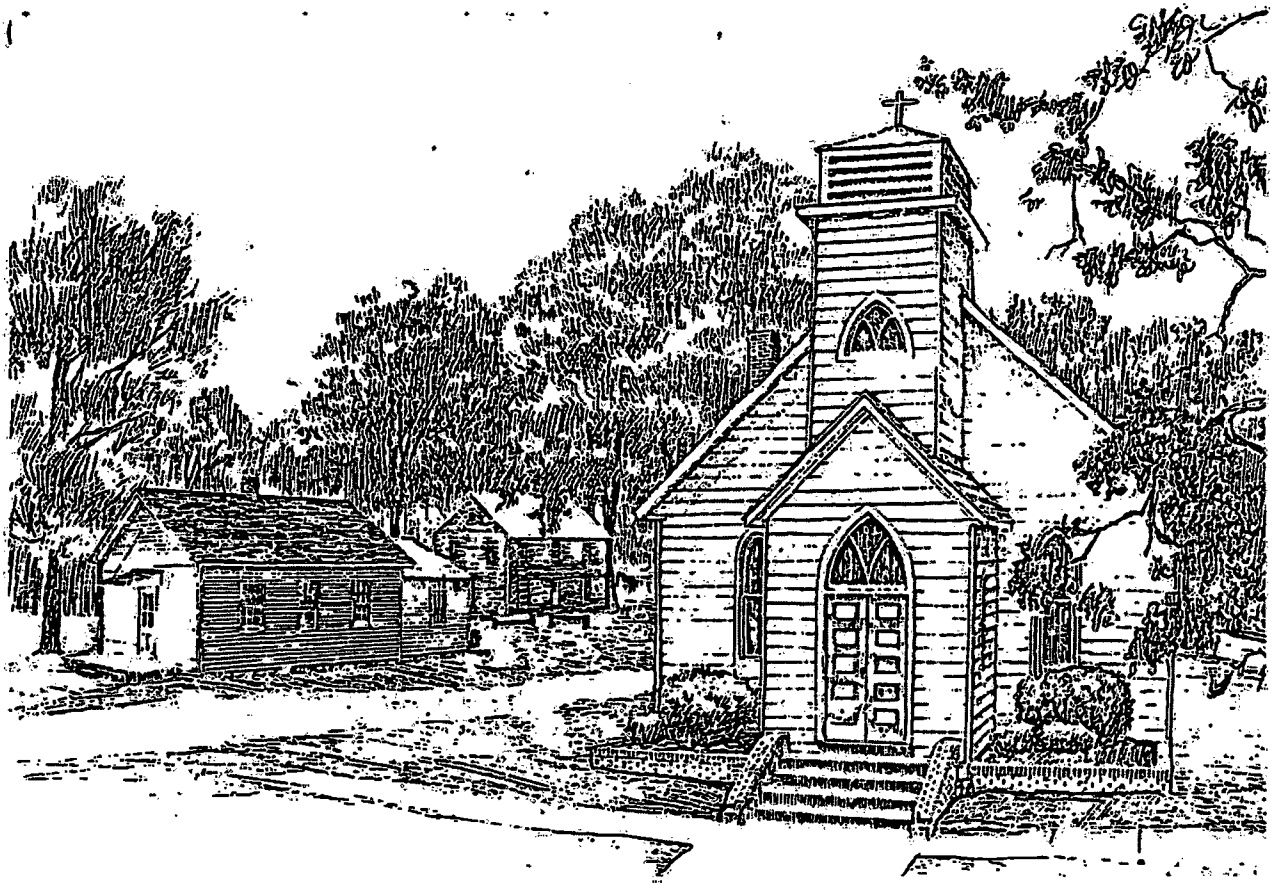


**REFLECTIONS OF BLACK HERITAGE:
AN ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY
OF BLACK COMMUNITIES IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND**

**George W. McDaniel
Sugarloaf Regional Trails
September, 1979**

ART FOR INSIDE COVER PAGE ?



FOREWORD

This study was derived from a historical survey of thirteen historical black communities in Montgomery County, Maryland, located north of Washington, D.C. in the piedmont region. The survey area was the upper western portion of the county, the principal area of research and operation of Sugarloaf Regional Trails, the local historical preservation and planning organization. Since its creation in 1974, it has worked for the preservation of Montgomery County's cultural landscape and for environmental education through activities such as conferences, historical theme trails guides, and historical research.

Supported by grants from the Maryland Historical Trust, the Montgomery County Office of Community Development, and the Maryland Committee for the Humanities, Inc., Sugarloaf Regional Trails conducted this historical survey from April, 1978 - June, 1979. George McDaniel was hired as historian and surveyor. The communities to be researched were designated by local black people through their community organization, the Western Upper Montgomery Citizens Organization. Its members in each community led the surveyor to important sites and informants. Howard Lyles, President, initiated much of this community cooperation, and his support is especially appreciated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The participation of volunteers was important to the success of the survey. In particular, the oral informants from the communities were essential to the rich material the surveyor found. Several who deserve special recognition for their time and knowledge are: Howard Lyles, Ora Lyles, Ethel Foreman, Ida Hallman, Florence Hallman, Lemuel Graham, Evelyn Herbert, Tilghman Lee, and Paul Wilson. They introduced the surveyor to knowledgeable people in the communities, took him to historical sites, and shared with him their recollections.

Other volunteers whose work is greatly appreciated were students, participants from the county, photographers and the graphic artist, and others, as named.

Karen Sewell, Sharyn Duffin, and a score of paid student assistants from Rockville indexed the 1867 ex-slave census of Montgomery County, and Linda Siebert, a volunteer from Gaithersburg, typed it.

Finally, student research assistants hired for the project -- Wesley Stubbs, Karen Sewell, and Tammy Hoewing -- contributed to the history of the sites by their fine research of county records. Steven Doolittle, cartography intern from the University of Maryland, created maps of seven historical communities with the help of the recollections of community residents.

This project would not have been possible without the assistance of Jo Ann Fox and Tamar Hoewing, who provided the typing for the entire project, inclusive of this manuscript. Frederick Gutheim, William Hutchinson, and John Pearce offered valuable review comments.

Gail Rothrock, Executive Director of SRT, organized the survey from its inception and supervised its progress. Much of the structure and contents of this manuscript are the result of her ~~fine~~ editorial skills. Her encouragement and support of this and other efforts to preserve the cultural landscape of Montgomery County have benefitted all of us.

ORAL INFORMANTS

BIG WOODS:

William and Florence Bell
Cora Campbell
Walter and Idella Craven
Florence Hallman
Ida Hallman
Hester Hamilton
Fred and Jane Stearns

BLOCKTOWN:

Dorothy Curtis
Louise Onley

CLARKSBURG:

Florence Davis
Virginia Gray
Ethel Foreman
Zelma Foreman
Arnold Hawkins
Joe Hawkins
Arthur Randolph
Madessa Snowden
Melvin Wims

JERUSALEM:

Beulah Clarke
Cora Harper
Joshua and Fannie Hamilton
Joe and Evelyn Harper
Howard Lyles
Ora Lyles
Charles and Henrietta Moore
William and Cora Moore
Frances Thompson

JONESVILLE:

Betty Genus
Hannah Jones
Virginia Owens
John Sims
Paul and Barbara Sims
Charles Turner

MARTINSBURG:

Lemuel Graham
Evelyn Herbert
George Naylor
John Thompson

MT. EPHRAIM:

Charlotte Ambush
Frances Bowie
Fritz and Polly Gutheim
Clarence Naylor
Barbara Wilson
John Wilson
Paul Wilson

SUGARLAND:

Tilghman and Bessie Lee
Bill Lyles
Richard Lyles

TURNERTOWN:

Betty Hawkins
Mabel Irvin
Mary Turner
Mary Turner (daughter)
Susie Turner

SENECA/BERRYVILLE:

James Henry Jackson

WHITE GROUNDS:

Agnes Coates
Mae Coates
Peg Coleman
Lorraine Duffin
Manuel Jackson
Edna Johnson
Georgia Lawson
Mary Naylor
Clara Talley

VOLUNTEER PHOTOGRAPHERS

Joe Davis
Gary Kreizman
Anne Lewis

STUDENT TRAINEES

Michael Blade
Ann Fitzgerald
Bill Kelly
Jim Lane
Phil Mudd

VOLUNTEER PARTICIPANTS FROM THE COUNTY

Michael Blade
Judy Docca
Ann Fitzgerald
Bill Kelly
Jim Lane
Phil Mudd

VOLUNTEER GRAPHIC ARTIST

Tom Riley

OTHER VOLUNTEER PARTICIPANTS

Mary Sue Nunn
John Pearce

PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS:

The photographers listed below took the following photographs. Special thanks are due to Joe Davis and Anne Lewis for the fine quality of their work in printing them.

Joe Davis:

Figures 30, 39, 40, 44-46, 56, 57, 63-67, 76-82.

Elodie Holmes:

Figures 26, 27, 28, 83.

Anne Lewis:

Figures 25, 34, 35, 48-51, 72-74.

George McDaniel:

Figures 2-4, 9, 12-14, 16-18, 22, 24, 29, 31-33, 36-38, 41-43, 47, 52-55, 58-60, 68, 75.

MAP CREDITS:

Steven Doolittle

Maps 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

INSIDE COVER DRAWING:

Harry L. Jaecks:

(Warren Methodist Church, Martinsburg School,
Loving Charity Hall)

SKETCHES:

Lincoln Hoewing:

Figures 5, 6, 7, 23

(Broom-making machine & Lee homestead).

Ida Fox:

Figure 8 (V-Notch).

FURNISHINGS PLANS:

Mary Sue Nunn:

Figures 15, 19.

SECRETARIAL ASSISTANCE:

Jo Ann Fox
Tamar Hoewing

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INTRODUCTION

In 1895 Booker T. Washington advised an audience of blacks and whites to "cast down your buckets where you are". By this he meant for them to start where they were, to take advantage of what was at hand, to use the resources around them.¹ This study in local history is in keeping with that advice and is an attempt to utilize local communities and resources as a means of understanding and conveying a history shared by many Americans.

Historically many Americans have lived out their lives in a local setting, going through their daily routines either in or close by the home. For many, farm life has been a part of their heritage, especially for blacks. For example, as late as 1910, three out of four blacks lived in rural areas.² The lives of these people may not have been "great" or "exciting", but it is perhaps their everyday quality that gives them universality and connects them to us. That connection is made all the more real by the physical vestiges of that past that still remain with us -- the old houses, schools, churches, photographs, artifacts, and the elderly people who knew them.

The social history of America is one of pluralism of the ongoing dialectic between separation and integration of ethnic groups. Of special importance in Maryland and the South is the social history of blacks and whites. The history of each is interconnected, although most histories have focused on the white perspective. It is therefore essential to hear the voices of the many anonymous blacks -- in this case, black Marylanders -- without whose contributions the story of the state would have been radically different. This study is an attempt to do so. In addition, it is intended to serve as an example to show the advantages of combining a variety of approaches -- such as oral history, architectural history, photography, and social history -- to hear and convey their voices more completely.

// a.

Throughout their experience in America, blacks have been circumscribed by a society fundamentally hostile to the fulfillment of their rights. During slavery and afterwards, laws and social customs confined their educational, social, political, and economic opportunities. Until the second half of the 20th century, segregation remained firmly entrenched. Furthermore, blacks had little control over the ways in which their part in the American history was conveyed, and their historical character became stereotyped as that of a comical and pliable "sambo". As late as the 1950's and 1960's sociologists typically portrayed the black family as disorganized and "matriarchal", and black culture as deprived. ³

This study of black culture in Montgomery County, Maryland examines in detail the world in which blacks lived from their perspective, more or less, and presents an alternative view. While never escaping the circle of white supremacy of the surrounding society, many blacks here were able to buy land after Emancipation unlike most blacks further south who remained landless farm tenants. These landowning black families in Montgomery County were able to establish a more autonomous way of life and strove towards self-sufficiency. In addition to cultivating their own land, they frequently worked as farm laborers, and some rented farm land or worked as artisans, quarrymen, sawyers, canalmen, or on the railroad. Contrary to the still popular image of a "broken family", the vast majority of these black families were headed by two parents and were not matriarchal. Most of the marriages were lifelong. After Emancipation almost all the freed men and women in Montgomery County established their own identities by selecting surnames different from their former owners. They founded their own communities, built their own houses, organized churches, schools and mutual aid societies. As has been commonly described in white history, there was a strong element of individual and collective resourcefulness in these black communities as well, an important corrective to the stereotypical view of blacks as "improvident", "shiftless", or "Samboes".

In order to understand black communities today, it is necessary to see them as part of a continuum with traditions stretching back into the past. What are these traditions? What, for example, were the compositions of historical black communities, who founded them, and how did they develop over time? What practices of self help and mutual assistance were developed, and what were the responsibilities of kinship and Christian faith in regard to one's neighbor? What were the connections between one black community and another? Was there a unifying view that perceived them as one entity, as "one people"? What were the principal institutions, and what were their roles in the community and beyond? What has been their fate in recent years? These are some of the questions addressed throughout this study.

This study also portrays the daily routines of traditional black family life and describes the buildings, artifacts, and places related to those activities: in understanding the everyday world of these people, the heritage of many Americans is more clearly revealed. In order for us to see the physical world of these families more completely, there are descriptions of the types of houses in which they lived, the methods used to construct them, and their layout, including furnishings plans of some interiors and descriptions of the manufacture and uses of artifacts. Since all of the homestead was essential to the life of these farm families, the outbuildings, animal yards, orchards, and gardens are also discussed, as are the activities related to them. Sketches of the layout of some of the homesteads and the historical communities show how the land was thoroughly utilized by these resourceful families.

Unlike southern Maryland, which was clearly part of the South, Montgomery County was a part of Maryland that contributed to its historical experience as a border state. However, these rural communities in Montgomery County like those in southern Maryland and elsewhere in the South, with their old houses, churches and

schools constitute the collective memory of "home" for thousands of blacks. Some have elected to stay in the old communities because of economic concerns. As land prices sky-rocket in Montgomery County and elsewhere in the nation, it becomes increasingly difficult for low and middle income families to find suitable land and housing. These ancestral communities of blacks can provide not only land and houses, but a connection to their cultural heritage. As Bill Lyles explained upon returning to his family's community in Montgomery County after 25 years in the Army, "This is home to me. That's all. I've always wanted to have and keep on having a piece of this land." ⁴

It is hoped that studies such as this will help preserve the important landmarks and other historical resources of these communities so that connections from one generation to the next may be sustained. However, most of those resources have already perished. The less powerful the social group, the less preserved is its history, and the vast majority of black historical resources -- like those of white tenants -- are irretrievably lost. Poverty, migration, lack of education or historical pride, neglect, and disregard by conventional scholars and archivists have been the principal causes.

The magnitude of the loss is illustrated in Montgomery County. After Emancipation blacks built over 200 houses in the survey area, but as with many other everyday communities, less than a third remain, though many are in deteriorating condition. In some communities there is scarce visible evidence. For example, in Sugarland, 29 or more houses had been built by the late 1890's, but only one survives.

As the older people have passed on, they have taken with them the history of their family, community, and state. Often old photographs and family documents have been lost, misplaced or burned. One example among many was the fire that destroyed the old house of a freed slave in Martinsburg, which contained many pictures of his relatives, including one of the founders of the black community, photographed in his uniform of the Union Army.

Lost too were the soldier's sword and musket, rare artifacts in the state's -- or nation's -- museum collections of black history.

What can be done? How can these resources be located and recorded before they are lost? Equally important, what can be learned from them? This study attempts to provide some answers.

FOOTNOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1. Emma Lou Thornbrough, ed., Booker T. Washington (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 34.
2. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), p. 232.
3. Scores of studies in recent years have dealt with the problem of images and realities of historical black personality and family life. Among the most noted are: Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy: A Trans-action Social Science and Public Policy Report (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963); Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963); Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), see pp. 305-326 and 461-475.
4. Bill Lyles, interview by George McDaniel, Sugarland community, Montgomery County, Maryland, September, 1978.

PART I

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF BLACK COMMUNITY LIFE

Chapter 1. HISTORICAL SETTING

Let us begin with a brief description of the county in which these communities are located, for it has substantially shaped their development. Montgomery County is in the piedmont region of the state and is bordered by the Potomac River, a mile or so north of its fall line. The land, especially the upper western portion where these communities are located, still consists of open swaths of fields, with clusters of hardwood forests, crisscrossed by streams, all providing a natural bounty utilized by residents since the days of the Indians. Historically the economy of the county has been predominantly agricultural with small towns located at crossroads. The early white culture was Southern in character, but by the 19th century it had become more mixed, resembling that of a border area.

Since the 18th century enslaved black workers, along with free labor, had tilled the land, and most lived on small farms with nine or less slaves. Bondsmen on other farms lived close by. The most famous was Josiah Henson, the runaway slave upon whose autobiography Harriet Beecher Stowe based her novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin. Free blacks comprised more than a fourth of the black population by 1860 and had founded two of the surveyed communities by the early 1800's. During the Civil War, many whites sympathized with the South, but many did not, and as a result, blacks in the county were spared the racial vendettas that occurred in the South after the war. ^{1a}

In the 1870's the construction of the Metropolitan branch of the B & O Railroad from Washington, D.C. through Montgomery County revived the sagging agricultural economy and promoted a profitable dairy industry. The C & O Canal, which paralleled the Potomac, remained a major route of transportation and trade until

the early 20th century. Several stone quarries in the county prospered, providing building materials for Washington, D.C. and other cities in the mid-Atlantic region. The labor demands and cash pay of these local industries and farms along with the more progressive "civility" of race relations were important factors in enabling black workers to escape peonage as landless sharecroppers and to establish their own landowning communities. 1b

At least eleven black communities were founded in upper western Montgomery County after Emancipation, and two, begun in the antebellum era, grew in size as freed men and women settled there. All have continued in existence to the present day with descendants of the original settlers still residing there, some being the fifth, even the seventh generation. Though most of the original houses are gone, eighteen remain from the first generation of the 1870's, and a few of them are still inhabited by descendants.

AFRICAN HERITAGE

The heritage of black communities in Montgomery County begins in the African homeland, yet this survey was undertaken too late in time to be able to interview any elderly persons who might have remembered accounts told by their ancestors of life in Africa, the passage over, or arrival in America. At this point historians have not begun to investigate for the African origins of the county's black population. Field research for 19th century handmade artifacts which may show traditional designs or features have not been successful.

Furthermore, Montgomery County was sufficiently "progressive" in terms of its ways of life that many of the very old traditions did not continue. By comparison, in the course of survey work in southern Maryland, elderly blacks were located who recalled preparing and laying dirt floors or thatching roofs for log houses and outbuildings -- building techniques reminiscent of African practices. Such methods were not remembered in Montgomery County.

In more subtle, cross-cultural ways, however, traditions may well have continued. For example, historians have argued that the roots of the black church began in Africa and may be seen in call and response services, the character of the old-time spirituals and hymns, and the strong, traditional proclivity of blacks toward a religion centered on faith in preference to *academic* theology.¹ As in Africa, religion continues to be at the heart of daily life for many blacks.

FREE BLACK COMMUNITIES

Before emancipation in Montgomery County, as elsewhere in Maryland, there was a substantial population of free blacks. Two of the communities surveyed were founded quite early by free black families. Big Woods and Mt. Ephraim were founded in 1813 and 1814, respectively. The first known black settler

of the Big Woods community was James Spencer, who acquired 50 acres in 1813 from the Thomas Morton family. He was followed in 1847 by Elijah Awkard who by the late 1850's had acquired a total of 163 acres, making him one of the largest black landowners in the county at the time. Near Sugarloaf Mountain, the black community at Mt. Ephraim had its origins in 1814 when the free black David Moody, a charcoal burner, acquired 60 acres from Leonard Hays. Moody later, in 1833, purchased 54 acres for \$107 from the Bank of the United States which had foreclosed on a mortgage of Roger Johnson. The holdings of these free blacks were adjacent to white farmers, illustrating the existence of bi-racial communities of landowners.²

HISTORICAL RESOURCES FROM THE SLAVERY ERA

In the antebellum era, the black population constituted a higher proportion of the county's population than it does today. According to the U.S. censuses from 1830-1860, blacks constituted about 40% of the total county population,³ creating an influential black presence in the county. The number of slaves and free blacks remained relatively constant over the period from 1830 to 1860, not showing the results of natural increase.⁴ This suggests that slaves were either successfully running away, being sold to other slave states, moving to

farms of the same family in other states (as with Josiah Henson), or being manumitted and moving away. After 1830, increasingly severe laws circumscribed the freedom of allegedly "free blacks", forcing many to leave the county and state. Since it would have been difficult to maintain stable family units under such pressure, it is likely that slave families were broken up.

The sharp declines in the slave populations 1810-1820 (from 7,572 to 6,396, or -15.5%) and 1830-1840 (6,447 to 5,377, or -16.6%) probably represent mainly sales South. One contemporary Baltimore journal⁵ stated that the sale of slaves for southern markets checked the increase of slaves in Maryland. The number of free blacks changed comparatively little -- 677 to 922 in 1810-1820, from 1,266 to 1,313 in 1830-1840. In the latter decade this probably reflected out-migration to Frederick and Washington Counties, where this fraction of the population increased dramatically. Many also must have gone to Baltimore and Washington, where there were more opportunities for them in industry, shops, and private homes, and (of course) to Pennsylvania and other northern states.⁶

The few accounts written by former slaves provide glimpses into the daily life and conditions of slaves. Two are helpful in relating to life in Montgomery County, and more particularly

to life in the survey area. In his autobiography, Josiah Henson recounted his experiences as a slave on the Riley family's farm near Potomac, Maryland. His descriptions of small log houses and cramped and unhealthy living conditions reveal some of the darkest aspects of bondage in the county.⁷

The only former slave from the survey area about whom there are written descriptions was Phillip Johnson. He was one of the founders of the Sugarland community where descendants still live. Interviewed by the Federal Writers Project of the W.P.A. in the late 1930's, Johnson recounted stories of the diet, clothing, and agricultural work on "Dr. White's" farm near Edward's Ferry and of Confederate raids in Poolesville where he lived during the Civil War.⁸ (See Sugarland history, p. 272-273.)

The thin soils of the piedmont caused large slave plantations similar to those in tidewater Maryland to fail. Equally important, crops other than tobacco were ill suited to the use of slave labor. When the bottom dropped out of the tobacco market after the Revolutionary War, slave-owning became less and less profitable. In all of Montgomery County in 1790, only 36 planters owned 20 or more slaves and 80% had fewer than ten. The pattern of limited slave ownership continued to 1860. Of the 770 slave owners in the county in 1860, 586 owned nine slave or less. Only 12 individuals

owned between 30 and 40.⁹

One result was that the small scale slave owners and non-slave owners opposed the efforts of the Maryland Colonization Society and of the state government to send blacks to Liberia, since they needed free black agricultural labor. Another result was that the slave communities were small, and slaves were housed in separate log dwellings, or perhaps in the planters' houses themselves, rather than in long streets of slave quarters as on the plantations further south.

AFTER FREEDOM: ESTABLISHING IDENTITY

Settlement Patterns

Like newly arrived ^{European} immigrants from the 17th century on, ~~the freed slaves~~ ^{blacks} after emancipation sought to escape landlessness and further circumscriptions upon their lives by buying land themselves and establishing their own homesteads. Rather than form collectively-owned communities (as they had known in Africa), they gathered in communities where the land was owned by individual families, in keeping with the American tradition.

Since most of the freed slaves had little capital, they could only buy small parcels of land ranging in size from one to ten acres, and often in places where land was not cleared or the soil was less fertile or poorly drained. Since the

white-owned farms were relatively small, after ^EEmancipation it was possible for blacks to live on the edges of these farms and still walk to their work as farm laborers. It was on the edges of these farms that they were able to acquire land. Jonesville, for example, developed on land that was formerly part of the Aix-la-Chappelle plantation. In contrast, in the deep South, the white attitude against allowing a black landowning class to form was much stronger, partly because of the need for black labor on the large plantations, and partly because of the perceived threat of black ownership to the racial status quo.¹⁰

Naming Patterns

After freedom, in Montgomery County as throughout the South, former slaves selected their own surnames, rather than taking the family name of their former owner, as is often believed. This more independent naming pattern is well illustrated in the 1867 census of freed slaves in Montgomery County which lists the owners and the names of their emancipated slaves. For instance, Albert Thompson (Figure 55) was the former slave of John S.T. Jones, and John Peters (Figure 56) the former slave of Sarah A. Poole. In fact, examples of slaves taking the surname of their former owners are rare, indicating the degree of control that the freed slaves assumed over their new identity.¹¹

The historian Herbert Gutman found that blacks during slavery had kept the surnames of earlier owners from whom they had been sold, both in order to recognize their "homeplace" and to maintain their ties to their kin. On some plantations that Gutman studied these surnames were also used by the slave owner in the lists he kept of his slaves, while on other plantations they were used only within the slave community. Given the absence of slave lists in the survey area, the extent to which these surnames were used during slavery is not clear. However, the oral informant in the Sugarland community, Tilghman Lee, recalls that his father -- Samuel Lee, who was "just a kid" at Emancipation -- was the son of Daniel Lee, and that Lee was the name they had had during slavery. He does not know, however, how they had acquired that name. Mr. Lee's neighbor, Patrick Hebron, who was born in 1850 as a slave, was a "junior", Lee says, named after his father. According to the ex-slave census, "Patrick Hepburn" had been a slave of James N. Allnutt, and Lee adds that "I never knew any white Hebrons, all colored." Thus, these surnames after Emancipation were most likely derived from the black families' heritage.¹²

FAMILY STRUCTURE

What types of families settled in these new communities? Were the households headed by two parents, or only one? How

large were they, what were the kin relationships within the communities and between communities? What were the occupations of their members? Answers to these questions can describe the patterns of historical black family life, and fortunately such answers are available from oral informants and census manuscripts.

Composition

First, the typical black family historically was a nuclear family -- that is, it usually consisted of parents and their children, without relatives lodging with them. Of the 126 black families examined in the Medley District in the 1900 census, only 29% had relatives living with them, and 12% had non-relatives lodging with them. Some families had both relatives and non-relatives, so the respective percentages of each were lower in reality. Oral informants describing household composition in each community rarely cited grandparents, uncles, or other relatives or non-relatives.

Two parent households were the rule; single parent families were by far the exception. Of the same sample of 126 black families in the Medley District in the 1900 census, the great majority (83%) was headed by two parents. Of the remaining families, the single parent households with only the father as parent almost always contained a mature female relative. For those households headed by a female, it was not unusual

for her older sons to be listed as laborers while their mother was not shown as having an occupation. In these cases, older sons served as bread winners, the traditional role of the father, while the mothers maintained the household. As a result, almost all black families -- whether headed by two parents, single males, or single females -- had two adult, or almost adult, heads of households. Consequently, the high percentage of single parent, female-headed black families in contemporary society cannot be regarded as the continuation of the traditional black family, but rather as a recent creation reflecting modern pressures.¹³

Size

Due to the large size of families, the small houses (typically two rooms down/two up) were crowded. Of the same sample of households, most households (68%) consisted of five members or more. Thirty percent had five or six members. The largest household consisted of 16 people. Family living space inside the houses had to be shared. Children shared a bedroom with siblings, or with their parents. The house therefore provided little privacy, in terms of spatial separation, for individuals within the family. It should be remembered, however, that much of their time was spent outdoors, engaged in farm work,

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household chores, children's play, or socializing in hot weather.¹⁴

Kin Relationships

Although most households were nuclear families, the surrounding community was composed of relatives, making the community itself an extended family. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins lived on adjacent lots or "just down the road". Parents often allowed their children or grandchildren to build houses on their property, thus the homestead was shared by an extended family. As a result of their close proximity, the elderly could pass on their ideas, values, skills, and ways of life to the young.

