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Introduction

The City of Frederick today (2003) encompasses a wide range of property types associated with all phases of the region's, and the town's, history. Its boundaries now stretching as far east as the Monocacy River, west to the base of Braddock Mountain, north into rich valley farmland, and south bordering Interstate Route 70, the little market town platted on the classic urban grid in 1745 has engulfed prehistoric Native American riverside sites, eighteenth and nineteenth century farmsteads, fields, and meadows, and replaced them with geometric patterns of roads, houses, and commercial/industrial development. Despite this expansion, historic Frederick-Town retains its market town feel, still a destination in the center of the largest county in Maryland.

First Contact and Initial Settlement (Pre-1745)

The valley of the Monocacy River was actively utilized by Native Americans for thousands of years prior to the eighteenth century European migrations into "western" lands. Traversed by the Monocacy Path, an Indian path leading from today's York, Pennsylvania to the Cumberland Gap in Kentucky, the valley was busy with native hunters, gatherers, and eventually, permanent residents. Archaeological investigations in the Monocacy River region indicate that permanent and semi-permanent settlements began to appear during the Late Woodland period (AD 1000-1450). Eventually, the Native American settlements were driven out by the arrival of European emigrants from the north and east, often following the very paths established by the natives themselves.

The Monocacy River valley lands, later Frederick County, were in that part of Maryland often referred to in colonial period records as "the Barrens." The early landscape was not fully forested and contained areas of relatively open meadow and occasional rock outcrops. Although the natives knew better, these rocky, open areas were perceived as infertile and described as barrens. As a result of the concept that the backcountry was not fertile, settlement was not encouraged at first.

Frederick County, established as a political entity in 1748, was partitioned from Prince Georges County as settlement of western Maryland proceeded. Prior to Frederick County's 1748 establishment, activity began more than 20 years earlier in the 1720s when fur traders passed through and also inhabited the area. Although these men established some sort of initial habitations and shelters, they did not officially hold title to the land. They tended to range over a large area, trading with the Indians. At the same time, Germans and Dutch from Pennsylvania and places further north passed through Maryland's Piedmont and Great Valley sections enroute to settle lands in Virginia. John

¹ Paul A. W. Wallace, <u>Indian Paths of Pennsylvania</u>, (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1965), p. 105.

² Maureen Kavanagh, "Archeological Resources of the Monocacy River Region," (Report prepared for: MHT, Frederick Co. Planning Commission, Carroll Co. Planning and Zoning, 1982), p. 79.

van Metre was the first of these travelers to actually acquire title to land in present day Frederick County in 1725.³

In 1732 when Lord Baltimore made a visit to Maryland, (the first in 50 years), he established the use of paper currency to help the economy and instituted a system of quitrent collections. He appointed Daniel Dulaney to set up and administer the system paying him a substantial salary to do it. When in the same year, Lord Baltimore opened the backcountry for settlement, Dulaney and other merchant-planters invested in western land for future development.⁴

Daniel Dulaney (1683-1753) came to Maryland as an indentured servant in 1703 and went on to become one of its most wealthy and influential citizens. He served his indenture as a clerk in the law office of George Plater, who was for a time attorney general for the colony. Dulaney, after completing his term of work, set up his own law practice. In addition to his duties for Lord Baltimore, Dulaney handled much of Charles Carroll's legal business and tended his lucrative practice. In 1744, Dulaney made a visit to the frontier and saw first-hand the migration route of Germans through the province. He then pursued land for speculation with a vengeance.

He went after his western enterprise with such ardor that his neighbors questioned his sanity. Already a large landholder, he patented 20,000 acres of western land within half a decade, choice tracts selected and surveyed by his versatile agent [Thomas] Cresap. Dulaney went on to contact Dutch shippers and encourage them to bring Palatine Germans to the infant port of Baltimore, where his younger son, Walter took them in hand. Then, to induce the immigrants to purchase from him, he sold farms on long-term mortgages and laid out a market town, Frederick, as a commercial center for the west on a large tract he owned. Thus, combining development with speculation, Dulaney enlarged a respectable fortune into an immense one.⁶

The notion that the land might not be fertile did not hold up to scrutiny, nor had wealthy planter-merchants from eastern Maryland been discouraged from purchasing large tracts as investments. Dulaney also wrote to Lord Baltimore, upon his return from a trip to the Frederick County frontier in 1744, "I have not been long returned from a journey into the back woods, as far as the Temporary Line between this province and Pennsylvania, where I had the pleasure of seeing a most delightful Country, a Country My Lord, the Equals (if it does not exceed) any in America for natural advantages, such as rich and fertile soil, well furnished with timber of all sorts, abounding with limestone, and stone fit for building, good slate and some Marble and to Crown all, very healthy."

³ Patent for "Meadow," map #556, Tracey collection, Carroll Co. Hist. Soc., Westminster, MD.

⁴ Many had, in fact, already acquired large tracts of western land beginning in the 1720s with an eye to future development.

⁵Aubrey C. Land, "Provincial Maryland," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds. Maryland, A History, (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), p. 30.

⁶Ibid. quoting Maryland <u>Archives</u>, 28:41.

⁷Ibid. p. 341-342.

In 1744, possibly as a result of his trip to the frontier, Daniel Dulaney bought *Taskers Chance* from the heirs of Benjamin Tasker. He advertised the land for sale to Palatine Germans from Pennsylvania. The period 1749-1754 saw the greatest immigration of Germans into Pennsylvania, averaging almost six thousand people per year. Some of those people moved through, into Maryland. Very soon, however, German migration also came directly through Annapolis and Alexandria. Annapolis records indicate that Thomas Schley landed 100 Palatinate families there in 1735, 150 passengers from Cowes were aboard the ship *Integrity* in 1752, 160 were aboard the *Barclay* and 300 on the *Friendship* in 1753, and 450 Palatinate passengers were again on the *Friendship* in 1755. 8

Early agricultural development and settlement on the fertile lands of western Maryland was by no means solely the realm of German immigrant farmers. A number of British planters had also seen the potential of the land, although initially for the production of tobacco. In July of 1722, Philemon Lloyd noted that Charles Carroll the Settler had earlier purchased from the Indians, a "Lycence to take up his tract of land in ye Fork of the Patowmeck and Monockkesey." This transaction occurred before Charles the Settler's death in 1720.9 Charles Carroll the Settler was a land agent for Lord Baltimore and came to Maryland from Ireland in 1688. For his work for the Calverts, he was awarded the 10,000-acre tract, for which he apparently later purchased the "Lycence" from the Indians in order to claim the land. Upon Carroll's death, the manor, called Carrollton passed to his son, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and subsequently was given to his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. The manor was actually surveyed after the first Charles Carroll's death, in 1723, apparently as part of the settlement of his estate. Carrollton Manor originally produced tobacco but later switched to the lucrative production of grain and was said to have been more productive than the Carroll family plantation in Howard County known as Doughoregan Manor. 10 In May 1724, Daniel Dulaney made a survey for Lord Baltimore (Charles Calvert, II) of a 10,000-acre tract called Monocacy Manor. Monocacy Manor followed the east side of the River in the vicinity of Glade Creek. Eventually, Monocacy Manor was divided into 85 smaller parcels, which were leased out. These farms also concentrated on the production of wheat and other grains. 11

⁵ Grace L. Tracey and John P. Dern, <u>Pioneers of Old Monocacy</u>, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., p. 13, citing Philemon Lloyd to Co-partners, July 28, 1722, Calvert Papers, MS 174, Document 1079, Maryland Historical Society. Carroll's land was eventually defined as "Carrollton" which was surveyed April 20, 1723.

⁸Kenneth Short, "Historic Architectural resources of Carroll County," draft Multiple Property Documentation Form, citing Porter p. 338, 345-6, citing Philip E. Pendleton <u>Oley Valley Heritage: The Colonial years 1700-1775</u>, (Birdsboro, PA: the Pennsylvania German Society and the Oley Heritage Association, 1994) p. 15; and Dieter Cunz, <u>The Maryland Germans: A History</u>, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press, 1948), p. 918.

¹⁰ Thomas O'Brien Hanley, <u>Charles Carroll of Carrollton</u>, (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1970), p. 141; George Ely Russell, <u>Moravian Families of Carroll's Manor, Frederick County, Maryland</u>, (New Market, MD: Catoctin Press, 1996), p. 19.

Gregory A. Stiverson, <u>Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-Century Maryland</u>, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press) p. 91.

On a much smaller scale, William Beatty and family were listed as taxables by 1733 in Monocosie Hundred on 1,000 acres of *Dulaney's Lott* purchased by Susannah Beatty from Daniel Dulaney.¹² By 1742, there were enough members of the England-based Anglican Church living in the region to justify the creation of a new western parish from Prince George's Parish, christened All Saints' Parish.¹³

Establishing and Growing Frederick-Town (1745-1799)

In 1745, Daniel Dulaney laid out the town of Frederick on part of *Taskers Chance*. The town was named for Frederick Calvert, Sixth (and last) Lord Baltimore. Daniel Dulaney's vision for Frederick-Town was clear, having encouraged the development of the surrounding area with productive grain farms, his new town would serve as a regional market town; a place to gather agricultural products for refinement, shipment or local sale, and where goods could be purchased by town residents and the surrounding community.¹⁴ In 1746, Dulaney received permission from the Proprietary to hold a weekly market at Frederick-Town, and by 1747 he was placing advertisements in the Maryland Gazette for a fair "at Frederick-Town, near Monocacy," and a market "to be held there every Saturday." Placement of the town grid over part of Carroll Creek also ensured the necessary industrial development, particularly of flour and gristmills to process the grain for shipment to Baltimore. Jacob Bentz' mill, also known as Ramsburg's stone mill, Brunner's Mill, Zentz' Mill, or Old Town Mill, located on what is now Bentz Street at Baker Park, was established on the western edge of the town limits on Carroll's Creek by 1787.¹⁶

But a market town was not all that Daniel Dulaney, Senior (also known as the elder or the immigrant) had in mind. With the phenomenal growth of the western lands over just a few years, Frederick-Town was destined to serve as the county seat of the new Frederick County, created as a political entity in 1748, just three years after the establishment of Frederick-Town. As early as 1745, Daniel Dulaney was already lobbying for the creation of a new county, noting in a letter to then proprietary governor Samuel Ogle:

¹² Tracey and Dern, p. 368, List of Taxables, 1733. This property was subdivided among the children of Susannah Beatty in 1739 (Princes George's Co. deeds Y/148, Y/149, Y/150, and Y/242), it was centered on the acreage now part of the Glade Valley Farms on Liberty Road east of Frederick.

¹³ Ibid, p. 371, "Petitioners Seeking Creation of All Saints' Parish, 1742." (The Maryland Diocesan Archives, on deposit in the Maryland Historical Society). Although 23 of the 200 petitioners were, in fact, German Lutherans according to Tracey and Dern.

¹⁴ Diane Shaw Wasch, "City Building in Frederick, Maryland 1810-1860," (thesis, George Washington University, 1990), p. 4.

¹⁵ Wasch, p. 16; <u>Maryland Gazette</u>, Sept. 1, 1747, copy in files of The Great Frederick Fair administrative office, Frederick, MD.

¹⁶ Timothy L. Cannon, Tom Gorsline, and Nancy F. Whitmore, <u>Pictorial History of Frederick</u> <u>Maryland: The First 250 Years 1745-1995</u>, (Frederick, MD: Key Publishing Group, 1995), p. 28; the mill is also referenced in the "Book of Field Notes," an original manuscript which includes notes from 1821 survey, an 1870 survey, and 1899 survey, Engineering Office, Frederick City Hall, Frederick, MD. Sanborn Maps show this mill's date as 1719 although that date seems unlikely, it is possible an early mill operated at this location as early as 1749.

