

HISTORIC FREDERICK COUNTY

The Story of Frederick & Frederick County

by Christopher N. Butler



A publication of the Historical Society of Frederick County

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Connie and Dave Butler, who raised me to love history and to be intellectually curious.

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First Edition

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FOREWORD

Preserving the history of Frederick County is a daunting task. The earliest documented era of occupation dates back at least 10,000 years ago, and Europeans began exploring the territory in the seventeenth century. The county's location made it a transportation crossroads, and over the centuries, a variety of new inhabitants made their mark on the county.

Major events in our nation's history had their impact here. The repudiation of the Stamp Act in 1765 preceded the more widely known Boston Tea Party and presaged the Revolutionary War. A century later, the county played a key role in the Civil War. In the twentieth century, the county became home to two internationally significant government sites. Camp David, located near Thurmont, has been a presidential retreat since Franklin D. Roosevelt was president. Fort Detrick, located in the county seat of Frederick, is a primary center for American biosecurity.

Accomplishing this formidable undertaking, Christopher Butler has distilled thousands of years of history into a concise summary, presented in chronological order. Tracing the county's settlement from pre-history through the twentieth century, he has captured the character of the county's residents, and the consequences of their actions, weaving together the experiences of many generations.

Included in this consummate account of life in Frederick County are profiles of businesses and other entities. The history of these participants is fleeting, reminding us of the transitory nature of our recorded history.

Although its size has diminished since it was formed in 1748, Frederick County remains today as the largest county in the state. The county's scenic views, stores and restaurants, communities, and the warmth of welcoming residents attract visitors from all over the world and compel them to stay.

Established in 1892, the Historical Society of Frederick County is a nonprofit educational organization with a mission to increase public awareness of, and appreciation for, the history of Frederick County. We welcome the participation of people of all ages and backgrounds. My thanks to Assistant Director Amanda Burdette Johnston and Research Center Coordinator Marian Currens for their help on this project. The board and staff of the Historical Society of Frederick County hope you find this publication to be a lasting and useful reference.

Executive Director Mary Rose Boswell
Historical Society of Frederick County

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This book would not have been possible without the assistance and support of my wife, Kristen Butler, as well as Jennifer Winter and Carrie Blough, all of whom contributed much of the research for this book, and Duane Doxzen, who encouraged me to write it. Melissa Caples selected many of the pictures that are in the book. Expert fact-checkers, Nancy Lesure, Nancy Geasey, and Matthew Borders, helpfully scrutinized the work. Special thanks go to the staff of the Historical Society of Frederick County, past and present, particularly Research Center Coordinator Marian Currens. I also want to thank the innumerable volunteers at the Historical Society of Frederick County who provide the backbone of the organization and who have always been eager to help or talk during my time there. Thanks are also due to Ron Lammert, my contact at HPNbooks, who gave me the chance to contribute to the narrative of Frederick County's history. My grandparents, Denzil and Genevieve Butler and Arlie and Jean Kittle, taught me to value history and education. Finally, my cats Boxer and Sabrina kept me company during the writing and editing process.

Christopher N. Butler



✧ The "clustered spires of Frederick": Trinity Chapel, Evangelical Lutheran Church, and St. John's Catholic Church.



❖ *The Historical Society of Frederick County, c. 1960.*



❖ *Before it housed the Historical Society, the building housed the Loats Orphanage. This photograph shows the girls and Mrs. Hillary, who was matron from 1893–1927.*

PREFACE

Paths cross and roads meet in Frederick County. This Maryland county sits on many routes and borders, geographic and cultural, a trait that characterizes its history. It marks the boundary between eastern and western Maryland and sits on the division between the northern and southern United States. For thousands of years before European Contact, American Indians used the region's valleys and waterways as the foundation of vast trade networks, and after colonization roads, railroads, and canals connected Frederick County to the burgeoning United States. These boundaries and networks opened new possibilities for Frederick County's residents, as well as led vast conflicts to their doors. Their lives are preserved through stories, objects, and documents, which let us combine the ephemeral echoes of people into histories, whether of nations, states, families, or individuals.

Since its organization in 1892, the Historical Society of Frederick County has been the primary steward of these histories in the county. Since its origins as a private organization dedicated to nurturing a public passion for Frederick County's history, the Historical Society has brought enthusiasm and aptitude to the study of the region's past. Based on East Church Street in a building that has been a home and an orphanage, the Historical Society continues to preserve and to interpret Frederick County's history. Where the region's roads, railroads, and waterways continue to bridge geographical boundaries, the Historical Society bridges the past and the present with the possibilities of the future.

THE STORY OF FREDERICK & FREDERICK COUNTY

NATIVE PEOPLE OF FREDERICK COUNTY

While Frederick is now best known for the city's "clustered spires," it is also a region rich in natural resources and beauty. Prior to European Contact, Native people found this bounty and made their lives here. Much about their lives and cultures is unknown, due to the devastating effects of colonialism and the limitations of archaeological research, but the pre-Columbian inhabitants of what is now Frederick County traded widely throughout eastern North America and utilized a variety of subsistence strategies to thrive in this region. The county's indigenous people inhabited a rich cultural and spiritual realm that explained the world as it existed, its origin, and their own place in it. They also lived in a rich social world composed of societies who thought about their lives and utilized their natural resources in a range of ways, changing often throughout time.

Frederick County's first inhabitants drew upon its rich natural resources in a variety of ways to meet their needs. As material culture and subsistence strategies are closely linked, archaeologists can provide detailed answers to how ancient people survived and often thrived in difficult environments. Among the earliest recognizable tool traditions in the Americas is that of the Paleo-Indians: a term referring to a range of societies spread across the continent roughly thirteen thousand years ago. Using fluted Clovis spear points, Paleo-Indians hunted North American megafauna, such as mammoths, while gathering a range of edible plants. They followed the migrations of game animals in highly mobile groups. Frederick County had a very different ecology during this period than it does today. Its forests were primarily composed of spruce and pine trees, much like Alaska in the early twenty-first century, and the waterways such as the Potomac River

followed different courses in many places. While rare, there are examples of Paleo-Indian tools that have surfaced in Frederick County, although it is unclear when people first inhabited the region. If they were present during this period, cooling temperatures caused by climate change may have forced these groups out of his region for a time. Regardless of an earlier occupation, archaeological finds suggest that they lived here roughly eleven thousand years ago.