By the end of the 19th century, separate communities had become linked by kinship. Members of one community moved or married into another. Creating family trees reveals the many family connections among these communities. Figure 1 illustrates a portion of the kinship network that connected Clarksburg, Big Woods, Turnertown, Sugarland, Jonesville, Jerusalem, Barnesville, and White Grounds, to name a few.

A case in point is the kinship network of Florence Hallman of Big Woods. Her maternal grandmother, Mary Harper, was the daughter of John Harper, born in 1840, one of the principal founders of Jerusalem. John Harper's brother Thomas helped establish Jonesville. Florence Hallman's maternal grandfather was James Edward Hamilton, whose brother Dennis, born 1842, was also one of the founders of Jerusalem. Dennis married Henrietta Duffin, born 1851, whose uncle and the person after whom she was named was Henry Duffin, a founder of White Grounds. One of Henry Duffin's daughters married Warner Weems of Clarksburg.

For members of these historical communities, an important result was that these different communities were not perceived as separate, alien entities, but as integral components of a familiar world. This world view was best described by the eighty-three year old oral informant in Barnesville, Lawrence Hamilton, when in referring to members of the surveyed communities, he said, "They's all my people".¹⁵

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY ECONOMY

Occupations

From the years after Emancipation and through the first half of the 20th century, the majority of black males in these communities worked as laborers. In the sample from the 1900 U.S. census of the survey area, 60% of the male heads of households were identified as farm laborers, and 14% as day laborers. Only 12% were described as farmers (that is, earning their principal income from the land they owned and farmed). A limited variety of other occupations were listed: undertaker, boatman, blacksmith, stone mason, "engineer traction", post and rail maker, mail carrier, and carpenter. No blacks held professional occupations, such as lawyer, merchant, or doctor. Since blacks were forbidden by state law to practice law in state courts until 1885 and since educational opportunities for blacks were severely limited, it is not surprising to find no lawyers in these communities. Even today there are no black doctors serving this area or many other areas of rural Maryland.¹⁶

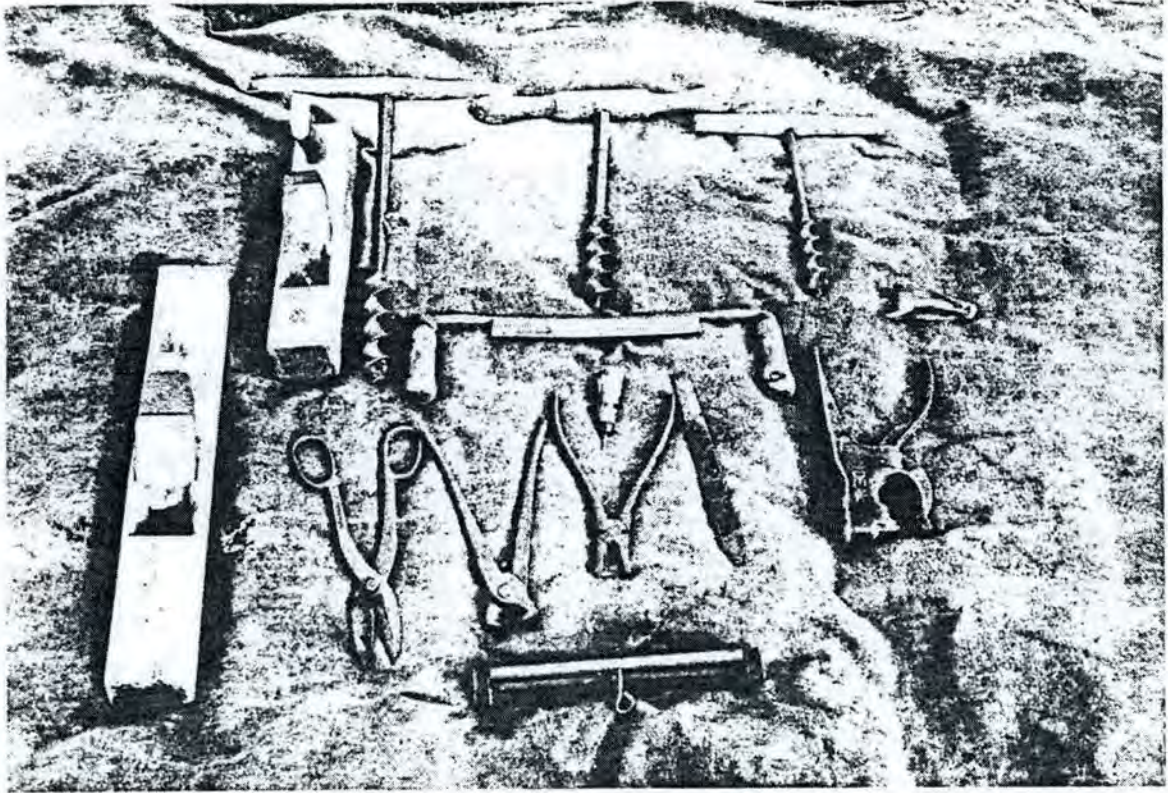
Though the majority of black males were classified as laborers, they were, by necessity, skilled in a variety of specialized activities. For example, many are remembered as

having been cobblers, broom-makers, fence-builders, well-diggers, railroad workers, quarry workers, barn builders, and/or ministers. Individual examples abound. For instance, Bene Hallman in Mt. Ephraim was listed as a "day laborer" in the 1900 U.S. census manuscript but he was also a carpenter, housewright, and broom-maker. Figures 2 and 3 show the tools that he used. Figures 4 - 7 show his broom-making machine and its component parts. He sold his brooms to local families and to stores.

Samuel Lee who lived in the Sugarland community was identified in the 1900 census as a "farmer", but his son Tilghman Lee recalls that he also worked as a stone cutter at the Seneca Stone Quarry, where he can be seen in a photograph of about 1900 in Figure 72. Though Charles McPherson who lived near Jerusalem, was listed as a "laborer" in the 1900 census, his daughter Ora Lyles says that he was also a "businessman" and travelled about the countryside whitewashing and calcimining houses (Calcimine is a lime-based paint usually in pastel colors.) Mrs. Lyles remembers:

He'd get in that old horse and buggy with his buckets and brushes, and he'd go anywhere. Sometimes he'd ride all day to get there, and stay away two or three days.¹⁷

In the late 1880's and early 1900's, many blacks left the survey area in search of jobs. Opportunities in Washington were especially attractive. For example, William Gibbs from White Grounds, born in 1855, helped to build the Washington Monument in the 1880's. William Foreman from Clarksburg worked on building construction sites in Washington and was killed in a cave-in while building nurses' units at Walter Reed Hospital in 1928. But if jobs were available on farms, many laborers preferred farm work near home. For example, Richard Turner



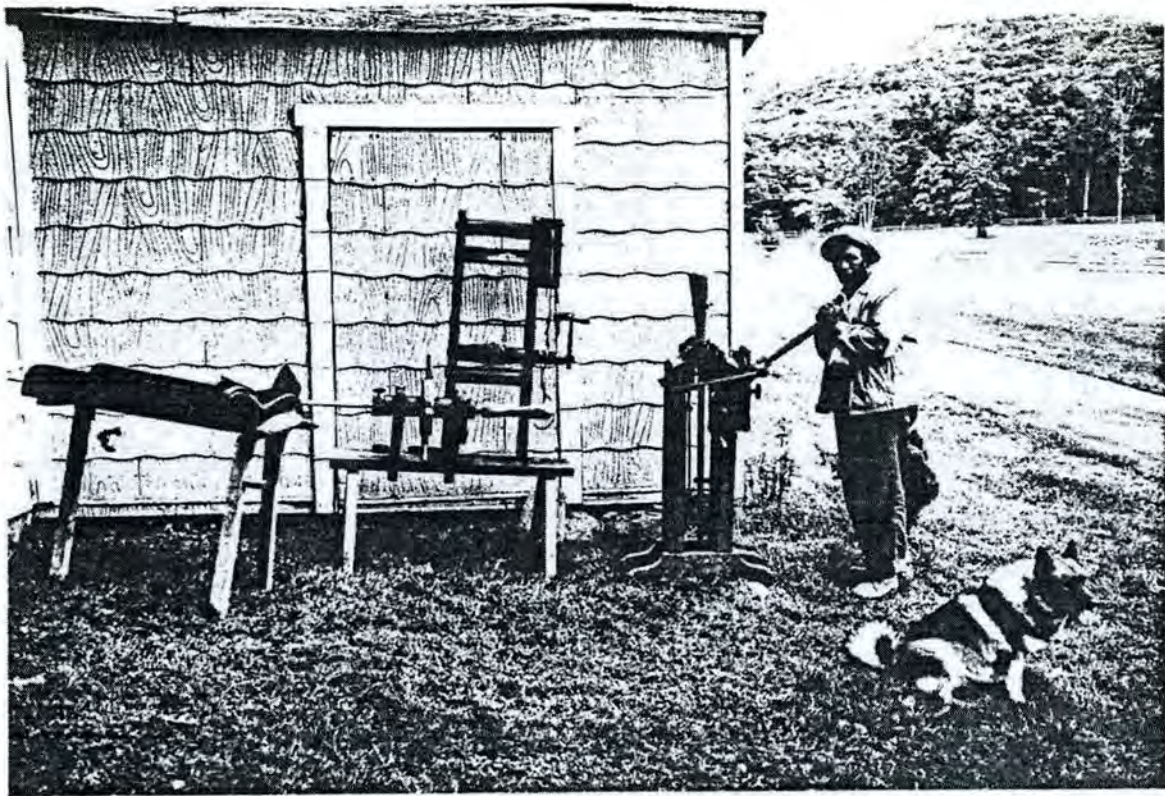
Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 2 . Tools of Bene Hallman, Mt. Ephraim. Tools are in the possession of Hallman's grandson, Paul Wilson. Foreground: clamp for holding a saw while sharpening; first row; carpenter's plane, tin snips, pinchers, pliers, awl, file, leather punch; top row; carpenter's plane, augers, draw knife, and corn shucker.

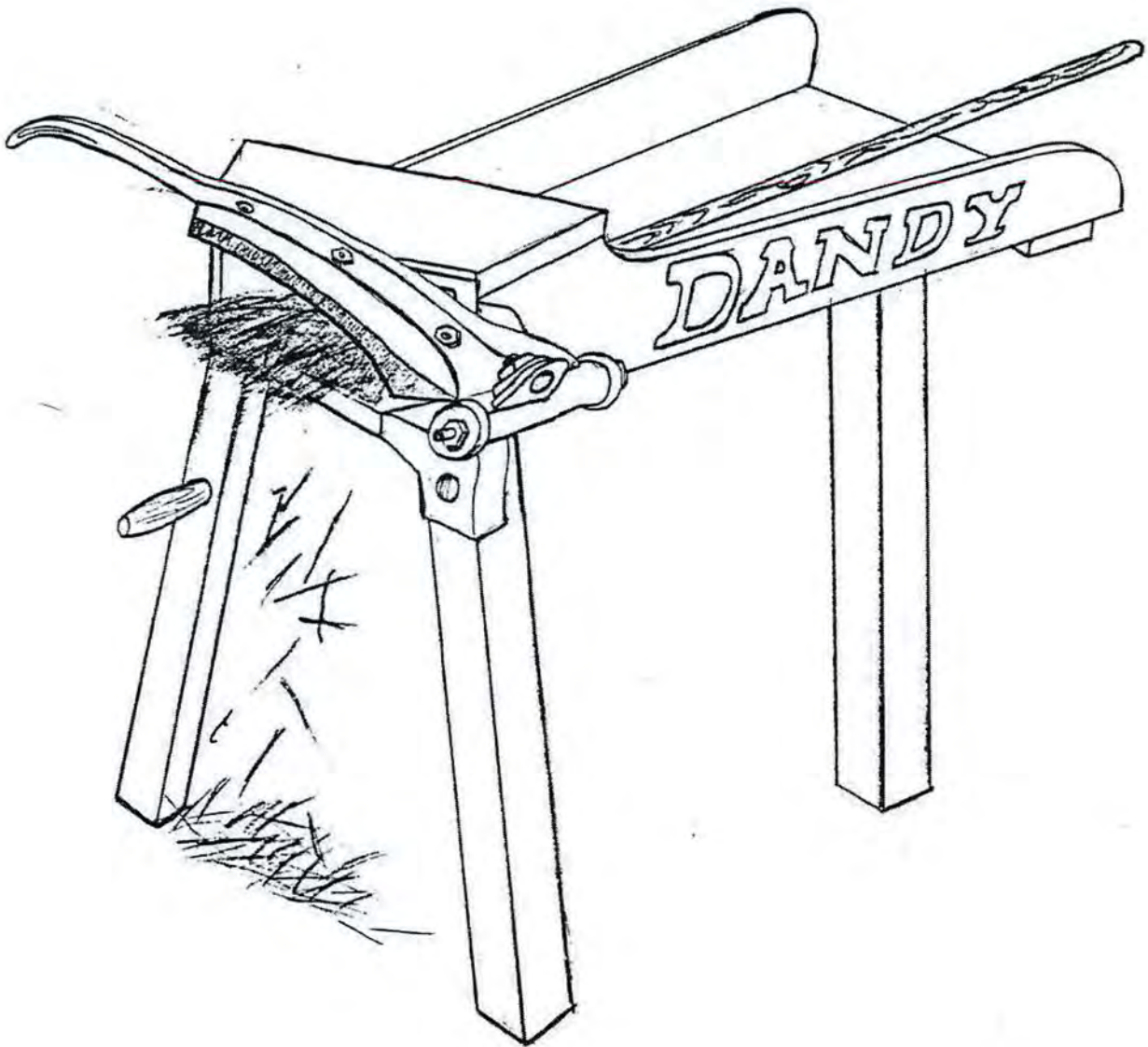


Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 3 . Artifacts of the Hallman family, Mt. Ephraim. In the foreground is a portion of an ash sapling, cut by Hallman, which he was going to carve into a walking cane. The two irons were used by his wife Barbara Hallman. The two whiskey jugs belonged to his brothers and label on one reads, "Mahoney, Dealer in Choice Liquors, Beers, and Groceries, Knoxville, Md." The lantern on the right served as Hallman's buggy lamp.

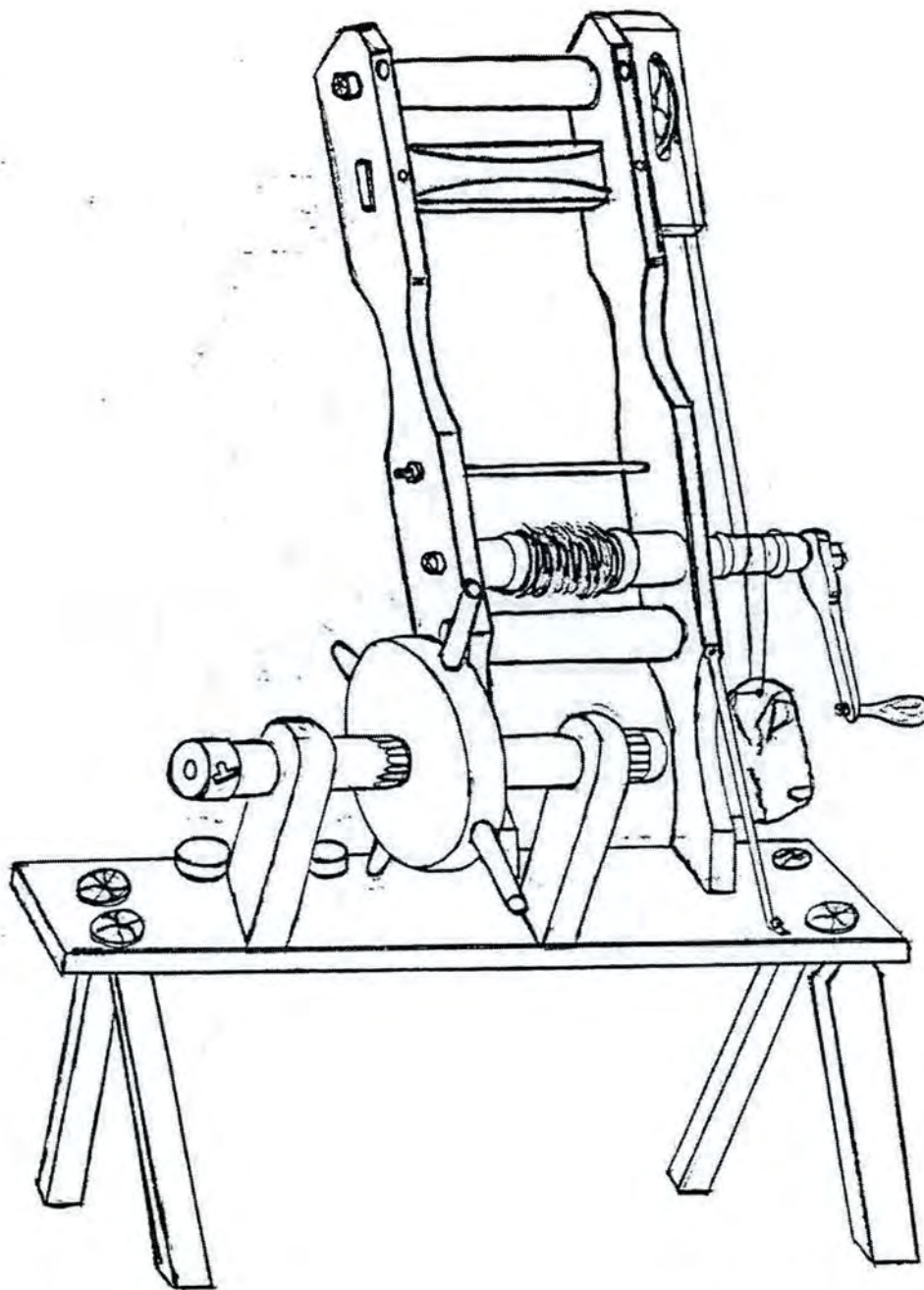


Photograph by George W. McDaniel.
 Figure 4 . Broom-making machine of Bene Hallman, Mt. Ephraim. Now in the possession of Hallman's grandson, Paul Wilson. It consisted of three principal parts, which Hallman called his cutter, binder, and compressor-sewer. Hallman ordered the parts from George Harrman & Brothers factory in Baltimore, and they were shipped to nearby Dickerson, Maryland. Much of his production of brooms was a home industry. Hallman cultivated, harvested, and cured the broom corn. Gathering it in bundles, he cut one end with the large blade. Next he bound that end tightly to the broom handle with loops of thin wire. He then compressed it in the vice and stitched it with stout thread so that the circular bundle fanned out and was reinforced. Finally he evenly cut the opposite end of the broom corn with the large blade. Hallman sold his brooms for one to three dollars a piece to local farmers and stores. They were known to be strong and durable and were sought after by families in the region.



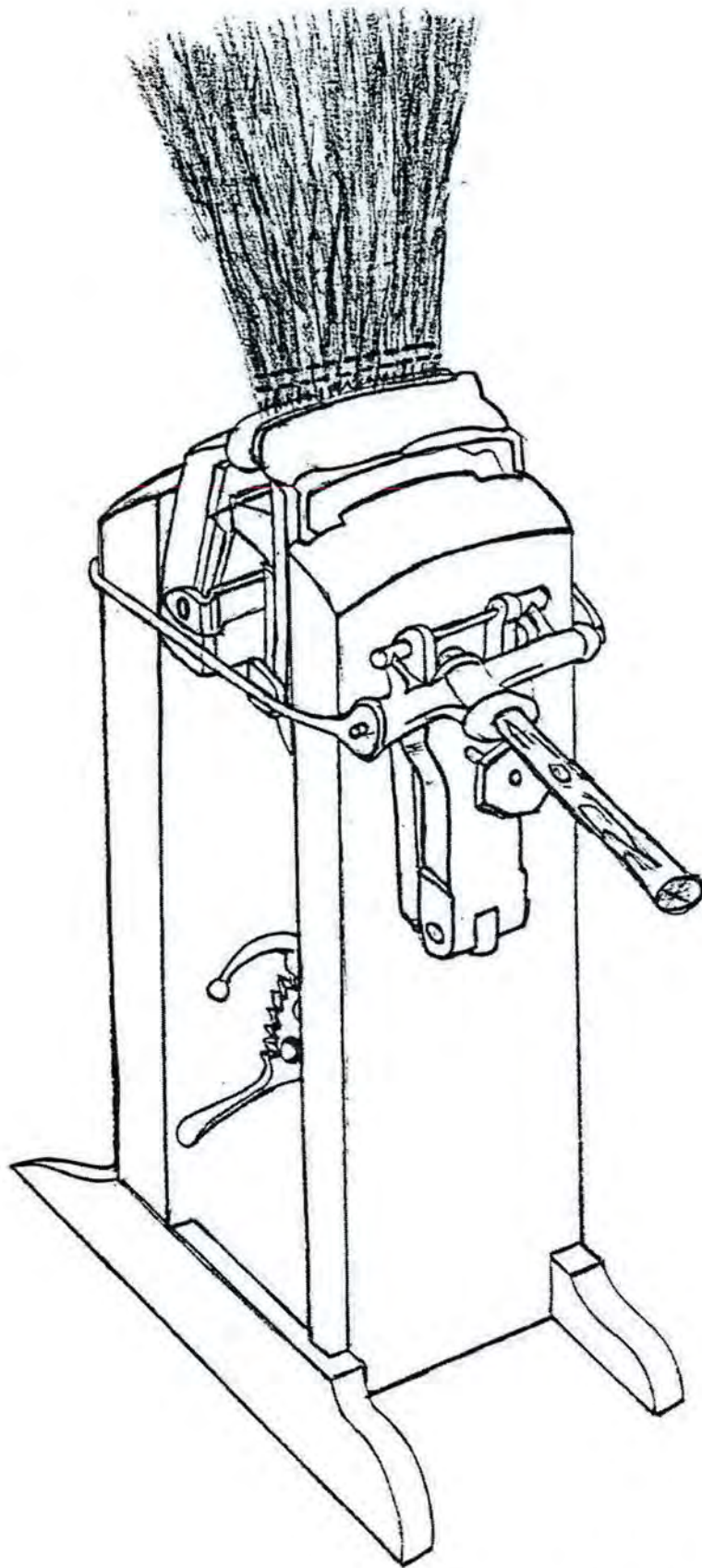
Drawing by Charles Lincoln Hoewing

Figure 5: The "cutter" component of Bene Hallman's broom-making machine.



Drawing by Charles Lincoln Hoewing

Figure 6: The "binder" component of Bene Hallman's broom-making machine.



Drawing by Charles Lincoln Hoewing

Figure 7: The "compressor-sewer" component of Bene Hallman's broom-making machine.

from Turnertown who was a jack-of-all trades -- building barns and silos, shoeing horses, and farming the land -- had left to work in Union Station, according to his daughter Mabel Irvin. ^{after a year,} he soon resigned and returned to Turnertown, he ^{explained,} "because the job took me away from the things I like to do."¹⁸

The women of these historical communities are remembered as "industrious and hard-working." Most were identified in the 1900 U.S. census as "housekeepers". Oral informants, such as Charlotte Ambush from Mt. Ephraim, agree that very few worked outside the house. "They had big families back then and stayed home with their children," she explains. Though their work did not bring in a cash income, it was essential to the family and community. These women made clothes, stitched quilts, washed clothes, tended the gardens, canned food, cooked meals, fed and cared for farm animals when necessary, cleaned the house, tended the sick, and reared the children. In each community one or two were midwives.¹⁹

As a rule, in rearing children the women were strict disciplinarians. As Howard Lyles described his grandmother, Virginia Robinson from Jerusalem, "when children were asked to do a chore, it was not 'I'll do it later'. It was 'you do it now.'" They were also quite strong in their religious faith because of "what they had come through as slaves." Today memory of their devotion

to family, community and church is still strong, and members of the surveyed communities have great respect for these women.²⁰

Wages

Most black farm laborers in the survey area were paid a monthly wage, in comparison to the majority of blacks in southern Maryland and further south, who worked as sharecroppers. Howard Lyles and William Moore from Jerusalem recall that in the early 1900's wages were approximately ten dollars a month. Such wages were common for farm laborers throughout the county. For example, Hester Hamilton from Praitherstown in central Montgomery County says that her father, a farm laborer, "raised nine children on twelve dollars a month" in the early 1900's. In addition to these wages, men were given a portion of the farm products -- corn, wheat, milk, and perhaps hay or even some hogs. For day jobs, such as yard work, which did not provide fringe benefits, men made a dollar a day for a ten hour day.²¹

Children supplemented the family income by working on farms and in homes nearby, beginning about age ten with "light work". Among the chores for boys were feeding hogs, cleaning yards, and splitting and hauling wood. In Purdum, Arnold Hawkins, born in 1905, remembers taking his brother's job of "driving cows when I was old enough, about nine. That was my thrill. And I got

paid 50¢ a month." In Jonesville, Joe Harper began working on farms at age eleven for eight dollars a month. Tilghman Lee recalls that when boys were twelve or thirteen years old, they became field hands and usually stayed on the farms overnight, sleeping upstairs above the kitchen. In Jerusalem William Moore, born in 1910, thinned and cut corn at age fourteen for 50¢ a day, and by age eighteen was a full-time farm laborer, making a dollar a day for a ten hour day. Until age seventeen, most boys had to return home to receive permission from their parents before being allowed to go to town or to ball games during their free time, Tilghman Lee recalls.

For girls, "light work" included sweeping floors, washing dishes, looking after young children, and taking care of babies. Florence (Onley) Hallman from Big Woods, an orphan, lived with a nearby white family from age seven to thirteen, and washed dishes, cleaned the yard, fed the chickens, and ran errands to the store. She was paid "board and clothes, plus a dollar or 50¢, if I wanted to go somewhere." Bessie Lee, born in 1905 in Sugarland, says she began doing light work during summers while in grade school and afterwards, worked year round for five dollars ^{a month.} In the 1930's during their teen-age years, Evelyn (Moore) Harper and Ethel Foreman did housework for three to five dollars a week. Mrs. Foreman worked six days a week plus a half day on

Sunday. During their teen-age years, most girls began cooking in the kitchen, a skill that they had already learned at home. This necessity of children going out to work was a feature of life shared by working class families elsewhere in the nation and the world.²²

Recollections of these oral informants about their occupations as children and teenagers reveal important moral values instilled by their parents. This is best illustrated in the interview with Hester (Praither) Hamilton from Praitherstown and Idella (King) Craven from Big Woods:

Craven: I started work when I was fifteen and I was getting three dollars a week. My mother would take the money and give me back a quarter.

McDaniel: What would you do with that quarter?

Craven: Lots of times I wouldn't even spend it. At the end of the month, I'd still have my dollar.

McDaniel: Where did you work?

Craven: I worked on a farm, cooking for about fifteen to twenty people. Three meals.

McDaniel: In looking back over those years, what was the more valuable lesson that you learned from the older people?

Craven: My father always told me, whatever you do in life, tell the truth. Being honest to me is the most important thing. There have

been times when I wanted to tell a wild tale, but I would think about what he said. Whether it hurt or not, I tried to tell the truth. I still do. I think I messed up somewhere along the line because I could have found a rich husband, but I made out all right.

Hamilton: That's what my parents always told me. You are going out to work now. If there's anything, you want, you ask, you don't take nothing. They can only say yes or no. I remember that.

