keep Triste furnace supplied only 125 tons out of 300 tons, page 300.
- George Washington involved as arbitrator between Semple and Ross & Co. in August 1770, January 1771, and March-April 1771.
- Semple died September 1773, page 302.

William D. Theriault dates the Ross & Co. partnership to February 1763 and includes Joseph Chapline as one of the partners. Theriault states that Ross & Co. discovered that Semple had "quietly bought much of the property they wanted" for their forge. This issue was resolved in court, and by the agreement of September 1764, Ross & Co. was to get most of the land they were seeking, with the understanding that Semple would complete the forge, gristmill, and sawmill that had been begun at the mouth of Antietam Creek. See "Friend's Orebank and Keep Triste Furnace," *West Virginia History*, Volume 48, 1989, page 48.

Michael D. Thompson, *The Iron Industry of Western Maryland*.

- Semple bought the land for Keep Trieste furnace from Israel Friend in 1763, along with a small tract near the mouth of the Antietam, pages 20-22. [Theriault states that Semple acquired the orebank on the Virginia side of the river from John

Ballendine, who had purchased it from Jacob Friend; Israel Friend having died in 1749/50, see page 48 of Theriault's article.]

- Semple made additional purchases around the mouth of the Antietam and began erecting a forge, grist mill, sawmill, and dam, page 22.
- Semple sold the properties around the mouth of the Antietam, with their "improvements," on September 18, 1764 to Ross, Beall, Henderson, and Chapline, page 22.
- Semple and Ross & Co. agreed to binding arbitration, with the arbitrators to be any three of George Mason and George Washington, Esquires, and Robert Mundell and Hector Ross, Merchants. Washington did not participate in the first arbitration, over Semple's "inability or unwillingness" to provide the specified pig iron to the Frederick Forge. Thompson suggests that Semple may have completed his own forge at the Keep Triste site, and no longer needed the Frederick Forge as a customer. See page 27.

For additional details concerning the later arbitration between Semple and Ross & Co., see Washington's diaries for the dates below, and his letter to Charles Washington, January 25, 1771.

- Colchester, August 27-31, 1770
- Dumfries, January 22-23, 1771
- Dumfries on March 28-April 1, 1771. [George Mason was one of the other arbitrators.]

The editorial notes to the diary entry for August 1770 (*Papers of George Washington*) state that Dr. David Ross and Richard Henderson of Bladensburg formed a partnership with Samuel Beall, Jr. and Joseph Chapline, of Frederick County, Md. in February 1763 "in a company that built and operated the Antietam (or Frederick) ironworks." (citing SINGEWALD, 144-45). The editors note that the dispute may have concerned the pig iron that John Semple was selling to Ross & Co. The editors go on to suggest that the dispute was "over rights

to ore deposits or land, possibly the Merryland tract Semple had bought from Thomas Colvill in 1765."

However, with respect to the Merryland tract, David Skaggs' article on Semple (see earlier note) describes it as "unnecessary" to Semple's larger schemes, and it probably was not the central issue in Semple's extended dispute with Ross & Co.

• See George Washington to Dr. Boucher, July 9, 1771: "The affairs of that estate [Thomas Colville] are unhappily involved with Mr. Semple to whom Colo. Colvill in his life time sold a tract of land in Maryland called Merryland for I think 2600 sterling and from whom we can neither get the money nor land."

• The executors of Thomas Colville's will (including George Washington) joined John Semple in petitioning the Lower House to pass a bill "enabling the Executors of Thomas Colvill or the Survivors of them to make sufficient Deeds to the said John Semple or his Assigns for the said Lands on his or their paying such Sum as shall appear to be due on the said Bond; or in Case the Money should not be paid within a short Space of Time that Thomas Colvill's Executors may be by Law enabled to sell the said Lands to the highest Bidder so as the Wills of John and Thomas Colvill may be complied with."

The petition states that "a certain John Colvill, late of Fairfax County, aforesaid, being possessed of a Tract of Land in Frederick County in the Province of Maryland called Merryland did by his last Will and Testament empower his Brother, Thomas Colvill one of his Executors, to sell the said Land to pay his Debts...Thomas Colvill did sell the said Land unto John Semple one of the Petitioners, on the 8.th Day of May 1765 for £2,500 Sterling, and took the said Semple's Bond for the Payment thereof."

Maryland Archives, Volume 63, page 110, October 17, 1771.

• A further description of the problem of the Colvill estate and the Merryland tract is found in the notes to Thomas

Montgomerie's letter to George Washington, October 24, 1778, *Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series*, Vol. 1, pages 63-64.

- Washington was not able to conclude the settlement of the Colville estate until 1797. See Frank E. Grizzard, Jr., *George Washington: A Biographical Companion*, pages 51-52.

One gets an interesting view of the relationship between Ross, Chapline, and Beall in Dr. Ross's deposition of December 11, 1765, concerning his visit to "Sharpesburgh" around October 27 to 29. Ross was visiting Sharpesburgh in his capacity of magistrate, "where M.^r Joseph Chapline was then making over sundry Lots in that Town to persons who had purchased them of the said Chapline and that the said persons being solicitous to get their Conveyances perfected before the Stamp Act should take Place.

Col.^o Sam.^l Beall attended as a Magistrate to take the Acknowledgments of M.^r Chapline..."

See Maryland State Archives, Volume 59, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1764-1765*, pages 54 and 224.

§ Ownership and operation by McPherson, Brien & Ahl, 1806-1880

Susan W. Frye & Dennis E. Frye, *Maryland Heights*

- charcoal wagons from the Maryland Heights probably followed the same route as today's Hoffmaster Road and Harpers Ferry Road, page 47-48.

- acquisition of Maryland Heights by McPherson and Brien in 1810 probably marks the beginning of extensive charcoaling at that site, page 48.

- charcoal-making on Maryland Heights continued until about 1840, when the Antietam Ironworks began using anthracite coal as well as charcoal, pages 48 and 50.

Louis Berger Group, *Through the Great Valley and into the Mountains Beyond* (Part 2 of the C&O NHP "Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study").

- furnace purchased 1806 by John McPherson; operated by John Brien, an ironmaster from Pennsylvania; Brien succeeded in 1834 by his son, John McPherson Brien; John McPherson Brien died April 1849; page 105.

- description of Brien's relationships with his white and his slave workers, circa 1844, by Reverend Thomas W. Henry, an A.M.E. Church minister, pages 105-107. [from *Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry, of the A. M. E. Church*, Baltimore, MD, 1872, pages 23-26.]

- Samuel Horine and William B. Clarke of Hagerstown purchased the furnace in 1853, page 107 (citing John Thomas Scharf, page 1218).

- coke replaced charcoal as fuel in the 1860s, page 107 (citing Thomas Hahn, 1997, *Towpath Guide*, page 120).

- Ironworks damaged by great flood of 1877; operated from 1879-1880, producing 8-10 tons of iron per day; dismantled in 1891; page 107.

John McPherson Brien disappointed by the “gross ingratitude” of his slaves, see Max Grivno, *Gleanings of Freedom*, page 134.

Descriptions of furnace:

- John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, pages 1202 and 1218.
- John Singewald, *Iron Ores of Maryland*, pages 144-145.

For the Ahl family’s furnaces in Pennsylvania and their investment in the Harrisburg and Potomac RR, see Paul J. Westhaeffer, *History of the Cumberland Valley Railroad*, pages 141-155.

Mason Y. Cooper, *Norfolk & Western's Shenandoah Valley Line*:

- investment by Daniel and Peter Ahl, owners of foundry near Sharpsburg; Ahls had previous helped build a spur of the CVRR to serve their Richmond ironworks (southern PA); pages 43-44.

Descriptions of the Antietam Ironworks

John Singewald, *Iron Ores of Maryland*:

“Antietam Furnace and Iron Works. These works were on the Potomac River at the mouth of Antietam Creek. The original company consisted of Joseph Chapline, Samuel Beall, Jr, David Ross, and Richard Henderson. The articles of agreement were drawn up February 4, 1763, and recorded October 31, 1765. Joseph Chapline furnished the land warrants and was paid £300 by each of the others. There are seven articles of agreement, in the second of which the limits of the tract are thus described: “Beginning on the Potowmack River, one hundred yards west of the Anti-Eatam Creek and extending parallel to Anti-Eatam Creek until a west course will meet Beaver Creek, and then by the Marsh Branch of Beaver Creek, so as to include all the ore and wood of South Mountain, then down the east side to the Potowmack and up the Potowmack to the beginning.”

A second charcoal furnace 50 feet high and 15 feet wide at the boshes was built here in 1845. The production, in twenty weeks during 1857, was 1,465 tons of hard metal, which was sold in Boston and Wheeling. This furnace had to be abandoned during the Civil War, but after the War was restored as a coke furnace by Daniel V. Ahl, of Pennsylvania, and operated until 1878.

A forge was built in connection with the original furnace and operated until the fifties. In 1831 a nail factory with twenty five nail machines and a small rolling mill with two heating furnaces and two trains of rolls, were erected and operated until 1853. Mr. T. J. C. Williams in his history of Washington County gives the following detailed description of the plant:

“The old nail factory at Antletam Iron Works owned at the time by John McPherson Brien was burned on April 25, 1841. It was rebuilt, increased in size, and in operation in two months. These works gave employment in 1841 to two hundred white laborers and sixty slaves. * * * *

The head of the fall at these works is about twenty feet. At the time of which we are speaking, one water wheel fourteen feet high and eight feet wide drove an improved saw mill and shingle, stave, and jointing machines The furnace bellows wheel was twenty feet high and four feet wide. The furnace blown by this wheel made 40 to 60 tons of metal a week. Another water wheel sixteen feet high, drove nineteen nail and spike machines with the necessary cutters to prepare the plates. Between 400 and 600 kegs of nails, varying in size from two penny up to seven inch spikes were manufactured each week. Another water-wheel twelve feet high worked a ponderous chaffery hammer. There was a

six-fire forge with a hammer weighing twenty one tons driven by a sixteen-foot wheel. There were also two forge bellows wheels seventeen feet high. There was a rolling mill for turning rolls of various sizes, nail rods, nail plates, and bar iron. This machinery was driven by an overshot wheel fourteen feet high and twenty feet wide. There were also three puddling furnaces and an air furnace. Two other wheels, seventeen feet high, drove a merchant grist mill with four run of French burrs. All of these wheels were driven from the same race supported by a strong wall laid in hydraulic cement. Two hundred and fifty yards away was the canal basin where coal lumber and ore were received and the products of the works shipped in boats owned by Mr. Brien. * * *

The Antietam Works were erected by Wm. M. Brown and were operated by Ross, Bell and Henderson of Baltimore until they came into the hands of Mr. Brien. In July, 1853, they were sold to William B. Clark for \$54,500. In 1855, Clark sold a half interest to Levi Easton for \$35,000. Afterwards the property was sold to Daniel V. Ahl of Pennsylvania.”

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John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*:

The Antietam Iron-Works, at which every preparation had been made by the Messrs. Ahl for starting work, were damaged to the extent of several thousand dollars, about eight hundred tons of coke having been washed away.

The water-power was furnished by the Antietam Creek, and the works comprised rolling and slitting-mills, a sheet-iron mill, a shingle-mill, a sawmill, a paddle-mill, and an extensive nail factory. Near the works is a large bed of iron ore. As far back as 1853 quite a village had sprung up near the works, and in addition to the dwellings for the operators there was a large grist and saw-mill, a blacksmith-shop, a store and office, and a handsome mansion for the proprietor. About five hundred operatives were employed at the works. The property was sold by Mr. Brinn in 1853 to Samuel Horine and William B. Clarke, of Hagerstown. Subsequently David Ahl purchased Horine's and then Clarke's interest, and operated the works for nearly three years, after which they remained idle for three years longer. In 1879 operations were renewed, and continued up to February, 1880, the works producing from eight to ten tons per day. In February, 1880, the works suspended operations for a while. The ore for the mill is obtained both on the Virginia and Maryland sides of the river.

Mile 70.7 – Miller's Basin

Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 174: “as the work progressed up the Potomac Valley, the timber products were supplied by mills in the area such as Lewis Wernwag's mill at Harpers ferry, Jacob Miller's mill about two-thirds of a mile below Pack Horse Ford, William Naylor's mill at the junction of the Cacapon and the Potomac and Young's sawmill at Cumberland.”

Mile 71.7 – Boteler’s Mill, Dam & Ford



The Pennsylvania Corn Exchange Regiment Crossing Ford at Shepherdstown (detail), probably by A. E. Waud. A very similar sketch, but without the mill in the background, appeared in Harper’s Weekly, October 11, 1862. Chesapeake and Ohio National Park Archives.



“Ford Near Shepherdstown, on the Potomac – Pickets Firing Across the River,” Harpers Illustrated, October 11, 1862. Alfred R. Waud’s drawing of Union troops on the Maryland side of the river in 1862, with the ruins of Boteler’s Mill on the opposite shore. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs, LC-USZC2-3819.

Thomas F. Hahn, *Towpath Guide*, gives the names of the ford, and cites an early deed (1742) that names it “Wagon Road Foard.” See page 122.

“Blackford’s Ford, Boteler’s Ford,” WA-II-034, Maryland Historical Trust, Nomination Form for National Register of Historic Place, prepared by Paula Stoner, 1974.

Biographical details for Alexander Boteler are based on *Alexander Robinson Boteler, Wheelhouse of Whiggery, Stonewall’s Courier*, compiled and edited by Charles S. Adams.

Discovery of hydraulic cement and utilization for canal construction, Walter S. Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, page 66.

According to Henry Boteler’s letter to Charles Fenton Mercer on January 14, 1828, he discovered stone suitable for “water lime” “at the place where I am now engaged in building a large merchant (i.e. grist) mill.” See “The Shepherdstown Cement Mill: A Case Study,” Hahn & Kemp, *Cement Mills Along the Potomac River*, pages 31-72, especially pages 32-33.

Further details on the cement and flour mills are provided by Unrau in the *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, page 165: “As events were leading to the commencement of construction operations on the canal, Henry Boteler of Shepherdstown informed the waterway’s chief supporter, Congressman Charles F. Mercer, in January 1828 that he had found large quantities of gray limestone that produced water lime near his flour mill on the banks of the Potomac some 240 yards upstream from Pack Horse Ford. The stone was visible on the surface of the ground as well as to a considerable depth below the surface. The hill where the stone had been found was some “200 feet high, and near

half a mile around its base.” The stone was easily accessible and could “be quarried with more facility than the common limestone.”

Based on his experience, Boteler reported that he had prepared a mortar from the stone, which had hardened in water in a short time and had become “impervious.” In preparing the stone for use, it required “only one-third of the time allotted to the burning of lime.” Consequently, it needed “only a third of the wood necessary for calcining lime.” He had found the stone to be harder than plaster of Paris, and, therefore, it could not be broken and ground to a powder as easily as gypsum. Accordingly, he was sending three specimens of the water lime, one in its natural state, one after burning, and one after calcining, together with “a small ball of the water lime, hardened to its present consistency in water, for a period of 48 hours.”

During the years 1828–29, Boteler and his associate, George F. Reynolds, were persuaded by canal company officials to convert a part of their prosperous flour mill to the manufacture of hydraulic cement. By 1829, the flour mill was describe as “one of the finest manufacturing mills in America,” producing 100 barrels of flour per day.”

The Kapsches provide a somewhat different time-line, quoting a letter from Charles Fenton Mercer in the summer of 1828 stating that “water-lime” was discovered near Shepherdstown a year earlier; the Kapsches state that construction of a mill by Botelior and Reynolds was authorized by the canal company in 1827. Also note instructions given to boatmen to cover the cement with tarpaulins during transportation; Robert & Elizabeth Perry Kapsch, *Monocacy Aqueduct on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal*, pages 29-20 and 95.

Accounts of the crossing after the battle of Antietam:

- Jedediah Hotchkiss, *Make Me a Map of the Valley*, pages 83-84. [Hotchkiss was ordered to locate the route to the primary ford used by the army; he describes Major Harmon as “cussing” the army train across the river.]

- “Harper's Ferry and Sharpsburg,” by (General) John G. Walker, in *The Century Magazine*, vol. 32, issue 2, June 1886, pp. 296-309. [Viewable on-line as a part of Cornell University's [Making of America](#) collection.]

- Lieutenant Colonel W.W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart*, pages 152-153. [Blackford was ordered by J.E.B. Stuart to scout out a ford for a cavalry crossing, above the “regular ford at Shepherdstown.” Compare with Blackford's and McClellan's account of the cavalry crossing at [Rowser's Ford](#)]

The post-Civil War operation of the mill by Harry Blunt is described in Hahn & Kemp, *Cement Mills Along the Potomac River*, pages 54-68. [Hahn & Kemp note that the *Shepherdstown Register* provides most of the information for this period, as the company records were destroyed by fire.]

An undated “Landmark Nomination Report” prepared by the Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission provides some additional information from the *Shepherdstown Register*: “Major Harry Blunt, a Washington builder who also owned a Jefferson County horse farm, leased the Potomac Mills through the 1870s. In 1878, it was likely Blunt who purchased the complex under the name of new trustees, William Webb and L. E. Coyle.”

Purchase of the Cement Mill property in December 2011, see the *Shepherdstown Chronicle*, December 30, 2011, column by Delegate John Doyle, and the announcement on the Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission website. [[jeffersoncountyhlc.org](#)]

Descriptions of the postwar mill

Shepherdstown *Register*, 1879:

The Potomac Cement Mills below town, are now running regularly, regularly, though not to their full capacity. The daily average is a about seventy-five barrels. Some twenty or twenty-five hands are kept in constant employment under the management of Mr. J.E. Lucas, the efficient Superintendent. There has recently been put up in the mills a set of new and improved buhr for grinding the cement, which are said to be superior to the old style of buhr. We noticed the other day, about one thousand barrels of cement ready for market; about seven hundred of that number has been shipped on the boat of Mr. J.W. Osbourn via the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Washington. The cement is now considered the best in the country and the demand for it is rapidly increasing. The five kilns are constantly burning, and the business of the mill has necessitated the building of a new packing machine, which is now being made by that expert old millwright, Mr. Davy Karns, of Williamsport, Md.

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A Practical Treatise of Limes, Hydraulic Cements, and Mortars, 1883:

The Shepherdstown Works comprise two run of four and a half French buhrstones and the necessary crackers, driven by water power, and three perpetual kilns...Cumberland coal is used for burning. The stone is derived from deposits which crop out in several places on the banks of the Potomac, near the mill. Though considerably tortuous and irregular, their general position is nearly vertical. The stone is quarried from the top of the hill, is then passed into the kilns, situated on the slope below, and subsequently to flat-boats in the mill-race. These are then floated into the mill, and the burnt stone is discharged through the hatchways up to the crackers. The deposit is in two principal layers, one of which furnished a quick, and the other a slow setting cement. The two are mixed together in nearly equal proportions, a combination which is believed to yield a better cement than either of the beds would if used alone.

Quotations from "Landmark Nomination Report," Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission.



Limekilns used by Boteler's cement company. Photo by M. High, December 2002.



Union map showing Shepherdstown, the "destroyed" bridge, and Botelors Dam and the mill buildings downstream. The main body of Robert E. Lee's army used the ford below the mill to cross the river on the night of September 18-19, 1862.

Mile 72.4 – Shenandoah Valley RR Bridge

See notes for History IV.2 for competition between the Pennsylvania RR and the B&O RR in the Shenandoah Valley; in particular, Churella's *The Pennsylvania Railroad*, Stover's *History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, and John R. Hildebrand, *Iron horses in the valley*.

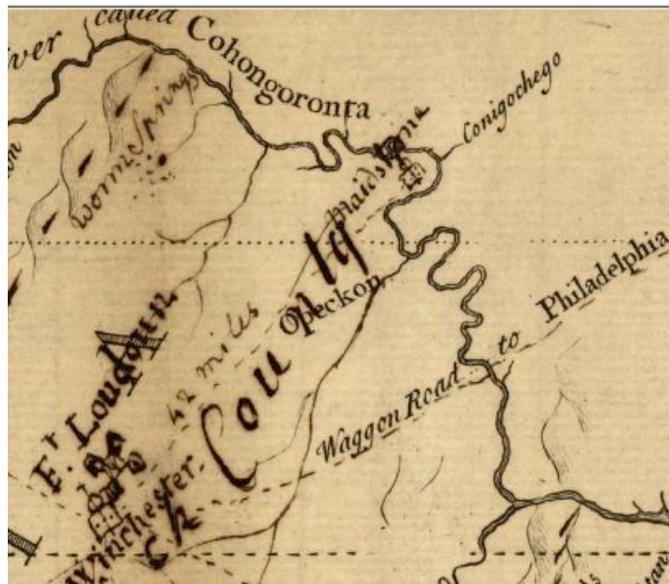
The Station at Shepherdstown website [stationatshepherdstown.com, accessed May 13, 2013] provides the following information about the bridge:

- First train reached Shepherdstown on Jan. 1, 1879; see *Shepherdstown Register*, Jan. 11, 1879.
- First train crosses the Potomac on July 9, 1880; *The Herald and Torch Light*, July 14, 1880, p3. Vol. 66, No. 49.

Mason Y. Cooper, *Norfolk & Western's Shenandoah Valley Line*:

- proposed Potomac bridge to be approx. 100 feet above water; page 20.
- conflict with CVRR and PRR; CVRR decides to extend from Martinsburg to Winchester; SVRR completes Potomac bridge in Aug. 1880; page 22.
- drawing of original wooden lattice-truss bridge over Potomac; page 23; picture of old and new Potomac bridges; page 58.
- name changed to "Railway" in 1890; SVRR integrated into N&W in 1891; page 66.
- new deck truss bridge constructed 1908-1909 by Edgemoor Bridge Works; eliminated a part of eight-degree curves on the Maryland side as well as reducing the grade; old bridge trestle removed and transferred to another railroad; page 88.

Mile 72.7 – Shepherdstown & Rumsey



Detail from A survey of the northern neck of Virginia, being the lands belonging to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Baron Cameron... as surveyed according to order in the years 1736 & 1737, drawn after the "Fairfax Line" was surveyed in 1745. This version, in the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, is dated ca. 1747, (G3880 1747 .W33).. The "Philadelphia Waggon Road" is also marked on the famous map drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751.

§ Potomac crossings—fords and ferries

Historical markers along Route 34, on the Maryland side of the Potomac:

- Blackford's Ford—erected by the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission: "Also known as Boteler's, Pack Horse, and Shepherdstown Ford. "Stonewall" Jackson's command crossed here en route from Harper's Ferry to Sharpsburg. Here the entire Army of Northern Virginia withdrew into Virginia, Sept. 18–19, 1862, following the Battle of Antietam."
- Swearingen's Ferry and Pack Horse Ford—erected by the Maryland Bicentennial Commission and Maryland Historical Society: "Thomas Swearingen began operating in 1755 a ferry where Rumsey Bridge now crosses the Potomac. It was

about half a mile upstream from Pack Horse Ford. During the Revolution the Ford and Ferry served the Continental Army; British and German prisoners frequently crossed the river here, being marched from Virginia to Maryland prison camps at Frederick and Fort Frederick. Ferry was discontinued in 1849, when a covered bridge was erected.”

Warren R. Hofstra describes the valley road and fords in “The Colonial Road,” Chapter 3, *The Great Valley Road of Virginia* (edited by Hofstra and Karl Raitz).

Washington and Braddock probably used Swearingen’s ferry on May 2, 1755, coming from Frederick, Maryland.

- See the *Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series, Volume 1*, page 263.
- Also see Governor Sharpe to Governor Dinwiddie, *Maryland State Archives*, Volume 6, pages 205 and 208.

“I take this Opportunity of acquainting you that I left the General[,] Capt. Orme & Morris[,] Col^o Washington & M^r Shirley this Day Sen’net at Swerengen’s Ferry on their way to Winchester I suppose they will reach Wills-Creek to morrow.”

“I waited on the General from Frederickton to Potowmack where he crossed that River in the Road to Winchester the 2^d of May, Colo: Dunbar’s as well as Col^o Halketts Regiment had marched a few Days before for Wills-Creek.”

The Virginia Assembly licensed Swearingen’s ferry in an act dated May 1755, see Hening, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 6, page 494.

Reference to the 1863 suit initiated by Blackford’s executors vs. the bridge company is found in *Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, Volume 18*, by Cornelius C. Watts, Vol. XVIII, 1881, printed by W. J. Johnston, Wheeling, WV, pages 300-301.

§ Shepherd & Swearingen genealogies

The genealogy for the Swearingen family is almost hopelessly complicated, since the names “Thomas Swearingen,” “Thomas Van Swearingen,” and “Van Swearingen” were used in successive generations in different branches of the family.

It seems that our “Thomas Swearingen” was born in 1708 in Prince George’s County Maryland, served under Washington in the French and Indian Wars, ran against Washington in the election of burgesses from Frederick County, Virginia, and died circa 1760 in Frederick County, Maryland.

Family histories for the Van Swearingens:

- Henry Hartwell Swearingen, *Family register of Gerret van Swerigen and descendants*, Printed for the compiler, Washington, 1894.

- Lola Thoroughman Van Swerigen, *Gerret Von Swerigen in the U.S.A. A compilation of his progeny in the year 1977*, Anna Publishing, Winter Park, Florida. [I have not had the chance to examine a copy of this work]

A partial genealogy for the Swearingens, derived from Henry Hartwell Swearingen’s *Family register*, pages 1-6 and 17-20:

- Gerret Van Swearingen, the first settler in America, was born in Beemsterdam, Holland in 1636; served with the Dutch West India Company; arrived at New Amstel (now New Castle, Delaware) in 1657; married Barbarah de Barrette, from Vallenciennes, France, in 1659; removed to Maryland after New Amsterdam was surrendered to British forces in 1664; was naturalized with his family in Maryland in 1669; wife Barbarah died around 1670; remarried to Mary Smith in 1676; died 1698.

- Thomas Swearingen (1); son of Gerret and Barbarah; born in 1665 in St. Mary’s County; died 1710 in Somerset County, Maryland; had four sons, Thomas (2), Van (1), Samuel, and John.

- Thomas Swearingen (2) was born in 1688; moved to the Potomac around 1734; died circa 1760; had sons Thomas (3) and Van (2).
- Thomas Swearingen (3) was born in Somerset County in 1717; moved to vicinity of Shepherdstown with family in 1734; had children Thomas (4), Van (3), Andrew, Zecheus, Joseph, Benoni, Drusilla, Sallie, and Eleanor.
- Van Swearingen (2) was probably born in Somerset County in 1719; moved to vicinity of Shepherdstown with family in 1734; as “king’s deputy” in Berkeley County before the revolutionary war, became known as “King Van”; had children died 1788.
- Joseph Swearingen (1754-1821); son of Thomas Swearingen (3); served in the revolutionary war; taken prisoner in 1780 at Charleston, SC (see *Writings of George Washington*, Sept. 5, 1779). He was one of the leaders of the committee of the citizens of Shepherdstown who wrote to George Washington on October 9, 1796.
- Benoni Swearingen (ca. 1756-?); son of Thomas Swearingen (3); eventually took over operation of ferry; son Harry Van served during the War of 1812 and died in 1819 in Lexington, Kentucky.
- Van Swearingen (3); son of Thomas Swearingen (3); born circa 1752; moved to Pennsylvania, where he was a trader and became known as “Indian Van”; served in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment during the revolutionary war [see Washington’s letter of August 18, 1777.]; crossed into the Northwest Territory and died in 1793 near Wellsburg, Ohio. [Sometimes confused with another Van Swearingen noted as a captain of Kentucky Militia, killed in St. Clair’s defeat on the Wabash River in the Northwest Territory, November 4, 1791.]
- Van Swearingen (1), born in Somerset County, 1692; son of Thomas Swearingen (1); moved to Washington County; known as “Maryland Van” and the head of the “Second Branch” of the Swearingen family in America; lived 109 years; had children Joseph, John, Samuel, Van, Charles,

Thomas, Elizabeth, Sarah, Ruth, Drusilla, Rebecca, Mary.

- Ruth, daughter of Van Swearingen (1), married Col. Daniel Cresap, Sr. in 1750. [On the other hand, the list of Van Swearingen’s children on previous page says “Ruth, Drusilla married Thomas Cresap.”]
- Samuel Swearingen; son of Van Swearingen (1); settled in Frederick, became a prominent figure in Frederick County, Maryland; hosted a mock funeral for the “Stamp Act” in 1765.
- Samuel Swearingen’s daughter Elizabeth married Col. Daniel Cresap, Jr.
- One of the sons of Charles Swearingen, Daniel Stull Swearingen, married Eliza Cresap.
- Marmaduke Van Swearingen of Washington County, Maryland, was captured by the Shawnee at age 17 while out hunting circa 1775-1783, and is said to have agreed to live with them, leading to speculation (later disproven) that he became the famous leader Blue Jacket.

Samuel Gordon Smyth, *A Genealogy of the Duke - Shepherd - Van Metre Family*.

1739

—April 6. View of road to Thomas Shepherd’s Mill ordered (Frederick Co. Va Court Journal, Bk. 1, p. 77).

1745 9ber 7. Thomas Shepherd appointed overseer of road in place of Van Swearingen, gent (Frederick Co Court Journal No. 2. P. 2.)

1757, March 1. Thomas Shepherd to be overseer of road from Swearingen’s Ferry to Jacob Hite’s, in room of Abraham Teague. (Frederick Co. Va. Court Journal No. 7, p. 180.)