Warming temperatures led to new ways of life for Native people during the Early, Middle, and Late Archaic periods. Camps became larger and more developed, and new technologies, such as grindstones and pitted stones, opened up new resources for processing seeds and nuts. During the Archaic periods, North America's inhabitants weathered numerous shifts in climate and developed many distinctive tool traditions. By 2500 BCE, people in the Middle Atlantic region increasingly inhabited the area's broad flood plains. The Potomac River was a particularly rich source of quartzite, which was manufactured into large, stemmed points. The Early Woodland period, characterized by ceramic pottery used for cooking and storage, began around 1450 BCE. While this technology had been in use in southwestern North America for some time, it was a new innovation in this region, and many new forms and techniques developed over the next few centuries as potters experimented. Archaeologists also find more storage pits for food and supplies in this period, although whether this is because of an increasing need for them due to climate change or uncertain times, or if this simply reflects the use of larger, more archaeologically obvious pits is unclear.

Along with subsistence strategies, recovered artifacts suggest the existence of extensive trade networks from the

Atlantic coast to the Ohio River Valley. These trade routes linked coastal peoples, who produced shell beads, to the mound-building cultures of the Adena along the Ohio River between 600 BCE and 100 CE. In exchange for shell beads, which were used as grave goods in the vast mortuary mounds built by the Adena, traders received goods such as tubular pipes and shale gorgets in return. Trade goods placed in burials on the Delmarva Peninsula provide evidence for this trading network. Valuable raw materials from what became Frederick County also entered into this network. One valuable resource found in Frederick County was rhyolite, a volcanic stone prized by tool-makers. Rhyolite was quarried at several sites along the Catoctin Ridge and tools were made from it there, the first instance of mass production in a region that would become characterized by industry



✧ *John White's 1590 portrayal of Pomeiock, a fortified Pamlico town in North Carolina. Although the organization of communities varied widely across pre-Contact North America, circular stockades were used in some indigenous communities in what became Frederick County.*

PUBLIC DOMAIN IMAGE. ORIGINAL OWNED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

following its occupation by Euro-American settlers. These trade networks atrophied around 200 CE, but rhyolite remained valuable in the region. Large-scale trade reemerged around 700 CE, connecting western Maryland to such far-flung locations as New York, Ohio, and the Great Lakes region. This may have indicated a spread of Algonquian speakers from Lake Ontario, or the adoption of these languages, through these areas.

Around 1000 CE, maize, a major new resource, began to emerge in the Middle Atlantic region. Although cultivated for thousands of years in Mexico, selective breeding of maize in North America over a long period finally enabled the crop to thrive in the colder northern climate. This led to a greater emphasis on village life, and agricultural production became an important resource that eclipsed hunting and foraging. Many villages were located in floodplains for access to rich soil. An increasing numbers of stockaded villages after 1300 CE hint at a growing tension in the region, possibly due to a global climate shift that left eastern North America wetter and colder. With an



❖ John White's 1590 representation of a man from Pomeiock. He is wearing clothing appropriate for winter in the Carolinas and his community is visible in the background. Social organization and cultures varied widely throughout indigenous North America, but the Pamlico also spoke an Algonquian language and their clothing may have been similar to that worn by the indigenous inhabitants of the Chesapeake region.

PUBLIC DOMAIN IMAGE. ORIGINAL OWNED BY THE BRITISH LIBRARY.

increased reliance on maize as a dietary staple, this change damaged production and likely led to food scarcity.

Although Europeans were present on the Middle Atlantic Coast by 1608 when John Smith described the village Natotchtanks at the mouth of the Anacostia River, few traveled inland and no records describe the Native people of western Maryland in the early seventeenth century. Smith, who turned back at the Falls of the Potomac—which he named for the Patawomekes, another Native group in the region—tells us that these groups were Algonquian speakers, with Siouan and Iroquoian languages also spoken. During this period, Frederick County formed part of the southern border of the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, a powerful multi-tribal coalition stretching from the eastern Great Lakes through New York. Of the members of the Confederacy, the Seneca and Shawnee were particularly influential in western Maryland, as a major north-south trade route passed through Frederick County. This borderland region was also home to other tribal nations, including those displaced by European colonization. In 1699, many Piscataway settled in the region after being falsely accused of violence against white and black Maryland colonists. They established a settlement on Heaters Island before moving into Pennsylvania by 1712 after a smallpox epidemic. Tuscarora refugees lived along the Potomac near the mouth of the Monocacy River in the eighteenth century following their 1713 military defeat by an alliance of South Carolinian and Cherokee forces. In 1719, they sold ten thousand acres of their land to an English settler, Charles Carroll, and continued north. Both of these groups eventually became part of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Such population shifts and movements were common as European settlements emerged on the Atlantic Coast and European diseases decimated Native populations. With no resistance to lethal diseases like smallpox, many American

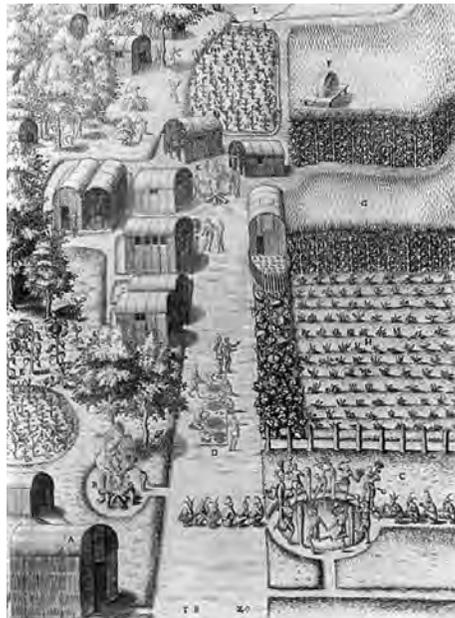
Indians died from illness. Estimates for these deaths are high, such as that given by historian Henry Dobyns, who suggested that the mortality rate could have been eighty or ninety percent. While these numbers are highly debated, and varied by region and time period, the secondary effects of European Contact, such as disease, famine, and warfare, changed Native communities forever. The loss of so many people to disease led to famines as survivors struggled to work fields with too few people and populations shifted as communities merged and moved in response to these events. These migrations spread new illnesses further, and American Indian populations were often decimated before meeting colonists face-to-face. This contributed to a sense of divine entitlement for colonists, who thanked God for their new, fertile land, little realizing that these were fields worked by generations of Native people. At the same time, many Native Americans questioned their own religious beliefs when faced with these tragedies, sometimes making conversion to Christianity easier for missionaries. The cultural fabric of these communities was devastated, as oral knowledge was lost.

