

## Post-1865 African American Communities in Mid-Maryland



**The Comstock School and Bell's Chapel of the Mt. Ephraim community in Frederick County, MD. These buildings illustrate some of the important institutions for Black communities after the Civil War. (Google Maps Street View, 2019)**

As US society during Reconstruction increasingly divided along the “color line,” African Americans found support and opportunities for growth within the structure of their own communities.<sup>1</sup> Rural groupings of African Americans grew around long-established or new Black landowners, often expanding through strong kinship ties. They could be widely scattered or a cluster of farmsteads that formed a community; some were on the edges of rural towns and villages. Similarly, Black neighborhoods in the region’s larger towns and cities expanded around institutions established long before the war. At the center of the Black community framework stood the church, providing not just spiritual and financial support, but also avenues for personal improvement, mutual aid, and freedom to speak openly. Many Black churches served a dual function as places of both worship and education. For the most part, it was the African Americans themselves who took the lead in ensuring that there would be schools for their children and aid for the poor—whether with the help of the Freedmen’s Bureau or state and local governments, or through their own traditions of mutual aid and support rooted in African culture and centuries of slavery and oppression in America.

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Douglass, as cited in Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York: Penguin Press, 2019, Kindle Edition), xiii. Some of the text in this essay is drawn from the author’s previous work: Edith B. Wallace, “*They have erected a neat little church*”: *The Rural African American Experience, 1865-1900, in the National Capital Area, A Special History Study* (Interior Region 1—National Capital Area, National Park Service, in cooperation with the Organization of American Historians, October 2021).

In his seminal history of the Reconstruction era, Eric Foner described the Black church, schools, and benevolent societies as the “key institutions of Black America” that not only supported African Americans through the daily struggles of the late 19th century, but also “became the springboards for future struggle”:

In stabilizing their families, seizing control of their churches, greatly expanding their schools and benevolent societies, staking a claim to economic independence, and forging a distinctive political culture, Blacks during Reconstruction laid the foundation for the modern Black community, whose roots lay deep in slavery, but whose structure and values reflected the consequences of emancipation.<sup>2</sup>

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. reiterated this idea, particularly around the central importance of the church in African American communities: “In the centuries since its birth in the time of slavery, the Black Church has stood as the foundation of Black religious, political, economic, and social life.”<sup>3</sup>

### *Geographic Distribution of African Americans in the 1870s*

African American population distribution in the mid-Maryland counties of Carroll, Frederick, and Washington before the war influenced the development of Black communities during the post-war Reconstruction years. The county districts in which enslaved and free African Americans were present in larger numbers developed more post-emancipation communities. Those districts with larger pre-war free Black populations also often had more Black landowners, the foundation of rural “cluster” communities and rural town-edge communities.<sup>4</sup> For example, in 1860, Frederick County had a Black population of more than 8,000, of whom 3,200 were enslaved and 5,000 were free. After emancipation, at least 10 rural towns and 14 rural clusters became home to a Black population large enough to build a church and school, in addition to the already well-established community in Frederick City. Most of these communities were in the five southern districts and two eastern districts of the county where most of the county’s enslaved population was located. Washington County had a Black population of 3,100 in 1860, with just over 1,400 enslaved and nearly 1,700 free people. Outside of the Hagerstown community, there were 5 rural town communities and 4 rural clusters. In Carroll County, with a smaller total Black population of 2,000 in 1860, only 3 rural cluster communities formed, in addition to the nascent Union Street community in Westminster.

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<sup>2</sup> Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Perennial Classics, 2002, updated edition, 2014), 78.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Black Church: This Is Our Story, This Is Our Song* (Penguin Books, 2022, Kindle Edition), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cluster communities often had 1 or 2 parcels owned by individuals or families at the core. The cluster grew from subdivision among extended family as well as nearby tenancies and landowners.

Ten years later, African Americans enumerated in the 1870 census within county districts and for select towns provides clues to the locations of post-war Black communities:

Carroll County		Frederick County <sup>5</sup>		Washington County	
District	#Black	District	#Black	District	#Black
Franklin District	303	Buckeystown District	703	Antietam District	3
Freedom District	531	Catoctin District	18	Beaver Creek District	134
Hampstead District	28	Creagerstown District	82	Boonsboro District Boonsboro	91 23
Manchester District	15	Emmitsburg District Emmitsburg	107 31	Cavetown District Smithsburg	16 6
Middleburg District	36	Frederick District Frederick City	472 1,822	Clear Spring District Clear Spring	195 143
Myers District	9	Hauvers District	22	Conococheague District	79
New Windsor District New Windsor	259 33	Jackson District	23	Funkstown District Funkstown	62 43
Taneytown District Stumptown Taneytown	45 8 22	Jefferson District Jefferson	249 18	Hagerstown District Hagerstown	13 869
Uniontown District Uniontown	167 30	Johnsville District	166	Hancock District Hancock	132 121
Westminster District Westminster	287 271	Liberty District	695	Indian Spring District	62
Woolery District	131	Mechanicstown District Mechanicstown[Thurmont]	43 21	Leitersburg District	15
-	-	Middletown District Middletown	154 87	Pleasant Valley District	43
-	-	Mt. Pleasant District	389	Ringgold District	0
-	-	New Market District	840	Sandy Hook District	146
-	-	Petersville District Berlin[Brunswick] Burkittsville Knoxville Petersville	589 45 21 66 72	Sharpsburg District Sharpsburg	117 61
-	-	Urbana District	723	Tilghmanton District	90
-	-	Woodsboro District	114	Williamsport District Williamsport	168 206
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,175</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>7,572</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>2,838</b>

<sup>5</sup> Based on the numbers given in the 1870 US Population Census. Totals for each county division can also be found in the 1870 summary for Maryland in "Table III. Population, 1870-1850, in each State and Territory, by Civil Divisions less than Counties, as White and Colored, and Native and Foreign," in *1870 Census: Volume 1. The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 163, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-18.pdf>.

Cluster communities tended to be centralized around one or two Black-owned parcels, with scattered farmsteads and tenancies forming the extended community. In many cases, a core parcel was owned by an individual or family that was free before the Civil War—some claiming ownership of the land for several generations back. In most cases, the initial land purchase was made after emancipation from white landowners, some of them former enslavers, who carved small parcels from their acreage. The land was often marginal, located on thin-soiled hillsides or on wooded land, commonly purchased in parcels of ten acres or less.<sup>6</sup> Typically there was a source of employment nearby, including larger farms, grist or saw mills, tanneries, and iron works, though the predominant employment in the rural communities was farm labor. It was often the Black landowners within rural communities who provided the land for churches and schools, and who played leading roles in their operations.



1877 Carroll Co. Atlas map (Franklin District) showing Newport, a cluster community that grew around Boss Hammond's land, beginning in 1840, and the Fairview ME Church. (Johns Hopkins University Library)

<sup>6</sup> George W. McDaniel, "Reflections of Black Heritage: An Architectural and Social History of Black Communities in Montgomery County," Sugarloaf Regional Trails, September 1979, 17, *Maryland Historical Trust*, <https://mht.maryland.gov/Documents/research/contexts/FRRMont28.pdf>; Edith B. Wallace, "Reclaiming Forgotten History: Preserving Rural African-American Cultural Resources in Washington County, Maryland," MA Thesis, 2003, 58, *Maryland Shared Open Access Repository Home*, eScholarship@Goucher, *Goucher College Graduate Works*, <http://hdl.handle.net/11603/2738>.

Kinship played a significant role in the growth of cluster communities. In a study of Black communities in northwestern Montgomery County, Maryland, George McDaniel found: “Not unusually, grandparents allowed their descendants to build houses on their land, thereby converting the homestead into an extended family. Thus, the elderly lived in close proximity to the younger generations in the community and passed on their ideas, values, skills, and ways of life to the young.”<sup>7</sup> In some cases, the land was subdivided and sold to the younger generations or extended families. Adjoining or nearby parcels were purchased by others, often former tenants on nearby farms, as money came available, sometimes decades later.

Like the rural clusters, rural town or village communities tended to cluster around free Black property owners, most often located on the back streets or town edges. These men and women also often provided town lots for churches and schools, frequently serving as trustees, ministers, and teachers. In many cases, these town institutions also served Black families living nearby on scattered farmsteads and tenancies. Many Freedmen’s Bureau schools were placed in centralized rural town locations in order to serve the largest number of students. Black residents in or near rural towns and villages found greater employment opportunities for both men and women, including farm labor and domestic work, but also skilled occupations such as carpenters, barbers, and blacksmiths. Washington County’s rural towns adjoining the C&O Canal—Hancock, Clear Spring, Williamsport, and Sharpsburg—offered canal-related work. Point of Rocks in Frederick County offered work on the B&O Railroad, while in Carroll County, the Western Maryland Railroad employed Black workers along its route across the county.

Westminster, Frederick, and Hagerstown, the seats of government in the three counties, already had well-established Black neighborhoods.<sup>8</sup> These neighborhood communities were largely separate from the cities’ larger white populations. Urban areas afforded better employment opportunities for African Americans, from the more common domestic service, day labor, and skilled labor positions, to industrial labor and, for some, as proprietors of small businesses. The established Black neighborhood communities in Frederick and Hagerstown, which already included church buildings before the war, were well-positioned for the influx of Black residents over the decades following emancipation.

### *Frederick County Communities*

Fredericktown was already developing as the region’s market center when it was designated the seat of government for the newly-formed Frederick County in 1748. By 1820, the city boasted a population of over 3,600 people, including 702 African Americans, both enslaved (437) and free

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<sup>7</sup> McDaniel, “Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County,” 23.

<sup>8</sup> See “Slavery and Freedom in 1860” section in “The Coming Storm” essay, [www.crossroadsofwar.org](http://www.crossroadsofwar.org).

(265).<sup>9</sup> By that time, two Black churches – Quinn or Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and the “Old Hill” or Asbury Methodist Episcopal (ME) – were serving Black residents who lived in small household clusters on the south and east edges of town. Fifty years later, and five years after the close of the Civil War, the 1870 census enumerated over 1,800 Black men, women, and children in the city of Frederick.

The 1870 US Population Census for Frederick City, showed that African Americans lived in all of the seven “wards” or tax divisions within the city.<sup>10</sup> While many individuals lived as servants or laborers within white households, a total of 336 family units lived in independent or shared households and 17 of those were property owners. Frederick’s Black community continued to grow and concentrate on the east and south sides of the city, as it had before the war. Wards 1 (316 total Black population) and 2 (466 total), included East Street, Middle Alley, and the east ends of Church through Seventh Street. On the south side of Frederick, Wards 5 (241 total), 6 (290 total), and 7 (362 total), encompassed All Saints, South, and West Patrick Streets, as well as Brewer’s Alley and Cat Alley. In the wealthy central-city Wards 3 & 4, African Americans appeared in much smaller numbers, 83 and 64 respectively, and were predominantly living in white households.<sup>11</sup>

147	175	Shinn, William	30	M.	B.	Hotel waiter	(	
		—, Annie	29	F.	W.			
		—, Annella	8	F.	W.			
174		Magnus, Fredrick	73	M.	B.	White washer	(	
		—, Harriet	50	F.	B.			
142	177	Brown, John	30	M.	B.	Domestic	(	
		—, Elizabeth	28	F.	B.			
		—, Mary, Henrietta	62	F.	B.	Domestic	(	
		—, Taylor, Henrietta	21	F.	B.			
		—, Joseph	1	M.	B.			
		—, Truck, Ellen	35	F.	B.			
149	178	Key, Hiram	25	M.	W.	Farm hand	(	
		—, Matilda	26	F.	B.			
		—, Martha	3	F.	W.			
		—, Hiram	1	M.	B.			
		—, Sarah E.	19	F.	B.			
		—, Howard, Matilda	70	F.	B.	Shipping house	600	
		—, Lloyd	31	M.	B.	Farm hand	(	
		—, Mary	36	F.	B.	Domestic	(	
170	179	Brown, Julius	30	M.	W.	Coachman	700	
		—, Sarah	29	F.	B.	Shipping house		
		—, Gertrude	7	F.	B.			
		—, Alice	6	F.	B.			
		—, Mary E.	4	F.	B.			
		—, Louisa	2	F.	B.			
		—, Nancy, Cecilia	45	F.	W.	Domestic	(	
171	180	Neal, Joseph	50	M.	W.	Free Dealer	(	#57
		—, Elizabeth	44	F.	W.	Shipping house		
		—, Josephine	20	F.	W.			
		—, Bernard	17	M.	W.	Barber	(	
		—, Ann	15	F.	W.			
		—, Ellen	13	F.	W.			
		—, Ann	11	F.	W.			
		—, Samuel	9	M.	W.			

A cluster of Black households in Frederick’s Ward 5, 1870 US Population Census.

While many of Frederick’s Black residents worked in domestic service and day labor in 1870, there were at least five blacksmiths and five tanners, eight barbers, four carters (transporter of goods), three ice dealers, one carpenter, one

<sup>9</sup> *Census for 1820* (Washington, DC: Gales & Seaton, 1821), 98, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1820/1820a-02.pdf>.