One of the greatest inconveniences they [western settlers] labor under is the great distance they are from the Court house.¹⁷

Dulaney's son, Daniel, Junior, a young, up-and-coming lawyer, would be the first of many sons of Annapolis who would use this regional center as their springboard to a political career in Maryland.¹⁸ Frederick-Town thus became (and remains) a market center as well as a political center, teaming with goods and services, and with visitors and residents requiring both.

Sited far from navigable water, the most common form of transportation in Maryland during the eighteenth century, Dulaney's choice of location for Frederick-Town was unusual. However, again it appears that Dulaney had a plan. Sited near a number of land routes, commonly known as the Monocacy Roads for their location in the Monocacy River valley, the pathways led east-west and north-south. A map of the possible routes of the various Monocacy Roads (Figure 1, Tracey & Dern map) shows that the location of Frederick-Town (on the west side of Monocacy River between Biggs and Hughes Fords) was surrounded by paths, all of them easily extended to bisect the fledgling town. Although no original plat of Frederick-Town (1745) is known to exist, the 1782 plat (Figure 2, Duvall Plat) reveals the alignment of the main streets, Market and Patrick Streets, were probably influenced by the Manor Monocacy Road (north-south) and the Annapolis Road (east-west). In 1755, the east-west route would be formally determined and improved for wagon travel by General Braddock's army as they made their way west to Fort Duquesne. And by 1782, "Pattricks Street" running east was known as the "Road to Baltimore" (Figure 2, Duvall Plat).

The conveyance of Frederick-Town lots appears to have begun fairly quickly, although it is difficult to discern in the official records. Daniel Dulaney did not record any deeds for lots in Frederick-Town in the Prince George's County land office prior to the establishment of Frederick County in 1748. Perhaps it was his intention to await establishment of the new county before proving his deeds. Early Frederick County land records indicate that Lots 7, 8, and 9 had been reserved for the "English Church," known as All Saints Church (and hence located on All Saints Street), the Anglican denomination officially supported by the colonial Maryland government and of which Daniel Dulaney was a member. Three acres, Lots 73-78, were also set aside for the Courthouse, and in

¹⁷ Daniel Dulany to [Ogle], 8 April 1745, Dulany Papers, MS 1265, box 2, MdHS, as cited in James Douglas Rice, <u>Crime and Punishment in Frederick County and Maryland, 1748-1837: A Study in Culture</u>, Society, and Law, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1994, p. 35.

¹⁸ Millard Milburn Rice, <u>This Was the Life: Excerpts from the Judgement Records of Frederick County, Maryland 1748-1765</u>, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publications Co., 1984), p. 1, March Court 1748, Henry Darnall, Daniel Dulany, Jr., William Cummings, Stephen Bordley, Edward Dorsey, and Richard Chase all "qualified" as attorneys in Frederick County. Later Frederick lawyers of note include Arthur Shaff, Roger Brooke Taney, and Francis Scott Key.

¹⁹ Tracey and Dern, p. 51, "Probable Routes of Early Monocacy Roads," is based on references in early records, patents, and deeds. Tracey and Dern cite a 1725 Act of the Maryland Assembly, which described the "backwoods" of Maryland: "northwestward of Monocacy River from the mouth thereof, up the same River to the fording place where the Conestoga Path crosses the same, near one Albine's plantation..." (pp. 50-52).

1752, the trustees of the Lutheran Church were given Lot 89 by Dulaney.²⁰ Research by Dr. Grace Tracey and John Dern of the quitrent records associated with Dulaney's deeds reveals that, in fact, a number of lots had been "rented" several years prior to conveyance of the deed.²¹ First among these was Thomas Schley, whose quitrents on four lots began in 1746, although he did not obtain title until 1753. One hundred years later, Frederick resident Jacob Engelbrecht noted in his diary:

The oldest house in Frederick - this venerable house at N.E. corner of the Alley (Mrs. Stein's Alley) in Patrick Street is now being torn down to be replaced by a brick house by Mr. Willaim Neidhardt (Baker) who now owns it. The old house was built by John Thomas Schley in 1745 or 46 and was always considered the oldest house in our town - the gable end of the house fronted on Patrick Street. Mrs. Catharine Bier, Mr. J.T. Schley's daughter, who died in Baltimore May 26, 1843 - aged 95 years was born in the house, and was always considered the first person born in Frederick after it was laid out as a town.

Wednesday August 17, 1853 8 o'clock AM²²

The land area on which Frederick-Town was sited was highly suitable for town building. Jonas Green, in advertising the newly platted town noted on a 1748 broadside:

The place is very Rich and Fertile...In a circle of three or four Miles round the Place, there are Stone for Walls, Lime Stone, Slate and Timber, sufficient to build a large City.²³

Building probably began primarily with log construction; Jacob Engelbrecht noted that the old Schley house was replaced with a brick house, indicating the earlier house was likely of log or timber frame construction. Indeed, a number of houses on the more northern Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Streets, were described throughout the diary as constructed of log, generally described by Engelbrecht at the time of their fiery demise.²⁴ Among the earliest descriptions of Frederick-Town was that of English traveler William Eddes in 1772. Eddes, with a hint of Anglican arrogance, described Frederick thus:

This place exceeds Annapolis in size, and in the number of inhabitants. It contains one large and convenient church for the members of the established religion; and several chapels for the accommodation of the

²⁰ Frederick County Land Records, Deed Book B, page 267 (Courthouse and jail), Deed Book B, page 570 (Lutheran Church)

²¹ Tracey and Dern, p. 265.

²² Jacob Engelbrecht, The Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, CD-ROM version, Historical Society of Frederick County, Inc., 2001, p. 744 (print version, Vol. 2, p. 593).

²³ Rice, p. 31

²⁴ Statistical analysis of building materials listed in the 1825 and 1835 Frederick tax assessments was done by Diane Shaw Wasch (see tables attached in Appendix I), in 1825, 28.5% of Frederick buildings were constructed of log and 50.5% were brick; Wasch, p. 146 and 153.

German and other dissenters. The buildings, though mostly of wood, have a neat and regular appearance.²⁵

But certainly there were a number of buildings constructed of stone and brick as well. Contemporary descriptions include one given by John F.D. Smyth in 1775, a Tory prisoner held in the home of Charles Beatty on Market Street. Smyth described Frederick as "built of brick and stone, there being very few timber houses in it." And in 1789, Jedidiah Morse described the town with approximately 300 houses, "mostly brick and stone."

It is most likely that a traveler's impression of Frederick depended upon what part of town he passed through. The first courthouse in Frederick-Town, located on the Courthouse Square between Court Street and Record Street, was reportedly constructed of timber in 1752 and replaced with an elegant Georgian styled brick building in 1785 (Figure 3, Sachse print). On East Church Street, the stone German Reformed Trinity Chapel replaced an earlier chapel building in 1767 (Figure 4, Sachse print). The brick Market House was constructed in 1769 on Market Street at Market Square (Figure 5, Sachse print). Although many of the earlier dwelling houses and commercial buildings are now gone, a number of late eighteenth century buildings remain, primarily on Market and Patrick Streets. Built almost exclusively of brick and stone, some are embedded within later additions and façades.

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, Frederick-Town continued to grow in size and importance, both as a market town and as a political center, fueled by the production of wheat on the surrounding farms. In 1775, Tory prisoner John Smyth noted:

...The land around Frederick Town is heavy, strong, and rich, well situated for wheat, with which it abounds...Frederick Town is not so large as Alexandria, but more considerable than Williamsburg, or Annapolis, and contains upwards of 2,000 inhabitants.²⁹

As the importance of Maryland's port city of Baltimore grew exponentially, largely the result of growing demand for the agricultural products of the rich west-central farmland, so too did Frederick grow as the regional gathering point for those products. The difficulties of travel helped to promote this development of regional commerce and

²⁵ William Eddes, <u>Letters From America</u>, 1772, as cited in Amy Lee Huffman Reed and Marie LaForge Burns, <u>In and Out of Frederick Town: Colonial Occupations</u>, (Frederick, MD: self-published, 1985), p. 78.

^{1985),} p. 78.

²⁶ John F.D. Smyth, <u>Tour in the U.S. of A.</u>, (London: G. Robinson, 1784), Vol. 2, p. 256, as cited in Wasch, p. 31.

²⁷ Jedidiah Morse, <u>The American Geography</u>, (Elizabethtown, NJ: Shepard Kollock, 1789; reprint NY: Arno Press, 1970, p. 354), as cited in Wasch, p. 31.

²⁸ Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 15; Note: the 1854 Sachse & Co. "View of Frederick, Maryland" includes a sketch of the Frederick Courthouse with the date 1752, however, the building appears to be the later brick Courthouse built in 1785. The brick Courthouse now standing was constructed in 1862.

²⁹ Wasch, p. 33.

manufacturing. The processing of grain into flour or whiskey is an example of local industry flourishing because transportation to distant processing facilities was difficult and expensive. Transporting bulky whole grains was more expensive than shipping grain already processed into flour, meal or whiskey. Frederick County, the heart of the mid-Atlantic wheat belt, had more processing facilities than Baltimore City and Baltimore County. Refined products from the region were brought to Frederick for shipment by wagon to the port of Baltimore from whence they were shipped to New England, the West Indies, and Europe (via England).

As colonial relations with England began to disintegrate over British trade policies and taxation in the 1760s, Frederick residents demonstrated their frontier independence. Spurred by the writings of Daniel Dulaney, the younger, in opposition to the Stamp Act of 1765, the Frederick County court instructed local business to continue without the required taxation stamps.³⁰ In 1776, "native son" Charles Carroll of Carrollton was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Thomas Johnson, also closely tied to the western county, became the first governor of the new free State of Maryland. Firmly, though not unanimously, within the revolutionary ranks by 1777, Frederick became home to the substantial stone barracks constructed to house American troops. These later became known as the Hessian Barracks after the quarters were used to house Hessian mercenary prisoners of war in 1781.³¹

Following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, "Tory" lands were confiscated by the State of Maryland and the quitrent system was abolished. Both impacted Frederick's founding family, the Dulaneys. Although Daniel Dulaney, Jr. (the younger) remained neutral during the war and therefore not labeled a Tory and did not lose land, his son Daniel, by then owner of the Frederick-Town quitrents, was a Tory. In 1782, Frederick-Town was resurveyed and platted as confiscated property and the Dulaney family lost its claim. The earliest known extant plat of Frederick's grid, the 1782 map shows the original 144 lots laid out by Daniel Dulaney, Sr., with additional lots surveyed by Daniel, Jr. and several additions by adjoining landowners (Figure 2, Duvall Plat). Surveyor Samuel Duvall described the plat:

All the streets laid off in this Town are 60 feet wide except Pence [Bentz] and North [Seventh] Streets, which are only 33 feet—

The Lotts from Patricks Street to the Creek are 355 feet in Lenth [sic] – there being a deduction of 30 feet in Front for Street way, and Eight feet for Watter [sic] way—

The Lotts from Patricks Street to Church Street are 363 feet in Lenth and 62 feet in Breadth—

All the rest of Lotts in Frederick Town are 393 feet long and 62 feet wide – Except some on the west side which Lays Irrigular, from the situation of the Land Those Lotts have the Lenth of 393 feet and the width in front marked on the Platt in Each of them—

³⁰ Walsh and Fox, p. 66.

³¹ Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 21.