At the same time, American Indians became enmeshed in global trade networks, with furs eagerly sought by British and French traders acquiring goods for a seemingly endless European market for beaver hides. Never passive victims of these events, American Indians actively entered this new political and economic environment and many tribal nations gained European allies. Both Europeans and American Indians used these alliances in existing conflicts with other colonial or tribal powers. John Smith noted this, when he reported that the Algonquian speakers he interacted with were concerned with Susquehannock raids throughout New York and Pennsylvania. The Susquehannock were already embedded in global trade networks, as Smith discovered when he met them trading French goods in the northern Chesapeake Bay region.

European Contact was felt in individual lives, which caused ripples in the diplomatic relationships between European and tribal nations. One case occurred in the Monocacy (or Manakassy) Valley with the murder of Sawantaeny, a Seneca man, by John and Edmund Cartlidge, a pair of colonial traders. This death provides a unique window into the violence that European traders brought to this region. The killing was reconstructed during a hearing by Pennsylvania officials on March 14, 1722, held at Conestoga, a Susquehanna village under Iroquois control with a multi-tribal population. This hearing was recorded in the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*. Witnesses described Sawantaeny as a civil, quiet warrior, who was hunting near the “Manakassy, a Branch of [the] Patomeck River,” accompanied by Weynepreeueyta, his Shawnee wife, who was a witness at the hearing. Her testimony, and that of the Cartlidge’s Indian guide, suggests that John and Edmund Cartlidge, with their Indian guides and white servants, arrived at Sawantaeny and Weynepreeueyta’s cabin one evening to trade for furs. As a gift, likely to show respect for their host, the Cartlidges gave Sawantaeny some punch and rum throughout the evening.

The next morning a dispute about payment, which included rum, became heated. John knocked Sawantaeny onto a fallen log. With blood running down his neck, Sawantaeny retrieved his gun from the cabin while Weynepreeueyta tried to diffuse the situation. Edmund wrestled the gun away from Sawantaeny and repeatedly struck him in the head with it, eventually breaking the firearm. John kicked Sawantaeny in the side and broke two ribs. Sawantaeny was left bleeding from the nose and mouth and unable to speak as the traders packed their goods and left. Before he died the following morning Sawantaeny’s last words were that “his friends had killed him.” His surprise is evident in this statement, suggesting that this was the tragic culmination of a long-term trading relationship. After

Sawantaeny’s death, Weynepreeueyta left to find help for the burial. In her absence a Cayuga man found his body and hired the leader of Conestoga’s wife and “the Hermaphrodite of that same place” to bury him, likely as mourners in a ritual capacity as historian Gunlög Fur suggests. Although eastern North American examples are rare, this hermaphrodite was likely a man who dressed and lived as a woman. Many Midwestern tribal nations recognized a similar social role, often known as a berdache.



❖ Another 1590 drawing by John White, this time of a community on the Pamlico River estuary, also in North Carolina. While also not in Frederick County, this town shows the potential variations in special organization within a region.

PUBLIC DOMAIN IMAGE. ORIGINAL OWNED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

This deeply personal affair quickly achieved an international element. News of Sawantaeny’s death was heard by the Maryland council at Annapolis on February 21, 1722. The council’s records note that John Bradford, a man familiar with the event, suggested that Sawantaeny was prominent within the Seneca and had been killed “by making a violent stroke at his head with the Indian’s own Gun and drove the head of the Cock into his Brains.” The Pennsylvania council’s minutes noted

the issue on March 6, 1722, a month after the death. With the Maryland council encouraging colonists to “let the Indians know that the Murderers are under the PA Government,” Pennsylvania’s council, eager to find “the most effectual and cheapest way to preserve [the Indians’] friendship, and to quell any Disturbance which hereafter may possibly happen upon such extraordinary Events,” sent forth a delegation. The council secretary John Logan and a military officer, Colonel French, located John Cartlidge in Conestoga and began the hearing, along with a variety of prominent Conestoga men, including Shawnee, Mingo, Ganawese, Conestoga, and Delaware representatives. During the hearing, which was conducted in at least five languages with Delaware being common language of translation, the sad tale of the murder was told over eight hours.

The Pennsylvania council attempted to make reparations to the Seneca for Sawantaeny’s death, likely fearing the consequences of alienating the powerful League of the Iroquois. Logan and French distributed rum punch, as well as John Cartlidge’s meat and bread, throughout Conestoga. They offered a symbolic gift to the Seneca of two blankets “to cover our dead friend [Sawantaeny]” and a valuable wampum belt “to wipe away Tears.” Following multiple trials, the Cartlidges were ultimately released after the head of the Confederacy stated that he felt sorry for Sawantaeny’s death, but “he desires that John Cartlidge may not be put to death; one life is enough to be lost, there should not two die.” However, the Cartlidges were forbidden from future trade with American Indians, and Pennsylvania’s traders were prevented from trading rum with them, to prevent further destabilization of the delicate diplomatic relationships with the tribal nations. This incident shows the uneasy and at times violent nature of even friendship in the colonial borderlands, and the need to maintain peaceful relationships with the members of the Five Nations of the Iroquois, who wielded extensive authority.

Although most regional tribes were relocated, often as their land was seized or fraudulently purchased by European colonists, these tribal histories continue. Many Piscataway eventually settled in Canada on the Six Nations of the Grand River First Nation reserve in Ontario after moving on from Heaters Island. Other Piscataway remained largely unrecognized in Maryland until the late nineteenth century when many identified themselves to scholars and journalists. After legal struggles for government recognition, three Piscataway descendant groups were recognized by the state of Maryland in December 2011: the Piscataway Indian Nation and Tayac Territory, the Piscataway Conoy Tribe of Maryland, and the Cederville Band of Piscataway Indians.