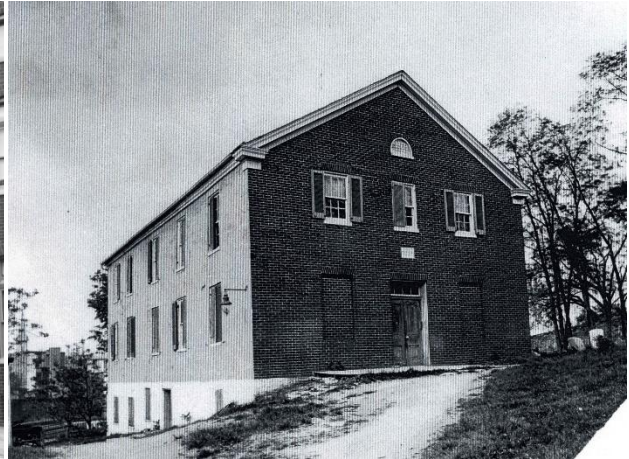
<sup>10</sup> That same year, the city taxable boundary was enlarged and the tax divisions expanded (and altered) to include Wards 8, 9, and 10, as seen on the 1873 Titus Atlas maps.

<sup>11</sup> The identification of streets and alleys within the wards is based upon the 1873 Titus Atlas maps, however, since by then there were three additional wards, some discrepancies exist. For example, in 1870, the school for the deaf was enumerated within Ward 3, but it was located within Ward 8 on the 1873 map.

stone mason, two shoemakers, and five people working in hotel service. John Murdock and William J. Brown owned their own ice dealerships; Charles Roles owned his retail grocery; and Warner Cook, Benjamin Tanner, Henry Williams, and Jacob Nicholson were listed as clergymen.



**1855 edifice of the Quinn Chapel AME Church.**  
(Courtesy Heritage Frederick Archives and Research Center)



**The "Old Hill" Asbury ME Church on East All Saints St.** (William O. Lee Collection, Courtesy Heritage Frederick Archives and Research Center)

By 1868, the Black community of post-war Frederick was served by three churches. Quinn Chapel AME Church, on East Third Street, served not only as a place of worship and community gathering place, but also housed the first school for Black children in the city, beginning in March 1865.<sup>12</sup> The two-story brick church building was constructed in 1855. Two other churches served congregations on the south end of Frederick. The Asbury ME Church was still located on East All Saints Street. On West All Saints Street, "The Baptist Church of Frederick," formerly a white church, was occupied by a Black congregation by the 1860s.<sup>13</sup>

The school located in the basement of the Quinn Chapel was one of two Freedmen's Bureau-sponsored schools for African Americans in Frederick City. In April 1865, a second school was opened in the Asbury Church and by 1867, had two teachers and 47 students enrolled. In 1869, the Baltimore Association provided the teachers for both schools and paid \$10 per month rent to

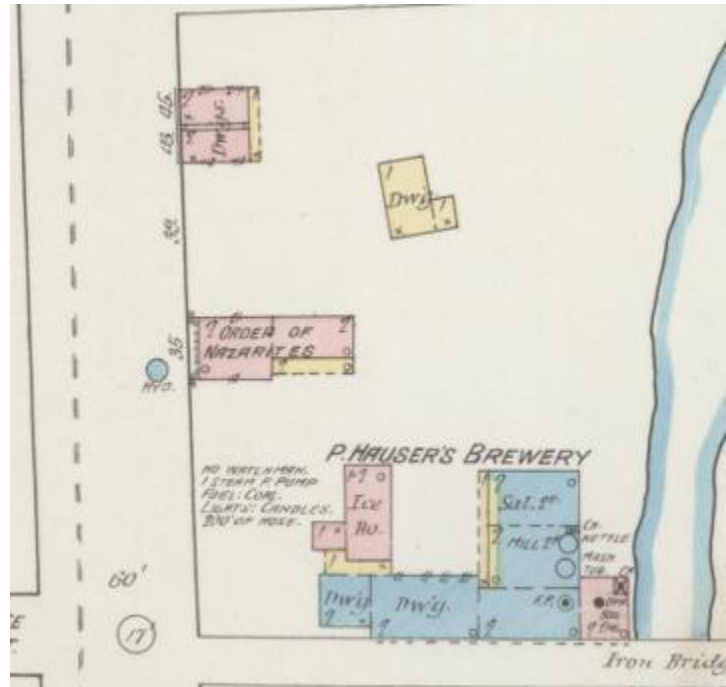
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<sup>12</sup> "Letter from Frederick, Md.," *The Christian Recorder*, April 1, 1865 [letter written by Benjamin Tanner].

<sup>13</sup> Joy Onley, *Memories of Frederick Over on the Other Side* (self-published, 1995), 72. In 1883, "The Baptist Church of Frederick" was held in trust by Black trustees William R. Burrill, Henry Daley, Jerry Smith, Henry Frazier, and James Thomas (Frederick Co. Deed Book AF7, page 481-482. It is now called the First Missionary Baptist Church.

each church for the use of their building.<sup>14</sup> There is evidence the Baptist Church may have also hosted a school.<sup>15</sup>

Groups that promoted mutual aid and fellowship within the community began to appear as early as 1865, when the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America (GUOOF), or Black Odd Fellows, authorized the formation of the Evening Star Lodge in Frederick City. A second lodge followed in 1866 called the Mt. Zion Lodge.<sup>16</sup> The groups likely met initially in private homes or churches. In 1871, the 26<sup>th</sup> annual general meeting, called the Annual Moveable Committee, convened at the meeting place of the Evening Star Lodge in Frederick with delegates representing 88 lodges from across the US. It was reportedly the largest such meeting held in the history of the Black Odd Fellows at that time.<sup>17</sup> It appears the fraternal group known as the Grand United Order of Nazarites had the earliest lodge building, located on West All Saints Street near Brewer's Alley on the 1887 Sanborn Insurance Map of Frederick. The brick building was later occupied (in 1921) by the Knights of Pythias.<sup>18</sup>



**Order of Nazarites building on W. All Saints St. near Brewer's Alley, 1887 Sanborn Insurance Map, Frederick City. (Library of Congress)**

The Odd Fellows and other such groups gathered for the purpose of fellowship, but also to promote mutual aid among its members. They established internal funds to help sick or disabled

<sup>14</sup> *The Anglo-African*, vol. 04, no. 39 (April 29, 1865), 2; State Superintendent's Monthly School Report, Oct. 1867, United States, Freedmen's Bureau, Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, NARA Roll 34, Schedules of schools and rental accounts, <https://familysearch.org>. Freedmen's Bureau records list the Asbury school as "Frederick City #1" and the Quinn school as "Frederick City #2."

<sup>15</sup> "School Examination," *Maryland Union*, April 13, 1876, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Charles H. Brooks, *The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America* (Philadelphia, PA: Odd Fellows' Journal Print, 1902), 96, 98, <https://books.google.com>.

<sup>17</sup> Brooks, *The Official History and Manual*, 114. The Mountain City Elks Lodge was established in 1923. In 1921, the Knights of Pythias purchased a building on W. All Saints St. where the Knights and the Masons lodge held their meetings. (*The Frederick News-Post*, [https://www.fredericknewspost.com/archives/once-home-to-black-organizations-pythian-castle-has-rich-history/article\\_b1b9086d-6e89-5420-ba7e-b4f30da06d37.html](https://www.fredericknewspost.com/archives/once-home-to-black-organizations-pythian-castle-has-rich-history/article_b1b9086d-6e89-5420-ba7e-b4f30da06d37.html))

<sup>18</sup> The Nazarite cornerstone on the extant brick building is dated 1891. While the 1887 Sanborn map shows the same brick building was already standing in 1887, the Sanborn map of 1892 shows that the backbuilding was replaced with a much larger addition.



members, and to defray the cost of funerals for members and their families. Other groups, including the Beneficial Society of Laboring Sons of Frederick, established burial grounds where African Americans could be interred. The Laboring Sons Cemetery was opened in 1851 along the west side of Chapel Alley between Fifth and Sixth Streets on the east side of town.<sup>19</sup> In 1880, The Working Men’s Association established the Greenmount Cemetery on West Seventh Street, the second all-Black cemetery in Frederick.<sup>20</sup> While a Black-only burial lot adjoined the “Old Hill” Asbury Church on East All Saints Street, the Quinn AME and Baptist churches did not have cemetery lots.

Outside of Frederick City, rural Black communities or household clusters were located in all sections of the county. The communities that had begun to form before the war, including the Black town-edge neighborhoods in Emmitsburg (1830), Lewistown (1840s), Libertytown (1830s), Middletown (1820s), Mt. Pleasant (ca.1856), and New Market (1830s), and the rural clusters of Mt. Ephraim (1814), Mountain (1813), Poplar Ridge (1820s), Pattersonville (1853), Bartonsville (1838), Old Fields (1855), and Mount Olive continued to grow after 1865.<sup>21</sup> In addition to these, many newly freed African Americans and their families formed new communities around post-war land acquisitions by men and women who were able to save some of their wages toward the purchase of a home. Like the communities formed before the war, these were located on the edges of small towns and villages, in agricultural household clusters, and on the mountainsides along the county’s western boundary.

As the 1870 Population Census table (above) shows, the greatest concentrations of African



**Hope Hill community, Urbana District, 1873 Titus Atlas of Frederick County. (Johns Hopkins University Library)**

American residents were in districts in the south and east sections of the county where the largest numbers of enslaved people lived before 1865 – Petersville Dist. (793), Urbana Dist. (723), Buckeystown Dist. (703), and Jefferson Dist. (267) in the south and New Market Dist. (840), Liberty Dist. (695), and Mt. Pleasant Dist. (389) in the east. It was in these districts that many of the post-war rural communities formed and grew. New town-edge Black neighborhoods appeared in the south-county towns of

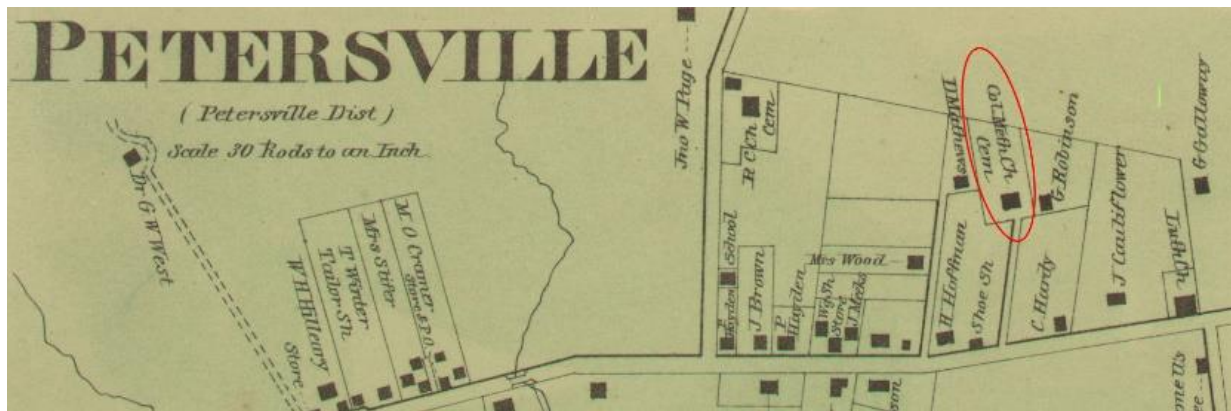
<sup>19</sup> “Laboring Sons Cemetery,” MIHP #FHD-1301, *Maryland Historical Trust*, <https://apps.mht.maryland.gov/medusa/PDF/Frederick/FHD-1301.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> “Fairview Cemetery,” MIHP #F-3-238, *Maryland Historical Trust*, <https://apps.mht.maryland.gov/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-3-238.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> See Pre-War essay “The Coming Storm,” section entitled “Slavery and Freedom in 1860.” The Mount Olive ME Church was established on the Frederick and Carroll County line in 1850. (Peter Pearre, personal communication)

Buckeystown, Jefferson, Petersville, and Point of Rocks. The largely agricultural southern districts saw the formation of many rural cluster communities: a small grouping of roadside dwellings formed the community known as Centerville about halfway between Ijamsville and Urbana, (Fingerboard Road and Ijamsville Road); the Pleasant View community was located south of the village of Doubs; the Hope Hill community (Flinthill Road and Park Mills Road) formed on a hilltop west of Urbana near the Monocacy River; Halltown was north of Point of Rocks); Brookville was on South Mountain Road north of Knoxville; Della and Greenfield were near Licksville; and the widely scattered households along Burkittsville Road (Coatsville, Route 17), Gapland Road, and Mountain Church Road were located west and north of Burkittsville. In the eastern districts, new communities included Fountain Mills near Monrovia and a cluster outside of New London, while the remote enclave known as Old Fields (near Unionville) and Mount Olive, on the Carroll County line opposite Union Bridge, continued to grow.<sup>22</sup>

Churches were typically the first institution to mark a community grouping, many with associated burial grounds. In rural towns and villages, the church often stood at or near the center of the Black neighborhood. Those churches also served African American households from the surrounding area, whether living on isolated farmsteads or in small clusters. Brookville and



Detail from Petersville map, 1873 Titus Atlas of Frederick County. (Johns Hopkins University Library)

Coatsville community residents attended the Mt. Zion AME Church in Knoxville or the Union Bethel AME Church in Petersville.<sup>23</sup> Other churches were established in rural areas where a cluster of scattered Black households formed a community. The Ceres Bethel AME Church (Gapland Road, 1858/rebuilt 1872) served residents along Mountain Church and Gapland Road as well as the growing but widely scattered Coatsville community along Burkittsville Road (Route 17). In 1869, the residents of the Hope Hill community cluster near Buckeystown, purchased the “Hope Hill Church” from its white trustees.<sup>24</sup> Sunnyside ME Church (built 1885),

<sup>22</sup> Fountain Mills, MIHP #F-7-39; “Dorsey U.M. Church,” MIHP #F-5-42; Peter Pearre, “The Keys Chapel Cemetery in Oldfields,” manuscript.

