
THE PEOPLE OF THE MOUNTAIN

ARCHEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW, ASSESSMENT, IDENTIFICATION, AND EVALUATION STUDY OF CATOCTIN MOUNTAIN PARK MARYLAND

VOLUME I

Prepared for:



NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1100 Ohio Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20242

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Final Report

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National Capital Region
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FOREWORD

This is the first of three volumes reporting the results of a four-year archeological survey of the Catoctin Mountain Park (Figure 1) carried out for the National Park Service (NPS), National Capital Region, from 2007 through 2010.

When this study began, 10 archeological sites had been recorded in Catoctin Mountain Park, little was known of those sites, and much of the Park remained unexplored. To learn more about the archeological resources of the Park, and to assist the Park in managing those resources, funds were devoted to implement the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) in this area. The SAIP was developed to address the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act (specifically Sections 106 and 110), Executive Order 11593, and the Archeological Resources Protection Act. The rationale for the archeological survey was primarily NPS resource management needs under Section 110 rather than being driven by development or capital improvement projects in the Park.

In order to address multiple audiences most effectively—the general public, Park staff, NPS, review agency staff, and the archeological community—this report is organized in a way that differs from the standard cultural resource study. This volume (I) presents a narrative, designed for the general public, of the prehistory and history of the mountain, based on the archival and archeological field investigations; it is intended for the non-technical reader and does not contain specific information about site locations. Volume II provides a more technical description and assessment of the project's research goals, methods, and findings. In organization and content, it more closely follows the professional standards of the cultural resource management industry and is intended for distribution only within the professional community. Volume III, also intended for limited distribution, contains additional technical materials and appendices, including artifact inventories and detailed chains of title for many park properties.

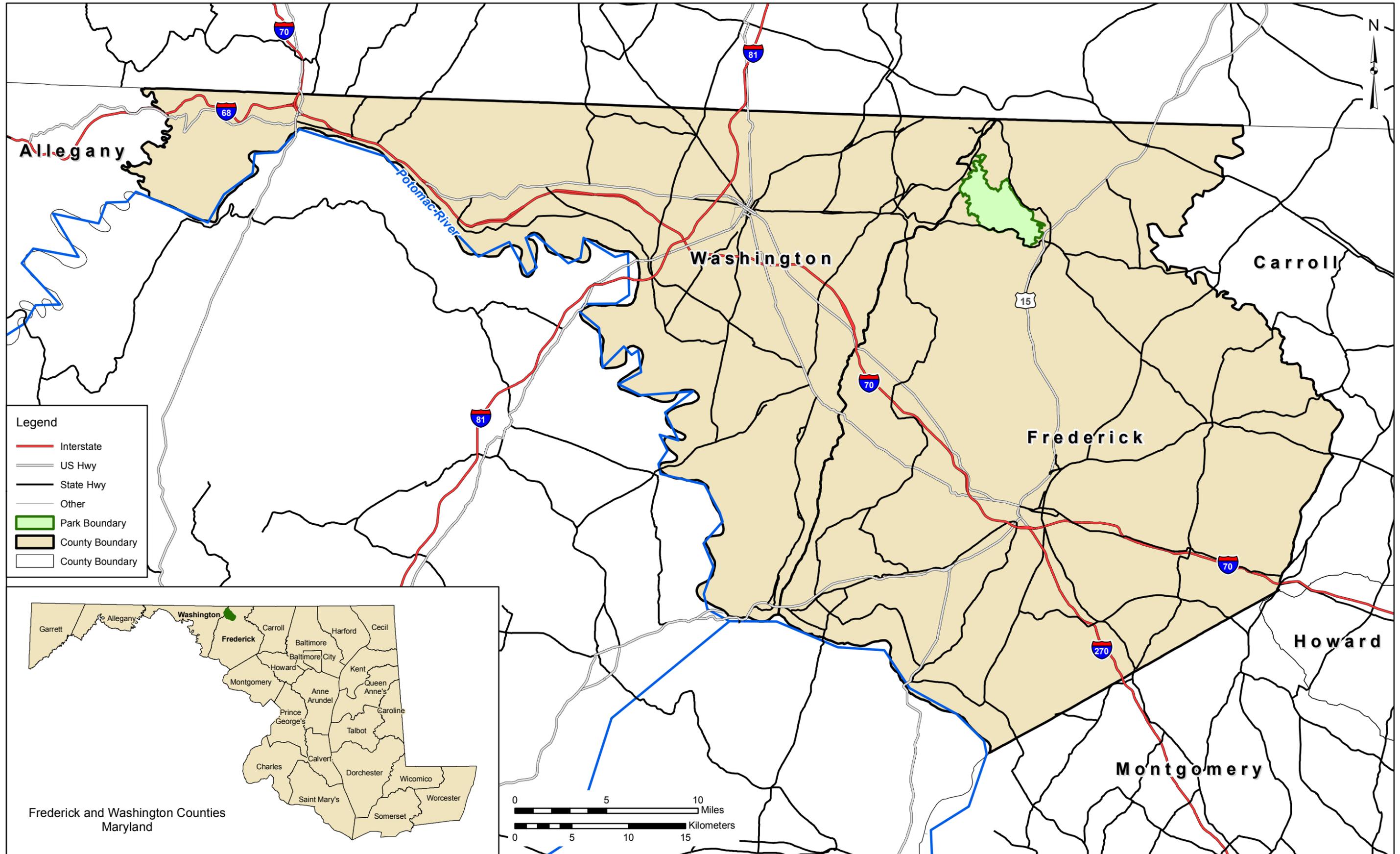


FIGURE 1: Park Location Map

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THE MOUNTAIN

Catoctin Mountain has stood for a long, long time. It rose 270 million years ago, even before the age of the dinosaurs. At that time the constant movement of the plates that make up the earth's crust brought eastern North America together with western Africa in a gigantic but ever-so-slow collision. The impact caused North America to buckle and fold along a line a thousand miles long, raising mountains into the sky. The energy released by this crash of continents was enough to melt the rocks along the impact zone. A chain of volcanoes rose. Beneath the surface molten rock that never reached daylight eventually hardened into "plutons" of granite. Rocks that were not melted were also transformed, or "metamorphosed," into harder materials. These mountains were once as tall and jagged as the Rockies, but as the continents moved apart again, the pressure that had raised them eased. Then the never-ceasing forces of rain, wind, ice, and sun began wearing them down into the rounded, tree-covered shapes we know today. As the softer rocks have worn away, they have left behind knobs of the hardest stones, especially those granite plutons and ridges of metamorphosed lava. Catoctin Mountain is a great outcrop of hard metamorphic rocks, mainly metabasalt or greenstone.

The mountain's eastern face is steep, and it looms up dramatically nearly a thousand feet above the gentler terrain of the Piedmont and the Monocacy Valley. Its western slope, though, is irregular, and the terrain tumbles down through a series of hills and stream valleys before rising up again toward the summit of South Mountain to the west. To the north and south, broad, fertile valleys divide Catoctin Mountain from South Mountain, but within the Park there are no major breaks in the rugged landscape. Both north and south of the mountain, streams flow eastward to join the Monocacy River. On the north side is Owens Creek, on the south side Hunting Creek. Owens Creek has its source on the western side of the mountain, within that jumble of hills, and it flows northward for a while before turning east. Its valley was long one of the main centers of human settlement in the Park.

Catoctin Mountain Park encompasses the mountain proper, Wolf and Chimney Rocks on the east, and the foothills of South Mountain on the west. The park is 5,872 acres of forest, hills, valleys, campgrounds, and rocky streams. It is a place where the urban and suburban denizens of Washington and Baltimore can escape for walks on mountain trails, fly-fishing, and horseback riding; visitors are treated to mountainous beauty and reminders of earlier times in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

INDIANS ON THE MOUNTAIN

For thousands of years before the first Europeans walked on Catoctin Mountain, Indians hunted on its slopes and quarried stone for making spearpoints and other tools. Indians did not live on the rugged mountain. Their villages and long-term camps were on lower, more level ground, such as along the Monocacy River. But they depended on animals and plants they hunted and gathered in the woods, so they roamed widely throughout the territories they called home. During those travels they came to the mountain, sometimes camping for a day or a few days along the streams that skirt its slopes and run through its ravines. Indians made a point of knowing all the resources of their home territories, the best places to hunt, the groves of hickory trees, the stands of plants with berries or edible roots. So it is not surprising that they quickly learned about the outcrops of rhyolite on the mountain. Rhyolite is a volcanic stone that many Indian groups liked to use for making stone tools, and for thousands of years Indians came to the mountain in search of the hard, gray stone.

Archeologists have been finding evidence of ancient Indians in Maryland's Piedmont and Blue Ridge region for more than a century; however, most of what they have found has been on the surface or in shallow, rocky soils. Such finds are hard to date, and therefore our understanding of the mountain region's history depends on comparing finds made in the uplands with better preserved, better dated sites along rivers like the Potomac. At such sites artifacts have been found with charcoal that can be dated using radiocarbon techniques, or found in regular layers of soil laid down by the rivers. Such "stratified" sites are particularly important for archeologists, allowing us to determine the sequence of cultures and peoples that lived in a particular place over the millennia (e.g., Broyles 1966; Chapman 1975; Coe 1964). The major divisions of the prehistoric cultural sequence for the Middle Atlantic region, with their approximate beginning and ending dates, are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Prehistoric Cultural Sequence, Middle Atlantic Region

CULTURAL PERIOD	APPROXIMATE DATES
Paleoindian	11,500-9600 BC
Early Archaic	9600-7600 BC
Middle Archaic	7600-3800 BC
Late Archaic	3800-1350 BC
Early Woodland	1350-500 BC
Middle Woodland	500 BC-AD 900
Late Woodland	AD 900-1600
Contact	AD 1600-1700

Paleoindian Period (11,500 to 9600 BC)

The most ancient people of North America are called Paleoindians. Archeologists are not certain when the first Paleoindians came to North America. The earliest people in the region that all archeologists accept belonged to the so-called Clovis culture of about 13,000 years ago. There are hints that people were here thousands of years earlier, but these sites all remain controversial (Carr

and Adovasio 2002; Wagner and McAvoy 2004). If there were people in North America during the Ice Age, we do not know much about how they lived. They probably lived in small groups, moved around a great deal, and ate a diverse diet (Carr and Adovasio 2002; Dillehay 1989, 1997).

Around 11,000 BC the people known as Clovis swept across North America. They made distinctive spearpoints with grooves known as “flutes” along each side — hence “fluted points” — and these points have been found all across the United States and into Mexico. The Clovis culture seems to have spread from ocean to ocean within a few hundred years, and Clovis people left thousands of their distinctive artifacts throughout their range (Dent 1995; Gardner 1974). In the western part of the United States, Clovis points have been found at kill sites with bones of mammoths. No such mammoth or mastodon kill sites have been found in the east. Instead, the evidence for how Clovis people lived in the Middle Atlantic region suggests that they may have hunted smaller game species, such as caribou and deer, supplementing the meat by fishing and foraging for berries (Carr and Adovasio 2002; Dent 1995; Gardner 1974, 1989).

More than 1,000 Clovis points have been recovered in Maryland and Virginia, mostly as isolated finds (Hranicky 2004). Clovis sites have been found mostly on well-drained landforms near inland swamps and other highly productive habitats, including sources of high-quality stone for tool-making (Gardner 1989). The most important Clovis site in the Appalachian zone is the Thunderbird Site, which is in the Shenandoah Valley in Warren County, Virginia. This site consisted of a camp and a workshop for making stone tools from jasper quarried nearby.

A Clovis point has been found at Mount Saint Mary’s University, approximately 4 miles north of Catoctin Mountain Park (Andrew Stoudt, personal communication 2010). The projectile point appears to be an isolated find. No Paleoindian sites or artifact finds have been recorded in the Park.

Archaic Period (9600 to 1350 BC)

At the end of the last Ice Age, the climate warmed for a few centuries across North America. Then, around 10,800 BC, the continent lapsed back into a frozen echo called the Younger Dryas, when for a few centuries it was as cold as it had been in the worst glacial times. Around 9600 BC the climate rapidly warmed again, soon becoming much like it is today. Archeologists call the next few thousand years in North America the Archaic period (9600 to 1400 BC). Archaic people were hunters and gatherers and used a wide variety of animal and plant foods (Dent 1995; Gardner 1974). Until around 2200 BC, Archaic people moved regularly around their territories in small groups, taking advantage of the foods and other resources available in various ecological zones. Larger Archaic camp sites are most common on the boundaries of different ecosystems, such as along the margins of swamps and on bluffs overlooking rivers, especially where the river is lined by a broad, marshy floodplain. Archaic people used a wide variety of stone tools, including grinding and chopping tools that show they made much use of wood, nuts, seeds, and other plant resources. They did not have the bow and arrow, but instead hunted with spears, often with the assistance of an atlatl or spear thrower, or else used traps and snares. In Early and Middle Archaic times, from 9600 to 5000 BC, most of the spearpoints in the Monocacy Valley were made of rhyolite (Kavanagh 1982). We therefore know that people were making regular visits to the mountains.

At the beginning of the Archaic period, the population density was very low, and the territory of one band with 150 to 200 people might have covered an area the size of Pennsylvania. Over time, as the climate continued to warm and people became more skilled at exploiting the new forest ecosystem, the population grew. It may have declined somewhat in periods of harsh weather, but on the whole the population kept getting larger throughout the Archaic. By the end of the period, there were probably 10 times as many people in the region as there had been at the beginning. After 5000 BC, in the Late Archaic period, small camp sites are very common across the landscape. People of the Late Archaic were masters of their environment (Mouer 1991). They knew how to hunt all the animals of the forest, where to find all the edible plants, and how to make edible food from many other plants that were unpleasant or even poisonous in their natural forms. They learned how to store surplus food for lean times in pits lined with grass or moss. Across the whole period from 9600 to 2200 BC, culture changed very gradually, and we have no evidence of large-scale population movement. The people who lived in the region in 2500 BC were, so far as we can tell, the direct descendants of the people who lived there in 9000 BC.

Around 2200 BC there is a major change in the archeological record. Instead of the many small sites scattered across the whole environment, we find fewer, larger sites, most of them along rivers. Instead of the small spearpoints or dartpoints found earlier, we find large, wide, carefully made points known as broadspears. Depending on the details of the shape, the points are called Susquehanna, Lehigh/Koens Crispin, or Perkiomen. This new period, which lasted from about 2200 to 1350 BC, is called by archeologists the Terminal Archaic (Custer 1989, 1991; Mouer 1991). In this period people began to carve large stone bowls out of steatite or soapstone. Soapstone bowls could be used to cook food over a fire, but they were very heavy and could be moved long distances only by canoe.

The different placement of camp sites in the Terminal Archaic indicates a different way of living. Terminal Archaic people spent much of their time in their large “base camps” along the rivers, and less time in upland areas among the nut trees and deer herds. The Monocacy River is lined with sites of this period, never more than a mile apart and sometimes as many as five sites along a mile of riverbank. These people may have depended on the annual runs of fish in the rivers — herring and shad in the spring, and eels in the fall — which they caught in large numbers and smoked or dried to preserve some of the catch for leaner seasons. Shallow rivers throughout eastern North America are interrupted at intervals by stone fish weirs that Indians built to help catch running fish, and the first of these may have been built in Terminal Archaic times. There are 17 such weirs along the Monocacy River in Maryland. People may also have depended on the plants they found along the river. Historic Indians harvested large quantities of marsh plants (“tuckahoe”) and dried their roots in the sun to neutralize the unpleasant taste; the dried roots could be stored in pits and then added to soups or stews. Historic Indians also harvested small-seeded annual plants, such as goosefoot and sumpweed, that grew in river floodplains. Stands of these plants can still be seen on large sandbars and other active parts of the Potomac and Monocacy floodplains. Another difference between Terminal Archaic and earlier sites is the presence of more woodworking tools, such as adzes and gouges, some of which may have been used in making dugout canoes.

The people who lived in the mountainous regions of Maryland and Pennsylvania liked to make their broadspears out of rhyolite. Rhyolite was very heavily used in this period, and so the rhyolite quarries must have been visited often. And, in fact, one broadspear was recently found at a small camp site on the north side of the mountain, along with two other points (Figure 2). Archeologists have had two different reactions to this small collection of points. Some would like them to be all from the same period, around 1500 BC. Others think they come from three different periods; in this view the point on the left is a Perkiomen Broadspear from about 1500 BC, the one in the center is a Brewerton “eared” point from 5000 to 3500 BC, and the one on the right is a Brewerton side-notched point of similar date. The somewhat unusual pale beige color of the stone in all three points supports the notion that they were all made around the same time, but if they had been found in different sites, they could certainly have been dated to different periods.

The Quarries

What do we see at the rhyolite quarries where ancient Indians collected stone for their tools over thousands of years? We see a lot of broken rock (Figure 3). The process of quarrying rhyolite involved breaking pieces of solid, flaw-free stone from the outcrops and boulders (Figure 4). Cracked or flawed stone was thrown away, so piles of unsuitable stone accumulated around the quarry. The good pieces were then chipped down to tool size, which generated many of the small waste flakes that archeologists call “debitage.” Sometimes this chipping was done at the quarry, but more often it was done at a camp site or “workshop” on level ground nearby. Making one finished spearpoint could generate several hundred flakes, so it is easy to find the workshop sites from the piles of debitage that build up on them. In one 3x3-foot test unit dug at a rhyolite workshop site, we found 1,876 pieces of debitage. We find few finished spearpoints or other tools at the workshop sites — this is where tools were made, not used — so it is difficult to date these masses of artifacts.

Early and Middle Woodland Periods (1350 BC to AD 900)

The Woodland period began around 1350 to 1400 BC with the introduction of pottery. In the Ohio Valley the Early Woodland period was one of great growth and impressive cultural change. A form of agriculture based on native North American plants such as sunflowers, squash, goosefoot, and amaranth provided a food surplus. Some of the surplus was invested in an elaborate ritual complex we call the Adena culture, the first of the great “mound builder” traditions of the Ohio Valley. In the east nothing so dramatic happened. In fact, from 1400 to 800 BC, life seems to have gone on much as it did in Terminal Archaic times. Some of the same styles of spearpoint were used, and many of the camp sites were in the same places. This is true along the Monocacy River, where Early Woodland ceramics have been reported from at least four sites where broadspears were also found (Kavanagh 1982). In the stratified Monocacy Site at the mouth of the river, the excavators identified a thick zone that included both broadspears and Early Woodland pottery. Archeologists therefore think that pottery was adopted by the native inhabitants of the region rather than brought in by invading outsiders. Some evidence of Early Woodland people has been found in the Park. Two sherds of Accokeek pottery, an Early Woodland type, were found at the same camp site on the north side of the mountain that produced the three Archaic points (above). After 800 BC the population of the eastern mountains seems to have fallen, possibly because of colder weather (Fiedel 2001).



FIGURE 2: Spearpoints from the North Side of the Mountain

- a) Perkiomen Broadspear (Field No. 111-1)
- b) Brewerton Eared Notched (Field No. 112-1)
- c) Broken Brewerton Side Notched (Field No. 113-1)

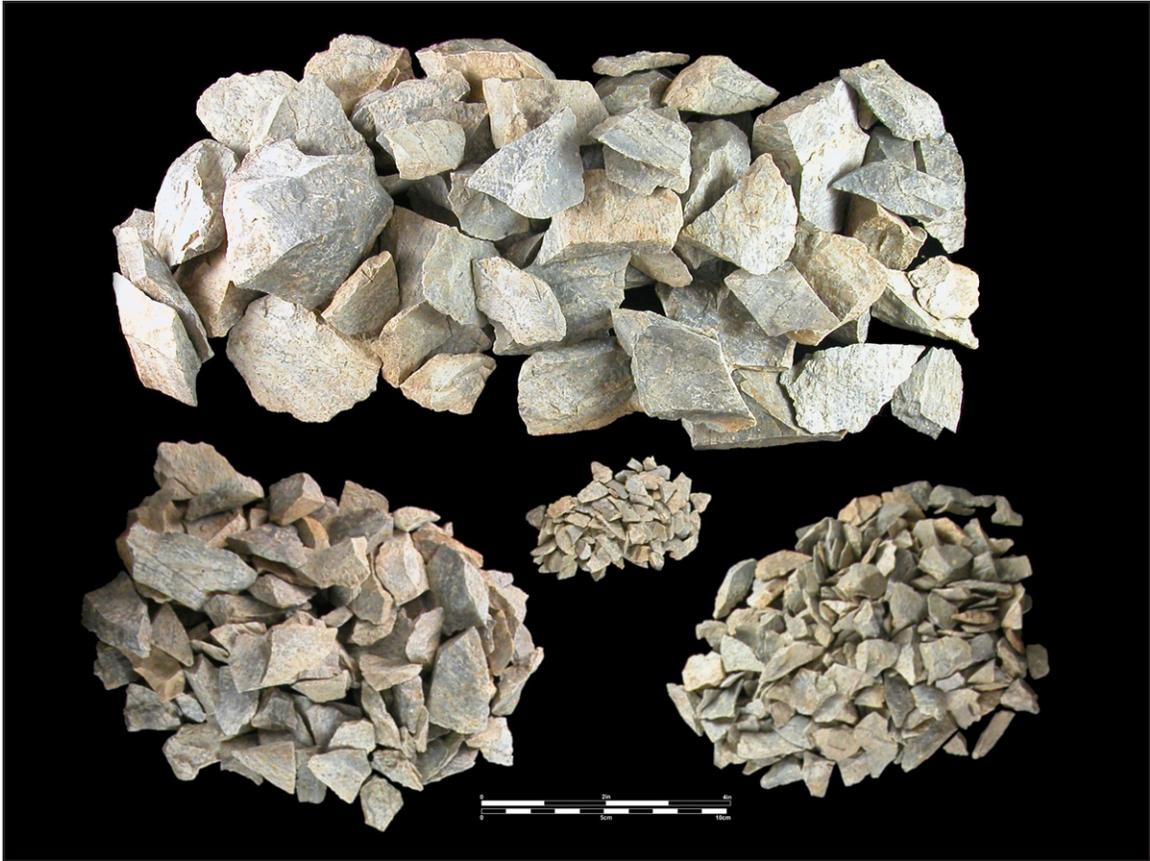


FIGURE 3: Broken Pieces of Rhyolite from a Quarry



FIGURE 4: Worked Rhyolite Boulder

In the Middle Woodland period, especially after AD 1, pottery became more common, and there was a wider variety of pottery manufacturing techniques and decorative styles. Other signs of an increasing pace of cultural change are present. If populations did decline during the cold weather after 800 BC, they rebounded during the Middle Woodland. Many large sites of this period are found throughout the Chesapeake Tidewater zone, right up to the falls of the Potomac. Recent excavations at a site in Washington, D.C., just below Little Falls produced a large amount of Middle Woodland pottery and dozens of Selby Bay points, a type dating to around AD 400 to 700 (Figure 5). All of these points were rhyolite, which shows that the inhabitants had strong connections with the Blue Ridge zone. From the falls up to Catocin Mountain, sites dating to this period are very common, but they are quite different from the sites below the falls. Most of them are rather small, and Middle Woodland ceramics are rather rare. It seems that the Monocacy Valley and the rhyolite outcrops on Catocin Mountain were within the territories of Middle Woodland people who spent most of their time below the falls. Among historic-period Indians, pottery was made by women and strongly associated with women's work, and this was probably also true in Middle and Early Woodland times, so the groups that travelled from below the falls up into the mountains were mostly men. They were probably on expeditions to gather rhyolite or to hunt, or possibly both at the same time.

In historic times the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region spoke Algonquian languages related to languages spoken around the Great Lakes. Speakers of Algonquian languages may have entered the Middle Atlantic region from the north sometime during the Middle Woodland period (Fiedel 1990).