As with the Piscataway, the Tuscarora split into different migrations as a result of the colonial period. After the Tuscarora moved north out of Frederick County due to tensions with European settlers, many settled in New York. Their recognized descendants still live there as members of the federally recognized Tuscarora Nation, while others live on the Six Nations reserve in Ontario. Some Tuscarora returned to North Carolina, while others joined with displaced Seneca and Cayuga people as the Mingo, and have descendants within the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma. Most Seneca, as British allies, moved to Canada following the American Revolution, where their descendants also live on the Six Nations reserve, with other recognized descendants located in New York and Oklahoma.

Many Shawnee lived in Frederick County, including those who helped the French fur trader Martin Chartier set up trade routes through the region. Following Shawnee leader Tecumseh's multi-tribal military campaign, the bulk of the Shawnee Nation was located in Ohio, where they ceded their remaining lands to the United States for three reservations in the state. By 1833 most were removed by the U.S. government to Kansas, and after the Civil War, were

moved again to the Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. Here they joined other Shawnee, who had moved to Texas in the early nineteenth century. Some Kansas Shawnee were settled within the Cherokee Nation and were part of that tribe until 2000, when they received separate federal recognition. Other Shawnee descendants, some with state recognition, reside in Ohio. Although the Native population of Frederick County is low in the twenty-first century, vibrant American Indian communities persist throughout Maryland. In Baltimore, for instance, a large multi-tribal urban Indian population developed during the mid-twentieth century, as many sought economic opportunities in the burgeoning shipbuilding industry.

EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

By the early 1720s, European colonists were beginning to enter the region. Most of these colonists were attracted to the rich farmland, which caused tension and conflict with American Indians. Roughly sixty percent of these early settlers were British and the remaining forty percent were largely German, along with some Swiss and Scotch-Irish. The German settlers served as a buffer between British and French territorial claims. These settlers farmed grains, which were milled into flour, and manufactured goods including lime, iron, and glass. The need for a central economic and political site emerged, and Daniel Dulaney, a land speculator and a member of Maryland's colonial government, purchased Tasker's Chance, a large tract of land in the Monocacy Valley where he established Frederick in 1745. Dulaney sold individual lots to settlers. The first purchasers were John Thomas Schley and his wife Margaret from the German Rhine. John Thomas, who had been a schoolmaster in Germany, established a tavern in Frederick. He was also active as a musician in the German Reformed Church. With the church, he served as a schoolmaster



❖ While many of the material remains of this period are gone, many memorial observations of the colonial period have occurred in Frederick County. In this image from 1922, county residents observe the 190th anniversary of the building of the Old Monocacy Log Church and the later organization of the Old Monocacy Reformed Church.

and a lay leader. The Schleys retained connections to Germany, often writing to encourage friends to join them in Frederick.

By 1748 the increased settler population led the colonial government to establish Frederick County as a separate area. The county was much larger then and covered most of western Maryland, including current-day Garrett, Allegheny, Washington, Frederick, and Montgomery Counties, as well as part of Carroll County. With this growth, Frederick became a center for grain shipments to Baltimore, which led to the development of major transportation routes through the county. Many of these roads traveled east-west, linked to Baltimore and the coast. This east-west orientation persisted after the American Revolution, with the National Road, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal all passing through the county.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Frederick and Washington Counties were on the western edge of the English colonies, sharing a border with numerous tribal nations and with French territories to the west. As British colonists pushed westward toward the Ohio River Valley, this threatened French claims. In the spring of 1754, a freshly minted lieutenant colonial in the Virginia militia, George Washington, was



◆ According to local tradition, this cabin on Saint Street in Frederick, which was in disrepair when photographed in the nineteenth century, was briefly used by George Washington as a headquarters during the French and Indian War.



◆ The spring that Braddock allegedly stopped at on his way west became a local landmark in Frederick County. Here a man and a young boy pose at the site.

sent west to defend an English fort on the Ohio River. While travelling through western Pennsylvania, Washington and his men engaged a party of French soldiers, which escalated into the French and Indian War in 1755. This war represented the North American expansion of the Seven Years' War—a series of ongoing hostilities between England and France. On this new front, not only were colonial forces brought into the war, but tribal nations used the broader war to reshape their relationships with European powers or to continue existing hostilities within Native North America. Many tribal nations, including the Shawnee, sided with the French to resist English settlements, although others remained British allies.

In response the British military commander in colonial North America, General Edward Braddock, brought 1,400 British soldiers to the colonies for a military expedition in March 1755. They passed through Frederick on to the French Fort Duquesne, near what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. According to legend as Braddock left Frederick, he stopped to drink at a spring on the ridge west of town, which is now called Braddock Heights. The colonial governments of Virginia and Maryland provided only about ten percent of the horses and wagons Braddock requested. Benjamin Franklin was sent to calm Braddock, and he contracted for these supplies in Pennsylvania.

This logistical problem delayed Braddock's departure until April, as many western settlers, worried about the increasing violence in the region, took refuge in Frederick. In May, on his way to meet Braddock in Winchester, Virginia, George Washington stayed overnight in Frederick. Braddock led his forces west into the mountains to a military staging area at Fort Cumberland, near Will's Creek—a British community that had been a Shawnee village. This is now Cumberland, Maryland. Tensions between the British, the French, and the tribal nations continued to escalate. In the June 12, 1755, issue of the *Maryland Gazette*, Governor Shirley advertised cash bounties for American Indian prisoners and scalps, including those of women and children. Later that month, a French offensive began near Fort Cumberland and, by early July, twenty-eight British colonists had been killed or captured in western Maryland.

Braddock's forces collided with the French and their allies on July 9 near Fort Duquesne, a battle that was disastrous for the British. Roughly 900 of Braddock's 1,400 men were killed, wounded, or captured during the battle. This included Braddock himself, who was mortally wounded in the fighting and who died on July 13. That day, his fleeing forces had camped near Fort Necessity, Washington's makeshift defenses from his initial clash with the French.