The Course of the Streets from East to West are S.85° E— Market Street, and the Alleys from North to South are 56° W-Each Alley is 16 feet wide—

The Lotts from No. 1 to 340 appear to have been Originally laid out as Frederick Town, and thought for the most part to be on Taskers Chance. but now part of the Lots No. 217, 218, parts of 261, 2, 3, &, 4, Lays in the Lands of Jacob Bentz, occasioned I presume by the Variation of the Compass – from No 341 to 351 are Lots added to the Town – by

S. Duvall.³²

By 1790, Frederick-Town had taken on the appearance and feel of a small city, active with trade, industry, and politics. Town lots had been acquired and subdivided by blacksmiths, tanners, tailors, and merchants. Numerous taverns and inns dotted the city; there were saddlers, hatters, millers and gunsmiths; shoemakers and cordwainers; butchers and grocers; court clerks, physicians, carpenters and weavers, brick makers, masons, and schoolmasters.³³ Although said to be dominated by German immigrants and descendents,³⁴ Frederick-Town was remarkably diverse, with cultural division lines blurring as immigrant groups assimilated. Among the earliest settlers in Frederick were, of course, the Germans and the English; initially the town had one Anglican church and two German churches, the Lutheran and the German Reformed. But another group, generally overlooked, was also located in Frederick at its initial settlement, the French.

French Huguenots had arrived in Maryland around the middle of the seventeenth century seeking freedom to practice their protestant religion.³⁵ After settling in southern Maryland, a number of these French descended families migrated northwest to Frederick, among them the Duval's (Duvall), DeButts', Delaughter, and Delaplaine. In the 1790s they were joined by French refugees from St. Domingue, primarily Catholic, fleeing the slave rebellion there. A newspaper advertisement of 1824 announced:

³² Text written on the 1876 certified copy of the 1782 plat surveyed by Samuel Duvall, "Lots in Frederick Town." Engineering Office, Frederick City Hall, Frederick, MD. Note: An original 1787 plat by Lawrence Brengle, nearly identical to the 1782 plat, is also located in the Engineering Office at Frederick City Hall but is in extremely fragile condition and so was not copied for this context.

³³ Amy Lee Huffman Reed and Marie LaForge Burns, In and Out of Frederick Town: Colonial Occupations, (Frederick, MD: self-published, 1985), pp. 34-43. Another description of Frederick resident's occupations in the 1790s can be found in Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland, (Philadelphia: Louis H. Evarts, 1882), pp. 492-493.

³⁴ Two journals written by German soldiers in Frederick during the Revolutionary War note the heavy German presence in the town. Du Roi, the Elder, Lt. 1st Div. of Brunswick forces described Frederick in 1778 as "a beautiful little town inhabited by Germans." Stephan Popp, of the Bayreuth Regiment held prisoner in the stone barracks at Frederick in 1783 noted, "...a great number of the inhabitants were Germans..." Both journals were cited in Ernest Thomas Schwartz, Jr., "Maryland in the Eyes of German Travelers from 1776 to 1864," (thesis, University of Maryland, 1959, in the Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD).

35 Gregory A. Wood, <u>The French Presence in Maryland 1524-1800</u>, (Baltimore, MD: Gateway)

Press, Inc., 1978), p. 21.

All those citizens residing in the part of Frederick City called Paris, favorable to erecting an Arch at the corner of Gay and Market Streets in honor of General Lafayette, are requested to meet at the tavern of M.E. Bartgis this evening at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of erecting of said Arch. (signed) A citizen of Paris.³⁶

Jacob Engelbrecht noted in his diary on December 30, 1824 that one of the two triumphal arches raised for Lafayette's visit was located on the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, indicating the probable location of "Paris;" and two years later, in 1826, Engelbrecht noted a circus performing "East 4th street outside St. Domingo."³⁷ The 1790 U.S. Population Census of Frederick County indicated approximately 265 residents of French descent (judged by last names), a small but significant percentage.³⁸

African-Americans, both slave and free, were also present in Frederick County in significant numbers by 1790, representing nearly 13% of the total population of the county.³⁹ Although during this period, only a few slave owners in mid Maryland had more than 20 or so slaves, records suggest that German farmers, long believed to have been opposed to slavery often owned slaves for domestic and farm labor.

Estimates vary as to the relative percentages the various ethnic groups represented in Frederick County and Frederick-Town by 1790. A literal reading of the 1790 U.S. Population Census using names of Heads of Household to judge ethnicity, estimated that approximately 73% of county residents were of English descent and 20% of German. However, anglicized names are likely to have skewed that percentage spread to some degree. Study of Frederick County voting rolls and court records has led some researchers to estimate as much as 60-70% of Frederick County residents in 1790 to be of German descent. It is likely that the actual number lies somewhere in between at approximately 40-50% German, with the remaining percentages representing English, Scotch/Irish (generally combined), Welsh, French, etc. African-Americans were, at the time, listed within a separate group of "Other Free" and "Slave." According to Thomas Scharf, historian writing in the 1880s, the total number of inhabitants in Frederick-Town in 1797 was 2,606, of whom 306 were "colored."

The dominant ethnic groups of Frederick County significantly influenced the vernacular style of building construction found throughout the county and Frederick-Town. Quoting several nineteenth century Frederick residents, architectural historian Diane Shaw Wasch defined the German influence on the architecture of the region:

³⁶ <u>Political Intelligencer</u>, December 4, 1824, as cited in Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Lafayette's Visit In Frederick, 1824," reprinted from <u>Maryland Historical Magazine</u>, XLIX, No. 4, Dec., 1954, p. 291, Historical Society of Frederick County, Frederick, MD.

³⁷ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 188 and p. 252.

³⁸ A Century of Population Growth, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970), p. 272.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 203. Of the 3,854 blacks in the county, 3,641 were enslaved and 213 were free.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 272.

⁴¹ Rice, p. 28, citing Elizabeth Kessel, "Germans in the Making of Frederick County."

⁴² Ibid. p. 492

Much of Frederick's early nineteenth-century cityscape consisted of eighteenth-century buildings, constructed by the first generation settlers. Both British and German settlers built houses in Frederick, yet the German influence most caught the imagination of subsequent generations, perhaps because it became antiquated as assimilation occurred. In 1876, Dr. Lewis Steiner explained,

"Frederick was laid out by an English gentleman, but its lots and the rich farms immediately surrounding were soon taken up by a host of German immigrants...the style of houses and barns introduced was that of Germany rather than that of English origin...these immigrants brought with them their mother tongue and a familiar form of worship and architecture."

Log houses of one-to one-and-one-half-stories with two to three rooms arranged around a massive central chimney characterized German folk housing. The three rooms consisted of the kitchen or <u>Kuche</u>, bed chamber or <u>Kammer</u>, and parlor or <u>Stube</u>.

Frederick's early settlers built this form of the German folk house, recalled a nineteenth-century resident:

"Frederick presents...the characteristic appearance of a German Provincial town. Though its antiquated dwellings, with their cumbrous chimneys, which seemed as if they were the original buildings and the houses constructed around them, the generous fireplaces, narrow, crooked stairways, hipped roofs, peaked gables and chinked wall, the diminutive-paned windows of various shapes and sizes, the transversely-bisected doors and clumsy wooded 'balcons' have given way to the march of progress and been superseded by more modern, though possibly less comfortable structures, a few of the ancient landmarks remain."

Catherine Susannah Markell went on to describe one particular log house, but with a sense of nostalgia that marked it as a vanishing type.⁴³

Indeed, Frederick-Town's appearance would begin to change with the close of the eighteenth century, as prosperity, acculturation, and the popular, national architectural styles would begin to influence construction over traditional techniques. William Eddes, a visitor to Frederick-Town in 1772, had a clear vision of what the town was well on its way to becoming into the nineteenth century, noting, "From an humble beginning has Frederick Town arisen to its present flourishing state."

¹⁴ Eddes, <u>Letters From America</u>, as cited in Reed and Burns, p. 78.

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⁴³ Wasch, p. 126, citing Lewis H. Steiner, <u>The Creation of Frederick: An 1876 Centennial</u> <u>Address</u>, (pamphlet in Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD); and Catherine Susannah (Thomas) Markell, <u>Short Stories of Life in Frederick in 1830</u>, (manuscript, n.d.), p. 14.

The Peak Years (1800-1860)

French traveler, Duc de La Rochefoucald Liancourt, viewed Frederick as he passed through in 1800:

[Fredericktown] carries on a considerable trade with the backcountry, which it supplies with merchandize drawn from Baltimore, and transmits to the latter place in return the produce of the back country which is rich, fruitful, and thickly settled; in general, industry is beyond comparison more active there than in Virginia.⁴⁵

Frederick and the surrounding region had prospered during and after the Revolutionary War through the demands of feeding the Continental army and higher prices for grain overseas due to the French Revolution and crop failures in Europe.

The potential of the western lands of Maryland and beyond did not go unnoticed by the young United States government. George Washington had attempted to develop the upper Potomac River as a transportation route from the western territories through the 1790s. Although the Potomac Navigation Company was never successful, it served to inspire later transportation systems. Merchants and farmers in the Frederick area maintained a dream of navigating the Monocacy River well into the nineteenth century.

In 1806 the Thomas Jefferson administration began the construction of a federal highway that would lead to the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase lands comprising most of the central portion of the United States. The "National Road" began in Cumberland, Maryland and led to Wheeling in Virginia (West Virginia) and later on to Terre Haute, Indiana. The main wagon road from Baltimore to Cumberland, a collection of privately owned and operated turnpike segments, was eventually upgraded and consolidated to become part of the National Road.

Frederick-Town's location and importance as a regional center assured its place along the "National Road." Actually a section of the Frederick and Baltimore Turnpike, a privately financed toll road, part of the series of routes connecting to the National Road at Cumberland, the road passed through the center of Frederick-Town along Patrick Street. Chartered in 1805, the Frederick and Baltimore Turnpike was completed by 1808 (Figures 6 & 7, Varle Map 1808). Joseph Scott, a surveyor for the National Road project correctly assessed the future impact of the road improvement in 1807:

It [Fredericktown] is a flourishing place, and carries on a brisk trade with the western country; and when the great western turnpike, which is to pass through it, into Pennsylvania, and the state of Ohio, is completed, it will add greatly to the trade, wealth, and prosperity of the place. Fredericktown will then become the great thoroughfare, between Baltimore and Philadelphia to the western country.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ François A. F. Duc de La Rochefoucald Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of North America, (Vol. 2, p. 245), as cited in Wasch, p. 19.

46 Joseph Scott, A Geographical Description of the States of Maryland and Delaware,

The National Road became one of the most heavily traveled east-west routes in America with traffic passing all hours of the day and night. Stage coaches, freight wagons, herds of swine, geese and cattle headed to market, plus individual traffic passed along the pike. Taverns, inns and hotels were an important part of the travel-generated economy. Also important were blacksmith shops, wagon shops, and leather and harness shops.

Indeed, Frederick-Town, already known for its inns and taverns, developed a number of hotel establishments that would define the character of Patrick Street for decades. Mrs. Kimball's tavern, located on the corner of Patrick and Court (Public) Street had probably been in operation for decades when Anne Royall visited in 1828, calling it "the oldest and best stand in Maryland...." That same year, Joseph Talbott, already established as a Frederick innkeeper, purchased Mrs. Kimball's tavern, changing the name to Talbott's Hotel. The hotel was best known as the City Hotel, under which name it continued to operate as late as the 1897 Sanborn Insurance Co. map and was eventually replaced by the Francis Scott Key Hotel in the twentieth century. Jacob Engelbrecht remarked regularly on the passage of turnpike travelers who stopped in Frederick's taverns, noting in 1823:

Just now six four wheeled vehicles passed & stopped at Joseph Talbott's Tavern – all I reckon from the Springs [Berkeley Springs, Virginia] – fine times for tavern keepers.⁴⁸

In May of 1825, Engelbrecht "counted the taverns in Fredericktown Maryland and they amounted to 19 in number," nine were on Patrick Street alone, the others mainly on Market Street, a section of the Georgetown turnpike.⁴⁹

The prosperity of Frederick during the first half of the nineteenth century, invigorated by road improvements and intensified agricultural production, manifested itself in a number of ways. Frederick "town" began taking on the appearance of a true urban center. Notes Diane Shaw Wasch in her discussion of Frederick as an urban environment:

Fredericktown was legally declared a city at its incorporation in 1817. The actual process of urbanization, however, was much more drawn out. Several decades passed before residents dropped the name Fredericktown and called their home a city. Yet even before Frederick's incorporation, its residents were dividing and classifying distinct neighborhoods within the town, one clear stage in the urbanization process.50

(Philadelphia, PA: Kimber, Conrad, 1807, pp. 135-136), as cited in Wasch, pp. 15-16. The insertion [Fredericktown] is as Wasch spelled it. The names Frederick-Town, Frederick Town, and occasionally Fredericktown have been used interchangeably historically.