1766

—Oct. Act of Assembly authorizing Thomas Shepherd to establish a ferry at Mecklenburg. (*Hening’s Statutes*, Vol .8, p. 146.)

1766 Act of Assembly repealing the foregoing privilege. (*Hening’s Statutes*, Vol. 8, p. 262) because the same being at a very small distance from a ferry already

established from the land of Thomas Swearingen over Potomac in Maryland (*History of Lower Shenandoah*, p. 371.)
Pages 148-149

§ Shepherdstown

A Genealogy of the Duke - Shepherd - Van Metre Family from Civil, Military, Church and Family Records and Documents, compiled and edited by Samuel Gordon Smyth, Press of the New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1909.

- Thomas Shepherd (1705-1776) was the son of William Shepherd; married Elizabeth Van Metre (ca. 1733); pages 143-144 and 148.
- 1734, Oct 3. Grant from Governor Gooch and Council of Virginia of 222 acres of land on west side of Sherrand [Shenandoah] River in Orange Co., Colony of Virginia being part of the original grant of 40,000 acres made to John Van Metre, the father in law of Thomas Shepherd, by order of Council, 17 June, 1730 (No. 15, Book of Grants, p. 306, Richmond, Va.).
— Settled upon his grant which was located near a crossing of the Potomac known afterward as the Packhorse ford and was the only crossing of the Potomac for many miles east or west of it (*History of Lower Shenandoah*, p. 319.)

Historic Shepherdstown, Danske Dandridge, The Michie Company, Printers, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1910.

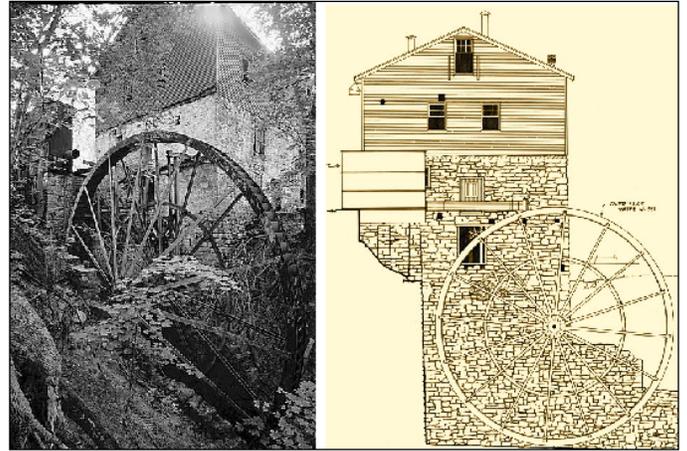
- originally called "Pack Horse Ford," pages 21 and 49-50. [Cites Thomas Kemp Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers*, page 231]
- Washington referred to the settlement as "Swearingen's," pages 32-33.
- Henry Bedinger came to Shepherdstown in 1762, died 1772; son Henry Bedinger, Jr. was born 1753 [died 1843]; Sarah Bedinger married Benoni Swearingen, died 1792; pages 55-59.
- Berkeley County formed out of Frederick County, Va. in 1772; justices sworn at first session of County Court included Jacob Hite, Adam Stephen, Thomas Swearingen, Van Swearingen, Samuel Washington, etc.; page 60.
- Account of Rumsey's steamboat; letter from Horatio Gates (1797); Major Henry

Bedinger's accounts of Fitch's spying on Rumsey and Horatio Gates' reaction to the exhibition of the steamboat; pages 267-277.

Shepherdstown in 1828

This town is situated on the bank of the Potomac, which, every one knows, separates Virginia from Maryland. It contains upwards of 1,000 inhabitants; very handsomely situated, but not so flourishing as Charlestown; the houses look old and going to decay. It, however, has many stores, and does much business, the country being thickly settled around it, as well as Charlestown. My friends of Charlestown gave me letters to their friends at Shepherdstown, but, unfortunately, they were gone to Baltimore. As I was but a few hours there, I made but few acquaintances. These were Dr. Boteler, a very gentlemanly man. Dr. Snively, and B. T. Tourner, Esq. are also very hospitable, genteel men. There appeared to be much taste and fashion in Shepherdstown, and the manners of the people mild and engaging. The stages pass through this town, to Baltimore, two or three times a week, and, if you miss one, you must remain till the next. This circumstance led me to leave Charlestown so soon, knowing the stage would pass through Shepherdstown on that day...

Mrs. Anne Royall, *Black Book, or, A Continuation of Travels in the United States*, Volume 1, 1828, pages 293-294.



Illustrations from HAER report on Shepherd's Grist Mill

Thomas Shepherd's Grist Mill, High Street Vicinity, Shepherdstown, Jefferson, WV (Shepherd's Mill), Historic American Engineering Record, HAER WV-5.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/WV0152/>

- The first mill, with a traditional wooden water wheel, was probably built sometime between 1734 and 1739 by Thomas Shepherd, Sr. (The mill is mentioned April 6, 1739 in *The Frederick County Court Journal*.)

The large (40-foot) wrought-iron water wheel was installed some time in the 1800s, manufactured by the Fitz Water Wheel Company.

Swearingen's application for a tobacco inspection station (May 25, 1786) was declined by the Washington County (Maryland) Tax Commissioners. See Max Grivno, *Historic Resource Study: Ferry Hill Plantation*, page 16.

Two years later, one of Thomas Shepherd's sons succeeded in getting permission for a tobacco inspection on the other side of the Potomac. See "An Act for establishing an inspection of tobacco on the lands of Abraham Shepherd, in the County of Berkeley," November 29, 1788, *Statutes at Large, Volume XII*, William Waller Hening, Richmond, Virginia, 1823, pages 717-718.

Notes on the Shepherdstown tobacco warehouse

HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT FOR THE MECKLENBURG TOBACCO WAREHOUSE, prepared by Charles Belfoure, Architect, for the Friends of the Shepherdstown Riverfront, March 20, 1910.

“There is archival evidence that the building was used as a tobacco warehouse. The Commonwealth of Virginia’s list of tobacco warehouses and inspectors from 1795 to 1815 show a warehouse in Mecklenburg but no appointment of an inspector meaning the building was probably not completed.”
“The characteristics of the warehouse’s construction make it likely that German craftsmen did the work.”
“The Mecklenburg Tobacco Warehouse is an extremely rare example of late eighteenth century vernacular architecture in West Virginia and the United States. There are almost no surviving intact buildings of this type, which show the workings of the tobacco industry in post-Revolutionary Virginia. It is also an outstanding example of the masonry and timber framing construction practices of the period, in particular, the traditions of stonework and carpentry that were brought to this country by German settlers. Although the building interior was severely altered in the 1920s, it still shows clearly the structure, detailing, size, and proportion of the original warehouse.”

1870 purchased and expanded by Ashton Whelan & Company for manufacture of cardboard boxes
1888 Union Straw Board Company
1890 American Straw Board Company
1920s Acquired by Shepherdstown and used as water treatment plant.
1930s Waterworks purchased on operated by Potomac Edison.
1960s Sold to Robert Schmidt, an architect/engineer, subsequently reacquired by Shepherdstown.
1972 Waterworks closed.

§ Shepherdstown bridges

Historical marker for the first “Rumsey Bridge,” erected by the Washington County Historical Society:

“Named in honor of the inventor James Rumsey, who made successful public demonstrations of his steamboat on the Potomac River on December 3 and 11, 1787. Opened and dedicated on July 15, 1939.”

Bridges of 1939 and 2006:

- *Erection of the James Rumsey Bridge; A Case Study in Long Span Steel Erection* Thomas Leech and David A. Lattanzi, presentation at Ohio Transportation Engineering Conference, 2007.
- WA-II-1122: James Rumsey Bridge (SHA 21002), Maryland State Highway Administration and Maryland Historical Trust, 2001.

§ Ferry Hill; Blackford & Douglas families



The bridge at Shepherdstown in the early 20th century, from Ferry Hill, with Bridgeport to the left. Photographed by Joel L. Griffith of the Shawnee Canoe Club of Cumberland.



Ferry Hill, seen from the Shepherdstown side of the river, with the canal visible to the left and the steel truss Potomac Bridge to the right. (NPS File 953.)

Historic Resource Study: Ferry Hill Plantation, Max L. Grivno, National Park Service, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hagerstown, MD, 2007.

- Thomas Shepherd authorized to operate a ferry in 1765, revoked the next year because of proximity to Thomas Swearingen's ferry, page 15.
- After Thomas Swearingen died in 1760, his son, Major Thomas Swearingen took over operation of the ferry; upon the latter's death in 1780, his younger brother, Benoni Van Swearingen took over; page 16.
- Benoni Van Swearingen was married three times but few of his children survived; one of them, Sarah Van Swearingen, married John Blackford in 1797; page 16.

- Benoni Van Swearingen died 1798, interest in the ferry was divided between his widow Helen, son Henry, and daughter Sarah; Blackford negotiated "throughout 1839" for the remaining interest in the ferry, but this was not deeded until after his death, to his son Franklin Blackford in 1840; pages 16-17.
- Sarah Van Swearingen died in 1805; Blackford married Elizabeth Knode in 1812; page 17.
- Children by Elizabeth Knode: Mary Abigail (1813-1818), Franklin (14-?), John Hancock (1816-1817), Jeannette Yates (1817-?), Henry Van Swearingen (1819-?), Otho Holland William (?-1825), Helena (1820-1882), Virginia Lafayette (1825-1828), and Henry Moore (1828-1904).
- Blackford part of partnership in tavern and inn; dissolved 1810; page 18.
- Blackford's "progressive" agricultural practices, page 18.
- Blackford converted the "Ferry House" [not Ferry Place?] into tavern and boarding house; business reported booming on September 4, 1837; page 19.
- Blackford's military and political activities, including battle at Bladensburg on Aug. 24, 1814, pages 19-21.
- Blackford chaired convention Hagerstown in support of the canal in October 1823; attended the Washington convention in November of that year; participated in conventions of 1834 and 1836 supporting additional funding; page 21.
- Blackford's slaves attended A.M.E. services at Antietam Forge, page 39. [This probably refers to the Antietam Ironworks.]
- "Julius has been drunk and behaved so bad that I tied and whipped him severely in the office." Page 45, citing "John Blackford Journal, August 15, 1837."
- Grivno estimates that Blackford had 18 slaves.
- Franklin Blackford's period of ownership, including "mercantile" activities, pages 50-52.

- Robert Douglas biography, born in Ireland (1807), emigrates to America (1823), second marriage to Helen Blackford (1841), moves to Ferry Hill (1850), pages 52-53.
- Henry Kyd Douglas, born in Shepherdstown in 1840; youth, education, and pre-war years, pages 52-57.
- Civil War crossings at Blackford's Ford in 1862, pages 59-60.
- Reverend Douglas arrested and imprisoned, pages 60-61.
- Henry Kyd Douglas commands militia forces sent to Cumberland in June 1877 to prevent vandalism by striking railroad and canal workers, page 68.
- as Adjutant General of Maryland, Douglas sent to Frostburg to quell miners' strike in 1892, page 69.
- Douglas died in his home in Hagerstown in 1903, bequeathing that home and his 2/3 interest in Ferry Hill Place to Nannie Cowen Beckenbaugh [step-sister], page 71.

Ferry Hill Plantation Journal:

January 4, 1838-January 15, 1839

Edited with an introduction and notes by Fletcher M. Green, The University of North Carolina Press, The Seeman Printery, Inc. Durham, NC, 1961.

- in 1812, Blackford built the two-story brick mansion on Ferry Hill, page xii.
- in 1816, Blackford purchased the ferry boats, ferry landing, and 1/2 interest in ferry from Henry Thomas Van Swearingen, pages xii and xvi, and note on page 3. [Green notes that Blackford later purchased the remaining 1/2 interest from Mrs. Swearingen; based on Grivno, these should have been 1/3 shares.]
- Blackford owned stock in the C&O Canal Company, page xiii. When the canal came through in 1834 he had easy shipping access for his farm products to market.
- slaves Ned and Jupe as "foremen of the ferry," pages xv, xviii, and page 3, note 10.
- Blackford's provision for slaves, e.g., food, clothing, and medical care, page xx.

- Blackford's will, with clause discouraging sale to slave traders or out of state, except for "grave fault," page xx.
- diversity of religious faiths, pages xxii-xxiii and note on page 55.
- division of property between his three sons in 1839, page xxiv.
- canal scrip, page 4.
- visit to White House, page 56.

Ferry Hill Plantation, National Park Service brochure, December 2010:

- “At Lock 38, next to Blackford’s Ferry, grew a small community on Ferry Hill land called Bridgeport. There, Blackford’s hotel and tavern accommodated visitors who traveled by canal boat, ferry, or wagon.”
- “In 1903, the house passed from the Douglasses to the Beckenbaughs. In 1941, the use of the house changed from a plantation to a restaurant, enticing patrons from Shepherdstown to sample the fare. This was operated by the family until its sale in 1953 to restaurant employee Frederick Morrison, who continued running the business. Morrison owned Ferry Hill until he sold the house to the National Park Service in 1973. The Ferry Hill property served as headquarters for the 184.5-mile-long park from 1979 until 2001.”



Ferry Hill in 1828

A ferry is kept here over the Potomac, which yields an immense revenue, as people and wagons are crossing from daylight in the morning, till late at night. This is the property of ----- of Maryland. Seeing a beautiful mansion perched on the summit of a lofty eminence, on the opposite shore, I was told it was -----, and wishing to take a near view of the site, I left my baggage to come with the stage, and crossed the river. After a pretty fatiguing walk up a moderate mount, I found myself on a level plain, where sits the mansion, or palace, rather, of -----. It is built in the form of an L, and is the most splendid building of any country house in the state, and the view from it equally grand. But the house appears to more advantage when viewed from the Virginia shore. It, however, lacks nothing to render it a paradise; it is well built, of brick, and magnificently finished; the terraces, net-work, gardens, and shrubberies, all corresponded. --- ----- Was sitting in his cool portico, which overlooks the whole country, and was watching me, he said, from the time I left Shepherds town. He is a middle aged man, married to a beautiful young wife, if I remember, his second wife. It is said he made his fortune from his farm on the Potomac, and the ferry. After taking a glass of his cool water, and chatting some time, I walked down to the ferry house, in order to be ready for the stage, which did not arrive in some time. At length it appeared on the opposite shore, rolling down to the river; and I am once more on the road.

Mrs. Anne Royall, *The Black Book, or, A Continuation of Travels in the United States*, Volume 1, 1828, pages 294-295.

Historical markers:

- Ferry Hill Place — erected by the National Park Service.

“John Blackford, in 1810, built the Ferry Hill Plantation House standing before you. Blackford owned 25 slaves and managed the farm by himself. The slaves and hired laborers worked with minimum direction. Two slaves, Ned and Jupe, ran the river ferry for which Ferry Hill was named.”

- Ferry Hill Place — erected by the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission.

“The boyhood home of Colonel Henry Kyd Douglas, a member of Stonewall Jackson’s staff. Sept. 18, 1862, Federal troops occupied these premises and confined the Douglas family. June 18, 1863, Headquarters of Confederate Maj. Gen. Edward Johnson, en route to Pennsylvania.”

§ Civil War



Photograph of Bridgeport (foreground), with the piers of the burnt bridge and the Shepherdstown riverfront on the far shore. Attributed to Matthew Brady, after the battle of Antietam in 1862.

Meeting John Brown:

- Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall*, pages 1-4.

Destruction of Potomac bridge:

- Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall*, pages 6-7.
- James Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, page 242.

According to the reminiscences of D.B. Conrad, Jackson’s men marched to the Shepherdstown bridge on “a Sunday evening in early June,” arriving sometime after 2 a.m.; with Jackson personally supervising the burning; see “History of the First Battle of Manassas and the Organization of the Stonewall Brigade,” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 19, Richmond, VA, 1891, page 84. [Reprinted from Winchester, Va. *Times*, Jan. 19, 1891.]

Mile 84.6 – Dam no. 4

Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, page 242:

Dam No. 4: Section No. 156

June 7, 1832: Contract let to Joseph Hollman.

September, 1832: Work commenced on dam.

June, 1835: Work completed on dam.

Cost: \$50,803.17

Unrau gives conflicting information on the date water was first admitted from Dam no. 4:

- section between Dams 3 and 4 opened in April 1834, citing *Sixth Annual Report*; pages 204, 637, and 670.
- Engineer Purcell notifies directors on Dec. 3, 1834 that water had been admitted into the canal at Dam no. 4; pages 205 and 545.

Other notes from Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*:

- use of steam tugs considered for slackwater; page 343.
- “Galloway’s cliffs” above Dam no. 4; page 206.

Contract for masonry dam let in 1856; work interrupted by floods of 1857 and 1859; stone from nearby quarries or boated across from Opequon Creek; Unrau, pages 161 and 295-296.

Attacks on dam in 1861:

- Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, pages 711-712, 719n, 721, and 722.
- Timothy Snyder, *Trembling in the Balance*, pages 43-44, 61, and 80.

Dam No. 4 Hydroelectric Plant, Potomac River, Martinsburg vicinity, Berkeley, WV
Historic American Engineering Record
Survey number HAER WV-27
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/WV0222/>

- “... Dam 4 uses tandem, multiple-runner, horizontal shaft turbines connected by rope drives to horizontal shaft generators. This plant is probably the last commercially operated rope-driven hydroelectric plant in the United States.”

Other historical information from the *Potomac Edison News*, October 1971, page 5.

Mile 90.8 Opequon Creek; Adam Stephens & Charles Lee



Two views of Major General Charles Lee of the Continental Army:

- Caricature with small dog, B. Rashbrooke (dates unknown) delin. In contrast to this “lapdog,” one of Lee’s favorite travelling companions was said to be a dog from Pomerania that was large enough to be “taken for a bear.” Alexander Hay Ritchie (1822-1895) sculp.
- On horseback, Johann Michael Probst, d. 1809, [between 1775 and 1790] *American Memory, Library of Congress*

During his 1789 survey of the Potomac River, Colonel George Gilpin noted two or three boats loaded with flour coming down the river from “Opeckon” Creek. Dan Guzy, *Navigation*, page 17.

The estimate of the 25 miles is from *Observations on the River Potomack, Etc.*, a pamphlet published in 1793, (anonymously) by Tobias Lear, George Washington’s secretary and president of the Patowmack Company at the time. Reprinted in Volume 8 of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 1905, see page 122.

Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty, Harry M. Ward, The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, 1989.

- at Fort Cumberland, pages 22-42.
- Washington’s criticism of Stephen during French & Indian War, see in particular pages 42-44.

- travels with Lord Dunmore to Fort Pitt, pages 108-111.
- role in writing the “Fort Gower resolutions,” pages 111-112.
- dispute with Hite, pages 104-106.
- relations with his neighbors, Horatio Gate and Charles Lee, pages 106-107 and 215-218.
- description of Prato Rio as “the Hut,” with chalk outlines for rooms, pages 218-219.
- Washington’s criticism of Stephen during Revolutionary War, see in particular pages 164, 170-171, 174.
- family life, postwar business, and slaves, 219-224.
- role in Virginia’s ratification of the constitution, pages 229-237.
- Potomac River as prospective site of nation’s capital and “Expostulations of Patowmac,” pages 238-240.

After Pontiac’s Rebellion, Adam Stephen was accused of using militia to guard wagons carrying his own property—charges dismissed, but he was censured for sending Virginia troops out of the colony (H.B.J., 1761--65, 296--98). *Diaries of George Washington*, Volume 1, Page 176 (note).

For Stephen’s autobiographical account of his scouting during the Washington expedition of 1754, see Jackson and Twohig, *Diaries of George Washington*, note on page 185.

Details on construction of the mansion at “The Bower” from the nomination form for the National Register of Historic Places, prepared by Michael J. Pauley, Historic Preservation Unit, West Virginia Department of Culture and History; submitted December 7, 1981.

Freeman H. Hart discusses the Stephen-Hite feud in *Valley of Virginia*, pages 56-57. In Hart’s version, Gates appears to have provided a warrant to Hite authorizing him to reclaim his property; Hite had secured

the assistance of a friend who was a constable.

“General Adam Stephen, Founder of Martinsburg, West Virginia,” Mary Vernon Mish, *West Virginia History*, Volume XXII, No. 2, January, 1961.



General Horatio Gates. National Archives. Mezzotint (¾ length) published by John Morris, London, 1778. 148-GW-472

Horatio Gates; Defender of American Liberties, Samuel White Patterson, Columbia University Press, 1941.

Gates' life prior to settling in America is based on Mintz, *Generals of Saratoga*, Chapters 2, 4, and 5.

General Charles Lee, traitor or patriot? John Richard Alden,

Louisiana State University Press, 1951.

- Correspondence with Horatio Gates in 1774, and Gates' invitation to visit “Traveller's Rest” and consider buying property nearby, pages 52-53.
- Visit to Mt. Vernon at the end of 1774, coinciding with visit of John Ballentine, page 69.
- Visit to Horatio Gates at “Traveller's Rest” in western Virginia, early 1775, page 69.
- Passion for dogs, including one large enough to be mistaken for a bear, pages 77-78, 82, 83.

- Postwar life in Prato Rio and death in Philadelphia, pages 293-299.

Charles Lee is the subject of “American Strategy: Charles Lee and the Radical Alternative,” an essay by John Shy. The essay was originally published in *George Washington's Generals*, edited by George A. Billias, 1964, and was subsequently revised and included as Chapter 6 in a collection of Shy's essays, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, John Shy, University of Michigan Press, originally published 1976, revised edition 1990.

- “There were hints, but no more than that, of homosexuality.” Page 135; three instances are cited in the note on page 318.

West Virginia: A Guide to the Mountain State, compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of West Virginia, sponsored by the Conservation commission of West Virginia, Oxford University Press, New York, 1941.

- Descriptions of Prato Rio and accounts of Generals Lee, Gates, and Stephen, including the “three toasts,” pages 312-313.

Mile 94.4 Falling Waters



"A Pontoon Boat on Wheels." Unknown location. Stereograph on tan mount, "The War Photograph & Exhibition Company." (Marked "No. 2557.") Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. LOT 4176 (Stereograph File)



Detail of a drawing by Alfred R. Waud for Harper's Weekly. This is the right side of a long sheet of paper that rather confusingly conjoins two different scenes of the crossing of the Potomac, one at Williamsport and one at Falling Waters. The inscription at the bottom of this portion reads "Rebel pontoons at Falling Waters." Both the Williamsport and Falling Waters scenes were published with other drawings in a two-page panel in Harper's Weekly, August 15, 1863, pp. 520-21. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, DRWG/US - Waud, no. 700

Confederate crossings on the way to Gettysburg, June 1863, based on John W. Schildt, *Roads to Gettysburg*, pages 525-526:

- | *First Corps, James Longstreet*
 - June 24, Williamsport
 - *Lafayette McLaw's Division*
 - *George E. Pickett's Division*
 - *John Bell Hood's Division*
- || *Second Corps, Richard S. Ewell*
 - *Robert E. Rodes' Division*:
June 15/16, Williamsport
 - *Edward Johnson's Division*:
June 18, at Shepherdstown
 - *Jubal Early's Division*:
June 22, Shepherdstown
- ||| *Third Corps, Ambrose P. Hill*
 - June 24, Shepherdstown
 - *Richard H. Anderson's Division*
 - *Henry Heth's Division*
 - *William D. Pender's Division*

Shipment of pontoons from Orange Court House, John W. Schildt, *Roads to Gettysburg*, page 89.

Crossing of Longstreet's infantry at Williamsport and Falling Waters on the way to Gettysburg, June 24, 1863, John W. Schildt, *Roads to Gettysburg*, pages 180-181. [A.P. Hill's corps began crossing at Shepherdstown on the same day.]

Major Harman assigned to take over work on pontoon bridge:

- John W. Schildt, *Roads from Gettysburg*, pages 79 and 93.
- Spencer C. Tucker, *Brigadier General John D. Imboden*, pages 166-167.

Kent Masterson Brown discusses the construction of the pontoon bridge in detail in *Retreat from Gettysburg*, pages 320-323.

- Brown says that Lieutenant Harris and Captain Justus Scheibert were assigned to rebuild the pontoon bridge on July 10.

- Brown does not mention any involvement by Major Harman in the construction of pontoons, and he credits a Private Casler, not Harman with saying that the army was worth more than the “man’s lumber in gold.”

- note that the photograph on page 323 is more likely a later photo of the Bollman Bridge in Williamsport, taken from Doubleday Hill, than of the old bridge over the canal at Falling Waters. [I also suspect that the bridge in the painting by Edwin Forbes on 338-339 is actually the scene at Williamsport.]

Skirmish and crossing at Falling Waters:

- Edward A. Longacre, *Custer and His Wolverines*; pages 163-165.
- Eric J. Wittenberg, et al, *One Continuous Fight*, pages 282-297.
- Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign*, pages 570-571. [Coddington credits Buford with most accurate accounting of 500 prisoners taken, verified by General Patrick, in charge of the prisoners.]

Official Records:

- Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part III), page 17, from General Halleck’s summary of the Gettysburg campaign: “In the meantime General French had reoccupied Harpers Ferry, destroyed the enemy’s pontoon train at Williamsport and Falling Waters, and captured its guards. Halting a day at Middletown, General Meade crossed South Mountain, and on the 12th found the enemy occupying a strong position on the heights of Marsh Run, in front of Williamsport. Not being attacked in this position, with the swollen waters of the Potomac in his rear, without any means of crossing his artillery, and where a defeat must have caused the surrender of his entire army, Lee had time to construct a pontoon bridge with lumber collected from canal-boats and the ruins of wooden houses, and on the morning of the 14th his army had crossed to the south side of the river. His rear guard, however, was attacked by our cavalry and suffered considerable loss.”

- Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part II), page 309-310, from Robert E. Lee’s report, July 31, 1863:

“The army, after an arduous march, rendered more difficult by the rains, reached Hagerstown on the afternoon of July 6 and morning of the 7th. The Potomac was found to be so much swollen by the rains that had fallen almost incessantly since our entrance into Maryland as to be unfordable. Our communications with the south side were thus interrupted, and it was difficult to procure either ammunition or subsistence, the latter difficulty being enhanced by the high waters impeding the working of the neighboring mills. The trains with the wounded and prisoners were compelled to await at Williamsport the subsiding of the river and the construction of boats, as the pontoon bridge left at Falling Waters had been partially destroyed. The enemy had not yet made his appearance, but as he was in condition to obtain large re-enforcements, and our situation, for the

reasons above mentioned, was becoming daily more embarrassing, it was deemed advisable to recross the river. Part of the pontoon bridge was recovered and new boats built, so that by the 13th a good bridge was thrown over the river at Falling Waters.

The enemy in force reached our front on the 12th. A position had been previously selected to cover the Potomac from Williamsport to Falling Waters, and an attack was awaited during that and the succeeding day. This did not take place, though the two armies were in close proximity, the enemy being occupied in fortifying his own lines.

Our preparations being completed, and the river, though still deep, being pronounced fordable, the army commenced to withdraw to the south side on the night of the 13th. Ewell's corps forded the river at Williamsport. Those of Longstreet and Hill crossed upon the bridge. Owing to the condition of the roads, the troops did not reach the bridge until after daylight on the 14th, and the crossing was not completed until 1 p. in., when the bridge was removed. The enemy offered no serious interruption, and the movement was attended with no loss of materiel excepting a few disabled wagons and two pieces of artillery, which the horses were unable to move through the deep mud. Before fresh horses could be sent back for them, the rear of the column had passed. During the slow and tedious march to the bridge, in the midst of a violent storm of rain, some of the men lay down by the way to rest. Officers sent back for them failed to find many in the obscurity of the night, and these, with some stragglers, fell into the hands of the enemy."

• Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part I)
Report of Major General William H. French, October 1, 1863, page 489:
"As soon as I heard the cannon at Gettysburg on July 3, the dispositions of the troops were changed from a passive to an active state. I directed a detachment of cavalry to be sent by Colonel McReynolds

to Falling Waters, to reconnoiter for a pontoon bridge, said to be there, and to destroy it. This expedition, under Major Foley, Fourteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry, was executed with great judgment and perfect success."

• Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part III), page 907.
Orders of R.E. Lee to Commanding Officer at Winchester, VA, July 4, 1863:

"SIR: I wish you to convey to the commanding officers of the regiments of Ewells corps, instructions, from me to proceed to Falling Waters, where they will take position, and guard the pontoon bridge at that place, and also the ford at Williamsport, holding there all persons belonging to this army, and collecting all stragglers from it."

• Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part II), page 302,
Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, July 16, 1863: "I shall not need the pontoon train now, as the boats used at Falling Waters have been brought away, excepting the new ones constructed by us, which were too heavy and too large for transportation. I have accordingly ordered the train of which you speak to come no farther."

Many other accounts of the crossing and the skirmish can be found in the *Official Records*, e.g.:

• Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part II): pages 302, 309, 323, 327, 390, 428, 558, 603, 606, 609, 640, 644, 667, 705.

• Series 1 - Volume 27 (Part III), pages 504, 538.

New York Times, article dated July 7, 1863; published July 9, 1863:

"Information which can be relied upon comes from the front this morning, of the following purport: The rise in the Potomac has checked the passage of the rebel army. A small portion of LEE's transportation has been crossed on rafts at Williamsport and Shepardstown, and his stock swam over. His ambulance trains, with wounded, have also crossed, but his supply trains, artillery, infantry and cavalry are reported to be nearly all on this side. His first line of

battle has been formed on the An??etam Fields." Should this prove true, and it is certain that he cannot receive reinforcements, he will be compelled to trust the fate of his army to the arbitrament of a bloody field. Our forces are gradually concentrating in that direction. The hopes and prospects of annihilating the entire army of Virginia are bright."