Late Woodland Period (AD 900 to 1600)

During the Late Woodland period agriculture and village life spread through the Middle Atlantic region. Native American societies took on the form observed and recorded by the first European explorers and settlers. Cultivation of imported crops, especially corn, beans, and squash, became an economic mainstay but did not completely replace either hunting and gathering or the collection of native small seed plants and tubers. The population grew. Social and political complexity increased, and ranked societies (chiefdoms) appeared throughout the region. Chiefs made war on each other, defended territories, and collected tribute from defeated groups (Potter 1993). Late Woodland people traded widely, acquiring certain highly prized items like seashells and pipe stone from hundreds of miles away. Because of widespread warfare, many villages were surrounded by a wooden palisade for defense. The bow and arrow was widely adopted, and the most common stone tool from the Late Woodland period is the small, triangular arrow point. Houses were wigwams, built by hanging reed mats or sheets of bark across a frame of bent saplings, a technology that was by then at least 2,000 years old.

Late Woodland people lived for much of the year in their agricultural villages, but in some seasons they roamed widely across their territories, hunting, gathering, and searching for stone and other materials. They therefore left two quite different types of archeological site, camps and villages. Their hunting and gathering forays are marked by many small camp sites scattered across the landscape, often in the same spots as sites from earlier times. Sites with arrowheads and scraping tools probably mark hunting camps used by men, whereas pottery marks sites where women worked on tasks such as boiling acorns to extract the useful oil. A small site with both arrow points and pottery may have been occupied by a family group. Late Woodland farming villages are very

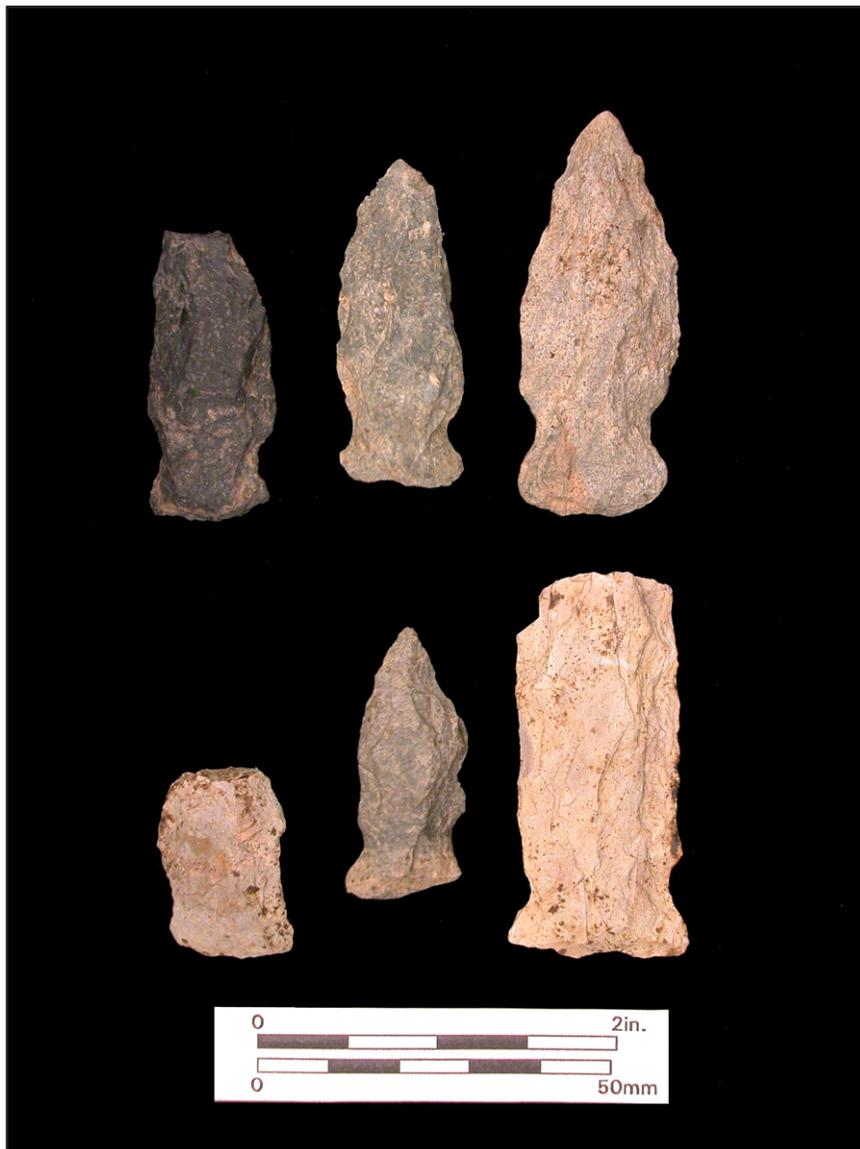


FIGURE 5: Middle Woodland Rhyolite Points from Washington, D.C.

large sites, often a hundred yards across, almost always placed on flat ground near a river or large stream. Excavations in these sites produce thousands of artifacts of only a few types. For example, during recent excavations at the Winslow Site on the Potomac River in Montgomery County, more than 15,000 potsherds were recovered, more than 93 percent of them of a single type (Dent 2005). Some villages have a clear pattern, for example, a ring of houses around an empty central plaza, but others straggle out along a riverbank in a more random way.

The closest excavated Late Woodland village to Catoctin Mountain is the Biggs Ford Site on the Monocacy River. In the 1970s a sewer line was placed through the middle of the site, and archeologists excavated the part of the site that was about to be disturbed (Kavanagh 2001). They found that the site was occupied sporadically throughout the Archaic period and in the Early Woodland, but only a few artifacts were found from these early times. In the Late Woodland at least two villages were built on the site. The earlier village was built by people from a culture we call the Montgomery complex, and they left thousands of sherds of their distinctive Shepard ware pottery on the site (Figure 6). Based on radiocarbon dates from other Montgomery Complex sites, this village dates to some time between AD 1000 and 1300. Later on a different group of people, called by archeologists the Luray culture, built another village on the site. This was decades or even centuries after the Montgomery complex people had left. The Luray people came from western Maryland, where they had many villages on the upper Potomac. They were closely related to the Monongahela culture of western Pennsylvania and probably moved into the Potomac from the Ohio Valley. Their villages date to between AD 1350 and 1500.

Many postholes were found during the Biggs Ford excavation, but since digging was limited to the narrow strip that would be disturbed by sewer construction, it is difficult to say what structures they represent (Figure 7). Some of them look like the remains of roughly rectangular wigwams that measured as much as 10x25 feet. Others look to be part of palisades. Most of the artifacts were found in large pits probably dug for storage. A large amount of animal bone was found in the pits, from a variety of different animals: deer, elk, dog, rabbit, squirrel, muskrat, beaver, terrapin, box turtle, musk turtle, and several kinds of fish. Freshwater mussel shells were also found. These bones fit with what we know about historic-period Indians, who startled Europeans with their willingness to eat any animal they caught, from bears to salamanders. One difference between the Shepard and Luray villages was in their choice of stone for making tools. The excavators believed that most of the Shepard arrow points were made of rhyolite, and those found with Luray artifacts were made of quartz. Perhaps the Luray people, recent immigrants from the west, were not familiar with the rhyolite quarries, or perhaps they did not have the habit of working with this stone. Or maybe they simply preferred quartz. The use of rhyolite by at least some of the inhabitants of the Biggs Ford Site shows that they were regularly up on Catoctin Mountain, visiting the quarries. Most likely they were also hunting deer and collecting nuts.

Contact Period

The story of contact between Indians and Europeans in the Chesapeake watershed did not start in 1607. European traders and explorers were active on the North American coast throughout the sixteenth century, bartering metal goods for furs and corn. From archeological finds of European artifacts on Indian sites, we know that the fur trade was well under way by the 1550s. Direct contact between local native groups and Europeans may have occurred as early as the 1580s. Of course



FIGURE 6: Shepard Ware Pottery from Frederick County



FIGURE 7: Excavations at Biggs Ford SOURCE: MHT 2011

there was more contact after Jamestown was founded, but initially it was along the same lines as before. The importance of furs brought more hunters and trappers into the Appalachians in search of game, and wars broke out among Indian tribes over the control of upland areas that had once been of no great importance. So far as we know, no Indians were living along the Monocacy in the 1600s. The Luray culture had disappeared by around 1580, perhaps the victim of tribal warfare. Among the tribes that claimed ownership of lands around the Middle Potomac were the Susquehannocks, the Five Nations

Iroquois, and the Shawnee. Iroquois warriors made use of a path, sometimes grandly called the “warriors’ road,” that ran along the east side of Catoctin Mountain along the approximate route of U.S. Route 15. Another Indian trail mentioned in some sources (Earley 2004:29) followed Big Hunting Creek up the mountain along the approximate route of MD Route 77. Numerous artifacts left by some groups of northeastern Indians, probably either Susquehannocks or Iroquois, were recovered from the Bushey’s Cavern Site (18WA18) just a few miles west of the Park (Stewart 1980).

By the 1720s Indian traders were active in the Monocacy region. These traders were mostly Swedes or Finns from the old Swedish colony on the Delaware River, who used their good relations with the Susquehannock Indians to enter into the fur trade. One of the boldest, Charles Anderson, had a cabin on the Monocacy in 1725.

SPECULATORS AND SETTLERS

The Germans Come to Maryland

In the 1700s farmers in many parts of Europe faced hard times. Technology was improving, and new American crops like potatoes and corn meant more food per acre, but populations were growing even faster than the food supply. Decades of warfare among France, Prussia, Austria, and Britain caused further hardship. Hundreds of thousands of farmers left the harder-hit regions. Many moved to nearby cities, but some took a more radical step and crossed the ocean to North America. Most of these migrants were either German or Scottish. Rural Scotland was being transformed by the “clearances,” as lands that had once supported poor farmers were converted to enormous commercial sheep farms. After the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 to 1746, when the Scottish Highlands supported “Bonnie Prince Charlie” Stuart in his rebellion against the Parliamentary government in London, the clearances took on a punitive side. Whole communities of Highlanders were driven from their homes in a campaign much like the “ethnic cleansing” campaigns of the twentieth century. These dispossessed people had little desire to join their oppressors in Edinburgh or London, so those who could find a way to America set sail across the ocean. Other Scottish migrants came from settlements in Northern Ireland. In an attempt to control the Irish, the British crown had settled thousands of Scots as colonists in Ireland in the 1500s and 1600s; others came as a result of the Highland clearances. By 1700 many of these “Scots-Irish” realized that their situation in Ireland was not what they had been promised, and without deep roots in Ireland, they found it easy to pack up and move on again.

The largest group of willing migrants to eighteenth-century America was the Germans. Some Germans had come as early as the 1680s, but only a few, and there was no mass movement. In 1710 a settlement of Palatines and Swiss was established at New Bern, North Carolina, by a Swiss adventurer who called himself Baron Christoph von Graffenried. Graffenried had earlier scouted and rejected several other sites, including one along Rock Creek in Maryland. Graffenried was one of those self-promoters who used the ocean crossing to create a new identity for himself, since he was certainly no baron and Graffenried may not have been his name. German migration received another boost in the same year, when Queen Anne sponsored the immigration of a small group of families from the upper Rhine. This region is usually spoken of as the Palatinate, although there were actually several small independent states in the region. The upper Rhine region suffered badly in eighteenth-century wars and was not industrializing, so many of its people were looking for homes elsewhere. The government of Virginia also tried to recruit German immigrants, and by 1714 a small German settlement had been set up in the Virginia Piedmont, at a place called Germanna in what is now Spotsylvania County.

Most German immigrants went initially to New York or, especially, Philadelphia. Initially, the new settlers took up lands along the Delaware River, in Pennsylvania or New Jersey. By 1750 Pennsylvania was more than half German. As those lands filled up, the settlers began looking farther afield. Many leapfrogged the nearby lands of the Susquehanna Valley, where the presence of Indians at Conestoga and the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania were complicating factors, and moved to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. This settlement was organized by the Van Meters, a Dutch family that had resided in New York and New Jersey for

several decades. The Van Meters fit the common profile of frontiersmen in this era: they were not English, they had close relations with Indians, and they had a restlessness that continually drove them to leave settled places for rougher surroundings. The Van Meter family preserved many traditions about their forefathers, and they passed these along to historians on at least two occasions. The one we can document took place in 1898, when James Van Meter of Martinsburg, West Virginia, was interviewed by Ann Van Meter (1902). Another such interview must have been given by one of his ancestors because similar stories were recounted by Samuel Kercheval in his 1833 *History of the Valley of Virginia*.

The first Van Meter to settle in America was Jan Van Meter, who arrived in about 1662, bringing with him a young son. This son, Joost Van Meter, sometimes called John, was later said to have once been taken captive by Indians and to have lived with them for many months. (The kind of person who resented being taken hostage became a soldier, or moved to a safer area closer to the Atlantic. The kind of person who saw being taken hostage as an opportunity to make important business connections became a frontier trader.) According to James Van Meter's 1898 account,

All I know I got through my father, from the original ones, and the old V's never lied. The first Van Meter (from New York), John, passed through here about 1725 with a tribe of Indians going to the south branch to fight the Catawba tribe. The Catawba tribe killed all of the northern tribe except John Van Meter and two of his Indians. When John got home he told his sons if they ever went to Virginia they must go to the Wapapatoma and take up land for it was the prettiest land he ever saw. That is the Indian name for the south branch of the Potomac [Van Meter 1902].

Samuel Kercheval's 1833 account is quite similar:

Tradition relates that a man by the name of John Vanmeter, of New York, some years previous to the first settlement of the Valley, discovered the fine country on the Wappatomaka. This man was a kind of wandering Indian trader, became well acquainted with the Delawares, and once accompanied a war party who marched to the south for the purpose of invading the Catawbias. The Catawbias, however, anticipated them, met them very near the spot where Pendleton courthouse now stands, and encountered and defeated them with immense slaughter. Vanmeter was engaged with the Delawares in this battle. When Vanmeter returned to New York, he advised his sons, if they ever migrated to Virginia, by all means to secure a part of the South Branch Bottom...[Kercheval 1975:51].

Kercheval does not give a date for these events. Another nineteenth-century family historian placed the fateful visit to the valley "about the time of Governor Spotswood's expedition, in 1716" (Butler 2004). This earlier dating makes the Van Meters' exploration of the valley contemporary with the famous trek of the Virginia governor and his friends, who dubbed themselves the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe for accomplishing the feat of riding to the crest of the Blue Ridge and gazing down into the valley beyond.

As more astute genealogists have noted, these accounts cannot possibly be true in detail. Joost (John) Van Meter was dead by 1714, probably by 1710 (Butler 2004). The Van Meter who explored the valley was probably his son, John Van Meter, or else John's brother Isaac. This

exploration probably took place after 1722, when the Treaty of Albany obliged the Iroquois to stay west of the mountains and made the area much safer for Europeans. Isaac and John Van Meter had both taken out land grants in Maryland in 1726, so the Van Meters were extending their interests southwestward at that time. The business of a battle between the Delawares and the Catawbas is a bit of folklore that floated all around the Middle Atlantic frontier and has come to be attached to other families and other places. Thomas Williams's *History of Washington County* (1906) places a Delaware-Catawba battle near the mouth of Antietam Creek. These accounts may contain a grain of truth but they are almost certainly garbled. By 1700 the Delawares had ceased to be an independent tribe and had become a satellite of the Iroquois League, so they would not have been carrying on a war on their own initiative. The Five (later Six) Nations did wage a long war with the Catawbas, over control of the fur trade, and some Delawares may have been part of Iroquois war bands, but if so they did not fight in any "immense" battles. This war was fought, as Europeans of the time said, "Indian style," that is, it featured many raids and few pitched battles; our accounts speak of encounters of bands of 10 to 30 men, and the death of even five or six creates a diplomatic incident that involves colonial authorities from New York to South Carolina. So although John Van Meter could have been involved in a skirmish that was part of the long Iroquois-Catawba war, his story was changed so much over the generations that we cannot tell now whether any part of it is true.

We can certainly believe that the Van Meters were involved in Indian trading because they were well informed about land across the Blue Ridge at a time when very few other white men traveled there. In 1728 John and Isaac Van Meter each applied to the governor of Virginia for a grant of 20,000 acres of land in the Shenandoah Valley. John stated he wished the land "for the settlement of himself and eleven children and also divers of his relations and friends living in the government of New York." The governor made these grants in 1730 on the condition that each of the brothers bring 20 families to settle on the land.

The Van Meters then set about finding settlers for the land. It happened that a relative of theirs by marriage, Jost Hite, was interested. Hite had immigrated from Germany to New Jersey in 1710, and in 1715 he moved from there to Pennsylvania. He seemed to be doing well in Pennsylvania, owning hundreds of acres of land and a gristmill, but for some reason he chose to sell his Pennsylvania property and move west. In 1731 Hite and his family made the journey south and west, crossing the Potomac at Packhorse Ford and settling along Opequon Creek. Hite liked the place so much that he bought out all 40,000 acres of the Van Meters' claim and applied for 100,000 acres more. The condition of the governor's first grant, that 20 families be settled on the land, was fulfilled by 1733. Dozens more German families followed, and by 1740 a thriving German community had grown up in the Shenandoah Valley. Unfortunately for Hite, the land he had settled on was also claimed by Lord Fairfax, who arrived in Virginia in 1735 to look after the vast lands granted him by the British king. He was most disturbed to find that the governor had given 140,000 acres of his land to these Germans, and he initiated one of those immense, generation-spanning British lawsuits, like the fictional one Dickens chronicled in *Bleak House*. The legal battle between the Hites and Lord Fairfax lasted 40 years before it finally ended in a compromise that allowed the Hites and their fellow settlers to keep control of the land.

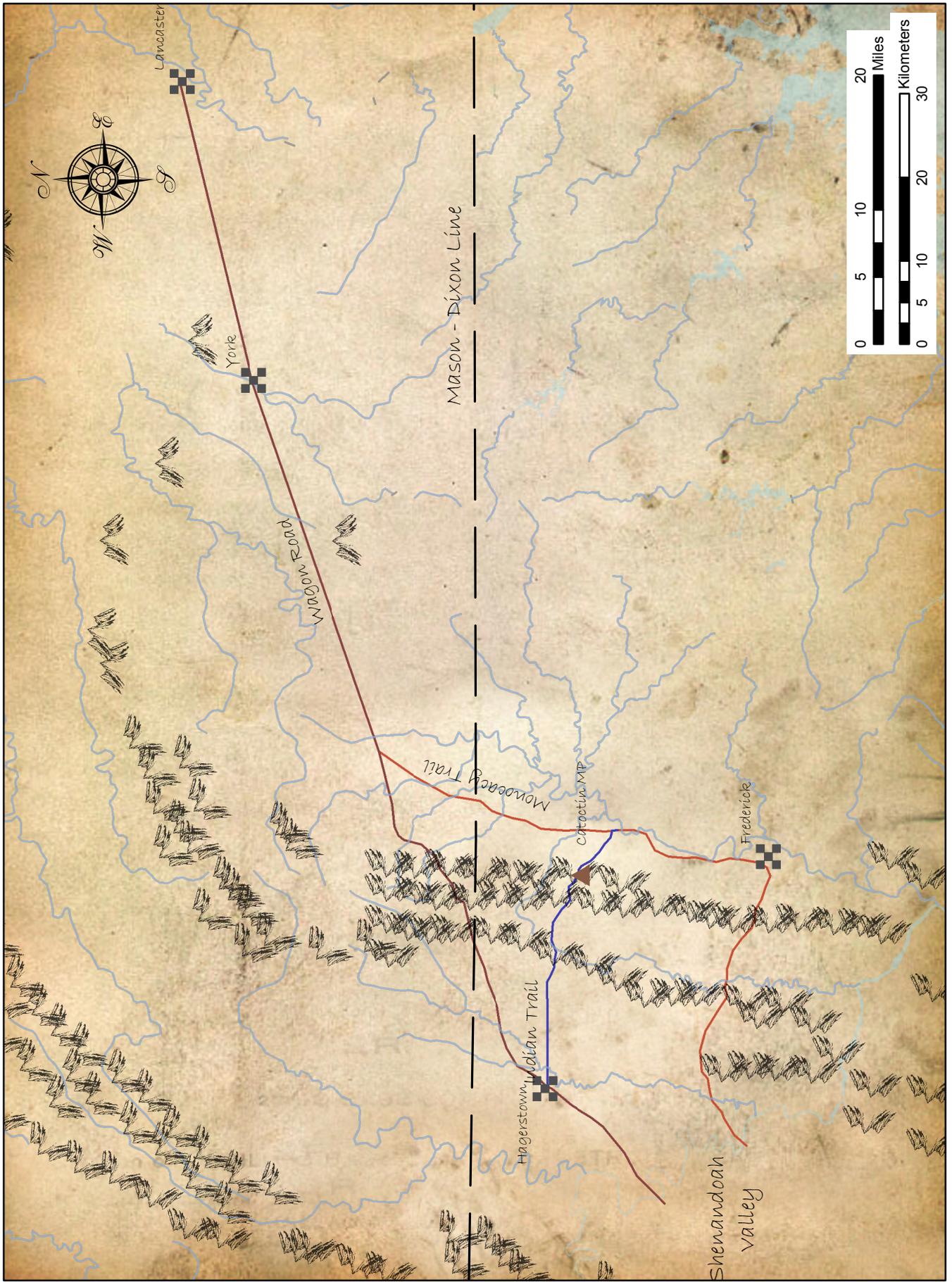
Already by 1730 the Germans had acquired a reputation in America as model settlers (Brugger 1988:68). They were hard-working, they were pious Protestants, they committed few crimes, and

they always added greatly to the value of any land they farmed. They also had little interest in politics, so they posed no threat to the British elites who controlled the governments of the colonies. Seeing a stream of these desirable settlers cross Maryland on their way to Virginia made the leaders of Maryland envious, and they persuaded the Lord Proprietor to do something to help keep some of them in Maryland. In March 1732 Lord Baltimore issued a proclamation beginning, “Wee being Desirous to Increase the Number of Honest people within our Province of Maryland and willing to give Suitable Encouragement to such to come and Reside therein Do offer the following Terms. . . ” (Brugger 1988:69). Any family arriving in the colony within the next three years and willing to settle in the Maryland “backwoods” (meaning west of the Monocacy) would be granted 200 acres of land of their own choosing. The proprietor personally undertook to guarantee their title to the land, an important issue when boundaries were so uncertain. At the same time the Proprietor set aside for his own use a block of 11,000 acres near the mouth of Conococheague Creek, called Conococheague Manor, and began making land grants by the usual methods.

Up until the Proprietor’s 1732 proclamation, the German presence in western Maryland was minimal. The 1733 list of taxpayers in Monocacy Hundred includes only two names that are definitely German, John Myer and Johannes Maddock or Middock, and two or three others that might be English renderings of German names (Tracy and Dern 1987:368). But from that time on, the growth of the German population was dramatic.

Settlers moving from Philadelphia to the Shenandoah Valley could take one of two roads across Maryland (Figure 8). One entered the colony east of the Blue Ridge and ran for a while along the Monocacy, crossing South Mountain west of modern Frederick and then running southwest to Packhorse Ford. The other road crossed into the valley in Pennsylvania and entered Maryland west of Conococheague Creek, running south to fords near Williamsport. As Maryland land agents began persuading German settlers to remain in Maryland rather than journeying onward, they first settled adjacent to the roads they were following, and two separate concentrations of German settlers therefore developed. One was in the Monocacy Valley from the area of Frederick north to the Pennsylvania line; the southern part of the Monocacy Valley was already being taken up by British settlers. The other concentration was known as the Conococheague Settlement. Some historians have interpreted these “settlements” as actual towns and wondered where they were and what happened to them; however, this cannot have been the case. Each family lived on its own 200-acre farm, and their holdings were distributed rather evenly across the countryside (Tracy and Dern 1987:76).

We know from several sources that Germans began to settle in Maryland after 1733, but the first land claims by men with German names date to 1739, and most date to 1741 or later (Twigg 1997). Nor were there many sales from English speculators to Germans. Tracey and Dern (1987:370) were able to show that dozens of German settlers were living in Frederick County for years before their first land claims. We do not know what these settlers were doing in the interim. Perhaps some of them were leasing land, although this seems unlikely, given that they could have land for free under the Proprietor’s generous terms. The most likely explanation is that they simply took their time about filing their land claims, relying on an informal system that guaranteed land to families that cleared and settled on it.