⁴⁷ As cited in Wasch, p. 100.

⁴⁸ Engelbrecht, CD-Rom, p. 143; also cited in Wasch, p. 95.

⁴⁹ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 205.

⁵⁰ Wasch, p. 40.

Important changes identified by Wasch include the gentrification of the Courthouse Square neighborhood, beginning with the removal of the jail to South (Jail) Street (within the Bentztown addition) in 1815. The Courthouse Square itself was enclosed in 1818 with an elaborate iron fence by Col. John McPherson, an immensely wealthy neighbor. Frederick resident, Catherine Susannah Markell, described the fence: "A low, granitecoped, brick wall, surmounted by stout, square wrought-iron railings, each one speartipped and firmly cemented in its stone socket, enclosed the pretty green yard."51 McPherson and a number of other families of Frederick's social elite constructed highstyled houses on the surrounding streets, further raising the neighborhood standard.⁵² At the same time the Episcopal (formerly Anglican) and Presbyterian churches, whose congregations primarily included the town's elite, also moved to the Court Square neighborhood; All Saints Church was constructed on Court (Public) Street in 1813 and the Presbyterian Church was built on West Second Street in 1825 (Figure 8, Sachse, Presb. Church). Similarly, East Church and East Second Streets developed with highstyled houses around the Jesuit Novitiate (1834, Figure 9, Sachse, Novitiate), Visitation Academy (1826, 1848), and St. John's Catholic Church (1837, Figure 10, Sachse, St. John's).53

The removal of the jail to South (Jail) Street and the move of the Episcopal Church from All Saints Street marked a general acknowledgement within Frederick that the south side of Carroll Creek was a marginal area, more suitable for industry, convicts, and the poor. Several tanneries and mills were already located on the banks of Carroll Creek, on South Street the jail, referred to by Jacob Engelbrecht as "Limbo," and on All Saints Street, where a number of houses were occupied by Frederick's growing free-black population. The Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church was constructed on All Saints Street in 1818. Ironically, the nearby jail served as Frederick's point of sale for slaves, since the African-American population remained predominantly enslaved over free. Engelbrecht reported the 1820 census figures for Frederick-Town in his diary, noting 437 slaves and 264 "free colored persons." Market and Patrick Streets, extending from the town "square" at their intersection, intensified as the commercial district. Consequently, the northeast end of town, like the southeast section, was marginalized by its location apart from the bustling town center; again, the small log houses were generally occupied by free-blacks and poor whites.

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⁵¹ As cited in Wasch, p. 49.

⁵² In addition to the McPherson house on Council Street facing Court Square and the house adjoining (1817), the Tyler house on Record Street (1815), the Potts house on the corner of Church and Court (Public) Street (1818), and the John Tyler house (the Spite House) on Church Street. See Wasch, pp. 141-142.

⁵³ Building construction histories were researched by Terry Reimer, <u>One Vast Hospital: The Civil War Hospital Sites in Frederick, Maryland after Antietam</u>, (Frederick, MD: The National Museum of Civil War Medicine, 2001).

⁵⁴ Scharf, p. 524.

⁵⁵ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 19; the total population of Frederick-Town was 3,637 in 1820.

⁵⁶ The intersection of Market and Patrick Streets was not a true "town square," generally the location of the county Courthouse, as is found in Emmitsburg, Sharpsburg, and Hagerstown in Maryland, and many towns in nearby south-central Pennsylvania. Frederick's "square corner," as it became known, was a center of commerce rather than county or city public services and had no setbacks.

⁵⁷ Engelbrecht mentions a number of houses occupied by blacks on the alleys between Fourth and

Frederick's incorporation in 1817, by an act of the Maryland General Assembly, marked the beginning of regular boundary expansions to include additions and subdivisions. The survey of Frederick's corporate boundaries, begun in 1817 by Lawrence Brengle and completed in 1820 by Thomas Woodward, described a significantly enlarged city from its eighteenth century beginnings (Figure 11, 1821 Brengle map). The corporate boundaries, as described by Brengle in his 1817 field notes, reached as far east as the Monocacy River, south to Locust Level (Hughes' house), west to Prospect Hall (McPherson's) and Schifferstadt (Myers' stone house), and as far north as Rose Hill Manor (Graham's garden):

Beginning for the bounds of the Corporation at the 44 Mile Stone, on the turnpike road, leading from Frederick Town to the City of Baltimore, and running thence the following courses Vis. S 51 degrees, W 360 perches, ... [near] the SW corner of John Hughes' two story brick dwelling house and including the same – Thence N 79 degrees, W 574 perches, ... [near] the SE corner of Col. John McPherson's (formerly George Schnertzell's) two story brick house, and including the same – Thence N 29 degrees, E 492 ½ perches, ... [near] the NW corner of Christopher Myers' Stone dwelling house, and including the same – Thence...to the NE corner of said house, and including the same – Thence N 51 ¾ degrees, E 461 perches, ending in Major John Graham's garden, and a little N of his brick dwelling house, and including the same – Thence S 64 ¼ degrees, E 488 perches, ending in the mouth of Carrol's [sic] Creek, where it empties into Monocasy [sic] River – Thence S 27 degrees, 5 minutes W, 439 perches, to the beginning at the 44 Mile Stone aforesaid.59

It would be many years before development would fill in the 1817 corporate boundaries. Nineteenth century historian Thomas Scharf noted that the corporation's taxable boundaries in 1817 were much smaller, but still included a number of significant additions to the original town plat:

...for taxable purposes the boundaries were made, to wit: All the lots originally laid out as Frederick Town, with all additions thereto, including Bentz Town, and Jacob and Michael Buckey's dwelling-house and tanyard, and Jacob Buckey's factory, at the east end of the town, and Stephen Steiner's dwelling and tavern-stand on the west end, and George Lease's on the north end of said town; also Ramsburg's mill, also the English

Sixth Streets and near Love Lane (East Street). The Quinn African Methodist Episcopal Church was constructed on E. Third St. in 1829; Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 44. This was also the location of "Paris" or "San Domingo," previously noted, where French refugees, probably predominantly Catholic, apparently clustered.

⁵⁸ Scharf, p. 485.

⁵⁹ "Book of Field Notes," original manuscript, Engineering Office, Frederick City Hall, Frederick, MD.

Presbyterian church, and the lots fronting on the west side of Bentz Street, from Ramsburg's mill to the aforesaid church, both inclusive.⁶⁰

The 1821 "Plan of Frederick Town," resulting from the surveys of Lawrence Brengle in 1817 and Thomas Woodward in 1820, outlined three "additions" outside of the old town grid (Figure 11, 1821 Plan). All lying west of Bentz Street, the angled street apparently defined the first and second lines of a parcel owned by Jacob Bentz called Long Acre. 61 On the southeast corner of Frederick were the two additions known as Bentztown and Battletown, which, by the time of their addition to the town in 1817, had already begun development with houses and businesses. Among the houses standing in 1820 was Roger Brooke Taney's house, referred to as "R. B. Taney's (formerly Mrs Lucketts)," whose log stable served as a surveying point. Another house, which served as the westernmost survey point, was "Col. Stephen Steiner's old log dwelling house."62 Steiner had by then constructed his Federal-styled brick house on the corner of Patrick Street and the Harpers Ferry Road, now known as the "Steiner House." On the north side of West Patrick Street was a series of "18 Lots, 260 feet in length by 42 feet in breadth." It is not entirely clear from the documents or local histories exactly what area comprised Bentztown and what was Battletown. However, this 1833 entry by Lewis Ramsburgh in Jacob Engelbrecht's diary appears to indicate that the eighteen-lot parcel on the north side of Patrick Street might, in fact, be Battletown:

The addition to town commonly called Battletown containing 18 houses is not in the above enumeration, but properly should be, as by an act of the last legislature it is embraced in the corporation.⁶³

Engelbrecht, who lived and worked in Bentztown, described the morphology of Battletown in 1825:

Battletown – (The addition to Fredericktown, West end of Patrick Street) laid out by Colonel Stephen Steiner & Mr. Stephen Ramsburg derives its name from a small encounter between Colonel Steiner & Stephen Klein the first resident of the addition. The people first called it "Stephensburg" from the three Stephen's who were first concerned. After that they called it Ratsville from I suppose, a number of rats that were seen there; but it now appears to be firmly fixed to "Battletown." I merely mention this for the information of posterity, to know from what it derived its name.⁶⁴

Bentztown represented a large enough neighborhood to justify its own market house, which commenced business in October 1823 with "one butcher (Mr. Leak) & two or three country people." The third addition to Frederick-Town was located on the west side of Bentz Street opposite the western terminus of Second, Third, and Fourth Streets.

⁶⁰ Scharf, p.485.

⁶¹ As cited in various descriptions of the blocks in "Book of Field Notes," from the 1817 Brengle survey and the 1820 Woodward survey.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 446. Entry was signed, Lewis Ramsburgh, Friday August 23, 1833.

⁶⁴ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 208.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 148.

It was, in fact, the location of the first "English" Presbyterian Church and the German Reformed cemetery (described as the "German Presbyterian burying ground"). The addition was divided into eight lots.

Banking institutions, a sure sign of wealth and development, began appearing in Frederick in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1808, the Farmer's Bank of Annapolis opened a branch in Frederick on Market Street, in the heart of the commercial district (Figure 7, Varle Map, Frederick Detail). It was followed in 1817 by a branch of the Westminster Bank (which became the Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Frederick County in 1827), and by the Frederick County Bank in 1818. Banks were an important source of cash (specie) for land purchases, building construction, and municipal improvements. The Frederick County Bank reportedly contributed to the repair of the Frederick Hose Company fire engine, held "water stock" in 1825, and they were subscribers to the Frederick and Harpers Ferry Turnpike. 66 The banks' contribution to transportation developments was perhaps their most significant. All banks were required by the Maryland General Assembly to help finance the various local turnpike projects (when private enterprise failed to produce the necessary improvements). The banks were also involved in bringing the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal through Frederick County, unfortunately, far to the south of the town of Frederick. And in 1832, after the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad too had bypassed Frederick to the south, the Frederick County Bank held a "subscription to help bring the B&O Railroad into Market Street." 67

The B&O Railroad had a significant impact on Frederick; however, it required a great deal of work on the part of Frederick's prominent citizens to ensure a direct connection to the railroad. The lay of the land determined the railroad's route from Baltimore, crossing the Monocacy River just two miles south of Frederick before turning west toward Point of Rocks on the Potomac River to avoid crossing the Catoctin Mountain range. After failing to secure a direct connection to the C&O Canal via the Monocacy River, Frederick merchants and farmers were deeply disappointed in being bypassed by the railroad as well. Determined to rectify the situation, an arrangement with the railroad company for a spur line north into town was made. In an 1831 stockholders report, B&O Railroad president noted:

The municipal authorities of that city [Frederick] with a liberality not less honorable to themselves than gratifying to this Board, generously offered to convey to this Company, free of cost, six acres of land, immediately adjoining to that city for a Depot; several of the citizens of Frederick also offered to obtain, without any charge to this Company, the right of way for the lateral road leading from the main stem to this Depot.⁶⁸

The presence of the railroad in the southwest (Cannon Hill) section of Frederick further defined this area as an industrial center (Figure 12, 1853 Pittar map). Primarily associated with the principal agricultural products of Frederick County and the region, industry in

⁶⁶ Douglas, pp. 138-146.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 148.