<sup>23</sup> “Ceres Bethel AME Church,” National Register documentation, Section 8, page 11. See <https://www.southmountainheritage.org/coatesville-petersville-and-knoxville-scenes.html> for image of the Union Bethel AME Church.

<sup>24</sup> Frederick Co. Deed Book CM 4, folio 74; “Hope Hill ME Church,” MIHP #F-7-29.

served the community along Mountville Road as well as residents in the tiny community called Halltown. The Mt. Ephraim community (1814) added Bell’s Chapel in 1874 to serve its growing population.<sup>25</sup> The Mount Olive Church (1850) served the surrounding community, likely including residents of Old Fields, both in Frederick and Carroll County. In 1871, a group of men from the Old Fields purchased land as trustees “for the purpose of Erecting a House thereon to be used for a school house and to Worship in.”<sup>26</sup> In 1883, a dedicated church building called Keys Chapel at Old Fields was constructed. In many cases, like Keys Chapel (1883), the Sunnyside ME Church (1885), and the Ebenezer ME Church in Centerville (1883), church buildings were constructed years after a congregation was formed.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1865 and 1870, many of these community churches hosted a Freedmen’s Bureau school. A school was established in Middletown in 1865; in Libertytown, Burkittsville (area), Mt. Pleasant, and Petersville in 1866; New Market, Point of Rocks, and Hope Hill in 1867; and

Frederick County	Mount Pleasant	1	22	28	A. M. Assn. New York
	Burkittsville	1	17	13	New York
	Middletown	1	14		Baltimore Association
	Liberty-town	1	11	19	Baltimore Association

**“Report of the Colored Schools in Maryland, June 30, 1866.” (Maryland and Delaware Freedmen’s Bureau Field Office Records, Assistant Commissioner, Roll 5, FamilySearch.com)**

in Lewistown in 1870.<sup>28</sup> A schoolhouse was apparently in place by 1867 in Centerville, but in September 1868, Ebenezer Church minister Rev. Alexander Kennedy requested the Freedmen’s Bureau’s help to rebuild their schoolhouse “that was burnt last Spring by some ruffians.”<sup>29</sup> Freedmen’s Bureau funds to build a schoolhouse in Emmitsburg were reportedly approved in 1867, however a dispute between the Black residents and the white builder delayed completion until the fall of 1869.<sup>30</sup> (See Freedmen’s Bureau Schools Database for images of Teacher’s Monthly School Reports)

Federal funding for the Freedmen’s Bureau education department was ended by Congress in 1870 and the responsibility fell to the Maryland counties by law in 1872. In the 1870 state

<sup>25</sup> Frederick Co. Deed Book TG 1, folio 211; “Bell’s Chapel,” MIHP #F-7-27.

<sup>26</sup> Frederick Co. Deed Book CM 7, folio 62.

<sup>27</sup> “Centerville Survey District,” MIHP #F-7-38.

<sup>28</sup> “Report of the Colored Schools in Maryland, June 30, 1866,” Maryland and Delaware, Freedmen’s Bureau Field Office Records, 1865-1872, Assistant Commissioner, Roll 5, Assistant Commissioner’s and Superintendent of Education’s monthly statistical school reports, June 1866-July 1868; “Superintendent’s Monthly School Report, November 1866,” Records of the Superintendent of Education, 1865-1872, Roll 16, District of Columbia, Monthly Reports, Oct 1865-June 1868 Education Division, *FamilySearch.com*.

<sup>29</sup> District of Columbia Education, Registered Letters Received, Entered in Register 1, G-O, Jan. 1868-Dec. 1869, Part 3. The schoolhouse Rev. Kennedy referred to as “burnt” may have been the one in Point of Rocks.

<sup>30</sup> Dean Herrin, “Post-Civil War African American Schools in Emmitsburg and Lewistown, Frederick County, Maryland, Summary of Important Dates,” April 2021, citing Freedmen’s Bureau records: Maryland and Delaware, Field Office Records, 1865-1872, and Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education,

election, the first in which Maryland's Black voters participated, their support for Radical Republicans in the legislature helped to change state laws that shifted the outlook for Black

		COLORED SCHOOLS.								168	
		FREDEBICK COUNTY—SCHOOL STATISTICS—Attendance for year ending June 30th, 1873.									
No. of School.	District.	NAME OF TEACHER.	FALL TERM.		WINTER TERM.		SPRING TERM.		SUMMER TERM.		Number of different pupils for the year.
			On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	On Roll.	Average daily attendance	
1	1	Rebecca Moses.....	18	17	36	25	32	20	.....	.....	38
1	2	Wm. A. Willyams.....	34	32	43	40	42	36	.....	.....	90
2	2	Delia D. Washington.....	46	37	65	56	61	48	.....	.....	68
3	2	Laura V. Davage.....	.....	.....	60	47	60	45	.....	.....	60
1	3	John H. Smith.....	87	30	37	22	31	20	.....	.....	43
1	4	John W. Grinder.....	23	26	26	20	18	17	.....	.....	35
1	5	John H. Shields.....	35	30	30	20	28	17	.....	.....	38
1	7	Emma J. Whittington.....	43	40	43	40	53	50	.....	.....	70
1	8	Susan E. Herbert.....	55	45	55	33	50	36	.....	.....	57
1	9	John B. Washington.....	28	23	48	43	65	50	.....	.....	73
1	12	Daniel Hall.....	27	20	32	22	29	22	.....	.....	40
2	12	James T. Morris.....	.....	.....	51	35	48	28	.....	.....	60
1	13	Wm. J. Shultz.....	.....	.....	30	25	35	28	.....	.....	40
1	14	Thomas E. Stewart.....	.....	.....	18	16	29	20	.....	.....	39
			5106	3564	7422	5088	6797	4668	.....	.....	8483

REPORT OF THE

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

education in Maryland. In 1872, a new law was passed requiring every county to have at least one Black school, for which some state funding would be provided.<sup>31</sup> The Frederick County School Commissioners had already begun providing minimal funds to a few of the established “Colored schools,” including Emmitsburg’s Lincoln School, in 1869. After the 1872 law was passed in Maryland, the Commissioners laid out a plan for eighteen “Colored schools” across the county, though only fourteen were in operation during the 1872-73 school year, according to the state’s Annual Report.<sup>32</sup>

The early county schools remained in the buildings, often still churches, that were used by the Freedmen’s Bureau-sponsored schools. Later purpose-built schoolhouses were constructed by the county. A few remain standing today (2024), including the 1888 schoolhouse “Mountville Colored School” (MIHP #F-2-44); the “Hopeland School” (MIHP #F-7-37), built ca. 1910, replaced an earlier building; the “Doubs School,” built by the county School Commission in 1902 (Pleasant View MIHP #F-1 -139, survey district); Buckeystown old school building still stands near the church, now occupied as a residence; and the school at Old Fields that was later converted to a private home.<sup>33</sup> The Comstock School (MIHP #F-7-25), built for the Mt. Ephraim

1865-1872, District of Columbia Office.

<sup>31</sup> “State Department of Education—Origin,” *Maryland Manual Online*, <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/13sdoe/html/sdoef.html>; “Archives of Maryland, Historical List, General Assembly Members,” <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc2600/sc2685/html/sesslist.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Herrin, “Post-Civil War African American Schools in Emmitsburg and Lewistown.”

<sup>33</sup> See Oldfields school image from a 1935 insurance record at <https://catocinurnace.org/library/pictures/>.

community in 1898, was not constructed by the county but by the wealthy owner of the nearby Stronghold Manor.

Like the Black community living in Frederick City, the rural communities in the county also formed lodges associated with several well-known societies. In 1869, the Needham Lodge of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUOOF) was formed in Burlin [sic] (Brunswick). Two new lodges were established in 1871, the Mt. Phillip Lodge in Middletown and the Star of the West Lodge in Burkittsville.<sup>34</sup> In Bartonsville, members of the Order of the Galilean Fishermen, a mutual aid society originally organized in Baltimore in 1856, were granted dispensation to form a tabernacle or lodge, probably before 1873 when it apparently shows on the Titus Atlas map as “Temple.” In 1917, the lodge trustees purchased another parcel (on today’s Tobery Road) in Bartonsville on which they built a new meeting hall.<sup>35</sup>



**Bartonsville detail from 1873 Titus Atlas map, New Market District. (Johns Hopkins University Library)**



**"Galilean Fisherman Hall" as it appeared in 1977. (MIHP #F-5-51, Cheryl Widell)**

### *Washington County Communities*

Elizabethtown, later renamed Hagerstown, was named the county seat of Washington County in 1776 when the new county was carved from Frederick County. The town, platted in 1762, had already been in existence as a busy market and mill town for more than ten years. In 1820, the US Population Census for Hagerstown listed 2,300 white people, 112 free African Americans, and 119 enslaved.<sup>36</sup> Over the forty years that followed, Hagerstown’s white population grew slowly reaching just a little over 3,600; and while the enslaved Black population fell to 60 individuals, the free Black population had swelled to 449 men, women, and children.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Brooks, *The Official History*, 99 and 115.

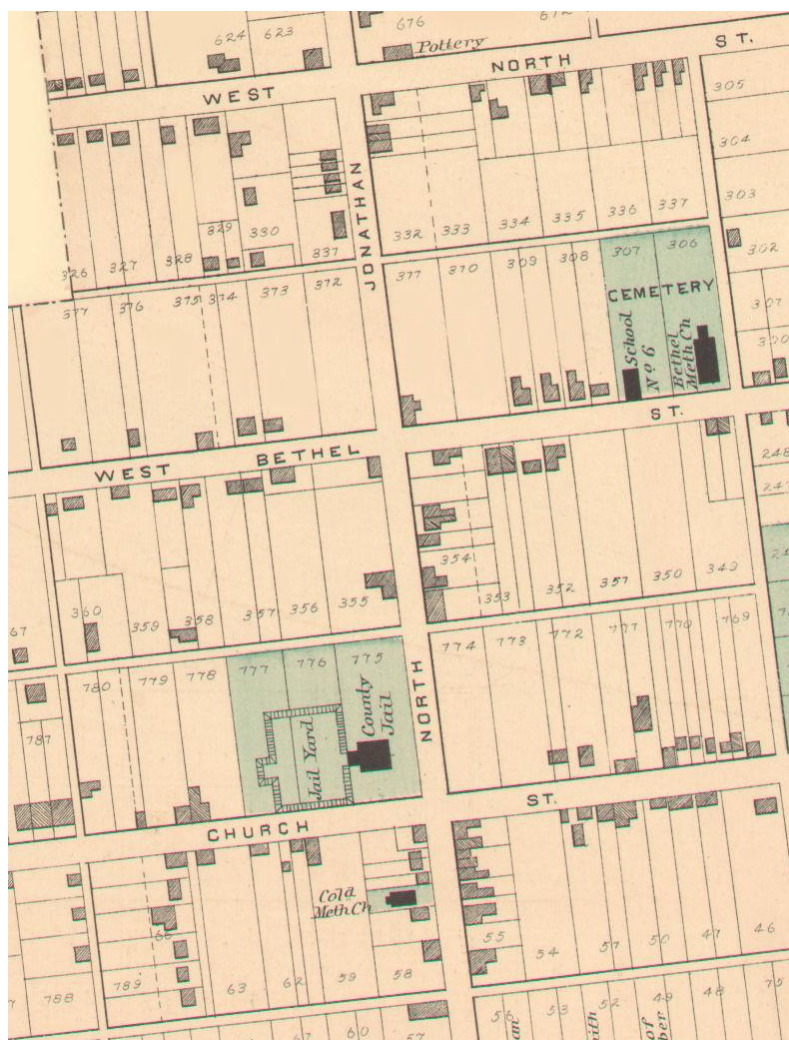
<sup>35</sup> Dennis Schatzman, “Galilean Fishermen Founded in Baltimore,” *The Baltimore Afro-American*, June 1, 1974, *Maryland State Archives*,

[https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/ecpdata/webroot/msaref14/msa\\_sc5458\\_000045\\_000339a/pdf/msa\\_afro\\_1974\\_01-0469.pdf](https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/ecpdata/webroot/msaref14/msa_sc5458_000045_000339a/pdf/msa_afro_1974_01-0469.pdf).

<sup>36</sup> Heritage Resource Group, Inc., “Jonathan Street, Hagerstown, Maryland” (City of Hagerstown, 2002), 10. See Pre-War essay “The Coming Storm,” section entitled “Slavery and Freedom in 1860” for additional detail.

<sup>37</sup> “Table 21. Maryland - Race and Hispanic Origin for Selected Large Cities and Other Places: Earliest Census to

The African American neighborhood community that had its beginnings in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century continued to grow around the Asbury ME Church, established on Jonathan Street in 1818, and the Ebenezer (Bethel) AME Church on Bethel Street (1820) where a cemetery was in place as early as 1843.<sup>38</sup> By 1870, nearly a third (869) of Washington County’s Black population (2,838) lived in Hagerstown, largely within the North Jonathan Street neighborhood between West North Street (Avenue) and Weller’s Alley to the south. While many were born in



**Detail of the Jonathan Street neighborhood in Hagerstown's 5th Ward, 1877 Atlas of Washington County. (Johns Hopkins University Library)**

Maryland, a number of Hagerstown’s Black residents hailed from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, and a few from Tennessee, Ohio, and Washington, DC.

