African American History of the Monocacy-Catoctin Region,

Northern Frederick County, Maryland

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For the Catoctin Furnace Historical Society, in partnership with African American Resource, Culture and Heritage (AARCH) and Frederick County Government

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Executive Summary

This comprehensive historic context report focuses on African American history in northern Frederick County. It is part of a larger project entitled "Recovering Identity: Northern Frederick County Cultural Resource Survey," including the completion of a comprehensive historic context statement and an architectural survey for northern Frederick County, with an emphasis on previously undocumented African American resources. The grant-funded project is a combined effort involving the Catoctin Furnace Historical Society (CFHS), the African American Resources Cultural and Heritage Society (AARCH), in partnership with Frederick County Government (FCG). The project is scheduled to extend over a two-year period, from 2021 through 2023.

The historic context was developed utilizing available historical records and secondary sources, as well as oral histories, gravesite information, Moravian Diaries transcriptions, and a census database compiled by other researchers associated with the "Recovering Identity" project through CFHS and AARCH. Repositories consulted include Mount St. Mary's University archives, Maryland State Archives, National Archives, Library of Congress, Maryland Historical Trust library files, historic newspapers, church records, local historical society records, and reports from Catoctin Mountain Park (NPS). Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, research was limited primarily to records available online. Research methods followed procedures outlined in Standards and Guidelines for Architectural and Historical Investigations in Maryland as well as input from community stakeholders.

The report develops the history of African Americans in northern Frederick County through the lens of the social, economic, and environmental influence of Catoctin Furnace as the industrial center of the region. Significant within this industrial theme is the use and sale of enslaved persons during economic turmoil and the transition of the workforce in and around Catoctin Furnace from enslaved and free African Americans to European immigrants. A parallel thematic development was the agricultural landscape of the region, settled by a largely Catholic population. The role of the Catholic Church in the lives of enslaved and free African Americans is integral to the northern Frederick County story, drawing on the history of Mount St. Mary's University and St. Joseph's Academy.

The area of study, identified in this report as the Monocacy-Catoctin region, is inclusive of the historic north-county election districts as they were drawn circa 1880: Emmitsburg District #5, Hauvers District #10, Mechanicstown District #15, Creagerstown District #4, and Lewistown District #20.

Chapter 1. Native Americans and Early Non-Native Contacts

Long before Europeans claimed their discovery of the American continent, the Native American people who occupied the Mid-Atlantic region already had well-developed territories within which they utilized seasonal resources, built homes and villages, and produced objects of cultural significance. Alliances between groups formed over shared language, kinship, trade, or common enemies. Although much of this earliest American history is recorded through oral traditions or the archeological record, the chronicle of Native inhabitants before European contact serves as the foundation of later American history. Roads used by Euro-American colonials often traced traditional Native paths. Many American place-names and other common words drew heavily upon the indigenous languages. Native cultivars – corn, beans, squash, and tobacco – were adopted by the European migrants, which helped the new arrivals to survive and eventually thrive. Indeed, tobacco became the basis of a prosperous colonial economy that gave rise to institutionalized enslavement of African and African American people. Thus, Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans are forever entwined in the complicated progression of history that followed the first European intrusions on the American landscape.[1]

Pre-Historic Native Americans

The Monocacy River valley and Catoctin Mountain range were utilized by Native American groups as early as the Paleo-Indian Period (12000-8000 BCE [Before Common Era]).[2] This well-watered mountain and valley landscape, with its abundant floral and faunal resources, served the cyclical hunter-gatherer lifeways predominant among the people of the Mid-Atlantic region. In addition to continued use of seasonal mountain and valley resources during the Early Archaic Period (8000-6500 BCE), tools crafted from a highly workable lithic (stone) material called rhyolite, quarried from large outcrops in the Catoctin Mountain geologic strata, gradually appeared in toolkits. Catoctin rhyolite reached its peak of use during the Late Archaic to Middle Woodland periods (6500 BCE to 1000 CE [Common Era]).[3] Processing sites,

[1] This is paraphrased from the introduction of Chapter One in the First State National Historical Park (Delaware) Historic Resource Study, written by Edith Wallace and Paula S. Reed (Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.) for the National Park Service, under a contract with the Organization of American Historians, completed in 2018.
[2] "Nolands Ferry I Archeological Site," c. 8500 BCE, https://mht.maryland.gov/nr/NRDetail.aspx?NRID=937. Before Common Era is equivalent to BC and is the preferred term used by the National Park Service. CE, or Common Era, is equivalent to AD.
[3] R. Michael Stewart, "Rhyolite Quarry and Quarry-Related Sites in Maryland and Pennsylvania," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, Vol. 15 (Fall 1987),1987, 54, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40914354.

occupied periodically throughout the Archaic/Woodland periods to prepare the stone for tool-making, have been found on both the east and west sides of Catoctin Mountain and up to twenty-three miles away.[4] Archeologist R. Michael Stewart suggested in 1987 that groups utilized the Catoctin quarries from as far away as the Mid-Atlantic Coastal Plain (the wide flat landscape below the fall line of the region's major rivers).[5]

By the Late Woodland Period (1000-1600 CE), the habitations and their occupants had changed in the region. Though the same resources were utilized, the groups now occupied semi-permanent small village sites along the Monocacy River (Biggs Ford and Rosenstock sites). The pottery and stone tools found at these sites are representative of the Montgomery Complex, a recognizable assemblage of materials, technology, and decorative styles associated with groups in the Potomac River drainage during the Late Woodland Period. Storage pits, "charred corn" (Biggs Ford Site), and "charred beans" (Rosenstock Site) indicate some use of cultivated plants as part of their survival strategy, though still largely dependent on seasonal hunting and gathering.[6] The Late Woodland Period came to a close around the start of the seventeenth century (1600 CE), as sustained contact with European traders and colonizers marked the beginning of the "historic" period.

Early Native Contacts with European Traders and Explorers

The establishment of the Jamestown colony in 1607, in what would later become Virginia, was the first of the British settlements in the Mid-Atlantic region. During the years 1607 and 1608, Captain John Smith of the Jamestown colony explored the Chesapeake Bay region, traveling along the tributaries by boat. These explorations became the basis of his map of Virginia (and Maryland) published in 1612. From his own observations along the north/east [Maryland] side of the "Patawomeck" River, Smith identified nine Native American groups or villages by name, including three "Kings houses," all apparently located below the Potomac River fall line (Great Falls).[7] **(Figure 1)** The individual groups were probably all Piscataway

[4] Spencer O. Geasey and Hettie L. Ballweber, "Prehistoric Utilization of the Highland Metarhyolite Outcrop in the Maryland Blue Ridge Province," *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, Vol. 19 (Fall 1991), 109, citing Ballweber, 1990).

[5] Stewart, "Rhyolite Quarry," 54.

[6] Dennis C. Curry and Maureen Kavanaugh, "Excavations of the Rosenstock Village Site (18FR18), Frederick County, Maryland: A Preliminary Report," *Maryland Archeology*, Volume 40(1):1-38, March 2004, 3. Curry and Kavanaugh suggest that the presence of some ceramics pieces found that appear to be diagnostic of a type called Shepard ware, may indicate these people were migrants from New York groups associated with the Owasco Complex (p. 27).

[7] The names of the nine groups given on the map were Potapaco, Nushemouck, Mataughquamend, Nussamek, Pamacocack, Cinquaotek, Moyaons, Tessamatuck, Nacotchtank. In the accompanying narrative entitled *A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion*, also published in 1612, Smith described the Native villages along north/east [Maryland] side of the Potomac (below the Great Falls): "In the East part of the bought [bend] of the river is Pamacacack with 60 men. After, Moyowances with 100. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with 80 able men. The river 10 miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant

(later called Conoy), whose members spoke a southern Great Lakes Algonquian dialect and are said to have claimed descent from Maryland's Eastern Shore Nanticoke.[8] Smith did not explore beyond the Potomac Great Falls, marking his map with a cross on the first mountain, likely Sugar Loaf Mountain, to indicate the beginning of this unexplored territory. Sugar Loaf Mountain, which stands alone just south of the Frederick County border with Montgomery County, marks the geographic shift to the mountain and valley region of western Maryland.

Figure 1: Potomac detail of John Smith map (Library of Congress)

The Piscataway presence recorded by Smith was twenty-five years prior to the first European migration to the Calvert proprietary grant lands called *Mary Land* in 1634.[9] By 1680, fifty years after the Maryland settlement began, Jasper Dankerts noted that in Maryland there

valley overshadowed in many places with high mountains; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs." (See Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1907, reprint 1959), 86-87, GoogleBooks)

[8] Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico, Volume I* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912), 339, citing a 1660 Piscataway application to the Maryland governor "to confirm their choice of an 'emperor'," which included an order of descent for their leadership (Proc. Coun., 16.36-67, Md. Archives, 403, 1885).

[9] "Charter of Maryland," *Maryland State Archives*, accessed 7/2/2021, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/educ/exhibits/founding/pdf/charter.pdf.

were “few Indians,” having been “almost exterminated.”[10] At least one of the Piscataway groups moved up the Potomac River, where in 1706, a “Conoy” village was noted by Swiss explorer Franz Louis Michel, located west of the Monocacy River (identified by “D”) near today’s Point of Rocks in Frederick County.[11] **(Figure 2)** The village was still there when Baron Christoph von Graffenried, Michel’s partner in a planned settlement in western Maryland, visited the area in 1712, but the Conoy removed northward shortly after that.

Figure 2: 1707 Michel map (Library of Congress)

[10] Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*, edited by Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson, translated by Henry C. Murphy, The Project Gutenberg eBook, 115, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/23258/23258-h/23258-h.htm#Page_115.

[11] The key to the Michel map: A. Rocks in the River called Potomack, as far as one can ascend in barques and beyond in small boats; B. A spring which flows 6o miles from Annapolis; C. First hut which was made to sleep in on the trail on their route; D. A river called Quattaro [Monacacy River]; E. Mountains of Virginia [Blue Ridge and Alleghanies]; F. Region of the Mesesipi; G. Mountains of Cenuiitua [The Massanutten range] (“Frantz Ludwig Michel,” http://www.virginiaplaces.org/settleland/michelle.html#one)

European "Indian traders" also ventured beyond the tidal waters of the bay's tributaries on Maryland's western shore. In 1712, Baron von Graffenried found French trader Martin Chartier living at his trading "quarter" near the mouth of Monocacy with his Native wife. Shortly thereafter, Chartier apparently convinced a small contingent of Tuscarora to settle there after the loss of their territory to colonists in North Carolina in 1713.[12] Although the Governor of Maryland made a "Treaty of Peace" with the Tuscaroras in 1719," they remained only a few years.[13] In 1722, the Tuscarora in Maryland began to move northward and eventually joined the Haudenosaunee, the Iroquois five-nation confederacy, which then became the League of Six Nations. Two creeks in Frederick County derived their name from the brief Tuscarora stay in the area. William Marye wrote on this subject in 1935:

> Undoubtedly these creeks owe their names to small contemporary settlements of the Tuscarora Indians. I find one of them mentioned in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Thicket," which was laid out on January 10th, 1731/32, for Dr. Thomas Craig and John Beal, Sr., in what was then Prince George's County, and is described in part as follows: lying "at the foot of the first ridge of Mountains" (i.e., the Catoctin), "beginning at a bounded hickory and chestnut sapling standing by a small run the westermost branch of Tuskorara Run."[14]

Before leaving, the Tuscarora reportedly sold to Charles Carroll "a lycense to take up his Tract of Land in the ffork [*sic*] of Patowmeck and Monockesey."[15]

At the time the Tuscarora were leaving the Monocacy valley, a group of Shawnee were observed living on the upper Potomac (Cohongaroota) River at Opessa's Town, described in 1722 by Philemon Lloyd as "a considerable nation of the Southward Indians; and have a Large Town at the Divideing [*sic*] of the Main Branches of Potommack, as you will see upon my mapp [*sic*]."[16] **(Figure 3)** According to Lloyd's map, there were two other villages nearby. **(Figure 4)** The Shawnee may have traded with Charles Anderson before he settled on their land in 1736, naming his patent "Indian Seat." Another trader by the name of Thomas Cresap, would settle there by 1746.[17] **(Figure 5)**

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[12] William B. Marye, "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume XXX, No. 1, March 1935, 124, https://archive.org/details/marylandhistoric3019mary.
[13] *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 33, "Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1717-April, 1720," 323,.
[14] Marye, "Patowmeck," 123. Marye cites the Philemon Lloyd map of 1721 that shows a Tuscarora town at the mouth of the Monocacy River; Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico, Volume II* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907-10), 846-847. The Tuscarora had recently lost a war with the North Carolina colonists who claimed the traditional Tuscarora territory there.
[15] Marye, "Patowmeck," 8. Marye notes that this sale was not recorded in the land records (then Prince George's County). This early Carroll purchase would later be included in the *Carrollton* patent land encompassing 10,000 acres.
[16] Marye, "Patowmeck," 7.
[17] "Thomas Cresap and Maryland's Colonial Frontier," *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park*, https://www.nps.gov/articles/thomas-cresap-and-maryland-s-colonial-frontier.htm.

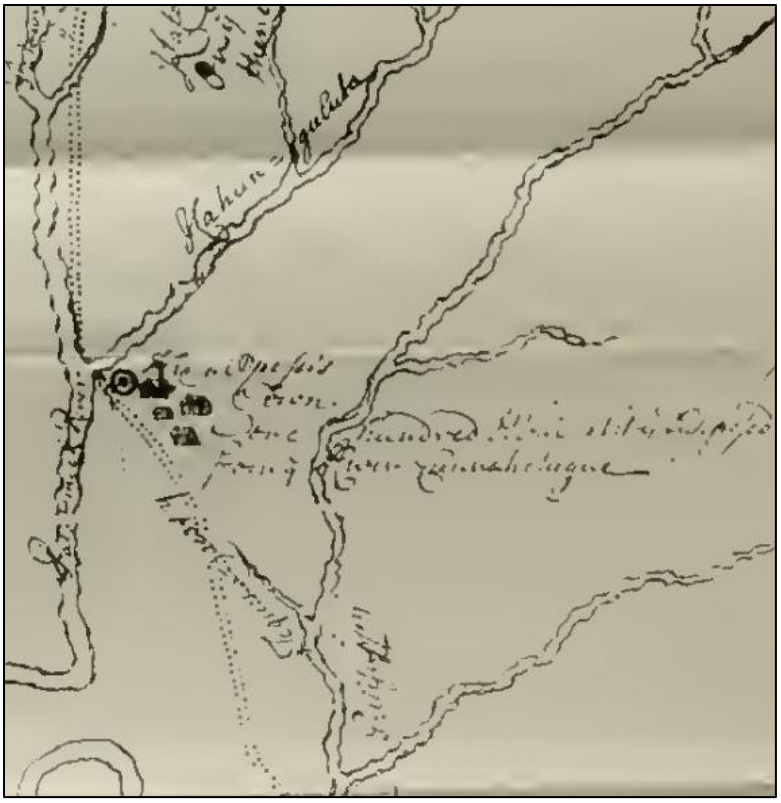

Figure 3: 1721 Philemon Lloyd map, Opessa's Town detail (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX)

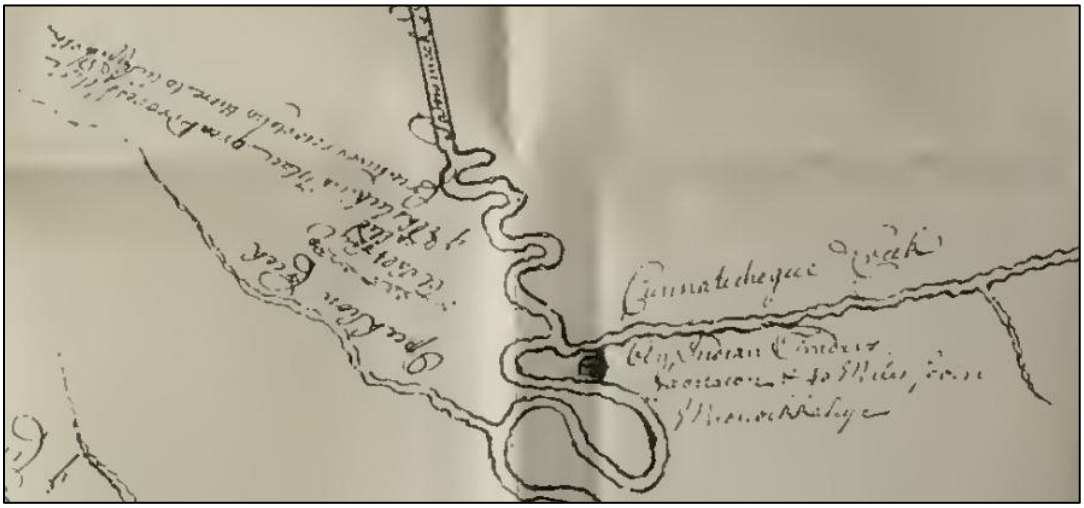

Figure 4: 1721 Philemon Lloyd map, Conoy/Tuscarora detail (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX)

Figure 5: 1747 Winslow map showing "Cresseps" home (Library of Congress)

Among the tribes most active in the lucrative fur trade with Europeans like Chartier, were the Susquehannock (Conestoga or Minqua) living along the Susquehanna River just north of the Maryland colony. They were Iroquoian speakers (Huron dialect), but also enemies of the northern Haudenosaunee Iroquois confederacy. The Susquehannock people were known as excellent hunters and their beaver pelts were prized among the European traders. Though they lived north of the Chesapeake Bay, the Susquehannock claimed the western lands of Maryland as their hunting ground. The Monocacy (or Conestoga) Path leading from Conejohela (today's Wrightsville, Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna River) southwestward into Maryland was used initially by the Susquehannock (Minqua) hunters to access their hunting grounds, resulting in periodic fighting with the Piscataway (Conoy) who were settled in the region.[18] **(Figure 6)**

[18] Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1965, reprint 1998), 105. The Monocacy Path connected to the Great Minquas Path, used by the Susquehannock in their fur trade with the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware River, today's Philadelphia area (Wallace, *Indian Paths*, 65).

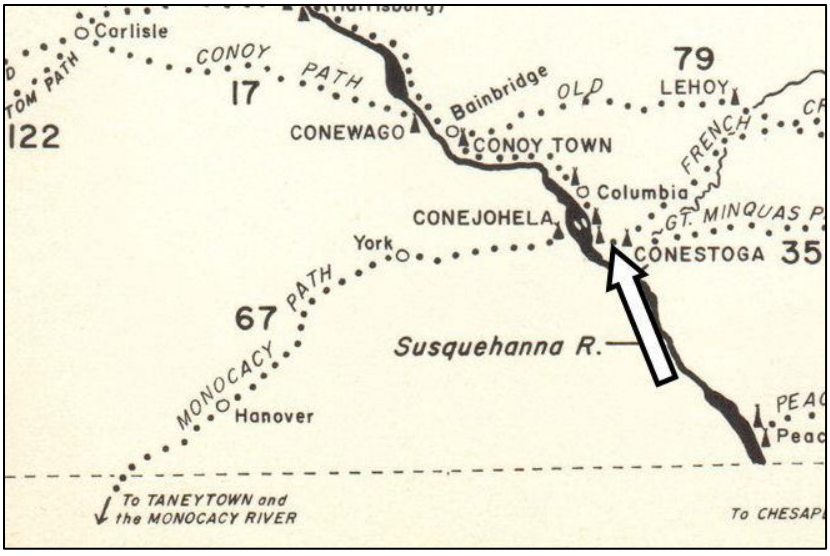

Figure 6: Route of Monocacy Path toward Maryland (*Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*)

Native Contacts with African Freedom-Seekers

The above referenced villages were the last Native occupations in the region before the coming tide of European colonials attracted by the rich and well-watered land. Until that time, however, the western lands served also as a refuge for enslaved Africans who escaped their bondage on the plantations to the east. In April, 1720, Philip Thomas of Ann Arundel County petitioned the Assembly, "Complaining that his Servant is run away to the Tuskarora Indians who refuse to deliver the same." The General Assembly then ordered, "that the said Indians Deliver the said Servant or shew Cause why they detain him Contrary to the Treatie [*sic*] of Peace made with them last Assembly."[19] Two years later, in 1722, Charles Anderson was appointed by the Maryland General Assembly "to treat with the Shawans [Shawnee] Indians for entring [*sic*] into Articles of Friendship and Amity with them and for their surrendering up to this Government certain Negro Slaves who for some time past have been entertain'd at their Towns upon Potomack River."[20] By 1725, the problem had become so acute that Maryland planters sought a more permanent solution from the colonial government. The General Assembly quickly passed "An Act to encourage the Takers up of run-away Slaves, that shall be taken up by any Person and brought in from the Back-Woods":

> Whereas sundry of the Slaves belonging to several of the Inhabitants of this Province, have of late Years runaway into the Back-Woods, some of which have there perished, and others who held it out (as to their Lives) have been entertained

[19] *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 33, "Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1717-April, 1720," 489, *Maryland State Archives*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/index.html.
[20] *Archives of Maryland Online*, Vol. 25, "Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1698-1731," 394, *Maryland State Archives*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/index.html.

> and encouraged to live and inhabit with the Shewan-Indians; And forasmuch as many Negroes (upon hearing the Success some of their Fellow Slaves have met with) are daily making Attempts to go the same Way, which if not timely and effectually prevented, may be of very ill and fatal Consequences to the Inhabitants of this Province: For Prevention whereof, it is humbly prayed that it may be Enacted,
>
> …That any Person whatsoever, either Indian or others, that shall take up any Run-away Slave (already run away, or that shall hereafter run away) in any Part of the back Woods, to the Northwestward of Monocacy River, from the Mouth thereof up the said River, to the fording Place where the Conestogo-Path [Monocacy Path] crosses the same, near one Albine's Plantation [area of later Frederick Town], and then to the Northwestward of the said Conestogo-Path, until it meet with Susquehannah-River [now in Pennsylvania – then disputed territory], and by them shall be brought in and delivered to the Person to be appointed and commission'd (according to the Directions of this Act) to receive such Run-away Negroe [*sic*], shall be paid by the said Commissioner, as a Reward for each Run-away Slave taken up, brought in, and delivered as aforesaid, the Sum of Five Pounds Current Money.[21]

In a 1729 deposition, a young enslaved woman named Eleanor Cusheca reported hearing from Harry who had escaped to "the Monocosy Mountains" that "there were many Negroes among the Indians at Monococy." Although Cusheca also recalled that several others had claimed "that the Indians would shortly come down among the English inhabitants and would kill all the white people," the court concluded that information was "groundless."[22] This conclusion likely stemmed from the fact that the few Native people who had occupied the land west of the Monocacy had already begun to move to new territories to the north. In any case, in 1729, the region remained relatively free of European intrusion. By 1736, however, a map of Virginia and Maryland, drawn by John Warner for Thomas Lord Fairfax, indicated that the Shawnee had deserted their western Maryland villages, leaving the land to growing colonial settlements. **(Figure 7)**

[21] *Archives of Maryland, Volume XXXIV*, "Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1727-1729 With Appendix of Statutes, 1714-1726," 583, "Archives of Maryland Online," *Maryland State Archives*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/index.html.

[22] Prince George's County, "Court Records 1728-1729, March 1728-March 1729," March Court 1729, 414-415, *Prince George's County Court Records, 1696 – 1770*, accessed 6/21/2021, http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/princeg.htm. Harry was said to have been enslaved by Mr. John Miller. Others in the group included "A Negro man of Mr. Thomas Brooks named Geo: and a negro woman of Colonel Darnall's named Beck."

Figure 7: 1736-37 John Warner map (Library of Congress)

Chapter 2. Colonial European Settlement and African Enslaved Labor

The African freedom-seekers who found their way to the Catoctin Mountains in the 1720s to take refuge among the Native Americans, traveled long distances from the established region of colonial Maryland. Most of the colony's settlements at that time were still concentrated along the shorelines of the Chesapeake Bay. Western shore planters, like those on the Eastern Shore, were tied to the tidal tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay for transportation. The tobacco they produced, the foundation of an increasingly lucrative economy, was grown on plantations located in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Prince George's, Calvert, Charles, and St. Mary's counties.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, the Prince George's County boundary extended all the way to the largely unsettled western bounds of the Maryland colony. Much of that land, including the Monocacy-Catoctin region, was thought to be barren and unproductive. That would begin to change by the late 1720s as German migrants seeking land on which to establish smaller, grain-producing farms moved south from Pennsylvania to claim land in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. A few, noting the rich limestone soil in the valleys along the Catoctin and South Mountain ranges, decided to put down roots even before Maryland's then-proprietor, Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, opened the land for settlement in 1732. Wealthy gentlemen living in the Chesapeake Bay region also jumped the opening date, securing large tracts from which they expected to sell or lease smaller parcels at a profit. By the middle of the 1730s, German farmers from Pennsylvania, and the sons of English planters from eastern Maryland who brought along their enslaved African laborers, would begin to populate the Monocacy-Catoctin region.

Colonial Maryland and the Introduction of African Enslaved Labor

It was in 1634 that the first migration of Europeans to the Maryland colony landed on the bank of the St. Mary's River aboard the ships the *Ark* and *Dove*. The ten-million-acre proprietary colony was a grant from Great Britain's King Charles I, intended for his loyal supporter George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, despite his recent conversion to Catholicism. George Calvert died in 1632, just two months before the grant was finalized, and the proprietary charter was awarded to his eldest son and heir, Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore.[23] The 1634 settlement expedition included Cecil Calvert's younger brother Leonard Calvert as the colony's governor, as well as "Mr. Jerome Hawley, and Mr. Thomas Cornwallis (two worthy and able

[23] Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament: 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 4-5.

Gentlemen)…with the other Gentlemen adventurers, and their servants."[24] Also on board were one hundred or so "mostly Protestant" farmers, two Catholic priests, and "a few Catholic settlers."[25] This first settlement of nearly 200 souls found relative success in the first year, in large part due to Cecil and Leonard Calvert's adherence to the recommendations made by Captain John Smith in his reports from the early Jamestown experience in Virginia.

During this early settlement phase, the Calvert proprietary offered 100 acres of land to every man who would migrate to Maryland "and for and in respect of every such [male]servant, 100 acres more."[26] For women, children, and female servants, a settler would receive a "headright" of an additional fifty acres each. For the most part, these early colonists were accompanied by indentured servants who committed to a term of service to pay for their passage, or were convicts sentenced to a term of service. These servants were predominantly English or Irish, however occasionally included some Africans. One such servant named Mathias de Sousa, "a man of mixed racial origins," arrived in Maryland with the first settlers in the service of one of the Jesuit priests, Father Andrew White. In 1653, John Baptiste, a Black indentured servant, reportedly petitioned the Maryland Provincial Court for his freedom, to which the Court agreed.[27] These cases suggest that Black indentured servants were, in some cases, subject to the same terms of service as their white counterparts.

This system of indentured servants as colonial laborers, alongside the benefits gained from headright grants, led ship's captains to act as brokers, transporting shiploads of servants, claiming the headrights, and promptly selling that land to speculators.[28] Thus, the best tracts, located within the fertile coastal plain with ready access to transportation along the tidal waters, were taken up and redistributed to the wealthier arrivals who were able to meet the speculator's price. These large tracts required the labor of many servants in the developing tobacco production economy.

By the mid-century, a shortage of white laborers – due in part to the Great Plague in Europe among other factors – prompted colonial planters to look elsewhere for cheap labor. Initially they hoped to hire or enslave Native Americans, but failed to build a labor force suitable for their needs. Instead, Chesapeake planters reportedly followed the example of other New World colonies by embracing African enslaved labor. The Africans, like the Native Americans, were a non-white "alien people whom they [European Americans] could conveniently enslave and hold in hereditary bondage on the basis of their non-Christian status and perceived barbarity."[29] The shift toward "racialized slavery," specifically the lifetime enslavement of Black

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[24] *A Relation of Maryland* (Readex Microprint Corp., 1966), 2, probably written by Father Andrew White, one of the Jesuit priests in the party.
[25] Brugger, *Maryland*, 5-6. British Catholics were persecuted in Anglican England. The Maryland colony became known for its religious tolerance.
[26] *A Relation*, 39-40.
[27] "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," 3, *Maryland State Archives*, accessed 8/4/2021, http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/.
[28] Abbot Emerson Smith, "The Indentured Servant and Land Speculation in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Apr., 1935), 469, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1838904.
[29] Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press,

Africans, was solidified through laws enacted by the Maryland legislature, establishing the slave-for-life, chattel status of Africans and their offspring.[30] In September 1664, "An Act Concerning Negroes and Other Slaves," codified unfree Black labor in the Maryland colony:

> That all Negroes or other slaves already within the Province And all Negroes and other slaves to be hereafter imported into the Province shall serve Durante Vita [for life] And all Children born of any Negro or other slave shall be Slaves as their fathers were for the term of their Hues… Be it further Enacted by the Authority advice and Consent aforesaid That whatsoever free borne woman shall inter marry with any slave from and after the Last day of this present Assembly shall Serve the master of such slave during the life of her husband And that all the Issue of such freeborn women so married shall be Slaves as their fathers were…[31]

This law not only defined slavery as the condition of Black people in Maryland, but also emphasized that they were not subject to a limited term of service as in the cases of indentured servants. Instead, Black enslaved people were bound *durante vita*, or "during life," and their children, including children fathered by enslaved Black men with free Black *or* white mothers, were subject to the same fate.

In 1674, the Royal African Company facilitated the change to enslaved African labor, bringing slave ships directly to North American ports. The importation of African men, women, and children for sale in the Chesapeake region accelerated from the 1670s through the turn of the eighteenth century. According to one source, "twice as many African slaves were imported into the Chesapeake in the first decade of the 1700s as during the whole previous century." However, the overseas trade of enslaved Africans imported into Maryland ended in the mid-eighteenth century and was largely replaced by American-born children of enslaved women.[32]

Growth of European Settlement in Northern Frederick County

In 1751, when the Fry and Jefferson map of Virginia and Maryland was first published, the "Shawno Fields" where Opessa's Town and two other villages had been located around Will's Creek were still noted as "deserted," as they had been in 1736. **(Figure 8)** But by 1751, the former Native villages were replaced by a "Fort & Ohio Company storehouse" (Fort

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2010), 19.

[30] Text written by the author in The Rural African American Experience, 1865-1900, in the National Capital Area: *A Special History Study* (National Capital Area, National Park Service, contract with Organization of American Historians, 2021), 3-4, citing Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, 3; John Boles, *Black Southerners*, 20.

[31] *Archives of Maryland, Volume 1*, "Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly January 1637/8-September 1664," 533-534, "Archives of Maryland Online," *Maryland State Archives*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/index.html.

[32] Text written by the author in *The Rural African American Experience*, 4, citing Boles; see also "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," Maryland State Archives, 2007, accessed 1/3/2020, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/intromsa/pdf/slavery_pamphlet.pdf).

Cumberland), along the western-most "Waggon Road to Philadelphia," and Col. Thomas Cresap's homeplace, among others.[33] The location of the former Conoy settlement farther down the Potomac River was still identified as "Canoy I.[Island]," but two European homesteads were sited nearby under the names Mobley and Sinclair. The map gave no indication at all of the Tuscarora's former presence in the Monocacy region.

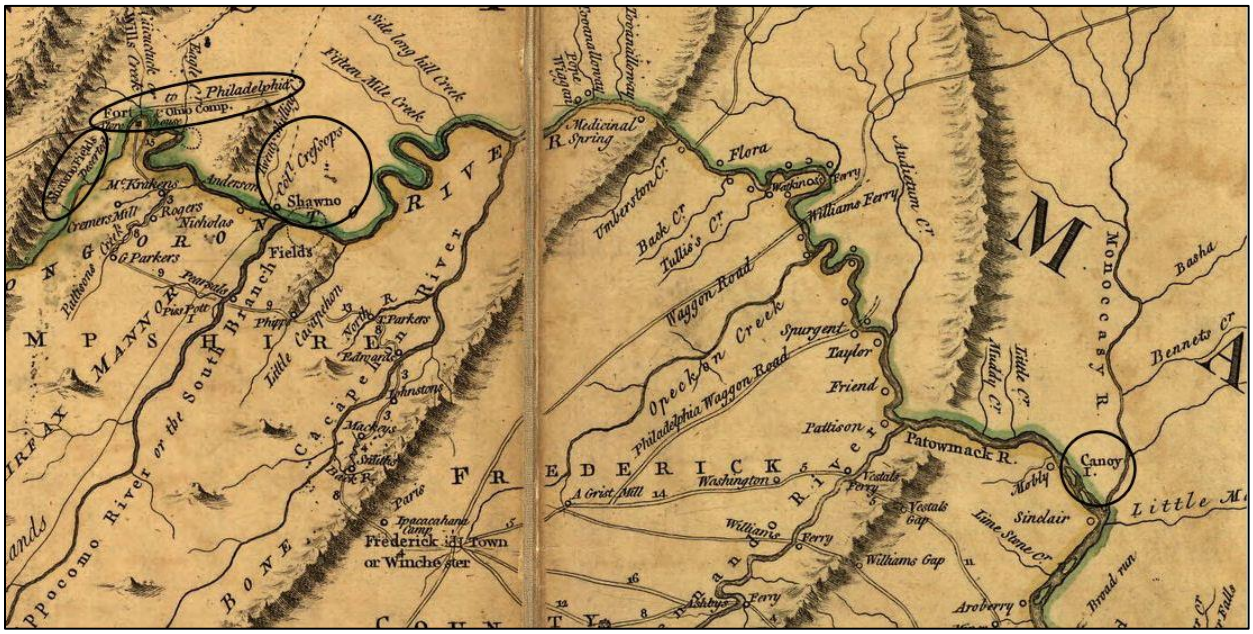

Figure 8: 1751 Fry and Jefferson map (Library of Congress)

In fact, it was about the time of the Tuscarora's move north around 1722 that Europeans turned to the Monocacy River valley to establish permanent settlements. Charles Carroll was the first with his small acquisition of land in 1721 from the Tuscarora people themselves.[34] Carroll enlarged his purchase in 1723 with a provincial warrant and survey to include 10,000 acres patented as *Carrollton*. Within this large tract, Carroll leased smaller farm parcels to mostly English settlers.[35] In 1724, the island in the Potomac River named for the former Conoy village was surveyed by Arthur Nelson and patented as *Nelson's Island*. Nelson patented adjoining land along the northeast bank of the Potomac River in 1725 and 1728, where he lived with his sons.[36] Benjamin Tasker of Annapolis surveyed a 7,000-acre tract called *Taskers Chance* in 1725 on the west side of Monocacy River.[37] These were only a few of the tracts surveyed before 1730.

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[33] In 1742, Capt. Thomas Cresap had a tract surveyed for 250 acres called *Indian Fields*, located at "the mouth of the South Branch of River Potomac," and 330 acres called *Indian Purchase*, located nearby. (Prince George's Co. Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 1142, MSA S1203-1215, and 1742/07/28, Patented Certificate 1143, MSA S1203-1216, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net)

[34] European colonials viewed land purchases quite differently from Native Americans. Colonial land deeds included the standard English phrases indicating a permanent transfer of ownership, while Native American signers of these documents interpreted them as an agreement to share the use of the land.

[35] Grace L. Tracey and John P. Dern, *Pioneers of Old Monocacy* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co.), 25.

[36] PG Cert. of Survey IL B/132, AM 1/27, and IL B/131, in Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 59-61.

[37] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 37, 257-265.

Most of the men who initially purchased Monocacy land during the 1720s were wealthy residents of the more-developed eastern counties. They saw the western lands as a speculative or investment opportunity. As much as 91,000 acres were surveyed between 1721 and 1734, according to one report, "[o]f this amount speculators controlled 81,723 acres, or ninety percent."[38] Thus, by 1732, when Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, sought to encourage settlement on his western land by offering up to 200 acres of land for a mere eight shillings per year quitrent, thousands of acres were already taken up by speculators.[39] The measure is said to have been aimed at German migrants who arrived by ship in Philadelphia and followed "The Great Waggon [*sic*] Road" and Monocacy Path to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. **(see Figure 8)** Still, the 1733 "List of Taxables for Monocosie Hundred" revealed that of the 106 taxable men over the age of sixteen who occupied the Monocacy-Catoctin region, nearly all were apparently of English lineage.[40]

Significantly, the 1733 "List of Taxables" and the "List of Tobacco Burnt," compiled the following year in 1734, provides the earliest record of enslaved workers in the Monocacy region. In 1733, two enslaved men were recorded on "Mr. Sprigg's quarter" and in 1734, "2 slaves" were again assessed on "Capt. Ed Spig's [*sic*] quarter" and two on "Mr. Charles Digs' [*sic*] quarter."[41] Edward Sprigg patented a 300-acre tract called *Buckingham House*, surveyed in 1730 on the west side of Monocacy River (near today's Buckeystown), which likely operated as a "quarter" or farm on which the owner did not live.[42] Charles Diggs, along with his partner John Bradford, patented the 2,000-acre tract called *Partnership* in 1728, probably located in the southernmost part of Monocacy Hundred near Lick Branch.[43]

It appears that it was shortly after the 1733 "List of Taxables" was recorded that German migrants began to settle in the Monocacy valley. In 1737, Benjamin Tasker tried to sell *Taskers Chance* to a group of six Germans who were already settled on the land. Though the deal fell through, more German families arrived over the following years, forming a growing agricultural cluster on the tract along the west side of the Monocacy River. In January 1745, Tasker transferred the whole tract to Daniel Dulany, who sold the land in smaller parcels and gave easier

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[38] Elizabeth Kessel, "Germans on the Maryland Frontier: A Social History of Frederick County, Maryland, 1730-1800," Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1981, 54, *Rice Digital Scholarship Archive*, accessed 7/15/2021, https://scholarship.rice.edu/handle/1911/19039.

[39] *Archives of Maryland, Volume 28*, "Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732:1753," 25-26, "Archives of Maryland Online," *Maryland State Archives*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/index.html. Lord Baltimore himself patented his 10,000-acre *Monocacy Manor* in 1724, which was subdivided into at least 85 farms for lease. (Prince George's Co. Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 1491-A, MSA S1203-1576, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net)

[40] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 368-369. The boundary of Monocacy Hundred in 1733 is not known, but likely encompassed today's Frederick County, possibly Montgomery County (later Sugarland Hundred?), and appears to include names associated with later Washington County (later Antietam Hundred and Old Town Hundred).

[41] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 368-369.

[42] Prince George's Co. Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 419, MSA S1203-484, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net.

[43] Prince George's Co. Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 1614, MSA S1203-1704, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net.

purchase terms to the settlers.[44] By 1746, Dulany had also platted Frederick Town on part of the tract, to serve as a market town and future Frederick County seat.

To the north, in the shadow of the Catoctin Mountain range, the subdivision of land was more complicated. The region was mired in an already decades-old boundary dispute between the Penn (Pennsylvania) and Calvert (Maryland) proprietaries. Despite the uncertainty, the children of Charles Carroll ("the Settler") patented a large tract of over 5,000 acres in 1732 that straddled the disputed boundary line. The southern end of this tract later (1785) became the location of the town of Emmitsburg.[45] After years of sometimes violent interactions over the boundary that stifled settlement in the region, a temporary line was agreed upon in 1739. John Diggs (Digges) was a Maryland land speculator who during the 1720s concentrated his transactions within this disputed territory. Diggs, a Catholic in what was no longer a Catholic colony, later surveyed a tract located on Owens Creek below the 1739 line, which he assigned to fellow Catholic Arnold Livers in 1732.

Arnold Livers' tract became the center of a Catholic settlement that included his son-in-law William Elder, from whose land Mount Saint Mary's Seminary sprung, the Rev. Thomas Digges (nephew of John Diggs), and Edward Brawner.[46] Historian Grace L. Tracey noted that, with the exception of a few small tracts, "all the land surveyed during the second decade of Frederick County's settlement, from one mile north of Thurmont to the Pennsylvania border above Emmitsburg, was owned by Catholics."[47] It is likely these households imported their enslaved workers as they settled in the area. In fact, at the time of the first US Population Census in 1790, twelve households of the extended Elder family enslaved a combined total of thirty-nine African Americans. Anthony Livers enslaved ten individuals, Mary Livers enslaved two individuals, and finally Elizabeth Brawner was listed as enslaving four individuals.[48]

Just south of the Catholic enclave, in the area around what would later include Lewistown, Creagerstown, and Thurmont, a second German settlement cluster grew in the 1730s. Among the earliest of these German settlers was Hans Martin Wetzel, who arrived by ship in Philadelphia in 1731. John Verdress (Verdriess), Jr. had migrated as far as Lancaster County in Pennsylvania by 1730 and was likely in the Catoctin area before 1738. Michael Reisner and several others were in the area as early as 1734 when they joined with Thomas Cresap in a boundary confrontation within the disputed territory.[49] None of these men appeared on the 1733 or 1734 Monocacy Hundred lists ("List of Taxables, 1733" and "Those who had no tobacco burnt, 1734"), probably because they were not initially landowners or even tenants. Instead, these men were likely squatters on the land and were almost certainly not growing tobacco. A union church of Lutherans and Reformed, known as "the Congregation in

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[44] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 37, 257-265. In all, Dulany sold tracts from *Tasker's Chance* to at least twenty-three German settlers.
[45] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 238-240.
[46] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 247-256.
[47] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 255.
[48] 1790 US Population Census, Frederick County, 193, 201, 209-210 (Elder family), 203, 211 (Livers family), 207 (Brawner). Census database compiled by Rick Smith from *Ancestry.com*.
[49] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 207, 215, and 193.

Manocacy," was reportedly established between 1730 and 1734. In 1745, after the death of their minister, a member of the Moravian sect, John Henry Herzer, served a year as lay-reader and school teacher for the Monocacy congregation. The following year, in 1746, the Moravian missionary formed an informal congregation, formally established in 1758 under the name "Manakosy congregation."[50] Between 1738 and 1743, as many as twenty-one German farmers recorded patents on land they already occupied, located in the shadow of Catoctin Mountain along the Monocacy Road.[51]

In 1748, an act of the Maryland General Assembly created Frederick County as the colony's fourteenth county. Carved from the western frontier of Prince George's County, Frederick County encompassed all of the remaining land in western Maryland. Frederick Town, still a village just three years old, would serve as the county seat of government and as a market and social center for the frontier county.

Early Industry in Northern Frederick County

The several creeks rising out of Catoctin Mountain and feeding into the Monocacy River below were well suited for eighteenth century industrial development, then still dependent on water power. Among the earliest industrialists in the Catoctin Mountain-Monocacy valley region were German millers, fulfilling a need to process wheat and corn for subsistence and for market, and wood for building construction. Hans Martin Wetzel (1731), who in 1741 surveyed *Mill Place* on Little Hunting Creek, was one of the early millers.[52] John Verdress (Vertrees), who patented his *John's Mountain* tract in 1738 along the same creek, operated a sawmill.[53] Matthias Ambrose, who described himself as "Miller" on his deed of purchase in 1746, was probably already operating his mill on Owens (Captains) Creek when Arnold Livers conveyed the 125 acres of *Arnolds Delight* "on the Branches of Monocksey."[54] The Ambrose Mill, located in the area that would later become Mechanicstown (Thurmont), was an important reference point in Frederick County road and land records. Mathias Ambrose's mill and Abraham Miller's mill were both identified in 1749 for a road "to be laid out from Frederick Town by Abraham Miller's mill, and from thence by Ambrose's mill to the temporary line."[55] There is no evidence that

[50] A. L. Oerter, Johannes Herbst, and Carl Gottlieb Bleck, "Graceham, Frederick County, Md. An Historical Sketch," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. 9, No. 3/4 (1913), 128-133, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41179664. See also Moravian Archives collection database compiled by Elizabeth A. Comer, 1/8/2021.
[51] Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 186-188.
[52] Prince George's Co. Circuit Court, Unpatented Certificate 217, MSA_S1226_231, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net. The name on the certificate was given as Martain Whitsaill.
[53] Elizabeth Yourtee Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace: Portrait of an Iron-Making Village* (Charleston: The History Press, 2013), 11.
[54] PG DB BB 1, page 406. See also Tracey & Dern, *Pioneers*, 203.
[55] As cited in John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Genealogical Publishing Com, 1968), 436. Scharf noted "This was the first road laid out in Frederick County after its erection."

Wetzel, Verdress, Ambrose, or Miller employed enslaved laborers in their mills. However, William Buchanan, who operated a mill as early as 1769 in the northeastern section of Frederick County (later part of Carroll County), was a slaveholder and may have used their labor in his mill.[56]

The iron industry was promoted in Maryland as early as 1719 when the General Assembly passed "An Act for the Encouragement of an Iron Manufacture." The British Parliament further encouraged production of iron in the American colonies when the Iron Act was passed in 1750, allowing duty-free exports of "pig iron," the bars of iron from which finished items were manufactured.[57] Iron production was a risky, but potentially lucrative investment, popular among a small segment of Maryland's elite families. A large cash outlay was required to purchase thousands of acres of wooded land, to build facilities, and to employ a large labor force – including enslaved Black men and women. Jean Libby's study of "African Ironmaking Culture among African Americans in Western Maryland, 1760-1850," found that charcoal-making and iron smelting were native African skills specifically exploited by American enslavers.[58] The earliest iron furnace in Maryland, Principio Furnace established in 1719 in Cecil County, noted the use of enslaved forgemen in a ledger account dated 1754. By 1777, this same furnace employed as many as 136 enslaved workers.[59] This tradition would carry over to the ironworks developing in the western Maryland region.

The Catoctin Mountain range, rich in iron ore, limestone for flux, trees for charcoal, and abundant water power, positioned the nascent Frederick County as an attractive location for iron manufactures. In 1763, the iron ore located within the Catoctin Mountain bedrock had attracted the attention of industrial adventurers/investors Benedict Calvert, Edward Diggs, Normand Bruce, William Diggs, Jr., and James Kennedy, when they patented their tract of 374 acres called *Hermits Fancy*. The original 100 acres, called *Emmitts Fancy*, was located "on the south side of Turkey run about ten perches up the said branch opposite the Great Falls upon the said run," an ideal source of industrial power.[60] It was on this tract that the partners established Hampton

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[56] Legh MASTER vs William BUCHANAN - Contract to Purchase 1784, MdHR 17, 898-215A-1/4; Loc 1-35-5-35; dated 1784, "Frederick County, Maryland, Chancery Records of African Americans," accessed August 13, 2021, https://sites.rootsweb.com/~midmdroots/afriamericans/chancery.htm.

[57] Francis C. Robb, Teresa S. Moyer, Paula S. Reed, and Edith B. Wallace, *Millers and Mechanics: A History of Industry in Mid-Maryland* (Frederick, MD: Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, 2011), 4.

[58] Jean Libby, "African Ironmaking Culture among African American Ironworkers in Western Maryland, 1760-1850" (Master's thesis, San Francisco State University, 1991, revised 2000), 37; Ibid, 28-29.

[59] William G. Whitely and Henry Whitely, "The Principio Company. A Historical Sketch of the First Iron-Works in Maryland," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (July 1887), 192; "African American Heritage & Technology," *National Park Service, Park Ethnography Program*, "Ironworkers," https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/Chesapeake_furthRdg6.htm.

[60] Frederick Co. Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 3505, MSA-S1197-3922, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net. In 1761, John Lilly received a warrant to resurvey his tract called "*Hemets Fancy*" (*Emmitts Fancy*; original survey, 1752, 100a. to John Emmitt; FC Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 1264, MSA S1197-1328). The tract was resurveyed for Lilly in 1762, adding 274 acres to the original, and in 1763, Lilly (Lilley) assigned the resurvey to Calvert et al., who patented the tract on September 29, 1763. In June 1764, Calvert et al. purchased from Lilly (Lilley) 100 acres of "*Emmitts Fancy*" by deed. (FC DB J, page 772) Turkey Creek runs along today's Hampton Valley Road west of Emmitsburg and feeds into Tom's Creek.

Furnace for the purpose of pig-iron production. The Calvert et al partnership also received a grant of 3,012 acres called *Carolina*, adjoining *Hemmets* [*Emmitts*] *Fancy*, the large acreage capable of supplying enough wood to make the charcoal fuel used to fire the iron furnace.[61]

Benedict Calvert also invested in the purchase of enslaved Africans for furnace work in 1763. Calvert reportedly supplied cash to Fielder Gantt (Gaunt, Gauntt), ironmaster of his own Fielderea Furnace in southwestern Frederick County, to purchase sixty enslaved people in Annapolis in 1763 "to begin making iron."[62] In April 1764, the Fielderea Furnace Account listed fourteen "Servants," while other records indicate that by 1766 Gantt held as many as forty-five people in bondage, either at the furnace or on his plantation.[63] This information leaves open the possibility that the remaining enslaved people purchased with Calvert's money were among the enslaved workforce at Hampton Furnace.

The Hampton Furnace partnership's ironworks plan proved faulty, having located their furnace on land yielding inferior iron ore. In 1766, perhaps in an effort to acquire a better source of iron ore, or possibly to begin a new venture, the partners obtained a warrant to survey fifty acres called *The Venture*, located at "the foot of the Kittoctin," near Hunting Creek.[64] Though the survey was completed and certified in February 1767, the Hampton Furnace was shut down by

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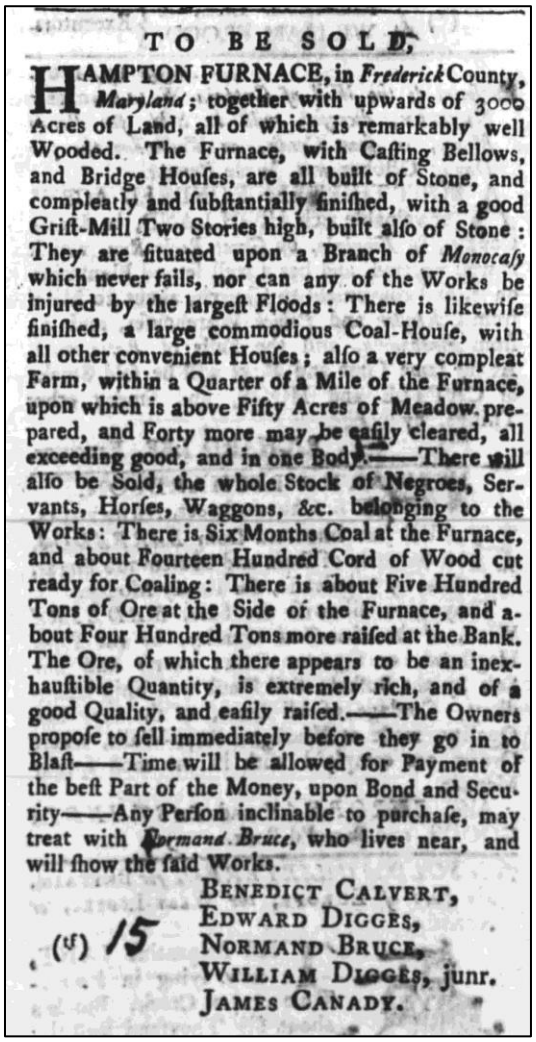
[61] FC Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 749, MSA S1197-813, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net. This was initially patented to John Lilly and James Kennedy, but they assigned it to Edward Key, who then assigned it to Calvert et al. A resurvey was done on this tract in 1796 for Normand Bruce, William Diggs, and the heirs of Benedict Calvert and Edward Diggs (Patented Certificate 750, MSA S1197-814). See Basil L. Crapster, "Hampton Furnace in Colonial Frederick County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume 80 (Spring 1985), 1-8, for a full description of the development and demise of the Hampton Furnace. The location of the furnace was identified in an 1815 deed from William Shields to Patrick Owings for nine acres of "*Emmit's Fancy*" (FC DB TB1, page 332). It appears that *Emmitts*, *Emmits*, *Hermits*, and *Hemmets*, are all variations on the same tract name, probably due to the clerk's understanding of what he was hearing.