⁶⁸ "Fifth Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the B&O Railroad Co.," Baltimore, 1831, as cited in Douglas, p. 126.

Frederick was still dominated by tanning, milling, and distilling. A stone building, which stood between the railroad depot and Carroll Creek on Carroll Street, reportedly operated "as a whiskey rectifying house" in the 1850s. ⁶⁹ In 1853, Frederick newspaper The Examiner reported "eight tanneries, which compose the largest and most valuable manufacturing interest of this City...." Isaac Bond's 1858 Map of Frederick City (Figure 13, 1858 Bond map) shows three foundries on the outskirts of the city, Brunner's old mill to the west on Bentz Street and the Isabella Gas Works on East Patrick Street near East Street (Love Lane). Frederick also numbered three brickyards, a lucrative business as brick building construction far outnumbered log, stone, or frame by 1835. ⁷¹

Much of the brick construction that occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century in Frederick was in the form of brick shop-residences. Described by Wasch, "the combination shop-house consisted of commercial space on the first floor and domestic space on the second. In Frederick, the shop-house form was also achieved by using the front room for commercial space and the back rooms for residential living."⁷²

On the 27th of June I find by my records that I counted the houses in Fredericktown, Maryland. The number then were six hundred & forty-seven. These were the dwelling houses & shops fronting on the streets. This fact can be relied on.

Jacob Engelbrecht Thursday August 22, 1833 10 o'clock AM⁷³

Not only were commercial stores and workshops housed in this way, but also the early banks were located in residential buildings. This combination building was ubiquitous in Frederick (Figure 14, Sachse birdseye N/S) and remains so today in much of the central historic district (2003).

Largely a result of the vastly improved transportation networks connecting Frederick to urban and overseas markets, the last decades leading up to America's Civil War were marked by expansion of commercial activity. The established artisan trades such as weavers, tailors, carpenters, and shoemakers continued to serve the town and county populous. Some artisan occupations were beginning to grow in economic importance, particularly the furniture makers, of which there were at least fourteen in Frederick. Perhaps the most intensive commerce came in the form of dry goods stores and grocers. The 1859 <u>Business Mirror</u> listed 23 Dry Goods merchants and 32 Grocers in Frederick. Offering a wide variety of the necessities of urban and rural life, these

⁷⁰ The Examiner, Sept. 14, 1853, as cited in Douglas, p. 175.

⁷² Ibid, p. 108.

⁷³ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 446.

⁶⁹ Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 162. This later became the Gambrill/Mountain City Mill.

⁷¹ Wasch, pp. 145-146. Based on the 1835 tax assessment, Wasch estimated 59% of buildings in Frederick City were of brick construction.

⁷⁴ Gregory R. Weidman, <u>Furniture in Maryland 1740-1940</u>, (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 1984), p. 83.

⁷⁵ Williams' Frederick Directory City Guide, and Business Mirror, Vol. 1, 1859-'60, (reprint, Silver Spring, MD: Family Line Publications, 1985), pp. 45-46. Fourteen of those listed themselves as dealers in both Dry Goods and Groceries.

merchants connected Frederick residents with the latest popular styles from the cities of Baltimore, Annapolis, Philadelphia, and Boston.

Although most of the physical representation of stylistic fads from the 1840s and 1850s was ephemeral, Frederick retains a distinctive collection of architectural landmarks from this period. During these two decades, churches and other public buildings, houses and commercial buildings were built or altered in the latest popular styles. Notes architectural historian Diane Shaw Wasch, "Frederick crossed the urban threshold by looking beyond its city limits for architectural and landscape ideas and design expertise." It was during this period, notes Wasch, that eight churches in Frederick were built or remodeled, mostly in the Ecclesiastical Gothic style (Figures 15 and 16, Sachse, All Saints and Lutheran). The Episcopal congregation contracted plans for their church design from the preeminent architectural firm in New York City, Richard Upjohn & Co.⁷⁷ With their soaring Gothic spires, these churches inspired the famous Whittier line "the clustered spires of Frederick stand, green walled by the hills of Maryland." Fire Halls too, each with a bell tower, were constructed during this period (Figure 17, Sachse, Fire Halls). Although fire companies had existed in Frederick since the beginning of the nineteenth century, explains Wasch, "the fire house became a much more complex institution that offered company social halls, public auditoriums, and commercial rental space along side the engine house."⁷⁸

Like the fire houses, Frederick's public and private schools had also been in existence for many decades. The Frederick Academy (for boys) was located on Counsel Street in 1796, and the St. John's Literary Institute on East Second Street in 1828. An Act of the Maryland Assembly in 1838 entitled public (free) for all white children in Frederick County. The resulting need to provide separate buildings for boys and girls may have resulted in the curious location of two school buildings directly across from each other on North Market Street (Figure 12, Pittar map), both constructed around 1840. And although not labeled as such on the 1854 Pittar Map, the Jail Street Public School (South Street) was built in 1839. In 1843, upper class girls were provided with a high-styled Greek Revival school building on East Church Street, the Frederick Female Seminary (Figure 18, Sachse, Fem. Sem.), its west wing added in 1857.

Frederick's streetscape was also updated during this period with a number of distinctive Italianate houses and public buildings, of particular note, the Charles E. Trail mansion (1854, Figure 19, Sachse, Trail mansion), the B&O Railroad Passenger Depot (1854, Figure 20, Sachse, B&O depot), and Kemp Hall (1860). Many commercial and/or residential buildings were "modernized" with Italianate-inspired bracketed cornices. At the same time, a similar romantic vision expressed in landscaped parks and cemeteries was sweeping the nation and found its way into Frederick as well. To this end the Mount

⁷⁷ Helfenstein, p. 79.

⁷⁶ Wasch, p. 173.

⁷⁸ Wasch, p. 209.

⁷⁹ Scharf, p. 495 and p. 521.

⁸⁰ School building construction dates from Terry Reimer, <u>One Vast Hospital</u>, (Frederick, MD: The National Museum of Civil War Medicine, 2001), pp. 88, 89, 42, and 70.

Olivet Cemetery, with its Italianate gatehouse and decidedly off-the-grid curving plan, was established on the south end of town in 1853 (Figure 21 and 22, Sachse, Mt. Olivet, and Wasch plat).

As the first half of the nineteenth century drew to a close, a period of intensification as well as expansion in Frederick, the troubles to come in the 1860s were only a whisper. Entertainment and pride in the county and city's many achievements were manifested in the development of the Agricultural Club of Frederick County and its annual "Exhibitions" on the grounds of the old Hessian Barracks, beginning in 1853.81 Across South Market Street, Jacob Markell platted twenty-one lots for "Markell's Addition to Frederick-town" in 1856.82 But soon, economic growth and entertainments would take a back seat to political tension and division.

The Civil War (1861-1865)

The sectional division of the United States between North and South in 1861 significantly interrupted Frederick's long period of growth and prosperity. Although a myriad of social and economic reasons led the country to divide, the issue of slavery was seen by many as the pivotal point of dispute between the states. By 1861, discussions, arguments, and heated debates disintegrated into civil war.

The war between North and South was particularly challenging for Frederick and its residents. With Pennsylvania immediately to the north and Virginia just south of the Potomac River, the town, and the western Maryland region in general, was "placed between the upper and nether millstone."83 Riots in Baltimore over the movement of federal troops on the B&O Railroad through Baltimore to Washington, as well as strong southern sentiments among many of the political elite from the southern and eastern counties, created fear on the Union side that Maryland would secede along with its southern neighbor Virginia. Early in April federal troops arrived in Annapolis, securing the railroad there and within days moved into Baltimore as well.⁸⁴ On April 24, 1861, just days after the attack on Fort Sumter, Governor Thomas Hicks called a special session of the Maryland Legislature to meet in the more Union-friendly city of Frederick, far from the Federal troops in Annapolis, "to deliberate and consider of the condition of the State, and take such measures as in their wisdom they may deem fit to maintain peace, order, and security within our limits."85 Frederick diarist, Jacob Engelbrecht, noted on April 27 that the Legislature, "will meet this morning in the new halls of the Reformed

⁸¹ The Great Frederick Fair history files, Frederick Fair administrative office, Frederick, MD. The Agricultural Club of Frederick County later the joined with the Frederick County Agricultural Society which had been in existence, and holding "cattle shows," since 1821.

⁸² Frederick Co. Land Record ES 10, page 139, in Map Cabinet drawer 4, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

⁸³ The Citizen, July, 1864, microfilm copy, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

 $[\]overline{\text{Walsh and Fox}}$, p. 345.

⁸⁵ As cited in Scharf, p. 202; see also Walsh and Fox, p. 351.

parsonage property corner Market & Church Street [Kemp Hall]. The 3d story for the House of Delegates."86

Debate continued in Frederick through the summer of 1861 as the country prepared for civil war. In August, Engelbrecht described the almost immediate effect of war on his town and beloved state:

... "Maryland is in the Union still" and I do hope will remain.

Notwithstanding our democratic legislature (who were elected two years ago, without regard to Union or secession) are doing their best to pass a secession law. They are now in session in our city. I do hope & am certain old Maryland will remain firm to the Constitution & the Union. In our town, every thing is knocked into pie. Mechanics have no work.

Stores, do hardly any thing except groceries which people must have. No building going on. In the brick yards the weeds are growing up on their drying beds. The whole yard looks as if they had been idle for years. Our monied men have their money vested principally in Southern States stock, which is worth now 45 or 50 cents in the dollars for which they paid from 85 to 95 which of course makes a general depression in money matters and also a general depression of business. The banks are doing nothing. Money is very scarce. No property is sold or bought. None will sell because the prices would be so very low.... 87

In September 1861, as the Maryland Legislature prepared to reconvene in Frederick, orders were given by the federal government to arrest those members advocating rebellion. Few appeared; among those who did not was Frederick City native son, former Governor Enoch Lewis Lowe, who in July had "gone to Dixie Land," and sold his house on the corner of Second Street and Middle Alley.⁸⁸

Jacob Engelbrecht, whose pro-Union stance was clearly revealed in his diary entries, proudly announced the formation of the Brengle Home Guards of Frederick City on April 24, 1861. Listing the name of every man serving under Major Richard Potts, the company included 272 local residents. Although Frederick was predominantly pro-Union, another native son, Bradley T. Johnson, gathered a company of "Secession Soldiers" in May 1861, numbering 26 men. Frederick would in fact lose a significant number of its male population to the war, on both sides. Frederick would in fact lose a significant number of its male population to the war, on both sides.

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⁸⁶ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 897.

⁸⁷ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 910.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 899.

⁹⁰ Frederick, like much of central and western Maryland was deeply divided over the issues surrounding the Civil War. While decidedly in favor of preserving the Union, many residents were slave owners, or sympathetic to the slave holding community and their right to retain their "property." The division of thought is clearly evident in editorials of the two competing newspapers of Frederick, the Democratic <u>The Citizen</u> and Republican <u>The Examiner</u>. See Barbara Jeanne Fields, <u>Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground, Maryland During the Nineteenth Century</u>, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), for a complete discussion of these issues.