As with other larger towns, Hagerstown offered a variety of employments beyond the most common domestic service and general laborer, according to the 1870 census. Hotel workers included cook, waiter, porter, and hostler. Skilled occupations included barber – there were eleven barbers of whom six were from the Wagner family – dressmaker, seamstress, tanner, plasterer, two blacksmiths (John Fields and George Cook), carpenter, butcher, nurse, drayman, and a “clergyman” (Benjamin Brown). One individual worked as a store clerk while another gave his job

1990,” Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, “Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States,” Population Division, Working Paper No. 76 (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, February 2005); “1860 US Federal Census – Slave Schedules,” Washington County, Hagerstown, *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>38</sup> Jean Libby, ed., *Slavery to Salvation: The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), xxvii-xxix; Lynn Bowman, *Ten Weeks on Jonathan Street* (Frostburg, MD: Lynn Bowman, 2019), 47.

as “works in furnace.” Aaron Booth operated a “Notion store.” Eight of the barbers were among the 60 African American property owners, along with other skilled occupations such as stone mason, butcher, and “Methodist preacher” Edward Hammond. However, the majority of property owners were employed as unskilled laborers, farmhands, domestic servants, and hotel workers, while a few were women who stayed home as house keepers. At least seven of the property owners were USCT veterans, including Samuel Broome, Benjamin Brooks, and Mark Marshall, as well as Thomas Henry and Robert, Perry, and Joseph Moxley, who were all members of the local “Moxley Band” recruited into the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade Band in 1863.<sup>39</sup>

Freedmen’s Bureau records indicate a school was established in Hagerstown in the fall of 1866 with as many as 66 students enrolled and one white teacher supplied by the New England B.F.A.C.<sup>40</sup> The Lincoln School, as

it was called, was held in the Ebenezer AME Church basement for two years and by January 1868, there were 133 students enrolled and two teachers, one white and one Black.<sup>41</sup> In 1869, the trustees of the Hagerstown school requested \$100 from the Freedmen’s Bureau to “aid in the erection of their house,” saying they had received only \$300 from the county’s Board of School Commissioners, the amount they were “entitled to...from the County School Fund



**Lincoln School (Hagerstown School No. 6) on West Bethel Street, 1905. (George M. Bushey 1905 Photo Album, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library)**

under the law.”<sup>42</sup> The Bureau supplied 40,000 bricks valued at \$100 toward the construction of a two-story brick schoolhouse.<sup>43</sup> In 1870, the census listed 51 African American children in Hagerstown as having “attended school within the last year,” while the majority of adult African

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<sup>39</sup> See Civil War Soldiers database; see also, Emilie Amt, “The Veterans Buried at Halfway African American Cemetery,” *African-American History Blog*, May 23, 2021, <https://emilieamt.com/the-veterans-buried-at-halfway-african-american-cemetery/>.

<sup>40</sup> “Superintendent’s Monthly School Report,” November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, 1865-1872, Education Division, NARA Roll 16, District of Columbia, monthly reports, Oct 1865-June 1868. The New England B.F.A.C. is likely the New England Branch Freedmen’s Union Commission, formerly the New England Freedmen’s Aid Society (“New England Branch Freedmen’s Union Commission,” *Duke University Libraries, Repositories Collections and Archives*, <https://repository.duke.edu/dc/broadsides/bdsma20801>).

<sup>41</sup> “Teacher’s Monthly School Report,” January 1868. (See images of Teacher’s Monthly Reports from schools in Carroll, Frederick, and Washington counties in the Research section, “Freedmen’s Bureau Schools,” [crossroadsofwar.org](http://crossroadsofwar.org))

<sup>42</sup> Joseph N. Matthew to Gen. C.H. Howard, Feb. 17, 1869, Records of the Superintendent of Education, 1865-1872, District of Columbia, NARA Roll 7, Registered Letters Received vol. 1, Jan. 1868-Dec. 1869, *FamilySearch.com*.

<sup>43</sup> *The Herald & Torchlight*, June 3, 1868.

Americans in Hagerstown could not read or write. The Lincoln School remained in operation under county supervision, beginning in 1871 following the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau education division.

**A DEMONSTRATION.—The colored Masons, Odd Fellows, and Good Samaritans had a parade in our town on Thursday last, as previously announced. The turn-out was not large, probably owing to the business of the season, but very respectable, and was well conducted throughout. The procession was headed by Capt. Moxley's Band, and after marching through the different streets proceeded to the Agricultural Fair Grounds, where a fine dinner was served and several addresses delivered. As the net proceeds were intended for the M. E. and A. M. E. Churches of this town, we regret the attendance was not larger.**

Procession of Masons, Odd Fellows, and Good Samaritans led by Moxley's Band. (*Herald & Torchlight*, October 8, 1873)

1873. It was followed by the formation of a Household of Ruth, the women's Odd Fellows group, in 1879.<sup>45</sup> In 1883, they constructed the American Hall on West Bethel Street for their meetings. The American Hall also served as a community meeting space used by other groups, including the Masons and the Lyon Post No. 31, Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), formed in 1883 by USCT veterans from Hagerstown and the surrounding area.<sup>46</sup> Although the Good Samaritans participated in a local parade as early as 1873, the Perseverance Lodge No. 3 was officially incorporated in 1875, their stated purpose to be "beneficial, benevolent and charitable, to nurse the sick and to bury the dead and to assist the needy." That same year, the Hagerstown lodge hosted the semi-annual national meeting.<sup>47</sup> In 1884, the Perseverance Lodge purchased a lot on the east side of North Jonathan Street on which they constructed a meeting hall, which first appears on the 1892 Sanborn Insurance Map of Hagerstown.<sup>48</sup> In 1897, the Perseverance Lodge established the Halfway Colored Cemetery on seven acres just south of Hagerstown after the Bethel AME Cemetery was closed in 1893.<sup>49</sup>

Hagerstown's Black community included a Masonic lodge (Prince Hall Freemasons) as early as 1868, when the local newspaper reported on a "Colored Masonic Procession" led by Chief Marshall Samuel Nimmy and accompanied by the Moxley Band.<sup>44</sup> By 1873, the Masons were joined in a fundraising parade by two other Black societies, the Odd Fellows (GUOOF) and members of the Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria (Good Samaritans). The Rock Springs Lodge No. 1603 of the GUOOF or Black Odd Fellows, was officially sanctioned on November 1,

<sup>44</sup> *The Herald & Torchlight*, July 1, 1868.

<sup>45</sup> Brooks, *The Official History*, 126 and 154.

<sup>46</sup> *Hagerstown Odd Fellows News*, May 3, 1883; "African American Heritage Guide," *Visit Hagerstown*, [https://www.visithagerstown.com/files/FINAL%20AfricanAmericanHistory\\_brochure\\_24x18\\_flipped\\_proof.pdf](https://www.visithagerstown.com/files/FINAL%20AfricanAmericanHistory_brochure_24x18_flipped_proof.pdf).

<sup>47</sup> Bowman, *Ten Weeks on Jonathan Street*, 97-98. See Bowman, 93-102, for a thorough discussion of the many Black beneficial societies in Hagerstown.

<sup>48</sup> Washington Co. Deed Book 97, folio 168; Image 5 of Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland, *Library of Congress*, [http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3844hm.g3844hm\\_g036091892](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3844hm.g3844hm_g036091892).

<sup>49</sup> Emilie Amt, "The Halfway African American Cemetery: A Lost Burial Ground," *African-American History Blog*,



Outside of the city of Hagerstown in 1870, nearly 2,000 African Americans lived in the smaller towns and rural districts across the whole of Washington County. The largest town communities, according to the census, were located in Clear Spring (143), Hancock (121), and Williamsport (206), with smaller groups in Sharpsburg (61), Funkstown (43), and Boonsboro (23). Black households in the rural districts were similarly concentrated: Clear Spring District (195), Hancock District (132), Williamsport District (168), and Sharpsburg District (117), with significant numbers also in the Sandy Hook District (146) and Beaver Creek District (134). It

*Schedule of Schools under the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions, in the State of Maryland, together with the Cental account for the Quarter ending Oct. 1st, 1869.*

Location of School.	Name of Teacher.	Months taught.	Average Pay per Month.	Per cent paid.	Amount.	Remarks.
Annapolis.	James G. Waters.	Three	75	10-00	20-00	<i>All but one of these money came from Lincoln University, Pa. A separate bank of teachers - All of them colored.</i>
Beeton. Point of Rocks.	Geo. Pitt Henderson.	Three	31	10-00	20-00	
Shapiro.	Wm. R. Hamilton.	Three	58	10-00	20-00	
Clear Spring.	Geo. W. Spence.	Three	23	10-00	20-00	
Daniel Quailie.	Abel. W. H. Brown.	Three	60	10-00	20-00	
Darnestown.	Philip Lee.	Three	38	10-00	20-00	
Fishtown.	Wm. H. Dantie.	Three	58	10-00	20-00	
Friendship.	Geo. W. Robinson.	Three	75	10-00	20-00	
Frederick.	John A. H. Hildridge.	Three	28	10-00	20-00	
Hagerstown.	Math. H. Bevier.	Three	28	10-00	20-00	
Hughesville.	Wm. P. Probst.	Two	26	10-00	20-00	
Huntington. (Pleasant Creek)	Archib. W. Brimble.	Three	60	10-00	20-00	
Oakville.	Leas. Smith.	Three	30	10-00	20-00	
Oden Run.	Edward S. Scott.	Three	37	10-00	20-00	
Pisgah.	Wm. R. Cole.	Three	53	10-00	20-00	
Potomac.	Rich. G. Thompson.	Two	52	10-00	20-00	
Princeton.	Edward S. Scott.	Three	36	10-00	20-00	
Robinson.	Wm. B. Shattuck.	Three	38	10-00	20-00	
St. Leonard. (Middlebrook)	Francis J. Brimble.	Three	25	10-00	20-00	
Sharpsburg.	Wm. J. Carter.	Three	21	10-00	20-00	
Tepahaw.	Charles W. B. B. B.	Three	84	10-00	20-00	
Upper Marlboro.	Willis R. Beth.	Three	150	10-00	20-00	
West River (Oakland).	John C. Elder.	Three	59	10-00	20-00	
West River (Circleville)	Joseph W. Brown.	Three	115	10-00	20-00	
Williamsport.	Isaac W. Brown.	Three	50	10-00	20-00	
	25.				\$720 00	

Schedule of Schools under the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions..., Oct. 1st, 1869. (Freedmen's Bureau Records, FamilySearch.com)

was largely in these areas where community institutions would appear after 1865 in Washington County.

According to the 1870 census for Washington County, only 202 African American children had attended school “within the last year,” with one quarter of those being in Hagerstown. Between 1866 and 1870, the Freedmen’s Bureau aided in the establishment of schools in or near the smaller towns of Williamsport (1866), Clear Spring (April 1868), Sharpsburg (April 1868), Sandy Hook (fall 1868), and Hancock (1869). The Williamsport community, largely located along South Artizan Street, was apparently worshipping in a small frame building as early as 1866, where the Freedmen’s Bureau school was located in the basement. In 1868, the trustees of the Asbury Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church purchased the adjoining lot and built a larger brick church, donating the old church building to be used as a school.<sup>50</sup> The Clear Spring Black community, located on Martin and Mill Streets, represented 21 percent of the total Clear Spring population. The ME church was constructed on a lot on Mill Street, purchased in 1866, where the Freedmen’s Bureau school commenced in its basement in 1868.<sup>51</sup> The small town of Hancock also had a relatively large Black community. Beginning in 1868, the school was held initially in the unfinished ME church building.<sup>52</sup> In Sharpsburg, the sanctuary of the small log ME church (later called Tolson’s Chapel) served as the classroom during the week. All four of these schools were provided teachers through the Presbyterian Commission on Home Missions, which also paid ten dollars monthly rent to the churches for their use as schools.<sup>53</sup> The Sandy Hook school was located north of the village in Pleasant Valley (see discussion below). Though there was a growing community in the area, there was not yet a Black church and the Bureau paid \$75 to help the community construct a school building.<sup>54</sup>

Scattered clusters of Black households developed in the rural areas outside of the smaller towns and villages. Typically, the rural clusters grew around one or more Black landowners, the households often connected by kinship and many living as tenants on Black-owned land. Rural African American communities have been identified in the south-county Sandy Hook District (Pleasant Valley/Yarrowsburg), the east-county Chewsville District (Jugtown/Crystal Falls), and the western district of Indian Spring (Big Pool area/Fort Frederick).<sup>55</sup> Of the seven Black

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<sup>50</sup> Washington Co. Deed Book LBN 2, folio790; “Report of the Superintendent of Education John Kimball, April 1868,” Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Office of the Assistant Commissioner, NARA Roll 5, Assistant Commissioner's and Superintendent of Education's monthly statistical school reports, June 1866-July 1868.

<sup>51</sup> Washington Co. Deed Book IN 19, folio 291; “Report of the Superintendent of Education John Kimball, April 1868,” Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Office of the Assistant Commissioner, NARA Roll 5, Assistant Commissioner's and Superintendent of Education's monthly statistical school reports, June 1866-July 1868.