New York Times, article dated July 10, 1863; published July 12, 1863:

"The destruction of the pontoon bridge and train at Falling Waters was one of the most daring exploits of the war, and the credit of it belongs mainly to LEONARD GRENEWALD, chief of the Gray Eagle Scouts, and formerly of the Jessie Scouts. During previous trips he had ascertained the strength of the ground and location of the bridge, and finally obtained from Gen. FRENCH a detail of 200 men from the First Virginia and Thirteenth and Fourteenth New-York cavalry, under Major FOLEY and Lieut. DAWSON, to undertake its destruction. They arrived at the Potomac in the morning, just at daylight, and found the character of the bridge to be part trestle-work with pontoons in the centre, which were carefully floated out every evening and taken to the Virginia shore, rendering the bridge useless for the night. Lieuts. DAWSON and GRENEWALD then swam the river, and brought back several pontoons, with which they ferried over some forty of the detachment, being all that were willing to go. Arriving on the Southern side they surprised the rebel camp, fired a volley into the sleeping rebels, and created an utter stampede. They captured about twenty rebels, including one officer. Then destroying the camp, some stores, and four wagons of ammunition, they took all the pontoons over the river, and either burned or cut them to pieces. The balance of the bridge was destroyed and our party came off without the loss of a man. GRENEWALD desired to perform the same thing at Williamsport, but his party declined to

back him up. He is one of the most daring and reliable of scouts, and does us great service."

Memoirs of the crossing:

- General James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, pages 428-430.
- Jedediah Hotchkiss, *Make Me a Map of the Valley*, pages 160-161.
- Jubal A. Early, *Narrative of the War Between the States*, pages 282-283.
- Major Henry B. McClellan, *I Rode with Jeb Stuart*, pages 366-368.

The Union army also built a pontoon bridge at Falling Waters in April of 1864, but it was swept away by flood in May:

- *Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 33, pages 328 and 894.
- *Official Records*, Series 1, Volume 37 (Part I)

Mile 97.3 Cumberland Valley Railroad



Paul J. Westhaeffer, *History of the Cumberland Valley Railroad*:

- after 30 years of operation, CVRR experiences minor competition when B&O RR builds extension to Hagerstown (1867) and Western Maryland is completed to Hagerstown (1872); page 141.
- president of CVRR urges connection with the C&O canal in 1867; blocked by WMRR, via legislative act (repealed in 1892); connection to Martinsburg and B&O accomplished in 1873; description of 1,000-foot timber truss bridge with iron roof; page 135.
- cooperation and competition between CVRR and Shenandoah Valley RR; pages 137-138.
- the Ahls found the Harrisburg and Potomac Railroad Company, circa 1870-1871; intended to connect through the

south side of the Cumberland Valley to Western Maryland RR; page 143.

- connection with Shenandoah Valley Railroad [in Hagerstown—also see notes to mile 72.4]; “with that line’s completion to Roanoke in 1882, the CVRR became a link in a through route to the Gulf states”; page 162.
- flood of June 1, 1889 destroys the Potomac bridge (itself a replacement from the 1877 flood); replacement bridge opened by October 1889; page 162.
- photograph of through truss bridge over the Potomac, ca. 1889-1914, built 15 feet higher than the previous bridge, which had been washed away in the flood of 1889; page 163.
- extension from Martinsburg to Winchester; “no highly urgent reason for its construction” and remained a “branch of light and local traffic” while most of its heavy traffic connected with the N&W at Hagerstown and with the B&O at Martinsburg (primarily coal); first CVRR train arrives in Winchester on Sept. 17, 1889 [presumably originating in Martinsburg, since the Potomac bridge had not yet been replaced]; pages 182 and 184-185.
- Pullman car service ended in 1894 when the B&O Railroad “took over the northern segment of the New Orleans run as one feature of its new Royal Blue Line from New York to Washington”; arrangement held until 1899, when the PRR and Southern Railway took over the New York-New Orleans run; Pullman service reappeared in the same year; page 174.

Harlan Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*:

- destruction of bridge in the flood of 1877; page 324.
- canal company “sought to facilitate the construction” of the CVRR branch, ca. 1874; pages 482, 649, and 673. [Unrau gives 1874 as date of Martinsburg extension, see Westhaeffer’s date of 1873.]

Dates for Winchester & Western operation based on email correspondence with Phil Light of the Winchester & Western, May 21, 2013.

Flood of 1877 at Powell's Bend

The most serious damage near Williamsport was the injury done to the Cumberland Valley Railroad Bridge. The superstructure of this costly work went about five o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Its danger was appreciated, and six car-loads of coal, railroad and pig iron were sent out from Hagerstown to hold down the capping of the bridge and track. T. J. Nill, the agent there, accompanied the train, and it was run to the Virginia side, which was in greatest danger, and there stationed. But a slight space remained between the surface of the stream and the track on the bridge, so that its destruction by the heavy bodies coming down the stream was inevitable. Three canalboats in turn, which had broken loose from Williamsport, struck the bridge. Two passed under and went down the stream, while the other blocked the stream. Then came an immense float of drift-wood, which cut off a large willow tree as with a knife, and, striking the bridge with a concussion which sounded like a discharge of artillery, and was heard in Williamsport, bore off with it the whole superstructure save only that which spanned the canal, and the canal-boat which was held in suspense was thus released and went down the stream with the moving mass.

Harland Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, page 324.

Mile 99.1 – Lock 44

Lockhouse as Division Superintendent's house, Hahn, *Lock-houses and Lock-Keepers*, page 30.

Details on the Brandt family's life at Lock 44 based on Elizabeth Kytle's interview with Harvey Brandt, October 1979, published in *Home on the Canal*, pages 198-211.

Mile 99.2 – Power Plant

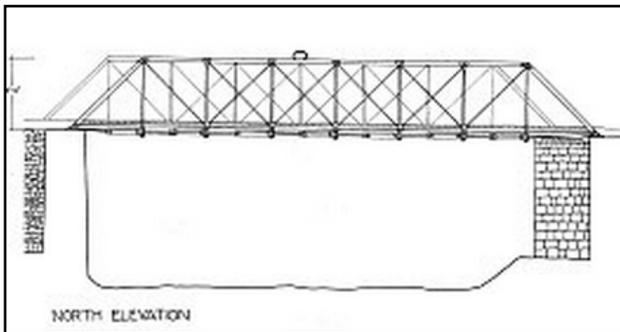
"FirstEnergy to close power station in Williamsport," Julie E. Greene, *Herald-Mail* (Hagerstown), January 26, 2012.

R. Paul Smith Station, Potomac Edison Company, Williamsport, Maryland, 1975.

Mile 99.5 Bollman Bridge



Detail showing the original bridge over the canal at Williamsport, circa 1863; Atlas to Accompany the Official Records, Plate XLII.



Salisbury Street Bridge, Spanning C&O Canal (Milepost 99.65) & WM Railroad, Williamsport, Washington County, MD, [md0584], Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

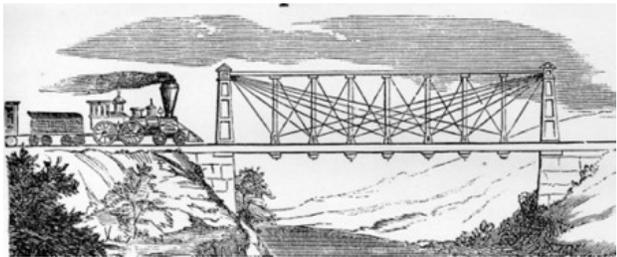


Illustration of "Wendell Bollman's Patent Iron Suspension Railroad Bridge" from an 1855 advertisement in the Railroad Advocate. The only surviving Bollman bridge of this type is preserved at Savage Mills, Maryland (18 miles southwest of Baltimore).

Description of Salisbury Street Bridge, Williamsport – see Historic American Engineering Record, HAER MD 24: “Salisbury Street Bridge was built in 1879 for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company by the Patapsco Bridge & Iron Works, Baltimore, Maryland; Wendel Bollman, proprietor. It is a single-span, wrought-iron, pony-Pratt truss spanning 67 feet over the C&O Canal.

The bridge has a construction depth of 9 feet and is 13 feet, 3 inches wide. It is one of two known surviving Bollman-built bridges of this simple, pony-Pratt type in the State of Maryland (not to be confused with the Bollman suspended and trussed bridge at Savage, Maryland, for which he received a patent).

[Jean Yearby, HAER, 1984 from data compiled by Eric DeLony, Principal Architect, HAER]

For biographical notes and a discussion of Bollman's career, see *The Engineering Contributions of Wendell Bollman*, Robert M. Vogel, published in Smithsonian Institution Bulletin 240, Washington, DC, 1966, pages 34-44.

For the predecessor to the Bollman Bridge and its destruction by Charles Russell in 1862, see Edward Smith, *Williamsport, Maryland Historic Resource Study*, pages 43, 50-51, 71, 79, 80-81, 82-83, and 92. From page 43: “On October 4, 1833, the Board accepted a proposal from Eli Stake of Williamsport to build a bridge across the canal on Section 187...this bridge was probably built to provide easy access to the ferry. An 1838 sketch of the basin area indicates that a bridge was located just south of the basin and probably opposite the public square.”

Mile 99.6 – Williamsport

§ Early history of Williamsport

Navigation from Conococheague to Oldtown; improvements on the Conococheague—see Guzy, *Navigation*.

From “Washington County and Hagerstown, Maryland” on the website of the Washington County Free Library: The earliest settlement in Washington County was Conococheague across the creek from present-day Williamsport. Charles Friend obtained a grant called “Sweed’s Delight” in 1739 on the west side of the Conococheague Creek.

- Williams, etc, *History of Washington County Maryland*, pages 20-21.

The settlement developed into a trading post with a block house for protection from Indians. Also in 1739, Thomas Cresap obtained the 500 acre land tract of “Long Meadows” and built a fort.^[6] Neither of these settlements survived to the present day.

- Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, page 1059.

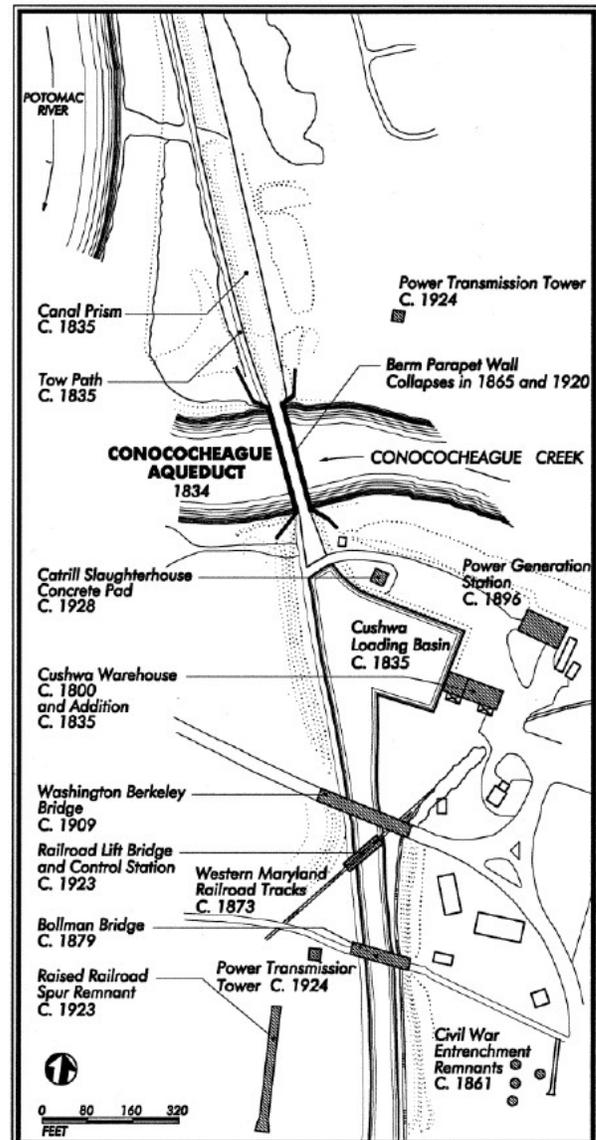
<http://www.washcolibrary.org/>

Accessed March 31, 2012.

The story of the battle between the Delaware and Catawba Indians and the rescue of one survivor by Charles Friend’s family is related in

A history of the valley of Virginia, Samuel Kercheval, circa 1833, p. 32 (p. 48 in some editions).

Kercheval recorded this account from Captain John Glenn and John Tomlinson. Kercheval notes that Tomlinson differed from Glenn in that he placed the event at the mouth of the Opequon. Kercheval uses “mouth of the Conococheague,” based on Glenn’s version, which fits the location of Charles Friend’s house. [This story was retold in Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, page 12.]



Williamsport – Site Plan for Historic American Engineering Record, Conococheague Aqueduct, HAER MD-22.

§ Early settlers—Chas. Friend & Jeremiah Jacks

Peter S. Craig identifies Charles Friend as the brother of Israel Friend, both being sons of Nils Larsson, who came to America around 1648 from Sweden (see notes to Antietam Creek, mile 69).

Charles Friend owned “Swede’s Delight” and “Hard Bargain.” Two of his sons, Gabriel and Charles, Jr., had no children; his remaining son, Jacob, had children by Eleanor Prather, daughter of Thomas Prather.

See Peter S. Craig, *The family of Nils Larsson Frände (Friend)*, page 29.

Louis Berger Group, *Through the Great Valley and into the Mountains Beyond*, (Part 2 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- route to mouth of the Conococheague (as opposed to the road to Packhorse Ford) crossed into the Great Valley in Pennsylvania and entered Maryland to the west of Conococheague Creek, page 72.
- inventory of property of Charles Friend, deceased, 1752; appraised by Thomas Prather and John Hawthorn; nearest kin Robert Turner and Gabriel Friend; creditors, Enoch Enochson and Thomas M. Hogg, pages 77-78.
- Jacques and Friend listed in Monocacy Hundred in 1733-1744, pages 63 and 65.

☞ According to *Through the Great Valley and into the Mountains Beyond*, Jeremiah Jacks was a French Huguenot (Jacques) and likely the father or grandfather of Lancelot Jacques, page 66, 101, and 111. However, genealogists say that Jeremiah Jacks was born in Edinburgh, Scotland on January 2, 1688/1689, coming to the Great Valley via Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whereas Lancelot Jacques’ family are thought to be Huguenots who fled from France to England.

Even if the Jacks/Jacques were Huguenot refugees by way of Scotland, none of Jeremiah Jack’s descendants seem to lead us to Lancelot Jacks, at least not in time for him to have established a furnace in 1768-1769. It also seems unlikely that Lancelot Jacques was the son or grandson of a frontiersman, as he was well-established in Tidewater society at Annapolis.

Though there appears to be no connection with Lancelot Jacques, Jeremiah Jacks could well have been French, given the patenting of “Conneau Botham” in 1738-1739, per Mary Vernon Mish in “Springfield Farm at Conococheague,” cited below.

[Interestingly, genealogists note a Shelby and a Van Metre amongst the younger in-laws of Jeremiah Jacks.]

Jeremiah Jack [presumably the son of Jeremiah Jack the first settler] was abducted and two of his sons killed, April, 1757, from a list of victims of Indian raids in Archibald Loudon, *A selection of some of the most interesting narratives of Outrages committed by the Indians in their Wars with the White People, Volume II*, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1811, pages 195-198.

Loudon attributes the list to John McCullough, who had himself been taken captive by Indians at that time; McCullough says that he compiled the list from a memorandum of his father. [This may have been noted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 27, 1757.]

§ Watkin’s Ferry, Fort Maidstone, and the French & Indian Wars

Hening’s Statutes, Volume 5, gives a date of 1744 for the ferry at Evan Watkins “opposite the mouth of the Canagochego.”

☞ The location of “Fort Maidstone” is sometimes mistakenly identified as being at the mouth of the Cacapon River.

Further details can be found in “Maidstone-on-the-Potomac and Watkins Ferry” and “Lord Fairfax, Honeywood and Maidstone Manor,” Don C. Wood, *The Berkeley Journal*, Berkeley County Historical Society, Martinsburg, VA, 1977.

William H. Ansel gives a detailed description of the construction and garrisoning of Fort Maidstone in *Frontier Forts along the Potomac and its Tributaries*, pages 131-136.

Thomas A. Lewis, *For King and Country*:
• rationale for St. Clair’s decision to divide Braddock’s regiments on their march to the west, with one traveling through Maryland to Frederick and then Conococheague, page 168.

- meeting with Henry Bouquet at Conococheague, 1758, pages 248-249.

Papers of George Washington [Colonial Series 2]

- Robert Stuart and his “light horse” stationed at Maidstone/Conococheague in 1756; John Jones as commissary at Conococheague; see notes to page 37.
- Adam Stephen on Conococheague and frontier defense, page 158.
- supplies at Conococheague, page 185.

Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series 3:

- Robert Stewart reported that there were 101 men in the the three companies at Maidstone, June 20, 1757, and stated there was “about 12,000 lb. of flower in a house of Colo. Cressops, which his wife has posetively [sic] denied giving.” pages 207-210.

✎ The editorial notes to Stewart’s report assume that the feisty wife was Hanna Cresap, and state that Col. Cresap was “now living at Long Meadows, near Conococheague, where his son Michael lived.”

Other sources state that Cresap removed himself from Oldtown to his son Daniel’s house at Conococheague in the fall of 1755. Given that Michael was 14 or 15 in 1756, it is more likely that the elder Cresap had gone to Daniel’s in 1755.

It is difficult to determine whether Cresap was spending more time at Conococheague or Oldtown in the spring and early summer of 1756, since he was engaged in expeditions as far away as the Youghiogeny River.

Killing of French officer (Sieur Douville) carrying instructions to attempt to burn the stores at Conococheague:

- Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington*, pages 172-173.
- George Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, April 7, 1756.

- Governor Sharpe to William Shirley, April 15, 1756, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 6, page 391. [Sharpe reports that Douville was killed by “inhabitants of Virg^a near Conegochiegh,” but Washington states that the encounter took place on the North River, which was a name used for one of the forks of the Shenandoah River, considerably distant from Conococheague.]

Act of incorporation for Williamsport

Volume 204 of the Archives of Maryland,
Laws of Maryland 1785-1791,
pages 153-154:

[January 20, 1786] An ACT for erecting a town at the mouth of Conococheague creek, in Washington county.

WHEREAS it is represented to this general assembly by Otho Holland Williams, that he is possessed of part of a tract of land called Ross's Purchase, and of a tract of land adjoining thereto called Leeds, contiguous to the mouth of Conococheague creek, and that, from the advantages of navigation from the head branches of Patowmack river to the mouth of Conococheague, and the great prospect of the navigation of the said river being extended to tide water, on the application of many of the inhabitants of Washington county, he hath been encouraged and induced to lay out part of the said tracts into a town, and hath contracted with the commissioners of the said county to build a warehouse on the said land, and to furnish scales and weights for the inspection of tobacco, and an inspector is already appointed; and prayed a law to lay out and erect a town on the said lands, and to secure the purchasers of lots in the said town, reserving the right of the proprietors and their interest in the said lands; and this general assembly are of opinion, that the erecting a town at the mouth of the said creek may be convenient and beneficial to the public;

II. Be it enacted, *by the general assembly of Maryland*, That Thomas Hart, Thomas Brooke, Moses Rawlings, Richard Pindell and Alexander Clagett, or any three or more of them, be and are hereby appointed commissioners to survey a quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred and fifty acres, being part of a tract of land called Ross's Purchase, and another called Leeds, contiguous to the mouth of Conococheague creek, in Washington county, and the same, when surveyed, to lay out into lots, streets, lanes and alleys, (the main streets running east and west, or nearly so, not to be less than eighty feet wide, and the streets crossing the said main streets not to be less than sixty-six feet wide) to be erected into a town, and to be called and known by the name of Williams's Port, and a correct and accurate certificate and plot thereof return to the clerk of Washington county court, who is hereby required to record the same among the land records of the said county, and to keep the original plot in his office, and a copy from the original, or the record thereof, shall be conclusive evidence as to the bounds and lines of the lots of the said town, and of the streets, lanes and alleys thereof...

§ Otho & Elie Williams & George Washington's visit in 1790



Otho Holland Williams, by Charles Willson Peale, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA. (INDE 14164). Peale painted a matching portrait of Elie Williams, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



*Crest of the Otho Holland Williams family—
a boar pierced with a spear.*

Osmond Tiffany provides useful biographical details, albeit in the form of hagiography, in *A sketch of the life and services of Otho Holland Williams*, read before the Maryland historical society, on Thursday evening, March 6, 1851, printed by John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, MD, 1851.

“Springfield Farm of Conococheque,” Mary Vernon Mish, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XLII, No. 4, December, 1952:

- early patent for “Conneau Botham,” circa 1738-1739; possibly sign of “French-tongued trader,” and possibly former

Indian village; trader's cabin marked on Philemon Lloyd's 1721 map; page 315.

- Joseph Williams sublets "Limestone Hill" from George Ross in 1762; dies in 1764; Mercy Williams marries George Ross in 1768; George Ross dies 1771; pages 317-318.

- this property patented by Dr. David Ross as "Ross's Purchase" circa 1775; George Ross probably son of David Ross; land purchases and business operations "overlap and interlock" for a decade after George Ross named as commissary for Braddock in 1755; pages 318-319.

- town tradition regarding Cresap's construction of springhouse; page 319.

- probable that Mercy had taken in her orphaned siblings; page 320.

- Dr. David Ross may have used the house, but lived in Bladensburgh; owner of Frederick Forge; page 320.

- Ross's Purchase resurveyed into slightly larger "Garden of Eden" in 1782; Major David Ross, executor of David Ross, deeds property to Denton Jacques for 200 tons of pig iron, 15 tons of bar iron, and 5 shillings; Otho Holland Williams buys all of the original Ross's Purchase from Jacques for £ 2,900 circa 1787 or 1788; page 321.

The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, Volume 6, edited by Dorothy Twohig and others, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, 1996.

- See discussion of Washington's trip up the Potomac in October 1790 and his visit to Williamsport on the 21st, pages 571-572, and the plat of Williamsport that Otho Williams promised to send to Washington in his letter of November 1, 1790, pages 612-613. There is a gap in Washington's diaries for this period—he either did not keep one from July 14 1790-March 21, 1791, or it has been lost.

Also see notes to History: II.1

§ Transportation history



Detail from an engraving of the Embrey & Cushwa warehouse in the Illustrated Atlas of Washington County, 1877. The caption to this image reads: "Embrey & Cushwa, Canal Basin, Williamsport, Md. Shippers and Dealers in Georges Creek Bituminous and Best Qualities of Gas and Anthracite Coals, Also Round Top Cement, Plaster, Grain, Fertilizers & C. & C" Western Maryland Regional Library; full image viewable on-line at the WHILBR site (<http://www.whilbr.org>).

Early shipments of flour and "stone coal" on the river through Williamsport, see Guzy, *Navigation*, pages 33 and 46.

Elie Williams as President of the Potomac Company (1814) and commissioner on 1821 survey, see Corra Bacon-Foster, *Patomac Route to the West*, page 117, and Guzy, *Navigation*, page 15.

Cushwa and Prather families, Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, pages 1245-1246.

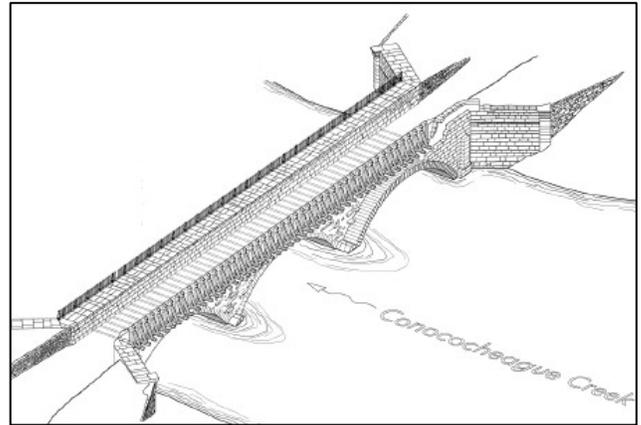
Opening of the canal through Williamsport

Williamsport, April 11—Wednesday and Thursday, the last 8th and 9th instant, were busy days with us on the canal. The water was let into the level next below Williamsport, and the numerous vessels which had, within the previous few days, been literally wedged in our basins and canal, forming as complete a bridge of boats as ever crossed the Rhine, thronged and pressed to the lock, eager for passage below.

As fast as balance beam and valve key could be plied they passed on, amid the shouts of a number of our citizens who had assembled to witness the novel sight. Of the number of vessels which were admitted we have not been duly informed; but our estimate, and we speak, we are sure much within the number, is from fifty to sixty. Amongst them we remarked a very handsomely decorated and “trim built” craft with cabin roof of white with red hangings painted upon it, and, appropriately enough, bearing the name of the lady of “the father of his country” and the projector of the Chesapeake and canal. (Need we say Washington?) This, the first formed boat which has entered the canal at its head, so far completed, was from Cumberland, laden with flour to the amount say from 350 to 400 barrels, apparently only half tonnage—the owners no doubt apprehending danger from placing too heavy burden on her, passing, as she must, through new work which cannot be exempt from danger of breaches, &c. Be they who they may, the proprietors of the *Lady Washington* deserve great credit for their enterprise and we hope that this vessel may be followed by many others similarly laden and bound to the same market. “It was a glorious sight to see” the numerous boats as they lay in the basin by night, each illuminated by a glowing coal fire, which cast “a long level rule of light” across the water; and the silence of night was not unpleasantly interrupted by the cries of the hoarse boatmen as they were disturbed their moorings by new arrivals and driven to closer with their neighbors. We heard divers remonstrances, boisterous and uncouth against “scrowging,” to make use of the navigator's expressive, however inelegant term.

Niles Register, April 25, 1835, reprinted from the *Williamsport Banner*.

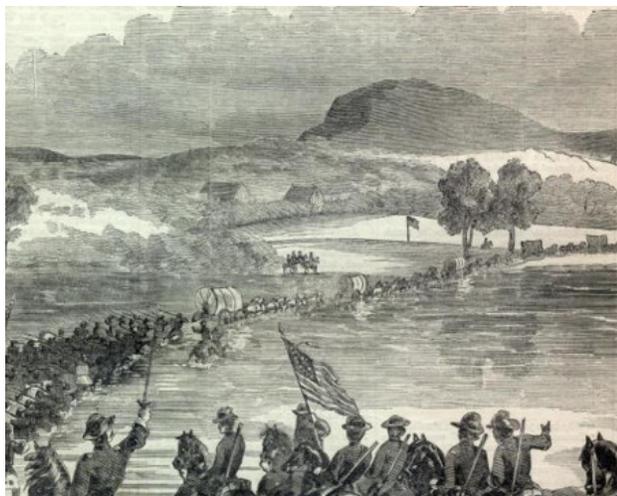
§ Conococheague Aqueduct



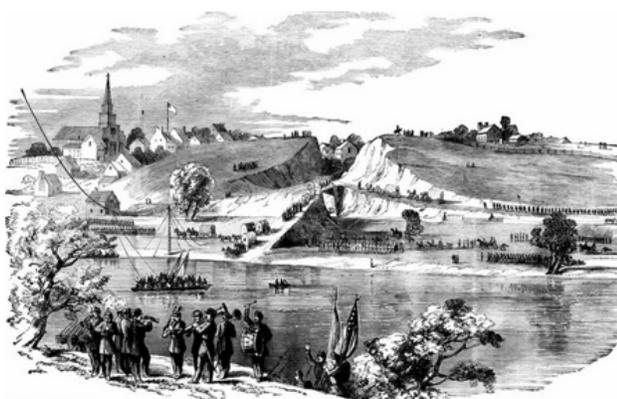
Historic American Engineering Record, Conococheague Aqueduct, HAER MD-22.

The Conococheague Aqueduct; Historic Structure Report, John F. Luzader, original undated, electronic version edited by Karen Gray, 2011.

§ Civil War in Williamsport



An early Union crossing is depicted in "Colonel Thomas's Brigade Crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, Maryland" (detail), Harper's Weekly, July 6, 1861 issue, page 429.



A view of Williamsport, showing a road embankment down to the river, apparently crossing the canal. The prominent hill with the road cut is confirmed by a contemporary photograph. "General Banks Division Recrossing the Potomac from Williamsport, MD., to Attack "Stonewall" Jackson. Band of the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania Playing National Airs on the Virginia Shore." Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, March 1862.



"The Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania - The Rebel Cavalry Crossing the Potomac, June 11," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 4, 1863. [Full-size image at Dickinson College's "House Divided" site <http://hd.housedivided.dickinson.edu>]



Detail of a drawing by Alfred R. Waud for Harper's Weekly, showing a Confederate crossing either before or after the battle of Gettysburg. If this was the crossing into Maryland, one would expect to see the canal and some of the houses of Williamsport on the far side of the river. On the other, hand, if this was the night crossing across the flooded Potomac, the scene is much more orderly and tranquil than the accounts preserved in the Official Records and individual memoirs.