SOURCE: Varle 1808

FIGURE 8: Early Roads in Maryland's Blue Ridge

Speculation and Settlement

The eastern road from Philadelphia to the Shenandoah, the one that followed the Monocacy, ran within a few miles of Catoctin Mountain. Initially, however, most of the German settlers staked their claims farther south in Maryland, leery of the ongoing border dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Agents for both governments had been active in the lands west of the Susquehanna, trying to persuade settlers to take title from them and harassing those who had taken grants from the other colony. Violence broke out in 1730 and continued sporadically until King George II compelled the negotiation of a cease-fire in 1738. Sensible farmers stayed away from the conflict zone (Wehrle 2000).

After the conflict between the colonies had cooled somewhat, in the 1740s and 1750s, several German families from Pennsylvania did decide to settle in the region around Catoctin Mountain. One of the first patents or land claims taken out in the area was located just northeast of the Park along Owens Creek. Mathias Ambrose was a German immigrant who had first settled in Conestoga, Pennsylvania, in 1732. By 1738 Ambrose had left Pennsylvania and emigrated to a 50-acre property on the Monocacy River. After 14 years Mathias Ambrose moved to a 100-acre property on Owens Creek called “Gap.” Two years later, in 1754, he sold the property to his son, Jacob. The Ambrose family established a sawmill on Gap, calling it Ambrose’s Mill. Sawmills were often one of the first major improvements built in a newly settled area. Clearing the land produced a huge quantity of logs, and a sawmill could cut them into boards much more quickly and easily than hand sawing. Another German immigrant, Johannes Weller, crossed the Atlantic on a ship called the *Lydia* in 1743. Wasting no time, he made his first land claim in August 1744, a 50-acre parcel named “Beauty” located “near the foot of Catoctin Mountain on the head of a branch that leads to Hunting Creek, a draught to Monocacy” (Patent Certificate 280, Maryland Patents). He married a daughter of his neighbor Ambrose and the couple had 11 children, many of whom settled in the area.

Around the same time the Ambrose and Weller families were settling in the Catoctin area, the 50-acre “Round Meadow” tract was surveyed for Daniel Dulany, an Annapolis-based lawyer who was ubiquitous in the business of claiming land in Maryland. Dulany was probably acting as agent for Henry Rhodes, who patented the land in 1750. Rhodes patented another parcel, the 28-acre “Stones Enough,” in 1754. Both properties are located just southwest of the present-day boundaries of Catoctin Mountain Park, on the northwest side of Manahan Road. By 1763 Rhodes had resurveyed Round Meadow to include 375 acres of land, and a portion of the resurvey does extend into the southwest corner of the Park (Figure 9). According to the early land records for the properties, Rhodes settled and built his house on Stones Enough near present-day Foxville, and likely used Round Meadow as agricultural land. Other notable early patents in the area were the 364-acre “Mount Olivett,” patented by Thomas Cresap in 1750; the 50-acre “Shoemaker’s Knife,” patented by Philip Knavell in 1749; and the 100-acre “Stoney Lick,” patented by Gabriel Thomas in 1749. These three properties are not located in Catoctin Mountain Park. Mount Olivett is located in present-day Harbaugh Valley, and Stoney Lick and Shoemaker’s Knife are located just south of Hunting Creek.

The last notable early patent-taker at the foot of Catoctin Mountain was Lorenz Creager (Krieger). Lorenz was born in Elsoff, Westphalia, in 1715. He arrived in Philadelphia on board

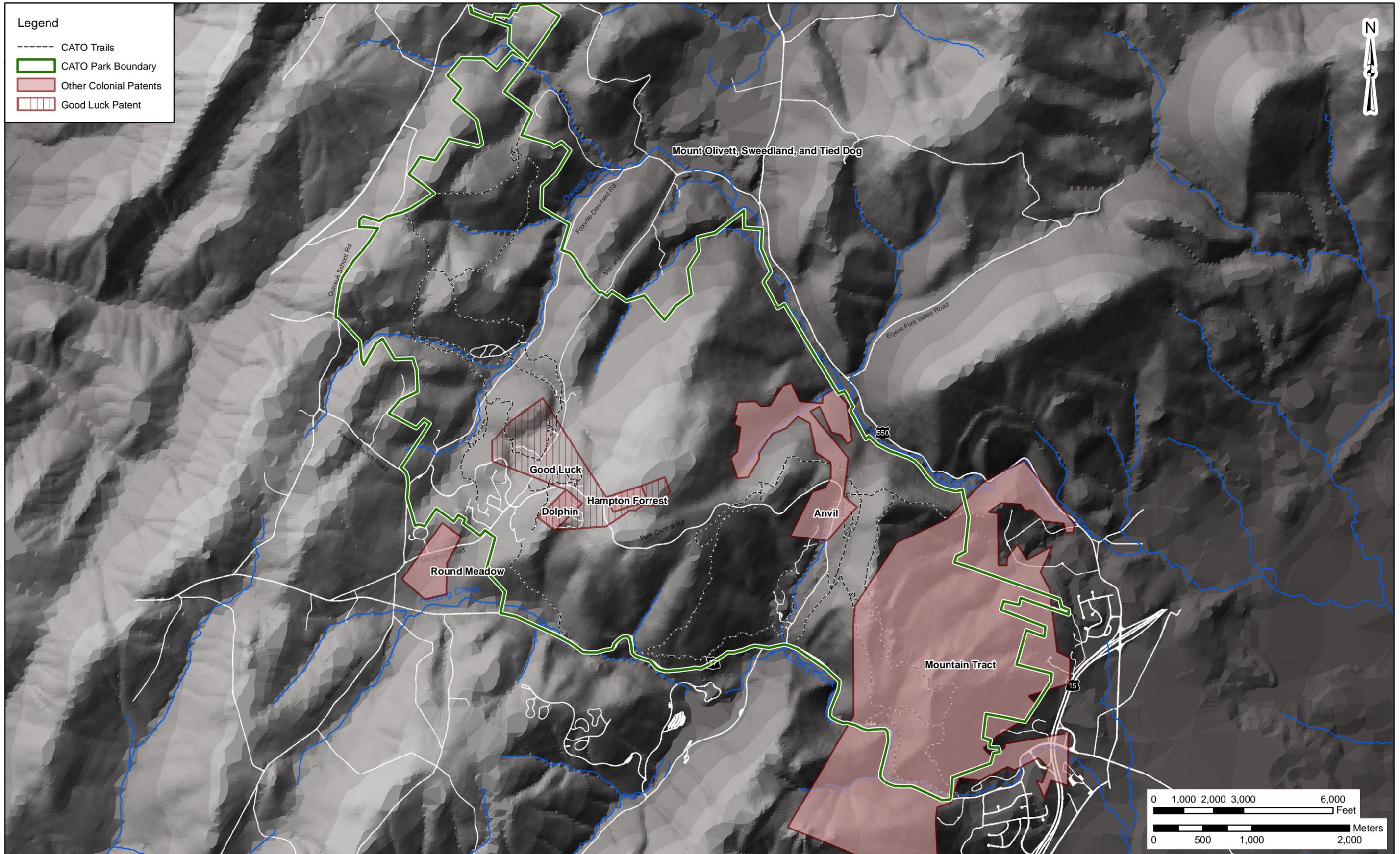


FIGURE 9: Early Patents near Foxville

SOURCE: USGS 1999

the *St. Andrew* in 1738 (Cissel 2008). In 1741 he married Mary Elizabeth Hahn and was living a few miles from York, Pennsylvania. His two eldest children, John and Lawrence, were born at the home in York prior to the family's move to Maryland in 1744. That year Lorenz Creager patented a 100-acre tract called "Creager's Delight" located "on the east side of Catoctin Mountain on a small hill near a branch that runs into Hunting Creek" (Patent Certificate 588, Maryland Patents). Creager's land was located east of the present boundaries of Catoctin Mountain Park, in present-day Graceham, Maryland. In 1752 Creager resurveyed his holdings to include 275 acres of vacant land around Creager's Delight. The patent for resurvey shows that in the eight years he lived on the property, he had cleared and cultivated 4 acres of land and built a dwelling house and barn. The 375 acres he laid out adjoined that section of the Monocacy Road presently known as Apples Church Road (Cissel 2008).

Although a few settlers were claiming land around the fringes of Catoctin Mountain, the claiming of land in the area did not get going in a major way until after 1765. The border conflict between Pennsylvania and Maryland ended in 1767 with the surveying of the Mason-Dixon Line. From then until the Revolution broke out, both settlers and speculators were active in the area, taking up most of the good land for farming. One of these first speculators was Richard Lily. In 1764 Lily patented two small parcels in the Park on the north side of present-day Park Central Road. The first was "Dolphin," a 25-acre parcel, and the other was "Hampton Forrest," a 20-acre plot located in the present-day DOD agreement area. Very little is known about Lily. In 1771 he expanded the patent to include 213 additional acres around Dolphin and Hampton Forrest, renaming the resulting 258-acre property "Good Luck." In the patent for Good Luck, the previous improvements are listed as follows:

10 acres of shared land whereon is 2760 old fence rails, 35 small peach trees, 5 small cherry trees, and two small round log cabins [Patent Record BC&GS 46, folio 245].

During the same time Lily was resurveying his holdings at Catoctin, the 4th Baron Baltimore, Benedict Calvert, and his business partner, Thomas Johnson, patented the enormous 7,715-acre "Mountain Tract." Most of the tract was located south of Hunting Creek; however, a substantial portion of the eastern half of the Catoctin Mountain Park was included in the patent. Later on the tract was divided, with the Calverts retaining ownership of the northern portion of the Mountain Tract and Thomas Johnson the southern part. The Calverts sold off much of their portion in small parcels. Thomas Johnson held on to most of his portion, along with other substantial landholdings in the area. Thomas along with his three brothers established Catoctin Furnace in 1774, and he used his forested lands on the mountain as a source of charcoal for the furnace.

Catoctin and the American Revolution

When hostilities with England began in 1775, the Continental Congress authorized the raising of rifle companies, including men from Maryland. These units were mostly frontiersmen and scouts, and many of them were recruited from what is now Washington County, Maryland. Among those leading the new companies was Michael Cresap, who along with his "Cresap's Rifles" marched to Boston to aid his colonial brothers confronting the British from the heights around the city. Most residents of the upper Monocacy and Catoctin regions were strong supporters of the movement for American independence (Wehrle 2000). Many of the settlers of

British descent in the region were in debt to the royal government, and others were angered by high taxes. The Germans living in the region had even less allegiance to Great Britain. Barred by colonial law from voting, they felt alienated from the civic life of the region (Brugger 1988). Many had come to America to escape religious persecution, and efforts to tighten imperial control did not sit well with a population that prized religious and political freedoms (Cunze 1948).

Although there was no fighting near Catoctin Mountain during the American Revolution, many residents of the area volunteered to serve in the war. Local men joined one of the four militia companies mobilized in the Tom Creek Hundred (present-day Emmitsburg) in November 1775. The third company consisted of the men who lived near the foot of Catoctin Mountain. The company was headed by Capt. Jacob Ambrose (of Owens Creek), with 1st Lt. Peter Shaver, Ensigns John Weller, John Protsman, Lawrence Creager, Jr., Casper Young, and George Kuhn among the officers and non-commissioned officers (Cissel 2008). The company fifer was John Weller's son, Philip. At least some men from these companies joined the Continental Army in the north, fighting at White Plains and Long Island. The militia was called to active service in 1781, during the Chesapeake campaign that culminated in the Battle of Yorktown, and some of the Frederick County men probably served; however, the muster records for this period are lost (AM 18:652).

In 1776 Congress authorized the raising of a German regiment to serve in the Continental Army, hoping to encourage more of the 130,000 German-speaking Americans to join the cause (Wehrle 2000). In July the General Assembly of Maryland ordered that two German companies would be raised from Frederick County and two from Baltimore County to join the new regiment. Enlistment was for three years, but the regiment saw action for nearly five, including battles at White Plains and Brandywine in Delaware, Trenton, New Jersey, and other New York and New Jersey skirmishes (Retzer 1991). The roster of the German regiment included the names of several men who settled on or near Catoctin Mountain after the war. Some of those names are Sgt. Frederick Wilheid (Willhide), Henry Delawter, Adam Froshour, Michael Moser, John Ridenour, George Studdlemeier (Stottlemeyer), Henry Tom, Conrad Dudderer, Valentine Creager, and Christian Apple. Frederick Wilhide fought at the Battle of White Plains, when Washington's army was driven from New York, and at Brandywine. During the course of the war, other names familiar to the Catoctin Mountain area joined the fight, including members of the Harbaugh and Fox families.

Settlement at Catoctin Mountain

Prior to the American Revolution, settlement on or near Catoctin Mountain was very sporadic. As we have seen, a small number of Germans patented large tracts of land east of the mountain while others claimed smaller parcels on the west and central portions of Catoctin. These smaller claims were generally owned by absentee landlords and were likely rented to tenant farmers whose names have since been lost to history. One exception would be Henry Rhodes, who according to period land records owned and lived on his patented claims on the western end of Catoctin until 1765.

In the years that followed the American Revolution, people started to have a renewed interest in land on Catoctin Mountain. Speculators moved in, patenting large tracts of land unclaimed during the first wave of speculation. The first of the post-Independence speculators was Richard Lemmon. In 1782 Lemmon patented 503 acres on the western half of the mountain and named it “Lemmon’s Vineyard.” The parcel was located mostly on the eastern side of present-day Manahan Road and was composed of some vacant land between Henry Rhodes’s Round Meadow and Richard Lily’s Good Luck. Between 1790 and 1795 four other large parcels were surveyed on Catoctin Mountain, three of which were patented: the 186-acre “Hammer and Tongs,” patented by George Seese on the north slope of the mountain; the “256-acre “Second Choice,” patented by Allen Farquhar also on the north slope; and “Three Mill Seats,” patented by William Hobbs and containing 3,475 acres located on the south slope of the mountain. Three Mill Seats was originally surveyed by Thomas Beatty in 1790, but for one reason or another, Beatty did not patent the land. Five years later William Hobbs purchased the property along with a good deal of acreage south of Hunting Creek. At the time of the patenting, all the speculators appear to have resided in eastern or southern Frederick County. In the decade that followed, none moved to Catoctin Mountain.

As the eighteenth century came to a close, settlement on and around the mountain grew denser. The speculators sold off their large tracts in pieces to new settlers moving from Germany, Pennsylvania, and the Monocacy Valley. Around that time, several families arrived at Catoctin who would live there throughout the nineteenth century, including the Foxes, the Wilhides, the Burhmans, and the Browns. Despite the English-sounding name, the Foxes were Germans who immigrated to Pennsylvania around 1770. The first member of the family to live on the mountain was George Fox, Jr., who bought 160 acres of the Round Meadow Tract in 1797 and built a farm near Mount Moriah Church. The census shows that the Browns were living near George Fox as early as 1800, but the family did not purchase their first parcel of land in the area until 1807. At that time Thomas Brown bought the other half of the resurvey of Round Meadow. Thomas had several brothers, and all the brothers named their children after their siblings, so it can be a chore to sort out how all the Browns were related. By the time of the Civil War, there were at least four separate Brown family farms in the Park, and others just outside the Park boundaries. Conrad Wilhide, born in Pennsylvania in 1769, moved to a farm on Hunting Creek in the 1790s. Around the same time he began acquiring land along Owens Creek, as well as timber land on the north slope of the mountain. This land became the basis of the Wilhide family property in that area. The Buhrman family first arrived in the district around 1820 when Jacob Buhrman purchased a 117-acre parcel of Lemmon’s Vineyard along present-day Manahan Road.

Settlement Archeology

The earliest archeological record of European settlement on the mountain dates to around this time. Artifacts have been found at several sites that date to the 1780 to 1820 period, including pottery, glass bottles, and clay tobacco pipes. Archeology on the mountain is different from in the lowlands. For one thing, since there is so little soil on much of the mountain, nothing gets buried very deeply. Most houses on the mountain had stone foundations, which makes sense, since there was so much stone available, and those foundations are still visible on most farm sites in the Park (Figures 10 and 11). Many artifacts are also visible on the surface at most farm sites. Some of the houses in the park had cellar holes, but they were generally rather small and may



FIGURE 10: Example of Buildings with Stone Foundations

SOURCE: Catoclin Acquisition Files, Tract 18 (1937)



FIGURE 11: Example of Foundation Preservation

have underlain only part of the house. No wells have been found at most of the sites, so water probably came from a spring or stream.

Brown Family

One of the first families to establish itself in the Owens Creek Valley was the Browns, who were in the area by 1800. As noted above, in 1807 Thomas Brown bought half of the resurvey of Round Meadow from John Biggs. Biggs had owned the property since 1790 but was living in Emmitsburg throughout his 17 years of ownership, which seems to suggest that the Brown family was working several tracts of land as tenant farmers before they were its owners. One of Thomas's brothers, Ignatius, purchased 396 acres of Fox's Range from James Gullingham in 1811.

Thomas and Ignatius were not alone in 1800. Two other brothers, William and John, were also living in Foxville. A fifth brother, Jeremiah, resided with his family in nearby Washington County. Like their neighbors, the Browns were farmers and dealt in the selling of timber. By the mid-nineteenth century the Brown family owned several properties around Foxville, although they maintained the farm at Round Meadow as the family's homestead. By the late nineteenth century that homestead was occupied by Thomas Brown's grandson, Ignatius Brown, whose cousin, Charles Brown, operated a store and warehouse on the Western Maryland Railroad in present-day Deerfield. Like their other neighbors in Foxville, the Brown family was Lutheran and belonged to Mount Moriah Church.

The Sawmill House Site

One of the earliest farm sites in the Park is the Sawmill House Site, which dates to around 1800. This site is not far from the Sawmill Exhibit at the Owens Creek Campground and was once part of the same property. That property was part of a large grant called Fox Range taken out by two wealthy speculators. In 1811 they sold 396.5 acres of Fox Range to Ignatius Brown. In 1844 Thomas Brown passed 158 acres of the land to William Brown, who owned this land until 1880. There were so many Browns in the area that it is hard to know how these men were related, but we can be sure that they were close kin. The sawmill and the nearby house are depicted on the 1858 Bond map, and the house is ascribed to "W.B. Brown" (Figure 12). W.B. Brown is also shown residing at the house in 1873. The USGS (1911) map depicts a structure in this location, probably the house. The mill seems to have been present on the property from the early days of Brown ownership, and the mill operated until the late 1890s. By 1943 the site was only a clearing in the trees (USGS 1943).

The property was purchased by the government from W.J. Shatzer in 1937. The tract file for this purchase includes photographs of a small log house and a ramshackle shed (Figure 13). The log house looks to be a very traditional type and could date to the early 1800s. Most likely it had two rooms on the ground floor and a sleeping loft upstairs.

The agricultural census of 1860 provides a good picture of William Brown's farm at that time. He told the census taker he had 80 acres of improved land on which he grew corn, wheat, and



FIGURE 12: Sawmill House Site on 1858 Bond Map

SOURCE: Bond 1858



FIGURE 13: Shatzer House and Sheds

SOURCE: *Catoctin Acquisition Files, Tract 109 (1937)*

potatoes, with smaller amounts of rye and oats. He had eight horses, six milk cows, five other cattle, five sheep, and 10 swine.

The site was not hard to find, since it centers on a stone-lined cellar hole measuring about 15x15 feet. Since the house shown in the historical photograph is clearly rectangular, this cellar was only under part of the house. Archeologists explored the site in 2008 and again in 2010 to see what they could learn (Figure 14). The second time they dug five 3x3-foot test units, one of which came down on a trash midden just a few feet from the north side of the house (on the right in the old photograph). That trash midden contained more than 200 pieces of old iron cans and quite a bit of pottery from the mid-1800s (Figure 15), including pearlware teacups and saucers (which date to 1795-1820) and large earthenware bowls and storage jars. One of the jars bore the maker's mark of the John Bell pottery in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, which was active from 1833 to 1880. Other noteworthy finds include a rubber button made by Albert Goodyear between 1855 and 1870, three coins ranging in dates from 1859 to 1924, and a glass marble (post-1920).

By putting together all the different kinds of evidence we have about William Brown's farm, we can build up a picture of life there in the years before the Civil War. It was a small farm, with a mix of crops and livestock, no doubt also with a garden and a few fruit trees but no commercial orchard. There doesn't seem to have been a large bank barn, just an assortment of sheds.

Religion on the Mountain

The German settlers were considered very pious even by the standards of the eighteenth century, and church membership was central to their lives. "One cannot," wrote Tracey and Dern (1987:131), "emphasize too strongly the vital cohesive nature of religion for these early Germans." The German settlers belonged to two denominations, Lutheran and Reformed, and both groups founded churches within a few years of their arrival. The first Lutheran service along the Monocacy was held in 1734 by a young preacher named John Stoever, who was passing through on his way to Virginia; since no church had yet been constructed, the service was held in a hay loft (Cunze 1948:60). Stoever passed through the region again in 1738, and this time he organized the local Lutherans into a congregation, which elected deacons under his supervision. By 1745 a Lutheran church had been built in Frederick. In 1747 Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, a noted Lutheran organizer, visited Frederick, and he estimated the German population of the Monocacy Valley at around 1,000 (Tracey and Dern 1987:145). In that same year the first Reformed service was held at Frederick, and a year later the first German Reformed church in Maryland was built in the town.

Although there were Lutheran and Reformed churches along the Monocacy and Conococheague Creek, none of these congregations had an actual full-time minister until the 1760s. Ministers from Pennsylvania visited when they could. These frontier preachers visited as many as six or seven small churches in rotation, braving the dismal roads and unpredictable weather. One minister remarked that people liked to say that Maryland was paradise for workers and farmers, but it was hell for preachers and horses (Cunze 1948:66). In the absence of regular preaching, the congregants read to each other from the Bible and other religious books. So keen was the settlers' desire to hear preaching that Lutheran and Reformed churches, bitter rivals back in the old country, sometimes invited visiting ministers from the other faith to preach to them, and



FIGURE 14: Archeologists Testing the Sawmill House Site

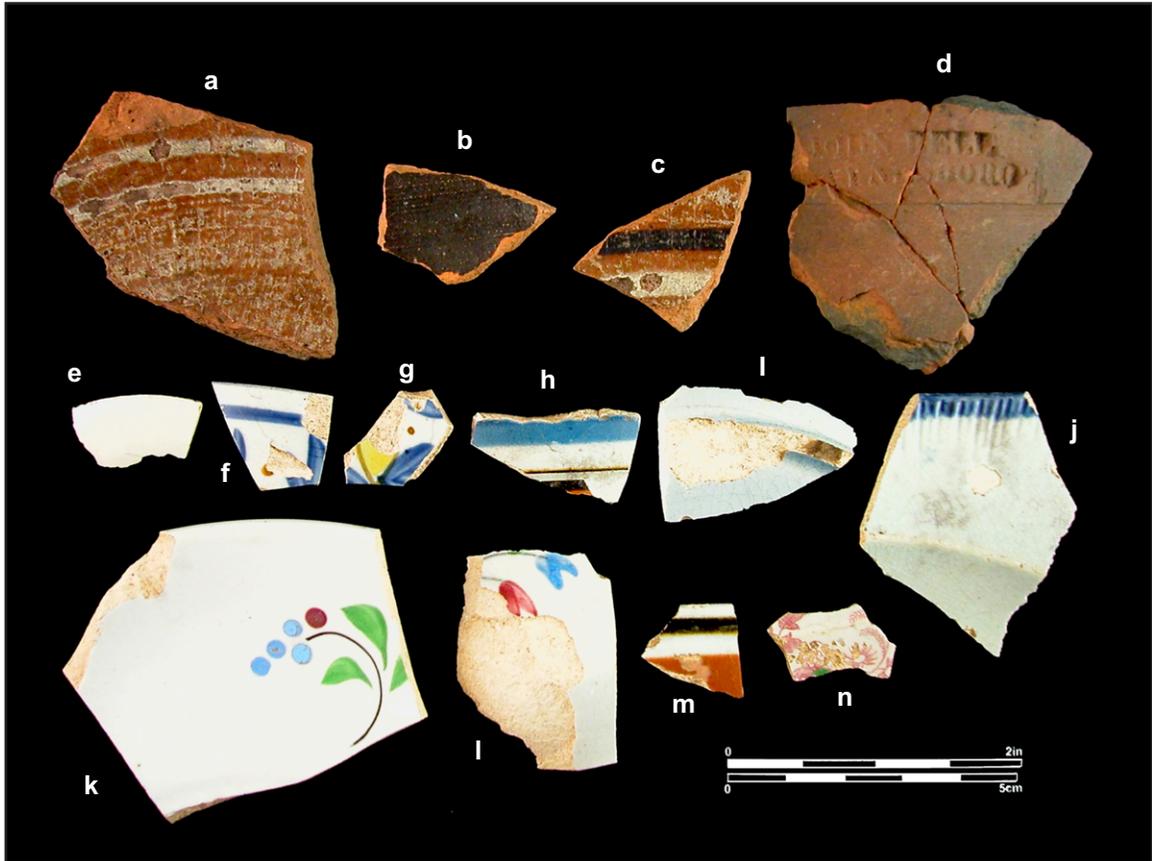


FIGURE 15: Artifacts from the Sawmill House Site

- a) Red-bodied slipware
- b) Redware, brown glaze
- c) Red-bodied slipware, banded
- d) Redware, John Bell maker's mark
- e) Creamware
- f) Pearlware, hand-painted
- g) Pearlware, hand-painted
- h) Whiteware, banded
- l) Pearlware, foot-ring
- j) Pearlware, blue shell-edged
- k) Whiteware, hand-painted
- l) Whiteware, hand-painted
- m) Whiteware, dipped, banded
- n) Pearlware, transfer-printed

these invitations were generally accepted. The Monocacy Lutherans were once taken in by a fraud who called himself Carl Rudolf and hinted that he was really the Prince of Wuerttemberg. He carried impressive-looking credentials proclaiming him to be a Lutheran minister, but he was really, as one complaint put it, “a thief and a drunkard.” Taking advantage of America’s poor communications, Rudolf visited almost every German settlement from South Carolina to New Jersey before he was finally arrested (Cunze 1948:64; Tracey and Dern 1987:144).