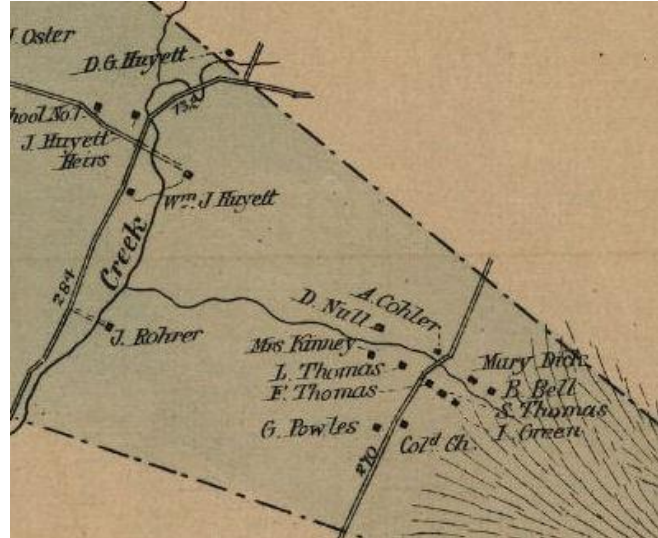
<sup>52</sup> Teacher’s Monthly Report, October 1869.

<sup>53</sup> “Schedule of Schools under the Presbyterian Commission of Home Missions...Oct. 1, 1869,” Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, Education Division, NARA Roll 34, Schedules of schools and rental accounts, Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and North Carolina, Oct 1868-Dec 1870. (See images of Teacher’s Monthly Reports from schools in Carroll, Frederick, and Washington counties in the Research section, “Freedmen’s Bureau Schools,” *crossroadsofwar.org*)

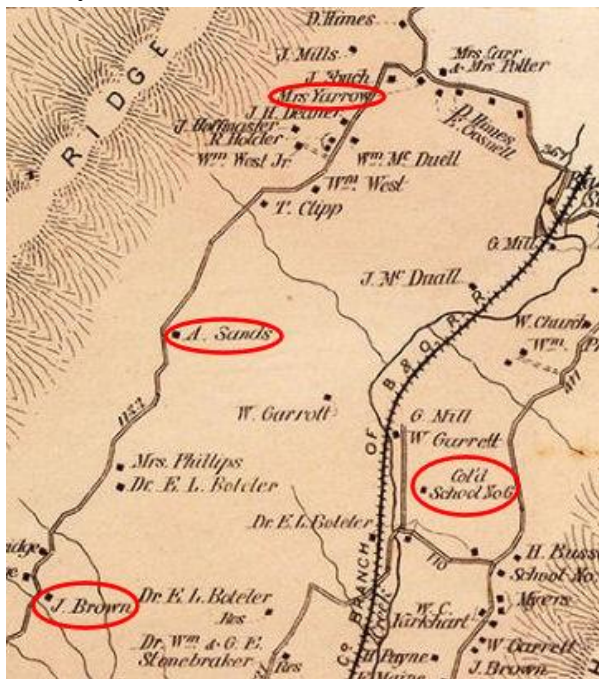
<sup>54</sup> “Report of the Superintendent of Education John Kimball, July 1868,” Field Offices for Maryland and Delaware, Office of the Assistant Commissioner, NARA Roll 5, Assistant Commissioner's and Superintendent of Education's monthly statistical school reports, June 1866-July 1868.

<sup>55</sup> Chewsville District No. 18 was formed from parts of the Funkstown and Cavetown Districts in 1872 and thus is

households in the Indian Spring District, three were landowners with real estate valued at \$800, \$3,000, and \$6,000, the latter being Nathan Williams who owned 345 acres including the ruin of the old stone Fort Frederick. In 1873, a county “colored school” was noted in the district, with 16 “different pupils” and an average daily attendance of eleven students. In 1899, a new school was built on land sold by Williams’ heirs.<sup>56</sup> The east-county Black community known as Crystal Falls (later Jugtown) was located on the west face of South Mountain overlooking the Huyett family farms and lime manufacturing complex. William Huyett subdivided 16 acres for sale in smaller lots in the 1870s, on which the community developed. The Crystal Falls AME Church and cemetery were located on part of the Huyett land sometime before 1878.<sup>57</sup> No school was provided by the county in the Chewsville District and it



1877 Atlas of Washington County, Chewsville District, detail of Crystal Falls. (Johns Hopkins University Library)



1877 Atlas of Washington County, Sandy Hook District, detail of Yarrowsburg. (Johns Hopkins University Library)

seems likely the Black children of Crystal Falls attended the school in Beaver Creek District, just a few miles to the south. In Washington County’s southern-most Sandy Hook District (Pleasant Valley), a scattered community of Black households grew along the east face of Elk Ridge, often called Yarrowsburg after longtime Black resident Polly Yarrow. The Freedmen’s Bureau school referred to as “Sandy Hook” or “Pleasant Valley” was in operation by 1869, with as many as 36 students under teacher Hamilton E. Keys, a recent graduate of Storer Normal School in nearby Shepherdstown, West Virginia. The Freedmen’s Bureau school was likely in this area, where by 1872, county “Col’d School No. 6” was in operation.

not represented in the 1870 census table.

<sup>56</sup> Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual report, showing condition of the public schools of Maryland... 1872/1873* (Annapolis, S.S. Mills & L.F. Colton, Printers, 1874), 272, [HathiTrust Digital Library](https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015068319055&seq=1), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015068319055&seq=1>; Washington Co. Deed Book 111, folio 430.

<sup>57</sup> Washington Co. Deed Book 76, folio 548.

Perhaps the oldest of these rural communities in Washington County was located on and near Red Hill, historically part of the Antietam Iron Works. Free African Americans had been living in the Red Hill area since as early as 1800, and by 1860 there were 20 independent Black households with five landowners. Aaron Booth, owned seven acres on which he hosted several tenants and began to sell the rented lots to his tenants in 1863. In September 1863, Booth enlisted as a sergeant in the USCT, one of seven men who enlisted from the Red Hill area.<sup>58</sup> In 1870, the census listed 23 households in the Red Hill community. The census-taker described the Red Hill community for the local newspaper: “Along the mountain we found quite a number of colored families. They all seemed to be industrious, well-to-do and intelligent. At Red Hill, they have erected a neat little church, where, we believe they have school in the winter months, and preaching at regular stated periods.”<sup>59</sup> The Pleasant Hill AME Church was located near the summit of Red Hill, with a cemetery adjoining the building. Although no record has been found of a Freedmen’s Bureau-sponsored school at the church, it appears the local community had organized a school by 1870. The school continued in the church building under county administration, noted on the 1877 Atlas map as “Colored School No. 5.”

During the 1872-1873 school year, county-run schools for African American students were present in only nine of the eighteen districts. In 1876, there were thirteen schools in operation, but only four appeared to be in county-owned buildings. The remaining nine schools likely continued to be held in Black churches, for which the county paid rent, like Tolson’s Chapel (District 1, No. 5), where the school remained through the 1898 school year. Many of the

COLORED SCHOOLS. WASHINGTON COUNTY—SCHOOL STATISTICS. For the Year 1876-77.								
Number of School District.	Number of different Pupils for the year.	Average Attendance for the year.	Rent.	Fuel.	Repairs.	Other Incidental Expenses.	Furniture, Black-Boards, Stoves.	Teachers' Salaries for the year.
5 1	30	16	\$24 00	\$14 38	\$ 2 25		\$ 75	\$208 68
7 2	48	24		15 25	17 40			210 00
5 3	73	44	60 00	21 28		\$1 05	24 24	210 00
11 4	67	31		12 00			35	261 50
9 5	69	29	30 00	21 25	30		1 40	208 72
7 6	27	15	25 00	21 38	2 50	87	4 99	208 68
5 10	27	16	15 00	17 60		52	6 25	195 00
6 11	31	16	22 50	19 00			45	210 00
7 12	40	18	30 00	17 50	75	53	80	210 00
10 15	25	16	10 00	6 75	30		25	155 46
7 16	34	17		11 50	2 75	35	1 95	238 49
6 17	74	45		21 71	18 35	53	17 65	240 00
5 19	33	19	20 00	17 38	30		30	209 23
			\$236 50	\$216 98	\$44 90	\$3 85	\$50 29	\$2,765 76

Washington Co. "Colored Schools," 1876-1877. (State Board of Education Annual Report, p. 166, *HathiTrust*)

<sup>58</sup> Edith B. Wallace, “They have erected a neat little church”: The Rural African American Experience, 1865-1900, in the National Capital Area, A Special History Study” (Interior Region 1—National Capital Area, National Park Service, in cooperation with the Organization of American Historians, October 2021), 295-298. After mustering out from service in 1866, Aaron Booth moved to Hagerstown by 1870, where he operated a “Notions store.”

<sup>59</sup> *Boonsboro Oddfellow*, August 12, 1870, as cited in Wallace, “They have erected a neat little church,” 306. For a complete history of the Red Hill community, see the Red Hill Case Study in Wallace, “They have erected a neat little church,” 291-323.

purpose-built schoolhouses were constructed by the county in the 1890s, thirty years after the county took on the responsibility for educating its Black children.

Like the Black residents of Hagerstown, those residing in the rural towns and districts also participated in groups dedicated to mutual aid, burial, and even politics. In 1870, there were 18 African American men over the age of 21 in the Red Hill area who were eligible to vote after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution. Sometime prior to the November presidential election of 1888, the men of Red Hill formed the “Colored Republican Club.” On November 2, 1888, two days before the election, the club held a “mass meeting” to hear speakers on the subjects pertaining to the politics of the time. In 1892, the club took on the name “Star of the West.”<sup>60</sup> The Black Odd Fellows (GUOOF) formed lodges in Sharpsburg and Williamsport. The Sharpsburg D.R. Hall lodge was established in 1869. It is likely they met in Tolson’s Chapel until they built their own lodge hall on a town lot purchased in 1901.<sup>61</sup> The Williamsport lodge, named Rescue, was formed in October 1880; it is unknown if a hall was ever constructed.<sup>62</sup>

Washington County was a largely rural, agricultural county through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Significantly, the Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Canal ran the length of the county’s southern border, following the Potomac River. While farm labor or general labor was the most common occupation listed for African American men in 1870, there were a significant number of men (11) employed as “Boatman” on the C&O Canal in Hancock, Clear Spring, and Weverton (near Sandy Hook). One, William Cooper, was a “Lock Tender” in Clear Spring. In 1878, four Black men were employed as boat captains on canal boats: J.W. Johnson on the

“Star of the West” Club, colored Republicans, of district No. 19, was organized last Wednesday night with the following officers: President, G. W. Fisher; vice president, John Liles; secretary, David Keets; ass’t secretary Thos. Calaman; treasurer, Geo. Hopewell; captain, Geo. Hopewell; 1st lieutenant, Geo. Liles; 2nd, J. D. Malone; sergeant, Emory Summers; flag bearer, Henson Summers.

*Antietam Wavelet*, November 7, 1892.  
(Western Maryland Room, WCFL)



Two unknown members of the Sharpsburg Black Odd Fellows D.R. Hall Lodge wearing regalia. (courtesy Sharpsburgh Museum of History)

<sup>60</sup> *Antietam Wavelet*, November 3, 1888 and November 7, 1892, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

<sup>61</sup> Brooks, *The Official History*, 106; Washington Co. Deed Book GBO 115, folio 344.

<sup>62</sup> Brooks, *The Official History*, 159.

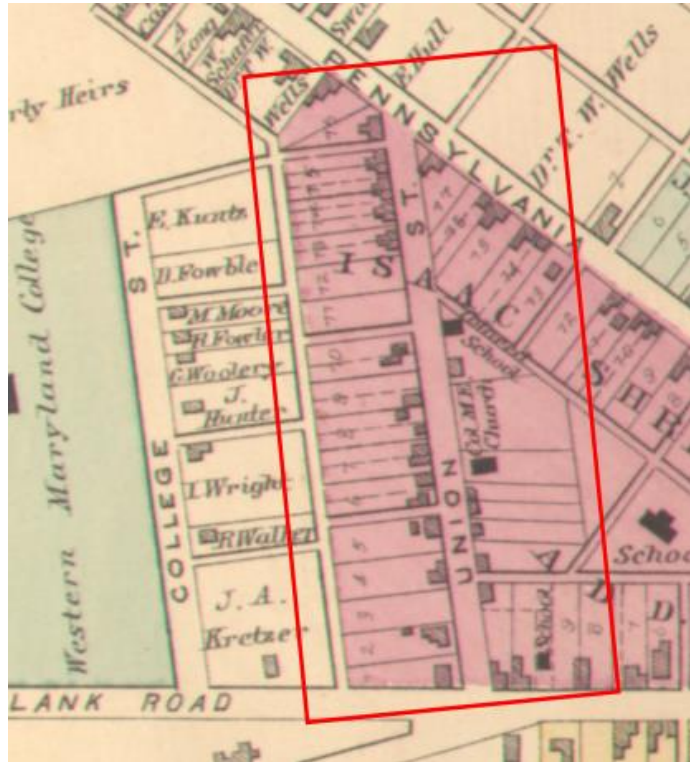


**Eveline [Brown], domestic servant at D. Gaither Huyett’s farm called *The Willows* in Chewsville District, Washington County, ca.1890. (courtesy Virginia Claggett et al)**

boat “John Sammon,” Lewis Robinson on “Viola H. Weir,” Wilson Middleton (of Sharpsburg) on “Dr. F.M. Davis,” and Kirk Fields on “John W. Carder.”<sup>63</sup> Married women often stayed home “keeping house” and caring for children. Men, women, and older children were often employed as domestic servants working – and sometimes living – in white households. Some were skilled laborers, including Thomas Wilson and his son Charles, both blacksmiths, and his other son John, a barber, all living in the Crystal Falls community.