Craven: And those things stuck with me. Later in life I've gone on jobs and I have been cleaning and I saw hundred dollar bills laying around, or fifty dollar bills, and my father taught us that ^{whenever} whatever you see like money lying around, it's put there for a reason.

McDaniel: When you say, "put there for a reason," was it like God is testing you?

Hamilton: Yes, that's right.

Craven: Yes, that happened an awful lot in those days.²³

Prices

Though wages were low, prices were also low and many goods were bartered for. Ora Lyles says that "in those days (the early 1900's) a dollar went a long way. Sugar was 5¢ a pound." Mrs. Lyles, Howard Lyles, and Tilghman Lee all remember exchanging eggs, milk, or garden produce with neighbors or even at stores, so that no cash was needed. Ethel Foreman and Inez McAbee from Damascus remember that during their youth in the 1920's and 1930's, hucksters travelling through the communities sold beef roasts

for 12¢ to 15¢ a pound, a steak for 25¢ a pound, bananas for 10¢ a dozen, herring for 20¢ a dozen. A ten or twelve pound bag of "Sunny Field Flour" (all-purpose) sold for 49¢, and a loaf of bread for 10¢. A dozen eggs were 15¢ to 20¢, and perhaps less. Material for dresses such as gingham or percale were sold by peddlers with "bundles on their backs" for 10¢ to 15¢ a yard, as was muslin, used for undergarments, pillow cases, and sheets. Today, Arnold Hawkins and his neighbor, Arthur Randolph, from Purdum recall what an income of six dollars a week would buy in 1930:

Hawkins: I had money, more money than I have now. Six dollars a week! You could fill a burlap bag full of groceries for three dollars. More than you could carry.

Randolph: Now you can carry the money in a bag, and the groceries in your pocket!²⁴

Impact of Cost of Living Upon Family and Community

Comparing these prices to family income indicates the cost of living which in turn helps to explain the changes in these communities in recent decades. If farm laborers were receiving wages of 10¢ an hour or a dollar a day in the 1920's and 1930's, a pound of roast beef, a dozen bananas, a loaf of bread, or a yard of gingham equalled an hour's pay. Such food items were therefore expensive, relative to their income, hence not part

of their everyday diet. This explains in part why it was necessary for the families to raise and preserve much of their food. In terms of clothing, two or three yards of the most ordinary cloth for a dress was equivalent to two or three hours of work, plus the time invested in sewing the dress. Thus, clothes were not plentiful, were typically utilitarian rather than stylish, and were handed down from one sibling to another, as shown by the assortment of clothes worn by the children in the school pictures, Figures/ ^{44, 48, 8}

With costs of living such as these, it was necessary for children to enter the work force soon after elementary school and supplement the family income. To support a child in high school, who was not producing an income, would have caused a strain on many families, to support a child through college was beyond question for most.

Since a large portion of their income was spent on basics, blacks were not able to accumulate sufficient capital to acquire more land or machinery to keep abreast of changes in agriculture or to open local businesses. As the farms were increasingly mechanized in the 1940's and 1950's, farm laborers lost their jobs. As Evelyn Herbert from Martinsburg recalls, many men and women who wanted to "make a good living" for their family had to go elsewhere.²⁵ As a result, instead of growing in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's, as would be expected from natural population

increase, the communities were de-populated. Over the years their abandoned houses have disappeared. Consequently, few houses of the historical communities remain.

INSTITUTIONS

The three major institutions of these rural black communities were the church, school, and lodge or benefit society.

Churches

The church was, and still is, the most important institution in the black community. As with all traditional societies, throughout its existence, the church has offered its members what the outside world could not provide: release, redemption, revitalization. Indeed, a strong faith in Jesus as Lord and as personal, loving Savior was central to the system of values held by blacks. The church minister was viewed as the community leader, or shepherd. An outsider had difficulty approaching the black community without approval by the minister. He was the source of higher authority, derived from God and from the community as a collective. The church expressed the highest moral codes of the community and standards for what one "ought" to do and believe.²⁶

Since almost all the black churches in the up-county survey area were Methodist -- rather than Baptist, Primitive

Baptist, or other exclusively congregation-controlled denominations -- there was some degree of administrative, financial, and personal control from the Methodist hierarchy of bishops.²⁷ However, key members of the historical communities surveyed here were quite active as trustees, deacons, deaconesses, and elders and thereby gave the Methodist churches strong community orientation. As is typical, church leaders were often leaders of other community institutions, such as lodges and schools. Through these personal carry-overs, the values and influence of the church permeated all community organizations.

The church served a number of needs as a community center. Before the first school houses were built, churches were used as schools. For example, the Rocky Hill Church in Clarksburg (now John Wesley Church), the Pleasant Grove Church in Purdum, and the Mt. Zion Church in Big Woods all doubled as schools. In addition, the church was a musical center where the young learned traditional hymns and spirituals from the old and learned to play musical instruments. It served educational functions as well, where young and old learned and practiced reading; and the Bible served as a common source of literature, read by families throughout the survey area. The church was also a meeting place for organized groups such as benefit societies, civic organizations, clubs, and political groups.

It was a gathering place for friends, neighbors, and kin from the community and for others returning home for visits or for special occasions such as "homecoming day". Finally, its services -- baptisms, marriages, and funerals -- marked the passage of life. It welcomed new members into the community and bade farewell to older ones in their resting places in cemeteries near the church. In this sense, the church has been the agent of historical continuity from generation to generation.

The church was the first institution to be established by the founders of black communities after emancipation. As throughout Maryland and the South, the freed slaves first gathered in the houses of community prayer leaders or ministers for worship. Later, depending upon the economic condition of the community, land was purchased for the church, or was sometimes donated by a white family nearby. A small church was then built either of log or frame construction, usually by the residents themselves, in or near the center of the community. The log church at Bell's Chapel (Figure 68) is an example. This early church stood until its members could afford to contribute money towards the construction of a larger, more architecturally stylish building. As with the construction of frame houses, by the turn of the century the second church was more likely to be

constructed by hired professional carpenters, rather than by volunteer labor. Designs were similar to other rural Methodist churches nearby. For example, the churches at Martinsburg and Sugarland (Figures 57 and 74) were built in 1893 and 1903 respectively, both by Scott Bell, a white carpenter from Poolesville. Their frame construction and basic design (a principal one and a half story, three or four bay block with the facade at one gable end) resemble one another. While a few of these old churches remain, most have been torn down, or destroyed by fire, and replaced by buildings of modern design.²⁸

The first church to buy land after emancipation was the Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church in Big Woods. In 1867 its trustees -- one of whom was Phillip Spencer, who had been a free black -- bought one acre and probably built a church soon thereafter. This one was replaced by a frame church in the 1880's on a new site nearby.²⁹

The oldest black church still standing in upper western Montgomery County is the Pleasant Grove Church in Purdum. It was built on land donated in 1868 by George T. White, a prominent white landowner nearby, and constructed by the congregation in 1869 with money that they had raised themselves.³⁰

In the 1870's, the congregations in other black communities acquired an acre or two for their church and burying grounds.

The following list shows the dates of land purchase, though it should be remembered that the churches themselves may have been organized earlier and held services in private homes:

Mt. Zion M.E. Church, Big Woods, 1867
 Pleasant Grove M.E. Church, Purdum, 1868
 Elijah's Rest M.E. Church, Jerusalem, 1871
 St. Paul's M.E. Church, Sugarland, 1871
 Bell's M.E. Chapel, Mt. Ephraim, 1874
 Jerusalem Baptist Church, 1874³¹
 Montgomery M.E. Chapel, Hyattstown, 1876 ³²
 Warren M.E. Church, Martinsburg, 1876
 John Wesley M.E. Church, Clarksburg, 1886
 St. Mark's M.E. Church, Boyds, 1892

The congregations consisted of both landowners and landless farm tenants. Examples of the latter group include Major Graham from Martinsburg, member of Warren M.E. Church, and Thurston Thomas Wilson, member of Bell's Chapel. Leadership positions -- such as trustees, deacons, and elders -- were usually held by landowners. Nonetheless, the church was the gathering place for all blacks, regardless of social or economic class.

The older churches that are still standing -- Pleasant Grove, Montgomery Chapel, Mt. Zion, St. Paul's, Bell's Chapel and Warren Methodist -- were built with more architectural style and decorative finish than were most houses in the communities. Since the families could not afford elaborate houses themselves, they contributed collectively to build a "better house" for God.

In communities such as these, the church -- its buildings and accoutrements -- represented the highest form of investment made by the community as a collective entity. This practice of collective investment of wealth and status is to be found in all traditional societies in which religion is highly valued. It was the church for which people were willing to make sacrifices, to contribute their own time and efforts, to give land and money. This can be said of no other institution. This powerful object of loyalty is unique, and its source is not in established religion or a professional ministry but in the community itself.

Schools

Like the church, the school was one of the principal centers of the community, though unlike the church not so much a part of the community since the community did not have control over its funding and operations.

The saga of black education in Montgomery County has been a story of trying to make do with very little. Although public schools for blacks were opened in each election district in 1872 and provided with state funds, they were nonetheless deprived of significant local funds, even though black citizens paid property taxes. Until 1927, there was not a high school

for blacks in the county -- or, for that matter, anywhere in the state other than Baltimore.³³

Lack of funding, facilities, and supplies hampered the educational opportunities of young blacks. Former teacher Evelyn Herbert from Martinsburg recalls leaving the school system, moving to New York, and making more money doing housework. Like other teachers and students, she recalls that books were out-dated cast-offs from white schools. Classes were cramped with students of varying ages of all seven grades in one room, usually ill-heated and inadequately illuminated. Many students had to do farm work into the fall, sometimes until Christmas, and leave at planting time in the spring. Mrs. Herbert recalls "a lot of young minds went to waste out here."³⁴

Even though students may have done well in school, circumstances beyond their control thwarted them. For example, Tilghman Lee had been an excellent student in the Sugarland School in the early 1900's and wanted to continue his education by attending the high school in Baltimore. His teacher made arrangements for him to live with a black family there, work in the house of a white family during the day, and attend school at night. However, his father died in the late spring, and "I had to go to work like a man" to support his mother and family.³⁵

Despite the lack of educational opportunities, most teachers strove to teach as best they could, and most students finished elementary school -- if only for a few grades -- having mastered the three R's. Lemuel Graham, for example, attended school in Martinsburg only through the fourth grade in the early 1900's because "I had to go to work", yet he can read and write at a level far beyond that. As Evelyn Herbert who taught in Martinsburg recalls, "except for the few who were very slow, no student went out the door at the end of his time without knowing how to read and write".³⁶

From all accounts, one of the most important reasons for this mastery of the three R's was the interest that parents took in the education of their children. As with many whites, lessons were reviewed at home, either by parents or older siblings if the parents were unable, and they made sure that the student's work was done. If not, the teacher had only to report the student's lack of effort to his parents, and usually corrective action was taken. Though the administrative and financial structure of the school system was beyond the control of the community, the day-to-day discipline of learning was not, and through the combined efforts of family and school, the students acquired the basics of an education.

In 1927, a high school for blacks was established in

Rockville owing especially to the efforts of Noah E. Clarke and Edward Taylor. In order for black students in the other areas of the county to attend school, the black families contributed their money to buy a school bus. The bus purchase enterprise was organized by Noah Clarke from Jerusalem, and the bus maintained under his responsibility. Early in the morning and late at night, the bus made its rounds in the up-county area. In the Jerusalem community, Howard Lyles recalls "going to school by the stars, and coming home by them". Of course, students whose parents needed help on the farms during the afternoons found it impossible to attend high school.

Beginning in the first quarter of the 20th century, the one room schools were consolidated into larger schools in other communities. Later, these too were consolidated so that none of the old schools are still in use, even as adjuncts to modern schools. Indeed, even the handsome brick elementary school building in the Boyds community, Edward Taylor ^{Elementary} School, built in 1951-1952, was closed after the 1979 school year,³⁷ and is open only on a temporary basis as a special learning center.

Lodges/Benefit Societies

Lodges, or benefit societies, constituted the third principal social institution in the historical black community and provided needed services for the community. Since most blacks

in the late 1800's and early 1900's could not receive coverage from white-owned insurance companies, they formed their own. Though some were specifically incorporated as insurance companies, such as the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance, Inc. (which remains today the largest black insurance company in the world), most blacks joined local or regional organizations. Some were associated with a church, while others were independent. Like insurance companies or governmental social security today, they paid sick benefits, cared for the widows and orphans, and paid for funeral expenses. Furthermore, they offered a social dividend, providing members the opportunity of selective membership, pleasure and pride of secret rites, and organized participation in the ideals, policy and procedures of the organization.³⁸

The building served community functions. In Poolesville, the hall of the Loving Charity Society, located behind the Elijah Methodist Church, served as the first Poolesville Elementary School in the absence of a county-built facility. Classes met downstairs, and the society upstairs (see Figure 48). Theatrical and musical performances and lectures were given in the halls, and many older residents today recall the fun they had at dances held in lodge halls, such as Odd Fellows Lodge in White Grounds, and the summer picnics sponsored by the different

lodges or benefit societies. Entertainment at these lodges attracted young and old, not only from the local community, but from all parts of the county. Thus, these buildings were important social centers in the county's black history.³⁹

Within the lodges/societies, there were separate branches for men and women. Each had a different name, usually a heroic name with religious associations. For example, the men's division in the Odd Fellows Lodge in White Grounds was named "Golden Crown Lodge" while the women's was "Isabella House of Ruth". The lodges had juvenile branches as well, so all ages of the community could be included. The names of the leaders were usually ritualized titles such as "Worthy Superior", according to Lemuel Graham, a former member of the Loving Charity Society in Martinsburg. These high sounding names, titles, and rites created an aura of exotic mystery, endowed positions of leadership with high status, and kindled the imagination of people in these isolated rural communities. In a sense, the societies furnished entertainment, as do television and theatres today, except the performances were produced, acted, and controlled by the community.

In a larger sense, these lodges served the important social functions of bringing together families that were quite widely separated; of structuring social life by roles and classes and

identities; of insuring continuity from one generation to another, where boy meets girl -- under the parental eye.

In recent years these lodges have lost their community function; none of the three lodge halls remains in use as lodge halls. The Sellman Lodge in Big Woods has been converted into a residence and the other two lodges in Martinsburg and White Grounds are abandoned and in deteriorating condition. Blacks have now turned to state or national insurance companies, called "street insurance" by Evelyn Herbert from Martinsburg, since the companies have a collection man walking the street from house to house with a book. In the 1920's and 1930's, when blacks first started buying insurance in this way, she recalls her grandmother (who was born during slavery) remarking with a rhyme: "White man used to run us with a whup, and now with a book."⁴⁰

additional footnotes for Historical Setting
continued on next page

- 1a. Ray Eldon Hiebert and Richard K. MacMaster, A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland (Rockville, Maryland: Montgomery County Government and the Montgomery County Historical Society, 1976), pp. 103-163.
- 1b. Ibid., pp. 185-203.

FOOTNOTES FOR HISTORICAL SETTING:

- 1. Albert Raboteau, Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University; 1978), pp. 43-94
- 2. See the Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Forms for the following sites:
 Spencer Family Cemetery, M-12-42-34
 Awkard Family Cemetery, M-12-42-1
 William and Mary Proctor House (Site), F-1-14

These are on file at the Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis, Maryland; the Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, Maryland; Montgomery County Public Library, Rockville, Maryland; and c/o Fred and Jane Stearns, Dickerson, Maryland.

3. U.S. Census 1830, 38.9%; 1840, 43.3%; 1850, 40.5%; 1860, 38.1%.

<u>U.S. Census</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free Blacks</u>
1830	6,447	1,266
1840	5,377	1,313
1850	5,114	1,311
1860	5,421	1,552

- 5. Niles Register, Vol. 45, p. 180.
- 6. William Hutchinson, historian, Gaithersburg, Maryland.
- 7. Josiah Henson, Father Henson's Story of His Own Life (Northbrook, Illinois, 1972). It is upon Henson's narrative, written after his escape, that Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin.
- 8. George Rawick, Autobiography of An American Slave, Vol. 16, Maryland Narratives (Norwalk, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 41-42.
- 9. William Hutchinson, historian, Gaithersburg, Maryland; Richard MacMaster and Ray Eldon Hiebert, A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland, p. 152.

10. Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 82-105.
11. Slave Statistics of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1867-1868, Municipal Collection, Montgomery County Public Library, Rockville, Maryland.
12. Herbert Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York: Pantheon Press, 1976) pp. 230-256; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview by George McDaniel, August 20, 1979.
13. Montgomery County, Maryland. U.S. Census Manuscript, 1900, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
14. Montgomery County, Maryland. U.S. Census Manuscript, 1900.
15. Family Bibles of Duffin Family in possession of Edna Duffin Johnson, White Grounds; U.S. census Manuscript, 1900; Florence Hallman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, October 1978; Lawrence Hamilton, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Barnesville, Maryland, June 1979.
16. Montgomery County, Maryland, U.S. Census Manuscript, 1900; Jeffrey Brackett, Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War. (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 72-77.
17. Tilghman Lee, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Sugarland community, Montgomery County, Maryland, July 1978; Ora Lyles, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelley, Anne Fitzgerald, Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland, March 17, 1979.
18. Ethel Foreman, interview (taped) by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell, Clarksburg, Montgomery County, Maryland, February, 1979; Mabel Irvin, telephone interview by George McDaniel, February, 1979.
19. Charlotte Ambush and Polly Gutheim, interview (taped) by George McDaniel and Steve Doolittle, Mt. Ephraim community, Montgomery County, Maryland, June 1979.
20. Howard Lyles, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland, January 26, 1979.

21. Howard Lyles interview; William Moore, telephone interview by George McDaniel, September, 1979; Hester Hamilton and Idella Craven, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Sharyn Duffin, Eula Odum, Rockville, Maryland, July, 1979; Ethel Foreman, telephone interview by George McDaniel, September, 1979.
22. Florence Hallman, telephone interview by George McDaniel, September 19, 1979; Bessie Lee, telephone interview by George McDaniel, September 19, 1979; Joe Hawkins, Arnold Hawkins, Ethel Foreman, Arthur Randolph, interview by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell, Purdum community, Montgomery County, Maryland, February, 1979; Joe Harper, William Moore, Evelyn Harper, telephone interview by George McDaniel, September, 1979.
23. Hester Hamilton and Idella Craven interview.
24. Ora Lyles interview; Ethel Foreman, telephone interview; Arnold Hawkins, Joe Hawkins, Ethel Foreman, Arthur Randolph interview.
25. Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham, interview (taped) by George McDaniel and Judy Docca, Martinsburg, Montgomery County, Maryland, May 1979.
26. Arthur Raper, Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties (New York: Atheneum, 1974), pp. 359-373.
27. Of the ten churches surveyed, nine were Methodist and one Baptist.
28. Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Forms: St. Paul's Community Church, M-17-41-31; Warren Methodist Church, M-16-12-19.
29. Maryland Historical Trust (M.H.T.) Inventory Form: Mt. Zion Methodist Church, M-12-42-22.
30. M.H.T. Inventory Form: Pleasant Grove Community Church, M-13-10-12.
31. The Jerusalem Baptist Church was founded in 1874, according to church tradition, though title to Robert Williams' land on which the church stood was not acquired until 1877.

32. The Montgomery M.E. Chapel was founded in 1876 according to church tradition. For further details on each of these churches, refer to their respective M.H.T. Inventory forms. Their numerical designations for the Maryland Historical Trust, by which they are catalogued, are given in each of the community histories.
33. Nina Clarke and Lillian Brown, History of Black Public Schools in Montgomery County, 1872-1961 (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), pp. 44-45.
34. Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham interview.
35. Tilghman Lee, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Sugarland community, Montgomery County, Maryland, July, 1979.
36. Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham interview.
37. Clarke and Brown, History of Black Public Schools, p. 45; Howard Lyles interview.
38. Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham interview; Raper, Preface to Peasantry, pp. 373-381.
39. Hester Hamilton and Idella Craven interview.
40. Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham interview.

Chapter 2
HOUSE TYPES

INTRODUCTION

The design of the houses of black families in upper western Montgomery County may be described as folk architecture.¹ They were based almost wholly on traditional methods and models, by contrast to the more formal styles of building adopted by the wealthy and which reflected the creative work of architects patronized by the American and European elites, designs which changed recognizably over datable periods of time. While it is possible to see faint echoes of formal architectural styles in these folk houses, especially from the late 1800's onwards, these were always adapted to fit the more limited resources of these families.

Like other aspects of folk culture, folk houses are slow to change, and one form continues to be used even after new ones have been introduced and popularized. In folk houses this affinity for the familiar means that while some elements such as decorative features may change, alterations in more basic elements, such as room size and construction, are slower. The similarity in floor plans and dimensions of many log houses of the 19th century and frame houses of the early 20th in the survey area illustrates this slow degree of change as does the continuation of log house construction into the 20th century.

In studying the houses of black families in the 1800's and early 1900's, it is important to understand them in context. The hardships and deprivations of slavery, followed by the struggles of emancipation and new-found freedom were the primary influences on the ways of life of these people -- and consequently on their material culture. Limited by their experience, education, capital and resources, their house types were usually simple and slow to change.

Yet change they did, especially in the late 1800's. As new ways developed, they gradually spread to other regions, or were described in builders' manuals and were then copied by carpenters and contractors. In this way eventually the new style became the standard and supplanted the old.²

HOUSE FORM

In their broadest outlines, the forms of the traditional houses of these black communities remained constant throughout much of the 19th century and into the 20th. Essentially, they were rectangular blocks with gable roofs and with a front door located in the longest side of the rectangle, not in the gable end. Some had a one or two story wing on the rear length, creating an L, but the principal block remained rectangular. The houses were continuations of the basic Chesapeake Tidewater house type, brought to America from England in the 17th century; that is, a single unit, one bay structure with gable chimney centered on one gable end. No examples of the variations of house types that developed further south, such as the dogtrot house (two single units on either side of an open passageway) or saddlebag (two

single units placed on either side of a central chimney) were found in the survey area. Except for two stone slave quarters, all of the houses surveyed were of log or frame construction, none of brick. They were one or two stories in height. The smallest had only one room down, and the largest, four down and four up. They were built by the residents and neighbors or by local carpenters, according to local housing traditions, the builders' abilities, and the owners' pocketbook.³

There were essentially three types: The earliest was the single unit (or single pen) house with one room down and a loft. This was the typical "slave cabin". (See Figure 10) Usually these single pen houses were of log construction, though there are eight frame examples, the Genus-Davis house in Jonesville, (16'4" x 14'2"), being one.⁴

After emancipation, freed slaves built a second type: two room log houses in the hall/parlor or hall/ chamber tradition, with an upstairs of two rooms. (Figures 35 & 53) The two room downstairs plan is English in origin. The term "hall" does not in this case refer to a passageway, but to the 17th century English meaning of the word: a multi-purpose room, which was more public than the parlor or chamber, and usually related to cooking, dining, or household work functions and was usually larger. The second room was the more private and formal and served as parlor or chamber (bedroom), or both.

The last type was the two story frame house with two room floor plan, the standard vernacular house type of the period. It

had a three or five bay facade -- typically three in the survey area -- was one bay in depth, and usually had a central stairway. One might argue that the last two house types are the same since they share a two room plan, and there were three examples of the standard vernacular house type with a hall and parlor/chamber floor plan.

But the majority of log houses had hall and parlor/chamber plans, while the majority of standard vernacular houses had two rooms of equal size. Furthermore, there were pronounced differences in construction and the kinds of stairways, windows, chimney placement, interior decorative features, and other elements so as to warrant a separate house type. Figures 10,60,61 show the similarity and differences in the types. Yet, the basic resemblance of all three house types, spanning more than a century, shows the strong adherence to traditional ways in these communities.

Why was there such strong continuity in these house types? One reason was cultural. As with many folk or traditional societies, it was not highly valued to "individualize" a house by creating for it a unique style or appearance. The conformity among peasant houses in pre-industrial West African, British, or Vietnamese villages or in Appalachia illustrates this. Another reason -- perhaps the most influential -- was economic. Since most heads of black households in the survey area were farm laborers with a typical cash income of ten to twelve dollars a month in the first quarter of the 20th century, they did not have the surplus cash to invest in a house for purposes

much beyond that of shelter. Further they could not afford dwellings with costly, manufactured materials or elaborate designs, or to alter their homes substantially in keeping with changing styles. Thus, their homes were built of the most common and inexpensive building material -- wood -- and were "all more or less of the same order", according to Tilghman Lee of Sugarland. Paul Wilson of the Mt. Ephraim community, and Florence Hallman from Big Woods, both agree that most old-time houses were the same: "log cabins, with two down and two up."⁵

COMPARISON OF FOLK HOUSES OF WHITE AND BLACK FAMILIES

Not just blacks, but many whites in Montgomery County -- perhaps the majority -- lived in similar, simply designed houses of log or frame construction. Among these folk houses there were no structural or stylistic characteristics that identified one as uniquely a home of one race or the other. Their rectangular forms, the symmetrical arrangement of door and window openings, the methods of framing and roofing, the methods of hewing and cornering with V notches, and their floor plans were, in general, in keeping with those found in the mainstream of folk houses in Maryland^{and} the mid-Atlantic regions in the 19th century.⁶

The dimensions of the log houses of both races were similar: approximately 18' x 23' x 13' to 16'. There was no unique repetition in dimensions in the houses of either race. In fact, some of the log houses of black families -- such as those of

William Taylor in Sugarland and of Lewis Brown in Big Woods -- were larger than the two log houses of white families that were measured in the survey area. The former measured 26'3" x 16'7" and 25'4" x 20'2" respectively while the latter (the homes of the Horine family on Peachtree Road and of the Ruble family in White Grounds) were 25'0" x 16'7" and 19'9" x 15'8". All four were originally of hall/parlor floor plans.

The standard vernacular houses built near the turn of the century also show no distinguishable difference among those of white and black families of the same period and of similar economic means in the survey area. Homes occupied by both races over the years demonstrate the similarity in house form. For example, the Wood-Bowie and Naylor log houses in Mt. Ephraim, the Stivers-Hawkins house in White Grounds, and the Lockett house in Blocktown were all first owned by whites, then by blacks, and resembled other houses of both races in the area. Unless oral informants can be found to give the racial identity of the former owners or occupants of these simply designed folk houses, there is no way to do so by structural or stylistic evidence alone. Folk houses in this survey area are indeed bi-racial.

PREDOMINANCE OF LOG HOUSES

Throughout the 19th century the log house remained the most common type of housing for black families, yet fewest of them remain. In the antebellum era, slaves were housed in them, and given the number of slaves in Montgomery County (5,421 in 1860),

log houses occupied by blacks probably numbered in the hundreds, if not thousands. After emancipation, blacks continued to live in them either as tenants on white owned farms or as new landowners. A few families continue to live in them today in the survey area.

The widespread presence of log houses throughout the 19th century and into the 20th was due to the fact that the residents could build them from local materials at a low cost. As slaves, tenants, or fledgling landowners, black families could hardly afford to buy building material, and logs were readily available from the nearby forests, or from the land being cleared for the house and fields. The only tools required were two types of axes: the broad ax and pole ax. Most builders used an adze to smooth the hewn logs; such tools were commonly available in farming neighborhoods.