Apples Church

Although some records hint that a church had been built in the upper Monocacy settlement by 1743, this early church remains obscure and its existence uncertain (Cunze 1948:65). The oldest certain church in the area is the Apples Church near present-day Thurmont. Apples Church was built around 1765 as a cooperative project of German Reformed and Lutherans settled on the eastern foot of Catoclin Mountain. In 1760 a local landholder, Peter Apple, gave 1 acre of land to Mathias Ambrose, Jacob Matthews, and Jacob Ambrose to construct a schoolhouse. These school trustees gave a Deed of Trust for the lawful use of the church to Martin Dustmain and Henry Firor, trustees of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations, respectively (Wireman 1969). For the previous 20 years both congregations had worshipped with the Moravian congregation at the house of Jacob Weller.

Neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed congregation had a minister for many years. The congregations instead relied on the services of ministers who traveled from larger, more established churches elsewhere in Maryland. For the Reformed congregation the Rev. Jacob Weymer of Conococheague was instructed in 1770 to preach occasionally, and there is evidence that the Rev. Ludwig Henop of Frederick also took a kindly interest in the little congregation (Wireman 1969). In the 1790s the Lutheran congregation appointed a semi-regular minister, Rev. Philip Matthews, a son of Conrad Matthews and grandson of Peter Apple. By 1800 each congregation had a regular minister at Apples Church. Tables 2 and 3 show the list of communicants for the Reformed congregation in 1800 and the Lutheran congregation in 1801.

On September 7, 1813, Rules and Regulations for the two congregations were written and signed by the pastors and officers. The same year land was purchased for the churchyard and extensive repairs on the old log building were undertaken. This included making pews and installing glazed windows.

By 1823 the Lutheran and Reformed congregations had grown too large for the log church, and in 1826 the decision was made to construct a new building. The cornerstone was laid on April 13, 1826, and construction of the church was begun under the auspices of Rev. J.G. Grubb (Wireman 1969). The new stone church was a one-room structure with a high pulpit, a gallery, and two tiers of windows.

**Table 2. Communicants of the Apples Church
Reformed Congregation in 1800**

Casber Jung	Hennrick Spicker	Anna Maria Ott
Henrich Firohr	Johannes Griest	Catherina Rouser
Jacob Weller	Hennerick Rucksegger	Margretha Dillater
Simon Schnock	Anthoni Miller	Lowiss Hummer
Jacob Weller	Danniel Greiss	Susanna Forni
Jacob Lowig	Catherinina Jung	Anna Maria Wilheir
Daniel Rouser	Catherina Ambross	Barbara Schoff
George Preiss	Savia Rausser	Lowisa Seyfert
Matheis Jung	Barbara Jung	Maria Traxsel
Willhelm Greiss	Susana Lible	Margretta Traxsel
Johannes Traxsel	Elisabetha Herbach	Susanna Miller
Adam Schnock	Megthalena Spicker	Susanna Jung
Johannes Spicker	Anna Margretha Greiss	Sovia Schober
Hennrich Greiss	Catherina Ricksegger	Elisabet Protrian
George Traxzel	Magthalena Juntzen	Catherina Schnock
Johannes Jung	Magthalena Ehl	Catherina Weller
Lorens Anders	Susanna Greiss	Magreta Messner

Table 3. Communicants of the Lutheran Congregation in 1801

Jacob Beyerle	Lowisa, wife	Madg., daughter
Dorothea, wife	George Gag	Catherine Kunzin
Maritin Weishart	Elis, wife	Elis Ambross
Magd. Schreyock	Eva Gag	Jacob Furst
Christian Schreyock	Peter Haber	Marg., wife
Leonhart Geiger	G. Adam Domer	A. Elis Brunner
A. Maria, wife	Cath., wife	Elis. Kartner
George Domer	Peter Glass	Mag. Ruscher
Ester, Daughter	Henrick Lohr	Barb. Gamaslehn
Henrich Rieger	Joh. Miller	Magd. Ziegler
Cath., wife	Cath, wife	Elis Schrub
George Ott	Valentin Glass	Cath. Dahlheim
M. Elis., wife	Barb., wife	Just. Mayer
Maria, daughter	Peter Nelson	Elis Mayer
Frederick Eichelberger	Johannas Lang	Cath. Miller
A. Fronika, wife	Marg., wife	Elis. Kupperschmidt
M. Magd., daughter	Cath. Mathes	George Beyerle
Elis, daughter	Juliana, daughter	Susanna, wife
Daniel Schreyock	Magd., daughter	George Haber
Maria, wife	Magd. Mathes	Magd. daughter
Frederick Ley	Philip, son	

After almost 100 years of cohabitation, in 1857 the Lutheran congregation announced their intention of withdrawing from Apples Church. The following year they moved into the new St. John's Lutheran Church (described below), in Mechanicstown (present-day Thurmont). By 1879 the Reformed congregation had also decided to move into a larger church. In 1880 the congregation left Apples Church for Trinity Church in Mechanicstown. From 1880 to 1885, Apples Church was abandoned. In August 1885 a small group of the Reformed congregation reestablished services at Apples Church, which continue today.

St. John's Lutheran Church

When the Lutheran congregation left Apples Church in 1858, the members moved into an impressive brick and stone building with an imposing 30-foot-tall steeple. The first pastor was Rev. William Hunt, who accompanied the 215-member congregation to the new church. At the time of the move, the church elders included Washington A. Bennet, Henry Black, and Peter Buzzard. David Damuth and John S. Pennel served as the deacons. Others who served as councilmen during the pastorate of Reverend Hunt were Henry Richer, John Rouzer, Frederick White, John Gilbert, Joseph Webster, Martin Rouzer, and John H. Polly (Wireman 1969). Over the years the church underwent several renovations, and it still serves the surrounding Lutheran community.

United Brethren Church

The United Brethren Church, also known as the Weller Church, was established in 1830 near Mechanicstown. The church takes its name from the Weller family, who were among the original settlers of the area, as Jacob Weller, Jr. donated the land where the church and cemetery are built. The cornerstone of the Weller Church was laid in October 1830 and the building dedicated on December 11, 1831 (Wireman 1969). Before the church was constructed, the congregation had met in a local schoolhouse (Scharf 1882). The first trustees of the church were Jacob Weller, George Stokes, and Henry Kemp. In the years that followed, the number of trustees was expanded to include Frederick Rider, Jacob Martin, and Reuban Osler. The church underwent renovations in 1880 and is still used by members of the local community.

CHARCOAL AND IRON

For a long time the main use people made of the rugged slopes of Catoctin Mountain was as a source of charcoal for the Catoctin Furnace. The traditional European method of refining iron required a large amount of charcoal, from 150 to 240 bushels of charcoal to make a ton of pig iron. At that rate an active furnace could easily consume 500 acres of trees a year (Earley 2004). Iron furnaces were therefore built, not near sources of iron ore, but near great forests where wood for charcoal could be had in abundance. In England two of the main centers for making iron were the Forest of Dean on the Welsh border and the wild West Riding of Yorkshire. The charcoal was manufactured by men called charcoal burners or colliers. These men spent long periods alone in the forest, tending their fires. To the village-dwellers of Europe, these woodland loners were eerie figures, and in some of the old folktales they seem more like wolves or some other forest beast than men.

When the first British colonists reached America, they brought with them plans for iron production. After all, the immense forests of Virginia and Maryland offered a fuel source that seemed unlimited, and in England the shortage of trees was driving the price of wood ever upward. In the mid-1600s the planters of eastern Virginia experimented with refining iron from the “bog iron” deposits of coastal marshes, but at that time growing tobacco was far more profitable and little came of these early efforts. But the dream of iron production and the desire to make some profitable use of the forest stayed with the colonists, and as their economy matured they launched more sophisticated projects.

The first iron furnaces in western Maryland were built in the 1700s. Some examples include the Principio Ironworks in Cecil County (where production began in 1725), the Snowden Ironworks in Anne Arundel County (1730s), and the Antietam Ironworks near Sharpsburg, Maryland (1760s). Although none of these furnaces were in the Park, Catoctin Furnace, built around 1775, had a major impact on the Park’s history. Catoctin Furnace is about 2 miles southeast of the Park. This location was chosen for its access to the forests growing on Catoctin Mountain as well as the main road from Philadelphia and scattered ore deposits. The owners of the Catoctin Furnace owned thousands of acres of forest, including some land in the Park. Even this was not enough to meet their needs, and they must have purchased timber on many surrounding parcels. Numerous charcoal hearths have been found in the park, and most of them were no doubt associated with the Catoctin Furnace.

Charcoal burning left two distinctive types of archeological features in the park: the remains of the charcoal hearths themselves and the remains of the huts where the colliers lived while they tended the fires. Charcoal is made by burning wood in a low-oxygen atmosphere. Until recently this was done by covering large piles of burning wood with dirt, leaving only a few holes for air to get in (Figure 16). The collier who tended the hearth regularly adjusted the air flow to keep the fire burning correctly, “jumping” the fire to put on more earth if it blazed up and opening up more holes if it grew too cool. When the fire had burned long enough — depending on the size of the wood pile, this could take up to a couple of weeks — the fire was doused with water or more earth. Then the pile was raked to extract the usable charcoal pieces from the dirt and ash, and the charcoal was loaded into baskets or barrels to be hauled down the mountain. The dirt to cover the fire had to come from somewhere, and typically it was dug right where it was used. The colliers began by

digging a shallow pit 15 to 50 feet across and piling the dirt around the edges. The wood was then carefully piled within the pit, generally standing to a height of at least 5 feet. Then the dirt was thrown over the top and the fire lit. The remains of this process are a wide, shallow depression within which the soil is black from charcoal.

Historical photographs show that colliers' huts were rude affairs built of sticks, hardly big enough to lie down in (Figures 17 and 18). On Catoctin Mountain the remains of these huts consist of a low mound or platform of earth, usually around 8x15 feet, with a pile of stones on one end. The pile of stones is the remains of a hearth and chimney like the one shown in Figure 17. After digging shovel tests around dozens of these hut sites, and scouring the ground for artifacts left on the surface, the archeologists failed to find a single artifact. The colliers had very few possessions, and no ceramics or glass, so they left nothing in the ground for us to find. Historical records tell us little about the colliers, except that they must have spent much of their time in temporary forest camps. In historical photographs they appear to be mainly older men, so perhaps some were old loggers who could no longer do the physical work of cutting and hauling trees. Their clothing is simple but decent, and they are often shown smoking pipes. Some have a wild look about them, but others look like ordinary working men.



FIGURE 16: Charcoal Hearth Preparation
SOURCE: Kemper 1940



FIGURE 17: Colliers Hut with Chimney
SOURCE: Pennsylvania State Archives



FIGURE 18: Hut and Colliers
SOURCE: Pennsylvania State Archives

OTHER INDUSTRIES

The industrial use of the mountain was not limited to charcoal burning. Sawmills were also present, so the cutting of timber trees was also carried out (Wehrle 2000). Evidence of the agricultural use or natural resource exploitation of the mountain can be found by examining the soils, which can show the degree of erosion in the Park and the amount of siltation in streams, in the layout of old roads on the mountain, in the remains of mills and camps, and in the documentary record.

By the early nineteenth century numerous small industries had sprung up east of the mountains, especially in the town soon incorporated as Mechanicstown (present-day Thurmont). One of the first was a 1793 tannery constructed by Daniel Rouzer, a German immigrant who had first passed through New Jersey before coming to the Catoctin area (Brugger 1988). The tannery, set on Owens Creek, made use of the tanning agent found in the bark of the oak trees that grow abundantly in the area. Heavy stones were used to crush the bark, and water from nearby creeks was used to soak animal hides. The business prospered and remained in family hands when Daniel Rouzer's son, John, took over the tannery in 1815 (Brugger 1988).

Other tanneries followed. The Wampler Tannery opened for business in 1810. Ten years later Capt. W.L. Jones of Baltimore built a two-story, stone-faced tannery, containing 200 vats for soaking, located on Hunting Creek (Kessel 1981). The creek's flowing water propelled a large "grinding apparatus," and the tannery employed 15 men, and consumed some 2,000 cords of bark and produced 25,000 hides of leather per year (Kessel 1981). Other industries developed east of the mountains in the early national period include a snuff factory in Graceham, an extensive edge-tool manufactory erected in 1811, and a matchmaking factory begun by the Weller family (Wehrle 2000).

Each of these early industries made ample use of one of the region's most abundant natural resources — timber. Logging was a major mountain area industry. Sawmills, which had been features of the mountain since the arrival of European settlers, continued to operate and expand. When Catoctin Furnace owner James Johnson sold 715 acres of mountain land roughly a half mile from his business, "abounding with chestnut, locust, poplar, and oaks of all kinds," he made sure to mention the additional presence of "a saw mill that would work four or six months in the year" (Kessel 1991:95). Ten years later Johnson put another 325 acres on the market. Again the land was within a mile of his furnace. Johnson suggested that the land might be divided into four to six lots, and among the enticements he trumpeted a "saw mill set and a seat for a distillery or tanyard" (Bailyn 1986:71). No doubt dozens of other sawmills dotted the Catoctin area.

Small industry also proliferated along Hunting Creek where it flowed through the valley at the foot of the mountain. Soon locals began calling the area Mechanicstown for the large number of mechanics operating in the area. In 1882 Andrew Sefton, longtime resident of Mechanicstown, recalled his arrival: "I came to this town, April 1st 1831. It then numbered about three hundred inhabitants and was a very business place for its size." Sefton married one of the daughters of Jacob Weller and settled down. He recalled that in the 1830s there were "seven tanners in town and vicinity, two blacksmith shops, a tilt hammer, grind stone, polishing wheel and turning lathe, all propelled by water power, one wool and cloth factory, two shoemaker shops, three tailors,

three weavers, one gunsmith, one silversmith, two wagon and coach shops, two mill-wrights, three cabinet maker and house carpenter shops, one saddler, one hatter, one doctor, three stone and brick masons, three hotels and a match factory” (Kessel 1981:75). In 1832 the settlement was incorporated as the town of Mechanicstown.

As industry expanded, the need for transportation also grew. What roads existed as the nineteenth century began were often barely passable. Many were essentially dirt trails through dense forest, with tree stumps cut at 16 inches so axles could clear them. Baltimore was the fastest growing city in the region by 1790, and pressure grew to create a network of useful, passable roads radiating out from the city. Turnpike companies were incorporated to build the necessary links. One of the first construction endeavors was a turnpike from Baltimore to Frederick, which, by 1807, was extended to Boonsboro, and later to Williamsport, where it could link up with routes along the Potomac River (Oeter 1913). Construction of the National Road followed. That road linked existing roads to a major turnpike that ran from Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac River to Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), on the Ohio River.

In the Catoctin area the first phase of the transportation revolution involved the Westminster-Hagerstown Turnpike, completed in 1816, which connected to the National Road in Hagerstown. The Turnpike ran through Mechanicstown and Harmon’s Gap (a portion of the pike that was apparently called Harmon’s Gap Road) and what became Mechanicstown (Scharf 1882). Within a few years the Frederick-Emmitsburg Turnpike, passing through Creagerstown east of Mechanicstown, was also completed (Oeter 1913; Scharf 1882; Schildknecht 1985).

MOUNTAIN COMMUNITIES (1825 TO 1885)

In the nineteenth century a stable way of life developed on and around Catoctin Mountain. The frontier moved far to the west, all the land was claimed, and things settled down. People farmed the land that was level and not too rocky, let sheep and cattle graze in some spots, and left much of the mountain in timber. Timber land was a resource that could be tapped by cutting down some trees when cash was needed, or else by selling the land. Timber tracts therefore changed hands frequently, used and sold according to the financial needs of their owners, without much sentimental attachment. Farms stayed in families for much longer.

The detailed 1873 *Atlas of Frederick County*, published by Titus and Company (Lake 1873), shows 25 named families residing within what is now Catoctin Mountain Park (Figures 19 and 20). Most settlement was concentrated on the western slope between present-day Manahan and Foxville-Deerfield roads. Some settlement was located on the top and north slope of the mountain, but most of that land was forest. The 1830 census identifies about 50 households in the area between Foxville and Deerfield. Many of the households share surnames, suggesting that family members chose to remain close to each other. There are familiar names like the Foxes and Browns but also many more new and unfamiliar names, including McAfee, Toms, Williar, Manahan, Ridenour, Sleaseman, Smith, Leatherman, Krise (Crise), and Buhrman.

English and German

The names of the people on the mountain are a mix of German and English. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Germans gradually lost their distinctiveness as a people, especially their language, but the divide between the English and the Germans remained important until well after the Civil War. Our best evidence about the language spoken by Maryland Germans after the Revolution comes from church records. Dieter Cunze made a careful study of this evidence, and he found that in both Frederick and Washington counties a major shift from German to English took place between 1810 and 1840 (Cunze 1948:195). At the Lutheran church in Frederick, English sermons were first preached in 1808, and by 1816 they were preached on a regular basis. By 1840 all regular sermons were in English, with German sermons limited to certain Sunday afternoons. This same church kept all of its records in German until 1822, and after that in English.

The Lutheran church in Hagerstown kept a record of how many people attended communion services in each language, and historian Dieter Cunze tabulated the data from selected years (Table 4). At Cumberland all services were held in German in 1820; between 1820 and 1845, some services were held in German and some in English; after 1845, all services were in English.

**Table 4. The Switch from
German to English at Hagerstown
Lutheran Church, 1820 to 1835**

	PERSONS RECEIVING COMMUNION IN:	
	German	English
1820	214	48
1824	203	118
1828	181	189
1835	90	206

As one might expect, certain older people resisted this change. In 1844 a number of people left the Hagerstown Lutheran church and tried to found their own, German-speaking church, but their effort failed and the church minute book records their forgiveness and re-admission to the



FIGURE 19: 1873 Atlas of Park Area (West)

SOURCE: Lake 1873

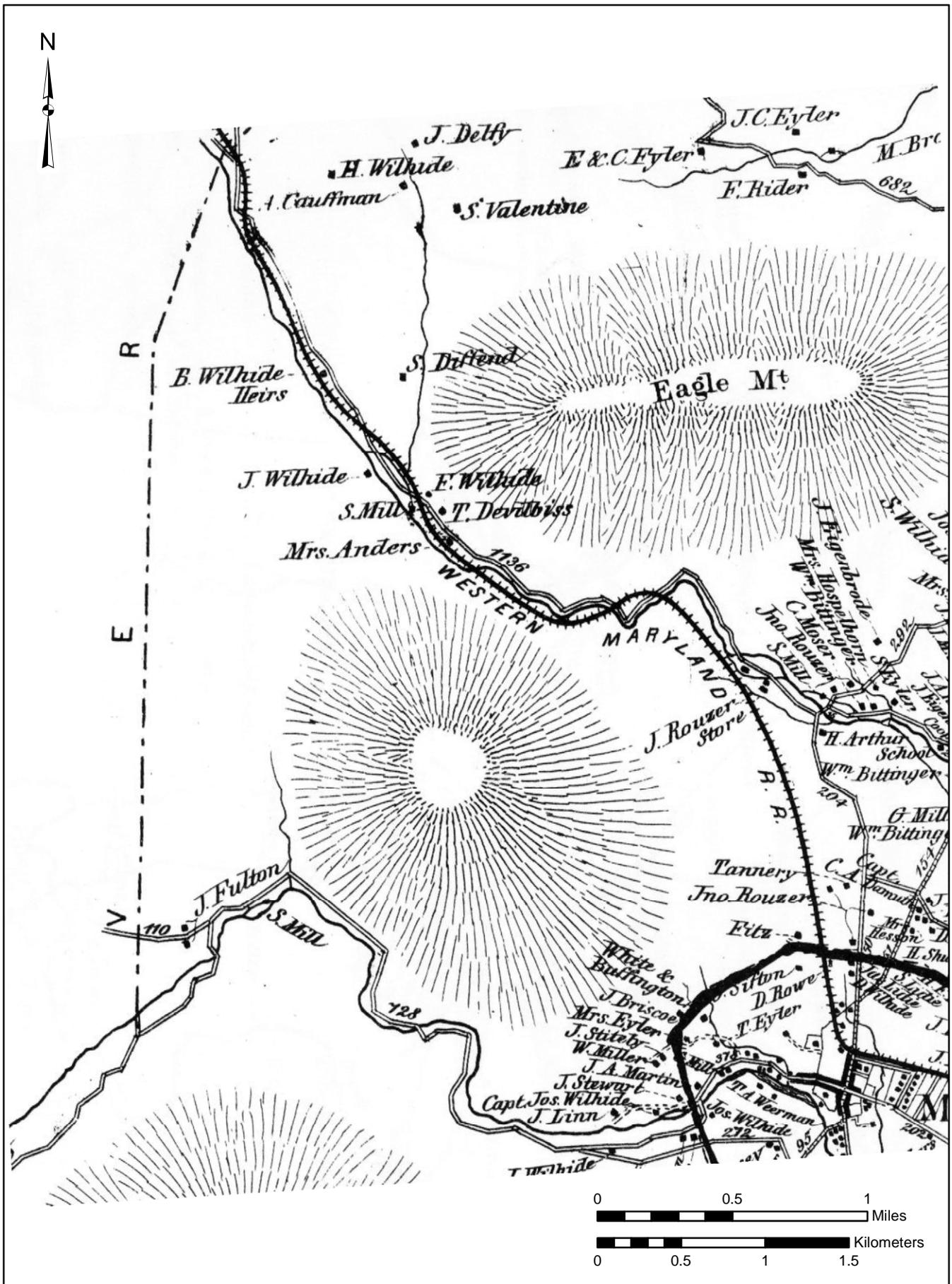


FIGURE 20: 1873 Atlas of Park Area (East)

SOURCE: Lake 1873

congregation (Cunze 1948:207). The process of assimilation proceeded, and by mid-century intermarriage between German and English families was becoming common.

One interesting record of relations between Germans and English in central Maryland is a novel called *Katy of Catoclin*, which was published in 1886 but is set during and just before the Civil War. The author, George Alfred Townsend, was a Marylander who knew the region well. His characters include a young English Marylander named Lloyd Quantrell who has a dog named Albion and says, near the beginning, “too many Dutch are in this up country for me!” “They don’t know anything in the Dutch country but saving and slaving,” he adds. The older German characters speak with strong accents and occasional German words, the young people less so but still with some German habits. With familiarity, Quantrell overcomes his prejudices against Germans and comes to admire their peaceful ways and the depth of their Christian faith. Eventually he falls in love with a “Dutch” girl, Katherine Bosler, the Katy of the title, and they marry as Quantrell goes off to war. *Katy of Catoclin* includes a description of a small mountain community that may have something in common with the communities in the Park:

A little farther the South Mountain opened like an amphitheatre, and showed some patches of fields and farms at the base of their broken mounds; but the landscape was yet ragged and almost uninhabited till, on the descending road before them, some small houses of a poor appearance were finally seen straggling along, each to itself, as if they came together by accident and had hardly discovered each other, so embowered were they, in fruit-trees, weeds, gardens, and corn.