This is the left side of the same sheet that depicted the crossing at Falling Waters. The inscription at the bottom of this portion reads "On the Potomac nr. Williamsport Rebel Crossing." Both the Williamsport and Falling Waters scenes were published with other drawings in a two-page panel in Harper's Weekly, entitled "Reminiscences of the Maryland Campaign," August 15, 1863, pp. 520-21. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, DRWG/US - Waud, no. 700.

[There is another view of the crossing drawn by C. E. H. Bonwill for Frank Leslie's Illustrated entitled "Retreat of Gen. Lee's army, July 13th, 1863, crossing the Potomac above Williamsport, Md." New York Public Library, Image ID: 1708835.]

Following Doubleday's peregrinations between Chancellorsville and Gettysburg in the *Official Records* (Series 1 - Volume 2), there is almost no possibility that he could have found time for a game of any kind in Williamsport in 1863.

As for 1861, the *Official Records* place him at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on June 16 (page 697), Hagerstown, Maryland on June 18 (page 701), Williamsport on June 19, ordered to Harpers Ferry on June 21 (page 711).

My Life in the Old Army, The Reminiscences of Abner Doubleday, edited by Joseph E. Chance, Texas Christian University Press, Fort Worth, Texas, 1998. [Contains a few passages on Doubleday's experiences along the Potomac in 1861, though the majority of these papers concern his service in the Mexican War and against Indians in Texas.]

The recollections of Abner Doubleday say nothing about baseball, but they are an entertaining read and of particular interest to Civil War historians:

Reminiscences of forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-'61, Abner Doubleday, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1876.

Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence, by Heros von Bocke, W. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1866. [Also available in reprint editions--includes a fairly detailed account of Stuart's diversionary raid on Williamsport on September 19-20, 1862.]

Crossing of Ewell's corps at Williamsport, July 13-14, 1863:

- Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart*, 234-235.

§ Potomac Edison and the Hagerstown & Frederick Railway

ADDENDUM TO POTOMAC EDISON COMPANY, CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL BRIDGE (Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Lift Bridge), HAER-MD-23, prepared by J. Lawrence Lee, Ph.D., P.E., 2007-2008.

Blue Ridge Trolley: the Hagerstown & Frederick Railway, Herbert H. Harwood, Jr., Golden West Books, San Marino, California, 1970.

"The H&F—A country trolley," *Capital Traction Quarterly*, edited by Charles Murphy, Springfield, Virginia 1964.

"The Shenandoah Valley (Electric) Railroad," Jeff Hollis, *The Berkeley Journal*, Berkeley County Historical Society, 1983, page 27.

Mile 104.9 – Nettle railroad bridge

Williamsport, Nettle and Martinsburg Railway, aka "Charlton branch" of the Western Maryland Railway.

- Hahn, *Towpath Guide*, states that this bridge was built in 1909, but the consensus of local railroad historians is that the WN&M Railway company was not chartered until 1913 and the bridge was not completed until later.

- The Williamsport, Nettle and Martinsburg Railroad was incorporated February 11, 1913, according to Killough, *History of the Western Maryland Railroad*, p. 28.

- The Western Maryland Railway's annual report for 1916 states that the line was open for operation on July 7, 1915 (see *Railway age gazette*, Volume 61, 1916, page 727).

- In a February 1997 article in the *Bull Sheet*, Allen Brougham quotes at length from a report on the WN&M prepared in 1916 by the rival B&O Railroad:

Proposed Extension of Western Maryland Railway into Martinsburg, West Virginia, Commercial Development Department, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, September 11, 1916.

“The Williamsport, Nettle, and Martinsburg Railway,” Jeff Hollis, *The Berkeley Journal*, Berkeley County Historical Society, 1983.

- Hollis states that the branchline from Charlton, MD, was begun “in the early 1900’s” and attributes it to Gould’s plans for the Western Maryland, although it was not completed until later. [Hollis says it was completed in 1914, where the *Railway Age* gives a date of 1915 for commencement of operations.]

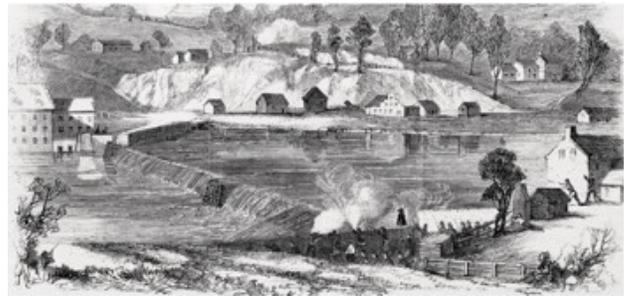
In the case of “Williamsport, Nettle & Martinsburg Railway Co. v. Standard Lime & Stone Co.,” decided March 16, 1915, Judge Lynch referred to a prior “abortive attempt” by the Western Maryland Railway to build a spur from Charlton, Maryland, to the border with West Virginia. *Report of cases determined by the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, Volume 76, pages 21-25.*

Mile 106.2 – Middlekauff’s Mill

Battle at Middlekauff’s Hill:

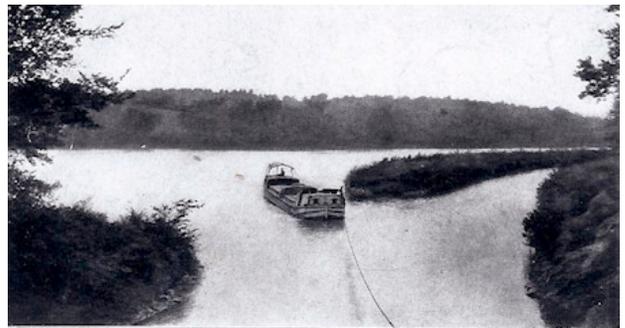
- Peter Way, *Common Labor*, pages 219-221.
- Dilts, *The Great Road*, page 177.

Mile 106.6 – Dam #5



“The campaign on the Potomac - unsuccessful attempt of the Rebels to destroy dam no. 5, on the upper Potomac, near Williamsport, Maryland, December 1861 / from a sketch by Capt. Henry Bacon for the 13th Massachusetts Volunteers.” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, January 18, 1862. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs LC-USZ62-134226.

According to Jason Barrett, writing in the September 2000 issue of *America’s Civil War*, Henry Bacon was a Corporal not a captain (identified as a captain in the caption).



Boat entering lock at Dam #5 from slackwater. USGS Water Report no. 192, in *Washingtoniana* collection, DC Public Library.

Dam No. 5: Section No. 202

August 25, 1832: Contract let to Byrnes and Co.

March, 1833: Work commenced on dam.

December, 1834: Work completed on dam.

Cost: \$47,088.67

Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, 1976

- “Lady Washington” arrives in Williamsport, *Williamsport Banner*, April 11, 1835, page 337. [Somewhat confusingly, Unrau notes on page 545, “The canal between Dams Nos. 4 and 5 was opened to navigation by early July 1835.”]

- Pre-war flood damage, pages 283, 285, 287, 289, 290, 292, 296.
- Contract for masonry dam let in January, 1857, page 295.

“Honeywood Mills, Dam No. 5, the Colstons, and the Civil War,” Don C. Wood, *The Berkeley Journal*, Berkeley County Historical Society, Martinsburg, VA, 1977.

Attacks on Dams 4 and 5 in June:

“Information reached here that an attempt was made by the Virginia rebels, on Saturday and Sunday nights last, to destroy Dams No. 4 and 5 on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. At No. 5 they were met by the brave Guards of Clearspring, who, after considerable skirmishing, succeeded in repulsing them, killing one of their men. The rebels endeavored to blow up the dam by means of a blast, for which purpose they had procured four kegs of powder, but were driven off before they were able to injure it. At Dam No. 4 some damage was done to the Canal, but we learn none to the Dam itself.”

Herald of Freedom & Torch Light
June 12, 1861

Jackson’s attacks in December 1861:

- Timothy Snyder, *Trembling in the Balance*, pages 79-85.
- *Stonewall Jackson*, James I. Robertson, Macmillan, 1997, pages 297-299.

National Register of Historic Places, Inventory/Nomination Form, Prepared by Don C. Wood, Chairman, Berkeley County Historical Landmarks Commission, undated.

- Mentions “Honeywood paper mill,” circa 1900.

Historic American Engineering Record, WV-28, but also see combined description with the record for Dam No. 4, WV-27.

Historic American Engineering Record, WV-27.

- Potomac Pulp Mill operated at Dam #5 from 1887-1891, page 48.

- “The First Potomac Hydroelectric Plant,” pages 46-55.

• “The “certainty” that the mechanism linking the horizontal line shaft to the generator would be either partially or totally under water during a flood or freshet prompted the use of rope drive.”
Page 50.

Mile 108.2 – Charles Mill

Several Charles Mills are listed in “Introduction to the Mills of Washington County,” a typescript list prepared by John W. McGrain of Towson, Maryland.

[Undated, from the collection at the Western Maryland Room of the Hagerstown Free Library. Apparently intended to be a part of the author’s *Molinography of Maryland*, available in microfilm at the Maryland State Archives, McGrain Collection, MSA SC 4300.]

Mile 108.8 – Four Locks/Clear Spring

Prather family, Louis Berger Group, *River and Mountain, War and Peace*, pages 61-63.

Further details on houses, buildings, etc., *The Community of Four Locks*, Mike Mastrangelo, Allegheny District Ranger, 1987.

Workers’ rebellion at Prathers Neck and quote, Peter Way, *Common Labor*, 219-221.

Several articles on Clear Spring and Four Locks in *Herald of Freedom and Torch Light* (Hagerstown):

- Jan 16, 1861. A UNION POLE. (CLEAR SPRING SHOWS ITS ALLEGIANCE).
- Jan 30, 1861. UNION MEETING... (CITIZENS OF CLEAR SPRING HOLD MEETING IN FAVOR OF PRESERVING UNION).
- Jan 31, 1861. Letter to the editor describing pro-Union meeting at Four Locks attended by 200 participants, with the erection of a 113-foot “Union Pole.” Speeches by Capt. Isaac Nesbitt and J.D. Bennet, Esq’rs. of Hagerstown, and Lewis P. Firey, of Clearspring; music by the Clear Spring Band; entertainment provided by Messrs. Jacques and Hasset. [Text posted on *Cenantua* blog, Robert H. Moore II]
- April 24, 1861. UNION MEETING AT... (CLEARSPRING HOLDS MEETING).
- October 3, 1861 UNION MEETING! (NOTICE FOR UNION MEETING).

Lewis Firey (March 1825-April 1885) obituary, *Hagerstown Herald and Torch Light*, March 12, 1885, and letter to editor March 26, 1885:

- born in Clear Spring, died at brother’s house in Roanoke, Virginia.
- as Maryland State Senator, proposed the creation of a cemetery for the war dead at Antietam in 1864; this later became the Antietam National Cemetery.

- relocated to Anne Arundel after the war, and then to Kansas, where he was active in Lutheran Church.

Mile 109 – North Mountain

Biographical details for Evan Shelby are from Alan Powell, *Forgotten Heroes of the Maryland Frontier*.

- marriage to Letitia Cox and dispute with Charles Carroll, citing Cass K. Shelby, *Evan and Catherine Shelby and their Descendants*, pages 84-85.
- Shelby's service in the Forbes expedition, and subsequently under Bouquet, pages 91-95.
- Shelby's business endeavors in 1762, pages 96-98.
- Shelby's participation in Dunmore's War, pages 102-108.

See notes to Mile 112.1 for Shelby's involvement in surveying a new road between Fort Frederick and Fort Cumberland in 1757 (later re-routed by Thos. Cresap.)

Evan Shelby was named as one of the managers in the 1762 plan to clear the Potomac, with Col. George Mercer and Col. Thomas Prather, treasurers; managers included Thomas Cresap, Jonathan Hagar, David Ross, Evan Shelby, and John, Jacob, and Abraham Hite.

- *Maryland Gazette*, February 11, 1762.

Shelby's assistance in taking the surveyors to the summit of North Mountain is described in the entries for October 25, 26, and 27, 1765, *The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, Page 115.

Mile 110.4 – Green Spring Furnace

There are widely differing accounts of the relationship between Jacques and Thomas Johnson, and the dates of operation for the first Green Spring Furnace. For the most part, I have relied on the most thoroughly documented source, *Iron Industry of Western Maryland*, Michael D. Thompson, pages 61 and 67-79.

It is sometimes stated that Lancelot Jacques settled on the lands at Green Spring Run in 1765, 1766, or 1768-1770, but I have seen no evidence to support this assertion. Jacques' correspondence with George Washington, directly and through third parties, suggests that he was still very much in residence at Annapolis during this period. Given his prominence in Annapolis and his age at the time, one must question what would have motivated him to move to the recently-opened frontier. What is more certain is that he soon turned the furnace operation over to his nephew, Denton Jacques.

“It is confusing that the family re-used the name Lancelot in every generation, but when a name like Lancelot runs in the family, who can blame them?”

- Louis Berger Group, *Through the Great Valley and into the Mountains Beyond* (Part 2 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”), page 111.

For Thomas Johnson's association with Lancelot and Denton Jacques, see Delaplaine, *Life of Thomas Johnson*:

- construction of State House in Annapolis, page 44.
- patent for 15,000 acres at Indian Springs signed April 11, 1768, page 67.
- efforts to improve Potomac navigation in 1770 and 1774, pages 71 and 77.
- Green Spring furnace ceded to Lancelot and nephew Denton Jacques prior to Revolutionary War, page 351.

Some have suggested that Thomas Johnson communicated with George Washington as early as 1762 on Potomac navigation. This apparently arises from the assumption that Washington's letter “to a participant in the Potomac River enterprise” was addressed to Johnson. As the editors of the *Papers of George Washington* note (Volume 7, pages 175-178), it is more likely that this letter was addressed to someone who was already

active on the upper Potomac; Thomas Johnson had just bought his first properties in Frederick County and would not move there until later.

Also see Thomas Johnson to George Washington, June 18, 1770, *Papers of George Washington*, pages 349-353. The opening to this letter strongly suggests that it was his initial contact with Washington concerning Potomac navigation.

Also see Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, pages 1294-1295. Scharf seems to be responsible for the claim that Lancelot Jacques moved to Green Spring Run (from Annapolis), and for the claim that the first buildings on the Green Spring property were erected circa 1750.

The Maryland Historical Trust has a copy of a worksheet prepared in 1967 to nominate a “Lancelot Jacques house” for the National Register of Historic Places. No further information is given as to whether Lancelot Jacques built or resided at the house. [It's possible that the Jacques in question was Lancelot Jacques, Jr., who appears in Thompson's discussion—the relationship of the junior Jacques to the original Jacques is uncertain, since the Lancelot Jacques of Annapolis is said to have been childless.]

Historical marker at intersection of McCoys Ferry Road and Big Pool Road (Route 56): “A French Huguenot who in partnership with Thomas Johnson in 1768 built “Green Spring Furnace.” He and Johnson dissolved partnership in 1776 when Johnson became first governor of Maryland. Jacques' house built about 1766.”

Singewald, *Iron Ores of Maryland*, gives 1770-1775 as the dates for operation of the first Green Spring Furnace, page 143. [The Green Spring Furnaces are also discussed by Stanley K. Dickinson in *A Celebration of Iron*, pages 65-69, largely excerpted from Singewald's description.]

Mile 112.1 – Fort Frederick

“Fort Frederick State Park,” National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, completed January 1, 1973 by Charles W. Snell, Survey Historian, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service.

☞ Snell states that as many as 1,000 prisoners were housed at Fort Frederick during the Revolutionary War, which seems quite high relative to its original capacity of 400, especially considering the ongoing problems of supply and the need for additional guards. Only secondary sources are cited; the highest numbers I have found in the Maryland records is 400 prisoners, with another 200 contemplated.

Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, pages 1295-1298 and 1327-1328.

§ Construction of Fort Frederick

There are scattered references to deaths around Fort Frederick during or just after its construction; e.g., “James Long’s son and another man killed at a quarry near Ft. Frederick,” June 9, 1757, and “four men killed near Baker’s, driving wagon to Fort Frederick,” July 1757.

Resolution of the House of Delegates, March 3, 1756:

“That there be a Fort constructed and four Block-Houses on the Western Frontier of this Province.

That 200 Men be employed to Garrison the Fort and Block-Houses.

That the 200 Men, to Garrison the Fort and Block-Houses, be drafted, if necessary, out of the respective Companies of the Militia in this Province...

That the Sum of £10 be paid to the Inhabitants of this Province, and our Indian Allies, for the Scalp of every Enemy Indian, or for any Indian Prisoner, brought and legally proved before some Magistrate of this Province...”

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1755-1756, Maryland State Archives, Volume 52, page 316. [Also see Act of March 22, 1756, page 487.]

Governor Sharpe to Lord Calvert, comments on the loss of Fort Granville in Pennsylvania, August 21, 1756:

“...as I apprehended that the French would e’er long teach their Indian Allies to approach & set fire to our Stoccardo or Wooden Forts I thought proper o build Fort Frederick of Stone, which Step I beleive even our Assembly will now approve of tho I hear some of them sometime since intimated to their Constituents that a Stoccardo would have been sufficient & that to build a Fort with Stone would put the Country to a great & unnecessary Expence...

Our Barracks are made for the Reception & Accomodation of 200 Men but on Occasion there will be room for twice that number...

Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757, Maryland State Archives, Volume 6, page 466.

House of Delegates to Governor Sharpe, September 24, 1756:

“As we find by Examination of the Accounts of the Agents...that a very considerable Part of the Eleven Thousand Pounds, by that Act appropriated to the Building and Erecting One Fort, and any Number, not exceeding Four Block-Houses, on the Western Frontiers of this Province, &c. has been already expended; and as we understand your Excellency has been pleased to undertake the Direction of the Building and Constructing thereof, we humbly request you will be pleased to inform us in what Forwardness that Fort and those Block-Houses are, and what are the Dimensions of them...”

Maryland State Archives, Volume 52, pages 610-611.

House of Delegates to Governor Sharpe, December 15, 1757:

Tho' we did last Spring, in Expectation that his Majesty's Forces would act offensively to the Westward, increase the Number of Troops in the Pay of this Province to Five Hundred, in order that when upon any Emergency his Majesty's Commander in Chief, or Person properly authorized, should judge it expedient to march any Part of the said Five Hundred Men from the Frontier of this Province, he should command them all, except so many as the Governor or Commander in Chief of this Province for the Time being, should judge necessary for the more immediate Defence and Protection of the Frontier Inhabitants thereof, which were to be left at Fort Frederick, and were to Range as by that Act is directed; yet those Troops being chiefly made use of for Garrisoning Fort Cumberland, where they could be of very little if any Service to our Frontier Inhabitants, we did, in our Bill sent to the Upper House this Session, make Provision for supporting only Three Hundred Men (thinking that Number full enough) to be stationed at Fort Frederick, and to act as Rangers for the immediate Defence and Security of our Frontier Inhabitants, hoping their Conduct for the future might be better than it had been, and that they might do the Service destined them by that Bill; and we hope we have Power so to do.”

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1757-1758, Maryland State Archives, Volume 55, pages 357-358.

House of Delegates to Governor Sharpe, December 15, 1757:

“Near the Sum of £6000 has been expended in purchasing the Ground belonging to and constructing Fort Frederick; and tho' we have not any exact Information what Sum may still be wanting to compleat it, (if ever it shall be thought proper to be done) yet we are afraid the Sum requisite for that Purpose, must be considerable, and we are apprehensive that Fort is so large, that in Case of an Attack, it cannot be defended without a Number of Men larger than this Province can support, purely to maintain a Fortification.”

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1757-1758

Maryland State Archives, Volume 55, page 359.

Also see:

- House of Delegates to Gov. Sharpe, September 24, 1756, Volume 52, page 610.
- Gov. Sharpe to Lower House, September 25, 1756, Volume 52, page 615.

§ Conference with Wahachey (Wahawtehew, Warhatchie, Wauhatchee)

Reports on conference with Wahachey, and Shelby's ranging from Fort Frederick with a party of 62 Cherokee, see *Maryland Gazette* of May 19, 1757.

On April 12, 1757, Dinwiddie wrote to Col. Clement Read, commiserating with him about the “rude and villainous” behavior of Wahawtehew's party, see *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, Vol. 2, page 609.

On April 26, 1757, George Mercer wrote to Washington about Wauhatchee's request to have the Governor come speak to him. *Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series 4*, pages 142-143.

On April 29, 1757, Wahachey sent a message to the Governor of Maryland upon his arrival at Fort Frederick. Sharpe's emissary, Ross, met with him at Fort Frederick on May 19. ‘*Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1753-1761*, Vol. 31, pages 193-202.

[Also appears in Vol. 6, *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757*, pages 557-562.]

Shortly after the Cherokee left Fort Frederick, Washington reported that “a party of Cherokees under Warhatchie” were back at Fort Loudoun, still carrying 4 scalps and 2 prisoners, and told Dinwiddie, “in short, they are the most insolent, most avaricious, and most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with.” GW to Robert Dinwiddie, May 24, 1757.

The complex and confusing itinerary of Wahachey’s group is detailed in the *Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series 4*:

- on June 7, 1757, Washington wrote out instructions to Sgt. John D. Wilper, concerning the escort for “Warhatchie” to the North Carolina border. Wilper submitted an account of expenses for this mission, dated June 9-24. Pages 186-187.
- on June 10, Washington wrote to Dinwiddie, complaining about the competition between the colonies for assistance from the Indians, and reporting that a portion of Wahachey’s party had gone to Pennsylvania. Page 192.
- the editorial notes to this letter clarify that it was George Croghan who sent an invitation for Wahachey to come to Pennsylvania. This letter was received around June 5, and on June 8, 40 warriors left for Pennsylvania, while 13 warriors led by Youghtanno departed for the south (ostensibly with Wilper?). Wahachey evidently remained at Fort Loudoun until the return of his men from Pennsylvania (empty-handed) on June 13, on the next day, he went to see Edmond Atkin, “to make his peace with the Indian Agent before returning home.” Page 196.
- the editorial notes to John Stanwix’s letter to GW, June 18, 1757, further explain that Croghan had come to Fort Loudoun on June 13, and after news came of a possible French advance on Fort Cumberland, a party of Cherokee accompanied the Pennsylvanians from Fort Loudoun

(Virginia) back to Fort Loudoun Pennsylvania. According to the editorial notes, this party of 55 Cherokee were “drawn probably from those who had gone out with Smith and Andrew Lewis at the end of April,” if so, they were not among those who accompanied Wahachey to Fort Frederick. (However, it seems possible that they were among Wahachey’s original group.) Pages 228-229.

In contrast, Washington wrote approvingly to Gov. Dinwiddie concerning Captain Tom of the Nottoways, King Hiegler of the Catawbias, and another Catawba warrior, May 29, 1757.

§ Road from Fort Frederick to Cumberland

Governor Sharpe wrote to St. Clair on March, 29, 1758.

Responding to Governor Sharpe's request, Evan Shelby reported on June 25, 1758 that a road could be made to Fort Cumberland that would be less than 60 miles long.

Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Volume 2, 1757-1761
Maryland State Archives, Vol. 9, page 212-213.

For further discussion of the prospective road, see ensuing correspondence from Governor Sharpe, Sir John St. Clair, and Henry Bouquet, Vol. 9, pages 213-230.

Governor Sharpe to Lord Calvert, lamenting the assembly's failure to provide enough troops for him to open the road to Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland, and advantages of same, July 10, 1758, *Maryland State Archives, Volume 9, pages 230-231.*

For General Forbes' reaction to Sir John St. Clair's recommendation to "open the road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland," rather than developing the Pennsylvania route that he had earlier advocated, see Forbes to Bouquet, July 23, 1758, *Papers of Henry Bouquet, pages 264-266.*

§ Moses Rawlings & Fort Frederick during the Revolutionary War

The most detailed account of Rawling's career is found in "Unit history of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (1776–1781): Insights from the service record of Capt. Adamson Tannehill," *Military Collector & Historian* 58, no. 3, Tucker F. Hentz, 2007; also available online from the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, E259 .H52 2007.

<http://www.vahistorical.org/research/tann.pdf>

- In letters dated January 14 and February 6, 1777 to Joshua Loring, the British commissary of prisoners, George Washington requested that Moses Rawlings and Otho Holland Williams be sent out as soon as an officer of equal rank was sent in.
- According to Hentz, "Unit History" Rawlings was exchanged in January, 1778, and encouraged to recruit soldiers to bring the regiment up to full strength (pages 30-31). [Oddly, the Maryland State Archives, Vol. 16, records a letter dated January 1, 1778 from Joseph Nourse of the War Board stating that Rawlings had already provided an account of the condition of Fort Frederick.]

In the spring of 1779, Moses Rawlings was ordered to take "all of his men fit for duty" and proceed to Fort Pitt, where they were to place themselves under Colonel Brodhead's command. (Governor Johnson of Maryland was directed to provide militia to take the place of Rawlings' men while they were gone.) Rawlings resigned his command of the regiment on June 2, 1779. Rawlings explained his resignation in a memorial to Congress, November 28, 1785.

From the Council of Maryland's message to to James Wiley (commissioned as captain of Frederick County militia), dated October 4th, 1779, it appears that Moses Rawlings was not formally appointed commandant

at Fort Frederick by the Board of War until September 27, 1779.
Maryland State Archives, Vol. 21, page 546.

Moses Rawlings wrote to Governor Lee on November 21, 1781, proposing that “all of the prisoners” be held at the town of Frederick, stating that this would be of “Infinite less expense.” I have not found a reply to this recommendation, but since the Board of War and the Council of Maryland relied heavily on the initiative of local leaders such as Rawlings to make logistical arrangements and procure supplies for the prisoners, it is unlikely that they would have objected to Rawlings’ recommendation.
Maryland State Archives, Volume 47, page 553.

§ Fort Frederick & German prisoners...

For the order to remove the Convention prisoners to Fort Frederick, see Jefferson to James Wood, October 26, 1780, and the Warrant for Impressing Supplies, same date.

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 4, edited by Julian P. Boyd, et al, Princeton University Press, 1951, pages 72-76.

After Jefferson was informed that there was not enough room at the barracks at Fort Frederick, he proposed to march the prisoners “in two divisions, the British first and the Germans next,” with the Germans not proceeding until “barracks are provided.”

Council of Maryland to Moses Rawlings, circa November 10, 1780, Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, page 350.

The further peregrinations of the Convention prisoners and other German prisoners have been documented in detail in several studies:

- Lewis N. Barton, “The Revolutionary Prisoners of War in Winchester and Frederick County,” *Men and Events of the Revolution in Winchester and Frederick County Virginia*, Volume IX, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society Press, Winchester, VA, 1975, pages 39-43.
- *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army*, William M. Dabney, The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1954, pages 69-78.
- *The Winchester Hessian Barracks*, Lion G. Miles, *Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society Journal*, Vol. III, 1988, pages 32-41.

The consensus from these three studies is:

- The British prisoners were moved first to Winchester, and did not reach Frederick, Maryland until December, 1780.
- The German prisoners were moved from Charlottesville to Winchester and Warm Springs in March 1781 (Barton identifies Warm Springs as Berkeley Springs).

- In June 1781, the German prisoners were relocated to Shepherdstown, where they stayed for three months.

The records of the Council of Maryland provide some useful details on Fort Frederick in 1781-1782:

- Colonel James Wood, the superintendent of the Convention prisoners, reported on May 28, 1781 that the British “non Commissioned and Privates” had been sent to Fort Frederick.

- On November 21, 1781, Moses Rawlings proposed that it would be easier to keep all of the prisoners at Frederick (rather than keeping some at Fort Frederick). This was roughly a month after Cornwallis’ surrender at Yorktown, and suggests that none of the 594 “Light Infantry” made it to Fort Frederick as intended in George Washington’s instructions to the Commissary of Prisoners on October 25, 1781. [See note to Washington’s General Orders of October 24, 1781; *Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor; George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress.]

- The only subsequent entry that I have found for Fort Frederick is May 17, 1782, authorizing payment to “Lieut William Webb & his Company of Militia Guarding British Prisoners at Fort Frederick,” number of prisoners and time period not specified.

Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1781, Maryland State Archives, Volume 47, pages 256-257 and 253, Volume 48, page 167.

Washington County historian Allan Powell discussed the possibility of German prisoners at Fort Frederick in his article “Were Hessian prisoners housed at Fort Frederick?” published in *The Herald Mail* (Hagerstown, Maryland), May 14, 2010. Powell notes the absence of any clear evidence of German prisoners quartered at Fort Frederick, in particular:

- the absence of any references to “German” or “Hessian” prisoners in the Moses Rawlings papers that Powell reviewed at the Maryland Historical Society.

- the absence of any references in the many diaries of German prisoners that have been published.

- numerous references in local sources to British prisoners who worked on farms, but only two references to German prisoners (place of imprisonment not mentioned).

In an article on German prisoners in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Lucy Leigh Bowles states that the “first division” of 280 prisoners arrived at Fort Frederick in January 1780, possibly referring to British prisoners transferred from the Frederick barracks. However, based on the information from the Maryland State Archives (James Woods letter to Governor Thomas Lee, May 28, 1781, see below), it appears that the British prisoners did not arrive at Fort Frederick until five months later.

Ms. Bowles adds that 800 “German Convention” prisoners were “sent” to Fort Frederick in December 1780, citing the Rawlings MSS collection at the Maryland Historical Society. However, there is a difference in the records between the intention to “send” prisoners and their actual arrival—as shown above, Jefferson’s plans changed and the German prisoners were never sent to the fort.