After Braddock's death, and possibly at Washington's suggestion, his soldiers supposedly buried Braddock in the road and marched over the grave to conceal it from the French and their allies.

Charlotte Brown, a woman attached to the Braddock expedition, wrote about these events in her diary. She arrived at Fort Cumberland on June 13, 1755, describing it as “the most desolate Place I ever saw.” Conditions at the fort were sparse, Brown called her lodging a “hole,” in which she “could see day light through every Log and a port Hole for a Window which was as good a Room as any in the Fort.” While she was there, news of Indian violence reached the fort, leading the gates to be shut against a group of “several [individuals] who called themselves friendly Indians.” This incident highlights the ambiguity of British relations with Native people. Word came on July 11, 1755, of Braddock's defeat. Brown stated that “it is not possible to describe the Distraction of the poor Women for their Husbands.” Shortly thereafter, Brown's brother died of illness and she left for Frederick, a 150-mile journey. Brown found the prospect daunting, noting that “God only knows how I shall get there.” During the trip, she faced many difficulties, including a fall from her horse into the Potomac River and sleeping on the ground—which she referred to as “my old lodging”—but arrived in Frederick on August 30.

Frederick was a welcome sight for Brown. Following her recovery from a fever, Brown explored Frederick. She described the town as “a very Pleasant Place [where] most of the People are Dutch.” Brown received a series of invitations while she waited for the remainder of the sick to arrive from the fort. She visited numerous country estates in the area, including one in which she “was received with a friendly welcome [and] I had for Breakfast a fine Dish of Fish and a Pig.” Her sensibilities were shocked at a ball, an incident that shows Frederick’s diverse population and the blending of cultures that characterized colonial frontier life. She described the ball as “compos’d of Romans, Jews, and Hereticks [sic] who in this Town flock together. The Ladys [sic] danced without Stays or Hoops and it ended with a jig from each [Lady?].” On October 5, all of the fort’s sick had arrived, along with news of further violence and a lack of supplies at the fort. In a scene repeated during the American Civil War, Frederick became a military hospital, where the wounded and ill from Braddock’s campaign were tended before continuing to Philadelphia on October 11. Brown left Frederick with them.

Other sources suggest the undercurrents of fear in Frederick County during the French and Indian War. Given these concerns, in 1756, Fort Frederick was constructed on the orders of Governor Sharp to protect the region’s settlers. It was one of the first stone forts built in the southern provinces. This violence was not one-sided. Reprisals by Indian combatants not only took place within the broader international war, but also within a context in which Indian men, women, and children were being targeted for capture or death by colonial authorities.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Following the French and Indian War, tensions rose between the colonies and the

British government due to higher taxes imposed to offset the additional debts incurred in defending the colonies. These policies led the colonial leadership to split from Britain, precipitating the American Revolution. Many of these British policies were unpopular in Frederick County. Following the passage of the Stamp Act of 1765, an act that contained a provision that court business must be conducted on properly stamped paper, Frederick County judges used unstamped paper rather than close courts. This was followed by a mock funeral procession and burial for the distributor of Maryland stamps, Zachariah Hood, which included a coffin and an effigy. This demonstration was held by a local branch of the Sons of Liberty. Western Maryland delegates to the Continental Congress also unanimously supported the split from Britain.

Many Frederick County men joined militias to support the revolutionary cause, likely swept up in a patriotic fervor. On December 8, 1774, an act was passed in Frederick enabling the organization of military companies for the brewing conflict. With this act, men between the ages of sixteen and fifty began to enlist. With the outbreak of the war at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775, two Frederick County companies rushed to join the fighting in Boston. These companies joined Captain Daniel Morgan’s men from Shepherdstown, Virginia (now West Virginia), as they traveled through Frederick on July 17. When this combined group reached Boston, they were the first



◆ *Rose Hill Manor, where Thomas Carroll spent his twilight years.*

southern troops to join the battle. Shortly thereafter, the Maryland Line was organized, which was composed of four companies from Frederick County—of which three were from Emmitsburg—and two to three companies from Montgomery County. The Maryland Line fought at Brooklyn Heights in New York City on July 4, 1776. Following the colonists’ retreat from New York, the Maryland Line guarded British and Hessian prisoners of war held in Frederick. By 1781 the Line had taken such heavy losses that it had to be reorganized, which resulted in the loss of three regiments. Another prominent Frederick County company was organized as part of the German Regiment by the Maryland General Assembly in July 1776. This regiment was formed of two companies, the other being from Baltimore. The regiment’s members served until 1780 and fought at Trenton, White Plains, and Brandywine before being folded into the Maryland Continental Troops in January 1781. County residents also supported the revolutionary cause financially, although a letter from Continental Congress delegate John Hanson suggested that the support may have been primarily among the county’s elite more than lower-class civilians, as he found resistance in getting people to part with their gold and silver unless it was replaced by paper tender.



◆ *Thomas Johnson and Family, by Charles Willson Peale.*

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Frederick County also provided revolutionary leaders, including numerous members of the Continental Congress. As a Continental Congress delegate, Thomas Johnson was on the Committee of Correspondence to seek foreign aid for the revolutionary cause. He also served in the Maryland assembly and was a brigadier general in the state militia. He became the state's first governor in 1777, served on the commission that laid out Washington, D.C., and sat on the Supreme Court. Following his years in public service, he lived out his life in Frederick at Rose Hill Manor, his daughter and son-in-law's estate. Another prominent Frederick County resident during the revolution was Charles Carroll, who was a Continental Congress representative, as well as the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence. He went on to a career in government, serving in both the Maryland and U.S. senates. Other Frederick residents also served in the Continental Congress, including John Hanson, who was the first president of Congress to serve a full one-year term following the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, and Thomas Sim Lee, who was Maryland's governor during the ratification of the Articles of Confederation.