“There’s Smoketown,” Nelly Harbaugh cried; “some calls it Ginny Winders’s town. Old Ginny keeps a groggery for the blackberry-pickers, chestnut-sellers, wood-choppers, charcoal-burners, and slave-catchers. Oh, it’s a hard place!”

“I should think so,” Lloyd Quantrell remarked, looking at the near mountains and at a deep gorge behind him, like the wide-open throat of a wild beast ready to devour the scattered place; “it seems to me to be running away, like the children in the Bible chased by Elisha’s bears. Who is this Hannah Ritner?”

“She’s a stranger, but I reckon she’s lived here for years,” Nelly replied; “she’s religious, and teaches the poor children to spell and to sew. Some say she’s crazy, and that’s why they go to her to get their fortunes told. She tells them real true.”

By this time they had come to the first house in the place on the right-hand side — a small, very neat, whitewashed cottage, with an old blackened roof, and with a little portico in front, the latter covered with a trained blackberry-vine.

The house stood in a small arbored garden, and the mock-orange and gourd vines could be seen dropping their yellow or roan-gold fruit from these small arbors, and also from the locust-trees along the roadside paling. Yellow marigolds grew against the gable; bright flowers in whitewashed flower-pots showed along the path leading back to the door from the gate; and a willow-tree in the garden seemed to weep for an unmarked grave which was not there.

The fruit-trees and bean-poles and shocked corn added a look of rankness and weediness in the midst of such providence and taste, and the forest coming down from the stony hills behind, in bits of chestnut thicket and brush, seemed to wrap the small cottage in.

An old stable was at the edge of this forest, and paths went back from it into the rain-raveled mountain-spurs.

Nothing else Lloyd Quantrell could see but a large preserving-kettle in the garden, hung on a wooden crane.

A little later on, Townsend describes the inside of Hannah Ritner's home:

The cottage seemed to be empty, and consisted of only one room and a kitchen, the latter low as the ground, the main room higher and containing a bed, an open Franklin stove, and a large flag-bottomed rocking-chair painted green. There was no other chair, but in a corner a glass-faced cupboard contained Delft plates and coffee service, and many bottles of cordials and home-made wines, and a line of jars of preserves, and also several books.

A Bible was on the window-sill and a candlestick beside it, and on the wall was a print in colors of Hagar and Ishmael, showing a large hand, as of a man, protruding from a door, with the palm raised against the mother and son, who were thus shut out.

Everything in this room was clean as it was plain, the bed-quilt sewn by hand from little rag savings, the wood scrubbed white, the stove polished, and flowers in water, on a little shallow mantel, diffused a subtle perfume. (Townsend 1895:54-55)

This description matches in some ways with the findings of archeology and archival research, but it also adds things that do not easily make their way into the historical records. The flowers, above all, stand out as something that would be hard to document, and perhaps also the feeling of fear and isolation that outsiders experienced in the little mountain villages.

Making a Living

How did people on the mountain earn their livings? Many of them were farmers, despite the generally poor quality of the land. One way to find out what sort of farming they did is from the agricultural census. From 1850 to 1880 the U.S. government carried out this investigation of farming along with each population census. The agricultural census tells us a great deal about agriculture in America and about the farms of many Americans. The questions on the census varied from year to year, but they always included how much land each farmer owned or leased, how much of that was "improved," how many animals were kept on the farm, and how much of the main crops (wheat, corn, potatoes, and so on) the farm produced.

These data can be used in many ways. One study of the 1880 agricultural census documented exactly how much poorer farmers on the mountain were than their neighbors in the Harbaugh Valley: the average income of a farm in the Harbaugh valley was \$472, on the mountain only \$213 (Earley 2004:36). The only products that mountain farmers produced more of were wool and apples. On the other hand the census tells us that farmers on the mountain worked in pretty much

the same way as most other farmers in Maryland, raising a mix of crops along with cows, pigs, and sometimes sheep. The average farm on the mountain measured about 100 acres, of which 35 acres was improved and 65 acres unimproved, meaning in timber or scrub. Mountain farmers had, on average, 18 acres devoted to growing grain, compared with 33 acres in the Harbaugh Valley. Most mountain farmers had two to six cows, and butter was one of their most valuable products. Most had horses, which they used for plowing and pulling wagons. All had a few pigs. Fewer than half had sheep, but those who did had an average of 17.

These average numbers conceal great variability between the farmers. In 1860 Benjamin Wilhide had 750 acres of unimproved land but only 30 acres of improved land, whereas Jacob Willar listed all of his 200 acres as improved. Wilhide was heavily into the lumber business, which is why he was the only farmer on the mountain who owned mules.

Table 5. Information from the 1860 Agricultural Census on Livestock and the Value of Mountain Farms

NAMES OF OWNER, AGENT, OR MANAGER OF THE FARM	Acres of Land		Cash Value of Farm	Value of Farming Implements and Machinery	Livestock, June 1, 1860						Value of Live Stock
	Improved	Unimproved			Horses	Asses and Mules	Milch Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	
Benjamin Willhide	30	750	1500	200	7	4	2	2	3		1082
Jacob Ridenour	90	21	1800	75	1		4	6		4	230
Frederick Eyler	60	100	2500	100	2		4	5		10	600
Ignatius Brown	70	23	1700	100	4		5	8	8	18	697
William Brown	80		1600	150	8		6	5	5	10	970
Henry Buhrman	29	300	2850	150	2		2	4		20	460
Jacob Buhrman	20	127	1200	75	4		2	3	1	3	477
William Buhrman	50	50	2800	100	3		2	4		10	440
John Krise	90	50	3880	150	5		5	8	7	7	550
George H. Fox	153		1500	250	7		5	10	30	17	980
George P. Fox	50	200	1000	200	9		7	7		7	945
Jacob Williar	200		3000	100	5		5			16	573
Daniel Boyer	105		5000	200	7		9	12		14	825

**Table 6. Information from the 1860 Agricultural Census
on the Produce Grown by Mountain Farmers**

NAMES OF OWNER, AGENT, OR MANAGER OF THE FARM	Wheat (bushels)	Rye (bushels)	Indian Corn (bushels)	Oats (bushels)	Wool (pounds)	Irish Potatoes (bushels)	Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	Buckwheat (bushels)	Value of Orchard Produce (dollars)	Butter (pounds)	Hay (tons)
Benjamin Willhide	80	40	500	25		20			5	500	6
Jacob Ridenour			270	200		50				200	10
Frederick Eyler	150	50	500	100	24	10				150	5
Ignatius Brown	150	70	200	30		300			300	520	100
William Brown	100	30	250	35		50	2			250	15
Henry Buhrman	50	90	40		3	25		12		500	25
Jacob Buhrman	15	10	50	80		25				200	4
William Buhrman	30	3	75			20				150	20
John Krise	100		250	150		30	3			250	20
George H. Fox	300	50	200	160		30				300	10
George P. Fox	150	25	250	35		40				500	10
Jacob Williar	92		100	25		30				500	30
Daniel Boyer	500	30	800			80				500	20

The Terrace Garden Site

On the north slope of the mountain, overlooking Owens Creek, is a small group of old house sites. These sites are just across the Park boundary from the cluster of standing homes where some of the Wilhides still live. In the later nineteenth century the foundations and other remains in the Park were probably part of a group of houses and outbuildings occupied mainly by the Wilhides and their close relations. The best preserved of these old house sites was called the Terrace Garden Site. Judging from the artifacts, a house had been built on this site before 1820, and it was occupied into the 1930s. The site was part of a 396-acre land patent called Creager's Scheme, claimed by a local speculator named John Creager. In 1803 Creager subdivided one of his farms, called Stoney Corner, to become Mechanicstown; the town was a success and in 1894 changed its name to Thurmont. Creager had several properties on the north side of the mountain. Overstretched by his many ventures, Creager went bankrupt in 1819. An advertisement in the June 5, 1819 edition of *The Republican Gazette & General Advertiser* reads:

Sheriff's sale, at the Tavern of John Creager of Lawrence, in Graceham, 8-day clock, 5 10-plate stoves, desk, book-case, and other, late property of said John Creager.

and

Sherriff's sale of house and lot in Graceham, no. 11, of John Creager of Lawrence and house and lot no. 8.

In 1822 John Creager fell ill and died. By the time of his death, he had sold most of his holdings on Catoctin Mountain and much of his property in Mechanicstown. The 1825 Tax Assessment

shows that John Creager's heirs still held on to three lots of Creager's Scheme, but they must have sold them soon afterward. We lose sight of the Terrace Garden Site in the confusion created by John Creager's bankruptcy, and the property does not reappear in the records until 1841, when Jacob Stouffer sold it to Eli Beatty. At that time the property measured 18.25 acres. In 1857 the property was bought by Joshua Smith, and it is his name that appears next to the house on the 1858 Bond map of Frederick County (Figure 21). Smith sold out in 1862, and by 1870 it had been purchased by Arnold Wilhide and added to the Wilhides' growing holdings. In 1873 the property was sold to Josiah Wilhide. There is a house in the 1873 Titus atlas of Frederick County that might be the Terrace Garden Site, although it is closer to the creek and the road than the house really is, and this house is labeled "J Wilhide." The property stayed in the Wilhide family until it was purchased by the U.S. government in 1937.

Archeologists recently did some test excavations at the Terrace Garden Site to find out what is in the ground. The site sits on a level shelf on the side of the mountain, no more than 75 feet wide, about 1,000 feet from the creek and 120 feet above it. The site measures about 225x75 feet. To expand the livable area, a stone retaining wall was built along the slopes toward the west end of the site, roughly 6 feet tall (Figure 22). A ditch was dug along the upslope side to divert rainwater running down the mountain away from the house and yard. At the eastern end of the site is a stone house foundation and cellar hole that measures about 22x23 feet. At the western end, on top of the artificial terrace, are the remains of a barn that probably measured about 25x30 feet. Scattered stones in between showed where other outbuildings had once stood, but not enough remained to say how big they were or what they might have been. An old road is still visible running down the slope to Owens Creek.

The archeologists dug shovel tests across the site and also five 3x3-foot test units (Figure 23). More than 500 artifacts were recovered (Table 7). The complete list of artifacts found, given in the table, is a good example of the kind of material found at all the farm sites on the mountain. Most of the artifacts consist of window glass, nails, pottery, and pieces of ceramic drain pipes. The oldest artifacts are pieces of creamware, a type of English refined earthenware used for tea sets and dinner plates and not made after 1820 (Figure 24). Most of the pottery was either coarse red earthenware, used mainly for large bowls and storage jars, or pearlware. Pearlware was another type of refined English earthenware, and some of the sherds from the Terrace Garden Site could be identified as pieces of teacups, saucers, and a small pitcher. Not much pottery dating to after 1850 was found, which probably means that the later residents of the house were more careful about collecting their trash and throwing it away some distance from the house.



FIGURE 21: Terrace Garden Site on 1858 Bond Map

SOURCE: Bond 1858



FIGURE 22: Wall at the Terrace Garden Site



FIGURE 23: Excavating Test Unit at the Terrace Garden Site

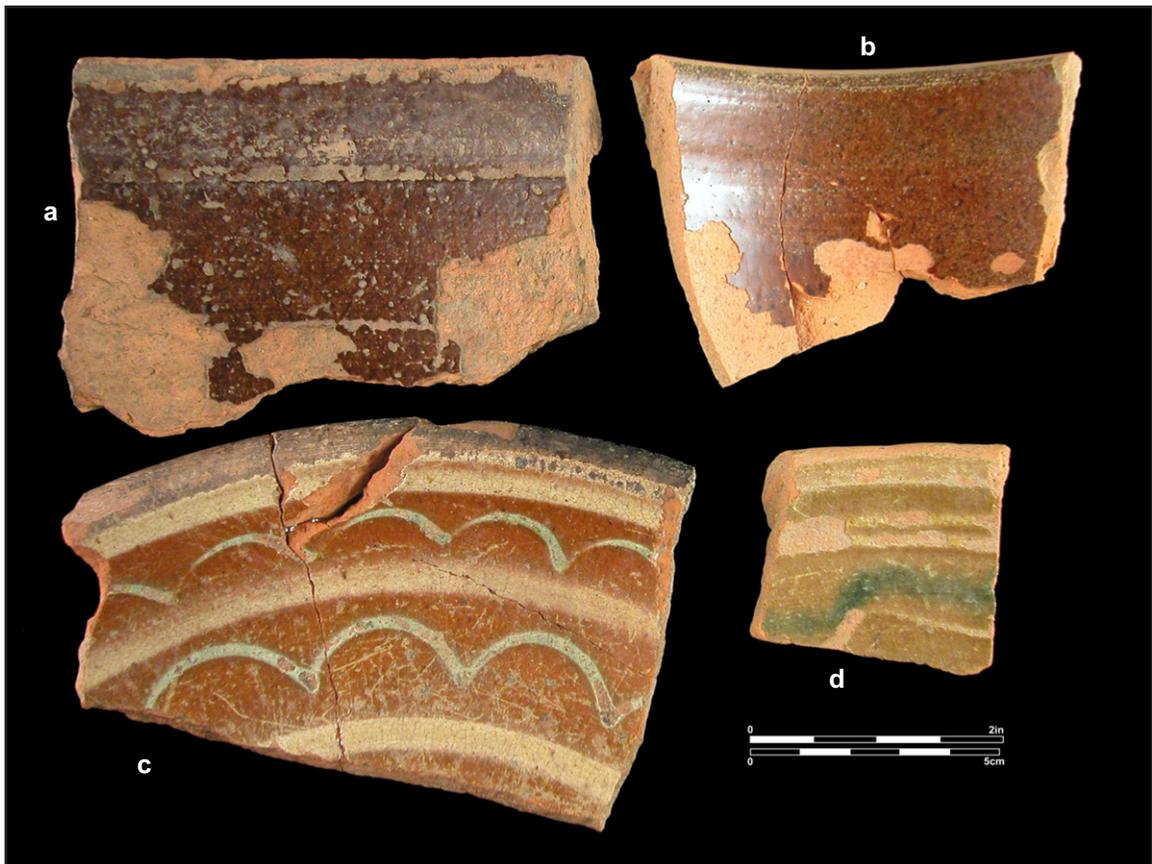


FIGURE 24: Artifacts from the Terrace Garden Site

- a) Redware, brown glaze
- b) Redware, yellow to brown glaze
- c) Red-bodied slipware
- d) Red bodied slipware

Table 7. Historic Artifacts Recovered from the Terrace Garden Site

ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT	ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT
<i>Ceramics</i>		<i>Glass</i>	
Creamware		Bottle/Jar, clear	7
Plain (1762-1820)	2	Bottle/Jar, aqua	27
Embossed Rim (1762-1820)	1	Bottle/Jar, amber	1
Handpainted (1765-1815)	1	Bottle/jar, olive	2
Pearlware		Soda Bottle, aqua (1850-1915)	1
Plain (1775-1840)	46	Soda Bottle, amethyst (1880-1915)	2
Shell Edge, blue (1775-1840)	5	Bottle/Jar, mold-blown (before 1915)	1
Shell Edge, green (1775-1840)	4	Bottle/Jar, aqua (1915-1950)	1
Handpainted, blue (1775-1820)	6	Patent medicine bottle 1860-1915	1
Handpainted, polychrome (1795-1825)	3	Drug bottle/jar 1911-1929	1
Dipped (1790-1890)	3	Vessel glass, clear	3
Embossed Rim (1775-1840)	3	Melted	2
Transfer-printed, flowing (1775-1840)	1	Lamp chimney	6
Transfer-printed, black (1800-1840)	1	<i>Small Finds</i>	
Transfer-printed, brown (1825-1840)	1	Broad Glass (window glass)	74
Whiteware		Machine-cut nails (1790-present)	69
Plain (1820-present)	6	Wire nails (1880-present)	29
Transfer-printed, blue (1820-1915)	2	Unidentified nails	65
Ironstone, embossed (1840-present)	1	Machine-cut spike (1830-present)	2
Yellowware, plain (1827-1940)	3	Cooking pot fragment, iron	1
Yellowware, Rockingham (1812-1920)	1	Hardware	4
Red-bodied Slipware (1670-1850)	8	Pipe Stem, white clay	3
Redware		Plain Small China Button	4
Glazed	50	Horse Tack, Buckles	1
Unglazed	1	Ceramic Drain Pipe (1810-present)	31
Hard-paste Porcelain, decal (1830-present)	1	<i>Other</i>	
Stoneware		Large mammal bone	1
Bristol and Albany Slips (1880-1950)	1	Unidentified metal	6
Albany Slip (1800-1940)	5	Unidentified glass	1
Gray salt-glazed	1	TOTAL	503

Catoctin Mountain and the Civil War

By the mid-nineteenth century Maryland had become a sectional mixture, combining free and slave economies and Northern and Southern cultures (Brugger 1988). Frederick County sat at the geographical center of the conflict. To the south the county bordered slave-holding Virginia, and to the north was the vanguard of the abolitionist movement, Pennsylvania. Although the communities around Catoctin Mountain were geographically close to the North, many of its residents held Southern sympathies in the years preceding the conflict. The presidential election of 1860 showed this clearly.

The Republican Party and Abraham Lincoln were strong in the north and northwest of the country. Meanwhile the Democratic Party was divided and nominated two candidates, Stephen Douglas from the North and John Breckinridge, who represented Southern sentiments. A fourth

candidate, John Bell, was nominated as the presidential nominee for the Constitutional Union Party. When the election results were tallied, the residents east of Catoctin Mountain, in Mechanicstown, had chosen pro-slavery Breckinridge with 189 votes, followed closely by Bell with 182. Stephen Douglas received only seven votes, and Lincoln got six. On the western side of the mountain, residents of Hauvers District also voted for Breckinridge with an overwhelming 154 votes to 46 votes for Bell. Douglas received slightly more with 27 but Lincoln won only three. In the end Lincoln won only 103 votes in all of Frederick County (Wehrle 2000). Fortunately for Lincoln, the Republican Party won enough votes nationally to earn him the presidency.

The results show Frederick County divided between support for slavery, represented by Breckinridge, and support for the compromise candidate Bell, who seemed to favor preserving the union by sweeping all sectional differences under the rug. In December 1860 a countywide convention met in Frederick City to discuss the coming troubles and establish a common approach to resolving them (Wehrle 2000). Instead the convention revealed how deeply divided the county's residents were on the issue of secession. Towns in southern Frederick County were strongly pro-South, and areas to the north, such as the Catoctin area, tended to be split. It was the unionist supporters of some kind of compromise who had provided John Bell's votes (Wehrle 2000).

After hostilities finally broke out, Bradley Johnson, a delegate in the Maryland Legislature, withdrew from the assembly and returned home to Frederick City. Johnson became a colonel in the Confederate army and quickly moved to organize Marylanders into a regiment. Colonel Johnson's troops appear to have come from the southern portion of Frederick County as well as from southern Maryland. A survey of names of those enlisted in the Maryland line of the Confederate Army reveal none of the family names associated with the Catoctin Mountain communities (Goldsborough 1987).

Unionists in Frederick County also mobilized for the war. In August 1862 Company D of the Sixth Maryland Regiment Maryland Volunteers formed under Capt. Martin Rouzer (Wehrle 2000). Company D included 50 men from Mechanicstown and 25 from the Hauvers District. In addition to Capt. Martin Rouzer, the company's commissioned officers included Capt. Charles A. Damuth, 1st Lt. John R. Rouzer, 1st Lt. Grayson M. Eichelberger, and 2nd Lt. David C. Hammett. Both Martin and John Rouzer were from Mechanicstown; their families purchased several tracts of land on Catoctin after the war. Damuth and Eichelberger are also familiar names in several of the chains-of-title for properties on the mountain. Table 8 lists the enlisted men in Company D, their ranks, and the years they served.

Capt. Charles Damuth kept a memorandum of the company's engagements, which included the Battles of Culpeper, Second Manassas, and Brandy Station, among others, as they crisscrossed the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers (Cissel 2008). For the soldiers of Company D, it was the Battle of the Wilderness, fought on May 5-6, 1864, that was remembered as the bitterest and most tragic time. Of the 75 men who enlisted in 1862, 15 soldiers were either killed, wounded, or captured during that engagement. Others in the company were wounded or killed during the subsequent Battles of Spotsylvania Court House, Cold Harbor, and Winchester. Following Cold

Harbor, Petersburg, and Appomattox, the men of Company D were mustered out June 20, 1865, and returned home to the Mechanicstown and Hauvers districts.

Table 8. Enlisted Men in the Sixth Maryland Infantry Regiment, Company D

NAME	RANK	DATE OF ENLISTMENT	DATE OF MUSTER OUT OR DISCHARGE
Arther, Hiram	Private	Aug 20, 1862	Transferred to V.R.C. 1864
Brown, Martin L.	Corporal	Aug 22, 1862	June 19, 1865
Baxter, Joseph	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Baxter, Edward	Corporal	Aug 22, 1862	June 20, 1865
Brown, Franklin	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Bush, David	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 5, 1865
Bush William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Beck, Luther	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Bierly, Lewis A.	Private	Aug 24, 1862	June 20, 1865
Brien, John O.	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Brien, William O.	Private	July 15, 1864	Deserted
Burns, Michael	Private	July 15, 1864	Deserted
Culp, Luther	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Cover, Henry	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Creager, Jos. H.	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Comfort, Hiram E.	Private	Aug 8, 1862	June 20, 1865
Crawford, George	1 st Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	Transferred to Company I
Clyne, John	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Crotzer, David	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Clocker, George	Private	July 15, 1864	Deserted
Damuth, George	Private	Sept. 4, 1862	June 20, 1865
Draper, Martin L.	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Damuth, Jason	Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
Dorsey, William	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Died 1864
Dennis, Lewis	Private	July 2, 1864	Deserted
Dunne, John	Private	July 15, 1864	Deserted
Dennis, William	Private	July 1, 1864	Deserted
Doyle, Frank	Private	July 15, 1864	Deserted
Eyler, Joseph	1 st Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Eyler, Raphael R.	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 19, 1865
Eyler, Irwin R.	Private	Aug 20, 1862	Died 1863
Freeze, William J.	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Freeze, Jacob	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Fisher, Jeremiah	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Fisher, Sanford	Private	Aug 8, 1864	June 20, 1865
Foreman, Albert	Private	Aug 22, 1862	April 28, 1865
Forney, William	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
Favorite, George	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
Freeney, James	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Grove, George W.	Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	Aug 17, 1865
Gates, Jacob	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Groshem, William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Griffin, William	Private	July 13, 1864	Deserted
Haze, Jas. L.	Teamster	Aug 25, 1862	June 20, 1865
Heffner, Jas. E.	Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Hetterly, Ireley	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 9, 1865
Hutzler, Jonah	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Harbough, Joseph	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Died 1863
Harbough, Albert	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
Hagen, Francis	Private	July 5, 1864	Deserted
Hagerty, Henry	Private	July 9, 1864	Deserted
Henry, James	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Hamilton, James	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted

Table 8 (continued)

NAME	RANK	DATE OF ENLISTMENT	DATE OF MUSTER OUT OR DISCHARGE
Hyde, William	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Jones, John	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Kuhn, John	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	Transferred Maryland Brigade Band
Konrad, August	Private	Aug 20, 1862	July 13, 1865
Kelley, James	Private	July 15, 1864	Deserted
Lynn, William	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Laracey, Jacob	Musician	Aug 25, 1862	June 20, 1865
Lyons, Thomas	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Layton, George	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Moser, Cyrus	Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Manahan, Ephraim	Private	Aug 20, 1862	July 5, 1865
Markle, Raymen	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
McAffee, William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
McPherson, John	Private	Sept 4, 1862	June 20, 1865
Miller, John P.	Private	Sept 4, 1862	June 20, 1865
Miller, Henry	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 8, 1865
Miller, Adam	Private	June 25, 1864	June 20, 1865
McLain, Peter	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Myers, Jonathan	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Miller, George	Private	Sept 2, 1862	June 29, 1864
McLain, Elias	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 30, 1865
McPherson, William	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
McPherson, James	Private	Aug 20, 1862	Died 1863
McLain, John F.	Private	Aug 11, 1862	Deserted
Morrow, John F.	Private	Feb 18, 1864	Deserted
Niede, William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	May 16, 1865
Nogle, Thomas	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Osler, Van Buren	Sergeant	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Parker, William	Private	July 11, 1864	Deserted
Robinson, Irvin	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
Robison, Edward	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Killed in Action 1864
Stietely, William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Stull, William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	May 26, 1865
Staub, William	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Smith, Charles	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Staub, Peter	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Schaffer, Joseph	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Shaffer, Charles	Private	Sept 10, 1862	Transferred to Cole's Cavalry
Seabrooks, George	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Deserted
Traber, John	Corporal	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Toms, Daniel	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Toms, Hiram	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Toms, Thomas	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Waggaman, David	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 16, 1865
Willhide, Edward	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Willhide, Daniel	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Willhide, Josiah	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Willhide, Cyrus	Private	Aug 20, 1862	June 20, 1865
Wolf, John	Private	Sept 4, 1862	June 20, 1865
Weller, James	Private	Aug 20, 1862	July 24, 1863
Willhide, Konrad	Private	Aug 20, 1862	Transferred Maryland Brigade Band
Working, Nathaniel	Private	Aug 22, 1862	Transferred to V.R.C. 1864
White, William	Private	July 16, 1864	Deserted
Waggaman, David D.	Private	Aug 20, 1862	April 28, 1865

Hoofbeats of Gettysburg: the Way Up

During the summer of 1863, the roads around Catoclin Mountain Park sounded with the tramp of marching boots and the thunder of cavalry horses. Nearly 150,000 soldiers converged at the town of Gettysburg for the Civil War's greatest battle. On their way to the battle, the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia passed west of South Mountain, through the Great Valley. The Union Army of the Potomac crossed Frederick County east of the mountains, with several thousand marching through the streets of Mechanicstown. Union cavalry patrolled the passes in between, tracking the movement of the rebels and keeping an eye out for Confederate horsemen. Of those horsemen, however, few were seen, because Jeb Stuart had led most of the Confederate cavalry far to the east, on the other side of the main Union line of march.