[62] Libby, "African Ironmaking Culture," 37. According to Libby, Gantt sold all of the enslaved people "for immediate profit and a promise from…James Hunter to replace the workforce from his plantation." (Libby, 37, citing FC Chancery Record Book 132 – I have not seen this Chancery record – MSA index card shows Book 132, p. 49 "Defendant"). An abstract of a 1790 Chancery record gives this account: "Fielder GANT of Frederick County purchased NEGROES in 1763 from Annapolis, jointly with the Honorable Benedict CALVERT of the said James HUNTER, expecting to receive Mr. Calvert as a partner in the Iron Works. He later entered into a partnership with James HUNTER which has resulted in monetary disagreement." Among the abstracted attachments noted with this Chancery record was an August 2, 1765 letter from James Hunter to Fielder Gantt, in which Hunter "mentions a business association for constructing a forge on Ketocton [Hampton Furnace?] and that Gantt's designs on Monocacy were defeated by Calvert & Company because the stream is only sufficient to carry a single hammer for five or six months of the year." (HUNTER, PURVIANCE vs Fielder GAUNT - Contract to Lease - 23 Feb 1790 [MSA S512- 2534; 1/36/3/36-2446; 2 folders], "Chancery Court Abstracts," *Maryland State Archives*, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc6000/sc6016/county/frederick/chancery/2446.htm)

[63] Fielderea Furnace Account, April 18, 1764 in "HUNTER, PURVIANCE vs Fielder GAUNT - Contract to Lease - 23 Feb 1790." A 1766 mortgage deed from Gantt to Caleb Dorsey for several tracts of land, also included sixteen enslaved people "at Fielderea Furnace," and ten others held in bondage elsewhere (FC DB K, page 456). Gantt also held an additional 19 enslaved people who were mortgaged by Gantt to Thomas Smith and John Cox in 1766, however, this document does not indicate where these people were held (FC DB K, page 504). In 1767, Hunter purchased (by lease and release) all of the Fielderea Furnace land, buildings, and chattels – including "slaves and servants" – from Gantt (FC DB K, pp. 1161-1165), then immediately leased back to Gantt fourteen of the enslaved workers at the furnace (FC DB K, p. 1176).

[64] Frederick Co. Circuit Court, Patented Certificate 4947, MSA S1197-5374, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net. It appears that John Davidson was initially included in this group, but withdrew.

May 1767. The partners advertised the Hampton Furnace for sale from May through September 1767 in the *Maryland Gazette*. **(Figure 9)** As noted previously, the Hampton partners appear to have imported enslaved Black men and women as their primary workforce like other iron furnaces throughout the Maryland province. These people, described in the 1767 sale advertisement as "the whole stock of negroes," were to be sold along with the livestock and 3,000 acres of land.[65]



TO BE SOLD,

HAMPTON FURNACE, in *Frederick* County, *Maryland*; together with upwards of 3000 Acres of Land, all of which is remarkably well Wooded. The Furnace, with Caſting Bellows, and Bridge Houſes, are all built of Stone, and compleatly and ſubſtantially finiſhed, with a good Grift-Mill Two Stories high, built alſo of Stone: They are ſituated upon a Branch of *Monocaſy* which never fails, nor can any of the Works be injured by the largeſt Floods: There is likewiſe finiſhed, a large commodious Coal-Houſe, with all other convenient Houſes; alſo a very compleat Farm, within a Quarter of a Mile of the Furnace, upon which is above Fifty Acres of Meadow prepared, and Forty more may be eaſily cleared, all exceeding good, and in one Body.——There will alſo be Sold, the whole Stock of Negroes, Servants, Horſes, Waggons, &c. belonging to the Works: There is Six Months Coal at the Furnace, and about Fourteen Hundred Cord of Wood cut ready for Coaling: There is about Five Hundred Tons of Ore at the Side of the Furnace, and about Four Hundred Tons more raiſed at the Bank. The Ore, of which there appears to be an inexhauſtible Quantity, is extremely rich, and of a good Quality, and eaſily raiſed.——The Owners propoſe to ſell immediately before they go in to Blaſt——Time will be allowed for Payment of the beſt Part of the Money, upon Bond and Security——Any Perſon inclinable to purchaſe, may treat with *Normand Bruce*, who lives near, and will ſhow the ſaid Works.

BENEDICT CALVERT,
EDWARD DIGGES,
NORMAND BRUCE,
WILLIAM DIGGES, junr.
JAMES CANADY.

(tf) 15

Figure 9: Sale of Hampton Furnace, *Maryland Gazette*, September 17, 1767

Benedict Calvert quickly moved on to join a new Catoctin iron investment partnership with Annapolis attorney Thomas Johnson, Jr., his brother James Johnson, and John Davidson. In 1768, the group sought a warrant to survey a large vacant tract of land on Catoctin Mountain,

[65] *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 17, 1767, *Newspapers.com*. Note: The author has found no evidence in the land records or newspapers that this sale ever took place. Since Benedict Calvert was involved in the next venture, it is possible he simply bought out his partners and moved at least some of the equipment, and probably the enslaved workers, to the Catoctin works. Indeed, *The Venture* tract appears to have been encompassed by the 1771 survey of *Mountain Tract*.

"for the purpose of erecting and building an iron works."[66] While awaiting that warrant, Calvert and Thomas Johnson purchased *John's Mountain* (128 acres) from John Verdress' heir for £500, and another 2,200-acre tract called *Lost Tomahawk* from George Fraser Hawkins for £400. To these tracts they added over 5,000 acres of "vacant" land, and various small "elder surveys" including *Venture*, the whole of which was surveyed in 1771 for a total of 7,715 acres called *Mountain Tract*.[67] It would be another three years before construction began on the new furnace under the direction of James Johnson and largely accomplished by enslaved laborers.

James Johnson was already an experienced ironmaster by the time he arrived at Catoctin in 1774. Ten years earlier, his older brother Thomas Johnson, Jr. had partnered with Lancelot Jacques to develop the Fort Frederick Furnace and forge (also known as Green Spring Furnace, located in today's Washington County). Fort Frederick Furnace opened in 1768 under the supervision of James Johnson, who oversaw the operation, including its enslaved workers, until 1774. When Johnson moved to direct the Catoctin Furnace construction in 1774, the enslaved laborers at the Fort Frederick Furnace remained there as part of the lease agreement with that facility's new ironmaster, Denton Jacques.[68]

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[66] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 12.

[67] FC DB M, page 147 (John V. Verdress to B. Calvert and T. Johnson, 1769); *Provincial Court Land Records, 1765-1770, Volume 725*, 550, "Archives of Maryland Online," *Maryland State Archives*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/html/index.html; FC Patented Certificate 2698, MSA S1197-3001, *Maryland State Archives*, plats.net. The £500 price tag for *John's Mountain* was very high for 128 acres, probably because the tract was improved with a sawmill and possibly a forge. (Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 11)

[68] Washington Co. (WC) DB C, page 146. The Denton Jacques agreement to lease the Fort Frederick furnace and forge was executed on January 27, 1775 and included "all the lands their improvements and appurtenances, Negroes, Servants, horses, cattle and other personal stock estate or things whatsoever held or possessed in Joint tenancy common or partnership by him the said Lancelot Jacques with Thomas Johnson junior…"

Chapter 3. The Early Catoctin Furnace Period – 1776 to 1820

When the first blast of the Catoctin Furnace occurred in the late summer or fall of 1776, the company already had purchase orders from the Maryland Council of Safety. The state militia, then fighting for American independence from Great Britain, would be supplied with ordnance and camp pots forged from Catoctin iron. All four of the Johnson brothers – Thomas, James, Roger, and Baker – served as officers in the Maryland militia. Later, in 1780, the Continental Army contracted with James Johnson to have the Catoctin Furnace (also known as "Johnson & Co.") cast nearly a thousand ten-inch shells for cannon in the patriotic cause for freedom.[69] The irony, of course, was in the production by enslaved Black laborers of those items used in the fight for freedom.

The American Revolution changed many Americans' feelings about enslaved labor in a nation founded on "freedom." But the system of forced labor in the new United States continued to thrive, particularly in the states located below the Mason-Dixon Line, including Maryland. In northern Frederick County, the Catoctin Furnace, with its population of enslaved and free Black workers, dominated the landscape. The rich soils of the Monocacy River valley fostered the development of large white-owned farms, often worked by both enslaved and free laborers. Soon, tiny enclaves of free Black families would begin to coalesce around a few landowners in the rural districts near employment at the furnace and farms.

Implications of the American Revolution on the Institution of Slavery

The American Revolution proved to be a boon for some colonial enslavers, particularly iron makers such as Johnson & Company at Catoctin and for the farmers who produced the foodstuffs required to feed an army, such as wheat, beef, and pork. For the tobacco planters of Maryland, however, the war disrupted not only their profits, but also their system of enslaved labor. In November 1775, Lord Dunmore, the loyalist royal governor of Virginia, issued a decree that declared "all indented servants, Negroes, or others (appertaining to rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his Majesty's troops."[70] In response, an estimated 5,000 enslaved people in the Chesapeake region escaped to freedom behind British lines.

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[69] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 13-16. Later records showed that only about 500 of the shells were approved for use, the others "not being Air tight chiefly owing to a defect in the ear of said Shells…" (June 2, 1784 report of Daniel Joy to the Continental Congress, in Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 17).

[70] "History Resources: Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775," *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/lord-dunmores-proclamation-1775; *Guide to Maryland Slavery*, 7-8.

Among the American colonials, including those in Maryland, the fear of arming enslaved men prevented recruitment of Black bondsmen early in the war. However, as early as 1776, free Black men were able to join the Maryland ranks. An August 1778 document entitled "Report on Negroes in the Continental Army" recorded ninety-five men enlisted in two Maryland regiments (Smallwood's and 2nd Maryland).[71] **(Figure 10)** In October 1780, the Maryland General Assembly passed a bill authorizing the enlistment of "any able bodied slave between sixteen and forty years of age, who voluntarily enters the service, and is passed by the lieutenant in the presence and with the consent and agreement of his master."[72] In 1781, the General Assembly considered a bill to create a "Negro regiment." If enacted, the law would have required large slaveholders, like Frederick County's Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to contribute at least one volunteer bondsman, for which the "owner" would receive a payment. In a letter to his father, Carroll angrily noted the payment was "not equal to the value of healthy, strong young Negro men." Charles Carroll viewed the bill under consideration, which did not become law, to be unfairly oppressive for wealthy enslavers such as himself, concluding, "I hope that none of our Negroes will enlist."[73]

For some slaveholders, the American Revolution initiated a change in their attitude toward the system of enslaved labor. After fighting for freedom from tyranny, they felt a moral imperative to free the people they themselves enslaved. In 1790, Daniel Dorsey (who lived in the Liberty District in 1800) claimed he had "maturely considered the nature of Slavery and being convinced it is contrary to the Fundamental Principle of Christian Faith do unto all Men as you would they should do unto you," he manumitted twenty-three enslaved people.[74] That same year, the Maryland law forbidding manumission by will enacted in 1752 and continued in 1786, was repealed in 1790 by the Maryland Assembly, calling it "contrary to the principles of justice."[75]

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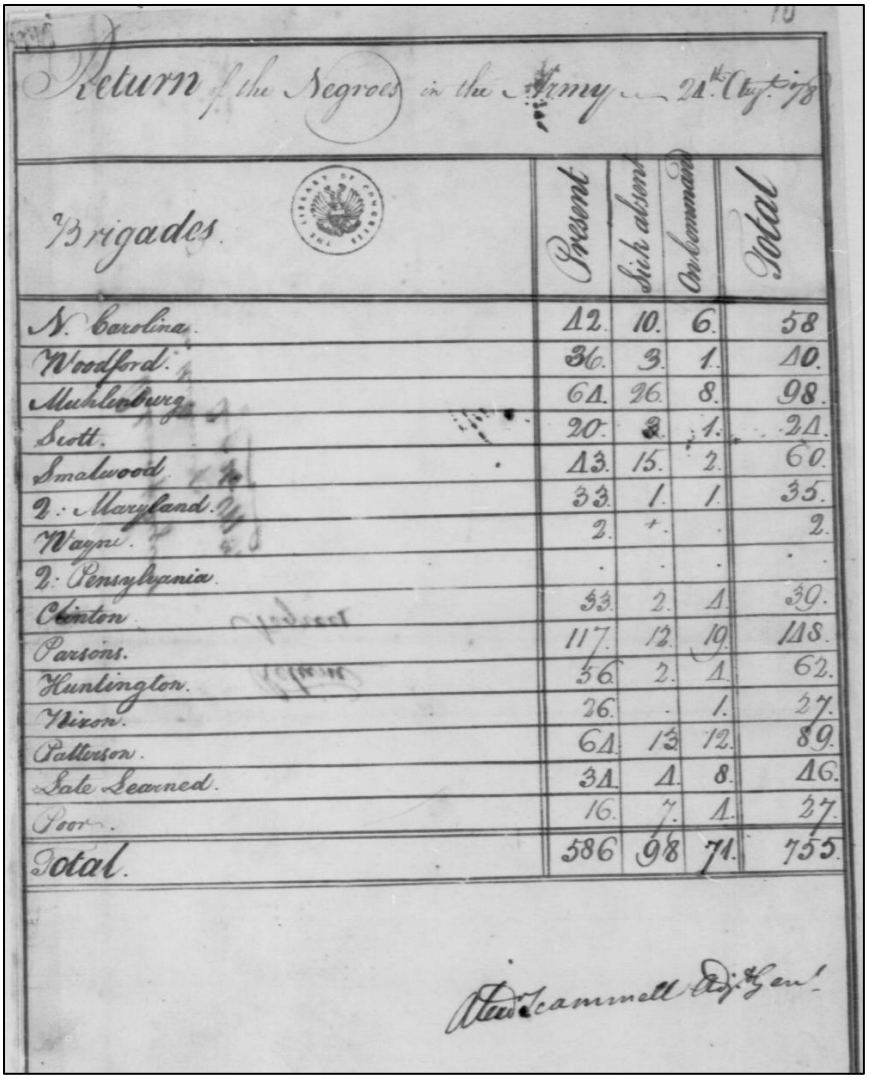
[71] *George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence: Alexander Scammel, Report on Negroes in the Continental Army*. 1778. Manuscript/Mixed Material. https://www.loc.gov/item/mgw451463/. See also William L. Calderhead, "Thomas Carney: Unsung Soldier of the American Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Volume 84, No. 4 (Winter 1989), 319.

[72] "Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution," *Archives of Maryland Online*, Volume 18, 367, *Maryland State Archives*, https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000018/html/am18--367.html; Eric G. Grundset, ed., *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Patriots in the Revolutionary War* (National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 2008), 454.

[73] Grundset, *Forgotten Patriots*, 455. The authors of the DAR report compiled a list of African American men from Maryland who served in the Revolutionary War. Not all had their place of residence identified in the military records. The authors cross-referenced the soldier's names against the 1790 census and apparently found none in Frederick County (the list for Frederick County, found on page 468, is incorrectly labeled and is actually for Harford County). Those from Washington County include Jacob Adams and John Grimes (page 469; the remaining names were actually from Worcester County).

[74] FC DB WR 9, page 107; see also Smith, "Manumission Deeds," 4. The 1790 census recorded Dorsey with 21 enslaved people who were presumably among those manumitted that same year. By 1800, Dorsey's moral compass had shifted back, the census recording 17 enslaved people in his household.

[75] *Laws of Maryland, 1785-1791*, Vol. 204, "An ACT to continue the acts of assembly therein mentioned," 173, and "An ACT to repeal certain parts of an act, entitled, An act to prevent disabled and superannuated slaves being set free, or the manumission of slaves by any last will and testament, and of a supplementary act thereto, and for certain other purposes," 458, *Archives of Maryland Online*, accessed 1/7/2020, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000204/html/index.html. See also, Edith Wallace, *"They Have Erected a*



Return of the Negroes in the Army 21st Oct. 78

Brigades	Present	Sick absent	Ordonnance	Total
N. Carolina.	42.	10.	6.	58.
Woodford.	36.	3.	1.	40.
Muhlenburg.	64.	26.	8.	98.
Scott.	20.	2.	1.	24.
Smalwood.	43.	15.	2.	60.
2: Maryland.	33.	1.	1.	35.
Wayne.	2.	.	.	2.
2: Pensylvania.	.	.	.	.
Clinton.	33.	2.	4	39.
Parsons.	117.	12.	19.	148.
Huntington.	56.	2.	4.	62.
Nixon.	26.	.	1.	27.
Patterson.	64.	13.	12.	89.
Late Learned.	34.	4.	8.	46.
Poor.	16.	7.	4.	27.
Total.	586	98	71.	755.

Alex. Scammell Adj. Gen.

Figure 10: Report on Negroes in the Continental Army (Library of Congress)

An increased number of African Americans in Maryland and other states were thus freed from bondage beginning in the 1770s. Although Maryland outlawed emancipation by Last Will and Testament in 1752, it did not prevent such releases by "instrument in writing," often referred to as a "deed of manumission."[76] In Frederick County prior to the war, these deeds of manumission were infrequent, just thirteen recorded between 1754 and 1775. In 1776, however, nineteen people were freed by their enslavers, and from 1777 through 1789, another thirty-three men, women, and children were released from bondage through deeds of manumission. In 1780,

Neat Little Church." The Rural African American Experience, 1865-1900, in the National Capital Area: A Special History Study, prepared for the National Park Service, National Capital Area, in cooperation with the Organization of American Historians, 2021.

[76] *Laws of Maryland, 1785–1791*, Vol. 204, "An ACT to continue the acts of assembly therein mentioned," 173, and "An ACT to repeal certain parts of an act, entitled, An act to prevent disabled and superannuated slaves being set free, or the manumission of slaves by any last will and testament, and of a supplementary act thereto, and for certain other purposes," 458, *Archives of Maryland Online*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000204/html/index.html.

Thomas Wilson, a farmer likely living in northern Frederick County, manumitted two of his enslaved people, John and Hanna (both aged 38), and in 1782, he released three others, Caroline Key, Hannah Key, and John Key (no ages given). Wilson later manumitted Dick (20) and James (21) in 1785, and in 1790, Francis (9) and John (12) Key were also released from bondage.[77]

Many enslaved African Americans did not wait for their enslavers to release them from bondage. Advertisements for "runaway slaves" appeared in the earliest issues of the *Maryland Gazette*, though self-liberation by the enslaved was as old as the institution itself and continued into the nineteenth century. Many Black self-liberators left or passed through Frederick County seeking freedom in Canada, Ohio (Northwest Territory), or the northern states where the abolition of slavery was taking hold. These freedom-seekers, and the people who helped them, formed the foundation of what would later be known as the Underground Railroad.

Among the self-liberators from Frederick County, the earliest advertised was found in the *Maryland Gazette* in July 1775. An enslaved woman named Rhoad [*sic*] or Nancy Banneker, left the farm of her enslaver, Abidnigo Hyatt, in the company of a fugitive Irish indentured servant.[78] In 1777, two enslaved men named Perth and Cato liberated themselves from the farm of Henry Riddell near Taneytown (today's Carroll County). Both men reportedly joined the Continental Army under new names – Daniel Williams and Daniel Ehaw.[79] **(Figure 11)** In 1798, the *Maryland Gazette* carried the notice for William Stewart, a free Black man who absconded with Candis, a Black woman enslaved on the farm of James Crow Cheney. Stewart carried a pass that certified he and his wife Elizabeth were both free people, according to Cheney's advertisement, adding that, "it is supposed she [Candis] will pass with said fellow as his wife, by the name of Elizabeth, as free under the said pass."[80]

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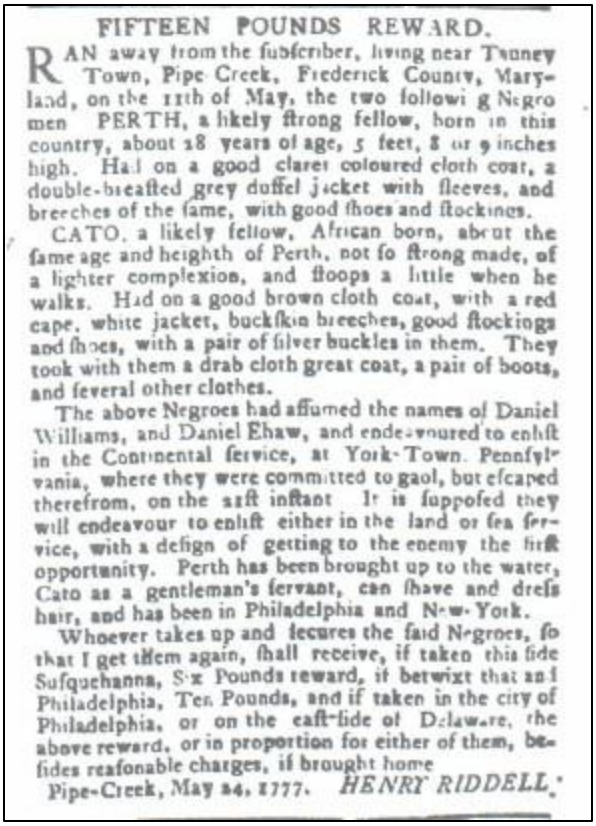
[77] Richard H. Smith, "Manumission Deeds of Frederick County, Maryland, 1748-1865," Volume 2, 2-4, "Research," *Frederick Roots*, accessed 9/10/2021, http://frederickroots.com/research.asp. According to the 1800 census, Wilson lived in the Westminster District No. 6 (including the Taneytown area?).

[78] *Maryland Gazette*, July 20, 1775, *Newspapers.com*. In 1775, Hyatt noted he lived in Frederick County, but by 1790, he was listed in Prince George's County on the census. Certainly, there were enslaved people who freed themselves in the county prior to this 1775 date, however, this was the earliest newspaper advertisement found for Frederick County.

[79] "Legacy of Slavery in Maryland," Slave Ads database, *Maryland State Archives*, http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx; see also Emily Huebner, "Stories of Slavery in Familiar Landscapes," *Heart of the Civil War Heritage Area*, "Bugle Call," accessed September 9, 2021, https://www.heartofthecivilwar.org/blog/researching-stories-of-slavery-in-familiar-landscapes.

[80] *Maryland Gazette*, November 8, 1798, *Newpapers.com*. Cheney also located his farm in Frederick County, though he does not appear anywhere in the 1790 or 1800 census records.



FIFTEEN POUNDS REWARD.

RAN away from the subscriber, living near Tuney Town, Pipe Creek, Frederick County, Maryland, on the 11th of May, the two following Negro men PERTH, a likely strong fellow, born in this country, about 28 years of age, 5 feet, 8 or 9 inches high. Had on a good claret coloured cloth coat, a double-breasted grey duffel jacket with sleeves, and breeches of the same, with good shoes and stockings.

CATO, a likely fellow, African born, about the same age and heighth of Perth, not so strong made, of a lighter complexion, and stoops a little when he walks. Had on a good brown cloth coat, with a red cape, white jacket, buckskin breeches, good stockings and shoes, with a pair of silver buckles in them. They took with them a drab cloth great coat, a pair of boots, and several other clothes.

The above Negroes had assumed the names of Daniel Williams, and Daniel Shaw, and endeavoured to enlist in the Continental service, at York-Town, Pennsylvania, where they were committed to gaol, but escaped therefrom, on the 21st instant. It is supposed they will endeavour to enlist either in the land or sea service, with a design of getting to the enemy the first opportunity. Perth has been brought up to the water, Cato as a gentleman's servant, can shave and dress hair, and has been in Philadelphia and New-York.

Whoever takes up and secures the said Negroes, so that I get them again, shall receive, if taken this side Susquehanna, Six Pounds reward, if betwixt that and Philadelphia, Ten Pounds, and if taken in the city of Philadelphia, or on the east side of Delaware, the above reward, or in proportion for either of them, besides reasonable charges, if brought home

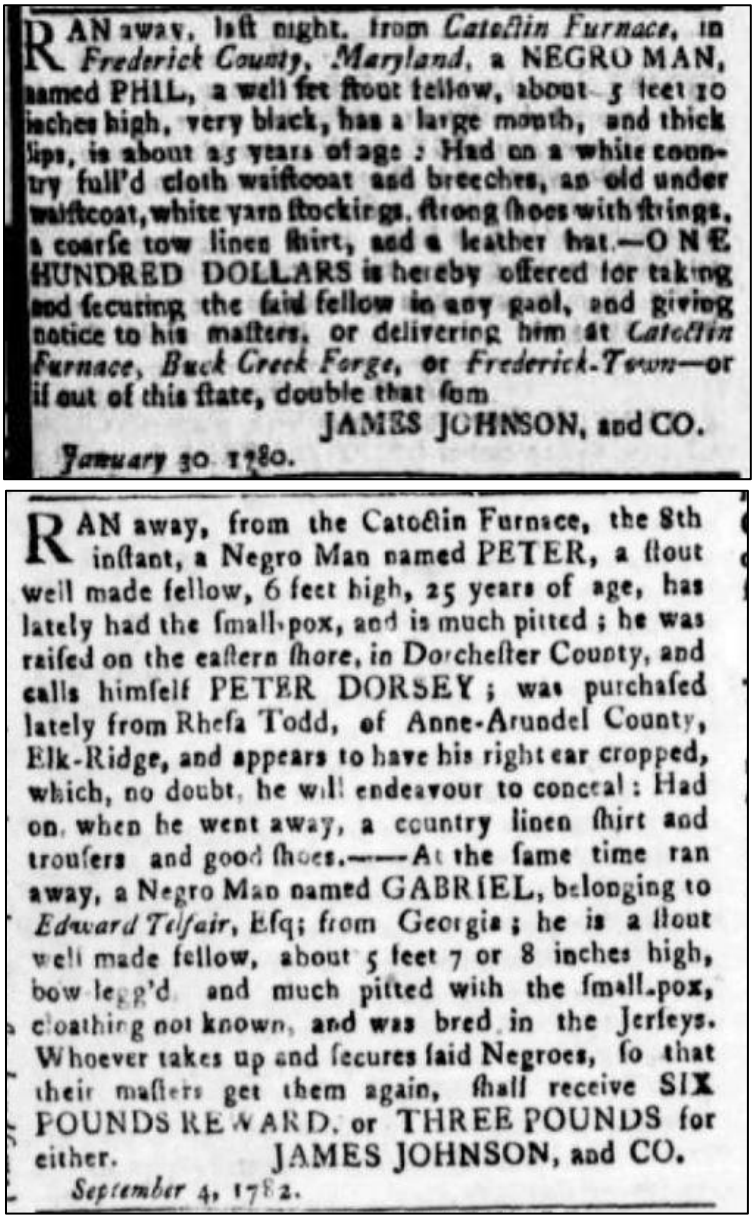
Pipe-Creek, May 24, 1777. HENRY RIDDELL.

Figure 11: Ad for Perth and Cato (Maryland State Archives)

Beginning as early as 1780, a number of enslaved men liberated themselves from the Johnson & Co. Catoctin Furnace.[81] In January 1780, a well-dressed enslaved man named Phil enacted his own emancipation. James Johnson posted a reward of $100 for his return. In September 1782, two enslaved men, Peter Dorsey and Gabriel, escaped from the furnace. Peter Dorsey was born in Dorchester County, but had been "recently purchased" in Ann Arundel County; Gabriel, who was "bred in the Jerseys," had been leased by his enslaver in Georgia to Johnson & Co.[82] **(Figure 12)** In June 1815, two Pennsylvania newspapers carried advertisements for two freedom-seekers from northern Frederick County. According to the June 3 advertisement posted in the *Lancaster Intelligencer*, Bob was an enslaved tanner and farm laborer who liberated himself from the farm of George Slusser, located four miles from Catoctin Furnace. Another June 1815 advertisement posted in the *Carlisle Weekly Herald* by then-Catoctin Furnace owner Willoughby Mayberry, noted that Bob was "in the company" of an enslaved furnace worker who called himself Richard Thomas, but whose name was given as "Negro Dick." The two were said to be heading for Pennsylvania.[83] The following year, in June 1816, two enslaved

[81] Libby, "African Ironmaking Culture," 41.
[82] "Legacy of Slavery in Maryland," Slave Ads database, *Maryland State Archives*, http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx; see also Huebner, "Stories of Slavery in Familiar Landscapes," https://www.heartofthecivilwar.org/blog/researching-stories-of-slavery-in-familiar-landscapes.
[83] *Lancaster Intelligencer*, June 3, 1815, and *Carlisle Weekly Herald*, June 22, 1815, *Newspapers.com*. See also "Legacy of Slavery in Maryland," Slave Ads database, *Maryland State Archives*,

men named Jack and Peter, who "have lived at Johnson's Furnace in Frederick County, in this State, for the last three years," had recently been purchased, and almost immediately liberated themselves from their new enslaver in Ann Arundel County. **(Figure 13)**



RAN away, laſt night, from *Catoctin Furnace*, in *Frederick County, Maryland*, a NEGRO MAN, named PHIL, a well ſet ſtout fellow, about 5 feet 10 inches high, very black, has a large mouth, and thick lips, is about 25 years of age; Had on a white country full'd cloth waiſtcoat and breeches, an old under waiſtcoat, white yarn ſtockings, ſtrong ſhoes with ſtrings, a coarſe tow linen ſhirt, and a leather hat.—ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS is hereby offered for taking and ſecuring the ſaid fellow in any gaol, and giving notice to his maſters, or delivering him at *Catoctin Furnace*, *Buck Creek Forge*, or *Frederick-Town*—or if out of this ſtate, double that ſum.

JAMES JOHNSON, and CO.

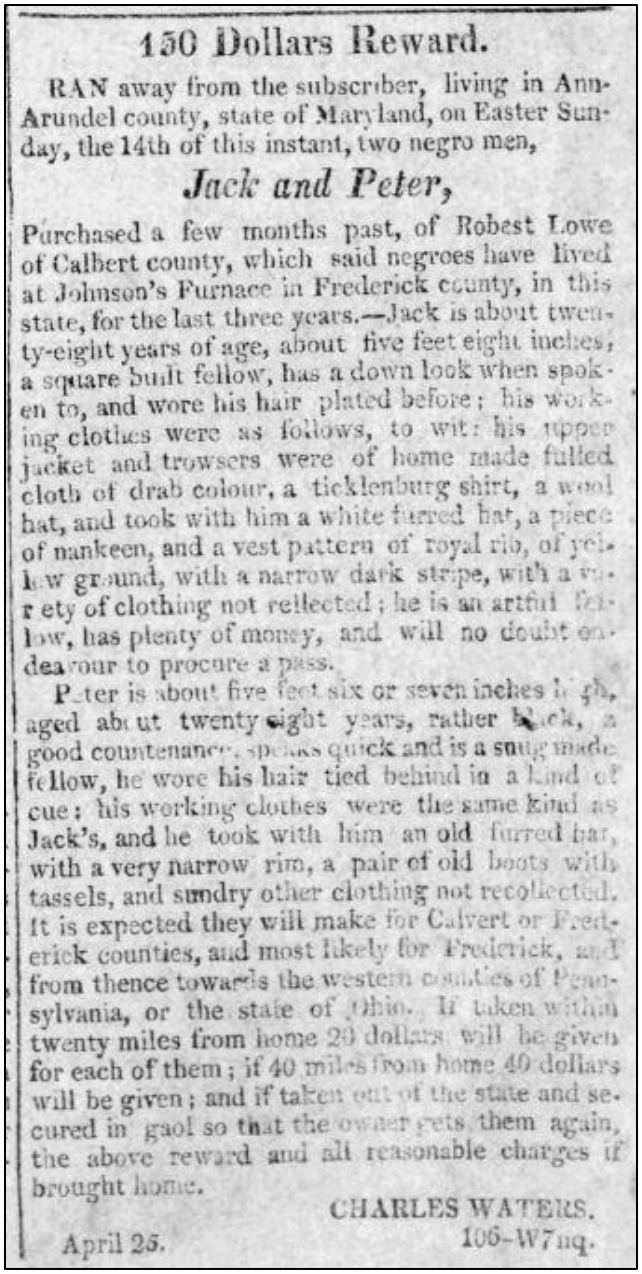
January 30 1780.

RAN away, from the Catoctin Furnace, the 8th inſtant, a Negro Man named PETER, a ſtout well made fellow, 6 feet high, 25 years of age, has lately had the ſmall-pox, and is much pitted; he was raiſed on the eaſtern ſhore, in Dorcheſter County, and calls himſelf PETER DORSEY; was purchaſed lately from Rheſa Todd, of Anne-Arundel County, Elk-Ridge, and appears to have his right ear cropped, which, no doubt, he will endeavour to conceal: Had on, when he went away, a country linen ſhirt and trouſers and good ſhoes.——At the ſame time ran away, a Negro Man named GABRIEL, belonging to *Edward Telfair*, Eſq; from Georgia; he is a ſtout well made fellow, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, bow-legg'd and much pitted with the ſmall-pox, cloathing not known, and was bred in the Jerſeys. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid Negroes, ſo that their maſters get them again, ſhall receive SIX POUNDS REWARD, or THREE POUNDS for either. JAMES JOHNSON, and CO.

September 4, 1782.

Figure 12: "Runaway" ads for Phil, Peter Dorsey, and Gabriel (Maryland State Archives)

http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx.



150 Dollars Reward.

RAN away from the subscriber, living in Ann-Arundel county, state of Maryland, on Easter Sunday, the 14th of this instant, two negro men,

Jack and Peter,

Purchased a few months past, of Robest Lowe of Calbert county, which said negroes have lived at Johnson's Furnace in Frederick county, in this state, for the last three years.—Jack is about twenty-eight years of age, about five feet eight inches, a square built fellow, has a down look when spoken to, and wore his hair plated before; his working clothes were as follows, to wit: his upper jacket and trowsers were of home made fulled cloth of drab colour, a ticklenburg shirt, a wool hat, and took with him a white furred hat, a piece of nankeen, and a vest pattern of royal rib, of yellow ground, with a narrow dark stripe, with a variety of clothing not reflected; he is an artful fellow, has plenty of money, and will no doubt endeavour to procure a pass.

Peter is about five feet six or seven inches high, aged about twenty eight years, rather black, a good countenance, speaks quick and is a snug made fellow, he wore his hair tied behind in a kind of cue: his working clothes were the same kind as Jack's, and he took with him an old furred hat, with a very narrow rim, a pair of old boots with tassels, and sundry other clothing not recollected. It is expected they will make for Calvert or Frederick counties, and most likely for Frederick, and from thence towards the western counties of Pennsylvania, or the state of Ohio. If taken within twenty miles from home 20 dollars will be given for each of them; if 40 miles from home 40 dollars will be given; and if taken out of the state and secured in gaol so that the owner gets them again, the above reward and all reasonable charges if brought home.

CHARLES WATERS.

April 25. 106-W7nq.

Figure 13: "Jack and Peter" runaway ad (*Lancaster Intelligencer*, June 19, 1816, *Newspapers.com*)

Enslaved and Free Black Labor in Northern Frederick County

From the moment the Catoctin Furnace began manufacturing iron in 1776, the mountain and valley region of northern Frederick County was dominated by its presence. The numerous buildings necessary for the furnace operation formed the core of a growing industrial village, while worker housing lined the road and an elegant stone ironmaster's house stood watch over the community. The furnace workforce through the first four decades of operation included wood

cutters, colliers who made the charcoal, iron ore miners, limestone (flux) quarriers, a founder in charge of the furnace blasts and pouring iron molds, and his assistant or "keeper," men to load ("charge") the furnace, men to maintain the furnace, gutter men who poured the pig iron, waggoners, carpenters, and blacksmiths. Some men were employed on the furnace farms, producing fodder for the livestock, and grains, meat, and produce for the workers. Women were laundresses, cooks, and housekeepers, a few worked at the furnace and others were farm laborers. In the early decades, the bulk of the unskilled and some skilled labor was performed by enslaved people, with European immigrants and domestic migrants filling out the labor force.[84] By 1820, Catoctin Furnace employed as many as eighty workers, both free and enslaved.[85]

In a 1970 study, Robert Starobin found that as many as 10,000 enslaved people in the South – including Maryland – were forced to labor in the region's iron furnace and forge operations.[86] Among those would be counted the unknown number of enslaved workers at the Hampton Furnace in the 1760s, many of whom may have been moved to labor at Catoctin Furnace in the 1770s. A 1770 newspaper advertisement, again for the sale of the Hampton property, included all of the land and buildings, but no longer mentioned the "stock of Negroes" who were likely already sold and/or employed elsewhere.[87] Libby suggests that they may have labored at the nearby plantation of Hampton partner Normand Bruce. Another possibility is that they were moved to begin work on the Catoctin properties. However, there is no documentation for either of these theories. The earliest documentation of the enslaved people at Catoctin Furnace comes from the "runaway" advertisements in the newspapers – Phil in 1780, and Peter Dorsey and Gabriel in 1782. Phil and Peter were owned by James Johnson & Co., while Gabriel was leased for a set term by the company from his enslaver in Georgia. In 1788, "Thomas Johnson & Co." purchased four enslaved people – Jack (35), James (18), Milly (37), and "her child Phil" (13) – from a Frederick County ironmaster named John Rawlings.[88]

These seven enslaved people were likely a fair representation of the status of the larger enslaved population at the furnace through its first few decades of operation. Maryland did not outlaw the importation of enslaved Africans until 1783, so it is quite possible that Phil, at 25 years of age, was potentially of African origin. Peter, "raised in Dorchester County," and

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[84] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 68-79; Edmund F. Wehrle, *Catoctin Mountain Park: An Historic Resource Study* (National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, March 2000), 62.

[85] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 61-62, citing the 1820 Census of Manufactures for Frederick County. John Brien, the owner at the time of the census, noted that he had just recently purchased the furnace, which was not in yet in operation.

[86] Cited in Werhle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 61.

[87] *The Virginia Gazette*, August 2, 1770, *Newspapers.com* (Many thanks to project intern, Keely Ferrall, for finding this sale advertisement). A 1773 sale advertisement for the same is referenced in Libby, "African Ironmaking Culture," 41. Libby speculates that the group of enslaved workers from Hampton may have remained with the Hampton ironmaster, Normand Bruce, whose plantation was located east of the furnace on Pipe Creek (today's Carroll County). The bulk of the Hampton Furnace property, a tract called *Carolina*, was resurveyed in 1794 by William Digges, Normand Bruce, and the heirs of Benedict Calvert and Edward Digges, and sold by their attorney Stephen Winchester to Daniel Smith in 1796 (FC DB WR21, page 139).

[88] FC DB WR8, page 286. Rawlings, who also sold his household furniture and livestock, may have come from Virginia (where he left his six cattle) to work at Catoctin Furnace. However, there is currently no documentation that Rawlings was employed at the furnace. See Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 63.

Gabriel, leased from Georgia but "bred in the Jerseys," may have been born of an enslaved mother imported from Africa. Jack, James, and Milly, among Rawling's group of enslaved people, were also old enough to have been imported from Africa, while Milly's child Phil was likely American-born.[89] In 1799, Moravian minister John Frederick Schlegel, noted in his diary of a visit to "the poor negroes" at Catoctin Furnace, where he preached salvation saying, "so many of their countrymen in the West Indies, through belief in the Saviour, have achieved bliss through His death."[90] Analysis of 31 individuals buried in the African American cemetery at Catoctin Furnace, active between 1790 and 1840, suggested that all were "first or second generation Americans" with no (or little) evidence of European "admixture."[91]

At the time that the first US Population Census was taken in 1790, the four Johnson brothers, Thomas, James, Baker, and Roger, who were then the joint owners of the Catoctin Furnace, held a combined total of 155 African Americans in bondage. It is unfortunately impossible to identify from this record exactly where each of the 155 enslaved individuals were forced to labor. At that time, the Johnson brothers operated four iron works in Frederick County – Catoctin Furnace, Bush Creek Forge near Frederick Town (1776-1810), and the Bloomsbury Forge and Johnson Iron Furnace (1785-1790) in the southern end of the county near Sugarloaf Mountain – as well as owning farm and town properties. The Catoctin Furnace workforce in 1790 was likely similar in size to that of the Antietam Iron Works in nearby Washington County, which in 1783 was assessed for thirty-five enslaved workers.[92]

In 1794, Thomas Johnson, George Calvert (heir of Benedict Calvert), John Davidson, and James Johnson divided their jointly-owned *John's Mountain* and *Mountain Tract* properties. James Johnson relinquished his stake in the Catoctin Furnace tracts, while his older brother Thomas took a one-third stake. In 1796, George Calvert conveyed his share in 1,800 acres of *Mountain Tract* to the heirs of John Davidson and in 1797, transferred just over 1,100 acres to

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[89] New Jersey outlawed importation of enslaved Africans in 1786, Georgia in 1793. The US Congress banned enslaved African importation aboard American ships in 1794, and banned all importation of enslaved Africans in 1808. From thence the domestic (American-born) slave trade blossomed, particularly enslaved people born in Maryland and Virginia.

[90] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 86.

[91] Werhle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 65. The cemetery, partially excavated in 1979-1980, contained approximately 100 individuals buried between 1790 and 1840. See Sharon Ann Brunston and Ronald A. Thomas, "Archaeological Data Recovery at Catoctin Furnace Cemetery, Frederick County, Maryland" (Maryland Department of Transportation, 1981), III-1; Sharon Ann Brunston, "The Cemetery at Catoctin Furnace, Maryland: The Invisible People," *Maryland Archeology: Journal of the Archeological Society of Maryland*, 17 (March 1981); Jennifer Olsen Kelley and J. Lawrence Angel, "The Workers of Catoctin Furnace," *Maryland Archeology: Journal of the Archeological Society of Maryland*, 19 (March 1983); Karin S. Bruwelheide, Douglas W. Owsley, Kathryn G. Barca, Christine A. M. France, Nicole C. Little, and Elizabeth Anderson Comer, "Restoring Identity to People and Place: Reanalysis of Human Skeletal Remains from a Cemetery at Catoctin Furnace, Maryland," *Historical Archaeology*, 54, pages 110–137 (2020), *Smithsonian Research Online*, accessed September 29, 2021, https://repository.si.edu/handle/10088/102025.

[92] "Washington County, 1783 Supply Tax," page 40, *Maryland Society Sons of the American Revolution*, https://www.mdssar.org/sites/default/files/archives/1783taxlists/Washington_Co_MD1783OPT.pdf. "Richard Henderson & Co." at Antietam Ironworks (listed as "Forge") was assessed for 35 enslaved people: 31 adult males, 2 adult females, and 2 boys aged 8 to 14 (also one under the age of 4). On the 1790 census, James Johnson held 65 enslaved people, Baker Johnson had 23, Thomas Johnson, Jr had 38, and Roger Johnson held 29 people in bondage.

Baker Johnson.[93] Operations continued under the leadership of Baker Johnson, who took full ownership in 1802, until his death in 1811.[94] By 1800, Elias Harding was the superintendent at the works for Baker Johnson, according to the US Census, with thirty-five enslaved people employed there. Just one year earlier, a Moravian minister reported preaching to enslaved workers "at the top of the furnace opening," noting, "[t]hey wept very much because they were bound to work so hard during the week as well as on Sunday in the iron smelter…"[95] Though James Johnson was no longer directly involved in the furnace, he enslaved seventy-one people on his nearby *Springfields* plantation. It is likely that at least some of these people worked at the furnace, while many others were occupied with producing food and fodder for the operation. In 1804, the Moravian minister, Brother Schlegel, arranged to preach "to the poor negroes at the Johnsons' plantations. We believed it best to meet them together in the fields at their work."[96]

Baker Johnson was still living in Frederick Town in 1800, where he held thirteen bondsmen in his household. After 1802, Baker Johnson moved to his mansion property called *Auburn*, just south of the furnace and by 1809, his Last Will and Testament enumerated eighty enslaved men, women, and children. Several of the names given in the will identified their work at the furnace, on the farm, or at the mill. "Collier Sam" would have been occupied with preparing the charcoal fuel for the furnace, while "Waggoner Henry" and "Harvey the Waggoner" likely transported goods from farm to furnace and elsewhere. Most of Johnson's enslaved people probably worked on the farm or his vineyard, but several were specifically identified as "Farm Sam" and "Farm Jacob." Another Sam, who likely worked at the furnace "chopping mill," was identified as "Mill Sam," while "Waiter Sam" and "Waiter Bill" were probably employed as valets in the mansion house. Baker Johnson's enslaved population included eight married couples and three single mothers with a total of thirty-four children – a total of fifty-three people in eleven family units. The remaining twenty-seven were single men and women.[97]

By 1800, the US Population Census listed 379 enslaved men, women, and children in the northern election District #4 (Emmitsburg District). The Catoctin Furnace, with its thirty-five bondsmen under Supt. Elias Harding, was not the only employer of enslaved Black workers. As noted previously, it is likely many of Johnson's enslaved people worked on the farms. Indeed, in

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[93] FC DB WR12, page 449 (Geo. Calvert, John Davidson, James Johnson to Thomas Johnson, 1794); WR12, page 450 (James Johnson to Geo. Calvert, 1794); WR12, page 451 (Thomas Johnson to Geo. Calvert and John Davidson, 1794); WR17, page 52 (Geo. Calvert to Davidson heirs, 1796); WR15, page 253 (Geo. Calvert to Baker Johnson, 1797). No deed was found between the Davidson heirs and Thomas Johnson, however at some point Johnson held two-thirds stake in the Catoctin Furnace property.

[94] FC DB WR22, page 534 (Thos. Johnson to Baker Johnson, 1802); Contract Archaeology, Inc., "An Historical and Archaeological Survey of Land Affected by the Duelization of US Rt. 15 at Catoctin Iron Furnace," Maryland State Highway Administration, 1971, 20.

[95] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 63-64. In 1803, Schlegel wrote in a letter, "Our negro gatherings continue. I feel there are just 3 or 4 black listeners in whom we can be hopeful they might eventually reach the arms of the Savior." (John Frederick Schlegel to Brother Loskiel, August 2, 1803, page 4, translated by Keely Ferrell, Moravian Archives file, Catoctin Furnace Historical Society)

[96] Moravian Diaries, July 19, 1804.

[97] FC WB 1809-1815 Vol. 1, page 192, *FamilySearch.org.*

1804, James Johnson advertised the sale of "several valuable negroes, consisting of men, boys, and girls brought up to farming."[98] Many of the large and fertile farms of northern Frederick County depended on enslaved labor in the fields and woodlots. Pennsylvanian Lewis Walker, an itinerant iron worker at Catoctin Furnace, wrote in an 1814 letter: "This part of Maryland is fertile in the extreme and the great number of the inhabitants dedicate their lives to agriculture…Husbandry is generally performed here by slaves. I can compare them to mere living machines subject to the will and pleasure of a master who often is a perfect despot considering them his property in the same spheres his cattle instead of exerting his power with some degree of clemency."[99]


For Sale,
A likely young Negro Man
accustomed to work on a farm. He has 12 years to serve. Enquire of the printer.
June 8.

Figure 14: "Negro Man For Sale," seller unknown. (*Frederick Town Herald,* June 15, 1816, *Newspapers.com*)

The 1790 census for Frederick County records enslaved people on the farms of the early European settlers in the region, now under the ownership of their sons and daughters. William Emmit, Esq. listed three bondsmen, while Samuel Emmit, who platted the town of Emmitsburg in 1788, listed six enslaved people in his household. Richard Lilly held five people in bondage and Thomas Lilly enslaved three people. There were even a few German households with enslaved workers – Abraham Groshong had one (three in 1800 living in Creagerstown), Laurence Cregar (Creager) listed seven people enslaved in his household, and Jacob Crist had six enslaved people (both had none in 1800). Frederick W. Shriver held one person in bondage. Shriver had purchased approximately 500 acres of land called *Resurvey on Den of Wolves* in 1777, describing himself then as a farmer from York County, Pennsylvania. In 1790, still a farmer, Shriver added 100 acres to his large holding.[100] Among the largest agricultural

[98] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 62.
[99] Walker, unpublished papers, as cited in Elizabeth A. Comer, "Patterson Paper," manuscript, Catoctin Furnace Historical Society.
[100] FC DB RP1, page 177 (Jacob Keller to F.W. Shriver, 1777); WR9, page 44 (Beall estate to F.W. Shriver, 1790). Frederick William Shriver (b. 1744, d. 1820, buried at St. John's Reformed Church in Creagerstown), son of Jacob Shriver, immigrant, of Ann Arundel County and brother of Lewis P. Shriver of Adams County, PA. (Harry C. Shriver, *A History of the Shriver Family with Particular Reference to Jacob Shriver, (1714-1792), his Son Lewis Shriver (1750-1815), and Their Descendants* (Reproduced privately, 1962), 11, https://archive.org/details/historyofshriver00shri/mode/2up.

slaveholders in 1790 was John Ross Key (Taney Town Dist. in 1800) who listed twenty-six enslaved people. John Biggs, whose farm was located near the Moravian town of Graceham, had no record of enslaved laborers in 1790, but in 1799, he advertised for the recovery of his enslaved man named Abraham Sandy. Biggs noted that he had recently purchased Sandy from "Mr. Fite near Baltimore," and that he "was brought up to the farming business." By 1800, Biggs held three people in bondage on his north-county farm.

As noted previously, several of the area's prominent Catholic settler families enslaved Black agricultural workers in 1790. Anthony Livers, who was the son of the settler, Arnold Livers, and inherited part of his father's 1,000-acre *Arnold's Delight* in 1751, enslaved ten people in 1790. Among the children of William Elder (who died in 1775), sons Charles and Arnold Elder each enslaved seven people on their farms, and daughter Elizabeth Brawner was listed with four enslaved individuals. William Elder's widow [Jacoba] Clementia Elder had six bondsmen on her fifty-acre dower tract in 1790, while Elisha [Aloysius] Elder, son of William and Clementia Elder, enslaved three people on the home farm known as *Pleasant Level*, which he shared with his mother.

It was near the base of Carrick's Knob, about seven miles north of Catoctin Furnace on part of Joseph Elder's tract called *Stoney Batter*, that the Reverend John DuBois determined to build both a church and school for the region's Catholic faithful.[101] In 1805, Father DuBois gathered his flock at the mountain site chosen for a new church building. The group of fifty to sixty people reportedly included men, women, and children, "white and black." A participant recalled, "There were few but were eager to have a hand in the work, and one lady in the neighborhood, Mrs. Brawner, gathered her children and slaves, ten or twelve of them armed with baskets, and, leading them to the spot chosen for the church, directed them in gathering the loose stones lying about and carrying them away."[102]

Several years later, the St. Mary's Seminary was founded by the Society of St. Sulpice at the base of the hill on which the St. Mary's Church stood. On the census of 1810, "J DuBois" was listed with as many as fifty-eight students, five teachers, and nine enslaved people. In 1811, Arnold Elder and his wife sold their adjoining farm to the Rev. John Tessier of the Society of St. Sulpice. The Elders retained a life estate to continue living on the farm, but having retired from their farming life, they also sold to Tessier their "seven Negro slaves" – John, Katy, Ignatius, Philip, Edward, Frank, and Erastus – along with five horses, "all now being on my plantation,"

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[101] FC DB WR26, page 576 and WR34, pages 612-616. The church was apparently located on the tract called *Stoney Batter*, initially surveyed for Richard Elder in 1775, but never patented. The discovery that the tract was unpatented required a second deed of conveyance to DuBois. Adjoining the tract was a tract called *St. Mary's Valley*, patented in 1784 by John Troxell (a Protestant), a "coincidence" that DuBois found "astonishing." (Richard Shaw, *John Dubois: Founding Father: The Life and Times of the Founder of Mount St. Mary's College…* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1983), 34)

[102] Mary E. Meline and Edward F. X. McSweeny, "The Story of the Mountain, Mount Saint Mary's College and Seminary," published by the *Emmitsburg Chronicle*, 1911, *Emmitsburg Area Historical Society*, accessed 11/16/2021, https://www.emmitsburg.net/archive_list/articles/history/stories/som/1.htm. Father DuBois had been assigned to the Catoctin-Monocacy region in 1794, tending to his mountain congregation at the "house chapel" in the Elder family home at *Pleasant Level*.

for $1,000.[103] Several of the enslaved men on the school campus helped construct the first school building, according to Thomas Harris, interviewed in 1848: "The first logs of your college were taken from an old house on the plantation…. The next job was hauling logs from near the top of Karrick's Knob. …the three colored men and myself set to the work, the Reverend himself, with his coat off, doing his share, and all of us wet through with the rain, so that it was quite a cheerless task."[104] DuBois reportedly later moved that first log building to "a background" where it would serve as "a kitchen and servants' quarters."[105]

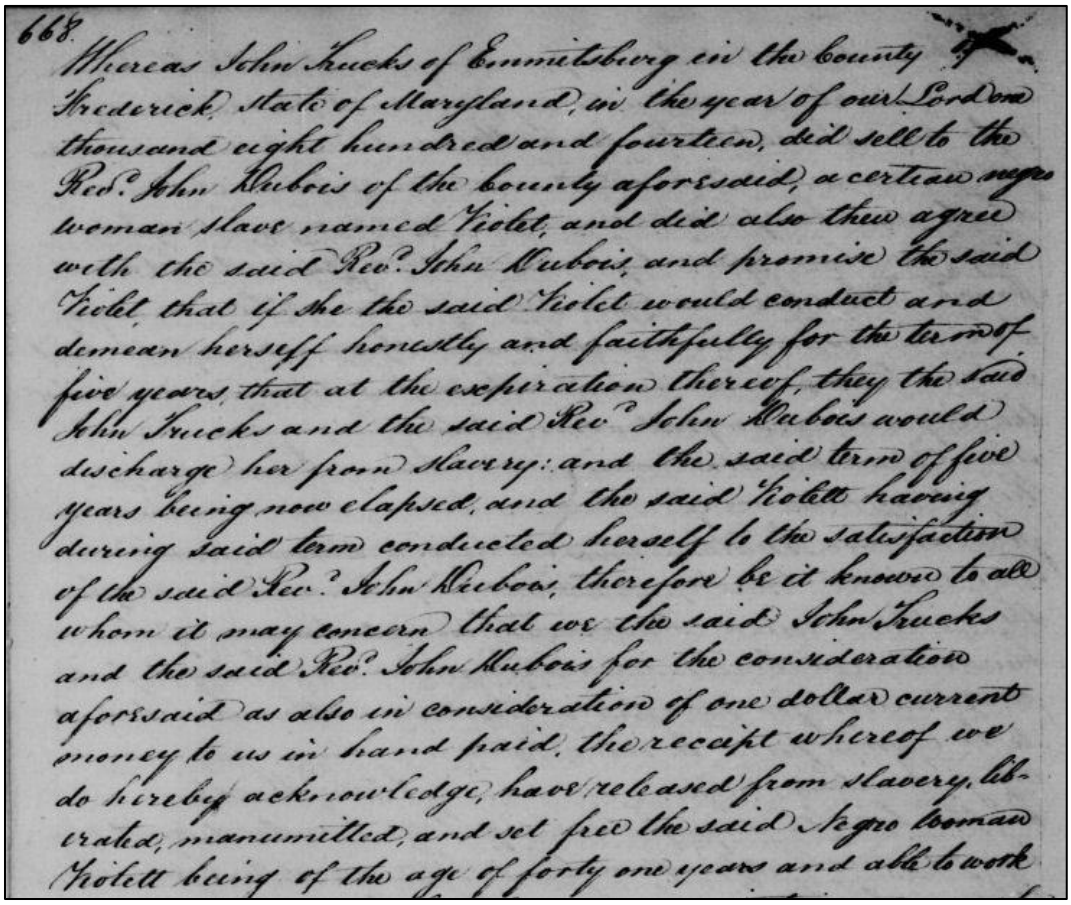
There was, reportedly, a regular turnover of enslaved people working at the Saint Mary's Seminary, many of whom arrived as "payment-in-kind for outstanding tuition of students from the South."[106] These were typically "term" conveyances, in which the enslaved person would serve a pre-determined number of years before being returned to the original "owner." On the 1820 US Population Census, Rev. John DuBois was listed as the head of the St. Mary's Seminary with 100 people living on the campus. Most were students, but included also were sixteen enslaved men, women, and children, and two "free colored" men.