For those who stayed in Frederick throughout the Civil War, perhaps the greatest impact would be the establishment of Frederick City as a military hospital site. ⁹¹ In November 1861, U.S. Army Surgeon Charles C. Keeney described the benefits of Frederick for use as a hospital:

The town of Frederick contains between 7,000 and 8,000 inhabitants. There are in the city many fine buildings suitable for hospital purposes, and if occupied for these purposes would obviate the necessity of sending the sick and wounded to Baltimore and Washington, although if necessary they could be easily conveyed to the above cities in a few hours by railway. As above seen, these grounds present superior advantages over all others. First, in a sanitary point of view, their locality would present a smaller sick report; would add more to the comforts of the sick, as all bad cases could be treated in the city of Frederick, and, if need be, could easily be conveyed to Baltimore or Washington by railway; and all supplies can be easily, quickly, and at all times procured from the cities of Baltimore and Washington.⁹²

The convenient railroad facilities served well for storage and shipment of supplies, and where entertainments and exhibitions had occurred during the previous decade, the Hessian Barracks and surrounding grounds served as the site of United States General Hospital #1.

In September 1862, residents of Frederick experienced their first occupation by the Confederate army in the course of General Robert E. Lee's Maryland Campaign. Engelbrecht noted the occasion:

Is it possible? -- The good old City of Frederick is in possession of the Confederate Army under General R. E. Lee; but the city I believe under General Thomas J. Jackson (better known as Stonewall Jackson). The different divisions are encamped 2 or 3 miles around the city and number about 80 thousand. There are many of our old townsmen with them viz Colonel Bradley T. Johnson, George K. Shellman, Taylor Griffin, Reverend Brigadier General William N. Pendleton, William Pope of John, & (Colonel) Henry Hagan. 93

The army continued west toward South Mountain followed by Union General George McClellan's Army of the Potomac. Watching them pass outside his window along the National Pike (Patrick Street), Jacob Engelbrecht estimated 70,000 Confederates marching through Frederick for 17 hours, and 150 to 200 thousand Union soldiers noting, "if they were strung out, wagons cannons & all it would make one continued string of at least fifty miles if not more." First clashing at three gaps on South Mountain on

⁹¹ See Terry Reimer, <u>One Vast Hospital</u>, (Frederick, MD: The National Museum of Civil War Medicine, 2001) for a full discussion of Frederick City as a hospital site throughout the Civil War.

⁹² Letter from Keeney to Charles S. Tripler, Medical Director, Army of the Potomac, November 18, 1861, as cited in Reimer, p. 12.

⁹³ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 948.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 948 and p. 951.

September 14th, the two armies faced again three days later at Sharpsburg, known as the Battle of Antietam. Described as the bloodiest single day battle of the Civil War, the wounded were transported to the Frederick hospitals that had been set up in expectation of the battle's bloody aftermath. Historian Terry Reimer relates the considerable preparation and large number of buildings involved:

Jonathon Letterman, Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac, arrived in Frederick on September 13 in order to set up additional hospital sites to treat the wounded from "anticipated battles." Showing astonishing foresight, he predicted the need for many other buildings besides the ones available at the Barracks hospital. He asked that all churches except one Protestant church and one Catholic church be taken over for hospital use. Floors were laid over the pews to protect them, and stoves for cooking were installed in the buildings....

Seven General Hospitals were organized, comprising a total of 27 buildings plus two hospital camps. The official U.S. Government breakdown of hospital sites in Frederick city was as follows: General Hospital #1 was the Barracks Hospital; General Hospital #2 consisted of the Jail Street School, the U.S. Hotel, and the City Hotel; General Hospital #3 encompassed Coppersmith Hall, the Old and New German Reformed Churches, the Old and New Protestant Episcopal Churches, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Presbyterian Church, and Frederick Academy (Bonsall's Academy); General Hospital #4 consisted of the Lutheran Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Winchester Seminary; General Hospital #5 was located in the Roman Catholic Novitiate and Visitation Academy; General Hospital #6 was in the Asbury Church, Junior Fire Hall, and Primary Schools No. 71 and 72; and General Hospital #7 consisted of the Val Birely Tannery and the Bowling Saloon/Buddy Hotel. Rental for these hospital buildings was \$2 a day. In addition to these seven official General Hospitals, at least four other buildings were used as hospital sites, probably associated with one of the established hospitals. These buildings, the Quinn Chapel, the John Miller house, the William Kolb house and the Wilson house were mentioned by a local man, Jacob Engelbrecht.... Officers were almost always transferred to private houses for care, including some Confederate officers. 95

The numbers of wounded soldiers in Frederick was staggering, noted Engelbrecht, "If you take a walk through the town any handsome day you might meet 80 or 100 wounded Soldiers...I Should Suppose that we have had altogether 6 or 8 thousand wounded Soldiers in our town...." Wounded continued arriving in Frederick throughout the fall and winter months. Among those wounded soldiers who arrived late in September was Charles F. Johnson, of the New York Hawkins Zouaves, whose published Civil War journal, The Long Roll, included detailed sketches and articulate commentary (Figure 23, Johnson spire view). On September 30th Johnson wrote, "It was after nine

⁹⁵ Reimer, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁶ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 957; entry fully cited in Reimer, p. 18.

o'clock last night before we entered the city [Frederick], and after the longest half hour I have ever experienced, we were put into a hospital, formerly a Presbyterian church." Johnson described the "kind attention" he received in his church/hospital, and included a sketch of the church interior (Figure 24, Presb. Church). Two months later, on November 30th, Johnson's entry began, "My nice time in that darling little city of Frederick is over."

Wounded soldiers were transferred from Frederick hospitals to Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia as their convalescence progressed, and all but the Barracks hospital (General Hospital #1) were closed by March 1863. Not all of the wounded recovered and left Frederick, however. Those who died were interred in Mount Olivet Cemetery, across South Market Street from the Barracks hospital. Although relatives eventually claimed most of the dead, a number of Confederate gravesites remain along the western fence line of the cemetery.⁹⁹

Union army activity continued in Frederick city throughout the Civil War at General Hospital #1 and at the warehouses where Quartermaster supplies were stored and distributed along the B&O Railroad. Confederate army action, however, would not return to Frederick until July 1864 as General Jubal Early attempted to threaten Washington, D.C. and ultimately free the prisoners at the Point Lookout prison camp in southern Maryland. Early used this trip through Maryland to restock his bedraggled army, and also attempted to gain Union cash or stores through the ransoming of several cities, including Frederick.

Frederick Town, MD. July 9, 1864

By order of the Lt. Genl Com'd'g we require of the Mayor and town authorities of Frederick City Two Hundred thousand Dollars (\$200,000.00) in current money for the use of this Army. This contribution may be supplied by furnishing the Medical Dept. with Fifty thousand Dollars (\$50,000.00) in stores at current prices; the Commissary Dept. with the stores to the same amount; the Ordinance Dept. with the same; and the Quarter Master's Dept. with a like amount.¹⁰⁰

Not having access to the requested (Union) stores, the town authorities chose to pay the full "contribution" amount. Throughout the day of July 9th, while the banking institutions of Frederick scrambled to advance the \$200,000, the Battle of Monocacy was underway just three miles to the south of town on the Georgetown Turnpike. At a hearing before a Senate subcommittee in 1972, Frederick city was still trying to obtain some restitution for

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⁹⁷ Charles F. Johnson, <u>The Long Roll</u>, (originally published, 1911; reprint, Shepherdstown, WV: Carabelle Books, 1986), p. 202.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 206.

⁹⁹ Reimer, pp. 18-19.

As cited in "Hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate," 92nd Congress, 2nd Session on S. 1842, August 2, 1972 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1972), pp. 16-17.

the cash paid out by the local banks to General Early in 1864.¹⁰¹ Following Early's raid through Maryland, the Confederate army never again entered into Union territory.

The Civil War disrupted the lives of Frederick citizens. Battles, encampments, and hospital sites damaged city buildings as well as a number of nearby farms; commerce and agriculture were interrupted. However, none felt the effects of change due to the war more than Frederick's African-American population, both slave and free. Although President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, freeing the slaves in the rebellion states, Maryland's enslaved population was not freed until the adoption of a new state constitution in 1864. The now free black population would find themselves more and more segregated from white society as the nineteenth century progressed.

By April 1865, the Civil War was over, General Hospital #1 in Frederick was closed in September. The Barracks grounds returned to the prior owner, the Frederick County Agricultural Society, in 1866. The lumber from the dismantled hospital buildings passed to the Society in lieu of cash for their damage claims for "horse rings and stalls" demolished by the army. The Agricultural Society, unable to hold any "exhibitions" for the duration of the war, was perhaps reluctant to now reuse the hospital grounds for such entertainment, and sold the land to the State of Maryland in 1867. That same year, the Society purchased a 30-acre lot on East Patrick Street from General Shriver for \$4,500. 103 After a hiatus of seven years, the Frederick Fair reopened in October 1868 marking a new era of development in Frederick city.

Years of Change (1866-1899)

For Frederick city and the surrounding region, the economic, social, and political zenith had been in the 1763-1860 period. The area was certainly still prosperous, still continued to grow, but the regional focus had shifted to industrial development in Baltimore, Hagerstown and Cumberland. This was largely due to the multiple railroads directly serving these cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The superior transportation routes led to growth of heavy industries and consequently population growth. Frederick's rail connections were branch or spur lines, which provided access to city markets for lighter agricultural or industrial products but were less useful for heavy industries. While Frederick grew, it did not experience the accelerated growth that the three larger cities did.¹⁰⁴

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, competition from Mid-Western grain resulted in Maryland sharing a smaller percentage of the whole amount of

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Reimer, p. 36.

¹⁰³ The Great Frederick Fair history files, Administrative Office, Frederick Fair Grounds, Frederick, MD.

¹⁰⁴ Information on regional agricultural history from Paula S. Reed & Assoc., "Mid Maryland Agricultural Context Report," Chapter 6, (Frederick, MD: Catoctin Center for Regional Studies, 2003).

grain produced in the U.S. Frederick County maintained its agricultural base, however, and continued among the highest producers in the state of corn and wheat. But a gradual shift in production was beginning. The value of livestock in Frederick County in the 1860 Agricultural Census showed the county leading the state. The high value of livestock suggests the prominence of dairy beginning to emerge in the county, which had the necessary access to city markets via the B&O Railroad, the Western Maryland Railroad (1869), and the Frederick & Pennsylvania Line (1872), which connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad in Littlestown, PA. 106.

Frederick city's industry remained based primarily in agricultural-related products. Milling continued at Brunner's City Mill on Bentz Street and at Kemp's Steam Flouring Mills on Carroll Street, but technological improvements in flour milling were becoming expensive (Figures 25-28, 1873 Atlas maps). In 1878, James Gambrill, who owned Araby Mills south of Frederick, expanded and bought the steam-powered mill on South Carroll Street in Frederick (Figure 29, Sanborn detail of Carroll St.). He installed roller mills there in 1882. This purchase allowed Gambrill to increase production to 45,000 barrels of flour per year. "Best Araby" and "Unsurpassed" were popular brand names produced by Gambrill. Across Carroll Street, Tyson's Phosphate Factory had been manufacturing agricultural fertilizer since 1867 and DeLashmutt & Son since 1878; the Ramsburg Fertilizing Company factory, located on East South Street, had also been in operation since 1867 (Figure 27, Atlas map, 10th ward). Tanneries still dominated the Carroll Creek landscape along with Gideon Bantz' substantial brewery operation on Brewer's Alley (Ice Street).