The Gettysburg campaign represented a major turn in the fortunes of the Union cavalry. During the first two years of the war, Stuart's men had been able to defeat the Union cavalry almost every time simply by superior decisiveness and daring. When two cavalry forces met, the Confederates charged, and the Union men usually broke and fled. The Union high command grew tired of this, and in early 1863 they reorganized their cavalry and promoted several very young and very aggressive officers to command it (Longacre 1997). In overall command was Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasonton. Brig. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick, 27, was placed in command of one of the three cavalry divisions, and under him was George Armstrong Custer, only 23 and soon to be the youngest major general in U.S. history. Both were notoriously rash and eager to fight, especially Kilpatrick. Kilpatrick was known to some of his men as "Kill-cavalry" for his love of combat. He was, one colleague thought, a "frothy braggart without brains;" others called him "flamboyant, reckless, tempestuous, and even licentious" (Wittenberg 2000:45). Some of Kilpatrick's men loved his daring. Pvt. Isaac Yocom of the Second New York, Kilpatrick's old unit, wrote home that "he is like a gay boy in a fight, he isn't like other generals. When we get engaged he says, 'come on boys, follow me,' not 'go'" (Naylor 1961:91).

On June 9, 1863, the newly reorganized Union cavalry surprised the Confederate cavalry at Brandy Station and fought them to a draw. As they shadowed the Confederate army northward toward Gettysburg, they felt a new confidence in their commanders and their own abilities, which they showed during the momentous campaign.

One of the heroes of the fighting at Brandy Station was Capt. Wesley Merritt, who was promoted directly to brigadier general just six days later. Custer and Elon Farnsworth were promoted at the same ceremony, which took place at the home of Adm. Winfield Scott Schley just north of Frederick, Maryland. Merritt was placed in command of the reserve brigade of the First Cavalry Division. It was the First Division, commanded by John Buford, that patrolled the mountains around Catoclin Mountain Park during the days before the battle. Special Order No. 99, issued from the headquarters of the Cavalry Corps on June 29, 1863, ordered the First Division to move northward via two routes. Two brigades would hug South Mountain, passing through Beallsville and Wolfsville and thence across the western part of the Park to Emmitsburg, while the reserve brigade under Merritt moved up the main roads from Frederick to Mechanicstown (O.R. 27(3):400). From there the First Division continued north to Gettysburg, where they fired the first shots of the battle on July 1. Merritt remained in Mechanicstown in reserve until July 1 but

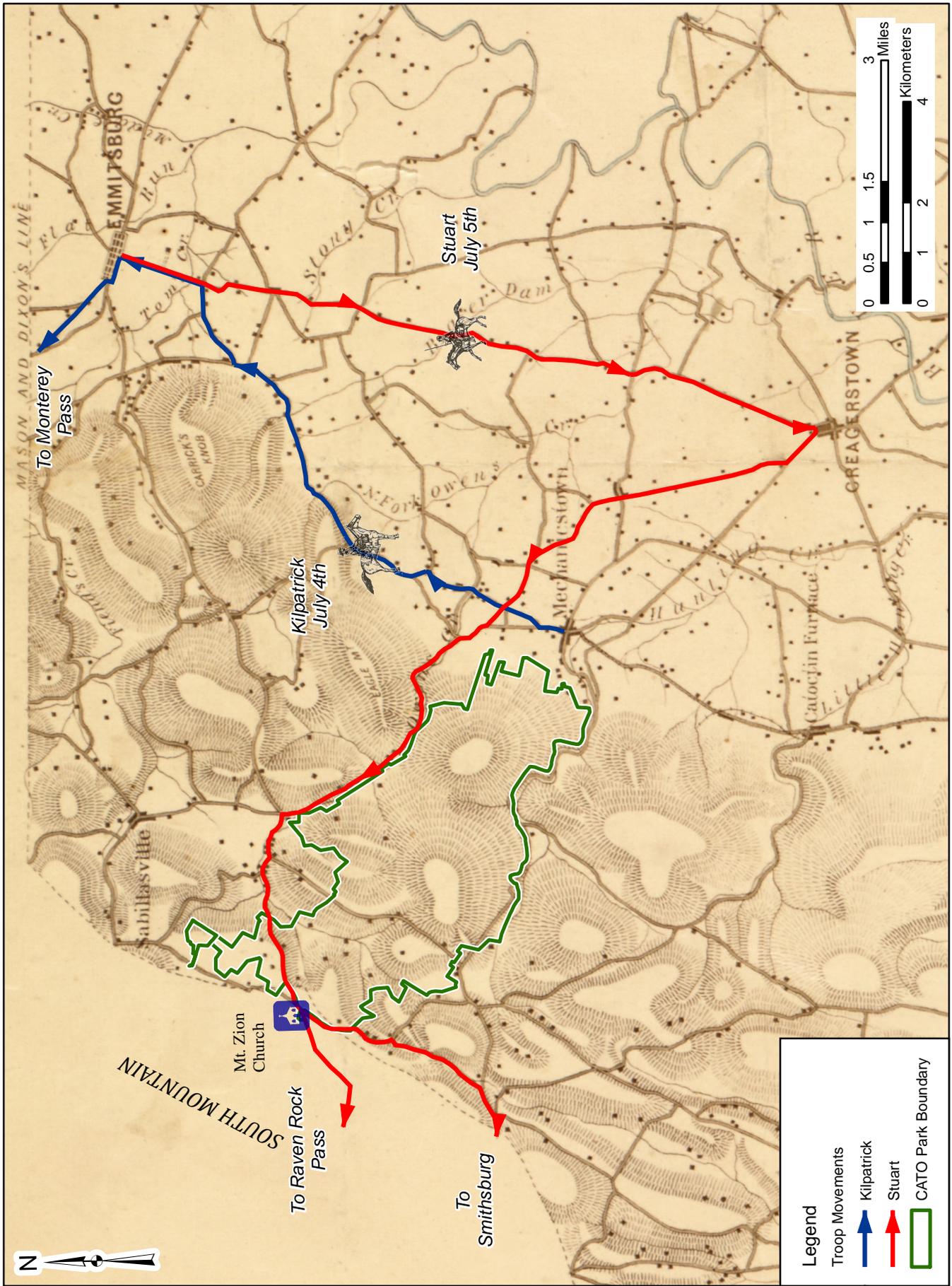
joined Kilpatrick on July 3 to fulfill General Pleasanton's orders to use all available troopers to attack the enemy lines on the right and rear.

Hoofbeats of Gettysburg: the Way Home

On the night of July 3, 1863, Robert E. Lee faced the difficult and depressing task of withdrawing his defeated army from Gettysburg to its base in Virginia. He began to make his plans almost as soon as the survivors of the great assault known as Pickett's Charge stumbled back to his lines. The third day of the great battle had done little to advance the Confederate cause, but it had added thousands more wounded men to the immense ambulance train Lee would have to take with him. The army would make for Williamsport in the Great Valley, where they would cross the Potomac on a pontoon bridge. Between them and the valley lay Catoclin Mountain and South Mountain. These barriers could be crossed by large military forces at only a few strategic passes. The immediate task for Lee and his men was to secure those passes and get across them, placing the mountains between them and the Union army. George Meade, on the opposite side of the battlefield, knew this as well as Lee did. He also knew that one of his predecessors, George McClellan, had been sacked for (among other things) failing to pursue Lee with vigor after the Battle of Antietam. As Lee laid his plans for escape, Meade dispatched his cavalry to pursue him and began drawing up his infantry corps for a westward march.

Lee sent the bulk of his army toward Williamsport by the most direct route, southwest down the Fairfield Road to the Monterey Pass. Because his wagon trains, burdened by 8,000 wounded men, were so long, he elected to split them. One train went northwest on the Chambersburg Road to Cashtown Pass, while another led the infantry over the Monterey Pass. The northern train alone, consisting of the ambulances and quartermasters' supplies of Longstreet's and Hill's Corps, was more than 15 miles long (Brown 2005:85). Lee also divided his cavalry. Two squadrons were sent ahead of the army as scouts. Imboden's brigade, reinforced by extra artillery, was sent to guard the northern wagon train and the army's right flank. The largest force, two brigades under Jeb Stuart, was sent south to take the left flank. Stuart was ordered to move to Emmitsburg, and then cross South Mountain through the gap at Smithsburg, just west of Catoclin Mountain Park.

Turned loose by Meade, the Union cavalry were soon snapping at the retreating Confederates. Most aggressive, predictably, was the energetic Kilpatrick, with Custer's Michigan Wolverines in his vanguard. Kilpatrick was at Emmitsburg on the evening of July 4 when local residents brought him word that lightly guarded Confederate wagons were making for the Monterey Pass (Figure 25). Without waiting for orders, he moved quickly to attack, arriving on the scene about 9:00 P.M. The resulting Battle of Monterey Pass was fought largely at night in driving rain. The first shots were fired by a mere handful of dismounted men from the Confederate First Maryland Cavalry, who had a single artillery piece. They fired out of the darkness at Union troopers who could not see them, so startling the Michigan men that some fell out of their saddles. A charge by eight Maryland troopers was enough to send the Union cavalry reeling back down the road. They eventually recovered, though, and resumed their advance up toward the pass. More Confederate cavalry arrived, but they could only delay Kilpatrick's men. The Union troopers broke through about midnight, falling among the Confederate wagons. More than 250 wagons were taken,



SOURCE: Hergesheimer 1861

FIGURE 25: Map Showing the Movements of Union and Confederate Cavalry After the Battle of Gettysburg

along with 1,300 prisoners (Brown 2005:143). Exhausted from hours of fighting and not knowing where the Confederate infantry were, Kilpatrick's men then retreated southward to Smithsburg.

Kilpatrick and Stuart had missed each other by a matter of hours at Emmitsburg, Kilpatrick heading west toward the Monterey Pass and Stuart heading south. Stuart was told by residents about Kilpatrick's force, but he misjudged their intentions. He thought the Monterey Pass would be well guarded by Confederate infantry and therefore that the Union cavalry would probably move southwest through Eylers Valley toward Raven Rock. During the day of July 5, Stuart spent several hours at Emmitsburg to "procure rations" (O.R. 27:700). While there the Confederates captured "60 or 70 prisoners of war, and some valuable hospital stores en route from Frederick to the army." Local histories state that Stuart's men entered Emmitsburg at dawn and describe a "short, sharp fight" near the old Hoffman's Inn between some surprised Union men and the 34th Virginia cavalry under Lt. Col. Vincent Witcher (Miller n.d.:Part 11).

Stuart described his route from Emmitsburg in his official report:

The march was resumed on the road to Frederick, till we reached a small village called Cooperstown, where our route turned short to the right. Here I halted the column to feed, as the horses were much fatigued and famished. The column, after an hour's halt, continued through Harbaugh's Valley, by Zion Church, to pass the Catocin Mountain. The road separated before debouching from the mountain, one fork leading to the left by Smithtown, and the other to the right, bearing more toward Leitersburg. I divided my command, in order to make the passage more certain, Colonel Ferguson, commanding Jenkins' brigade, taking the left road, and Chambliss' brigade, which I accompanied, the other [O.R. 27:700].

Unfortunately it is hard to tell where Stuart actually went, as there is no such place as Cooperstown, at least not anywhere between Emmitsburg and Frederick. Some local historians think Stuart meant "Creagerstown," which is a few miles southeast of Thurmont. A route through Creagerstown took Stuart out of his way, but Stuart's normal practice when behind enemy lines was to feint in several directions to keep his intentions obscure, and he often traveled by less than direct routes (McClellan 1994). Stuart's men were also foraging, looking for food, horses, wagons, and fodder they could appropriate for the Confederate cause. Lee had ordered his whole army to take back to Virginia whatever supplies they could find and carry, since he knew food and fodder would be in short supply in the Confederacy (Brown 2005:74). Not that the average cavalry trooper needed official encouragement to take what he needed while in enemy territory. Confederate foraging, along with Stuart's habitual misdirection, may explain the profusion of stories about Confederate cavalry that local historians have documented in Frederick County. A typical story, this one from the hamlet of Graceham, goes like this:

Mr. William Cramer, a resident of Graceham did not have time to hide his horses and the black powder that he kept in his store as the Confederate cavalry entered Graceham. Outside of his store Confederate troopers and their mounts were thirsty. Cramer's daughter, Belva Anne Elizabeth Cramer, pumped the water for the horses and men. Tears started to roll down her face as she pumped. Thinking that the little girl was frightened of the ragged appearance of the soldiers, a trooper told her "Don't cry little girl. We're dirty and ragged, but we are all gentlemen and we will

not hurt you.” The trooper did not know that Belva had a bad tooth and that pumping the water from the well had made the pain worse [Miller n.d.:Part 12].

Other stories place Stuart and his men in Mechanicstown, Franklinton, Apple’s Church, Flint, Deerfield — a place shown on no map, but one assumes it must have been the hamlet at the north end of the Foxville-Deerfield Road, now known as Lantz — and on the slopes of Catoclin Mountain.

The route Stuart described in his report passes through the Harbaugh Valley and thence to Mt. Zion Church. This presumably means he took the road along the north side of the mountain, known today as Sabillasville Road or Route 550. Foxville Road would have been quicker, but, again, speed was not always Stuart’s chief concern. Stuart does not mention it, but the Union First Cavalry Division was somewhere off to his south, and rumors placed Merritt’s reserve brigade near Mechanicstown (Miller n.d.:Part 12). The details of Stuart’s route around the north side of the mountain are uncertain. The Confederates may have swung back to the east off Route 550 and onto Kelbaugh Road and then Black Road to use Eagle (now Piney) Mountain as cover and to gain the high ground, then passing down Eylers Valley Flint Road to rejoin Route 550. Or, they may have proceeded straight up Route 550. Stuart was probably well informed about local roads, thanks to the superb Confederate topographic corps. Another local story, related by the historian of Mount Saint Mary’s Seminary, emphasizes Stuart’s reliance on maps:

Rev. John McCloskey, an excellent horseman and a notable figure on horseback, rode for quite a distance alongside the commander, General J. E. B. Stuart. McCloskey related frequently, as an incident of the interview he had with the commander, that whilst they were conversing, as they rode along leisurely, an orderly rode up asking for instructions; taking off his soft felt hat the commander looked attentively for a few moments at the interior and held it so that Father John could see it, and at once gave directions as to the road and paths to be taken to make their escape through the mountains into the Cumberland valley, and so to the crossing of the Potomac. Father John says every road and mountain path was carefully marked in the hat-covered map [Miller n.d.:Part 12].

Somewhere south of Mt. Zion Church, Stuart divided his men. Nineteenth-century maps show at least two forks that might have been the one he mentioned, but the general idea seems clear. Stuart personally took part of his force off to the right of the main road, making for the small gap at Raven Rock, while the remainder continued south for a few miles before bearing right onto the road from Foxville to Smithsburg, modern Route 77. One local story has the Confederate foragers stumbling upon the formation known as the Devil’s Racecourse, which is somewhat north and west of the straight route from Mt. Zion Church to Raven Rock:

Confederate troopers foraging the area came upon a river of rocks where their horses became very spooked by the sound that came from the ground. The sound was similar to that of rattlesnakes. The troopers dismounted and placed their ear down on the rocks and heard not rattlesnakes, but a small stream that flows beneath them. The boulders were deposited by glaciers millions of years ago and are called the Devils Racecourse [Miller n.d.:Part 13].

As he rode toward Smithsburg, Stuart was actually heading straight for Kilpatrick’s division. The First Vermont Cavalry under Colonel Addison Preston had passed down the same road past Mt.

Zion Church on the morning of July 5 before crossing South Mountain to rejoin the First Division. Union scouts spotted Stuart's men before they even reached the pass, carrying word to Kilpatrick. Stuart reached the gap at Raven Rock at around 5 P.M. There followed what is sometimes called the Battle of Smithsburg, although it was not really much of a battle. After deploying some of his men on foot to chase Union pickets out of the gap at Raven Rock, Stuart passed over South Mountain and saw Kilpatrick's men deployed between him and Smithsburg. He sent word to Ferguson's brigade to reverse themselves and rejoin him in the Raven Rock gap, then deployed his artillery. With the advantage of height, the Confederate gunners easily brought the Union troopers under fire, focusing on Kilpatrick's left wing. There seems to have been some kind of serious confusion on the Union side at this point. Orders were misunderstood, men went in the wrong directions, and, under accurate fire from the well-placed Confederate guns, threatened in front by Chambliss's troopers, the Union left collapsed. Seeing he was already in trouble and not wishing to risk his huge haul of prisoners from the night before, Kilpatrick withdrew toward the south (Brown 2005:184).

When Stuart passed over South Mountain, he took the war away from Catoctin. For a few more days, though, Union troops continued filing past down the roads toward Frederick. By a week after Gettysburg, they had all moved on, and peace returned to the mountain.

HARDSCRABBLE FARMS AND TOURISM (1885 TO 1934)

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, America was changing at an unprecedented rate. Many towns were growing into cities, and the larger cities were growing into enormous metropolitan empires. Rural life had always been simply the way most people lived, but by 1900, with millions of people moving to the cities, it was more of a choice. Railroads and steamships made it economical to transport grain and bacon from the highly productive farms of the Midwest to eastern cities, and across the east millions of acres of less productive land went out of production. People who stayed on the land, especially in areas without large tracts of fertile soil, had to scramble for ways to make a living. Many people mixed farming with other kinds of work, putting together a living from garden plots, orchards, a few chickens and pigs, lumbering, wage labor, selling jams or handicrafts, and whatever else came to hand. This period of the Park's history is very well documented. Many records were produced at the time the Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA) was established in the 1930s. Tract files contain descriptions of many of the properties that were acquired and even photographs of some of the buildings (Figures 26 and 27). Other kinds of records, such as newspapers, are also more common. Much archeological evidence of life in this period is readily visible, such as surface artifact scatters, stone walls, and foundations. Especially important is the large group of interviews assembled by the Park with former Park residents. These documents show us life on the mountain from the perspective of people who lived there.

After the Civil War evolving transportation continued to change the landscape. Most important was the arrival of the Western Maryland Railroad, which reached Mechanicstown in 1871. The railroad was originally planned to serve industry, but things turned out differently. Manufacturing in the area was in decline, and the railroad did not reverse the trend. The Catoclin Furnace shut down after its owner died in 1885, and with it went the livelihoods of foundry workers, charcoal burners, and many others. The tanneries had also closed by the end of the nineteenth century. Other industries endured into the twentieth century, such as machine shops, but manufacturing employment continued to fall.

One new economic development of this period was tourism. The growing middle class of America's cities began to spend some of its rising wealth getting away from their crowded, smoky homes. Their favorite destinations were the seashore and the mountains, where the air was clear. John Mifflin Hood, president of the Western Maryland Railroad, saw the opportunity provided by Maryland's mountains, which his railroad connected to Baltimore. He aggressively promoted recreation and leisure as the latest commodities to be extracted from northern and western Maryland. In 1877 Hood constructed a vacation resort at Pen Mar, near the Pennsylvania border. Soon over 100 hotels and boarding houses sprang up at Pen Mar, as did observation towers and dance pavilions (Wehrle 2000). Real estate prices soared in the area. At every stage in development, the Western Maryland Railroad was intimately involved, even helping with the mortgage in 1883 for the Blue Mountain House, one of the large hotels at Pen Mar.

The Mechanicstown-Foxville area never boomed like Pen Mar, but a nascent tourist industry did emerge. Boarding houses sprang up in Mechanicstown. Residents of Rocky Ridge and Graceham organized yearly festivals to attract vacationers. In 1885 the local newspaper declared, "in no



FIGURE 26: Isaiah Smith House

SOURCE: *Catoctin Acquisition Files, Tract 93 (1937)*

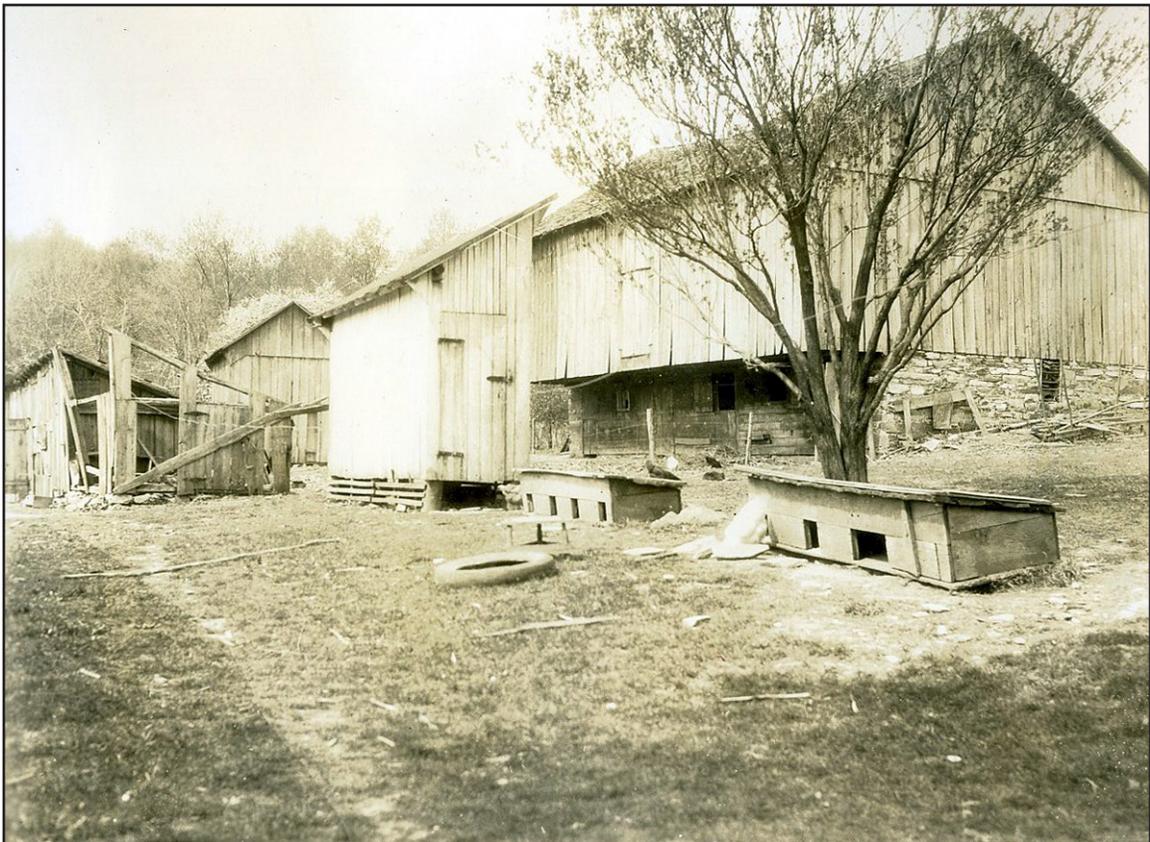


FIGURE 27: Reuben Fox Farm

SOURCE: *Catoctin Acquisition Files, Tract 94 (1937)*

summer since we have known Mechanicstown has there been so large a number of visitors as during this season” (*Catoctin Clarion*, June 23, 1885). Soon community leaders were lamenting the lack of “a first-class summer hotel” in town to further attract vacationers (*Catoctin Clarion*, July 24, 1890). Meanwhile there was also talk of establishing small cottage colonies for vacationers. In 1890 a group of Georgia businessmen arrived in the area with the intention of establishing such a development near Blue Ridge Summit. The small village of Foxville, on the western end of the mountain, also put its best foot forward to lure visitors. By the summer of 1885, Foxville boarding houses like the Glynden House and the Spring Grove House were attracting visitors from Washington, Annapolis, and Baltimore. That same summer Foxville exploded in excitement with the news that President Grover Cleveland would visit the popular Gap Falls Mineral Springs Park near Foxville. The small town went into manic preparations. Hundreds lined the railroad station waiting for the president. But at the last minute, Cleveland apparently decided to vacation elsewhere. “The disappointment was great,” reported the local newspaper (*Catoctin Clarion*, July 23 and 30, 1885).