Father DuBois also reportedly personally purchased enslaved people, "paying for Clara, Monica and Kitty four hundred dollars; for Joe five hundred, and for a boy of twelve three hundred."[107] In 1814, he purchased thirty-six-year-old Violet from John Trucks of Emmitsburg for a term of five years. Under the term agreement, Violet would be manumitted by DuBois, provided she would "conduct and demean herself honestly and faithfully" throughout her five years of service. Having done so, "Negro Violet" was freed by deed of manumission in 1819 at the age of forty-one.[108] **(Figure 15)** Ms. Violet did not appear in the 1820 or 1830 census records, indicating that she probably worked and lived in white households during that period. In 1840, however, "Vilet Dugan" (aged 55+) was listed on the US Census living as a free woman in the Emmitsburg District #5. In her household was a young enslaved girl, aged between ten and twenty-four.

Between 1800 and 1820 the enslaved population of the northern Frederick County districts increased by more than 175 men, women, and children. In 1820, the 555 enslaved people listed in Districts #4 (Mechanics Town, Creagerstown, Lewistown and Graceham) and #5 (Emmitsburg) would be the largest on record for the combined districts. Over the following decades the total number of enslaved individuals began to steadily decrease in Frederick County and across Maryland as a whole. Catoctin Furnace and the Johnson brothers continued to be among the largest enslavers in the northern districts through the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1810, Baker Johnson held thirty people in bondage at *Auburn*, while his nephew James Johnson (brother James deceased 1809) reportedly enslaved seventy people at

[103] FC DB WR40, page 631 (farm) and WR40, page 642 (enslaved). See also Shaw, *John Dubois: Founding Father*, 41.
[104] Meline and McSweeny, "The Story of the Mountain."
[105] Shaw, John Dubois: Founding Father, 41.
[106] Rev. Dan Nusbaum, "The Hand," *Mount Magazine*, Fall 2000, 23.
[107] Meline and McSweeny, "The Story of the Mountain." No citation was provided for this in the article and documentation for this sale has not been found.
[108] FC DB JS9, page 667.

Springfields. It is likely that a number of the enslaved people from both *Auburn* and *Springfields* were put to work at the furnace nearby.[109]



668

Whereas John Trucks of Emmitsburg in the County Frederick State of Maryland, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, did sell to the Revd. John Rubois of the county aforesaid, a certain negro woman slave named Violet, and did also then agree with the said Revd. John Rubois, and promise the said Violet that if she the said Violet would conduct and demean herself honestly and faithfully for the term of five years, that at the expiration thereof, they the said John Trucks and the said Revd. John Rubois would discharge her from slavery: and the said term of five years being now elapsed, and the said Violet having during said term conducted herself to the satisfaction of the said Revd. John Rubois, therefore be it known to all whom it may concern that we the said John Trucks and the said Revd. John Rubois for the consideration aforesaid as also in consideration of one dollar current money to us in hand paid, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, have released from slavery, liberated, manumitted, and set free the said Negro woman Violett being of the age of forty one years and able to work

Figure 15: Manumission of "Negro Violet" (Frederick County Land Records, Maryland State Archives)

In 1802, furnace owners Baker and Thomas Johnson transferred the operation of the iron works to Benjamin Blackford and his partner Thomas Thornburgh by a term lease, apparently ten years.[110] Blackford moved his young family to Maryland from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, where he and Thornburgh had worked at the Pine Grove Furnace. While in Pennsylvania, in 1800, Blackford listed one enslaved person and three "other free" in his household. With his new role as iron master at Catoctin Furnace, in 1810 Blackford listed eight enslaved people and one "other free," likely located at the furnace. Following the death of Baker Johnson in 1811, the furnace was sold to Willoughby and Thomas Mayberry, iron masters from

[109] Recalling that in 1800, Elias Harding, then superintendent at the furnace, listed thirty-five enslaved workers. It is likely that a similar number of enslaved people, if not more, were employed at the furnace in 1810. However, the 1810 census is not detailed enough to identify enslaved people specifically at Catoctin Furnace.

[110] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 20. The lease does not appear to have been recorded in the land records, however the July 26, 1811 sale advertisement for the furnace notes: "Benjamin Blackford, Esq. is at present in possession of the works under a lease that will expire on the first of April next." (*Lancaster Intelligencer*, August 30, 1811, *newspapers.com*)

the Philadelphia area, neither of whom appeared to be slaveholders in 1810.[111] Unlike earlier advertisements and deeds for the sale of iron works in Frederick County and Maryland in general, this deed for Catoctin Furnace did not include the enslaved workers at the furnace. Thus, it appears the enslaved workforce was not held as a group by the furnace owners, but rather more likely were held by term leases from other enslavers.

Willoughby Mayberry moved to Maryland to manage the operations at Catoctin Furnace after the brothers' purchase in 1812.[112] The iron works prospered under his improvements and increased wartime orders during America's second war with Britain, known as the War of 1812. In 1813, Willoughby Mayberry bought out his brother's interest in the furnace. But with the end of the war in 1814, Mayberry found himself in financial trouble. In October 1819, he mortgaged both the furnace property and his worldly goods – including his "Negro Man named Daniel supposed twenty to thirty years" – to Jeremiah W. Mayberry (of Philadelphia).[113] In 1820, Mayberry listed two enslaved people in his household, one male (26-44) and one female (under 14 years), as well as one "Free Colored" female over the age of 45. Since no one in the household was listed as occupied in manufactures, it appears that Mayberry's enslaved man Daniel did not work at the furnace.

The 1820 US Census record for the northern districts of Frederick County (#4 and #5) indicate a large percentage of working people (white and Black, both enslaved and free) were occupied in manufactures – including at the iron furnace and the many mills – though more people worked in agriculture. In District #4 (Mechanics Town [Thurmont], Creagerstown, Lewistown and Graceham), a total of 337 people worked in manufactures, while 498 worked in agriculture. In the household of Baker Johnson, Jr. at *Auburn*, with twenty-six enslaved people, thirteen people worked in agriculture and two worked in manufactures. Samuel Lain (Lane), Johnson's nearby neighbor, listed seventeen adult white males in his household and two enslaved men, with a total of fifteen working in manufactures.[114] District #5 (Emmitsburg) had a similar distribution of industrial and agricultural workers – 317 in manufactures and 473 in agriculture.

Free Black Residents in Northern Frederick County

Even as the enslaved population of the northern districts of Frederick County grew during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, so too did the population of free Black residents. In 1800, the census listed only nine Black households in the Emmitsburg District #4 – eight in the rural district areas and one, named "Free Nace," in "Creagers Town" – forty-three individuals

[111] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 26; FC DB WR41, page 637 (Col. Baker Johnson executors to Thomas and Willoughby Mayberry, 1812); DB WR44, page 723 (Thomas Mayberry to Willoughby Mayberry, 1813).
[112] Since the Mayberry's purchase of the furnace did not include the *Auburn* manor house, it is believed the Mayberry brothers built the two-story stone "farmhouse" known as *Vallonne*, which Willoughby Mayberry occupied along with his enslaved and free servants. (see "Vallonne (Windy Hill Farm)," MIHP #F-6-129)
[113] FC DB JS10, page 10 and DB JS10, page 13.
[114] Nothing is known about Samuel Lain (Lane) though it appears he was boarding furnace workers.

in total. Five free-people lived and worked in white households. By 1820, the free Black population of the area had risen considerably with sixteen households – three in Emmitsburg town and six in the new surrounding District #5, five in the rural sections of District #4, and one in Mechanics Town (Thurmont). These independent households included seventy-seven free Black men, women, and children. Another sixty-eight unnamed "Free Colored" individuals lived and worked as servants in white households.

The eight rural free Black households in 1800 appear somewhat scattered, but "clustered" between of Emmitsburg and Catoctin Furnace.[115] Ignatius Shorter, his wife and two children, lived as free residents possibly in the area around Mechanics Town (Thurmont; later part of Mechanicstown District #15). "Free Sam" and the families of Mary Burr, Thomas Burris, and "Free Nelly" with her four children appear to be closer to Emmitsburg. Burris and Nelly were listed on the census as immediate neighbors, apparently living near Charles Elder. John Mackey lived with his wife and five children closer to the Catoctin Furnace, where John Brisken and family, and "Free Ben" also lived.

None of the above-listed free Black residents appear to be listed on the 1810 census, though at least two, Shorter and Mackey, reappear in 1820. Several households that were listed on the 1810 census also appear on the 1820 list, including "C Lee" (Charles Lee) with nine in his household and M Knight (Moses Night), also with nine household members.[116] In 1820, Moses Night was listed in a rural section of District #4 (Creagerstown District) alongside white surnames associated with the southwestern edge of the district, an area later carved out as part of Hauvers District #10. Charles Lee was listed in District #5 (the new Emmitsburg District) in 1820. His household included himself and his wife, both over the age of 45, one male and one female aged 14-26, three females under the age of 14, and one enslaved male under 14 years.

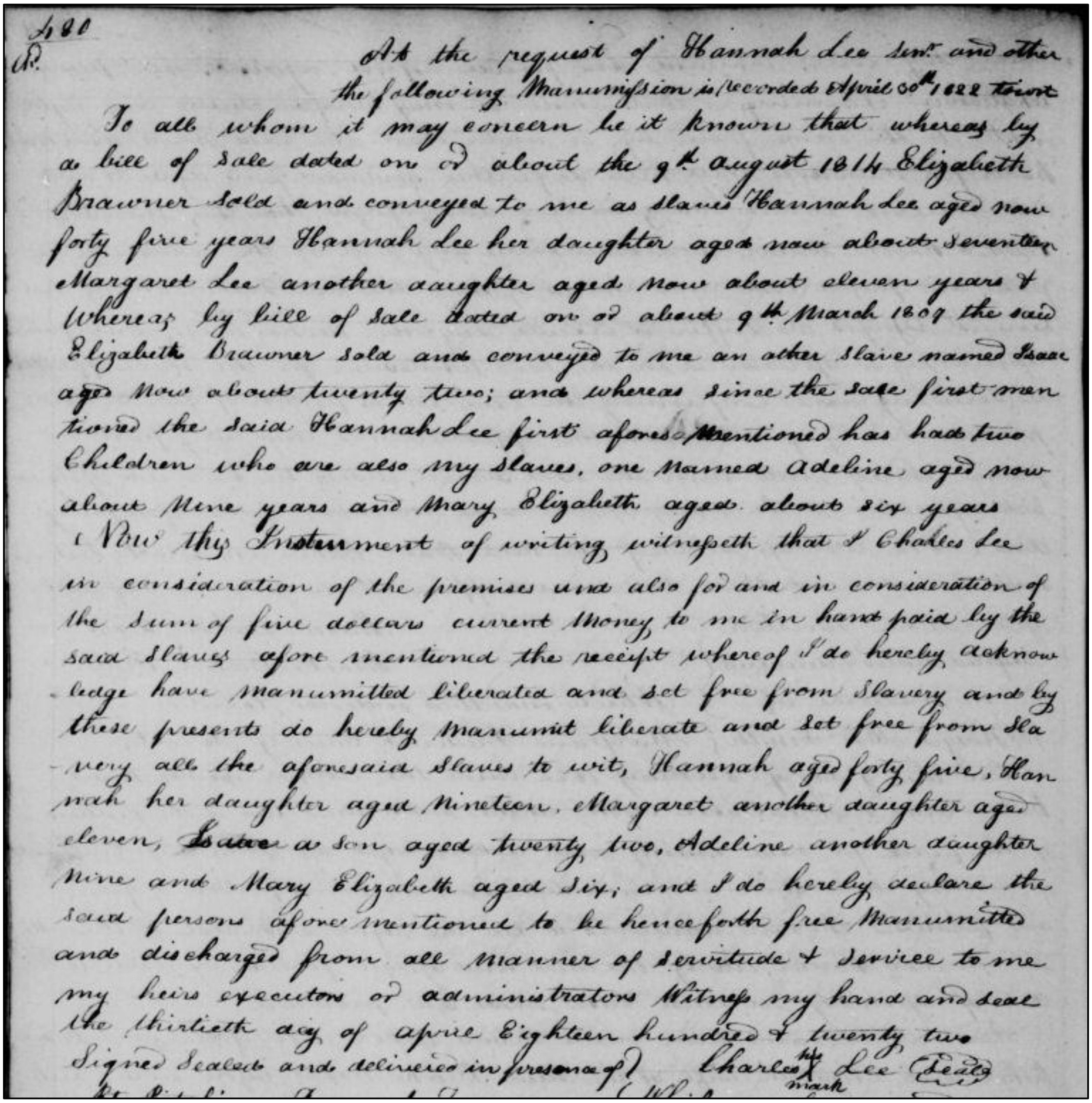
Though it appears that in 1810 and 1820 Charles Lee and his family were living as free residents, official records tell a different story. Charles Lee was in fact the only free person in his family prior to 1822, having purchased his own freedom in 1804 from his enslaver John M. Bayard for £100. Three years later, in 1807, he purchased his son Isaac, then about 9 years old, from Elizabeth Brawner (daughter of William Elder) for $100. In 1814, Lee paid £100 to Brawner for his wife Hannah and daughters Hannah, Peggy (Margaret), and one-year-old Adeline.[117] All of Lee's family members appear to have been living with him as early as the 1810 census, despite their status as the enslaved property of Elizabeth Brawner. Charles and

[115] This is a best guess based on their location in the census list and the supposed "neighbors" listed on the same pages. All eight households appear on pages 176 (near Mary Livers), 177 (near Charles Elder), and 178 (near James Johnson).

[116] 1810 US Population Census, Frederick County, pages 243 and 409; 1820 Census, pages 164 and 145. Like the 1790 census for Frederick County, the 1810 census does not identify the districts in which people were living. In many cases on the 1810 census, names are listed in alphabetized groups. However, pp. 242-262 are unalphabetized and the grouping appears (judging by the names included) to cover the Emmitsburg District area down to Catoctin Furnace. Page 409 is also unalphabetized and includes names such as Hurley, Forrest, and Wolfe, all of whom appear in the Hauvers District on the 1872 Atlas map of Frederick County.

[117] FC DB WR26, page 330 (Bayard to Chas. Lee, 1804), WR28, page 132 (Brawner to Chas. Lee, 1807), WR44, page 488 (Brawner to Chas. Lee, 1814).

Hannah Lee had another daughter, Mary Elizabeth, who was born after he purchased his wife and was, according to Maryland law, also technically his enslaved property. It was not until 1822 that Lee manumitted his family "from all manner of servitude and service to me."[118]



480
JS

At the request of Hannah Lee Senr. and other
the following Manumission is recorded April 30th 1822 to wit
To all whom it may concern be it known that whereas by
a bill of sale dated on or about the 9th August 1814 Elizabeth
Brawner sold and conveyed to me as slaves Hannah Lee aged now
forty five years Hannah Lee her daughter aged now about seventeen
Margaret Lee another daughter aged now about eleven years &
Whereas by bill of sale dated on or about 9th March 1807 the said
Elizabeth Brawner sold and conveyed to me an other slave named Isaac
aged now about twenty two; and whereas since the sale first men
tioned the said Hannah Lee first aforesMentioned has had two
Children who are also my slaves, one named Adeline aged now
about nine years and Mary Elizabeth aged about six years
Now this Instrument of writing witnesseth that I Charles Lee
in consideration of the premises and also for and in consideration of
the sum of five dollars current Money to me in hand paid by the
said slaves afore mentioned the receipt whereof I do hereby acknow
ledge have manumitted liberated and set free from Slavery and by
these presents do hereby manumit liberate and set free from Sla
very all the aforesaid Slaves to wit, Hannah aged forty five, Han
nah her daughter aged Nineteen, Margaret another daughter aged
eleven, Isaac a son aged twenty two, Adeline another daughter
Nine and Mary Elizabeth aged Six; and I do hereby declare the
said persons afore mentioned to be henceforth free Manumitted
and discharged from all manner of servitude & service to me
my heirs executors or administrators Witness my hand and seal
the thirtieth day of April Eighteen hundred & twenty two
Signed sealed and delivered in presence of Charles his X mark Lee (Seal)

Figure 16: Hannah Lee et al manumission (Frederick Co. Land Records, Maryland State Archives)

Charles Lee began farming for himself, though likely as a tenant, soon after he purchased his freedom in 1804. As early as 1805, he produced ten acres of wheat and rye, as well as tobacco. In 1810, three years after his son Isaac joined him on the farmstead, he had thirty

[118] FC DB JS15, page 480.

acres of "grain in the ground" in January, and in October, had another twenty-five acres of corn as well as "wheat and rye in the ground."[119] In both of these years Lee sold his produce, along with his horses, farm equipment, and household furniture, to local farmers in exchange for cash. **(Figure 17)** It is not clear whether these sales were final or actually loans of money secured by Lee's produce and personal property – a common practice in the nineteenth century. In 1813, Charles Lee, identified on the deed as a "Blackman (formerly the property of John M. Bayard)," purchased two acres of the tract called *Pleasant View* from Andrew Smith for the sum of $40.[120] Lee was officially a landowner just eleven years after purchasing his freedom from bondage.

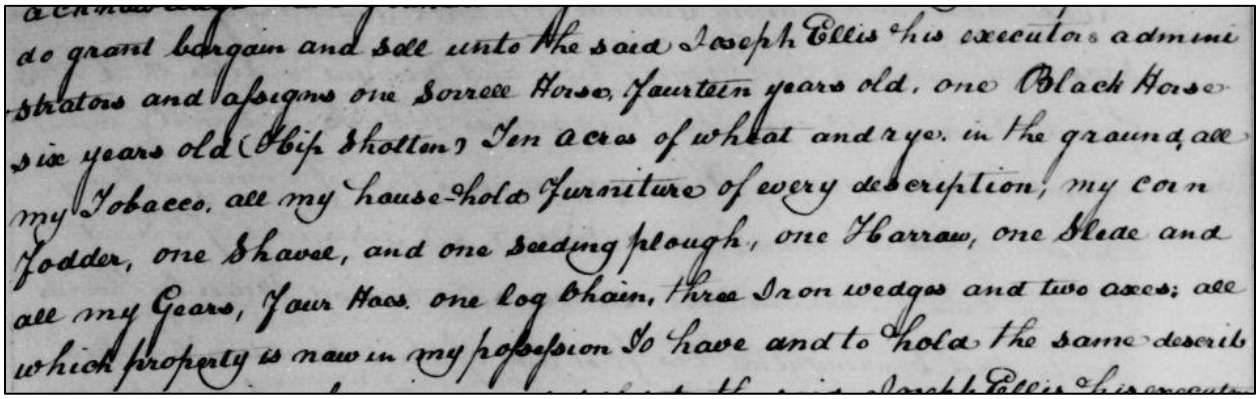

do grant bargain and sell unto the said Joseph Ellis his executors admini
strators and assigns one Sorrel Horse, fourteen years old, one Black Horse
six years old (Bob Shotten) Ten acres of wheat and rye in the ground, all
my Tobacco, all my house-hold Furniture of every description, my Corn
Fodder, one Shovel, and one Seeding plough, one Harraw, one Sleae and
all my Gears, four Hogs, one log Chain, three Iron wedges and two axes; all
which property is now in my possession To have and to hold the same deserib

Figure 17: Bill of Sale, Charles Lee to Joseph Ellis, 1805 (Frederick Co. Land Records, Maryland State Archives)

In 1820, both Charles Lee and his son Isaac indicated on the census that they were working in agriculture. Listed nearby on the 1820 census was the large free Black family of Stephen Coats, whose household also had two people occupied in agriculture. Joseph Shorter, likely the son of Ignatius Shorter (free in 1800), his wife and young son, appeared on the census at the end of the list (probably add-ons) near St. Mary's Seminary (DuBois) and the Sisters of Charity (Elizabeth Seton).

Within the town of Emmitsburg in 1820, there were three independent Black households – Anthony Bohn, Jane Borkart (Burkett), and Jack Mackey. Among these three, only Jack (John) Mackey was listed on the 1800 census, at that time listed on the same page as James Johnson and Elias Harding at the furnace. In 1820, Mackey's household included himself and seven others. Because his name was added at the end of the page (below the last line) it is not known whether Mackey worked in agriculture or manufacturing, nor can we guess where in town he might have lived. Anthony Bohn, over age 45 and occupied in agriculture, lived with his wife and mother (or

[119] FC DB WR28, page 132 (Chas. Lee to Jos. Ellis, 1805, $60); WR36, page 226 (Chas. Lee to Jos. Ellis & Christian Hoover, 1810, £16); WR38, page 341 (Chas. Lee to Adam Flack, 1810, £15).
[120] FC DB WR44, page 13 (Andrew Smith to Chas. Lee, 1813). The 16-acre *Pleasant View* was surveyed for Andrew Smith in 1812, part of which adjoined *Carrollsburgh* (Frederick Co. Circuit Court (Certificates, Unpatented, FR), 1812/09/07, *Pleasant View*, Andrew Smith, 16 3/4 Acres, Unpatented Certificate 571, MSA S1220-594). Interestingly, in 1811, Andrew Smith was the surveyor for a subdivision of the John M. Bayard farm into nineteen 7-acre lots "near Emmitsburg" and nineteen corresponding 3-acre mountain lots. (FC DB JS7, pages 304-305)

in-law) and four children. Nearby was Jane Borkart (Burkett), aged between 26 and 45, without stated occupation, who lived with her enslaved daughter less than 14 years old. Jane Burkett was, in fact, manumitted in March 1820, just eight months prior to the census. "Jenny or Jane Burkett" was 37 years old at the time of her release from bondage by her enslavers David M. Moore and Thomas Radford.[121] Radford, with his large, all-white household (seven occupied in manufactures) lived in Emmitsburg, as did Dr. Robert Moore, likely father of David Moore. The town of Emmitsburg's enslaved population of fifty-six men, women, and children, far out-numbered the nineteen free Black residents in 1820.

Closer to the Catoctin Furnace, Nicholas Queen, a free Black man aged in his twenties, lived in "Mechanics Town." Queen, like nearly all of the adult male residents in town, was occupied in manufactures. Four free Black women also lived in town, but lived and worked in white households. The newly-established Lewistown, platted by Daniel Fundenburg in 1815, sat very near the large enslaved populations of the Baker and James Johnson farms. Like Mechanicstown, most of the adult male population worked in manufactures – either at the mill located in town or at the furnace nearby. Included among those was one free Black man living in the household of Peter Eichelberger.[122]

By the time of the 1820 Census, Willoughby Mayberry had begun advertising his furnace for sale. The new owner, John Brien, who already owned the larger Antietam Iron Works (in Washington County) in partnership with his father-in-law John McPherson, would usher in a new era of improvements, production, and enslaved and free laborers at the furnace. On the 1820 US Census of Manufactures, Brien indicated that the Catoctin Furnace was not at that time in operation, but listed eighty employees (men, women, and children) at the furnace.[123] John Brien was still living in Frederick Town, with his wife and teenaged sons John, Henry, William, and Robert. The six enslaved people in his household, three adults and three children, presumably worked in the house since no one in the house was occupied in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures. Brien would soon move to *Auburn*, bringing new construction at the furnace and new enslaved workers.

[121] FC DB JS10, page 372 (Jane Burkett manumission, 1820). There was no mention of her presumed daughter in the manumission record.

[122] Peter Eichelberger owned the town mill on Lot No. 1 until 1824 when he sold it to John Brien and his father-in-law/partner John McPherson (see John Brien equity HS4-185).

[123] 1820 Census of Manufactures for Maryland, *FamilySearch.com*. By comparison, McPherson & Brien's Antietam Iron Works in Washington County listed 150 men employed and no women or children.

Chapter 4. The Middle Catoctin Furnace Period – 1820 to 1858

Economics and societal changes in the first half of the nineteenth century brought about slow changes to the lives of African Americans in the northern districts of Frederick County. From a high of 547 enslaved people in the region in 1820, the numbers steadily fell to just over 200 in 1850. Over the same period, the free Black population more than doubled from 145 free people in 1820, to nearly 400 in 1850. Significantly, the number of independent free Black households also increased from just sixteen in 1820 to seventy-five households in 1850.

It was economics, more than a sense of moral imperative, that drove much of the change across most of Maryland, including northern Frederick County. Foreign, mostly European, immigration to the US expanded through the 1820s and 1830s as newcomers sought employment and a chance at landownership. In Maryland alone, the number of foreign (not naturalized) residents grew from just under 4,000 in 1820 to more than 51,000 (foreign born) in 1850.[124] Though the majority of immigrants settled in industrialized Baltimore City, those who ventured westward into Maryland's agricultural "bread basket" in Frederick and Washington Counties, provided cheap day labor to the farmers and manufactories in the region. The high cost of purchasing and maintaining an enslaved workforce could not compete against increasingly plentiful immigrant and free Black labor.[125]

Enslaved Labor after 1820 in Northern Frederick County

In the northern Frederick County area, the 1820 census indicated that most of the enslaved people were located in the rural areas of the Creagerstown District #4, where 170 enslaved individuals resided, and the Emmitsburg District #5 (including the area around Mount Saint Mary's Seminary/College), where 262 were listed. A striking number of the District #4 bondsmen – 109 – were concentrated in the Lewistown area where Catoctin Furnace, *Auburn*, and *Springfield* (the "s" dropped under James Johnson, Jr.) were located with large enslaved populations.

John Brien, the new owner of Catoctin Furnace in 1820, was an Irish immigrant who gained experience with iron manufacturing in Pennsylvania. He was first employed at Robert Coleman's Colebrook Furnace in Lebanon County and in 1797, became the owner of Spring

[124] "Census for 1820," 1821 and "1850 Census: Compendium of the Seventh Census," 1854, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/.
[125] See Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865*, Contributions in Labor History 6 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 82-83.

Forge in York County.[126] Brien moved to Frederick County, Maryland probably before 1804, when he married Harriet McPherson, daughter of Col. John McPherson, a prominent man of wealth and politics in Frederick County. In 1806, John Brien and Col. McPherson went into the ironmaking business together when they purchased the Antietam Iron Works located in Washington County, Maryland.[127] In May 1820, Brien purchased Willoughby Mayberry's Catoctin Furnace property and several years later, bought the *Auburn* property as well.[128]

Even before his acquisitions of Catoctin Furnace and *Auburn*, John Brien was actively purchasing enslaved Black men, women, and children. In 1818, he paid Joseph Ratcliff $222 for the twelve-year term of Mariah, a sixteen-year-old girl. Her term of enslavement was set to expire in 1830, at which time she was to be manumitted at the age of twenty-eight.[129] In 1820, Brien and his business partner, Col. John McPherson, purchased three enslaved people – Jane, who was thirty-four years old, Joshua (age twelve), and Tom (age sixteen), likely her children – from Otho Sprigg for $554.[130] Then, in 1821, McPherson and Brien purchased from Peter Eichelberger "a certain black girl by the name of Suck aged about sixteen years as a slave for life," for just $37.71.[131] **(Figure 18)** Given that McPherson & Brien's Antietam Iron Works employed as many as thirty-eight enslaved people in 1820 and sixty by 1830, it is likely that many other purchases or term leases were not recorded.[132]

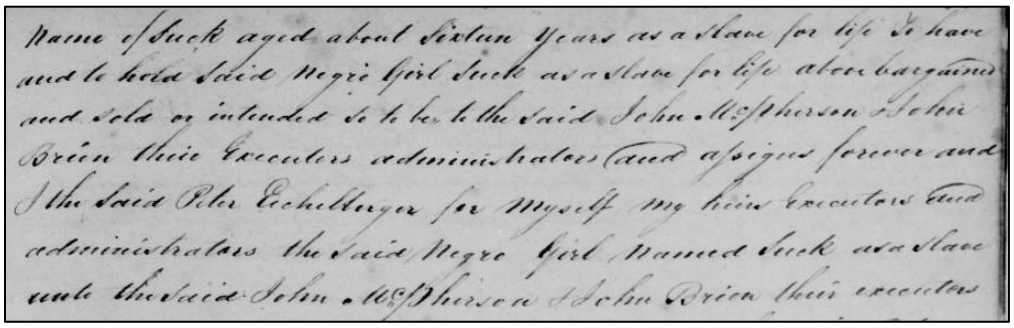


Figure 18: 1821 sale of Suck to McPherson and Brien (FC DB JS14, page 601)

[126] "John Brien (abt. 1766-1834)," accessed 12/7/2021, https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Brien-74; Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 27. Robert Coleman later developed the Cornwall Furnace in Lebanon County.
[127] WC DB S, page 348. The purchase included the furnace lands, buildings, and equipment, as well as "all the negroes, stock, and farming utensils belonging to said Company used and employed about the farms, furnace, mills & Estate." Their business traded under the name "McPherson & Brien."
[128] FC Equity Case #, Equity Book HS4, pages 180-181 and 187-189.
[129] FC DB JS6, page 362 (Joseph Ratcliff to John Brien, 1818). No record of Mariah's manumission was found. However, in 1829, James, Joshua, and Joseph Ratcliff, and Jesse Elliot manumitted John Howard, who in 1835, was assessed for four lots in the town of New Market.
[130] FC DB JS10, page 362.
[131] FC DB JS14, page 600.
[132] The 1820 census for Sharpsburg District #1 in Washington County, where the Antietam Iron Works was located, listed one man, Samuel Showers, with thirty-eight enslaved people (eighteen of them men between 26-45 years old) and twenty-four people in his household engaged in manufactures. This was by far the largest number in the district and therefore suggests that Showers was associated with the Antietam Iron Works, probably working as the manager at the works.

By 1830, John Brien was living at *Auburn* with thirty-five enslaved people enumerated in his household, most of whom probably worked at his Catoctin Furnace complex. Indeed, in December 1827, Moravian preacher Brother Reinke reported "preaching in the English language every other Sunday…at the Furnace, chiefly for the sake of the employees, the majority of whom were negroes who had no other opportunity to hear the gospel."[133] That changed in 1833, with the construction of a stone chapel at the furnace. On October 25, 1833, a new Moravian minister entered into the diary: "An Episcopal church, which received the name Harriet Chapel was dedicated at Brian's Iron Works (Furnace) by Bishop Stone. An Episcopal clergyman was to conduct services there every other Sunday. Bro. Reinke led the singing, and dined with the company at Mr. Brians [*sic*]. He had preached there for about four years until November of last year."[134]

Though Brien would make improvements at the furnace, like others before him he was unable to overcome the heavy debt accrued from his various land purchases and ongoing production costs. At the time of his death in 1834, John Brien was deeply in debt and left no will for the division of his estate. The inventory of Brien's personal property in 1834 listed the enslaved people in three distinct groups. For the first two groups it did not specify where they were held, though the first group was listed after most of the furnace inventory and before the house (*Auburn*) items. The first group included seven men, Wally, Bill, Isaac, George, Peter, Bob, and David, and three women with seven children: Christina with Hanson, George, and Harry; Lucy with Ann and Sarah; and Lucky [possibly Suck/Suckey?] with Charity and Eliza. The second group of five enslaved people were listed after the *Auburn* household inventory, including Harry, Len, and Stacy with two children. The third group was listed as being at Antietam Iron Works and included thirty-four people: Bill and wife Milly; Aaron, Lloyd, Lucy, Jane, and Nicholas; Abraham; John Chase; Milly, Isaac, James, and Hetty; Harriet, George, Washington, and Harriet; Lenn; Jack; Kity, Jim, John, Serena, Jacob, and Betsy; Mary; Jacob; Thomas; Charles Young & Millie; Amey; "Margery & female child 3 years old"; and William.[135] The enslaved people at Antietam Iron Works were legally the shared property of John Brien and his son, John McPherson Brien, who had been his business partner at Antietam Iron Works since 1829.[136]

At the 1836 sale of John Brien's personal property, his other son, Henry A. Brien, purchased seventeen of the twenty-two enslaved people inventoried in the Frederick County part of his father's estate. Henry Brien's purchase included "Wally wife & 3 boys" (likely Christina, Harrison, George, and Harry), Lucy and Ann, "Suckey [Suck/Lucky?] 2 boys & 2 girls," Sarah, Bill, George, Robert (Bob), David, Harry, and Leonard (Len).[137] Isaac and Peter, both adult men

[133] Oerter et al., "Graceham," 213.
[134] Oerter et al., "Graceham," 218.
[135] FC Probate Records, Inventory Book GME 7, pages 453-466.
[136] Following the death of Col. John McPherson in 1829, his grandson, John McPherson Brien (son of John Brien), purchased the McPherson half of the Antietam Iron Works (AIW) partnership from his cousin Horatio McPherson. The AIW continued to do business under the name McPherson & Brien.
[137] FC Probate Records, Account of Sales, GME 9, pages 353-361.

who had been listed among the twenty-two inventoried in 1834, were not included in the sale to Henry Brien, while Suckey's (Lucky) "2 boys" were included in the sale but not listed in the inventory. Also missing from the 1834 inventory group were Stacy and her two children, who were later sold from the estate to John McPherson Brien in 1842.[138]

John McPherson Brien carried on operations at the Antietam Iron Works in Washington County following the death of his father/partner John Brien. Henry A. Brien appears to have continued operations at Catoctin Furnace, though it remained part of his father's estate. In 1840, Henry Brien counted twenty-four people in his household, nineteen of whom were enslaved, and one adult male "free colored person." Five of Brien's household members were employed at "mining" (likely mining iron ore), two were occupied in agriculture, and one in "manufactures and trades." These numbers indicate a greatly reduced enslaved worker population at the furnace.[139] In 1838, two of Brien's enslaved workers were involved in a "riot" at a tavern in Mechanicstown, apparently instigated by "some ten or a dozen [white] furnace hands."[140]

John McPherson Brien purchased Catoctin Furnace from his father's estate in 1841. His mortgage, held by Robert Gilmor, was secured by both the Catoctin Furnace and the Antietam Iron Works – including land, buildings, equipment, livestock, and fifty-four enslaved workers, presumably held at both Catoctin and Antietam.[141] Two years later, Brien defaulted on his debts and sold the "Catoctin Works" and "the personal property at Auburn and Catoctin" to Peregrine Fitzhugh. The sale specifically excluded "pig and bar iron, castings and scraps," a number personal items, "and the negro slaves."[142] When John McPherson Brien died in 1849, his estate inventory was recorded in Washington County where he lived. It identified twenty-three enslaved people by name, age, and value, including Stacy, aged 75 and valued at $50, who was formerly enslaved at *Auburn*.[143] **(Figure 19)**

[138] FC Probate Records, Account of Sales, GME 12, page 407.
[139] Listed nearby was Daniel Rouzer with twenty-one people in his household, including eleven enslaved. Rouzer, who was a tanner by trade, listed seven people in his household working at manufactures and three in agriculture. In 1850, Daniel Rouzer was 85 years old and retired, however his son John Rouzer was listed in the census as a tanner/miller.
[140] *Baltimore Gazette and Advertiser*, 17 September 1835, cited in Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 65-68.
[141] FC DB HS 14, pages 121-124. In 1848, John McP Brien held at least forty-nine enslaved people at Antietam Iron Works, some of whom were sold to help pay his debts (Libby, "African Ironmaking Culture," 80).
[142]Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 31-32.
[143] WC Estate Records, Personal Property Inventory Book Q, page 521-522, *FamilySearch.com*.

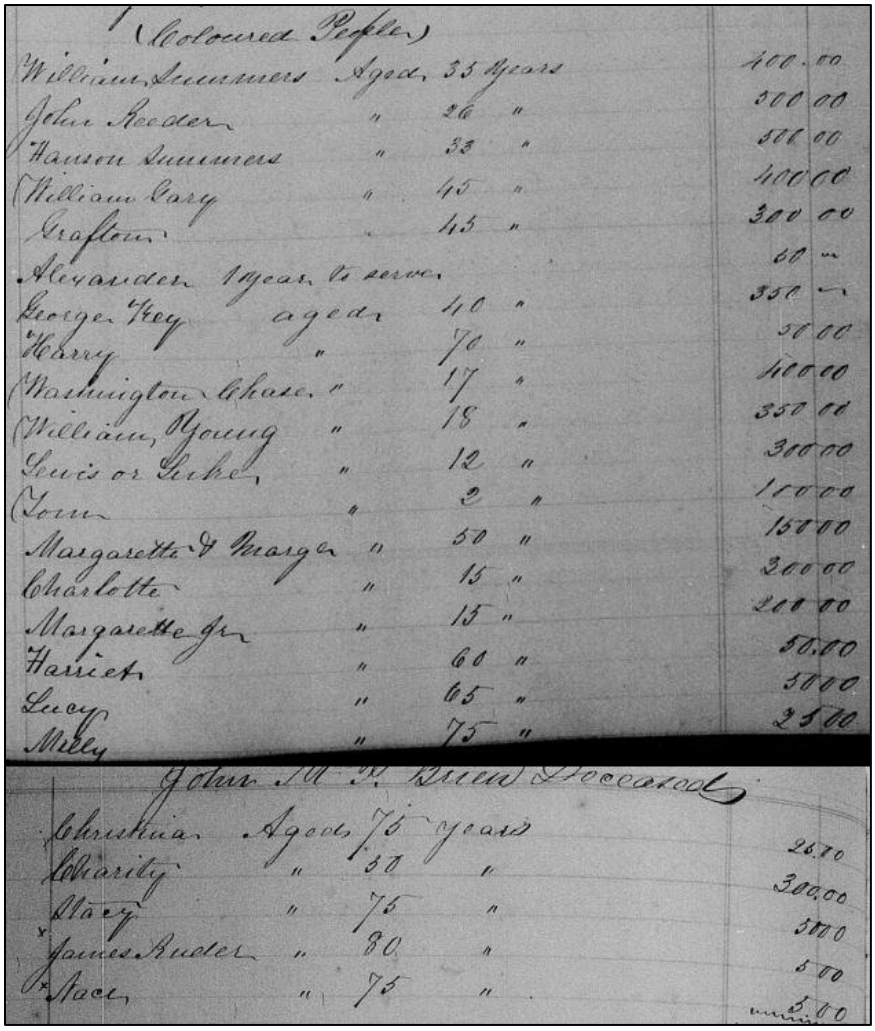


Figure 19: List of "Coloured People" in Brien's 1849 estate inventory.

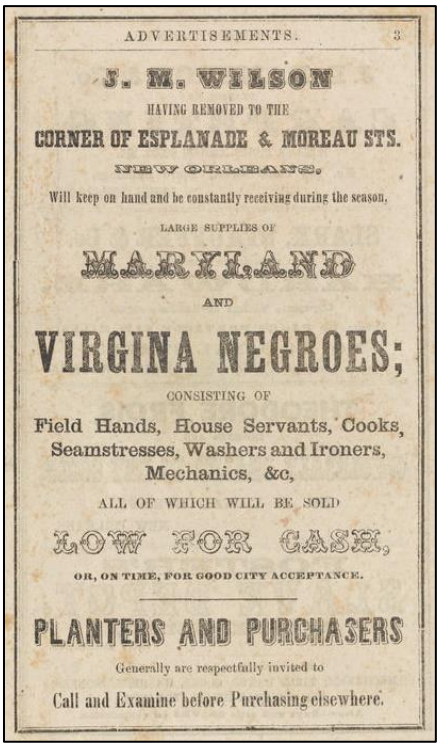
By 1850, it appears that enslaved labor at the furnace had been largely replaced by white and free Black laborers. Archeological evidence uncovered in the Catoctin Furnace African American cemetery indicates that burials there ended around 1840.[144] In 1850, Peregrine Fitzhugh, then owner of Catoctin Furnace, was listed as "iron master" in the Creagerstown District #4 census. The Slave Schedule of the 1850 census, listed Fitzhugh with just eight enslaved people, only one of whom was an adult male and four of whom were children aged ten and under. In addition to his own family members, Fitzhugh's household included Pennsylvania-born iron master Michael Ege, who apparently did not claim any enslaved workers. Among their Creagerstown District neighbors, William Johnson listed seven enslaved adults and children, while William McPherson, a physician whose clients included furnace workers, enslaved three people.

Other enslavers in the region were, for the most part, farmers, though George W. Creager was a stonemason, Charles Worthington an inn keeper, and John Rouzer was a tanner/miller, and

[144] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 65.

two were not listed as living in the district though their enslaved people were (George Harman and George Slusser). In all, ninety-three enslaved men, women, and children were enumerated in the 1850 Slave Schedule for the Creagerstown District #4 (including Lewistown, Creagerstown, and Thurmont not separately enumerated), while Emmitsburg District #5 (including Emmitsburg's twenty-two enslaved) had a total of 106 enslaved people, the largest enslaved population of all the northern districts.[145]

As the economic viability of enslaved labor in Maryland began to wane, many Maryland enslavers sold the individuals they had enslaved to traders in the Deep South. According to one source "healthy young men" could bring as much as $1,200 to $1,600, noting that as many as 20,000 people were sold south between 1830 and 1860.[146] **(Figure 20)** Enslaved people in Frederick County were among those in Maryland who were at risk of being "sold south," a practice that wreaked havoc on the already fragile enslaved family structure. William Still,


ADVERTISEMENTS. 3

J. M. WILSON

HAVING REMOVED TO THE

CORNER OF ESPLANADE & MOREAU STS.

NEW ORLEANS.

Will keep on hand and be constantly receiving during the season,

LARGE SUPPLIES OF

MARYLAND

AND

VIRGINA NEGROES;

CONSISTING OF

Field Hands, House Servants, Cooks, Seamstresses, Washers and Ironers, Mechanics, &c,

ALL OF WHICH WILL BE SOLD

LOW FOR CASH,

OR, ON TIME, FOR GOOD CITY ACCEPTANCE.

PLANTERS AND PURCHASERS

Generally are respectfully invited to

Call and Examine before Purchasing elsewhere.

Figure 20: "Maryland and Virginia Negroes," undated sale advertisement. (NYPL)

well-known Underground Railroad conductor of Philadelphia, recorded the escape of William Davis from his enslaver in Emmitsburg, Dr. James Shorb (written as "Shoul"), in 1854:

> All that the records contain of William is as follows: He left Emmitsburg, Md. the previous Friday night, where he had been held by Dr. James Shoul. William is thirty-

[145] Catoctin District #6 had five, and Hauvers District #10 had two enslaved people listed on the 1850 Slave Schedule.

[146] "A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland," 14, http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/pdf/md-slavery-guide-2020.pdf. There is no record of such sales from northern Frederick County enslavers.

> two years of age, dark color, rather below medium stature. With regard to his slave life, he declared that he had been "roughly used." Besides, for some time before escaping, he felt that his owner was in the "notion of trading" him off. The fear that this apprehended notion would be carried into execution, was what prompted him to leave his master.[147]

In 1850, Dr. James A. Shorb, a graduate of Mount Saint Mary's College, was recorded on the census with twenty-one enslaved men, women, and children. By 1860, the Shorb household's enslaved population was reduced to thirteen, listed under the name of his wife, Margaret Shorb.

Cash for Negroes.

The subscribers wish to purchase a number of

Sound and Likely Young Negroes,

for which they are determined to pay the

Highest Richmond Prices.

Persons having such for sale will do well to give us a call before selling to others.

☞ Negroes taken to board on accommodating terms, and properly cared for.

WILSON & HINDES,
Camden St. between Light & Charles Sts.,
BALTIMORE.

J. T. SINN, Agent.
Frederick, Md.

aug2-1y e. v. c. 1y.

Figure 21: "Cash for Negroes" Frederick Herald, February 14, 1860. ("African Americans: The Struggle for Freedom," *crossroadsofwar.org*)

Rise of the Free Black Population in Northern Frederick County

While the sale of enslaved people out of the state or county accounted for some of the decrease in population, self-emancipation by individuals like William Davis was also a factor in the dwindling numbers. Most cases of successful escapes from bondage went unrecorded, their routes to freedom unknown. However, the close proximity of Frederick County's northern districts to the free state of Pennsylvania and the presence of a rural, and in some cases isolated, free Black population made the region a likely route for freedom seekers. Indeed, according to J. Howard Wert, an abolitionist who lived in Adams County, Pennsylvania, passengers on the Underground Railroad followed at least one route leading through Frederick City and

[147] William Still, The underground railroad. 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 (Philadelphia, PA: People's publishing company, 1879) 226, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/31024984/.

Emmitsburg before crossing the Mason-Dixon Line on the road to Gettysburg. Another route turned northeastward through Taneytown and another westward toward Harpers Ferry.[148]

Freedom seekers from other counties or states were not the only ones to follow the routes through northern Frederick County. As the example of William Davis illustrates, local enslaved people sought to free themselves from bondage, in some cases with local help. In 1833, David Bruce, a free "mulatto" living in the Taneytown District (#6), was convicted of "aiding a slave to escape" and sentenced to four years of "servitude."[149] Support came also from within the enslaved population. In 1858, Levi Brown, an enslaved man probably on the farm of Somerset R. Waters, was accused of "assisting a slave of S.R. Waters to run away from his master." His accuser (and probable enslaver) decided not to prosecute Brown, likely to prevent the potential loss of his enslaved laborer.[150]

Although the African Colonization movement and Maryland state law encouraged manumitted slaves to leave the state, it appears that by 1850 manumissions significantly added to the free Black population in Frederick County.[151] Prior to 1820, a total of 801 manumissions were recorded in Frederick County over a period of nearly seventy years. In contrast, over the thirty-year period from 1820 through 1850, Frederick County enslavers recorded more than 2,000 manumissions, adding another 450 by the end of 1856.[152] Some manumissions came in the form of sale to a family member who would then release the person from bondage. In 1846, Stephen Green, "Colored Man," freed his sister Mary Green whom he had purchased from Mary Livers "for the purpose of freeing her from slavery."[153] Many others were sold for a term of service that would end with their release from bondage. This arrangement guaranteed the enslavers a return in cash or labor on their investment. Additionally, Maryland statutes pertaining to manumission specified that those freed should be "able to work and gain a sufficient maintenance and livelihood."[154] Though the language was written in reference to people over the age of fifty, it appears to have been applied to enslaved children as well. The specified term of

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[148] William J. Switala, *Underground Railroad in Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 97.

[149] "Prisoner Records," Frederick County, *The Maryland State Archives Presents: Legacy of Slavery in Maryland*, http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx.

[150] "Pardon Records," Frederick County, *The Maryland State Archives Presents: Legacy of Slavery in Maryland*, http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx. According to Williams', *History of Frederick County,* Somerset R. Waters' farm was in the Lewistown-Thurmont area where he was a farmer and ME minister (T.J.C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, Vol. 2 (1910, reprint Baltimore, MD: Regional Publishing Co., 1979), 896). S.R. Waters could not be located in the census records for 1850 or 1860, however FC land records do show that Somerset R. Waters owned land (part of *Principal*) in Frederick County as early as 1840, but that he himself was by then a resident of Baltimore City (FC DB ES8, page 73).

[151] "During the years it was in operation, the Society enjoyed only limited success in Frederick County, sending only 66 individuals to Liberia (Campbell, 55-59)." Comer, "Patterson Paper" manuscript.

[152] Smith, "Manumissions," Vol. 2.

[153] FC DB WBT 4, page 396.

[154] *Laws of Maryland, 1785-1791*, Vol. 204, "An ACT to repeal certain parts of an act, entitled, An act to prevent disabled and superannuated slaves being set free, or the manumission of slaves by any last will and testament, and of a supplementary act thereto, and for certain other purposes," 458, *Archives of Maryland Online*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000204/html/index.html.

service in the manumission documents for children varied and appears to have been dictated by the enslaver's view of the age of maturity at which an individual could support his or herself.

Among those freed in northern Frederick County after a term of service were Henry and Mary Dugan, sold with their mother Nelly for $432 in 1854 by Mary Brawner to Cecelia and Rosalea Brawner. While Nelly would remain "a slave for life," both Henry and Mary were to be manumitted at the age of thirty-five, in accordance with the Last Will of William Brawner.[155] In December 1846, Daniel Rouzer, who lived near the furnace in 1840 with eleven enslaved people, sold Alexander and Benjamin Thomas (ages twenty-one and eleven) to John Rouzer for $500, each to be freed when they reached the age of twenty-eight.[156] One month later, in January 1847, Rouzer sold eight-year-old George Thomas to John Witherow for $125 on the same terms.[157] Three years after his purchase, Witherow listed then twelve-year-old George Thomas as a free member of his household on his farm in District #5.

At Mount St. Mary's College, chartered by Maryland in 1830, enslaved people were reportedly conveyed for term service as tuition payments.[158] Louisa Mahoney was assigned to outgoing college president Francis B. Jamison to settle a debt in 1836. According to the agreement, Jamison was required to manumit Mahoney at the end of her five-year term of service. However, Louisa Mahoney's anticipated freedom did not go as planned. Instead, Jamison moved to Missouri where he claimed her as his slave and leased her to Edmund McCabe. Still enslaved in 1854, Louisa Mahoney sued both Jamison and McCabe in Missouri court for her release.[159] In 1848, Mount St. Mary's College president John McCaffrey manumitted two women and their children.[160] The two women, Josephine Minott (age twenty-eight, wife of Edward Minott) and Susan Green (age thirty-four, wife of Stephen Green) were freed immediately. Green had apparently been making payments to the Mount on his wife's freedom since 1840.[161] **(Figure 22)** Their children, including one-month-old Louis Henry Minott, and James (ten), Ferdinand (four), and Joseph Aloysius (two weeks) Green would remain enslaved until they each reached the age of twenty-one.[162] It appears the extended enslaved status

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[155] FC DB ES 5, page 189 (Mary Brawner to Cecelia and Rosalea Brawner); Smith, Vol. 2, 192. The 1850 Slave Schedule listed "M. Brawner" with one female age 56, one female age 19, and one male age 23. Henry Dugan was manumitted by the Brawner sisters in 1858 at age 32 after Andrew K. Baker of Carroll County paid $85. (FC DB BGF 3, page 651)

[156] In 1850, John Rouzer, son of Daniel Rouzer, was a tanner/miller still living in his father's household. He was listed with one male, age 15, on the 1850 Slave Schedule.

[157] FC DB WBT 4, page 499 and 532; Smith, Vol. 2, 154.

[158] Nusbuam, "The Hand," 23, http://msmary.edu/alumni/alumni_news/mount-magazine/pdfs/Mount-Magazine-Fall-2000-Ghost-Stories.pdf.