- Lucy Leigh Bowles, “German Prisoners in the American Revolution,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1945, see page 190.

§ Later ownership of Fort Frederick

“Fort Frederick,” W. McCullough Brown, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, June 1923.

**Maryland Council
Communications on
Prisoners at Fort Frederick**

Council to Board of War,
December 20, 1777:

“Your Letter was laid before the Assembly immediately on the Receipt of it, on which they have come to the inclosed Resolution. The Fort and Barracks are much out of Repair and will require a good Deal of Work to put them in proper Order to receive Prisoners, but no Time shall be lost. The Country round about Fort Frederick is very thinly settled, which will make a pretty strong Guard the more necessary.”

Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, January 1-March 20, 1777, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 16, page 439.

Joseph Nourse [War Office] to Governor Johnson of Maryland, January 1, 1778:

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Letter enclosing an Order for the repairing of Fort Frederick, which were laid before the Board of War, who were happy to find that the Hon. House of Delegates, had given Direction for the Barracks to be put in order for the reception of the Prisoners of War. Previous to the receipt of your Excellency's Letter, they received an account of the state of the Fort from Colonel Rawlings... the Colonel has been informed, his offer of Service shou'd be laid before your Ex^y & the Council...”
Maryland State Archives, Vol. 16, page 453.

Council to D. Hughes, March 7, 1778:

“By the inclosed Resolution of Congress, of the 18th of last Month, you'll see we are desired to embody a sufficient Number of Militia for guarding the Prisoners to be stationed at Fort Frederick and to appoint a Commiss^y to purchase and supply the Militia with Provisions, during their Time of Service at that Post...

We beg you will also advise us who will be the most proper Person to Act as Commissary for the Militia employed as a Guard. Col^o Rawlings, in a Conversation with the Governor, expressed an Inclination to have the supplying Provisions for the Prisoners.

If his Affairs will allow him to act as Commissary for the Militia, and he would be a good Deal on the Spot, we should

incline, all Circumstances equal, to give him a Preference.”

Maryland State Archives, Vol. 16, page 530.

March 27, 1778:

“In Consequence the former Letters from the Board of War, Mr Hughes was urged to get Fort Frederick Ready for the Reception of the British Prisoners with all Dispatch...

Colo Rawlings who is, at present, without any Command in the Army, we have thought a very proper Person to have the Command of the Guard and the Management of the Prisoners, he seems willing to undertake it and set out a few Days ago, from hence with Intention to call at York and discourse with the Board of War on this Subject...”

Maryland State Archives, Vol. 16, page 453.

Council to Board of War, April 15, 1779:

“Immediately on our Receipt of M^r Peters's Letter of the 25th of March we issued Orders to the Lieu^t of Washington County to provide a Guard for the Prisoners at Fort Frederick, we have not since heard from the Lieu^t Col^o Rawlings is of Opinion that, besides the Inconvenience of taking seventy Men from their Farms a Militia Guard if they can be kept together, will not be so attentive as desirable He says that he could in a Day or two, put all the Prisoners out, one or two at a Place, with Men who have taken the Oath of Allegiance and who he thinks, might be depended upon and that rather than be subject to take the Chance of being on Guard, they would receive them to work on their Farms on the terms of giving Security in a reasonable Sum for producing the Prisoners whenever called on. The great Loss to the Individuals and the Public in having our Farmers taken from Home for six or eight Weeks in the summer Season, induced us to empower the Lieutenant to inlist a Guard on a pretty high Bounty, but we doubt the Success of it, and much wish that Col^o Rawlings's Plan was adopted; besides the Advantages already hinted, it would save the Consumption of a great Deal of Public Provision, which cannot be procured at Fort Frederick without great Difficulty and Expen^{ce}.”

Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778 through October 26, 1779, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 21, page 348, also see letter to Daniel Hughes, page 363.

Council to James Wiley (commissioned as captain of Frederick County militia), dated October 4th, 1779:

“We have just received a Letter from the War Office dated the 27th of last Month, in which we are informed the Board of War, have desired Colo Moses Rawlings to take the charge and Government of the Prisoners sending to Fort Frederick.

We are very glad that a Gentleman so capable of managing the Prisoners is appointed to the Care and Government of them and we request you will concur, as we have no Doubt you will, with Colo Rawlings to promote the End of his Appointment by attending to his Directions from Time to Time...”

Maryland State Archives, Volume 21, page 546.

Council to Charles Greenbury Griffith, Lieutenant of Montgomery County, undated, probably early February 1780:

“We are informed by Col^o Rawlings, that the Company you ordered to Fort Frederick, as a Guard to Prisoners, marched as far as Frederick Town on their way, where he met them, and having Reason to believe that the Prisoners would not arrive at Fort Frederick, during the Term of their Service, he permitted them to return.”

Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1779-1780, Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, page 79.

Council to Moses Rawlings, undated, but follows November 4, 1780:

“Sir Governor Jefferson has informed us that the Executive of Virginia have given Orders for the Removal of the Convention Troops from that State, to Fort Frederick to prevent an Attempt being made by the Enemy to rescue them out of their Hands.”

Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, page 350.

Council to Moses Rawlings, undated, but recorded November 10, 1780:

“Sir Since our Letter of the 6th Ins^t by Cap^t Jacob we have received one from Governor Jefferson, of the 3^d informing us that he had given Directions for the March of the Convention Troops, in two Divisions, the first to consist of British, amounting to about 804 Rank & File, the second consists wholly of Germans, in Number, the Governor Supposes, about 1503 including Officers. The first Division must have been some Time in its

March and of Course may shortly be expected at Fort Frederick, the second certainly will not follow immediately and probably may remain at their present Barracks a considerable Length of Time; As the Motives for removing the former do not, at present, operate so powerfully for removing the Latter. The Guard must be considerably augmented and for that Purpose, you have a Letter for the Lieu^t of Washington. We exhort you to exert yourself to the utmost, in making the necessary Preparations for the Reception and safe keeping of the Prisoners committed to your Charge and for subsisting them, as well as the Guard under your Command. If the Barracks should not be sufficiently large, or in proper Repair, you are desired to make the necessary Additions or Repairs either by Huts thatched, or thatching the Roofs of the present Buildings: In Short we rely fully upon your Zeal, Activity and Judgment on this and every other Occasion...”

Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, page 350.

Tim Pickering, War Office, to Governor Johnson, November 11, 1780:

“Col^o Rawlings informed us that the militia guard at fort Frederick being very disorderly (probably from having nothing to do) he had discharged them. Nevertheless, as it will be very inconvenient to supply so great a number of prisoners in this place with wood and provisions & from the continual accessions by captures at Sea very difficult to secure them, we are still of opinion that at least four hundred should be sent to fort Frederick. We accordingly wrote to Col^o Rawlings, desiring him to take the necessary measures for procuring another guard, either by inlistment for a year, or from the militia, giving us timely notice when he judges they may be ready, that we may send on the prisoners in Season. We beg leave once more to ask your Excellency's interposition to furnish the guard now requested.

Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, page 364-365.

Colonel Rawlings to Governor Lee, December 3, 1780:

Sir I have the Hon^r to Inform your Excellency that the Board of War Intends sending to this Garrison four Hundred Prisoners, and they begg I would Solicit y^r Excellency for a Guard of Militia, but as I dont expect the Prisoners wil

larrive before the first of January it will be needless to have them here sooner. Y^r Ex^{ty} will please order up a Comp^y at that time as I have wrote to the Board that I shall then be ready to receive the Prisoners. I am very Certain the Militia will never answer this purpose, for they will not Subject themselves to such Close duty as will be necessary to prevent the prisoners from getting away which would mortify me very much to see one of them make their escape from us, altho they do it dayly, owing to our great Humanity, which in my opinion is misplaced. I would begg leave to recommend raising a Standing Guard for this purpose which I think might be done with proper encouragement, that is 200 Dollars from the State, Congress is willing to allow Cloathing & Cont^l pay...” Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, pages 377.

Moses Rawlings to Governor Lee, December 28, 1780:
“Sir I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that M^r Reed has just return'd from Phila. by whom the Board of war informs me that the prisoners will be up in a few days, and as I have heard Nothing from your Excel^y respecting the Guard, I begin to grow very uneasy for fear they should arrive before I am Provided with a guard to receive them...” Maryland State Archives, Volume 43, pages 392.

Moses Rawlings to Governor Lee, October 31, 1780:
“Sir I have the honour to Inform your Excellency that I have at this time about 400 prisoners, in this Garrison, and Expect 200 more Daily, so that with the guard the Issues will Exceed 600 Rations p^r Day...” *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1780-1781*, Volume 45, page 168.

Council of Maryland to James Wood (superintendent of the Convention prisoners in Winchester), April 3, 1781:
“By the Resolution of Congress those [Convention] Troops were positively to be removed into Pennsylvania and we gave Directions accordingly for a Guard to escort them, we expected they were out of this State agreeable to that resolution, it is therefore disagreeable and distressing to see that order

rescinded and for us to be called on anew to secure and provide for them, expressing contrary to the Inclination and Directions of our Assembly. However from the Exigency of the Case, we have determined that the Convention Troops be sent under your Directions with such an Escort as may be necessary to Fort Frederick, and that that Place be put in the best Condition in every Shape for their reception. Col. Rawlings will give his Attention to the Completion of these or any orders you may find necessary to answer the Purposes intended. We expect that the walls of Fort Frederick are perfect and the Gates that the Houses and Barracks are also in Repair if they are not they must be made so with every other Conveniency, and there cannot be a better opportunity to effect it.” Maryland State Archives, Volume 45, pages 374-375.

James Wood, Frederick Town, to Governor Thomas Lee, May 28, 1781:
“The British non Commissioned and Privates have been sent to Fort Frederick Agreeable to your Directions.... Col^o Rawlings seems by his Letter to me to have mistaken my Intentions he Conceives the Troops to be Delivered to him as Commissary of Prisoners, my Ideas were for him to receive them as Commanding Officer of the Guard... I find that a Great number of those Troops are Concealed by the Inhabitants, who are greatly offended when I send Guards for them, and go so far as to threaten bringing suits... *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1781* Volume 47, Pages 256-257

Moses Rawlings, in Frederick Town, to Governor Thomas Lee, November 21, 1780:
“...Col^o Thomas and myself is of the opinion that it will be much best to keep the whole of the Prisoners at this Post [Frederick, rather than Fort Frederick], as it will be of Infinite less expence to the State and will take such a Number less of the Militia to Guard them... 'Tis almost as convenient to send the provisions from Washington County to this Place as to send it to Fort Frederick as our principal Mills are on Antieatem.” Maryland State Archives, Volume 47, page 553.

Mile 116.1 – Forge at Licking Creek

Operation of forge by Denton Jacques and sale to George Chambers on May 14, 1799 is documented by Thompson in *Iron Industry of Western Maryland*, pages 70 and 72. [Thompson cites the Washington County Land Record Book, Volumes H, I, L, and M, for a series of sales by Denton Jacques from 1793 to 1799.]

According to Singewald, *Iron Ores of Maryland*, page 143, the forge at Licking Creek was built by James Johnson and sold to Chambers when the [Green Spring?] furnace stopped operating. I have followed Thompson's version, as Singewald provides no citations and his timeframe seems to be based on the assumption that the first Green Spring furnace ceased operation in 1775.

Single-Span Aqueducts, Harlan D. Unrau, pages 2-29:

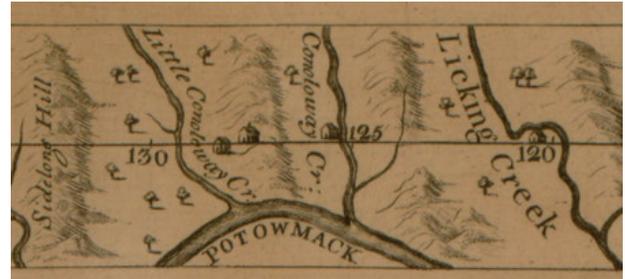
- final coating of "American Cement" provided by Thomas Coyle, Baltimore, September 1838, page 23.
- the work on Licking Creek aqueduct appears to have been completed some time in the summer or fall of 1838, subject to determination of final payments, pages 23-28.
- "Work along the entire Hancock level was finally completed on April 1, 1839, and the hands laid off. By April 15, water had been admitted into the recently completed levels of the canal between Dam Nos. 5 and 6, with 3 1/2 feet of water in the Hancock level." Page 28.
- 90-foot span, page 28.

Mile 122.9 – Bowles House

Location of Bowles Mill identified in "Introduction to the Mills of Washington County," John W. McGrain of Towson, Maryland.

IV. The Endless Mountains

Mile 124.5 – Hancock



Detail showing north bend of the Potomac River in proximity to Mason Dixon Line, from "A plan of the west line or parallel of latitude, which is the boundary between the provinces of Maryland and Pensylvania," Charles Mason, printed by Robert Kennedy, Philadelphia, 1768. Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division, G3841.F7 1768 .M3.



House of "Cha. Poke" shown next to the mouth of Little Tonoloway Creek on the Potomac, from "A Plan of the upper part of the Patomack River called Cohongrooto Survey'd in the year 1736," Benjamin Winslow's map based on the Fairfax survey of the upper Potomac. Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division.

Louis Berger Group, *River and Mountain, War and Peace* (part 3 of the C&O NHP "Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study").

- Charles Polk, an Indian trader noted at Conestoga (1724-1726), settled at the mouth of the Little Tonoloway (now Hancock) by 1734; noted on Winslow's

1737 map (spelled Poke or Polke?); pages 47-50.

“Charles Poake” as ancestor of President James Polk (his great-great-grandnephew), *A Brief History of Hancock, Maryland*, Hancock Historical Society, citing *Charles Polke, The Indian Trader of the Potomac*, John S. Kester, Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 90, 1995.

“Some Memoirs of the Polke, Piety, McCoy, McQuaid, and Mathes Families,” James Polk, *Indiana magazine of history*, Indiana University Department of History, Bloomington, Indiana, Volume 10, 1914:

- Charles Polk was the grandson of Robert Bruce Polk and Magdalene Tasker Polk, immigrants from Ireland to Maryland in 1672; had a “store” on the north bend of the Potomac in Frederick County, Maryland; six children; pages 83 and 85.
- Charles Polk’s brother, William Polk, was the father of Col. Thomas Polk, who married Evan Shelby’s sister, page 85.
- Charles Polk had a son, Col. Charles Polke, Sr., who moved to Kentucky in 1780 and became known as an Indian trader there; family captured by Indians in 1782; locates family at Fort Detroit and is able to secure their release in 1783 through the British commander, General de Peyster, and with the help of Simon Girty; died in 1823 in Indiana; pages 87-90.

Report of Indian depredations at the Tonoloways, and settlers taking refuge at Fort Stoddert and Fort Coombes, *Maryland Gazette*, March 11, 1756.

Hancock becomes transfer point between B&O Railroad and stagecoach lines to Wheeling:

- Dilts, *The Great Road*, page 267.
- connection with B&O, circa 1842; National Road Stage Company had three westbound stages departing Hancock every day; *Historic Furnishings Report, Mount Washington Tavern–Fort Necessity National Battlefield*, John Demer, Staff

Curator, Media Services
Harpers Ferry Center National Park Service, 2005, pages 17, 19, and 20.

Road bridges at Hancock:

- “The Hancock Bridges,” W.C. Hopkins, Bridge Engineer, Maryland State Roads Commission, reprinted in Emily Leatherman, Hancock, pages 90-91. [Also note photos of earlier bridge elsewhere in this volume.]
- discussion of use of Wichert truss for 1938-1939 bridge; maps; “US 522 over Potomac River, CSX Railroad, and C&O Canal,” Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, WA-VI-053, report prepared by Caroline Hall, P.A.C. Spero & Co., 1998.

“161 W. Main Street,” WA-Hancock-072, Maryland Historical Trust, State Historic Sites Inventory Form, Paula S. Reed, Architectural Historian, and Edie Wallace, Research Assistant, October 11, 2000.

Fires of 1908 and 1923; Masonic Lodge, Knights of Pythias, Red Men, Patriotic Sons of America; see Emily Leatherman, Hancock, pages 34-35 and 37.

Mile 127.4–Roundtop Cement Mill



Devil's Eyebrow. "Symmetrical anticline of Bloomsburg Red Sandstone Member of the Wills Creek Shale in the bank of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal east of the old cement works at Roundtop." Plate 17, U.S. Geological Survey Folio 179. See William Davies, *Geology and Engineering Structures*, page 404, for description of the outcrop.

Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*:

- Discovery of hydraulic character of the "argillo-magnesian limestone" at Round Top, page 169.
- according to Unrau, the canal company gave Shafer permission to build a mill on the berm side of the canal, three miles above Hancock, page 169.
- Unrau cites the *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, for the Canal Company's arrangements with Shafer: E, 421; E, 483–485; E, 488.

Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*, published in 1882, provides some details of the cement mill operation, including the transfer of barrels of cement across the Potomac using a cable, and Charles Henderson's ownership of the white sand glass mine, *History of Western Maryland*, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, pages 1256-1257.

Description and history of "Round Top Mill," including use of cement for Washington Monument, U.S. Capitol, Cabin John aqueduct, Hahn and Kemp, *Cement Mills*, pages 76-79.

Comparison of cements

Quincy Adams Gillmore, *Practical Treatise on Lime, Hydraulic Cements and Mortars*, 1883.

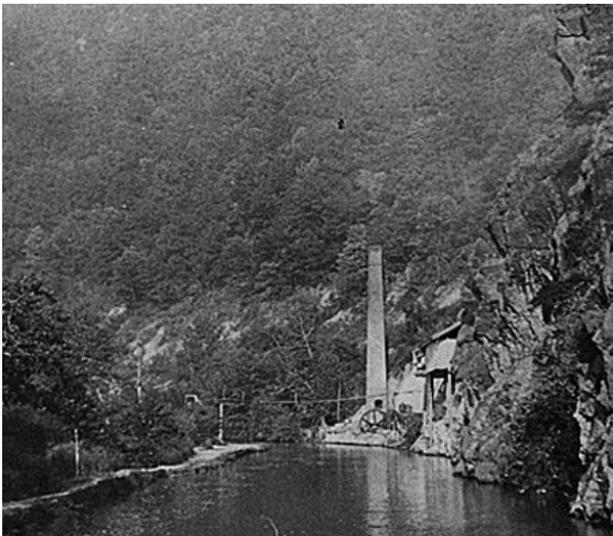
- Analysis of five samples: "At high temperatures, they all begin to harden under water with nearly equal promptness, requiring less than five minutes to bear the light testing wire ; while at two degrees above the freezing point, the James and Potomac River cements set in periods varying from twenty-seven to thirty-eight minutes, while the Rosendale brands require seventy-two and eighty-four minutes respectively. The latter are therefore more sensitive to a variation of temperature than the former." Page 84.
- "Whether anthracite or bituminous coal be used for burning, the quantity requisite and proper to be used will depend not only upon its kind and quality, but upon the character and composition of the cement stone, the form and locality of the kiln, and the skill of the burner. In the works situated on the Potomac River, at Shepherdstown, Hancock, and Cumberland respectively, the Cumberland semi-bituminous coal is used for burning ; and, according to the opinion of Chas. H. Locher, Esq., proprietor of the James River Cement Works, at Balcony Falls, Virginia, is superior to the bituminous coal used by him, obtained near Richmond, Virginia." Page 127.
- "...the Rosendale cements, which require 25 to 30 minutes to set at 65 F., will bear reworking much better than those James and Potomac River cements, which harden in five or six minutes."

The use of the "Setter" icon is mentioned in the recollections of Austin Mater, who worked at the plant in 1908, Hahn, *Towpath Guide*, page 178.

§ Relocation of cement mill to berm side of canal



Detail of a photograph of the Roundtop Cement Mill at its original location between the canal and the river, probably taken in the 1880s or 1890s. National Park Service, NPS File 1445; full image viewable on-line at the Western Maryland Regional Library, (<http://www.whilbr.org>)



Detail of photograph attributed to Joel L. Griffith of the Shawnee Canoe Club and dated 1904. This have been taken during the reconstruction of the mill on the berm side of the canal. National Park Service, NPS File 1441 and on-line at WHILBR (<http://www.whilbr.org>)



Detail of a photograph of the cement mill at its new location, undated. NPS File 1443 and at WHILBR (<http://www.whilbr.org>)



Detail of a postcard showing the Roundtop Cement Mill on the berm side of the canal. National Park Service, NPS file 1444 (Hahn and Kemp note that the postcard was postmarked 1907.)

Origins of cement production at Hancock, from Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 168-169:

- James Hook, who was involved with the Tuscarora and Potomac (Shepherdstown) cement mills, built a cement mill across the river from Hancock in the spring or summer of 1835; died in 1837.
- in 1837, in the course of excavations for the canal, it was discovered that the outcroppings of “argillo-magnesian limestone” at Roundtop were suitable for use as hydraulic cement.
- canal company arranged for Shafer to take over Hook’s contract; Shafer used Hook’s Mill and to produce the cement from the limestone that was mined at Roundtop.

- in May 1838, as part of a new contract for cement, the canal company authorized Shafer to build a new mill on the canal; agreed to pay for the construction of the mill's foundation, and to rent the mill and the necessary water power for its operation to him for a period of 10 years.
- when construction resumed on a large scale in 1847, company let a new contract to Shafer for cement.
- Shafer continued in the business until Bridges and Henderson bought it in 1863.

Evidence for initial location of the cement mill between the canal and river and later on the berm side of the canal:

- according to Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 169, the canal company gave Shafer permission in 1838 to build a mill on the berm side of the canal, "three miles above Hancock." This is the only indication of the mill being on the berm side prior to late-era photographs of mill, which were likely taken in the 1900s.

Unrau does not indicate this as a direct quote, so his statement may be based on his presumption that the original mill was erected on the site of the modern-day ruins.

If the mill had been built above the level of the canal, it is hard to see how the canal company would have been able to charge Shafer for use of its water (as it did).

- Hahn and Kemp, *Cement Mills*, include a photograph of the Round Top mill, dated 1872, showing its location between the river and canal.
- Scharf's description of an "overshot wheel," published in 1882, strongly suggests that the mill was positioned below the canal.
- Gillmore's description of the mill (pages 55-56) states that it was located between the canal and river, and "driven by a forty-horse water-power, derived from the discharge of the water of the canal into the river."
- Hahn and Kemp note that when the mill burned in 1897, the bridge connecting it to the lime kilns on the berm was burned as

well, and obstructed canal navigation. (Based on *Shepherdstown Register*, September 23, 1897.)

Based on these facts, it seems probable that the mill was not moved to the berm side of the canal until after the fire of 1897. As noted in the *C&O Canal Companion* text, the mill may have been converted to steam power because the flow of water from the canal was inadequate.

"MARTINSBURG W. VA. - Plans are being considered to the Round Top cement plant at Hancock to be equipped for an power plant," *Electrical World*, Vol. LII, July 4-December 26, 1908, page 1024.

The Western Maryland Railway, Cumberland Extension, HAER MD-175, David A. Vago, with J. Lawrence Lee, Christopher H. Marston, and Justine Christianson, 2010:

- [Page 79] "At Round Top, the railroad served the Round Top Cement Mill, which was wedged between the railroad and the canal. There was a passing siding that began here, where a large apple orchard once provided traffic for the railroad. The grade paralleled a highway west of Cohill, and a number of feeder roads for this highway crossed the track. Except in the case of fill construction, the builders of the railroad did not seem to avoid crossing roads at grade, probably because the automobile was in its infancy at the time of construction and also because of the rural nature of the area. In fact, no automatic warning signal was ever installed at a grade crossing between Hancock and North Branch."

Mile 128 – Sand Glass Mining

Pump house for sand washing belonged to the Round Top Sand Co.; see William Davies, *Geology and Engineering Structures*, page 408.

Robert Bridges owned the Berkeley Sand Company; see Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, footnote on page 169, citing Williams, *A History of Washington County*, Vol. I, 372.

“Charles W. Henderson, of the firm of Bridges and Henderson, owns the land in which the Hancock white-sand mines are located on the West Virginia side of the Potomac, one and a half miles above Hancock, the product of which is used in the manufacture of sand glass. The mines are operated by Speer & Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa.” Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, page 1257.

Mile 130.8 – Leopards Mill

Hahn & Kemp state that George Shafer operated this mill to provide cement to the C&O Canal Co. from 1835-1841, *Cement Mills*, page 79. [As noted in the text of the *C&O Companion*, the mill site was listed in the canal company’s 1857 Rates of Toll.]

William Davies also states that George Shafer used the grist mill to manufacture cement; see *Geology and Engineering Structures*, page 414.

Harlan Unrau furnishes contradictory information on this point (*Historic Resource Study*):

- the canal company bought cement from Leopard when it was not available from Shafer’s and Lynn’s mills; page 170.
- Jacob Leopard sued the Canal Co. in November 1839 for compensation for damages done to his mill by construction of the canal (settled out of court in 1844), raising the possibility that he was also

intermittently operating it as a grist mill (or that Shafer had built his own mill); page 170.

- the canal company had let a contract for cement to Shafer in 1834 [before the discovery of cement at Roundtop]; page 207.

Mile 133.7 – Cacapon River

Trade from the ironworks and mills at Bloomery Gap near the Forks of the Cacapon are described in Guzy, *Navigation on the Upper Potomac River and Its Tributaries*, page 55.

Timber available in the Cacapon Valley: Unrau, page 173.

Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 174: “as the work progressed up the Potomac Valley, the timber products were supplied by mills in the area such as Lewis Wernwag’s mill at Harpers ferry, Jacob Miller’s mill about two-thirds of a mile below Pack Horse Ford, William Naylor’s mill at the junction of the Cacapon and the Potomac and Young’s sawmill at Cumberland.”

Embankment bridges are described in Bearss, *Bridges*, pages 57-74.

Mile 134.5 – Polly Pond

The Western Maryland Railway, Cumberland Extension, HAER MD-175, David A. Vago, with J. Lawrence Lee, Christopher H. Marston, and Justine Christianson, 2010:

- [Page 10] “Since 1980, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park has owned the section of the Cumberland Extension from the eastern abutment of the Polly Pond Bridge, Western Maryland milepost 125.3 located just east of Pearre, Maryland, to North Branch, Maryland, milepost 159.9, for a total length of 34.9 miles.”
- [Page 17] “Just east of the town of Pearre, the line crosses the inlet to Polly Pond on Bridge No. 1253 ... This man-made pond was the result of the C&O Canal Company enlarging the mouth of the creek to create a boat basin. The pond was originally open to the canal, but Western Maryland officials later placed fill across the river-facing side and built the bridge on concrete, winged abutments to allow the pond to drain.”
- [Page 80] “At milepost 125.3, a single-span, I-beam bridge on concrete abutments crossed the entrance to Polly's Pond, located at the mouth of a geographic feature called Long's Hollow. Polly's Pond was a large turning basin for canal boats, fed by a stream coming down Long's Hollow. The railroad approached this crossing from a bench cut on either side, and a fill crossed the mouth of the pond. Construction of the railroad fill negated the pond's usefulness to canal boat operators, who, by the early twentieth century, were not often using it anyway.”

Pearre

The Western Maryland Railway, Cumberland Extension, HAER MD-175, David A. Vago, with J. Lawrence Lee, Christopher H. Marston, and Justine Christianson, 2010:

- [Page 19] “The Potomac River flows eastward, and between Keifer's and Pearre, Maryland, its elevation drops approximately 100' over a straight-line distance of about 11 miles toward the northeast. The river, however, flows through a series of oxbows—the Paw Paw Bends—for a total length of almost 25 miles. This meandering path of the river, caused by rugged terrain, made this section the greatest engineering challenging of the railroad east of Cumberland. The engineers located and designed six major bridges, three tunnels, and significant earthworks to achieve a 14-mile-long alignment with a maximum grade of 0.5 percent...”

- [Page 81] “The railroad reached the village of Pearre at milepost 127. The land here was relatively flat, enough so that the railroad builders gave the canal some breathing room in the vicinity of the depot. The edge of the ballast was about 20 yards from the canal here. Still, the land undulated enough for the railroad to have been built on a shallow fill, complete with an arch culvert to allow a small stream to pass through to the canal from the hollow uphill from the station. Pearre was called Sideling Hill before the WM arrived because of the large northeast-to-southwest ridge upon whose shoulder it rested. This community grew around a lock on the C&O Canal, and included a few houses, a hotel, and a store. Railroad construction there necessitated relocation of the one-room Sideling Hill School, which was later torn down. Some children also attended the Woodmont School and occasionally hopped rides on passing freight trains to get home. The railroad staffed a station for Pearre in front of a passing track that was just short of a mile

long. As was the case with all staffed stations, the Pearre station included a telegraph operator's bay and an order signal for passing trains. Pearre was also home to a section crew, who helped maintain the railroad. Each section had a crew whose responsibility was to maintain track and infrastructure through their sections. Facilities for the section crew included the foreman's house, along with bunk, tool, and chicken houses and other smaller ancillary structures.

Mile 136.6 – Sideling Hill Aqueduct

Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*:

- “Aqueduct No. 8: The cut stone for the arch, the inside of the parapets, the coping, and the water table of the aqueduct were obtained from the limestone quarry in Virginia about one mile from Dam No. 6. The remainder of the stone was procured from several sandstone quarries a short distance across the Potomac on Sideling Hill Mountain.” page 162.