Another reason for the popularity of log houses was that the techniques could be handed down from generation to generation. Experience rather than book learning was the best teacher and was part of a boy's growing up since hewn logs were frequently needed for timber frames in houses, outbuildings, barns, churches, and other buildings, as well as for the walls of log houses.⁷

METHODS OF LOG CONSTRUCTION

The methods used to build log houses in the survey area were similar to those found elsewhere in Maryland and the mid-Atlantic region: that is, the logs were hewn, notched at the corners, raised into place, and the openings cut for windows

and doors. The first log houses built in the communities in the 1870's and '80's had massive logs, as much as twelve to sixteen inches wide, since very old trees were still readily available. In the 20th century the size diminished sharply, as evidenced in the David and Susie Turner house whose logs were approximately seven to nine inches wide. As in most log houses in the mid-Atlantic region and the South, the logs were hewn on the sides, but not the top and bottom. The open spaces between the logs were filled with blocks of wood, stone or brickbats -- and daubed inside and out with a mixture of clay, sand, lime and water to form a plaster.

Although most surviving examples of log houses are constructed of pine or oak, chestnut was preferred, since it would "last so long" and "was easy to work," according to Paul Wilson.

Because the pine logs were the hewn heartwood of old trees, they too would last, unlike the softer pine from young trees. Massive oak logs measured as much as seventeen inches wide in the Fred Hamilton house in Big Woods, for example. Oak was also used to build outbuildings. For instance, all of the outbuildings built by Bene Hallman in Mt. Ephraim had oak frames, and according to his grandson Paul Wilson, "they will stand here forever."⁸

Although none of the present informants had seen hewn log houses built during their lifetime in the 20th century, they had heard from the older people how they were built. Almost without exception, the informants spoke of the log houses as testimonies to the abilities and strength of the older men. Said Tilghman Lee, "Them old

people handled everything by hand. That's how they got tough". Paul Wilson explains, "They did everything the hard way, but that's all they had. No machinery." His grandfather had told him that it took about eight to ten men to build the "pen of logs", or log shell. Once that was up, only two or three were needed. In later years, Wilson saw his grandfather build a log stable by himself, using a block and tackle to raise the logs, but Wilson believed that in earlier years, building a house alone would have been uncommon since they needed "a lot of man power."⁹

Describing the raising of the walls of a log house, Tilghman Lee said that the logs were first hewn and notched at the corners. Then the lower level logs were lifted by hand and set into place so the logs were locked into place at the notched corners. To build the walls higher than shoulder height, first the men built a scaffold of planks or "tressles" inside the log shell. Men standing on this tressle guided the logs into place as they were lifted on "spike poles" by other men outside. As a youth, Lee had seen the men raising barn frames in this way and was told that log houses had been constructed likewise. Some of the spike poles were short, others long, he said. Into one end was driven a steel spike no longer than two and a half inches. If longer, it would bend under the weight of the log. This spiked end was then wrapped by an iron band to keep it from splitting. Lee explains that the men drove the spike into the log, and other

men lifted the log to shoulder height. The men with the poles then raised it on up against the side of the log wall, resting the end of the spike pole on the ground for support. Lee remembers that as they raised the log, they slid the ends along the ground, chanting at each push, "let's go, let's go, let's go." Once it was raised above the top log, the men on the scaffold guided it into place with their hands, making sure that the notched corners fit property.¹⁰

Paul Wilson tells the following story of how his grandfather raised log walls:

"I wanted to take out and replace some of the bad logs in my grandfather's house, but I wondered how you get them back up to that height. My grandfather said, 'you carry them up,' I said 'you can't do that, I don't see how you can.'" 'Oh, yes you can!', he said.

He then explained to Wilson that they used to carry the logs by hand while climbing extension ladders propped up against the log wall. About four men were needed to haul the log up, his grandfather said. Wilson surmised that "that's why all those old-time men who used to work on log houses had extension ladders, even though they must have cost a lot of money back then." There may have been men with ropes on a scaffold inside the pen, helping to hoist the logs while the men climbed the ladders. Neither of these informants had ever heard of using skids laid against the log wall and raising the logs along them as described in texts on log construction, such as Building the Hewn Log House.¹¹

Notching and Pegging -

Further similarities between these log houses and others in the mid-Atlantic region include the use of V-notches at the corners. ^(Figure 8) No examples of houses with dovetailed, half dovetailed, or saddle notches were found. Only one house had square-notched corners, the Ruble house in White Grounds, but that was owned and built by German immigrants, not local blacks. Like other folk houses in the region, they stood on low stone piers, perhaps a foot or less above the ground. None of them were raised two or three feet high, as were folk houses in the deep South, probably because of the colder weather.

In other areas of Maryland, such as Cecil County and southern Maryland, log houses were frequently built with post buttresses along the sides or in the corners, pegged into the log walls. No examples of this method of construction were found in these Montgomery County houses. Of the fourteen log houses whose walls could be at least partially inspected, only two used pegs in their construction, and even in them, the use was minimal. In southern Maryland and elsewhere, log walls of houses and outbuildings were often joined by pegs, either in the corners, the mid sections of logs, or at their ends where they abutted against door and window frames. In one example in the survey area, the slave house at Rock Hall, the upright timbers framing the firebox opening are fastened to the logs by trunnels, or tree nails, and in the William Taylor house in Sugarland, the door jambs of the front door were also secured in this fashion.

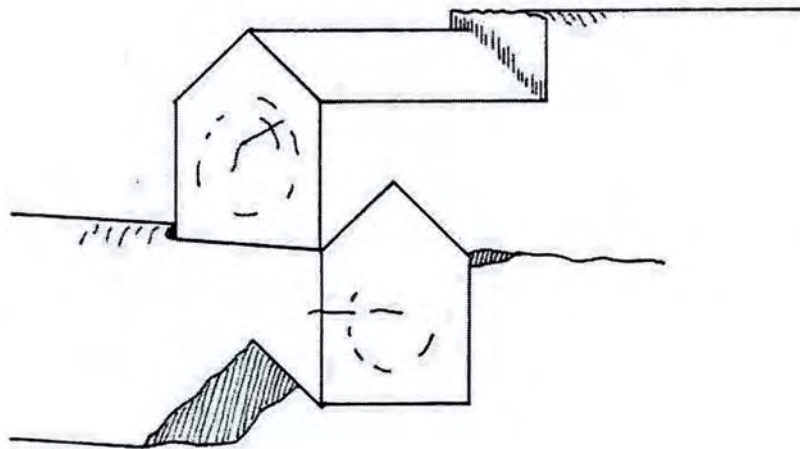
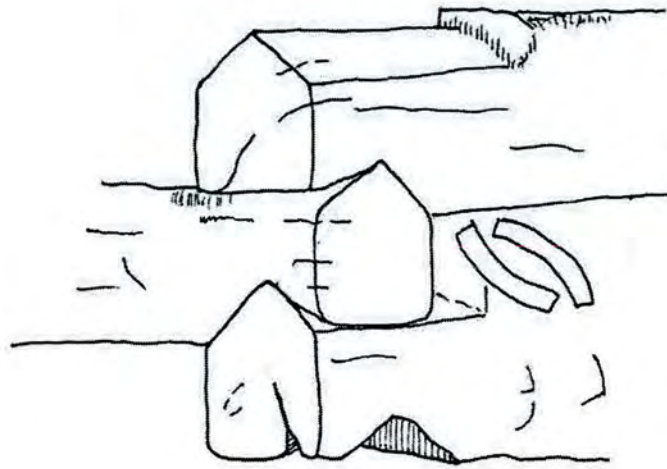


Figure 8. V-NOTCHED CORNERS OF LOG HOUSE

In that house, the trunnels can be closely examined. The trunnels were split and wedges driven into them, as in an ax handle. Tilghman Lee, who grew up near Taylor's house, recalls that this method of making trunnels was commonplace:

"They'd auger out a hole, split the peg just a little, and drive it in. Then they'd drive in that wedge and saw it off. No way that peg was coming out of there."¹²

All other door and window jambs inspected were joined by nails; even in the William Taylor house, large nails secured the jambs of the upstairs windows, whereas the downstairs door jambs were fastened by trunnels.

The mastery of log building techniques brought respect from family and community. Describing the work of his grandfather who was a recognized master, Paul Wilson says: "Prettiest thing you ever seen. They make them things just as smooth as they can get. Like you got them from the mill. It's a pretty thing to watch them do."¹³

If well built, a log house could provide secure and comfortable living conditions. With the open spaces between the logs properly sealed with chinking and daubing, the thick log walls could adequately insulate the interior. Furthermore, log houses could be quite sturdy, as Paul Wilson learned when he tried to pull down the house built by his grandfather:

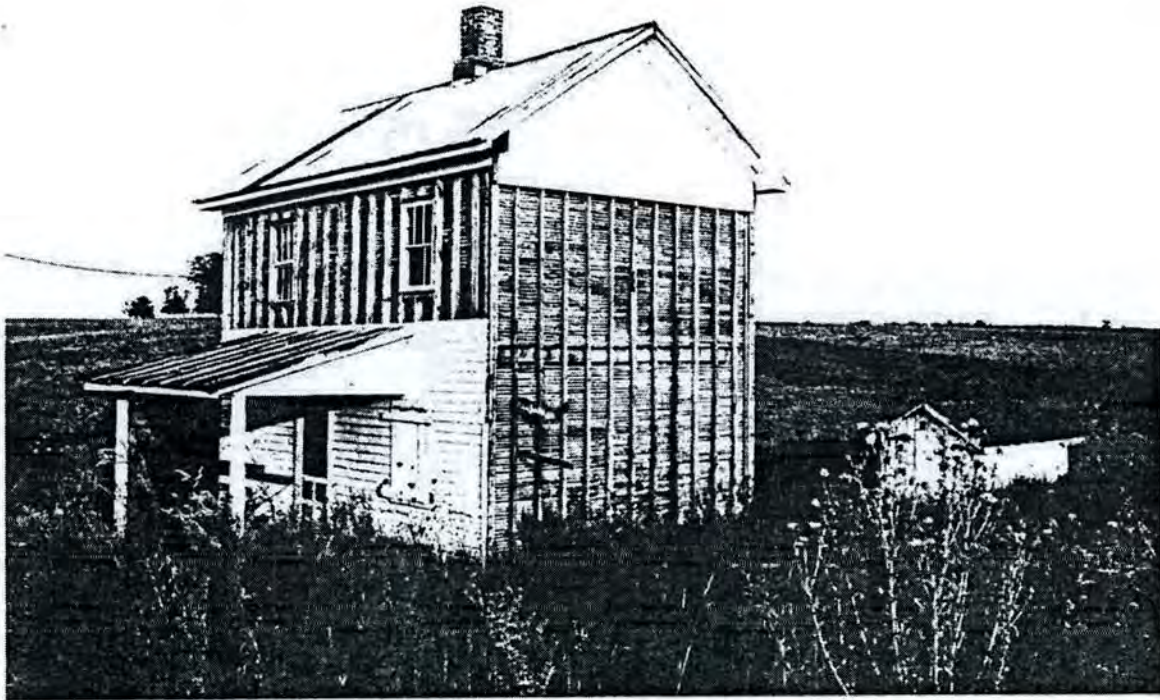
"I tried to pull that house down with a tractor and you talk about a job...They wanted to tear down the house and I put a nylon rope on it and hooked the tractor to it, so we figured it was going to flop right down, so we could burn it. I took that Ford tractor and just jerked and yanked and

and carried on terrible. I finally just took a sledge hammer and went down and kept on beating on it till I got one log almost out and then I could yank it out with the tractor. I yanked that one out and the house just crumbled."¹⁴

METHODS OF FRAME CONSTRUCTION

Beginning in the mid-19th century, many houses throughout the nation were constructed by the increasingly popular "balloon frame" method, a type of construction in which numerous lightweight timbers were framed together, instead of relatively few but large ones, as in traditional frames. Sawn lumber of standard dimensions was used, and lightweight 2" x 4" studs ascended from the sills up to the second story plate. There was no first story plate to support the joists; instead they were simply nailed to the sides of the studs, the joint strengthened underneath by stringers, small strips of wood spanning the space between the studs.¹⁵ (Figure 9).

Frame houses built in the later 1800's and early 1900's in the survey area combined the new techniques of balloon framing with the traditional platform frame. In keeping with the past, the corner posts were buttressed by angle braces, and each story had its own set of studs, fastened to the sill at the bottom and to the plate above. Though some houses had hewn sills, in most, all of the lumber was cut at the saw mill. As in balloon framing, the lumber was lightweight (2" x 4"s, 4" x 4"s, and 2" x 6"s) and was nailed into place. No houses of this period were found with mortise and tenon joints, nor do informants recall any, except in the large frame barns they saw constructed.



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 9 . Balloon frame house, Seneca, Maryland. The tall, 2" x 4" studs, ascending from the sill to the second story plate without interruption, illustrate the principal characteristics of balloon frame construction. The house was constructed in the 1920s as a farm tenant house.

A variety of factors influenced the builders towards the new, lightweight frames. Local saw mills produced abundant lumber, mass-produced wire nails were inexpensive, and these frames required less time and labor to construct than did the traditional log walls or platform frames. The strength of these thin frames lay in the high tensile strength of even thin sticks of wood combined properly, as in a bundle of matchsticks. The local carpenters may well have been persuaded by such plaudits of the balloon frame as found in Woodward's Country Houses of 1867 or similar publications for housewrights:

A Balloon Frame looks light, and its name was given in contempt by those old foggy mechanics who had been brought up to rob a stick of timber of all its strength and durability, by cutting it full of mortices, tenons and augur holes, and then supposing it to be stronger than a far lighter stick differently applied, and with all its capabilities unimpaired.

That which has hitherto called out a whole neighborhood, and required a vast expenditure of labor, time, and noise, can, by the adoption of the balloon frame, be done with all the quietness and security of an ordinary day's work. A man and a boy can now attain the same results with ease, that twenty men could on an old fashioned frame.¹⁶

Now that the form, design and construction of these houses have been examined in general terms, they will be discussed in chronological order from slavery to the early 20th century.

SLAVE HOUSES

By examining the houses of slaves from the few remaining pieces of evidence, the origins of the houses of these ^{historical} communities emerges.

There may have been a variety of houses, some perhaps more primitive than log houses, such as wigwam shacks (see Figure 10) but all of those have long since disappeared, and no written records remain of them. Only a few examples of log slave houses are still standing, and all have been radically modified since the antebellum era.

As on other farms throughout the Maryland and the South, slaves may well have inhabited log, frame, or stone dwellings, chambers in the main house, or even lofts in outbuildings. For example, the former slave Josiah Henson, upon whose autobiography Harriet Beecher Stowe based her novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, wrote of sleeping in the loft of the log kitchen of the Riley farm after returning from a long trip to Georgetown. That log kitchen is still standing near Potomac, Maryland.(It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.) Probably the log house was the most typical slave house since it was inexpensive, and slaves were skilled in constructing them, as the log houses that they built after emancipation attest. The slaves in the survey area did not live in long "slave streets", as did many in the deep South since the majority lived on farms with fifteen slaves or less.

The only written description of slave quarters is from the autobiography of Josiah Henson, and he portrays probably the worst extreme of slave housing:

"We lodged in log huts, and on the bare ground.... In a single room were huddled, like cattle, ten or a dozen persons, men, women, and children...."¹⁷



Figure 10 . Watercolor by Benjamin Henry Latrobe. "Collier & family on the Sugarloaf Mountain
Nov. 3, 1816." Three figures of Mountaineers and conical shack.
Collection of Maryland Historical Society

While some may argue that his description is exaggerated for an abolitionist audience, it is nonetheless quite possible that such conditions existed, since blacks were chattel slaves and could be treated like animals, if the owner saw fit.

The recollections of Ora Lyles from Jerusalem support the possibility of many slave houses being "little hovels." She remembers George Dorsey, a former slave born in 1853, saying that at Jerusalem there used to be numerous "little cabins," which were most likely slave houses. These houses were so small that "they thought they were in a palace when they built their (new) cabins after emancipation."¹⁸

AN EXAMINATION OF THREE SLAVE HOUSES

Rock Hall Slave Quarters

Surviving examples of slave houses are larger and better built. The slave house at Rock Hall is perhaps representative. (Figure 11) It is a one and a half story log dwelling with a massive stone chimney outside one gable end. It is located roughly fifteen yards from the original main house. It is certainly larger than the "little cabins" inhabited by other slaves, measuring 19'8" x 17'10", thereby equalling in size the houses built by freed slaves after emancipation. Like most other log houses in the survey area, it is without structural adornment and its logs are exposed and had been whitewashed earlier. Like most slave houses, it has no front porch, only steps leading to the front door. Just below the false plate (the top log) of the front length, the date 1851 is inscribed above the door in the

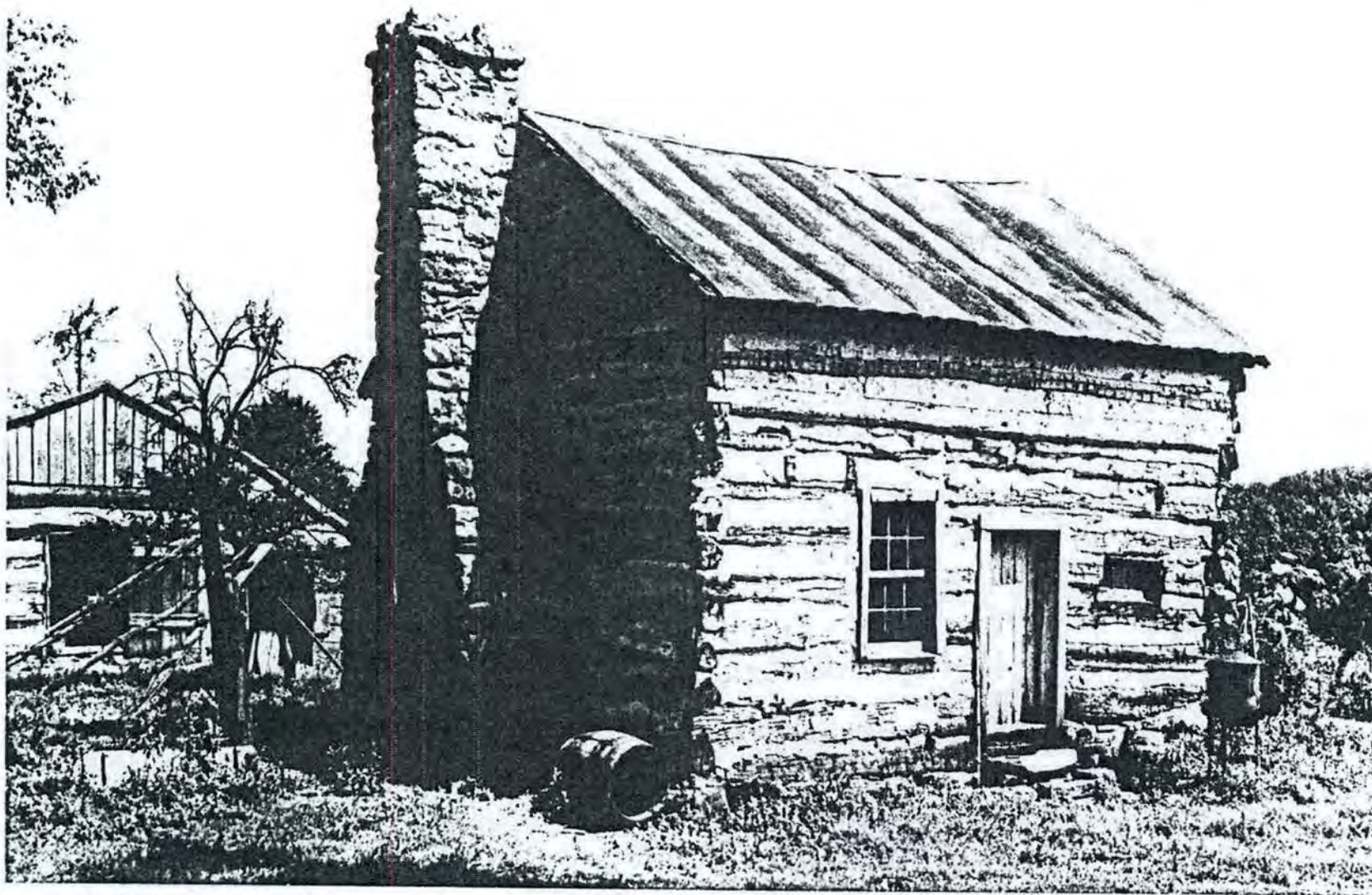


Figure 11. Log slave house at Rock Hall, near Dickerson, Maryland. This one and a half story log house consisted of one room down and one up and is probably representative of the type inhabited by many slaves in the 19th century. The double hung sash window is probably an enlargement of the type seen on the right. Below the eave may be seen the inscription etched in the daubing, "July 14 (?), 1851."

Collection of Library of Congress

weathered chinking. This is probably the date of construction, though the inscription itself is not original.

Today the facade consists of three bays, a door centrally located, flanked by a large window and a small one. Since the original window frames have been removed and replaced by modern ones, it cannot be determined whether the openings are original but almost certainly the larger window is an enlargement or a new addition. The smaller window openings may well be original. The gable end opposite the chimney also contains a small single sash window. It is impossible to tell if these small openings were present during slavery or cut afterwards. This is unfortunate since the presence of windows is a sign of improved living conditions.

Like the houses built after emancipation, the logs are oak and V-notched at the corners. They were hewn only on the sides and are rather thick, measuring roughly 10" x 8". No posts or pegs are evident in construction, except for the trunnels which fasten the fireplace frame to the ends of the logs in the wall. The sills rest on low stone piers, and there is no cellar. The eaves are not boxed, and the hewn rafters are half-lapped and pegged, reinforced by collar braces, which are half-lapped and nailed with machine cut nails.

The interior consists of one room down and one up, as did most slave houses. The log walls are exposed and whitewashed, and the only decorative woodwork is the beaded joists with open mortises at each end, showing that the joists had been removed

from an earlier building. Unlike the slave house described by Josiah Henson and others found in southern Maryland and elsewhere, this one has a raised plank floor instead of an earthen one. The most striking feature of the interior is the large fireplace. While it was an improvement over the log chimneys found on slave houses in many parts of the South, its great size would have caused it to consume quantities of wood, and much of the heat must have been lost up the chimney. The wood burning stoves found in the houses of black landowners after emancipation would have been a much appreciated improvement.¹⁹

Inverness Slave Quarter

Another log house, similar to this one, still stands in a line of outbuildings behind the main house at Inverness farm on Route 28 a few miles from Rock Hall. According to farm tradition, it was a slave cabin, and this account is most likely true. It is one and a half stories in height, measuring 18'6" x 15'4" ^(Figure 12). Its chestnut logs are sheathed with board and batten. They are V-notched at the corner. Originally there was an external stone fireplace with a free-standing brick stack, but a stone building, also used as slave quarters, (24'4" x 19'4") was added to this gable end. Both have central doors with flanking windows. Both contain one room down and a loft above. They have since been renovated as living quarters.



Figure 12

Inverness Slave Quarters

Photograph by G. W. McD.

Mount Carmel Slave Quarters.

At Mount Carmel farm on Route 28 about a mile north of Inverness is another stone slave dwelling, and there may have been more. (Figure 13) Like the other surviving slave houses, it is located a short distance from the main house and probably housed slaves who worked as cooks or house servants. It was a double quarter, consisting of two identical units, ^{each measuring 17'2" x 18'4"} each unit had a front door and window, and a stone chimney on each gable end. Large sandstone blocks were laid in a random ashlar pattern. With walls 22" thick, the interior is well insulated, and the large windows, 4'3" x 2'4", provided adequate ventilation and sunlight. Since the current residents were not at home, the interior could not be investigated, but according to farm tradition, each unit had consisted of one room down and one up, and the two units were divided by a partition with no door opening between them. There is no way to ascertain this, since the interior has been thoroughly renovated recently. Before renovation, it had been abandoned for years, many of the original features of the interior were lost, and a tree had grown up inside it.

These different extremes of slave houses, ranging from the hovels described by Josiah Henson to these stone examples, represent the variety of housing conditions for slaves in the survey area.



Figure 13

Mount Camel Slave Quarters

Photograph by G. W. McD

POST EMANCIPATION LOG HOUSES

After emancipation, many of the slaves bought land for themselves and built houses for their families as part of establishing their own identity. The first houses they constructed were log, the type that they could afford to build themselves. A total of eighteen log houses were surveyed. Most are abandoned and in deteriorating condition, while a few have been substantially modernized.

Basically these log houses built after emancipation resembled the log slave houses, except they were larger. The earlier examples -- such as the Lewis Brown and Isaac Owens houses in Big Woods and the William Taylor house in Sugarland -- were constructed in the 1870's. Others continued to be built until the early 1900's. All of them stood at least one and a half stories in height, and usually two (e.g., the Isaac Owens, and William Taylor houses). Their walls were left exposed, and, like Bene Hallman's house in Figure 64, were whitewashed each year, according to Florence Hallman. Few of them had front porches. In later years porches may have been added, as was the case of William and Rachel Proctor house in Mt. Ephraim. The logs were V-notched. The roofs were covered by wood shingles.²⁰

Of the 65 log houses that were recorded in this survey (the majority of which no longer stand), 46 had two rooms down and two up. Eleven had one down and one up, six had two rooms down and two had one room down and two up. Of the twelve whose interiors could be measured, half had two room floor plans arranged in a hall/parlor or hall/chamber fashion. Two had two rooms down and two up of equal size. Three had one room down and two up. The

smallest -- Frank Dorsey's house, Figure 49 -- had one down and one up. However, the small frame kitchen attached to the back length may have been original, giving the house a two down, one up plan. Eight of the twelve measured houses, and 46 of the total had two rooms down, and two up, which gave the residents more privacy than the one room houses built during slavery. The photographs of the log houses of David Proctor and of Bene and Barbara Hallman (Figure 63 & 64) are examples. They are among the earliest photographs found of log houses in the survey area during the period of their occupancy. Recent photographs of log houses may be seen in Figure 35, 49, 53 and 60.

Though plain in style, the houses did adopt the balanced symmetry that was popular in that period. That is, their facades consisted of a door centrally located, flanked by a window on each side. In addition to being in style, this design was also a very practical response to the need for light and ventilation inside each room.

The windows themselves were double hung sashes with small, six-over-six panes. According to Florence Hallman, the residents could afford these smaller types whereas the larger, two-over-two windows were too expensive. These windows were a marked improvement over the small, windowless or wood shuttered slave houses.²¹

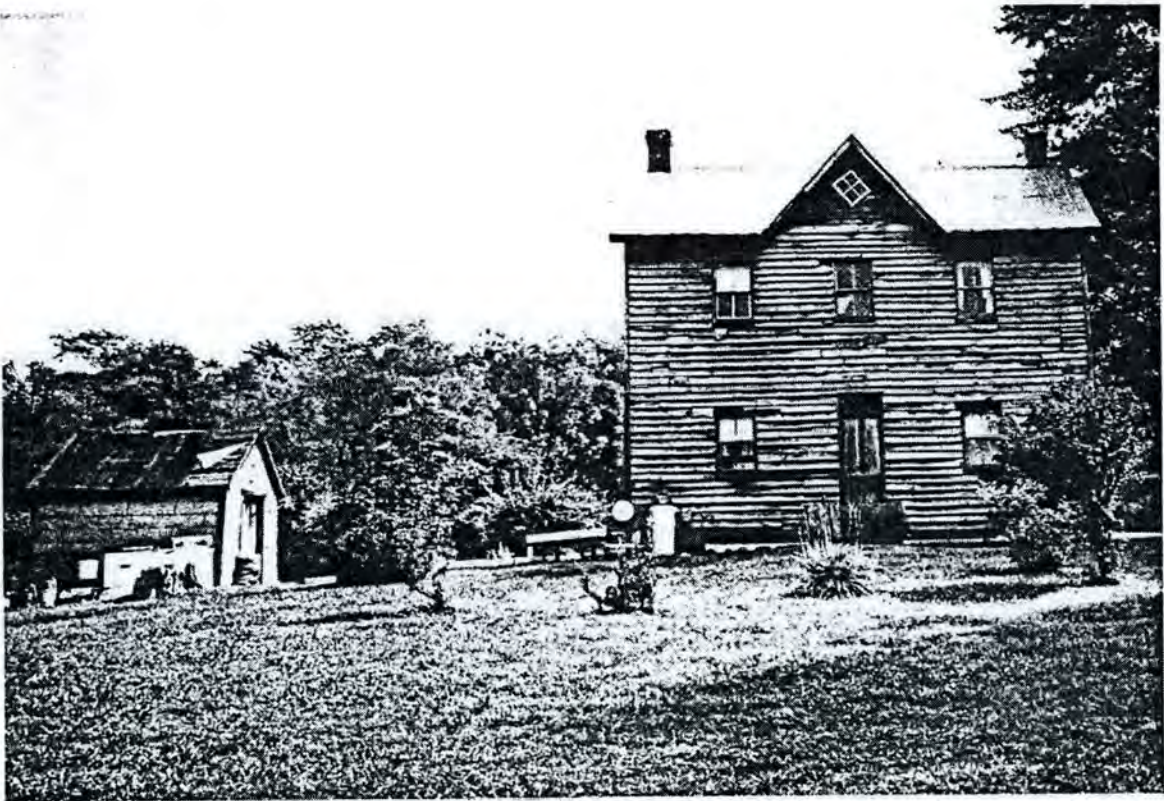
Almost all of the houses were heated with wood burning stoves instead of fireplaces. In perhaps half the houses, the stove flue was located in the center of the house with openings for stove pipes on each side, so that both rooms were heated. In some

log houses the upstairs was heated (e.g. the Dennis Hamilton house, Jerusalem). This substantially improved the living conditions and made those rooms more serviceable in the winter for household functions other than sleeping and storage.