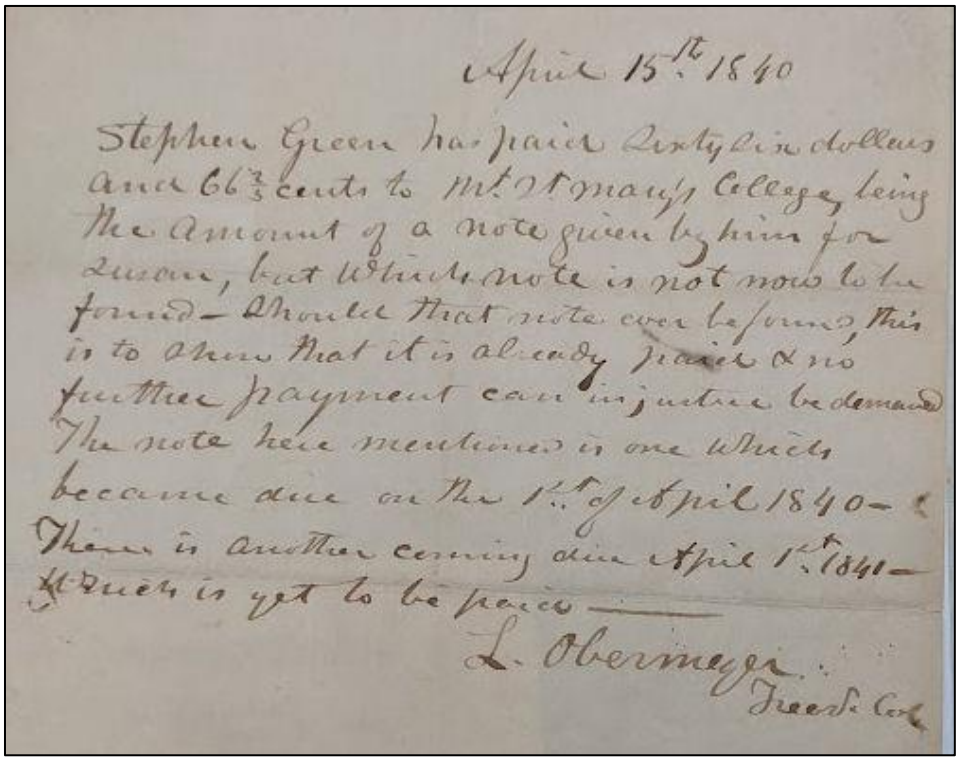
[159] "Mount St. Mary's College to the use of Louisa Mahoney, a woman of color v. Francis B. Jameson and Edmund H. McCabe," 1854, *Washington University in St. Louis, University Libraries*, accessed 12/29/2021, http://repository.wustl.edu/concern/texts/hq37vp57t.

[160] In 1840, Reverend John McCaffrey's Mount St. Mary's College household included twenty-eight teachers, 138 students, one free Black male, and six enslaved people.

[161] "Stephen Green has paid sixty-six dollars…" April 15, 1840, "Slavery Manuscripts," Folder 6, Special Collections, Hugh J. Phillips Library, Mount St. Mary's University, Emmitsburg, MD.

[162] FC DB WBT 7, page 544 and page 563; Smith, Vol. 2, 162-163. John McCaffrey and Mt. St. Mary's College recorded a second deed of manumission for Susan Green and her children in 1858, with no reference to the earlier 1848 manumission (FC DB BGF 1, page 686).

of the three Green children was in name only however, as they were listed as free members of their father's household in the 1850 census.


April 15th 1840

Stephen Green has paid Sixty Six dollars and 66⅔ cents to Mt. St. Mary's College, being the Amount of a note given by him for Lumber, but which note is not now to be found – Should that note ever be found, this is to show that it is already paid & no further payment can in justice be demanded. The note here mentioned is one which became due on the 1st of April 1840 – & there is another coming due April 1st 1841 – which is yet to be paid –

L. Obermeyer
Treas. Col.

Figure 22: Note confirming payment, April 15, 1840. (MSM Archives)

Between 1820 and 1850, the free Black population of District #4 (including Lewistown, Creagerstown, Graceham, and Mechanicstown/Thurmont) increased from sixty-five people to 156 men, women, and children. Of those, 145 people lived in thirty-two independent households, while just eleven individuals lived and worked in white households. In District #5 (including the town of Emmitsburg), the free Black population grew from eighty to 205 individuals. Thirty-eight independent households included 166 people; thirty-nine people lived and worked in white households. By 1850, Hauvers District #10, carved from the two districts about 1830, accounted for twenty-one free Black community members, eighteen of whom lived in three independent households.

Life for the Green family and other free Black families living in Maryland was made increasingly difficult by the all-white, predominantly slave-holding members of the Maryland legislature. These legislators enacted bills to limit the daily lives of African Americans living free in the state. Building on an 1805 statute that prevented "free negroes from selling any corn, wheat or tobacco, without having a license for that purpose from a justice of the peace," the legislature expanded the law in 1831 to include the sale of oats, rye, beef, and pork, and required three neighbors to attest that they "came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such

article so offered for sale."[163] In the same 1831 statute, the 1806 ban on "tumultuous meetings" attended by enslaved or free African Americans was extended to "any religious meeting which was not conducted either by a licensed white preacher, or by some respectable white person of the neighborhood."[164]

Free Black communities through the first half of the nineteenth century were typically small clusters of free households, in most cases without the centralizing presence of a school or church building. Some of these groupings formed around a free Black landowner on whose land other households might settle as tenants or purchase land nearby. The 1825 and 1835 Frederick County tax assessments indicate that free Black landownership in the northern districts was primarily clustered around Emmitsburg and Lewistown. **(Tables 1 and 2)** The following free Black community discussions are based on census data (1820-1850), land records, and the 1825 and 1835 tax assessments.[165]

Table 1: African Americans Owners Frederick County Maryland 1825 Tax List (Jeffrey Duvall, 2020)

Owner	District	Tract name	Acres	Structures
Anthony Bowins	Emmitsburg	1 Lot	-	-
Isaac Briscoe	District-4	*Millers Chance* [Lewistown area]	14	Log House
Charles Lee	District-5	Unknown	3	Log House
Charles Lee	District-5	*Pleasant View* [adj. *Carrollsburg*]	2	Log House
John Norton	Mechanics Town	Lot 31	-	-

Table 2: Table of African Americans assessed for land and buildings in 1835 (Jeffrey Duvall, 2020)

Owner	District	Tract or Town Lot	Acres	Buildings
Anthony Boen (Negro)	5	Emmittsburg Lot 127	-	Small Log House
Gabriel Briscoe (Negro)	5	Emmittsburg Lot 117	-	-
John Briscoe (Negro)	5	*Carrollsburg*	4	Log House
Ann Butler (Negro)	5	*Carrollsburg*	.25	Log House
Milly Butler (Negro)	5	*Carrollsburg*	.25	Log House

[163] *Session Laws, 1805*, Volume 607, page 60, *Archives of Maryland Online*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000607/html/am607--60.html; *Session Laws, 1831*, Volume 213, page 448–49, *Archives of Maryland Online*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000213/html/am213--448.html.
[164] *Session Laws, 1831*, Volume 213, page 448–49. See also Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 35.
[165] Jeffrey A. Duvall, "African American Land Owners Frederick County Maryland 1825 Tax List" and "1835 Frederick County Maryland Tax Assessment (Free Black Land Owners)," *Maryland Historical Mapping*, accessed 12/28/2021, https://mdhmapping.com/1835-frederick-county-tax-free-black-land-owners/, compiled from Frederick County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessment Record), 1793-1841, C755-5, 1825 and 1835.

Thomas Butler (Negro)	5	*Poplar Ridge* [north of Emmitsburg; Flat Run; *Fox Town & Dautheits Chance*]	6	Log House
Stephen Coats (Negro)	5	*Poplar Ridge* [north of Emmitsburg]	4	Log House
Joseph Frazier (Negro)	5	*Carrollsburg*	5	-
Stephen Green (Negro)	5	Mountain Land [near Mt.St.Marys]	3	Log House
Richard Hall (Negro)	4	*Millers Chance*	2.5	-
Jeremiah Myers (Negro)	5	*Poplar Ridge* [north of Emmitsburg]	4	Log House
John Sarnip [?] (Negro)	5	*Oylers Content*	20	Log House

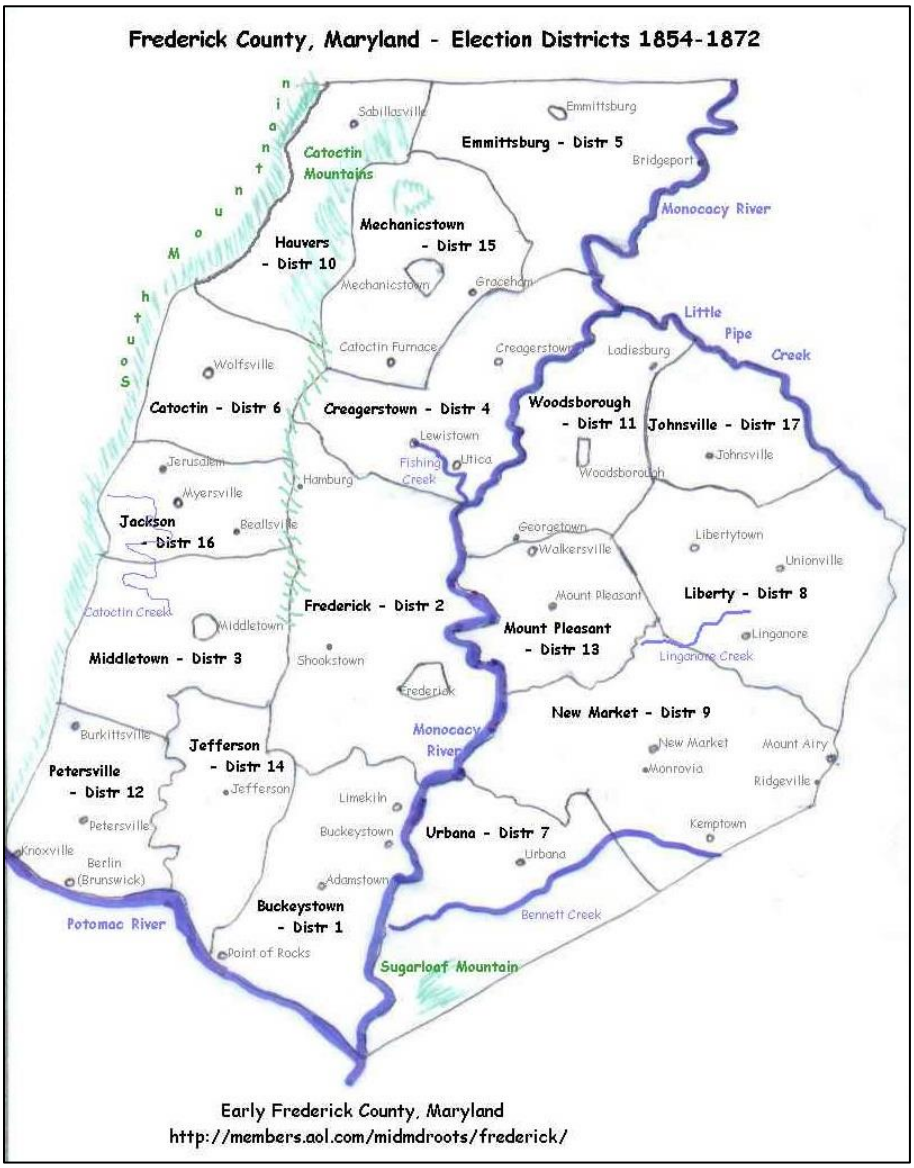


Figure 23: Frederick County Election Districts 1854-1872. (courtesy MidMdRoots@aol.com)

Creagerstown District #4 (including Hauvers District #10)[166]

In 1810, Isaac Briscoe purchased eight-and-a-half acres of *Millers Chance*, one acre of *Trifle*, and in 1812, two-and-a-half acres of *Generosity*, contiguous tracts located in the Lewistown area.[167] In 1826, Richard Hall bought a two-and-a-half-acre parcel of *Millers Chance*, which he then sold to Catherine and Richard Hall (Jr.) in 1828. The 1830 census listed both the Hall and Briscoe families as well as three other independent Black households apparently scattered between Lewistown and Mechanicstown in rural District #4. Anthony Briscoe, who lived with one other person in his household (probably on *Millers Chance*), was listed after the Lewistown enumeration on the same page as Daniel Rouzer, a white tanner who lived near Catoctin Furnace. On the next page was Richard Richardson, also listed in the district in 1820, with a household of fifteen people, including one white male "foreigner not naturalized." On the following two pages were Nace Talbot (six people) and John Jacobs, with eight people including a white female (wife). Richard Hall was listed two pages later with a household totaling thirteen members. It is likely that this scattered group of free Black households were living as tenants or squatters on Catoctin Mountain land. Only Briscoe and Hall were landowners. Additionally, there was a group of three independent free Black households in Lewistown. These included Rachel Williams, James Hope, and Patsey McKinney. The McKinney household of eight people included two enslaved people, noted as "slave to Mr. James Johnson."

Between 1830 and 1850, these households, and a few new ones, remained relatively scattered, often found on the 1840 census in groups of two adjoining households. The details given in the 1850 census provides a little more insight into this scattered mountain community. By far the largest grouping of free Black households was located in or adjoining the Catoctin Furnace village. As many as nine independent free Black families were listed in small groups scattered among the white (many German-born) furnace laborers, most of whom appeared to be living in furnace housing. These included William Patterson and James Lucket, listed near William McPherson **(Figure 24)**; James Key and Zachariah Key, listed near James Robinson the white "forgeman" at the furnace; Archibald Patterson and Thomas Patterson, who were listed after John Larkin, the white superintendent at the furnace.[168] Hezekiah Lucket, Elias Patterson, and John Lucket were listed on the census page before Peregrine Fitzhugh, owner and ironmaster of the furnace. This grouping of nine Black households represented a total of thirty-six men, women, and children.

[166] Hauvers District #10 was formed about 1830 and Mechanicstown District #15 in 1854.

[167] FC DB WR37, page 150 (ex. of Adam Frushour to Isaac Briscoe, 1810) and WR43, page 85 (John Cronise to Isaac Briscoe, 1812). According to Tracey and Dern (*Pioneers*, 286), Abraham Miller patented the original 100-acre *Millers Chance* in 1748, "southwest of today's Lewistown."

[168] Also listed on this page was Arthur Colamer (Calimer/Calaman?), a white laborer born in Maryland with white wife and children.

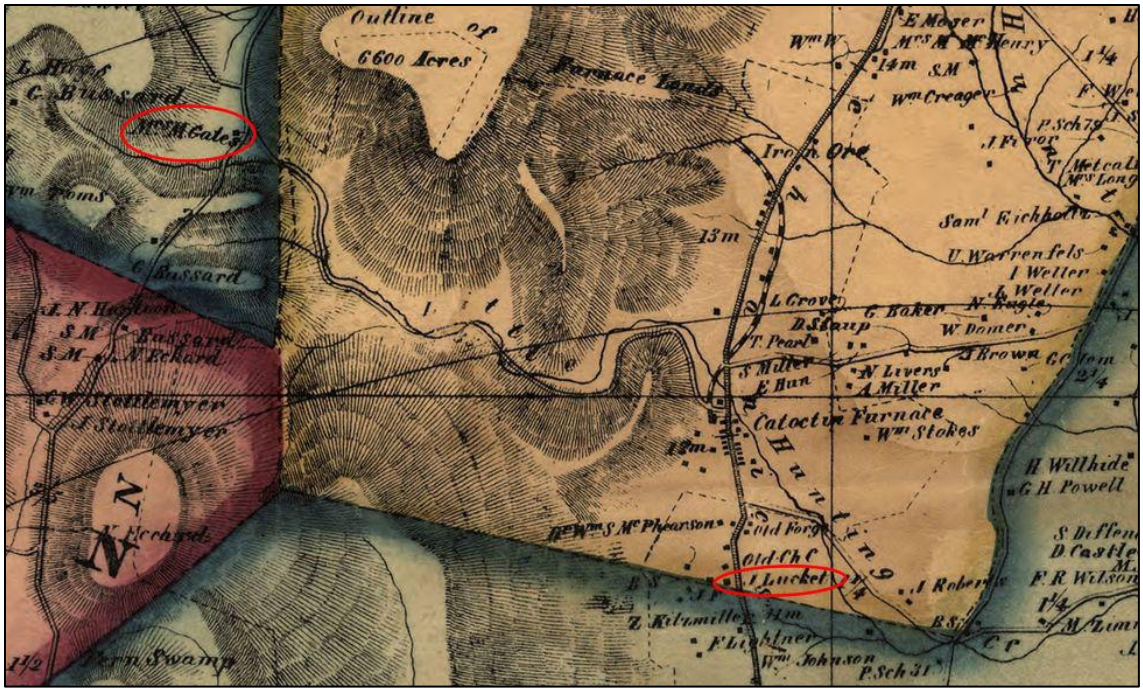


Figure 24: 1858 Bond Map of Frederick County, Catoctin Furnace detail, showing "J Lucket." (LOC)

It is likely the two Hauvers District (#10) households of Robert Patterson and Abraham Proctor, located on the west side of Catoctin Mountain, were also associated with Catoctin Furnace. Robert Patterson moved from Washington County (District 1, near Antietam Iron Works) sometime after 1840. In 1853 he purchased a twenty-five-acre tract in Hauvers District called *Brymoures Misfortune* from Barnard & Rebecca Lewis and Samuel Maugans.[169] Patterson's 1858 mortgage on the property indicates it was located adjoining Jacob Gates **(see Figure 24, "Mrs M Gates")** and that his farmstead included a horse, cow, and heifer, a ten-plate stove and "one kocking [*sic*] stove" (coking or cooking stove?), an eight-day clock, bureau, and table.[170] Patterson's land would prove to be the anchor for a later community known as Pattersonville.

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[169] FC DB BGF 3, page 294 (Lewis and Maugans to Robert Patterson, 1853). *Brimours Misfortune* was patented in 1758 by John Yost (FC Circuit Court, Certificates, Patented, 1758/09/29, Patented Certificate 633, MSA S1197-697) and enlarged in 1792 by Thomas Beatty (Patented Certificate 65, MSA S1197-128). The tract was located on the west side of the mountain peak adjoining Catoctin Furnace. The peak is labeled on Google Maps as "Cat Rock & Bob's Hill Natural Area." It is not known if this "hill" was actually named for Robert Patterson. A check stub found in the Catoctin Furnace Historical Society collection had the following local lore written on the back: "Sally Ann Patterson married William "Butt" Calimer (born 1825) in Frederick County, Maryland. Sally Ann was born in Frederick County, Maryland in 1827. He [*sic*] worked at Catoctin Furnace. I believe Sally Ann Patterson was the daughter of Bob Patterson and there is a section of the mountain that runs from Catoctin Furnace up Catoctin Hollow Road that is called Bob's Hill after a Bob Patterson and he had a pig farm that ran over the Hill. The folklore says he came to the furnace from the West Indies." Thus far, the census record does not match any of this information. In 1850, William (age 65) and Sally (age 70) Calamer were living in the Red Hill/Antietam Iron Works area of Sharpsburg District #1 in Washington County, Maryland. The same area where Robert Patterson was living in 1840 (then aged about 29). Patterson and Calamer (Calaman) families lived in this part of Washington County as early as 1800 and William Caliman was there by 1830.

[170] FC DB BGF 2, page 39 (Patterson to Jacob Gates, mortgage, 1858).

Another scattered community was clustered around the Lewistown/Utica area, including the families of Clem Norris and Hager Richardson, both tenant/laborers living near Ott's tanyard. **(Figure 25)** Nearby, probably in Lewistown, were the tenant homes of Hillery Norris, Eli Williams, and Thomas Richardson, with sixteen people across the three households. Norris, Williams, and Richardson, along with Henry Williams (boarding with Norris) and Charles E. Williams (son of Eli), were laborers, possibly working in the mill operated by their neighbor Thomas Picking. In the Mechanicstown area were the households of George Briscoe and Jeremiah Briscoe, both of whom owned their property and worked as laborers. Elias Bowman, probably also in the Mechanicstown area, listed his occupation as tanner, as did his two boarders William Fisher and Joseph Harris. They may have worked for Alexander Scott, a white tanner and landowner listed nearby. John Jones was another skilled free Black laborer, who worked as a blacksmith and appeared to be living in the area west of Creagerstown, possibly associated with Catoctin Furnace. John Sanders had a farm valued at $3,300, located in the Utica area of District #4 **(see "J Sands," Figure 25)**. Samuel Tucker was an independent Black farmer who owned $600 in real estate in the northern Harbaugh Valley area of Hauvers District.

Figure 25: 1858 Bond Map of FC, Lewistown-Utica detail. (LOC)

Emmitsburg Area (District #5)

The 1830 census did not provide a separate enumeration of the town of Emmitsburg within District #5. Since Anthony Bowen (Bohn, Boans, Bowins) bought Emmitsburg Lot 127 in 1814 and was listed in Emmitsburg in 1820, it is likely that he was still there in 1830, listed with

his wife and three children.[171] Listed near Bowen on the 1830 list was Gabriel Briscoe, a "Free Colored Person," with six household members. In 1835, Briscoe was assessed for Lot 117 in Emmitsburg. Briscoe's immediate neighbor in 1830 was Stephen Minor (three people), and Leonard Ellison (two people) lived nearby. It is also possible that Peter Burkhart (four people) lived in Emmitsburg, presuming his relation to Jane Borkart, who was listed in Emmitsburg in 1820. Burkhart's immediate neighbor in 1830 was Joseph Little (five people) and nearby was Milly O'Brian (six people). Thus, it appears a community of thirty-one free African Americans were living in Emmitsburg in 1830.

Twenty years later, Emmitsburg's African American population held steady with thirty-two residents listed in the 1850 census. Jane Burket (Borkart, Burkhart), by then aged 70, was the only Black property owner in her neighborhood on the southwest edge of town. Though she apparently owned the land on which she lived, she was described as a "Pauper." Her son John Burket, a laborer aged 28, lived in his mother's household, with his wife Amanda and baby John F. Burket. The family also housed thirteen-year-old Ann M. Philips. Their neighbor, Betsy Butler, age 70, was also listed as a pauper. Others who appeared to be living in the immediate neighborhood included the households of Rebecca Lucket, Violet Doogan, Maria Constant, Lina Clark, Henry Dunston, and Agnes Brown, all of whom were tenant households.

Perhaps the most significant free Black community in rural District #5 formed on part of the *Carrollsburg* and *Poplar Ridge* tracts north of Emmitsburg near the Pennsylvania line. The Poplar Ridge community, as it became known, grew around a series of early land purchases by seven African American men and women. In 1832, Thomas Butler "Col'd man" purchased six acres on Flat Run from Samuel and John Duphoin for $90. The tract was described as being on part of *Dauthans* [Dautheits] *Chance* (adjoining the northeast edge of *Carrollsburg* **(Figure 26)** and *Fox Town*.[172] By 1835, according to the tax record, Butler's six acres were called *Poplar Ridge*, a name shared by Stephen Coats' (former neighbor to Charles Lee in 1830) and Jeremiah Myers' four-acre tracts. Ann and Milly Butler's *Carrollsburg* lots were likely located nearby, as well as John Briscoe's four acres and Joseph Frazier's five acres, both described in 1835 as *Carrollsburg* tracts. All but Frazier were assessed for a log house as well in 1835.

The 1840 census confirms that these people had formed a community, then consisting of seven free Black households, including Steven Coats, John Briscoe, James Frasier, and Charlotte Myers (probably Letty, daughter of Jeremiah), as well as Henry Dorsey, Nace O'Brian, and John Sarsnip who was assessed in 1835 for twenty acres of *Oyler's Content*.[173] In all, thirty-three men, women, and children were living in the Poplar Ridge community in 1840. Most of the adult males worked in agriculture, but Coats and Frazier noted two household members working in manufactures and two in agriculture.

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[171] FC DB WR46, page 66 (Jacob Trankle to Anthony Boans, 1814).
[172] FC DB JS 39, page 328 (Samuel and John Duphoin to Thomas Butler, 1832). This community's location becomes clear on the 1873 atlas map of Emmitsburg District along today's MD Rt. 140 (see Chapter 5).
[173] With the exception of Thomas Butler, the other land transactions could not be located in the Frederick County Land Records.

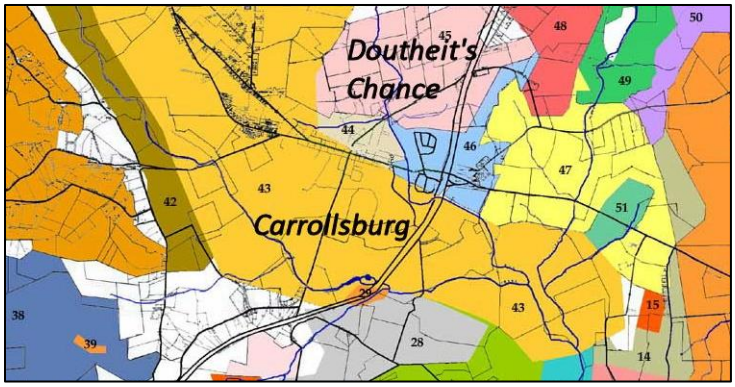


Figure 26: Section of "Tom's Creek Hundred map of early patents." (courtesy Emmitsburg Historical Society)

The 1850 census shows the Poplar Ridge community still intact despite appearing more scattered. Jack and Lucy Sarsnip, both in their sixties, were listed with $600 in real estate and two eleven-year-old foster children, Samuel Bowers and Margaret Howard, a common form of aid shared among free Black families. Like Sarsnip, nearly all of the households in this free Black community owned real estate. James Myers (age 35), likely the son of Jeremiah Myers, also owned $600 in real estate. His neighbor Preston Ross (husband of Letty Myers) held real estate valued at $200. Nace O'Brien (age 62) was listed with $150 in real estate and may have tenanted his neighbors, Joseph Frazier (age 45) and Sarah Coates (age 70), former landowners who were listed in the next household with no real estate. John Briscoe's (age 71) household held $50 in real estate and James Briscoe (age 29) had land valued at $75. Thomas Kelly Coates (age 25), whose household included his wife and two young children as well as Amelia Jane Matthews (age 12), owned $100 worth of real estate. Coates, like all the other men in the community, listed his occupation as "laborer." His immediate neighbor was Samuel Duphoin (age 52), who had sold some of his land to Thomas Butler back in 1832, listed his occupation as "manufacturer" and perhaps employed many of his Black neighbors.

Beginning as early as 1820, another, more-scattered community was located to the south of Emmitsburg, along the mountainside near Saint Mary's Seminary.[174] Charles Lee and Stephen Coats were listed in 1820 as neighbors in District 5 outside of Emmitsburg. The 1825 tax assessment showed two Charles Lee properties. It was probably Charles Lee, Jr. who occupied the three-acre "unknown" tract with "log house." Charles Lee, Sr's occupation of the two-acre *Pleasant View* tract was confirmed in an 1833 deed in which Charles Lee, Sr. conveyed the tract to Charles Lee, Jr., reserving for himself (Charles Sr.) "a life estate in the land" and "possession of the tenement there on."[175] In 1830, the home of Charles Lee (probably Jr.) and his near neighbor Stephen Coats were listed on the census between Mount St. Mary's College (Rev. Francis B. Jamison) and "House of St. Josephs" (Mother Seton), while the other Charles Lee (Sr)

[174] There is no documentation of a name for this community, which was largely located along Annandale Road and Crystal Fountain Road. For the purpose of this study, the community will be referred to as the Annandale Road Community.
[175] FC DB JS 43, page 489 (Charles Lee, Sr. to Charles Lee, Jr., 1833).

was listed with a household of thirteen people. In 1837, Charles Lee, Jr. manumitted his wife Catherine and their children Catherine (Jr.), Cecelia, Ann, and William. Although neither Charles Lee (Sr. or Jr.) was apparently assessed for their land in 1835, Charles Lee Jr. does appear in the 1840 census with two free Black households adjoining his, probably as tenants on his land. His immediate neighbor appears to be his wife Catherine with several younger people in her household, probably their children. Her immediate neighbor was Robert Watt (possibly the son of Matilda Watt, listed here in 1830), with his wife and two children. Both Lee and Watt listed their occupation as agriculture. **(Figure 27)**

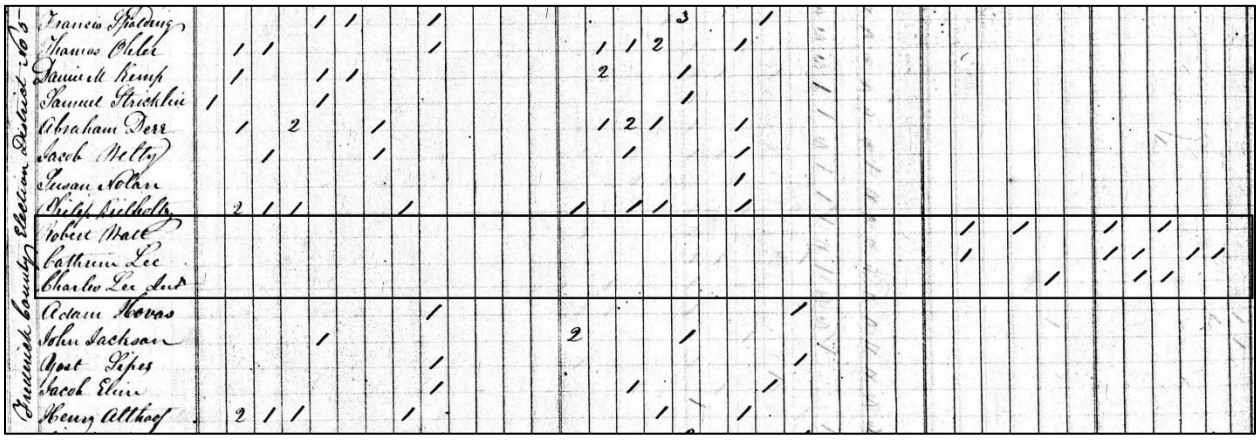


Figure 27: 1840 US Population Census, Emmitsburg District 5. (*Ancestry.com*)

Isaac Lee, the son that Charles Lee, Sr. had purchased from Elizabeth Brawner in 1814 and was then manumitted by his father, was listed in 1840 probably on his father's *Pleasant View* tract near one of the Elder farms (Catherine Elder). Although Isaac and his wife were listed as "Free Colored Persons," one child and two adult males in the household were listed as enslaved. Nearby was the free Black family of Abden Reid. Two other free Black households appeared on the same census page, Leonard Allison (Ellison) and Philip Smith. It is possible that one or all of these other households tenanted on Lee's *Pleasant View* tract. Most of the white households on the same census page gave manufactures as their occupation, including three people in Lewis Motter's household which included two free Black male adults. No occupations were listed for the Reid, Lee, Allison, or Smith households.

Another cluster of free Black households appeared in 1840 around James A. Shorb's District #5 residence on the former William Elder farm, whose household still included eighteen enslaved people. Shorb's free Black neighbors included Mary Plowton, John Jones, Philip Rideout, Stephen Minor, and Vilet (Violet) Dugan, with all of the adult men occupied in agriculture. With the exception of Stephen Minor, who appeared in the 1830 census next to Leonard Ellison and Gabriel Briscoe, and Violet Dugan, whose probable manumission by Rev. John DuBois occurred in 1819 (see Chapter 3), most of these names were new to the known Black population in the area. It is likely they were associated with the nearby Mount St. Mary's College (formerly Seminary), where in 1830 the census listed three unnamed free African Americans and twenty-six unidentified enslaved people. Not far from Violet Dugan's listing

were two more free Black households, Abraham Lee and Sarah Wallace, both listed next to John Shorb where they likely worked and possibly tenanted.

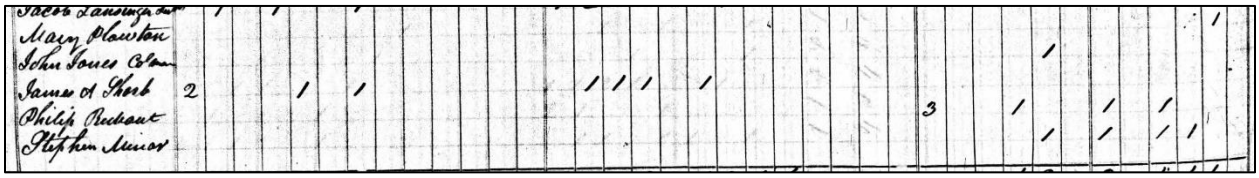


Figure 28: 1840 US Population Census showing Black households adjoining Shorb farm. (*Ancestry.com*)

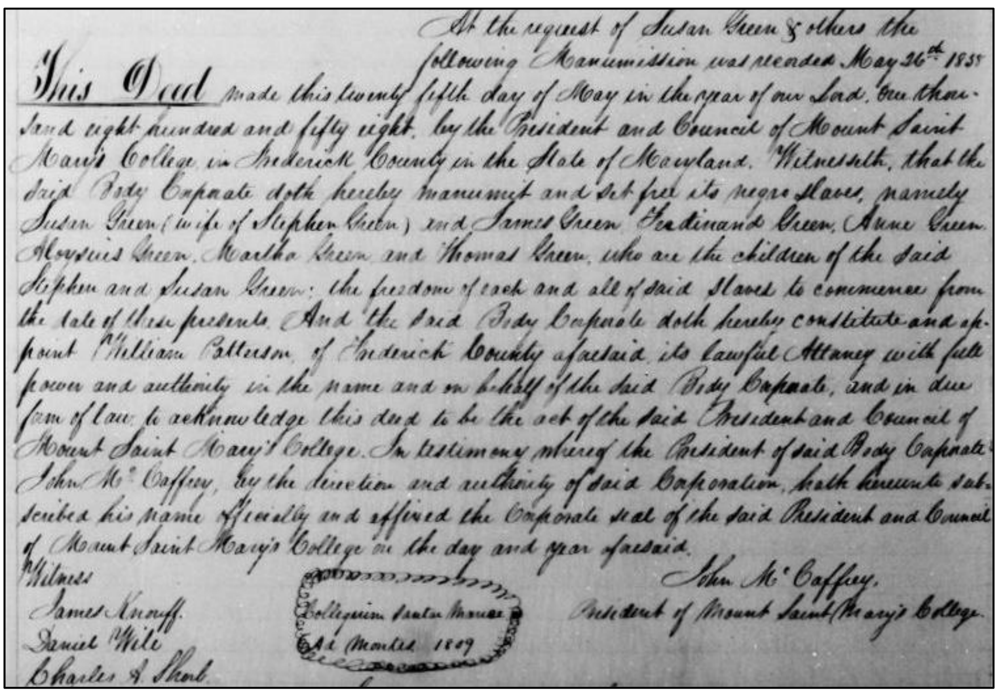
Although the 1835 tax assessment record identified Stephen Green with three acres of "mountain land" and a "log house" in District #5, he did not appear in the 1840 census. Following the 1848 manumission of his wife and term release of his children, in 1850, Stephen Green, a "laborer," was listed with his wife Susan, along with James, Ferdinand, Aloysius, and a daughter Annie in his free household.[176] Green's real estate was valued at $400 and was part of the cluster of free Black households in the Emmitsburg District located near Mount St. Mary's College (along today's Annandale Road and Crystal Fountain Road). Augustus Green, living in the 1850 Green household was probably Stephen's brother and was a laborer. It appears that Augustus Green was also listed as a laborer living at Mount St. Mary's College under the name "Gust. Green." Another free Black employee at the college in 1850 was William Richardson, who also had a listing as the head of a household next to Stephen Green, along with his wife, five children, and a laborer named James Bowie. Richardson's next neighbor was Martin Conrad, probably also a laborer, who owned $200 in real estate and lived with his wife and Mary Lee, described as "Crazed." Two other free Black women were listed in 1850 at Mount St. Mary's College – Eliza Doogan (probably related to Violet Dugan, manumitted by John DuBois, and Nelly Dugan, enslaved by M. Brawner) and Ann Key.

The growing free Black communities, though still scattered, clearly indicate the changing dynamics of employment in the districts of northern Frederick County. Still the area's largest employer, the bustle of the Catoctin Furnace village, the smoke of the charcoal fires on the mountain, and the belch of the furnaces in blast were part of the daily lives of many of the region's residents, both Black and white. The region's fertile farms remained reliable seasonal employers, but the mills, tan yards, and growing college community at Mount St. Mary's, all played a role in the northern districts' economy. As had happened many times before, the Catoctin Furnace would change hands again in 1858, the result of financial hardships, though the furnace continued to produce its iron commodities. At the same time, the growing divide between the US states and territories over the use of enslaved Black laborers would soon directly impact the land and people of the Monocacy-Catoctin region.

[176] Stephen Green's land purchase apparently was never entered into the Frederick County land records.

Chapter 5. The Late Catoctin Furnace Period – 1858 to 1865

In 1858, the president and council of Mount St. Mary's College voted to free the last of the enslaved persons held by the college.[177] **(Figure 29)** It was a sign of the times. Less than fifty miles from the college, in Harper's Ferry, Virginia (present-day West Virginia), John Brown led his infamous raid on the US arsenal in October 1859. Brown hoped to spark a revolution that would put an end to the enslavement of Black men, women, and children in the United States. John Brown's raid failed, ending with his conviction and execution for insurrection. In his final statement, Brown rightly predicted the coming sectional conflict known as the American Civil War: "I…am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood."[178]


At the request of Susan Green & others the following Manumission was recorded May 26th 1858

This Deed made this twenty fifth day of May in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and fifty eight, by the President and Council of Mount Saint Mary's College in Frederick County in the State of Maryland. Witnesseth, that the said Body Corporate doth hereby manumit and set free its negro slaves, namely Susan Green (wife of Stephen Green) and James Green, Ferdinand Green, Anne Green, Aloysius Green, Martha Green and Thomas Green, who are the children of the said Stephen and Susan Green: the freedom of each and all of said Slaves to commence from the date of these presents. And the said Body Corporate doth hereby constitute and appoint William Patterson of Frederick County aforesaid its lawful Attorney with full power and authority in the name and on behalf of the said Body Corporate, and in due form of law to acknowledge this deed to be the act of the said President and Council of Mount Saint Mary's College. In testimony whereof the President of said Body Corporate John McCaffrey, by the direction and authority of said Corporation, hath hereunto subscribed his name officially and affixed the Corporate seal of the said President and Council of Mount Saint Mary's College the day and year aforesaid.

Witness
James Knouff.
Daniel Wile
Charles A. Short

Collegium Sanctae Mariae Ad Montes 1809

John McCaffrey.
President of Mount Saint Mary's College.

Figure 29: Deed of manumission for Susan Green and children. (MSA, FC Land Records)

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[177] FC DB BGF 1, page 686 (McCaffrey to Susan Green et al., 1858). It was, in fact, the entire family of Stephen Green that was emancipated by the college president and council in 1858: wife Susan, children James, Ferdinand, Ann, Aloysious, Martha, and Thomas. Robert West, author of "Academic Bondage: A Look at the History of Slavery on University Campuses in America and How These Schools are Addressing their Past" (Master's Thesis, University of Georgia, 2016, https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/west_robert_m_201605_mhp.pdf), found this information on the Mount St. Mary's University website in 2011, "Our History," http://msmary.edu/about-the-Mount/our-history/. This link is now broken and the "Our History" article currently on the website no longer mentions the college's history of enslavement.

[178] As cited in Gary W. Gallagher et al., *The American Civil War: This Mighty Scourge of War* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 26.

Just one year later, in December 1860 following the election of Abraham Lincoln as US President, the state of South Carolina seceded from the Union declaring, "A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery."[179] They were followed by eleven other states, including Maryland's southern neighbor, Virginia. Maryland, although still maintaining the institution of slavery, remained with the Union as a "border state." Thus, the Potomac River formed the sectional border between North and South.

The people of Maryland were by no means united in the decision to remain loyal to the Union. Political sentiments leaned strongly toward the South in Southern Maryland and some Eastern Shore counties, where enslaved labor remained vital to the region's agriculture.[180] In Maryland's northern and western counties, Unionists held the majority despite a vocal minority of southern sympathizers. Indeed, Frederick Town was chosen to host the special session of the Maryland General Assembly for its vote on secession – though the question's defeat was all but guaranteed by the arrest of secessionist delegates prior to the vote.[181]

Frederick County residents, both Black and white, would be directly impacted by events associated with the Civil War as it unfolded over the American landscape between 1861 and 1865. The troubled times of war gave way to more changes – and more troubles – as the country grappled with Reconstruction and its aftermath. Throughout the post-war decades of the nineteenth century, newly-minted Black citizens struggled to find their place in a divided and openly discriminatory white American society.

Enslaved and Free African Americans in Northern Frederick County, 1860

Between 1850 and 1860, the number of enslaved people in Frederick County declined from 3,900 to just over 3,200. In the northern districts, the decline was more dramatic, from 204 enslaved people in 1850 to eighty-six in 1860. Indeed, manumissions in Frederick County doubled from ninety-two in 1858 to 181 in 1860, and continued through 1864, when Maryland abolished the institution of enslaved labor.[182] Freedom-seekers also continued to put pressure on the institution in Maryland as the country dissolved into civil conflict. As William Still observed in his record of the Underground Railroad, "While the grand little army of abolitionists was waging its untiring warfare for freedom, prior to the rebellion, no agency encouraged them like

[179] "The Declaration of Causes of Seceding States," *American Battlefield Trust*, accessed 1/5/2022, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/declaration-causes-seceding-states#South_Carolina.
[180] "Black Marylanders 1860: African American Population by County, Status & Gender," *The Maryland State Archives Presents: Legacy of Slavery in Maryland*, accessed 1/5/2022, http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/html/research/census1860.html.
[181] Charles L. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution, Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004), 31.
[182] Smith, "Manumissions," Volume 2.

the heroism of fugitives."[183] William Still included the stories of several Frederick County freedom-seekers who passed through his station in Philadelphia between 1858 and 1860 on their way further north. Among them was Ruth Harper, who left her enslaver, John McPherson, in Frederick in 1858.[184]

Like the enslaved, some free African Americans living south of the Mason-Dixon line, who could not vote in elections prior to 1870, voted with their feet, moving into or out of their home district, county, and/or state over the tumultuous pre-war decade. Thus, the free Black population in the northern districts of Frederick County fell slightly from 391 in 1850, to 384 in 1860. Thomas and Julia Patterson, who lived in the Catoctin Furnace village area in 1850, appear to have moved to Pennsylvania about 1860.[185] Many others listed in the districts in 1850, disappeared from the 1860 census, but were replaced by others who relocated to northern Frederick County. Overall, Frederick County's free Black population rose by more than 1,000 people between 1850 and 1860.

By 1860, John Baker Kunkel was operating the Catoctin Furnace, owned in partnership with his brother, Frederick attorney Jacob Kunkel. Their father, John Kunkel, owned a successful tanning operation in Frederick. All three Kunkel men used enslaved individuals as servants in their homes. John B. Kunkel, living in the ironmaster's house at the furnace, listed four enslaved children in his household, but oddly, no adults. It appears, however, that there were no enslaved laborers at the furnace operations in 1860 and fewer free Black laborers as well. Similarly, at Mount St. Mary's College, after the manumission of Susan Green and her children in 1858, who were apparently the last of the enslaved people held by the college, the institution's workforce in 1860 was predominantly white. Of the thirty laborers and domestic servants listed in the Mount St. Mary's College enumeration in 1860, twenty-three were white and seven were African American, including Ferdinand Green, recently freed from bondage and now a paid laborer.

Mechanicstown, Catoctin Village, Lewistown, and Utica (Districts 15, 10, and 4)

The 1860 census listed twelve free Black households in the Mechanicstown District #15 (formed in 1854), which included the Catoctin Furnace village. In 1850, at least nine free Black households were recorded in the Catoctin Furnace village area, while three were in the Mechanicstown area. Of the nine furnace area households listed in 1850 (William Patterson, James Lucket, James Key, Zachariah Key, Archibald Patterson, Thomas Patterson, Hezekiah Lucket, Elias Patterson, and John Lucket), only Hezekiah Luckett remained by 1860, indicating a significant turnover of this population.[186] Archibald Patterson had moved to Washington County,

[183] Still, *The Underground Railroad*, "Preface to Revised Edition," September 1878.
[184] Still, *The Underground Railroad*, "Ruth Harper, Frederick," 472; "Caroline Gassaway, Mt. Airy," 491; "John Hillis, New Market," 500; "Evan Graff, Liberty," 520; "David Snively, Frederick Dist.," 527.
[185] 1870 US Census, Hauvers District, Thomas and Julia Patterson have three children ages 14 to 11 born in Maryland and three children ages 7 to 7 months born in Pennsylvania. Arthur and Malinda Calaman appear to have moved from the Red Hill/Antietam Iron Works area to Pennsylvania over the same period. In 1870, living next to Thomas Patterson, the Calamans have one child aged 14 born in Maryland and four children ages 8 to 8 months born in Pennsylvania.
[186] Samuel Tucker and Abraham Proctor, listed in Hauvers District in 1850, also disappeared in the 1860 census. It is

where he was listed in the 1860 census living in a growing Black community on Red Hill near the Antietam Iron Works, where he likely continued working in the iron industry. The whereabouts of William, Elias, and Thomas Patterson, James and Zachariah Key, and James and John Lucket could not be found in the 1860 census, although Thomas Patterson reappeared in 1870 in Hauvers District (see post-Civil War Pattersonville discussion). New households in the village area included Peter Perkings, a tenant laborer, and Caroline Hendrick, whose working-age son Henry (aged 21) had no occupation listed, though he likely labored at the furnace.

Other Black households in the Mechanicstown District were more scattered, including landowners David Howard and John Biser, and the tenant households of Henry Williams (age 35), Maria Calbant (and her ten children ages 8 to 32), John Snoden, Lucy Sarsnip (age 74, widow of Jack Sarsnip, formerly of Poplar Ridge), and Otho Forierson. John Woodyard and Peter Snoden's households appear to have been in the Graceham area, listed after "Moravian Minister" Henry Buchman and George W. Late, a miller, whose house appeared next to the Moravian Church on the 1873 atlas map of Graceham. In Mechanicstown, the resident white school teacher, John Allen, included five free Black siblings in his household, John Derm (25), Peter Derm (35), William Derm (20), Julia Derm (18), and Susan Derm (12), with no occupations listed nor any indication that they attended school.

Other free Black laborers who were enumerated in Hauvers District #10 in 1860 likely also worked at Catoctin Furnace. Elisha Patterson's family of eight was listed next to Robert Patterson's family of ten. Although the 1860 census indicated that both Robert and Elisha Patterson owned their homes at the time, the land records show that Robert Patterson was the only owner of record, with his twenty-five-acre tract on the west side of the Catoctin peak known today as "Bob's Hill."[187] As noted previously, this tract would form the core of the Pattersonville community after the Civil War.

The free Black households located in the Lewistown/Utica area in 1850 (outlined in Chapter 4; including Clem Norris, Hager Richardson, Hillery Norris, Eli Williams, Thomas Richardson, and John Sanders) were, by 1860, consolidating in and around Lewistown. Clem Norris, Hillery Norris, and Cecelia Williams, widow of Eli Williams, were listed next to neighbors Charles Johnson and Asher Key. All were listed as property owners, though only a few deeds appear to be recorded. In 1852, Henry Williams (in 1850 living in the Hillery Norris household) purchased a one-quarter acre parcel, part of Lot 103, "with a house upon it." **(Figure 30)** In 1861, Williams sold the parcel to Sarah Kee [*sic*], wife of "Osker Kee" [Asher Key].[188] Henry Williams also owned a smaller lot measuring sixteen by thirty feet that adjoined Lewistown Lot 146.[189] Ephraim Richardson owned two lots as early as 1856, Lot 146, on which

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possible that they were simply missed by the census taker.

[187] See discussion in Chapter 4 concerning Robert Patterson's land purchase in 1853.

[188] FC DB ES 5, page 36 (Henry Williams to Sarah Kee, 1861).

[189] Williams' original purchase of the lot appears to be unrecorded. The lot is first identified in an 1869 deed for Lot 146 and the 16 x 30-foot lot adjoining "conveyed by Henry Williams and wife to the aforesaid John H. Thompson" (FC CM 4, page 1, John H. Thompson to Thomas Marshall, 1869). The parcel, originally platted to be an alley, is now part of the Lot 146 property (11027 Powell Rd.)

he had his house, and Lot 132, later (in 1874) identified as the "Colored burying ground."[190] In 1859, Richardson's lots were sold in a tax delinquency auction to Lewistown's white Methodist minister Benjamin C. Flowers.[191] On the 1860 census, Robert Hall (mulatto), who gave his occupation as "Minister M.E," appeared also to be living in or near Lewistown, probably on the 2.5 acres of *Millers Chance* purchased by Richard Hall in 1826 (see Chapter 4). Robert Hall's identification as an M.E. minister in 1860 and use of Lot 132 as a cemetery indicates that the Black community of Lewistown was large enough to support a congregation.[192] Hall and his congregation were likely supported by Rev. Flowers, given the Maryland law requiring a white minister's involvement with Black religious gatherings.

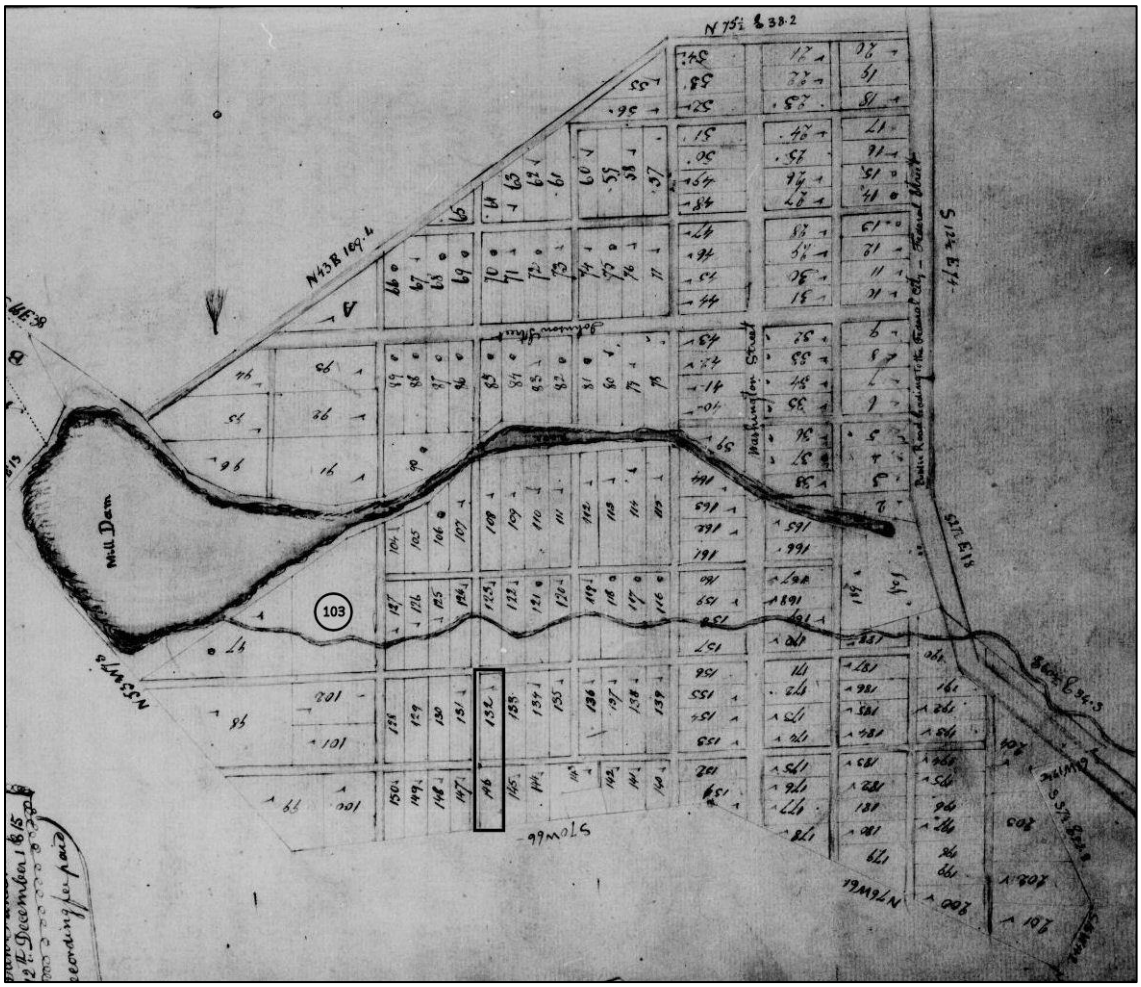

Figure 30: 1815 Plan of Lewistown. (MSA, FC Land Records)

[190] FC DB TG 2, page 519 (John H. Thompson to Jacob Bowers, 1874).
[191] FC DB BGF 6, page 79 (Arthur Delashmutt, tax collector, to B.C. Flowers, 1859). This conveyance was confirmed in 1861 by a deed (BGF 7, page 50) to Flowers from the Ephraim Richardson heirs: Richard Richardson, Greenbury Richardson, and Miranda Watts (Richardson's widow). Rev. B.C. Flowers sold the two lots before 1874 to John H. Thompson in an unrecorded deed.
[192] Hall was listed in Creagerstown District, page 76, near George Clem and William Long, both of whom appear on the 1873 atlas map in Lewistown.