- Aqueduct No. 8 [Sideling Hill Creek Aqueduct]:
Section No. 263
April 1, 1837: Contract let to John Cameron.
April, 1837: Work commenced on aqueduct.
May–June, 1840: Work completed on aqueduct to the point that a final estimate was paid.
November, 1847: Hunter, Harris and Co. let subcontract to Gonder, Brayton and Co.; subcontract assigned to Fraser and Co.
Spring, 1850: Finishing touches put on aqueduct.
Cost: \$39,050.07 (1840 final estimate)
Page 240.

William Davies, *Geology and Engineering Structures*, identifies the stone as Tonoloway Limestone from the quarry at the mouth of the Cacapon, along with other limestone and some Pocono sandstone rubble from Sideling Hill (pages 384-386).

Mile 140 – Little Orleans

George Washington’s crossing at Fifteen Mile Creek is noted in his diary for September 8, 1784:

“Set out about 7 o'clock with the Doctr. (Craik) his Son William,¹ and my Nephew Bushrod Washington;² who were to make the tour with us. About ten I parted with them at 15 Miles Creek, & recrossed the Potomack (having passed it abt. 3 Miles from the Springs before) to a tract of mine on the Virginia side which I find exceedingly rich, & must be very valuable.. After having reviewed this Land I again recrossed the river & getting into the Waggon road pursued my journey to the old Town where I overtook my Company & baggage. Lodged at Colo. Cresaps—abt. 35 Miles this day.”

The notes to the *Diaries of George Washington*, page 14, state that in 1784, the main road to “Fort Cumberland” crossed near the mouth of Fifteen Mile Creek and then ran 19 miles to the Oldtown settlement. (Citing Scharf, Volume 2, page 1328 and Griffith’s map.)

Attacks on German workers at Little Orleans in 1839 and suppression of the disorders, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 135-137.

The Western Maryland Railway, Cumberland Extension, HAER MD-175, David A. Vago, with J. Lawrence Lee, Christopher H. Marston, and Justine Christianson, 2010.

- [Page 21] “Across High Germany Road, a small side track at Little Orleans allowed loading and unloading of boxcars for several small, local customers, most notably the barrel-stave works that built it. A longer track served the Billmeyer Lumber Company. After that operation closed, it was sold to a local resident for the loading of coal hopper cars.”

- [Pages 81-82]“The High Germany Road culvert was located at Little Orleans. This small village was a lumber transshipment point in the pre-Western Maryland era. Orleans Crossroads, on the opposite bank of the river, gave it its name. Little Orleans was also home to a section crew. A small passenger waiting shelter stood here, along with a freight house, pump house, lime and coal storage structures, and a collection of other railroad buildings. The pump house fed a 50,000-gallon wooden tank that supplied water for steam locomotives. A tool house, a bunk house, section foreman's house, and stable supported the local section gang. A grocery store just north of the track served the village. Opened in the 1830s, it originally sat beside the canal and served as a shipping warehouse for area farmers, replete with a second-story jib crane to facilitate the loading of boats. It was relocated in 1905 to its present location when the railroad came through.

§ Fifteen Mile Creek Aqueduct

Unrau, Historic Resources Study, page 240:
 September 29, 1837: Contract let to William Pratt.
 May 23, 1838: Contract relet to Enos Childs.
 September, 1838: Work commenced on aqueduct.
 December 28, 1839: Contract abandoned.
 July 23, 1840: Contract let to George S. Marsh.
 July, 1840: Work recommenced on aqueduct.
 April, 1842: Contract abandoned.
 November, 1847: Hunter, Harris and Co. let a subcontract to Gonder, Brayton and Co.; subcontract to Thomas Bell.
 March–April, 1848: Construction recommenced on aqueduct.
 Summer, 1850: Construction completed on aqueduct.
 Cost: \$28,119.51 (1842 assessment)

Unrau, *Single Arch Aqueducts HSR*:

- Page 48: “On May 1 Assistant Engineer E. H. Randolph reported to Fisk on the status of the work above the Cacapon. During his survey he had met Mr. Star, a partner of Pratt, who told him that Pratt and his family had arrived in Oldtown the previous evening. Star assured the engineer that Pratt would soon commence work on Aqueduct No. 9. Within 3 weeks, Pratt decided not to undertake the work and left for his home in New York. The board declared his contract abandoned in mid-May. After taking up “for consideration the proposals received” for the “construction of sundry works upon the line of the Canal” on May 23, the bid of Enos Childs for Aqueduct No. 9 was accepted.”
- Page 49: dispute over cost of hauling stone from quarry at Sideling Hill on the Virginia side of the river; “During the month of November [1838] Childs began work in earnest on Aqueduct No. 9. He built a cement house near the site of the aqueduct. In order to transport stone from quarries at Sideling Hill in Virginia, Childs built 1 mile of road to connect his aqueduct to the river road.
- as with other contractors, Childs sought increase in payment in early 1839, owing to inflation.

- page 55-56: as the work was not completed by Dec., the company declared the contract abandoned; Fisk explores the possibility of moving stone across the Potomac while it was frozen.
- page 59-60: Marsh resumes work on the aqueduct in place of Childs; Asst. Engineer Byers reports that men of the Western Maryland RR were planning to sell off the stone at the Virginia quarry.
- page 61: Marsh suspends work in mid-April 1842.

Note: Davies states that the arch for the aqueduct was laid in July, 1849—based on other sources, this is probably a typographical error for 1839. (*Geology and Engineering Structures*, page 390.)

Mile 144 – Green Ridge State Forest

John Mash, *The Land of the Living*:

- obituary of Frederick Mertens in *Cumberland Evening Times*, Feb. 12, 1886; pages 192-194.
- demise of Green Ridge Valley Orchard; pages 371-411.
- attempts to continue fruit growers' association; sale of land to Maryland Department of Forestry; pages 413-436.

Champ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*:

- Maryland Department of Forestry acquires Belle Grove in 1931; name of "Belle Grove State Forest" changes to "Green Ridge State Forest" with acquisition of Allegany Orchard Co. land (11,777 acres) and Carpenter Tract in 1932; pages 95-99.

Green Ridge Valley Orchard

Cumberland Times,
October 22, 1913,
pages 1 and 14

"Cleveland Capital in Green Ridge," by F.F. Duncan, Financial Editor of the *Cleveland Leader*.

A back to the soil movement in full swing, a chapter in intensive farming with the city man taking the initiative and the native farmers looking on in wonderment at the scale and daring of it. At the invitation of officials of the Western Maryland Railroad, whose recently completed Connellsville-Cumberland cut-off has opened to Cleveland a new direct export artery to tidewater, the writer last week followed the trail of the Cleveland dollars up the valley of the Youghiogheny, through the mile-long Sand Patch [Savage Mountain?] tunnel under the crown of the Alleghenies, along the courses of the Wills Creel and Potomac River to the foothills of the Appalachians.

There in the terraced slopes of the Green Ridge valley and of White Sulphur basin of Maryland I saw a new Hood River in the making, but upon a scale that promises to outrival either Hood River, Wenatche, or Yakima in extent, and with Cleveland capital occupying no small part in a horticultural development of a size never before attempted. Approximately 700,000 young apple trees, none over three years old are spread over some 25,000 acres on sides whose slopes and swales form a perfect air drainage; to provide immunity from frosts, a modern Arcadia in the making.

The Maryland cut-off has nothing at all to do with the Green Ridge apple, orchard development. The Steel corporation wanted a new short line from Homestead to tidewater at Baltimore so that it could save \$1 dollar or so a ton and a few hours' time getting its export steel on shipboard.

Western Maryland was emerging from receivership and not financially equal to the task of dynamiting a low grade line through the hills. So the New York Central was influenced into accepting the task; It was an incident that the new road that opened a short line for Carnegie mills products should also open an avenue 200 miles shorter than the New York outlet to the world's markets for Sherwin-Williams paints, American Fork and Hoe implements, American Steel and Wire Newburgh mills and H. P. wire mills products; that Kinney & Levan and George Bowman might get nearer to their source of supplies for English and continental chinaware importations, that the Harshaw, Fuller & Goodwin Company might the more economically lay down foreign-made chemicals

in, Cleveland and the National Carbon Company save something on its importations of manganese ores.

It was also an incident that this new Western Maryland line should open the way by which several hundred Clevelanders, whose new penchant is Green River orchards, can take a sleeper on Saturday night and wake up Sunday morning at a villa site on the Potomac within a few minutes' motoring over the hills to his ten to one-hundred acre orchard plot.

* * *

This apple country. has a history. Green Ridge is the original domain of Calvert, Lord Baltimore—the concession of Charles I., of England. It passed later to Charles Carroll, of Carrollton! one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in 1773.

In later generations it was purchased by F. Mertens' Sons, of Maryland, the modern day men of coal and lumber, who have been foremost in the development of Maryland's natural resources, from the then living descendants of Carroll, all of whom had married into the nobility. They were Louisa Catherine Osbourne, Duchess of Leeds; Mary Anne Wellesley, Marchioness Wellesly, and, Elizabeth Jenrygham, Lady Stafford.

In the exploitation of the lumber resources of the State, the Mertens came into possession of a barony extending fifty miles along the north bank of the Potomac, with a waterfront along the wayward course of that historic river of about seventy-five miles.

Three years ago, stripped of its virgin forests, but blanketed with a second growth of hard woods, it was still a hunting ground, bisected by the National pike, the military highway first laid out by" George Washington. On the foothills of the Blue Ridge, directly across the Potomac in West Virginia, were apple orchards whose fame was unsurpassed, and, which without scientific development, had attained to great productiveness.

On the Green Ridge slopes to the north where similar isolated instances of orchards run wild, and uncared for,

yet bearing magnificent crops of fine apples above the frost lines of the lowlands, Farther down the valley in Virginia you can pick apples from trees planted by George Washington. There was nothing unusual in the fact that the Mertens thought they had an apple territory.

They were successful business men and they let the horticultural experts decide that matter for them. But it was the Mertens' decision that the development should be on a scale unsurpassed. Since they made that decision the transformation scene on those Maryland hills has been a miracle.

* * *

An army of 1,500 bushmen working under a corps of horticultural experts was turned loose upon those hillsides of Green Ridge. A matter of twenty-five square miles have been stripped of every vestige of foliage to within two inches of the soil. As many as 250,000 apple trees were planted in a single season in 1912. Next year will complete the present planting program. Already nearly 700,000 trees have been planted all told.

* * *

The lines of development were first laid out by engineers. Motor roads were slashed through, the valleys and over the hills. Permanent roadways have been surveyed and before the present plantings reach maturity Green Ridge and White Sulphur basin will be ribboned with modern roadways. Within a year or two, when the first plantings are nearing the bearing stage, Green Ridge will be ready for the bungalow or the summer residence of the city man and his family who is watching the progress of his plot, with an interest that takes him from Cleveland down to take a look at it several times year.

* * *

About 250 business and professional men in Cleveland have purchased in Green Ridge: These business men, of course, are not going to give up business and "go down to care for their orchards." Some of them are apple orchard "bugs," but most of them don't know how. This is where the fruit growers' association idea comes in.

The Green Ridge plantings will remain under the care of the Mertens' experts until they come to maturity, after which the Green Ridge Valley Fruit Growers' Association will continue to apply the best known modern methods of spraying, pruning, picking, boxing, and marketing of the product at a cost of about 15 per cent of gross selling price of the output. Association methods are over half the battle in all of the successful apple growing districts. The buyer wants a responsible guarantee that boxed Apples, for which he pays a fancy price, ranging up to \$7 a box, do not have to be re-inspected before sold to customers who, are willing to pay for the luxury.

As an investment the commercial apple orchard is particularly appealing to the city man: The return is known to run as high as \$1,500 and \$1,800 an acre each year; \$1,000 an acre is common in the highly favored districts like Hood River, where scientific methods have reached perfection.

* * *

Not a little of the Green Ridge's popularity is due to the fact that it is the first big, scientifically handled effort of apple growing within visiting distance of the big eastern centers. Incidentally, that too, has a commercial aspect. Cleveland people afflicted with "eppleitis," [appleitis?] the new name for apple orchard enthusiasts, cite the obvious fact that there is a matter of 53 cents per box advantage in freight rates in favor of the eastern apple orchard over the western in reaching the consuming markets. For shipping facilities, the territory is girdled by the Western Maryland, the Baltimore & Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, while the government is spending \$1,500,000 a year in perfecting the national pike, which affords a motor drive of picturesque beauty from Baltimore and Washington, through Cumberland, across West Virginia and Ohio and on to St. Louis.

o o o

Cumberland Times
Jan 20, 1914

The sale of the F. Mortens' Sons Green Ridge Valley Orchards having been completed, Mr. Leonard Greene, the salesman, has automatically severed his connection with, that enterprise, closed that department of the great enterprise, and is [leaving] Cumberland today on a vacation trip—the first respite from business for him since the inception of the Green Ridge Valley sale. In Mr. Greene's departure Cumberland is losing a young man with high business qualifications, especially in the particular line in which he has served the firm of F. Mertens' Sons with such marked success.

* * *

In discussing Green Ridge Valley with the writer, Mr. Greene was very enthusiastic, and said, among other things, "that in the building of the Green Ridge Valley orchards the house of F. Mertens' Sons had launched an enterprise that would ultimately contribute business in a very large way to not only Allegany county, but the entire state of Maryland." He pointed out the fact that while even thus far every avenue of business in Cumberland had derived great benefit from the mammoth undertaking, it will only be a few years hence until the Green Ridge Valley orchards will be the chief source of wealth to Allegany county. Speaking further Mr. Greene said: "That a great many of the Green Ridge investors are men of large means, and that they were so impressed with the healthfulness and scenic beauty of the country that they are planning to build summer homes in that part of Green Ridge set aside for the residential section."

In this connection Mr. Greene mentioned Hood River, Oregon, a town of approximately 4,000 population, having come into being solely on account of the apple industry in that vicinity, and stated, therefore, that it was reasonable to believe that the industry at Green Ridge Valley would, within a few years, be the means of building up a town there of considerable, commercial importance.

* * *

Now that all of the orchards, except those reserved by the firm for its own members, have been sold, a great field of usefulness remains and very large sums must be spent for the maintenance and care of the great project. It is a feature of the Green Ridge orchards that they are to be cared for by the company for the owners until the trees bear, so that while the great sale is over with wonderful success the enterprise is just fairly on its great career. It will continue to employ hundreds of laborers and to keep good live blood in many arteries of trade and industry

Mile 155.2 – Paw Paw Tunnel

Chronology for construction of Paw Paw Tunnel, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 174, 209, 251:

March 15, 1836: Contract let to Lee Montgomery.

June, 1836: Work commenced on tunnel.

November, 1841: Work suspended on tunnel.

November, 1848: Contract let to Hunter, Harris and Co. to complete the canal; subcontract to finish tunnel let to McCulloch and Day.

1850: Work completed on tunnel (except for brick lining which was completed after the canal was opened to navigation).

Lee Montgomery described by canal official (Bender to Ingle, May 8, 1836, quoted in Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, page 119, and Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 131):

“Our Methodist parson-contractor upon being asked how he escaped, replied that his men were generally picked men, and had provided themselves, he believed, with some guns and few Little Sticks, and it was supposed they would use them rather than be intruded on, the rioters thought it best not to stop as they were passing by—The truth is that in a good cause few men would probably use a “Little Stick” more effectively than himself, although he would pray at the same time against being obliged to “hold them uneasy.””

Other details on the construction of the Paw Paw Tunnel from Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*:

- adoption of tunnel added to expense of the canal, page 83
- postponement of “arching” of the tunnel, page 103.
- discharge of men working at the tunnel, August, 1838, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 135.
- four brickmakers discharged in 1849, pages 139-140.
- brickmaking, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, page 174.

- cost for tunnel and adjoining “deep cuts” estimated in 1841 at \$616,478.65, page 251.
- 1872 regulations for boats passing through the tunnel, pages 397-398.
- Civil War raids on Paw Paw Tunnel and adjacent areas, pages 739 and 748.

Louis Berger Group, *River and Mountain, War and Peace* (Part 3 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”).

- Lee Montgomery, Paw Paw Tunnel construction, and labor troubles, pages 66-70.
- canal superintendent’s house and brickmaking (citing Hahn), pages 70-71.
- Civil War raids on Paw Paw Tunnel and adjacent areas (citing Unrau), page 74.

Attacks on English workers and threats and beatings of supervisors, June, 1838, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 132-133.

Violence at Paw Paw Tunnel, Peter Way, *Common Labor*, pages 213, 215, 218-219, 221-223, and 127.

Mile 159.4 – Little Cacapon

Cox’s plantation and fort is described in William R. Ansel, Jr., *Frontier Forts Along the Potomac and its Tributaries*, pages 48-50.

George Washington ordered the construction of the fort at the mouth of the Little Capecapon (Cox’s) in letters sent on May 12, 1756, to Captain Cocke and to Henry Peyton.

☞ The fort at Cox’s is sometimes confused with Captain Cocke’s fort on Patterson Creek, as the latter was sometimes spelled Cox. Washington himself added to the confusion, as he referred to “Captain Cox’s Fort” in his letter to Thomas Waggener, August 5, 1756.

The fort at Cox’s on the Little Cacapon may also have been called Homer’s or Horner’s.

[See *Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series 3*, GW to Henry Harrison, April 20, 1757, note 2, page 24.]

George Washington originally identified Enoch’s as the best place to build a fort on the road between Fort Loudoun (Winchester) and Cresap’s, but argued later against that site, saying that a better road could be made to Fort Cumberland. [Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, April 29, 1757, *Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series 4*, pages 146-147 and 149.]

In his diary kept on his 1770 trip to the Ohio, George Washington noted the following distances on the road to Cresap’s: 8 miles from Pritchards to the Fort at Henry Enochs, 12 miles to “Cox’s at the Mouth of little Cacapehon,” and 6 miles to Cresap’s.

The Diaries of George Washington. Vol. II., page 287.

[This source also notes that Cox’s fort at the mouth of the Little Cacapon River is shown on Thomas Hutchins’s 1778 map.]

For origins of the Cox and Enochs families in New Sweden, see Peter S. Craig, *The family of Nils Larsson Frände (Friend)*, as detailed in the notes for mile 69.4.

Enochs intermarried with Cox family:

- *The Enoch (Enochs) Family*, Arthur L. Keith, page 688.
- *Genealogies of Virginia families: from Tyler's quarterly ...*, Volume 1, Genealogical Publishing Company, Incorporated.

Cresap's suit against Henry Enoch is documented in Archives of Maryland, Vol. 31, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1753-1761*:

- Depositions as to thefts by "Henry Enochs," taken May of 1757, pages 247-254, etc.
- John Blair's response, dated March 25, 1758, page 277.
- There is some question as to whether Andrew Lewis was with Braddock's column in the summer of 1755, or was stationed in southwest Virginia to protect the settlements on the Greenbrier River. Patricia Johnson cites Lyman Draper in concluding that Lewis was on the Greenbrier River during the summer, only marching to Fort Cumberland that fall with his new recruits. Andrew Lewis' march to Fort Cumberland in October 1755 is documented in the journal kept by Charles Lewis (no relation). See Johnson, *Andrew Lewis*, pages 32-33 and 38-40.

162 – Town Creek Aqueduct

Bearss, *Town Creek Aqueduct Historic Structures Report*:

- Elwood Morris on water levels; information from "Mr. Ash"; plan to dam the creek to water the canal; pages 2-3.
- "Contractor Pratt in February 1838 determined it would not be in his best interests to undertake the construction of the Town Creek Aqueduct. Hatch, learning of this, agreed to assume Pratt's obligations."; page 8.
- work abandoned in October, 1838, Hatch having left the area; pages 13 and 15.
- in company's 11th annual report, Fisk notes that Town Creek Aqueduct "was once under contract but work commenced and abandoned and has not been relet"; page 16.
- Fisk reports in 1840 that the work on Aqueduct No. 10 had been scarcely commenced when Contractor Hatch had disappeared; page 17.
- labor difficulties in spring of 1850, as Hunter, Harris and Co. are unable to pay workers; trustees "take over contract on assignment from Hunter, Harris, and Co."; pages 31-35.

Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*:

- description, page 241.
- Aqueduct No. 10 [Town Creek Aqueduct]:
Section No. 323
September 29, 1837: Contract let to Frederick Pratt. [per Bearss, above, contract assumed by Hatch in Feb. 1838]
April, 1838: Work commenced on aqueduct.
November 14, 1838: Contract abandoned. [per Bearss, above, abandoned in Oct. 1838]
November, 1847: Hunter, Harris and Co. recommence work on aqueduct. [per Bearss, above, the trustees assumed responsibility for works in spring of 1850; with some of them completed by Michael Byrne]

Summer, 1850: Construction completed on aqueduct.

Cost: \$3,747.89 (1838 assessment)

- storage of cement at Lock 67 and aqueduct; page 171.

Christopher Kelley, Hein, Mertens, and the Green Ridge Railroad; see John Mash, *The Land of the Living*, pages 184-186.

[Not clear if the “sawmill at Darkey’s Lock” was actually at the lock—more probably it was on Town Creek, but identified with the nearest lock. It is also unclear if the new sawmill was built on the site of the old one, or if there were two different sawmill sites.]

Mile 164.8 – Potomac Forks

Charles Morrison, *Wappatomaka*:

- Seneca Trail and other trails, pages 6-9.

John Van Meter as first explorer of South Branch valley in the 1720s, Louis Berger Group, *Through the Great Valley and into the Mountains Beyond* (Part 2 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”), pages 70-71.

Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia*, tells of a tradition that a man named John Howard and his son explored the South Branch valley, crossed to the Ohio, and sailed down to New Orleans in a canoe made of buffalo hide, where they were captured and sent to France. Upon their return, they were interviewed by Lord Fairfax himself as to the “fertility and immense value” of the South Branch valley. As to settlement, Kercheval writes: “The first settlers on the Wappatomaka South Branch were Coburn, Howard, Walker and Rutledge. Settlement commenced about the year 1734 or 1735. It does not appear that the first immigrants to this section of country had the precaution to secure titles their lands until Lord Fairfax migrated to Virginia and opened his office for granting warrants in Northern Neck. The earliest grant which the could find in this settlement bears date in 1747. Most of the grants are dated in 1749. This was a most unfortunate omission on the part of these people. It left Fairfax at the discretion of exercising his insatiable disposition for the monopoly of wealth; and instead of granting these lands upon the usual terms to other settlers he availed himself of the opportunity of laying off in manors, fifty five thousand acres, in what he called his South Branch manor, and nine thousand acres on Patterson's creek.” (Pages 66-67.)

Kercheval also delves into the boundary controversy, including a lengthy 1832

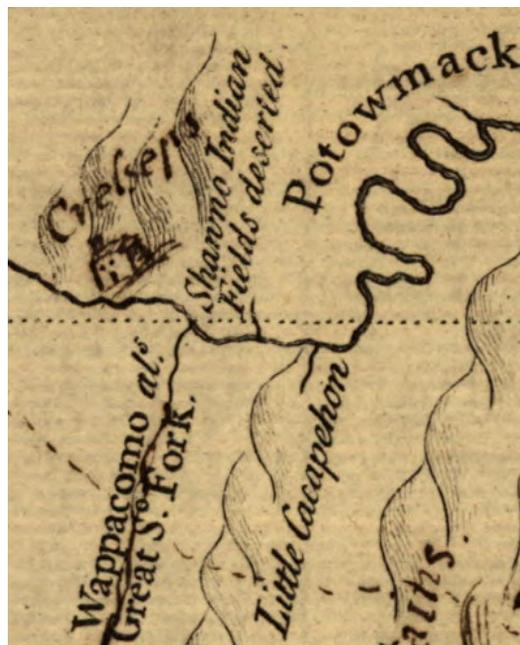
report by Charles James Faulkner to the Governor of Virginia, pages 209-233.

Two boatloads of tobacco seen coming from Old Town, Gilpin and Smith survey, 1789, see Guzy, *Navigation*, page 11.

Mile 166.7 – Oldtown



Detail from "A Plan of the upper part of the Patomack River called Cohongorooto Survey'd in the year 1736," Benjamin Winslow's map based on the Fairfax survey of the upper Potomac; showing "Shawno Indian Fields" and "Cha. Andersons" just beyond the "Wappocomacco [?] River" [South Branch of the Potomac]. Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division.



"Cresseps" shown on a later copy of the Warner map that was drawn after the 1745 survey of the Fairfax Line. The Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division, G3880 1747 .W33 Vault.

§ Shawnee Oldtown, aka Opessa's Town

For contacts with King Opessa and his later departure from Pennsylvania, see *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 1st Series:

- Pennsylvania officials visit Pequahan settlement to meet with King Opessa, June 10, 1707, Vol. 2, pages 403-406.
- Pennsylvania officials meet with the Shawnee at Conestoga on June 18, 1711, and Opessa's denial of responsibility for death of Francis de la Tort (M. Chartier, interpreter), Vol. 2, pages 556-8.
- In a meeting on July 14, 1720, Opessa's successor explained the circumstances of his removal: "When their king, Opessah, who was then living, took the government upon him, and the people differed with him, then he left them." Vol. 3, 90-91.

See the Maryland State Archives, Volume 25, *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, pages 442-443.

"His Excellency the Governor and this Board taking into Consideration the ill Consequences that may attend the Shuano Indians entertaining our Negro Runaway Slaves and to prevent such an evil for the future have proposed to send Mr John Powell of Prince Georges County Gent to Shunano Town upon Potomack to invite some of the principal Indians of the same Town to meet his Excellency the Governor at the house of Charles Anderson near Mononknisea."

§ Thomas Cresap & Skipton

See notes to *History 1:2*, "Cresap's Western Outpost at Oldtown," for general citations for Cresap's biographical information.

"Thomas Cresap and Oldtown" and "Cresap's Fort" in *Rivers and Mountains, War and Peace* (part 3 of the NPS archeological study by the Louis Berger Group), pages 51-60.

- Cresap's patents near Old Town included Good Hope (1750), Bloomsbury (1751), Boyles Cabin (1752), Devils Hole (1752), Dispute (1753), and Crabtree's Folly (1755). Page 53.

Sharpe to Calvert, September 15, 1755, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 6, *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757*, pages 286-287.

"I have not heard that any Enemy has been seen in this province since Colo Dunbar left us but the people who dwelt beyond Tonalloway Creek where Lieut^t Stoddert & 15 Men have built a Stoccardo Fort have I am informed all left their plantations so that the Country is deserted for 30 Miles Eastward of Col^o Cresap's who is also removing or removed down to Conegogeeck where one of his Sons inhabits."

Scharf adds some colorful details about Cresap and Oldtown, albeit often unsourced, in his *History of Western Maryland*, pages 93-100, 1324, 1343, 1459.

Treaty of Lancaster & “Cresap’s cabin”

“...they the said Sachems or Chiefs, on Behalf of the said six Nations, do hereby renounce and disclaim to the Right Honourable the Lord Baltimore, Lord Proprietary of the said Province of Maryland, his Heirs and Assigns, all Pretence of Right or Claim whatsoever of the said six nations, of, in, or to any Lands that lie on Potomack, alias Cohongaroutan, or Susquehanna Rivers, or in any other Place between the Great Bay of Chesapeak and a Line beginning at about two Miles above the uppermost Fork of Cohongaroutan or Potomack, on the North Branch of the said Fork, near which Fork Capt. Thomas Cresap has a hunting or trading Cabbin, and from thence by a North course to the Boundaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, and so with the Bounds of the said Province of Pennsylvania to Susquehanna River...”

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747, Maryland State Archives, Volume 44, page 121.

Captain Charles Lewis was a part of Andrew Lewis’ regiment that rendezvoused in Fredericksburg and marched to Fort Cumberland, October 1755:

• *Journal of Captain Charles Lewis of the Virginia regiment*, Virginia Historical Society, 1892.

☞ Because they both served under Andrew Lewis, Captain Charles Lewis is easily confused with Andrew’s brother, Charles Lewis. Capt. Charles Lewis was related by marriage to George Washington—his brother, Fielding Lewis, married Betty Washington, George’s younger sister. He was born in 1730.

Andrew’s brother, Charles Lewis, was born in 1736, served under Andrew during Dunmore’s War in 1775, and died that year at the Battle of Point Pleasant. See the editorial notes to Charles Lewis’ letter to George Washington, seeking a commission, August 9, 1755, Abbott, ed., *Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series*, pages 357-358.

Colonel Henry Bouquet to Forbes on the subject of forage at Oldtown, August 8, 1758: “On a manqué l’occasion de faire un gros Magasin a Cumberland des Prairies de Cressop...” (We missed the opportunity to make a great store at Cumberland from Cresap’s meadows.)

Papers of Henry Bouquet, Volume II, page 333.

Concerning the problem of fodder for cattle, also see Thomas Walker to George Washington, December 17, 1755, written from Fort Cumberland. [The location of “Daniel Cresaps Plantation” is unclear, he is footnoted as living at Conococheague, but it seems that this plantation must have been somewhere above Fort Cumberland.]

Mason and Dixon lodged with “Colonel Crisep near the Forks of Potowmack,” *The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, entry for July 7, 1767, page 178.

[The journal entry for January 17, 1765, page 67, reports an encounter with Samuel Smith of Lancaster County, who told the story of “Crisep” and the border war on the Susquehanna.]

Ellicott’s account of his visit to Oldtown is given in *Andrew Ellicott: his life and letters*, Catharine Van Cortlandt Mathews, page 34.

