

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: RECLAIMING FORGOTTEN HISTORY: PRESERVING
RURAL AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL RESOURCES IN
WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

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Historic buildings and their settings are important physical links to reclaiming forgotten history. The material remains of historic communities inform us about the social context within which buildings and communities were constructed. This is especially important when documenting African-American history, particularly during the period of enslavement and early post-emancipation, where the memory is difficult both to confront and to uncover. Despite its difficulties, documentation and preservation of African-American history and culture enrich the historic perspective of all Americans.

Maryland was one of the last states in the Union to free her slaves. While slavery in the eastern and southern counties is well documented, few Americans are aware that slaves also labored in the wheat fields of the western counties of the state. Following

emancipation in 1864, western Maryland freedmen faced the same barriers to citizenship and economic security as those in the South.

African-Americans, both slave and free, were significant contributors to the social and economic fabric of nineteenth century Washington County, one of Maryland's western counties. In the twenty-first century, few African-Americans remain in the rural districts of the county. There, the memory of the African-American presence has been all but forgotten. That memory remains, however, in the slave quarters still standing on farms and in the freedmen's community groups found in the rural towns and on the hillsides throughout the county.

This thesis is a demonstration of the process of identification and documentation of the material record of this nearly forgotten cultural group in rural Washington County, and its impact on the preservation value of the resources associated with them. It is an analysis of several approaches to preservation that address the particular needs of rural African-American cultural resources and the larger communities around them. When successfully applied, these preservation strategies may result in the increased value of the historic property, not only monetarily, but valued also as a source of memory and education, and as useful contemporary resources. While grounded in specific places, the strategies are representative of both methods and results that have national implications for historic preservation, for the reclaiming of "forgotten" histories.

This thesis seeks to widen our historical horizons by recognizing the diverse people who have played significant roles throughout our history. It demonstrates how the preservation of the tangible and intangible resources associated with African-American culture warrant inclusion among the preservation priorities of Maryland and the nation.

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Edith B. Wallace

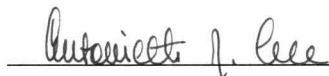
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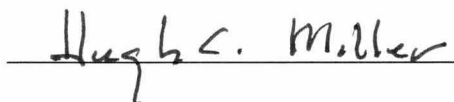
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This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Evelyn Wallace,
who would be pleased that I finally “pulled myself together,”
and to my father, David Wallace,
who made sure that I did.

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Note: Abbreviations used in illustration credits include, Edith B. Wallace (EBW) and Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc. (PSR).

INTRODUCTION

Seen as part of the process of change...preservation takes its place among other fruitful ways of treasuring a heritage. Without a past that is malleable as well as generously preserved, the present will lack models to inspire it and the future be deprived of a lifeline to its past.

David Lowenthal¹

Take a drive along the rural roads of Washington County, Maryland and it seems as if you can see the history of the county in every farm. The agricultural economy, historically dominated by the cultivation of wheat and corn, is relatively unchanged from the second half of the nineteenth century. Massive limestone or frame “Sweitzer” barns are the most prominent feature on each farmstead, a legacy of the Pennsylvania German heritage of the county. Growing up in neighboring Frederick County, I was very aware of the dominance of Pennsylvania German culture in the western Maryland counties. And, like many other Marylanders, I assumed that this heritage precluded the historic use of slave labor in the region.

Our perceptions of the past are not always entirely accurate. “We remould [sic] the past for reasons that mirror the benefits...the past is felt to confer,” notes David Lowenthal, “Most alterations accentuate past virtues to enhance our self-esteem or promote our interests.”² Where difficult episodes of our past can be overlooked or forgotten, it is perhaps our human nature to preserve a more virtuous past. As we, as a country, have expanded our “collective self-awareness” to acknowledge the diverse

heritage of our population, we have recognized the need to remold our historical perspective.³

Through the 1980s and 1990s and into the first decade of the twenty-first century, a great deal of discussion has occurred within the preservation community concerning what we consider to be worthy of preservation and why. Antoinette Lee, historian with the cultural resource programs of the National Park Service, noted in 1987:

What is preserved is a function of what society thinks is important to it now and to future generations....The factors that influence society's decisions about what is saved are not static, but change over time in response to forces both within and without the preservation movement.⁴

It is our changing historical perspective that changes our view of what is worthy of preservation.

The impact of this re-examination of historic interpretation and preservation to include more diverse cultures and resources is growing, as evidenced by the increasing body of writings on the subject.⁵ All agree on the need to acknowledge and preserve the historical and cultural contributions of African-Americans in particular, as well as the multitude of immigrant groups that are integral players in American history. On the local level, this means a re-examination of current historic contexts and historic resource inventories, state by state, region by region.⁶ On the national level, the changes in the status-quo of mainstream national preservation strategies, such as the National Register of Historic Places, the Secretary of Interior Standards for Rehabilitation, and Section 106 compliance, are still developing as ideas gather.⁷

The role of preservation today is more than commemoration of glorious historic moments, high-style architecture, or great men. It is to expand our knowledge and

understanding of our diverse past, both virtuous and difficult, providing a connection between preserved resources and the folks who built and occupied them through time. Preservation is an opportunity to reveal “the process of change,” both cultural and historical change, and provides the public with a tangible link to a more authentic past. This thesis then asks the question: Through the documentation of the remaining physical and cultural material of a “forgotten” history, can we inspire Americans to reflect on our diverse past and to preserve and reuse the associated buildings and traditions as productive resources into the future?

This thesis is an examination of several approaches to preservation that address the particular needs of African-American cultural resources in rural Washington County, Maryland. Identification of several buildings as “slave quarters” on the Antietam National Battlefield, in fact, inspired the initial historic research. The development of a historic context of African-Americans in the western Maryland region, where Washington County is located, provides a more comprehensive understanding of the African-American presence in the county and the potential for additional sites. A survey of additional historically associated buildings, sites, and communities within Washington County identifies specific resources and settings, and supplies data for suggestions of regional variation.

Identification of the settings or landscapes associated with African-American buildings is an important component of the survey process. Cultural landscapes provide additional physical context for buildings or sites that might otherwise appear insignificant. The agricultural landscapes in which we find slave housing were most often the manifestation of the master’s culture. In Washington County, that cultural

setting was usually the family farm with buildings heavily influenced by Pennsylvania German traditions. My own personal “surprise” in finding slave quarters on the traditional farms on the Antietam Battlefield indicates the need to provide this kind of cultural context. On the other hand, the post-emancipation African-American community landscape was composed of the buildings that held importance to the residents. It is the church and school building, surrounded by a scatter of houses or farmsteads on the rural town’s edge or on the hillsides of the county, which define the historic African-American community landscape.⁸

Standing historic buildings and the landscapes they occupy have the power to inspire interest in undocumented history, providing a better understanding of the value of even the most ordinary properties. Such value is not only in monetary terms, but also in terms of historic value as a source of memory, documentation, education, tradition, and future value as useful resources.

This thesis next identifies some preservation strategies available to preserve and interpret those resources so that their link to the past is not lost. Using four sites historically associated with African-Americans in southern Washington County as case studies, the thesis examines several strategies, some old and some relatively new, for a variety of tangible and intangible cultural resources. The case studies demonstrate the fundamental relationship between the public’s awareness of the history represented in the buildings around them, and the tools of historic preservation.

Chapter I begins with the development of the social context of slavery and continues with the first decades of the post-emancipation period in Washington County and the western Maryland region. The context considers Maryland’s “mildest form of

slavery” as applied in Washington County, and the arduous path to emancipation, set within the white political and social attitudes intensified by the Civil War. Within this context of the societal confines established by their white neighbors, employers, and politicians, the African-American freedmen of Washington County developed their role in the history of the region.

Chapter II documents and categorizes the historic buildings and their agricultural or community landscapes associated with African-Americans in the rural districts of Washington County. The survey provides not only a description of the types of resources found but also the site-specific historical context within which they came to be constructed. Using public records, private collections, and personal interviews, the African-Americans who occupied four of the identified slave-period farms and post-emancipation communities reveal their stories. The personal histories of a mostly forgotten historic community, viewed through the material resources they left behind, increases the value of those resources as a “lifeline” to this significant part of Washington County history.

Chapter III is an analysis of preservation strategies for the four southern Washington County African-American cultural landscapes highlighted in Chapter II. Viewed as case studies, each presents different resources, different needs, and different opportunities for preservation. The slave quarters located on the Antietam National Battlefield provide an opportunity for public interpretation of personal historic experiences within a national thematic context of slavery and emancipation during the Civil War period. A draft tour brochure (Appendix I), developed by the author for the Antietam Battlefield, provides a model for the type of public interpretation suggested by

the analysis. The preservation of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg is a demonstration of the process of uncovering forgotten history, establishing the significance of a modest building, and involving the local community in its preservation. The Red Hill community, once a relatively well-known and active African-American community, is no longer associated with its original cultural environment and faces significant development pressure by those seeking hillside home-sites "with a view." Yet despite these setbacks, the community retains important associations with its cultural history and may be preserved using an exciting National Register format few have tried. And finally, the analysis looks at the living African-American community of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church at Garrett's Mill, whose members are actively engaged in their own preservation efforts and happy to share their history and traditions with anyone who is interested.

African-American history is American history. To some it is a difficult memory sooner forgotten. To others, it is an inspiration for perseverance and the true meaning of American freedom. Frederick Douglass, ex-slave and abolitionist from Maryland said, "Memory was given to man for some wise purpose. The past is the mirror in which we may discern the dim outlines of the future."⁹ Reclaiming the forgotten history of African-Americans in Washington County, and the nation, and preserving the cultural record provides a larger mirror of the past on which Americans can reflect. By reviewing a wider vision of our past, our mistakes and our triumphs, how much more inclusive will our future be?

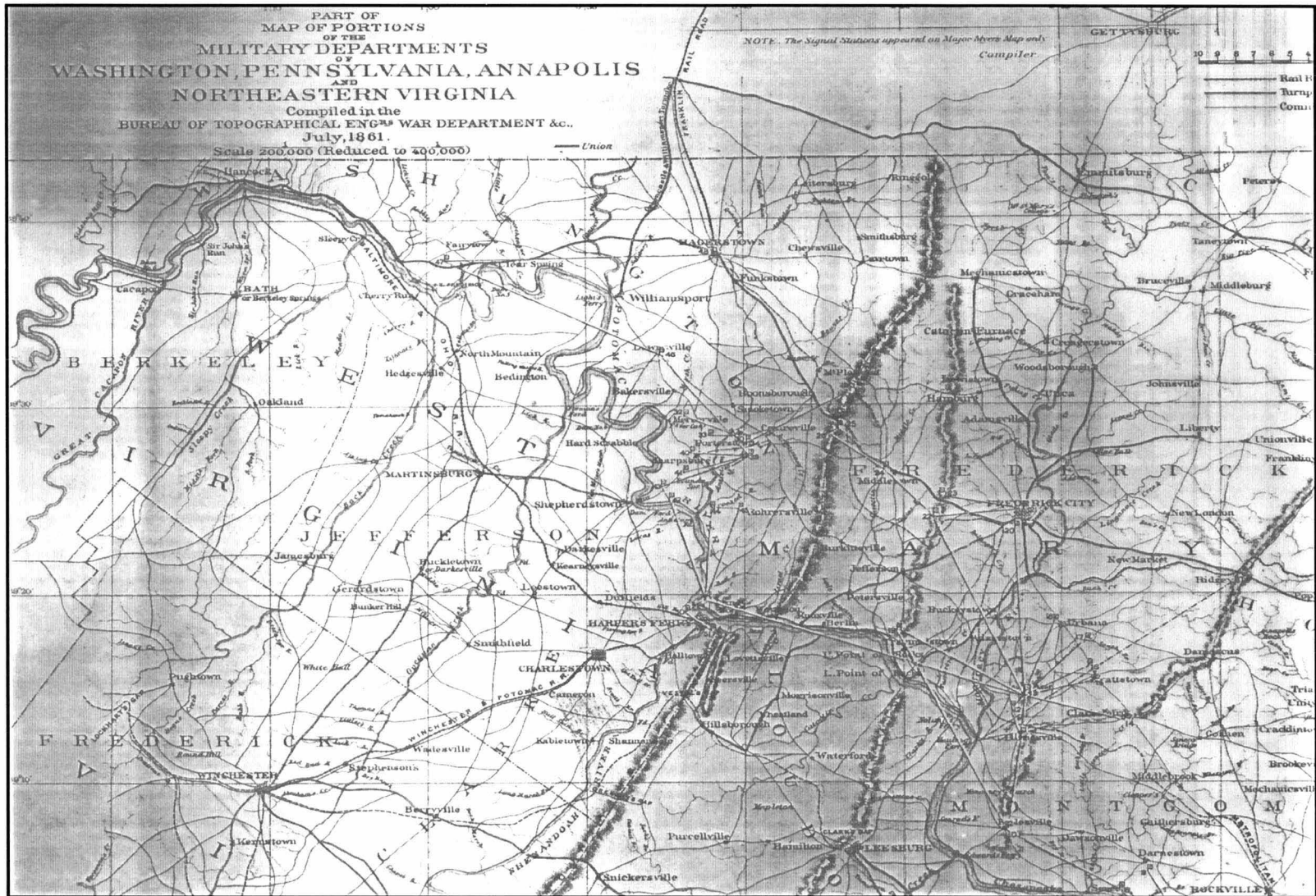


Figure 1: 1861 War Department Map showing western Maryland (Atlas of the Official Records)

CHAPTER I SLAVERY AND FREEDOM IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

In all the bright achievements we have obtained in the great work of emancipation, if we have not settled the fact that the chattel principle is wrong...then we have wrought and triumphed to little purpose...It is this that throws his [the slave] family history into utter confusion, and leaves him without a single record to which he may appeal in vindication of his character, or honor. And has a man no sense of honor because he was born a slave?

James W.C. Pennington¹⁰

James W.C. Pennington was born a slave in Maryland. Life on the Washington County farm of his master Frisby Tilghman was strictly regimented and frightening. The savage beating of his father by their master precipitated Pennington's own decision to escape in 1828.¹¹ As a freeman in New York, James was educated and became a celebrated Presbyterian minister and articulate advocate for the abolition of slavery. Writing in 1848, Rev. Pennington reflected on Maryland's "mildest form of slavery,"

My feelings are always outraged when I hear them speak of "kind masters," "Christian masters," "the mildest form of slavery," "well fed and clothed slaves," as extenuations of slavery. I am satisfied they either mean to pervert the truth, or they do not know what they say. The being of slavery, its soul and body, lives and moves in the chattel principle, the property principle, the bill of sale principle...¹²

Pennington concluded: "I beg our Anglo-Saxon brethren to accustom themselves to think that we need something more than mere kindness. We ask for justice, truth, and honor as other men do."¹³

The truth about slavery as the dehumanizing subordination of a group of individuals by another, even in the setting of the gentle green hills of western Maryland, is revealed in the words of James Pennington. But his fear that the black slave would be left “without a single record to which he may appeal in vindication of his character, or honor,” reflects another truth; documenting slave history is difficult--difficult because it is an uncomfortable past to review, a mirror many would prefer not to reflect upon. And the history is difficult to document because the availability of records reflects the slave’s status as chattel and not as citizen. The first section of this chapter is an attempt to begin to uncover and document the history of African-American slavery in the western Maryland region, a region where slavery existed on a relatively small scale and, as a result, has easily been forgotten.

African-American history in the United States and in western Maryland does not end with slavery. Emancipation, one of the greatest achievements of this country, came at great cost to those who fought for it, both black and white. While Maryland produced some of the greatest African-American abolitionists of the nineteenth century, including Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, and James Pennington, the former slaves and freemen of post-emancipation Maryland lived in a white-man’s world, within the confines that he created. This chapter’s section on Emancipation in Maryland follows the largely white political and social struggle that cleared the way for emancipation, looking particularly at the opinions and participation of western Maryland citizens and politicians. It reveals an atmosphere of isolation where African-Americans were free but lacked many of the basic rights of citizens. Within this context of the confines established by

their white neighbors, employers, and politicians, African-Americans developed their role in the history of the region.

Slavery in Western Maryland: “The mildest form of slavery.” A Social, Religious, and Political Perspective in Washington County

Slavery throughout the United States was sustained by a deep-rooted belief that the black African race was inherently inferior and therefore properly subjugated to the white European. Based in this belief, slavery served its purpose as an economic system, which provided a constant source of cheap labor.

As an institution in Maryland, slavery varied in its application as widely as the diverse geographical regions of the state. On the tobacco growing plantations of the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland, the slave labor system seemed well suited to the labor-intensive production of tobacco. In these regions, primarily occupied by wealthy English or Scotch-Irish landowners, the social and economic make-up closely resembled that of their southern neighbors in Virginia. Northern and western Maryland, however, largely settled by German immigrants and their descendents migrating from Pennsylvania, developed grain-based farming economies. The more seasonal labor requirements of grain farming were less conducive to the expense of holding large numbers of slaves throughout the year. Free black and immigrant day laborers formed the core of the labor force in these regions.

Ethnic, religious, and ultimately the political differences of the populations further emphasized the geographic and economic divisions of the state. All of these variables

shaped not only the characteristics of slavery as it was applied in the various Maryland regions, but also the gradual state-wide move away from the institution toward free labor.

The wealthy landowners and slaveholders of the eastern and southern counties controlled Maryland's legislature through the seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, despite dramatic shifts in population growth toward the north and west.¹⁴ Despite this, as early as 1796, the Maryland legislature passed a bill allowing the manumission of slaves by their master by Deed as well as by Last Will and Testament.¹⁵ The bill was influenced by the increasingly vocal religious calls for the abolition of slavery, based in a moral abhorrence to the institution. Some early abolitionists also maintained the visionary political ideal established during the Revolutionary War, articulated by the statement in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal." Unfortunately, the majority of the Declaration's signers did not envision the inclusion of blacks and women in their statement of equality.

Between 1790 and 1850, the slave population in Maryland as a whole declined.¹⁶ At the same time, the free black population increased due to manumissions and free births (children of free women were born free), and to a small extent from fugitives from the south. Increasing economic development in the northern and western counties associated with the profitable grain-based agriculture and industry, coupled with cheap free black and immigrant labor, began to tip the balance of power in Maryland. First, economically and eventually politically, power was drawn away from the landed slaveholders and toward the industrialists centered in Baltimore. This shift in power, however, would not fully take effect until the trauma of the Civil War forced the issue.

Washington County, Maryland – Society and Economy

Little of the growing controversy over slavery was readily evident on the gently rolling farms of Washington County in the western region of Maryland, carved out of Frederick County in 1776. The highly productive limestone soil of Washington County was essential to the development of the grain and milling economy, which propelled the phenomenal growth of Baltimore and the northern and western counties through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In 1732, Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, opened the western frontier of Maryland to settlement. It was in response to Virginia's offers of cheap western land beginning in 1721, which had tapped a pool of German immigrants in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York looking for affordable farmland on which to settle their families. As the steady stream of German settlers and their sons from the north and east followed the route south, down the Great Valley, they were enticed to settle by the rich, well-watered limestone soils and the relatively cheap prices offered by the colonial governments of Maryland and Virginia.¹⁷ These industrious families established highly productive farms of wheat, corn, oats, and rye on smaller tracts of 100-300 acres.¹⁸ Although population census records for 1790 show a majority of English descendents in Washington County, those of German descent made up nearly 30 percent of the total population, a proportion unmatched by any other county in Maryland.

Geography defined the growth of Washington County. The Hagerstown Valley, an extension of the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania, served as a travel route for the southern migration through Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. A

number of roads converged on Elizabeth Town (now known as Hagerstown), including the “Waggon Road to Philadelphia,” which crossed the Potomac River both at Williamsport and at the Packhorse Ford near Sharpsburg. The rich limestone land watered by several fast moving tributaries to the Potomac, particularly the Antietam and Conococheague Creeks, was well suited to grain farming and the associated milling industries.

The seasonal nature of grain farming precluded the necessity of a large permanent slave labor force. Only 10% of the families living in Washington County in 1790 were slave owners. Of these, most owned fewer than four slaves; only six families owned twenty or more slaves.¹⁹ Comparison with the tobacco-based farm culture found in the southern Maryland county of St. Mary’s is enlightening. St. Mary’s County listed 50% of the families living in the county as slave owners, with two families owning 100-200 or more slaves, and 73 families owning more than twenty slaves.²⁰ Many of the larger slave owners listed throughout Washington County were mill operators.²¹ Proprietors of iron works in western Maryland were among the largest slave owners. The Antietam Ironworks near Sharpsburg listed 62 slaves in the 1800 census.²²

The lower occurrence of slave ownership in Washington County is not entirely explained by reduced economic necessity due to seasonal farming. Frederick County, which had a similar economy of grain farming, milling, and iron manufacture, showed a higher percentage of slave ownership within its population.²³ A similar statistical distinction between the two counties regarding the percentage of the population of German origin may provide some explanation for this difference, since several of the

German churches dominant in Washington County espoused a steadfast opposition to slavery.²⁴

The Religious Perspective

Just as the question of slavery continued to vex the legislature of Maryland, so the question arose with regularity within the various religious denominations dominant in Washington County. Although only a third of the county residents were of German heritage, German churches were far more frequent in the county than the state-established Anglican (later Episcopal) Church. First among these were the Lutherans and the German Reformed Churches. The Dunkers, or Church of the Brethren, appear to have settled in smaller but significant numbers in western Maryland, particularly in Washington County.²⁵

Beginning as early as 1778, the annual meetings of the Church of the Brethren denounced the institution of slavery. At the 1782 Annual Meeting, the committee stated:

Concerning the unchristian negro slave trade, it has been unanimously considered that it can not be permitted in any wise by the church, that a member should or could purchase negroes or keep them as slaves.²⁶

In 1815, the members addressed the question of “slave trade and slave holding,” reflecting the change in Maryland law allowing manumission:

. . . it is unanimously and in union considered, that no member, neither brother nor sister, shall purchase or sell negroes, and keep none for slaves. . . . Further it was concluded, if there were members having slaves, or persons who wish to be received into the church and have slaves, that they might hold them in a proper way so long as the church near which they live may deem it necessary for the slaves to earn the money they had cost, and then, with the counsel of the church, they are to be set free, with a good suit of clothing....²⁷

Even as late as 1857, the Annual Meeting discussed the issue of members unwilling to free their slaves, to which the committee replied, "...they should be dealt with according to the gospel manner of dealing with all gross transgressions."²⁸

Despite the consistent anti-slavery stance of the Church of the Brethren, several members of the Washington County congregation at the Manor Church, and later the Mumma Church (better known as the Dunker Church on Antietam Battlefield) did own slaves. Samuel Mumma, Sr., on whose land the Mumma (Dunker) Church was built in 1851, owned two slaves in 1850.²⁹ Mumma manumitted both of his slaves in 1856. Lucy Young, a twenty-eight-year old female, was immediately free; Lloyd Wilson, the other slave manumitted, was but a boy of eight years, "his freedom to commence on the first day of August, in the year 1869."³⁰ Samuel Mumma was known as a pious man, well loved among his brethren, and it appears that manumission may have been his motivation for owning slaves. David Long, an active member in several Brethren congregations, reportedly purchased slaves at Hagerstown auctions for the purpose of manumission.³¹ One such lucky recipient appeared in the Washington County records known as Certificates of Freedom.³² Alexander Pearce, age twenty-five, applied for his Certificate of Freedom in 1862. David Long manumitted Pearce in 1849, at which time he would have been twelve years of age. By Maryland law, and Brethren decree, a male child could not be legally free until the age of eighteen.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania was also vocal in its opposition to slavery. One of its prominent Philadelphia members stated, "slavery is contrary to the Golden Law of God . . ."³³ However, the general membership was not prevented from owning slaves. Among the leading members of the Sharpsburg Methodist congregation

was Dr. Augustin Asbury Biggs, owner of three slaves in 1860, albeit all of them over the age of sixty-five.³⁴

Methodist membership also included a large number of blacks, which split from the church over the issue of slavery around 1794, creating the African Methodist Episcopal church (A.M.E.) in the mid-Atlantic region.³⁵ Southern Washington and Frederick Counties had as many as eight A.M.E. churches, serviced by former slave Rev. Thomas Henry through the 1830s and 40s, including the large slave labor force at the Antietam Ironworks.³⁶ Some blacks, however, remained with the Methodist Episcopal Church, establishing their own congregations. In the town of Sharpsburg, the local black congregation constructed Tolson's Chapel in 1866.³⁷

The Anglican (Episcopal) Church, the established church of the Maryland colony until the backlash from the American Revolution put an end to government support, appears to have been silent on the issue of slavery. In Washington County, prominent members of the Episcopal Church were some of the largest slaveholders, including Daniel Hughes, Hezekiah Claggett, Ignatius Taylor, and Frisby Tilghman. Reverend J. A. Adams, minister of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Sharpsburg owned seven slaves in 1860.³⁸

No church membership in Washington County was without slaveholders through the first half of the nineteenth century. Daniel Piper, a member of the German Reformed congregation in Sharpsburg, owned five slaves in 1850. Among the Sharpsburg Lutherans was Henry S. Blackford owner of three slaves in 1860. Henry was the son of Col. John Blackford of Ferry Hill Plantation, which operated into the 1830s with as many as twenty-five slaves.³⁹

The Social Perspective – Owner and Slave, Black and White

Clearly, slave ownership existed in Washington County in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Still, only about nine percent of the county's population was enslaved, and six percent was "free colored" in 1850.⁴⁰ Although the farms of Washington County were relatively prosperous, the nature of the grain harvest created cyclical labor needs. Owners of five or more adult slaves in the region tended to have larger, more diversified farms capable of occupying their slave labor force throughout the year. Frisby Tilghman's large wheat farm of nearly a thousand acres known as Rockland, north of Sharpsburg, included a slave blacksmith and several young slaves trained as masons, skills that would keep them occupied outside of harvest season.⁴¹ During harvest time when labor needs expanded greatly for a short period of time day laborers, both free black and white, were hired. Significantly, the "free colored" population living in the Sharpsburg District (exclusive of the town of Sharpsburg) grew from two in 1800 to two hundred thirty-five in 1860.⁴²

Col. John Blackford's journal of the daily workings on his Ferry Hill Plantation west of Sharpsburg, written in the 1830s, recorded the wide variety of jobs that occupied his large number of slaves throughout the year.⁴³ Blackford permanently employed two of his slaves as ferrymen on his commercial Potomac River ferry crossing. The Colonel also operated a busy cordwood and shingle cutting business, which occupied several slaves as well as white day laborers year around. Sheep shearing, general maintenance and errands were also jobs performed by Blackford's slaves. During the July wheat

harvest of 1838, he reported hiring at least three laborers, Nelson, Charles, and Nicholas Voluntine, in addition to his five slaves at work in the fields.⁴⁴

Most of the Sharpsburg District farmers who owned slaves in 1850 and 1860 owned only one or two; larger numbers often included slave children. Probably occupied similarly to the slaves of John Blackford, their tasks changed from day to day according to the needs of the farm and they worked along side the farmers and their sons. While the treatment of slaves differed from owner to owner across the state, it appears from the historical record that many owners in the Sharpsburg District were relatively benevolent.

Rev. Thomas Henry, the A.M.E. minister whose circuit included the Antietam Ironworks, reported that Ironworks owner John McPherson Brien encouraged his male slave workers to marry free women so that their children would be born free:

. . . he stated further, that he had plenty of land and timber to build them houses, just as they wished to have them built; he further gave them more privileges than any white man had on his place; he also offered the men all the refuse from his mills, which was an immense quantity of fuel, which no white man on the premises could disturb . . .⁴⁵

Similarly, the Washington County Certificates of Freedom described a significant number of blacks “born free” of free women who lived in the vicinity of the Hughes brothers’ Mt. Aetna Iron Furnace.⁴⁶

Col. Blackford’s Ferry Hill Plantation journal described a surprising amount of independence given his slaves. Ned and Jupe, who operated the ferry, handled the daily exchange of money and often would not report to Blackford for several days with the receipts; others went on purchasing errands for their master. Blackford permitted his slaves to travel frequently for social visits and provided new clothes and supplies as needed. The Colonel was also quick to call the doctor to address the health problems of

his slaves.⁴⁷ Despite the apparent relaxed management of slaves on the Blackford plantation, the slaves attempted escape on several occasions, and Col. Blackford described physically disciplining slaves on several occasions.⁴⁸

James Pennington, who escaped from slavery on the farm of Frisby Tilghman in 1828, described in a later memoir the environment of his enslavement:

...I have no disposition to attempt to convict him [Tilghman] of having been one of the most cruel masters – that would not be true – his prevailing temper was kind, but he was a perpetualist. He was opposed to emancipation, thought free Negroes a great nuisance, and was, as respects discipline, a thorough slaveholder. He would not tolerate a look or a word from a slave like insubordination. He would suppress it at once, and at any risk. When he thought it necessary to secure unqualified obedience, he would strike a slave with any weapon, flog him on the bare back, and sell.⁴⁹

Frisby Tilghman, son of an Eastern Shore planter, owned as many as sixty-one slaves in 1810.⁵⁰ Although Tilghman's plantation was certainly not typical of the average slave owner in Washington County, his attitude toward his slaves reflects the premise of racial inferiority, which perpetuated the institution despite Maryland's reputation for practicing the "mildest form of slavery."

The Political Perspective – Civil War on the "Middle Ground"

In October 1860, the editor of the Hagerstown newspaper Herald & Torch noted with remarkable insight the impending devastation the Civil War would bring:

Washington county is a border county, and the people of no State and no county have suffered more from the accursed agitation of slavery than they, and none would share larger in the horrors of a dissolution of the Government.⁵¹

Literally sandwiched between the southern slave states and the northern free states,

Maryland, and Washington County in particular, was politically and economically divided, a microcosm of the divided Union.

In Washington County, both the Union supporters and Democrats sympathetic with the South were economically more dependent on the labor of free blacks and immigrants than on slaves; however, all political parties included slave owners as members. Dr. Augustin A. Biggs, Sharpsburg physician, was a slave owner and ‘good Union man.’ Democrat Jacob Miller, a farmer, politician, and businessman, owned ten slaves in 1850.⁵²

Like many Maryland Democrats during the Civil War, Jacob Miller’s sympathy was with the South, in spirit, but he was not fully supportive of the rebellion. In a letter written in December 1862, after the Battle of Antietam and the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Jacob’s angry tone reflected the reaction of many Marylanders to the growing emphasis on emancipation of the slaves as the political focus of the war:

. . . it appears you have some political difficulties to encounter in your section of the country as well as hear [sic] with those black republicans and abolitionists. That party is the whole and sole cause of all our difficulties and rapture of this, of all Countries the best in the world, and I fear never will be restored, and I know never can be as it was.⁵³

Despite Jacob’s angry tone in this letter, his ultimate wish, like most Maryland Democrats, was for the preservation of the Union.

Although the Antietam Battle, which precipitated Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves in the rebellion states, took place on Maryland ground, ironically, Maryland’s slaves would continue to live in bondage for two more years. But the politics and circumstances of the Civil War were bringing closer the long hoped for freedom.

Freedom Rises From “the muck of self-interest.” The Politics of Civil War and
Emancipation in Maryland

The dramatic rending of the United States in 1861 between North and South struck a particular chord of fear in the hearts of Marylanders. Directly bordering Virginia and Pennsylvania, Maryland had ties to both regions by commerce and family loyalties. In Maryland, a slave state, the institution connected a significant amount of the economy, particularly through the southern and eastern counties, to the southern states. At the same time, the western Maryland farms of Washington County and to a lesser extent in Frederick County, settled in large part by Pennsylvania Germans less inclined to own slaves, produced a substantial portion of the wheat flour transported from Maryland’s port city of Baltimore by rail and ship to the northeast and overseas. “Thus are the people of Maryland, as a political community, but in an especial manner the people of the Western Counties of the State, placed between the upper and nether millstone,” noted the editor of the Frederick newspaper The Citizen in July 1864.⁵⁴

The regional economic divisions of Maryland gave impetus to the political divisions of the war years. In the seven southern Maryland counties and several on the Eastern Shore, tobacco and its heavy dependence on slave labor formed the basis of the agricultural economy. These areas were more closely tied to their southern neighbors in Virginia. Central Maryland, dominated by the City of Baltimore, was quickly developing as an industrial center. Western Maryland, however, had a highly developed grain-based agricultural economy, its mills and farms employing free black and immigrant day laborers as well as slave labor.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the economic and political divisions within the state of Maryland, as well as the dilemma of border state status, played a major part in the political drama, which unfolded around the issue of the emancipation of Maryland's remaining slaves. The process was long, arduous, and not entirely voluntary.

Border State Politics – Blurring Mason and Dixon's Line

Northern states questioned Maryland's status within the Union in 1861, while the Confederate states retained the hope that Maryland would eventually join them in rebellion. In the 1860 presidential election, the conservative Democratic candidate, John C. Breckinridge, won the state with more than 42,000 votes. However, the Constitutional Union candidate, also conservative, received nearly as many votes, leaving Maryland clearly deeply divided.⁵⁵ But secession and war in 1861 turned many more conservatives to the Union party of Maryland, which advocated preservation of the Union but did not endorse the right of the Federal government to interfere with state "institutions," particularly slavery.

In the spring of 1862, President Lincoln began to formulate a strategy to bring the border states more firmly into the Union through emancipation of slaves with compensation to loyal owners.⁵⁶ Lincoln believed such a move would end Southern hopes that Maryland and the other border states would join the Confederacy, bringing an early end to the war. Maryland representatives from all regions, among them former Governor Francis Thomas, elected to the House of Representatives from the 4th District in western Maryland, signed a majority report from the State delegation rejecting Lincoln's plan for compensated emancipation.⁵⁷

Slavery on the Border

The various geographical regions and political parties of Maryland had unified in favor of the continuation of slavery, despite the fact that free blacks nearly equaled the number of those enslaved. But events of 1862 were unfolding that would impress a change of view on many Maryland Unionists. The institution of slavery in Maryland was dissolving, losing with each day its economic viability.⁵⁸ The presence of Union encampments in Maryland already had encouraged many slaves to seek asylum among the northern soldiers. Western Maryland was particularly susceptible where Union troops were protecting the C&O Canal and B&O Railroad. One Hagerstown newspaper called the loss of slaves to the refuge of the Union encampments “emancipation without compensation.”⁵⁹ And when Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia in April 1862, it released a flood of fugitive slaves into the city.⁶⁰ From Sharpsburg in Washington County, Savilla Miller wrote to her sister in Iowa in 1862:

...Sunday night...old black Sam walked off....[They go] to Martinsburg...[to] get on the cars and go to Washington City, then they are free.⁶¹

The final blow to the maintenance of slavery in Maryland came in 1863 when the Union army began recruiting black men. Beginning with the enlistment of free blacks, the recruitment eventually culminated in the War Department’s General Order 329, which would “provide for enlistment of free blacks, slaves of disloyal owners, and slaves of consenting loyal owners in the border states.”⁶² Owners loyal to the Union were entitled to compensation for the enlistment of their slaves, who would be free at the end of their service. Some slave owners in Maryland viewed this as perhaps their last

opportunity for receiving payment for the loss of their property. Twenty such owners in Washington County claimed compensation for the enlistment of twenty-seven slaves.⁶³

The Politics of Emancipation

After the September 17, 1862 battle on the western Maryland ground along the Antietam Creek in Washington County, Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the rebellion states. Although the proclamation did not apply to the slaves of Maryland, it was viewed by many as a way to force the border states to follow suit. While the Maryland delegation in Congress, including western Maryland Representative Francis Thomas, voted against a resolution to support the president's proclamation, local editors voiced a more realistic opinion. On October 1, 1862, the editors of the Unionist newspaper The Examiner of Frederick, Maryland wrote:

The time has passed when we could delude ourselves with the hope that Slavery would survive the ordeal of Rebellion and come out of the fire unscathed. Every reflecting man now sees that its doom is written; let us, therefore, devise and pursue such prudent counsels, as we may prepare us for the impending social revolution, and avert its calamities. Perhaps, it is not too late yet, to propose a basis of adjustment, which may lead to Reconciliation and Peace.⁶⁴

The outgrowth of this practical, if not morally based, understanding of the necessity to emancipate Maryland's slaves was the division of the Unionist party. The conservative faction, many of whom would eventually defect to the Democratic Party, remained opposed to the Federal (and Northern abolitionist) pressure to end slavery as a condition of ending the war. The somewhat radicalized faction, known as the Unconditional Unionists, "proclaimed unconditional support of the Lincoln

Administration in suppressing the rebellion and a relentless determination to rid Maryland of slavery.”⁶⁵

The geographic and economic divisions of the state quickly defined the Unionist factions. Henry Winter Davis, the articulate radical spokesman for the Unconditional Unionists, was the representative from Baltimore, the 3rd Congressional District of Maryland. Francis Thomas of the 4th District, representing Carroll, Frederick, Washington, and Allegany counties, having voted previously against emancipation, shifted his policy, and joined with Davis. It was Thomas’ shift, due in part to demands from his local supporters to endorse emancipation as a condition of his nomination for re-election in the primary of 1863, which gave impetus to the movement. Edwin H. Webster of the Harford County 2nd District threw his support to emancipation in Maryland, also under pressure from his constituents.⁶⁶ In the remaining 1st and 5th Congressional Districts, representing the Eastern Shore and the seven southern Maryland counties where the impact of the social and economic revolution of emancipation seemed a greater threat, significant resistance persisted.