There were a number of other free Black households in the Creagerstown District outside of Lewistown. Henry Butler, aged 56 with his wife Nancy and three children, Jane, Martha, and Charles, was listed near a white farmer named Greenbury Ridge, who appears on the 1858 map ("G Ridge") northeast of Lewistown.[193] **(Figure 31)** John Sanders, a Black farmer whose real estate in 1850 was valued at $3,200, remained a substantial landowner and farmer east of Utica in 1860. Sanders' son, "John Sands," was also listed as a landowner in the area. In all, the 1860 census recorded sixteen independent Black households in the Creagerstown District, with a total of eighty men, women, and children.

Figure 31: 1858 Bond map Utica detail. (LOC)

Emmitsburg Area (District 5)

The Emmitsburg District in 1860, including the town of Emmitsburg, had the largest free Black population of the northern districts, with twenty-six independent households and a total of 168 people. Within the town of Emmitsburg a community had formed mainly on the southwest edge of town. The community had at least three landowners in 1860, John Burkett, P. Funy (or Furry), and Abraham Beaty, while Mariah (Maria?) Constant and Rebecca Lucket apparently still lived as tenants in Emmitsburg. The two rural community clusters that had been developing since the 1820s – Poplar Ridge, north of Emmitsburg, and the Mountain community in the area of Mount St. Mary's College – were still growing, while a significant number of tenant farmer/laborers were scattered across the district.

[193] Henry Butler himself appears on the 1873 atlas map, near Wm. Myers' sawmill, see later discussion. Henry and Nancy Butler are buried in the Creagerstown Cemetery.

The Poplar Ridge community of 1860 included several familiar landowners, descendants of the earliest free Black landowners in the district. James Myers, likely the son of Jeremiah Myers (see Chapter 4, Table 2) now 50 years old, had land valued at $1,000. Myers' occupation was described as "Post & Rail Fencing." His nearest neighbor was still Joseph Frazier, now 56, who was assessed in 1835 for five acres. Frazier's land was valued at just $100 in 1860, indicating that he likely had sold some of his land. Nace O'Brian, his neighbor in 1850, may have been one who purchased land from Frazier. His widow, Amelia O'Brian (age 70), was listed next to Frazier in 1860, with real estate valued at $150. Immediately beside O'Brian in 1860 was James A. Busee, whose land was also valued at $150, and David Sims, with land valued at $300. The Coates and Briscoe families, longtime residents of the Poplar Ridge community, do not appear to be listed in this area on the 1860 census, although they do appear on the 1873 atlas map. **(Figure 32)** The Sarsnip family did remove from the area by 1860, with the widow Lucy Sarsnip listed as living in the Creagerstown District.

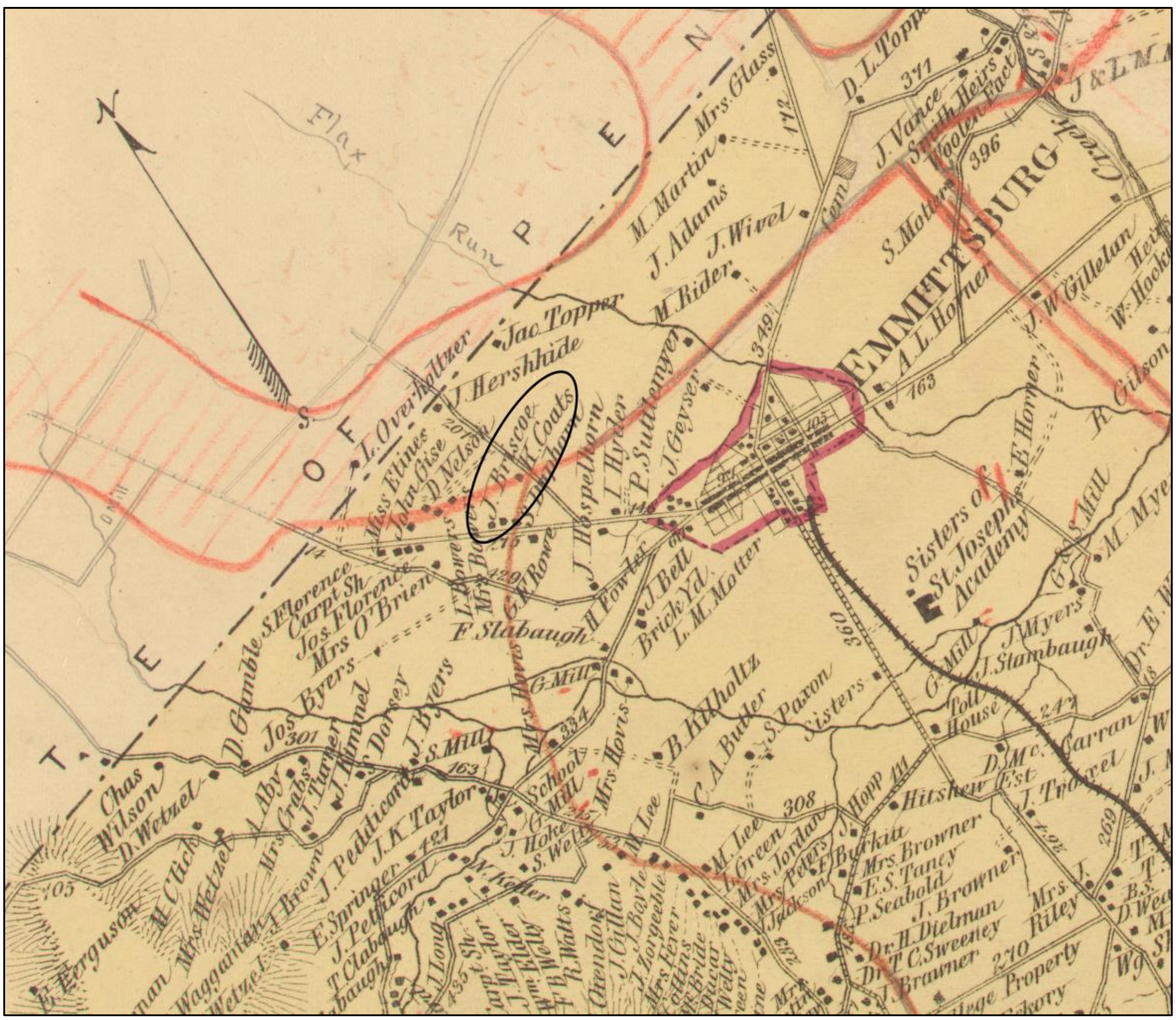

Figure 32: 1873 Atlas Map of Frederick County, Emmitsburg District detail. (LOC)

The 1873 Emmitsburg District atlas map detail also gives a clearer picture of the Mountain community's location just north of Mount St. Mary's College (and south of Emmitsburg and Poplar Ridge) along the base of Carrick Knob (also known as College Mountain). Although the later map shows familiar names from the 1850 community list (particularly Green and Lee), not all appear in the 1860 census.[194] The census of 1860 did list the widow Susan Green as the head of the Green-family household with real estate valued at $500. Her two "adult" sons James (23) and Ferdinand (16) were listed as day laborers, while her four younger children, Anna, Lucious, Martha, and Thomas, remained at home. Another familiar community member listed on the 1860 census, though absent from the later map, was William Richardson (age 60). Richardson was listed as a tenant with his wife and seven children, including Mary, who was working as a domestic servant at Mount St. Mary's College to support the family. Others listed on the 1860 census in the same area include George "Brisgo" (Briscoe) and Adolphus Williams, both tenant laborers. Robert and Matilda (Richardson) Watts, listed in 1860 with real estate valued at $250, are shown on the map just northwest of the Mountain cluster (on today's Crystal Fountain Rd.). Their immediate neighbor on the census was Augustus Butler (though not on the map; see "C.A. Butler"), whose land was valued at $500. Another free Black landowner on the 1860 census was Abram Aby, owner of land valued at $75, who was shown on the 1873 map to the north (possibly today's Riffle Road). Aby, a laborer, had a large household of ten family members, with eighteen-year-old son David also a day laborer, and daughters Mary (20) and Ann (16) working as "servants."

Many of the Mountain community residents were employed at Mount St. Mary's College. The college listed seven free Black laborers and domestic servants on the 1860 census, several of whom were counted twice on the census, both at home and on the campus. Ferdinand Green (16), a laborer, was also enumerated in his mother's household. Mary E. Aby and Mary Richardson, domestic servants, were also listed with their families. Others employed at the college included Nelly Dugan, Mary Bryseal (?), Martha Busee, and Ann Richardson. Leo MacKay was employed (and housed) by the college's music professor, Henry Deihlman (or Duhlman).

Civil War (1861-1865)

The national division over enslaved Black labor and their status as chattel property would bring disruption and change over the following decade, and African Americans would be integral players in bringing about that change. With the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States in 1860, the nation cleaved along the North/South, slave state/free state dividing line. Four states, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri – all slave states

[194] Names from 1850 include Stephen Green with wife Susan, Augustus Green, William Richardson, James Bowie, Martin Conrad, Mary Lee, Eliza Doogan, and Ann Key.

that remained within the Union – formed the border between the remaining Union states (USA) in the North and the Confederacy, or Confederate States of America (CSA), in the South.

Frederick Countians did not vote for Lincoln, who was considered too radical, nor did they support the Northern Democrat, Stephen Douglas. Instead, the conservative county split nearly evenly between the Constitutional Unionist John Bell with forty-nine percent of the vote and the "southern rights candidate" John Breckenridge with forty-three percent.[195] The day after the November 1860 election, an editorial in the *Frederick Examiner* declared: "Are our countrymen prepared to follow the lead of these disunionists; if yes, let them vote for Breckenridge and Lane, if no, LET THEM VOTE FOR BELL AND EVERETT."[196] In the of northern districts of Frederick County, both Emmitsburg and Hauvers heavily favored Breckenridge, while Creagerstown District favored Bell and Mechanicstown District was nearly evenly split.[197] **(Figure 33)** Across the state as a whole the results were similar, with nearly forty-six percent for Breckenridge and just over forty-five percent for Bell.[198] Still, Maryland would not join the cascade of seceding states in the South that formed the CSA, despite their shared declarations in favor of the right to own enslaved human property.

FREDERICK COUNTY.

Districts.	Bell.....	Douglas.....	Breckinridge..	Lincoln.....
Bukeystown.....	170	14	109	3
Frederick, E. Polls	284	87	261	5
Frederick, W "	551	92	553	11
Middletown.....	330	27	148	11
Creagerstown	199	18	110	1
Emmittsburg.....	152	18	323	17
Catoctin.....	58	17	130	7
Urbana.....	144	7	155	
Liberty.....	295	25	146	2
New Market.....	270	39	179	10
Hauvers.....	46	27	154	3
Woodsboro'.....	191	88	185	5
Petersville.....	169	48	103	
Mt. Pleasant.....	162	4	76	
Jefferson	140	16	93	1
Mechanicstown. ...	182	7	189	6
Jackson.....	34	6	195	19
Johnsville.....	197		71	3

Figure 33: Frederick County election results. (*Civilian and Telegraph*, November 15, 1860)

[195] Donald Stelluto, Barbara Powell, and Tim Snyder, "Discover the Story: The Coming Storm," *Crossroads of War*, accessed 1/17/2022, http://www.crossroadsofwar.org/discover-the-story/the-coming-storm/.
[196] "Those who are not for the Union are against it," *The Frederick Examiner*, November 7, 1860, "Research: Historic Newspapers," *Crossroads of War*, accessed 12/14/22, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/research/newspapers/?id=3918.
[197] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 76; Wayde Chrismer, "Emmitsburg Area In the Civil War, Part 4," *Emmitsburg Area Historical Society*, accessed 1/21/2022, http://www.emmitsburg.net/archive_list/articles/history/civil_war/wayde_chrismer_civil_war_4.htm. Wehrle notes that Jacob Kunkle, Frederick lawyer and part-owner of Catoctin Furnace in 1860, was a strong and vocal supporter of the Breckenridge ticket (Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 78).
[198] "1860 Presidential General Election Results – Maryland," *Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Elections*, accessed 1/20/2022, https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/state.php?f=0&fips=24&year=1860.

In April 1861, with the attack on Fort Sumter by Confederate troops, the American Civil War began. Throughout the four-year-long war, Maryland would be continuously occupied by Union troops who were tasked with protecting the Federal City of Washington, as well as the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) and Chesapeake & Ohio Canal (C&O) – both of which passed through southern Frederick County. Maryland would also be the repeated target of Confederate military campaigns and raids, spearheaded by General Robert E. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia.

Initially, with his 1862 Maryland Campaign, General Lee hoped to turn Maryland to join the Southern cause. The campaign ended in September 1862 on the Antietam battlefield at Sharpsburg, after Lee's retreat across the Potomac River back to Virginia. This disruptive campaign would entrench Maryland further into the Union. The campaign also precipitated President Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the enslaved people in the states in rebellion, which took effect on January 1, 1863. Southern enslavers, who no longer saw themselves as subject to Federal law, simply ignored the Emancipation Proclamation. However, many of the enslaved people took it upon themselves to seek freedom behind Union lines as they advanced through Southern territory.[199] At the same time, enslaved Marylanders, who were not freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, found refuge within the ring of Union forts protecting the city of Washington, or with Union troops protecting the C&O Canal or the B&O Railroad at Harpers Ferry. Many had already escaped to Washington after the US Congress abolished slavery in the Federal city in April 1862.

Perhaps the greatest blow to the institution of slavery came when the Union army began recruiting free Black men in October 1863 and later, "slaves of disloyal owners, and slaves of consenting loyal owners in the border states."[200] Both free and enslaved Black men from northern Frederick County joined the Union effort to defeat the rebellion and ensure freedom for all African Americans. Lewis Butler was a young (22) free Black laborer living in the household of Lena Butler (40) in the Emmitsburg District in 1860. **(Figure 34)** Butler volunteered in February 1864, serving in United States Colored Troops (USCT) Regiment 32, Co. G. He served for three years, mustering out in August 1865 in Hilton Head, South Carolina, then returned to the Emmitsburg area (Poplar Ridge community area).[201] George W. Brooks was enslaved as a farm laborer in the household of William Johnson (1860, Creagerstown Dist.) when he joined the USCT 19th Regiment, Co. D on December 31, 1863. **(Figure 35)** He was twenty-three years old.

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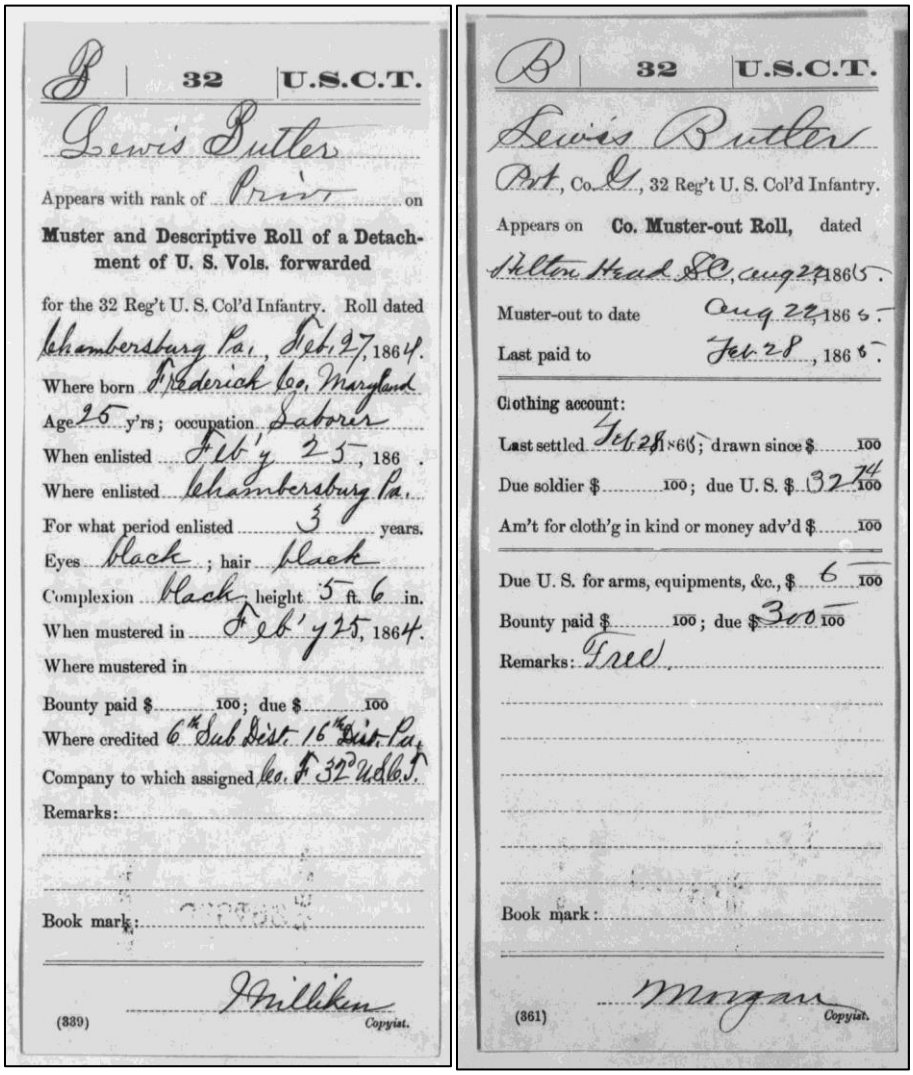
[199] The Confiscation Act, passed by the US Congress in August 1861, formalized the federal government's right to retain "any person claimed to be held to labor" if their labor was used "against the Government." The Second Confiscation Act, passed in July 1862, declared the "contraband of war" to be free ("The First Confiscation Act" and "The Second Confiscation Act," *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America*, vol. 12 (Boston: n.p., 1863), 319 and 589).

[200] Fields, *Slavery and Freedom*, 125. For a more detailed discussion of the dissolution of slavery in the region, see Wallace, *"They Have Erected a Neat Little Church,"* 14-16.

[201] "Civil War Service Records (CMSR) - Union - Colored Troops 32nd Infantry," *Fold3 by Ancestry*, https://www.fold3.com/title/692/civil-war-service-records-cmsr-union-colored-troops-31st-35th-infantry/browse/hdg9q6w0z; "Research, Civil War Soldiers," *Crossroads of War*, accessed 1/20/2022, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/research/soldiers/?search=1.

A year-and-a-half later, on May 14, 1864, Brooks died of "Congestion of the Lungs" in Fredericksburg, Virginia. William Johnson claimed his $300 bounty for Brooks' service in May 1865, and in August of that year he recorded Brooks' deed of manumission in the Frederick County circuit court.[202]



B | 32 | U.S.C.T.

Lewis Butler

Appears with rank of Priv on

Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of U. S. Vols. forwarded

for the 32 Reg't U. S. Col'd Infantry. Roll dated

Chambersburg Pa., Feb. 27, 1864.

Where born Frederick Co. Maryland

Age 25 y'rs; occupation Laborer

When enlisted Feb'y 25, 186 .

Where enlisted Chambersburg Pa.

For what period enlisted 3 years.

Eyes black; hair black

Complexion black, height 5 ft. 6 in.

When mustered in Feb'y 25, 1864.

Where mustered in

Bounty paid $ 100; due $ 100

Where credited 6th Sub Dist. 16th Dist. Pa.

Company to which assigned Co. F 32d U.S.C.T.

Remarks:

Book mark:

J Milliken

(339) Copyist.

B | 32 | U.S.C.T.

Lewis Butler

Pvt., Co. D, 32 Reg't U. S. Col'd Infantry.

Appears on **Co. Muster-out Roll,** dated

Hilton Head SC, Aug 22, 1865.

Muster-out to date Aug 22, 1865.

Last paid to Feb 28, 1865.

Clothing account:

Last settled Feb 28, 1865; drawn since $ 100

Due soldier $ 100; due U. S. $ 32 74/100

Am't for cloth'g in kind or money adv'd $ 100

Due U. S. for arms, equipments, &c., $ 6 100

Bounty paid $ 100; due $ 300 100

Remarks: Free

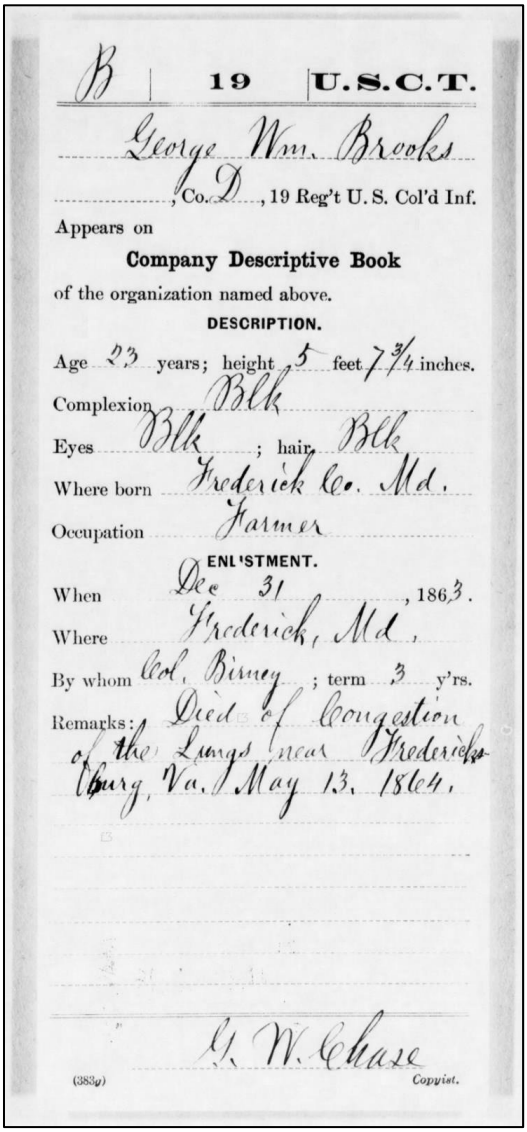
Book mark:

Morgan

(361) Copyist.

Figure 34: Lewis Butler's muster-in and muster-out papers. (NARA/Fold3)

[202] Smith, "Manumissions," Volume 2, 245; FC DB JWLC 3, page 45; "Civil War Service Records (CMSR) - Union - Colored Troops 19th Infantry," *Fold3 by Ancestry*, https://www.fold3.com/title/683/civil-war-service-records-cmsr-union-colored-troops-14th-19th-infantry/browse/hbwlSKa-X7ZNLjJJ5; "Research, Civil War Soldiers," *Crossroads of War*, accessed 1/20/2022, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/research/soldiers/?search=1; "Register of Claims, 1864-1867," entry #2618, MSA-SC-4678, US Adjutant General Collection (NARA RG 94-348), Maryland Slave Claims Commission, *Maryland State Archives*, http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_sc4678/msa_scm5775/pdf/msa_sc4678_scm5775.pdf. The 1890 Veterans Schedule of the US Census identifies several others from the region who served, including Nathan Millberry and John T. Mitchell, whose service record is unknown; David Hill, who served with the 2nd USCT Cavalry; and Samuel H. Brown, who enlisted in Boston with the 5th Massachusetts Colored Cavalry and may have been a "fugitive" from enslavement in Maryland at the time. All of these men lived in the Emmitsburg District after the Civil War.



B | 19 | U.S.C.T.

George Wm. Brooks

, Co. D , 19 Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf.

Appears on

Company Descriptive Book

of the organization named above.

DESCRIPTION.

Age 23 years; height 5 feet 7 3/4 inches.

Complexion Blk

Eyes Blk ; hair Blk

Where born Frederick Co. Md.

Occupation Farmer

ENL'STMENT.

When Dec 31 , 1863.

Where Frederick, Md.

By whom Col. Birney ; term 3 y'rs.

Remarks: Died of Congestion of the Lungs near Fredericksburg, Va. May 13. 1864.

G. W. Chase

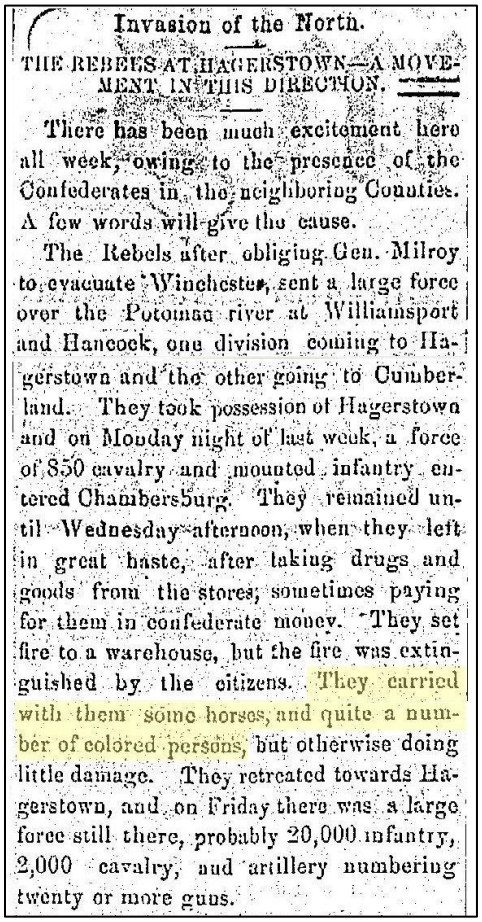
(383g) Copyist.

Figure 35: George William Brooks enlistment record. (NARA/Fold3; FC Land Records)

Both Butler and Brooks' enlistments came after the July 1863 battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the culmination of a second attempt by General Lee's Army of Northern Virginia to take the war into Northern territory. In the days leading up to the battle, Union General George Meade's Army of the Potomac streamed north across the Frederick County landscape as they shadowed the advance of Lee's troops through the Cumberland Valley, west of the South Mountain range.[203] After the battle, Confederate cavalry under J.E.B. Stuart's command moved through northern Frederick County, "seeking to protect the rebel retreat." Historian Robert Wehrl recounted Stuart's route through Graceham, Creagerstown, and Franklinville, "a small hamlet…(just north of present-day Catoctin High School) where he may have encamped," and

[203] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 83-84; John Schildt, *Roads to Gettysburg* (Parson, WV, 1978), 357-365.

then continued west through the Harbaugh Valley (Hauvers District).[204] Frightening rumors of Confederate troops kidnapping free Black residents in the Gettysburg area had likely reached the African American families living in northern Frederick County, though there is no evidence that similar tragedies occurred in the area.[205]



Invasion of the North.

THE REBELS AT HAGERSTOWN—A MOVEMENT IN THIS DIRECTION.

There has been much excitement here all week, owing to the presence of the Confederates in the neighboring Counties. A few words will give the cause.

The Rebels after obliging Gen. Milroy to evacuate Winchester, sent a large force over the Potomac river at Williamsport and Hancock, one division coming to Hagerstown and the other going to Cumberland. They took possession of Hagerstown and on Monday night of last week, a force of 850 cavalry and mounted infantry entered Chambersburg. They remained until Wednesday afternoon, when they left in great haste, after taking drugs and goods from the stores, sometimes paying for them in confederate money. They set fire to a warehouse, but the fire was extinguished by the citizens. They carried with them some horses, and quite a number of colored persons, but otherwise doing little damage. They retreated towards Hagerstown, and on Friday there was a large force still there, probably 20,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and artillery numbering twenty or more guns.

Figure 36: "Invasion of the North." (*The Adams Sentinel*, June 23, 1863)

Maryland would be invaded by Confederate troops one last time in June 1864, when General Lee sent Lt. Gen. Jubal Early with 15,000 men to threaten Washington, DC. His hope was to draw some of Union General Grant's troops away from the besieged city of Petersburg, Virginia, perilously close to the Confederate capital city of Richmond.[206] Early's troops foraged through the Middletown Valley of Frederick County, before crossing the mountains into Frederick City, which they held for ransom. The Confederates were held for a day of battle just south of Frederick at the Monocacy River by Union troops under the command of General Lew

[204] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 85.
[205] "Invasion of the North," *The Adams Sentinel*, June 23, 1863, "Historic Newspapers," *Crossroads of War*, accessed 1/27/2022, https://www.crossroadsofwar.org/research/newspapers/?id=6789.
[206] *Official Record, Series 1, Vol. 37, Pt. 1*, "Correspondence – Confederate," General R.E. Lee to His Excellency Jefferson Davis, June 26, 1864, 766-767.

Wallace. It was enough to save Washington, as Grant was able to send a contingent north in time and Early retreated back to Virginia, never to return.

In the state elections of 1863, war-weary Marylanders rebelled against the political domination of the state's wealthy planter-enslavers. Radical Republican candidate Henry Winter Davis described their continuing efforts to sustain slavery in Maryland as imposing "an interest over free men; of property over people; of aristocratic privilege over republican equality, of a minority over a majority."[207] In November 1863, the state's "loyal" voters – men who swore an oath of loyalty to the Union – elected a radical majority to the Maryland Assembly. The new Assembly's agenda included the abolition of slavery in Maryland. A Constitutional Convention convened in February 1864, resulting in a new Maryland constitution which abolished slavery in the state beginning November 1, 1864. Across Maryland, 90,000 Black men, women, and children were freed from bondage.[208] In the northern districts of Frederick County, freedom came to as many as eighty-three individuals.

In April 1865, the war came to an end after General Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox Court House in Virginia. Many Black soldiers, who began their three-year enlistments in 1863, continued in service for another year. Some were in Texas, where they participated in quelling continued resistance and helped enforce Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger's June 19, 1863 General Order No. 3, putting an end to slavery in Texas, today celebrated as Juneteenth.[209] Others, like Lewis Butler, who returned home from South Carolina, were moved from their stations in the Deep South as tensions grew over the post-war milieu.

Throughout the war, demands for pig iron to make war materials kept operations at Catoctin Furnace going, despite labor shortages.[210] Chronic labor shortages due to enlistments and the Union draft may have given Black laborers a window of opportunity for work at the furnace.

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[207] *Baltimore American*, September 10, 1863, as cited in Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 143.
[208] Wallace, "They Have Erected a Neat Little Church," 18.
[209] "The Historical Legacy of Juneteenth," *National Museum of African American History and Culture*, accessed 1/27/2022, https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/historical-legacy-juneteenth.
[210] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 88.

Chapter 6: Reconstruction and the Decades that Followed - 1865 to 1912

In the spring of 1865, the war-torn United States entered a period of recovery known as Reconstruction. Federal policy determined the course the rebellious Southern states must take to reconstruct their governments in order to restore their place in the Union. These policies were enforced by the presence of federal troops throughout the South. The period of Reconstruction, which lasted from 1865 through 1876, also held the promise of citizenship for African Americans. Among the milestones of citizenship that Black Americans sought, certainly freedom from enslavement was number one, followed closely by the right to vote, access to education, and independent Black religious institutions. The Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, ratified in December 1865, abolished slavery in the United States, while the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in July 1866, granted citizenship to all people "born or naturalized in the United States."[211] Black male suffrage, which brought with it the power to influence public policy such as education, was among the conditions of Reconstruction imposed upon the Southern states. During the brief period of Reconstruction, while federal troops remained in the South to enforce the law, the power of Black voters was felt in state and local politics.

The State of Maryland, which did not secede from the Union during the war, was not subject to the requirements of Reconstruction imposed by Congress. As a result, Black men in Maryland did not gain the right to vote until the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution was ratified in 1870, delaying their impact on public policy. Black Marylanders, however, like Black communities in the Southern states, would benefit from the Reconstruction-era federal agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau. With the help of the growing network of Black churches, Northern aid societies, and determined communities, many of the goals of citizenship were achieved by the end of the nineteenth century. Still, African Americans faced decades of violence, discrimination, and segregation that limited the possibilities inherent in the promise.

African American Education in Northern Frederick County

In addition to abolishing slavery, Maryland's 1864 constitution created a public school system that would include schools for Black communities. In 1865, the General Assembly passed a law specifying that only school taxes collected from Black landowners could go "for the purpose of founding schools for colored children."[212] This law effectively limited the number of

[211] *Statutes at Large, 39th Congress, 1st Session*," 358, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=014/llsl014.db&recNum=389.
[212] As cited in J. W. Alvord, Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, January 1, 1867 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1867), 8, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008958036.

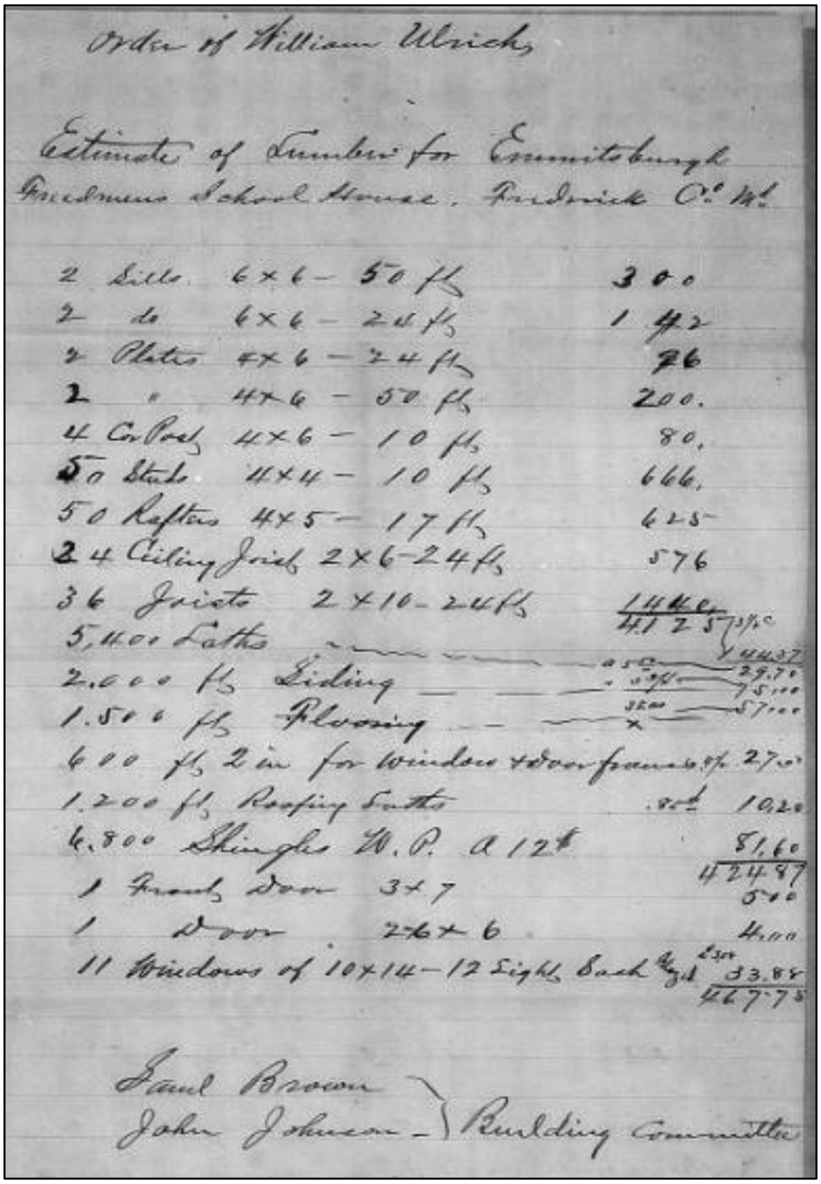
publicly-funded schools for Black children, given the small number of landowners immediately after the war. Thus, many Black communities held informal classes in homes and churches, eager to acquire the education denied them by state and local governments due to a lack of funding.

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau), the federal agency established by Congress in 1865 to implement and enforce Reconstruction policies, aided African Americans in establishing schools, some purpose-built, but often housed in Black churches. The Freedmen's Bureau facilitated bringing in teachers as well, many of whom came from northern missionary societies. Frederick County had as many as eleven Freedmen's Bureau-sponsored schools, including one in Emmitsburg and one in Lewistown.[213] The Lincoln School in Emmitsburg was built in 1868 using lumber paid for by the Freedmen's Bureau. **(Figure 37)** The difficulties the community faced during its construction are here summarized by historian Dr. Dean Herrin:

> 1867 – In November and December of 1867, the Maryland office of the Freedmen's Bureau, on the advice of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of Colored People, started sending building materials to Emmitsburg to begin construction of a school house for African American children. William Ulrich, a lumber dealer in Emmitsburg, was the principal contact in Emmitsburg for the Baltimore Association, and later for the Freedmen's Bureau. How Ulrich and the Baltimore Association connected is unknown, nor is it known why Ulrich wanted to assist in the construction of a school for African Americans. But several schools for African American children had been started in Frederick County since the close of the Civil War, and there were at least two public meetings in Frederick in 1867 in which officials with the Freedmen's Bureau had encouraged African American communities to start schools.
>
> 1868 – After receiving the building materials, Ulrich took it upon himself to buy a lot in Emmitsburg on which to build the school, but then got into a dispute with the local African American community in Emmitsburg and with the Freedmen's Bureau over payment for the lot and for the construction of the school. The dispute led the Bureau to launch an investigation, and school construction was delayed.
>
> 1869 – The school was finally finished in 1869, a teacher was hired, and the first classes were held in Nov. 1869. An average of 20-25 students attended the school, called Lincoln School, until April 1870. Because of low enrollment, however, the teacher was reassigned at the end of April by the Freedmen's Bureau to another school in another county in Maryland, and with the shutting down of the Freedmen's

[213] "Records of the Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, Historical Note," https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.fb.m1906; "Office of the Assistant Commissioner," NMAAHC-005413068_00661,

Bureau that year by Congress, federal support for the school ended.[214]


Order of William Ulrich

Estimate of Lumber for Emmitsburgh
Freedmens School House. Frederick Co. Md.

2 Sills 6×6 – 50 ft 300
2 do 6×6 – 24 ft 142
2 Plates 4×6 – 24 ft 76
2 " 4×6 – 50 ft 200.
4 Cor Posts 4×6 – 10 ft 80.
50 Studs 4×4 – 10 ft 666.
50 Rafters 4×5 – 17 ft 625
24 Ceiling Joists 2×6 – 24 ft 576
36 Joists 2×10 – 24 ft 1440.
4125
5,400 Laths 44.37
2.000 ft Siding 29.70
1.500 ft Flooring 57.00
600 ft 2 in for window & door frames 27.00
1.200 ft Roofing Laths 10.20
6.800 Shingles W.P. a 12 81.60
424.87
1 Front Door 3×7 5.00
1 Door 2-6×6 4.00
11 Windows of 10×14 – 12 Lights Each 33.88
467.75

Saml Brown
John Johnson } Building Committee

Figure 37: William Ulrich's 1868 invoice to the Freedmen's Bureau for Lincoln School lumber. (NMAAHC)

Samuel Brown, USCT veteran, served on the "Building Committee" for the Lincoln School with John Johnson. According to the teacher in 1870, Henrietta Fletcher, the building was by then owned by "The Freedmen."[215]

[214] Dean Herrin, "Post-Civil War African American Schools in Emmitsburg and Lewistown, Frederick County, Maryland, Summary of Important Dates," April 2021, citing Freedmen's Bureau records: Maryland and Delaware, Field Office Records, 1865-1872, and Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, District of Columbia Office.
[215] "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the District of Columbia, 1865–1872, Teacher's Monthly School Reports," NMAAHC-005413067_00996.

The "Lewistown Colored School" began operations in January 1870, according to teacher Lewis Miller's report to the Freedmen's Bureau, with twenty-nine students. Miller noted that the school was held in the "colored people's church" and was funded solely by the twenty-one dollars in tax money raised from the county.[216] As with the Lincoln School in Emmitsburg, the Lewistown School lost its federal support later in 1870 with the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau education department.

In the 1871 state election, the first in which Maryland's Black voters participated, their support for Radical Republicans in the legislature helped to change state laws that shifted the outlook for Black education in Maryland. In 1872, a new law was passed requiring every county to have at least one Black school, for which some state funding would be provided.[217] The Frederick County School Commissioners had already begun providing minimal funds to a few of the established "Colored schools," including Emmitsburg's Lincoln School, in 1869. After the 1872 law was passed in Maryland, the Commissioners laid out a plan for eighteen "Colored schools" across the county, though only fourteen were in operation during the 1872-73 school year, according to the state's Annual Report.[218]

In the northern districts, it appears the county supported the schools the local Black communities had previously established with the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau. The Emmitsburg District (#5) school, likely the Lincoln School in Emmitsburg, enrolled as many as thirty-eight students under the tutelage of John H. Shields. The school building was shown on the 1873 atlas map of Emmitsburg on Lot 55 on today's Lincoln Avenue. **(Figure 38)** The Creagerstown District (#4) school was most likely still in Lewistown where the Black community was concentrated. It had as many as thirty-five students through the school year, taught by John W. Grinder.[219] **(Figure 39)** No "Colored" school building was identified on the 1873 atlas map of Lewistown (or the Creagerstown District), indicating the school probably continued to be held in the "Colored people's church" as it was in 1870. Indeed, in 1887, when "rents paid" were recorded in the state's annual reports, the county paid fifteen dollars in annual rent for the Lewistown school, indicating it was still not in a county-owned building.

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[216] Herrin, "Post-Civil War African American Schools in Emmitsburg and Lewistown."
[217] "State Department of Education—Origin," *Maryland Manual Online*, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/13sdoe/html/sdoef.html; "Archives of Maryland, Historical List, General Assembly Members," https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc2600/sc2685/html/sesslist.html.
[218] Herrin, "Post-Civil War African American Schools in Emmitsburg and Lewistown."
[219] Herrin, "Post-Civil War African American Schools in Emmitsburg and Lewistown"; Annual Report of the State Board of Education, Shewing the Condition of the Public Schools of Maryland…for the year ending September 30, 1873 (Annapolis: S.S. Mills & L.F. Colton, Printers, 1874), 168, "Full View, 1873/1874," *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122.

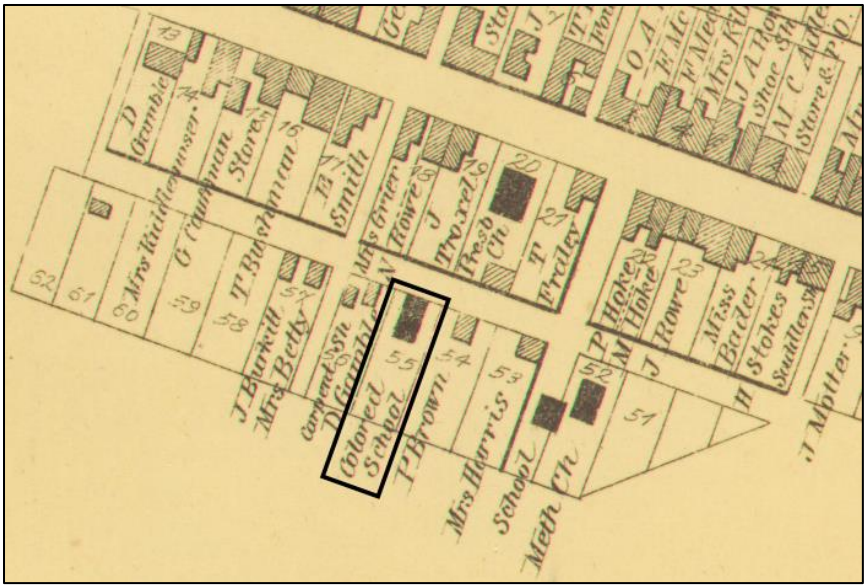

Figure 38: 1873 map, detail of Lincoln Ave. showing "Colored School." (LOC)

COLORED SCHOOLS.

FREDEBICK COUNTY—SCHOOL STATISTICS—*Attendance for year ending June 30th*, 1873.

No. of School.	District.	Name of Teacher.	Fall Term.		Winter Term.		Spring Term.		Summer Term.		Number of different pupils for the year.
			On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	
1	1	Rebecca Moses	18	17	36	25	32	20	.....	.....	38
1	2	Wm. A. Willyams	34	32	43	40	42	36	.....	.....	90
2	2	Delia D. Washington	46	37	65	56	61	48	.....	.....	68
3	2	Laura V. Davage	.....	.....	60	47	60	45	.....	.....	60
1	3	John H. Smith	37	30	37	22	31	20	.....	.....	43
1	4	John W. Grinder	23	26	26	20	18	17	.....	.....	35
1	5	John H. Shields	35	30	30	20	28	17	.....	.....	38
1	7	Emma J. Whittington	43	40	43	40	53	50	.....	.....	70
1	8	Susan E. Herbert	55	45	55	33	50	36	.....	.....	57
1	9	John B. Washington	28	23	48	43	65	50	.....	.....	73
1	12	Daniel Hall	27	20	32	22	29	22	.....	.....	40
2	12	James T. Morris	.....	.....	51	35	48	28	.....	.....	60
1	13	Wm. J. Shultz	.....	.....	30	25	35	28	.....	.....	40
1	14	Thomas E. Stewart	.....	.....	18	16	29	20	.....	.....	39
			5106	3564	7422	5038	6797	4668	.....	.....	8483

Figure 39: 1872-73 Frederick County Colored Schools. (MD State BOE *Annual Report,* p.168)

During the 1881-1882 school year, the Emmitsburg school was taught in "Lincoln Hall" according to J. Thomas Scharf. Though the school had forty-six students, the average attendance fluctuated between twelve and twenty-two students according to the state's annual report. The Lewistown school, located in Election District 20 (Lewistown District) after 1878, had up to forty-four students, with an average attendance from sixteen to nineteen students. By 1887, Emmitsburg's Lincoln Hall student population was down to fifteen. No spring term classes were offered, apparently marking the end of the Lincoln Hall school. Like the Lincoln school, Lewistown was losing students through the 1880s and continued to fall, down to fourteen at the

end of 1900 and twelve in 1901. The school closed in 1903, then reopened briefly from 1906 to 1908, when it was permanently shuttered.[220]

In Hauver's District, a school was constructed on the land of Henry Patterson and opened in 1888 with just fifteen students. Funding was an ongoing issue for the small school, however, as the Frederick County Board of School Commissioners repeatedly denied adequate funds for heating fuel through the 1888-89 school year.[221] The District 10 "Colored school" was taught by Henry Russman from 1889 through 1892, with an average of twelve students in attendance. In 1894, the school was closed, but in 1895, the District 10 school reopened with Denton Stotelmyer teaching and seventeen students enrolled. However, the school's average daily attendance hovered between eight and nine students. Similarly, in 1897, Mrs. Joanna Hauver taught an average of eight students of the ten enrolled, with only the winter term offered at the school. With student attendance far below the required minimum of fifteen, it would be the last year the Hauver's school would operate. In 1901, the county sold the Hauver's district schoolhouse.[222] It appears from the state's annual reports that after the 1908 closure of the Lewistown school, public school facilities for Black children never returned to the northern districts.

The Sisters of Charity, later known as The Daughters of Charity, operated a school for Black children in Emmitsburg beginning in 1886 in "the sisters' residence."[223] According to local memory, the back building of the "Sisters House" was a large open area "used as classroom area for black students."[224] Newspaper reports about the construction of St. Euphemia's School, completed in 1890 adjoining the residence, indicate a dedicated room for Black students was planned for the new school building:

> The colored children were received September 1. Their names enrolled and then they were dismissed at noon, because the apartments for their use are not yet finished. But next Monday, they will be accommodated in the separate school rooms set apart for them.[225]

Those rooms were located on the second floor of the building, described at the opening of the school earlier that year: "The second floor is finished for a distribution hall, with a moveable partition at one end forming a classroom for the colored children."[226] Kathleen (Richardson)

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[220] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland, Vol. I* (reprint, Clearfield Company & Willow Bend Books, 1995), 588; various Maryland State BOE *Annual Reports*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122.
[221] 1.13 Minutes of February 1888 through September 1888 and 1.14 Minutes of November 1888 through January 1890, "Board of Education/ Board Docs/Jul 01, 1879 - Minutes of July 1879 through November 1904," *Frederick County Public Schools*, https://www.fcps.org/boe/.
[222] Various Maryland state BOE *Annual Reports*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122; minutes of the Frederick County School Commission, *Frederick County Public Schools*, https://www.fcps.org/boe/.
[223] "Parish History: Historical Highlights of Saint Joseph's Parish," *St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church*, https://www.emmitsburg.net/st.josephparish/history.htm.
[224] Cherilyn Widell, "St. Euphemia's School and Sisters' House," National Register of Historic Places (1981), Item 7, Page 2, https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-834.pdf.
[225] Widell, "St. Euphemia's School and Sisters' House," Item 8, Page 6, citing *Emmitsburg Chronicle*, Sept. 5, 1890.
[226] Widell, "St. Euphemia's School and Sisters' House," Item 8, Page 7, citing *Emmitsburg Chronicle*, Jan. 31, 1890.

Williams, who attended St. Euphemia's School in the segregated classroom beginning about 1921, recalled the room was "in the school there, but it was on the end."[227] Sister Angela Cool, who attended the school as a child, recalled the schoolroom was located "in a room above the Sisters' kitchen."[228]

Census records from 1910 indicate that Black children in the Emmitsburg district continued to attend school, probably St. Euphemia's School, after the 1903 closure of the public Lincoln school. Of the twenty-eight school-aged Black children still living in the Emmitsburg District in 1910, twenty-three were noted as having "attended school" during the previous year. A law passed by the Maryland legislature in 1912 required the Frederick County School Commissioners to pay to the Sisters of Charity a sum "not exceeding $250" annually, "for school purposes for educating colored children." Though the law was repealed in 1918, the county reportedly continued to pay $150 to the Sisters between 1920 and 1940.[229] In a 2004 interview with Emmitsburg resident Barbara Van Brakle Weedon, Mrs. Weedon recalled that her grandmother (Van Brakle) sent her twelve children to St. Euphemia's School and that she herself had been a student there through the eighth grade.[230]

African American Worship and Burial Grounds in Northern Frederick County

Throughout Maryland, African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and all-Black "Colored" Methodist Episcopal (ME) congregations did exist prior to the Civil War, but only the AME churches were independent of a white hierarchy and even they were subject to enforcement of the 1831 Maryland law requiring a "licensed white preacher" in attendance.[231] After emancipation, the freedom to worship independently sparked the growth of Black churches that became the center and foundation of many Black communities, often serving as church, school, and social center.[232] Church buildings were constructed by the community as soon as land and materials could be purchased. A cemetery, whether located on church ground or established by an association became a necessity for African Americans as they were increasingly prevented from burial in private or municipal cemeteries.[233]

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[227] "Interview with Kathleen (Richardson) Williams," transcript, November 15, 2004, Sister Eleanor Casey, interviewer. When asked by Sister Eleanor Casey, "Your classroom was in the Sisters' house?" Mrs. Williams responded, "It was in the school. It was in the school there, but it was on the end." Mrs. Williams was born in 1914 and would have attended the school beginning in 1921 at age 7, according to her interview.
[228] "St. Euphemia School, Emmitsburg, Maryland, Account from Sister Angela Cool," 2005. Cool recalled that grades 1 through 8 were all taught in the one room.
[229] Widell, "St. Euphemia's School and Sisters' House," Item 8, Page 7.
[230] "Interview with Barbara Van Brakle Weedon," transcript, November 16, 2004, Sister Eleanor Casey, interviewer.
[231] *Session Laws*, 1831, Volume 213, page 448–49, *Archives of Maryland Online*, http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000213/html/am213--448.html.
[232] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967, Kindle Edition), Kindle Locations 4293-4299.
[233] Wallace, "They Have Erected a Neat Little Church," 119-120, 122.

In northern Frederick County, however, it appears that African American worship followed a somewhat different path. Although AME congregations were active in the southern districts of Frederick County, it appears the AME circuit did not reach the northern districts, perhaps due to the remote and relatively small Black population. Instead, according to Moravian ministers' diaries, enslaved and free African Americans in the region attended religious services ministered by Moravians, Catholics, Episcopalians (formerly Anglican), and the ME church in the Lewistown area (see discussion below). Of these denominations, only the Lewistown area's Black ME congregation later established an independent church. Interestingly, the wide influence of the Catholic Church in the Emmitsburg District shaped a somewhat different African American cultural landscape in northern Frederick County.