In the early 1900's log houses continued to be constructed, but most traditional methods were no longer used. The abandoned, two story log house of David and Susie Turner in Turnertown, built in c. 1908, is an example. The logs (9" x 8") were smaller than in the older houses and were only lightly hewn. They were almost left in the round. While they were joined by traditional V-notches, all of the window and door frames were attached to them by wire nails. The rafters were simply 2" x 4"'s, toed into place and nailed with wire nails. In general appearance, the house resembled a simply designed frame house of the period, especially since the logs on the front and two sides of the house had been covered with German siding ^{accented by} with door and window trims, ^{all of} which were probably added not long after construction. This house marks the end of ^{more than a century} ~~an era~~ of log house construction in the survey area, and except for its log shell, it could just as well have been a frame house.

POST EMANCIPATION FRAME HOUSES

Beginning in the 1880's and especially after the turn of the century, two story frame houses in the standard vernacular style replaced log houses. They were rectangular boxes, one and a half to two stories in height, with symmetrical facades, (Figure 14). Frame houses were more in keeping with current house styles and were a sign of upward mobility, while



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 14 . Henry T. Onley, Jr. House, Big Woods. This two story frame house was constructed c. 1915 by the son of one of the founders of the post Civil War community. Its frame construction, box-like appearance, gable roof, symmetrical facade of three bays, and its salute to the Gothic Revival style (i.e. the cross gable pediment) are representative of the types of houses built by the more prosperous black landowners from the 1880s through the 1920s.

log houses were symbolic of the hard times of the past. Since most of the materials for a frame house were purchased, rather than hand-made, and the house built by hired carpenters, rather than by the residents and volunteer labor, frame houses were a signal of relative affluence. Covered with weatherboards and with trim at the corners, windows and doors, they were considered more attractive in appearance. They did not have that "rough look" of log houses. Many had front porches supported by columns suggesting slightly the Greek Revival style or by turned posts decorated with brackets. In contrast to log houses, the roof lines of many frame houses were accented by broad, boxed eaves with short returns at the gable ends and frequently incorporated simple motifs from the earlier Gothic Revival style, such as a cross gable pediment, which usually contained small decorative windows of rectangular, square, or diamond designs. Many of these were plainer versions of the "country houses" popularized by Andrew Jackson Downing and later by George Woodward and other architects. Figures 54, 61 and 79 -- the Jones, Duffin, and Hood houses -- are examples.

double space

Significantly, most frame houses were not much larger than log houses. Of the 86 frame houses and 65 log houses that were surveyed, 11% of the log houses and 10% of the frame houses had one room down and one up or only one room. Approximately three-fourths had two room floor plans (71% of log houses and 79% of frame houses). Of the fourteen log and frame houses with originally two rooms down and two up that were measured, the ranking in size (exterior dimensions, length and width) alternated. The two smallest were log; four were at the mid-range, and two near the top of the scale. If the smallest house is given the number 1 and the largest 14, the ranking in size of the total of 14 log and frame/houses proceeds as follows for log houses: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9,

12, 13. The smallest was the log house of Martha Carter in White Grounds, measuring 20'4" x 14'1", and the largest the Hood-Herbert house in Martinsburg, 27'8" x 16'5".

One important difference in floor plans was that no log houses were originally larger than two down and two up, while at least 8% of the frame houses were. They were constructed with two front rooms serving as parlor and dining room, and a kitchen in the L or T along the back length. The John Onley house in Big Woods and the St. Mark's Parsonage in White Grounds are examples of "L" houses, measuring 30'3" x 30'5" and 30'7" x 30'4" respectively along the front length and the gable end with the L.

Another difference in log and frame houses of two room floor plans was that when additions were made, one story shed kitchens tended to be attached to rear lengths of log houses, while two story L's (with kitchen) were added to frame houses. Thus, those families with the money to build a frame house were more likely later to improve more dramatically their housing conditions than were families in log houses. The frame dwellings of John Henry Wims in Clarksburg and of Thomas A. Jackson in Blockstown (Figure 39) are examples. When a family was able to invest initially a substantial portion of their income in a house, chances were that they would be able to continue to finance improvements.

LOCAL CARPENTERS

Some traditions did continue in frame house construction. As with log construction, members of the community continued to participate. Several houses were built by the owners themselves. For example, Henry Duffin in the late 1870's and his son Addison Duffin c. 1890 both built their own houses in White Grounds. In Clarksburg the two professional black carpenters, Henry Hackett and Arthur Gibson, built their own houses. Figure 6 shows the Arthur Gibson house. Gibson also constructed the addition on the log house of Zelma Foreman on Stringtown Road, as well as the home of James Green near John Wesley Methodist Church in 1947, one of his last. Elmer Jones, a mason and carpenter, built his two story frame house in Jonesville (Figure 54). The jack-of-all-trades Richard Turner constructed his own one and a half story frame house in Turnertown in the 1930's, replacing the earlier log house of his grandmother.²²

Blacks also hired whites to build houses. The Graham family in Martinsburg hired white carpenters to build a large two story frame addition to their house in the mid-1920's. Some homes, such as the Hood-Herbert House in Martinsburg, Figure 61 built in 1904, were a joint enterprise of a white carpenter, assisted by the black owner.²³

Sawmills close by the communities supplied lumber for these houses. These sawmills were steam powered and were moved around to available stands of wood. Figure 67 shows the sawmill in operation near Sugarloaf Mountain. Arnold Hawkins from Purdum

remembers that a large oak tree felled on his property was hauled to a local sawmill near Purdum and supplied the weatherboards for his family's new frame house in 1910. Arthur Randolph says that his uncle, Arthur Gibson, built his frame house in 1918 from lumber cut at Howard Snider's sawmill about two miles from Gibson's house on Clarksburg Road.²⁴

A few houses contained some decorative features in the style of the period. An example is the Colonial Revival mantelpiece in the Johnson house in Jerusalem, but this mantelpiece is inside an otherwise plain house. Among the most decorative houses was the frame house of John Henry Wims in Clarksburg that has boxed eaves with short returns, a front porch supported by turned posts with scrollwork brackets, and a mantelpiece with turned spool drops.

Several homesteads today are living evidence of the changing house styles over the years. For example, the first house on the Thompson family's land in Martinsburg, built in the early 1870's, was a log dwelling with the typical two room down and two up floor plan (see Figure 60). Its owner/occupant was Albert Thompson, one of the founders of the black community in Martinsburg after emancipation (see Figure 55). About 1916 his son Otho Thompson added to one gable end a two story frame block with two rooms downstairs and two up, and finished the outside with a porch having turned posts and scrollwork brackets in the style of the early 20th century. In the 1950's his son John Thompson built a brick, ranch style house whose construction, design, and furnishings are representative of the material culture of this period.

THE FUTURE OF TRADITIONAL HOUSE TYPES

Increasingly the traditional log and frame houses in the survey area are giving way to the new homes. Many are too old and in need of serious repair so that it is more advantageous to tear them down and build new ones. Examples of frame houses in need of repair and perhaps on the endangered list especially upon the demise of present owners or occupants are: the Johnson house in Jerusalem; the Henry Onley and John Onley and James Onley houses in Big Woods; the Duffin-Hebron house in White Grounds; the Fisher-Diggs, Dorsey-Scott, Fairfax, and Thompson houses in Martinsburg, to name a few.

If these houses are to be repaired and saved, their owners need technical assistance, tax credits, loans, or grants. In particular, many families are in need of legal advice regarding heir property so that they can obtain clear titles and make the appropriate improvements to their homes without fear of losing their investment. Too often, many heirs have inherited the property, and as they move on to other towns, no one can secure title to the house to support a home improvement loan, hence the house is not maintained. Gradually it deteriorates beyond reasonable costs of repair and must be torn down and the property must be sold by the heirs. Since there are usually a number of heirs, agreement on a market price is difficult, so that the property is frequently sold below market value. The Johnson home in Jerusalem built in 1896 by the community carpenter, George Dorsey, is now owned by "about 100 heirs", according to its present resident. It faces this fate.²⁵ For this and other examples

of historical house types to continue in use, it is imperative that homeowners, community leaders, and county and state agencies develop more open lines of communication, learn from one another, and make concerted efforts toward their preservation today. Day by day, tomorrow is becoming too late for these houses.

FOOTNOTES FOR HOUSE TYPES:

1. The term "folk" will be used synonymously with vernacular and refers to the "typical houses of the average man, built according to "the needs and traditions of ordinary people", as defined by Richard Pillsbury and Andrew Kardos, A Field Guide to the Folk Architecture of the Northeastern United States, Geography Publications at Dartmouth, No. 8, Special Edition on Geographical Lore, no date, p. 11.
2. Pillsbury and Kardos, Folk Architecture of the Northeastern United States, pp. 11-16. Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville; University of Tennessee Press, 1975).
3. Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 55, No. 4, December, 1965, pp. 549-577.
4. For documentation and further description of each surveyed site discussed in the text, refer to its Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form. Each is catalogued according to its number given in the list of sites in the community histories.
5. Tilghman Lee, telephone interview by George McDaniel, July 1978; Paul Wilson, telephone interview by George McDaniel, April 1979; Florence Hallman, telephone interview by George McDaniel, July 1978.
6. Kniffen, "Folk Housing", pp. 549-577.
7. Tilghman Lee, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Sugarland community, July 1978; Paul Wilson, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Mt. Ephraim community, April 1979.
8. Paul Wilson, telephone interview by George McDaniel, July 1979.
9. Tilghman Lee, interview (not taped) By George McDaniel; Paul Wilson, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel.
10. Tilghman Lee, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelley, Sugarland community, May 5, 1979.

11. Paul Wilson, telephone interview by George McDaniel, July 1979; Charles McRaven, Building the Hewn Log House, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Publishers, 1978).
12. Tilghman Lee, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelley.
13. Paul Wilson and Tilghman Lee, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Mary Sue Nunn, Gail Rothrock, Sugarland community, May 1979.
14. Paul Wilson, telephone interview by George McDaniel.
15. George E. Woodward, Country Homes. Reprint. (Watkins Glen, New York: American Life Foundation, 1977), pp. 151-166.
16. Ibid.
17. Josiah Henson, Father Henson's Story of His Own Life, p. 18.
18. Ora Lyles, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelley, Jerusalem community, March 17, 1979.
19. George McDaniel, Preserving the People's History; Traditional Black Material Culture of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Southern Maryland, Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; 1979.
20. Florence Hallman; interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, July 1978.
21. Ibid.
22. Edna Duffin Johnson, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, White Grounds community, March 1979; Arthur Randolph, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Clarksburg community, February 1979; Hannah Jones, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Jonesville community, September, 1978.

23. Lemuel Graham; interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Martinsburg community, May 1978; Evelyn Herbert interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Martinsburg community, May 1979.
24. Arnold Hawkins, telephone interview, by George McDaniel, Spetember 1979; Arthur Randolph, telephone interview by George McDaniel, September 1979.
25. Margaret Dorsey, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Jerusalem community, January 1979.

Chapter 3

FURNISHINGS AND HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES: THE LEE FAMILY HOME

By examining these houses and the ways of life they represent we can see them as more than simply house types, and begin to understand how they were furnished and what activities took place in and around them. Like the houses, the furnishings did not show marked individual identity, were not designed according to formal styles, and their designs were slow to change over time. Most pieces were purely utilitarian; informants described few purely decorative objects. This is not to say, however, that the homes were devoid of life. Indeed, an examination of the furnishings reveals the multitude of family activities that went on inside.

To present a more complete picture of these furnishings, one case study -- the Lee family home -- will allow examination in depth. The discussion of this house will be supplemented by the recollections of other informants of the same period in the survey area. Tilghman Lee grew up in this house in the Sugarland community and recalls vividly the life lived in and around it. Born in 1893, the son of a freed slave, Lee says that he can remember his youth ("just like it was yesterday")

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more clearly than events last year. He continues to live in the Sugarland community, having never travelled far from it: "I never took to the sporting life". Thus his connections to the historical community remain strong.¹

Lee was the seventh of ten children of Samuel and Martha Virginia (Beander) Lee. She was the sister-in-law of Phillip Johnson, (the only ex-slave in Montgomery County interviewed by the Federal Writers' Project in the late 1930's).² Tilghman Lee's father was a farm laborer and a stone-cutter at the Seneca Quarry (Figure 72), and worked his own land intensively. Like many blacks and whites in pre-commerical societies, he was skilled at a number of practical crafts and made many things for his family. He was a strong model for his son, who says "I always wanted to do everything my father could do."³

The Lee family house was a frame dwelling of one room down and one up on a seven acre tract that his parents had purchased in 1884.⁴ The house was built soon thereafter.

The facade consisted of three bays with the centrally located door flanked by windows. On the back length were two windows, but no door, and there were no openings along the gable ends. The house faced south, and in the west gable end was a wood burning stove. Instead of a brick chimney-like stove flue as was common in houses of

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this period, there was only a tin pipe which passed through the upstairs and out the roof. It warmed the upper chamber.

In other houses with a two room (hall/parlor) floor plan, the stove in the kitchen served as the cook range, while the parlor usually had a smaller stove, used almost exclusively for heating. "They might put a kettle on it," Ora Lyles says. Joshua Hamilton from Jerusalem and Mary Turner from Turnertown both recall that a model known as a "King Heater" was commonly used in the parlor.⁵

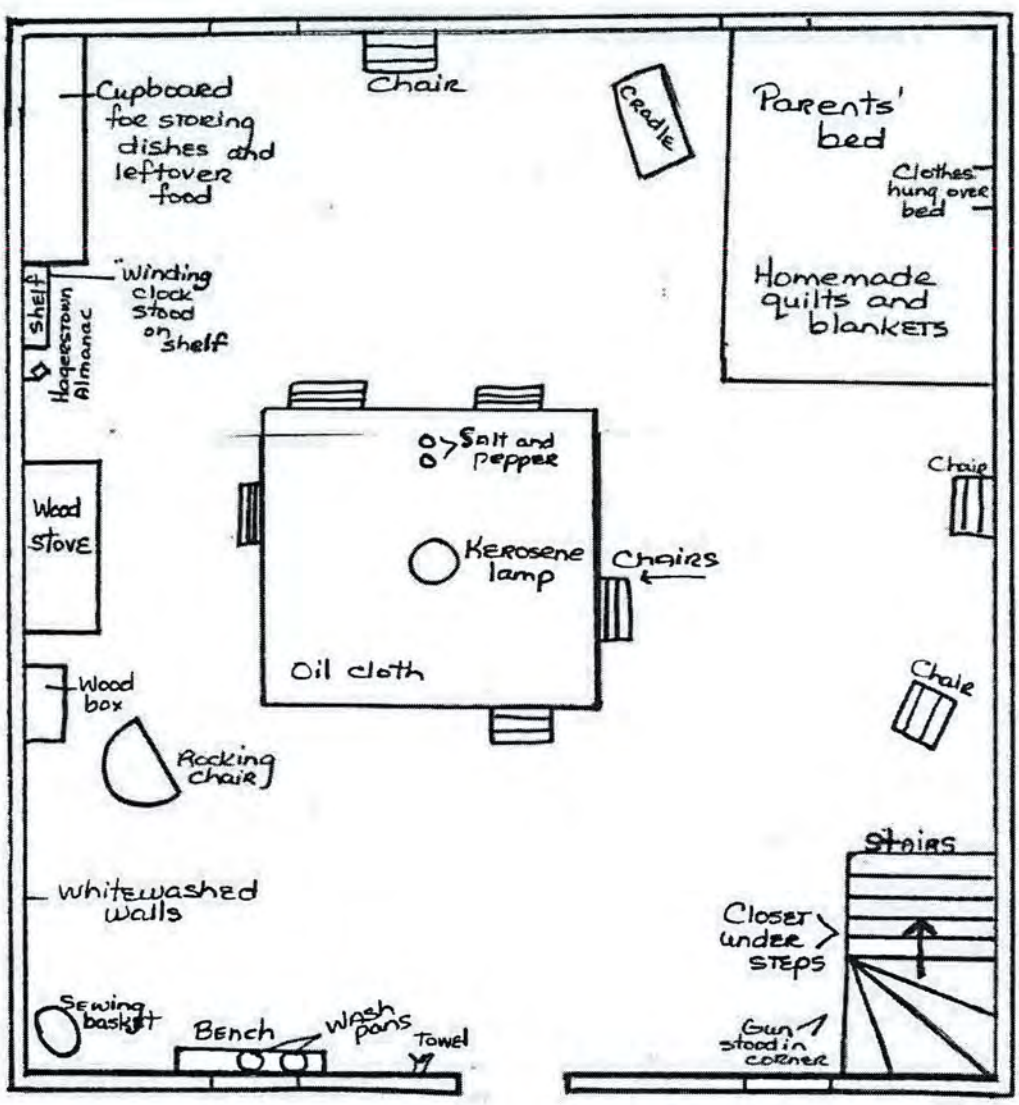
THE DOWNSTAIRS

Since there was only one room downstairs in the Lee house, it served a number of purposes: kitchen, parlor, dining room, bathing room, laundry room, and parents' bedroom. It was furnished with objects common to other folk houses of the early 1900's. (Figure 15)

A plank table in the center of the room served as a work table and dining table. Like Joshua and Fanny Hamilton who lived in a log house in Jerusalem, Tilghman Lee remembers that the table was the only flat surface for work purposes and therefore served a number of uses. Food was prepared and served on it. Dishes were washed on it in a pan. Children used it as a desk when they had lessons to do. On Sunday mornings before breakfast, families gathered around it for

Figure 15

LEE Family Furnishing Plan (early 1900's) as remembered by Tilghman LEE SEPTEMBER 1979



prayer and a Bible reading. Thus, few objects stayed on the table on a permanent basis: Lee remembers only salt and pepper shakers and a kerosene lamp. The work table was covered with an oil cloth.⁶

Around the table were wooden, ladder-back chairs. Ora Lyles, born in 1894 near Jerusalem, remembers that families had cane-bottomed chairs with straight backs. Howard Lyles in Jerusalem still has the chairs of this type that belonged to his grandmother, Virginia Robinson. According to Lee, when the bottoms wore out, they were replaced either by store-bought wooden bottoms which were nailed into place or by white oak splints. Lee recalls that his father and "Uncle Bill Taylor" were both skilled at this craft, and also wove baskets of white oak splints, such as bushel baskets for corn.

Lee recalls that for young children there was a homemade bench, which Lee described as made from broad boards cut into V shapes for legs with a plank nailed across them and braced. Children also sat on wooden boxes. Lee emphasizes that the chairs, bench, and boxes were moved about the room to suit the needs of the family and did not remain in one place. "One day a chair may be by the table, and the next day by the stove."⁷

The most prominent chair was the rocker. When asked if it belonged to anyone special, Lee replied "no", but then

went on to recall, "Mama used to sit in there most of the time, sewing. Or sometimes they'd put a pillow in there, and lay a baby there and rock it."⁸

Washing and Bathing

Another family activity that went on in the kitchen area was washing and bathing. Lee recalls that his family used to pull the bench over by the door, place the wash basin on it, fill it with water from buckets, and wash their hands and face there so they could toss the waste water out the door. Ora Lyles says her family had a wash basin, along with a pitcher, bowl, "and another little pitcher", and a soap dish. There was one toilet set for the entire family.

Baths were also taken downstairs. The downstairs room was preferred over the upstairs since "it was more convenient, your water was boiling down there." Water was heated on the wood stove in "tea kettles and tin buckets", Tilghman Lee remembers, while Mrs. Lyles recalls that a "boiler" was used especially for the purpose. The hot water was then poured in a large washtub and tempered by cool water. The washtub was stored outside, hung on the side of an outbuilding or down in the cellar. Mrs. Lyles remembers that her family had a wooden washtub and used a bath cloth and homemade lye soap. Lee remembers that his family bought their bath soap or used laundry

soap. Since every member of the family used different water, many trips had to be made hauling water from the spring or well. "But they didn't mind", Ora Lyles explains, "people had to work, they didn't have time to look at no television."⁹

During the winter months, laundry was done in the room instead of outside by the spring or well. Ora Lyles remembers that "they used to hang them on a clothes horse" (drying rack) or from clothes lines strung up in the room.¹⁰

Storage Space

Along the west wall near the stove was the wood box. The wash pan was stored behind the stove. Lee remembers that unlike many rural poor families who lacked storage space, pots and pans were not hung on the walls, but instead were stored in the closet under the stairs. The dishes and "left-over food" were stored in a cupboard which stood in the northwest corner. Some cupboards were finer than others. For example, Ora Lyles says that her mother's cupboards had two wooden doors, a marble top, and a drawer pull in the form of grape clusters.¹¹

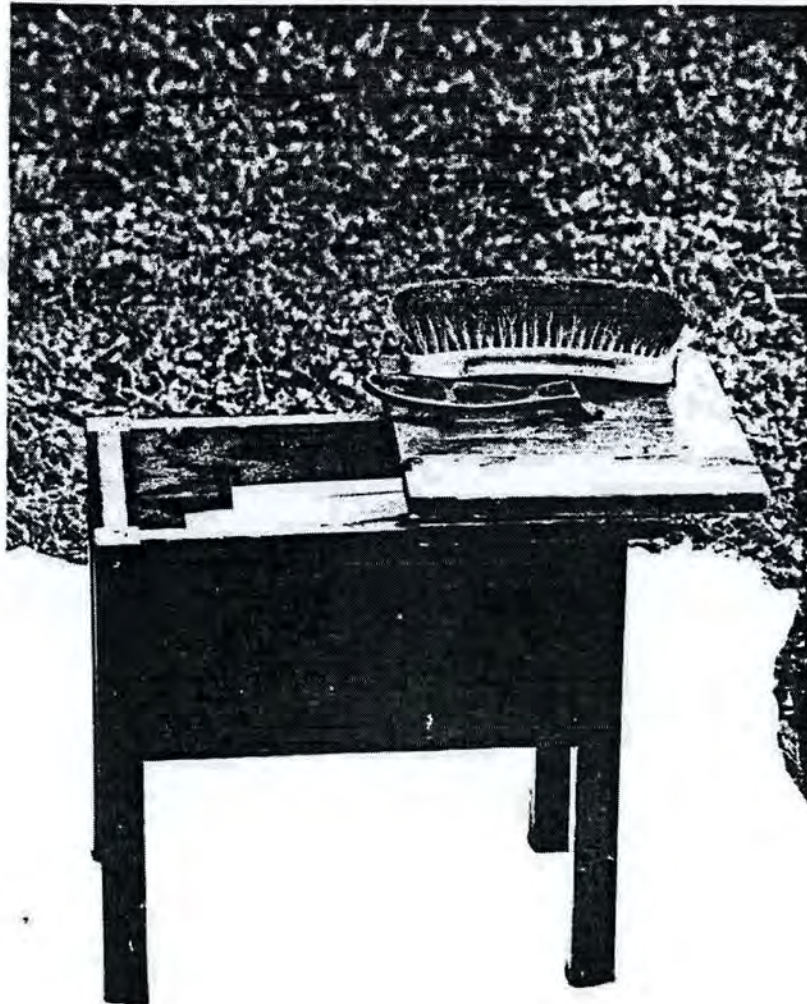
There was only one shelf in the downstairs room, and it was on the wall between the wood stove and the cupboards. On it stood the "winding clock", a cabinet clock which "Mama wound every night before she went to bed." When asked why

this was his mother's responsibility, Lee replied, "She just tended to that." Mrs. Lyles also remembered that most families kept a clock on a shelf. In two-room dwellings, it was usually in the parlor, but "some had them in the kitchen too."¹²

Lee's mother's sewing basket, in which she kept "buttons, thread, needles, scissors, and things like that" could be found either pushed in a corner or under the bed. Lee also remembered that they always had the current Hagerstown Almanac. He was not specific about where it was kept, but just remembered that it hung on the wall.¹³

Both dishes and flatware were stored in the cupboard. Some dishes in the Lee household were china, while others were granite ware, "gray stuff (enamel) with white dots that chipped off and showed the tin underneath." The flatware was steel utensils with wood handles. Unlike some rural poor families, they had no extra set of dinnerware for special occasions. "We used the same things all the time. We'd only buy a dish when one broke. We didn't have special things like they do today." On the other hand, Ora Lyles, whose father was also a farm laborer, recalls that her mother did have a set of fine china for special occasions.¹⁴

As in other houses of the rural poor, there was no piece of furniture specifically for the storage of clothes. For example, Lee's parent's clothes hung on nails or hooks along the wall above their bed. Shoes were stored under the bed or against the wall. Families often repaired their own, using a shoe box such as the one in Figure 16.



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 16 . Shoe box of Richard King, Big Woods.
Now in the possession of King's daughter, Idella
Craven. It was purchased rather than homemade.
Inside King stored his polishes, rags, and brushes.
He was noted for his well kept appearance.

As in most small houses the space under the stairs was used for storage. The stairway was boxed in and was located in a corner where it would take up a minimum of space. Typically, the only closet in the house was under the stairs, and cooking pans and staples such as barrels of flour, meal, and sugar were stored there. In the corner of the stairs, Samuel Lee kept his shotgun. Ora Lyles says that "practically everybody kept their shotgun over the front door. Never allowed nobody to play with it." It may seem risky in a house of many children that Lee would keep his shotgun so handy, but Tilghman Lee explains that it was always unloaded and that they were forbidden to play with it. His father sternly taught him the rules of gun safety: "He told us when we got to the last fence to unload the gun. We never brought a loaded gun in the yard."¹⁵

Floor, Wall, and Window Treatment

Unlike many homes of black families in the survey area, plank floors in Lee's house were bare without rugs downstairs or upstairs. Ora Lyles recalls that some houses had carpets in the living room. Some were made at home, while others were purchased. She also recalls that the women used to scrub the "pine floors and make them shine. You'd get down on your

knees with that scrub rag, and a bucket of water and soap. We didn't have no brushes." In ways such as this, her mother, her aunt Henrietta Hamilton from Jerusalem, and the other women of the historical communities used to keep their houses "very, very clean. They were very industrious, hard-working women."¹⁶

The walls of Tilghman Lee's house were whitewashed, as they were in most houses, whether of log or frame. When questioned about what hung on the walls, Lee pointed to the many objects and pictures hanging on the walls of his living room today, and explained, "they didn't believe in all that stuff hanging on the walls like they do now. Just something important went up on the walls." Among those important things might have been one or two family pictures or perhaps a picture of Jesus, "if you had something nice like that."¹⁷

Like the other objects in the house, the curtains over the four downstairs windows were utilitarian, rather than decorative. Lee recalls that some houses had pull shades and clearly remembers that in his house a string was stretched between two nails over the windows on which hung a "heavy piece of material, like what they made overalls out of (presumably denim) to keep people from seeing in at night." During the day the curtain could be pulled to either side or taken down.