Davis and his supporters viewed their opponents’ resistance to emancipation not as a moral dilemma, however. Indeed, the fight centered more on political and economic power in Maryland than on the moral rightness of freeing the slaves. In this Unconditional Unionist description of the evils of slavery as, “...the domination of an interest over free men; of property over people; of aristocratic privilege over republican equality, of a minority over a majority...,” the writer appeared to overlook the people who actually labored in bondage.⁶⁷ Historian Charles Wagandt concluded:

Occasional voices struck at the injustice perpetrated upon the colored race, but it was self-interest that dominated the radical appeal – whether it be slave enlistments, economic growth, or more equitable representation. These were weapons to be used for over-throwing slavery, the aristocracy, and government by the static, agricultural counties. Personal ambitions rode on the results as did presidential and national politics.⁶⁸

The arduous march toward emancipation through the rest of 1863 and 1864, couched in this perceived political rather than moral injustice, was seen by more conservative Marylanders as primarily championed by politicians representing the swiftly expanding population in and around Baltimore City. It was perhaps this view that also shaped the political landscape after the passage of the 1864 Maryland Constitution, which did in fact emancipate the slaves of Maryland.

In the state election of 1863, the Unconditional Unionist Party took control of much of the legislature from the old Unionist Party and the Democrats. The victory was achieved, however, in part through the controversial use of a loyalty oath at the polls, supported by the Lincoln administration and the Union Army. Not surprisingly, in the eastern and southern counties the total number of people voting in this election fell dramatically compared to votes in 1861 and 1859.⁶⁹ But the effect was equally dramatic in the western counties as well, despite an Unconditional Union majority there. Jacob Miller, a prominent Democrat in Sharpsburg wrote in a letter dated November 16, 1863:

...General Schenck of Baltimore took the authority of dictating to the people of the State, how they Should hold their Elections requiring the Judges of every election district to Swear every person who came up to vote, and was object[ed] to by any person as not being a loyal citizen...but there was verry few if any took the oath as for my Self as well as the democrats generally took no interest in the Election...⁷⁰

The number of voters participating in the 1863 election in the northern and western counties fell to a third of those who voted in 1861.⁷¹

The Maryland legislature pushed through a referendum to convene a constitutional convention, its primary purpose to emancipate Maryland's slaves, but also to deny the right of suffrage to disloyal citizens, which would then ensure the Unconditional Unionist's position of power. The ensuing campaign to pass the referendum in the spring of 1864 was brutal and must have been disheartening for any African-Americans looking forward to freedom, listening to the language of the white campaigners. Playing on the apparently near-universal fear of "negro equality," a writer in Allegany County accused the pro-convention (Unconditional Union) candidates of being "the real friends of the colored people...;" their response was to assure the voters of their opposition to "negro equality at the ballot-box, in the jury-box, on the witness-stand, or elsewhere."⁷²

The vote for the convention passed with 31,593 "For" and 19,524 "Against," overwhelmingly skewed to the northern and western counties and Baltimore City.⁷³ Again, the oath of loyalty was employed, essentially ensuring a victory for those in favor of emancipation. Delegates at the convention, which lasted through the summer of 1864 (and yet another invasion of Maryland by the Confederate army), established a new Declaration of Rights. This included the following statement:

...there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment of the crime whereof the party has been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor, as slaves, are hereby declared free.⁷⁴

As promised, there would be few rights as citizens for Maryland's African-American population.

Reactions to the document in western Maryland, like the rest of the state, varied according to political affiliation. The Frederick Unconditional Union newspaper, The Examiner, saw emancipation as a great economic opportunity for the western region:

The beneficial effect of this social and political revolution in the policy of Maryland cannot be over-estimated. Already over six millions of dollars...have been invested in Alleganey [sic] county, and we hear from many creditable sources that capitalists await the official announcement of the abolition of slavery here to pour their treasure into our State. The superior advantages of Maryland as a manufacturing centre are universally recognized, and when the institution of Slavery, the barrier hitherto to the establishment of manufactories on an extended scale, is removed, the prosperity of the State will be limited only by her industrial capacity and vast resources.⁷⁵

The Citizen, the Democratic Frederick newspaper, saw the impending abolition of slavery as an economic disaster:

...this convention proposes to deprive all men women and children, of their property in slaves without compensation. By this policy the people of Maryland, by the act of their own fellow-citizens, are to be robbed of forty or fifty millions of property.⁷⁶

In October 1864, the citizens of Maryland, with the exception of those not qualified to vote under the loyalty oath, voted in favor of the new constitution. The document passed by the narrowest margin of 263 votes, said to have been achieved by the use of soldiers' votes.⁷⁷ Already the Unconditional Unionist's shaky coalition was beginning to unravel and qualified voter turnout hit a new low. In the November 1864 election, despite increased representation for Baltimore afforded by the new constitution, Maryland voters chose a more conservative Unionist Governor, Thomas Swann. And in the elections of 1866 and 1867, Swann circumvented the voter qualification requirement by appointing sympathetic registration judges.⁷⁸ The tables were again turning in Maryland.

Emancipation – What Price Freedom?

The more immediate result of the dramatic vote in October 1864 was the emancipation of nearly 90,000 slaves in Maryland. One Washington County owner, Otho Nesbitt of Clear Spring, recorded his reaction in his diary the day after emancipation took effect:

Nov. 2, 1864 – I told the negroes that I had nothing more to do with them, that they were all free, and would have to shift for themselves.⁷⁹

Nesbitt offered to allow his former slaves to remain with him through the winter, “but that I couldn’t pay a whole family of negroes to cook a little victuals for me after all that I had lost to both armies.”

While some of Nesbitt’s former slaves may have remained for the winter, many freedmen throughout Maryland began the process of establishing their own communities in towns and rural areas. The seeds for some communities had been sown decades earlier, where free blacks had purchased land and settled.⁸⁰ Many chose to leave their home counties for work in Baltimore and cities elsewhere.

The constitution freed the slaves of Maryland, but it did not provide for much civil recourse for the treatment many blacks received at the hands of white employers, neighbors, and even county governments. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, more commonly known as the Freedmen’s Bureau, was created by Congress in 1865 to address issues of Reconstruction in the South. The Freedmen’s Bureau operated also in southern Maryland and in the counties around the Federal capital city. But by 1866, the Bureau’s activities expanded to cover all of Maryland, a result of numerous complaints of unfair and abusive treatment of black Marylanders.⁸¹

Initially, the issue of forced apprenticeship of black children by former masters was a primary focus for the Bureau in the state. Ostensibly, apprenticeship was billed as a form of social welfare, suggesting that only children from families who could not care for them were indentured. Historian Barbara Jeanne Fields noted the action by many former slave owners, however, was a “vague hope” for the recovery of slavery, but in the mean time, apprenticeship served as a source of needed laborers.⁸² Western Maryland farmers, though well acquainted with free black labor, were not immune to the apprenticeship grab. In a report by William Logan, Register of Wills for Washington County in 1867, there were seven apprentices bound in the county before December 1865, but the Orphan’s Court, whose charge it was to sanction such arrangements, “refused to bind persons of color” in the two years following.⁸³

Perhaps the greatest impact the Freedmen’s Bureau had in western Maryland was its help in the establishment of freedmen’s schools. Few county school boards were committed to the education of African-American children and adults. In cooperation with a number of philanthropic organizations working out of Baltimore and the northern states, the Bureau assisted in the construction of school buildings and acquisition of teachers for schools in Baltimore City and rural communities throughout the state. By 1870, eleven such schools were located in Frederick County and seven in Washington County. In a number of these schools the Bureau only provided the teacher, but did not fund the salary; the African-American communities in fact financed the schools themselves, often operating them in their own church buildings.⁸⁴

Through the last half of the dramatic decade of the 1860s, black Marylanders struggled to establish themselves as free Americans in an atmosphere of white fear,

mistrust, and often-outright bigotry. The quick retreat by many Maryland citizens and politicians to the Conservative Union/Democratic coalition was as much motivated by fear of “negro equality” as by opposition to the Reconstruction policies enacted by the Republican-led Congress. But the national march toward civil rights had begun in 1866 with the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. Also in 1866, Congress gave black men in the District of Columbia the right to vote, a move soundly condemned among conservatives in Washington County:

Resolved, That this meeting, asserting that this is a government of white men, framed by and for white men – that we are opposed to negro suffrage here and elsewhere and unqualifiedly condemn the vote of Francis Thomas, Representative in Congress from this district, in conferring upon the negroes the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia and who would in fact, with the friends and the party in power in Congress, fasten this policy on the whole country.⁸⁵

In the state and local election of 1867, Washington County voters elected Democrats (Conservatives) across the board.⁸⁶ Despite the heavy loss, the editor of the Hagerstown Unionist (Republican) newspaper Herald & Torch noted,

Ten years ago the State would have given a larger majority against Emancipation than she now does against colored suffrage. Now all parties are in favor of the former, and we predict that in five years from to-day the latter will have quite as many friends.

Indeed, his prediction was not too far off. In 1870, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment, providing the right to vote to black men in all states, although Maryland did not support the amendment.⁸⁷

Building African-American Rural Communities

Within this general climate of white conservatism toward social equality throughout the state of Maryland, African-Americans found a limited number of opportunities to establish new communities. Their choices were often limited by availability of employment. Throughout the state, large numbers of freedmen migrated to Baltimore in search of employment; the black population of Baltimore grew from nearly 28,000 in 1860 to almost 54,000 in 1880.⁸⁸ While most counties experienced some black population growth through these decades, Washington and Frederick Counties saw small declines.⁸⁹ Despite these declines, however, a variety of employment for freedmen could be found in these counties, from farm labor and domestic service to railroad work, millwork, and canal work.

Those that remained in the rural areas of their home county, particularly in the southern and eastern counties of Maryland, found employment on the large white-owned farms, often under slavery-like conditions. Many families labored as tenants or share-croppers in unceasing poverty and isolated from community. Others moved to the rural towns and established communities generally on the edge of town. A few freedmen's communities developed where black army veterans or enterprising workers bought adjoining parcels of land and grew with the addition of their extended families.⁹⁰

The rural black population of western Maryland made remarkable steps toward establishing their own communities in rural areas or in sections of established towns. For all of these communities, the establishment of a church became an early goal. With little help from government agencies or their white neighbors, churches, schools, homes, and

social halls were constructed using money, manpower, and supplies from within the African-American community.

By the turn of the twentieth century, western Maryland's rural African-American communities were well established and alive with activity. Many homes and church buildings, updated during the first decades of the century, attested to the stability and financial growth of the inhabitants. In 1906, local writer John Philemon Smith described the 35 members of the "Colored M.E. Church" of Sharpsburg in Washington County as "mostly well to do people."⁹¹ Through the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, many rural blacks found small farming unprofitable and little employment was available in the rural towns.⁹² Migration of younger generations to cities, both within the home county and outside, resulted in the gradual decline of the rural black population in Frederick County. But in Washington County, a virtual exodus to the city occurred.⁹³

Conclusion

African-American slave and freeman labor in Washington County, though comparatively insignificant to many other Maryland counties, had a notable impact on the economy and social construct of the county. While often considered "the mildest form of slavery," slaves in western Maryland were property, and freedom offered little more. The social distinction between white and black ignited debate among church congregations and politicians, adding fire to the ideological divisions of Washington County during the Civil War, and venom to the emancipation debates.

With emancipation came the freedom for black communities to establish their own identity, often with little help from their white neighbors. Despite these many difficulties, the skills and labor of African-Americans contributed to the Washington County economy through the production of wheat and corn, whiskey and flour, iron and lime. Their presence, though small, contributed greatly to the county's agricultural, industrial, transportation, and cultural history.

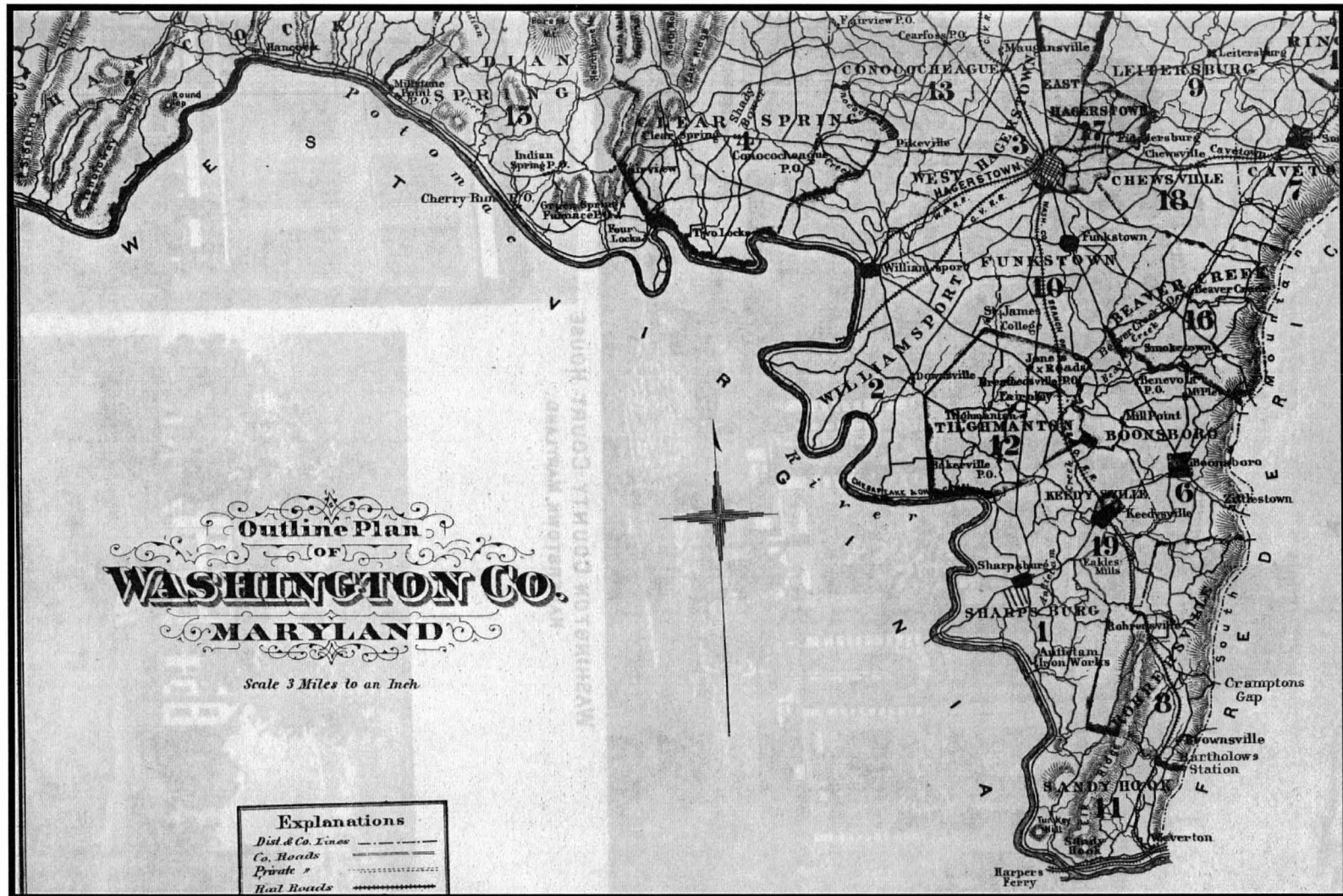


Figure 2: 1877 Atlas Map of Washington County, Maryland, showing the election district divisions. (Lake, Griffing, and Stevenson)

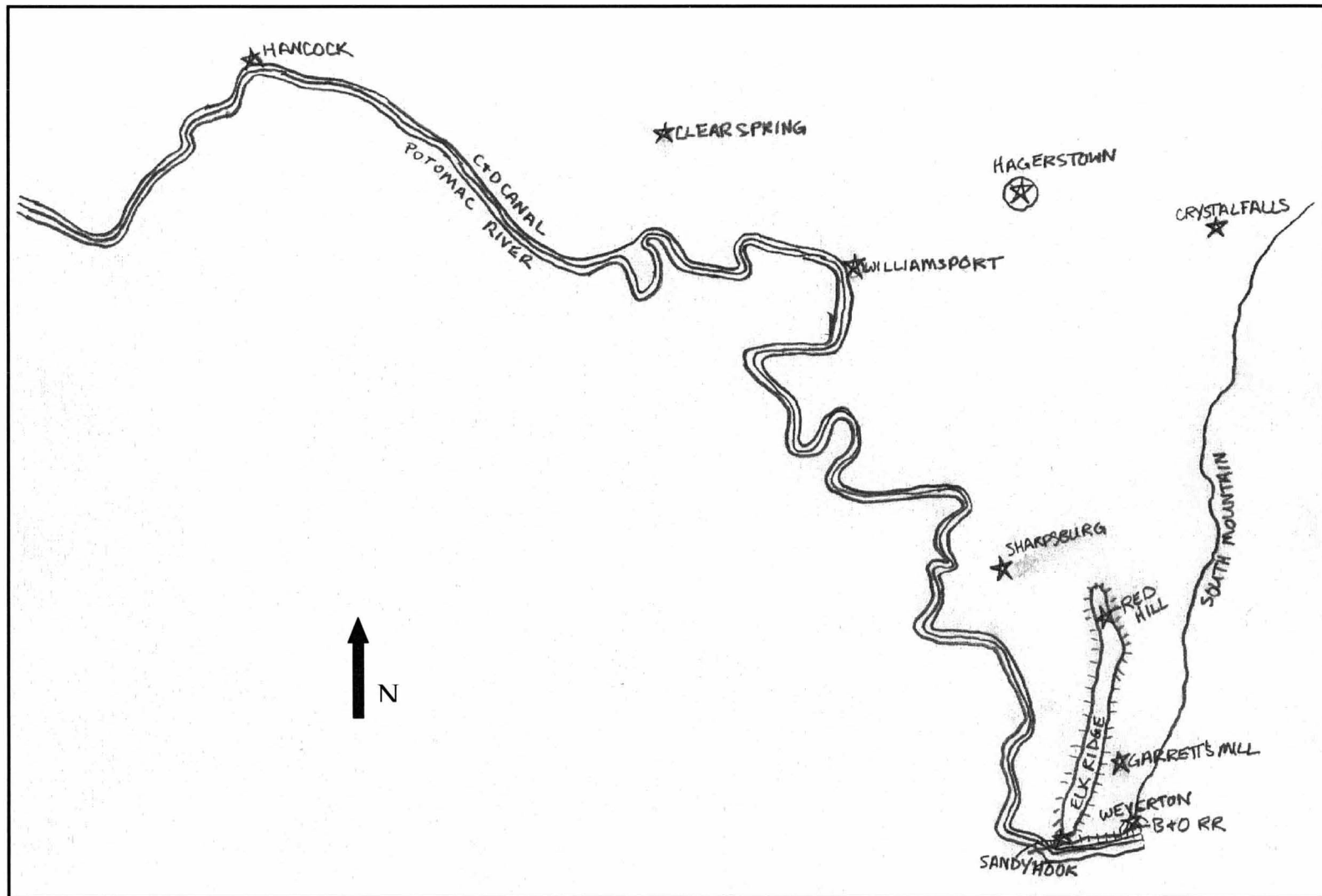


Figure 2A: Washington County, Maryland map overlay showing towns and communities described in Chapter II.
(EBW 2003)

CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL RECORD OF SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

As a slave of John Otto, Hilary Watson “lived in the same house the white people did.”⁹⁴ The Otto house and farm near Burnside Bridge in Washington County are the material remains of the world of Hilary Watson, the slave. After emancipation, Hilary continued to work on the Otto farm but lived in a log dwelling he built on High Street in Sharpsburg, where he and his wife Christina lived out their lives. Nearby was Tolson’s Chapel, built in 1866, where Hilary served as a trustee during its earliest years. And in 1899, the county school board built a “Colored School” next door to Hilary’s home, where his granddaughter Harriet taught school. These buildings, all still standing, represent the community landscape of the freedman’s world experienced by Hilary Watson, his wife “Teenie,” their family, and the other African-Americans living in Sharpsburg.

African-Americans lived in Washington County as slave and freeman from the beginning of settlement in the western region of Maryland in the eighteenth century. They inhabited, worked, worshiped, and died in the buildings and in the farm and community landscapes constructed by their owners and by their own hands. Found on the picturesque farms, the side streets of rural towns, and on the hardscrabble hillsides of the county, the cultural remains are perhaps unremarkable without knowledge of their history. Yet written in the material record preserved on Washington County’s rural

landscape are the personal lives and labors, devoted worship and drive for education, the struggles and triumphs of people who succeeded against the odds allotted them.

The African-American migration from rural Washington County through the middle of the twentieth century, repeated in rural counties across the mid-Atlantic and southern states, has resulted in the loss of many of the associated cultural resources. Churches and schools in particular have disappeared or been altered through rehabilitation. Houses are left abandoned, some now re-used by white occupants. In the twenty-first century, few African-Americans remain in the rural areas of Washington County and the urgency of documenting and preserving the remaining buildings, landscapes, and traditions is considerable.

The following sections document the historic buildings and the agricultural or community settings associated with African-Americans in the rural districts of Washington County using public records, private collections, and oral histories. These cultural resources serve as physical reminders of a historic community that played a significant role in the region's history but remains relatively undocumented and uninterpreted.

Slave Housing with a Functional "Twist" in Washington County, Maryland

The agricultural landscapes in which we find slave housing are not, in general, representative of African-American culture.⁹⁵ By its nature, the institution of slavery required that the slave live within the manifestations of the master's culture. In

Washington County, the cultural setting was most often the family farm with buildings heavily influenced by Pennsylvania German traditions.⁹⁶

The occupants of slave housing in Washington County appear also to have had little input into the design of their quarters. Although there is some evidence of slave quarters following traditional African dwelling design among the large plantation slave populations of Haiti and possibly in South Carolina, most slave housing in the mid-Atlantic region is more reminiscent of early European settlement cabins.⁹⁷ Simple and functional, the cabin form was easy to build. In a 1930s interview, former Frederick County, Maryland slave George Jones described his living quarter during bondage:

...constructed in cabin fashion and of stone and logs with their typical windows and rooms of one up and one down with a window in each, the fireplaces built to heat and cook for occupants.⁹⁸

Slave quarters studied by George McDaniel in southern Maryland and John Vlach in Virginia and the Deep South have shown that while the buildings exhibit this common basic form, variations occur with added vernacular features, which denote the building's uniqueness to its region.⁹⁹

The two-room standard for slave housing of one room on the first floor and a room above described by George Jones in neighboring Frederick County is found in each of the buildings in this Washington County study. The most common window/door pattern is one window and one door. Most of the extant slave quarters found in Washington County were constructed using local limestone, but represented among the remaining buildings are also brick and log construction. The predominance of limestone construction in the county during the first half of the nineteenth century may explain the higher number of stone slave quarters. A more likely explanation, however, is that log

construction, both cheaper and easier, was common for slave housing but less likely to survive to the present day.

In Washington County, an expression of functional utility, possibly unique to the region, appears in many, though not all, of the standing slave quarters observed.

Surviving buildings exhibit the combination of traditional housing with other uses, including blacksmith shop and springhouse. A number of slave quarters also appear combined with the out-kitchen function. This was apparently a common dual-use also found on the farms and plantations of southern Maryland, Virginia, and other southern states.¹⁰⁰ The remarkable number of possible slave quarters still extant in Washington County may be due to the continued usefulness of the dual-function buildings even after their use as slave quarters was discontinued (see Appendix II for a list of nearly seventy buildings identified as potential slave quarters). Further study of the extant slave quarters and their uses is necessary to understand why so many of these buildings have survived.

Viewed within the context of the lower reliance on slavery in the western Maryland region, the use of combined function buildings was likely an economic construction solution. With few slaves to house, there was little need for rows of standardized slave houses like those found on the large plantations of the south.¹⁰¹ Following are a few examples of the slave quarters found on Washington County farms, viewed in the context of the farm's cultural landscape.

Quite typical of Washington County farms along the Antietam Creek was the farm of John Miller. John's father was the son of a German immigrant to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He moved his family to Washington County, Maryland in 1792. John Miller inherited his 180-acre farm in 1821, following his father's death.¹⁰² Among

the outbuildings on the Miller farm constructed of limestone are a bake oven, icehouse, and the springhouse/slave quarter. Also present are a log smokehouse and the large timber frame Pennsylvania Standard bank barn.

The limestone building shown in Figures 3 and 4 was originally a one-story springhouse, 16' x 16'. Clear changes in the stonework on the long wall of the building indicate the later addition of the living quarters section and the half story above the springhouse (See Figure 5 for floor plan of the first story). By the 1840 census, John Miller owned three slaves. It is likely that the slave quarter was added to the springhouse c.1830.

The living quarters section of the building exhibits the two defining features found repeatedly on slave quarters throughout the south and east, that of two bays, one window/one door, and one and a half stories, one room on the first floor and a room above. Both of these rooms were plastered and whitewashed, indicating their use for habitation. The vertical plank shutters covering the windows of both the front and rear elevations, are described as a common feature of southern Maryland slave quarters in interviews conducted by McDaniel.¹⁰³

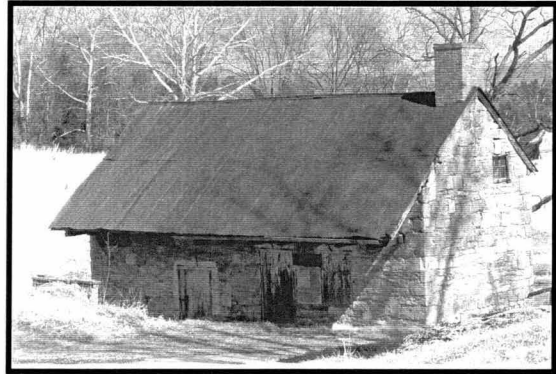


Figure 3: Miller springhouse, west elevation; added quarters are on the right. (EBW 1999)

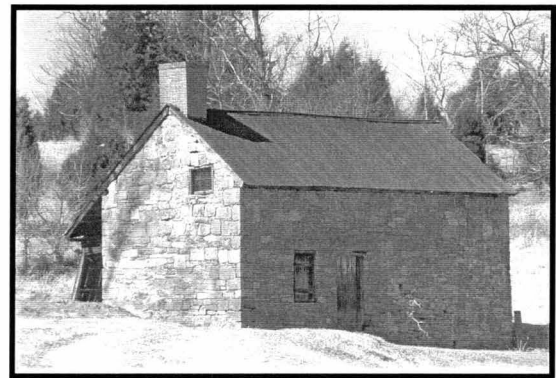


Figure 4: Miller springhouse, east elevation; added quarters are on the left. (EBW 1999)

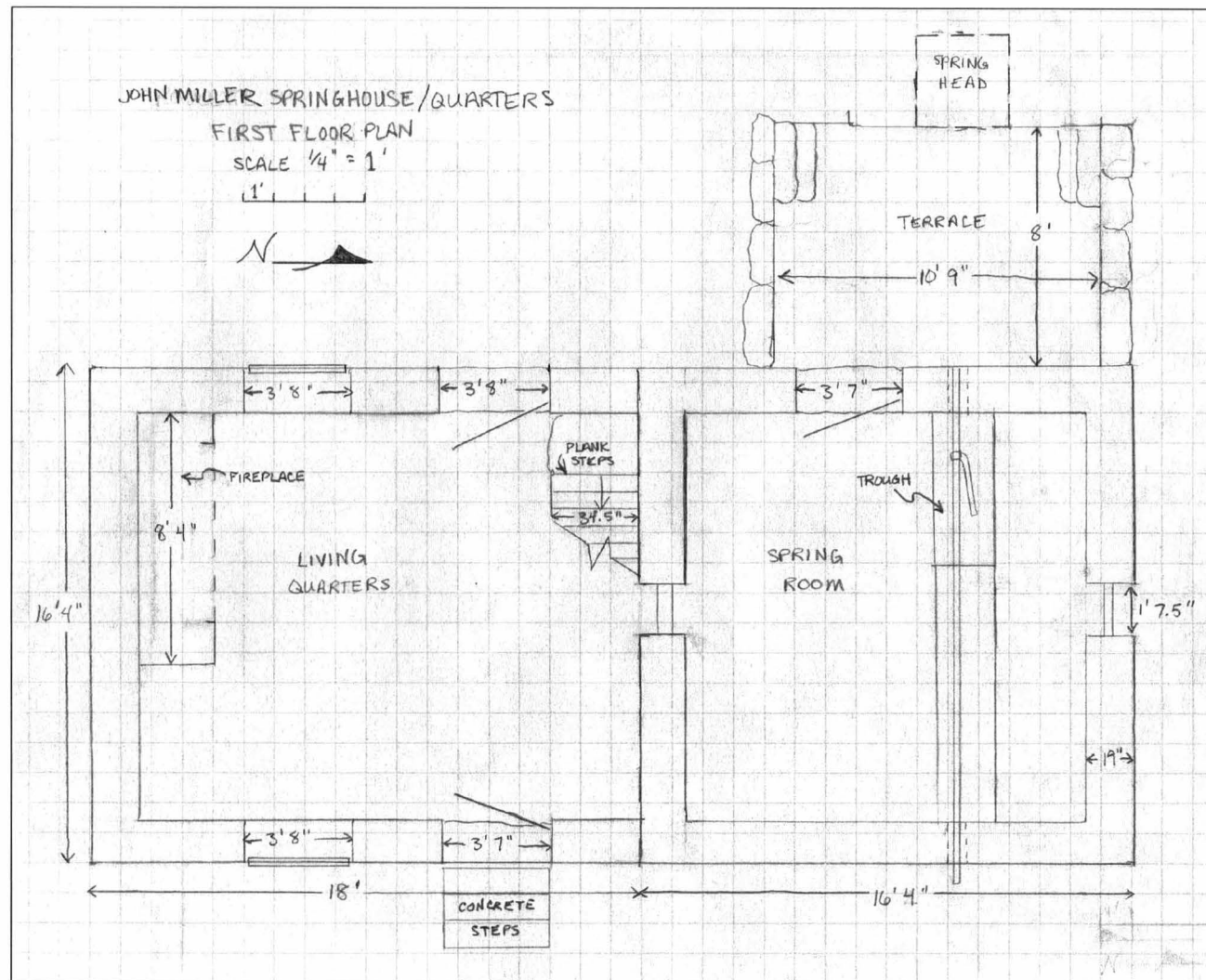


Figure 5: First floor plan showing original springhouse with slave quarter addition on the south wall. (EBW 2001)

The Daniel Piper farm adjoins the John Miller farm near Antietam Creek and Sharpsburg. Piper purchased his farm in 1846. Although his sons were already grown, one son Henry lived and worked on the farm with his father.¹⁰⁴

The farmstead includes a large limestone “Sweitzer” bank barn, log farmhouse, and limestone springhouse. The small, stone house (Figure 6), which sits in the front yard of the Piper farmhouse, may have been originally built as a settlement house, its orientation with the barn being far more typical of mid-Atlantic farmsteads (see Figure 7 for Piper farm site plan).

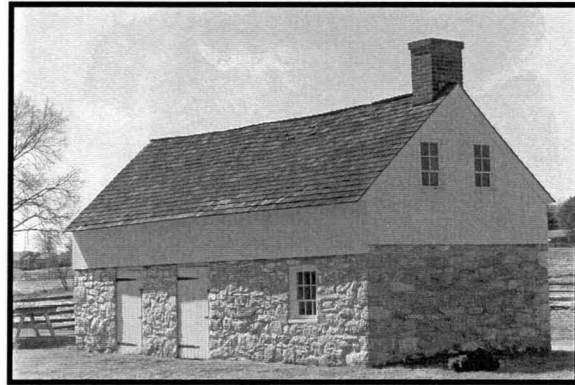


Figure 6: Piper slave house. The extended log upper story was added in 1912. (EBW 2001)

Daniel Piper probably built the log farmhouse after 1846 and converted the stone house to slave quarters.

Daniel Piper and his son Henry held a relatively large number of slaves, some born on the farm as slaves-for-life. In 1850, Daniel Piper owned five slaves, several of them children. Henry owned four slaves, ages 6 months to 24 years.

The stone slave quarter building on the Piper farm has been altered several times. The second room on the south end was added either as additional living space or as workspace. It has a door on the east elevation (seen on the left in Figure 6) and a window on the west elevation. The date of this alteration is unknown. Around 1912, log wall additions raised the upper story of the building to accommodate its use for housing part of a tenant farmer’s family.¹⁰⁵

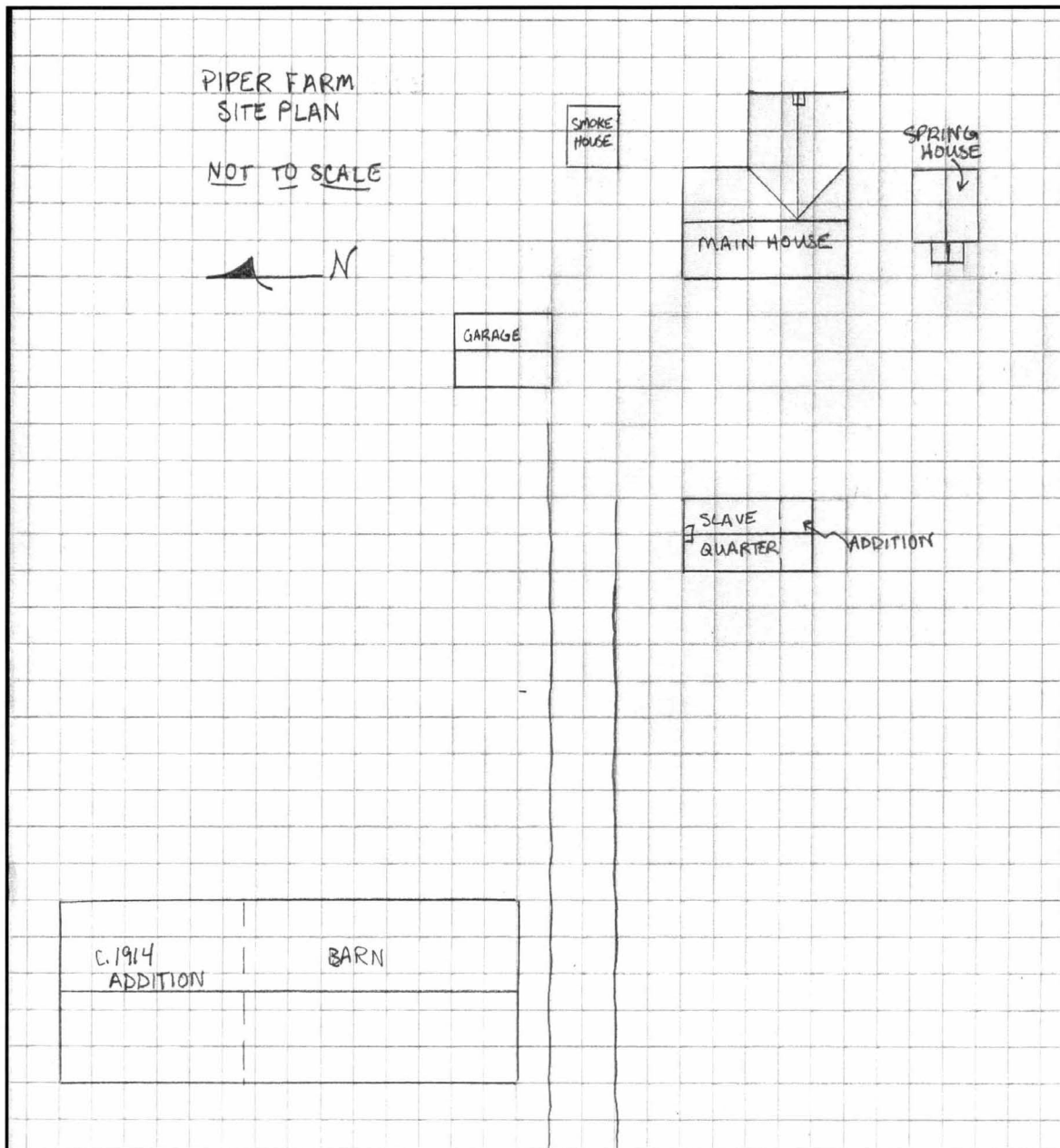


Figure 7: The Piper Farm site plan showing the relation of the main house and slave quarter to the barn. (EBW 2002)

The John Hoffman farm is similarly typical of the Washington County agricultural landscape. All of the buildings on the farm are characteristic of the Pennsylvania-German influence in the region, including a large brick farmhouse with a recessed double porch on the front elevation, an earlier limestone house built over a spring, and a limestone “Sweitzer” bank barn. The brick slave quarters (Figure 8) are located just behind the service end of the farmhouse. Hoffman probably built both brick buildings shortly after he purchased the farm in 1830, the same year he reported owning eight slaves on the U.S. Population Census.¹⁰⁶



Figure 8: The Hoffman brick slave quarter has three rooms with three exterior doors. The room on the left (west) end was used as a smokehouse. (PSR 2000)

Like the Miller springhouse/slave quarters combination building, the Hoffman slave quarters appears to have served more than one function (see Figure 9 for floor plan). The one and a half story building consists of three rooms, each with a separate entrance from the porch. Two rooms apparently served as living quarters. Each had a window and both were plastered and whitewashed. The chimney provided the flue for heat and cooking stoves. The upper story provided sleeping area.¹⁰⁷ The third room served another purpose, possibly a cold room; set on a lower level than the other two rooms; the door has a transom for additional light and opens outward. Later converted to use as a smokehouse, this room’s gable-end window was in-filled with brick.