### *Carroll County Communities*

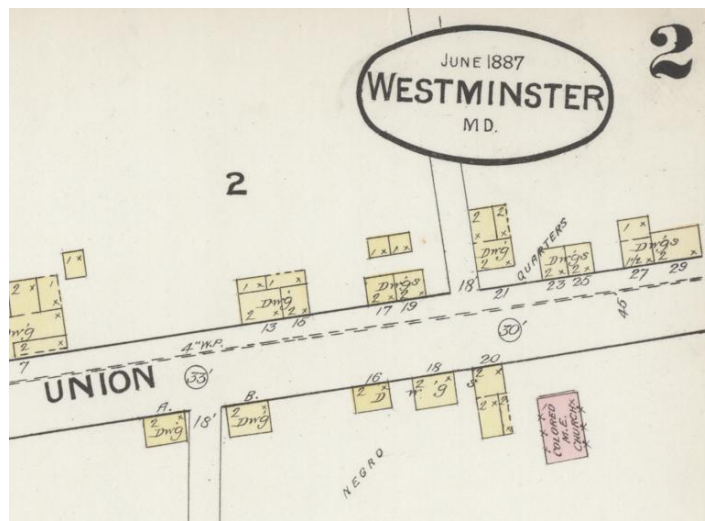
Carroll County was carved from eastern Frederick County and western Baltimore County in 1837, at which time the small town of Westminster was designated the county seat. Located at the center of the agricultural county, by 1870 Westminster was a busy market and railroad town with a total population of over 2,300 residents, 271 of whom were African American. The Union Street neighborhood of Black households had begun to develop in the 1850s. While many of the improved lots were tenancies, William and Elizabeth Harden were the first Black lot owners in 1864.<sup>64</sup> At that time, no church or school was located in the Union Street neighborhood. John B. Snowden, a farmer who owned land outside of the



<sup>63</sup> “Census Data – Canal Workers, 1850-1920” and “Register of Boats Employed on the C&O Canal, Jan. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1878,” transcribed by William Bauman, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Washington County, Signature Collections, WHILBR, <https://www.whilbr.org/CandOCanal>.

<sup>64</sup> “Union Street District,” MIHP #CARR-501; CC DB 31, page 310. Speculators purchased lots along the street in the 1850s, some of which were then improved with small dwellinghouses.

city, had been holding “protracted meetings” of his Methodist congregation in his home for many years.<sup>65</sup>



1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. map of Westminister #2, detail of Union Street. (Library of Congress)

It was after Maryland emancipation in 1864 that the Black community on Union Street in Westminister really began to grow. In March 1865, John M. Snowden, son of minister John B. Snowden, purchased a quarter-acre lot on Union Street where he likely had previously been living as a tenant. Nine months later, Amos Bell purchased the adjoining lot, described as being between John Snowden and Elizabeth Harden. Amos and Rebecca Bell subdivided their lot in August 1867. Keeping the half on which they lived, they sold the remainder to the trustees

of the Union Street Methodist Episcopal Church, including Amos Bell, John M. Snowden, William Lowery, George W. Bell, Lewis Charlton, William Parker, and Nicholas Parker.<sup>66</sup> It seems a church was quickly erected and by November 1867, was also used to house a Freedmen’s Bureau school in Westminister, with 34 students attending.<sup>67</sup> The arrangement was temporary however. Two years later, in October 1869, John M. Snowden and his wife Mary Ann sold part of their lot to the trustees of the Union Street School House.<sup>68</sup> In April 1870, Thomas Snowden, son of John B. Snowden, was the teacher in the Freedmen’s Bureau-sponsored school he called “Westminister School,” with 46 students enrolled.<sup>69</sup> The 1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map indicated “negro tenements” on Main Street near Union, in addition to the “negro quarters” on Union Street.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Snowden, *Autobiography*, 27, 50, 52, <https://www.loc.gov/item/67040929/>.

<sup>66</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 31, folio 520; Deed Book 32, folio 433; Deed Book 34, folio 446.

<sup>67</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 34, folio 523; “District Superintendent Monthly School Report, February 1868,” Records of the Superintendent of Education and of the Division of Education, 1865-1872, Education Division, NARA Roll 16, District of Columbia Monthly Reports, Oct 1865-June 1868, *FamilySearch.com*.

<sup>68</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 37, folio 482. The trustees included Ephraim Smith, William Lowery, Uriah Bruce, Alfred Bruce, and Elmer L. Cross; see also, Mary Ann Ashcraft, “Separate and Unequal: Carrol’s Black Schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Carroll History Journal*, Vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 2016, <https://hub.catalogit.app/12914/folder/29047310-d278-11ee-b134-0390bfe481f1/entry/c0aa06f0-6a24-11ef-b3f3-e91623bdcc2a>.

<sup>69</sup> Teacher’s Monthly Report, Westminister School, April 1870. See “Freedmen’s Bureau Schools” in the Research section of this website ([crossroadsofwar.org](http://crossroadsofwar.org)) to view all of the Teacher’s Monthly Reports for the Westminister school.

<sup>70</sup> Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. maps, Westminister, Carroll County, Maryland, *Library of Congress*, [https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn03665\\_001/](https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn03665_001/). The Westminister Sanborn maps do not include Charles Street.

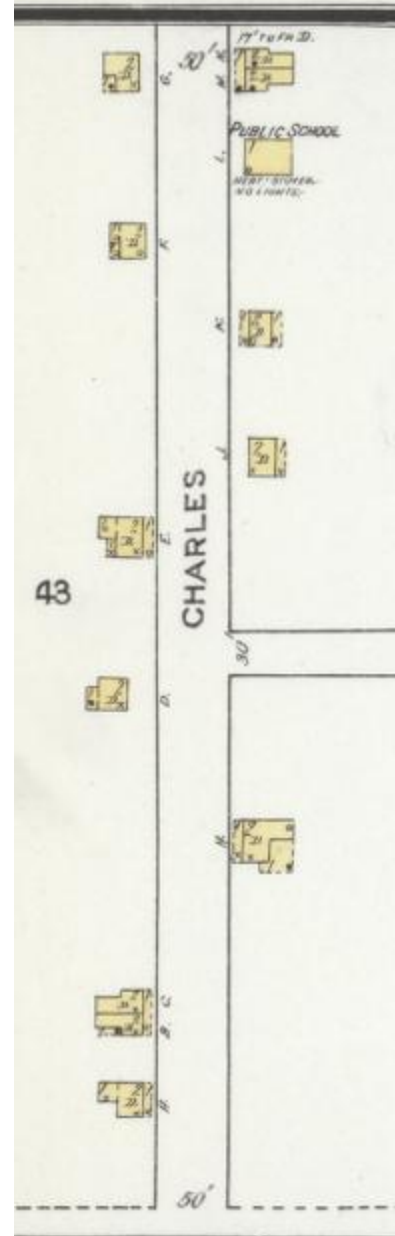
A second African American neighborhood developed on Charles Street on the southern edge of Westminster, just outside the city boundary. Among the early residents of this community were Elias Cole and his brother John W. Cole, both USCT veterans wounded in action at Dutch Gap, Virginia.<sup>71</sup> The 1870 census for Westminster shows a cluster of at least 12 Black households around those of John and Elias Cole. Seven of the households were property owners, while others were tenants, including John



**John Wesley Cole (courtesy Historical Society of Carroll County)**

Cole's family and Martha Spriggs who appear to be tenants on the property owned by George Dickinson. At least seven children from the Charles Street neighborhood were attending school in 1870, likely at the Union Street Freedmen's Bureau school. By 1872, the county school commission opened a second school for Black students in Westminster, which would have been located on Charles Street.<sup>72</sup>

Of the 45 Black households listed in the 1870 census for Westminster, there was a total of 24 home owners, including John B. Snowden and William Beho in the Union Street neighborhood, who each held real estate valued at over \$1,000. Snowden's occupation was "ME Minister" while Beho was a farm hand. The most common employment was domestic service and the majority of those appear to have lived in the white households where they worked. Other employments included laborer, wagon maker, cooper, washer woman, hostler, and nurse (probably childcare). James Parker was the town barber; several individuals worked at the



**1918 Sanborn map showing the Charles Street neighborhood and school. (Library of Congress)**

<sup>71</sup> Mary Ann Ashcraft, "Taking a moment to remember, honor black history in Westminster," *Carroll County Times*, February 8, 2015, <https://hub.catalogit.app/12914/folder/47396760-f1d0-11ee-9afc-2f55845f0cbe/entry/8600b4c0-541e-11ef-90dd-8faf286ea5e2>; John W. Cole military records, Ashcraft files.

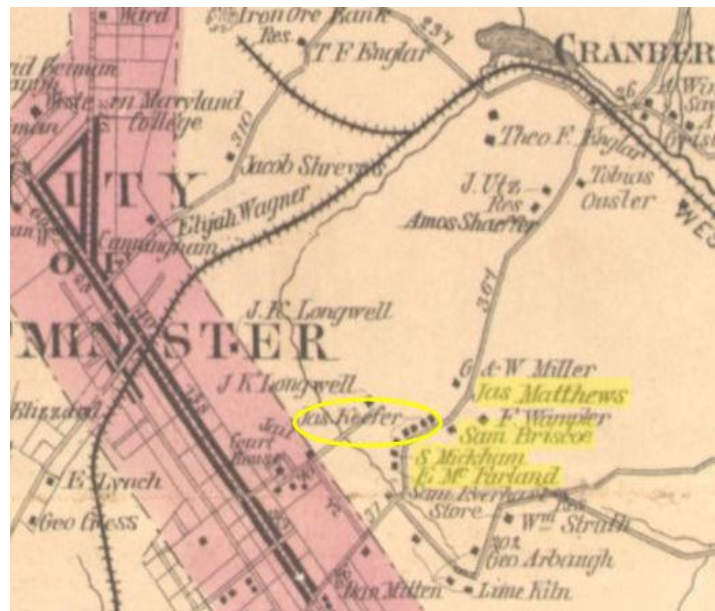
<sup>72</sup> The Charles Street neighborhood was bounded on the south by Church Street and on the north by Center Street. By the time the 1927 Sanborn map was drawn, the school had been moved to the corner of Charles and S. Church Street, called the "S. Church Street School." That school was replaced in 1948 by the still-segregated Robert Moton School on Center Street. (Ashcraft, "Taking a moment to remember")



Western Maryland College as cook and waiter. Four men were occupied as miners at the “ore bank,” including William Adams, Francis Penn, Simon Gooden, and James Harden; and Thomas B. Snowden was listed as “School Teacher.”

Two mutual aid societies were organized the African American community of Westminster. In 1867, the GUOOF authorized the formation of the St. Thomas Lodge, sponsored by the Olive Lodge in Baltimore.<sup>73</sup> Sometime before 1879, residents organized a chapter of the Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria. According to a newspaper report in April of 1879, 50-60 members of the organization paraded through town “in the regalia of the Order, in line, preceded by the Sam’s Creek Band, also colored.” That evening, continued the report, “a festival was held in Union Street hall for the benefit of the lodge.”<sup>74</sup> The Westminster community also had its own group of musicians, described in 1882 by *The Democratic Advocate* as the “colored drum corps, with bass drum, four kettle drums and two fifes.”<sup>75</sup>

The 1870 census table (see above) indicates that many African Americans (287) lived outside of the Westminster town boundaries in the greater Westminster District. One enclave was located northeast just outside the town boundary and appears to have grown around the farm owned by John B. Snowden. By 1870, there were 14 Black households, including four landowners, which appear on the 1877 map in a line along the road to Cranberry Station.<sup>76</sup> Another small enclave lived outside of the town boundaries along the old New Windsor Pike running southwest from Union Street. Given their proximity to town, it is likely that both of these small household groupings affiliated with the Union Street community institutions.



**1877 Atlas of Carroll Co., Westminster District detail showing cluster of Black households (yellow highlight) on the road to Cranberry Station. The series of dwellings owned by James Keefer were likely rentals. (Johns Hopkins University Library)**

<sup>73</sup> Brooks, *The Official History*, 99.

<sup>74</sup> *The Democratic Advocate*, April 19, 1879. No dedicated lodge hall appears on any of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps, so the “Union Street hall” may actually have been the church or school.

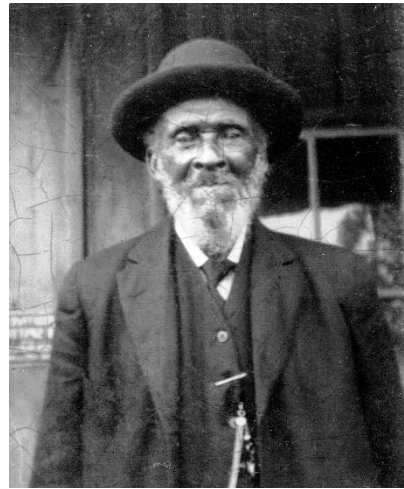
<sup>75</sup> *The Democratic Advocate*, December 30, 1882.

<sup>76</sup> The census list in this area included John B. Snowden’s household, but was crossed out with the notation “in Westminster,” indicating Snowden had moved from his farm to a house in town by 1870.