The sash windows held small six over six panes but were not

held up by weights. Insteads, a "window stick" was placed upright under the lower sash when raised to keep it open. Since there were no locks on the windows, the window stick was placed upright above the lower sash to lock it.¹⁸

Security however was rarely a concern unless "you went away for a long time." Though the doors did have locks on them, both Lee and Paul Wilson from Mt. Ephraim point out that "you could leave your house wide open and go anywhere...If you had whiskey or anything like that, you'd better keep that out of sight,....but anything else you could lay it around anywhere. Them old people's chicken houses never had no lock on them."¹⁹

The Bed

Opposite the cupboard in the northeast corner stood the parents' bed, which Lee described as a "wooden bed with a tall headboard. The footboard was a little above the level of the bed, and the feather and straw ticks were supported by slats." As in other small houses with limited privacy, Lee recalls that a "drapery" was hung from a string attached to nails in the walls. It was pulled around the bed for sleeping, and during the day was taken down or pushed to one side.

The bed was covered with one sheet, which was slept on, with a blanket or quilt for cover. These blankets and quilts were homemade. When Tilghman Lee was asked if his mother attended

"quilting bees," both he and Ora Lyles remembered that the women used to get together in one house "after the woman had put it in the frame," and the final product was a community effort. According to Lee, there were summer quilts and winter quilts. Summer quilts were of light padding and material, and heavier ones for the winter. The women saved all the "cuttings from making dresses and also used old dresses, men's shirts, and suits for scraps." On cold nights, when the heavy quilts were insufficient, coats were placed over the foot of the bed.²⁰

Two mattresses were used, one a tick filled with feathers and the other filled with straw. Lee says that the feather tick was kept on top of the straw since it was "softer." The straw, however, "didn't last like the feather tick" and would become lumpy. Each fall the straw was therefore emptied out and the tick stuffed with fresh straw from recently threshed wheat. The old straw was added to the compost heap for the garden. The feather tick was filled with feathers from the chickens, ducks, turkeys, and/or geese the families raised. After killing the bird, they would save the feathers, dry them in a covered box outside in the sunshine or during the inclement weather in the kitchen near the stove. Probably once a year, the feathers were removed from the tick and washed in a tub with soap and water. They were then covered over and set out to dry on a sunny, windless day. The pillows were also made of feathers, preserved and washed in a similar way.²¹

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The ~~matress~~^{tick,} sheets, and pillow cases were made by the families at first by hand and in the earlier 20th century with sewing machines. Figure 17 shows Idella and Walter Craven in Big Woods with Mrs. Craven's mother's sewing machine that she acquired in 1918.

Childbirth

Babies were born in this bed. According to Lee, there was no special bed or place for delivery; instead, the parents' "regular bed was used, and the children sent to another house." Lee explains that "they didn't use no doctors, they had midwives." Ora Lyles remembers that the midwife brought "a little bundle of cloth and the necessities that were needed." After delivery, "the mother stayed in bed about a week or more, no heavy food." In Big Woods, Florence Hallman says that women, including herself, were bound around their girth after delivery and were told to stay in bed for almost two weeks, "and they hardly let us eat a thing. Now you almost see women walking home from the hospital."²²

To their credit, the midwives must have been highly proficient, since neither Lee nor Ora Lyles recall any women dying in childbirth. Lee says that women did not begin going to hospitals for delivery until the late 1920's or early 1930's. His first two children, born in 1917 and 1919, were delivered by midwives, while his last, born in 1932, was born in a hospital.²³

Each community had its own midwives who were highly respected



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 17. Walter and Idella Craven with treadle sewing machine, Big Woods community. This Singer sewing machine was patented in 1918 and purchased by Mrs. Craven's mother, Bertha King, in 1919. The large bundle on the shelf is a mattress tick, sewn by Mrs. King on this machine. Mrs Craven is holding a dish towel, made by her mother from a bag of timothy grass seed and hemmed by hand.

and are remembered to this day. In Sugarland, they were Amelia Jackson, who delivered Lee, and Milly Hebron, wife of Patrick Hebron, one of the founders of Sugarland, and grandmother of Lee's wife Bessie. In Big Woods, Florence Hallman's aunt, Louisa Hutchinson, was the midwife in the early 1900's. In the second quarter of the century, Bertha Ellen King and Alice Tibbs continued to practice midwifery. Figure 18 shows Mrs. King's licence. In Jerusalem, Ora Lyles' aunt Henrietta Hamilton (grandmother of Joshua Hamilton) and Virginia Robinson (grandmother of Howard Lyles) were midwives. In Purdum, Joe and Arnold Hawkins recall that their mother was the midwife, having learned the craft from her mother, who had delivered them. During their youth, "Mama might be gone for two weeks, and that was the longest two weeks I ever had. When she came home, that was joy."²⁴

When children "got to be old enough to ask where babies come from, they were told that the midwives brought them," Tilghman Lee and Ora Lyles say. "Just like they do with the stork today." As to sex education, "They didn't tell you nothing," Mrs. Lyles says. "They learn more things in school today than I ever heard of in those days."²⁵

When asked if he remembered any baby furniture, he recalled that a cradle was kept near his parents' bed. According to Lee, new-born babies slept in the bed with the parents "but when they got big enough," they slept in the cradle, which was kept near the parents' bed in case the child needed to be fed or tended

State of Maryland
Department of Health

This is to certify that Mrs. Bertha Ellen King
is relicensed to practice midwifery for the two year period ending
January 1, 1950 in accordance with the regulations adopted by
the State Board of Health April 29, 1946.

In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand this 22
day of November 1946

[Signature]
Chief, Bureau of Vital Statistics

[Signature]
Director, State Department of Health



Health Department nurse-midwife demonstrates to a group of practicing midwives the proper contents, arrangements, and care of midwife's bag.

13.

Copy by George W. McDaniel

Figure 18. . Midwifery license of Bertha Ellen King, Big Woods. Mrs. King was a practicing midwife in the Big Woods community and elsewhere for many years. Her photograph appeared in a book on rural health conditions in Maryland. She is in the center and her neighbor Alice Tibbs is on her right. *Collection of Idella Craven.*

during the night. Ora Lyles also remembers that the cradle was kept beside the parents' bed.²⁶

THE UPSTAIRS

The upstairs room was used as sleeping quarters for the children, and a curtain divided the boys from the girls^(Figure 19). Lee could not recall the specific kind of material used but simply referred to it as brown "curtain goods." There were only two beds and each was covered with homemade quilts.

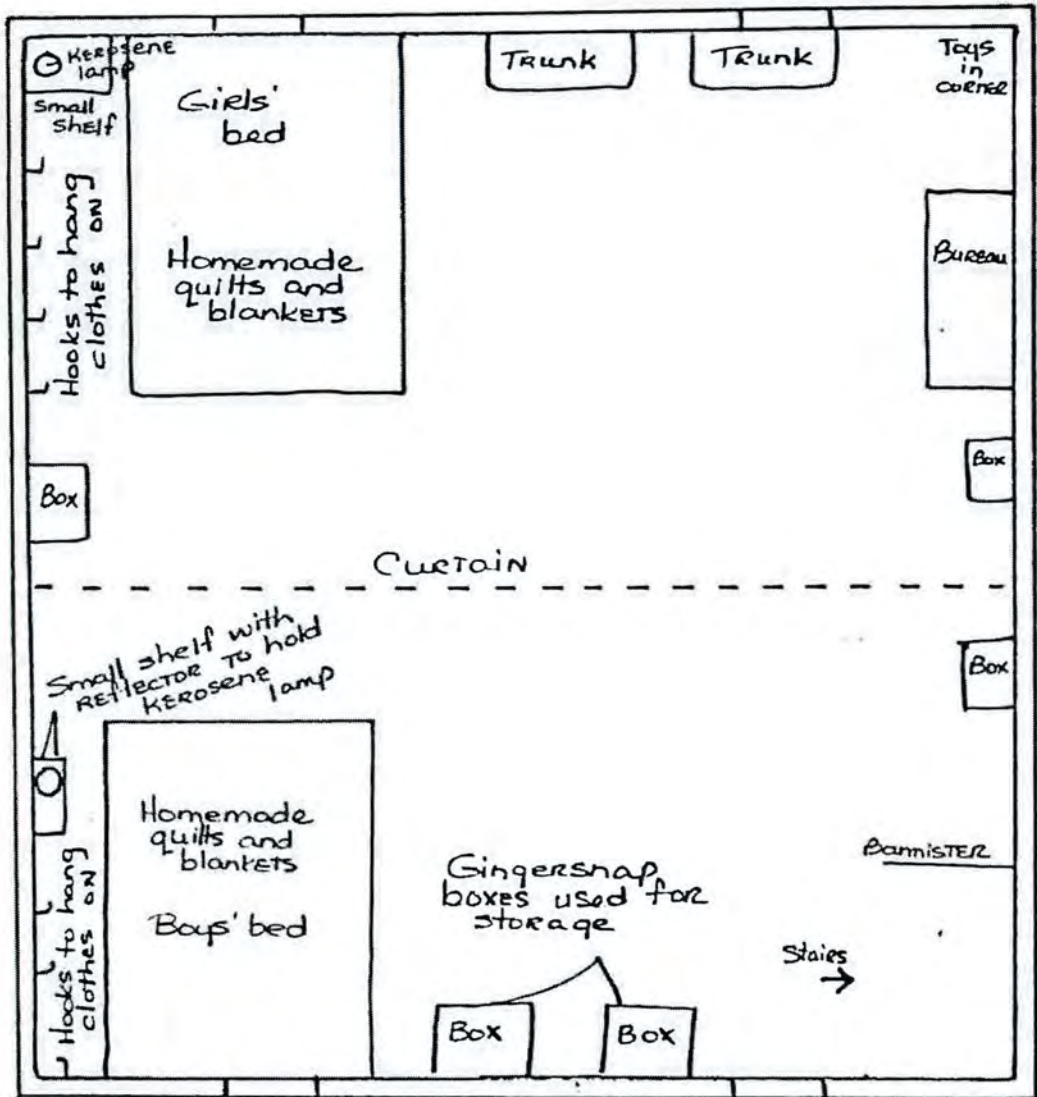
In many houses in the survey area, sleeping conditions for children were crowded. Charlotte Ambush from Mt. Ephraim tells how her husband, who was from the general vicinity, as a youth:

...slept at the foot of the bed. I never did because there was only two of us kids. But heck, a lot of families had anywhere from eight to ten children or more, and not too many beds, so -- so many slept at the head and so many slept at the foot. I said I couldn't do that because somebody might kick me.

In Jerusalem, Ora Lyles recalls that when guests came to visit or when her sister returned from Washington, "it was just like President Carter coming. We took to the floor and they'd get in bed. I like sleeping on the floor." Quilts were laid on the floor for the purpose.²⁷

Like the downstairs, the upstairs was lit by kerosene lamps. In the Lee family's house, they were kept on shelves above each

Figure 19. FURNISHINGS PLAN OF THE UPSTAIRS OF THE LEE HOUSE



bed. On the wall behind the lamp was a small reflector. The lamps upstairs had metal bases so that if "the children knocked one over, only the glass chimney would break," Lee explains. The downstairs lamps had more attractive glass bases. Lee recalls that kerosene, or "coal oil" as they called it, cost four cents a quart and was stored in a large can in one of the outbuildings away from the house. Just as his father forbade the children from playing with his gun, his mother prohibited the children from using the lamp "until they got grown." His mother carried the lamp upstairs for them, set it on the shelf, and the children were allowed to blow it out, but not to light, carry, or fill it.²⁸

As with most families with little money in the early 1900's, there were few clothes for children and consequently only a few, if any, pieces of furniture to store them in. Ora Lyles recalls that "you couldn't afford to buy any made dresses" and that her mother and daughters made many of the family clothes. As a teen-ager she began to dress more stylishly and recognizes the clothes worn by black girls in the photograph of 1910 in Virginia (Figure 20) as similar to the clothes she wore. For storage of clothes, she remembers that her family had a wardrobe that was "bluish" in color and that had a mirror on one of the doors. "If you had too many things, you had a box that you put



Figure 20. Youths gathered at church picnic, near the Jerusalem community, born in 1894, remembers the clothes similar to these on special occasions. (Photographer: Richard M. ...)

mond, Virginia, c. 1905. Mrs. Ora Lyles from ... ing her teenage years she and her friends wore ... h by Huestis Cooke. Cooke Collection. Valentine

your clothes in under the bed." Or, if "it was a big family, clothes hung on the walls." In the Lee family home, Tilghman Lee remembers a bureau upstairs which may have been for his parents' or out of season clothes, because he specifically remembered that children hung their clothes on nails and hooks,

on the walls. Their clothes were similar to the ones worn by children in Virginia seen in figure 21. Large wooden boxes measuring approximately 3' x 2', which Lee identified as "ginger snap boxes", were also used by the children for storage. They were covered with paper or painted "to make them look attractive".

In order to keep out moths, families added aromatic herbs such as tansy or "pinaroyal", according to Lee. They were also placed *near* over the windows, doors, and around the edges of the floor to deter ants and flies. Figure 22 shows Tilghman Lee picking tansy that grows near his house. Next to him is a ginger snap box from the ^{turn of the} century.¹

Although many rural families had a lot of children, there were few toys. Lee recalls that they were kept in a corner upstairs or under the bed. One of his favorites was a "little iron horse and wagon" to which they attached a string to pull the wagon. Christmas was a special time of year for the children. Arnold Hawkins remembers "one Christmas I got a milk wagon and horse, and another year we got a little armed man penny bank, and one time I got a dog, his name was Rover."³⁰

Most toys were homemade, produced either by fathers or children from odds and ends they collected. Tilghman Lee remembers that his father and the children made a wagon using worn out plow wheels and making the axles and chassis from whittled sticks. The wheels were fastened to the axles with old thread spindles, and a wooden box attached to the chassis.

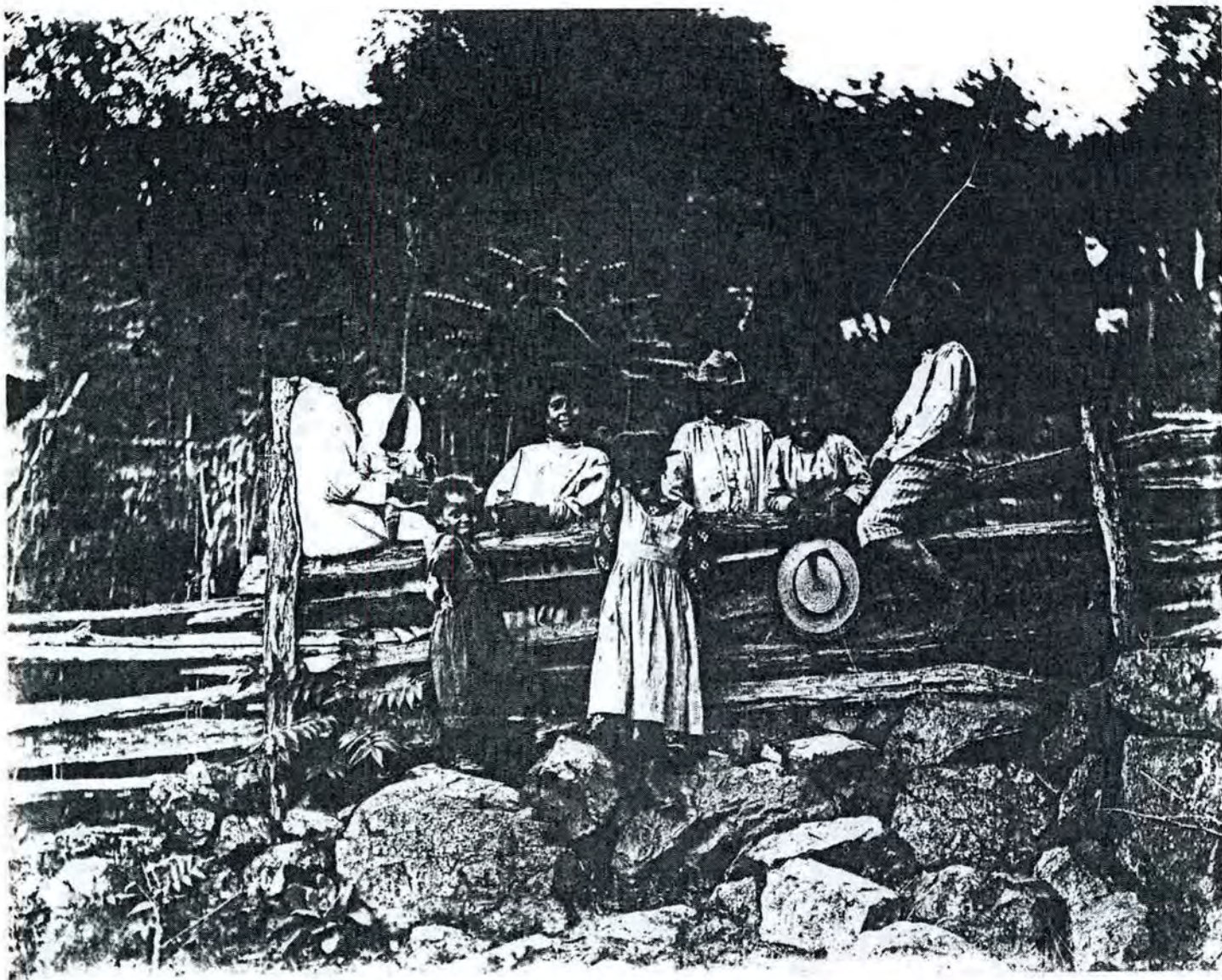


Figure 21 . Children in western Virginia, c. 1900
the types worn by young blacks in the surveyed commu
is representative of one type. (Photograph by France

— : clothes of these children are indicative of
es in the early 1900s. Also, the rail fence
Jamin Johnson, Library of Congress)



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 22 . Tilghman Lee gathering tansey, Sugarland community. According to Lee, tansey was grown near houses and used inside to keep away flies, ants, moths, and other bothersome insects. Beside Lee is a ginger snap box with the label, "Maryland Biscuit Co." Wooden boxes, such as this one or larger, were frequently used to store clothes. The hinged top was added when it was converted for storage use. Lee says that tansey would have been placed inside such boxes to keep out moths. The box belongs to John N. Pearce of Washington, D.C.

A rope was attached to the front so that the wagon could be pulled. The homemade wagon was more than a toy, being also used to haul things. "We used to haul wood to the door in the wagon," Tilghman Lee recalls. Commenting about children's toys and other household things in general, Lee adds:

"People used to make things themselves, back then. They used to make their own ax handles. They'd whittle the handle and smooth it down with a piece of glass so they'd wouldn't get splinters in their hands. But now they go down to the store and buy everything.³¹

As in the downstairs, there were few decorative pieces on the floor or walls. There were neither rugs on the floor nor curtains over the windows. According to Lee, the absence of curtains was due to the fact that "people couldn't see in upstairs." Thus, curtains on the windows were not considered as decorative objects, but strictly utilitarian. As with the downstairs, Lee says there may have been a few pictures on the wall but did not remember them since they held no personal meaning to him.³²

THE CELLAR

Unlike most rural black families in the deep South or in southern Maryland, many black families in the upper Montgomery County had cellars where they stored food throughout the year.

The most common items were their vegetables and fruits that they had canned, "along with anything else you didn't want to (allow to) freeze" (outdoors). For example, pumpkins would "last a right while if they didn't freeze, usually till Christmas." Most cellars contained a potato bin. Lawrence Hamilton, a black farmer born in the 1890's who lives near Barnesville, continues to store his potatoes in this traditional manner, and Tilghman Lee today stores them in a bin in his "root cellar," a short distance from his house (Map 12). Ethel Foreman from Clarksburg recalls that her family's cellar had a dirt floor and in addition to the canned goods and potatoes, her grandmother "kept a little starter of yeast in a jar for homemade bread, and she stored that in the cellar." In the spring Ethel Foreman and Howard Lyles recall families purchased Potomac herring from hucksters travelling through the communities, and after cleaning them, salted them down in crocks stored in the cellars. The fish would last throughout the year. In the winter, the crocks could be removed to the meathouse if space was needed since the "salt would keep them from freezing". Like the outbuildings around the house, the cellar at first glance may not be seen as another room of these small houses, but it served storage purposes essential to family survival and indeed contributed in use an important, additional room.³³

FOOTNOTES FOR FURNISHINGS AND HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

1. Tilghman Lee, interview by George McDaniel and Mary Sue Nunn, Sugarland community, Montgomery County, Maryland, September 1, 1979. Tilghman Lee, television interview by Kelly Burke, Sugarland community, Montgomery County, Maryland, May 1979.
2. George Rawick, The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography Vol. 16, Maryland Narratives (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 41-43.
3. Tilghman Lee interview.
4. Land Records, Montgomery County Courthouse, Rockville, Maryland. Deed EBP 36/33.
5. Ora Lyles, interview by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelley, Anne Fitzgerald, Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland, March 13, 1979; Joshua and Fanny Hamilton interview by George McDaniel, Mary Sue Nunn, Phil Mudd, Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland, May 5, 1979; Mary Turner interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Turnertown community, Montgomery County, Maryland, February 1979.
6. Joshua and Fanny Hamilton interview; Ora Lyles interview; Howard Lyles interview, Ethel Foreman, interview by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell, Clarksburg community, Montgomery County, Md. February, 1979.
7. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview; Howard Lyles interview by George McDaniel, Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland, January 26, 1979.
8. Tilghman Lee interview.
9. Tilghman Lee interview.
10. Ora Lyles interview.
11. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview.
12. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview.
13. Tilghman Lee interview.
14. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview.
15. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview.

16. Lee interview; Lyles interview.
17. Lee interview.
18. Lee interview.
19. Tilghman Lee and Paul Wilson, interview by George McDaniel, Bill Kelley, Phil Mudd, Mary Sue Nunn and Gail Rothrock, Sugarland community, Montgomery County, Maryland, May 12, 1979.
20. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview.
21. Lee interview; Lyles interview.
22. Lee interview; Lyles interview; Florence Hallman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, Montgomery County, Maryland, July 1979.
23. Lee interview; Lyles interview.
24. Lee interview; Florence Hallman interview; Ora Lyles interview; Arnold Hawkins and Joe Hawkins, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Purdum community, Montgomery County, Maryland, February 1979.
25. Lee interview; Lyles interview.
26. Tilghman Lee interview; Ora Lyles interview.
27. Charlotte Ambush and Polly Gutheim, interview by George McDaniel and Steven Doolittle, Mt. Ephraim community, Montgomery County, Maryland, June 1979; Lyles interview.
28. Lee interview.
29. Lyles interview; Lee interview.
30. Lee interview; Arnold and Joe Hawkins interview.
31. Lee interview.
32. Lee interview.
33. Lee interview; Ethel Foreman, interview by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell, Clarksburg community, Montgomery County, Maryland, February 1979; Howard Lyles interview.

Chapter 4

SKETCHES OF HOMESTEAD LIFE

Although most houses of black communities in upper western Montgomery County were small, the living space extended beyond the four walls of the house, making them in effect much larger. Much of daily life was lived outdoors.

The space around the house was used to provide for the families in their efforts towards self-sufficiency. With limited cash incomes from their jobs (ten or twelve dollars a month as an adult for a farm laborer in the first quarter of the 20th century), the families had to make efficient use of their homestead land. The more they produced for themselves, the less they had to buy from the market. As a result, though they earned little money, the older members of the historical communities are generally recalled as having been "good providers".¹

As the maps of the historical communities show, the homesteads were developed to maximize production. Typically they consisted of a dwelling house, vegetable garden, orchard, hog pen, privy, hen house. Some had a stable for horses or cows. A few larger ones had fields rotated in corn, wheat, and pasture for stock. The front and back yards were usually small, since most of the available land was needed for producing and raising food. These families did not have the surplus wealth that would permit land to be simply planted in large grass lawns for decorative purposes.

Homesteads were also cleared of trees, except those for shade near the house, since firewood was plentiful in forests not far from the communities. As a result one could see from one side of the community almost to the other. Howard Lyles' description of homesteads in Jerusalem tells us of the appearance of other communities as well:

"When I was a youngster (1920s), each property owner had their land cleared off, put out their crops and garden, vegetables and what not. In other words, it just was clear land."²

The layout of the homestead of Tilghman and Bessie Lee, seen in figure 23, illustrates the traditional plan. These outbuildings were constructed by Lee and are located within easy walking distance of his house. Among the modern features is the truck van, whose interior Lee uses for storage of vegetables, such as potatoes. The hog pen is no longer used, nor is the privy since the Lees now have indoor plumbing. The other outbuildings -- storage sheds, hen house, and root cellar -- are still in use.