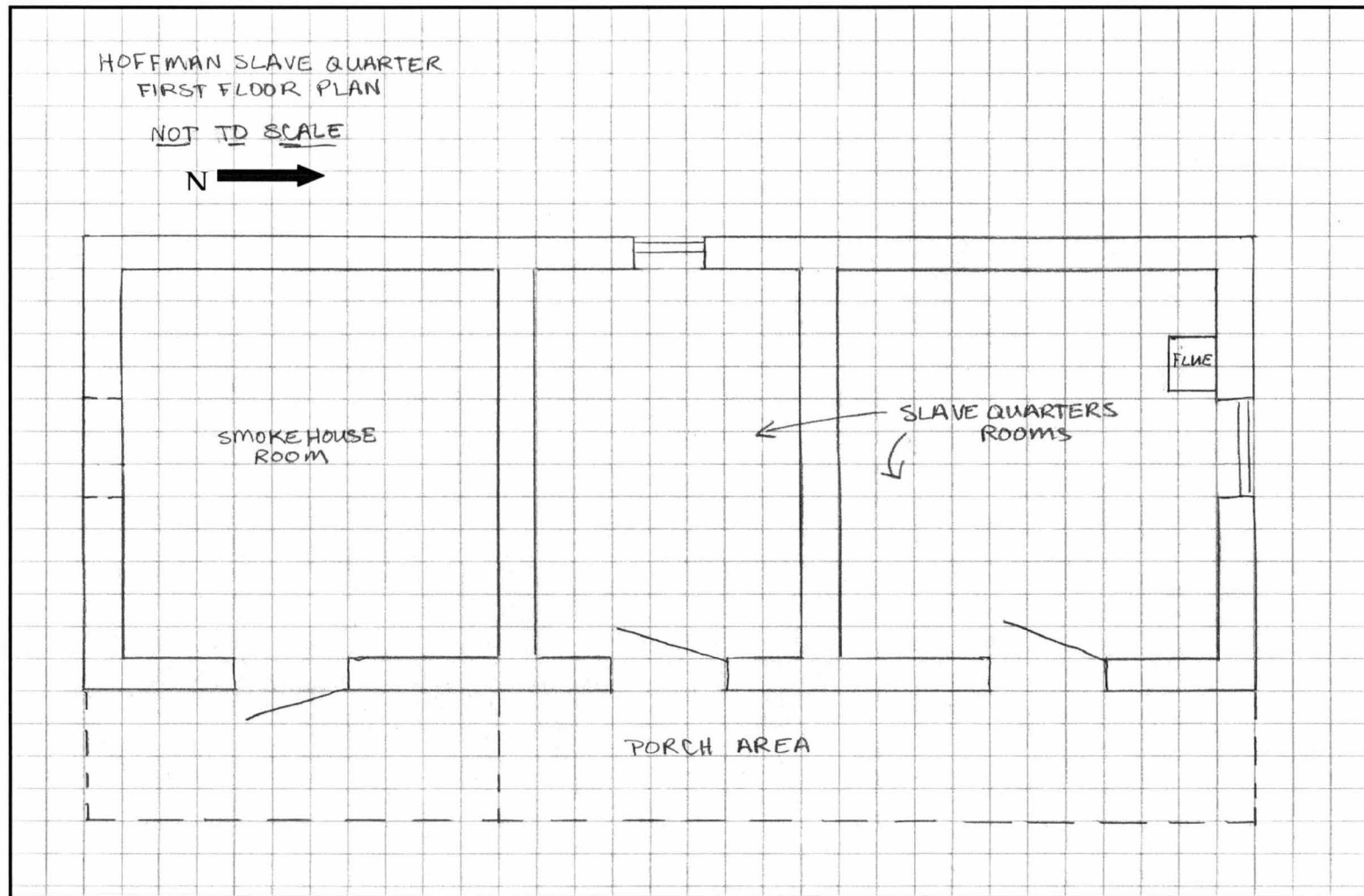


Figure 9: Floor plan of the Hoffman Farm slave quarter. The stairs, no longer present, were located in the northwest corner, leading to an upper room across the length of the building. (EBW 2002)

Somewhat higher on the economic scale in Washington County were the Huyett farms, located in the Beaver Creek drainage near the western slope of South Mountain. The two farms, The Maples and The Willows, were created as the inheritance of the two sons of Ludwig Huyett. Each of the adjoining farms has a large, high-styled house, a “Sweitzer” bank barn, and numerous outbuildings. Each also has a blacksmith’s shop and slave quarter. In 1830, Jacob Huyett reported three slaves at The Maples, while his brother Daniel owned seven slaves at The Willows.

The stuccoed log building on Daniel Huyett’s farm The Willows (Figure 10) apparently served the common dual function



Figure 10: Daniel Huyett’s log slave quarters probably also served as a out-kitchen. (PSR 2002)

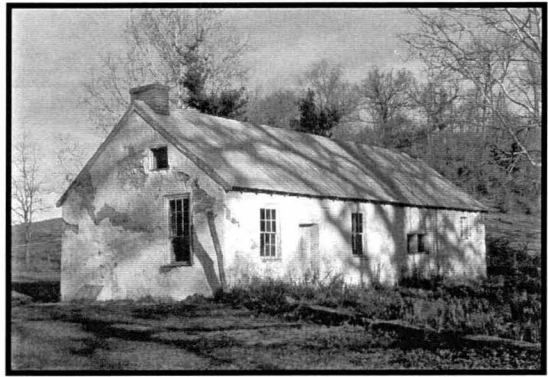


Figure 11: Jacob Huyett’s stone slave quarters, left or south end, and blacksmith’s shop on the right (north). (EBW 2000)

of out-kitchen and slave housing. According to family tradition, this house was the original Huyett settlement house dating from the 1780s.¹⁰⁸ On The Maples, Jacob Huyett’s stone slave quarter (Figure 11), stuccoed and whitewashed, also housed his blacksmith shop in a room on the north end of the building (see Figure 12 for floor plan). A partition divided the large living quarters area into two rooms, each with access to an exterior door. The massive heating and cooking hearth was located on the south wall.

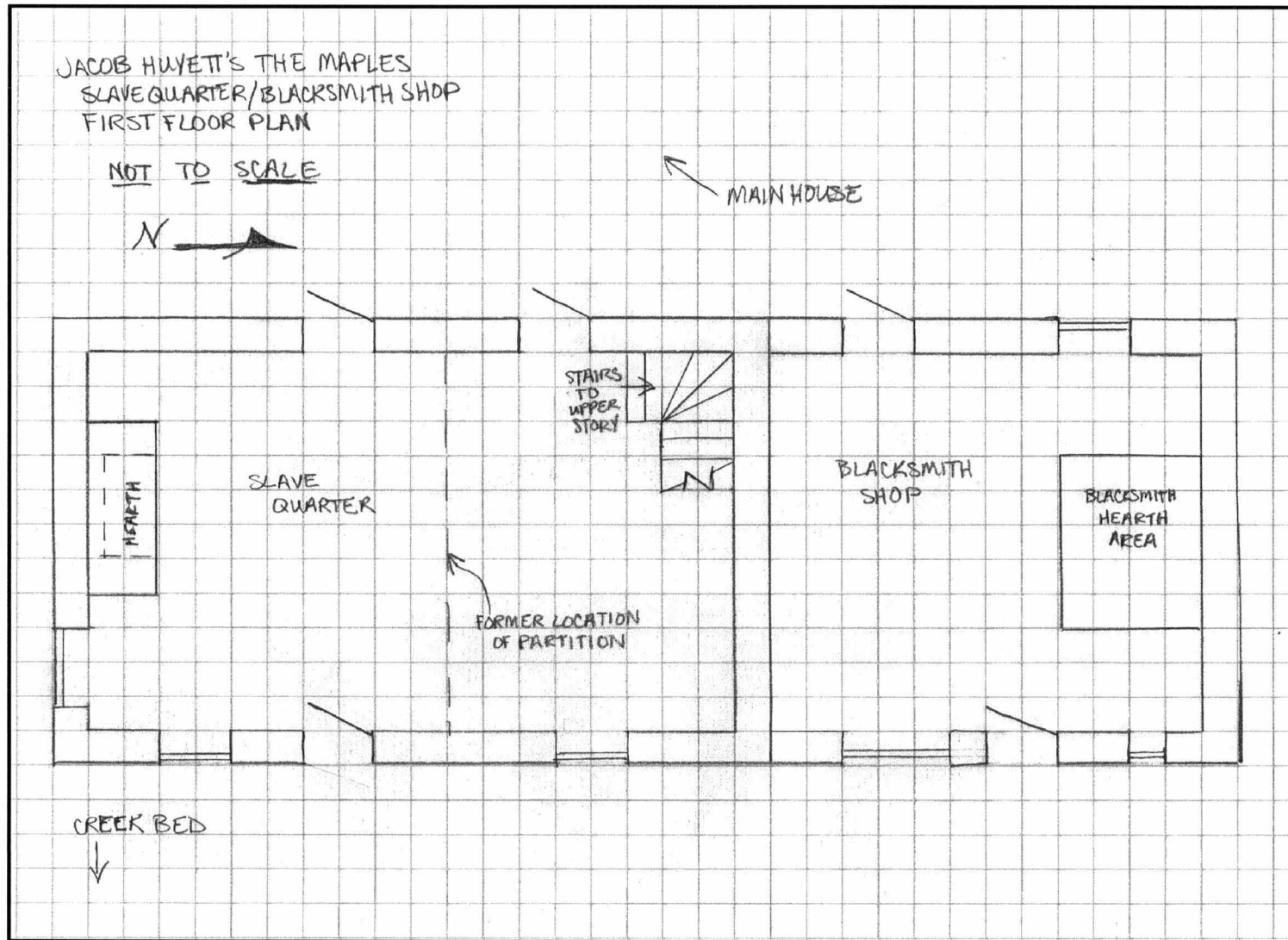


Figure 12: Floor plan of The Maples slave quarter/blacksmith shop. The blacksmith shop appears to be an addition to the living quarters building. (EBW 2002)

Probably used as the out-kitchen as well, its location immediately west of a small creek also points to its use as a washhouse.¹⁰⁹

Among the most substantial property owners of Washington County in the first half of the nineteenth century, District Judge Thomas Buchanan owned Woburn Manor, consisting of over 1,000 acres. Buchanan subdivided the large acreage into a number of smaller tenant farms. Through the 1830s and 1840s, Buchanan owned as many as fifty slaves, some of whom served on the mansion house farm and others on the various sub-farms.¹¹⁰

Three buildings used as slave quarters remain: the mansion house slave quarter with kitchen attached, located in the service yard of the elegant Buchanan home (Figure 14 and 15); a large “bunkhouse” quarter located behind the farm manager/overseer’s house nearby (Figure 16); and a stone out-kitchen/slave quarter standing in the service yard of an adjoining farm formerly associated with the manor. Each of these buildings, constructed

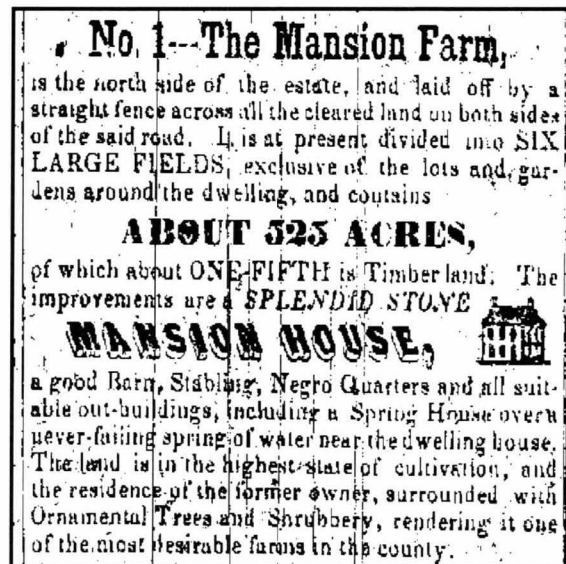


Figure 13: Portion of the sale ad for Thomas Buchanan’s 1,665-acre estate. It was divided into five farms for the sale, including The Mansion Farm. (*Herald & Torch*, Dec. 21, 1853)

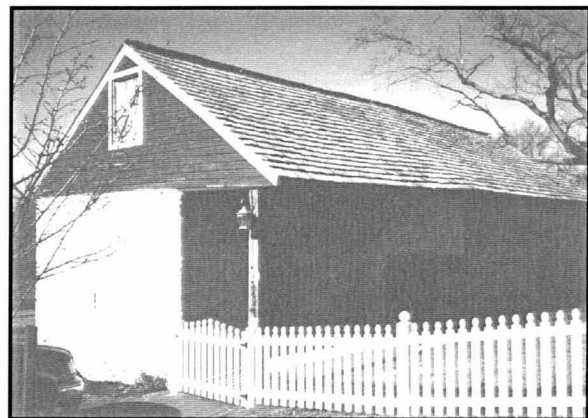


Figure 14: Mansion house kitchen on left, and quarter on right. (EBW 2002)

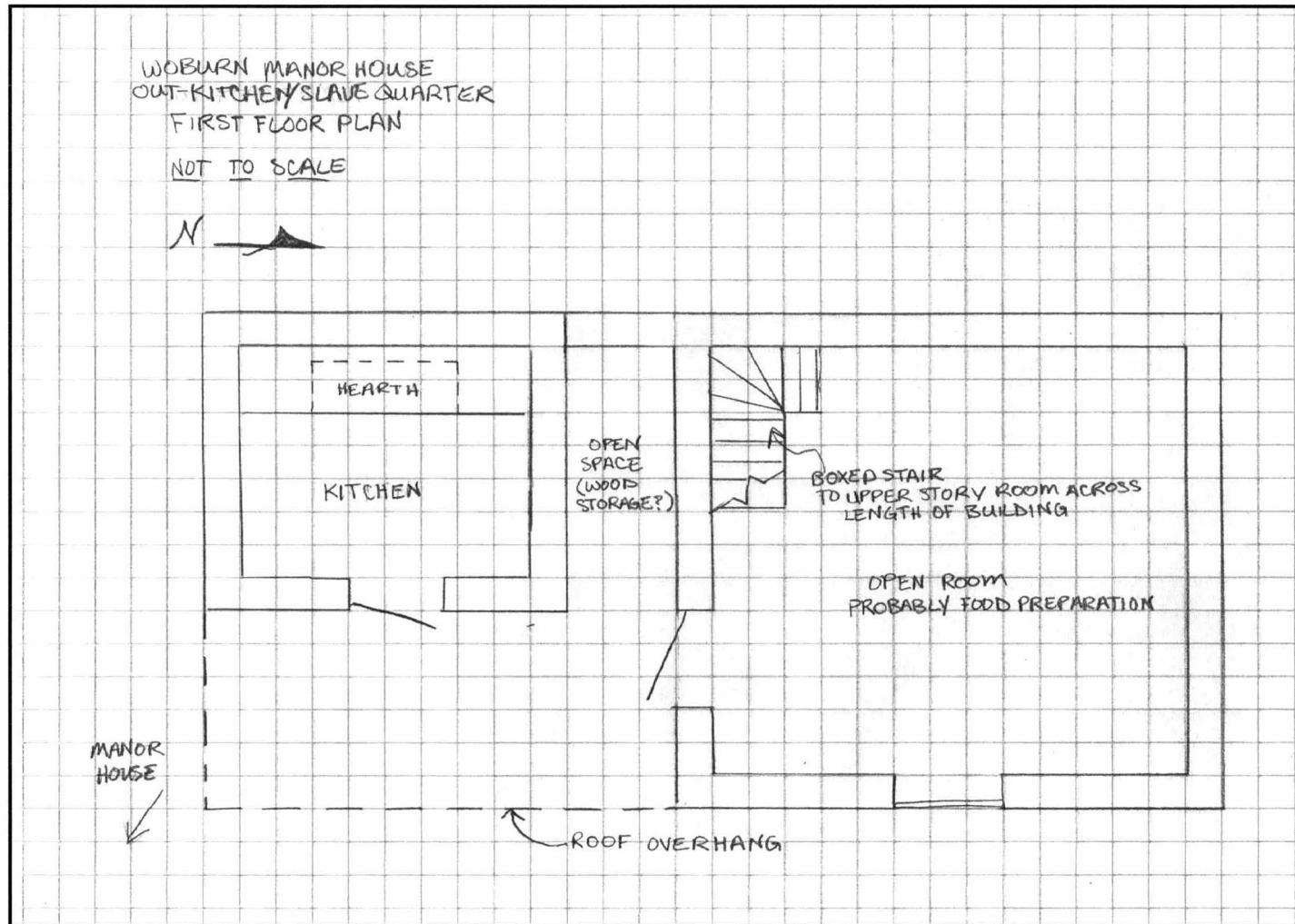


Figure 15: Floor plan of the mansion out-kitchen and slave quarter located northwest of the Woburn Manor House. The upper story room runs the length of the entire building. (EBW 2002)

of stone, apparently served a combined out-kitchen/living quarter function on their respective farms. A stone stable and carriage house near the mansion house includes a plastered loft, which also may have housed some of Buchanan's many slaves (see Figure 17).

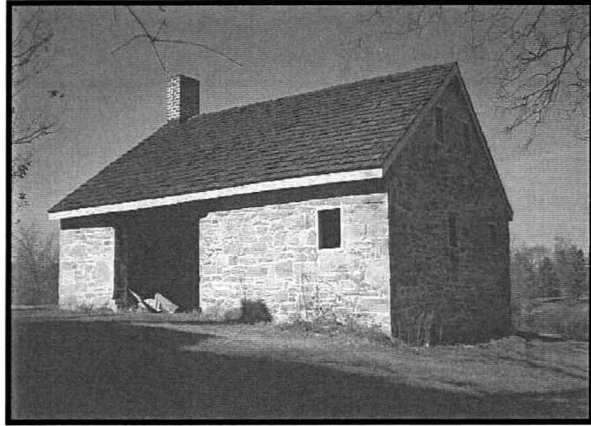


Figure 16: Bunkhouse quarters, the door has been enlarged and the interior gutted. (EBW 2002)

On the highly functional landscapes of Washington County farms, little space was wasted. Tillable fields were cleared of loose stones, much of the stone used in the distinctive stone fences known throughout the region. Non-tillable acreage served as pasture or woodlots. Building spaces too were functional, many used for multiple purposes. The common double-porch feature found on many of the houses in the county served as summer work and sleeping space rather than places for relaxation.



Figure 17: The Woburn Manor Farm landscape. The kitchen/slave quarter is in the center, stable/carriage house in the foreground. (EBW 2002)

The buildings used for slave quarters clearly served multiple functional purposes as well. But they were more than just outbuildings on a farm, they were the homes, for better or worse, of people who may not have been able to influence the cultural landscape around them, yet have left their mark on the historical record. Along with documents, the

buildings associated with the historic slave population of Washington County provide clues to the landscape of slavery.

Freedmen's Communities in Washington County, Maryland: Creating a Sense of Place

Following the adoption of the 1864 Maryland Constitution, freedom came to nearly 90,000 slaves throughout Maryland. In the western Maryland area of Washington County, the numbers were smaller and the number of free blacks already living in the county more significant. Hagerstown, the county seat, had a well-established free black community with churches and a "section of town" delineated. A few rural communities, particularly on the hardscrabble hill and mountainsides, had begun to form around free-black landowners. Newly freed blacks began to migrate toward these towns and communal areas seeking their new life. They first constructed houses, buildings whose only function was as a dwelling, in an assertion of their independence. Later, churches and schools became the symbols of freedom and community. It is the church and school building, surrounded by a scatter of houses or farmsteads on the rural town's edge or on the hillsides of the county, which define the community landscape of the post-emancipation African-American in much of Maryland.

Although the components are similar, the geographic development of freedmen's communities was strikingly different in Washington County from that in other more eastern and southern counties. In Washington County, the C&O Canal towns of Sharpsburg, Williamsport, and Hancock and the National Pike town of Clear Spring attracted the largest populations of freedmen outside of the city of Hagerstown. But only

three rural communities large enough to include a church and school appear to have developed, Garrett's Mill, Red Hill, and Crystal Falls/Jugtown. In Frederick County, fourteen rural towns became home to a black population significant enough to build a church and school, and twelve independent African-American communities developed, primarily in the southern districts of the county.¹¹¹

In general, the smaller black population of Washington County remained remarkably scattered throughout the mountainous western districts and in the southern districts along the length of Pleasant Valley in particular, while the larger population of Frederick County was more concentrated in towns and the rural communities they established. In the 1940s and 1950s, nearly the entire population of rural blacks in Washington County moved to Hagerstown or out of the county in search of employment. In Frederick County, many of the historic black communities still exist although perhaps less cohesively.

Population distribution appears to be responsible for the resulting development of post-emancipation black communities in Frederick County and Washington County. The 1860 census of Washington County listed 3,112 African-Americans, nearly evenly distributed between slave and free. Of the 1,435 slaves in the county, almost half were located in the rural districts of Hancock, Clear Spring, Williamsport, and Sharpsburg. Hagerstown and its district included 191 slaves, while the remaining seven rural districts held the rest.¹¹²

Employment opportunities and, to some extent, the ability to purchase land were the most significant factors in determining the location of post-emancipation black communities and their continuation. Prior to emancipation, slave and freedmen's

occupations in Washington County included a variety of jobs, among them farm work, ironwork (both forge and furnace), masonry, domestic service, and general day labor.¹¹³ Rev. Thomas Henry noted in his autobiography covering the 1830s and 1840s in Washington County that there were a number of free blacks employed by the B&O Railroad, many of whom lived on the land of railroad structural engineer Caspar Weaver, the area known as Weverton.¹¹⁴

Post-emancipation employment in Washington County was similarly heavy on farm work, domestic service, and day labor. Surprisingly, blacks on the 1870 census listed no specific railroad occupations, possibly the occupation “Day Laborer” included non-specific railroad work, particularly in the Sandy Hook District.¹¹⁵ In the Chewsville

District, where the black community of Crystal Falls (later called Jugtown) had begun to develop near Huyett’s Marble Lime Kilns, 26 men who listed their occupation as day laborer probably were employed at the limekilns. Most importantly, the C&O Canal and National Pike towns of Hancock, Clear Spring, Williamsport, and Sharpsburg provided additional opportunities through work on the

canal and in hospitality-related businesses. Of the 726 African-American men and women working outside of the home in the county, 22 were boatmen and two were lock tenders. The Cement Mill near Hancock provided employment for eight black men and



Figure 18: Eveline, domestic servant at the Huyett farm, The Willows, c.1890. (courtesy John Clagett)

two found employment at the “Sumach Mill.” These rural districts also provided a great deal of farm work, particularly in Clear Spring and Williamsport districts, where some of the larger pre-emancipation landowners and slaveholders had been located.¹¹⁶

As freedmen’s communities developed, often the first community building was the church. An important source of comfort in a difficult life, the church provided “release, redemption, [and] revitalization.”¹¹⁷ The church building itself, generally quite simple in design, was perhaps the greatest symbol of identity for the black community. The trustees of the congregation, often the landowners of the community, were the owner of record for most rural churches.

Independent African-American congregations were largely an outgrowth of emancipation. Although black congregations in the city of Hagerstown had been worshiping in separate church buildings, some for decades, rural slaves and freemen were primarily limited to the churches of their white masters or employers, or to the itinerant circuits of the African Methodist

Episcopal (A.M.E.) ministers.

Emancipation precipitated a new social construct in which black and white would worship separately, resulting in the phenomenal growth of African-American sects of established churches, such as the Methodist Episcopal and Baptists, as well as the A.M.E. Church.¹¹⁸



Figure 19: Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, built in 1890. The frame entry with restrooms was added in 1978. (EBW 2002)

Few of the original post-emancipation church buildings survive in Washington County. Remodeled or rebuilt in the first decades of the 20th century, congregations perhaps sought to reflect their growing economic security. In neighboring Frederick County, many of these rural churches remain active today, particularly in the southern districts. However, in Washington County only one rural church, the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church in Pleasant Valley continues to hold services (Figure 19).¹¹⁹

The school building was also a source of community identity, although few communities had actual control over the construction or operation of the school.¹²⁰ Education, so long denied African-Americans both slave and free, was not only a source of pride but also a key to economic growth.

Although an 1865 Maryland law required that school taxes collected from black landowners “shall be set aside for the purpose of founding schools for colored children,” this provided precious little in the form of monetary support for black education.¹²¹ In 1868, the Washington County school commission reported that it had “paid what the law allows for these schools,” according to the Freedmen’s Bureau Harper’s Ferry region director, the only county in Maryland to have done so. However, given the small number of black landowners at the time in the county, less than 100 in 1870, the amount would have been quite small. Indeed, the Hagerstown school trustees complained of receiving only \$300 in 1869 from the county school commission.¹²²

For many years, church buildings in rural areas necessarily served also as schoolhouses, despite involvement of the Freedmen’s Bureau in the construction and operation of schools in Maryland. The Freedmen’s Bureau established schools between

1866 and 1870. In Washington County, these schools were located in Hancock, Clear Spring, Williamsport, Hagerstown, Sharpsburg, Pleasant Valley, and Sandy Hook.¹²³

After the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870, county school commissions slowly took on their legal responsibility. County atlas maps, drawn in the 1870s show the growing number of "colored" schoolhouses in rural areas (see Figures 35 and 37). In 1881, Thomas Scharf noted twelve "colored" schools in Washington County. However, Scharf's list of school buildings in the county revealed only three buildings for black students, and 126 buildings designated for whites.¹²⁴ Presumably, church buildings housed the remaining eight colored schools. Of the schoolhouses still extant in Washington County, many appear to have been constructed in the 1880s and 1890s.

Housing in the African-American communities following emancipation was typical of the period for people generally confined to the lowest wage-earning level. Like both slave and tenant houses from the nineteenth century found in southern Maryland and Montgomery County by McDaniel, post-emancipation houses in Washington County were primarily one and a half-story log construction. Although most slave housing used a "one up/one down" room plan, free black landowners and tenants often constructed houses with a two up/two down plan.¹²⁵ Most importantly, these houses were built solely for the purpose of habitation, a key departure from the multi-purpose buildings used for slave housing in the county.

Washington County has a remarkable number of extant log post-emancipation houses (see Appendix II), but the story did not end there. As all people aspire to improve their economic and domestic condition, so too did the African-American population of Washington County. Additions of rooms or second floors to original small, three or four-

room log houses are most common.

However, there are also several examples of fine stone houses constructed by black families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Figure 20).

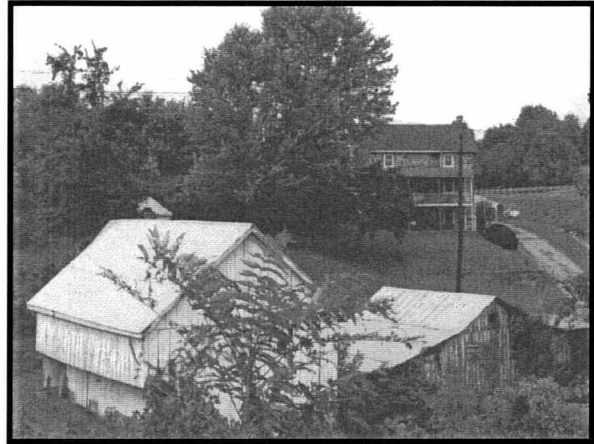


Figure 20: Stonemason Robert W. Anderson built the stone house on this Garrett's Mill Rd. farmstead c.1890. (PSR 2002)

The cultural landscapes created by the freedmen's communities of Washington County reveal

commonalities of setting, housing, and community buildings. Outside of the small town communities, the rural groups were almost without exception found in hillside or mountainside settings with small, often scattered farmsteads of one to ten acres. Houses, with a few exceptions cited, were constructed of log using the basic four-room plan. The early churches and schools did not necessarily define a geographical center of the community but rather the central manifestation of their independence and community spirit.

It is important to note, however, that the visible landscape of these communities are not necessarily readily identifiable as African-American. Throughout the rural districts of Washington County, the extant houses of low-wage earning whites from the mid-nineteenth century are indistinguishable from those of blacks. A dramatic example of this can be found in the Chewsville area. Just a mile or so north of the historic black community of Crystal Falls/Jugtown is the community of Ponds ville, historically white. Ponds ville consists of a number of one and a half-story log houses, a log church and log

school building.¹²⁶ The full meaning of these historic landscapes is found in the documentary record. It is the record which reveals the evolution of the landscape, the struggles and the triumphs that shaped it, and the symbolism of the cultural remains.

Personal Histories: The Slave and Freedmen's Community Experience in Southern Washington County, Maryland

Perhaps one of the greatest ironies of the Antietam Battle during the Civil War was the presence of African-American slaves on the battlefield farms. While President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation officially freed the slaves in the rebellious southern states in January 1863, the slaves in Maryland, a border state still within the Union, remained in slavery until November 1864.

If walls could talk, what stories would the walls of the slave quarters located on the Washington County farms of the Antietam Battlefield have to tell? And what do the freedmen's community landscapes tell us about the struggles and triumphs of the men and women who occupied those communities in the post-emancipation period?

Following are personal histories of the slaves and freedmen who lived on the farms of the Antietam during the Civil War period and in the post-emancipation communities.

Nancy (Campbell) Camel, freed slave on the Roulette Farm.

In 1856, William Roulette married Margaret Ann Miller, daughter of John Miller. He purchased his father-in-law's farm, adjoining the Mumma farm and the Piper farm, in 1857. William Roulette never owned slaves. In 1860, Roulette reported on the census

two free blacks as members of his household, Robert Simon, a 15-year old farm hand and Nancy Campbell, a 40-year old woman employed as a servant.

Nancy Campbell was the former slave of Peter Miller, uncle of Margaret Ann Roulette. When Peter died in 1856, he owned “1 Colored Woman,” appraised at \$250.00. According to Peter’s will, Nancy became the property of his son, Andrew Miller.¹²⁷ In June 1859, Andrew Miller freed Nancy Campbell. Her Certificate of Freedom, issued by the county as proof that she was no longer

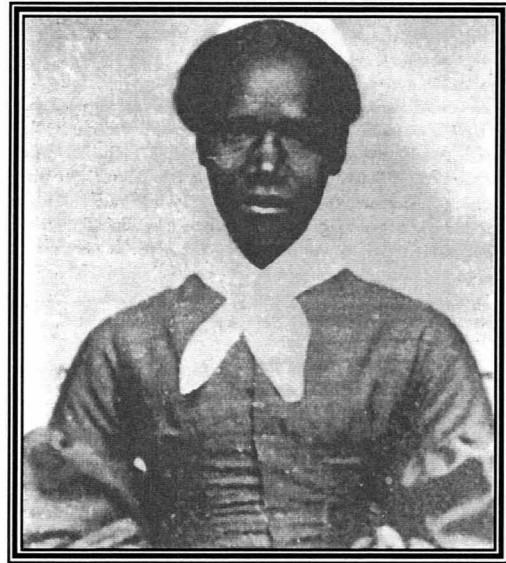


Figure 21: Nancy Campbell (later Camel), c. 1860. (courtesy Earl Roulette)

a slave, described Nancy as “5 feet 1 ½ inches high, of a dark complexion, without perceptible marks upon her person.”¹²⁸ Nancy appears to have immediately taken employment in the Roulette home, where she remained for the rest of her life.

Where Nancy, domestic servant, and Robert, farm hand, lived as employees on the Roulette farm is unknown. It is possible that both occupied the living quarters adjoining the springhouse formerly occupied by the slaves of John Miller. However, a room located directly above the kitchen in the main house seems a more likely location for Nancy as the family’s domestic servant; a boxed stair leads from the upper room directly to the kitchen.

Nancy Camel, as she later called herself, was a member of the Manor Church, a Dunker congregation north of Sharpsburg. After her death in 1892, Nancy was laid to

rest in the Manor Church cemetery. At the time of her death, Nancy's total worth was \$867.04 in cash. Having never married, in her will she left most of her money to Susan Rebecca Roulette, William's daughter, and to the children of both Peter and Andrew Miller.¹²⁹

Nancy Camel lived an industrious and pious life. Inscribed on her gravestone are the words "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." Jeremiah Summers, slave on the Piper Farm.

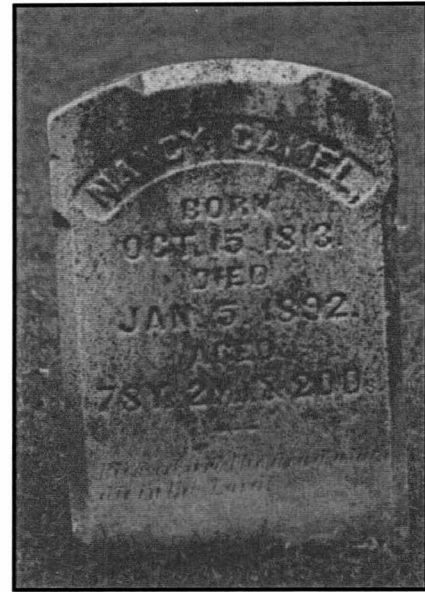


Figure 22: Nancy Camel gravestone, Manor Church cemetery. (EBW 2001)

On the Piper farm, adjoining the Roulette's lived Jeremiah (Jerry) Cornelius Summers. Jerry was born a slave in 1849 on the Piper farm near Sharpsburg. At age 13, Jerry accompanied the Piper family when they abandoned their home in September 1862, as the Confederate army began to set up their line of defense across the farm's fields and orchard. Two years later, in April of 1864, Jerry was "enlisted" into the Union army.¹³⁰ Only fifteen years old and reportedly much loved by his master Henry Piper, Summers was permitted to

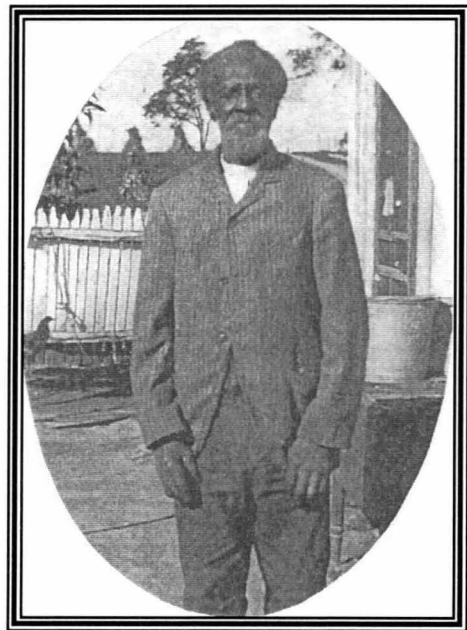


Figure 23: Jerry Summers in the yard of his home on Bloody Lane, 1924. (Fred W. Cross, courtesy Antietam National Battlefield)

be returned home as the slave of a Union loyalist. After his emancipation in November 1864, Jerry continued working and living on the Piper farm, employed by Henry's son Samuel. Henry Piper retired to an elegant stone house in nearby Sharpsburg, where he employed Jerry's son, Emory Summers (see Figure 42 for photograph of Emory Summers and family).

In 1924, Fred W. Cross, a visitor to the Antietam Battlefield, took several photographs of Jerry Summers at his home located on Bloody Lane on the northern edge of the Piper farm (Figure 23). Cross described Summers as "the last of the slaves of Sharpsburg," noting:

At Henry Piper's death Jerry was given the use for life of a small cottage and garden plot facing the northerly stretch of the "Bloody Lane."¹³¹

Jeremiah Cornelius Summers died the following year in 1925 at the age of 76. He lies in the Tolson's Chapel cemetery in Sharpsburg.

Hilary Watson, slave on the Otto Farm.

John Otto lived and worked on his home farm, a 60-acre farm near the Antietam Creek's Lower Bridge (later known as Burnside's Bridge), with the help of two slaves in 1860. One was a 54-year old woman, who probably worked in the house. The second, a 27 year old man named Hilary, assisted John Otto in the fields.¹³²

Otto's slaves lived in the main house, probably in the room above the kitchen.¹³³ In a 1915 interview, Hilary recalled that Otto paid him for harvest work and for work while hired out to other farmers. In May 1864, when Watson was called in the Union

draft, Otto paid the \$300 fee to release him from military service. Watson continued to work for John Otto following his emancipation in 1864.