Other county residents actively resisted the revolution. A group of seven Frederick County men were arrested and three were executed in 1781 for attempting to raise volunteers and to acquire weapons for the British. This loyalist plot, seemingly led by John Caspar Fritchie (or Frietschie)—the father-in-law of famed Civil War figure Barbara Fritchie, was revealed by Christian Orendorff, who ostensibly joined the plot to turn them over to the Americans, and much of our knowledge of the plot comes from his testimony. Henry Newcomer, another conspirator, met with Orendorff and asked him about his position on the war and if the British would win it. Orendorff described Newcomer's stated goal this way: "We have raised a Body of Men for the Service of the King and we thought proper to make [application] to you to go to [New] York for a Fleet,

asked how many Men they had raised he said upwards of 6,000—asked who was the Commanding officer of the Party, answered one Fritchie of Fred. Town a Dutch man." Orendorff was then introduced to Fritchie, who provided more details, and Bleacher, a captain in the conspiracy, who claimed he had recruited fifty men. According to Orendorff, Bleacher then revealed further details of the plot:

Bleacher said they would mount on Horses and ride down [to Georgetown] and receive their arms for the troops in the State would not hinder them—and further said he could take the Magazine in Fred. Town with their Men.

Following this revelation, seven men were arrested and Fritchie and two others were sentenced to be drawn and quartered, a punishment often handed down for traitors. As in other cases in colonial Maryland, it appears as if these sentences were commuted to hanging, which was what happened to these three men on July 6, 1781. Local tradition holds that Fritchie was innocent and was linked to the conspirators through business ties, and that his wife received a pardon for him from George Washington—which would not have been applicable as this was a civil rather than military matter—that arrived too late to stop his execution. However, there is no evidence that this version is true. The earliest written form of this version dates from the Civil War, likely as a result of Barbara Fritchie's sudden fame. Orendorff's account may not be completely accurate, either, and he may have exaggerated the danger posed by Fritchie's conspiracy to make his role in the revolution seem more prominent.

As in later wars, Frederick County not only supplied soldiers and funds, but also harnessed its manufacturing capabilities for the struggle. In the summer of 1775, the Maryland government contracted five Frederick County gunsmiths to manufacture firearms for the war effort. One of these gunsmiths was George Boon, who

produced firearms in Frederick's Cannon Hill industrial district. Later that year, the Maryland government also established a Frederick County manufactory to produce gunlocks, which was closed in 1778. Not only were Frederick County guns beginning to be used across the colony, but by 1776 local militia captains relied on them to supply their forces. Both George Stricker and Thomas Johnson requested funds from Annapolis that year to purchase muskets, with Johnson writing "considering the difficulty of speedily arming our troops I think with them & will [be] advisable to lodge a sum of money in the hands of somebody here...to purchase what rifles can be got." Early in the war, many Maryland troops relied on their Frederick County-produced rifles, although production declined as the war progressed. While the iron works at Catoctin Furnace did not produce guns, the iron workers did manufacture war materiel, such as cast shell and shot, as well as military camping supplies.

As firearm production lessened, the county's role as a major agricultural center came to the forefront. In December 1779 the Maryland General Assembly directed commissioners to buy all the grains that exceeded the needs of merchants and farmers in order to provide flour and food to the Continental Army. The Maryland council wrote to Frederick County's procurement officer, Colonel Normand Bruce, instructing him to use every method to get the needed flour. This even extended to exchanging gunpowder for small quantities of wheat at mills, with one bushel of wheat worth one pound of gunpowder. Another commissioner, Thomas Price, gathered one-and-a-half bushels of wheat at twenty-two pounds, ten shillings per bushel from one Frederick farmer. As a result, in 1780, many farmers harvested their grain early for export, although this was difficult due to insufficient transportation caused by the war.

Frederick County also held many prisoners of war from the British army. Early in the war, the legislature proposed the

construction of a jail in Frederick to house military captives, which was accepted by a local committee who desired a central location so the structure could be used as a school after the war. This facility was known as the Tory or log jail. Throughout the war, the jail posed difficulties for the town, particularly due to insufficient guards and supplies. In December 1777 newly arrived British prisoners were housed in a smaller public jail rather than the new prison due to a lack of guards. Even after the public jail was set on fire during an escape attempt, Charles Beatty, the prison's head, could not find enough guards. After moving the prisoners to the prison, Beatty and a skeleton crew of guards watched them for a week before Thomas Johnson requisitioned sufficient men for the task.

These problems were just the beginning. In December 1780, British prisoners from the battle of Saratoga began to arrive, who would eventually number over seven hundred, a sizeable number for a town with a population of roughly 1,700. The prisoners were held there until the next summer and supply problems persisted. One resident, Baker Johnson, wrote that "the whole neighborhood is continually plundered," seemingly by prisoners and guards. Later, in 1781, the prisoner population of Frederick boomed



◆ Colonel Friedrich Heinrich Scheer commanded two regiments of Hessians during the revolution and was imprisoned in Frederick during the war.



◆ The Hessian Barracks in the last half of the nineteenth century.

after the British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia. Shortages of willing guards and provisions arose again until the prisoners were sent to Pennsylvania in December. Early in 1782, new prisoners arrived in Frederick, who were to become strongly linked to the prison barracks in the public's memory. These prisoners, Hessian soldiers captured at Yorktown, arrived in January 1782. The Hessians were mercenaries from the Hesse region of Germany hired by the British. Many of these prisoners felt a strong affinity to Frederick County's German inhabitants. One Hessian prisoner, Johann Conrad Dohla, described Frederick in his journal in January 1782:

[A] beautiful, fertile, and pleasant region, partially in a valley; however, when it rains, it becomes muddy because the city is still not paved. It is heavily settled by Germans, of whom many are from Swabia. This city was laid out sixteen years ago, but already has nearly two thousand inhabitants, has several good houses, and makes a show with several steeples. The streets of the city are laid out evenly, to the four corners of the world. A few houses are of wood, most of limestone and brick, both building materials that are baked and prepared here. The inhabitants carry on handcrafts and agriculture.

With few capable guards, whose ranks now included injured veterans, prisoners frequently escaped. Some Hessian escapees married local women and started families, leading many to stay after the war. Given widespread escapes, the Continental Congress eventually allowed the married prisoners in question to be freed for a fee.