By combining oral interviews with on site investigations, the following descriptions of the specific units of traditional homesteads ^{emery}

YARDS
Since most of the land was used for the production or storage of food, only small acres were used as front or back yards. Fanny and Joshua Hamilton in Jerusalem recall what was probably typical: a front yard of grass, and a back yard of

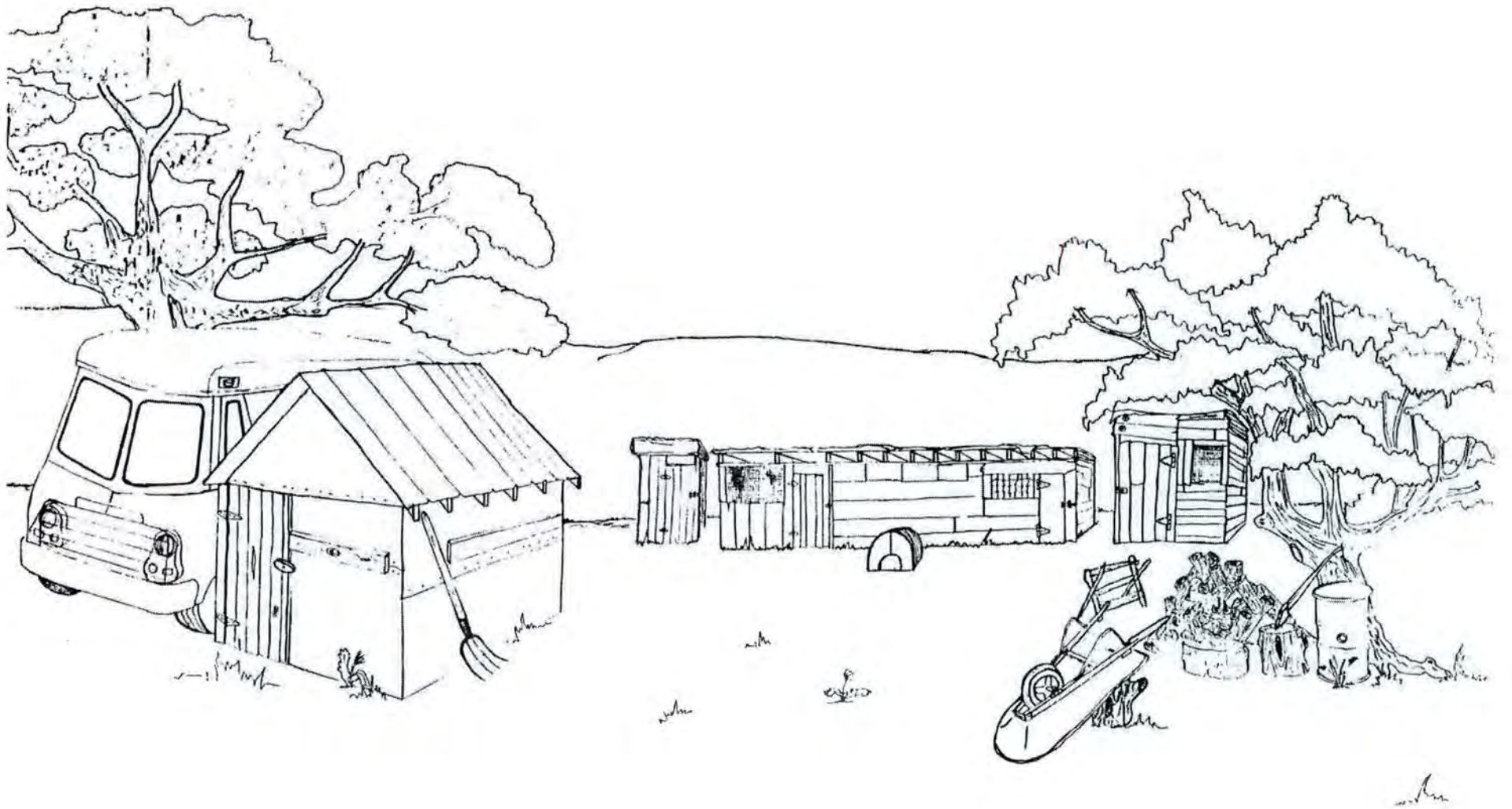
dirt, which was swept. Most families used a large brush broom for the purpose, sometimes made of dogwood branches. In Sugarland, Tilghman Lee says that most houses had small grass yards front and back, and that the chickens usually kept the grass down in the back yard "so you didn't have to cut that."³

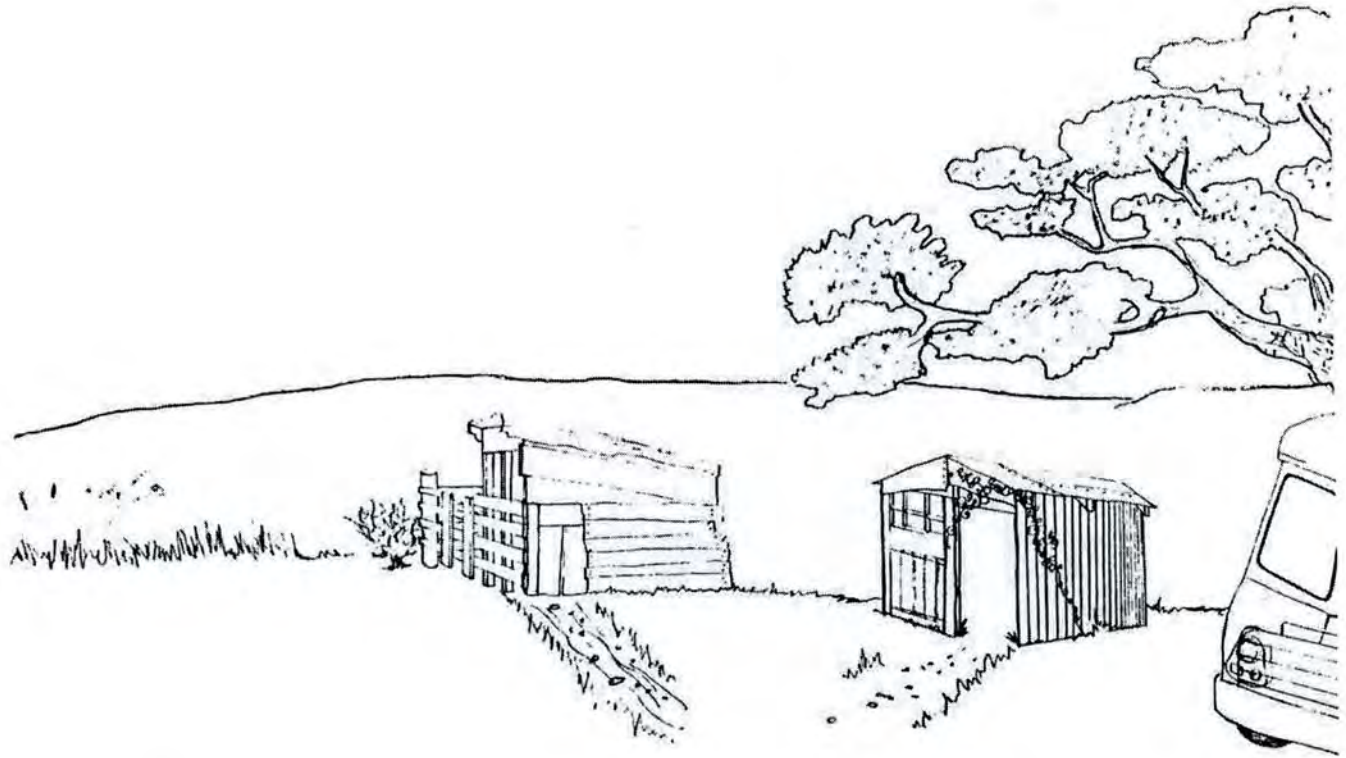
The Hamiltons recall that around their log house grew running rose bushes and Easter lilies. In Big Woods rose bushes and jonquils are still blooming near the abandoned log house of Fred Hamilton. In Mt. Ephraim the irises and lilacs planted near the home of William and Rachel Proctor remain. But Tilghman Lee explains that while families may have had some flowers in the



Sketch by Charles L. Hoewing

Figure 23 . Sketch of the row of outbuildings and yard of the Tilghman Lee homestead. These outbuildings indicate the types located on traditional homesteads of the small landowning communities of blacks and whites in the survey area. These were constructed by Tilghman Lee. The range of buildings and the artifacts indicates the types of activities integral to traditional rural life before the use of electricity, refrigeration, and indoor plumbing.





yard, "they didn't fool with flowers much. They raised something to eat."⁴ Comments such as this illustrate the hard work that traditional black families put into cultivating their land and being "good providers" for their children.

WOOD PILES

All of the houses in this survey were heated by burning wood, in either fireplaces or stoves, so the wood pile was an essential part of the homestead complex. It is analogous to the storage tank for fuel. Usually it was located a short distance from the kitchen door, since the stove in the kitchen consumed the most wood. The logs were sawn on a saw horse and then split. There was also a chopping block to cut kindling. During the winter wood might be stacked inside a shed to keep off the snow, or even on the front porch, as at the home of Joshua and Fanny Hamilton in Jerusalem.

As with so many other things that these families used, they did not have to pay cash for firewood. Instead, a barter system was arranged. Howard Lyles describes the typical process:

You'd go to the farmers who owned woodland, and you'd cut wood. This was mostly done in the winter after all of the other farm work had slowed down, the crops was all in, so you'd go in the woods and you'd cut a cord of wood. So much for the farmer and so much for yourself.⁵

It was usually the men's responsibility to cut and haul the wood. For the children, their responsibility was to carry it into the house and to "pick up chips" used for kindling.⁶

FENCES

Fences divided one homestead from another. In Sugarland, Tilghman Lee remembers that a mixture of fencing material was used. The entire home lots were surrounded by wire fences in the early 20th century, while hog pens, barnyards, or other smaller enclosures for livestock were usually surrounded by rail fences. Around the front yard, sometimes the back, either rail or paling (picket) fences were used. ^(Figure 64) Howard Lyles recalls that during his youth in the 1920's and 1930's in Jerusalem they were typically barbed wire. Stone walls were only found on the larger farms of white landowners.

Lee's recollections of how farmers acquired rails provides insights into the relationships with the white community. Chestnut was preferred for rails since the tree grew straight and tall, was easy to split, and was durable. It was especially plentiful on Sugarloaf Mountain before being killed off by the 1923 blight. Along John Wilson's property boundaries at the foot of Sugarloaf Mountain, there remain sections of the old rail fences, probably split out by his wife's father, Bene Hallman. Chestnut rail fences (modernized with concrete posts) also line Comus Road at Stronghold, at the base of the mountain.

To get the rails, blacks sometimes bought them from white farmers who had them hauled down in wagons from the mountain to black communities. But the common practice involved no exchange of money: blacks supplied the labor, and whites the means of transportation.

The old-timers would go to the mountain, and maul out a bunch of logs for the farmers, (that is, split them with a maul and a wedge), and haul them down in wagons. They'd have worked out an arrangement with the farmers and would get a proportion of the rails for pay. That's the way they used to work things out back then.⁷

VEGETABLE GARDENS

Almost every homestead had a vegetable garden that supplied the family with food throughout the year. Some were seasonal, harvested during the late spring and summer, while other vegetables such as turnip or collard greens lasted throughout the fall and into the winter. Many vegetables were canned, dried, or stored in other ways for consumption during the winter. Thus the vegetable garden was a staple for these families, especially important because of their limited cash incomes.

The families raised a wide variety of vegetables. Joshua and Fanny Hamilton from Jerusalem recall that in earlier years they grew "all kinds of vegetables", such as string beans, lima beans, tomatoes, cabbage. Ethel Foreman in Clarksburg recalls that her grandfather did "a lot of planting" and cultivated potatoes, sweet potatoes, squash, pumpkins, cabbage, string beans, and peanuts, to name a few. In Sugarland, Tilghman Lee says that his parents grew "cabbage, potatoes, corn, beans, peas and stuff like that". At age 86, Lee continues to cultivate a large, well-kept garden (see Map 12), and his wife Bessie still cans many of the vegetables each year. In Jerusalem, Howard Lyles recalls that on his parents' homestead different places were used for the cultivation of specific vegetables:

We planted potatoes, corn, and sweet potatoes down on the upper side. Down on the lower side we planted corn for the horses. But it (the land) was mostly put out in crops for human consumption. Near the house used to be the garden spot (where we planted) squash and...the general vegetables that are grown in gardens: cabbage, tomatoes, beans, peas, onions. Just about what we grow today, we grew then. Across the creek is where my father used to plant his late potatoes, about late June or July. It was a good yield by the time they took them out around October".⁸

A successful garden was a source of pride for the families. In Jerusalem, Joshua and Fanny Hamilton remember that one year they grew corn "as tall as them trees (scrub trees now growing on the home sites). Everybody came down here and said 'What kind of corn is that?', and it was sweet corn. And good! Ummm, umph!"⁹

It was imperative that these families preserve and store the garden produce so that they could have an adequate diet during the winter. Since none of the families had iceboxes or other means of refrigeration, they had to put up the food themselves, using methods common to other traditional American communities. Many vegetables -- such as tomatoes, beans, corn, and peas -- were canned. Cucumbers were pickled. Potatoes were stored in a "potato bin" in the cellar. Families living in houses without a cellar, stored potatoes in "potato holes" or "preserving kilns". Arnold and Joe Hawkins from Purdum say that such kilns were made by digging a hole in the ground below the frost line, covering the bottom with straw, and adding the potatoes or other tuber vegetables such as turnips, parsnips,

or firm fruits such as apples or pears. Only one type of vegetable or fruit was put in each kiln. It was then covered with straw and with a mound of dirt, and a circle was dug around it to keep the water from it.¹⁰

ORCHARDS

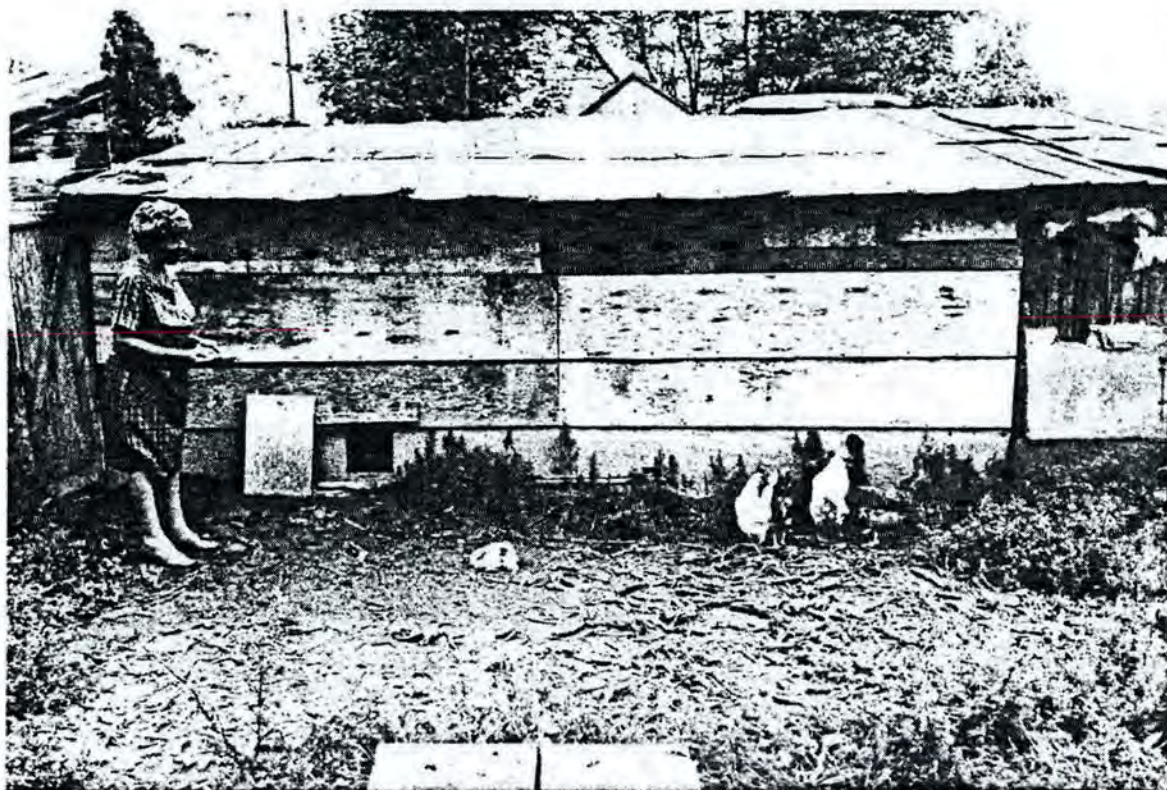
Most families had fruit trees on their homesteads. In Big Woods, Florence Hallman remembers that her grandfather Henry T. Onley planted many fruit trees, among them sweet apples and peaches. The old apple and pear trees still remain on the homesteads of Lewis Brown and Jess Diggins in Big Woods, along with grape arbors, which were also common. In Mt. Ephraim, Charlotte Ambush recalls that her grandparents had numerous apple and peach trees as did other families. In Clarksburg, William Foreman's homestead had an apple orchard and peach orchard. The Hawkins' farm in Purdum had a large pear tree, cherry tree, and a variety of apple trees: crab apple, "smoke-house apple", harvest, and lady birds. The fruit that was not made into delicious pies was preserved in the kilns or was canned. Apple butter was also made.¹¹

Families also gathered wild food. Blackberries, wineberries and other berries were picked and made into jams, jellies, and pies. Idella Craven in Big Woods recalls harvesting and cracking the black walnuts from the large tree on her grandparents', the Hacketts, place.

HEN HOUSES AND TRADITIONAL WAYS OF RAISING CHICKENS

Almost all the families raised their own chickens, and among their outbuildings was the hen house. They were small, usually 8' x 10' or 10' x 12', according to Tilghman Lee, and were "just high enough for you to stand in." They were of frame construction, loosely covered with boards. ^(Figure 24) Lee had never heard of a log hen house, which would have been "too heavy" and unnecessary since structural strength was not essential. The interior contained one or two horizontal poles about five to ten feet long, and about two feet apart on which the hens could roost at night. Some people put their poles at different heights, but Lee said he thought it best to keep them level so that the chickens would not fight to sit on the top pole. Along the walls were shelves on which small wooden boxes with straw were placed for the hens to lay. Lee remembers that most of the wooden boxes were throwaways from stores, now superseded by paper boxes that cannot be used. The hen house was cleaned at least once or twice a year, and the manure added to the garden.

As in most rural communities, chickens were plentiful. "You didn't buy no eggs or chickens," Lee recalls. In Sugarland most families had about 25 or 30; some had more. In Clarksburg, Ethel Foreman's grandparents kept about 30 or 35. Extra eggs were taken to the store in Clarksburg and sold or bartered. "That's how the stores got their fresh eggs", she recalls. Leghorn hens (which are white) were small, but good



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 24 . Bessie Lee feeding chickens, Sugarland community. She is standing inside the fenced chicken yard, behind the hen house built by her husband, Tilghman Lee. The small door into the house is closed at night to keep out possums, coons, or other predators.

layers, according to Tilghman Lee. Other breeds, such as Wyandotte, Rhode Island Red, Yellow Buff, or Plymouth Rock, were larger and also popular, Lee says.¹²

With laying hens, the number of chickens was continually replenished. Lee explains that one hen could raise from twelve to fifteen chicks and since she did not lay that many eggs, some were removed from other nests and added to hers. One egg was always left in the nest of the original mother so she would keep laying. After the eggs hatched in about three weeks, the hen and chicks were kept in a pen until the chicks were old enough to fly and fend for themselves. When the sex of the chicken became distinguishable, the pullets (young hens) were kept, while the young roosters were traded, sold to traveling hucksters, or killed and eaten. Some families canned the capons, and sealed the tops with grease as they did with sausage. A rooster with especially favorable characteristics might be saved for breeding. Old hens were sold to hucksters, who sold them in Washington, D.C., which Lee says was the closest market for these communities. At that time "everybody raised chickens so there was not a market for them in Poolesville or Rockville. That's only come in my lifetime".

After the chicks had matured, they were let out in the yard with the other chickens and did not wander far from the house. At that time dogs did not bother chickens, since they had been raised up around them, but now as Tilghman Lee laments, "dogs don't know chickens and will kill them, so I have to keep

them penned up." To prevent them from flying, one wing is clipped so the chicken cannot fly straight.

The feed for the chickens was produced on the homestead. They were usually fed shelled corn. William and Cora Moore's family in Jerusalem continue to use their old corn sheller for the chickens they raise (Figure 25). When families carried wheat to the mill, they had the miller save the bran, which was fed to chickens, Lee says. The miller also cracked corn for the chicks since they could not swallow whole kernels.¹³

HOG PENS AND MEAT HOUSES

As the maps of the historical communities show, almost every homestead had a hog pen and meat house. The meat and by-products from hogs were a principal source of protein to these families with limited incomes, and thus essential to their lives. Without refrigeration, they had to preserve the meat so it would last throughout the year.

The meat house was usually located a short distance from the kitchen door. Typically the building was small and plain in appearance and had no openings other than the door. Traditionally they were built of logs, like the early dwelling houses, but their walls were not chinked. The log meat house at the abandoned Lewis Brown homestead in Big Woods, measuring 11'1" x 8'7", is one of the few that has survived and is probably one of the largest. By the 20th century, frame meat houses became more common, and examples may be seen in Figures 73 and 75 .



The meat houses stored cured hams, shoulders, side meat, and bacon, along with crocks of sausage, pudding, and souse meat. There were also bins of salt used to preserve the meat immediately after butchering. The aroma inside a meat house is always rich and for those who enjoy smoked meat, entering a meat house arouses memories of fine food.

The hog pens were located further from the house. Their size ranged up to a quarter of an acre, depending upon the size of the farm. A low and moist place was usually preferred since hogs need a wallow to cool themselves during the summer. Because the farms were small and were located adjacent to other farms, the hogs were not given free range. Otherwise, they might root up a neighbor's field. Furthermore, because the homesteads had been extensively cleared, there was little natural food available to hogs if they had been allowed to browse.¹⁴

TRADITIONAL WAYS OF RAISING AND BUTCHERING HOGS

Today a few families in the surveyed communities continue to raise and butcher hogs and cure the meat in their own meat houses, but due to county health regulations and the increasing costs of feed, fewer and fewer families are doing so. Most of them are elderly, since the young do not have the time, economic need, or desire. John Sims from Jonesville, who has raised hogs all his life, is now going to quit raising hogs since he can buy meat already butchered and cure it himself cheaper than raising hogs himself. This is another loss of traditional

skill, by which rural families provided for themselves.

The families tried to raise hogs with a lot of lean meat that provided a greater quantity of nutritious meat, instead of fat. Today Charles Moore raises Hampshire hogs and in earlier years raised Durock hogs because they had these qualities. But years ago, the older people, Moore says, "used to raise any kind of hog that you could get." Tilghman Lee agrees, but explains, "If you feed him right, any hog can be good." Thus, raising their hogs correctly was a source of self-esteem and of status in the community.

In order to procure hogs, some families kept brood sows and bred them with a boar on a neighboring farm. In the fall, all of the litter were butchered, and the sow kept for the next year. Other families simply purchased piglets each spring. Lee recalls that weaned piglets (ten weeks old) sold for \$1.50 each, when he was about 15 (1908). In the fall all were butchered so that they wouldn't have to feed them over the winter.

The feed was produced on the homestead. Tilghman Lee explains that hogs were given corn, table scraps, and any other surplus foodstuffs, such as weeds from the garden or unusuable vegetables, plants, or fruits. Some families put a ring in the hog's nose to keep it from rooting, thereby allowing grass to grow in the lot for the hog to eat. Since the grass was well manured, it was nutritious and facilitated the hog's growth. Beginning in late September, Lee says the hogs were penned in a corner of the lot and were "fed heavy", in order to increase their weight before being slaughtered in the late November or

December. There were of course variations in these methods of raising hogs, depending upon the choices of the individual families.¹⁵

The Butchering

The butchering itself was a festive community occasion, in which men and women, old and young participated. There was much socializing among neighbors and relatives who came by to "help out", and good food and drink were provided. Sometimes there was a community butcher, who travelled from farm to farm to supervise the butchering and curing of the meat. Elsewhere the landowner himself presided. At the Sims farm in Jonesville and on Lee's farm in Sugarland, the owners themselves were the supervisors. It might be a cooperative venture, as at the hog butchering recorded in this survey in Jerusalem. There Clifton Robinson did the butchering and seasoned the sausage, and Charles Moore supervised the making of the pudding and lard.

Very young children were kept away from the butchering, not to shield them from unpleasant sights, but because it was too dangerous for them and adults were too busy to keep an eye on them. There were fires beneath large kettles in which the hot lard was boiled, and axes, saws, and knives used in butchering posed a danger. Charles Moore recalls one child whose skin was literally fried when a kettle of boiling lard was spilled.

Teenage males had the most aggressive and violent roles.

Moore recalls that as a youth, he and other boys used to go from farm to farm, and their job was to kill the pigs.

We didn't shoot them back then. Me and the other boys would go in the pen and tackle the hogs, and roll them on their backs. Of course, I was more of a man then, than I am now. And the hogs weighed 300, 400 pounds, sometimes heavier. Seems like the heavier they were though, the easier they were to throw. Less fight in them. Only one hog I ever met I couldn't throw. Don't know why to this day. Only weighed about 250.

It took three boys to kill the hog. One boy could throw him by himself, but it took two more to hold him. One held his hind legs, the other his front legs, and the third sat astraddle his belly. He was the one that stuck him. Used a knife about four or five inches long, and stuck him in the throat, and then raised the point just a bit to hit the jugular. If you did it right, you didn't need to cut his throat to bleed him, all that blood would come on out.¹⁶

The carcass was then hauled to a large tub of hot water and scalded to loosen the skin so the hair could be scraped off. Next the hog was hung by its heels from a long bar, disembowelled, and cleaned. The butcher then carefully cut the carcass into its different sections: hams, shoulders, head, feet, ribs, loins, chops (*figures 83*)

In the butcherings that were recorded in Jerusalem and
(*Figures 26-28*)
Jonesville, the older men were the leaders and younger men acted as assistants especially in the heavy work of hauling the meat. They also helped in the butchering of the carcass, learning the techniques in the process. Both men and women did the lighter work, which required a lot of hands, and less skill than butchering, such as trimming the lean from the fat to make sausage, dicing the fat to make lard, or chopping the meat for the pudding. The older men seasoned the meat.



Figure 26. Hogs of the Sims Family in Jonesville on butchering day. Photograph by Elodie Holmes



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 27 . Members of the Sims family and Jonesville community at hog killing. After shooting the hog, they are dragging the carcass to the vat of hot water, where they will soak the hog. This loosens the hair, and then it is scraped off.



Figure 28. Paul Sims and Disembowelled Hog Carcass. The carcass is hung by its heels and its ribs spread open by a short piece of wood.

They also supervised the production of the pudding and lard, but these may have been women's roles on other farms. The women cooked the sausage, packed it away, and had the noisome task of cleaning the small intestines to make chitlings.

Curing and Seasoning

As with rural families throughout the nation, families in these communities found uses for all of the parts of the hog. They had their own recipes for curing and seasoning the meats, but in general, their methods differed only slightly from those commonly used. Tilghman Lee says that he "sugar cured" his hams, shoulders, and bacon. His methods were typical of most. He mixed molasses, brown sugar, salt, black pepper, and sometimes red pepper and rubbed the mixture all over and into the pieces of meat "like a plaster". Next he laid them side by side along a shelf in the meat house. They were kept there for six to eight weeks, and were then hung on racks to let the salt drip off. When the meat was dry, it was smoked in the meat house for a few days. Lee built a small fire of hickory on the dirt floor of his meat house for the purpose. Some families, he said, used wood from apple trees, while a few even used corn cobs. The fire had to be watched, he explained, so that it did not become too hot. The meat was smoked one day at a time. Rainy days were the best, because the "smoke would go in the meat better."

After having been smoked two or three times, the meat was completely cured and was ready to eat. The Sims family in Jonesville and

Bill Lyles in Sugarland keep their smoked hams inside large paper bags hung from the racks, while the sides of bacon are left uncovered.¹⁷

Curing the sausage was usually the women's role. There were essentially three methods of doing so, Lee says. One was to stuff uncooked sausage into a cleaned intestine, seal both ends, and hang it in the meathouse. In Figure 29 a sausage grinder and sausage press may be seen. The intestine casing and the cold temperatures of winter prevented spoilage, but the sausage stored in this way had to be consumed before the warm weather of mid-spring. The second method was to fry the sausage, put it in a stone jar or crock, and seal the top with grease. The third was to store the sausage in a crock, alternating sausage with layers of salt. It would then "make" its own brine" and be preserved. The latter two methods allowed sausage to be kept throughout the summer season.

The less choice portions of the hog were made into foods of different types, some of which could be tasty if seasoned properly. For example, the head, feet, heart, lungs, liver, and other organs were cooked in kettles, chopped up, seasoned and ground into "pudding". The kettles still used by the Hawkins family/ Some families are shown in Figure 30. made souse meat from the head, nose, and feet. To make chitlings, the small intestines were cleaned and soaked for a week in a salt water, which was changed every two days. Afterwards, they were boiled and sometimes canned, for future consumption, but Tilghman Lee says that his family was so large that they were "eaten right up".¹⁸



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 29 . Idella and Walter Craven with artifacts of the King family, Big Woods. The large press was used to compress lard from the cook rinds of fat, and was also used to stuff casings with sausage. The cylinder was filled with sausage and the casing attached to the opening at the bottom. The top was then sealed and the lid cranked down. On the right is the sausage grinder. Mr. Craven is holding the buggy whip, used by Richard King, his father-in-law.