In 1872, Hilary Watson and his wife Christina purchased a lot on High Street in Sharpsburg, on which they built a log house. In the graveyard of Tolson's Chapel nearby, stands the marker of Hilary Watson, aged 85 years, who died on September 20, 1917 (Figure 24).

Nancy Camel, Jerry Summers, and Hilary Watson each remained with the farm families they worked for prior to emancipation in 1864. Nancy had achieved freedom earlier and appears not to have changed her situation after 1864, but both Jerry and Hilary, occupants of their master's slave quarters, constructed their own dwellings after emancipation as manifestations of their new freedom. Throughout Washington County and the United States, individuals and communities of freedmen were creating their own "place" of cultural expression, and in many cases, of refuge.

The Freedmen's Community of Sharpsburg

The village of Sharpsburg is located on the west side of Antietam Creek, between the Creek and the Potomac River. From as early as 1800, Sharpsburg included a small population of free blacks as well as slaves. In 1870, the African-American population of

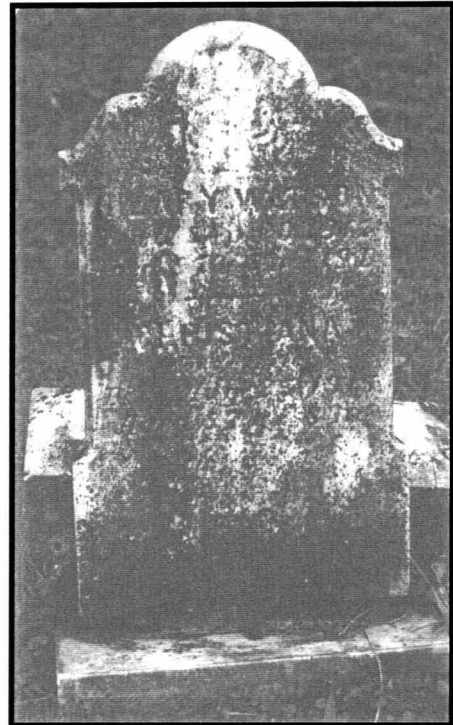
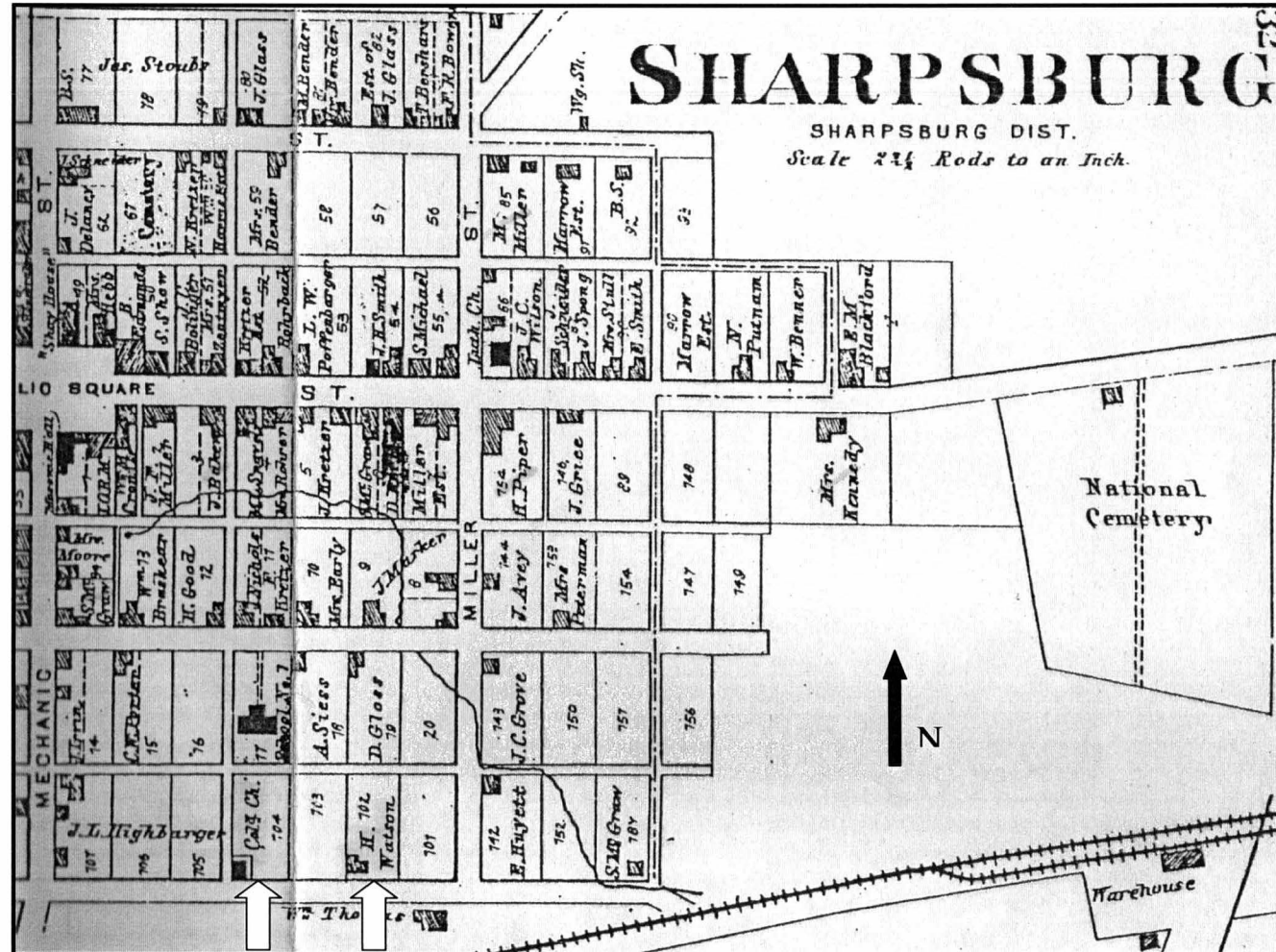


Figure 24: Hilary Watson and Christina Watson gravestone, Tolson Chapel cemetery in Sharpsburg. (EBW 2001)



Sharpsburg numbered 60, including two landowners. Although the community was scattered around the edges of the town, a small church building, which doubled as a school building, provided a community identity (Figure 25).

Two (apparent) brothers, Henry and Samuel Craig (also Crage or Crague), exemplify the African-American experience in Sharpsburg through the mid-nineteenth century. Henry Craig and his wife, Henerata or Henny, were slaves on the Grove plantation known as Mt. Airy just west of Sharpsburg. On March 4, 1841, the birth of Catharine [sic], daughter of Henry and Henny, was entered into the margin of the Grove family bible.¹³⁴ Washington County marriage records indicate that Catharine Craig was married to “Henry J. Brown (negro)” in 1852.¹³⁵ Apparently, Catharine was a mere eleven years old.

By 1855, Henry and Henerata Craig appear to have obtained their freedom, though no deed of manumission was recorded. Having purchased a quarter-acre lot on the west end of Sharpsburg, in 1855 Henry sold it to George Tyler.¹³⁶ In 1860, Henry Craig, age fifty-seven, appeared on the census record with three hundred dollars worth of real estate; his occupation described as “Mason.”

Samuel Craig appears to have been a free man as early as 1844. His accounts with the Sharpsburg Tannery from the 1840s indicate that Samuel owned cattle, sheep, and grew potatoes.¹³⁷ These items he used as payment for tannery services, a common practice. The 1860 census showed Samuel Craig living in Sharpsburg with one hundred fifty dollars worth of real estate. Through the 1860s, Craig acquired four town lots on the north side of High Street, the south edge of Sharpsburg. In 1866, he deeded a small parcel on High Street to the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, including

himself, David Simon, Wilson Middleton, Jacob Turner, and John Francis.¹³⁸ On this lot, the congregation erected Tolson's Chapel (Figure 26), a small log construction completed rather quickly, as noted by a local newspaper:

The African Church, of which the Corner Stone was laid a few weeks ago, is framed, and will be ready for worship about the holidays.¹³⁹

The little chapel doubled as the schoolhouse beginning in 1868 and so continued for many years. With a teacher supplied by the Freedmen's Bureau, but paid by the Sharpsburg free-black community, the school was christened "American Union" school. Attendance through the first two years of operation ranged from fifteen to twenty-five students.¹⁴⁰

Hilary Watson, former slave of John Otto, had begun purchasing the remaining Craig lots on High Street beginning in 1872. On one lot, he built his own house (Figure 27), leaving the adjoining lot unimproved.



Figure 26: Tolson's Chapel as it appears today. A small bell cupola was removed c.1980. (EBW 2002)



Figure 27: Hilary Watson house on High Street. (EBW 2002)

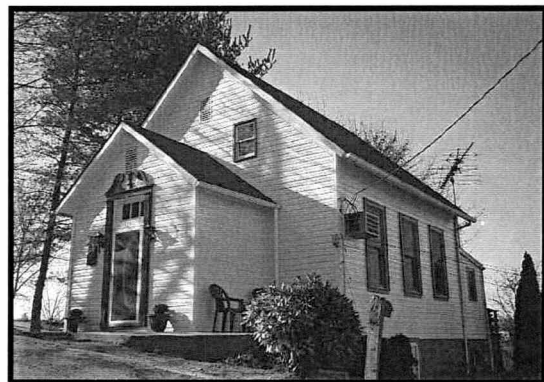


Figure 28: The Sharpsburg Colored School now serves as a dwelling house. (EBW 2002)

In 1883, he built a second log house on the lot adjoining the chapel.¹⁴¹ Watson and his wife “Teenie” sold to the county Board of School Commissioners in 1899 part of the lot on the corner of High and Miller Streets on which the county constructed a new school building (see Figure 28).¹⁴² The northern half of that lot Watson sold to the “D.R. Hall Lodge #1416 of Grand United Order of Odd Fellows” in 1900. The D.R. Hall Lodge constructed a meeting hall, which is no longer standing. Although not listed in the deed as an African-American lodge, an 1881 Sharpsburg Enterprise newspaper article described the D.R. Hall Lodge as “Colored.”¹⁴³

Sharpsburg was home to approximately 85 African-Americans in the 1930s, several of whom were skilled carpenters. The houses and recreational buildings they constructed are located in Sharpsburg and the surrounding area (Figure 29). However, employment opportunities for the young led many to the city of Hagerstown, a scenario repeated in the rural towns throughout Washington County. As the elderly who remained have passed away, the young have not returned to replace them.¹⁴⁴

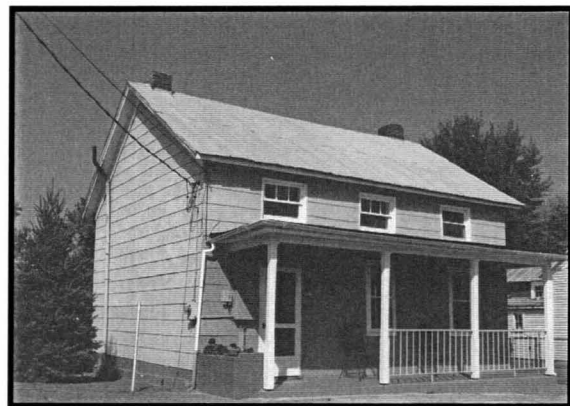


Figure 29: House in Sharpsburg constructed c.1930 by carpenter Clarence Monroe. (EBW 2002)

The Freedmen’s Community of Red Hill

Overlooking the town of Sharpsburg from the southeast is the wooded hillside known as Red Hill (see Figure 2A). Red Hill is the northern tip of Elk Ridge, a low

mountain ridge that forms the west wall of Pleasant Valley in southern Washington County. The ridge terminates on the south end with Maryland Heights across the Potomac River from Harpers Ferry. This hardscrabble mountain land was originally largely unoccupied, used mainly for its supply of wood to make charcoal for the Antietam Iron Works nearby.

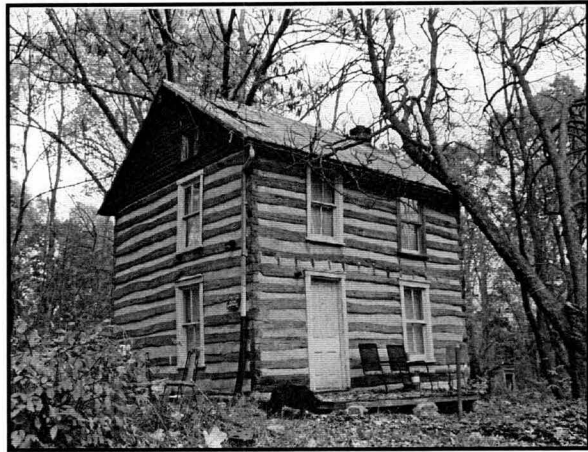


Figure 30: The Keats house on Toyer Road, east side of Red Hill. (EBW 2002)

The 1830 census showed a small group of free blacks living in the Red Hill vicinity. Rev. Thomas Henry ministered to an A.M.E. congregation in the Red Hill/Rohrersville area in the 1840s.¹⁴⁵ By 1860, a number of freemen owned land on the east side of Red Hill, which formed the nucleus of a settlement and community for those freed in 1864.

In the years following emancipation, Red Hill grew to include a log African Methodist Episcopal Church building, a cemetery, a schoolhouse, and a series of log farmsteads. In 1870, the U.S. Population Census taker for the area described the community in a local newspaper article:

Along the mountain we found quite a number of colored families. They all seemed to be industrious, well-to-do and intelligent. At Red Hill, they have erected a neat little church, where, we believe they have school in the winter months, and preaching at regular stated periods.¹⁴⁶

In 1859, Aaron Booth, noted as “Colored” on several of his deeds, began purchasing a number of the one to four-acre lots, which subdivided much of Red Hill (see Figure 32).¹⁴⁷ Originally subdivided for sale in the 1830s as part of a bankruptcy suit, these small, hilly tracts provided an affordable area for settlement by African-Americans anxious to establish community in an uncertain time.



Figure 31: The log house on the Calaman lot fronts on Porterstown Rd. (EBW 2002)

Among the first buyers of the Booth lots, Harriet Calaman (also spelled Callaman, Caliman, or Caloman) bought less than one acre purchased in 1863. It stood on the corner of a reserved lane (now called Toyer Road) and “the public road from Maple Swamp to Porterstown,” now known as Porterstown Road.¹⁴⁸ The cost was only sixteen dollars. The 1860 U.S. Population census listed Harriet, her husband Grafton, and their eight children as “mulatto.” Descended from a line of free blacks, the 1830 census record for Washington County listed several free Caliman [sic] men. Two had married white women and therefore produced “mulatto” children. Interestingly, in 1870 the Grafton and Harriet Calaman [sic] family appeared on the census as “white.”¹⁴⁹ A small, two-story log house stills stands on the Calaman lot (Figure 31).

In 1868, Aaron Booth and his wife Mary E. sold several more tracts of land on Red Hill. James Toyer purchased a lot of slightly more than three acres, adjoining the northern boundary of “Grafton Caliman’s lot.”¹⁵⁰ The deed described the boundary, beginning “at a stone standing near the dwelling house of the said James Toyer.” Like

many others, Toyer had been living on Red Hill several years before purchasing the land. By 1870, it appears that James Toyer was deceased; his wife Mary J., and their children Jenny May, Charles, James, and Merly Berly, age three months, were listed in the household of neighbor Henry Hopewell.¹⁵¹ Henry Hopewell purchased two parcels from

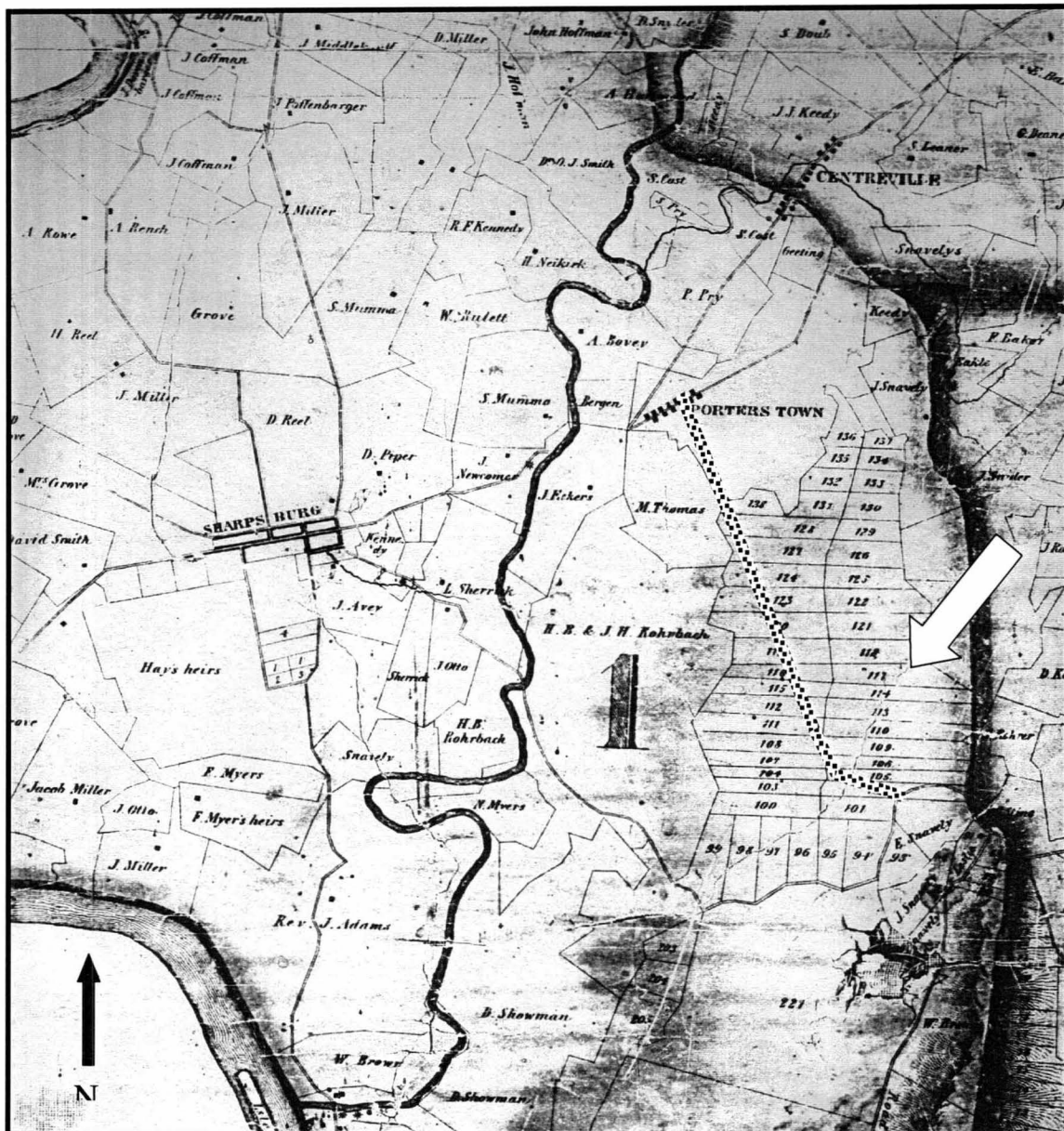


Figure 32: 1859 Wall Map of Washington County, Maryland showing the lots of Red Hill. Porterstown Road had not yet been laid out at the time this map was drawn; the dotted line shows the approximate path of the later road. (Thomas Taggart, 1859, Washington County Courthouse)

Booth in 1868. In 1870, Henry, his wife Arez, and two children, Henry age eight and Joseph age five, lived in the Hopewell household (Figure 33), in addition to the apparently fatherless Toyer family. Henry worked as a Day Laborer, apparently supporting the entire household. His nine acres may have provided a small additional farm income. All that remains of the Hopewell agricultural complex is a small log hog shed (Figure 34).

At age sixty-six, in 1874, Henry Hopewell wrote a will of sorts. Using a deed transfer of his land to his wife Arez Hopewell, “to hold during her life,” he named his heirs to inherit the property following her death,

George Hopewell, Henry C. Hopewell, and Uriah Hopewell.¹⁵² In 1896, George purchased the ownership interest in the property from his brother Henry C. and the heirs of Uriah Hopewell.

The following year, George and his wife Laura sold a small parcel of the Hopewell homestead to the School Commissioners of Washington County.¹⁵³ The school,

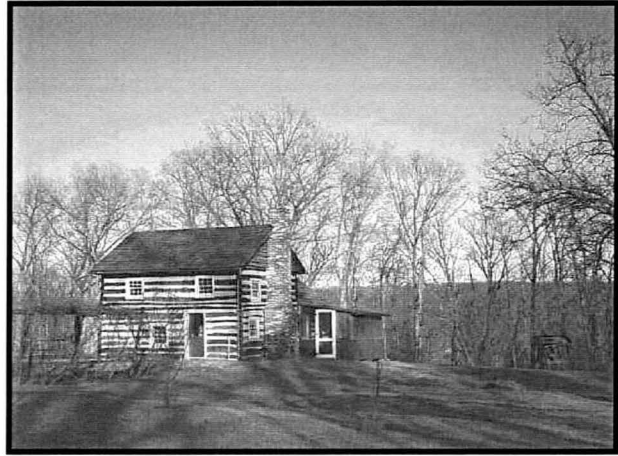


Figure 33: The Henry Hopewell house today. The door and first floor ceiling are raised from the original. (EBW 2002)



Figure 34: The Hopewell hog shed; a privy stands to the left. A several-acre potato field is said to have been just over hill behind the hog shed. (EBW 2002)

known as Eakles Mills Colored School, apparently replaced an earlier school known as “Colored School No.5.” The 1877 Atlas Map of Washington County shows the earlier school in the location of the church, known to be already in operation, while no church building was shown (Figure 35). Probably the No.5 school continued to be held in the church building, as described in the 1870 description of Red Hill cited previously. The 1897 Eakles Mill Colored School operated until consolidation in the 1930s moved all south-county African-American elementary school children to the schoolhouse in Hagerstown.¹⁵⁴

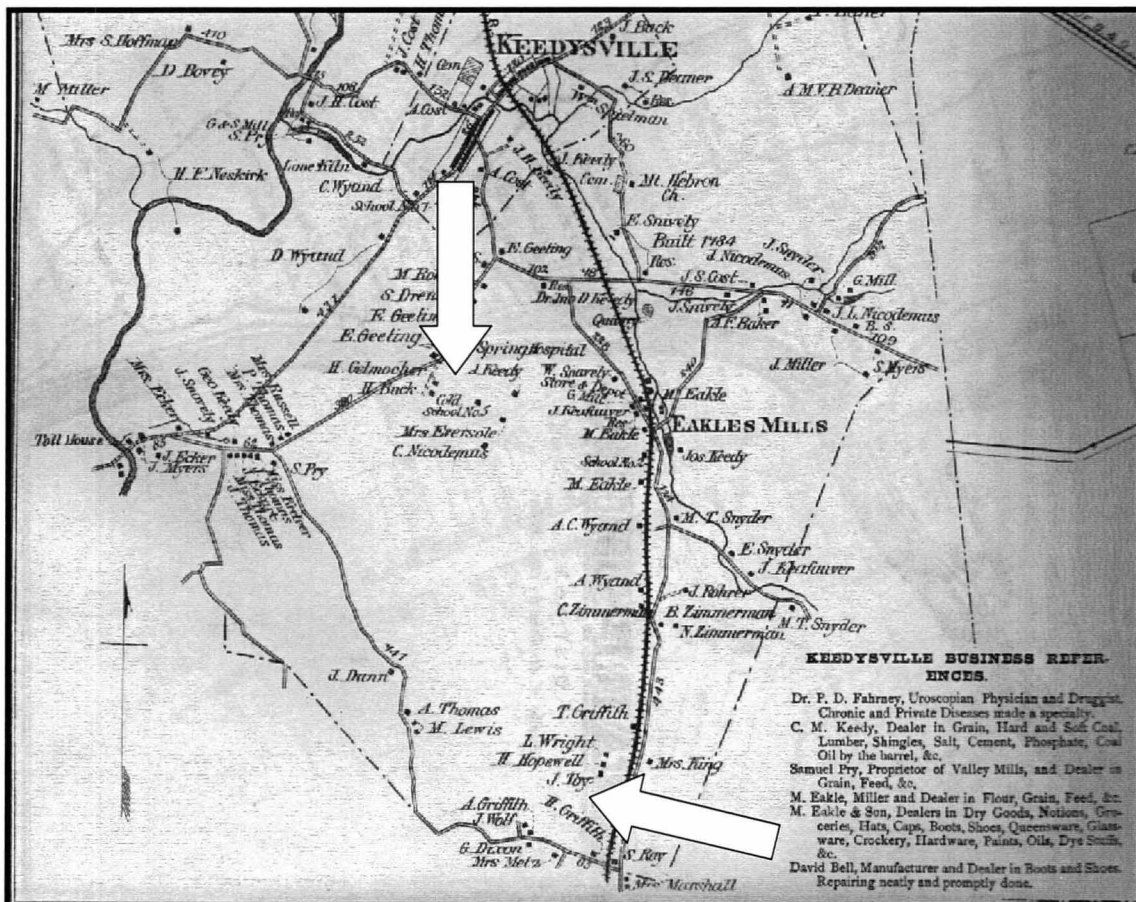


Figure 35: 1877 Atlas Map of Washington County, Keedysville District. Arrows indicate locations of Red Hill property owners and “Colored School No.5” (Lake, Griffing, and Stevenson)

The church on Red Hill, known as the Pleasant Hill A.M.E. Church, was located on the north end of the Red Hill ridgeline. Although the location of the No.5 school on the 1877 map and the census-taker's narrative indicated that the building was in place as early as 1870, no deed for the property was ever recorded in the Washington County land records office. Located some distance from the homes of the Red Hill community, it may be that the church was sited on the land of a sympathetic white neighbor. The church remained active into the twentieth century, a Hagerstown newspaper article in 1910 declared:

BUSH MEETING NEXT SUNDAY
Will Be Held On Red Hill South of Keedysville

The bushmeeting which was to have been held by the members of Pleasant Hill A.M.E. Church on Sunday, July 17, was postponed on account of the rain two weeks or until Sunday next. If the weather is favorable there will be a large crowd present to hear some of their ablest preachers and best singers.¹⁵⁵

Among those buried in the Pleasant Hill Church cemetery are several Civil War veterans. Benjamin Malone served in the 2nd Regiment, Co. G, United States Colored Troops (USCT). After mustering out of service in 1866, he lived on the farmstead of his wife Elenora's father, Lewis Wright.¹⁵⁶ Wright purchased his parcel adjoining Henry Hopewell in 1869.¹⁵⁷



Figure 36: Pleasant Hill Chapel cemetery, showing the 1940 Thomas gravestone. (EBW 2002)

A second veteran, George W. Fisher, served in the 2nd Regiment, Co. I, USCT. Fisher won his freedom from bondage through his enlistment. After working on a local farm for several years following the war, Fisher moved to Red Hill by 1880.¹⁵⁸ The last interment in the Pleasant Hill Church cemetery occurred in 1940. The church building was dismantled, according to local memory, in the 1960s. All that remains of this active community building is a stone foundation and overgrown cemetery.

Although the church and school building on Red Hill are gone, many of the log houses and some agricultural buildings remain. African-American families no longer occupy the homes, having migrated primarily to Hagerstown through the 1930s and 40s; the last elderly resident left around 1960.

The Freedmen's Community of Garrett's Mill

Stretching south from the eastern edge of Red Hill is the aptly named Pleasant Valley, forming the southern end of Washington County, between South Mountain and Elk Ridge. Throughout the nineteenth century, the valley was dotted with highly productive grain farms and gristmills. The Washington County Branch Railroad bisected the valley, with depots at Rohrsville and Bartholow before joining the B&O Railroad at the southern terminus. There the village of Sandy Hook and area known as Weverton were both closely associated with the C&O Canal and B&O Railroad. Caspar Weaver, chief structural engineer for the B&O Railroad during its initial construction, reportedly opened a section of his farmland for free black employees of the railroad. In the 1840s, an A.M.E. congregation was established. It is still active but now located in Knoxville in

neighboring Frederick County.¹⁵⁹ By the 1870s, maps and census records indicate that the black community was centered in the area of Garrett's Mill. There "Colored School No.6" was located near a number of scattered farmsteads along a road on the east side of Elk Ridge (Figure 37).

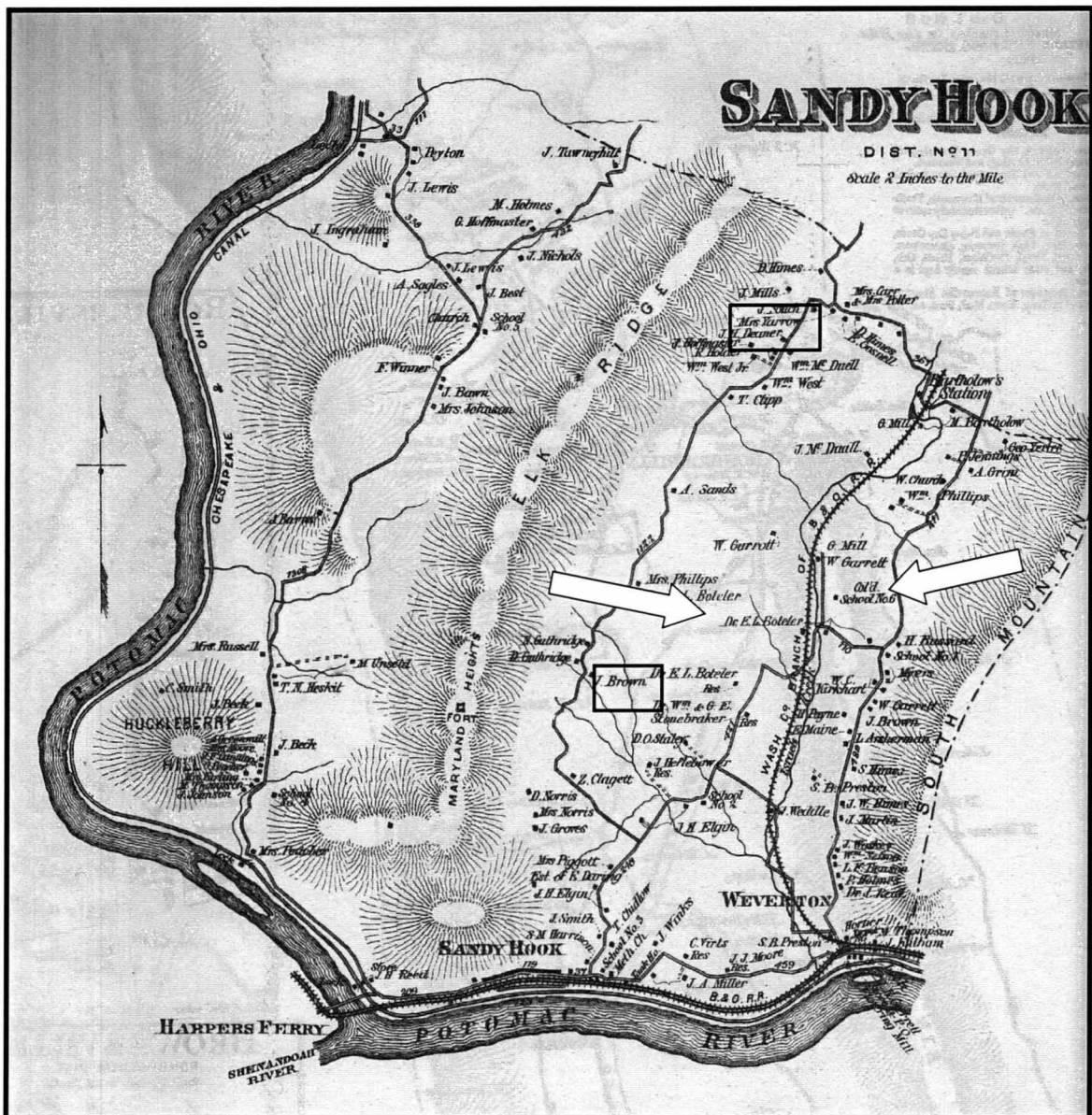


Figure 37: 1877 Atlas of Washington County, Sandy Hook District. Arrows show the location of Garrett's Mill and Colored School No.6, and Dr. E. L. Boteler's property where the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church would later be built. The road running along the east face of Elk Ridge is known as Brown Road. The Brown family homestead can be seen in the box just below the arrow. (Lake, Griffing, and Stevenson)

In 1890, black stonemason Robert W. Anderson (Figure 38) constructed the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church. The church stood just north of Weverton near Garrett's Mill. Anderson lived in the Weverton area as early as 1860. On the census of that year, he was listed as a "Brick Mason," forty years old, his place of birth, Virginia. Anderson's family included his wife Georgianna, twelve-year old son Albert listed as a "Day Laborer," and four other

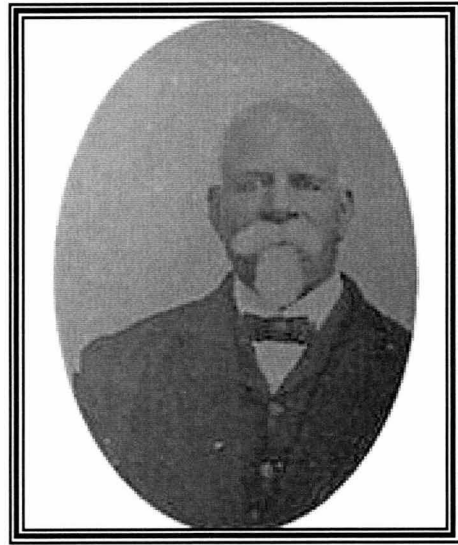


Figure 38: Robert W. Anderson, stonemason of Mt. Moriah Church. (courtesy Mt. Moriah Baptist Church)

children, Margaret, George, Eddy, and Licity Ann. Robert Anderson reportedly built several other stone buildings in the Weverton area, including the beautiful house in which he and his family lived (Figure 39).

The Mt. Moriah Baptist Church was built on a six-acre parcel purchased from Robert Boteler in 1889 by the church trustees.



Figure 39: Anderson stone house on Garrett's Mill Road. (EBW 2002)

Trustees included Reuben Brackett, David and Jerry Brown, Charles Bush, William Ridout, and Rev. P.A. Boswell, the first pastor.¹⁶⁰ The church remains active today, with descendents of Anderson and Brown still attending. In the tended cemetery is the

gravestone of Robert Anderson, born in 1833 and died in 1909 (Figure 40). Nearby is the marker of John Johnson, member of the 19th Regiment, Co. E, USCT, from 1864 to 1867.

Adjoining the church, the Weverton Colored School served the elementary school children of much of the southern portion of Washington County until the late 1930s when the county consolidated black schools to Hagerstown.¹⁶¹ The building now serves as a Fellowship Center for the congregation.

Up the east slope of Elk Ridge, west of the Mt. Moriah Church is the Gross family farmstead. Mary Gross, the matriarch of the current Mt. Moriah Church community, is a descendant of Robert Anderson and the Browns of Brown Road (Figure 41). The farmstead and church are slowly being engulfed by modern development, and while the church community remains vibrant, the historic physical community of Garrett's Mill is disappearing.

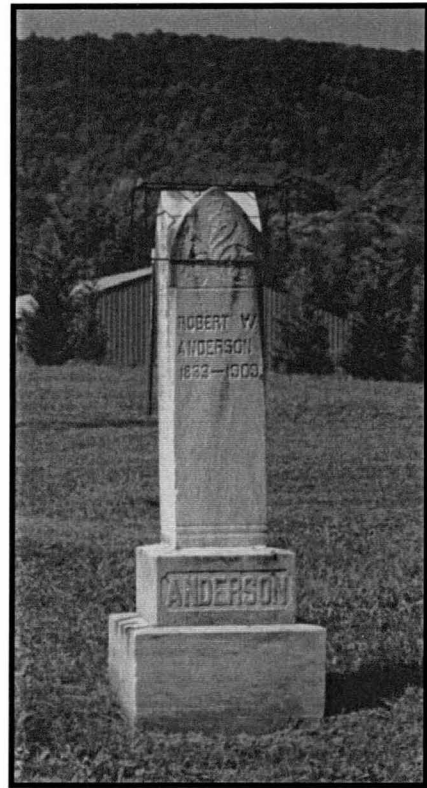


Figure 40: Robert W. Anderson gravestone. (EBW 2002)

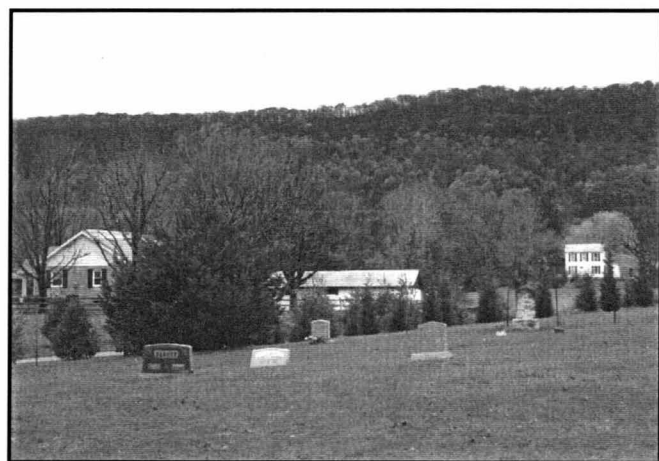


Figure 41: The Gross family farmstead can be seen on the far right, viewed from the Mt. Moriah Church cemetery. Encroaching development is located on the left, on the south side of Garrett's Mill Road. (EBW 2002)

The three African-American communities of Sharpsburg, Red Hill, and Garrett's Mill are representative of the historic rural black communities which developed in Washington County largely after emancipation in 1864. Yet each has a different and compelling story to tell of development and demise. In Sharpsburg and Red Hill, the historic cultural community is gone, but the history lives on in the buildings and their stories. The Mt. Moriah Baptist Church at Garrett's Mill is the only still-active rural African-American church in Washington County. Although the physical community has scattered, the spiritual and cultural community lives on through a special bond with the church building and its setting. Identifying these community landscapes and their history is the first step to preserving an important part of African-American culture in Washington County.