Other problems were more difficult and could lead to violence. One prisoner was shot during an escape attempt, which was an exception to the generally lax imprisonment. Others, including two paroled British officers and three of their Hessian visitors, were beaten by a gang led by Dr. Adam Fischer, a revolutionary leader. While violence and conflict was not uncommon in the prison, these later events were seemingly outliers, with most crime in the barracks the result of prisoners and guards coping with their limited supplies in illicit ways.

Not everyone in Frederick Town viewed the prisoners as threatening or problematic; others saw an opportunity. Given that as many as one quarter of the male population of the county was away in the war, labor was at a premium. As early as February 1778, Beatty suggested that the use of British POWs for labor benefited both the prisoners and the county's residents, stating that the prisoners "could get themselves some little necessaries & be of great use in the neighborhood of this place." This outsourcing would allow him to manage troublesome prisoners more easily, given his continuing lack of guards. In early 1781, British prisoners chopped firewood, given the extreme pressures the prisoners placed on local supplies. Later that year the Maryland council suggested that the British prisoners from Yorktown could be put to this use. However, the arrival of the Hessian soldiers to the prison revealed a new dimension of prisoner labor in Frederick County. Bayly, the officer in charge of the prison, restricted access to the POWs to stop county residents from taking prisoners from the facility, seemingly as



✧ *Jacob Engelbrecht (1797–1878), pictured here c. 1865–1868, was a tailor and a diarist whose writings provide the broadest account of Frederick’s nineteenth century history from 1818–1878. Engelbrecht also served as Frederick’s mayor in the aftermath of the Civil War from 1865–1868.*

laborers. This angered residents and many petitioned the governor to intervene. He did not, and in 1782 a further edict made it illegal to house prisoners, which was punishable by a large fine—service on a ship for three years, or thirty-nine lashes. When the Continental Congress ruling was issued to free Hessians married to American women with a fine, military recruiters visited the barracks containing the Hessians with money and women, while local merchants used this ruling to purchase Hessian freedom in exchange for labor.

As the presence and activities of Revolutionary War POWs indicates, these men had a surprising amount of freedom, whether intentionally or inadvertently, and became a part of the community. Imprisoned officers had more latitude than enlisted soldiers. At the end of the war, many of these prisoners took part in the festivities marking American independence. Hessian diarist Johann Conrad Dohla recorded that American soldiers and militiamen built a large bonfire and marched through Frederick Town “behind the resounding sounds of fifes and drums through all of the streets and ways of this place with white flags, green caps, and laurel wreaths on their heads, and

firing their weapons,” all while cheering “Hyroh for Peace! Hyroh for liberty!” The local artillery, headed by Captain Nikolaus Friedrich Hoffman, fired a cannon from a nearby elevation and presented an elaborate fireworks display. Dohal records:

When this was all finished, a splendid ball was held in a large hall, attended by all the American officers and all of the gentlemen and rich merchants of the city. They ate, drank, and danced the entire night to the music of our and the Hessian hautboists. All the officers of the captive regiments were invited to this dance of joy and celebration of peace. All the Hessians attended, but from our two regiments, only Lt. von Ciriacy participated.

Many Hessian soldiers remained in Frederick County after the war, having found a pleasant life among the region’s German settlers. Of the thirty thousand Hessian soldiers who fought in the American Revolution, only seventeen thousand returned to Germany. One of those who stayed was Conrad Engelbrecht, the father of Jacob Engelbrecht, an important nineteenth-century Frederick County diarist.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY FREDERICK COUNTY

After American independence, farming continued to dominate Frederick County’s economy. Outside Frederick, most county residents were farmers. With a favorable climate and soil, wheat became the county’s major agricultural product after Charles Carroll of Carrollton encouraged regional farmers to adopt it late in the colonial period. Other grains, including barley, oats, and rye, were also raised, as were limited quantities of tobacco. Due to the climate and the soil, which was quite different from the Eastern Shore, tobacco remained a volatile product in Frederick County and never became a significant export. With all of this agricultural activity, the Frederick County Agricultural Society was organized in 1821.



✧ *Agricultural production of grains such as wheat and barley remained central to the county’s economy throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In this image, farmers use a horse-drawn grain binder during the harvest.*

During this period, Frederick County’s agricultural basis contributed to the region’s industrial development. Andrew and David Shriver built the Union Mills complex, which included a store, a saw mill, a brick kiln, a blacksmith, and a tannery. Many mills and distilleries converted regional farmers’ produce into finished products. These operations processed grains into flour and meal, as well as distilled alcohol, all of which were easier to transport. These mills were powered by the many sources of water in the county, and they were constructed using the region’s natural resources, particularly abundant timber and stones. In 1810, Frederick and Washington Counties produced roughly \$1.5 million of milled goods, more than all Maryland’s other counties combined. This regional orientation toward milling continued throughout the early nineteenth century. According to the census of 1820, one quarter of all Marylanders employed in manufacturing lived in these two counties. For more than a century mills were the principal regional manufacturers. Many mills operated before the revolution, early examples including Henry Ballenger’s operation at Ballenger Creek by 1729 and the Davis Mill, later known as Michael’s Mill, near Buckeystown in 1739. By 1798, Frederick County had over eighty flour and grist mills, as well as between three hundred and four hundred stills. The number of flour mills in the county had increased to 101 by 1810, which was more than in any other Maryland county. Frederick County



✧ Jeffrey Hurwitz's mill on Easterday Road, c. mid- to late-nineteenth century.

distilleries processed large amounts of alcohol. In 1810 distillers produced over 350 thousand gallons of alcohol from fruits and grains. Welty's South Mountain Distillery likely originated in the 1790s.

The agricultural lifestyle that provided the raw materials for the mills was a difficult and time-consuming enterprise. Even on the largest farms, all family members contributed to it. Farmers often relied on temporary laborers, both free and slave. While free laborers were hired, slaves were rented to other farmers by their owners. Slave ownership was dictated more by wealth than ethnicity, as affluent German and British residents owned slaves. While race-based slavery was not as prevalent in Frederick County as in other Southern regions, the percentage of county residents owned as slaves increased from twelve percent in 1790 to seventeen percent in

1820. Following this, the county's slave population declined, eventually reaching seven percent by 1860. Even though these proportions are relatively low, there were still thousands of people enslaved in the county. In 1830, diarist Jacob Engelbrecht noted that there were 533 slaves in Frederick, which was not the largest slaveholding area of the county. This grim distinction ironically belonged to Liberty. The census of 1860 lists more than three thousand slaves in the county, out of a total county population over forty-six thousand. The latter number also included almost five thousand free blacks. By the mid-1800s, the vast majority of slave owners were farmers. Higher-income occupations, like doctors and merchants, made up the next highest category. The remaining slave owners came from a range of occupations, from carpenters to lawyers.