Cresap's trading post on the frontier

March 22, 1749||50.
Cresap to Governor Ogle

...I have had sundry Companies of Indian Warriors passing and repassing, some of which have been very insolent and saucy; in particular, a Company of about 44, who had three Women and two Boys Prisoners with them, taken from the Catawbees, while the Men were out hunting. The Men coming home at Night from their Hunt, to their great Surprise, found their Wives and Children, some killed and some taken away; they pursued the Enemy, and in some Days came up with them, and fought them for a considerable Time; but being overpower'd by a superior Number, they drew off for a Time, and then came up again, and attacked them twice more; and by what I can learn from them, would have overcome them, if a Company of 25 Warriors of the Six Nations had not met the others who had the Prisoners; who say they killed three of the eight Catawbees, and the rest made their Escape: They say they were 60 in Number of the Five Nations; but whether it was with the 25 or no, I am not sure ; but if it was without, they must have left 40 odd Men at least These Indians stayed at my House four Days, and complained of Hunger; I gave them at their first coming two Bushels of Meal, and one Bushel of Corn; and as it was bad Weather, I took the three Captains in my House to lodge; they being very naked for Cloaths, complained that they had lost their Cloaths and Guns almost all in Fight ; and one of the Captains told me, that he was Conasadago's Brother, who was the Speaker at the Treaty of Lancaster. They held several Councils here, and told me that I was their Brother, and that they had given me this Land, and that they had no Powder or Lead to carry them home; but that I must give them Powder and Lead and Knives and Flints and Stockings and Tommyhawks, and mend their Kettles and Guns; on which I gave them 20 lb. Weight of Powder, and some Lead; but they not being satisfied, called another Council, and wanted more Victuals: I then gave them two Fitches of Bacon, and four Bushels of Meal; they complaining they wanted on the Road, and in Hopes of being rid of them; but stayed, and eat up the Victuals given them. They then called a third Council, and wanted me to give them a Cow, which I told them I could not do; at which they began to be mad, and told me I was not good: On which I told them, if they wanted to fight to let me know, for if they killed my Cow I would kill them; and so quitted their Council, and loaded my Guns, expecting to have had a Fight: They went to their Cabin, loaded their Guns, and fired off several, and

ran about shouting and whooping all Night. Next Morning I found several of my Hogs shot with Arrows; they stole sundry Things, and went off. When they came to my House, they brought two fine large pacing Mares, which were worth at least 20 l. each, which they had stole as they came along: I told them, that there were several white Men coming armed to fetch the aforesaid Mares, and therefore I thought it their best Way to let the Creatures go; but they would not hearken to me : For instead of letting them loose, they hobbled them, and kept them close by their Cabbins 'till they went off, and then took them away with them. The Burden is so great on me in supporting these Indians, that my Patience is quite tired out; so that if the Government will not allow me something towards the Expence, I must, tho' contrary to my Inclination, of Necessity enter into a Quarrel with them, at the Risque of my own Life, and Family's also; which may cost the Government more than allowing them 30 or 40 l. per Year, or perhaps less, for three or four Years to come; and it may in that Time be over. I shall Tomorrow Morning set out to finish the Meridian Line; but hope to see your Excellency the Beginning of next Month.

May 30, 1750

To his Excellency Samuel Ogle, Esq; Governor of Maryland;
The humble Address of the House of Delegates.
In Answer to your Excellency's Message to this House, relating to Col. Cresap, and the Indian travelling Warriors, we cannot, consistent with our Duty to the People of this Province, nor common Prudence, consent to burthen them with any Charge on Account of those Indians, who, if encouraged, would always find Persons to set them to Work, either for private Interest or some other Views...

Maryland State Archives, Volume 46, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1748-1751*, pages 415-416 and 438.

Pontiac's Rebellion

Old Town July 15 1763

May it Please your Excellency I take this opportunity in the highth of Confusion to acquaint you with our unhappy & most wretched situation at this time being in Hourly Expectation of being massacred by our Barberous & Inhumane Enemy the Indians we having been three days successively Attacked by them Viz. the 13, 14 & this Instant on the 13th as 6 men were shocking some wheat in the field 5 Indians fired on them as they came to do it & thers running to their assistance. On the 14[th] 5 Indians crep up to & fired on about 16 men who were sitting & walking under a Tree at the Entrance of my Lane about 100 yards from my House but on being fired at by the white men who much wounded some of them they Immediatly Runn off & were followed by the white men about a mile all which way was great quantity of Blood on the Ground the white men got 3 of their Bundles containing sundry Indian Implements

& Goods about 3 hours after several gunns were fired in the woods on which a party went in Quest of them & found 3 Bears killd by them, the Indians wounded one man at their first fire tho but slightly. On this Instant as Mr. Saml Wilder was going to a house of his about 300 yards Distant from mine with men & several women the Indians Rushed on them from a Rising Ground but they perceiving their coming Run towards my House hollowing which being heard by those at my house they Run to their assistance & met them & the Indians at the Entrance of my lane on which the Indians Immediatly fired on them to the amount of 18 or Twenty & Killd Mr. Wilder. The party of white men returned their fire & Killd one of them dead on the spot & wounded severall of the others as appeared by Considerable Quantity of Blood strewed on the Ground as they Run off which they Immediatly did & by their leaving behind them 3 Gunns one pistole & sundry other Emplements of warr &c. &c.

I have inclosed a List of the Desolate men women & Children who have fled to my House which is Inclosed by a small stockade for safety by which you see what a number of poor Souls destitute of Every necessary of Life are here penned up & likely to be Butchered without Immediate Relief & Assistance & can Expect none unless from the Province to which they Belong. I shall submitt to your wiser Judgment the Best & most Effectual method for such Relief & shall conclude with hoping we shall have it in time.

I am Honnourable Sir
Your most Obedt Servt
Thos Cresap

Maryland State Archives, Volume 14, page 104

“On Sunday afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Michael Cressap arrive in Town with mokosins on his legs taken from an Indian whom he killed and scalped being one of those who shot down Mr. Welder the circumstances of which much lamented murder and the success of Col. Cressap's family you no doubt have received from other hands. Money has been cheerfully contributed in our town towards the support of the men to be added to Col. Cressap's present force as we look upon the preservation of the Old Town to be of great importance to us and a proper check to the progress of the savages but notwithstanding our present efforts to keep the enemy at a distance and thereby shelter the whole Province our inhabitants are poor our men dispersed and without a detachment from below it is to be feared we must give way and the inundation break upon the lower counties.”

Maryland Gazette, July 1763 (from Frederick-Town):

§ Michael Cresap

John Jeremiah Jacob, who worked for Michael Cresap when he was young, provides valuable first-hand observations in *A biographical sketch of the life of the late Captain Michael Cresap*.

- Given his personal relationship with the Cresap family, Jacob's statements have to be used with caution; his interest in defending the younger Cresap is particularly evident in his description of the events of Dunmore's War, as discussed in the notes to *Hist:I:4*.

Michael Cresap's activities as land speculator, from *River and Mountain, War and Peace* (Part 3 of NHP archeological study by Louis Berger Group), page 58:

- October 1765, surveyed 1,706 acres north of Oldtown.
- March 1766, patented the land, calling it "Seven Springs."
- Within a year of the patent, Michael and his father advertised that they "have a piece of ground at the Old Town commodiously situated for a town, and lying on the main road that leads to Pittsburgh and Redstone from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania." Some lots to be sold or rented in half-acre increments; 5-acre lots; and good meadow land offered for 21-year lease. [*Maryland Gazette* 1767].

§ Canal & railroad era

Riot in 1839, Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, pages 133-134.

The date of construction for the Moore House, is often given as 1860, but the most detailed description states that it was built by Casper Gloss in 1878, for Elwood M. Ginevan.

- See "Old Moore House," prepared by John Nelson, Joan Baldwin, and Steve Beale, Allegany County Historic Sites Survey, for Maryland Historical Trust, September, 1976.

The Western Maryland Railway, Cumberland Extension, HAER MD-175, David A. Vago, with J. Lawrence Lee, Christopher H. Marston, and Justine Christianson, 2010.

- [Page 85] "The line passed Oldtown, Maryland, at mile 150.9 where there was a wooden locomotive water supply tank adjacent to a collection of wood frame, shiplap-sided buildings. The buildings included a small Western Maryland standard wooden station, an enclosed signal maintainer's shed, and a large wooden pump house that fed the water tank."

Mile 174.2 Steam Pump

Original steam pump built at South Branch in 1856, Harlan Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*, pages 470-471.

Mile 176 – PPG Plant & Warriors Run

Chamber of Commerce involvement in seeking PP&G plant; city offers to build water treatment plant; Stegmaier, et al, *History of Allegany County*; pages 407-409.

In *Making of a Park*, Barry Mackintosh describes a Sept. 1953 meeting prompted by Sen. J. Glenn Beall, in which the Assoc. Superintendent of National Capital Parks met with the Cumberland Chamber of Commerce, the Maryland State Roads Commission, and PPG representatives. The NCP promised to cooperate, inasmuch as: “the canal proper between Lock 75 for a distance of approximately 1-1/2 miles upstream . . . was scheduled for abandonment as a canal...all of the land between the Western Maryland Railroad and the river might be made available to the industrial plant and that the National Park Service would endeavor to locate the parkway eastward of the B & O Railroad tracks.”

Warrior Run technology; see *Maryland Power Plants and the Environment*, Chapter 4: Impacts of Power Generation and Transmission [Power Plant Research Program, PPRP – CEIR-14, DNR Publication No. 12-1142008-271, 2008]

Mile 176.6 – Van Metre’s Ferry

Samuel Gordon Smyth, *Genealogy of the Duke-Shepherd-Van Metre Family*, page 165:

“Some of the children of John Van Metre, in their movements westward from the “Valley of Virginia,” followed the upper course of the Potomac to Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), thence crossing the Alleghanies by Nemaocolin's Path or Braddock's Road...”

Mile 178.3 – Mexico Farms

John Henry Burbridge, “Mexico” farm, and “Dispute” tract; see Suzanne Trussell, “Archaeology and History at Mexico Farms,” posted on Allegany Museum website. [alleganymuseummd.org, last accessed Aug. 25, 2013.]

A sampling of contemporary views of the Mexican revolution, as printed in the *Hagerstown Torch Light & Public Advertiser*:

- [Jan. 1, 1822] *From the Philadelphia Aurora of Dec. 21.* MEXICO INDEPENDENT... “The general tenor of these advices is of such a temper as must be grateful to every friend of freedom, and the great *family of the new world.*” [As will be seen below, William Duane, the editor of the *Aurora*, continued to support the new regime over the next year.]
- [July 30, 1822] *Baltimore, July 20.* Capt. Kingsbury, at New York, informs, that the coronation of the Emperor Iturbide, was celebrated on the 26th at Vera Cruz. Those who except to this title should remember, that national habits are not changed at will. The Incas of Peru, and the Emperors of Mexico, may retain their titles under changed and ameliorated forms of government.
- [Nov. 5, 1822] Yturbide, the new Emperor has written a very complimentary letter to Col. Duane, which induces our republican friend to sell off the *Aurora*, the pillar of democracy, & hasten to Mexico, in order to throw himself at the feet of the august potentate, the Imperial Mexican, whom Col. Duane calls the President, forsooth, of that country. Alas, what are the professions of fifty years worth? [William Duane, a key supporter of Thomas Jefferson, had just given up editing the *Philadelphia Aurora* to travel in South America.]

“Mexico Farms Landing Field; Cumberland Landing Field; Mexico Farms Airport (preferred), National Register of Historic

Places Inventory–Nomination Form, A-III-A-153, prepared by Allegany County Committee and David Dorsey, Maryland Historical Trust, 1979.

The KKK rally was advertised in a poster for “Western Maryland Field Day,” May 23, 1925, hosted by the “Women of the Ku Klux Klan”; see “Allegany County African American History” in the WHILBR collection (www.whilbr.org).

180.7 Evitts Creek & Aqueduct

Aqueduct No. 11 [Evitts Creek Aqueduct]

September 29, 1837: Contract let to George G. Johnson.

February, 1838: Work commenced on aqueduct.

December 28, 1839: Contract abandoned.

January 23, 1840: Modified contract relet to George G. Johnson.

October, 1841: Work completed on aqueduct to the point that a final estimate was paid.

November, 1847: Contract let to Hunter, Harris and Co.

Spring, 1850: Finishing touches put on aqueduct.

Cost: \$45,986.00 (1841 assessment)

Unrau, *Historic Resources Study*; page 241

Unrau, *Single Arch Aqueducts HSR*:

- George Johnson awarded contract; bringing workers from Palatine Bridge, New York in early Oct. 1837; asks for additional work in his sections; page 62.
- Johnson inspects quarry, finds “the stone beautiful, of good quality, and in great abundance” but difficult to quarry; page 63.
- Johnson weathered financial problems better than other contractors; nonetheless was requesting aid by end of 1838; predicting the “Ides of March” in early 1839; page 67.
- contract declared “abandoned” in Dec. 1839 [per company’s decision for all of its uncompleted works]; canal company willing to continue work on the aqueduct and Locks 73-74, “provided satisfactory arrangements can be made between the contractor and the Company for such continuance”; page 71.
- with canal company unable to provide funds in spring of 1841, Johnson returns to Palatine Bridge to await developments; page 75.

James Evitt’s cabin and the story of Jane Frazier:

- Arnett, Brugger, and Papenfuse, *Maryland: A New Guide to the Old Line State*, page 590.
- Stegmaier, Dean, Kershaw, and Wiseman, *Allegany County: A History*, pages 46-47.

- the abduction of a “woman from Frazier’s Plantation” was reported in the *Maryland Gazette*, October 9, 1755.

- Jane Frazier’s return was reported in a letter written by Adam Stephen to Col. John Armstrong on Nov. 14, 1746; see Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County*, pages 87-89.

- according to Charles Hanna, Adam Stephen’s 1756 letter refers to: “a woman who once belonged to John Fraser (his wife or mistress) and has now, after being prisoner with Shingas, &c, thirteen months, made her escape from Muskingum”; see *Wilderness Trail*, Vol. 2, page 159.

- Hanna’s list of traders includes “John Fraser, or Frazier, a Paxtang Trader in 1737; licensed in 1747; settled at Venango in 1753; at the mouth of Turtle Creek in 1753-54; one of Bouquet’s guides in 1758; one of the messengers sent from Fort Pitt to warn off the settlers at Redstone in 1768 (?)” See *Wilderness Trail*, Vol. 2, page 332.

- a rather sketchy HABS report for the “John Frazier Home” (AL-III-C-047) indicates that the Fraziers moved to Bedford County and that their son William, born in 1759, was the “first white child” born in that county.

▣ The *History of Allegany County* (Thomas and Williams) includes a “captivity narrative,” purportedly written by Jane Frazier herself; see pages 83-87. The authors state that it had not previously been published, but had been “preserved by successive generations of her family.” It must be noted that the authors of the *History of Allegany County* did not have the most exacting standards for the authenticity of their materials. (See the purported letter from George Washington to Governor Sharpe, on page 80-81.)

181.8 Wastewater plant

Cumberland officials used promise of water treatment facility as one of its inducements to the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.; see Stegmaier, et al, History of Allegany County, pages 407.

The Potomac River Basin, Horatio N. Parker, et al, [*Water-supply paper*, Volume 28, Issues 192-194]:

- water quality around Cumberland and Will's Creek; C&O Canal; pages 220-223.
- outbreak of typhoid near Cumberland in December 1889; 485 cases and 97 deaths through June 1890; appears in Washington, DC, by March 1890; pages 272-273.
- typhoid outbreak in Mount Savage in 1904 affects Washington, DC; page 273.
- [Pages 276-278] Another factor which has influenced the degree of prevalence of typhoid fever in Washington is that the cities and towns in the basin have been procuring new and pure water supplies. At many places the information was given during this investigation that typhoid fever is not common at present, but was so before the new water-supply system was installed. In protecting themselves these communities have protected others, because if typhoid fever is reduced to a minimum the privies and sewers must necessarily turn fewer of the bacilli into the streams.

* * *

The only places of considerable size aside from Washington that use Potomac River or any of its large tributaries for a water supply are Moorefield, W. Va., Cumberland Md., and Brunswick, Md. Of these, Cumberland is the most important. In Brunswick, the Potomac water is served to only a few and in Moorefield more people use wells than the water of South Fork.

Water-supply and Irrigation Papers of the United States; Issues 193-196, "Pollution of Illinois and Mississippi Rivers by Chicago

Sewage"; Digest of Testimony taken by Marshall O. Leighton; Government Printing Office, 1907; pages 123-124: "Professor Sedgwick was recalled to the stand to testify concerning the epidemic at Cumberland Md., which was generally believed to have been the cause of an increase in the typhoid-fever rate at Washington, D. C., through the infection of Potomac River from which Washington takes its water supply, and on which Cumberland is situated about 175 miles above.

From the testimony of the witness it appears that there were in 1890 at Cumberland 98 deaths from typhoid fever distributed as follows: January, 18; February, 27; March, 39; April, 8; and May, 5. The number of cases reported in this epidemic was 485, which was believed by the witness to be entirely too small as the number of deaths indicates that with the usual fatality of 10 per cent the total number of cases should have been about 980. The sewers of Cumberland, so far as sewerage was provided, emptied into North Branch of Potomac River and into Wills Creek, a tributary of North Branch at that point. In addition to the sewers there were an unusually large number of privy vaults set directly over the river or its tributaries. The result of this epidemic was a large increase of the disease in Washington and this was pronounced by the witness to be one of the most important examples on record of the transmission of typhoid fever germs over long distances. Beginning in March 1890 the number of deaths was as follows March, 19; April, 11; May, 13; June, 33; July, 36; August, 28; a total of 140, exceeding the normal rate in Washington by about 100 per cent and indicating an incidence of the disease amounting to about 1,400 cases. (2759-2761)

This instance, according to the witness, is particularly interesting by reason of the fact that Cumberland is about 175 miles from Washington, and because the river is of such a character as to offer a good example of a stream neither very swift nor

very slow, but having occasional areas of what might be called slack water. The epidemic at Cumberland must have afforded a heavy infection of the stream, although it is a fact that at that time the city was not thoroughly sewered. It is, however, peculiarly arranged with reference to the water courses flowing past and through it.”

Cumberland Water Quality circa 1907

Cumberland is the largest city on the Potomac watershed above Washington. It is a vigorous, growing place, but its rapid increase in population has outstripped its development in sanitary matters. The water of the city is not free from contamination. As private wells are commonly polluted, most of them have been closed up. Cisterns are used to some extent, but the city supply is generally relied on by the citizens. It is pumped directly out of North Branch opposite Ridgely, 1 mile above Wills Creek, and is consumed without purification of any kind. This would probably be more disastrous than it now is were it not for the beneficial purification, which as explained elsewhere, takes place about 30 miles above the city. There is no system of sewage purification, though there is a sewerage system which serves about 75 per cent of the city. Soil, slops, and some surface drainage are taken by the sewers, though about 95 per cent of the system carries no storm water, as most of the surface drainage goes directly to the race, canal, creek, and river. Six of the city sewers discharge into the race; two of these are 36 inches in diameter, one 12 inches, one 10, one 8, and one 6. Besides these the race receives the droppings from many overhanging privies and is polluted by many private sewers. The dye works of Thomas Footer & Son discharge wastes consisting of rinse water and spent dyes, estimated at 10,000 gallons a day, into the race, together with the sewage of its 310 employees. Moreover, the race is somewhat obstructed by ashes which are thrown into it. Besides the sewers discharging into the race, the following empty into the river: One 24-inch sewer whose full capacity is probably never required, entering at Valley street; one 6-inch private sewer for sewage only, entering at a point about opposite the Town Hall; one 12-inch city sewer, and the 8 or 12-inch sewer owned by Allegany County. In South Cumberland a sewer empties into a brook that flows into the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal near the Queen City glass factory. In winter, when the canal is drained off, the stream and sewage flow over the canal banks directly into North Branch. About 5 per cent of the houses in South Cumberland are connected to this sewer. Many people along Wills Creek find it to their advantage to sewer directly into it. Above the Market Street Bridge the United States Leather Company, which employs 100 men, discharges its tannery wastes amounting to 10,000 gallons in twenty-four hours, together with the sewage of its employees, into the creek. Below this tannery the Cumberland Brewing Company, employing 50 men, empties the washings from its barrels and sewage from its employees. At the Market Street Bridge, on

the west bank, the German Brewing Company pours out the washings from its barrels, amounting to 1,500 gallons per day, together with the sewage of its 35 employees. On the opposite bank a gas company lets some of its waste liquors escape. From this point down on the eastern side of Wills Creek there is a succession of overhanging privies, interspersed by the sewers of two steam laundries and by a few slaughterhouses, whose floors drain the blood of the animals and with it a small amount of offal into the creek. (Pl. VIII, A)

Throughout the southwest part of that section of Cumberland lying west of Wills Creek flows a small run that is undoubtedly the recipient of much promiscuous refuse, which it empties into North Branch about one-fourth of a mile below the waterworks intake at Ridgeley. Whether this imperils the city water supply or not can not be stated, but the possibility of its doing so should be borne in mind.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal receives most of the irregular pollution of South Cumberland. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad shops, employing 600 men, sewer into it, and so does the N & G Taylor Company, a concern which employs 300 men and which makes steel and rolls it for manufacture into tin plate. In the process of manufacture large quantities of sulphate of iron are used, and this when pretty well exhausted finds its way into the canal.

There are many other industries in Cumberland but none of them have liquid wastes. That other manufacturers will come to the city is more than likely for Cumberland is advantageously situated and seems destined to enjoy much greater prosperity. This, however, will be still further increased by bettering the conditions above described. The city should adopt some method of disposing of its wastes, which will relieve the river of doing so and its water supply should be placed above criticism.

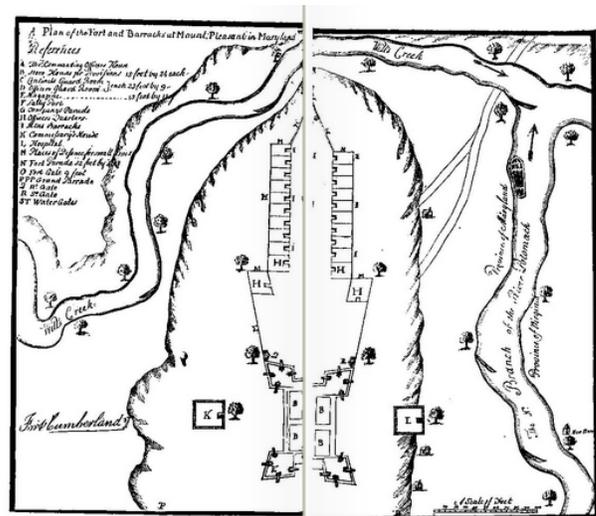
The Potomac River Basin, Horatio N. Parker, et al, pages 220-221.

Mile 184.5 Fort Cumberland



“Caicuctuck or Will's Creek” shown on Fry and Jefferson's 1751 map. Note the Ohio Company storehouse on the south bank of the Potomac.

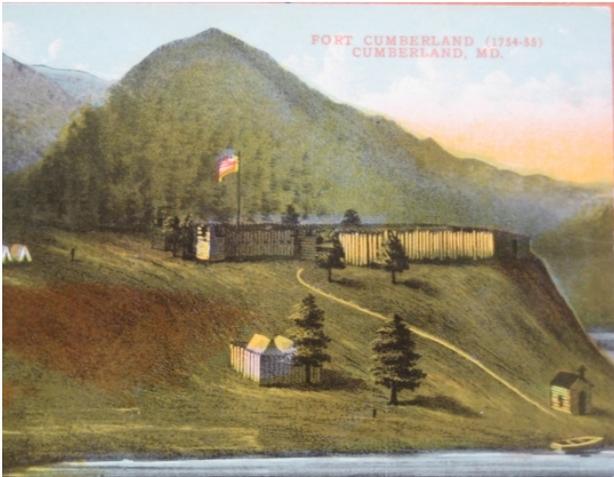
Detail from A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751. Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division, G3880 1755 .F72 Vault.



“Plan of Fort Cumberland, 1755,” from Will Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland, Maryland*, attributed to the King's MSS Library, British Museum. Braddock's map of the fort, in the Brock collection at the Huntington Library, shows a square fort, corresponding to the structure at the bottom of this drawing, placed closer to Wills Creek.



"Ft. Cumberland" sketched on a later edition of the Warner map from the Fairfax survey. (The map was first drawn after the survey of the Fairfax line was completed in 1745, this detail must have been added after 1755.)
Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division.



An artist's conception of Fort Cumberland, published as a postcard, probably based on the illustration that is the frontispiece of Lowdermilk's book.



George Washington reviewing troops at Fort Cumberland, October, 1794. Metropolitan Museum of Art, artist unknown, but attributed to Frederick Kemmelmeyer.

Will H. Lowdermilk includes substantial detail, much of it from official records, on the Ohio Company's storehouse, the fort at Will's Creek, Braddock's campaign, and the ensuing wars, in *History of Cumberland (Maryland)*, pages 34-239.

Other sources on controversy with Dagworthy over command of Fort Cumberland:

- Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington*, Vol. 2, pages 132-135, 138-139, 145, 148-149, 153-156, 165-168.

Harry M. Ward, *Major General Adam Stephen*:

- Washington leaves companies at Will's Creek under command of Adam Stephen, after the retreat from Fort Necessity, with Col. James Innes (North Carolina) named commander-in-chief by Governor Dinwiddie, July, 1754, pages 13-14.
- Adam Stephen in charge of the Virginians at Fort Cumberland after Braddock's defeat (July 1755); disputes over command with Dagworthy (arrived in September 1755); pages 22-41.
- Washington moves his headquarters to Fort Cumberland, January-March, 1757; fort to be turned over to Maryland garrison; Maryland force arrives approx. May 1st; pages 41-42.
- Dinwiddie and Washington critical of Stephen's management at the fort, pages 42-43.
- General Forbes decides to use Raystown rather than Fort Cumberland as base of operations for 1758 campaign, pages 48-49.

Sharpe appointed Lieutenant Colonel in charge of colonial forces, July 6, 1754, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 6, *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe*, pages 72-76.

Colonel Innes in command at Will's Creek:

- Dinwiddie explained his appointment of Innes as commander-in-chief of the

expedition in a letter written to George Washington on June 25, 1754, apparently delivered just before the battle at Fort Necessity, while Innes was still en route.

- instructions to Innes to find a “proper Place for building a Log Fort” and a magazine for storing six months’ provisions, Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Innes, July 20, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, pages 232-234.

- “Take Possess’n of the Ohio Compa’s Warehouse at Will’s Creek for Y’r Proviss’s get your Great Guns all up there; mount them for defence. Can you make sheds round it for accommodating Y’r People in Case of Bad Weather?”—Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Innes, August 30, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, pages 296-297.

- Governor Sharpe and Maryland forces expected at “Camp Mount Pleasant” [first reference to “Mount Pleasant”?], Innes to George Washington, September 27, 1754.

- Dinwiddie to Colonel Innes, October 24, 1754, informs him that Governor Sharpe has been appointed by His Majesty as Commander-in-Chief of the expedition; Sharpe and Dinwiddie agreed to appoint Innes “Camp Mast’r Gen’l”; *Dinwiddie Papers*, page 352.

- Dinwiddie reported in several letters (November 16, 1754) that the “fort near the Allegany Mount’s” was completed.

- Dinwiddie congratulates Innes on appointment as “G’r of F’t Cumb’l’nd,” June 24, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. 2, page 75.

Governor Sharpe’s appraisal of the works at Will’s Creek, with his relocation of the site of the fort:

- Sharpe to Dinwiddie, December, 10, 1754, Dinwiddie to Sharpe, December 11, 1754, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 6, *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757*, pages 136-142 and 143-147.

☞ It is unclear whether Col. Innes or Gov. Sharpe relocated the fort from the site of the Ohio Company storehouse (on the Virginia side of the Potomac) to the hill

above Wills Creek. The *Dinwiddie Papers* only give Dinwiddie’s letters to Col. Innes, in which the latter was directed to confer with his officers and determine the site of the fort; so perhaps there are details in Col. Innes’s messages to the governor that would clarify whether he and his officers had decided to build the fort on the Maryland side of the river.

Early references to “Fort Cumberland”:

- The preface to the first volume of Governor Sharpe’s correspondence states that it was Governor Dinwiddie who named the fort at Will’s Creek after the Duke Cumberland (ostensibly in the fall of 1754), but the available evidence supports the more common presumption that Braddock named the fort for his commander upon his arrival in May, 1755. See Maryland State Archives, Vol. 6, Preface, page 6.

- George Washington identified his location as “Fort Cumberland” in letters to Augustine Washington, to John Augustine Washington, to Sarah Cary Fairfax, to Sarah Fairfax Carlyle, and to John Carlyle, May 14, 1755 (letters not sent). [GW had referred to “Will’s Creek” in his letter of May 5.]

- Braddock’s instructions to Washington, May 15, 1755.

- Braddock to Governor Sharpe, May 22, 1754, Maryland State Archives, Volume 6, page 210. [On June 28, 1755, Sharpe refers to “Fort Cumberland or Will’s-Creek,” see page 234. Before that time, Sharpe consistently refers to “Will’s Creek.”]

- Dinwiddie to Braddock, May 23, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. 2, page 40.

George Washington assumes his second command, Memorandum, September 15, 1755:

“From thence I continued to Fort Cumberland, and took upon me the Command of the Troops there; issuing the Daily Orders, and giving such Instructions and Directions, as appeared necessary.”