Conclusion

African-American slaves and freemen have left the memory of their lives and communities through buildings and sites still present on the physical landscape of Washington County. These resources and their associated cultural landscapes represent a history often forgotten. It is also a history often feared. Buildings, landscapes, photographs and documents, are the links connecting Washington County in the twenty-first century and its African-American history, providing points of common experience through which people can begin to shed their discomfort and reflect on our shared humanity.

Both the documentation and retelling of African-American history are important, but the stories take on a new life when connected to the buildings, communities, and landscapes of the present. How much more poignant is the story of Hilary Watson, slave and freeman, when retold in the room in which he and his mother lived as slaves, or on the street where he built his home as a free man. And how much more inspiring is the story of the African-American struggle for education after emancipation when standing in Tolson's Chapel envisioning the eighteen students in 1868, twelve of whom had been slaves four years earlier.

Identification of African-American buildings and their settings or cultural landscapes and connecting them with their significant historical associations is a vital step toward a better understanding of our history and ourselves today.

CHAPTER III

PRESERVATION STRATEGIES FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL RESOURCES

To preserve effectively, we must know for what the past is being retained and for whom.

Kevin Lynch¹⁶²

What is to be preserved and why (or for whom) do we preserve? Do we preserve whole cultural landscapes and interpret them so that we all might learn from our shared past? Do we preserve a single building to commemorate a significant achievement in African-American history? Can we reuse buildings while preserving the history of an African-American community that is now gone? And can we preserve by inspiring a community to recall, record, and celebrate its past while looking forward to its future?

In Chapter II, four different African-American cultural resource landscapes were identified in southern Washington County: 1) the rural farm/slavery landscape, with buildings and associated personal histories, in particular those located on the Antietam National Battlefield; 2) the community within the town of Sharpsburg, no longer associated with its historic black occupants, but with significant historic community buildings still extant; 3) the rural community of Red Hill, which retains some historic domestic buildings in their settings, but only the remains of church and school sites, and is no longer associated with its historic black occupants; and 4) the rural community at Garrett's Mill centered on the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, a still active but scattered

African-American community with historic residential and community buildings occupied by descendants of its historic occupants. Each of these cultural landscapes and their individual buildings will require a different approach to preservation.

The preservation strategies that might be used to address the questions posed above depend largely upon who owns the property in question. Properties owned and interpreted by the National Park Service are more likely to be restored or maintained for interpretive purposes. Interpretation in the National Park setting of buildings and landscapes, using documentation of the people who occupied them, is an important extension of the physical preservation of buildings. Alternatively, non-profit organizations are eligible for national, state, and local grant funds for preservation projects. However, their continued maintenance may depend upon an adaptive use of a building as a museum, educational, or meeting facility. Their interpretive programs may be more closely linked to local community attitudes and needs. Private owners, who are often dependent on their own financial resources for preservation activity, may have less of a vested interest in the social historical value of a building and more interest in rehabilitating the resource for modern use. Targeted historic survey and contextual development to educate private landowners about the significance of their property, in addition to federal, state, and local tax credit incentives for rehabilitation, may help to strike the compromises necessary for private preservation initiatives.

Within a living cultural community, where personal investment in the history is strong, strategies used may be similar for the preservation of buildings, but with the added component of cultural conservation through ethnographic study. The primary tool used initially would be personal interviews to record current memories of people,

buildings, traditions, crafts, and history handed down from generation to generation.

Although beyond the scope of this analysis, ethnographers preserve through recordation of more intangible resources such as religious and funereal practice.

Running as an underlying theme through all of these approaches to preservation will be the question: What is the role of the National Register of Historic Places in the preservation of African-American cultural resources? The National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form, available since 1991, appears to be perfectly suited to identification and documentation of the broad range of historic African-American material culture.

The several strategies for preservation presented in this chapter are based upon the philosophy of preservation that grew out of the advent of “cultural diversity” as a consideration in historical context and interpretation. Preservation is now more than just restoring and maintaining old buildings, and as we examine each of the case studies highlighted for this thesis, important changes in preservation strategies since the 1960s, a result of our heightened cultural awareness, will be identified. Among these are the changing focus of the National Park Service to a more holistic approach to historic interpretation; the shift in the National Register to include thematic contextual development; the growing role of ethnography in documentation and preservation; and the increased role of local government in the preservation of historic resources. Each case study will also examine potential for use of a given preservation strategy in other regions of the United States.

Interpretation as Preservation: The Civil War Battlefield Landscape

...I was thirty when the battle of Antietam was fought. My home hyar in Sharpsburg is only about two miles from Calamus Run where I was born. When I was ten months old my mother and I was bought by Mr. Otto, who lived a little outside of the town down toward Antietam Creek, and I've worked for the Otto family ever since.

My boss was a slaveholder. Yes, he belonged to that sec', but he was a good man to his black people...His colored people lived in the same house the white people did, and they e't the same food as the white people did. But we had our table in the kitchen, and they had theirs in the dining-room. When I worked in harvest all day cradling wheat I was paid as much as anybody else, and if I went with the horses to do teaming for a neighbor the money for what I done was mine. That's the kind of boss I had....

...Early in the morning of the Monday before the battle of Antietam the Rebels come in hyar, and the hill at our place was covered with 'em....On Tuesday all the Otto family left and went down country for safety. I stayed on the place....The firin' commenced so strong on Wednesday morning that he [Confederate General Toombs] had to hurry to his post....I did n't like those shells a-flyin', and I got on one of the horses and led some of the others and went off across the Potomac to the place of a man who was a friend of my boss. There I stayed all day listenin' to the cannon.¹⁶³

The words of Hilary Watson, a slave on one of the Antietam Battlefield farms, offer a window on the human experience – both of slavery and of the Battle of Antietam. The presence of slave quarters still standing on several of the farms that make up the battlefield landscape provides an opportunity to interpret the institution of slavery in the United States through the lives of individuals in rural western Maryland. Reduced to the scale of one-on-one, history tourist to historic participant, the impact of these experiences takes on a reality no museum display can match. Add to that reality the opportunity to walk the preserved halls and fields of the buildings and farms occupied by those

participants, and the empathy becomes almost overwhelming. The Antietam National Battlefield and other Civil War National Battlefield parks are especially suited to assist Americans toward a better understanding of these two painful episodes in our past.

Discussion within the National Park Service concerning the development of new interpretive methods on Civil War sites is among its most current debates. The 2002, Number 4 issue of CRM, the cultural resource management magazine produced by the National Park Service, is devoted to the whole range of interpretive opportunities available on Civil War battlefields and related sites.¹⁶⁴ This issue, entitled “America’s Civil War: Challenges, Perspectives, Opportunities,” is a compilation of articles analyzing the inclusion of non-battlefield sites in the interpretation of the Civil War and the broadening historical perspective on the war to include the role of women and African-Americans. But perhaps most importantly, several articles tackle the difficult issue of interpreting the real social and political milieu in America that precipitated and perpetuated America’s War Between the States.

Changes in the nation’s historical perspective, largely the result of our increasing emphasis on recognizing cultural diversity in our history, has influenced the discussion within the Park Service. At issue is the inclusion of social and political historic themes associated with the Civil War in addition to the traditional commemorative and military themes associated with the battlefield parks. Dwight T. Pitcaithy, chief historian of the National Park Service, notes in his article “The American Civil War and the Preservation of Memory”:

The purpose of the study of history is not to determine the heroes and the villains in the past, but to gain an understanding of how a society got from then to now, to understand what decisions and actions of the past affect

current conditions, and to provide the basic tools of citizenship for more informed decision making in our own time.¹⁶⁵

Perhaps the most delicate issue facing NPS interpretation on battlefield parks is the avoidance of creating villains in the context of the Civil War. John M. Coski, historian for the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia, addresses this in his article “Historians Under Fire: The Public and the Memory of the Civil War.” Partly the result of a backlash from the emergence of “political correctness,” Coski notes:

There is an unfortunate dynamic that exists between professional historians and the millions of Americans who sympathize with the Confederacy in the Civil War....[They] are proud of their Confederate ancestors, conservative in their politics, and increasingly sensitive to what they believe are unfair attacks upon their ancestors and their values.¹⁶⁶

To avoid this alienation from our shared history, Coski suggests, “historians should encourage people to study their personal pasts and help create a ‘participatory historical culture.’”¹⁶⁷ If we view the war through the eyes of the people, both north and south, black and white, we are sure to find the similarities and understand the differences from a more personal, and perhaps less judgmental viewpoint.

John Hennessy, chief historian at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park in Virginia, cites the nascent extension of battlefield interpretation beyond the battle descriptions and emphasizes the importance of “resource-based interpretation.” National Park civil war sites are an important resource for public education through the documentation and interpretation of preserved landscapes and buildings. Hennessy describes the “thematic context” the National Park Service is developing to aid interpretation at sites throughout the United States:

Once the national themes are in place, individual parks will “plug in” to those that best reflect that particular park’s story or resources. For

example, in addition to illustrating themes related to military events, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park in Virginia vividly reflects the evermore difficult experience of civilians from 1862-1864. As the battle that precipitated the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Antietam National in Maryland is perfectly suited to illuminate not just emancipation, but the interrelationship of politics and war. Wilson's Creek National Battlefield in Missouri reflects the unique experience of border States and communities during the Civil War. Hampton National Historic Site in Maryland can tell us much about the slave experience. By using resources and stories at the park level to illuminate larger issues, the National Park Service will avoid the much dreaded "cookie cutter" interpretation. A look through the local lens will also demonstrate that major issues connected with the war (slavery, States rights, emancipation) were not viewed homogeneously – that the human experience related to those issues varied greatly. Each park will tell these stories in its own way; collectively the sites of the National Park System will tell the broad story of the Civil War, with all its impacts and implications.¹⁶⁸

Interpreting the difficult issues such as the root causes of the war, its impact on American society, and the integral role of the African-American both slave and free, will require a great deal of care to avoid attaching our own biases to the interpretation. Approaching these issues through the resources of the cultural landscapes and local history associated with each park, through the eyes of all participants both military and non-military, is a step in that direction.

Antietam National Battlefield

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free...¹⁶⁹

Washington County, Maryland has within its boundaries a unique opportunity to interpret local African-American history as it relates to the country as a whole through Antietam National Battlefield Park. Not only was the Antietam battle significant as the bloodiest single-day battle of the Civil War, it also served as the impetus for President Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation (quoted above), freeing the slaves in the rebellion states. The Antietam Battlefield is an especially appropriate location for the interpretation of the Civil War and the institution of slavery within the National Park Service's thematic framework described by John Hennessy.

The human cast of history at Antietam – soldier, citizen, freeman and slave – provides a source for diverse interpretation in the field, particularly on the difficult issue of slavery. The use of individual stories personalizes uncomfortable history, in this case, by viewing the institution of slavery not as an abstract idea, but as something experienced by real people, by people with names, faces, and families. Through the documentation of diverse individuals, the farmers, their families, and those who served them both slave and free, and through the preservation and interpretation of the associated buildings and landscapes, the National Park Service can help visitors to comprehend the full impact of the Civil War on American society.

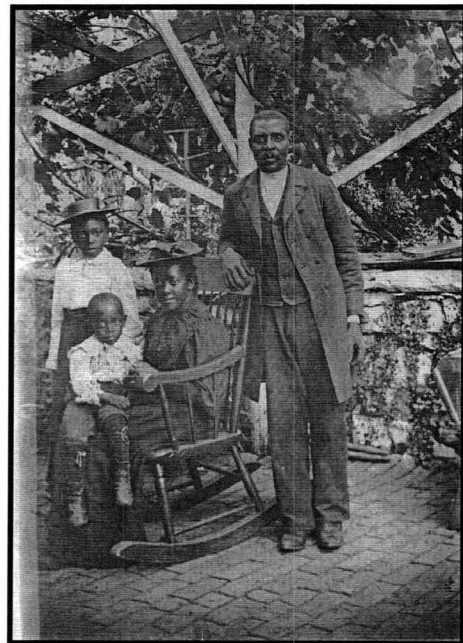


Figure 42: Emory Summers & family at the home of employer Henry Piper, c.1900. (Wash. Co. Hist. Soc., courtesy Rosita Ray)

Antietam National Battlefield's enabling legislation enacted by Congress requires that the park include the Emancipation Proclamation in its interpretive plan. However, nothing suggests an in-depth discussion of slavery and its impact on the Civil War and American society. The evolving new thematic development for Civil War parks discussed above has initiated exciting avenues of interpretation within this remarkably preserved rural landscape.

Described by John Howard, Superintendent at Antietam Battlefield, as “a microcosm of the U.S. in the nineteenth century,” the historic Sharpsburg District was the residence of Unionists, Confederates or southern sympathizers, free blacks and slaves.¹⁷⁰ Located in the border state of Maryland, in a county which physically bordered both north (Pennsylvania) and south (Virginia, now West Virginia), the Antietam Battlefield is uniquely situated for a balanced perspective on the events and issues surrounding the September battle of 1862.

The preservation of the farm landscape present within the Antietam park boundaries provides a relatively accurate view of the battlefield as it would have appeared to the Union and Confederate armies as they faced each other across the Antietam



Figure 43: Antietam Battlefield landscape across the Piper Farm, looking northeast. (EBW 2003)

Creek. At the same time, within the context of a more holistic interpretation of the battle

and the war, these preserved farm complexes serve as stages for the unfolding story of the citizen families who experienced the war firsthand. Equally important, at least four of the Antietam farms held enslaved African-Americans at the time of the battle. The preservation of slave quarters on several of these farms provides a significant additional layer of authenticity to the interpretation of the personal experience of slavery during the Civil War.¹⁷¹

When the National Park Service took over administration of the Antietam Battlefield from the War Department in the 1930s, federally owned acreage included only the road right-of-ways between the farms, which allowed a tour by visitors of the several phases of the daylong battle. Numerous monuments were erected along the roads by various states, commemorating their fallen heroes. However, the farms that had served as the field of battle remained in private ownership, many owned by descendants of the owners at the time of the battle and still actively farmed. It was perhaps this continuity of ownership, as well as a relatively unchanged agricultural economy in Washington County, that allowed the preservation of these farms in their nineteenth century appearance.¹⁷²

Through a slow and sometimes difficult process of acquisition, the park has expanded its acreage to include most of the primary battlefield farms.¹⁷³ Due to the remarkable preservation of the various associated nineteenth century domestic and agricultural buildings on the Antietam farms, the park administration has not adopted a policy of returning the farm building complexes to their 1862 appearance (a policy currently under way at Gettysburg), preferring instead to rehabilitate and maintain the buildings in their present configuration. With the acquisition of each farm, National

Register documentation and a Historic Structures Report with recommendations for a preservation plan precede physical restoration or maintenance activity.

Building restorations have been decidedly slow due primarily to budgetary restraints. The park has pursued several strategies to achieve the preservation of various

buildings. In 1985, the park began restoration on the Piper Farm (Figure

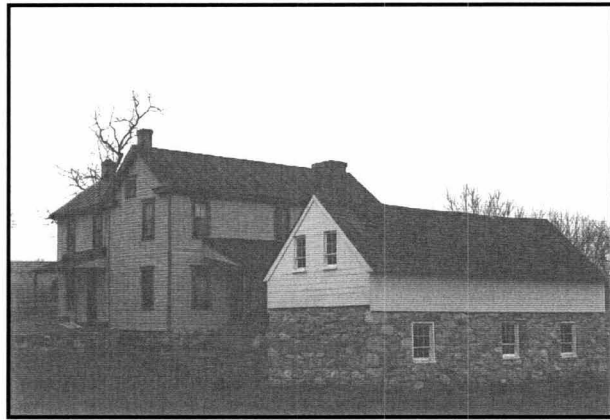


Figure 44: The Piper farmstead today. The slave quarter is in the foreground. (EBW 2000)

44) under a historic lease program; the original lessee was charged with the rehabilitation of the main house for use as a bed and breakfast. The house continues today in that capacity. At the same time, the

Park Service restored the Piper barn and other outbuildings, including the slave quarter. The barn continues in its original agricultural function under lease to a local farmer. With the house and barn in private use and unavailable for interior interpretation, only the

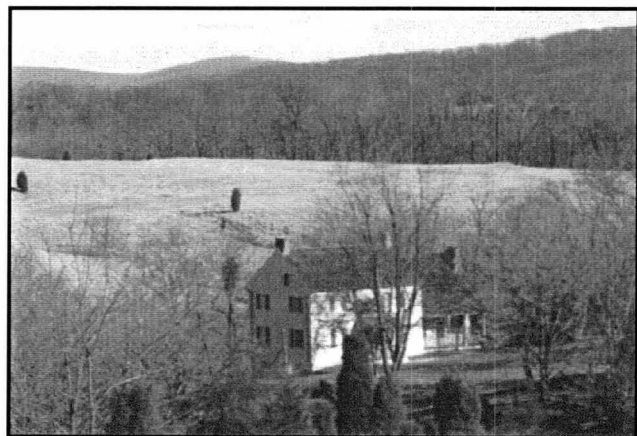


Figure 45: The Otto House, looking northeast. The kitchen wing is on the right. (EBW 2003)

slave quarter, presumed home of Jeremiah Summers for much of his life, remains as an interpretive resource on the Piper Farm.

The Otto House exterior (Figure 45), near Burnside's Bridge, is currently being restored for preservation of the historic landscape of the bridge area. The house, where both the Otto family and their slaves lived, is the only remaining building from the nineteenth century Otto farmstead. Former Otto slave Hilary Watson described the use of the house as a refuge by Confederate officers and soldiers immediately prior to the battle and as a hospital after (see page 83 above). The room above the kitchen, likely the home of Hilary and his mother during their enslavement, remains intact as part of the main house but is not currently open to the public.

The Mumma farmhouse (Figure 46), completely destroyed by fire during the battle and rebuilt in the years following, was recently rehabilitated for use as an educational facility. Much of the interior of the house does not retain its historic appearance; however,



Figure 46: The Mumma farmstead as it appears today following its recent rehabilitation. (EBW 2003)

the post-battle nineteenth century farmstead complex is intact and restored. This site provides an important outdoor setting for interpretation of the enormous impact of the battle on the Mumma family.

The nearby Roulette Farm (Figure 47), most recently acquired by the park, awaits restoration. The significant collection of buildings in this farm complex, including the springhouse/slave quarter described in Chapter II, are virtually unchanged from their nineteenth century appearance. This farm is perhaps the best suited for on-site time-

period (1862) interpretation.

Stabilization of the house and barn has prepared these buildings for the interim wait for a restoration plan and funding for the entire farmstead.

However, a structural analysis conducted by the author on the springhouse/slave quarter



Figure 47: The Roulette farmstead today. The main house is on the left; the slave quarter is on the right. (EBW 2000)

building revealed some structural deterioration associated with its springhouse use.¹⁷⁴

Unfortunately, budget constraints do not always allow a quick response to the needs of smaller outbuildings.

The documentary research associated with the development of the preservation plans for various parts of the Antietam Battlefield has uncovered revealing personal stories of the men, women, and children who lived and worked on the farms. Using this documentary information and the preserved buildings and agricultural landscape of the battlefield, several avenues of public interpretation are currently under consideration or are in experimental stages.

A draft brochure prepared by the author, keyed to the battlefield auto tour, provides personal histories of the farmers and their slaves or free laborers, which visitors can relate to the buildings on the ground as well as to the battle as it unfolds across the rural landscape (see Appendix III for the complete draft brochure). Plans are currently in the works to expand on the brochure concept to a booklet format, to include the whole

cast of participants in the Antietam Battlefield saga. The park's interpretive vision is to relate the experience of a person whose home was on a Civil War battlefield. This program will show what life was like before the battle and after the battle, as well as the physical, financial, and emotional impacts of the battle. It will also discuss what it was like to be a slave on a farm in western Maryland and how the battle impacted the life of the local slave or freeman. Another important aspect of the story, which crosses the civilian/soldier line: what was the experience of the Sharpsburg area soldiers fighting at Antietam, Union and Confederate, some former neighbors, and some relatives, who faced each other on a battlefield so close to home?¹⁷⁵

During the 140th Anniversary weekend in September 2002, the park offered a special driving/walking tour entitled "Landmarks of the Antietam Battlefield." The tour, guided by two historians, took visitors into the yards and buildings of several of the battlefield farmsteads, an opportunity not currently available on the standard tour. The military historian described the phase of the battle as it enveloped each farmstead. The social historian followed with a description of the people associated with the farmstead, their political and religious affiliation, attitudes toward slavery, or life as a slave or freeman, and the impacts of the battle on the occupants of the farm. The positive response to this tour by visitors ensures a continued commitment to this interpretive concept.

Other Civil War battlefield parks and communities throughout the United States can "plug in" to the Park Service's thematic contexts using the interpretive model under development at Antietam. These sites can interpret their preserved cultural landscapes with the documented personal histories of those who experienced the war in all its

manifestations firsthand. Manassas National Battlefield provides a similar approach through its educational program for visiting school groups.¹⁷⁶ Teacher's guides, available on the Manassas National Battlefield website, provide historic background on the farms and families of the battlefield – among them being a free black family – in preparation for a planned visit to the battlefield park. Focusing on the impact of the Civil War on these Manassas families, this program is a good use of documented personal history keyed to the farms and buildings in the field. However, it falls short of the Antietam model in its approach to tackling the larger issue of slavery. Did any of these farmers own slaves? What were their lives like on the farms of the Manassas Battlefield in Confederate Virginia? A museum display at the Manassas visitor's center does attempt to deal with the institution of slavery, but on such a large scale that few visitors can relate personally to the lives of slaves or picture the life of a slave on a Virginia farm on this battlefield.

National Historical Parks, as well as private historic sites such as Williamsburg, Monticello, or Mt. Vernon, which are dedicated to preserving and interpreting American history, are revisiting their strategies for preserving more than just the obvious buildings and histories under their management. These institutions are beginning to address whole histories and landscapes, interpreted on a personal scale from which any individual visitor can gain insight and empathy with the historic participants. This approach may be viewed as a step toward the development of a more inclusive and complete American history, as well as the preservation of more diverse resources.

Preservation in the Rural Town Setting: Sharpsburg, Maryland

Warmed by a cast-iron, pot-bellied stove, its large, bare light bulbs cast a warm glow around the room. And with its old wooden floors, handmade pulpit and pump organ still intact, the [Tolson's] chapel looks just the way it did when I was a little girl.

Virginia Cook (1976)¹⁷⁷

In November 1866, two years after emancipation from slavery in the state of Maryland, the black residents of the town of Sharpsburg laid the cornerstone for their Methodist Episcopal chapel, later known as



Tolson's Chapel, on High Street on the south edge of town. Enthusiasm was

Figure 48: Tolson's Chapel is currently interpreted with a small wayside plaque. (EBW 2002)

so high that construction of the church was completed within two months, and it was opened for worship in time for the Christmas season.¹⁷⁸ In 1976, one hundred and ten years later, a local newspaper announced, "Sunday's Rally Day services at Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg drew a crowd of 30 – ten times the size of the little congregation's membership."¹⁷⁹ Citing only three black families still living in Sharpsburg, Miss Virginia Cook, the chapel's matriarch, noted the Rally Day donations would "keep us going" another year. In January 2002, a group of preservationists gathered to mark the donation of Tolson's Chapel by the United Methodist Church to a local non-profit organization for its future preservation. As the group toured the sanctuary, it was clear that each object as

described by Miss Cook in 1976 remained in its place. This was indeed a special place and it steeled the group's resolve to preserve this treasure.

This is a study of preservation in a small town where big things happened. Often compared with Gettysburg for its significance as a Civil War battlefield town, Sharpsburg's acknowledgment of its historic moment, through preservation and tourism, is exactly the opposite of that of Gettysburg. Where Gettysburg has a strong preservation ethic and an even stronger battlefield tourism-based economy, Sharpsburg has neither. An intimate understanding of the Sharpsburg town psyche is necessary. A 1999 Associated Press article perhaps best explains that psyche, entitled "Tranquility base, Sharpsburg keeps Civil War tourism at arm's length."¹⁸⁰ Comparing the lack of tourism-based business in Sharpsburg to the masses found in Gettysburg, the author noted, "tourists [in Sharpsburg] can buy a T-shirt at the lone gift shop and grab an ice cream cone or cookie." A local resident and member of the town council explained, "It's not an anti-visitor thing," with others adding "...it might be called an anti-Gettysburg thing. Or an anti-Williamsburg thing....Money is important, but quality of life is way more important." To that end, the entire town of Sharpsburg is zoned residential. Sharpsburg's tenacious hold on its village community sense is legendary in Maryland preservation circles.¹⁸¹

A resolve to pursue a course of preservation in Sharpsburg then is a necessary starting point. In a town which fears government regulation of private property rights, historic preservation is a difficult "rope to tow."¹⁸² However, the significant history attached to Tolson's Chapel, particularly its use as a Freedmen's Bureau school first described by Dr. Dean Herrin in his report, "Antietam Rising: The Civil War and Its

Legacy in Sharpsburg, Maryland, 1860-1900,” has made a strong argument for the preservation of this humble building.

The strategy for preserving Tolson’s Chapel has taken a somewhat circuitous route. Although it would certainly be eligible, the Chapel is not currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, generally considered a first step in the preservation process.¹⁸³ Additionally, the Chapel is located on a street with at least two other buildings associated with the historic black community of Sharpsburg, including the 1872 house of Hilary Watson (former slave of John Otto, see above) and the 1899 “Sharpsburg Colored School.” Ideally, the historic streetscape constitutes a historic district. In fact, the whole town of Sharpsburg (with a few non-contributing exceptions) is eligible to be a National Register Historic District, but the townspeople have resisted listing for the past twenty-five years. Over the years, a number of property owners in Sharpsburg have had their houses listed on the Register individually. As more buildings within the town are nominated to the Register, rumblings have been heard in the State Historic Preservation Office (Maryland Historical Trust or MHT) that the town should be listed as a district rather than one building at a time. National Register listing may have to wait.

Tolson’s Chapel, as described in Chapter II, is a small log building located on a quiet side street in Sharpsburg (Figure 26). Deconsecrated by the United Methodist Church in the 1990s, the chapel’s dwindling African-American congregation had used the building only once a year for several decades. Although maintenance of the grounds continued through the years, the building now requires stabilization. The interior of the chapel is unchanged from the childhood memory Virginia Cook described, down to the open Bible on the pulpit. Liquid slate, a black paint used in place of chalkboard, revealed

on the walls under later layers of paint, remains from the days of the chapel's use as a school. This remarkable interior preservation is a physical record in need of recordation.

Despite potential resistance from some townspeople and the awkward issue of listing on the National Register, preservation of the chapel has quietly forged ahead. The United Methodist Church, anxious to see the building preserved, agreed to donate the chapel to a local non-profit preservation organization, the Save Historic Antietam Foundation (SHAF). It was a beautiful January day in 2002 when the group gathered to seal this first step in the process. Among those in attendance were the key players in initiating the preservation of Tolson's Chapel, the United Methodist Conference representative, members of SHAF, and Rev. Ralph Monroe, the last member of the Tolson's Chapel congregation still living in Sharpsburg, and Dr. Dean Herrin. Invited also that day were representatives of potential funding agencies to view the building in its setting and encourage their commitment to the cause, including the Washington County Historical Society, the Maryland Historical Trust, Preservation Maryland, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the National Park Service.

Non-profit organizations such as SHAF are eligible for a variety of preservation grants. MHT Capital Grant funds are granted on a yearly basis for preservation projects, including "efforts to acquire, rehabilitate or restore eligible projects, i.e. properties listed on, or eligible for listing on, the National Register of Historic Places."¹⁸⁴ In Fiscal Year 2003, SHAF was granted an MHT Capital Grant totaling \$20,000 for "A/E [architectural and engineering] services, structural assessment, building stabilization immediate weatherproofing and additional approved general rehabilitation."¹⁸⁵

The involvement of SHAF, an organization specifically committed to the preservation of battlefield-associated sites, is considered temporary. Future ownership of Tolson's Chapel is envisioned to be with people or organizations within the town of Sharpsburg. The fact that the black population of Sharpsburg, present since the eighteenth century, has dwindled to only one native resident and a few newcomers, makes this vision somewhat more problematic. Since the chapel's association with an important African-American activity defines the building's historic significance, preservation success may hinge on the interest of the region's black community, particularly former chapel members and their descendents. Alternatively, the African-American history represented by the chapel is part of the history of Sharpsburg and the region and justifies a more comprehensive community interest. Currently an Advisory Board is being formed with a diverse group of local citizens and interested historians to oversee the stabilization of the chapel and plan for future interpretation.

While cross-cultural involvement is important for this preservation strategy, continued funding for maintenance and interpretation is also an important consideration. This may depend on an adaptive use of the chapel as a museum, educational, or meeting facility. However, any non-residential use, even a small museum, must pass through the zoning waver process overseen by the Sharpsburg Town Council. How, then, does one preserve and maintain this historic building, and at the same time, allay the fears of the small town that the building may become a tourist magnet?¹⁸⁶

The key to this strategy is first to make the preservation of Tolson's Chapel a local investment. It is necessary to engage local interest by illuminating the significant history of the chapel building and its associated African-American community, and then

to show how these relate to the Sharpsburg community history as a whole. Preservation and interpretive programs should be closely linked to local historic memory. Like the personal stories of the Antietam Battlefield, relating Tolson's Chapel to activities and members of the congregation that many long-time Sharpsburg residents still recall may kindle interest in the history and preservation of the chapel. Reviving the annual "Rally Day" festival, organized by Virginia Cook for many years, can serve to stimulate memories and continue the traditional Rally Day function of fundraising for chapel maintenance. Such community outreach may ensure local investment in the chapel's future.¹⁸⁷

The significance of Tolson's Chapel as a Freedmen's Bureau school requires its interpretation beyond the local community. This is an educational opportunity. However, given the reluctance of Sharpsburg to open itself further to on-site historic interpretation, video and web-based programs might be more appropriate forums. Recently awarded grant funds will finance the production of an educational video on the chapel's history.¹⁸⁸ Content will include documented history, supplemented with personal memories of persons associated with the chapel like Rev. Monroe, and analysis by historians. Similar information could be available via website with lesson plans developed for classroom instruction about the Freedmen's Bureau schools.

The preservation strategy for the Sharpsburg Tolson's Chapel is a work-in-progress. Although the initial physical preservation of the building has been ensured by the donation of the chapel to a non-profit preservation organization and the grant funding for stabilization, additional work must be done to ensure full community and local government involvement. A continuing commitment to the preservation and

interpretation of Tolson's Chapel by a coalition of friends, neighbors, and government will be the chapel's best protection. The process developed through this experience may serve as a blueprint for other rural towns with similar preservation quandaries. No one strategy works for all situations; perhaps the most important lesson for preservationists is to choose your battles wisely and work within the community.

Preserving a Memory: The Historic Red Hill Community

Buildings have lives in time, and those lives are intimately connected with the lives of the people who use them. Buildings come into being at particular moments and in particular circumstances. They change and perhaps grow as the lives of their users change.

Patricia Waddy¹⁸⁹

Spread across the south side of Red Hill, a community of African-Americans, some born free and others freed by the 1864 Maryland State Constitution, raised their families, tilled the land, and walked the

hillside to the Pleasant Hill AME

Chapel. They were described by the

1870 census taker as, "industrious, well-

to-do and intelligent."¹⁹⁰ For nearly

eighty years, the collection of hillside

farmsteads formed a cohesive

community with church, school, and at

least eight property owners and

uncounted tenants. Over the following five or six decades, white families have replaced



Figure 49: Unidentified African-American farmstead in Washington County, undated. (Washington Co. Historical Society)

the historic black community through a slow evolutionary change, transforming the hillside with a mixture of historic farmsteads and modern homes.

Many historic rural African-American communities in the western Maryland region, relegated to marginal hill and mountainside lands during the post-emancipation period, ironically have become popular housing development sites touted for their views. This process, however, is apparently not responsible for black families moving

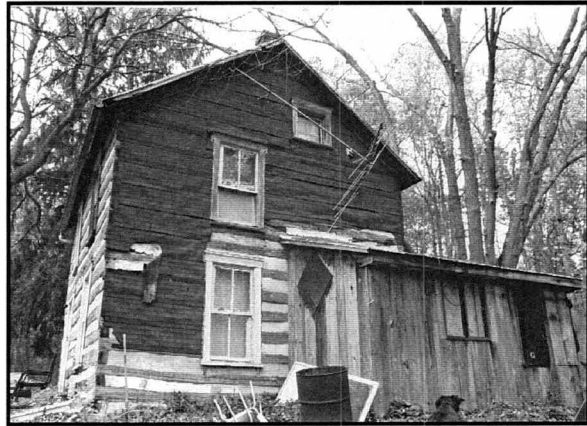


Figure 50: The Keats house on Toyer Road, showing the bathroom addition. (EBW 2002)

away from their farmsteads. Rather, these rural black communities began their decline in the 1930s and 1940s as small farm incomes waned and urban employment opportunities increased. As residents sold their properties, these historically black communities have been reoccupied or rebuilt by white families. Among the several historic rural African-American communities identified in Washington County (Chapter II and Appendix II), the Red Hill community is representative of this evolutionary change.

The challenge of preservation then for Red Hill and similar communities is to develop a strategy to identify significance for a geographically scattered collection of cultural resources, some of which may exist only as sites such as building foundations and cemeteries. Equally essential is how to maintain these historic resources as useful assets for the contemporary occupants. National Register listing, often the first step in preservation, is a valuable tool for the documentation of historic significance, and it is

necessary in order to qualify for federal and some state rehabilitation tax credits, a significant motivator for private-sector preservation activity.¹⁹¹

However, communities like Red Hill are often too scattered to qualify as a National Register district, and the historic buildings individually may not meet the architectural significance



Figure 51: The Martin L. Griffith Farmstead includes a dwelling, out-kitchen, springhouse, and barn, all eligible for the Maryland rehabilitation tax credit. (EBW 2002)

requirement for listing in the National Register, to “embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction.”¹⁹²

The National Register of Historic Places (NR), sometimes criticized for focusing on resources significant only within European/white historic contexts, includes a nomination format that has important application for culturally diverse resources that may not fit individually into the standard NR format. The Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) is an often-overlooked option for listing properties significant through other cultural contexts. Redesigned in 1991, the MPDF is “a document for recording written statements of historic context and associated property types, thereby providing a framework for evaluating a thematic group of historic properties.”¹⁹³ The format emphasizes the development of an umbrella cultural theme, encompassing a distinct geographical region, within which can be applied any number of historic contexts, and through which a variety of cultural property types gain significance.¹⁹⁴ This thesis provides examples of two historic narratives (Chapter I) and

identification of the various property types (Chapter II) that would be associated in an MPDF for “African-American Cultural Resources in Washington County, Maryland.”