In the rural area southwest of Westminster, near Warfieldsburg, a scatter of at least 12 Black households formed a community around the Western Chapel ME Church. Five of the households were landowners, including David Brown, a farmer (and minister) whose land was valued at \$1,000. The land on which the Western Chapel stood was purchased by church trustees Amos Johns, George W. Cain, David Black, Cato Sides, and Joshua Brown in 1868 from nearby white landowner Abraham Cassell.<sup>77</sup> At just over one acre of land, the parcel was large enough to support a cemetery as well. Rev. David N. Brown, a USCT veteran, served the congregation as its minister and is among those buried in the cemetery. John N. Squirrell, who served with Co. G, 28<sup>th</sup> Regiment, USCT, is also buried there.<sup>78</sup> In December 1869, Western Chapel became the site of a Freedmen's Bureau-sponsored school with 33 students.



**Early 20th century image of Western Chapel.**  
(courtesy Louis Brown)



**Rev. David N. Brown, Western Chapel minister.** (courtesy Louis Brown)

Other Carroll County districts that had larger African American populations in 1870 included Franklin (303), Freedom (531), New Windsor (259, plus 33 in town), Uniontown (167, plus 30 in town), Woolery (131), and Taneytown (45) Districts. The 1870 census indicates small communities of Black town residents in Uniontown, New Windsor, Taneytown, and the village known as Stumptown. The small Black community in Uniontown began to form through the 1850s on the east edge of town where three African Americans owned the lots on which their homes were located. By 1870, the Hayes and Jones families still lived in town, joined by William and Suzie Smith, W.H. Brown and family, and Lewis Smith, with 12 individuals spread among the five households. The remaining 21 Black residents of Uniontown lived and worked in white households. The Mount Joy ME Church, established in 1858 by Singleton Hughes, was located just outside the west boundary of Uniontown.<sup>79</sup> Only three independent Black

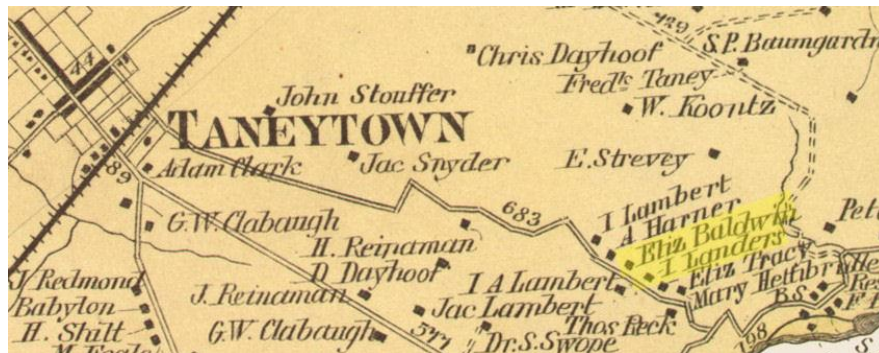
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<sup>77</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 36, folio 429.

<sup>78</sup> Mary Ann Ashcraft, "David N. Brown—African American Civil War Soldier (1831-1917) Corporal—Co. H, 4th U.S.C.T.," research manuscript; "Western Chapel Cemetery," *Find a Grave*, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/67171813/john-n-squirrell>.

<sup>79</sup> CC DB 25, page 95 (Dunson to Hughes, 1858); CC DB 26, page 106 (Hughes to Trustees, 1859). A church building was reportedly constructed in 1880 and called Mt. Joy Methodist Episcopal Church (MIHP #CARR-352,

households were located in the town of New Windsor in 1870, two apparently on the southern edge of town along High Street, while Joshua Owens may have been on the east edge of town.



**1877 Carroll Co. Atlas, Taneytown District, showing the Stumptown village. Black households are highlighted in yellow (Johns Hopkins University Library)**

Of the 30 Black residents in Uniontown, 16 lived and worked in white households.<sup>80</sup> The Black residents of Taneytown numbered 22 in 1870, all but four of whom lived in the three Black households in town. John W. Cook and Caleb Johnson, both veterans of the US Colored Cavalry, owned their homes, as did Lucy Watson.<sup>81</sup> All three were members of the St. Joseph's Catholic Church of Taneytown and are buried in the church cemetery. The tiny village of Stumptown, southeast of Taneytown, included the homes of Elizabeth Baldwin and Isaac Sanders. The eight family members in these two households, represented 20 percent of the total village population.

Both Uniontown District and New Windsor District included substantial Black populations outside of the towns at the center of each district. In the Uniontown District, a cluster of free African American households formed west of Uniontown near the district border. The area, about halfway between Uniontown and Union Bridge and extending into the Union Bridge District, became known as Middletown or Muttontown. In 1867, Lloyd Coates, John Thompson, Josiah Key, William H. Walker, Joseph Hughes, Dennis Green, John Henry Thompson, Joseph Parker, Stephen A. Brooks, and Isaac Landzell purchased a lot as trustees to build a school using lumber supplied by the Freedmen's Bureau. The school, located on today's Bark Hill Road, opened by January 1868, identified in the Freedmen's Bureau record at that time as the "Middletown (Carroll)" school, and continued as late as July 1869. The building reportedly also served as the meeting place for an African Union Methodist Protestant congregation.<sup>82</sup>

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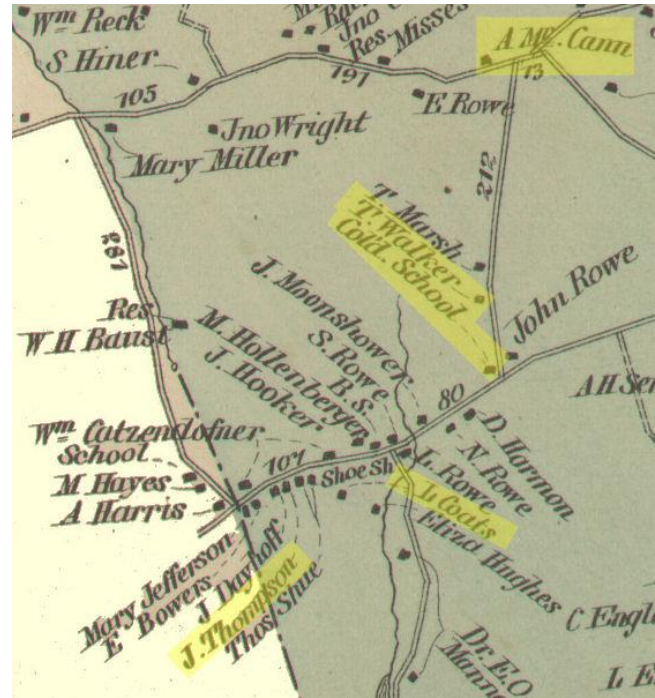
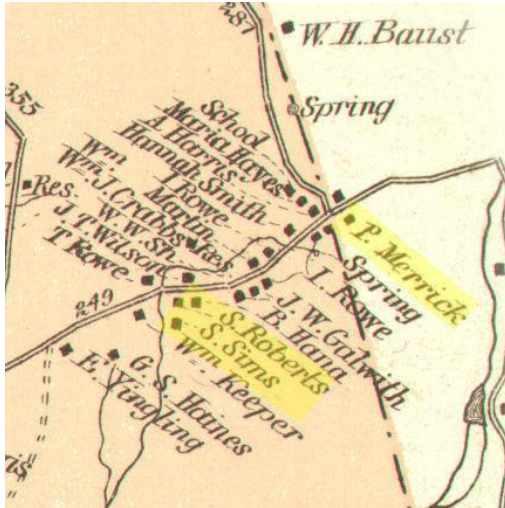
"Mt. Joy M.E. Church").

<sup>80</sup> The location of the Black residents in New Windsor is gleaned from the 1870 US Population Census for New Windsor and the New Windsor map in the 1877 Atlas of Carroll County.

<sup>81</sup> Mary Ann Ashcraft, manuscript research on the Black soldiers of Carroll County. See "Civil War Soldiers" database, *crossroadsofwar.org*.

<sup>82</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 34, folio 207; "Bowen's Chapel and School," MIHP #CARR-1092; Ashcraft, "Separate and Unequal," 3-4, 7. Singleton Hughes reportedly contacted the Freedmen's Bureau in 1866 seeking help to build a school in Uniontown, but that effort did not come to fruition.

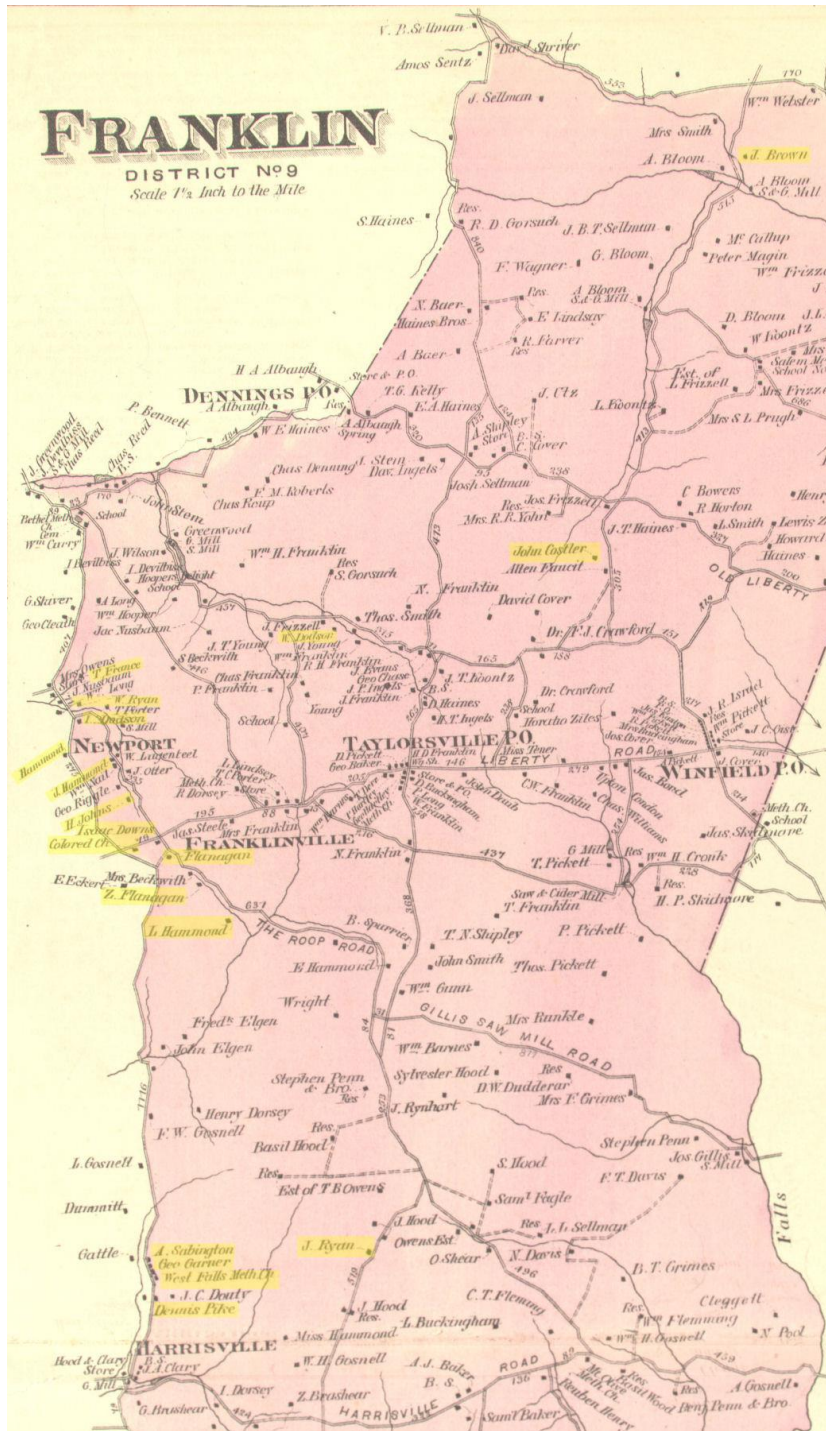
The Middletown or Muttontown community as it appeared in 1877, divided between two districts, Union Bridge District (left, below) and Uniontown District (right). Yellow highlighted names indicate African American residents. (Johns Hopkins University Library)



In the New Windsor District, there were three clusters of rural Black households. The smallest was a scatter of households in the Mt. Vernon area, including C.M. Pike [Caleb Pike] and H. Dukins [Henry Dugan] who appear on the 1877 Atlas map in that area. Another cluster of 13 Black households formed around the Wakefield Station area, with five Black landowners, including Daniel Woodyard (map), Harriet Bell, Wesley King (map), Perry King (a “Bone Merchant”), and David Brown, a farmer whose land was valued at \$1,000. The 1877 Atlas map also shows a “Col<sup>d</sup> Cem” in this area, but there is no record of a Black church. The McKinstry’s Mill/Priestland area community, located on the western border of the New Windsor District, included as many as 22 Black households. The community extended into the Union Bridge District, adding as many as nine additional Black households. The 1877 Atlas map for the Union Bridge District shows a “Col<sup>d</sup> School” near the home of Benjamin Washington and a blacksmith shop (“B.S.”) likely operated by Benjamin Jones. Both Washington and Jones were listed in New Windsor District in 1870 and in Union Bridge District in 1880. Jones served as one of the founding trustees of the “Priestland Colored School” in 1874, along with Calvin Dunson and Thomas Harp. The community, also very close to the Frederick County line, was reportedly associated with the Mount Olive ME Church established in Frederick County in 1850.<sup>83</sup>

In Franklin District, the pre-war community associated with the Fairview Church, known post-1865 as Newport, included as many as 19 Black households in 1870 – with several more added by the time the 1877 Atlas map was drawn and many others living across the county border in

<sup>83</sup> Peter Pearre, “Crafting a Community: The Priestland Colored School in Carroll County,” *Carroll History Journal*, Volume 13, No. 2, Spring 2020, 1-4.