Perhaps the most significant industrial development in Frederick during this period began in 1869, when Baltimore native Louis McMurray expanded his vegetable canning industry to the corner of Bentz and South Streets (Figure 28, Atlas Ward 8). The canning of vegetables, fruits, and oysters was a relatively new technology, which catered to the emerging large industrial city markets rather than the traditional local farmer's markets of fresh produce. McMurray's radical plan and inspired development was described just a few years later by Thomas Scharf in his 1882 <u>History of Western</u> Maryland:

He [McMurray] contracted with the farmers of the vicinity at high prices to raise several hundred acres of corn, and one hundred acres of tomatoes and peas were planted out. One of the farmers of the region

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¹⁰⁵ Livestock in Frederick Co. was valued at \$1,534,048, with Baltimore and Washington Counties close behind; Census Data for the Year 1860, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Study 00003: Historical Demographic, Economic, and Social Data, US, 1790-1970. Ann Arbor: ICPSR.

 $^{^{106}}$ Williams, p.402.

¹⁰⁷ John W. McGrain, "'Good Bye Old Burr': The Roller Mill Revolution in Maryland, 1882," Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 77, No.2 Summer, 1982, p. 158.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas J Scharf, <u>History of Western Maryland</u>, CD-ROM, Vol. I, (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2002) p. 598.

¹⁰⁹ Charles W. Miller, "General Directory of Frederick City," (Frederick, MD: W. T. Delaplaine & Co., 1886), p. 5; 1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. map, Frederick City, microfilm collection, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

called on Mr. McMurray and said, "Mr. McMurray, don't you think you are doing very wrong? No sane man would plant that much corn and tomatoes; they would not be used in Frederick in all your life." Mr. McMurray replied that it would be all right. Twenty-five practical tinners from Baltimore were sent to Frederick, and commenced making cans; but the farmers who had agreed to raise corn for him by the acre thought it was a wild-goose speculation, and gave very little attention to the cornfields and cultivation, consequently the crops were poor, and there was very little corn to pack. This was the cause of a very heavy loss the first year. But this did not deter Mr. McMurray, as he knew sugar-corn could be raised successfully in Maryland. He accordingly consulted Thomas H. Smith, his foreman, and they concluded that they must commence farming the lands themselves to make a success. The first years or so Mr. McMurray rented the land, and afterwards commenced purchasing farms as they were offered for sale....In 1870, the second year of Mr. McMurray's Frederick enterprise, the men who did the scaling up of the cans, and who had contracted with him to the end of the packing season, business becoming a little slack for a few days, became restless and wanted to return to Baltimore. Mr. McMurray immediately set to work and invented and obtained a patent for a machine for sealing up the cans by unskilled labor. This enabled a boy of sixteen years of age to seal up twice as many cans as could be formerly done with the old capping-iron and skilled labor. This is the principle used in nearly all the factories in the United States. Mr. McMurray also invented a stove for heating the irons which are used. He also obtained several other patents for soldering devices, which he uses in his factories. With the help of his invention, thirty unskilled boys, who have never capped a can before, can cap up one hundred thousand cans a day....Mr. McMurray has purchased one thousand acres of land of Miss Emily Harper, being part of "Carrollton" Manor," and now owns two thousand five hundred acres of land in Frederick County, which is regularly cultivated in connection with his canning business....When in full operation last season from eighty to one hundred thousand cans were packed each day, and eleven hundred and fifty hands employed in the various departments of the Frederick business.110

By 1887, McMurray's Mountain City Sugar Corn Canning Establishment included 21 buildings and structures (Figure 30, 1887 Sanborn detail). Located in the section of Frederick that had already been relegated to the town's working poor, McMurray had a ready supply of employees, including many African-Americans (Figure 31, 1892, Sanborn, "Swell" Negro tenements). Suspicion of the new industry gave way to a relative flood of similar packing companies in Frederick and throughout the county in the 1890s. In 1891, the Frederick City Packing Co. was in operation on East South Street beyond Carroll Street, and by 1904, had been joined by the Monocacy Valley Canning

¹¹⁰ Scharf, p. 492 ½.

Co. and the Colt & Dixon Packing Co.111 Similar factories were established in Adamstown, Buckeystown, Walkersville, and eventually in Middletown. Small farmers in southern Frederick County, many of them former slaves, also happily supplied these companies with corn, tomatoes, and peas.¹¹²

Non-agricultural related industry began to have an impact on the Frederick economy in the 1880s. Like many mid-sized cities located in agricultural counties, industry and the employment it created was seen as key to their economic survival. In a perhaps overly gracious description, contemporary local historian T. J. C. Williams wrote of the 1887 establishment of the Frederick Seamless Hosiery Co.:

Five gentlemen, Messrs. David Lowenstein, M.E. Getzendanner, Jno. Baumgardner, Geo. H. Zimmerman and Thos. H. Haller – ever alert to advance the interest of Frederick as well as being deeply concerned in the betterment of the condition of its girls, influenced almost entirely by motives of philanthropy, secured a charter and founded the Frederick Seamless Hosiery Co. with a capitalization of \$5,000.¹¹³

Originally located in the back building of a Wholesale Grocer on the south side of East Patrick Street (Figure 32, Sanborn map, E. Pat. St. detail), the company merged with Union Manufacturing Company in 1889 and "two, up-to-date modern mills and a wellappointed dye house" were constructed immediately on the banks of Carroll Creek on the east side of town (Figure 33, Union Mills).¹¹⁴ By 1886, the Frederick City Manufacturing Company was producing American Standard Ink in its building on the corner of East Patrick and East Streets. 115 In 1891, two important industrial pursuits began, the Palmetto Brush Company, better known as the Ox Fibre Brush Company, and the Montrose Iron Works (Frederick Iron and Steel) on East Street, which still continues in operation today (2003). The history of the nationally known Ox Fibre Brush Company was described in the 1988 National Register district nomination for Frederick:

The Ox Fibre Brush Company began in modest quarters on South Street in 1890. John K. Robinson and McClintock Young worked together to establish the brush company. Robinson financed the venture while Young, a Frederick native, perfected the machinery design and operation. McClintock Young and his associates received 10 patents for basic brush machine designs from 1889-1901. The factory quickly outgrew its South Street location and moved to a new complex on East Church Street extended in 1892. One of the first major industrial plants on the east side of the East Street, housed the factory, sawmill and the stock warehouse. The factory supplied a substantial number of jobs for Frederick. It was

¹¹¹ Williams, p. 401; 1904 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Frederick City, microfilm collection, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

^{112 &}quot;Up from the Meadows: A History of Black Americans in Frederick County, Maryland." Video documentary series, Chris Haugh, production manager, Frederick Cablevision/Cable 10, Frederick, MD, 1997.

113 Williams, p. 620.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Miller, "Directory," 1886, p. 5.

also one of the earliest industries to provide an employee welfare and insurance plan to its workers in 1917. The company maintained operation until 1968; Goodwill Industries currently occupies the space (1987). 116

A fire destroyed part of the old factory building in 1990s (Figure 34, Ox Fibre print). Also among the non-agricultural industries, and continuing the tradition of brick making in the city, the B. F. Winchester Brick Works (the Frederick Brick Works by 1904 and still in operation today) located on East South Street prior to 1873. Although none of these industries approached the employment numbers cited for the McMurray canning factory, their advantage was in steady, non-seasonal, employment.

Technological advances that promoted the dairy industry, developed through the late nineteenth century, began to appear in Frederick industry closer to the turn of the twentieth century. The first American silo was constructed in 1873, facilitating yearround feeding of dairy livestock and the centrifugal separator, which parted cream from milk was first used in the United States in 1882.¹¹⁷ In Frederick, the Economy Silo and Tank Company was established before 1910, and the Excelsior Sanitary Dairy was in operation by 1897 on East Seventh Street. 118

The slowed but steady growth of the population and economic base of Frederick city during the second half of the nineteenth century encouraged city authorities to look toward expansion and development of municipal facilities. In 1870, the taxable limits of Frederick were extended (Figure 35, 1870 Plat). The expansion encompassed a number of outlying farms, although all of the additional acreage, plus a great deal more, had been included within the original 1817 corporation boundaries (Figure 36, 1873 Atlas Dist. Map).

The State of Maryland, Frederick County, and the city all began new construction in Frederick during the 1870s. Beginning in 1870, the county almshouse/hospital known as Montevue Hospital was constructed on the almshouse farm, on what is now Rosemont Avenue, just west of the city limits. The impressive brick building was four stories in height with two Second Empire style towers. 119 A second, smaller "Colored" hospital building was located to the rear of the main hospital. ¹²⁰ In 1867, the Hessian Barracks and grounds were acquired by the State of Maryland on which they began construction of the "Asylum of the Deaf & Dumb" in 1870. 121 Designed in an elaborate Victorian style, Engelbrecht described the plans for the building in May 1871:

¹¹⁶ "Frederick Historic District (expanded)," National Register documentation, 1988.

¹¹⁷ Wayne D. Rasmussen, ed., <u>Readings In The History of American Agriculture</u>, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 152.

Williams, p. 401; Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 123.

¹¹⁹ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 1075; Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 109.

¹²⁰ The Montevue property is first included on the 1897 Sanborn Map, at which time the "Colored Hospital" is shown.

121 Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 1080.

The dimensions are 268 feet front, 200 feet deep in center, & 124 feet deep in the wings. The main building 100 feet wide & four stories high with a tower 136 feet high from the ground.¹²²

Construction of the massive building caused great excitement throughout the city of just over 8,500; Engelbrecht described the June 1st, 1871 cornerstone ceremony in detail saying, "I would estimate the number of people at 5 or 6,000 or more." Two years later, in 1873, the city of Frederick demolished the old Market House and five adjoining houses in order to build a new City Hall & Market House; and in 1875, the new county jail was constructed on West South Street. Jacob Engelbrecht noted each of these buildings at the time of their construction, noting in 1875:

I asked Mr. Benjamin F. Winchester, yesterday, the number of brick the City Hall & Market House took. He said about eight hundred thousand (800,000) and he told me also that the Deaf & Dumb Asylum (as now finished) took about two and a half millions (2,500,000) and the jail and sheriffs house about eight hundred thousand (800,000). He furnished the whole of the brick.¹²³

Commercial and domestic buildings were also in the process of change during this period. Up until the middle of the century, shops were located within dwellings, indistinguishable except by their signs hung over doors. In 1871, Engelbrecht pointedly remarked in his diary about property owners putting in "an open front" for a store or office. He also commented on a number of buildings being raised to three stories. In the 1880s, the banks began building larger, more elaborate buildings, several located on the "square corner." The decade saw the rise of the commercial furniture business, the East Patrick and South Market Street area became a "furniture alley," hosting as many as five furniture dealers by the end of the nineteenth century, including C. C. Carty's, C. E. Cline's, and Obenderfer & Son. These businesses grew out of the artisan workshops that had long been a part of Frederick's streetscape. Much of that traditional business remained in the form of milliners, tin shops, carriage and wagon makers, and the grocers and dry goods shops located on nearly every corner.

Despite a changing agricultural climate with the growth of mid-Western production, Frederick remained a thriving market town with a large new Market House and numerous specialty shops catering to the needs of rural as well as city customers. Entertainment in Frederick was still centered on the Agricultural Fair and traveling theater and circuses. But the growing urbanization of the city would justify the

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 1116; a north wing and second tower were added to the Deaf & Dumb Asylum building in 1874, which necessitated the demolition of one of the two Hessian Barracks buildings. The remaining Barracks building stands today (2003) as a museum. Reimer, p. 36

¹²⁴ Engelbrecht, CD-ROM, p. 1080.

¹²⁵ Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 116.