The property type description format allows for a wider variety of eligible resources through

“associative characteristics” identified with the thematic context rather than distinctive architectural characteristics. “Hillside Farmsteads,” including dwelling house and outbuildings, defines a property type for “African-American Cultural Resources in Washington County, Maryland.” Identification of the property type is by the association with a historic black community, not by the construction technique. Additional property types should include the church building, cemetery site, school building, lodge, stores, or other identified associated resources.¹⁹⁵ Over time, this kind of documentation will create an important tool for comparative research by including the whole variety of construction methods within the property type identified with historic African-American rural communities in a particular geographic region.¹⁹⁶

With National Register listing, properties such as those associated with the Red Hill community are eligible for federal and state rehabilitation tax credits. American Planning Association senior research associate Marya Morris described the potential impact of tax incentives on preservation of privately owned buildings:

They encourage owners of historic property, who may or may not be active

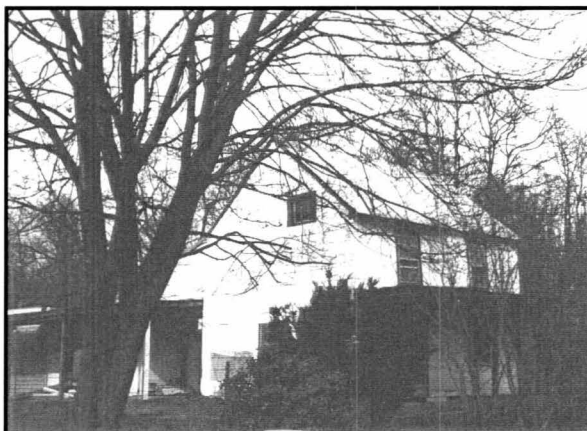


Figure 52: The Harriet Calaman house, Red Hill has a series of modern additions on the rear of the building. (EBW 2002)

or interested in preservation, to save their structures and become advocates. With incentive, property owners can even become active participants in other preservation initiatives, such as historic and conservation zoning and landmark designation. Ultimately, incentives are the answer to the property owner's question, What's in it for me?¹⁹⁷

In Maryland, property owners receive a twenty-five percent credit on their State income tax for rehabilitation projects that follow the Secretary of Interior Standards. Morris notes, "...eligible work includes interior or exterior restoration, structural work, and certain utilities, including wiring and plumbing."¹⁹⁸ Even kitchens and bathrooms are eligible for tax credits if they do not negatively impact the historic floor plan of the building. Additionally, while the credit only applies to rehabilitation of historic property, homeowners may undertake new additions and new construction if approved by the Maryland Historical Trust: "MHT recognizes that buildings change over time. Reviewers will judge all changes to the building against the appearance of the building at the time the application is made."¹⁹⁹

Washington County, a Certified Local Government, offers another advantage to private owners of historic properties in need of rehabilitation. In addition to the Maryland State rehabilitation tax credits, a ten percent county property tax credit is available to locally designated historic properties.²⁰⁰ Designation of historic properties in Washington County requires that the property be documented on the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties and the property owner must "petition the Board of County Commissioners to amend the zoning maps and establish an "HP" [Historic Preservation] overlay zone on his or her property."²⁰¹ This local process, eminently less costly and less rigorous than National Register documentation, is an important option for preservation of rural vernacular buildings often owned by people of more modest means.

Communities throughout the United States, grappling with preservation strategies for historic African-American cultural resources, as well as for other identifiable but not necessarily distinctive historic resources, should be energized by the implications of the federal (and state and local, where available) rehabilitation tax credits and applying the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form. Both have the greatest potential for meeting the needs of modern owners of historic properties and for preservation of a diverse cultural history like that found on Red Hill in Washington County, Maryland.²⁰²

Conservation of a Living Community: Mt. Moriah Baptist Church at Garrett's Mill

There's a church named Mt. Moriah in the valley
It has stood there for a hundred long years.
Built of stone by the hands of faithful servants
Toiling daily at the church in the vale.²⁰³

Every Sunday at eleven in the morning, a congregation of about thirty souls gathers to renew their faith at the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church in Pleasant Valley. All members participate in the service; the pastor's sermon rouses the congregation to attention and the gospel singing fills the small sanctuary with divine glory. Members of the Mt. Moriah Church welcome visitors with warm and open arms. They are quick to tell the history of their beautiful stone church in the valley, and quick to point out that most of the current members are descendants of the skilled mason who built their house of worship. This one hundred and thirteen year-old edifice is alive with African-American culture and community, past, present, and future.

The Mt. Moriah Baptist Church was established in 1890 by the African-American community around Garrett's Mill near the southern tip of Pleasant Valley in Washington County. Its solid stone and mortar construction mirrors the strong community that returns to worship every Sunday. Although few of the current Mt. Moriah congregation still live in the Garrett's Mill area, all view themselves as members of that historic community.

Preservation of a living community, often called cultural conservation, requires a multi-dimensional approach, including historical documentation, "bricks and mortar" preservation, preservation of memory and tradition through ethnographic study, and assurance of continuation of the community into the future. For many preservationists and the traditional cultural communities themselves, this is a difficult concept to grasp. Lorraine Johnson-Coleman wrote in "Bringing African-American Traditions and Memories to Life," about redefining our view of significant cultural resources:

It is not a museum. It is your grandmama's apron. It's the way you sing in church every Sunday. It's the preacher. It's the old outhouse. It's the chicken coop. It's the old family Bible. It's the traditions. It's the superstitions. It's the memories. It's the way we cook. It's all of that-cultural resources, not just a museum.²⁰⁴

This wider vision of cultural property includes buildings, places, traditions, superstitions, and memories, but there remains an emphasis on the church as central to the African-American cultural experience. Audrey L. Brown, an ethnographer with the Anthropology and Ethnography Program for the National Park Service, describes African-American churches as "perhaps the most common ethnographic resources of African-Americans – significant places in their lives," noting,

While schools, mutual aid societies, and other social institutions evolved

from churches, there is little research about day-to-day detail of that process. Ethnography can be the link that documents and preserves such knowledge and thus illuminate the cultural meaning of the “church” in African Americana.²⁰⁵

The church, as the center of social, intellectual, and spiritual life, will provide the broadest cultural documentation on the community as a whole.²⁰⁶

The Mt. Moriah community, which survives primarily through the church activity, is a perfect candidate for ethnographic study as an important component in the preservation of this historic community. This may be achieved primarily through interviews with members of the congregation, both elderly and young. Interviews and oral history provide personal perspective not only on memory and tradition, but also on what individuals within a community see as important cultural markers. Members who still live in the Garrett’s Mill area near the church can provide information on the historic physical community; where homes and farmsteads stood, location of the school building, and other associated buildings or sites. Younger informants could clarify the process of migration away from the traditional physical community. They might also explain what holds them to the current church community. Comparison between the answers given by the different informant generations should reveal the cultural traditions that continue to be relevant and those that are changing through time.²⁰⁷

Cultural conservation ensures the documentation of traditional and intangible aspects of the historic and contemporary community, but preservation of the remaining buildings is also central to this strategy. The old stone church building embodies the history of the African-American experience in the southern valley of Washington County. It also serves as the glue that binds the community today and toward the future.

Preservation of this building is important as a symbol of the past, the present, and the future community. Once again, National Register listing would serve as a protection in regional and local planning in an area beginning to change through housing developments. National Register eligibility in Maryland also enables religious institutions to be eligible for rehabilitation grant funds.²⁰⁸

While the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church building is certainly individually eligible for the National Register, there are other buildings associated with this still extant historic rural African-American community (see Chapter II).

Recognition and preservation of these buildings add depth and texture

to the history surrounding the church. It would also make available the rehabilitation tax credit, already noted as a significant incentive for private-sector preservation (see Chapter III, Red Hill section). The National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form discussed in the previous section would again be an excellent choice for this community, using the umbrella theme of “African-American Cultural Resources in Washington County, Maryland.”

National Register listing of the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church building through an MPDF nomination represents a significant departure from what has been the norm for African-American associated National Register listings in the United States. The church



Figure 53: Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, showing development encroaching on the south side of Garrett's Mill Road. (EBW 2002)

building dominates the National Register list of African-American associated buildings.²⁰⁹ Perhaps this is because of the centrality of the church in black culture (see Endnote 44), or because churches tend to be more architecturally significant, or because the church building may be the only remaining building associated with a historic black community. These are valid reasons for listing; however, the church does not represent the whole story of African-American life. For example in the rural context, African-Americans were farmers, laborers, housekeepers, builders, school children, teachers, or shopkeepers and many buildings

representative of these occupations still exist. Just as American preservation necessarily widened its horizons beyond significant political sites, battlefields, and architectural gems, so too must

African-American cultural resources be recognized beyond the church. The Multiple Property Documentation Form

serves that purpose of nominating to the National Register the broad cultural range of a historic African-American community.

Although in Washington County the Mt. Moriah Church community at Garrett's Mill is the only surviving rural African-American community from the post-emancipation era, the combined strategy of cultural conservation and building preservation discussed here is applicable elsewhere. Communities of this type exist in significant numbers in other Maryland counties and undoubtedly throughout the country; communities that are

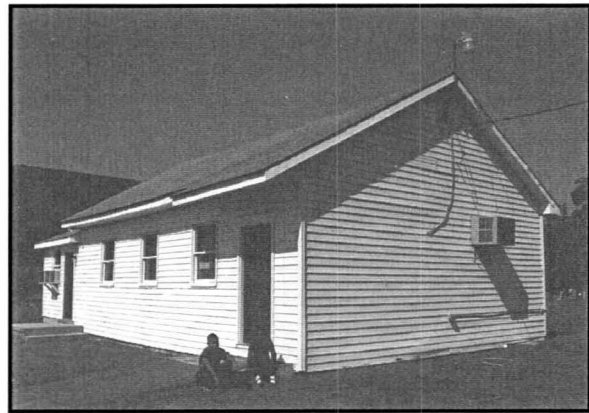


Figure 54: The former Weverton Colored Schoolhouse, now Mt. Moriah Baptist Church Fellowship Hall. (EBW 2002)

centered on still-active churches, with evolving house types, rehabilitated schools and other buildings, and strong cultural memory. These living (and some dying) communities need to be documented, preserved, and celebrated as important participants in American history and culture.

Conclusion

What do we preserve and for whom? Preservation of African-American resources benefits all Americans. Historic buildings and their cultural landscapes serve as physical reminders, which help us to recall our history, memories, traditions, and our hopes for the future. The four case studies presented from southern Washington County demonstrate the exciting avenues available for interpretation and education, for community involvement, and for maintenance of community memory and sense of place. Several of these case studies also demonstrate the potential for applying the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form to the nomination of properties associated with rural African-American communities. The National Register of Historic Places is an important tool for documentation, planning, and preservation. Finding ways to work with African-American cultural resources within both the traditional preservation framework as well as breaking out to include intangible resources is a significant step toward the preservation of our diverse cultural history.

CHAPTER IV CONCLUSIONS

...it is well to have, not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life.

John Ruskin²¹⁰

Historic buildings and the landscapes they occupy serve an important role as reminders of a past often forgotten. Documentation of such physical resources and recordation of the traditions or memories of current occupants may reveal noteworthy incidents in our history; or it may simply illuminate the everyday life of people on a farm or within a community. Often the everyday lives of individuals intersected with significant historic moments, as exemplified by Nancy Camel, Jerry Summers, Hilary Watson, and the many others featured in this thesis. Their personal experiences provide an empathetic window through which future generations can view and better understand history.

This thesis seeks to widen our historic horizons by recognizing the diverse people who have played significant roles throughout our history. It demonstrates how the preservation of the tangible resources we see such as buildings, as well as the intangible resources such as memory and traditions associated with African-American culture, warrant inclusion among the preservation priorities of Maryland and the nation.

Thesis Results: The Present

This thesis analyses the historic role of African-Americans in rural Washington County, Maryland through slavery and freedom, despite being a relatively small percentage of the county's population. Although generally forgotten following a near-exodus from rural communities in the mid-twentieth century, African-American history in the county stretches back into the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Slaves worked the farms of their masters, and freemen sought the cheap and isolated mountain land of western Maryland. Through their buildings, communities, and traditions, African-American slaves, freemen, and their descendants left a cultural mark on the Washington County landscape.

The thesis looks at the value of buildings and their settings as an important physical link to reclaiming the forgotten history of African-American life in rural Washington County. The extant slave quarters and the agricultural landscapes they occupy, and the freedmen's houses, churches, schools, and cemeteries in their community settings, inspired the historic research and resulted in the documentation of African-American culture, largely ignored in the county's recorded history. John Ruskin wrote in his "Lamp of Memory" of architecture's important role in human memory, noting "how many pages of doubtful record might we not often spare, for a few stones left one upon another!"²¹¹ Absent the built remains of the slave quarters and freedmen's communities in Washington County, the memory of this culture might well have faded completely.

Finally, this analysis has shown the relationship between the documentation and dissemination of African-American history, which creates a general appreciation of the

value of the associated historic buildings and their settings, and the strategies for preserving those resources. Through four case studies of historic African-American buildings in agricultural and community group settings in southern Washington County, individual strategies for preservation have been identified relating the buildings, their history, and their association within the larger community, to community values today (here community can mean local, regional, or national). Certainly, the National Park Service's many historical parks address this concept through the preservation and interpretation of the history of buildings, landscapes, and cultural traditions. National Battlefields, particularly Antietam National Battlefield, have an especial opportunity to interpret African-American history through preserved buildings and agricultural landscapes. Through presentation to the visiting public of the documented individual experiences of slaves and freemen, and their white owners and employers, the farms of the battlefield take on an added significance far beyond their traditional role as battlefield setting. Gettysburg and Manassas Battlefields have similar opportunities with interpretation of black-owned farmsteads and the life of free blacks in Pennsylvania and Virginia during the Civil War period. National Historical Parks of all shapes and sizes, time-periods and cultural backgrounds, would benefit from this framework of developing personal history associated with existing material culture. Interpretation of the diverse places and artifacts of cultural history within a larger thematic context such as the Civil War, Native American History, or Industrial History to name just a few, should be the goal of all public and private historical parks.

The case study presented on the preservation of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg shows a clear link between the preservation value of a simple, almost forgotten building

and the revelation of a significant historic moment. As the black population of Sharpsburg has dwindled, their beloved chapel was destined to disappear into obscurity. Its preservation was initiated through the discovery that the chapel housed one of only a few Freedmen's Bureau schools in western Maryland. The resulting diverse coalition of historians, local citizens, and funding agencies active in the preservation of the chapel serves as a reminder that interest in local African-American history is not limited to local African-Americans. The history of Tolson's Chapel is relevant to all of Sharpsburg history and to American history as a whole.

Oral history has been an important component in the documentation and future preservation strategy of Tolson's Chapel. With only one known member of the former congregation still living, recording his memories of the chapel's physical appearance as well as the activities of the congregation, will add a unique layer to the understanding and interpretation of the chapel's history. Often, in communities that have changed in their cultural make-up or where oral tradition handed down from generation to generation is weak, oral history is not an option. Where the opportunity for interview is available and relevant, such as the living cultural community of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church at Garrett's Mill, this valuable resource should be included in the preservation strategy.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this thesis is the application of the National Register Multiple Property Nomination Form to the important but sometimes problematic identification of cultural resources associated with rural African-American communities in Washington County. The two other case studies presented on the rural freedmen's communities of Red Hill and Mt. Moriah Baptist Church at Garrett's Mill include a variety of resources that are valuable reminders of the whole cultural history of

African-Americans in Washington County. Using the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF), the link between thematic historic contexts and physical cultural resources or “property types” takes on a formal organization. Chapter I of the thesis provides two historic contexts that apply to a MPDF for “African-American Cultural Resources in Washington County.” Chapter II supplies the property types that are associated with those contexts and are therefore eligible for nomination to the National Register. Additional contexts are applicable that would complete the theme, including rural town communities such as the Sharpsburg community, of which Tolson’s Chapel was the symbolic center, and urban communities such as those found in Hagerstown. The MPDF format is thus applicable for use in any county in Maryland or in other regions of the country. Remarkably, the format is untried in Maryland for the nomination of African-American cultural resources and generally overlooked throughout the United States as perhaps the most versatile tool available for nomination to the National Register of the resources associated with traditional cultures.

When successfully applied, the result of all of these preservation strategies will be the increased value of the historic property--value not only in monetary terms, but also in terms of historic value as a source of memory, documentation, education, tradition, as well as future value as useful contemporary resources. Buildings, particularly within their historic setting, with documented histories, momentous and personal, are important as educational tools to aid in the understanding of all of American history by all Americans. They help to preserve historical memory and living tradition. And buildings, their histories revealed and embraced, can continue to serve as homes, meeting places, museums, and places of spiritual renewal for future generations to come.

Thesis Results: The Future

This thesis attempts to address the best strategies available that will promote the preservation of African-American history and culture. The case study format is used to encourage thought about the variety of cultural resources both tangible and intangible to be found in any community or geographical region. However, time clearly limits the number and type of resources directly addressed in the case studies. While it is limited to a very small geographical area in southern Washington County and specifically addresses rural resources, much of the findings can be extrapolated to other regions and urban resources as well. Since state and local preservation needs and the tools available may vary, these should be reviewed before applying this model to other regions.

It was intensely frustrating, as an active preservationist in my own community, to study these fascinating buildings and communities and develop strategies for their preservation, and yet be unable to act immediately upon their preservation needs. However, study necessarily precedes action and that action is apparently forthcoming. As a part of my research of the Sharpsburg African-American community, I participated in two personal interviews with Rev. Ralph Monroe, the only surviving member of the Tolson's Chapel congregation. Following the involvement in the initial preservation planning for the chapel, I have been invited to serve on the Advisory Board for the future preservation of Tolson's Chapel.

Additionally, my contacts with the Maryland Historical Trust concerning the possible application of the MPDF for nomination of rural African-American cultural resources ignited an atypical excitement at the Trust about the untapped potential of the

format. I have been strongly encouraged to pursue a Certified Local Government Grant to develop the initial documentation for an MPDF in Washington County, expected to set a precedent for other counties in the state of Maryland. And finally, the community of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church at Garrett's Mill has accepted me into their warm and loving arms. We will be pursuing together both an oral history project and a state grant for the maintenance of their historic church building. Like the state and federal grants already obtained for stabilization and initial video-based interpretation of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg, all of these preservation strategies represent ways to reclaim forgotten history.

Recalling my somewhat narrow vision as a child of what the farms of the western Maryland region were telling me about the history of the region, this thesis has been more than an academic undertaking for me. It has been an educational experience for sure, but a spiritual journey as well. I have ventured closer to a better understanding of myself and of the people around me through our shared history. Frustrated by my inability to act immediately, yes, but are these limitations or opportunities yet untried? It is all a matter of time.

APPENDIX I
SURVEY OF POTENTIAL SLAVE QUARTERS IN WASHINGTON
COUNTY, MARYLAND

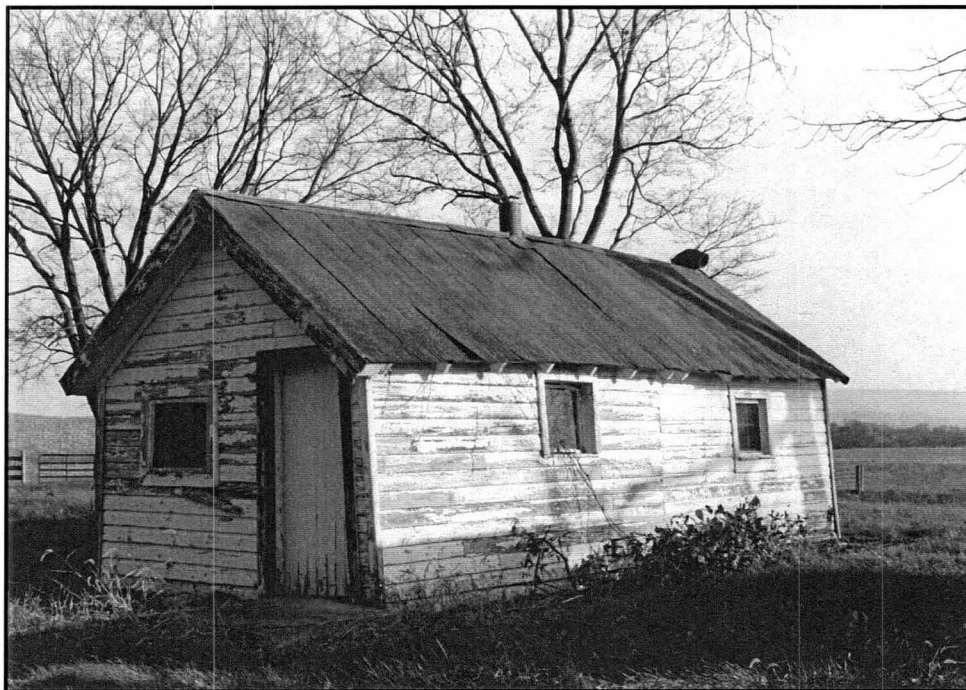


Figure 55: The log slave quarter with frame addition on Hayland farm near Sharpsburg (WA-II-227). (EBW 2002)

Washington County farms retain a remarkable number of nineteenth century outbuildings, some still used and maintained, many abandoned and dilapidated. The common use of stone construction for outbuildings probably explains this somewhat unusual preservation of buildings whose original use has become out-dated. The following list, gleaned from the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP), identifies a number of potential slave quarter buildings on farms throughout the county.

Identified based on construction, location, and use descriptions, some have been corroborated using records of slave ownership and family tradition. Certainly a great deal more research is needed to more positively verify these buildings as slave quarters.

Most of the buildings listed below are privately owned and located on currently active farms. The preservation strategy for slave quarters addressed in the text of Chapter III focused on interpretation of the buildings on the Antietam National Battlefield rather than physical repairs and use of the building. Preservation of privately-owned buildings would require strategies for re-use and rehabilitation funding (probably through tax credits). However, identification of the building's history remains the first step in the process.

<u>MIHP Site #</u>	<u>Property Name</u>	<u>Resource Description</u>
WA-I-038 NR	The Maples	stone slave quarter/blacksmith shop
WA-I-039 NR	The Willows	log secondary house/slave quarter
WA-I-049	Herbst Farm	possible slave quarter
WA-I-180	Gabby-Abbott Farm	possible, stone out-kitchen/quarter
WA-I-207	Cool Brook Farm	slave cemetery
WA-I-216 NR	Brightwood (Yeager House)	log slave quarter (demolished)
WA-I-217	Spriggs Paradise	stone slave quarter, converted to barn
WA-I-254	Brick Encased House and Log Bldg	possible, log section of kitchen
WA-I-340	Schindel-Custer Farm	possible, stone quarter (2 nd dwelling)
WA-I-348	Limestone Farmhouse	possible, stone quarter
WA-I-366	Reserve #6, Part of	stone slave house/kitchen
WA-I-392	Dunham Farm	possible, log slave quarter
WA-I-396	Rowland-Stoner Farm	stone slave quarter
WA-I-405	Firey Farm	possible, brick slave quarter
WA-I-408	Stone House	possible, stone quarter, over spring
WA-I-435	Landis Farm	possible, stone quarter/kitchen

<u>MIHP Site #</u>	<u>Property Name</u>	<u>Resource Description</u>
WA-I-458	Schindel-Brandenburg Farm	stone quarter, attached to kitchen
WA-II-045	Mid 19th Century Farm Complex	possible, stone quarter/kitchen
WA-II-047	Mint Spring Farm	possible, frame slave quarter
WA-II-048	Lenafield, Part of	stone kitchen/quarter
WA-II-075	Discontent, Part of; Res. on Trap	possible, upper story of kitchen
WA-II-085 NR	Ingram-Schipper Farm	possible, log quarter
WA-II-156 NR	Search Well	possible, stone 2-story quarter
WA-II-191	Barkdoll Farm	possible, brick quarter (2 nd dwelling)
WA-II-197	Dunrovin Farm	possible, log quarter
WA-II-227	Hayland	log quarter w/ frame addition
WA-II-251 NR	Hoffman-Scheller Farm	brick slave quarter/smokehouse
WA-II-264 NR	Keedy Farm	possible, stone quarter (2 nd dwelling)
WA-II-271	Stone and Log Farmstead	possible, 2 bay, 1 ½ -story
WA-II-280	Woodley	poss. log, out-kitchen/slave quarter
WA-II-286	Deteriorated Farmstead	brick out kitchen w/ living quarter
WA-II-295	Burns Farmstead	stone out-kitchen/slave quarter
WA-II-302	Price Farm	possible, stone quarter
WA-II-304	Sebold Farmhouse	stone w/ log living quarter above
WA-II-306	Eakle Farmstead	possible, stone slave quarter
WA-II-332 NR	Wilson-Miller Farm	possible, stone ruin
WA-II-335	Piper Farm	stone quarter w/ log upper story
WA-II-340	Brick Farmhouse	stone and brick out-kitchen/quarter
WA-II-351	Roulette Farm	stone springhouse/slave quarter
WA-II-354	Log House (John Otto Farm)	upper story of kitchen
WA-II-404	Stone Farmstead	possible, log quarter/out-kitchen
WA-II-416	Stone Farmstead	possible, stone and log quarter
WA-II-420	Woodland	possible, brick quarter/out-kitchen
WA-II-430	Woburn Overseer's Farm	stone bunkhouse quarter/out-kitchen
WA-II-431	Harshman Farm	stone, out-kitchen/slave quarter
WA-II-438	Felfoot Farm	2 stone out-kitchen/slave quarters

<u>MIHP Site #</u>	<u>Property Name</u>	<u>Resource Description</u>
WA-II-450	Mid 19th Century Farm Complex	poss., stone w/ upper story
WA-II-457	Burtner Farm	possible, part of out-kitchen
WA-II-458 NR	Woburn Manor	stone out-kitchen/slave quarter
WA-II-459	Woburn Tenant Farm	stone out-kitchen/slave quarter
WA-II-462	Chews Farm	poss., stone quarter (now hog pen)
WA-II-467	Early 19th Century Complex	possible, stone springhouse/quarter
WA-II-469 NR	Mt. Airy; Grove Farm	brick, out-kitchen/slave quarter
WA-II-479	Coakley House	possible, brick out-kitchen/quarter
WA-II-502 NR	Hogmire-Berryman Farm	possible, stone 2 nd dwelling (Jonas Hogmire Will 1846, had slaves)
WA-II-1142	Col. John Miller House	possible, log slave quarter
WA-II-1143	Mt. Pleasant	probably upper story of kitchen wing
WA-III-063	Log Complex	possible, stone add. to springhouse
WA-IV-004	Mong-Lininger Farm	possible, stone springhouse/quarter
WA-IV-069	Log and Stone Cabin	possible slave quarter
WA-V-004 NR	North Conquest Farm	possible, stone out-kitchen/quarter
WA-V-008	Montpelier	poss., stone 1 ½ -story 2 nd dwelling
WA-V-010	Stafford Hall	upper story of service wing
WA-V-011	Barnes/Seibert's Mill	brick slave quarters (WA-V-016)
WA-V-060	Ditto Farm and Cushwa Cemetery	possible, frame kitchen/quarter
WA-V-114	Brick Farmhouse	frame two-room service wing
WA-V-158	Jacques-Ankeney Farm	log, dbl-pen quarters (WA-V-159)
WA-V-173	Crown Stone Farm	possible, upper story of springhouse
WA-V-191	Schnebly-Roney Farm	possible, brick quarter

APPENDIX II

SURVEY OF RURAL FREEDMEN'S COMMUNITIES IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

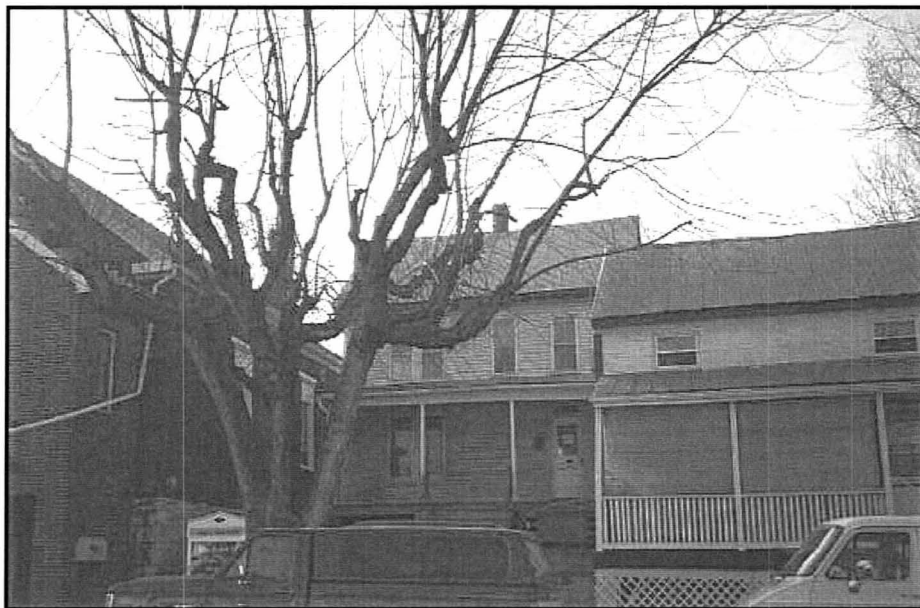


Figure 56: S. Artizan Street in Williamsport includes the former A.M.E. Church (left, built 1868), the parsonage (center, c.1900), and a representative log house (right, c.1870). The site of the county “colored” school is also located on this street. (EBW 2001)

Following is a list of the rural freedmen's communities identified in Washington County to date. Delineated by county election districts, the communities were identified using U.S. Population Census data from the 1870 record and the 1877 Atlas Map of Washington County. Land records provided information on churches and schools, as well as references in Scharf's *History of Washington County, Maryland*, written in 1882, and several town histories written more recently. Since some communities may not have

come together until the 1880s or 1890s, this list is preliminary. The urban communities in Hagerstown were not considered for this rural survey. See Figure 1 (Chapter I) for the 1877 county map showing the boundaries of the election districts and location of towns.

Southern Districts (Sharpsburg/Keedysville, Boonsboro, Rohrsersville, Sandy Hook)

Rural Communities

Red Hill (Sharpsburg/Keedysville Districts) – Including the church site, cemetery site, and several possible houses along Red Hill Road; the school site and scattered log houses along east side of hillside along Toyer Road; the mixed hamlet of Mt. Briar at the east end of Porterstown Road; and the group of log houses known as Flickersville on Porterstown Road near Red Hill Road.

Garrett's Mill (Sandy Hook/Rohrsersville Districts) – Church, cemetery, and school (church fellowship hall) on Garrett's Mill Road; and scattered log and frame houses along east side of Elk Ridge along Brown Road and Yarrowsburg Road.

Rural Town Communities

Sharpsburg – including Tolson's Chapel and cemetery, school (currently house), lodge site, and log houses along High Street, and scattered houses on W. Antietam and W. Chapline Streets,.

Boonsboro – Scattered locations not yet identified.

Sandy Hook/Weverton – Church site, cemetery, school site, scattered houses not yet identified.

Central Districts (Chewsville, Williamsport)

Rural Communities

Crystal Falls/Jugtown (Chewsville District) – Along Crystal Falls Road and Jugtown Road, including church site, cemetery, scattered log farmsteads.

Rural Town Communities

Williamsport – church, school site, numerous log houses along S. Artizan Street and N. Conococheague Street.

Western Districts (Clear Spring, Hancock, Indian Spring)

Rural Communities

Fort Frederick area (Indian Spring District) – very scattered small group of several families (primarily Nathan Williams, whose farm encompassed Fort Frederick, and the Pye family), school building (currently a house), possible farmsteads not yet identified.

Rural Town Communities

Clear Spring – Along Martin and Mill Streets, including church site, school site, houses not yet identified, scattered farmsteads southwest of town limits.

Hancock – Along East Main Street, including church site, school site, and houses not yet identified.

APPENDIX III

CONTRADICTIONS AND DIVIDED LOYALTIES, SLAVERY ON THE ANTIETAM BATTLEGROUND – A SAMPLE BROCHURE

Public interest in America's Civil War has grown dramatically in the last decade. As visitation to national Civil War battlefields becomes more diverse, the need to expand interpretation of those battlefields beyond military analysis is apparent. Understanding the underlying causes of the war, the effect of the division of the country on the citizenry, and the effect of battle on those who lived it, may serve to help us understand ourselves today. It may also serve as a reminder of the awful human toll of civil war as we consider other countries currently at war with themselves.

America's national battlefields are a unique opportunity for the interpretation of history. The preservation of the farmland that served as battleground secondarily preserved the history of the farms and the people who lived on them. Antietam National Battlefield, known as one of the best-preserved battlefields in the United States, is made up of a series of remarkably intact farms from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A rich documentary record, both public and private, is also available, as well as a large amount of written history relating to the 1862 Battle of Antietam.

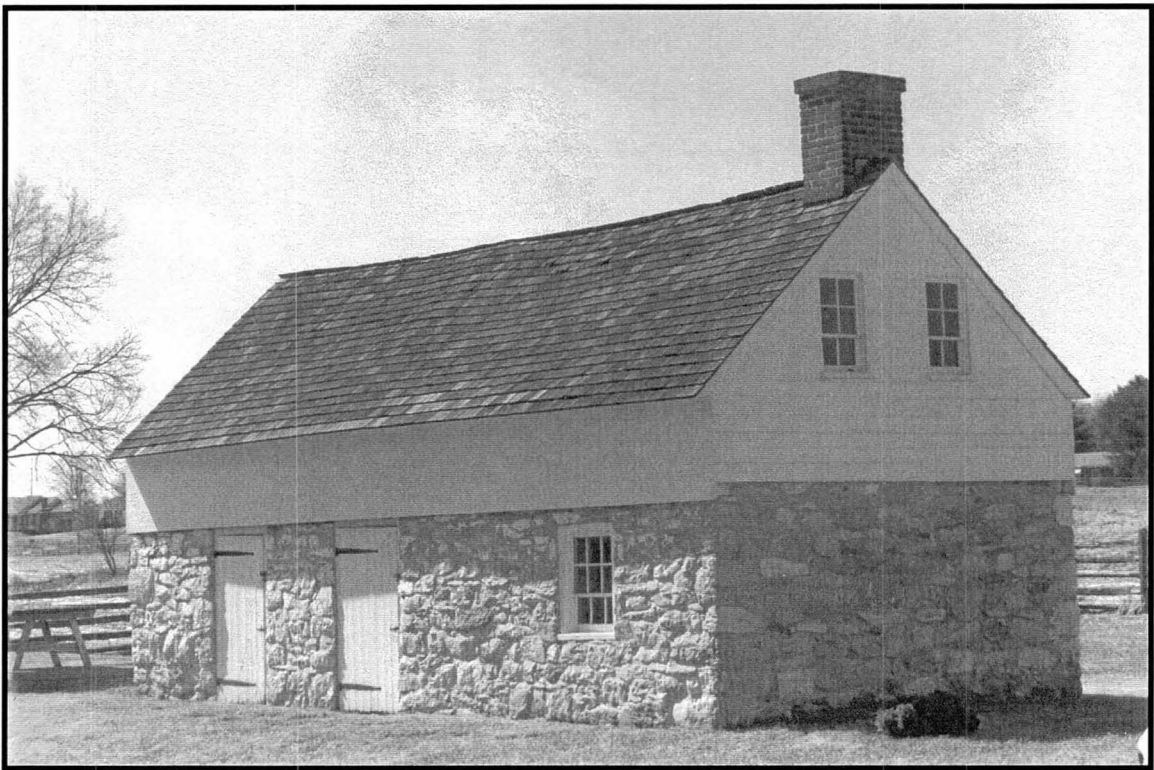
The human cast of history at Antietam – soldier, citizen, freeman and slave – provides an excellent opportunity for diverse interpretation on the field. The following brochure, *Contradictions and Divided Loyalties, Slavery on the Antietam Battleground*, is a short discussion of slavery in the context of Maryland in the Civil War, with a focus on

slavery on the farms of the Antietam Battlefield. I designed the brochure to be used in conjunction with the comprehensive battle driving tour produced by the National Park Service; the stops noted refer to specific driving tour stops. However, this brochure takes a closer look at the people who lived on the battlefield farms. Each stop highlights a particular farm, its family, and their individual approach to slavery. The brochure additionally gives the names and personal history of some of the slaves or freemen who lived on the farms at the time of the battle.

I completed the brochure project for a graduate class in Preservation Fieldwork, through Goucher College in Towson, Maryland. My purpose in designing this project was to learn the process of moving from academic research to public interpretation. With the help of Chief of Interpretation, Stephanie Gray, this draft brochure is working its way through revisions with the eventual goal of publication and an expansion of interpretation on the Antietam Battlefield. It was presented as a virtual tour at the National Park Service Slavery Workshop, held April 4, 2001 at the Catocin Center for Regional Studies, Frederick Community College, in Frederick, Maryland.