Beginning in 1787 and continuing through 1837, the Moravian ministers kept a "Negro Register" of baptisms.[234] The minister's diaries record their efforts to preach to enslaved workers at Catoctin Furnace periodically through the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1827, Brother Samuel Reinke, the new Moravian pastor at Graceham, noted that his predecessor Brother Abraham "visited diligently" with their "neighbors" and "[c]ounted among them…many negroes, to whom Br. Abraham felt and expressed a special love."[235] During a visit to a "negro hut" at the furnace, Reinke reported that the woman of the house "said she attended all the gatherings available to her even religious meeting of her people conducted by a negro preacher."[236]

Reinke was preaching bi-weekly services in English at the furnace when in February 1828, he reported preaching at "Mr. Brin's [*sic*] newly built stone gathering hall."[237] Harriet Chapel, as it was known, was built in Catoctin Furnace village by John Brien in 1828. From 1828 until 1832, Brother Reinke held services there. In 1833, the chapel was consecrated as an Episcopal mission church within the All Saints Parish.[238] Catoctin Furnace chronicler Elizabeth Y. Anderson, found reports of Black infant baptisms in the 1850s by the Episcopal minister Rev. James A. Harrell.[239] The African American Cemetery at Catoctin Furnace was in use from about 1790 to 1840 and would have included interments of all faiths.[240]

Entries in the Moravian Diaries in the first half of the nineteenth century note Methodist contacts with the enslaved population in the region. By the middle of the century, African Americans in the Creagerstown District, which included Catoctin Furnace and Lewistown, appear to have turned to the Methodist church for religious services. In 1856, Dr. William

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[234] Diaries of Graceham Moravian Church, translated by Edward Quinter for the Catoctin Furnace Historical Society, 2021.
[235] Diaries of Graceham Moravian Church, October 18, 1827.
[236] Diaries of Graceham Moravian Church, March 28, 1828. It is currently not known who that preacher was.
[237] Diaries of Graceham Moravian Church, February 17, 1828.
[238] Bob Fout, "Catoctin Episcopal Parish (Harriet Chapel), Thurmont, MD," *Bob Fout Genealogist*, accessed 2/2/2022, http://bobfoutgenealogy.com/records/catoctin-episcopal-parish-harriet-chapel-thurmont-md/. Digitized Harriet Chapel records on this site begin in 1899. No earlier records appear to be available.
[239] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 66.
[240] Bruwelheide, Owsley, Barca, France, Little, and Comer, "Restoring Identity to People and Place: Reanalysis of Human Skeletal Remains from a Cemetery at Catoctin Furnace, Maryland," *Historical Archaeology*, 54, 6, https://repository.si.edu/handle/10088/102025.

McPherson, living just south of Catoctin Furnace, reported in his farm journal the loss of four day's work by his "man" Harry, who was attending a camp meeting.[241] Robert Hall, a member of the free Black community in the Lewistown area, was listed on the 1860 census as a Methodist Episcopal (ME) minister. The congregation acquired use of a log church building from the white Methodist Protestant (MP) congregation about 1857. The "Colored Church" building, as it was called on the county atlas map of 1873, was purchased in 1859 from the MP trustees by "Singleton Hughes, John Sanders, John Hall, William Standon, and James Woolf, trustees of the ME Church for the use of the colored population of Lewistown."[242] **(Figure 40)** Lewistown Lot 132, owned in the 1850s by another member of the free Black community, Ephraim Richardson, was called the "Colored Burying Ground" in an 1874 deed.[243] Both were located on the south side of town, along Bowers Road (today's Powell Road). The church building also served as a school beginning in 1869. The old church building was still in use by the "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church" in 1882, according to J. Thomas Scharf in his 1882 *History of Western Maryland*.[244] Rent payments listed in the Maryland BOE annual reports indicate that the building continued as church and school through 1908. It is unknown how long the Methodist congregation continued to occupy the church beyond 1908.

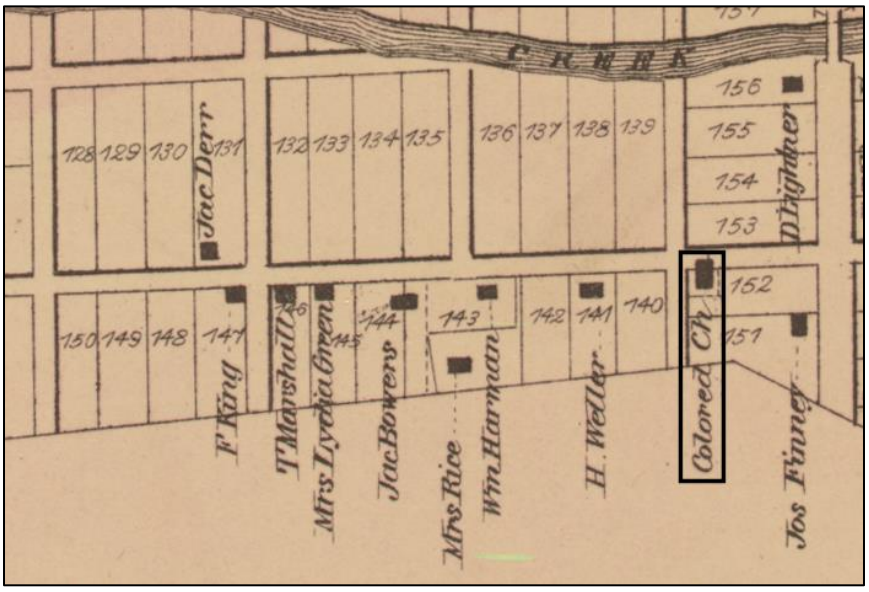

Figure 40: 1873 Atlas map of Lewistown showing Lot 152 with "Colored Church." (LOC)

[241] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 91. Camp meetings were "evangelistic gatherings that were part of the early days of the Methodist movement in America." (Joe Iovino, "'Fishing with a large net': UM camp meetings," https://www.umc.org/en/content/fishing-with-a-large-net-united-methodist-camp-meetings.)

[242] FC DB BGF 4, page 377 (Frederick Cronise et al trustees to trustees of Colored ME Church, 1859). The 1873 atlas map showed the building on Lot 152. A gable-front building with stone foundation now stands at this location, 11045 Powell Road.

[243] FC DB TG 2, page 519. The lot appears vacant today, with no apparent stone markers. It is unknown if the lot contains any graves from the African American community or if the name simply implied the intention to use the lot for that purpose.

[244] Scharf, History of Western Maryland, 639.

In the heavily Catholic Emmitsburg District, the enslaved population likely attended the church of their enslavers, either Saint Joseph's in Emmitsburg or Saint Mary's (Mountain) Church at Carrick's Knob.[245] Even after freedom from enslavement, it appears this population continued their faith in the Catholic Church. Many were buried in the associated cemeteries (see Appendix A: Death and Burial Notices (northern districts). Among those buried in the St. Joseph's Cemetery in Emmitsburg are Jane Burkett, Stephen Coates, Thomas Butler, and Violet Dugan.[246] A larger number are buried in a segregated section of the Mount St. Mary's Cemetery (later called Saint Anthony's Shrine Cemetery), including members of the Lee, Butler, Richardson, Dugan, Williams, Abey, and Watts families.[247] **(Figure 41)** This strong association with the Catholic Church in Emmitsburg and in the Black community near Mount St. Mary's College precluded the presence of a Black church as the community center. It also appears that the Black families that remained in the Emmitsburg area after the closure of the Lincoln Hall school probably sent their children to the Catholic school supplied by the Sisters of Charity.

Although the 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Emmitsburg indicates that the Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church on Lincoln Avenue was "colored" there is no evidence that an independent African American Methodist Church ever operated in Emmitsburg. It does appear that several African Americans were buried in the ME cemetery in the 1890s – William Wallace was interred in the cemetery in 1893. John Constance (Constant) was nearly buried there, according to the *Emmitsburg Chronicle* in 1896, where his mother was also intended to be buried, but ultimately, he was interred in the cemetery at Mount St. Mary's.[248]

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[245] Kelly L. Schmidt, "The pervasive institution: Slavery and its legacies in U.S. Catholicism," April 5, 2022, *Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame*, accessed 12/15/2022, https://cushwa.nd.edu/news/the-pervasive-institution/. The St. Joseph's Parish (Emmitsburg) death register indicates that John Briscoe was a member of the congregation since his arrival in Emmitsburg in 1800. Though it is not known if John Briscoe was enslaved at the time (in 1800), he did not appear in the District 5 census until 1820.

[246] "Saint Joseph's Cemetery Memorials," *Find a Grave*, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2143560/memorial-search#srp-top.

[247] "Saint Anthony's Shrine Cemetery Memorials," *Find a Grave*, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/1981072/memorial-search?page=1#sr-157548191. In an interview given in 2004, Kathleen (Richardson) Williams recalled that African Americans were buried "at the bottom" of the St. Anthony's cemetery. Her husband Martin Williams, who died in 1960, was "the first African American who was buried up in the regular part of the cemetery." ("Interview with Kathleen Richardson Williams," November 15, 2004, Sister Eleanor Casey, interviewer)

[248] *News*, April 1, 1893, Frederick, MD; *Emmitsburg Chronicle*, Nov. 20, 1896.

Figure 41: Aerial view of St. Anthony's Cemetery showing African American burials. (Courtesy Rick Smith)

Black Communities in Northern Frederick County, 1870-1910

By 1860, the free Black population of the northern districts had settled into relatively stable community clusters. After Maryland's abolition of slavery in 1864, the number of African Americans living in northern Frederick County swelled briefly, but began to decline through the last decades of the nineteenth century. By 1910, the decline was such that the county had no public schools still in operation. **(Table 3: Population statistics, 1870-1910)** Employment opportunities were changing – Catoctin Furnace shut down permanently in 1903, replaced by a barrel stave mill.[249] Even agricultural labor was changing as Midwestern grain farms overtook the production of Mid-Atlantic farms through the last decades of the nineteenth century. By

[249] Anderson, *Catoctin Furnace*, 95. The 1910 census, which listed Henry Martin (B) "ore miner" along with several of his white neighbors in the Mechanicstown District, seems to indicate that mining of iron ore was still happening at Catoctin.

1890, Maryland farm laborers represented less than half of the people employed in the state.[250] These kinds of changes, particularly in agricultural labor, prompted the Great Migration of African American people from the South to largely urban areas in the North, Midwest, and West beginning about 1910.

The change in population in Frederick County's northern districts was equally dramatic, from 307 Black men, women, and children in 1870, down to just 122 individuals in 1910. Those that remained were typically listed on the census as day laborers or doing "odd jobs." Work could still be found at the furnace or with the Western Maryland Railroad (WMRR). The WMRR had laid tracks through Thurmont and Sabillasville in 1871, continuing westward eventually as far as Cumberland, Maryland.[251] Farm laborers found work on farms in the Thurmont (Mechanicstown) area that had shifted to orchard fruits or the valley farms that were turning to dairy production. Frederick County was also experiencing a surge in the developing fruit and vegetable canning industry.[252] The Emmitsburg Canning Company began operations about 1905.[253] Many women also took in washing to help support their families. Barbara Van Brakle Weedon recalled that her grandmother (Mamie [Mary], wife of John E. Van Brakle) did both, starting with washing for the priests after her husband's death, then taking employment at the canning factory.[254]

Table 3: Population statistics for northern Frederick County districts, 1870-1910

		# Black	# Black Households	# in Black Households	# in White Households
1870	**Totals**	**307**	**61**	**273**	**37**
Hauvers Dist 10		22	5	22	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5		97	21	85	12
Emmitsburg Town (Dist 5)		30	8	26	4
Mechanicstown Dist 15		42	7	32	10
Mechanicstown		21	3	18	3
Creagerstown Dist 4		77	14	72	6
1880	**Totals**	**308**	**54**	**277**	**31**

[250] Paula S. Reed, *Tillers of the Soil: A History of Agriculture in Mid-Maryland* (Frederick, MD: Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, 2011), 62. Down from 90% in 1790 and 53% in 1870.
[251] Kim E. Wallace, Teresa S. Moyer, Paula S. Reed, and Edith B. Wallace, *Routes of Change: A History of Transportation in Mid-Maryland* (Frederick, MD: Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, 2011), 49.
[252] Reed, *Tillers of the Soil*, 69-70. The perishable fruit and dairy products could reach the burgeoning urbans markets via rail with the 1875 development of the refrigerated railcar.
[253] *Industrial Development and Manufacturers' Record, Volume 47*, February 9, 1905, 77, https://books.google.com/books?id=A2M9AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA77&lpg=PA77&dq=emmitsburg+canning+company&source=bl&ots=y9mR3nJp3y&sig=ACfU3U04GQ75ES2IY7YdoJRbkgLS5OJfew&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiosOOo_Ob1AhXoYN8KHdiOBEw4ChDoAXoECA4QAw#v=onepage&q=emmitsburg%20canning%20company&f=false.
[254] "Interview with Barbara Van Brakle Weedon," transcript, November 16, 2004, Sister Eleanor Casey, interviewer.

Hauvers Dist 10	8	2	8	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	90	15	68	20
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	60	13	58	2
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	37	7	33	4
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	20	4	17	3
Creagerstown Dist 4	1	0	0	1
Lewistown Dist 20 (rural)	45	5	45	0
Lewistown Village (Dist 20)	31	5	31	0
Utica Mills Village (Dist 20)	9	2	8	1
1900 Totals	**191**	**38**	**171**	**20**
Hauvers Dist 10	2	0	0	2 (wives)
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	82	14	74	8
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	47	12	41	6
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	9	2	8	1
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	2	1	1	1
Creagerstown Dist 4	1	0	0	1
Lewistown Dist 20	48	9	47	1
1910 Totals	**122**	**32**	**102**	**20**
Hauvers Dist 10	8	1	8	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	46	14	38	8
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	26	7	19	7
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	6	1	5	1
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	2	1	1	1
Creagerstown Dist 4	0	0	0	0
Lewistown Dist 20	34	8	31	3

From the 1870 census and the 1873 Atlas Map of Frederick County, six Black community clusters can be identified, five of which, with the exception of Mechanicstown, had grown from free-Black population clusters present by 1860: Lewistown and vicinity (Creagerstown/Lewistown Districts); Mechanicstown (Mechanicstown District); Pattersonville (Mechanicstown/Hauvers Districts); the Mountain community (Emmitsburg District); Poplar Ridge (Emmitsburg District); and W. Lincoln Ave (Emmitsburg Town). The following sections will outline these communities from 1870 through 1910.

Lewistown and Vicinity (Creagerstown Dist. #4/Lewistown Dist. #20)

After Maryland emancipation in November 1864, the sixteen enslaved people living in the district (in 1860) were free to choose where they would live and work. As a result, a number of "new" names appear on the 1870 census for Creagerstown District, some working and living

on white farms, including Henson Brown and William Waters, both aged 23 and living as farm laborers on the George Ogle farm. Others were living in independent households, including Serene Dorsey, a tenant, with her daughter Caroline, and grandson William, and Milley Dorsey, aged 60, who owned real estate valued at $150 and shared her home with Ann Liles, aged 70. Other new households since 1860 were Israel Palmer, a 40-year-old tenant day laborer with his wife and three children, and Jerome Hall's family with wife and four children. Hall was a carpenter, aged 39, who may have been another son of Richard Hall (owner of 2.5 acres of *Millers Chance*, 1826).

Despite these additions, the Black population of the district, which included Lewistown and the surrounding area until 1878, fell from ninety-six in 1860 (including enslaved) to seventy-seven in 1870. Robert Hall, the ME minister (and possible brother of Jerome Hall), was no longer living in the district. Other families that were present in 1860, but no longer listed in 1870 include Stanton, Dowing, and Reed, all of whom were landowners in 1860. Those who remained include John Sands (Sanders), now aged 76, still working his farm valued at $3,600, and his son John (age 39) farming his parcel valued at $550. Henry Butler and his son John Butler appeared to own adjoining farms, both valued at $300. "H. Butler" appears on the 1873 atlas map on Hunting Creek near William Myers' sawmill and "woolen factory." **(Figure 42)** William Ricketts, a tenant day laborer, and his wife Cordelia now shared their home with eight children.

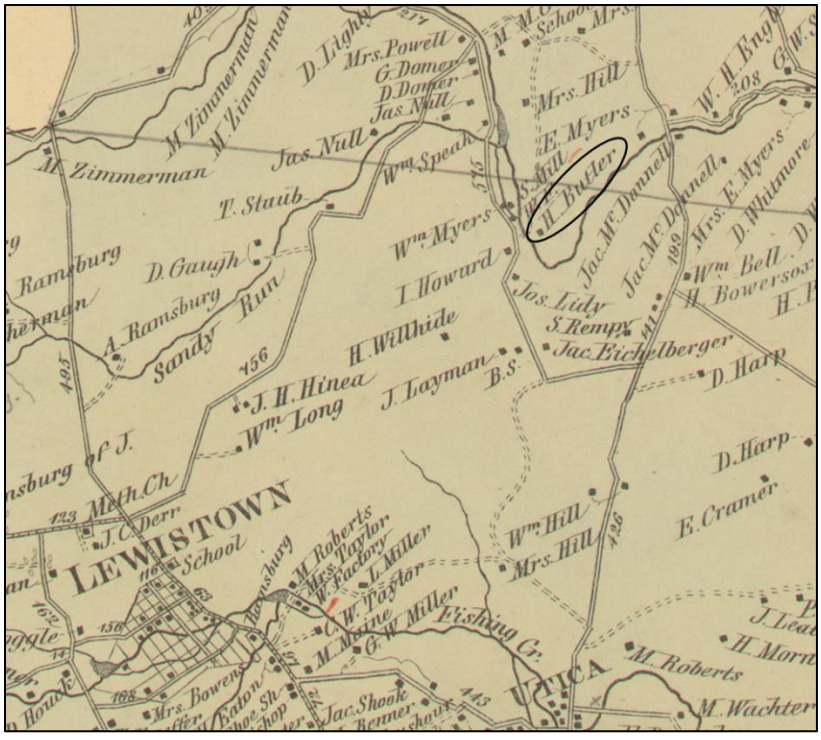


Figure 42: 1873 atlas map, Creagerstown District detail. (LOC)

Those that appear to be living in the village of Lewistown in 1870 include Charles Johnson, aged 31, a day laborer, with wife and four children; Edward Jerick, 29, a day laborer, with wife (age 31) and five children, four of whom with the surname Weachey (ages 17 to 4);

James Wolf, aged 47, a day laborer, with his wife Emely, aged 50; and Hilary Norris [written "Narias" and in 1880 as Harris], who was listed in the area as early as 1850, now aged 68, a day laborer, with wife and two adult sons. No Black minister was listed in Lewistown and since the town lots owned by free Black citizens in the 1850s were sold to white buyers between 1860 and 1869, it is unclear where the Lewistown Black community was located after 1870.[255] None of the households listed were landowners and none appeared on the 1873 map.

Regardless of where the Black households were located in the Creagerstown District (Lewistown District #20 after 1878), it is likely the Methodist Episcopal Church, noted on the 1873 map as "Colored Church," served as the community's center gathering place. In 1880, Francis Thomas was listed on the census for Lewistown District as "clergyman," likely serving as pastor at the ME church. At that time there were five independent Black households with thirty-five people in the Lewistown village. By 1880, the Lewistown District's Black population had risen to eighty-five souls, living in twelve independent households. **(see Table 1)** But by 1900, the population had fallen significantly, down to forty-eight people in nine households, and in 1910, just thirty-four people in eight households. Five of the eight heads of household who remained in 1910 were elderly: John Sanders (78), William Ricketts (78), Charles Bouey (66), Anie Juricks (72), and Calvin Wolf (60). Two others were sons of older residents, William Hall (25), a carpenter like his father, and William Wolf (30), who was the school teacher from 1902 through its closure in 1908. Alice Sappington (40), worked as a laundress, while her daughter Fannie (12) worked as a servant.[256]

These changes were reflected in the Lewistown "Colored" school as well, as noted previously. In 1870 the Freedmen's Bureau school was holding classes in the church in Lewistown. Of the twenty-three school-aged children listed on the 1870 census, fourteen attended school in 1869. Fifteen adults were indicated on the census as able to read and write. In 1872, the county-run Creagerstown District 5 "Colored" school, also likely located in the Lewistown church, was in operation with as many as thirty-five students, which swelled to forty-four in 1881 (then listed in Lewistown District 20). By 1908, as younger families left to find work in the more-urban areas and the remaining population aged, there were less than ten students in attendance and the school was closed.

Mechanicstown/Thurmont; Pattersonville (Mechanicstown Dist. #15/Hauvers Dist. #10)

Residents of Catoctin Furnace village were listed on the census in Mechanicstown District #15 after 1854, where the 1860 census had recorded three free-Black households, while Elisha and Robert Patterson were listed in Hauvers District #10. In addition to the furnace village and the nascent "Pattersonville" (enumerated in Hauvers), the Mechanicstown District in 1860 also included nine scattered Black farmsteads (David Howard, John Biser (landowners), Henry

[255] It appears that page 34 in the census is missing, so this list may be incomplete.
[256] After Lewistown District #20 was created in 1878, Creagerstown District #4, including the town of Creagerstown, became an all-white district from 1880 to 1910 (in 1900 there was one Black servant in a white household).

Williams (tenant), Maria Calbant, John Snoden, Lucy Sarsnip (74), Otho Forierson, John Woodyard, and Peter Snoden), and just one domestic servant living in a white household in the town of Mechanicstown. Unlike Lewistown, the Mechanicstown District would see a steady decline in its Black population after 1860. From 139 individuals in 1860 (including twenty-one enslaved), down to sixty-three in 1870 and fifty-seven in 1880. The diaspora accelerated after 1880, down to just eleven individuals in 1900 and just eight by 1910.

Mechanicstown, later called Thurmont, was the exception to this trend. The town's Black population grew from just one resident in 1860 to twenty-one in 1870, including three people living in white households and three Black landowners. Henry Hendrix, aged 60 and occupied as a farm laborer in 1870, gave his real estate value at $900. He shared his home with his wife, their adult son Henry Jr (who had real estate valued at $400), and four young children. Henry Williams, aged 48, was a farm laborer listed in Mechanicstown with $300 in real estate. Also listed in town was Thomas Smothers, his wife Mary, and their two children, who lived in a house valued at $300. Smothers was employed as a day laborer. All three of these households appeared on the 1873 atlas map – Hendrix (Hendricks) on the west edge of town with a large lot, Williams on the southwest edge of town on Hunting Creek, and Smothers on the south edge of town, just past the WMRR depot, where he likely found employment. A new resident, Amos Lucas, occupied as a barber, was boarding in a white household. None of the children were noted as

Figure 43: 1873 Atlas Map, Mechanicstown detail. (LOC)

having attended school in the past year, though some children and a few adults could read.

In 1880, the Mechanicstown Black population was reduced to twenty. The elder Henry Hendricks (70), Henry Williams, and Thomas Smothers still occupied their homes. One new household was added, Charles Wilson, who worked in a "sign shop," with his wife, two children, and 16-year-old Mary Dorsey. Again, none of the children had attended school and Mechanicstown (Thurmont) apparently never qualified for a county-run "Colored" school. An attempt to rectify this lack of educational opportunity was made by an elderly white resident of Mechanicstown named Leonard Picking in January 1882, according to the local newspaper. Picking reportedly "opened a school for colored persons," located in the "summer kitchen" behind the East Main Street home of William J. Black, a prominent local Justice of the Peace. The newspaper notice indicated that "six colored men, women, and children" attended classes on the first day the school was open.[257]

By 1900, only two African Americans resided within the town boundaries, now known as Thurmont. Amos Lucas was now living in his own household, though renting, and still working as the town barber. In 1900 and 1910, Lucas was the only Black household listed in the town, along with one Black servant in a white household.

The larger Mechanicstown District also changed dramatically from 1870 to 1910. In 1870, there were seven households with forty-two individuals, down to thirty-seven in 1880. By 1900, only nine African Americans lived in the Mechanicstown District (outside of town) and by 1910, that number had fallen to six people. Most of the rural district households were located around the mountain land of Catoctin Furnace, locally known as "Bob's Hill," and occupied as day laborers. In 1874, a boiler at the furnace exploded, killing two African American workers, James Norris and Samuel Mitchell.[258] A few of the district's Black residents were occupied as farm laborers on the larger farms in the area. Only two of the households owned the land they occupied in 1870, Jeremiah Briscoe ($800) and Robert Patterson ($1000). **(Figure 44)**

Robert Patterson, whose land was located on the west face of "Bob's Hill," had purchased his twenty-five-acre tract in 1853 (see Chapter 4). This tract is believed to be the genesis of the later community known as Pattersonville. In 1860, both Robert and Elisha Patterson were listed in Hauver's District, but in 1870, Robert and William Patterson (relation unknown) were listed in Mechanicstown District. Robert Patterson was 57 years-old in 1870 and listed his occupation as farmer. Living in his household were his wife Rachel and four children, including Mahala (22), David E. (19), Oliver (16), and Jacob (10). William H. Patterson, a day laborer, was 25 years-old and apparently a tenant on Robert's land. He shared his household with his wife Kassiah (23) and their two young children, William H. (5) and Francis E. (2 months).

The 1873 map shows that the Patterson properties, which became known as Pattersonville, were located very close to the Hauvers/Mechanicstown district line. Indeed, the

[257] Catoctin Clarion, January 26, 1882, newspapers.com.

[258] Werhle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 100. James Norris did not appear on the 1870 census, however, on the 1860 census he was listed in his father's household, Hilleary Norris, in Lewistown District. James Norris was four years old in 1860 and only eighteen when he died at the furnace. Nothing is currently known about Samuel Mitchell.

1873 Atlas shows Robert and a David T. Patterson in both the Mechanicstown District and Hauver's District. **(Figure 45)** On the 1870 census for Hauver's District, three more households were listed that were, in fact, part of the Pattersonville community. James W. Butcher (43), who was born in Canada, and his wife Tabitha (45), were listed as white with five "mulatto" children. The children – David T. Butcher (20), Joseph Patterson (18), Ann K. Patterson (24), Sarah M. Patterson (14), and Matilda Patterson (6) – appear to represent a "blended" family, indicating Tabitha may have been previously married to (or was) a Patterson. James Butcher, who worked

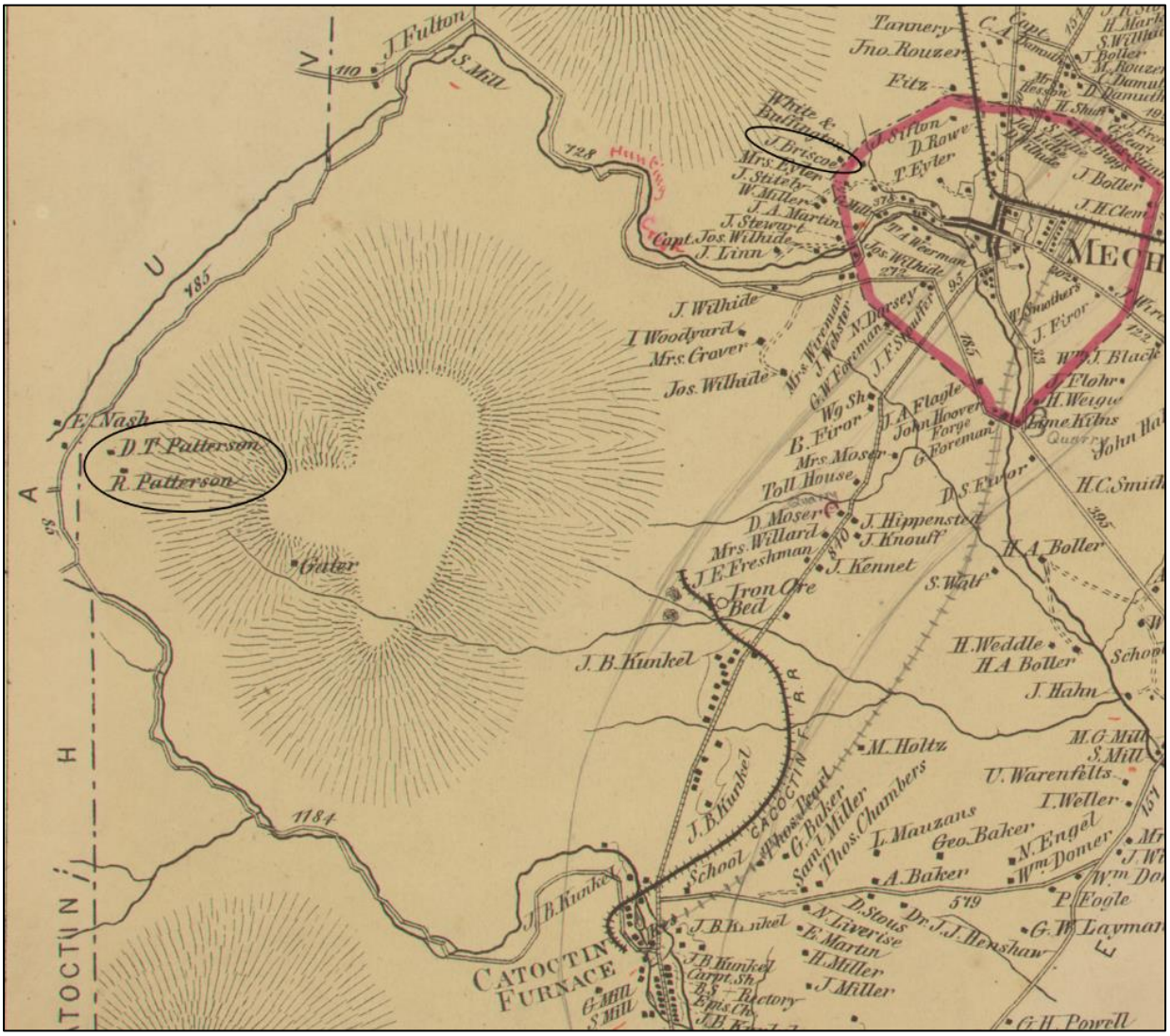


Figure 44: 1873 Atlas Map, Mechanicstown Dist., detail. (LOC)

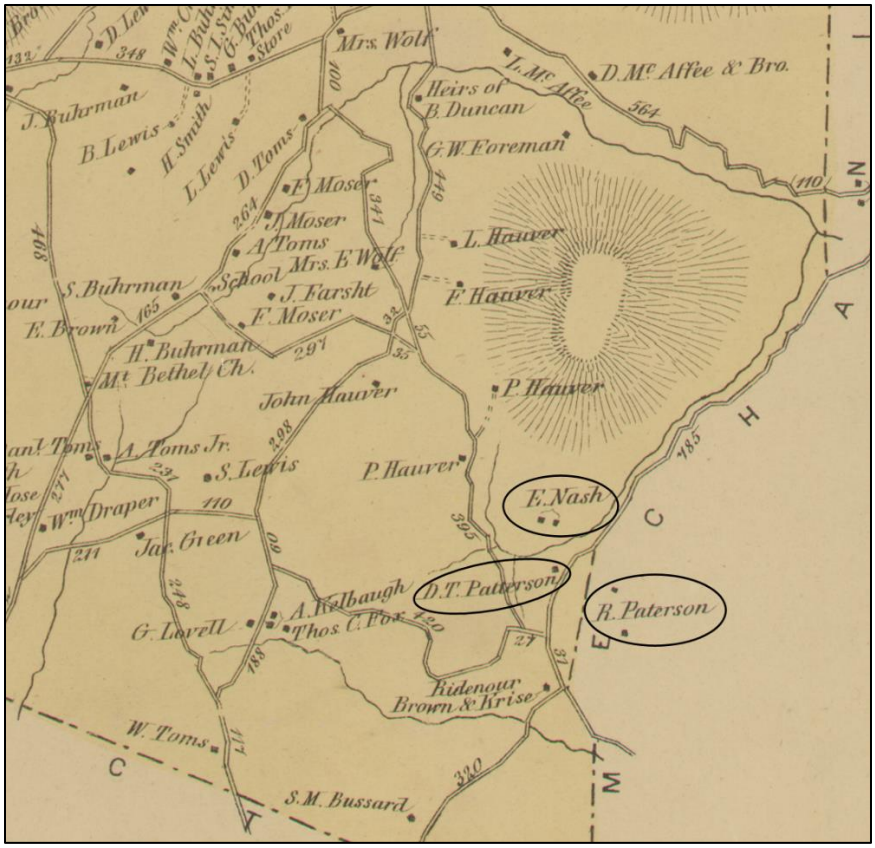


Figure 45: 1873 Atlas Map, Hauver's District, detail. (LOC)

as a day laborer, owned real estate valued at $300. David Butcher and Joseph Patterson also worked as day laborers. Listed next was the "mulatto" household of Thomas and Julia A. Patterson with their six children, Jonathon E. (14), Rollie T. (12), Lydia A. (11), Josephine (7), Eliza A. (5), and Delia (7 months). The census shows the three youngest Patterson children were born in Pennsylvania, including Delia, born in Pennsylvania just seven months earlier, indicating the family had only recently moved back to Maryland.[259] Two families lived in the third household, Arthur Calaman (44) with his wife Malinda (33) and their five children – Mary A. (14), Henrietta (8), Virginia (6), Barbara (2), and John W. (8 months). Like the Patterson family, the Calaman's lived in Pennsylvania where their four youngest children were born, and, like the Patterson's, the Calaman family had only recently returned to Maryland.[260] Arthur Calaman had

[259] The 1860 census listed Thomas and Julia Patterson in the Shippensburg area of Franklin Co. PA, with a small enclave of Maryland-born Black families (Joseph Little, Jonathon Lucket, and Thomas Patterson), and the Pennsylvania-born household of Samuel Jameson. The 1860 census shows the Patterson's oldest son "E" (9) was born in MD, while Rollie and Lydia Patterson, both age 4, were born in PA, indicating the family arrived there as early as 1856.

[260] In 1860, Arthur and Malinda Calaman were listed in Greene Township, Franklin Co. PA (P.O. noted as "Goodyear, Adams Co."), where Arthur worked as a teamster at an iron works. They were not identified as Black or "mulatto." Daughter Mary A. (5) was born in MD, but their infant Josephine (6 months) was born in Pennsylvania. It appears from the 1870 census that Josephine Calaman did not survive. The iron works may have been the Caledonia Iron Works, owned by the well-known abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens. The Caledonia Iron Works were reportedly a stop on the Underground Railroad and was destroyed by Confederate Gen. Jubal Early during the

$200 in personal property in 1870, which may have been livestock. Also living in the same house were John and Minerva Caliman, a young "mulatto" couple with no children, and 54-year-old white farmer, Ephraim Nash, who, with $700 in real estate, apparently owned the property in which he and the Calaman/Caliman's lived. "E. Nash" is identified on the 1873 Hauver's District map **(Figure 45)** with two houses in the Pattersonville area. Thus, it appears that the Pattersonville community occupied property on both sides of today's Catoctin Hollow Road, in both Mechanicstown and Hauver's Districts. In 1870, the community included seven households (five houses) with thirty-two African American men, women, and children, and three white (as identified by the census-taker) adults.

In 1880, four households were listed in the Mechanicstown District side of Pattersonville. Robert Patterson, now 66, worked his farm with the help of his sons, David (28) and Oliver (26). Son Jacob (21) was occupied as a laborer. In addition to his wife Rachel (63), Robert Patterson's household included Sarah M. Patterson (26), and three young children who were probably hers, Charles (5), Manzella (4), and Joshua O. (2). In another household was David Patterson (30), a laborer, listed with his wife Amelia F. (25) and their young son John (3). Joseph H. Patterson (28) lived with his young wife Lydia (20) and their two young children, Isabel (3) and Hezekiah (1). Finally, Charles Emery, a 33-year-old laborer, lived with his wife Mahala (33) and their three children, Jonathon E. (8), Samuel Z. (7), and William H. (2). On the Hauver's District side of Pattersonville there were two additional households. Henry Patterson (37), a laborer, lived with his wife Ann K. (37) and their four children – John W. (16), Joseph (7), Rachel E. (4), Mary C. (9 months). James Alcock was a white male aged 52, who lived with his "mulatto" wife Tabitha (50), his "daughter-in-law" (step-daughter) Matilda W. Patterson (15, Mu), and his "wife's grandson" James W. (8 months, Mu). In all, the 1880 Pattersonville community had six households and a population of thirty "mulatto" (Mu) men, women, and children, and one white man, representing a slight reduction in the small community's population since 1870.

These additional households represent the intermarriage of individuals from several of the 1870 families – Joseph H. Patterson (Butcher/Patterson household) married Lydia (daughter of Thomas and Julia Patterson); Charles Emery married Mahala Patterson (daughter of Robert and Rachel Patterson). It also appears that David T. Butcher (20 in 1870) may have changed his name to Patterson by 1880 (age 30 – or may always have been a Patterson). Sarah M. Patterson (in Robert's 1880 household) and Ann K. Patterson (wife of Henry) are also likely from the 1870 Butcher/Patterson household. These family relationships are further complicated by what appears to be the former Butcher/Patterson household, now headed by the mysterious James Alcock, who claimed to have been born "on Atlantic Ocean" (James Butcher was born in Canada).

Though none of the community's five school-aged children attended school, all apparently could read and write, and two adults as well. Charles Emery, who was from Maine, and his two school-aged children (10 and 7), Tabitha Alcock and Matilda Patterson (15), as well as John W. (16) and Joseph (7), both sons of Henry Patterson, were all noted as able to read and write. Thus, it appears that someone in the community was likely giving informal lessons. It was

Gettysburg campaign.

not until August 15, 1888 that the Frederick County School Commissioners established a school in Pattersonville. **(Figure 46)** The Pattersonville school building was shuttered at the end of the 1897 school year and the building sold in 1901, due to the steep decline in the Pattersonville population.

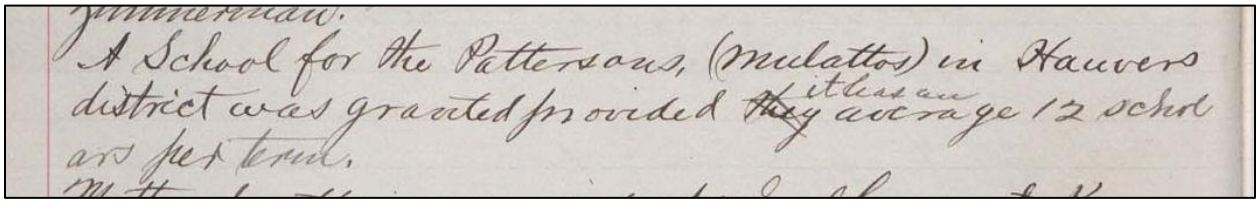

A School for the Pattersons, (mulattos) in Hauvers district was granted provided ~~they~~ [illegible] average 12 schol ars per term.

Figure 46: A school for the Pattersons. (FCPS BOE meeting minutes)

In 1900, a total of twenty-two people resided in four households in Pattersonville, with eleven adults and children identified as Black and eleven identified as white. On the Mechanicstown District side, Rachel Patterson, widow of Robert, and her adult sons Jacob and Charles, shared the family home, where they farmed "wild nuts and berries, etc." Oliver Patterson, also farming "wild nuts and berries," shared a tenant house on the same property with his (white) wife and five children. None of the Patterson children were attending school and none could read or write. On the Hauver's District side were two households. James (W, 65) and Tabitha (B, 75) Allrod (Alcock/Butcher) shared one house, while William F. Stotlemyer (W, 39) shared a home with his wife Matilda M. (B, 36) and their eight (white) children. Though the Stotlemyer children were described as white, none of them attended school or were able to read or write. By 1910, it appears that only Oliver Patterson, with his wife and six children (all "mulatto"), was the only household left in Pattersonville, where they lived as tenants on the property then owned by William Willard (former Robert Patterson tract).

Mountain and Poplar Ridge Communities (Emmitsburg District #4)

The three community clusters known as the Mountain (along Annandale Road and Crystal Fountain Road), Poplar Ridge (MD Rt. 140 and Irishtown Road), and Lincoln Avenue in the town of Emmitsburg are distinguished by their locations within the Emmitsburg District. However, they are related by kinship, by the residents' association with the Catholic Church and its institutions, and their shared attendance at the Lincoln Hall "colored" school and St. Euphemia's School. In 1860, the Emmitsburg District had the largest free-Black population among the northern districts at 168 people, and the largest enslaved population at thirty-nine men, women, and children (207 African Americans in total). Many of that population left the district over the ensuing decade, leaving just 127 African Americans in 1870. The majority of those who remained (97) lived in the rural district outside of Emmitsburg town. These twenty-one households were largely clustered around the historically Black-owned parcels carved from the *Pleasant View* (along Annandale Road) and *Poplar Ridge* tracts.

The Mountain community, so-named because of its location at the foot of Carrick Knob, also known as College Mountain, along today's Annandale Road and part of Crystal Fountain

Road, developed from the seed planted by Charles Lee in the 1820s and Stephen Green in the 1830s. Both Lee and Green homes appear on the 1873 atlas map in this area **(Figure 47)**. From the 1870 census, families that appeared to live in this cluster just north of Mount St. Mary's College include the households headed by William Richardson (Day Laborer [DL], 3 kids read and write [r/w] but not in school), "Joe" Richardson (DL, 2 kids r/w, not in school), George Ross (DL, r/w), Simon Green (DL, Thos. 19 attended school), Lewis Green (DL, he + 2 kids can read, not in school), August Butler (DL, 3 kids in sch), Robert Watts (w/ wife Matilda and Mary Lee). In 1880, the community still included the Ross, Richardson, and Green families, and Matilda Watts (given as Watson) still shared her home with her sister Mary Lee, now with grandson John Butler. New families in the area included Nathan Millberry, recently arrived from Pennsylvania and whose whole family was literate, and John Mitchell, who lived on the same property as Joseph Richardson; and William Ridout, who lived next to William Richardson. In a 2004 interview with Kathleen Richardson Williams, daughter of William Richardson, she recalled that her father worked as a gardener at Mount St. Mary's, where her mother, Marie Butler Williams also worked. Kathleen Williams' "Grand Pap Butler" (James Butler) was part of the Poplar Ridge community, where he lived on Poplar Ridge Road (today's Irishtown Road).[261]

Just to the northeast, adjoining the town of Emmitsburg, was the Poplar Ridge cluster of Black residents, which also grew from early free-Black land purchases under the names Myers, Frazier, Butler, Briscoe, and Coates. The 1873 map identifies several of these names, as well as O'Brian and "A. [Abraham] Aby" whose family worked at Mount St. Mary's for decades. **(Figure 47)** Residents in the area on the 1870 census included James Butler (DL, he and wife could read and write), Thomas Coats (brick mason, landowner), Lewis Butler (DL), Joseph Richardson (90, DL), James Briscoe (DL, son John attending school), David Sim (DL), Amelia Osims(?) (landowner), George Beaty (DL, son attending school), and Samuel Brown (a USCT veteran, but was listed as white in 1870). Brown was listed as "mulatto" in 1880, with four young children, the oldest attending school. Coats, Briscoe, Richardson, Abey, and Butler were all still living in the area in 1880 as well. Margaret Haller appeared to be a new resident in the area. She shared her home with her four children, a daughter-in-law from Pennsylvania, and three grandchildren.

In 1870, most African American men gave their occupation as day laborer (DL), though Thomas Coats (Coates) was a "brick mason" and two men were "farm laborers" for the "St. Joseph's Sister Hood." Margaret Abey was the lone Black housekeeper at Mount St. Mary's College, the other seventeen being white women. In 1880, occupations were more detailed. James Briscoe was a farm laborer and his wife a "washer woman." Thomas Coats' oldest son William was a barber, George Ross and a new Poplar Ridge area resident, Cornelius Landers, were both occupied as masons, and Margaret Haller supported her large family as a "servant." In the Pleasant View area, new resident Nathan Millberry was a blacksmith, while Anna Abey and

[261] "Interview with Kathleen Richardson Williams," November 15, 2004, interviewed by Sister Eleanor Casey.

Figure 47: 1873 Atlas Map, Emmitsburg Dist. detail, annotated with clusters circled. (LOC)

Mary Dugan were employed as housekeepers at the Mount. James A. (Augustine) Briscoe, who was listed as a "day laborer" in 1870 and "farm laborer" in 1880, reportedly actually worked on the St. Joseph's Academy campus for more than sixty-five years, according to his 1897 obituary.[262] Kathleen Richardson Williams, granddaughter of James Butler, recalled in a 2004 interview that Butler raised hogs on his property.[263]

Despite the availability of the Lincoln School in 1869-70, then sponsored by the Freedmen's Bureau, only seven of the school-aged children in the district attended school (three

[262] "The Briscoes of Emmitsburg," February 7, 2022, *Daughters of Charity Provincial Archives*, accessed 2/7/2022, https://docarchivesblog.org/2022/02/07/the-briscoes-of-emmitsburg/. Briscoe's obituary also noted that he lived on the campus, though the census record seems to tell a different story.
[263] "Interview with Kathleen Richardson Williams," November 15, 2004, interviewed by Sister Eleanor Casey.

were Augustus Butler's children). A slightly larger number of children, and some adults, could read and write in 1870. In 1880, school attendance remained low in the rural district communities. After a small increase in the district population (exclusive of the town of Emmitsburg) in 1880, rising from 97 people to 132, but, like the other northern districts, by 1900 the numbers had fallen to a total of seventy-six individuals. Again, in 1910 the district's Black population fell to just forty-five men, women, and children. In all, fourteen Black households and nine property owners remained in 1910, including (listed by the road on which they were living):

Old Mountain Road – Samuel H. Brown (68)
Hampton Valley Road – Ellen Beatty (65)
Mountain Road to Mt. St. Mary's –
    Mary E. Millbery (70)
    Rachel A. Abey (60)
Crystal Fountain Road –
    Ferdinand Green (67)
    Charles Craig (28)
    Augustus Butler (74)
    Robert A. Mitchell (35)

Lewis Ridout (no road name given), aged 65 in 1910, also owned the property on which he was living. Lydia Richardson (75) rented a home on Crystal Fountain Road and John A. Butler (49) was a tenant in a house on the Emmitsburg & Frederick Road.

Emmitsburg Town – Lincoln Avenue (Emmitsburg District #4)

In 1870, thirty African Americans lived in the town of Emmitsburg, occupying eight independent households. As in 1860, many of the households were located on Lincoln Avenue, in the southwest end of town where the "Colored School" was located. **(Figure 48)** Unlike many post-emancipation Black communities in the rural towns elsewhere in Frederick County (including Lewistown), the Emmitsburg community did not establish its own church. Most Black residents in and around Emmitsburg appear to have attended one of the two Catholic churches in the district (St. Mary's or St. Joseph's) and many are buried in the Catholic cemeteries.[264]

[264] There is some evidence that a few Black residents attended the white ME Church on Lincoln Avenue until 1897, when a new church building was constructed on Main Street. At least one African American was reportedly buried in the associated cemetery.

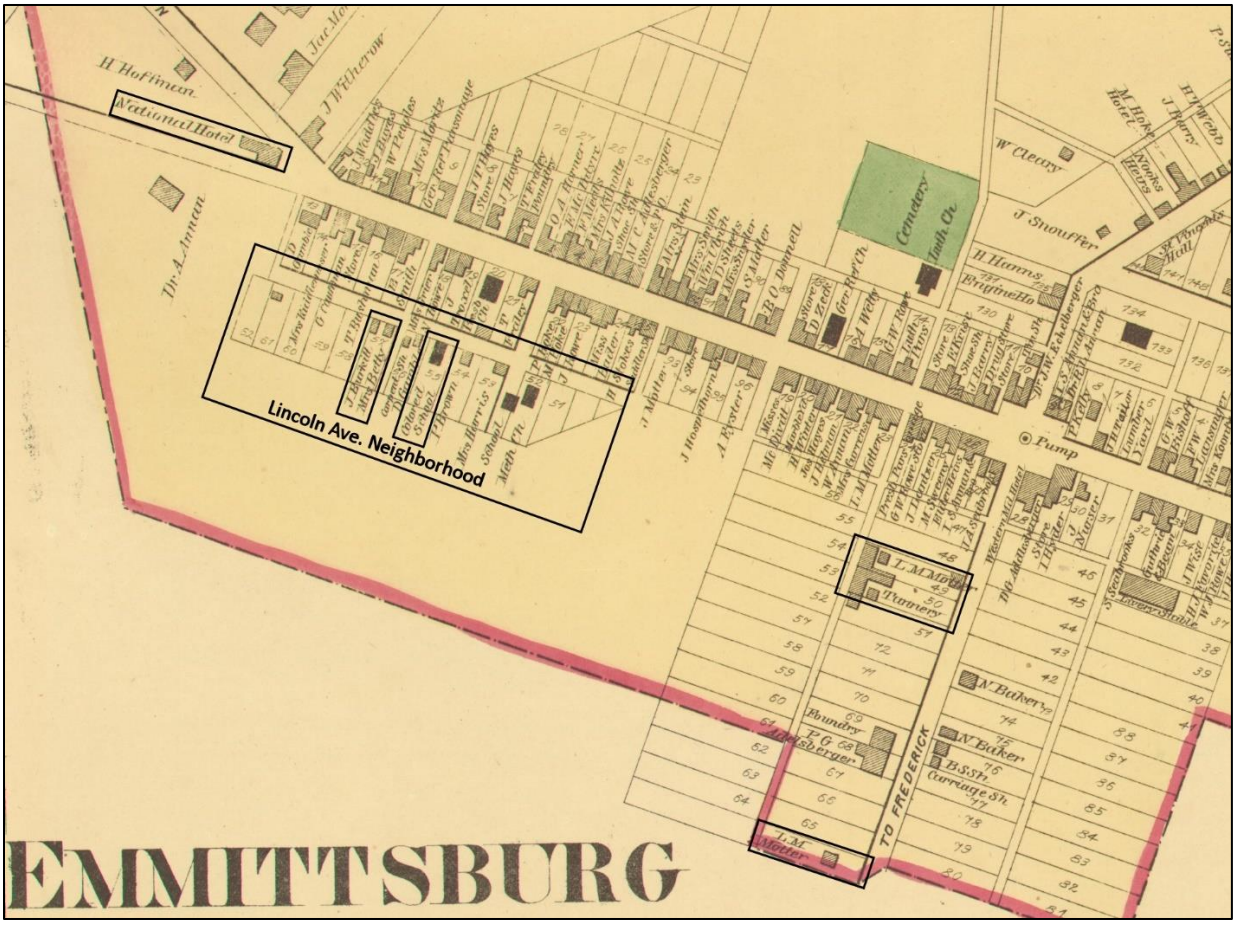
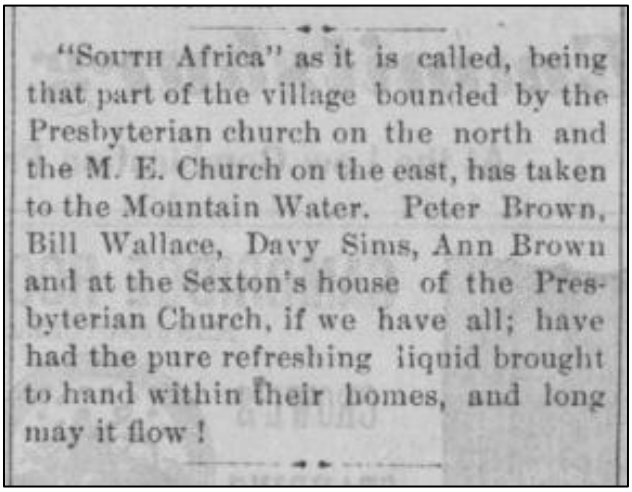


Figure 48: 1873 Atlas Map, Emmitsburg, Lincoln Ave. neighborhood and associated properties. (LOC)

Among the eight households listed on the 1870 census were Rebecca Luckett, who shared her rented home with Abden Reed. Both were identified as able to read and write. Edward Ross, a day laborer, lived alone in his rented house, probably on the east end of town. Jefferson Davis (14) and John Sewell (50), both "mulatto," were living and working as waiters in Zachariah Busby's hotel. Others were George Brisco (60, DL, wife, daughter), Charles Smith (30, DL) and wife, John Burket (40, DL) and wife, and William Wallace (28, DL) with wife and three children lived next to each other near Hoffman's National Hotel on the west end of town. (see "J. Burket" on 1873 map detail) Nearby was William Offutt (35, DL) with wife and two children. John King (farmer), his wife, daughter, and George Woodyard (DL) all lived in the Lewis Motter household, shown on the map with two houses and a tannery on the south end of town. Most of the Black residents in town, adults and children, were listed as able to read and write, likely the result of the presence of the Lincoln Avenue school, though none were marked as attending school.

In 1880, the town's Black population rose to fifty-nine people in eleven households. The Lincoln Avenue neighborhood, known as "Africa" or "South Africa" in the 1880s, included David Sims (laborer) and Maria (washerwoman), James and Lucinda Snell (both cooks) with the Bell stepchildren (housekeeper and waiter), Anna Bowie (aged 83), John Constant (laborer) with

wife and three children (all r/w no school), Peter Brown (73, laborer) with his daughter-in-law and four grandchildren (1 in school), Samuel Parker (barber) with wife and two kids, William Offord (barber) and Momar Williams (appr barber), and John F. Burket (67, laborer) with wife and two adult kids (both r/w, laborers).[265] **(Figure 49)** Another neighborhood appears to be



"South Africa" as it is called, being that part of the village bounded by the Presbyterian church on the north and the M. E. Church on the east, has taken to the Mountain Water. Peter Brown, Bill Wallace, Davy Sims, Ann Brown and at the Sexton's house of the Presbyterian Church, if we have all; have had the pure refreshing liquid brought to hand within their homes, and long may it flow!