FIGURE 28: Tourism Advertisement
SOURCE: Frederick County
Historical Society

Some of the homes in the Park served as boarding houses in the summer tourist season. Newspaper accounts and other records of tourism survive (Figure 28). In the 1920s Herbert Hoover regularly went fishing at Catoctin, adding further publicity. The tourist industry was very important for local residents, and the area’s already established reputation as a bucolic escape no doubt helped make it a promising site for the New Deal planners who established the RDA that became Catoctin Mountain Park.

The most famous boarding house on the mountain is the one known as the Bessie Darling House. This picturesque ruin was once an elegant place, perched high on the northern slope of the mountain with a view across the Harbaugh Valley below (Figures 29 and 30). The house is perhaps best known as the location of a famous Depression-era murder: Bessie Darling was killed by her estranged lover, George Schultz, on Halloween in 1933. George Schultz shot Darling and attempted to kill himself. Schultz was tried the following year in Hagerstown and was found guilty of second-degree murder. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison for the crime but was released after serving only 10 years of his sentence (Wehrle 2000).

Bessie Darling’s son, Wesley Darling, inherited the property from his mother and sold it to Alma and John Warren (probably relatives; Bessie Darling’s maiden name was Warren) in 1934. Alma Warren sold the property to the U.S. government in 1936.



FIGURE 29: Bessie Darling House circa 1936

SOURCE: *Catoctin Acquisition Files, Tract 215*



FIGURE 30: Darling House Ruins

Bessie C. Darling is one of the most storied and notorious personalities to reside within the boundaries of Catoctin Mountain Park, but the property she owned on the northern side of the mountain has a rich and varied history both before and after her time. Bessie Darling purchased the tract from a woman named Mary E. Lent in 1917. Mary Lent, like Bessie Darling, was a resident of Baltimore, and appears on the census in Baltimore County rather than Frederick County. Lent was a graduate of the Johns Hopkins nursing program and founded the Baltimore Visiting Nurses Association. She was an advocate of employing visiting nurses to fight the tuberculosis epidemic. Lent was also the first nurse to be appointed to a position in the Public Health Service of the United States, and she was on the Maryland State Board of Medical Examiners. She wrote articles on nursing for several journals, including the *American Journal of Nursing*, and participated in the Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis in 1908. She was also active in the women's suffrage movement as a member of the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore. Mary E. Lent very likely moved to the Deerfield area at the same time the Maryland Tubercular Sanatorium opened in Sabillasville. The Sanatorium was a stop on the rail line that had a station in Deerfield and was therefore convenient to Lent's new home.

Meanwhile, life went on for most of the mountain people as it always had. The money brought by tourists made for a few more jobs, and tourists must have sometimes bought apples, honey, and jam sold by mountain residents. For people who farmed on the mountain, though, times remained hard. Interviews with people who lived in the Park at that time tell us about how people lived, and they also help us understand what some of the things archeologists find at farm sites might be. For example, at two old farm sites in the Park, the archeologists found trenches, a few feet wide and up to 20 feet long, of no obvious function. As Virginia and Dale Draper explained in a YCC interview, the trenches may have been for storing food:

Mrs. Draper: ...one of the things you should have as a food preservation type in the winter was a hole dug out there somewhere lined with straw to—

Interviewer: How does that work? I've heard reference to it. Do you just dig a great big hole? How do you do it?

Mrs. Draper: Sort of a trench, and line it with straw, and fill it with apples and now, certain kinds of apples were the kind you'd most likely put in there. They put pound apples and such apples in, didn't they Dale? That's the way I remember it.

Mr. Draper: Well they put apples in that weren't ripe any time through the winter, that would ripen between then and early spring. They was so hard when you picked 'em you couldn't eat 'em.

Mrs. Draper: You could also put cabbage in, and certain root vegetables.

Other interviews tell us about things we could never learn about from archeology. For example, the Drapers described the tradition of holiday "Belsnickling":

Interviewer: Daddy talked about going belsnickling.

Mrs. Draper: Your daddy went. I did too!

- Interviewer:* Is that around Christmas time?
- Mr. Draper:* Yeah.
- Mrs. Draper:* Christmas and New Year.
- Interviewer:* And you'd go house to house?
- Mr. Draper:* And you'd, you know, all made up and false face and clothes and just try to fool people and then they'd treat you just like Halloween.
- Mrs. Draper:* Just like trick-or-treating. Yeah, the kids now all go trick-or-treating instead of belsnickling and they've lost something because that custom's died out. Nobody goes belsnickling any more.

Belsnickling is a German word, but the custom was not specifically German. Trick-or-treating and Belsnickling just two versions of what folklorists call “aggressive begging,” which was common across Europe. Groups of young people — usually teenagers, not children — would dress up and tour their neighborhoods. At each house they would sing a song, perform a skit, or make a racket with pots and pans, not leaving until they had been given something. Belsnickling was common across the Appalachians. Figure 31 is an old photo of Belsnicklers in West Virginia, probably in the 1930s.

During Prohibition, which lasted from 1919 to 1933, many Americans in all parts of the country took to distilling their own alcohol. Some mountain people had been making whiskey since the 1760s and ignoring laws they disagreed with for just as long, and some of them found Prohibition to be a great business opportunity. The liquor business, like many others, had largely been taken over by big companies with lots of capital, and over the course of the late 1800s most of the small distillers had shut down. Still, some people continued to distill corn liquor for their own use, so the skills lingered and were readily put to use. Some distilling was done secretly on out-of-the-way farms. In some places, though, major commercial operations were set up, making thousands of gallons of a high-quality product. These operations could not be kept secret for long. They survived through the cooperation of local law enforcement. Some sheriffs and deputies



Belsnicklers with their masks on the ground.

FIGURE 31: Belsnicklers SOURCE: West Virginia State Library

were on the take, while others just turned a blind eye toward what looked to them like perfectly legitimate businesses. Because they did much of their work at night, illegal distillers came to be known as moonshiners, and their product as moonshine.

Several stills operated on Catoctin Mountain. William Renner, who was District Forester in the 1930s, remembered one still when he was interviewed:

William Renner: Lord, we'd take timber crews up there, and one time we run across a big moonshine still.

Interviewer: Where was that?

William Renner: Up here on Hog Cabin Flat. That's east of where Alice Willard lived. We had just went over a rise and when we got over this rise there, it had a high run where Thurmont got their water. At Sawcross Spring. There these men had cleaned this out, and boy, they had a fifty gallon copper still there a'makin' whiskey [YCC 1983].

The most famous still at Catoctin was the one known as Blue Blazes. This still, located in the small stream valley uphill from the Visitors' Center, was a large, commercial operation. According to Lester Isenogle, who worked at the still and was interviewed in 1976, the still employed 17 men and produced 5,500 gallons of whiskey every eight hours. On July 31, 1929, five Frederick County sheriff's deputies raided the still, led by an informant named Lester Hoffman. As they approached the still, they met a local man on the trail. According to an account published at the time in the *Frederick Post*, the man asked, "Where are yuh goin'?" The deputies responded, "We want to buy some liquor," and the man said, "Yuh better git out of here if yuh don't want to git shot." The deputies pressed on, and then a shot did ring out. Deputy Clyde Hauver fell, mortally wounded. Who fired the shot is disputed to this day. A moonshiner named Charles Lewis was convicted of the shooting and spent 20 years in prison, but many local people always thought that he was set up and Hauver was really shot in the back by another deputy as part of a love triangle gone bad. In this view the whole raid was a set-up for Hauver's killing. Whoever it was that shot Hauver, when the deputies reached the still, they found the major distillery they had expected, with a boiler from a railroad locomotive and dozens of large vats for storing the product (Figure 32).

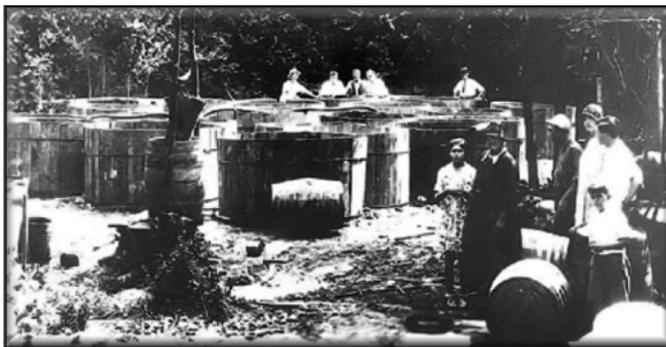


FIGURE 32: Blue Blazes Still

SOURCE: NPS

The Horse Trail Oasis Site

In the summer of 2009, archeologists exploring along Manahan Road found a cellar hole in the woods. The cellar was lined with stone and measured about 16 feet square. Exploring around the site, they dug five shovel tests. The test dug in the bottom of the cellar produced more than a hundred artifacts. This high density of artifacts was interesting on its own, but, even more

exciting, the artifacts all seemed to have been burned. Fire, so destructive of human homes in the days of heating with wood fires and lighting with oil lamps, is a great boon to archeologists. When people abandon a house they usually take most of their possessions with them, leaving the house an empty shell. A house that burns down when people lived in it leaves a very different sort of ruin. A burned house is still full of all the objects that were in it when the fire caught, save perhaps for a few large, valuable, durable items like stoves that were salvaged from the wreckage. This site is therefore a sort of time capsule, holding within its layers of ash all the household possessions of one unlucky family who lived in the Park a century ago. The archeologists therefore returned to the site in 2010 to find out more about it.

During the 2010 testing the archeologists dug five 3x3-foot test units around the site. They found a remarkable number of artifacts, more than 2,600 (Table 9). Nearly 80 percent were visibly burned or melted. The most recent artifacts must have been made after 1880, so the house burned down after that. The site is not shown on the 1911 USGS map of the area, so it was probably gone by then. The ceramics include three pieces of redware pottery that refit and bear the maker's mark of the John Bell pottery of Waynesboro, Pennsylvania.

Table 9. Historic Artifacts from the Burned Deposit in Test Unit 3 at the Horse Trail Oasis Site

ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT	ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT
<i>Kitchen - Ceramics</i>		<i>Faunal</i>	
Ironstone, general (1840-present)	6	Mammal, unidentified	4
Ironstone, embossed (1840-present)	38	Bird, unidentified	3
Ironstone, paneled (1840-1870)	1		
Porcelain, hard-paste, general (1820-present)	16	<i>Architecture</i>	
Porcelain, hard-paste, hand-painted underglaze (1820-present)	5	Nail, machine-cut (1790-present)	302
Porcelain, hard-paste, transfer-printed (1820- present)	11	Nail, wire (1880-present)	48
Redware, general	1	Window glass	1
Redware, brown glaze	2	Screw	6
Redware, other glaze	7		
Redware, slip decorated (1670-1850)	49	<i>Other</i>	
Whiteware, general (1820-present)	1206	Cooking pot, cast iron, fragment	3
Whiteware, shell-edged, blue (1840-1875)	5	Fork, fragment	1
Whiteware, embossed (1820-present)	2	Spoon, bowl	1
Stoneware, gray-bodied, salt-glazed	32	Utensil handle	1
Stoneware, gray-bodied, salt-glazed, Albany slip (1800-1940)	148	Cartridge casing, .22-cal	2
Stoneware, gray-bodied, salt-glazed, Bristol slip (1835-present)	5	Metal can fragments	28
Stoneware, gray-bodied, salt-glazed, Bristol & Albany slips (1880-1950)	23	Hardware	3
<i>Kitchen - Glass</i>		Metal, unidentified	30
Wine bottle, olive green	1	Glass, unidentified, melted	254
Unidentified tableware, clear	1		
Unidentified bottle/jar, amber	2		
Unidentified bottle/jar, aqua	3		
<i>Clothing</i>			
Button, china (1850-present)	2	Total	2253

The house at the Horse Trail Oasis Site matches up with a mapped structure in the 1858 atlas labeled “J. Prior” (Bond 1858). The name is probably the same as the James Pryor who was enumerated in the 1860 census as a laborer living in the area who had a young family and modest house and estate. He was married to Isabella Pryor, and land records show that she sold the land in 1874 to David and Nancy Burhman. The 1873 map of the area (Lake 1873) shows the structure as the property of (or perhaps the residence of) “D. Buhrman,” whose family also owned two structures just to the south along Manahan Road, labeled “H and D Buhrman” (Lake 1873). After 1873 or 1874 and until 1901, the three structures were inhabited by various Buhrman family members who were enumerated in the censuses as farmers. As indicated in the 1860 census, David Burhman was married to a woman named Hannah. In 1880 Hannah Burhman is not listed (presumably because she was deceased), and David Buhrman was living with a wife named Celia. Prior to marrying David Buhrman, Celia’s surname was Williar, and the Williar family had held land near the Buhrmans for many years. David Buhrman died in 1901 and the land was deeded to Isaiah Buhrman. The structure at Site 18FR1000 appears on maps in 1858 and in 1873 but was apparently no longer standing in 1911, as it is not included in the USGS map (1911) of the area. Most likely it burned down between 1900 and 1910.

CATOCTIN RECREATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AREA AND THE NEW DEAL (1934 TO 1941)

In the twentieth century Catoctin Mountain gradually changed from a landscape of farms, mills, and charcoal hearths to a site for recreation. The purchase of the Park by the federal government in the mid-1930s was the culmination of a transition that took place over several decades. After the closing of Catoctin Furnace at the turn of the twentieth century, residents of the area attempted to stave off poverty by accommodating the many tourists that visited the area every summer and fall. By the 1920s, in part because of President Herbert Hoover's frequent visits, the Catoctins had a national reputation as a vacation site (Wehrle 2000). Tourism could not replace all of the work lost when the furnace closed, especially during the Great Depression. Nonetheless, the natural features of the mountain helped to secure federal funding from New Deal-era programs, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).

Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Area

In 1934 the federal government allocated \$25 million to the Land Program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration [FERA] for the purchase of "submarginal" agricultural lands. Government agencies interested in rural land utilization were asked to submit their land-use program plans to the Planning Committee. The National Park Service (NPS) program focused on acquiring lands that "were no longer suitable for agriculture but that, if returned to natural condition and if within a reasonable distance of metropolitan areas, would provide a much needed recreation facility for large numbers of people" (Wirth 1980:177). These properties were called Recreational Demonstration Areas, or RDAs (Wirth 1980:184).

With the RDA program the NPS put to use its experience in comprehensive planning, building scenic roads and trails, and constructing rustic buildings and structures on a massive scale that would transform old farm and pasture land into recreation areas (McClelland 1998:414). The first year of the program brought the investigation of over 400 acres of land and the approval of 25 projects. In 1935 the FERA Land Program was reorganized and placed under control of the Resettlement Administration. By August 1936 the NPS had assumed complete control of the program and over the acquisition and development of RDA projects. In 1937 a total of 46 RDA projects was planned, and by 1941 RDAs covered approximately 400,000 acres in 24 states (Anderson et. al. 1997:39, 48, 52; McClelland 1998:414).

The Catoctin area received approval from the NPS and other agencies on January 7, 1935, for selection as a recreation area. The selection process considered several factors. The land was supposed to be unsuitable for modern farming and appropriate for recreational use. Location within 50 miles of a large city was important, along with interesting surroundings, the availability of water-based recreation, and suitability for campsites (Kirkonnell 1988:10). Soon after Catoctin's selection, the NPS chose Garland B. (Mike) Williams as project manager and W.W. Simmonds to manage land acquisitions (Wehrle 2000).

Land acquisition for the Catoctin Recreation Area (Catoctin RDA) did not go as smoothly as program administrators had hoped. All land was to be purchased from willing sellers rather than

by any form of coercion, such as condemnation. But local land owners were characterized as suspicious and generally unwilling to sell or sign options to sell, and, instead, the acquisition team had to move forward with appraisals after mere verbal indications from owners of their willingness to sell. Even this progress was hindered after rumors spread that the land was to be used as target practice for Fort Ritchie or that a tunnel was to be built under the mountain for traffic to and from Hagerstown. Resistance from the local population led to a scaling back in the size of the project, reducing land acquisition quantities from about 20,000 acres to 10,000 acres by the middle of 1935 (Werhle 2000). By the end of 1935, the land acquisition work for Catoctin RDA was essentially completed (Kirkonnell 1988:20).

Work on the physical development of Catoctin RDA began on January 2, 1935, using WPA funds. Local labor was used to clear underbrush and slash, cut timber, and clear land for camps. Bridges were reconstructed to support heavy traffic, and archeological work began at Catoctin Furnace (Kirkonnell 1988:24). Work at Catoctin RDA provided jobs for hundreds of men in need of work, the total number reaching as high as 595 employed in May 1936. Once initial work was completed, the number dropped to about 250 men who would build the administrative area and cabins, run the sawmill, supervise the rock crusher, and build roads (Kirkonnell 1988:26).

Master planning for the area had begun during the previous year and continued in 1936 with the arrival of landscape architect J.C. Milson in January and project architect A.R. Vanston at the end of March (Kirkonnell 1988:24). Plans for Park buildings were designed according to *Park Structures and Facilities*, a style guide developed for national park development published in 1935. The style manual specified that buildings were to use natural colors, rough stone foundations, and log construction. “While seeking harmony with the natural setting and with the past, rustic structures were to achieve thematic harmony with other buildings in the same park or vicinity. This concept was a part of the tenet of the time that attempted to make parks separate and distinct from the larger world” (Tweed n.d., as cited in Kirkonnell 1988:22).

The RDA program consisted of four project types, including expansions of existing national parks and monuments, wayside areas along highways, expansions of state parks, and vacation areas. The majority of the work involved in creating the RDAs, which included the conservation of water, soil, forest, and wildlife resources, as well as the construction of park facilities such as camps, was to be completed through relief workers and the CCC (United States Department of the Interior 1936:2). In addition to providing recreation areas for lower income groups, the entire RDA process was to serve as a guide to states and municipalities on the ways recreational areas could be planned and developed. It was the intent at the outset to turn over all of the RDAs to state parks or highway departments after their completion.

The most popular and the largest number of RDAs were the vacation areas. Organized camps, partially inspired by Bible and summer camps organized in the decades after the Civil War, gained popularity through the early twentieth century. Progressive reformers established “fresh air” camps that would bring children out of the city and into nature. As the 40-hour week spread, people had increased leisure time, and as more people came to own cars, they could travel longer distances to enjoy it. All of these factors contributed to increasing demand for multi-use recreation areas across the country, including group camps (Unrau and Williss 1983).

The organized camps of the RDAs typically served a maximum of 150 people and were further divided into units that housed no more than 30 people. Each camp was to have a central kitchen and dining hall, a bathhouse, administration buildings, staff quarters, service buildings, and water and sewage buildings. The smaller units in the camps would each have “tents or shelters according to climate,” as well as a unit lodge with outdoor kitchen, and a unit wash house with a latrine. Each overnight shelter, which housed eight campers, was to be “provided for mothers and tots, boys, girls, women, and men, to meet the needs of the social and welfare organizations of communities” (United States Department of the Interior 1936:4).

Catoctin RDA was planned to have four camps and two picnic areas. The camps were Misty Mount, built in 1937 on 30 acres of land (tracts 3, 98, and 146); Greentop, constructed in 1938 up the hill on level ground (tracts 36 and 26a); and Hi-Catoctin and 4-G (not completed), on the ridge of the hill north of Greentop with a view of the Monocacy Valley. Picnic areas were to include a 3-acre day use picnic area on tract 91 (built but later submerged by Hunting Creek) and a large picnic area at Catoctin Furnace that was planned but not built (Kirkonnell 1988:30).

After the announcement of Catoctin RDA, the Maryland League for Crippled Children (MLCC) successfully lobbied for a camp that would accommodate handicapped children. Initially, Misty Mount was designated as the MLCC camp and planning began for any special features needed. Further planning revealed that Misty Mount was too rugged for children in braces or on crutches, and that the flatter Greentop, originally assigned to the YMCA and YWCA, would be a more suitable site for the MLCC camp. Consequently, in the spring of 1937 Misty Mount was built according to standard NPS children’s camp plans and served as MLCC’s camp that year while Greentop was under construction. Buildings at Misty Mount included a dining hall and kitchen, 20 four-cot cabins, seven two-cot cabins, three unit latrines, a two-room camp office, infirmary, central shower house, two-room help quarters, and five-room staff quarters (Kirkonnell 1988:31-33). The camp was leased by the Salvation Army from 1938 until the camp closed at the end of 1941 for wartime use (Kirkonnell 1988:65).

Greentop, unlike other camps at Catoctin RDA, was not built according to NPS standard plans. Planning for the MLCC camp required special accommodations. Rather than having smaller groups of cabins at a distance from the dining hall, cabins at Greentop were designed to be no farther than 600 feet from the dining room. Standard cabins were modified to sleep 10, with four beds on either end of the cabin and beds for two counselors sleeping in the center. Larger kitchen staff quarters were built with attached bathrooms, a canteen constructed, and two recreation lodges were omitted and replaced with additional staff quarters. Smaller changes included a bathtub with grab bar, wood floors (rather than stone) in the wash houses, and a telephone on-site (Kirkonnell 1988:34-36). The camp was constructed in the spring of 1938, in time for MLCC to use it that summer. It was named Greentop that first year, as campers appreciated the green trees on top of the mountain (Kirkonnell 1988:39).

The third camp built at Catoctin RDA, originally known as Hi-Catoctin, was planned and built during 1938 as a three-unit boys’ camp. Unlike Greentop and Misty Mount, buildings constructed at Hi-Catoctin were frame with rough board siding rather than log. They included an infirmary; dining hall; administrative unit that housed six staff members, one nurse, and four kitchen helpers; a swimming pool; craft shop; play field; camp fire circle; central shower;

recreation hall; and a nature lore building. Cabins were the standard for boys' camps, with four-cot cabins, six cabins per unit, for a total capacity of 72 campers and nine leaders (three in each unit). Once construction was underway, Hi-Catoctin was modified to accommodate family groups. Partitions were constructed in nine of the 18 cabins and separate exterior entrances were made, as well as converting latrines and wash houses for use by both sexes. During its first three years of use, from 1939 to 1941, the site was occupied during the summer by Federal Camp Council, Inc. of Washington, D.C., a family organization of federal employees, as a low-cost vacation area for families in the Washington area. After the commencement of World War II, Hi-Catoctin would be transformed into Shangri-La, Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidential retreat (Kirkonnell 1988:39-43).