Virginia vs. Maryland control of Fort Cumberland:

- in January, the Virginia officers at Fort Cumberland held an inquiry into statements attributed to Lieutenant Stark, one of the Maryland officers, to the effect that “he would not make his Guard Rest their Arms to Colo. Washington or Colo. Stephen while Capt. Dagworthy was Comanding Officer,” see Virginia Regiment Court of Inquiry, January 16, 1756.
- George Washington to Dinwiddie, April 18, 1756, refers to: “the unhappy difference about the command, which has kept me from Fort Cumberland...”
- Washington’s proposal to abandon Fort Cumberland, November 9, 1756: “It will be seen Fort Cumberland is not mentioned in this plan. If we act only on the defensive (a system on which this plan is founded) I think it employs a large garrison to very little advantage to Virginia. If we act offensively, it may be of infinite use, if properly fortified.”
- Virginia Council’s decision to continue to garrison Fort Cumberland, ordering George Washington to that post, November 15, 1756. [Also see Washington’s subsequent correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie and John Robinson, protesting the decision.]
- George Washington’s arguments against the reliance on defensive measures (frontier forts, which he argued were too far apart and not adequately garrisoned) and for an offensive to “remove the cause,” GW to Loudoun, January 10, 1757. [Washington also complained to Loudoun that he did not have the authority to discipline Virginia’s soldiers beyond the boundaries of the colony, a particular problem at Fort Cumberland.]
- decision to garrison Fort Cumberland with troops from Maryland, see Minutes from the Provincial Governors Conference at Philadelphia, March 15, 1757: “That the 500 Men raised by Maryland shall be Posted Viz 300 of them to Garrison Fort Cumberland 150 at Fort Frederick and

50 at Cressops to keep up the Communication between these Two Posts.”

- on the withdrawal of Virginia’s troops from the fort, which was to be turned over to Maryland troops, see George Washington to Dinwiddie, April 5, 1757, the “Council of War,” April 16, 1757, GW to Dinwiddie April 16, 1757, and GW to Adam Stephen April 17, 1757.
- Washington found himself back at Fort Cumberland during General Forbes’ campaign to capture Fort Duquesne, see GW to John Forbes, September 12, 1758. [Maryland’s Governor Sharpe wrote Forbes from Fort Cumberland on the same date—he had agreed to garrison the fort while Washington proceeded north to join Forbes.]

Maryland’s refusal to pay for soldiers garrisoned at Fort Cumberland:

- Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, pages 202-203 and 209.
- Sharpe to Colonel Stanwix, May 25, 1757, Maryland State Archives, Vol. 9, pages 1-4 *Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1757-1761*. [This is representative of the many letters in the *Correspondence* detailing Sharpe’s fruitless efforts to secure funds from the Maryland Assembly.]

The authenticity of the cabin known as “George Washington’s Headquarters” is discussed in “George Washington Slept Here,” Dan Whetzel, *Mountain Discoveries*, Spring/Summer 2012, pages 34-39.

Governor Sharpe, fort at Will's Creek, 1754

Governor Sharpe of Maryland to Governor
Dinwiddie of Virginia, December 10, 1754:

I returned last Thursday from Wills Creek where I found the Independants preparing for themselves Barracks, having already compleated the small Stoccado Fort about which you were advised they had been employed; but as the Fort they have finished is exceedingly small its Exterior Side not exceeding 120 feet I conceived it requisite or rather absolutely necessary to have another much larger raised on an adjacent & more elevated piece of Ground which I have ordered the Maryland Company to proceed on & I hope they will be able to finish it this winter. The Eminence on which it will be situated gives it an entire Command of that already compleated & will defend a Face of that small Fort to which an Enemy might at present approach without being much annoyed or hardly seen from within, however That on which The Troops have been employed may be useful at present & will serve to enclose Store Houses or a Magazine after the other is completed which I think by an advanced Out Work or two will be easily defended against a considerable number of Troops that may presume to attack it with only a light Train.

* * *

I have inclosed you a Calculation of the Expencc of supplying 3000 Men with Provisions for 8 months, which Quantity I apprehend it will be necessary to lay into the Magazine at Wills Creek immediately by reason I conceive it will be very difficult if not impossible to procure Beeves or Hogs fit for the Slaughter after this Month & next till July or the August following.

* * *

I was importuned also a good Deal by Mr Gists Creditors with some of whom I am indeed somewhat suspicious that he has hardly acted the honest part; wherefore I would beg the favour of you to signify to me what sums were advanced to him when He was at Williamsburg & for what uses that I may examine whether all the Complaints against him are without foundation I was told that He did receive several Sums of Money of you to discharge a good many Debts but that instead of appropriating it in that manner He paid off with part thereof some old Debts that he had contracted on his own private Account & with the Remainder purchased a Quantity of Goods to trade with also on his own Account. Gist acknowledged to me that He had received £45. for Andrew Montour but

Montour did not receive a Farthing thereof by which He complained to me that His private Affairs & Credit had received no small Detriment, wherefore I was induced to advance him £25. ... His Behaviour while I was at the Camp prejudiced me in his favour & as I esteem him a very useful Person I will endeavour by all means to keep him firm in our Interest.

* * *

As there were a number of fine Beeves offered for Sale while I was at the Camp & the Owners on finding no purchasers there, were about to take them away to Phila^a I ordered Col^o Cresap (who has the Care of laying in provisions for the Maryland Company to contract for them & keep them till they can be slaughtered imagining that if those were driven away others of equal Goodness would not be procured this winter on such easy terms what the Cost of them is I will let you know as soon as Cresap sends me the Accounts...

* * *

I cannot but think that the several Rivers & waters that occur & intersect the Road from Belhaven to Wills-Creek on the South Side of Potowmack will render the Conveyance of Stores that way expensive & very uncertain wherefore I apprehend it will be the best & easiest way to land every thing that shall be sent up Potowmack for the Troops at Rock Creek whence our waggons will carry them to Conegocheek where Battoes may be made to convey every thing thence by water. I have ordered a Batteau or two to be made & then I shall after Tryal be able to estimate the Expencc of that method & will give Orders for those 6 waggons to be employed between that place & Rock Creek.

I wish you could find it easy to engage a few Ship Carpenters & send them to the Camp & order up thither some Cartridge paper, Moulds for Musket & Swan Shot, wire for Screws & prickers Flints & match for the Carriage Guns, & also send up some wampum there being but little remaining at the Camp.

I have given Orders for raising a Company of 30 Rangers to be composed of People conversant with the woods & Back Country to be employed as Scouts & parties of Intelligence & as Guides to any Detachments from the other Troops whom I might think proper to send abroad.

* * *

I should have mentioned to you that I have given Colonel Innes Orders to deliver to the Officers of the three Independant Companies £12 Ster^s to be distributed among the private Men of each Company as extraordinary pay for the Labour they have undergone in building their Barracks.

The Virginia Council on Fort Cumberland, 1756

[November 15, 1757] The Governor was pleased to communicate to the Board a Letter from Colonel Washington dated at Winchester the Ninth of November, with his Observations on the Situation of our Frontiers; and inclosing a Copy of the Council of War held in behalf of Fort Cumberland, with his Sentiments on the Matter. Upon reading which the Governor desired the Opinion of the Council, whether it would be adviseable in our present Circumstances to demolish Fort Cumberland, or reinforce it with a Number, and what Number, of Men, from the other small Forts. The Council having maturely considered the Affair were unanimously of Opinion by no means to abandon that Fort, as it would be giving up a large Extent of Country, but to reinforce it with a Hundred Men from Winchester; that Col. Washington be directed by his Honor to reside at Fort Cumberland; make the Fort as tenable as possible; and frequently send out strong Detachments to reconnoitre the Motions of the Enemy.

The Maryland Assembly & Fort Cumberland, 1757

Maryland House of Delegates to Governor Sharpe,
December 15, 1757:

Fort Cumberland, we are informed, was first begun by some Gentlemen of the Ohio Company, as a Store-House of their Goods, designed for the Ohio Indian Trade, and never was Garrisoned by Troops stationed there by the Direction of any Law of this Province, but commonly by Virginia Forces. That Fort, we have too much Reason to believe, from an Extract of a Letter from your Excellency to the Secretary of State, laid before the Lower House in September Session, Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-six, in which are the following Words, "There are no Works in this Province that deserve the Name of Fortifications; just behind and among our Westernmost Settlements, are some small Stoccado or Pallisadoed Forts, built by the Inhabitants for the Protection of their Wives and Children; and besides these, there is one larger, tho' in my Opinion not much more capable of Defence, on Patowmack, about 56 Miles beyond our Settlements; it has been distinguished by the Appellation of Fort Cumberland, and is at present Garrisoned by Three Hundred Men from Virginia; it is made with Stoccados only, and commanded almost on every Side by circumjacent Hills; a considerable Quantity of Military Stores that was left by General Braddock, still remains there, and Ten of the Carriage Guns that his Majesty was pleased to order

to Virginia Two Years ago, are mounted therein;" is not tenable against even a trifling Force, should they come with any Cannon; and therefore humbly submit it, whether it might not be a prudent Measure to remove his Majesty's Artillery and Stores (tho' indeed the Provisions, we are told, are chiefly spoiled) from thence to a Place of greater Security.

Tho' Fort Cumberland may be constructed, for any Thing we know, near a Place proper for the stationing a Garrison at for his Majesty's Service in general, yet being, as we have been informed, between Eighty and Ninety Miles from the Settlements of the Westernmost Inhabitants of this Province, and in the Truth of that Information are confirmed by your Excellency's Message ... wherein you say, "the Distance from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland by the Waggon Road is 75 Miles," and consequently the Carriage of Provisions thither very expensive; we humbly conceive it cannot be reasonably desired, that the People of this Province should be burthened with the great Expence of Garrisoning that Fort, which if it contributes immediately to the Security of any of his Majesty's Frontier Subjects, it must be those of Virginia or Pennsylvania, who do not at present contribute any Thing towards the Support of it that we know of. We understand the most common Track of the Indians, in making their Incursions into Virginia (which have been lately very frequent) is through the wild desert Country lying between Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, and yet we cannot learn that the Forces at Fort Cumberland (tho' most of these are in our Pay, the Summer past have been stationed there contrary, we humbly conceive, to the Law that raised them) have very rarely, if ever, molested those Savages in those their Incursions; from whence we would willingly presume their Passage is below the Ranges, which Troops stationed at Fort Cumberland can with Safety to that Fort extend themselves to; and consequently, that any Security arising from those Troops, even to the Virginians who are most in the Way of being protected by them, must be very remote, and to us much more so.

* * *

*Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly,
1757-1758, Maryland State Archives, Volume 55,
pages 357-358.*

§ Whiskey Rebellion

Washington's writings:

- George Washington, writing to Henry Knox, from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, October 9, 1794: "... if I can get the Troops at this place in motion, I shall set out for Wins. Port; thence to Cumberland, and from thence to Bedford; where, about the 18th or 20th my ultimate measures will be determined on."

- George Washington, writing to Edmund Peyton, from Fort Cumberland, October 16, 1794: "Fort Cumberland, October 16, 1794. Dear Sir: Your letters of the 11th. instt. were received this morning at my stage 15 miles short of this place. We arrived here in the afternoon of this day; and found a respectable force assembled from the States of Virginia and Maryland; and I am informed that about 1500 more (from the former state) either is or will be at Frankfort (ten miles on our left) this evening or tomorrow at farthest... I do not expect to be here more than two days; thence to Bedford, where, as soon as matters are arranged, and a plan settled, I shall shape my course for Philadelphia; but not because the impertinence of Mr. Bache or his corrispondents has undertaken to pronounce, that I cannot, constitutionally, command the Army whilst Congress are in Session." [Washington also found inspiration from this trip for a future speech—he proposed the following theme to Randolph: "That, however distressing this Expedition will have proved to individuals, and expensive to the Country, the pleasing spirit which it has drawn forth in support of Law and Govt. will immortalize the American character and is a happy presage, that future attempts of a certain description of people will not, tho' accompanied by the same industry, sow the seed of distrust and disturb the public tranquillity will prove equally abortive."

Accounts of the assembly of troops at Fort Cumberland:

- Will Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland, Maryland*, pages 272-275.
- William Hogeland, *The Whiskey Rebellion*, pages 206, 210, and 216.
- Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion*, pages 216 and 274.
- Daniel Morgan left from Frankfort, Virginia for Fort Cumberland on October 18, 1794, and so must have missed the review the following date. See Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan*, page 190.

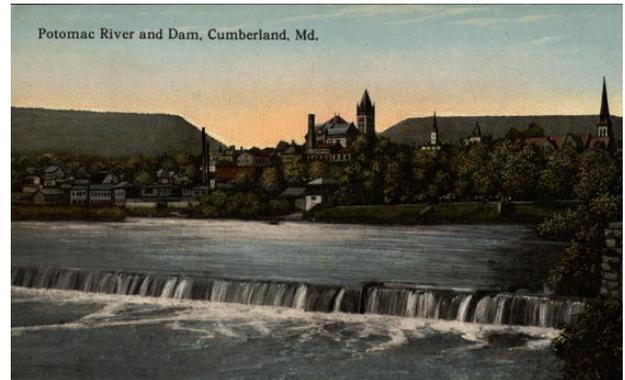
Mile 184.5 – Cumberland

Will Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland, Maryland*:

- description of river navigation circa 1825, pages 311-312.
- water let into the western level of the C&O canal on June 11, 1850, page 369.
- B&O Railroad opens line to Wheeling, Virginia, January 10, 1853, page 376.
- ceremony commemorating the completion of the C&O canal, October 10, 1850, pages 438-447.

Harry Stegmaier, Jr., David M. Dean, Gordon Kershaw, and John Wiseman, *Allegheny County, A History*.

§ The Canal & Railroads in Cumberland



Dam No. 8, Cumberland, from postcard.



Detail from Bird's eye view of Cumberland, Maryland, 1906, Thaddeus M. Fowler; prior to arrival of Western Maryland Railroad; note bridge for Piedmont & Cumberland RR over Potomac, Dam no. 8 just upstream, and the canal basins. Library of Congress Geography & Map Division.

“Mis’ Palmer’s Red Tin Shanty” and “Old Aunt Susan Jones’ Rising Sun Saloon”; see Unrau, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study, page 818.

Western Maryland Railroad’s office at the Cumberland basin, circa early 1880s, with its own boats to carry coal to Williamsport; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, page 1431.

Description of the B&O passenger station, announced in December, 1909, based on “Looking Back 1909: the B&O’s Christmas gift to Cumberland,” James Rada, Jr., *Cumberland Times-News*, November 29, 2009.

“Steam—Cumberland’s Heritage,” Dan Whetzel, *Mountain Discoveries*, Spring/Summer 2005, pages 34-47.

Canal boat excavation, *River and Mountain, War and Peace* (part 3 of the C&O NHP “Archeological Identification and Evaluation Study”), page 79.

West Virginia & Pittsburg RR through Cumberland

<1866> Potomac & Piedmont Coal and Railroad Company chartered.

<1880> construction begins.

<1881> The state of West Virginia amends the charter of the Potomac & Piedmont Coal and Railroad Company (originally incorporated in 1866), renaming it the West Virginia Central & Pittsburg Railway.

<1886> Dissatisfied with the arrangement with the B&O, Thomas Davis, President of the WVC&P, secures financial backing from the Pennsylvania RR and charters the Piedmont & Cumberland Railway to connect the WVC&P to Cumberland.

<1887> The Piedmont & Cumberland Railroad completes its line; connecting with the PRR in Cumberland. The P&C was operated by the West Virginia Central Railroad.

<1902> the WVC&P is purchased by the Fuller syndicate.

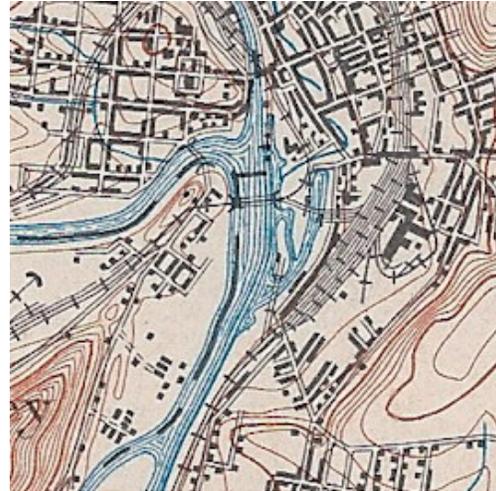
<1905> the WVC&P is merged into the Western Maryland Railroad.

“On May 21, 1886, a tripartite agreement was entered into between the West Virginia Central, the Piedmont and Cumberland, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Companies, whereby the latter agreed to set apart five per cent of its receipts from traffic coming to its road from the West Virginia Central and going from its road to the latter, as a fund to guarantee the payment of the interest on the bonds of the Piedmont and Cumberland road, which were to be issued to the extent of \$650,000, that the money might be thereby raised for the construction of the new road. The West Virginia Central agreed to deliver to the Piedmont and Cumberland all traffic it could control, and the Piedmont and Cumberland agreed to deliver to the Pennsylvania railroad one-half of all traffic hauled by it to Cumberland; and this agreement was ratified by the stockholders of the West Virginia Central, at a meeting in January, 1887, by a vote of 37,395 shares.”

[Agreement between the WV&P, P&C, and Pennsylvania railroad described in *American railroad and corporation reports*, Volume 9, edited by John Lewis, E.B. Myers and Co., Chicago, 1894, pages 125-126.]

A History of the Western Maryland Railway Company, Edward M. Killough, Baltimore, Maryland, 1938.

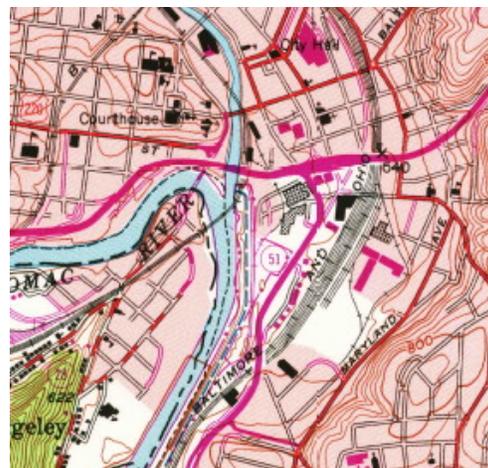
- 1852. Baltimore, Carroll, and Frederick, Rail Road Co. incorporated, page 2.
- 1853. Name changed to Western Maryland Rail Road Co., page 3.
- 1861. The WMRR reaches Westminster, Md., page 5.
- 1872. WMRR opens direct line between Hagerstown and Baltimore, page 10.
- 1873. WMRR extends to Williamsport, Md., page 10.
- 1881. West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railway Co. organized in West Virginia, page 16.
- 1892. Potomac Valley Rail Road opens extension to Big Pool/Cherry Run, leased to WMRR until 1905, then conveyed to WMRR, page 12.
- 1902. City of Baltimore's interest sold to "Fuller Syndicate," intentions of Gould, pages 12-13.
- 1905. WMRR formally acquires the WVC&P.
- 1906. WMRR opens freight service (March 15) and passenger service (June 17) to Cumberland, also connecting to the former WVC&P line down to Bellington, West Virginia, page 15.
- 1910. "Traffic agreement" between the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie and the New York Central; work begins on Connellsville Extension of WMRR, page 30.
- 1912. Completion of line from Cumberland to Connellsville, page 30.
- 1917-1920. Period of Federal control of U.S. railroads, page 43.



USGS map, undated but probably early 1900s, before the arrival of the Western Maryland Railroad; showing the WVC&P RR bridge just below the canal dam.

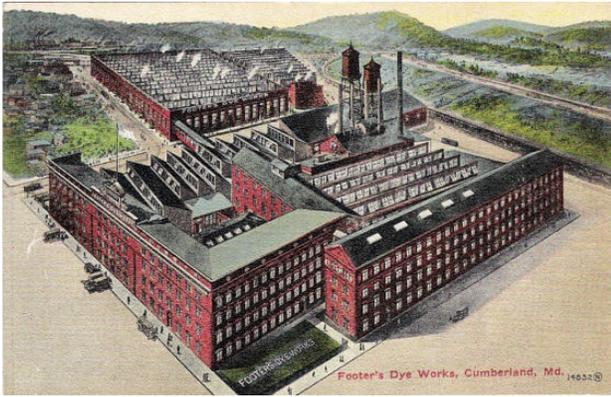


USGS map, 1949, showing the curving bridge for the Western Maryland RR, as well as the earlier WVC&P bridge and Dam #8 for the canal.

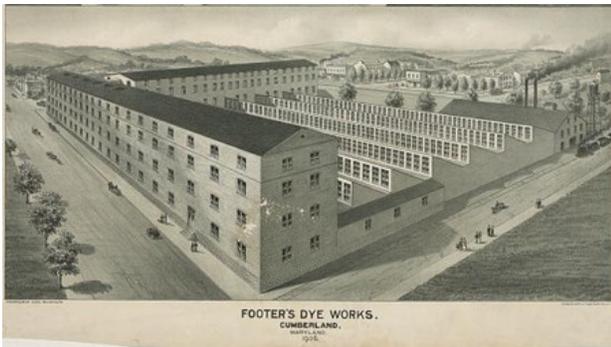


USGS map, photorevised 1971; both the WVC&P bridge and the canal dam have been removed.

§ Cumberland industry



Aerial view of Footer Dye Works, from postcard.



Footer Dye Works, ca. 1906, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-pga-01469.



Fort Cumberland Hotel

CUMBERLAND, MD.

Opened January 10th, 1918

FIREPROOF EUROPEAN PLAN

200 ROOMS 175 BATHS

Restaurant and
Quick Service Coffee Room

**Finest Hotel on Nat'l Highway
between Baltimore and Pittsburg**

Fort Cumberland Hotel, The Official Hotel Red Book and Directory, 1920.

Thomas Footer and Footer's Dye Works:

- Harry Stegmaier, Jr., et al, *Allegheny County, A History*, pages 218-219 and 351.
- "Footer Dye Works," *International Magazine of Industry*, Vol. VII, No. 9, W.C. Hill Publishing Co., Richmond, VA, 1913, page 13.
- "Footer Dye Works may soon see new life, businesses," Cory Galliher, *Cumberland Times-News*, December 20, 2009.

Dan Whetzel, "Kelly-Springfield Tire Co. at Allegheny Museum," *Mountain Discoveries*, Spring/Summer 2012, pages 28-29.

Notes

Structures & Industry

Robert J. Kapsch, *Canals*, Section Two: Canal Structures.

Prism

Proceedings of the Convention, 1823:

- Mercer's objection to limiting the width of the canal to 30 feet, page 9.
- "solids are to each other as the cubes of their homologous sides," C.F. Mercer, page 16.

Locks

§ Lockhouses

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Lock-Houses, Monograph Series, Institute for the History of Technology and Industrial Archaeology, Thomas F. Hahn, West Virginia University Press, 1996.

Boat & mule



Elizabeth Kytle describes the working conditions for the mules in *Home on the Canal*; also see the oral histories in this book for descriptions of how boats and mules were handled.

The reminiscences of an anonymous "canawler" are published in Ella E. Clark's article "Life on the C&O Canal, 1859." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 55, No 2, June 1960.

Water Industry

§ Mills, water wheels & turbines

Dave Gilbert, *Where Industry Failed; Water-Powered Mills at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia*.

“Introduction to the Mills of Washington County,” a typescript list prepared by John W. McGrain of Towson, Maryland. [Undated, from the collection at the Western Maryland Room of the Hagerstown Free Library. Apparently intended to be a part of the author’s *Molinography of Maryland*, available in microfilm at the Maryland State Archives, McGrain Collection, MSA SC 4300

§ Cement Mills

Cement mills along the Potomac River (Monograph series / Institute for the History of Technology & Industrial Archaeology), Thomas F. Hahn, West Virginia University Press, 1994.

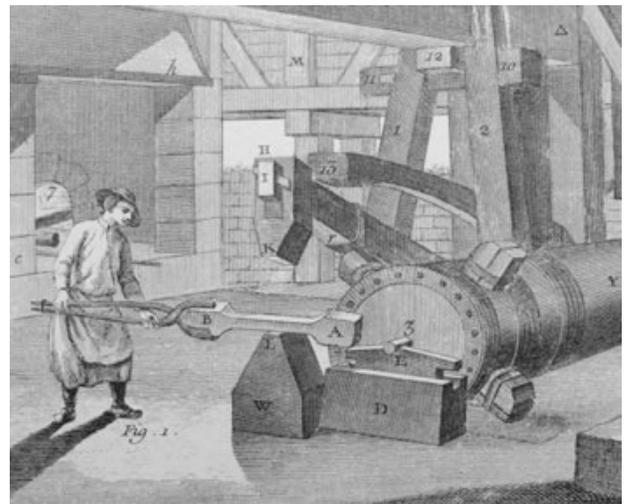
Harlan Unrau, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historic Resource Study*; pages 165-170.

Unrau, *The Monocacy Aqueduct*, Historic Structures Report (1976).

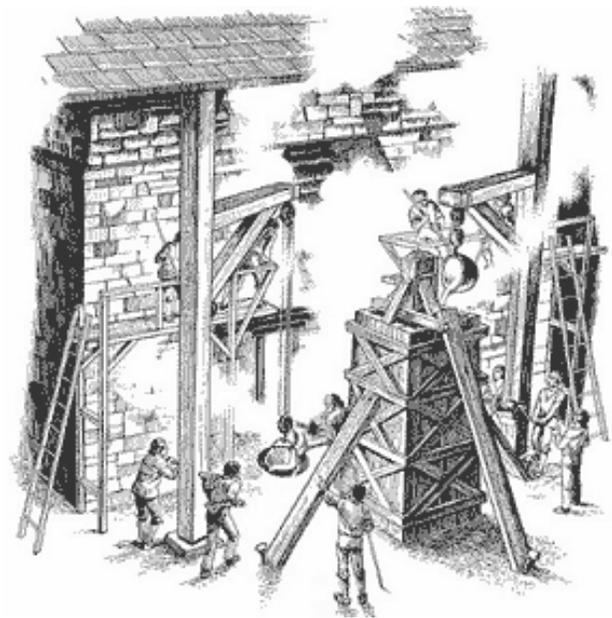
- “...on February 21, 1829, the board directed Inspector of Masonry Robert Leckie to “proceed to make a contract with Messrs. Boteler and Reynolds for the delivery of fifty thousand bushels of water lime.” Pages 2-3.
- On June 23, 1829, Superintendent A. B. McFarland recommended to Resident Engineer Boye that “every master of a boat who intends taking any of the cement in bags should be provided with tarpaulings [sic] to cover their boats.” Page 5.
- McFarland [now Inspector of Masonry] advises that the cement be shipped in air-tight barrels, as the “delicacy” of the cement was such that it tended to lose “its best properties so long as the present method is pursued of securing it into imperfect lime houses,” page 27, citing

McFarland to Ingle, Jan. 21, 1832, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

§ Furnaces, Forges & Foundries



A “trip hammer” for making bar iron at a forge, from *Diderot’s Encyclopedia*, 1765.



Ironworkers casting cannon at Hopewell Furnace, Pennsylvania. National Park Service.

Furnaces and forges in the 18th century:

- David Curtis Skaggs, “John Semple and the Development of the Potomac Valley,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 92, No. 3, July 1984, pages 285-288.
- William D. Theriault, “Friend’s Orebank and Keep Triste Furnace,” *West Virginia History*, Volume XLVIII, 1989, page 49.

The National Park Service's "official handbook," titled *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, includes a concise description of the furnace and forge processes, pages 70-71.

The Iron Industry in Western Maryland, Michael D. Thompson, unpublished research paper, West Virginia University, 1976.

- charcoal production, furnace and forge operations, pages 1-11.
- colonial iron production for domestic use and export, pages 12-18.

Maryland Heights; Archeological & Historical Resources Study, Susan E. Frye & Dennis E. Frye, Occasional Report #2, Regional Archeology Program, National Capitol Region, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 1989.

- "Charcoal Iron Technology," pages 19-20.
- "Charcoal-Making Industry," pages 20-27.

Robert B. Gordon, *American Iron, 1607-1900*:

- Potts and Wilson's ironworks at Great Falls; Antietam Ironworks; pages 81-82.
- use of coke at Lonaconing and Mount Savage ironworks; Antietam Ironworks and Potomac Furnace; pages 161-164.
- "Converting Pig Iron to Wrought Iron," pages 125-154.

Prior to 1827, Hall's Rifle Works at Harpers Ferry ordered its castings from the Antietam Ironworks and the Columbian Foundry above Georgetown, see Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*, page 228.

Settlement Chronology

- 1723 – Carrollton Manor surveyed at Mouth of Monocacy
- 1727 – Israel Friend purchases tract at mouth of the Antietam
- 1733? – Amos Janney settles at present-day Waterford
- 1739? – Charles Friend and Jeremiah Jack settle at mouth of Conococheague
- 1743? – Cresap settles at Shawnee Oldtown
- 1755 – Swearingen's Ferry in operation
- 1745 – Frederick Town (MD) founded
- 1750 – Winchester (formerly Frederick Town) chartered
- 1758 – Leesburg founded
- 1762 – Elizabethtown, MD (later Hagerstown) founded
- 1763 – Sharpsburg, MD founded
- 1778 – Martinsburg VA (now WV) founded
- 1787 – Williamsport MD founded; Cumberland MD founded