Figure 49: "South Africa." ***The Emmitsburg Chronicle*****, August 11, 1888. (*****Emmitsburgchronicles.com*****)**

located on the east end of town: George Keys (farm laborer) with wife and three kids (adults r/w), James Nickum (Farm Laborer) with wife and three kids (r/w), Mary Johnson (laundress) with six children (one 13 yr-old domestic servant and one 10 yr-old farm laborer; all r/w). And finally, next to the priests' residence on the northeast end were Dennis Smith (62, sexton) with his wife and a daughter who had typhoid, and William Smith (50, farm laborer) with his wife (laundress) and six kids (two farm laborers and all r/w). Again, there appears to be a high literacy rate among both the adults and children, but none were marked as attending school.

The Emmitsburg town African American community struggled with population losses like elsewhere in the northern districts, but a larger percentage did stay on. Employment opportunities were certainly better in town, but also, the connection to the Catholic Church and the Sisters of Charity may have also prompted many to stay in the area. In 1900, a total of forty-seven African Americans in twelve households remained in Emmitsburg. Five households owned the property in which they lived. The census identified the community's location on West Main Street and Lincoln Street (Avenue). On West Main were the homes of Ann Ross (washerwoman), Philip Wood (barber), Hettie Parker (cook), M. Robbison (express driver), and Elizabeth Millbery [*sic*](widow), the only homeowner on the street.[266]

[265] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1885, "Africa"; *The Emmitsburg Chronicle*, Aug. 11, 1888, "South Africa," *The Emmitsburg Chronicle and The Carroll Record*, accessed 1/6/2023, https://www.emmitsburgchronicles.com/ec_18880811/.

[266] Actually located on Frailey Rd., Milberry apparently built the house in 1898: FC DB DHH 1, p. 401 (Isaac Annan to Mary E. Milberry, 1898), "building lot"; DB 318, p. 468 (Milberry to her children, 1899), "house and lot."

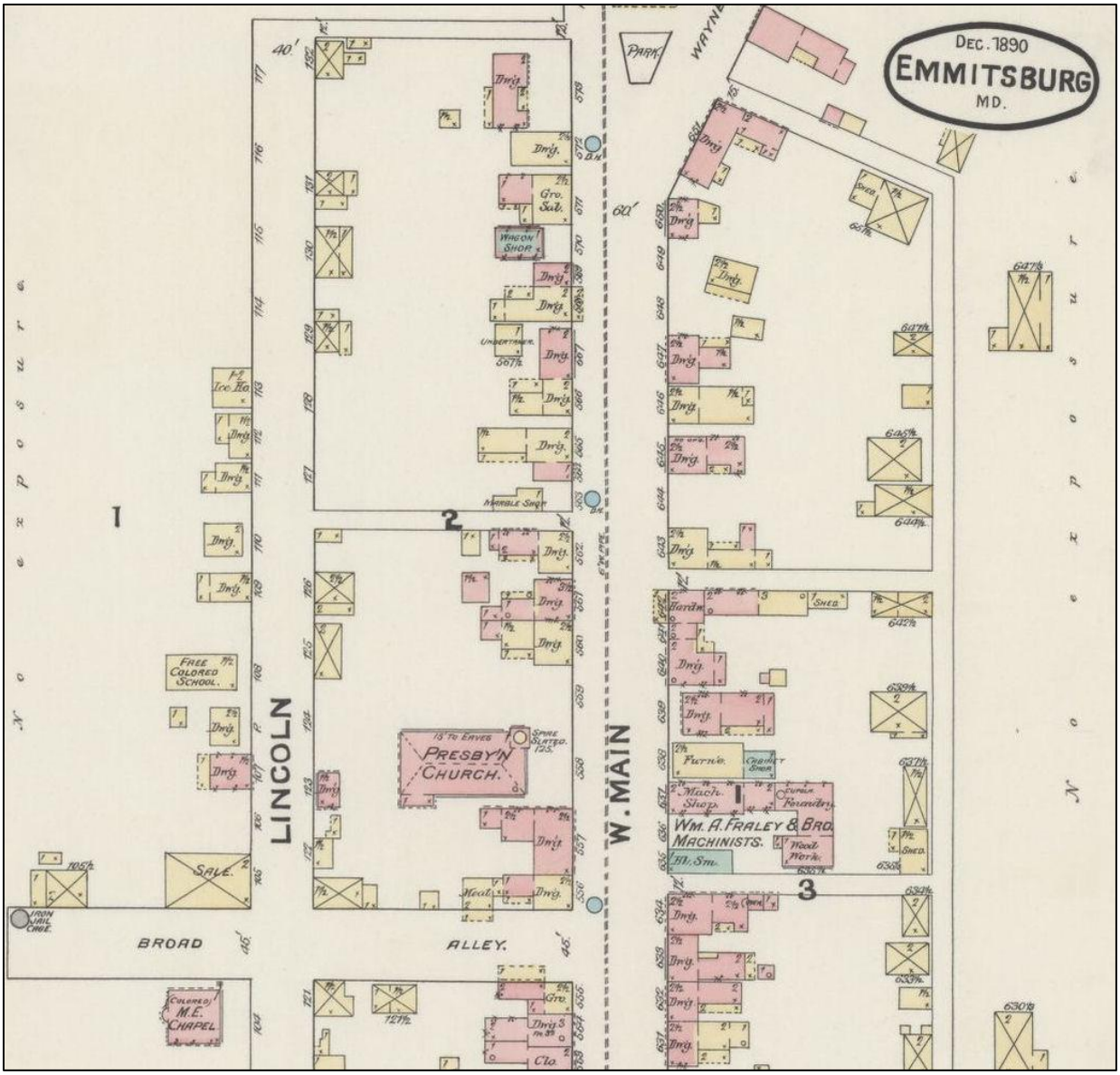


Figure 50: 1890 Sanborn Map, Lincoln Ave. detail. (LOC)

On Lincoln Street there were six households, five of which were headed by women, all of whom were widows and all worked as washerwomen. Four of the homes were owned by the occupants: John A. Brown (day laborer), Mary Wallace (55, widow), Louisa Constant (48, widow), and Ann Brown (50, widow). Tenants included Mary Woodyard (80, widow, washerwoman) and Anne Landers (47, widow, washerwoman). Benjamin Massey lived and worked as a waiter in Charles Spangler's hotel. In 1902, a winter storm reportedly "wrecked the old Lincoln Hall, formerly used as a colored school," noting it was already "in a dilapidated condition."[267] By the time the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map was drawn in 1904, the building was gone.

[267] *The Emmitsburg Chronicle*, Feb. 7, 1902, *The Emmitsburg Chronicle and The Carroll Record*, accessed

By 1910, the town community population was down to twenty-six, in seven households, five of which were owner-occupied, while seven people lived in the white households in which they worked. On East Main Street, Margaret Dorsey (42) worked as a cook and Robert Johnson (15) as a porter in James Elder's hotel. The West Main Street residents lived in three houses, two of which – George Abey (47, farmer, widower, tenant, six daughters, one son) and David Hill (70, owner) had moved in from the rural district. Hettie Parker (57, owner) remained on the street. On Lincoln Street, Louisa Constant (50, widow), Frank Brown (35, owner), and Isaac Durney (40, owner) owned their homes. A newcomer, John E. Vanbrakle (30, tenant), born in Arkansas of a Cuban father, was working as a restaurant cook. He shared his home with his wife Mary (Mamie) and their five children (all born in Maryland). All of the Van Brakle children were noted as attending school, likely St. Euphemia's School.[268] Of George Abey's children, the oldest (19) worked as a washerwoman, three daughters ages fifteen to eighteen worked as domestic servants, and the youngest three attended school.

By 1910, the northern districts of Frederick County had experienced a steep decline in its Black population. As with most population changes, much was due to changes in employment opportunities. In the mountain-valley region of north Frederick County, the final closure of the Catoctin Furnace had an impact, as did the changing agricultural operations. Through the second half of the nineteenth century, Frederick County had also experienced its share of racial discrimination and acts of violence. Three lynchings were perpetrated by white mobs in 1879, 1887, and 1895. In 1879, James Carroll was accused of raping a white woman in Licksville. He was murdered by a mob at the Point of Rocks railroad depot, on his way back to Frederick for trial. In November 1887, John Biggus was accused of beating Mary Yeakle, a white woman, in Frederick City. He was arrested two days later, taken from the jail by a mob of 150 masked men, who hung and shot him. James Bowens, accused of assaulting Lillie Long in Frederick City, was murdered by lynching in November 1895.[269]

1/6/2023, https://www.emmitsburgchronicles.com/ec_19020207/.

[268] Interview with Barbara Van Brakle Weedon, 2004.

[269] Though none of these occurred in the northern districts, as racial lines hardened through the early decades of the twentieth century, the region would not be without notable incidents. (See Chapter 7, Epilogue)

Chapter 7. Twentieth Century: The Rise and Fall of Segregation

The turn of the twentieth century marked the beginning of what became known as the "Jim Crow Era" in which segregation of the races was the accepted social and legal standard across much of the nation. It was the culmination of efforts to nullify the effects of post-war federal Reconstruction policies, ended following the contested 1876 election. In a compromise that brought President Garfield to the presidency, former Confederate states were free to return to their pre-war leadership. Despite the permanent loss of enslaved laborers, the states established economic and social systems designed to keep African Americans in slave-like conditions. Pre- and post-war Black Codes in southern states held free Black citizens within a separate system of justice, employment, and freedom of movement. Most enacted voting restrictions and poll taxes that effectively disfranchised Black voters before the turn of the twentieth century. New laws that codified racial segregation in the South gained federal support in 1896 with the US Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. This ruling found that the establishment of "separate but equal" public and private facilities for Black citizens was allowable under the US Constitution.

Although Jim Crow signified the codification of segregation in the South, social and economic separation from their white neighbors was already the rule for most African Americans. The pre-1900 segregation of Black communities in northern states, while not legislated, was still evident. Noted historian C. Vann Woodward observed that "the Northern Negro was made painfully and constantly aware that he lived in a society dedicated to the doctrine of white supremacy and Negro inferiority."[270]

This statement would hold true for Maryland as well. Maryland's publicly funded school system did not include African Americans until 1872, when a segregated system for "Colored" schools was established. This system of chronically underfunded and under-resourced Black-only schools, continued well into the twentieth century. Limited education for Maryland's Black citizens was at the heart of maintaining a segregated society. The uneducated or under-educated worker remained at the bottom of the working class, limited to general labor and domestic service.

Illiteracy was also key to Democratic-led legislative attempts to disfranchise Maryland's Black voters. From 1900 through 1911, the Democratic Party in Maryland attempted three times to change registration requirements with state constitutional amendments. The amendments variously included reading and constitutional understanding requirements aimed at illiterate Black voters, as well as property ownership and even a clause requiring registrants (or their forebears) to have been eligible to vote prior to 1869, known as the "grandfather clause." All of the proposed amendments were voted down in statewide referendums, largely due to the impacts

[270] As cited in C. Fraser Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 4.

such requirements would have on illiterate or foreign-born white voters rather than any moral stand for the human and constitutional rights of Maryland's African American citizens.[271]

These state-wide attempts to sideline African Americans were manifest in Frederick County. Although the restrictive voting amendments were never adopted state-wide, Frederick City included the "grandfather clause" and property requirement to limit Black registrations in municipal elections. In 1913, thirty African American men, including Edward Mitchell Johnson, were denied their right to vote in the city's election. Johnson was denied based on the "grandfather clause," which the local newspaper noted was "operative since 1904." He appealed the decision in Frederick County Circuit Court where Judge Hammond Urner found the requirements unconstitutional under the 15th Amendment of the US Constitution. **(Figure 51)** In the next city election in 1916, the newspaper reported an expected "400 to 500 colored voters will be added to the election books" as a result of the court's decision in 1913.[272]

COURT HOLDS GRANDFATHER'S CLAUSE IN CITY'S ELECTION LAW IS VOID

In Conflict With 15th Amendment of U. S., Says Chief Judge Urner.

VERDICT IS GIVEN TODAY

Bench Unanimous in Decision in the Question Raised by E. Mitchell Johnson, Colored.

Chief Judge Hammond Urner, of the Frederick County Circuit Court, and a member of the Maryland Court of Appeals, and Associate Judges Worthington and Peter, were unanimous this morning in the opinion that qualifications for voters for Frederick, where the grandfathers clause has been operative since 1904, is unconstitutional, and that persons possconstitutional and concur with my brothers in the opinion given."

Others Entitled to Register.

Leo Weinberg and Roby S. Harp, who made the fight for Johnson, were in court when the decision was announced as was also City Attorney Smith, who conducted the case for the registers. Mr Smith filed no notice of appeal. There were a number of the leading colored men of the city in the court room when the verdict was announced They were highly elated with the verdict, and under it the 30 colored men who applied for registration on last Tuesday will be entitled to register upon their appeal to court. The will probably lose no time in making the appeal.

Arthur D. Willard, attorney to the Board of Election Supervisors for Frederick City, has stated that under the decision of the court, he will inform the supervisors that those men who applied for registration at either of the registration days and were refused, should now have their names placed upon the books. This will either be done by court order or upon revision day.

Foreigners Also Included.

About 30 negroes applied for registration and were refused. These will now be entitled to vote at the next election. There were also several naturalized foreigners refused

Figure 51: "Court Holds Grandfather Clause in City's Election is Void." ***The News,*** **May 16, 1913. (*newspapers.com*)**

[271] Margaret Law Colcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 115-133.The grandfather clause, included in the 1904 and 1909 amendments, required a potential registrant to have "been entitled to vote prior to 1869 – in one's own right or through one's forebears." The property requirement, ownership of $500 in real or personal property, was included in the 1909 and 1911 amendments. See also Smith, *Here Lies Jim Crow*, 60-63.

[272] *The News*, April 22, 1916.

The inequalities in educational opportunities would take significantly longer to address. Unequal funding and limited accessibility were chronic problems throughout Frederick County. Though the county had been operating elementary schools for Black children since the 1870s and had twenty-four such schools open in the 1919-1920 school year, it was not until September 1920 that the first Black high school was opened.[273] Located in Frederick City, a high school education remained all but out of reach for the county's rural Black residents. Lincoln High School would remain the only Black high school available in the county through the middle of the twentieth century. School access was a particular problem in the northern districts where only three "Colored" schools were opened by the county, all of which had closed by 1910. Only St. Euphemia's School in Emmitsburg, run by the Sisters of Charity, continued to offer an education for the northern region's Black children through the eighth grade.

Changing Opportunities and the Decade of the Great Depression, 1910-1940

By the first decades of the twentieth century, the population of Maryland had become majority-urban, centered in Baltimore, the largest and most industrial city in the state. In 1920, roughly half of the state's population lived and worked in Baltimore, with the African American population in Baltimore increasing by twenty-eight percent between 1910 and 1920. Hagerstown in Washington County, a growing industrial railroad "hub city," also gained population, nearly doubling in size and adding just under 400 new Black residents over the decade. At the same time, Frederick County's mostly rural Black population was declining sharply, with a net loss of more than 1,100 individuals between 1910 and 1920.[274]

This movement of people from rural to urban within Maryland mirrored a general trend across the United States. Among rural African Americans in the South, that trend transformed into the Great Migration, a mass movement of people to mostly northern and mid-western industrial cities, which began around 1910.[275] After the 1920 census, the US Census Bureau noted the marked migration over the previous decade, particularly among African Americans, was likely a result of urban industrial growth during World War I. In a report issued in 1922, the author speculated the "redistribution" of southern Black communities was "perhaps temporary."[276] However, the Bureau's assessment of "temporary" change proved to be incorrect,

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[273] *The News*, September 8, 1920.

[274] Reed, *Tillers of the Soil*, 74; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States" (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, Population Division, Working Paper No. 76, 2005), Table 21; "1920 Census: Volume 3. Population, Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States" (US Census Bureau, 1922), Table 9, page 425, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1920/volume-3/41084484v3ch04.pdf. The City of Frederick saw a loss of 232 African Americans, while the population in elsewhere in the county fell by 903 people.

[275] See Joe William Trotter, Jr., ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

[276] William Rossiter, "Increase of Population in the United States 1910-1920: A Study of Changes in the Population

in part because they failed to understand the impact of Jim Crow laws and racial violence in the South, spurred by a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan around 1920.

While the "Great War" (later known as WWI) accelerated industrial development in US cities, demands for agricultural products to feed the armies and the urban workers proved a boon for US farmers, both in the Midwest and in the Mid-Atlantic. Still, only the larger valley farms of the Catoctin-Monocacy region benefited, while smaller farms continued at a subsistence level and often supplemented incomes with jobs off the farm.[277] The rise in prices during the war was followed by a precipitous drop in farm product values at the end of the war. The agricultural depression of the 1920s was a prelude to the Great Depression of the 1930s, all of which fed into the already systemic discrimination against African American workers, tenants, and landowners.

In the northern districts of Frederick County, the downward trend of the African American population that began before the turn of the century, accelerated after 1910. **(Table 4)** From a total of 122 people in 1910 (down from 191 in 1900), the Black population in the five northern districts (Hauvers, Emmitsburg, Mechanicstown, Creagerstown, Lewistown) fell to eighty-four by 1920, sixty-one in 1930, and just fifty-two men, women, and children in 1940. Perhaps even more telling was the reduction in the number of Black households, from thirty-two in 1910 to sixteen in 1940. This indicates that whole families were leaving, though in some cases elderly householders who remained after their children left, simply passed away and their properties were sold. Significantly, while the seventeen Black-owned properties listed in 1910 dropped to eleven in 1920, those eleven properties remained steady through the Depression years to 1940. The last Black household in the former Pattersonville community was gone by 1920, leaving Hauvers District an all-white district. Indeed, three of the districts in the study area were entirely without Black residents by 1920 and essentially remained so through 1940.[278]

The migration of African Americans away from the northern districts appears to have been largely, though not entirely, in a northerly direction. The surviving daughters of Thomas Kelly Coats had moved to New Jersey by 1913, when they sold the family property in the Poplar Ridge community (today's Tract Road).[279] Isaac Downey (spelled Durney on the 1910 census) and his wife Gertrude moved from Emmitsburg to Liberty Township in Adams County, Pennsylvania by 1920, where he took up fruit farming, though the Downey's returned to Emmitsburg by 1930. Oliver Patterson and his family, the last residents of Pattersonville in 1910, also migrated north into Pennsylvania, settling just over the state line in Waynesboro by 1920. Patterson found work as a laborer for the borough government, while his son Chester (21)

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of Divisions, State, Counties, and Rural and Urban Areas, and in Sex, Color, and Nativity, at the Fourteenth Census" (US Census Bureau, 1922), 123, 128-129, *United States Census Bureau*, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1922/dec/monograph-1.html.

[277] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 131-133.

[278] In 1930, Joseph W. Richardson, laborer, lived and worked in the white household of Paul W. Winchester, editor of weekly newspaper in Creagerstown and Hannah Hammond, born in Virginia, was the live-in servant to Laura Hammill (73), also from Virginia, in Thurmont (Mechanicstown District). In 1940, Ms. Hammill was deceased and Hannah Hammond remained in Thurmont as a property owner, working as a "servant in homes."

[279] FC DB 302, page 537 (Annie Wallace and Julia Coats to John Murray, 1913). Thomas K. Coats was 81 in 1900 and not listed on the 1910 census.

worked in a concrete factory and Charles (16) worked as a "helper" in a "moving pictures" company. Elder son Harry Patterson (29) headed his own household in Waynesboro where he also had a factory job. Henry Martin, the last African American living in the Catoctin Furnace area of Mechanicstown District in 1910, bucked the trend and migrated southward, back into Virginia where he found work at the Lucy Salina Furnace in Clifton, Alleghany County. Many, like Kathleen Richardson (Williams), moved to Baltimore for work or, like young Charles Raymond Van Brakle, were sent to Washington, DC to pursue a secondary education.[280]

Table 4: Population statistics for northern Frederick County districts, 1910-1940

	# Black	# Black Households	# Black Owners	# in White Households
1910 Totals	**122**	**32**	**17**	**20**
Hauvers Dist 10	8	1	0	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	46	14	8	8
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	26	7	5	7
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	6	1	0	1
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	2	1	0	1
Creagerstown Dist 4	0	0	0	0
Lewistown Dist 20	34	8	4	3
1920 Totals	**84**	**18**	**11**	**3**
Hauvers Dist 10	0	0	0	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	38	9	5	0
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	23	4	3	1
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	0	0	0	0
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	0	0	0	0
Creagerstown Dist 4	0	0	0	0
Lewistown Dist 20	23	5	3	2
1930 Totals	**61**	**14**	**10**	**8**
Hauvers Dist 10	0	0	0	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	29	6	5	4
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	18	4	3	1
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	0	0	0	0
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	1	0	0	1
Creagerstown Dist 4	1	0	0	1
Lewistown Dist 20	12	4	2	1

[280] "Interview with Kathleen Richardson Williams, November 15, 2004"; "Interview with Barbara Van Brakle Weedon," November 16, 2004. Charles R. Van Brakle's daughter Barbara was later sent to Washington to live with her father (divorced) so that she too could pursue her secondary education.

1940 Totals	52	16	11	2
Hauvers Dist 10	0	0	0	0
Emmitsburg Dist 5 (rural)	19	7	5	0
Emmitsburg-Town (Dist 5)	25	6	4	0
Mechanicstown Dist 15 (rural)	0	0	0	0
Mechanicstown-Town (Dist 15)	1	1	1	0
Creagerstown Dist 4	0	0	0	0
Lewistown Dist 20	7	2	1	2

What remained of the Emmitsburg and Lewistown Black communities in 1920 through the 1940 census were, for the most part, families that had resided there for decades, many of them landowners, with the familiar surnames of Brown, Aby, Richardson, Butler, Ricketts, and Wolfe. Newcomers were largely from the South (Virginia, Georgia), though Isaac Downey was originally from Pennsylvania:

1920 Emmitsburg District 5 (Town) – 23 total, 4 households (HH), 3 owners (O), 1 in a white household (WH)

J Van Brakle (renter [R]) cook; M Aby (WH Anan); J Chase (R) warehouse labor; F Brown (O) general work; Louisa Constant (O) none; Ward P. Brown (O) general work

1930 Emmitsburg District 5 (Town) – 18 total, 4 HH, 3 O, 1 WH

"Frailey's Alley" [Lincoln Ave?] – Ward P Brown (O) gen labor; JE Chase (R) gen labor
"Gettysburg St" – Mamie Warfield/son Jos VanBrakle (O) none
"W. Main St" – Isaac Downey (O, from Pennsylvania), gen labor; Mary Thomas (WH, Dr. Wm Calle)

1940 Emmitsburg District 5 (Town) – 25 total, 6 HH, 4 O

"Gettysburg St" – Mamie Johnson and adult VanBrakles (O), none (2nd grade ed), son "Institution laborer" (4th grade ed, daughter 8th grade ed)
"Lincoln Ave" – Clarence VanBrakle (O), retail meat cutter (4th grade, wife 8th grade); Marsella Abey (R), none (6th grade, 16yo dau 0 grade); Rose Brown (O, Ward widow), none (8th grade); John E Chase (R) stationary fireman (0 grade) (sons "works in Priest's house" and farming)(wife 8th grade, adult kids 6-8 grade)
"W. Main St" – Isaac Downey (O) stableman on private estate (2nd grade, wife 8th grade)

Figure 52: Thomas Butler, Kathleen (Richardson) Williams, Edward Butler, and Roger Chase on Lincoln Avenue. (Courtesy Marie Williams)

1920 Emmitsburg District 5 (rural) – 38 total, 9 HH, 5 O

Chas E Richardson (R) state road labor; O Green (O) general labor; Wm H Richardson (R) state road labor; Annie Aby (O) none; Annie Richardson (R) washerwoman; Annie Mitchell (O) college labor; James A Butler (O) farmer; Sam H Brown (O) 78, none; Mamie Butler (unk) washerwoman

1930 Emmitsburg District 5 (rural) – 29 total, 6 HH, 5 O, 4 MSM/St.Joseph's

"Emmitsburg & Annandale Rd" – E Craig (O, from Pennsylvania), barber
"College & Annandale Rd" – S Green (O) 75, laborer; W Richardson (O) laborer
"Annandale & Turkey Run Rd" – Robt Mitchell (O) none [wife reportedly a mid-wife]
"Emmitsburg & Gettysburg Rd" – John Butler (O) farmer
"Taneytown & Emmitsburg State Rd" – Marselly Aby (R) washerwoman
St. Joseph's Academy – John Brisco (70), none
Mt. St. Mary's College – Chas H Richardson, cook; Louis W Strangler (from Georgia), kitchen porter; Moran A Jones (from Virginia), cook

1940 Emmitsburg District 5 (rural) – 19 total, 7 HH, 5 O

“Annandale [Low?] Rd” – Chas E Craig (O) none (4th grade) (wife private housekeeper, 4th grade)
“Mt. St. Mary’s Annandale Rd” – Emma Lee (R) none (7th grade); Chas H Richardson (O) 71, none (0 grade, wife 3rd grade, nephew 3rd grade, institution caretaker); Leonard Mitchell (R) farm labor (4th grade); Edgar F Butler (O) none (0 grade)
“Mountain Rd” – Robert A Mitchell (O) retail butcher (4th grade)
“Poplar Ridge Rd” – Thomas Butler (O) farmer (4th grade)

Figure 53: William “Billy” H. and Marie Richardson. (Courtesy Marie Williams)

1920 Lewistown District 20 – 23 total, 5 HH, 3 O, 2 WH

Calvin Wolfe (O) broom maker; Eli Wolfe (O) goldfish farmer; D Ricketts (O) farmer; Idella Strother (WH Lewis Graybill); Ruth Bowie (R) 65 [widow of Chas Bouey], none; B Sapington (WH Geo Palmer); Thos Cartnail (R) farm labor

1930 Lewistown District 20 – 12 total, 4 HH, 2 O, 1 WH

“Cement Road Lewistown to Creagerstown” – Henry Harris (R, free) farm laborer (wife cook)[probably both work for John Howe]
“Star Lime Co. to Creagerstown” – Jackson Ambros (WH, Harlow Bales, all VA), farm laborer
“Lewistown to Mountaindale” – Calvin Wolfe (O) 80, none (son works in garage); Eli Wolfe (O), goldfish culturist

"Lincoln Highway" – Ruth Bowie (R) 74, odd jobs

1940 Lewistown District 20 – 7 total, 2 HH, 1 O, 2 WH

Elmer Wolf (O) clerk, gen store (7th grade) (Eli, uncle [brother], none, 7th grade); James Turner, servant (5th grade, from Ann Arbor) in WH (Col. Frederick Rogers, US Army, Wisconsin); Pete Jackson, hired man (2nd grade, from Virginia) in WH (Harlowe Bales, from Virginia); Ruthie Bowie (R) 85 none (0 grade)

John E. Van Brakle, whose wife Mamie (Mary) was the daughter of Amos and Tillie (Craig) Minor, came to the Emmitsburg town community after 1900.[281] Van Brakle worked as a cook in a local hotel. Samuel H. Brown, the USCT veteran who lived on "Old Mountain Road" in the Emmitsburg District in 1910, was 78 years old in 1920 and finally retired, still occupying the property he purchased before 1900. Ruth Bowie, the recent widow of Charles Bowie (Bouey), was still living in their rented log house just outside of Lewistown. Ruth (Brown) Bowie was born enslaved on a Montgomery County farm and moved to Frederick County after her marriage to Charles Bowie in 1880.[282] Calvin Wolf (Wolfe), at his home on Lot 103 in Lewistown, was making brooms for a living in 1920. His son Eli Wolf (Wolfe) was a goldfish farmer on a ten-acre parcel (Thomas Schaeffer tract) he had recently purchased from Joseph Wachter for $2,400.[283]

Eli Wolfe and his older brother Harry were among a growing number of Frederick County farmers adding goldfish cultivation to their agricultural production. Lewistown was at the center of that trend, beginning in the 1890s on the Ramsburg and Powell farms.[284] Two years before Wolfe purchased his land, the Lewistown State Fish Hatchery began operations on adjoining land with "16 goldfish ponds" already in place.[285] In 1928, Eli Wolfe enlarged his farm

[281] Note that Stephen Minor was listed in or near Emmitsburg on the 1830 and 1840 census. In 1850, Catherine Minor (likely widow of Stephen) and her daughter Mary were listed in the Roderick Dorsey household near the Abraham Aby farm. However, the Minor trail ends there. Mamie (Minor) Van Brakle was said to have been born in Emmitsburg in 1882 (Obituary, *FindAGrave.com*, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/184631540/mamie-anastacia-johnson). It is not known if Amos Minor was a descendant of Stephen Minor.
[282] "Slavery's Survivor," *Frederick Magazine*, Feb. 3, 2014, accessed 2/17/2022, https://www.fredmag.com/slaverys-survivor/.
[283] FC DB 329, page 563 (Joseph Wachter to Eli Wolfe, 1920).
[284] James Rada, Jr., "Gone Fishin' – Frederick County Once the Largest Producer of Goldfish," *The Catoctin Banner*, May 26, 2017, citing T.J.C. Williams' *History of Frederick County* (1911), accessed 2/18/2022 https://www.thecatoctinbanner.com/gone-fishin-frederick-county-once-the-largest-producer-of-goldfish/. Harry Wolfe's goldfish farm was in Buckeystown District and later became part of the Thomas Fisheries, today's Lilypons Water Gardens (PRA/E.Wallace, "Lewistown State Fish Hatchery," MIHP #F-3-203).
[285] "REPORT OF FISH HATCHERIES, 1918." J.P Snyder, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Acting Superintendent, addressed to the Conservation Commission of Maryland, 512 Munsey Building, Baltimore, Maryland, 47. In 1918, the Conservation Commission of Maryland purchased the Milton Ramsburg property and ponds they had leased the previous year.

with the purchase of seventeen acres from Luther Leatherman, located on the south side of Fishing Creek.[286]

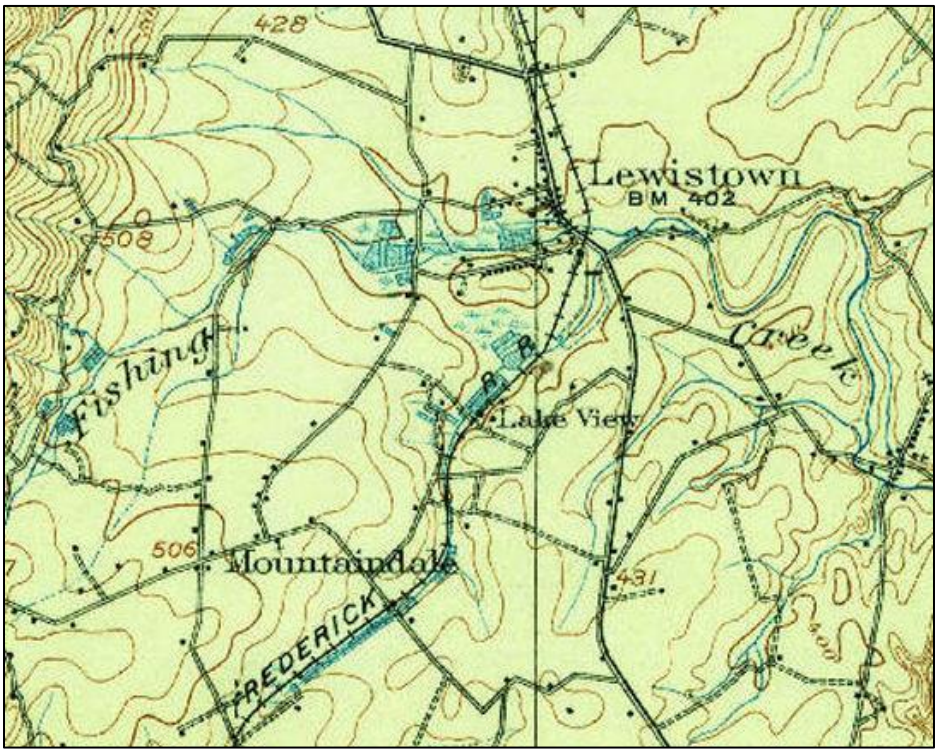

Figure 54: 1911 (1920 update) USGS Emmitsburg Quadrangle, Lewistown detail.

Eli Wolfe was still occupied on his farm as a "goldfish culturist" in 1930, according to the census. It was still just one year after the 1929 Stock Market crash that sent the US economy into a recession and eventually manifested as the Great Depression through the 1930s. Because farmers were already suffering from depressed prices through the 1920s, and in Frederick County a severe drought was underway in 1930, the deepening recession would prove disastrous for many.[287] Patricia Snowden, a Wolfe family descendant, recalled that Eli Wolfe lost his fish farm in the Great Depression of the 1930s. By 1940, Wolfe was unemployed and living in Lewistown with his younger brother Elmer Wolfe.[288]

In 1931, the Citizen's Trust Company of Frederick failed. With branches in Thurmont and Emmitsburg, the bank failure left local residents unable to retrieve their savings.[289] It was

[286] FC DB 368, page 425 (Leatherman to Wolfe, 1928), see also FC DB 356, page 465 (Eliz. Bowers to Leatherman, 1924).
[287] Reed, *Tillers of the Soil*, 75; Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 139-140.
[288] "Interview with Patricia Snowden," April 9, 15, &19, 2021, Elizabeth Comer, interviewer notes. Snowden, who was born in 1941, also said she recalled her grandparents Eli and Mae Wolfe catching and shipping goldfish. Eli and May Wolfe did not sell their house on the ten-acre fish farm until 1946 (FC DB 457, page 314). Elmer Wolfe was given as Eli's uncle by the enumerator in 1940, which was incorrect. Also in the household was Eli's wife May (Mae) and daughter Murhle (Wolfe) Holliday. Patricia (Holliday) Snowden was the daughter of Joseph and Murhle (Wolfe) Holliday.
[289] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 143.

just one of many such bank closures across the nation. For two years, growing joblessness, poverty, and despair began to envelop the country, including the Catoctin-Monocacy region. In November 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected US president. His administration's dramatic reforms and federal relief programs, collectively known as the New Deal, began to turn the country's economy around after 1933.

Among the New Deal programs that touched northern Frederick County directly was the Recreation Demonstration Area (RDA) development program, administered by the National Park Service (NPS) and the Resettlement Administration. The RDA program was in part designed for the "purchase of lands considered submarginal for farming but suitable for recreation."[290] Catoctin Mountain land, including former furnace lands, was among the targeted RDAs. However, the land acquisition process was slow, extending through much of the 1930s. In addition to significant distrust of the government among the "mountaineers," not all of the landowners considered their property "submarginal" and many resisted the sale of their land. Because no African American landowners remained in the area by the 1930s, no Black-owned land was taken for the Catoctin RDA.[291]

Construction at the Catoctin RDA involved two other New Deal programs, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), both labor relief programs. The WPA workers at Catoctin were largely drawn from local men on the relief roles, A CCC camp was located at Catoctin in 1939 as the number of WPA relief workers waned. Another CCC camp at Lewistown assisted with firefighting in the mountain forests.[292] While African Americans from Frederick County were enlisted into segregated CCC camps, none of those camps were located locally.

The ultimate purpose of the RDA developments, aside from moving people off of "submarginal" farmland, was to provide recreational areas for urban-dwellers in nearby cities. Most cities by the 1930s had large Black populations, particularly Washington and Baltimore. Still entrenched in a segregated society, however, not all administration officials, including President Roosevelt, envisioned recreational facilities for both white and Black users. Urged to do so by the Secretary of the Interior's "advisor on Negro affairs," the NPS recommended at least some RDAs should include "Negro camping facilities."[293] The Catoctin RDA, relatively close to Baltimore and Washington, was among those considered for segregated facilities in 1939, but consideration was put on hold while the state of Maryland completed a state-wide recreation study. That report, published in 1940, concluded that such facilities should be

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[290] "The National Parks: Shaping the System" (US Department of the Interior, Washington, DC, 2005), 56-57. "…part of Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Area in Maryland became Catoctin Mountain Park in 1954. The latter surrounds the Presidential retreat inaugurated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as Shangri-La and renamed Camp David by President Dwight D. Eisenhower."

[291] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 161-176.

[292] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 176-178. In Prince William County, Virginia, the Black communities of Batestown and Hickory Ridge were targeted as "submarginal" land and the occupants "resettled." Some of the residents who were removed recalled that although they were poor, they were self-sufficient and rich in community. (Wallace, "They Have Erected a Neat Little Church," 2021)

[293] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 178-

developed elsewhere in Maryland, closer to the target populations.[294] The 1940 master plan recommendation for "a comprehensive development outline for Negro use" at the Catoctin RDA also failed. "In the end," Catoctin Mountain Park history chronicler Dr. Edmund Wehrle observed, "despite the efforts of an increasingly organized African-American community, both the labor force constructing the project and the early groups using the Catoctin Park remained exclusively white."[295]

By the end of 1940, most Americans were focused on the conflict in Europe, a war that would soon embroil the United States and become known as World War II.

World War II and the Movement Toward Equality

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the US naval port at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The US had remained officially outside of the war in Europe, though sending material support to the Allies since the war broke out in 1939. But Japan's attack on US ships brought a swift declaration of war from President Roosevelt and the US Congress. Prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, Congress enacted a peacetime draft of men ages 21 to 35. The Act included the proviso: "That in the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."[296] Over the course of the war, over sixteen million American men and women served; more than one million of those were African American.[297] From the Emmitsburg area alone as many 454 men served in the war, of whom at least eight were African American: Sterling Chase, J.C. (Carroll J.) Chase, Roger Chase, William Chase, Lawrence Johnson, Clarence Van Brakle, James Van Brakle, and John E. Van Brakle.[298]

Barbara (Van Brakle) Weedon, who was living with her grandmother Mamie (Van Brakle) Johnson in Emmitsburg when the war began, recalled "her boys were called one at a time, and she dragged me to 6:30 Mass and to the novena on Monday night and she made sure she was going to bring her boys home safely." **(Figure 55)** Weedon also remembered the troop convoys passing their house on Seton Avenue, still the main thoroughfare north, "I'd sit on the steps and watch them and say Hail Mary's for the safety of all those troops…"[299]

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[294] Angela Sirna, *Human Conservation Programs at Catoctin Mountain Park: A Special Resource Study*, National Capital Region, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior and the Organization of American Historians, 2015, 80.
[295] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park," HRS, 178-180.
[296] 54 Stat. 885, *U.S. Statutes at Large*, https://govtrackus.s3.amazonaws.com/legislink/pdf/stat/54/STATUTE-54-Pg885a.pdf.
[297] "African Americans in World War II," *The National WWII Museum*, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/topics/african-americans-world-war-ii.
[298] "World War II Honor Roll," *Emmitsburg Area Historical Society*, https://www.emmitsburg.net/archive_list/articles/history/ww2/index.htm.
[299] "Interview with Barbara Van Brakle Weedon," November 16, 2004.

Figure 55: Mamie Van Brakle Johnson. (courtesy of the Van Brakle family)

In many ways, Black American participation in WWII marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement. In June 1941, facing a threatened "March on Washington" to protest ongoing discrimination in federal programs, in the still-segregated armed forces, and particularly in defense employment, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in the defense industries.[300] African Americans proved themselves on the battlefields and in the air in Europe and Pacific, while the men and women at home filled skilled positions in the defense industries. At the end of the war, after fighting against Hitler's fascist regime, when African American soldiers returned home to segregation and discrimination, a grass-roots resistance began to rise.

In 1948, one year after Jackie Robinson became the first Black baseball player to integrate baseball's all-white Major Leagues, the US Supreme Court found restrictive covenants in housing unconstitutional. US President Harry S. Truman followed by eliminating discrimination in Federal employment and desegregation of the armed forces. In 1950, federal public housing was integrated and in 1954, the US Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* initiated the desegregation of public education.[301] In 1953, the state of Maryland desegrated its system of state parks, including Cunningham Falls State Park, which had been carved from the Catoctin Mountain Park (former Catoctin RDA) in 1951.[302]

On the ground in rural northern Frederick County, the changing opportunities for African Americans through the 1940s and 1950s began to unfold. Patricia (Holliday) Snowden, who was born in 1941, recalled being the only African American family in Lewistown. They lived on her great-great grandfather James Wolfe's parcel on Lot 103, later owned by Calvin Wolfe. Her

[300] "African Americans in WWII," *National WWII Museum*, accessed 2/28/2022, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/topics/african-americans-world-war-ii.
[301] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1967), 609-610.
[302] Wehrle, "Catoctin Mountain Park" HRS, 217.

father, Joseph Holliday, built a block house on the edge of the lot fronting on Powell Road, formerly Bowers Road. Joseph Holliday had been working as a bellhop in Frederick. Later he worked in a Baltimore shipyard, then took a job in Frederick installing television antennas. Because there was no school in Lewistown for young Patricia to attend, she rode the trolley with her grandmother to Frederick to attend Lincoln Elementary School. When her father got a car, he drove them all to Frederick each day for work and school. Patricia went on to attend Lincoln High School in Frederick. When Patricia married, they remained in Lewistown where her own three children attended the then-integrated Lewistown Elementary School.[303]

In Emmitsburg, St. Euphemia's School integrated prior to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, according to Barbara (Van Brakle) Weedon. In 1944, the teacher who led the classes for Black students became ill. With no replacement for the teacher and just two Black students left in the school, the Sisters of Charity decided to integrate St. Euphemia's School. However, since the school's classes did not extend beyond the eighth grade, Barbara Van Brakle was sent to Washington, DC to live with her father to attend secondary school there. Integration of Frederick County public schools did not begin in earnest until the fall of 1957.[304]

Martin Williams, husband of Kathleen (Richardson) Williams, was a veteran of WWII. He had been working in maintenance and as a night watchman at Mount St. Mary's College when he died unexpectedly in 1960. A devout Catholic, it was expected that he would be buried in St. Anthony's Cemetery at the Mount among the Black burials lined along the cemetery's downhill edge. When she went to speak with the minister at St. Anthony's, she was surprised when he told her, "You know you don't have to bury him down there." So, Martin Williams was buried up the hill, "He was the first one went up there. Put the stone there. My name's on it too. I'll be up there, too. My mother and father are up there now, and Joanie's up there."[305] Marie Williams, daughter of Martin and Kathleen Williams, recalled that St. Joseph's Church in Emmitsburg had segregated seating for Black congregants until 1956. Marie was six years old when her father died in 1960. That year she entered school at the then-integrated Mother Seton School, formerly known as St. Joseph's Academy.

These local and national victories, both small and large, of the 1950s and 1960s culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.[306] There was still a long way to go to change underlying prejudice and discrimination, but in 1964 the foundations on which Jim Crow had stood for decades were removed.

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[303] "Interview with Patricia Snowden," April 9, 15, & 19, 2021, Elizabeth Comer, interviewer notes. Patricia recalled that the principal of the white Lewistown elementary school told her she could attend that school, but she declined, not wanting to be the only African American student in the school.

[304] Joy Onley, *Memories of Frederick Over on the Other Side* (published by the author, 1995), 58-59, citing "Excerpts taken from the Official Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Education of Frederick County, Journal of Proceeding October 1953 through May 1958."

[305] "Interview with Kathleen Richardson Williams," November 15, 2004.

[306] This followed the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

Epilogue: Closing Out the Twentieth Century

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s opened doors for African Americans that were previously firmly closed. It would still be a long and arduous process toward equality however. In 1968, a Catholic missionary reported on her experience among the African American migrant workers at a Thurmont farm and orchard. Most of the working families hailed from Florida, following work northward beginning in June through the fall harvests and canning season at the Jenkins Bros. Canning Factory in Thurmont. Galen Hahn, who also worked among the migrants at that time, later reported on the squalor of the migrant camp, hidden by trees near the Weller United Brethren Church and cemetery. **(Figures 56 and 57)** It was emblematic of the continued devaluation of work of Black Americans, keeping them in perpetual poverty.[307]

Figure 56: Thurmont Migrant Camp buildings, 1966. (Galen Hahn Collection, Maryland Room, C.Burr Artz Library, Frederick)

[307] Constance Stapleton, in Galen Hahn, *Finding My Field* (New York, NY: Page Publishing Incorporated, 2018)

Figure 57: Migrant girl in Thurmont camp, photo by Connie Stapleton. (Galen Hahn Collection, Maryland Room, C.Burr Artz Library, Frederick)

US President Lyndon B. Johnson initiated his "War on Poverty" in 1964 and Congress followed with the Economic Opportunity Act, putting in motion the Job Corps program that would be tested first at Catoctin Mountain Park. The Catoctin Job Corps Conservation Center (JCCC), established in 1965, provided literacy and vocational training for young, underprivileged men from across the country. Though cast in the image of the CCC, the JCCC differed in its narrower focus on men disadvantaged by poverty, lack of education, and racial inequality. In stark contrast to the CCC, the JCCC was racially integrated. Under NPS administration, the Catoctin JCCC opened in 1965. While consistently headed by white administrators, the first Deputy Director of Work Programs was Leon Iracks, an African American Civil Engineer, and two African Americans filled the positions of teacher and counselor in the first year.[308] **(Figure 58)** The racial "balance" of JCCC enrollees was carefully monitored by administrators so that "not more than 30% of the enrollees in any one camp will be from the same ethnic group."[309] In April 1965, however, thirty-seven of the seventy-five enrollees at Catoctin JCCC were African American, while thirty-four were white and four were "Spanish-American," raising concern among the "local people." Staff at the Catoctin camp reported, "the local mayor and the mayor at Smithsburg have both mentioned to him that they

[308] Sirna, Human Conservation Programs at Catoctin Mountain Park, 88, 99-100, 102.
[309] Sirna, *Human Conservation Programs at Catoctin Mountain Park*, 108, citing L.F. Cook to Regional Job Corps Coordinators, Memorandum, "Weekly information concerning Job Corps," NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Memorandum May 1964 to June 1965.

have heard rumors about the discrepancy according to the promise of 30% from OEO [Office of Economic Opportunity]."[310]

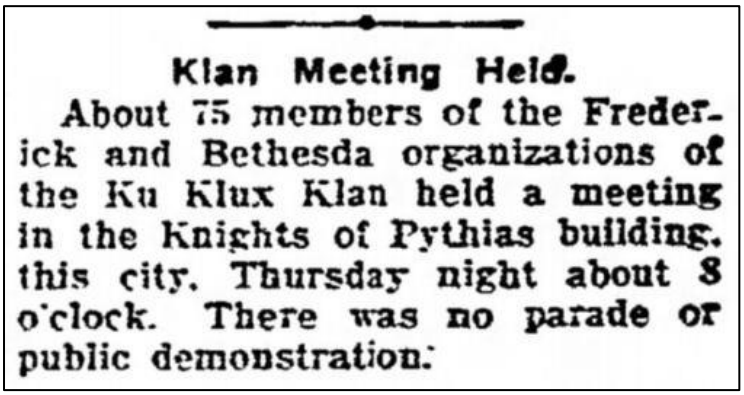
Figure 58: 1965 Catoctin Job Corps picture. (Courtesy of NPS, Catoctin Mt. Park, CPP-022-01-P059-P)

The distrust exhibited in the Catoctin region of Frederick County was a reflection of impacts of the Civil Rights Movement across the United States. In August 1965, after a violent local response to a peaceful voting rights march in Selma, Alabama, US President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law. The law made local and state discriminatory voting practices such as literacy tests illegal and provided federal oversite in localities "with a history of voting discrimination."[311] As the events leading up to the passage of the law demonstrated, racial prejudice and violent white supremacy was still a daily reality for Black Americans one hundred years after the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Emblematic of the continuing struggle was the cyclic revivals of the Ku Klux Klan. Born in the South in 1866, the Klan was essentially outlawed by Congress in 1871 with the Ku Klux Klan Act because of its violent actions against African Americans. In the 1920s, the Klan saw a dramatic revival that lasted much of the decade.[312] In September 1922, *The Daily News* of Frederick included an advertisement for a "Ku Klux Klan meeting at Seminary Hall on East Church Street."[313] A massive Klan rally was planned in September 1925 in nearby Gettysburg,

[310] Sirna, *Human Conservation Programs at Catoctin Mountain Park*, 108-109, citing Belva Brandon, Telephone Report from Paul Webb, April 2, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 10, D22 Catoctin 1964 to April 1965.
[311] "Congress and the Voting Rights Act of 1965," *National Archives, The Center for Legislative Archives*, accessed 2/28/2022, https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/voting-rights-1965.
[312] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction* (New York: Perennial Classics edition, 2002), 342-343, 454; David Cunningham, *Klansville USA: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights-Era Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 23-26. For a full discussion of the early activities of the Ku Klux Klan, see Foner, *Reconstruction*, 425-459.
[313] "Local Man Gets Old Newspaper," *The News* (Frederick, MD), March 28, 1968.

reported in the Frederick newspaper, *The News*. Hosted by "the ku klux klan of the realm of Pennsylvania," they announced a two-day reunion rally with as many as 35,000 expected to attend. In fact, a crowd of 5,000 showed up, with attendees coming from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia. The following year, seventy-five Klan members from Frederick and Bethesda, met together in Frederick City.[314] **(Figure 59)** Forty years later, the Klan resurfaced again in the early 1960s, a 1965 Associated Press report from New York noting, "The Ku Klux Klan, a sprawling giant of the 1920's that nearly choked to death two decades later on its own violent dedication to 'Americanism,' is getting new life from the growing civil rights movement in the South."[315]



Klan Meeting Held.

About 75 members of the Frederick and Bethesda organizations of the Ku Klux Klan held a meeting in the Knights of Pythias building, this city, Thursday night about 8 o'clock. There was no parade or public demonstration.

Figure 59: "Klan Meeting Held." ***The News*****, August 27, 1926. (*newspapers.com*)**

The Klan resurfaced again in Frederick County in 1980. Five rallies were held on the Kelly farm outside of Rocky Ridge, just east of Thurmont.[316] Each rally was countered with a "Liberty and Justice for All" service held in Frederick by a group of African Americans and local "religious leaders." In August 1985, another rally was held on the Rocky Ridge farm. Despite expectations of "500 to 1,000" people in attendance, only "about 100 persons" appeared, according to the *Washington Post* report, "many of them representatives of the news media."[317] The low turnout was blamed on publicity surrounding the local NAACP's suit in US District Court, in an attempt to prevent the county "from issuing permits for future Klan rallies not open to all members of the public."[318]

[314] "Klan Reunion," *The News* (Frederick, MD), August 25, 1925; "5,000 Klansmen in Gettysburg Reunion," *The News*, September 19, 1925; "Klan Meeting Held," *The News*, August 27, 1926.
[315] *The News* (Frederick, MD), March 27, 1965.
[316] "NAACP v. Thompson," 648 F. Supp. 195 (1986), *anylaw*, accessed 3/1/2022, https://www.anylaw.com/case/naacp-v-thompson/d-maryland/10-06-1986/uI7MQWYBTlTomsSB9M5K.
[317] Sue Ann Pressley, "Md. Klan Rally Attracts 100, Including Media," *The Washington Post*, August 18, 1985, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1985/08/18/md-klan-rally-attracts-100-including-media/1351ef98-addd-447f-9729-fe97cdf3dcca/.
[318] "NAACP v. Thompson"; Pressley, "Md. Klan Rally."

Conclusion

The cyclical resurgences of the Klu Klux Klan were indicative of the steep hill yet to climb to break America's "color-line."[319] The Frederick County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1931, advocating for the civil rights of the county's African American population guaranteed by the US Constitution. Clearly still active in the late twentieth century, sadly, their advocacy is still required today (2023) amid the Black Lives Matter social justice movement.

In northern Frederick County, a small cadre of African Americans with generational ties to the region still live on Lincoln Avenue in Emmitsburg and Powell Road in Lewistown, maintaining a long tradition of Black landownership stretching back to the first decades of the nineteenth century.