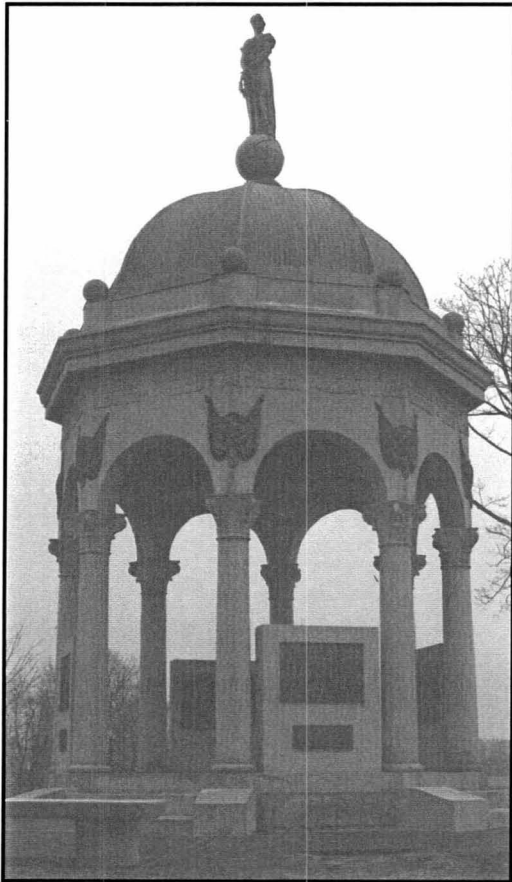
Contradictions and Divided Loyalties

Slavery on the Antietam Battleground



A Guided Tour of the Antietam National Battlefield

INTRODUCTION



Maryland commemorative monument,
Antietam National Battlefield. (EBW)

America's Civil War was a complicated period of contradiction and divided loyalties. Divided by the south's economic dependence on slave labor, desire in the north to limit the institution of slavery, and the issue of the rights of states to pursue their chosen path, the heated debate of decades degenerated into war in 1861.

Straddling the opposing sides both politically and geographically was the border state of Maryland.

Maryland, of all the states, was a puzzle. Despite the legislative efforts of the powerful slaveholding minority, the majority of Maryland's population was less committed to the institution of slavery. Yet among that majority could be found numerous individuals who took advantage of slave labor, including many who would declare themselves loyal to the Union. Reluctance among Maryland's southern sympathizers to support secession placed the state somewhere in between north and south politically as well.

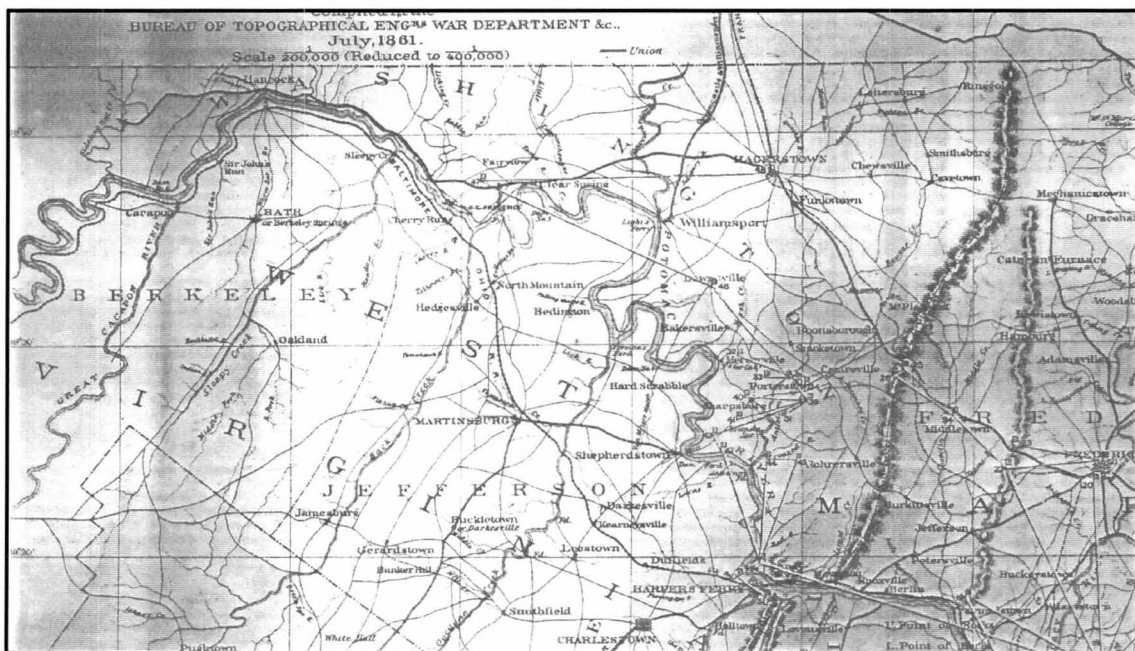
The institution of slavery is still one which is shrouded in mystery. Though information is often scarce, research has uncovered fragments of the lives of those who held slaves and those who were enslaved. With this we can begin to develop a broader picture of the people who were affected by slavery in Maryland.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Washington County serves as a case study of Maryland as a “middle ground.” Directly bordered by both northern and southern states, its population was politically divided between Union supporters and southern sympathizers. Slavery was practiced on a small but significant scale in a population generally assumed to be anti-slavery.

In 1850, only about 9% of Washington County’s population was enslaved. The farms around Sharpsburg were typical of the region where the primary crop was wheat, supplemented with corn, oats, and rye. Seasonal crops like wheat and corn did not require the year around labor that slavery provided. Most farmers relied on seasonal hired labor.

By comparison, in southern Maryland the St. Mary’s County population was 43% slave in 1850. The tobacco farms there resembled the large plantations of their southern neighbors, reliant on the labor of slaves to tend to the longer growing season of the demanding tobacco plant.



Map of Washington County, Maryland

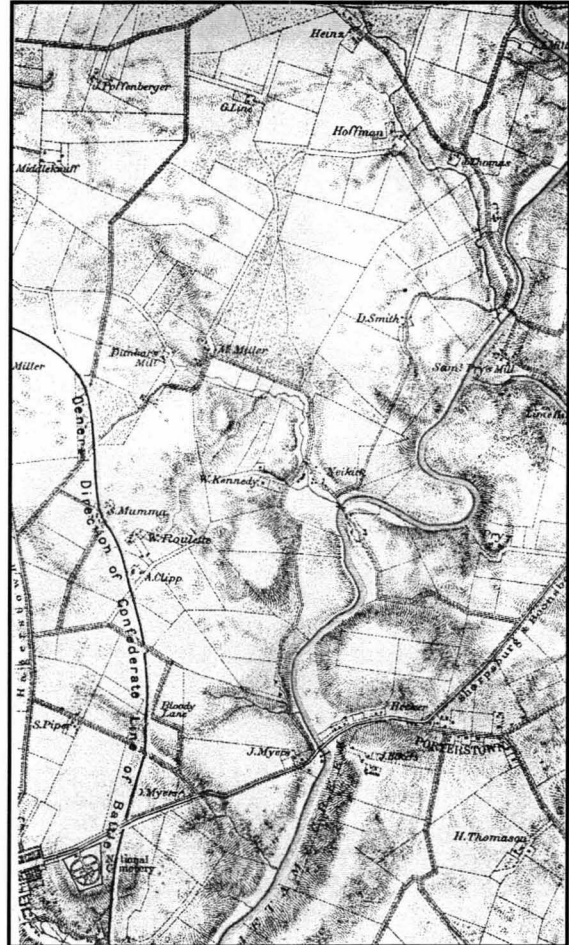
THE FARMS OF THE ANTIETAM

The Antietam Battlefield was the scene of one of the bloodiest battles in United States history. The Union “victory” at Antietam in September 1862 precipitated Lincoln’s issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves in the rebellion states.

Living on the farms which served as the bloody battlefield, were respected men and women, their children, and their slaves. The lives of all were impacted by the September 17, 1862 battle.

These are the stories of some of the farmers of the Antietam. Despite close family relationships among neighbors and despite common religious backgrounds generally opposed to slavery, they each developed widely different approaches to slavery.

These are the stories of the African-Americans both slave and free who lived on the Antietam Battlefield. While Lincoln’s proclamation freed the southern slaves, it did not free the slaves of the Antietam. They would continue to live in bondage until 1864, when they were freed by the state of Maryland. In the years after their emancipation several of the freedmen stayed as employees of their former master, others moved away in search of work.



1867 military map of the Antietam Battlefield
(Official Atlas of the Civil War)

Note: This brochure may be used as a supplemental text to the auto tour.

Stop 1: The Dunker Church

One of the great ironies of the Battle of Antietam was the location of the Dunker Church as the focal point of the two opposing armies. The Dunkers, or Church of the Brethren, were a pacifist sect, steadfastly opposed to the war.

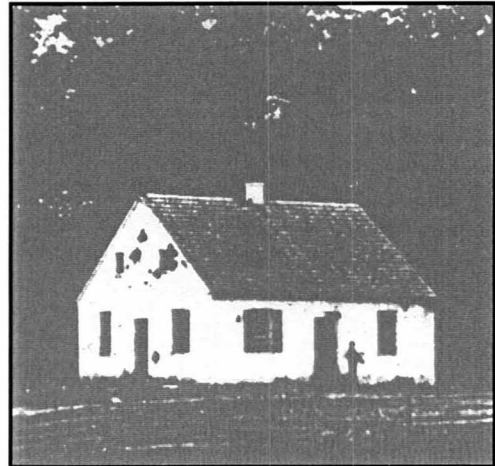
The Dunker's strong stand against slavery created an irony as well among their brethren farming in the Sharpsburg area. The official church position stated:

... that no member, neither brother nor sister, shall purchase or sell negroes, and keep none for slaves.

... if there were members having slaves, ... that they might hold them in a proper way ... for the slaves to earn the money they had cost, and then, with the counsel of the church, they are to be set free, with a good suit of clothing ...

Several prominent Washington County Brethren owned slaves, including Samuel Mumma, Sr. who donated the land on which the little Dunker Church stood. David Long, an active member in the Manor Church congregation, was reported to have purchased slaves at Hagerstown auctions for the purpose of manumission (to be set free). It may be that Samuel Mumma was similarly motivated.

No church membership in the Sharpsburg area was without slaveholders in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Among the leading members of the Sharpsburg Methodist congregation was Dr. Augustin A. Biggs, physician, Union supporter, and owner of three slaves in 1860, all of them over the age of 65. Daniel Piper, a member of the German Reformed congregation in Sharpsburg, owned five slaves in 1850. Among the Sharpsburg Lutherans was Henry S. Blackford, owner of three slaves in 1860.



1862 Gardner photograph of the Dunker Church (NPS)

Note: As you continue along the auto tour, note the farm of David R. Miller on your right along the Old Hagerstown Pike. D. R. Miller's farm included the

famous Cornfield and West Woods, scenes of much of the fighting in the morning phase of the battle. Miller was also the owner of one female slave in 1860.

Stop 6: The Mumma Farm

Samuel Mumma, Sr., his wife Elizabeth (Miller) Mumma, and their eleven children lived on this 150-acre farm. Samuel inherited the farm from his father Jacob around 1850. He donated the land on which the Dunker Church stands in 1851. Also living on the Mumma farm in 1850 were two slaves, Lucy Young, age 28 and Lloyd Wilson, age 2. In 1856, Samuel set free his two slaves.

Samuel was known as a pious man and well loved among his brethren. His reasons for owning slaves, despite his Dunker beliefs, were unfortunately not revealed by the historic record. Due to the apparently short period of ownership however, it appears that manumission may have been his motivation.

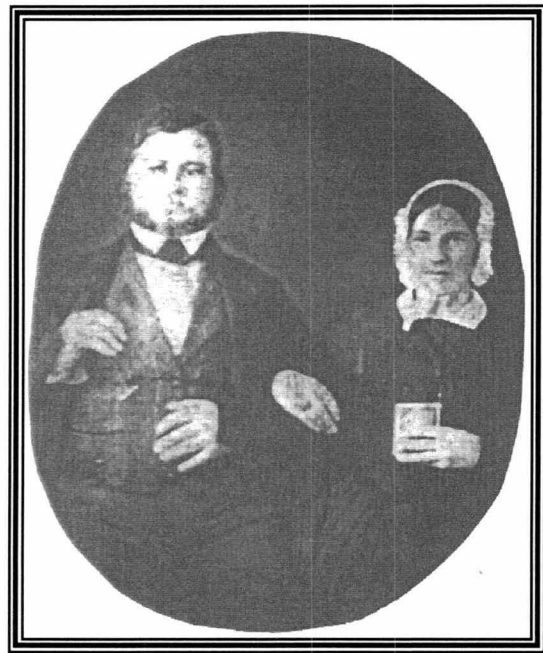
The boy, Lloyd Wilson, was required by Maryland law to stay with his owner until the he reached the age of 18. In 1862, at the time of the battle, Lloyd was 13 years old. He was freed by the new Maryland constitution in 1864, at the age of 15. Whether he continued with the Mumma family is unknown. By 1870, he had left the Sharpsburg area.

Although it seems unlikely that young Lloyd would have lived alone in separate slave quarters, it appears that slave quarters may have been located on the Mumma farm. The stone springhouse, located behind the

Mumma farmhouse, originally had two rooms with a loft above. It is similar in design to the stone springhouse/slave quarter found in the neighboring Roulette farm.

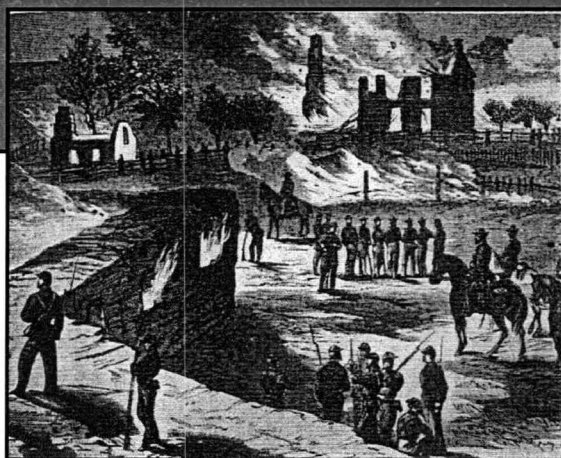
When Confederate troops set fire to the Mumma farm on the morning of the Antietam battle, the wooden upper story of the springhouse was destroyed.

Despite the massive damage done to their farm by the battle, the Mumma's returned to rebuild their home, barn and other buildings.



Samuel and Elizabeth Mumma (NPS)

1862 Gardner photograph of the ruins
of the Mumma farm buildings.



Inset: 1862 A.D. Waud sketch of
the Mumma farm in flames. Stone
springhouse is on the left.

Stop 7: The Roulette Farm

John Miller of J. (of John) lived on this 180-acre farm from around 1820 until his death in 1856. He was the brother of Elizabeth Mumma. In 1840, John Miller owned three slaves. The slave quarter located on the Roulette farm was probably added to the stone springhouse around 1820 to house the Miller slaves.

In 1856, William Roulette married Margaret Ann Miller, daughter of John Miller. He purchased his father-in-law's farm, adjoining the Mumma farm and the Piper farm, in 1857.

William Roulette never owned slaves. In 1860, Roulette reported two free blacks living in his household, Robert Simon a 15 year old farm hand, and Nancy Campbell a 40 year old woman employed as a servant.

Nancy Campbell (later changed to Camel) was the former slave of Peter Miller, uncle of Margaret Ann Roulette. When Peter died in 1856 he owned "1 Colored Woman" worth \$250.00. According to Peter's will, Nancy became the property of his son Andrew Miller.

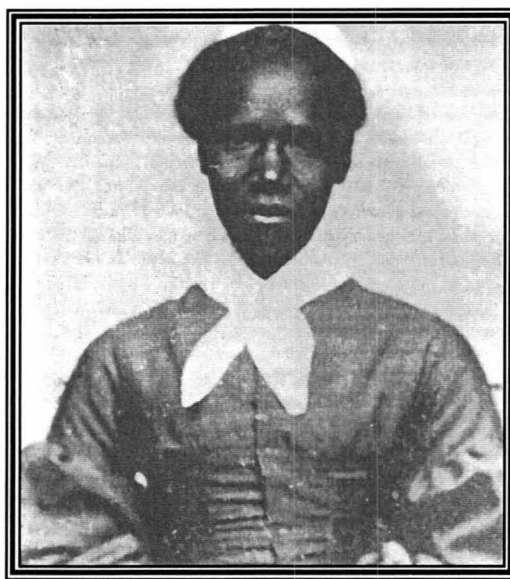
In June 1859, Andrew Miller freed Nancy Campbell. Her Certificate of Freedom, issued by the county as proof that she was no longer a slave, described Nancy as "5 feet 1 ½ inches high, of a dark complexion, without perceptible marks upon her person." Nancy appears to have immediately taken employment in

the Roulette home, where she remained for the rest of her life.

Nancy Camel, as she was later known, was a member of the Manor Church, a Dunker congregation north of Sharpsburg. She was buried in the Manor Church cemetery after her death in 1892.

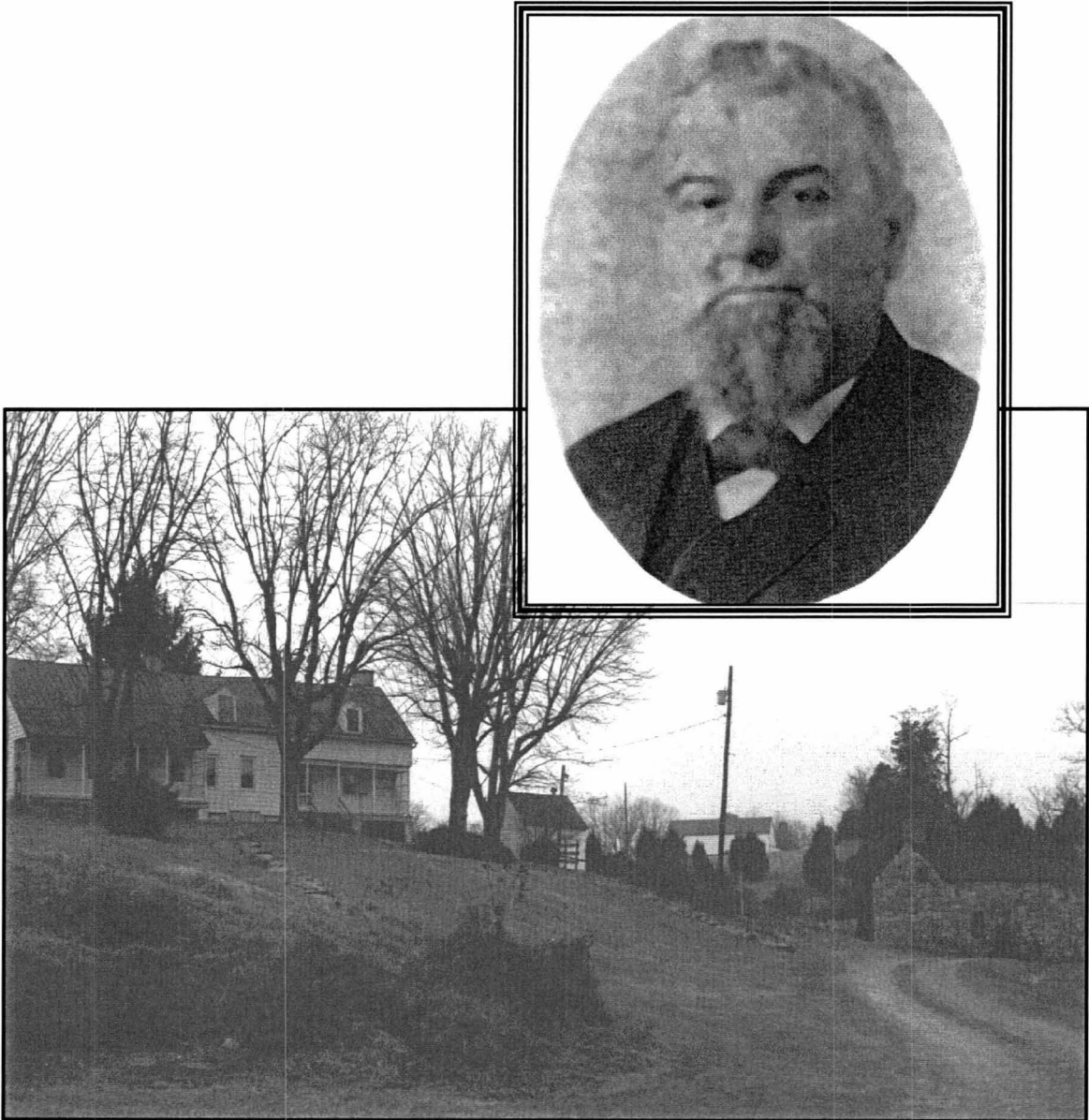
At the time of her death, Nancy's total worth was \$867.04 in cash. Having never married, in her will she left most her money to Susan Rebecca Roulette, William's daughter, and to the children of both Peter and Andrew Miller.

Nancy Camel lived an industrious and pious life. Her gravestone was inscribed with the words "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."



Nancy Camel, probably after 1859 (NPS)

William Roulette (courtesy Earl Roulette)



Modern photograph of the Roulette farm, remarkably unchanged from 1862. (EBW)

Stop 8: The Piper Farm

Daniel Piper purchased this farm in 1846. Although his sons were already grown, his son Henry lived and worked on the farm with his father. The Piper farmhouse served as the headquarters for General Longstreet during the mid-day phase of the Antietam battle.

The Piper family described themselves as Union supporters. However, Henry and his father Daniel held numerous slaves, some born on the farm as slaves-for-life. In 1850, Daniel Piper owned five slaves, probably a family. Henry owned four slaves, ages 6 months to 24 years, again probably a family.

To accommodate the two families, the stone slave quarter building on the Piper farm was divided into two sections. Each section had one room with an outside door and a loft above.

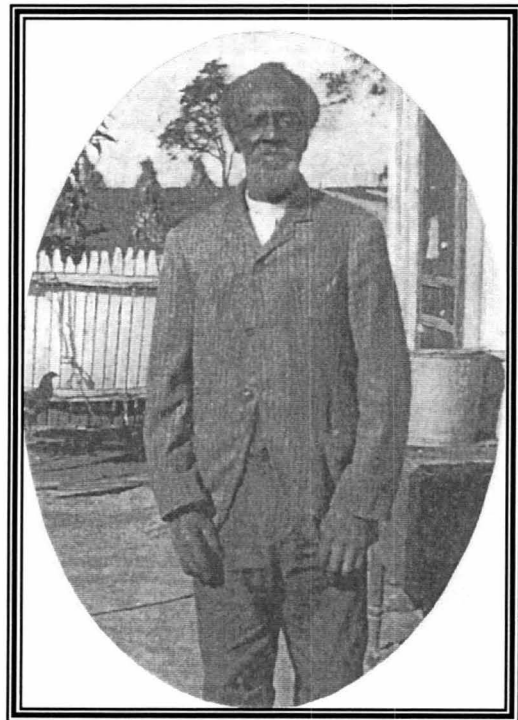
In 1854, Henry Piper inherited the farm from his father Daniel. By 1860, only three of Henry's children remained on the farm, all daughters. A sixteen-year old free black farm hand named John J. also lived with the family.

Henry owned six slaves in 1860, five of them children. Eleven-year old Jeremiah (Jerry) Cornelius Summers was born a slave in 1849 on the Piper farm. At age 13, Jerry accompanied the Piper family when they abandoned their home in September 1862, as the Confederate army began

to set up their line of defense across the farm's fields and orchard. After his emancipation in 1864, Jerry continued working and living on the Piper farm.

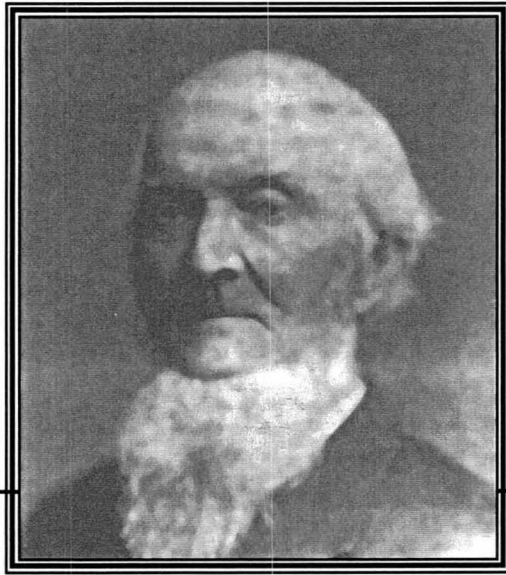
In 1922, Fred W. Cross, a visitor to the Antietam Battlefield, took a photograph of Jerry Summers at his home located on Bloody Lane near this spot. Cross described Summers as "the last of the slaves of Sharpsburg."

Jeremiah Cornelius Summers died in 1925 at the age of 76. He was buried in the cemetery of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg.



Fred W. Cross photograph of Jerry Summers, 1922. (NPS)

Henry and Elizabeth Piper (courtesy Piper Farm B&B)



Modern photograph of the Piper farm, slave quarter is the stone building in the right foreground. (EBW)

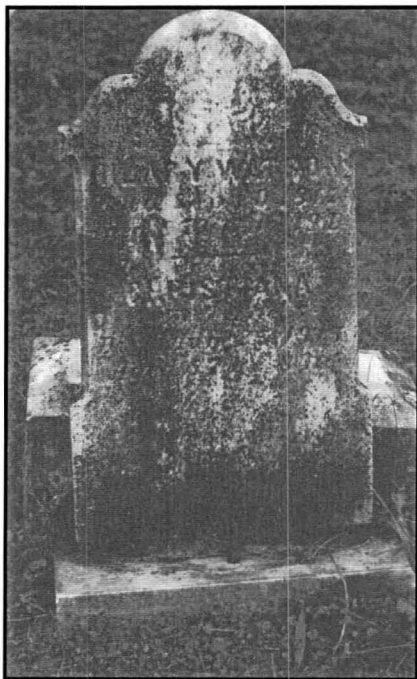
Stop 10: The Otto Farm

John Otto's 60-acre farm near the Lower Bridge (Burnside's Bridge) was the site of much the final phase of the Antietam battle. After the battle, he found his house and barn filled with wounded and dying soldiers. When the Union army finally cleared out in November of 1862, Otto found little left of the food, wood and animal feed he had carefully laid up for the coming winter.

John Otto lived and worked on his home farm with the help of two slaves in 1860. One, a 54-year old woman, probably worked in the house. The second, a 27-year old man, assisted John Otto in the fields.

Otto's slaves lived in the main house, according to his former slave Hilary. It is likely they lived in the room above the kitchen (the right-hand section of the house as you look from the Stop 10 overlook). Hilary recalled that, even while a slave, Otto paid him for harvest work and for work while hired out to other farmers. He remained to work for John Otto following his emancipation in 1864.

In 1870, Hilary Watson and his wife Christina lived on High Street in Sharpsburg. In the graveyard of the Tolson Chapel nearby, stands the marker of Hilary Watson, aged 85 years, who died on September 20, 1917.



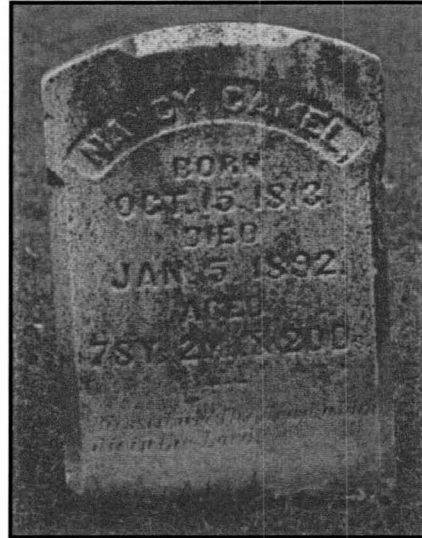
Grave marker of Hilary and Christina Watson, Tolson's Chapel, Sharpsburg. (EBW)

CONCLUSION

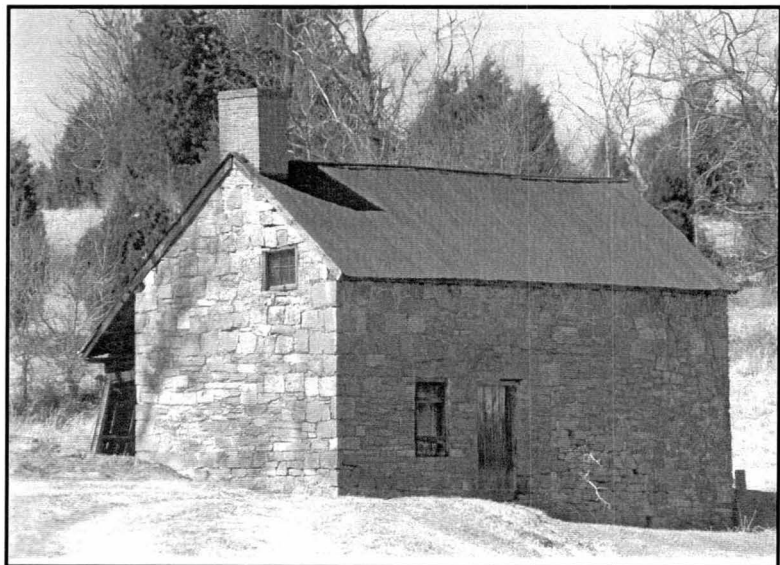
The Maryland families of the Antietam Battlefield were ordinary people living in an extraordinary time. Drawing on their religious and political beliefs, they approached the much-debated issue of slavery in very different ways.

The slaves of the Antietam Battlefield suffered the greatest irony of the war. The freedom given to their southern counterparts by Lincoln following the battle in 1862 was denied the Maryland slaves until 1864. Although a few stayed to work on the farms they knew, a large number of the newly freed and born-free black citizens left Washington County for work elsewhere.

The Civil War was a quagmire of contradictions and divided loyalties. The confusion of the time may have been most strongly felt on the middle ground of the Border States like Maryland. The stories of the people of the Antietam Battlefield serve as a reminder that slavery was not an impersonal institution. It was individual men and women making daily decisions about their lives and the lives of those deprived of the right of self-determination.



Grave marker of Nancy Camel, Manor Church cemetery. (EBW)



Stone springhouse/slave quarter located on the Roulette farm. (EBW)

APPENDIX IV

PERSONAL CONTACTS – FORMS AND LETTERS

During the course of analyzing the several preservation strategies identified for the case study African-American historic sites in southern Washington County, a number of forms and letters were generated. Particularly in the case of my contacts with the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church community, it was important to make clear my interest in their church and history, and my purpose for requesting their assistance. To that end, the Contact Form was created to help introduce my project and myself, and a contributor's sign-up section was added to encourage individual participation in the project. Three members of the congregation responded with offers to be interviewed, for which the Oral History Donor Form was generated.

Through several telephone conversations and meetings with Rev. Lambert, pastor at Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, I learned of their plans to expand the church both in congregation numbers and in physical size with a building campaign. Rev. Lambert expressed sincere interest in the potential for preservation grant funds for the maintenance of the historic building. The letter to the trustees and congregation accompanied the guidelines and application forms for the MHT Capital Grant Fund I sent to them, along with an offer of my help to pursue the grant.

Finally, in response to my research and analysis of the Tolson's Chapel preservation strategy, I was invited to serve on an Advisory Board, which will oversee

the initial preservation efforts planned for the building. Grants have been obtained for stabilization and restoration of the building, for a Historic Structures Report, and for an educational video recounting the history and importance of the chapel. I have included this letter of invitation from SHAF (Save Historic Antietam Foundation) because it was such an honor to be asked, and because it represents an important step in the actual preservation of Tolson's Chapel.

RECLAIMING FORGOTTEN HISTORY:
PRESERVING RURAL AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL
RESOURCES IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND

A Master of Arts in Historic Preservation thesis project identifying and documenting the variety of cultural resources associated with the historic rural African-American communities of Washington County. Cultural resources of interest for this project are *buildings*, including slave housing and the churches, schools, and houses of post-emancipation freedmen's communities; *cemeteries*; *photographs*; *family papers* and *oral histories*. Anyone interested in contributing to the project should leave your name and phone # and/or email address in the space provided below. Please address any questions concerning the project by contacting me via mail, phone, or email.

Contact information:

Edie Wallace
17204 Canal Rd.
Sharpsburg, MD 21782

Home phone: 301-432-XXXX
Email: ediewallace@juno.com

CONTRIBUTOR'S SIGN-UP

<u>Name</u>	<u>Phone #</u>	<u>Resource</u>

ORAL HISTORY DONOR FORM

I agree to be interviewed and tape recorded for the Rural Washington County African-American Cultural Resources project, conducted independently by Edith Wallace, graduate student, Goucher College. I understand that the tape will be used only for research and educational purposes by the receiving institutions.

I understand that the resulting audio tape will become the property of the Maryland Historical Trust, Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, and will be made available to staff, consultants and students for the purpose of research and presentation purposes.

Transcript copies will be placed at the Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, Frederick County, Maryland, and the Western Maryland Room, Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Signed _____

Date _____

Informant's Name (please print) _____

Address _____

_____ Telephone _____

Interviewer's Name _____

Address _____

Telephone (W) _____ (H) _____

Special Restrictions (if any) _____

Edie Wallace
17204 Canal Road
Sharpsburg, Maryland 21782
4 November 2002

Mt. Moriah Baptist Church
P.O. Box 205
Knoxville, Maryland 21758

To the Officers and Congregation of the Church:

Please find attached to this letter, copies of the guidelines and application forms for the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) Capital Grant fund. MHT Capital Grants in amounts up to \$50,000 are available to non-profit and other organizations, including religious institutions, for the purpose of rehabilitation and preservation maintenance projects on qualified buildings. Your church building is qualified as an historic building, recorded on the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, site #WA-III-37.

As an active religious institution, the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church would qualify for grant monies applied to exterior repairs to the historic stonework, foundation, roof, and guttering. Excluded from eligibility are interior areas associated with worship activity. Any new construction would also be ineligible for grant funding.

Because the beautiful stone chapel constructed by Robert Anderson in 1890 is so important to the history of the church and to the family history of so many of your members, its preservation will be an important consideration before embarking on the current planned building expansion. Please believe me when I say that I fully understand the importance also of the need for growth of a congregation and its facilities. I believe that the two needs can be integrated to the satisfaction of all with a well-considered plan. If I can be of assistance in any way, if you decide to apply for the MHT Capital Grant, to pursue a National Register nomination, or just a comprehensive history report, it would be my pleasure to help or to steer you toward appropriate agencies or staff members for help.

Your warm welcome extended to me in your worship services and in your help with my project documenting and preserving the history of African-Americans in Washington County is truly appreciated. You have made this a journey of both intellectual and spiritual development.

Sincerely,

Edie Wallace



Save Historic Antietam Foundation, Inc.

P.O. Box 550
Sharpsburg, MD 21782

November 10, 2002

Dear Ms. Wallace,

I am proud to announce that the Save Historic Antietam Foundation has recently acquired the historic Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg through a donation from the United Methodist Church.

The chapel was built in 1866-67 on a lot donated by an African American family in Sharpsburg. The Freedmen's Bureau operated a school for African American children in the church from 1868 to c.1870 and, according to the Maryland Historical Trust, Tolson's Chapel may be the only surviving Freedmen's Bureau school site in the state. The chapel's cemetery includes the graves of many prominent local African Americans, including teachers, ministers, former slaves, and at least one Civil War veteran. The church served as a center of African American life in Sharpsburg until their population in the area dwindled after World War II.

Through the hard work of Dr. Dean Herrin, four grants have been received to provide emergency stabilization for the building and to produce an initial historic structures report and inventory.

SHAF is forming a separate Board of Advisors for the chapel to oversee its stabilization and restoration. The Board will meet as often as it determines necessary. One goal is to eventually either form a separate charitable organization dedicated to the chapel's preservation and history, or find an appropriate local historical organization that will include the chapel's preservation as part of the organization's mission.

We would be very honored if you would consent to serve on the first Board that will make the decisions that will save and protect this very rare piece of Maryland history for future generations. We feel you will contribute greatly to this historic project.

We would like to hold the first meeting on Thursday, December 5 at 4:00 at the home of Denise Troxell at 19307 Manor Church Road near Boonsboro (directions included). I would appreciate it if you would contact Dean Herrin at 301-624- [REDACTED] (in Frederick) or Denise Troxell at 301-432- [REDACTED] to let us know your decision. They can also answer any questions you might have.

Thank you very much for your consideration and again, it would be an honor to have you on this Board.

Sincerely,

Tom Clemens

Tom Clemens, President

ENDNOTES

¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 411.

² Ibid, p. xxiii.

³ Lowenthal, "history perpetuates collective self-awareness," p. 213.

⁴ Antoinette J. Lee, "Discovering Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of Ethnicity," in Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee, eds., *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage*, (Washington, DC: US/ICOMOS, 1987), p. 180.

⁵ See bibliography for a sampling, but by no means complete, citation of the available sources on the subject of cultural diversity in preservation.

⁶ Beverly Fleming, of the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office notes: "One of the greatest difficulties to overcome in drawing attention to the need to preserve black history sites is the lack of historical documentation on the existence of many of these sites. As a result, many sites sit forgotten and overlooked, easily susceptible to destruction." Beverly Fleming, "Statewide Survey Program," *Preservation Issues*, Volume 2, No. 1, reprinted on www.umsl.edu/services/library/blackstudies/hppups.htm. While some historical documentation does exist for most African-American related sites, that documentation is often more difficult to find and is not as comprehensive (particularly in newspaper reports and estate records).