**1877 Carroll Co. Atlas, Franklin District, annotated with yellow highlight indicating African American residents and churches. (Johns Hopkins University Library)**

Frederick County.<sup>84</sup> According to the 1870 census, 14 of the Black households in the Newport area (Franklin District) were landowners. The combined household of farmers John T. and Moses Hammond owned land valued at over \$1,800; Zacharias Flanagan's farm was valued a \$2,100. Nearly all of the residents in this area worked as day laborers or farm laborers, except Abraham Bell and Jeremiah Butler who were occupied as blacksmiths. A second cluster of largely tenant Black households grew in the apparently sparsely populated agricultural area to the south around Harrisville (north of Mount Airy). Known as Dorseytown, by 1870 there were possibly as many as 17 Black households in the area, but only three were landowners. In 1883, John Anderson, James W. Johnson, William Holland, Vachel Dorsey, and John T. Bell, trustees of the "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church," purchased an acre of land on the east side of "Harrisonville Road" [sic] for the purpose of erecting a church.<sup>85</sup> It appears

<sup>84</sup> Boss Hammond lived on the Frederick County side of Newport. See "Stories in Focus" essay, "Sacred to the Memory": The Stonecarving of Sebastian Hammond."

<sup>85</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 63, folio 447. It appears the reference to "Harrisonville Road" was incorrect. The 1877 Atlas shows the "West Falls Meth Church" on the east side of the Buffalo Road just north of Harrisville among several Black households.

that neither the Newport or Dorseytown communities hosted a Freedmen’s Bureau school between 1865 and 1870.

Woolery District and Freedom District, were both located in the southeastern section of Carroll County adjoining Baltimore County. The Woolery District hosted one of only three Freedmen’s Bureau schools known in Carroll County. The Carrollton School was likely located outside of the small (white) Carrollton community. The 1870 census for Woolery District indicates a relatively scattered African American population with no definitive cluster in the Carrollton area. Most of the Black households appear to be in the south half of the district, in the area between Mechanicsville (1877 map; Pleasantville in 1862; today’s Gamber) and Finksburg. Just south of Mechanicsville the 1877 map shows the location of a “Colored Meth Ch.” This church appears in the same location as a church indicated on the 1862 Martenet map of Carroll County. In 1869, Henry Pool sold a lot of just under two acres, “with the church and all the improvements,” to the trustees of the “Methodist Episcopal Colored Church,” later known as Pool’s Church, including Lewis R. Barnes, James Howard, Jacob Hardy, Philip Smith, and Elias Morris.<sup>86</sup> Both Howard and Smith were landowners in the area and their names are indicated on the 1877 map.



**1877 Carroll Co. Atlas, Woolery District, detail showing the "Colored Meth. Ch." and nearby Black landowners. (Johns Hopkins University Library)**

According to the 1860 census “Slave Schedule,” Freedom District residents held the largest number of enslaved African Americans (381), nearly two-thirds more enslaved people than in Franklin District (135). After slavery was abolished in Maryland in 1864, Freedom District remained the home of more than 500 African Americans in 1870, living in a total of 77 independent households. Most were tenants, with only 15 landowners recorded on the 1870 census.

At the time the census was taken, the largest cluster of Black households, and Black landowners, appears to have been located in the agricultural area southwest of Eldersburg, centered on an area known as White Rock. The 1877 Atlas map for Freedom District shows a “Col<sup>d</sup> Ch” in the White

<sup>86</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 37, folio 316-317.

Rock area. Nearby was the farm of Samuel Rhubottom (Ruebottom), valued at \$3,300, Philemon Dorsey (near Isaac Dorsey on the map) with a farm valued at \$3,750, and George Squirrel and Thomas Berry, both with land valued at \$1,000 on the 1870 census. Many more were tenants scattered across the rural south half of the district. In 1868, trustees Joseph Fawcett, Philemon

Dorsey, and Allen Nugent, purchased two and a half acres to establish an ME Church and cemetery, today known as the White Rock Independent Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>87</sup>

1	Dorley William	47	M	W	Manager of Min. Hills
	Caroline	23	F	W	Keeping House
2	Dorsey John	39	M	W	Miner 1
	Ann	32	F	W	Keeping House
	John	12	M	W	
	Mary	10	F	W	
	Willie	8	M	W	
	George	5	M	W	
	Maggie	2	F	W	
3	Doyle James	35	M	W	Miner 1
	Margaret	35	F	W	Keeping House
	Marion	16	M	W	
	Margaret	12	F	W	
	Mary A.	8	F	W	
	John	5	M	W	
	Jane	1	F	W	
4	Dorsey James	30	M	W	Teamster 1
	Ann	20	F	W	Keeping House
	Henry	11	M	W	
	Jane	9	F	W	
	John	1	M	W	
	Morris Elias	50	M	W	Teamster 1
	Harriet	45	F	W	Keeping House
	Martha	11	F	W	
	May	9	F	W	
	Jane	4	F	W	
	Henry	1	M	W	

1870 census, Freedom District, detail of residents near the Mineral Hills Copper Mine. (Ancestry.com)

A second smaller cluster of Black households was indicated on the 1870 census around the Mineral Hills Copper Mine in the northern section of Freedom District. There, James Dorsey and Elias Morris were occupied as teamsters and George Barney as a miner. Occupants of nine other households in the area worked as day laborers and farm workers. In the rural crossroads area of Pleasant Gap, George Dicus owned land and worked as a blacksmith, and Beall Mason was a “plasterer” and landowner. While there is no record of a Freedmen’s Bureau school held in Freedom District, in the fall of 1873, the county school commission opened a school in the district (District 5) with 40 students enrolled. The school was located in the White Rock Church, for which the county paid rent, and continued to be the only school in the district until 1886. According to county school records from 1887, the second school was called the Brindletown School, with John H. Henderson as the teacher.<sup>88</sup> It is unknown where this school was located within the district however.

Freedmen’s Bureau records appear to indicate only four schools were established in Carroll County between 1868 and 1870, when the Bureau’s education division was dismantled by Congress. Maryland State Board of Education annual reports show that in the 1871-72 school year, the Carroll County School Commission operated only two “Colored Schools,” in District 2

<sup>87</sup> Carroll Co. Deed Book 35, folio 211; <https://www.facebook.com/whiterockimechurch/>.

<sup>88</sup> Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual report, showing condition of the public schools of Maryland...*, 1873 through 1887, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122>.

(Uniontown) and District 7 (Westminster). The following year there were five schools, seven by the end of 1874, and in 1887, there were ten schools. In 1877, the county school commission reported that they did not own any of the “colored” school houses and that there was “no rent paid for ‘colored’ schools.”<sup>89</sup>

CARROLL COUNTY—COLORED SCHOOLS.											
Attendance for year ending June 30, 1887.											
Number of school. <sup>a</sup>	Election district.	NAME OF TEACHER.	FALL TERM.		WINTER TERM.		SPRING TERM.		SUMMER TERM.		Different pupils.
			On roll.	Average daily attendance.	On roll.	Average daily attendance.	On roll.	Average daily attendance.	On roll.	Average daily attendance.	
1	1	Wm. E. Burke.....	21	15	25	13	20	13	..	..	25
1	2	Summerfield Roberts...	30	19	36	18	27	19	..	..	39
1	4	Wm. S. Gamber.....	..	..	20	16	22	15	..	..	22
1	5	W. F. Barnes.....	31	20	33	17	27	20	..	..	50
2	5	John H. Henderson....	..	..	29	13	37	22	..	..	39
1	7	Laura S. Teagle.....	54	34	71	44	68	51	..	..	72
1	9	Harry C. Harps.....	..	..	34	16	28	12	..	..	34
2	9	R. E. Barnes.....	22	19	20	17	20	16	..	..	26
1	11	Anna Townsend.....	18	16	39	23	36	24	..	..	39
1	12	F. R. Palmer.....	16	8	43	23	42	24	..	..	44
			192	131	350	200	327	216	..	..	390

Carroll Co. "Colored Schools" statistics for the year ending in June 1887, Maryland State BOE Annual Report. (HathiTrust.com)

As in the other counties in the region, African American community organizations in Carroll County formed in the larger towns, including the Thaddeus Stevens GAR Post in New Windsor. Simon Murdock’s obituary (1933) noted that he “was commander of Thaddeus Stevens Post No. 40, G.A.R., and a charter member of Good Samaritan Lodge No. 39...instituted in 1866.”<sup>90</sup> According to *The Democratic Advocate*, a Westminster newspaper, in the fall of 1879, multiple Good Samaritan Lodges from Carroll County “enjoyed an excursion to Baltimore on Thanksgiving Day.”<sup>91</sup> In 1871, the Flower of the Day Lodge No. 1462, GUOOF, was formed in “Mount Olive, Maryland.” Benjamin Dunson, Benjamin Harp, and Benjamin Washington, were

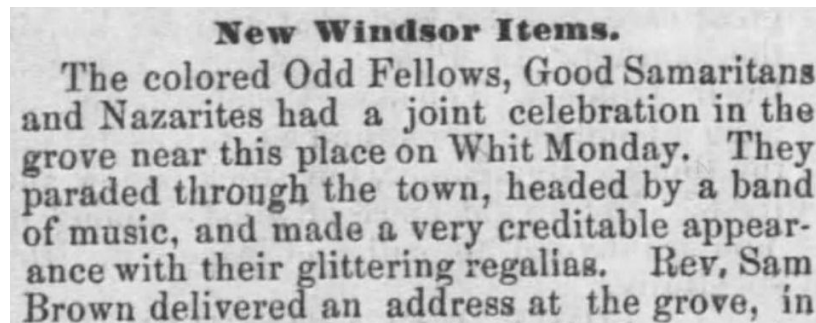
<sup>89</sup> Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual report, showing condition of the public schools of Maryland...*, 1871/1872, 1873/1874, 1876/1877, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000057122>. For a detailed review of the 19<sup>th</sup> century county schools in Carroll County, see Mary Ann Ashcraft, “Separate and Unequal: Carrol’s Black Schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Carroll History Journal*, Vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 2016, <https://hub.catalogit.app/12914/folder/29047310-d278-11ee-b134-0390bfe481f1/entry/c0aa06f0-6a24-11ef-b3f3-e91623bdcc2a>.

<sup>90</sup> *Carroll County Times*, April 14, 1933, as cited on “Simon P. Murdock,” *Find a Grave*, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/100291820/simon-p-murdock>. In 1902, the Thaddeus Stevens Relief Corps No. 28, a women’s auxiliary post of the GAR, was formed in New Windsor (unsourced document supplied by Mary Ann Ashcraft).

<sup>91</sup> *The Democratic Advocate*, November 29, 1879.



reportedly trustees of the lodge. Both Dunson and Harp were veterans of the USCT.<sup>92</sup> In May 1885, the town of New Windsor reported a gathering of “Odd Fellows, Good Samaritans and Nazarites at the grove.”



*The Democratic Advocate*, May 30, 1885. (newspapers.com)

## *Conclusion*

The end of the American Civil War brought freedom to enslaved African Americans and the prospect of each individual’s right to the pursuit of happiness. But the period of Reconstruction in the US and the decades that followed were fraught with the deep-seated and ongoing divide over African American civil rights. Even after Black men were given the right to vote in elections by the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, their civil power was limited by local racial prejudice, intimidation, and violence. In the most extreme, the violence committed against African Americans known as lynching – summary murders under the guise of justice – was perpetrated by white mobs who rarely faced consequences for their outrages. Lynchings occurred at least four times in the mid-Maryland counties. In Frederick County, three Black men were murdered by white mobs: James Carroll in 1879, John Biggus in 1887, and James Bownes in 1895. In Carroll County, Townsend Cook was arrested near Mt. Airy in May 1885 for the alleged rape of a white woman. Cook was reportedly taken from the Westminster jail by a mob of “50 horsemen” and hanged “to make an example of him.”<sup>93</sup>

In the face of this and other oppressive measures taken by white Americans to prevent the social and civil integration of Black Americans after 1865, many turned inward to find support and

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<sup>92</sup> Brooks, *History of the Order*, 115; Peter Pearre, “Crafting a Community: The Priestland Colored School in Carroll County,” *Carroll History Journal*, Volume 13, No. 2, Spring 2020, 4, 7. Mount Olive was in Frederick County, immediately adjoining the narrow southern point of Union Bridge District in Carroll Co. The Priestland/McKinstry’s Mill community of Uniontown District and Union Bridge District was closely associated with the Mount Olive community nearby in Frederick County.

<sup>93</sup> Wallace, “The have erected a neat little church,” 58. For a full treatment of the history of lynching in the United States, see the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) report, “Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror” (3rd edition, 2017), <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report>; Dean Herrin, “The ‘Mob Fairly Howled’: Lynching in Frederick County, Maryland, 1879–1895,” 2020; *The Democratic Advocate*, June 6, 1885.

encouragement. African American communities, whether closely located households in city or town neighborhoods or clusters of households scattered across the rural landscape, were deeply connected by the institutions of church, school, and mutual aid organizations. In the post-war American society that had “granted” enslaved people freedom, but denied African Americans many basic civil rights, these institutions provided safe spaces to worship, be educated, to speak freely, and to provide mutual support.