[319] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). "The problem of the Twentieth century is the problem of the color-line…"

Appendix A: Death Notices and Certificates of African Americans in Northern Frederick County, Maryland

Death and Burial Notices of African Americans in Frederick County, Maryland

Compiled by David H. Wallace, 2012-2017
[Edited to include only northern Frederick County notices and arranged alphabetically within each location. EBW2022]

NORRIS James (killed at Catoctin Furnace) Democratic Advocate 02/21/1874
MITCHELL Samuel (d at Catoctin Furnace) Democratic Advocate 02/21/1874

BOWIE, Ruth, ca 105 yrs, Creagerstown cemetery, News 11/25 (p 15),28/1955
NORRIS, Mary C, Union Chapel, Creagerstown, News 4/10/1896
SMITH, Bettie, 92 yrs, Church of God, Creagerstown, News 12/2/1904
WEBSTER, Kate, born at Creagerstown, News 12/7/1904

WOLFE, Ruth A, wife of Calvin Wolfe, 74 yrs, UB Cemetery, Thurmont, News 8/16/1930

ABEY, Elizabeth, dau. of George Abey, 13 yrs, died at Emmitsburg, News 5/2/1898
BROWN, dau. of Samuel Brown, 2 yrs, died at Emmitsburg, News 8/19/1891
BROWN, Harry, Emmitsburg, News 12/1/1902
BUTLER, Clara May, 11 yrs, died in Emmitsburg District, News 9/29/1902
BUTLER, Margaret, 9 yrs, died at Emmitsburg, News 7/11/1922
COATS, Martina, 12 yrs, Emmitsburg, Myers 8/13/1902
CONSTANCE, Marie, 90 yrs, Emmitsburg, News 12/1/1902
DUGAN, John, 18 yrs, died at Emmitsburg, News 8/12/1887
FORD, Mary (of Emmitsburg), 80/90 yrs, Emmitsburg, Myers 12/9/1909; News 12/11/1909
JOHNSON, Elizabeth, about 80 yrs, died at Emmitsburg, News 8/26/1904
ROBINSON, Michael, died at Emmitsburg, News 1/17/1913
ROSS, Alexander, died at Emmitsburg, News 09/26/1888
SMALLWOOD, William, 117 yrs, died near Emmitsburg, Death Ledger #8238 March 1846
WALLACE, William Henry, son of Jesse, 59 yrs, Emmitsburg M E church, News 4/1/1893

ABBEY, Frances Marcella, 50 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 9/16/1942
BROWN, Francis Aloysius, 41 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, Holdcraft, p.191 5/8/1952

BROWN, Rose Cecilia (Butler), 52 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 8/30/1945
COATES, Harriet Anarietta, wife of Benjamin, 32 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 5/5/1900
CHASE, John Eugene, 68 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 1/27/1944
JOHNSON, Lawrence Leroy, 48 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 2/14/1944
SCOTT, Gladys (Van Brakle), 47 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 7/21/1949
TAYLOR, Frank E, 53 yrs, Mountain View, Emmitsburg, News 2/17/1942

BRISCOE, John, 75 yrs, St Joseph's, Emmitsburg, News 8/1/1936
COATES, Ann, widow of Kelly Coates, 89 yrs, St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg, News 8/31/1903
COATES, Thomas Kelly, 84 yrs, St Joseph's, Emmitsburg, News 3/3/1902
MITCHELL, Anna (Craig), wife Robert A, 60 yrs, St Joseph's, Emmitsburg, News 2/6,7/1940
SIMMS, Maria, 80 yrs, St Joseph's, Emmitsburg, News 3/22/1894

BUTLER, Anna Marie, 75 yrs, St Anthony's Shrine cemetery, News 12/8/1947
BUTLER, John A, 78 yrs, Mt St Mary's cemetery, News 12/11/1939
GREEN, Stephen O, 76 yrs, Mt. St. Mary's cemetery, News 12/3/1935
MILBERRY, Nathan, buried from Mt St Mary's College, News 11/18/1889
MITCHELL, Robert Albert, 75 yrs, St Anthony's Shrine cemetery, News 1/7/1949
RICHARDSON, Henry, 80 yrs, St Anthony's Shrine cemetery, News 3/11/1949
RICHARDSON, Joseph William, 76 yrs, St. Anthony's, Emmitsburg, News 5/16/1938

HALL, Carrie (of Lewistown), 23 yrs, Montevue graveyard?, Myers 6/1/1909
KING, John (of Emmitsburg), 90 yrs, Montevue graveyard, Myers 4/6/1908
NORRIS, Peter N (of Emmitsburg), 70 yrs, Montevue graveyard?, Myers 1/22/1909
RICHARDSON, Helen (of Emmitsburg), ab 40 yrs, Montevue graveyard, Myers 2/12/1909; News 2/13/1909

African American Death Certificates in Frederick County, MD (1899-1922)

Collection located in The Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD
Transcribed by David H. Wallace, 2023; arranged by date of death within each location

EMMITSBURG

10/24/1899	Ellen Balfe, 73
4/11/1900	Eliza Smith, 73
4/22/1900	Dennis Smith, 83
5/1/1900	Benjamin Coats, 33
9/21/1900	Matilda Minor, 43
3/1/1901	Alfred Brown, 67
2/23/1902	Thomas Kelly Coats, 84, son of John
9/20/1902	Clara May Butler, 11, d of Augustus Butler/Lucy Hendricks
11/21/1902	Maria Constant, 94, w of George
8/25/1903	Ann Coates, 89, w of Kelly Coates
3/22/1904	Hilleary Richardson, 92
8/20/1905	Joseph Parker, 4m s of Georgie Parker
9/4/1905	James Brown, 22y, s of Samuel Brown
5/26/1906	Mary E Butler, 8 m, of George
5/26/1906	Ann Brown, 63, Mrs Henry, d of Wm Richardson
11/4/1906	Florence Parker, 18, d of Alexander
10/04/1907	Georgie E Berry, 62, wife of Charles
12/27/1907	Napoleon Carter 1y, parents unknown
12/18/1909	Frances A, d of Wm Richardson/Marie Butler
8/30/1909	Hilery Butler, 32y, son of Chas H Butler/Lucy Hendricks
8/12/1909	Rose Constant, 20y, d of John Constant/Louise Abby
8/28/1909	Joseph W Richardson, 1y, son of Wm Richardson/Marie Butler
8/13/1909	George Woodyard, 65y
1/19/1910	Alfred Dade, 66
2/20/1910	Isaac Beaty, 80, s of Abram
11/27.1910	Agnes M Craig, 1m, d of Charles E Craig/Mary D Richardson
12/11/1910	Mary B, 25, d Alexis and Louise Richardson
2/9/1911	David Hill, 70, s of David & Caroline
10/10/1911	Mary Elizabeth Milley, 73, d of Abraham Albe/Hester Hill
11/29/1911	Charles A Butler, 93, farmer
3/17,1914	Susan Abey, 55, d of Abraham Abey
12/23/1914	stillborn twins of Maserella Abey
3/23/1915	Lucy Ann Butler, 68, d of Henry Hendrix/Caroline Carter
10/2/1915	Lydia H Richardson, 97
10/14/1918	Wm A Richardson, 1y, s of Wm Richardson/Marie Butler
11/24/1918	Harriet F Hill,68, d of Abner Reed, m of Stella Hill
7/23/1919	Julia Green, 74, d of Louis Green
1/7/1920	Ferdinand Green, 76, s of Stephen O Green
7/6/1922	Margaret Elizabeth Butler, 9 y, d of John Butler/Annie Mitchell

3/4/1905 Rosa May Patterson, 9, d of Olive, nr Foxville

LEWISTOWN

4/10/1906 Horace, 17, of Richard Crenshaw
11/23/1906 Martha Davis, 75, w of James M Davis
12/24/1906 inf of Carrie Hall
3/7/1908 Robert E Russell, 71y, son of Anthony Russell/Matilda Butler
8/8/1914 Wm A Rickit, 82, so of Samuel
8/10/1914 Henry Smith, aka Chas Bowie, 70, USCT 10th Regt
4/16/1915 Harriet Butler, 77, d of Harry Butler
7/15/1919 inf of May Wolfe
6/18/1920 Cordelia Rickets, 88, nee Richardson
3/28/1922 Cecelia Catherine Ricketts (murdered), 52 y, d of Wm Ricketts/Cordelia Richardson
7/27/1922 Laura V Cook, 57 y, d of John Norris

MOUNTAINDALE

8/24/1906 Charles B Hall, 82
3/3/1910 David Crenshaw, 1y, s of Richard C Crenshaw/Nettie Rickets
3/2/1910 Eli Crenshaw, 1 y, ditto

Appendix B: Inventories of the enslaved people held by John Brien, Henry A. Brien, and John McPherson Brien, 1834-1849

The 1834 inventory of John Brien's personal property (FC Inventory Book GME No. 7, pp. 453-466) listed the enslaved people in three distinct groups.

*The first group (after most of the Catoctin Furnace inventory):

Wally ($350)
Bill ($450) [1848 J McP Brien list – Yellow Bill?]
Isaac ($400)
George ($400)
Peter ($275) [1848 J McP Brien list – Peter?]
Bob ($225)
David ($200)
Christina with Hanson, George, and Harry [1849 J McP Brien inventory – Christina?]
Lucy with Ann and Sarah
Lucky [Suck/Suckey?] with Charity and Eliza

*The second group (after the *Auburn* household inventory):

Harry ($400)
Len ($350)
Stacy with two children

*The third group (at Antietam Iron Works):

Bill (45 yrs) and wife Milly ($300 combined)
Aaron, Lloyd, Lucy, Jane, Nicholas ($1000 combined)
Abraham ($250)
John Chase (39 yrs, $500)
Milly, Isaac, James, Hetty ($575 combined)
Harriet, George, Washington, Harriet ($350 combined) [Washington Chase in 1849 J McP Brien inv.]
Lenn (38 yrs, $350)
Jack (37 yrs, $350)
Kity, Jim, John, Serena, Jacob, Betsy ($1050 combined)
Mary (20 yrs, $250)
Jacob ($60)
Thomas (60 yrs, $5)
Charles Young & Millie ($60 combined)
Amey ($40)

Margery & female child 3 yrs old ($375)
William (22 yrs, $400) [possibly William Summers on 1849 J.McP.Brien inventory]

1836 Henry Brien purchase of John Brien's enslaved people (FC Probate Records, Account of Sales, GME 9, pp 353-361):

Wally wife & 3 boys [likely Christina, Harrison, George, and Harry]
Lucy and Ann
Suckey [Suck/Lucky?] 2 boys & 2 girls
Sarah
Bill
George
Robert (Bob)
David
Harry
Leonard (Len)
[Isaac and Peter, both adult men who had been listed among the twenty-two inventoried in 1834, were not included in the sale to Henry Brien, while Suckey's (Lucky) "2 boys" were included in the sale but not listed in the inventory]

1842 John McP Brien purchase of John Brien's enslaved people (FC Probate Records, Account of Sales, GME 12, page 407):

Stacy and her two children

1848 Washington County Chancery Case, John McP Brien (Table 6, Libby, page 80)

Abram
Peter
Jim
Grafton
Bill
Lexius
Yellow John
Harry [from Brien estate through Henry Brien?]
Lloyd
Lucy
Thomas
Jack
Charles
Lang, wife and three children

John Porty
John Sawyer
Stephen
Gerry
Yellow Bill, wife and four children [from Brien estate through Henry Brien?]
Marge and two children
Alex, Amey and three children
Stacy and two children [from John Brien estate, 1842]
Jim and two children
Jacob and wife
Nace, wife and two children

1849 John McP Brien (deceased), Personal Property Inventory (WC Inventory Book Q, pp 520-521)

William Summers – age 35 ($400) [1850, free at AIW]
John Reeder – age 26 ($500)
Hanson Summers – age 33 ($500) [1850, free at AIW]
William Cary – age 45 ($400) [1850, free at AIW]
Grafton – age 45 ($300)
Alexander – "one year to serve" ($50)
George Key – age 40 ($350)
Harry – age 70 ($50) [from Brien estate through Henry Brien?]
Washington Chase – age 17 ($400)
William Young – age 18 ($350)
Lewis or Luke – age 12 ($300)
Tom – age 2 ($100)
Margarette & Marge – age 50 ($150)
Charlotte – age 15 ($300)
Margarette Jr – age 15 ($200)
Harriet – age 60 ($50)
Lucy – age 65 ($50)
Milly – age 75 ($25)
Christina – age 75 ($25) [from John Brien estate?] [1850, free at AIW?]
Charity – age 50 ($300) [from John Brien estate?]
Stacy – age 75 ($50) [from John Brien estate 1842]
James Reeder – age 80 ($5)
Nace – age 75 ($5) [1850, free at AIW?]

Appendix C: The Memory Landscape of African Americans in the Northern Districts of Frederick County

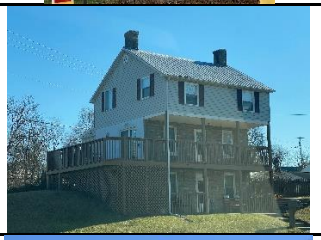
The following is a list of known buildings, structures, sites, etc. are documented or are believed to have historic African American associations. While this list is undoubtedly incomplete, it demonstrates a pattern of African American displacement from the region beginning around the turn of the twentieth century. Many buildings and structures associated with African Americans in the northern districts have been demolished or significantly altered since that time by subsequent white owner/occupants.

Memory Landscape of African American Properties in Northern Frederick County

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Catoctin Furnace	James Johnson House / Springfield (F-3-077)	11836 Auburn Road	Building	1775-1834	The Springfield House and farm were developed about 1775 by Catoctin Furnace co-owner, James Johnson. By 1800, Johnson enslaved more than 70 people, most of whom likely worked on his large farm. His son, James Johnson, Jr. also held numerous enslaved people on the farm following his father's death.	
Catoctin Furnace	Auburn (update form)	12320 Auburn Road	Building	1808 -1850s	As many as 30 enslaved people lived and worked at Baker Johnson's Auburn estate in 1810. The presence of enslaved workers at Auburn continued through his son, Baker Johnson, Jr's ownership, as well as subsequent owner John Brien and later his son, Henry Brien, and lastly under owner, Peregrine Fitzhugh.	
Catoctin Furnace	William Johnson Farm	7127 Blacks Mill Road	Site	1811-1863	In his will, Col. J. Baker Johnson, owner of Catoctin Furnace, devised a portion of "Auburn" and 10 enslaved individuals to his son, William Johnson. William Johnson lived on this property from 1811 to his death in 1863. His enslaved man George W. Brooks gained his freedom when he joined the Union Army in 1863. The house burned in the early 2000s and a new house built in its place.	N/A
Catoctin Furnace	Castle House (F-6-70)	7816 Blacks Mill Road	Building	1788	The house was probably built about 1788 by Jacob Crist when he patented the 413-acre *Hardest Fend Off* tract. By 1790, Crist held 6 people enslaved on his farm.	
Catoctin Furnace	Zimmerman (in F-6-70)	7610 Blacks Mill Road	Building	1800-1882	George Zimmerman (Sr) established this farm beginning in 1768 and it passed to his sons George (Jr) and Michael Zimmerman after his death in 1793. In 1800, both brothers had households on the farm with enslaved people (Geo. 8; Michael 1) and in 1810, both held 4 enslaved people. The farm passed to Michael Zimmerman (Jr) in 1848, and by 1850, he held 8 enslaved workers. He sold the farm in 1882. The log house is all that remains of the historic Zimmerman farm.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Catoctin Furnace	Catoctin Furnace Historic District (F-6-45)	12698 Catoctin Furnace Road	Site	1774-c.1900	Enslaved Africans helped build the Catoctin Furnace complex, beginning in 1774. Moravian ministers visited the furnace to preach to "the poor Negroes," at times even as they stood "at the top of the furnace opening" before returning to their labors. The furnace complex included slave quarters (no longer extant). Domestic servants worked in the basement of the Ironmaster's Mansion (F-6-45-1/18FR720). The house is in ruins, but several walls and the basement floor remain. The African American cemetery discovered at the furnace was active between about 1790 and 1840. A small number of African Americans continued to work at the furnace through the 19th century.	
Catoctin Furnace	Vallonne / Windy Hill Farm (F-6-129)	7060 Red Bird Lane	Building	1815-1822	Willoughby Mayberry built and occupied the house about 1815 after he and his brother purchased Catoctin Furnace in 1811. In an 1819 mortgage document, Mayberry identified his "Negro Man named Daniel" among his personal property included in the mortgage. Mayberry held two enslaved people in his household in 1820, along with a free Black domestic servant. Two years later the farm was sold.	
Catoctin Furnace	Henshaw/Bussard Farm	7301 Kelly's Store Road	Site	1868-c.1872	House ruin and barn where Amos "Tup" Lucas worked and lived by 1870. Born enslaved on the Hamilton farm in Loudoun Co., Virginia, Tup Lucas came to the Thurmont area about 1868 with Dr. J. J. Henshaw, the Hamilton family's former physician. Lucas moved with the Henshaw family from the farm to Thurmont before 1880. (see Mechanicstown/Thurmont entry)	
Creagerstown	St. John's Church at Creagerstown Historic District (F-6-134)	8619 Black Mills Road	Site	c.1820-1955	In 1787, a Union Church consisting of Lutheran and German Reformed congregations was established here. As early as 1822, the church register included 9 African American members. The 1836 brick church (still standing) originally included balcony seating (later removed) which likely accommodated Black members. The adjoining cemetery has several Black burials, including Henry and Nancy Butler (died 1876 & 1878), Mary Norris (died 1896), and Ruth Bowie, buried in 1955 at age 105 (Appendix A).	
Creagerstown	Union Bethel of the Church of God Cemetery (contributing to F-6-100)	8636 Blacks Mill Road	Site	c.1900	At least one African American, Bettie Smith (died 1904) is buried in this cemetery (Appendix A).	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Emmitsburg	Implement Building (F-6-24-1)	National Shrine of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton	Building	Ca. 1898-?	Constructed between 1898 and 1906, the Implement Building is a large, frame barn historically used to store implements and equipment for the St. Joseph's Academy farm. John A. Briscoe was an African American employed as a teamster on the farm beginning in the 1870s, alongside his father, James A. Briscoe, who died a year before the implement building was constructed. John Briscoe likely would have frequented the building as part of his duties. It is potentially the only surviving resource at the National Shrine of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton to represent African Americans' contributions to St. Joseph's Academy.	
Emmitsburg	St Euphemia's School (F-6-41)	50 DePaul Street	Building	1886-1940s?	St. Euphemia's school of St. Joseph's Church, run by the Daughters of Charity, set aside one room in this school for teaching Black children. It was described in a local newspaper article at its opening in 1886: "The second floor is finished for a distribution hall, with a moveable partition at one end forming a classroom for the colored children." A local informant who attended the school recalled climbing the staircase to reach the upper floor classroom on the right facing DePaul Street. This staircase, along with other features, remains intact and the building retains its historic integrity on the exterior. The internal layout of the rooms on each floor has been changed and the building interior has been updated to accommodate apartments.	
Emmitsburg	Peter F. Burket	5 E. Main Street	Site	1899-1909	From 1899 to 1909, Peter F. Burket owned half interest in a merchandise store at this location and lived above the store. The building was still standing in 1951, then occupied by the Rowe Store. The site is now occupied by an addition to the PNC Bank.	
Emmitsburg	Anthony Bowens	332 E Main Street	Site	1814-c.1835	Anthony Bowens, a free African American, purchased Lot 127 in 1814. He was assessed for the lot in 1825 and for the lot and "small log house" in 1835. Anthony Bowers (sic) purchased his wife Ann Agnes and children Andrew, Henrietta and Lydia Ann from William Emmitt about 1811 and manumitted them in 1821 and again in 1830. Bowens did not appear to be listed in the 1840 census. In 1846, his widow Anna and daughters Henrietta Johnson and Lydia Boans (sic) sold the property to Joseph Brawner, at which time they were living in Baltimore. The current structure dates to after Bowens' ownership.	N/A
Emmitsburg	Emmitsburg (Hanover) Shoe Factory	1 Chesapeake Ave.	Building	1962-1964	Ronnie Van Brakle was the first African American to be employed at the Emmitsburg (Hanover) Shoe Factory, working at the machine that cut leather shoe soles from 1962-1964. The factory closed in 1985 and the building opened as the Emmitsburg Antique Mall in 1988.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Emmitsburg	World War I Doughboy Monument (F-6-103)	601 W Main St (F-6-103)	Object	1927	Erected in 1927, this memorial to WWI soldiers from the Emmitsburg area lists 125 names, including three African American men, Albert Beatty, Ward P. Brown and Charles Edward Butler, who were listed under the segregated heading “colored soldiers.”	
Emmitsburg	Van Brakle/Weedon House	336 N Seton Avenue	Building	1928-1988	The house was purchased by Mary (Mamie) Van Brakle for $800 [$700] in 1928, where she raised 12 children. She kept a garden, reportedly admired by Mrs. Eisenhower. After the death of Mamie (Van Brakle) Johnson in 1958, the property passed to her daughter Mildred Weedon and remained in the Weedon family until it was sold in 1988. The historic house has been altered since leaving Van Brakle/Weedon ownership.	
Emmitsburg – Mount Saint Mary’s University	John Hughes Cabin (F-6-24-1)	16330 Grotto Road	Building	1810s	The John Hughes Cabin is a 19th-century, single-crib log cabin perched on a hill overlooking Mount St. Mary’s University. Likely constructed in the 1810s by enslaved labor overseen by Father Dubois, head of the seminary, the cabin served as the quarters for John Hughes, who would become the first Archbishop of the Archdiocese of New York. The modest dwelling was moved twice, once to a location near McSweeney Hall, and again to its present site in 1982.	
Emmitsburg – Mount Saint Mary’s University	St Anthony’s Church and Shrine Cemetery	16150 St. Anthony Road	Site	1840s-?	Largest number of African American burials of all cemeteries in Emmitsburg. Burials were segregated to a low area along the east fence line until 1960.	
Emmitsburg – Mount Saint Mary’s University	Dubois Hall (in F-6-024)	16300 Old Emmitsburg Road	Building	1808-?	The first permanent building erected for Mount Saint Mary’s Seminary. Enslaved people were housed in the basement.	
Emmitsburg – Mount Saint Mary’s University	Marie Williams House	Old Frederick Road	Site	c.1920	Marie Williams, whose father worked at Mt. St. Mary’s, used to live in a house on this property owned by the college. There was a barn	N/A

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
					behind the house, along with a chicken house and outbuildings. The house has been demolished.	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Stephen Green	16610 Annandale Road	Site	1837-1875	Stephen Green was the first enslaved person freed by Mt. St. Mary's Seminary. He purchased this lot in 1837, where he lived with his still-enslaved wife Susan and children until he was able to purchase their freedom. It remained under Green ownership until 1875, when it was sold following the death of Susan Green. The current home was built in 2000.	N/A
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Abraham Lee House	16630 Annandale Road	Building	1844-1862	Abraham Lee purchased this lot in 1844 and it was sold out of the family by Martin C. Lee in 1862. The original small log cabin likely remains within the existing house, though greatly altered with several additions.	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Mountain Log House (F-6-156)	16720 Annandale Road	Building	Unknown	This intact log dwelling is an important feature of the former African American Mountain community that formed along Annandale Road. The site includes a stone-lined well.	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Lewis Green	16722 Annandale Road	Site	1868-1938	Lewis Green purchased this 1.5-acre lot in 1868. He was living there with two of his four children, Julia and Ashburn (Osborn) in 1870. In 1884 he sold the property to his sons Ferdinand and Osborn Green (also known as Stephen O. Green). Following Osborn's death in 1938, it was sold out of the family. The current house was built ca. 1970.	N/A
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Martin Lee House (F-6-157)	16731 Annandale Road	Building	1863-1898	(Thomas) Martin Lee purchased this 22-acre parcel for $418 in 1863 from Joshua Shorb. It appears that by 1880, Lee was living in Emmitsburg and renting out the small mountain farm. At the time of his death in 1897, Lee's Last Will and Testament noted that John Butler occupied the 22-acre property which he devised to the Sisters of Charity if they chose to pay the purchase price (it appears they did not).	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Aby-Richardson-Williams House/Property	16732 Annandale Road	Building /site	1888-current (2023)	The house currently located on this property was built in 1983 by current owner Richard E. Williams, grandson of William H. and Marie (Butler) Richardson. This 1-acre parcel has been under African American ownership since 1888 when Anna R. Aby purchased it from Samuel Welty. The 1910 census shows Rachel A. Aby (the same person), age 60, living on "Mountain Road to Mt. St. Mary's." In 1920, Annie R. Aby (75) still owned/occ. the house. The deeds do not reveal how the property passed to Wm. H. Richardson.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Charles Lee Sr. House (F-6-155)	16732A Annandale Road	Building	c.1810-c.1850	Charles Lee Sr. purchased the land on which this stone house is located in 1813, just nine years after purchasing his own freedom from his enslaver, John M. Bayard. He sold the property, with a life estate, to his son, Charles Lee Jr., however Charles Jr predeceased him in 1841. After Charles Sr's death about 1847, the property was sold to Nicholas Collins, a white immigrant from Ireland, who appeared at this location on the 1873 Atlas map.	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Thomas Martin Lee	16932 Annandale Road; 8908 and 9009 Crystal Fountain Road	Site	1894-1897	In 1894, Thomas M. Lee bought a 6-acre tract from Abelone Sebold. Thomas Lee apparently purchased this as an investment. In his will he devised this tract, noted as occupied by John Eyler (white), to the Sisters of Charity, who appear to have declined the offer and the property was sold. No historic structures remain, however, stone ruins and a hand dug well indicate the site of an earlier structure at 8908 Crystal Fountain Rd. The current dwelling there was built in 1978. Another earlier building stood at 9009 Crystal Fountain Rd. reportedly burned before 2011.	N/A
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Stephen O. Green/Annie Mitchell	8901 Crystal Fountain Road	Building	1914-1981	Stephen O. Green purchased this 1 ¾-acre lot from Henry Hoke in 1914, probably as an investment, and sold it to Annie Mitchell in 1917 "with improvements." It became part of a three-parcel tract owned by the Mitchells (see Robert and Annie Mitchell House) that passed to their daughter Ruth Mitchell in 1955. The current owners purchased the home in 1981 from Ruth Mitchell (of New York City).	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Robert and Annie Mitchell	9005 Crystal Fountain Road	Building	1825-1978	This 1 ½-story log house now encased in the larger modern stone structure was reportedly moved to this location in 1876 from the Mt. St. Mary's campus, presumably to house employees (and possibly several others located along Annandale Road). The property currently consists of two parcels (6 acres total), historically part of 7 ¾-acre tract owned by Robert & Annie Mitchell. One is a 3-acre parcel (FC tax map 8, parcel 181) sold to Robert & Annie Mitchell by the Sisters of Charity in 1931, with "improvements," which the Sisters had purchased in 1900 (with improvements) from Margaret Black, a white widow. The second parcel (FC tax map 8, parcel 239, 3 acres), was sold to Annie Mitchell in 1913 from Annie (Bond) Barnes (a married Black woman living in Frederick City), with "improvements"; she received it as a device from Thomas Martin Lee by his will in 1897 (described as "the old Houck Property…now vacant"); T.M. Lee inherited it from [unknown] Lee; Nellie, Stacy, Lucy, John, Jos., and Peter Lee [Black] purchased it for $60 from Geo. Houck in 1825 (then described as Lot #6 of John M. Bayard's land). These two parcels and a third 1 ¾-acre lot (part of Stephen O. Greene's property; see previous entry) comprised the Mitchell property in a 1955 deed of reconveyance to their daughter Ruth Mitchell. It passed to their	 

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
					daughter Ruth Mitchell in 1955 and was purchased by the current owners in 1978.	
Emmitsburg – Mountain Community	Robert Watts	8893 Crystal Fountain Road	Site	1849-c.1900	Robert Watts purchased a 2-acre parcel from Bernard Welty in 1849, described as part of Bayard's Lot #12. Robert and his wife Matilda lived here into the 1880s. By 1899, Amos and Matilda (Tillie) Minor (both Black according to the 1900 census) were in possession of ¼-acre of the original Watts parcel, which they sold to John Stouter. The Minors appeared to be still living there in 1900, but were gone by 1910. Charles E. Craig may have occupied the house in 1920 (listed on Crystal Fountain Rd.) before purchasing his house on Riffle Rd (see entry below)	N/A
Emmitsburg Area	Charles E. Craig House	17306 Riffle Road	Building	1918-1986	Charles E. Craig purchased this one-acre lot and ca.1900 frame house in 1918 from Joseph Eyler for $325. He and his wife (second wife?) appeared to be still living there in 1940. In 1984, the property passed to his heir (granddaughter?) Louise Banks. Following Banks' death in 1986, the property was sold to Charles Stouter (white).	
Emmitsburg – Poplar Ridge	Letty Myers House	17630 Cool Road	Building	c.1830-1872; 1910-1921	In 1834, the heirs of Simon Pinkson (Black) transferred to a trustee the house and lot "now in the occupancy of Jerry Myers" and his wife Charity and daughter Letty. Letty inherited the property in 1848 (by an act of the MD Assembly, Vol. 612, Chap. 68) and after Letty (Myers) Ross died, it was sold in 1866 to Milly Offert. From 1872-1910, the house was owned/occupied by white families, but in 1910 it was sold to Louisa Constant, who owned it until 1921. The log house appears to have been enlarged ca. 1900.	
Emmitsburg – Poplar Ridge	Coats House	17512 Tract Road	site	1833-1913	Mary Ann Coats, probably the wife of Stephen Coats, purchased this property in 1833. In 1835, Stephen Coats was assessed for 4 acres of the *Poplar Ridge* tract with a log house. It passed down through the Coats family until 1913 when the heirs of Thomas Kelly Coats sold it. The house now standing on the lot appears to date to ca. 1940.	
Emmitsburg – Poplar Ridge	Butler Property	17685 Irishtown Road	Site	1832-1843; 1936-1961	Thomas Butler purchased 6 acres of *Fox Run* in 1833. Thomas and his wife Theresa, "col'd people" sold the parcel in 1843 to Dr. Augustine Taney, then described as on the north side of Flat Run and running to the Pennsylvania state line. It was not until 1936 that the property returned to African American ownership, when John and Thomas Butler purchased it. The Butlers ran a trash business on Irishtown Road until they sold the property in 1961. A modern house now stands at this location.	N/A

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Emmitsburg – Poplar Ridge	Jane Burkett Property	16005 Irishtown Road	Site	1830s-1846	Jane Burkett purchased a one-acre lot on the south side of Flat Run sometime after she was manumitted from enslavement in 1820. She sold the lot, "adjoining Thomas Butler," to Abraham Welty in 1846 and apparently moved to Lincoln Ave. in Emmitsburg (see 437 W. Lincoln Ave. entry).	N/A
Emmitsburg – Hampton Valley Area	Hampton Furnace House	[redacted]	Building /site	1763-1767	House likely dates to period of use of Hampton Furnace. Archeological remains of furnace are visible to the south and southwest of the house on parcel 172 and adjacent parcel 1, including two walls projecting from the hillslope, two terraces, a dam, and a stone-lined channel; slag and iron ore are present throughout. The owners of the furnace appear to have imported enslaved Black men and women as their primary workforce. The 1767 sale of the property advertises "the whole stock of negroes," who were to be sold along with the livestock and land. Catoctin Furnace (Johnsons) purchased everything except buildings and land. ***Property owner does not want location to be known publicly.***	
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Emmitsburg Methodist Episcopal Church and Cemetery	303 Lincoln Avenue	Site	1890s	A Methodist Episcopal Church stood at this corner beginning in 1833 until a new church was constructed on Main St. in 1897. It appears a small number of African Americans worshipped there with the predominantly white congregation. The 1890 Sanborn map appears to have incorrectly labeled the ME church "Colored." At least one African American, William Henry Wallace, was buried in the ME cemetery, as reported by a Frederick newspaper in 1893. The old cemetery was relocated by the town c. 1970. The site is currently occupied by the municipal pool.	N/A
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Brown-Weedon House (Boundary Increase to the Emmitsburg Historic District, F-6-102-3)	413 W. Lincoln Avenue	Building	1858-1959	The West Lincoln Avenue survey area comprises a collection of residential resources located at 413, 415, 425, 429, 437, and 439 W. Lincoln Avenue, illustrating the development of a small Black enclave. The neighborhood likely began in 1858 and persists to the present, with descendants of original Black owners continuing to reside on the street. In 1858, Peter Brown purchased this lot from his employer David Gamble. It passed through several subsequent Black owners ending with Richard Weedon when he sold it in 1959.	
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Wallace-Chase-Smith House/ Lincoln Hall Site (Boundary Increase to the Emmitsburg Historic District, F-6-102-3)	415 W. Lincoln Avenue	Building /site	1868-present	The Lincoln School was built on part of Lot 55 in 1868 using lumber paid for by the Freedmen's Bureau. It continued as the county public "colored" school until 1903 and was demolished after a 1904 storm. The site is now the vacant westside yard of the #415 house. Though no house was shown on the east side of the school lot on the 1873 Atlas map, by 1890, a small frame house stood at that location. It was likely owned and occupied by Mary Wallace, listed as the widow-owner in 1900 and in a 1910 deed in which she maintained a life estate until her death in 1920, after which the property appears to have been held by absentee owners until the 1966 sale to Josephine Chase (Black). It is currently owned by Chase descendants Deborah and Catherine Smith.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Constant-Richardson House (Boundary Increase to the Emmitsburg Historic District, F-6-102-3)	425 W. Lincoln Avenue	Building	c.1860-1926?	The Constant family was living on the southwest edge of Emmitsburg, probably on Lincoln Ave. as early as 1860. In 1900, Louise Constant, then a widow, was listed as the owner of the property she occupied. A 1926 deed from Gertrude (Constant) Richardson confirms her mother owned the house and Lot 56 before her death in 1921. All subsequent owners (Eyler from 1926 to 1990, Stidom, Kreitz) were white.	
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Snell-Brown House (Boundary Increase to the Emmitsburg Historic District, F-6-102-3)	429 W. Lincoln Avenue	Building	c.1880-1923	Sometime around 1880, James Snell, listed on the 1880 census as "mulatto," purchased this house on the west half of Lot 56 from David Gamble. Snell defaulted on his taxes in 1902-03 and the property sold to Frank F. Brown in 1907, after which it descended to his daughter Cordie Brown. It passed out of Black ownership in 1923 when Cordie Brown defaulted on a mortgage in 1923.	
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Williams-Brown-Burkett House (Boundary Increase to the Emmitsburg Historic District, F-6-102-3)	437 W. Lincoln Avenue	Building	c.1850-present	[this is called the Brown-Williams House in Section 7] Jane Burkett probably purchased this lot after her 1846 sale of a parcel in the Poplar Ridge area (today's Irishtown Rd.). She was listed as an owner in Emmitsburg on the 1850 US Census. The 1873 Atlas map shows "J. Burkett" [John Burkett] on the lot with a house. It was sold to Ann Brown in 1893 after John Burkett lost it to a tax sale in 1888. The Brown family occupied the house until a 1962 equity case. In 1963, the Williams family purchased it and it is currently occupied by Marie Williams.	
Emmitsburg – W. Lincoln Avenue	Clarence Van Brakle House (Boundary Increase to the Emmitsburg Historic District, F-6-102-3)	439 W. Lincoln Avenue	Building	1941-1993	[this is also called the Brown-Williams House in Section 7] Clarence Van Brakle purchased this lot in 1941. The Van Brakle home was initially a log cabin Clarence had moved to the site. Using a VA loan, he upgraded the cabin, increasing its height to two stories, and installing an indoor bathroom. It was sold out of the family in 1993.	
Emmitsburg – West Main Street	Hettie Parker and Gertrude Downey House (F-6-102-2)	810 West Main Street	Building	c.1900-1964	This building was constructed in 1880 as a white school, but was abandoned several years later. Hetty Parker likely rented the building as a home as early as 1900 before she purchased it in 1904. In 1927, Parker sold the property to Isaac and Gertrude Downey. It remained in the Downey family until 1964.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Emmitsburg – West Main Street	David and Harriet Hill House (F-6-102-1)	812 West Main Street	Building	c.1900-1919	Harriet Hill purchased this dwelling in 1904. It may have been previously occupied by Black tenants under the ownership of Isaac S. Annan. In 1919, following Hill's death, the property was sold to a white owner. It was part of a cluster of African American houses along West Main Street in the early 20th century. The cluster disappeared in the early part of the 20th century, with only the Downey family, who had purchased Hettie Parker's house, remaining.	
Emmitsburg – West Main Street	George W. Abey Tenant House	814 W. Main Street	Building	c.1900-1915	This was owned by Isaac S. Annan, a wealthy merchant and landowner. The 1900 census for W. Main St. shows two Black families renting houses near Hettie Parker (see entry above). This house may have been rented by Ann S. Ross, a widow working as a washerwoman, and her children. In 1910, the census list for West Main Street appears to show George W. Abey (Black) and his family living here as renters. After Isaac Annan's death in 1909 the property passed to his children and in 1915, the Annan heirs sold the house and lot to Joseph Orendorff (white), who appears to have occupied the house in the 1920 and 1930 census.	
Emmitsburg – West Frailey Road	Mary E. Milberry House	800 Frailey Road	Building	1898-1916	In 1898, Mary E. Milberry, a widow, purchased "a building lot" from Isaac S. Annan for $100. It was located on the west end of town where Annan was subdividing his land for development. Milberry immediately built her two-story frame house and transferred ownership to her children the following year. Following her death, Mary's son Thomas N. Milberry sold the "house and lot" to Alice Eyler in 1916 for $775.	
Emmitsburg	Gem Cinema	125 West Main Street	Building	c.1950	Willie Van Brakle, (born 1937), integrated the Gem Cinema in the late 1940s, or early 1950s. Willie went to the cinema with his white friends (it cost $.15 to see a movie) and finally got tired of not being able to sit with his friends (African Americans were required to sit in the rear). Willie said, "I'm sitting with my friends down front," and from that point on, African Americans sat wherever they wanted. The Gem Cinema closed in 1964 and is now apartments. (Note, located next to Dr, Portier's office at 121-123 West Main Street. Shut down in 1964 by the Catholic Church after showing Beach Blanket Bingo with Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello.	
Emmitsburg	Emmitsburg Canning Factory	719 West Main Street	Site	late 1920s-1930s	Informants Barbara Van Brakle Weedon and Willie Van Brakle remembered their mother worked at the Canning Factory on Route 140 (West Main Street) after their father's death in 1923. The long gray building drew workers from Emmitsburg, Taneytown, Gettysburg, Detour, Union Bridge, and Frederick, canning peaches, apples, and cherries. The canning factory closed and was sold in 1948 to the Loudoun Manufacturing Company (later Corman & Wasserman) manufacturers of men's clothing. The building was demolished ca. 1980.	N/A

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Sabillasville	Sunshine Trail	Eylers Valley Road	Structure	19th century	Local lore identifies this road as a route on the Underground Railroad (UGRR). This should be documented if possible.	
Eylers Valley	Harrison Log House (Sugartree Farm)	16530 Eylers Valley Road	Building	19th century	Purported to be part of UGRR on the Sunshine Trail based on oral history; Slim Harrison, current owner, was told of this building's UGRR association by local residents Clyde Kipe and Albert "Heidi" Wilhide. There are reportedly graves on property. This information should be documented if possible.	
Lewistown	Eli Wolfe House	10844 Powell Road	Building	1920-1946	This house was on the ten-acre goldfish farm that Eli Wolfe developed from 1920 to about 1940. He sold the property in 1946. He did not build the house, but he and his wife May lived there for at least ten years. Oral history of Patricia Snowden corroborates this.	
Lewistown	Wolfe House (F-3-290)	10918 Powell Road	Building /site	1852-present	In 1852, Henry Williams purchased 1/4 -acre of Lot 103 "with a house upon it." He sold that lot to Sarah Kee (Black) in 1861, who sold it to James Wolfe about 1870. Wolfe had already purchased another 1/4 -acre piece of Lot 103 from Sarah Carney (Black) in 1864, eventually cobbling together a 2-acre parcel. The frame house now standing on this parcel was probably built c.1910 by his son Calvin Wolfe to replace the old log house. The property is currently held by Calvin Wolfe's great-granddaughter, Patricia (Holliday) Snowden (see next entry).	
Lewistown	Holliday-Snowden House [this house is more than 50 years old and should have been included in the F-3-97 addendum]	11024 Powell Road	Building	1952-present	The Holliday-Snowden House was erected in 1952 by Joseph Holliday, who moved to Lewistown from Frederick when he married Murhle Wolfe, daughter of Calvin Wolfe. They lived in the Wolfe family home until this block house was constructed. The house is still occupied by Patricia (Holliday) Snowden.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Lewistown	Ephraim Richardson House (F-3-97 addendum form)	11027 Powell Road	Building /site	c.1856-c.1869	Ephraim Richardson owned this Lot 146 as early as 1856, but lost it in a tax sale in 1859. It is presumed that Richardson built the log portion of the house how standing. The narrow parcel on which the current driveway now runs was originally platted as an alley, but was sold as a 16 x 30-foot lot to Henry Williams, an African American who already owned part of Lot 103. This small parcel was sold by Williams to John T. Thompson (white) sometime prior to 1869, when Thompson sold it to Thomas Marshall (white). By the time the 1873 Atlas map was drawn, Thomas Marshall's name was attached to Lot 146 with a house.	
Lewistown	Burying Ground	11028 Powell Road	Site	c.1856-?	Ephraim Richardson also owned this Lot 132 from about 1856 to 1859. This lot was historically known as the "colored burying ground," likely associated with the "Colored ME Church" located on part of Lot 152 (see entry below) beginning in 1859. Lewistown's white ME minister, Rev. Benjamin C. Flowers, purchased Lot 132 at the Richardson tax sale and sold it sometime before 1874. Numerous fieldstones are currently visible in a pile at the edge of the property.	
Lewistown	"Colored ME Church," Freedmen's Bureau school, and county school	11045 Powell Road	Site	1859-1908	The 40' x 40' parcel (NE corner of Lot 152) on which this c.1910 frame house now stands, was originally the location of the white Methodist Protestant Church, who later sold the old log church to the Black trustees of the "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church" in 1859. In 1870, the church housed a school for Black children sponsored by the Freedmen's Bureau. Beginning in 1872, the county school commissioners began to pay rent to the congregation to continue hosting the "colored school," until it was closed in 1908. The property passed into white ownership and it appears the new frame house was built upon the old church stone foundation shortly thereafter.	
Lewistown /Creagerstown Area	Henry Butler Farm	Old Frederick Road	Site	1842-c.1890	Henry Butler purchased 2 acres on Hunting Creek in 1842 and probably built a log home there immediately. In 1850, he was living next to a mill in Creagerstown District. In 1851, he purchased 18 acres adjoining, but apparently defaulted on his mortgage in 1858, though he was still listed as a property owner in 1860. Henry Butler was identified at this location, near a sawmill and the William Myers Woolen Factory on the 1873 Atlas map. In 1880, it appears that William Butler, "Farmer," was still living near the woolen factory, but was apparently gone by 1900. No standing structures remain. Archaeological site located to the south of Big Hunting Creek.	N/A
Lewistown Area	Ruth and Charles Bowie Cabin	10431 Hessong Bridge Road	Site	c.1880-1955	Ruth Brown, born enslaved in Montgomery Co., and Charles Bowie were married in 1880. Charles had been living and working at Auburn, Dr. Wm. McPherson's farm. The couple moved to a rented house outside of Lewistown. During her long widowhood, "Miss Ruthie" remained in the small rental home, listed on the 1930 census on "Lincoln Highway." She remained there until her death in 1955. The old cabin was torn down and a new dwelling was built on the lot (not	N/A

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
					in same location though). Description of the old house in Patricia Snowden oral history.	
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Weller-Johnson House (F-6-114)	27 W. Main St.	Building	c.1820-1860s	Jacob Weller "B.S." (blacksmith) built this stone house in Mechanicstown in 1805 and sold it in 1813. In 1825, the property was sold by James Hammett to Sarah Foster along with 3 enslaved African Americans. The house has "a 12 inch full face portrait of a young black girl done in lamp black or some other permanent pigment which has impregnated the wood. It was found under several layers of paint on the dado board of [the] stair landing to [the] third floor." (MIHP F-6-114) The Foster heirs sold the building in 1856 to George H. Johnson. In 1860, George H. Johnson, a merchant, had one free Black man in his household named John Brown, who was a cooper. Brown was no longer living there by 1870.	 
Mechanicstown/Thurmont	Jenkins Brothers Canning Factory	N. Altamont Avenue	Site	1950s-1970s	African Americans worked in the cannery seasonally as migrant workers canning tomatoes, sting beans, peas, and corn. Their children attended Thurmont schools for the short time they were working there. Documented by Hahn and Stapleton in the 1960s. The factory closed in the 1970s and the cannery buildings no longer exist.	N/A
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Weller United Methodist Church and Cemetery (in F-6-101)	101 N. Altamont Ave	Building /site	1917-1932	Little is currently known about African American participation in the Weller Church (formerly United Brethren), however, Amos "Tup" Lucas (1917) and Calvin (1932) & Ruth (1930) Wolfe are buried in the Wellers cemetery.	
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Leonard Picking's Colored School on William J. Black property	129-135 E. Main St.	Site	1882	Leonard Picking, a prominent, elderly white citizen of Mechanicstown, opened a school for the town's Black residents in 1882, according to a local newspaper announcement. It was reportedly held in the summer kitchen located behind the residence of Judge William J. Black on E. Main Street. Black's home property was located near the corner of E. Main and today's N. Carroll St. The house and outbuildings are no longer standing, replaced by a row of small shops.	N/A
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Thomas Gonter House	210 N. Carroll Street	Site	1880s	At the age of 11, Emma Gloria Little (later Cosley), whose family lived in Gettysburg, PA, worked as servant in the home of Thomas Gonter in the 1880s.	N/A

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Hendrix House	104 Frederick Road	Site	1861-1890	Henry Hendrix purchased 4 acres in 1861 and another 1 ¾ acres in 1867. In 1870, he was listed on the census at age 60, occupied as a farm laborer, and gave his real estate value at $900. He shared his home with his wife, their adult son Henry Jr, who had real estate valued at $400, and four young children. The Hendricks [sic] property appears on the 1873 Atlas map. Hendrix mortgaged his property in 1888 and defaulted in 1890, losing ownership to his white neighbor, Chambers Creager. The house was demolished and the property is now the site of a car dealership	N/A
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Thomas Smothers	402 E. Main Street	Site	1864-c.1890	Thomas Smothers purchased this lot in 1864 and lived here with his wife Mary and their two children. Sometime after 1880, the family moved to Baltimore and Thomas died before 1892 when a deed for the property was prepared by his estate administrator. The current house post-dates the Smothers occupancy.	N/A
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Amos “Tup” Lucas Barber Shop	7-9 N. Church Street	Site	1870s-1915	Tup Lucas moved to Thurmont about 1872 and there he established himself as a barber. He kept his barber shop in a brick building on Church Street, where he lived above. The building is labeled as a barber shop on the 1894-1910 Sanborn maps. In the 1900 census he was living on Church St. and probably lived there until his death in 1917. In 1900 and 1910, Lucas was the only Black household listed in the town, along with one Black servant in a white household. Lucas was buried in the Thurmont United Brethren Church cemetery. The building was later demolished and the lot now serves as the parking lot for the Thurmont Historical Society.	N/A
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Henry Williams Houses	119 and 121 Water Street	Building	c.1870-1883	In 1870, Henry Williams was listed on the census, aged 48, a farm laborer living in Mechanicstown with $300 in real estate. He was identified with a house on the subject lot on the 1873 Atlas map, still four years before he purchased the lot with a house, described as “his dwelling,” for $106. It appears Williams constructed another dwelling on half of the lot and sold that in 1881 for $550. In 1883, he sold the remaining house and lot for $450.	
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Migrant camp	102 Sandy Spring Lane	Site	1950s -1970s?	Migrant families, mostly African Americans from the Belle Glade area of Florida, were employed for seasonal work, harvesting on Thurmont area farms and orchards, or working in the Jenkins Bros. canning factory (see entry above). They lived in dilapidated housing at this site. Some of the children briefly attended local schools during their stay. (Photo from 1966)	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Hannah Hammond	Carroll Street (address unknown); Thurmont Bank Building (4 W. Main St.)	Site/ Building	1910-1934	Hannah Hammond appears on the 1910 Census in Thurmont age 28 and a live-in servant for James and Laura Hamill on Carroll Street, where they lived across from the Stocksdales. James Hamill died in 1914, and some time before the 1930 Census Laura and Hannah moved to an apartment in the Thurmont Bank building (pictured). Laura Hamill died in 1931 and Hannah bought her own property on Summit Ave. in 1934 (see entry below).	
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Hannah Hammond	Lot adj. 24 Summit Ave.	Site	1934-1946	Hannah Hammond bought this lot in 1934 and built a three-room bungalow on it. Though the house burned in 1939, it was rebuilt by 1940 when Miss Hannah was reported hosting a tea party at her home on Summit Ave. She sold the house in 1946 before moving to a nursing home. The house was removed after the sale.	
Mechanicstown /Thurmont	Moores Business Forms	1 Poplar Ave.	Building	1965	Ronnie Van Brakle, his brother Ricky, and their aunt Mildred Van Brakle Weedon were the first African Americans to integrate the workforce here in 1965.	
Pattersonville	Patterson-Willard House (F-6-158)	13501 Catoctin Hollow Road	Building	1853-1903	The small house sits on one of the parcels purchased by Robert Patterson in 1853 and 1866, on what was later called “Bob’s Hill” and may have been constructed between 1870 and 1895 to replace an earlier dwelling, now in ruins (see Robert/Oliver Patterson entry below). It remained in the family until its sale in 1903. The Patterson’s had a peach orchard here and reportedly packed peaches in the house.	
Pattersonville	William Patterson/Colored School and Outhouse	13503 Catoctin Hollow Road	Building /site	1889-1897	William Patterson sold a lot to the Frederic County School Commission in 1889 where a school for Black students from Pattersonville was constructed. The school closed in 1897 due to lack of students and the lot was sold in 1901. The outhouse reportedly has student names carved in it. School building is gone.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Pattersonville	Hauver-Patterson House (F-6-160)	13620 [13630] Catoctin Hollow Road	Building	1903-1934	This log house was occupied in the early 20th century by Jacob J. Patterson, the son of Robert Patterson, after he sold the family property in 1903 (see Patterson-Willard House entry above). He is said to have lived in this house as a renter until it was sold in 1934.	
Pattersonville	Bussard Cemetery	12990 Mink Farm Road	Site	1895	Local resident Gideon Willard believes that Robert Patterson may be buried at this cemetery – Author Dieter Cunz states he is buried at Catoctin Furnace. Further research is recommended.	
Pattersonville	Robert/Oliver Patterson Dwelling	13501 Catoctin Hollow Road	Site	1853-1903	A pile of stones marks the site of an early Patterson house, located on one of the parcels purchased by Robert Patterson in 1853 and 1866, on what was later called "Bob's Hill." Based on Oral history from Gary Willard and Gideon Willard, the current property owners, only the foundation stones remain, though it was occupied by Oliver "Ol" Patterson, son of Robert, until the property was sold in 1903. it is said to predate the Patterson-Willard House (F-6-158). The 1873 Atlas map shows two houses on the Patterson property.	N/A
Sabillasville	Robert Calimer House	16618 Raven Rock Road	Building	1925-2004	Robert L. Calimer purchased this property, with the house and outbuildings, in 1925, though he may have been living here as early as 1920. Robert was identified as Black in 1900 as a 12-year-old servant in Washington Co. MD, but he and his family were identified as white in all subsequent census records. In 1910, Robert worked as a butcher, but switched to farming by 1920 and continued through his life. The house and outbuildings remained in Calimer ownership until parceled out and sold in 2004.	
Sabillasville	Wolfe's Tavern (F-6-57)	14802 Manahan Road	Building	unknown	Local lore relates that the owner of the tavern was a slave catcher. No additional information is currently known on this story.	

Area	Name	Address	Type	Date(s)	Notes	Photo
Utica	John Sanders House (F-3-289)	10513 Lenhart Road	Building	1849-1929	John Sanders, enslaved in Frederick Co. until purchasing his freedom in 1833, was living as a free man with his family in Carroll County in 1840. He purchased this stone farmstead on 18 acres in 1849 for $3,300, and another 18-acre parcel adjoining for $600. He moved his family here and farmed the land with his sons Jacob and John Jr. It remained in the Sanders family ownership until after John Jr's death in 1916 and was sold by a trustee in 1929.	
Utica	Daniel Snook Farm (F-3-225)	10200B Old Frederick Road, Utica Regional Park	Building	1850-c.1960	Beginning as early as 1850, farm-owner Daniel Snook held an enslaved child in his household, who likely worked as a house servant. By 1860, there were two enslaved women in their 20s living on the farm, probably Mary and Margaret Moles. Snook utilized free Black laborer following emancipation, listing three "mulatto" women in his household in 1870, along with Calvin Wolf [sic], age 20, as a farm laborer. Calvin Wolfe was said to have been a carpenter and lived above the carpentry shop on the farm. Later, Mae Wolfe, wife of Calvin's son Eli, worked as a cook at the house, by then owned by the Pitzers.	

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