By the beginning of the American republic, slavery already had a long history in Maryland. Indentured servants from Europe and Africa were among the first settlers in the Maryland colony in the 1630s. Indentured servants were not strictly slaves—but were individuals who exchanged a set period of labor for transportation to the colonies—and included a range of ethnicities, including both Europeans and Africans. This system bore similarities to slavery and became linked to race-based slavery in Maryland. In 1664 the Maryland colonial government decreed that people of African origin and their children were slaves for life, a decision that was made partly to fill the need for labor in the Eastern Shore's tobacco fields. While African slaves continued to be imported throughout the eighteenth century, the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807 made it illegal to bring new slaves into the United States. However, the United States' massive enslaved population allowed this cruel institution to continue to thrive, particularly in the South. In Frederick County, some early settlers from the



✧ The second blacksmith shop in Woodsboro, c. late nineteenth century, owned by the Donsife brothers. Dan Zimmerman stands next to the horse and cart, while Francis Genoa Donsife and Atho Donsife stand in front of the shop.



✧ Tanneries employed Frederick County residents from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. This image shows an employee of Birely Tannery at work.

COURTESY OF FRAN RANDALL COLLECTION.

Eastern Shore desired to produce tobacco. These settlers brought their slaves with them. Although not the county's only slave owners, tobacco producers contributed to the early expansion of the slave population here. Licksville became an early center for the slave trade where George Kephart ran a well-known slave market. A contemporary described the way families were split by Kephart this way: "A father to a South Carolina planter, his wife to a Georgia Dealer and the children scattered among buyers." Breaking of enslaved families across state lines was common within the trade and was one of the many ways in which slavery destroyed families, communities, and lives.

Throughout the early years of the republic, there were many ways that people were enslaved in America. Most obviously, many were born into slavery. Due to the racial nature of slavery in the United States, slavery was passed to children by their mothers, without regard to the father's enslaved status. In this way, the children of a free man, whether black or white, and an enslaved woman became slaves themselves. Even free blacks could be forced into slavery by abduction or as punishment. Free blacks had to register with their local government and carry passes to prove their status. If free blacks did not possess their passes, slave catchers could abduct them. Sometimes people caught in this way were released by authorities if they could prove their status, such as through the testimony of friends or associates. Jacob Engelbrecht described such an event in his diary on June 12, 1825:

This morning I appeared before George Rohr Esquire and made oath according to law "That I knew Negro Lott Jones for fifteen years and upwards and that he was always considered free born and that I knew his parents for the same period of time, and that they were always reputed as free and are now so." The above was done to procure Lott Jones, a certificate of his freedom from the clerk of Frederick County Court.

Free blacks who committed crimes were also at risk of being forced into slavery by the authorities. Black men jailed for vagrancy could be sold into slavery for a period of time. One Frederick County couple, a free black man and a white woman, faced this possibility when the man was sold into slavery in the Deep South.

Just as there were many ways to become a slave, there were many ways slaves became free. This was a rare occurrence. Most remained slaves all their lives, forced to labor for their masters, never able to experience the freedom that was ostensibly promised by the U.S. Constitution, and continually at the risk of violence at the hands of their masters. Some masters practiced manumission, which was a promise to free their slaves after a specified period of time. While this may appear selfless initially, there were practical reasons for masters to make and to keep these promises to their slaves. Some masters practiced it to gradually reduce the number of slaves they owned. Others used manumission to remove older slaves, individuals that the master would have to provide for if the slaves remained their property. Finally, others knew that their slaves were aware of the chance of freedom in free states. This was a major concern in the slave state of Maryland with the free state of Pennsylvania so very close. However, slaves with the promise of manumission might not risk the dangers of escape, but choose to wait to be freed after the appointed time. Others were willing to take this risk, and some slaves freed themselves by escaping and fleeing to a free state. With Pennsylvania close, many Maryland slaves attempted this. As running away was very perilous, most runaway slaves were young adult men. This was a very difficult decision, as runaways not only risked their lives, but also knew that running away would likely forever separate them from their families and other enslaved loved ones. Even with these barriers, many Frederick County slaves did escape. Many of these escapees went

to Philadelphia, according to Abolitionist Society member William Still. One such successful escapee was John McPherson's slave, Ruthie Harper. While some slaves were helped by the abolitionist network known as the Underground Railroad, the majority of escapees made the attempt on their own. Finally, as a result of the Civil War, the slave population of the United States was freed through emancipation, or immediate freedom. During the war, slaves were emancipated in two waves. The 1863 Emancipation Proclamation freed all slaves in Confederate states, a policy that did not apply to slaves in Maryland. Frederick County's enslaved population had to wait until November 1, 1864, when they were emancipated under the new Maryland state constitution, which abolished slavery.

Slaves did a variety of jobs in Frederick County, just as they did across the United States before the Civil War. Among the most common slave occupations was unskilled farm labor, which included planting, weeding, and harvesting crops, tending to animals, and driving carriages. The common use of slaves on Frederick County farms was reflected by advertisements that ran in regional newspapers advertising agricultural goods for sale, which included "good farm hands." Other slaves performed skilled labor, typically male slaves trained in their masters' trades. This included blacksmithing, shoemaking, and mill operating. Sebastian "Boss" Hammond was one such enslaved man. His owners, Arianna Hammond and John Walker—and Colonel Thomas Hammond after John's death, allowed Boss to develop his skills as a stone carver and to earn money from this occupation. In 1839, Boss used seven hundred dollars he had saved to purchase his own freedom, eventually purchasing his wife and their five children. He was particularly renowned for the tombstones he produced, which are known for their singular beauty and can still be found throughout Frederick and Carroll Counties in the twenty-first century. Female slaves often performed agricultural duties, such as tending small

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