⁷ Thomas A. King's *Thinking About Cultural Resource Management* directly addresses the problems associated with mainstream Federal preservation programs in dealing with non-mainstream resources. The National Park Service sponsored Underground Railroad "Network to Freedom" is a good example of a developing national strategy for preserving a variety of cultural sites. This program was initiated at the local level and still operates primarily through grass-roots organizations. For more information see www.cr.nps.gov/ugrr.

⁸ It is very important to note here, however, that while the community landscape with its component buildings is consistently identifiable in the African-American communities of Washington County, and throughout Maryland, similar community landscapes can be found which represent historic white rural communities (see Chapter II).

⁹ Frederick Douglass, as cited on the Underground Railroad “Network to Freedom” website: www.cr.nps.gov/ugrr.

¹⁰ James W.C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, 1849, in Arna Bontemps, *Great Slave Narratives*, (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1969).

¹¹ Ibid, p. 211.

¹² Ibid, p. 196.

¹³ Ibid, p. 202.

¹⁴ Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985) p. 20.

¹⁵ Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, *Maryland: A History 1632 – 1974*, (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 1974) p. 131.

¹⁶ Based on U.S. Population Census records for the state from 1790 to 1850, as cited by Fields, p. 15.

¹⁷ Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans*, (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1948), pp. 57-59. The Great Valley ran from the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania, through the Hagerstown Valley of Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. Maryland grants were offered to individual settlers at rates far lower than Pennsylvania. Large land grants were offered by the Virginia colonial government to individuals who would guarantee one settler per 100 acres of land granted. A great deal of information can be derived from the firsthand accounts given in the Jost Hite vs. Lord Thomas Fairfax lawsuit, a land dispute in the Northern Neck of Virginia, along the Potomac River border with Maryland, which began in 1736 and continued through 1786. Jost Hite had nearly 140,000 acres in granted Virginia land in exchange for bringing settlers, mostly from New York and Pennsylvania. Depositions by the Hites and other settlers provide a good description of this early settlement in western lands. Many of these settlers, enroute to Virginia, simply settled in the Hagerstown Valley rather than continue across the Potomac River. Information on the Jost Hite vs. Lord Thomas Fairfax lawsuit is available at the Handley Library Archives in Winchester, Virginia and the Virginia State Library in Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁸ Paula S. Reed, “History Report: The D.R. Miller Farm, Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland.” (Hagerstown, MD: Preservation Associates, Inc., 1991), p. 1.

¹⁹ Washington Co. Census vertical file, internet source: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, no date. Washington Co. Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ 1790 U.S. Population Census, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

²² Jean Libby, ed. *From Slavery to Salvation, The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the A.M.E. Church*, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994) p. 81.

²³ According to census figures from 1800, 14.5% of the Frederick County population was enslaved, while in Washington County only 11.8% were listed as slaves. Washington Co. Census vertical file, internet source: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, no date. Washington Co. Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

²⁴ Ibid. Census data from 1790 showed that Frederick County was 16.7% German origin while Washington County reported 27.5% of German origin.

²⁵ J. Maurice Henry, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Maryland*, (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1936), p. 17. The Dunker name was derived from the tradition of full-immersion baptism. Dunkers were pacifists and conducted church “meetings” rather than services.

²⁶ Henry, p. 365.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ “Manor Church,” history manuscript, no date, Manor Church of the Brethren, Tilghmanton, MD.

²⁹ 1850 U.S. Slave Census, microfilm collection, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

³⁰ Washington Co. Land Records, Liber IN 12 (57), Folio 166, Washington Co. Courthouse, Hagerstown, MD.

³¹ Tolson’s Chapel cemetery list, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, MD.

³² Marsha Lynne Fuller, *African American Manumissions of Washington Co., Maryland*, (Hagerstown, MD: Desert Sheik Press, 1998).

³³ Walsh and Fox, p. 128.

³⁴ Information on individual slave owners in this paragraph is taken from the 1850 and 1860 Slave Population schedules of the U.S. Census, and from Scharf, pp. 1207-1210.

³⁵ Libby, p. 73.

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 75-89.

³⁷ Boonsboro Odd Fellow, November 29, 1866, as cited in Dean Herrin, "Antietam Rising: The Civil War and Its Legacy in Sharpsburg, Maryland, 1860-1900," manuscript, (Antietam National Battlefield, March 2002), p. 58.

³⁸ U.S. Population Census records; Scharf, pp. 1080-1081.

³⁹ Fletcher M. Green, Thomas F. and Nathalie W. Hahn, *Ferry Hill Plantation Journal*, (Shepherdstown, WV: Thomas F. Hahn, 1975) p. xiv.

⁴⁰ By comparison, St. Mary's County in southern Maryland had 43% enslaved and 12% free in the same year. Washington Co. Census vertical file, internet source: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, no date. Washington Co. Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴¹ James W.C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith* in Arna Bontemps, *Great Slave Narratives*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969). Tilghman, son of an Eastern Shore planter, owned from 25 to 61 slaves between the years 1800 to 1830 according to the U.S. Population census records. Among them was James Pembroke, who escaped in 1828 to New York where he changed his name to Pennington, was educated, and became a Presbyterian minister and abolitionist.

⁴² U.S. Population Census, 1800 and 1860, microfilm, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴³ Green and Hahn, 1975.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 73.

⁴⁵ Libby, p.26.

⁴⁶ See Marsha Lynn Fuller, *African American Manumissions of Washington Co., Maryland*, (Hagerstown, MD: Desert Sheik Press, 1998). The original records, known as Certificates of Freedom, are located in the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁴⁷ Green and Hahn, p. xiv-xvii.

⁴⁸ Blackford's son Henry also wrote a journal, which described even more severe punishment of misbehaving slaves. A copy of the original, not transcribed, is available at the Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁹ Pennington, in Bontemps, pp. 212-13.

⁵⁰ 1810 U.S. Population Census.

⁵¹ Herald & Torch, Oct. 23, 1860, Hagerstown, MD.

⁵² 1850 and 1860 U.S. Slave Census.

⁵³ Herald & Torch, December 7, 1862, Hagerstown, MD.

⁵⁴ The Citizen, July 22, 1864, Frederick, MD.

⁵⁵ Wagandt, p. 9. Lincoln received less than 2,500 votes in Maryland in the 1860 election.

⁵⁶ Wagandt, p. 57; Richard R. Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," in Walsh and Fox, p. 364.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 69. Wagandt notes that no Marylander signed the minority report from Congress supporting Lincoln's plan.

⁵⁸ Duncan, in Walsh and Fox, p. 370. Duncan cites slave prices in Frederick falling from \$2,500 for a "set of slaves" in 1860 to \$400 in 1862, and in Hagerstown in 1864 slaves were valued at \$5.00 a piece. (citing the Baltimore newspapers American, April 3, 1862, and Sun, March 10, 1864)

⁵⁹ Herald & Torch, September 30, 1863, as cited in Duncan, Walsh and Fox, p. 365. One such fugitive from the slave market town of Licksville in Frederick County, Maryland was John T. Weedon, who escaped to a Union army camp, where he worked through the remainder of the war as a mule tender.

⁶⁰ Fields, pp. 100-111.

⁶¹ Letter from Millie [Savilla Miller] to sister Amelia (Miller) Hauser, n.d. (probably late spring 1862), on file at Antietam National Battlefield.

⁶² Fields, p. 125.

⁶³ Dean Herrin, "Antietam Rising: The Civil War and Its Legacy in Sharpsburg, Maryland, 1860-1900," manuscript, (Antietam National Battlefield, March 2002), p. 20. See also Fields, p. 128; Fields notes, that "small-holders whose one or two slaves had been lost to them had little heart and less motive to fight on. Accustomed anyway to free black labor, they would do better to cut the best deal possible for their immediate needs and hope for an end to the commotion." Although she was referring to Eastern Shore and southern Maryland slave owners, the same no doubt applied to the "small-holders" of the western counties.

⁶⁴ The Examiner, October 1, 1862, Frederick, MD.

⁶⁵ Wagandt, p. 106.

⁶⁶ Wagandt, p. 110.

⁶⁷ From a paper attributed to Henry Winter Davis dated September 9, 1863, as cited in Wagandt, p. 143.

⁶⁸ Wagandt, p. 151.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 219, Table E.

⁷⁰ Letter from Jacob Miller to Amelia Hauser, November 16, 1863, on file at Antietam National Battlefield.

⁷¹ Wagandt, p. 219, Table E. In Washington Co. 5,422 voted in the 1861 election while only 3,427 voted in 1863; in Frederick Co. the numbers were 7,649 in 1861 and 4,736 in 1863.

⁷² Civilian and Telegraph, April 7, 1864, as cited in Wagandt, p. 217.

⁷³ Wagandt, p. 217.

⁷⁴ Duncan, in Walsh and Fox, pp. 376-377.

⁷⁵ The Examiner, May 11, 1864, Frederick, MD.

⁷⁶ The Citizen, July 22, 1864, Frederick, MD.

⁷⁷ Wagandt, pp. 262-263; Fields, p. 130.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 229; Fields, p. 134.

⁷⁹ Otho Nesbitt diary, transcribed by Mrs. Florence M. Frantz, *Seems Like Yesterday*, (Clear Spring, MD: Clear Spring Alumni Association, 1976), p. 80.

⁸⁰ African-American communities in Montgomery County, Maryland were recorded by George McDaniel, *Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County*, (Sugarloaf Regional Trails, 1979). Communities have also been recorded in Frederick and Washington County through Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties surveys: Frederick Co. – Centerville, MIHP #F-7-38 and Pleasant View, MIHP#F-1-139; in Washington Co. the area known as Crystal Falls/Jugtown was surveyed by individual buildings, MIHP#s WA-I-87 through WA-I-91 and WA-I-344.

⁸¹ Richard Paul Fuke, *Imperfect Equality, African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland*, (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 1999), p. 24.

⁸² Fields, pp. 140-141.

⁸³ Herrin, p. 60, William Logan, Register of Wills for Washington County, to Lieut. E.C. Knower, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen & Abandoned Lands, Feb. 21 and March 19, 1867.

⁸⁴ Fuke, Chapter 5, "Community Schools," p. 88; see also Brewer Kathleen Thompson, "The Freedmen's Bureau Schools of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland," (Senior Honors Paper, The George Washington University, 2001).

⁸⁵ Hagerstown Mail, June 8, 1866, Hagerstown, MD.

⁸⁶ Herald & Torch, November 13, 1867. Returns show there were districts within the county that were solidly Union (Republican), particularly Pleasant Valley, and to a lesser extent Beaver Creek, Indian Spring, Leitersburg, Boonsboro, and Clear Spring. Sharpsburg District was nearly evenly divided, but voted the Union ticket.

⁸⁷ Fields, p. 134.

⁸⁸ Fields, p. 176.

⁸⁹ The reason for this decline is unknown. However, it may be related to the reduced dominance of mid-Atlantic wheat due to increased production in the mid-West.

⁹⁰ McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 1982, studied black communities and houses in southern Maryland; McDaniels, *Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County*, 1979, studied black communities in northern Montgomery County.

⁹¹ T.J.C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland*, Vol I., p. 551. The "Colored M.E. Church" of Sharpsburg was also known as Tolson's Chapel.

⁹² The decline of the small farms and rural employment affected white farmers and laborers as well as black.

⁹³ It is not entirely clear why the difference in migration occurred between Frederick and Washington Counties. It may simply be a matter of the larger population to begin with in Frederick County, or more availability of rural employment. More study is necessary to address this question.

⁹⁴ Hilary Watson, "The Slave Foreman," in Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War, Collected in Personal Interviews*, (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), p. 104.

⁹⁵ African and African-American cultural traditions in the material record may not overtly be apparent in the landscapes of this study. However, evidence of cultural influence has been found in other studies. Of note in western Maryland is the archaeological evidence found at the Catoctin Iron Works in Frederick County of African

burials of slaves who worked at the furnace; see Elizabeth Y. Anderson, *Faith in the Furnace: A History of Harriet Chapel, Catoctin Furnace, Maryland*, (Thurmont, MD: Catoctin Furnace Parish, 1985). See John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 12-17 for discussion of how large slave populations on southern plantations subtly applied their cultural traditions into the European landscape of their owners. Potential influences exist in less tangible resources such as gardening practice (found at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and Poplar Forest) and in African-American worship traditions. This is an area of inquiry that clearly requires more research.

⁹⁶ Some good sources for discussion of Pennsylvania German influenced construction include: Robert F. Ensminger, *The Pennsylvania Barn*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); and Paula S. Reed, "Building With Stone in the Cumberland Valley: A Study of the Regional Environmental, Technical, and Cultural Factors in Stone Construction." Ph.D. Dissertation, (Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, 1988). For reference in this discussion, Ensminger refers to the "Sweitzer" style of Pennsylvania barn (commonly called "Swisser") as those with an asymmetrical roofline, the cantilevered forebay extending beyond the main barn framing, creating a longer roofline on that side of the roof. The Pennsylvania Standard barn has a symmetrical roofline in which the cantilevered forebay is constructed within the barn's main frame structure. Generally, but not always, the "Sweitzer" style indicates an earlier barn.

⁹⁷ John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986) pp. 58-77; McDaniel, *Hearth & Home*, pp. 33-34.

⁹⁸ George Jones, ex-slave, Frederick County, Maryland, Federal Writer's Project interview, Sept. 30, 1937, from website [www.newdeal.feri.org/texts/subject/slave narratives](http://www.newdeal.feri.org/texts/subject/slave_narratives).

⁹⁹ McDaniel, *Hearth & Home*, p. 52; Vlach, 1993, pp. 155-156.

¹⁰⁰ Vlach, 1993, pp. 44-45; in southern Maryland a notable example of the out-kitchen/slave quarter combination is found on the Mulberry Fields plantation.

¹⁰¹ A fine photographic example of standardized slave quarters can be found on the cover of John Michael Vlach's book, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

¹⁰² Later known as the Roulette Farm, it figured in the mid-day phase of the Antietam Battle near Sharpsburg in September 1862. Paula S. Reed & Assoc., Inc., "Antietam National Battlefield," National Register documentation update, 2000.

¹⁰³ McDaniel, p. 73.

¹⁰⁴ The Piper and Miller (better known as Roulette) farms were separated by the Sunken Road, known as Bloody Lane after the Battle of Antietam. The Piper farmhouse served as the headquarters of Confederate General's D.H. Hill and Longstreet during the mid-day phase of the Antietam battle in September 1862. Paula S. Reed & Assoc., Inc., "Antietam National Battlefield," National Register documentation update, 2000.

¹⁰⁵ Franzen, "Piper Slave Quarter," Antietam National Battlefield, Historic Structures Report, 1962.

¹⁰⁶ Paula S. Reed & Assoc., Inc., "Hoffman Farm," National Register Nomination, 1997.

¹⁰⁷ Pipe holes to the chimney flue indicate the use of stoves rather than a fireplace for heat and cooking. The upper story was not observed, the steps are no longer in place and the opening has been sealed, however, it is presumed the upper room was not subdivided since there is only one flue on the gable end. There is no access to each individual living quarter except through each room's exterior door from the porch.

¹⁰⁸ Personal communication, John Clagett, current owner and Huyett descendant, December 2002. The family refers to this building as the "Old House," reportedly occupied by Ludwig Huyett and his family of six children until the division of the 400-acre farm in 1812.

¹⁰⁹ Daniel Huyett's farm *The Willows* had separate buildings for the blacksmith shop and washhouse.

¹¹⁰ Paula S. Reed & Assoc., Inc., "Woburn Manor," National Register documentation, 1999.

¹¹¹ From the video documentary series, "Up From the Meadows, A History of Black Americans in Frederick County, Maryland." Produced by Chris Haugh, Frederick Cablevision/Cable 10, Frederick, MD, 1997.

¹¹² By comparison, Frederick County's population included 8,200 African-Americans; nearly 5,000 of whom were freemen. Approximately two-thirds of the 3,243 slaves in Frederick County in 1860 were held in the five southern districts where many of the largest farms in the county were located. Frederick City and its surrounding district accounted for 716 of the slaves in the county. In the remaining rural districts north and east of Frederick, and to the west in Middletown Valley, the smaller more scattered slave population very much resembled that of Washington County.

¹¹³ As described by James W. Pennington in *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, and by John Blackford in *The Ferry Hill Plantation Journal*.

¹¹⁴ Rev. Thomas Henry, *From Slavery to Salvation*, Jean Libby, ed., (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), p. 31.

¹¹⁵ Quite a number of whites in the Sandy Hook District (the southern-most district in Washington County, which included the B&O Railroad) described specific railroad occupations. By 1870, the Weverton area, historically described as free black, was racially mixed with far more whites than blacks.

¹¹⁶ In the Clear Spring District was the 5,000-acre Montpelier estate, at one time the home of as many as 76 slaves, all were freed and given tenancy on the estate according to the 1804 Will of owner Richard Barnes; Alliene Seibert Downs, "Montpelier," in *Seems Like Yesterday*, (Clear Spring, MD: Clear Spring Alumni Association, 1978), p. 67. In Williamsport District were the large landholdings of Otho Holland Williams and Judge Thomas Buchanan, both of whom had been large slave owners as well.

¹¹⁷ George W. McDaniel, *Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County*, (Sugarloaf Regional Trails publication, 1979), p. 31.

¹¹⁸ Rev. Thomas Henry, in Libby, p. 87. A few, like the Pleasant Valley A.M.E. congregation served by Rev. Thomas Henry in the 1840s, were given a building no longer used by its white congregation.; Evelyn M.E. Taylor, *Historical Digest*, from Introduction by Rev. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., p. xxii; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom, A History of Negro Americans*, 3rd Edition, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1969), p 309.

¹¹⁹ McDaniel's study of Montgomery County communities found continued active churches despite dwindling community populations, much like those in nearby southern Frederick Co.; see McDaniel, 1979, p. 6.

¹²⁰ McDaniel, 1979, p. 36.

¹²¹ As cited in Brewer Kathleen Thompson, "The Freedmen's Bureau Schools of Frederick and Washington Counties, Maryland," p. 21.

¹²² Thompson, p. 22. The 1870 U.S. Population Census for Washington Co. showed 63 black landowners outside of the Hagerstown districts.

¹²³ Thompson, p. 4.

¹²⁴ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, Vol. II, (originally published 1882, reprint, Baltimore, MD: Regional Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 976-977; similar numbers were found in Frederick County in 1880, 158 school buildings with 153 white elementary schools and 24 colored schools, leaving only 5 buildings for the colored schools, Scharf, Vol. I, p. 370.

¹²⁵ McDaniel, 1982, pp. 192-194; McDaniel, 1979, p. 25.

¹²⁶ The nearby Huyett Marble Lime Kilns, which operated through the second half of the nineteenth century, apparently employed workers from both Pondsville and Crystal Falls/Jugtown.

¹²⁷ Washington Co. Will Book E, page 325 and List of Appraisements Book T, page 6.

¹²⁸ Washington Co. Land Record, Book IN 14, page 129.

¹²⁹ Washington Co. Will Book H, page 404.

¹³⁰ Certification of Ownership, Washington County record, #1921, Maryland Manuscripts, University of Maryland, Archives & Manuscripts Department.

¹³¹ Fred W. Cross, "Antietam Sept. 17, 1862," manuscript, 1921 and 1924, (no page numbers), Antietam National Battlefield library.

¹³² U.S. Population Census records, 1860. John Otto's farm was in the line of much of the final phase of the Antietam battle. After the battle, he found his house and barn filled with wounded and dying soldiers. When the Union army finally cleared out in November of 1862, Otto found little left of the food, wood and animal feed he had carefully laid up for the coming winter. John Otto, damage claim, National Archives, RG 92, Book G, No. 1857.

¹³³ Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures*, (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), p. 104.

¹³⁴ MS #2637, Grove-Blackford-Knode Family Papers, bible records folder, Maryland Historical Society (MdHS), Baltimore, MD.

¹³⁵ Washington County Marriage Record Index, Washington Co. Courthouse, Hagerstown, MD. Only the index remains for marriages prior to 1875, the result of a disastrous courthouse fire.

¹³⁶ Manuscripts Vertical File, Henry Crage [sic], "Deed to lot in Sharpsburg, MD to George W. Tylor [sic]," cited in file as Washington Co. Land Record, Book JNN 13, 326, MdHS, Baltimore, MD.

¹³⁷ Ledger of Sharpsburg Tannery, 1837-1851, p. 149, rare books section, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³⁸ Washington Co. Land Record, Book LBN 1, page 712.

¹³⁹ Boonsboro Odd Fellow, November 29, 1866, as cited in Herrin, p. 58.

¹⁴⁰ Sharpsburg Freedmen's Bureau School Reports, April 1868-August 1869, microfilm M1056, National Archives, as cited by Brewer Kathleen Thompson, pp. 21-22.

¹⁴¹ Washington Co. Land Record, Book GBO 84, page 305. Hilary Watson purchased the east half of Lot 101 without improvements in 1883.

¹⁴² Washington Co. Land Record, Book 110, page 681. The school board purchased only the south half of the lot fronting on High St., the north half, located at the bottom of the hill and fronting on Church St. was purchased by the D.R. Hall Lodge #1416 Odd Fellows in 1900.

¹⁴³ Washington Co. Land Record, Book 115, page 344; Sharpsburg Enterprise, November 18, 1881.

¹⁴⁴ Rev. Ralph Monroe, the last African-American Sharpsburg native still living in town, kindly shared his memories of Sharpsburg in an oral history interview, February 2002.

¹⁴⁵ Rev. Thomas Henry, in Libby, p. 25, "From this place I went to a place called Red Hill, in Pleasant Valley, in Washington county, Maryland; ...My appointment was at the school house on Red Hill for nine years in succession, and I could always find a good congregation of good Christians."

¹⁴⁶ Boonsboro Odd Fellow, August 12, 1870, as cited in Dean Herrin, "Antietam Rising: The Civil War and Its Legacy in Sharpsburg, Maryland 1860-1900," (NPS manuscript, Antietam National Battlefield, March 2002), p. 64.

¹⁴⁷ Washington Co. Land Records, Book IN 13, page 746; Book IN 15, page 237; Book IN 15, page 240; and Book LBN 1, page 167, this parcel boundary begins "at a stone standing near the dwelling house of said Aaron Booth."

¹⁴⁸ Washington Co. Land Record, Book IN 17, page 281.

¹⁴⁹ US Population Census records for Washington County, 1790-1920, are located in the Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown, MD or at the National Archives, Washington, DC. Harriet Calaman's neighbor across the Porterstown Road was Henry Griffith, noted in the 1863 deed boundary description, who had purchased twenty-seven acres in 1857 (IN12, page 472). Griffith was listed on the 1860 census immediately after the Calaman family, indicating they were in fact neighbors prior to Harriet's land purchase. Henry and his family were also listed as "Mulatto" in 1860 and "White" in 1870. Griffith's son Noah later donated land for the establishment of the Church of God (apparently a "white" church) in the village of Mt. Briar, adjoining Red Hill. Noah served on the Board of Trustees for the church. He and his family are buried in the Mt. Briar Church cemetery.

¹⁵⁰ Washington Co. Land Record, Book WMcKK 1, page 625.

¹⁵¹ This census listing is somewhat confusing since we know that Toyer had a house, which presumably, his wife would retain after his death. It is possible, though speculation, that James Toyer died in a fire that destroyed their home. No house remains today on the Toyer lot, however the reserved Keedy right-of-way is now a county road called Toyer Road.

¹⁵² Washington Co. Land Record, Book GBO 73, page 171.

¹⁵³ Washington Co. Land Records, Book GBO 106, page 227; Book GBO 106, page 228; and GBO 106, page 229. Although these purchases took place over the course of a year, they were all recorded at the same time in 1897.

¹⁵⁴ In 1943, Theodore and Grace Hopewell re-purchased the school parcel and sold it again in 1980 (Washington Co. Land Records, Book 277, page 561 and Book 699, page 53). The school building reportedly burned since that time.

¹⁵⁵ The Morning Herald, July 29, 1910, Hagerstown, MD.

¹⁵⁶ Herrin, p. 22.

¹⁵⁷ Washington Co. Land Record, Book WMcKK 1, page 711.

¹⁵⁸ Herrin, p. 22.

¹⁵⁹ Henry, in Libby, p. 31.

¹⁶⁰ Evelyn Taylor, *Historical Digest of Jefferson County, West Virginia's African American Congregations 1859-1994*, (Washington, DC: Middle Atlantic Regional Press, 1995), p. 204.

¹⁶¹ John Fry, Western Maryland Room, personal communication, April 2002; Mary Gross, Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, personal communication, September 2002.

¹⁶² Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), p. 64.

¹⁶³ Hilary Watson, "The Slave Foreman," in Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War, Collected in Personal Interviews*, (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915), pp. 104-105.

¹⁶⁴ CRM, Volume 25, Number 4, 2002, (Washington, DC: National Park Service, US Department of the Interior).

¹⁶⁵ Dwight T. Pitcaithy, "The American Civil War and the Preservation of Memory," CRM, Volume 25, Number 4, 2002, p. 8.

¹⁶⁶ John M. Coski, "Historians Under Fire – The Public and the Memory of the Civil War," CRM, Volume 25, Number 4, 2002, p. 13.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p.14.

¹⁶⁸ John Hennessy, "Interpreting the Civil War – Moving Beyond Battlefields," CRM, Volume 25, Number 4, 2002, pp. 11-12.

¹⁶⁹ Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," January 1, 1863, as cited on Antietam National Battlefield website, www.nps.gov/anti/freedom.htm.

¹⁷⁰ John Howard, Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield, interview, October, 2002.

¹⁷¹ It should be noted that the buildings are presumed to be slave quarters based on the best available documentary evidence. While census records confirm slave ownership and agricultural production, few of this type of small wheat farm kept the kind of meticulous records found on the large plantations of the south.

¹⁷² Paula S. Reed & Assoc., Inc., "Antietam National Battlefield," National Register documentation update, 1999.

¹⁷³ The federal government's relationship with the residents of the Sharpsburg District has been quite difficult at times. One early superintendent, Charles Adams, a Civil War veteran, was actually murdered on the battlefield by a Sharpsburg resident, said to be angry over the price given his family for a monument parcel (even though these were in fact state purchases and had nothing to do with the federal government). Mistrust between local residents and the Park Service (a federal agency) remains today and is considered by many to be the reason why the town of Sharpsburg continues to resist designation as a National Register Historic District, a designation for which it is eminently eligible.

¹⁷⁴ Analysis was conducted for Goucher College, Master of Arts in Historic Preservation class, Preservation Technology, Hugh Miller, FAIA, instructor, Fall 2001.

¹⁷⁵ These questions were gathered through numerous discussions with Stephanie Gray, Chief of Interpretation, Antietam National Battlefield, and from an interview with John Howard, Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield, October 2002.

¹⁷⁶ Manassas National Battlefield website, www.nps.gov/mana/education/teachresource/henryhouse.htm.

¹⁷⁷ The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, November 8, 1976, "Chapel Draws its Annual Crowd," quoting Miss Virginia Cook in 1976. Miss Cook has unfortunately since passed away.

¹⁷⁸ Boonsboro Odd Fellow, November 29, 1866, as cited by Dean Herrin, “Antietam Rising: The Civil War and Its Legacy in Sharpsburg, Maryland, 1860-1900,” (a report prepared for Antietam National Battlefield, March 2002), p. 58.

¹⁷⁹ The Daily Mail, Hagerstown, November 8, 1976, “Chapel Draws its Annual Crowd.”

¹⁸⁰ Published in the Daily Record, n.d., spring 1999, written by David Dishneau, Associated Press.

¹⁸¹ While Sharpsburg retains a sense of community, the townspeople do not view that in historic terms. Specifically, it is not based upon the retention of historic buildings; there is no historic preservation ordinance regulating changes to buildings. Ironically, the town’s conservative residential ordinance has effectively preserved the historic streetscape.

¹⁸² Pardon the canal town humor; as noted in the previous section, Sharpsburg has, since 1862, if not even earlier, been deeply suspicious of federal government intervention in its daily routine. No amount of argument can convince many long-time residents that National Register listing does not regulate their property in any way; in fact, NR listing would actually protect town property *from* government action. [Note: At the first Tolson’s Chapel Advisory Board meeting in January 2003, the mayor of Sharpsburg, who is a member of the Board, indicated that many townspeople and the Town Council in particular, are in favor of the preservation of Tolson’s Chapel. Good News!]

¹⁸³ Tolson’s Chapel is eligible for the National Register under Criterion A, local and state significance, for its contribution as an important community building, both as church and school in the post-emancipation African-American community of Sharpsburg, and as possibly the only extant Freedman’s Bureau school in Maryland (this may also be nationally significant). The building is eligible under Criterion C, local and state significance, as an intact example of a mid-nineteenth century African-American rural town community building.

¹⁸⁴ MHT website, www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/gr-cap.htm.

¹⁸⁵ MHT website, www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/capgr.html . Additional funds were granted by Preservation Maryland and the National Trust, also earmarked for stabilization. The National Park Service granted money for the production of an educational/fundraising video production. A proposal for grant funding was submitted for a furnishing plan prior to rehabilitation, to preserve the intact arrangement of the chapel’s interior, however, this proposal was not funded. It is expected that as small amount of the funds granted for the Historic Structures Report will be used to record the chapel’s interior prior to stabilization.

¹⁸⁶ One of the greatest fears expressed to date is the potential for large “inner-city” school groups coming to visit the chapel and overwhelming the small town. Preliminary discussions among members of the Advisory Board have leaned more toward the idea of opening the building to tours during the Sharpsburg Heritage Festival and Memorial Day festivities. Virtual tours via video and website may serve the educational purpose more readily (see discussion in text).

¹⁸⁷ This is in fact a common strategy in ethnographic studies, beginning with community gatherings to explain the project and stimulate interest. Often the result is an annual gathering to celebrate the culture highlighted in the study. See <http://forum.nationaltrust.org>, NTHP Solutions Database, #6: “Keeping Traditions Alive: Sweet Home Folklife Days Statewide, Louisiana,” (reprinted from Stories Across America: Opportunities for Rural Tourism, 2001).

¹⁸⁸ A \$9,000 grant was given by the National Park Service through the Catoctin Center for Regional Studies to produce this educational video.

¹⁸⁹ As cited in Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, (New York, NY: Penguin Group, 1995), p. 210.

¹⁹⁰ Boonsboro Odd Fellow, August 12, 1870, as cited in Herrin, p. 64.

¹⁹¹ See Marya Morris, *Innovative Tools for Historic Preservation*, (Planning Advisory Service Report Number 438, NTHP and APA, 1992), for a good discussion of the impact of rehabilitation tax credits on preservation. For rural sites, National Register listing also provides important protection in regional or local planning.

¹⁹² National Register Bulletin 15, “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” (Washington, DC: NPS/Cultural Resources, revised 1995), p. 18.

¹⁹³ National Register Bulletin 16B, “How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form,” (Washington, DC: NPS/Cultural Resources, 1991), p. 6. The MPDF has been used successfully for many thematic nominations such as the Lincoln Highway (Route 30) corridor in Pennsylvania and Historic Inns of the National Road in Maryland.

¹⁹⁴ This thematic format is used on the national scale for National Historic Landmark documentation. This is a very effective use of over-riding historic contextual themes into which more geographically specific contexts can be applied to various property types. See the NHL website for thematic studies available online: www.cr.nps.gov. The similarity between NHL and MPDF is discussed by John Sprinkle, Jr., “Integration is the Key,” CRM Vol. 25, No. 1, 2002, *The National Register of Historic Places*, (Washington, DC: NPS, 2002), pp. 16-17.

¹⁹⁵ In many instances the building, particularly church and school, may no longer be standing. The property type format allows for the definition of such sites as a specific

type that one might expect to find associated with historic rural African-American communities. This format also allows more latitude on the issue of integrity, where the modest log houses associated with post-emancipation communities are typically altered with multiple room additions. Expectations of alteration would be included as part of the property type description. Peter Kurtze, Administrator, Evaluation and Registration, Maryland Historical Trust, personal communication, Oct/Nov 2002.

¹⁹⁶ In discussions with the Maryland Historical Trust concerning the application of the MPDF format for African-American resources in Maryland, I discovered that, while most counties have or are conducting surveys of African-American resources, no one had considered MPDF NR listing. Excitement at the Trust about the idea was palpable, and considered likely to set a precedent for the state. Washington County, a Certified Local Government (CLG), is eligible for CLG grant funds (a combined federal and state fund) for large-scale nominations such as this suggested MPDF.

¹⁹⁷ Morris, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Morris, pp. 8-9. The Maryland tax credit also applies “to work on the lot, specifically the restoration of a fully documented garden or garden wall. It even allows for work that involves a correction of outdoor drainage problems that are adversely affecting the building.” Rehabilitation of historic outbuildings, domestic or agricultural, can also be applied to the credit in Maryland. See www.cr.nps.gov/e-rehab for a listing of the Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation. For a complete description of the Maryland Rehabilitation Tax Credit program, see the Maryland Historical Trust website, www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/taxcr.html

¹⁹⁹ Maryland Historical Trust, “Maryland Rehabilitation Tax Credits,” www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/taxcr.html.

²⁰⁰ The Certified Local Government (CLG) program is available nation-wide through a partnership of federal, state, and local government agencies. There are fifteen CLGs in Maryland, eight are cities, and the remaining seven are county governments. “In order to become certified, local governments must enforce State or local legislation for the designation and protection of historic properties, establish and maintain a qualified historic preservation commission, maintain a system for the survey and inventory of historic properties in coordination with its State Historic Preservation Office, provide for public participation in its activities, and perform other agreed upon functions delegated to it by its State Historic Preservation Officer.” See the MHT website: www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/outreach.html.

²⁰¹ Washington County Comprehensive Plan, Section 20.4, “Establishment of “HP” Zones,” Washington County, Maryland, 1994.

²⁰² For a complete United States listing of state tax incentives for rehabilitation of historic properties, see Constance E. Beaumont and Elizabeth Pianca, “State Tax

Incentives for Historic Preservation: A State-by-State Summary,”(National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2001), available online at: www.nthp.org.

²⁰³ Sister Earnestine Harris, “The Church in the Valley,” a hymn written in honor of the 100th anniversary of the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, Pleasant Valley, Washington Co., Maryland, 1990.

²⁰⁴ Lorraine Johnson-Coleman, “Bringing African-American Traditions and Memories to Life,” (*Forum Journal*, Winter 2001, Vol. 15, No. 2), available online at: <http://forum.nationaltrust.org> .

²⁰⁵ Audrey L. Brown, “African-American Churches as Ethnographic Resources,” in *People and Places: The Ethnographic Connection*, (CRM, Vol. 24, No. 5, 2001), p. 27.

²⁰⁶ Kay Hively, a former member of the Missouri Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, notes, “...the role of the black church cannot be understated. Often the only public building in which everyone could come together, the church house was the center of community life in many black neighborhoods and towns. It provided opportunities for blacks to develop leadership qualities, hone business skills, gain oratory experiences and find moral and spiritual comfort.” Quoted from her article, “The Preservation of Missouri’s Black Heritage,” (originally published in *Preservation Issues*, Vol. 7, Number 1, 1997), available online at: www.umsi.edu/services/library/blackstudies.htm. Gail Lowe, historian with the Smithsonian’s Anacostia Museum in Washington, D.C., also described the central role of the black church in community: “Spirituality and religious expression always have been at the core of individual and community life for Americans of African descent....Churches doubled as school houses, recreation centers and lecture halls. They provided safe meeting places for community discussions of common problems. Church congregations supported insurance programs, employment centers and community development projects.” Quoted in Fleur Paysour, “Historian’s work shows importance of churches in African American culture,” (originally published in *Research Reports*, No. 93, Summer 1998), available online at: www.si.edu/opa/researchreports/9893/church.htm

²⁰⁷ The Maryland Historical Trust’s Office of Cultural Conservation Programs has conducted numerous oral history projects throughout the State and provides guidance for those undertaking such projects through its guidebook edited by office director Elaine Eff, *You should have been here yesterday: A Guide to Cultural Documentation in Maryland*, (Crownsville, MD: The Maryland Historical Trust Press, 1995). A number of workshops on personal interview techniques and oral history project development have been offered, including several sessions, which I attended at the May 2000 MHT/Preservation Maryland Conference held in Easton, Maryland. Currently, two interviews are scheduled for members of the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, one with the matriarch of the church nearing 80 years old, and one with her granddaughter. Two

interviews have also been conducted with Rev. Monroe of Sharpsburg as part of the Tolson's Chapel documentation and preservation project.

²⁰⁸ Religious institutions such as Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, which are listed or determined eligible for the National Register, can apply for Maryland Historical Trust Capital Grant funds for rehabilitation of the historic exterior, including masonry, framing, roof, windows, foundation, or trim. See Appendix IV for reference to Mt. Moriah.

²⁰⁹ See listings in Beth L. Savage, ed., *African American Historic Places*, (Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1994). Although this was published eight years ago, the emphasis has changed little over the years.

²¹⁰ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1989; reprint of 1880 edition), p. 178.

²¹¹ Ibid. Although Ruskin might not have agreed on the significance of the domestic and ecclesiastical architecture of rural African-Americans in Washington County, his thoughts about the impact of architecture on our memory still apply.

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