¹²⁶ 1904 Sanborn Insurance Co. map of Frederick City, microfilm collection, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

establishment of the "Opera House" in the Market House building by the 1890s, providing theater and film entertainment.¹²⁷

Plans for residential development beyond the established city grid began with the platting of Clarke Place on the south end of town in 1894. The plan for Clarke Place was a sign of the suburban development that would take hold in the early twentieth century, with large single houses on lots with deep setbacks from the street. Adopting the Late Victorian and Colonial Revival architectural styles, which emphasized larger individualized building forms, these houses signaled a distinctive new appearance in Frederick architecture. West of the city grid, street extensions shown on the 1897 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map (Figure 37, Sanborn, city map) reveal significant plans for future subdivision.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a renewed energy in Frederick's development. The city was well established with thriving agricultural markets, particularly the emerging dairy market, as well as a diversified light industrial base, and a growing number of wealthy citizens associated with the railroads, business, and legal community. City streets were paved and lit with electric lights, and telephone service was available to city residents. 129 The century's end was punctuated with the formation of a hospital organization, dedicated to the construction of a state-of-the-art hospital on the north end of town, and the establishment of an inter-urban railway system that eventually connected with Emmitsburg to the north, Jefferson to the south, and most importantly, the railroad hub city of Hagerstown to the west. 130

The Era of Suburban Expansion (1900-1950s)

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Maryland was shifting from an agricultural based economy to one based on manufacturing and factory-produced goods. In Maryland, by 1914, more people were working in industry than in agriculture, and more were living in urban areas than in the country.¹³¹ This trend away from agriculture and into the urban industrial sector happened nationally, not just in Maryland. Nationwide, according to the 1790 census over 90% of employed individuals were engaged in agriculture, but by 1930 only 21% of the employed population engaged in agriculture. 132 In Frederick County, as many remaining farms converted to dairy and orchards a decrease of traditional local agricultural industries particularly milling and attendant businesses and industries occurred.¹³³ At the same time the dairy and produce related industries rose in importance within the local economy. Meanwhile suburban residential

¹²⁷ Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 131.

¹²⁸ Williams, p. 403; Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 174.

^{129 &}quot;Frederick Historic District (expanded)," National Register documentation, 1988.

¹³⁰ Herbert H. Harwood, Jr., <u>Blue Ridge Trolley, The Hagerstown & Frederick Railway</u>, (San

Marino, CA: Golden West Books, 1970).

131 Bruchey, p. 396, citing U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Manufactures: 1914, I, 553.

Rasmussen, Readings, p. 297, ff.

¹³³ Paula S. Reed & Assoc., "Mid Maryland Agriculture Context Report," Chapter 6.

districts and recreational areas spread outward from Washington D.C. and Baltimore into surrounding counties, approaching Frederick County.

As the population shift from rural to urban took affect in Frederick County during the first decade of the twentieth century, building on Frederick's newly platted subdivisions began in earnest. Connected with the city grid by extensions of West Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Streets, the "Manufacturing and Development Co.'s North-West Addition to Frederick City" was elegantly platted but altered somewhat in its execution with the construction of the Frederick City Hospital on Block 8 (Figure 38, NW Add. Plan). The relatively modest houses constructed ranged from single dwellings to duplexes to a few row houses, but differed from the older city core houses in their setbacks from the street and Colonial Revival, American Four Square, and bungalow designs. They also stood in stark contrast to the frame vernacular rowhouses and "Negro Tenements" located just a block away on the alleys east of Bentz Street. 134

Two blocks to the south, the Rockwell estate was subdivided along the western extension of West Third Street in 1905 (Figure 39, 1908 Topo Map). Large lots with deep setbacks and a remarkable variety of interpretations of the Colonial Revival architectural style identified Rockwell Terrace as an address of wealth and prestige much like the historic Courthouse Square. Even more distinctive were the curving streets of College Terrace, a western extension of Rockwell Terrace (Figure 40, 1922 Sanborn, College Terr.) Housing constructed during these first decades appeared on West Fourth Street extended (Dill or Montevue Avenue), East Third Street extended, Seventh Street, North Market Street extended, and the new northern cross-streets, Eighth, Ninth, etc., all identifiable by their setbacks and design.

The park-like settings of the new residential subdivisions on the west side of Frederick were further enhanced by the development of the expansive Hood College campus around 1913 on Rosemont Avenue (Fourth Street extended) and Baker Park along Carroll Creek in 1928. Around these open areas grew block after block of single houses for middle class families. Similar development was occurring along East Patrick Street extended (Baltimore Pike) across from the Agricultural Society Fair Grounds.

Middle and upper middle class residential development was not the only growth occurring in Frederick during this period. In addition to the smaller traditional houses and "Negro tenements" along the alleys of Frederick, a number of small subdivisions created specifically as housing for employees of local industries began to appear. Of particular note were those located along Water Street between East South and B&O Streets, which may have been associated with the nearby packing companies or the with the B&O Railroad. The Nicodemus Ice Cream Company constructed an enclave of ten bungalows on Pennsylvania Avenue, south of East Patrick Street extended, in 1924. 135 Originally platted to include fifty-six lots, the subdivision was never completed beyond

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¹³⁴ The "Negro Dwellings" and "Negro Tenements" show on West Alley (later Kleinhart's Alley) and an alley between W. 5th and W. 6th Sts beginning with the 1887 Sanborn Map of Frederick City.

¹³⁵ Frederick Co. Land Record, Deed Book 368, page 240.

the ten original dwellings and was sold to Southern Dairies, Inc. in 1928 (Figure 41, Nicodemus plan).

The now nearly two hundred-year old historic core of the city was fully developed and remained relatively unchanged after the turn of the twentieth century. However, a few buildings were added that helped define the Frederick streetscape of the twentieth century. Prior to the, in some cases, devastating effect of the Depression of the 1930s on local banks, a number of bank buildings in Frederick were thoroughly updated or rebuilt in the first decades of the new century. The Citizen's National Bank, which did not survive the Depression, built a heavily columned Classical Revival façade on the southeast corner of Patrick and Market Streets 1908, as did the Frederick County Bank on the northwest corner. The Francis Scott Key Hotel was built in 1922; at five stories high, it was the tallest building in town for many years. The growing popularity of the automobile also altered the downtown streetscape with the addition of auto garages, primarily along Market and Patrick Streets; the Ideal Garage began selling autos in 1911.

New public schools indicated the pressure of the increasing population in Frederick. As the older school buildings on North Market Street (No. 71 and 72), the Jail Street School, and the Bentz Street Colored School, became inadequate new buildings replaced them. Not only did black and white students remain segregated during this period, but also white girls and boys continued to attend separate schools for several more decades. The Female High School on East Church Street replaced an older building in 1906. 139 However, through the 1930s and 40s, public elementary schools appeared on all the points of the compass around Frederick, and Frederick High School was constructed adjoining Baker Park on the west end. While these buildings served the boys and girls of the white community together, African-American students remained in segregated schools until after the 1956 Supreme Court decision declaring the practice unconstitutional. Lincoln High School (Colored) was built on Madison Street (south of West South Street) in 1925, and the Lincoln Elementary School added to it in 1939. 140 Presumably the Lincoln School buildings replaced the old Bentz Street School, which was located facing the intersection with All Saints Street, appearing as early as the 1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

The outer edge of Frederick city expanded with additional light industry as well as residential subdivisions. Industrial development was primarily concentrated now on the eastern edge of town, along the B&O and Pennsylvania Railroad right-of-ways. By 1908 McMurray's West South Street canning facility was gone and Frederick's industrial focus shifted to the three packing plants on East South Street (see discussion in previous

No buildings were allowed to be higher than the famous spires however.

¹³⁶ Williams, p. 528.

¹³⁸ Cannon, Gorsline, and Whitmore, p. 188. The 1911 Sanborn Map shows an "Auto & Wagon Shed" located behind the D.C. Kemp Coach Factory on S. Market St. at Carroll Creek, the former site of tannery.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p.168.

¹⁴⁰ 1930/1948 (paste) Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. map of Frederick City, microfilm copy, Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, MD.

section), several brick works, and a number of emerging dairy companies. Primary among the diary operations was the White Cross Milk Company, established in 1909 on the west bank of Carroll Creek, East Patrick Street extended. Another emerging industry that provided significant employment was the Everedy Company,

Beginning with a factory building on East Street in 1922, the company expanded through the 1930s and 1940s until a much larger complex for their bottling and kitchen utensil manufacturing business became necessary. This larger complex was completed in 1942 and connected the East Street buildings to the new warehouses on East Church Street Extended. The total complex had nearly doubled in size and took advantage of this space by securing numerous World War II manufacturing contracts.¹⁴²

The changing face of "downtown Frederick" in the early decades of the twentieth century was indicative of the changing city economy. With each passing decade agricultural production and distribution became more peripheral and the business of retail sales of manufactured goods, based on a growing urban and suburban population, more the focus of the city. The automobile and trucking industry changed the way people lived, shopped, and delivered products. More and more, Frederick's lack of back alleys, a result of Dulaney's original plat of block-length lots, would have an impact on business deliveries and street traffic. The growth of the trucking industry through the 1930s also resulted in the decline of the inter-urban railway.¹⁴³

The two world wars of the first half of the twentieth century impacted Frederick with both loss and gain. The loss of local young men in World War I resulted in the development of Memorial Park. Located on the grounds of the former German Reformed Cemetery on Bentz Street, the park has served to memorialize the dead from World War II, the Korean War, and Vietnam as well. The park adjoined the Maryland National Guard Armory on West Second Street, constructed in 1914. Memorial Park and the armory, a combination found in towns across the United States, were indicators of the developing new world order. Despite attempts to remain isolated from international affairs following World War I, the United States was again drawn into war in 1941. Frederick would again feel the impact of war. Established as Detrick Field in 1929, Frederick's former municipal airfield had been operating as a U.S. government emergency airfield and training camp until the troops and aircraft were transferred out for service during World War II.¹⁴⁴ By 1943, Camp Detrick was being used for research in biological warfare. After the war, it continued as a military installation and was renamed Fort Detrick in 1956. Although mourning the loss of more local lives due to war, Frederick had gained an important new source of employment.

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¹⁴¹ Williams, p. 617. The factory building has changed ownership a number of times over nearly 100 years but continues to produce dairy products to this day (2003).

¹⁴² "Frederick Historic District (expanded)," National Register documentation, 1988.

¹⁴³ Herbert H. Harwood, Jr., <u>Blue Ridge Trolley, The Hagerstown & Frederick Railway</u>, (San Marino, CA: Golden West Books, 1970), p. 113-114.

¹⁴⁴ Norman M. Covert, "Cutting Edge: The History of Fort Detrick," Chapter 1, www.detrick.army.mil/detrick/cutting_edge/chapter1.cfm, Fourth Edition, October 2000.

Post-war development of the Washington, D.C. and Baltimore metropolitan area with government research and administrative facilities, as well as a number of corporate headquarters, became a significant employment source in the region. Construction of the Eisenhower Defense Highway (Interstate Route 70 and 270), beginning in 1956, provided high-speed transportation corridors between Frederick and the two cities as well. The impact on Frederick County and Frederick city was phenomenal and continues today as a large segment of the population now works outside of the city and even the county (Figure 42, 1956 map). This new era of expansion in Frederick focused on the outer boundaries of the city and the historic downtown suffered dramatic declines as commercial businesses moved to shopping centers and eventually malls, artifacts of the automobile age. Continued residential and commercial expansion outward engulfed surrounding farmland, however, despite this painful period of decline much of the historic landscape of the city center was preserved.

Conclusion

Historically subject to periodic flooding of Carroll Creek, Frederick was again hit with a devastating flood in 1976. Perhaps it was the flood that inspired a commitment to reviving the downtown area. Through the 1980s, Frederick city officials and residents worked to restore interest in downtown Frederick and rehabilitate its collection of historic buildings, once again making it a destination for visitors and shoppers. With the resurfacing of Market Street, the continued construction of the Carroll Creek Flood Control Project, and the reinvigorated business and residential communities within Frederick, the history of this 258-year old town continues.

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