Hi-Catoctin was the final camp to be developed at Catoctin RDA. Plans called for a girls' camp, known as 4-G, but it never moved beyond planning stages. War in Europe and redistribution of funds contributed to the end of the camp-building era at Catoctin. The final building project constructed using WPA funds was the Blue Blazes Contact Station, built at the intersection of County Road 77 and the new road leading to the group camps (Park Central Road). The original guide post for visitors became a contact station and watchman's quarters, as well as a stone wall and portal, but construction was delayed because of administrative disagreements about the design. Although planning began in 1939, construction was not completed until the end of 1941 (Kirkonnell 1988:43-49). The Contact Station continues to be used today as the park visitor center (with enlargements made in 1964 with Mission 66 funds).

The CCC at Catoctin

On March 31, 1933, the United States Congress passed one of the first pieces of New Deal legislation: the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act. This act established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and had a dual purpose: to relieve unemployment and aid in forest conservation. This law would fundamentally change national and state parks across the nation. The CCC established a young workforce, drawn from the unemployed and the under-employed, that would complete low-skilled yet significant conservation work (Davidson and Jacobs 2004:2-3). By 1935 over 300,000 men between the ages of 18 and 25 had enrolled in the program (Anderson et. al. 1997:31).

The CCC provided a unique labor force that would greatly benefit the country's park system. The work of the CCC was not restricted to the national parks but included the planning and design of hundreds of state, county, and large municipal parks in almost every state and territory. Over 70 percent of the CCC work supervised by the NPS occurred in over 560 non-federal park areas that the NPS helped plan and develop during the 1930s. At the same time the NPS provided technical assistance to state park and other planning agencies in 47 states, 26 counties, and 69 cities (Anderson et. al. 1997:32).

A new CCC camp was built in Catoctin starting on April 1, 1939. Though by that time the CCC workforce had been dramatically reduced, the camp at Catoctin was part of a Congressional measure that allotted more camps to state and national parks. The camp, located near the Central Garage Unit, was built by CCC Company 1374 (Kirkonnell 1988:57). In addition to reforestation efforts, the CCC program included stream improvements to encourage native fish and improve fishing, and planting abandoned fields and cut over forests to benefit wildlife (Kirkonnell

1988:60). The CCC dug the water system for the Blue Blazes Contact Station and for Camp Hi-Catoctin. Various other projects completed for areas outside Catoctin included preparing rails for fences at Gettysburg National Military Park using old fences found in Catoctin and construction of trailside shelters along the Appalachian Trail in Washington County. Fewer young men were available for CCC employment as defense work increased; on November 7, 1941, the CCC camp at Catoctin was abandoned (Kirkonnell 1988:62-64).

British Sailors at Catoctin (Summer 1941)

Catoctin RDA's wartime use began the summer of 1941, when British sailors, whose ships were dry-docked in Baltimore, were shipped to Catoctin by bus for rest and relaxation. Use of Catoctin was requested by the Secretary of the Navy in an agreement between the Navy and the Department of the Interior. The first group of 75 British officers, who arrived June 5, 1941, was housed at Camp Greentop and Mt. Lent, a three-story stone and frame house on tract #215 that was outfitted for short-term use. All other short-term reservations at the Park were canceled for the remainder of the season. Officers were entertained by the residents of local towns, who were impressed by their good manners. The British visitors reciprocated by holding exhibition games of cricket, soccer, and rugby. Sailors remained at Catoctin RDA through November 8, 1941 (Kirkonnell 1988:69-70).

Catoctin RDA's use by the Navy marked both an end and a beginning of an era at Catoctin. The summer of 1941 marked the last summer that camps were used as such for the duration of World War II. The Navy and Department of Interior would soon reach another agreement that would allow Catoctin to play an even more important role in the war effort.

WORLD WAR II AND THE OSS (1941 TO 1945)

Catoctin Mountain Park has a special place in the history of America's intelligence services. During World War II, when our first modern intelligence agencies were created, Catoctin Mountain was used for training by agents of the Office of Strategic Services, or OSS. OSS agents were trained in the Park from mid-1942 to early 1944. This was the crucial period during which the agency was established and trained its first generation of spies and saboteurs. Some of the buildings used by those early agents are still standing in the Park, quietly memorializing them and the war in which they fought.

The OSS was conceived at a time when not just the United States but all of western civilization seemed in danger of falling to the fascist threat. The great speed of early Nazi victories in Poland, Denmark, Norway, and France convinced many people that the German army and air force were not alone responsible. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and American President Franklin Roosevelt both believed rumors that the Germans had been aided by "fifth columns" of traitors and saboteurs. Hindsight suggests that these rumors were greatly exaggerated, but at the time both governments neared panic in their worry about secret activity by German agents and sympathizers. To counter this threat, they obviously needed their own departments of secret warfare. As future OSS chief William J. Donovan put it,

Modern war operates on more fronts than battle fronts. Each combatant seeks to dominate the whole field of communications. No defense system is effective unless it recognizes and deals with this fact. I mean these things especially: the interception and inspection (commonly and erroneously called censorship) of mail and cables; the interception of radio communication; the use of propaganda to penetrate behind enemy lines; the direction of active subversive operations in enemy countries [Chambers 2008:12].

Roosevelt's response was to create the OSS, which was established by military order on June 13, 1942. To direct the new agency he named Donovan, a World War I veteran, New York lawyer, and political insider. Donovan had previously led the Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI), which was the non-departmental intelligence organization founded by Roosevelt less than a year before the OSS. The reorganization gave some of the COI's covert operations activities to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the propaganda efforts to the newly formed Office of War Information. The OSS focused on what were called "special operations" and "unconventional warfare." The methods of the OSS included espionage, counter-intelligence, disinformation, and guerrilla warfare. They would form a "fifth column" to support Allied operations and also counter the similar efforts of the Germans and Japanese. Like every other part of the American military, the OSS grew greatly over the course of the war. Because of its successes, and the access its leaders enjoyed to the president and other key figures, it emerged from the war as "America's primary espionage and unconventional warfare agency" (Chambers 2008:32).

When the OSS was founded, it had a staff of 2,300. By September 1943 it employed 5,000, and it reached its peak size in late 1944 with almost 13,000 employees. The agency was divided into several "branches": Research and Analysis, Morale Operations, Communications, Secret Intelligence, and Special Operations. The Secret Intelligence Branch focused on intelligence gathering and trained or recruited spies to obtain data on Axis nations and their forces. The

Special Operations Branch specialized in sabotage, and its agents were trained to destroy bridges and railroads and to lead guerilla attacks on army outposts and communication and supply lines. Secret Intelligence agents were typically civilians, male or female, and worked alone. Special Operations “combat operatives were uniformed, military personnel, men who worked in teams” (Chambers 2008:40).

Since the United States had no corps of trained intelligence agents or experienced saboteurs, the first focus of the OSS was on training. OSS officials looked toward a newly established training camp operated by the British outside of Toronto, Canada, for inspiration. The training area, known as Camp X, replicated camps operated by the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) in Great Britain. The camp trained men to become a new type of British combatant known as “commandos,” who aimed to “combine all the essentials of irregular bands [of guerillas] with the superior training, equipment, and intelligence of regular troops” (Chambers 2008:51). Initially, OSS agents trained at Camp X and helped the OSS collaborate with the SOE in covert warfare. The SOE were instrumental in training the OSS, which went beyond Camp X. The British advised the OSS in the development of their own training camps and made available “experienced British instructors, manuals, course outlines, and lecture books, as well as British acquired equipment, weaponry, and explosive devices for training in covert operations” (Chambers 2008:52). They also offered use of advanced training schools in Great Britain.

SOE training camps were primarily located in isolated country estates; thus the OSS initially sought similar sites for their first training camps. However, OSS officials rejected several estates located outside of Washington, D.C., as training sites. Ideally, the OSS wanted sites that were “situated in the country[side] and thoroughly isolated from the possible attention of any unauthorized persons, with plenty of land, at least several hundred acres, and located well away from any highway or through-roads and preferably far-distant from other human habitations” (Chambers 2008:53). They were also looking for sites located within a 50-mile radius of Washington, D.C., in order to “facilitate inspection and supervision by higher authority” (Chambers 2008:53). The nearby RDAs at Catoctin and at Chopawamsic in Quantico, Virginia, not only met OSS requirements but were also already owned by the federal government. The two RDAs provided the additional advantages of a rugged, wooded terrain and existing infrastructure, including camping, administrative, and maintenance facilities.

At the onset of World War II, the War Department asked the NPS to use the national parks for military purposes. Although the NPS wanted to participate in the war effort, the military use of the national parks went against NPS’s mission to conserve the parks for the enjoyment of all Americans and future generations. Consequently, the new director of NPS, Newton B. Drury, developed a set of provisions that would control the military’s use of the national parks. Drury wanted to make sure all alternatives to using NPS land had been exhausted, and if military use was essential, permits would require specific conditions to protect the park. Once military use was completed, the military was required to repair any damages and restore the property to its previous condition. Thus, military rest camps were established in a number of parks, including Grand Canyon and Sequoia National Parks and the Catoctin RDA. The War Department also used several parks for training purposes, including Yosemite, Shenandoah, and Yellowstone in addition to Catoctin and Chopawamsic.

In March 1942 the War Department contacted the Department of the Interior with the request to transfer the Catoctin and Chopawamsic RDAs for military use. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and NPS Director Drury did not want the parks turned into military training camps, especially not for the entire duration of the war. As a result Ickes permitted a two-month occupation of the parks and insisted that the military not make any changes to the parks without review and concurrence by the NPS. The military occupation of the parks was set for April 1, 1942.

The *Washington Post* reported on the matter on April 22, 1942. At that time the public only knew that the two parks had been taken over by the Army for “unrevealed purposes” (*Washington Post* 1942:7). The article expressed the concern of the charitable organizations that operated summer camps at Chopawamsic. It also stated that “the permits [authorizing the Army’s use of the parks] will expire in June, but can be renewed, and it is virtually certain they will be” (*Washington Post* 1942:7). The article, of course, was correct: Chopawamsic and Catoctin would shortly become secret training camps for the OSS and would remain so until the end of World War II.

When it became clear that the military had no intention of leaving Chopawamsic or Catoctin, Secretary of the Interior Ickes issued special use permits to the War Department that did not include an expiration date. The permits did come with provisions requiring that “precaution shall be taken to preserve and protect all objects of a geological and historical nature . . . that wherever possible, structures, roads, as well as trees, shrubs, and other natural terrain features, shall remain unmolested . . . that every precaution shall be taken to protect the area from fire and vandalism...” (Chambers 2008:103). The permit required NPS approval of any new structures, and at the termination of military use all structures built by the Army would be transferred to the Department of the Interior or removed by the War Department. In addition, the Army was requested to restore the site to its original condition.

Although most of the permit provisions focused on preserving the current condition of the parks and their CCC-built structures, the Secretary of the Interior also required that all private land acquired by the Army during its occupation be transferred to the Department of Interior upon the end of the Army’s use of the parks. At Catoctin the War Department purchased 275 acres of privately owned land within the Park in 1942, and this land was handed over to the NPS at the end of the war.

The conversion of Catoctin RDA, known as Training Area B, into an OSS training area began on April 1, 1942, almost immediately after the permit was signed by Secretary Ickes. Camp Greentop was designated B-2 and became the center of training activities. It initially housed the entire operation, but in September 1942 permanent maintenance and operations staff moved to B-5, the former CCC camp near what is now Round Meadow. B-5, the headquarters of Special Operations, included offices, housing, motor pool, and storage facilities. Basic training facilities for students and instructional staff remained at B-2 through the duration of the Park’s occupation by the OSS. NPS presence at Catoctin was minimized but not eliminated completely during the transition to military occupancy. Catoctin Park staff was reduced to three: Park Manager Garland B. (“Mike”) Williams, a cleric, and a handyman-mechanic. Staff retained the Park office (at the site of today’s Visitors’ Center), the Park Manager’s residence behind the office, and a Park maintenance facility at Round Meadow.

The specific skills OSS trainees acquired to fulfill their unique mission as OSS agents required the construction of more specialized training facilities at Training Area B. The accelerated basic training involved “learning to handle various weapons and munitions, developing knife-fighting, and other close-combat techniques. It also meant learning about explosives for sabotage. It meant becoming familiar with guerrilla field operations. And perhaps, above all, it required developing and maintaining top physical and mental condition and a predominant attitude of self-confidence, daring, and initiative” (Chambers 2008:114).

The arms training students acquired at B-2 emphasized speed and accuracy under pressure. A pistol range, located in the large field in front of the administration building at B-2, was constructed with a 10- to 20-yard range and dirt behind the targets that were frontal silhouettes of enemy soldiers. Students used .45 caliber Colt, Allied, and enemy weapons, to master “instinctive shooting”: firing quickly and accurately from the hip. Advanced students practiced with moving targets that were concealed behind bushes, windows, or doors. The OSS built a “pistol house” or “training building” at B-2 to simulate the stresses of actual combat. This building, known to trainees as the “haunted house” or “house of horrors,” was built on the site occupied today by the stables (Building 169). The rectangular building, 40x78 feet, had rooms and corridors fitted with hidden targets, sandbag partitions, and moving floors. Students were awakened in the middle of the night, given a .45 caliber pistol and two clips of live ammunition, and sent through the house to test their reflexes, aim, and discrimination of friend from foe under more realistic conditions.

Initially, students traveled to Fort Ritchie for rifle practice and training on various submachine guns, but by the end of 1943 Army Engineers had constructed a small rifle range near B-5. The range was located approximately 500 yards west of the NPS service maintenance area at Round Meadow. The range was constructed to U.S. Army standards, with manually operated targets and earth and concrete butts behind the targets, but it was shorter than the ranges used to train GIs. The OSS was more concerned about close combat in ambush situations than sniper marksmanship. OSS trainees mastered laying down rapid cover fire. Larger groups that could not be accommodated in the small rifle range were still sent to Camp Ritchie. Camp Ritchie housed the U.S. Army’s Military Intelligence School and its ranges had some advantages in that the available large, open spaces did not have the risk of hot ammunition starting fires as in the trees and brush at Catoctin.

The “demolition area,” 15 acres of previously wooded area bulldozed to create an embankment as a backstop for the firing area, was used for training in explosives, hand grenades, and firing rifle-propelled grenades. The exact location of the area is uncertain, but it may have been about 1,000 feet east of the old CCC camp or an area 8,000 feet northeast of the old camp. Caves were dug into the sides of the hill to store munitions and explosives until the move to B-5 in the fall of 1942, when they were stored first in a old wooden building, then in an Army-built magazine about 600 yards north of B-5. Once President Roosevelt chose Catoctin as his retreat in 1942, live ammunition or explosives were prohibited whenever the president was at Shangri-La.

Physical training at B-2 was completed in the field in front of the dining hall. The field was outfitted with ropes for hand-over-hand climbing, a football tacklers’ dummy for jiu-jitsu or similar instruction, an 8-foot wooden platform for jumping and tumbling practice, and several 30x30-foot-square open pits for wrestling, knife-fighting, and close combat exercises. In

addition, staff constructed a “Trainazium,” a 20x20 foot structure consisting of two parallel rows of three 18-foot poles each, connected to each other by horizontal narrower round poles. Students trained atop the poles, learning to build dexterity and agility in high, narrow places. An obstacle course was constructed in Area B that included a thick piece of wire tied between trees and stretching across a creek; trainees crossed the wire by holding on to parallel rope line above the wire. The “demolition trail” on the hillside between areas B-2 and B-5 was booby-trapped with trip wires that would detonate small explosions nearby.

In addition to new construction in training areas, the OSS and Army Corp of Engineers altered preexisting structures for wartime use. The existing buildings at B-2 included cabins, washrooms, dining and recreation areas, and other facilities, but they were built for summertime use by young campers. While the instructional staff resided at B-2, four-camper cabins became two-man cabins for officers, complete with indoor toilets that were either chemical or flush. Larger cabins for officers included shared rooms with partitions, a flush-toilet lavatory, and common room. All cabins were winterized with insulation and wood-burning stoves. Trainees were housed in temporary barracks: inexpensive, rectangular structures with double rows of bunks that could hold 10 men. These flimsy buildings, heated by pot-bellied stoves, were too cold even for the hard cases of the OSS in the cold winter of 1944, so the trainees were moved into four heated cabins nearby. The bathhouse had running water and shower stalls, which were improved with an electric force hot air blower heater.

Before they were moved to B-5 in September 1942, headquarters were at B-2, in what is now the Office (Building 56). Classrooms were behind headquarters and held approximately 15 to 20 persons. The two recreation buildings were used for multiple purposes: as classrooms, theaters, and reading rooms with desks, chairs, books, and magazines. By October 1943 B-2 had a capacity of 149, including 20 officers and 129 enlisted men. It was reported that the number could be expanded to 179 by converting the two recreation halls into barracks lodging 15 men each.

At almost the same time that Training Area B was being created, Hi-Catoctin was being outfitted for a different purpose. In the spring of 1942 the site chosen as the wartime retreat for President Franklin D. Roosevelt; its existing cabins, lodge, and swimming pool were ideal for a fast and low-cost renovation. Cabin Camp 3 included three sub-units; during the war the president’s retreat, named by Roosevelt “Shangri-La,” encompassed only one of them. By July 5, 1942, the Presidential Retreat was sufficiently completed to allow daylong visits to the camp. During the war the OSS training camp occupied portions of the other sub-units, occupying what is now part of Camp David. The Secret Service sought to preserve the secrecy of Shangri-La, even from the neighboring OSS camp. Both the Presidential Retreat and Camp Misty Mount, occupied by the unit of Marines who guarded the retreat, provided an outlet for OSS Operational Groups intent on testing their training.

The creation of the Presidential Retreat was only one of a number of reasons cited in the first recommendations to abandon Training Area B in March 1943. The camp was not suitable for training the Morale Operations Branch, there was limited manpower to staff it, and the Maryland state health department required that a costly new sewage disposal system be installed. Despite these recommendations, the facility was not abandoned until early 1944, at which time it was

transferred to the neighboring Camp Ritchie. Officials planned to use the land for training and to reduce overcrowding at Camp Ritchie.

Areas B-2 and B-5 were never used to alleviate overcrowding, but Catoctin was used by the Marine Corps. Marines occupied B-2 in 1945 after sustaining heavy casualties at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Marines guarding the Presidential Retreat were relocated from Camp Misty Mount to B-2 from January 1946 through March 1947, when their detail at Catoctin was ended. After that time Marines were sent from the Washington, D.C., area, and control of camps at Catoctin was returned to the NPS (NPS 2010b).

Despite the closure of the training areas in 1945, “the valuable contributions to the Allied victory made by [the training areas in Prince William Forest Park and Catoctin] and by Donovan’s organization itself are an important part of the history of World War II. William J. (“Wild Bill”) Donovan believed that intelligence, deception, subversion, and psychological and irregular warfare could spearhead the Allied liberation of Europe and the Far East, and he crafted a novel instrument to serve that purpose” (Chambers 2008). Although the OSS was eventually divided and absorbed into other government agencies, the training methods used by the OSS at the various camps during World War II have been adopted by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Army Special Forces and continue to be used today.

CATOCTIN MOUNTAIN PARK (1945 TO PRESENT)

Catoctin Mountain Park has continued to change over the past 70 years. The first few years after World War II were particularly eventful at Catoctin, with major changes to the boundaries and administration of the Park. Infrastructure changes have marked the more recent history of the park.

When the RDA began acquiring land at Catoctin in the late 1930s, the program intended eventually to turn over the land to the state park system (Kirkonnell 1988:95). The land transfer was slowed by the military use of the Park during the war and then complicated by the establishment of Camp David; federal officials wanted the Presidential Retreat surrounded by federal lands. Maryland officials began to inquire about the land transfer early in 1945 but did not receive a firm answer until December 1945, when President Truman informed Maryland Governor Herbert O'Coner that his administration intended to transfer the property to the NPS, not to the state (Kirkonnell 1988:95-96). Legislation passed Congress in June 1947 to begin transferring land at Catoctin to the Department of the Interior, but tensions remained over the future of the Catoctin RDA land.

In December 1951 Conrad Wirth became director of the NPS, and he moved quickly to resolve the issue. Early in 1952 he notified the Maryland governor of his intentions to transfer the southern area of the Catoctin RDA property to the state (Kirkonnell 1988:100). A ceremony was held June 11, 1954, transferring the southern area (south of Route 77) to the Maryland parks system. The northern portion of the property was transferred out of the RDA program a month later, on July 12, and was renamed Catoctin Mountain Park.

During the period from 1947 to 1954, the final years of the RDA at Catoctin, the public was allowed use of Camp Greentop and other facilities at the Park. The Maryland League for Crippled Children (MLCC) had a long-standing relationship with the RDA and used Camp Greentop for summer programs (Kirkonnell 1988:90-91). Several Girl Scout councils and church groups also used the camps during that period (Kirkonnell 1988:98,139). Use of national parks soared between 1945 and 1955, while funding and planning lagged behind (Kirkonnell 1988:105).

In 1955 the NPS began plans to refurbish and revitalize the park system in a program known as "Mission 66." The goal was to get changes in place by 1966, the 50th anniversary of the national park system. Catoctin Mountain Park was part of the Mission 66 program, and plans at the Park included road and trail improvements, constructing an addition to the Visitors' Center, building a nature museum, adding to the camping facilities, and upgrading swimming pools and utilities.

In the 1960s the Job Corps and Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) became active at Catoctin. A Job Corps Conservation Center was opened at Round Meadow in January 1965, the first of its kind in the nation (Kirkonnell 1988:120). Members of the Corps spent part of their days in job training and part of their days doing maintenance and construction work around the Park. Buildings and trails were maintained and rehabilitated, fences replaced, and vistas cleared. The

Job Corps played a vital role at Catoctin until the Conservation Center program was disbanded by Richard Nixon in 1969 (Kirkonnell 1988:128).

The gap left by the Job Corps was partially filled by the YCC. The YCC was established in 1970 within the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture to provide a program to hire teens to perform conservation programs on public lands (Kirkonnell 1988:130). The first YCC camp at Catoctin took place in 1971, and the group performed a variety of maintenance and trail work. The 1971 program also reportedly performed research on the vertical sawmill at Catoctin (Kirkonnell 1988:131), a project spearheaded by Superintendent Frank Mentzer. The sawmill exhibit itself was built in 1973, with major contributions by the YCC. The YCC's work at Catoctin has continued to the present day.

A Folk Culture Center opened at Catoctin in 1970. WPA and Job Corps buildings at Round Meadow were adapted for use in the historical programs. The whiskey still interpretive exhibit was opened in 1970 as part of the folk culture program (Kirkonnell 1988:166). The charcoal interpretive exhibit was created sometime in the 1970s. The Folk Culture Center evolved during the 1970s and was a big attraction for Park visitors. The Maryland Folklife Festival was held at Catoctin in the late 1970s and brought thousands of people to the Park (Kirkonnell 1988:171). Budget cuts led to a reduction in historical interpretive programs in 1980, and a closing of the Folk Culture Center in 1981 (Kirkonnell 1988:172).

The camp facilities at Catoctin have had relatively minor upgrades over the years. Camp Misty Mount was closed between 1978 and 1982 because of sewer problems, but latrines and a new sewer system were installed in 1983, allowing the camp to reopen (Kirkonnell 1988:140, 177). Camp Greentop had a fire in the dining hall in 1954, which fortunately did not spread to the surrounding buildings (Kirkonnell 1988:201); the dining hall was replaced in 1955. The Spicebush Nature Trail, leading from Camp Greentop, was built by the YCC in 1976 (Kirkonnell 1988:146). Restrooms were upgraded at the camp in 1978.

Over the past 70 years, Catoctin Mountain Park has remained a place where visitors can escape for walks on mountain trails, fly-fishing, and horseback riding. The camps have continued to serve a wide variety of guests, including youth groups and those with special needs. Visitors are treated to mountainous beauty and reminders of earlier times.

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