Figure 30 . Kettles used in hog butcherings, Purdum community. These kettles belong to Arnold Hawkins. They were used to cook the heads, feet, and internal organs, which were later ground into pudding, and used to boil diced pieces of fat into lard. Kettles similar to these were commonplace on the traditional

Photograph by Joe Davis

Hogs provided in great quantities an essential ingredient for cooking -- lard. While today most families in the communities buy lard from the store, a few persons, such as Madessa Snowden in Clarksburg, continue to use home-rendered lard and usually refuse to cook with store-bought substitutes. To make the lard, large pieces of fat were diced, boiled in a large kettle, and the fat dissolved into lard. The "rinds" that did not dissolve were squeezed in a specially designed "press" ^(figure 29) to force the lard out, and when dried, were known as "cracklins". "Cracklins" would be fried and eaten, or were usually crumbled up and added to cornbread mixture to make the rich "cracklin bread", which, according to Evelyn Herbert, could be "a meal by itself". She added that the skins were also used to season cabbage or greens. "They never wasted anything", she concluded.¹⁹

BARNs, STABLES, DAIRY COWS, AND HORSES

Among the outbuildings found on farms, barns or stables were less likely to be found on these homesteads because most black families did not have horses or cows. None of the homesteads had large, imposing barns. Many simply had crudely built lean-to shelters, made of upright poles covered with straw and fodder to keep the wind out. According to Tilghman Lee, when they "come on up and were able, then they bought them some boards and built a frame barn." These were small, two level bank barns, which are typically built into the side of a hill with the ground floor used as a stable and the second floor used for storage of hay, fodder, and feed. Examples may be seen on the ^{homesteads}

Thomas Snowden in Clarksburg and Frank and Maggie Proctor in Mt. Ephraim. Both are replacements of original barns which burned, but they are built on the same foundations and are of the same design and size.²⁰

Since many families lacked either a horse or a cow, or both, the families shared them with others, or bartered. Horses were also owned and used on a cooperative basis. Tilghman Lee recalls that those without a horse might borrow one from the farm where they worked, to put in their garden, or use a neighbor's. In Clarksburg, Ethel Foreman recalls that her grandparents did have a horse, but no cows. In Sugarland, Tilghman Lee says that "not so many had cows", though most had a horse. In Jerusalem, Ora Lyles recalls that milk from her family's cow was given to other families. They would return such favors with vegetables from their garden or by helping out in other ways, Howard Lyles explains. "We didn't think about selling milk like they do today," Tilghman Lee remembers. Adult males who worked out as farm hands were also given milk as part of their pay. *The milk was carried in milk cans, seen in figure 31.* In Purdum, Arnold Hawkins recalls that his family got milk for three cents a quart from farms where his mother worked. However, Ethel Foreman recalls that for many black families in Clarksburg, who did not have cows, milk was a "now and then kind of thing." Many families, including her own, simply drank water with meals. In fact, all informants agree that milk was not as much a regular part of the diet as it is today.²¹



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 31 . Idella and Walter Craven with milk cans, Jerusalem community. These were once used by families throughout Montgomery County and the nation to store and transport milk. Their sizes are a half gallon, one gallon, two gallons, three gallons, and five gallons.

Like the hogs, the cow or horse was fed corn raised on the homestead. Also, farm hands received corn and hay as part of their pay. This is another example of the cooperation commonly found in these rural communities.

SPRINGS AND WELLS

Though not located within the immediate complex of the homestead, the spring should be considered a part of it. Its essential function was as a source of water since most families did not hve wells. Ora Lyles recalls that during her youth "We didn't have any water, we had to go a half mile, quarter mile away to bring water. We hauled it in two cedar buckets with gold (presumably brass) bands around it and stacked water at night." Charlotte Ambush from Mt. Ephraim recalls that "all the people" in her community used the same spring. In Big Woods Idella Craven remembers that a daily chore for children was to fetch water. Not all springs were the same. Water from one might be cooler, and Tilghman Lee explains that those with a stone bottom could be used throughout the year, whereas those with mud ^{bottoms became} ~~or that were~~ overgrown in the summertime ^{and} had "bugs and things -- snakes, ^{frogs,} and everything crawling in it, ~~frogs~~." ^{frogs.}

Those with wells were indeed fortunate. But some were better than others. In Jerusalem, Henrietta and Dennis Hamilton's home was the only one with a well in the early 20th century, and Ora Lyles recalls that "Aunt Hennie had the clearest, prettiest water."

Without refrigeration, milk and butter were stored in a "cooler" place in a spring and cooled by water running through

it. It was covered with a lid and secured to "keep out dogs and any trash", Tilghman Lee explains. One cooler might be used cooperatively by several families.²²

PRIVIES

No families in the communities in the 19th or early 20th centuries had indoor plumbing. Instead, outdoor toilets served the purpose. They were located not far behind the house and were typically small rectangular frame structures, covered by upright boards and sheltered by slanting roofs. For personal hygiene, "any kind of paper" was used. In some rural communities at that time, pages from Sears-Roebuck Catalogue, or other trade catalogues were used. But Tilghman Lee recalls that families did not start receiving such catalogues until more modern times, so "any kind of paper" was used. Those without paper used corn cobs, as did many people in rural areas throughout America.²³

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing were an essential part of the daily life of these families, especially the men and boys. In addition to being a sport, hunting and fishing put food on the table. In Jerusalem, Howard Lyles remembers that throughout the woods around the community, "you could hunt squirrels, rabbits, whatever the season." Tilghman Lee says that he and many of his friends used to hunt quail, duck, rabbits, possums,

and coons. They did not use bird dogs, but instead simply "walked up" the coveys of quail around the fields where they knew the quail lived.

In the early morning, men and boys shot ducks as they flew into ponds near the Potomac River, where the ducks fed on acorns and other nuts. They also did some "pass shooting", as ducks flew up and down the Potomac, but did not use more elaborate techniques, such as building blinds, setting out decoys, and calling the ducks in. During the days they hunted rabbits, usually with dogs, and at night their hounds ran coons and possums. In Big Woods, Walter Craven still makes and uses rabbit traps from hollowed chestnut logs, a skill he learned from his father in Virginia. He also makes plank rabbit trap **as seen in Figure 32**.

The Potomac River, the many creeks leading into it, and the C & O Canal were abundant with fish, such as carp, catfish, bass, perch, eels, and "suckers". The latter is a long, round fish, resembling an eel, yet with a small mouth like a carp. Unlike a bass or perch which "hits" the bait, this fish will gently suck and then swallow it, hence the name, according to Tilghman Lee. It was commonly found in the Seneca Creek and elsewhere. Perch were the typical fish caught in the creeks further from the Potomac, while catfish and large carp were caught in the river. Lee recalls catching two types of catfish. One was the "channel catfish", that grew to about five pounds and was usually found in the creeks. The other, the "Mississippi catfish", was much larger, up to 19 pounds, and was found in



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 32 . Walter Craven, his dog, *Puff* and his rabbit traps. These rabbit boxes were made by Craven and are still used by him. He also makes them from hollow logs. He learned these and other hunting and trapping skills from his father.

the Potomac. When the C & O canal was in operation and kept clear of trash, men used to seine it with a long net, up to 100 feet, and catch "all sorts of fish", Lee remembers. They also set out "dip nets", about nine feet square in the Potomac and in places where the river overflowed its banks in the spring. In ways such as this, families supplemented their farm diet and income.²⁴

FOOTNOTES FOR SKETCHES OF HOMESTEAD LIFE

- 1 Howard Lyles, interview by George McDaniel. Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland. January 26, 1979; Ora Lyles, interview by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelly, Ann Fitzgerald. Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland. March 17, 1979.
- 2 Howard Lyles, interview by George McDaniel and Phil Mudd. Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland. May 12, 1979.
- 3 Joshua and Fanny Hamilton, interview by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, and Mary Sue Nunn. Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland. May 5, 1979; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview by George McDaniel. September 1, 1979.
- 4 Joshua and Fanny Hamilton interview; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 5 Joshua and Fanny Hamilton interview; Howard Lyles interview.
- 6 Idella Craven and Hester Hamilton, interview by George McDaniel, Sharyn Duffin and Eula Odum. Rockville, Maryland. July 27, 1979.
- 7 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 8 Joshua and Fanny Hamilton interview; Ethel Foreman, interview by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell. Clarksburg, Maryland. February 1979; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview; Howard Lyles, interview by George McDaniel and Phil Mudd. May 12, 1979.
- 9 Joshua and Fanny Hamilton interview.
- 10 Idella Craven and Hester Hamilton interview; Ethel Foreman interview; Arnold Hawkins and Joe Hawkins, Arthur Randolph and Ethel Foreman, interview by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell. Purdum community, Montgomery County, Maryland. February 1979.
- 11 Florence Hallman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel. Big Woods community, Montgomery County, Maryland. August 1978; Charlotte Ambush and Polly Gutheim, interview by George McDaniel and Steve Doolittle. Mt. Ephraim community, Frederick County, Maryland. June 1979; Arnold Hawkins, Joe Hawkins, Ethel Foreman and Arthur Randolph interview.
- 12 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview; Ethel Foreman, interview by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell.

- 13 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 14 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 15 Charles Moore, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Jim Lane, and Michael Blade. Jerusalem community, Montgomery County, Maryland. October 1978; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 16 Charles Moore, telephone interview by George McDaniel. Sept. 1, 1979.
- 17 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Evelyn Herbert, telephone interview by George McDaniel. Sept. 1, 1979.
- 20 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 21 Ethel Foreman, telephone interview by George McDaniel. Sept. 1, 1979; Ora Lyles, interview by George McDaniel, Ann Fitzgerald, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelly and Ann Fitzgerald; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview; Arnold Hawkins, Joe Hawkins, Arthur Randolph and Ethel Foreman interview.
- 22 Charlotte Ambush and Polly Gutheim interview; Idella Craven and Hester Hamilton interview; Ora Lyles interview; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 23 Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.
- 24 Howard Lyles, interview by George McDaniel and Phil Mudd; Tilghman Lee, telephone interview.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY PERSPECTIVE ON 19th CENTURY UP-COUNTY BLACK COMMUNITY LIFE

All of the black communities surveyed in upper western Montgomery County except one were founded over a hundred years ago. Two were founded c. 1814 by free blacks, ten after the Civil War by freed slaves, and one in the late 1890's. All were founded by people who wanted to have their own land, work as a free people, and develop their own communities with churches and schools to educate their young.

These founders could lay a solid foundation for the future, because unlike most blacks in rural Maryland and further south, they managed to escape tenancy by buying enough land -- two, five, ten acres -- to constitute a homestead. By working their land, they provided the basic foodstuffs from garden produce, orchards, and animals so that their families could survive and perhaps come out a little ahead by bartering their surplus.

As they had during slavery, the founders depended upon one another and upon themselves. They helped neighbors to build their own houses, clear their land, butcher animals, and preserve the meat. They worshipped together in the log homes in the communities and later together built churches. The layout of the homesteads reflects their efforts to provide for themselves.

As elderly informant Tilghman Lee explained in reference to these homesteads, "if there wasn't a building on the spot of land, they planted something: fruit trees, garden, or whatever. They had to, because they were providing for themselves".

Of course, there were some remembered as "lazy bums". Of one in particular, it is said that "he never worked a lick. Didn't keep a garden. If it wasn't for the animals on the mountain (Sugarloaf Mountain), he'd have starved." Since this man was the descendant of a half Indian,¹ it may have been that he could not change to the daily routines of agricultural work and preferred the forests.

But most of the men and women were remembered as hard workers. Usually the men were employed as farm laborers and were skilled at a variety of trades since they had to depend upon themselves to construct their own farm buildings, repair and sometimes make their own tools, and grow their own food. The women also worked the land, prepared, cooked, and preserved its produce; made clothes; washed laundry; prepared and administered home remedies; reared children; and cared for the elderly.

Censuses show that these families in the historical communities consisted usually of two parents, rather than a single parent. And oral informants and property deeds show that they

lived in close proximity to their kin. In many instances these communities were extended families, so that the title of "uncle" or "aunt" for older members was not just a title of respect, but one of blood relationship.

The older generation lived in the log houses that they had built when founding the community, but by the last decade of the 19th century, the younger generation began constructing two story frame houses more in the style of the period -- houses that did not remind a person of "slavery-time days", as did log houses.²

The first two generations developed institutions in the community -- churches, schools, and lodges. These institutions served important religious, cultural, social and economic needs of the community. Of the three, the church was most central to their life, and the school furthest from their control since it was directed and financed by a school board and political system prejudiced against their needs. The lodges/benefit societies have been superseded by insurance companies and by the social security system of the government. Their social and entertainment functions have been replaced by discos, restaurants, schools, and bars in towns, and by television in the home.

The land in most of these communities is no longer cleared and cultivated, but is now mostly residential lots with lawns and trees; some now uninhabited lots have grown up in woods and thickets. In communities like Sugarland, little visible evidence remains of the historical character. Three-fourths of the houses in the communities today are of relatively recent construction, ranging from brick or frame ramblers to mobile homes.

Despite these changes, descendants of the original founders still live in the communities -- five, six, seven, or more generations removed. There also remain a number of significant buildings and houses of the 19th century communities, and some elderly, knowledgeable oral informants who can still recall their community founders, some of whom can be seen in the old photographs they keep (several are reproduced in the text).

The historical communities were founded on faith, a faith that things would improve. Like black communities elsewhere in the nation, they grew to resemble both a prison and a fortress, pending those improved racial conditions. They can be considered a prison, in that the freedom of their citizens -- that is, their open access to jobs, schools, restaurants, and ideas -- was constrained by prejudices, laws, and customs of the society around them; they can be considered a fortress in that the

community was a haven for its members from the hostile environment and provided opportunities for worship, leadership, social gatherings, and cultural expression. They never, however, developed sufficient capital, land or population to provide jobs for their own, unlike the black urban communities. This was a critical shortcoming, because eventually young members had to move in search of better jobs, especially as farm work and other occupations were mechanized.

Nonetheless, many descendants continue to live in the communities. They want to stay and see them improved, so that their children can remain on or return to their ancestral land. Studies such as this one reveal the longevity and cultural heritage of these communities, and, it is hoped, the need for more recognition of this heritage in county policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. David Moody is identified in the History of Carrollton Manor by William Grove (1929), p. 407, as a half Indian.
2. Telephone interview with Tilghman Lee, September 10, 1979;
Telephone interview with Arnold Hawkins, September 19, 1979.

Part II

COMMUNITY HISTORIES

INTRODUCTION

Thirteen black communities in upper western Montgomery County were surveyed as part of this project: Big Woods, Blocktown, Clarksburg, Hyattstown, Jerusalem, Jonesville, Martinsburg, Mt. Ephraim, Seneca/Berryville, Sugarland, Thompson's Corner, Turnertown, and White Grounds. Map 1 shows these communities. Two, Big Woods and Mt. Ephraim, had been founded early in the 19th century (c. 1814) by free blacks. Six were settled after the Civil War by freed slaves: Blocktown, Jerusalem, Jonesville, Sugarland, Turnertown, and White Grounds. Two, Clarksburg and Martinsburg, were preexisting white communities, around which freed slaves were able to acquire land after the Civil War. Little historical evidence remains of the black settlement of the other three communities -- Hyattstown, Thompson's Corner and Seneca/Berryville -- (the latter considered as one community).*

The communities will be presented in alphabetical order covering the following topics: present description of the community, its history including its dates of establishment and its founding families, the pace of development, the community's appearance in the first quarter of the 20th century, its major institutions, and sites of special significance. Maps recreating the layout of seven of the communities in the period between 1900 and 1925 were developed by student intern Steven

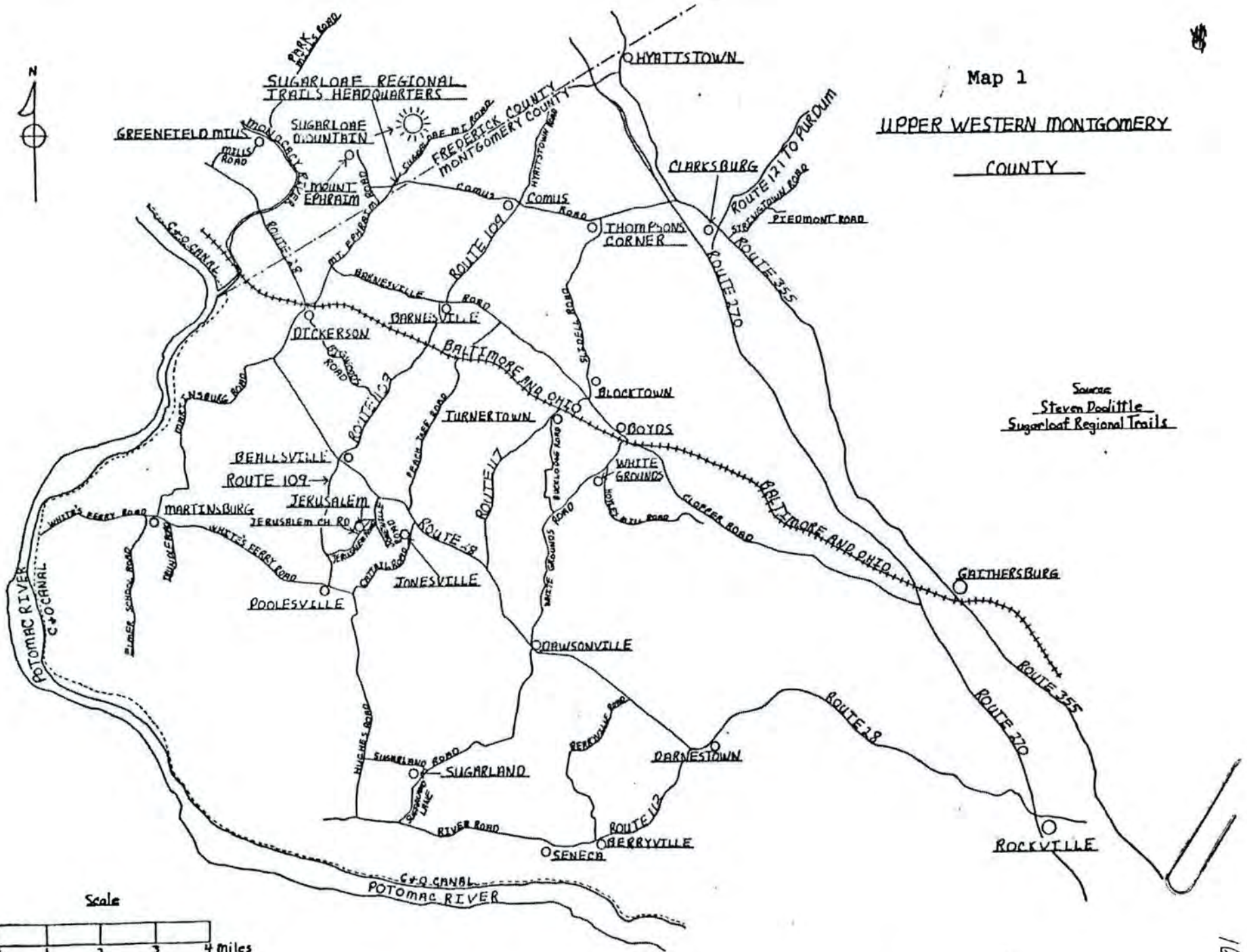
*For documentation and detailed descriptions of each site discussed in these community histories, refer to its Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form.



Map 1

UPPER WESTERN MONTGOMERY
COUNTY

Source
Steven Poolittle
Sugarloaf Regional Trails



Doolittle with the assistance of community members, and are included. These seven were selected because of their historical significance and because they were smaller in size than Clarksburg, Martinsburg, and Big Woods and therefore could be mapped more readily. These maps are based on current tax base maps, deeds, and oral recollections of current community residents about the layout of each parcel of land. Since 1925 these communities and family homesteads have changed drastically so that most bear little resemblance to the places that the founders and their immediate descendants created and lived in. The creation of these maps permits us to peer behind the curtain of time and perceive the physical world of these historical communities.

The final part of each community profile is a list of the surveyed sites, identifying the historical significance of each site. The list is based on the assumption that all standing historical sites (pre-1925) are significant, since comparatively few of the historical total have survived, and even fewer will survive into the next decade. Definitions of significance of all historical sites were refined as follows:

- "Site" means that the building is no longer standing but was surveyed because it was important as part of the historical community.
- "Historical Resource" means that the building is still standing and is important as existing evidence of a house type of the historical community.
- "Significant Historical Resource" means that the building is still standing and is: 1) an example of a now rare building technique in the survey area or 2) is associated with a founding family of the community or 3) was, or still is, a center of the community.

It is hoped that the list for each community will be helpful in establishing conservation priorities. A supplementary document contains summary descriptions of every site surveyed. Full Maryland Historical Trust survey reports and photographs are on deposit at the Montgomery County Library, the Montgomery County Historical Society, the Park Historian's Office of the M-NCPPC, and the Maryland Historical Trust.

BIG WOODS

Present Description

The Big Woods community is located north of Beallsville over a larger area than the other communities surveyed. Today the community consists of approximately 50 houses located along Beallsville Road and Big Woods Road. The old road that ran east-west from Beallsville Road to Oakland Mills is now no longer a thoroughfare, yet still has some houses along it as well as a church cemetery, still in use. Most of the community now is wooded except for homesites. The houses today are of varying types of construction, most of them modern. However, some of the old log and frame houses remain. Mt. Zion Methodist Church, recently remodelled, stands on the west side of Beallsville Road near its junction with the old Big Woods Road and continues to be the center of the community, as it has for almost a century.

History

Big Woods is the oldest black community in the survey area, having been founded by two free black families in the antebellum

era. In 1813, James Spencer acquired 50 acres from Thomas Morton. Identified in the deed of sale as a former servant, he may well have been a slave freed by Morton. Although the Spencer house is no longer standing, several families in the community -- such as the Onleys, Cravens, Hacketts, Hallmans, and Bells -- are descendants and have photographs of members of the Spencer family (Figure 33). The Spencer burying ground remains near the Spencer homesite along the old Big Woods Road (Figure 34).



Copy by George McDaniel. Idella Craven collection.

Figure 33 . Theresa Hackett Lewis, a descendant of the Spencer family, c. 1900, Big Woods. Mrs. Lewis was the maternal aunt of Idella Craven in Big Woods and the granddaughter of Sarah Catharine Spencer Hackett. Her clothes are indicative of those worn on special occasions in these communities near the turn of the century.

~~182A~~

~~(Page 34)~~ ^{no R}. The cemetery contains wooden uninscribed grave markers, surrounded by a rail fence. Oral informants, Idella and Walter Craven and Florence Hallman, remember that the markers were once painted white, and the names painted brown. The site is now abandoned and grown up in woods.

The other founding family of Big Woods was the Awkard family. In 1846 Rev. Elijah Awkard purchased 37 acres along old Big Woods Road. By the Civil War, Awkard owned 163 acres, having one of the largest holdings of land of any black in the county. In the post-bellum era, Awkard was a Methodist minister in Jerusalem; the modern Elijah Methodist Church in Jerusalem was named after him. As with the Spencer family, only the family burial ground remains near the Awkard home site with inscribed gravestones. Elijah Awkard's property is identified in the Hopkins Atlas of 1879 (Map 2).

Pace of Development

In the 1870s and 1880s black families began moving into the area and buying small parcels (one to five acres). They purchased land from the Hempstone estate, a large white-owned farm that was put up for sale in the 1870s, and from other white families; later in the 1880s from the Awkard farm when it was divided. Among these settlers were the Onley, Brown, Owens, Diggins, Hutchinson, Lee and Mercer families.

After Emancipation, the new settlers built small two-story log houses with two rooms down and two up. The most prosperous early settlers and most of the first generation of descendants constructed two-story frame houses in the style common to

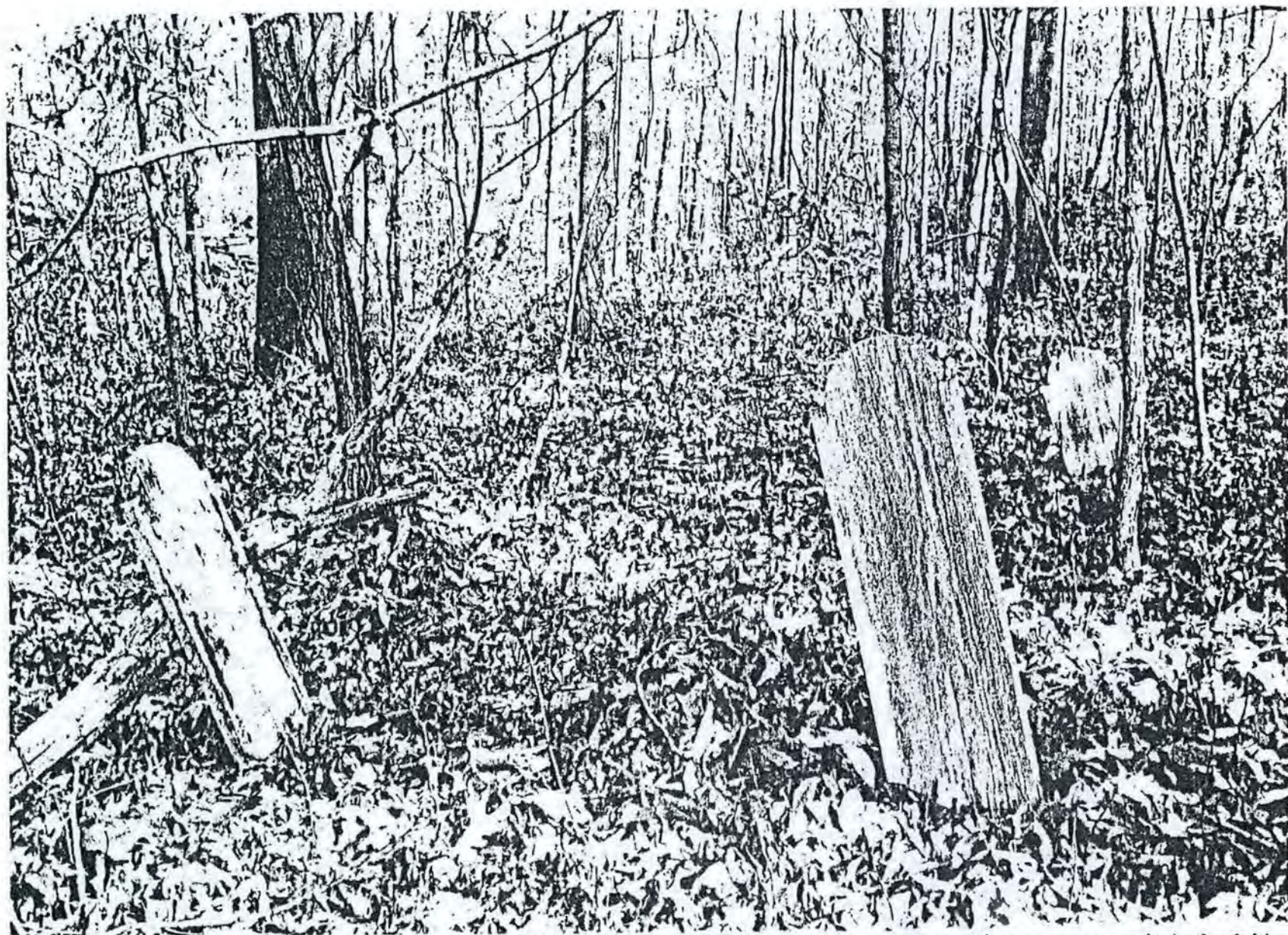
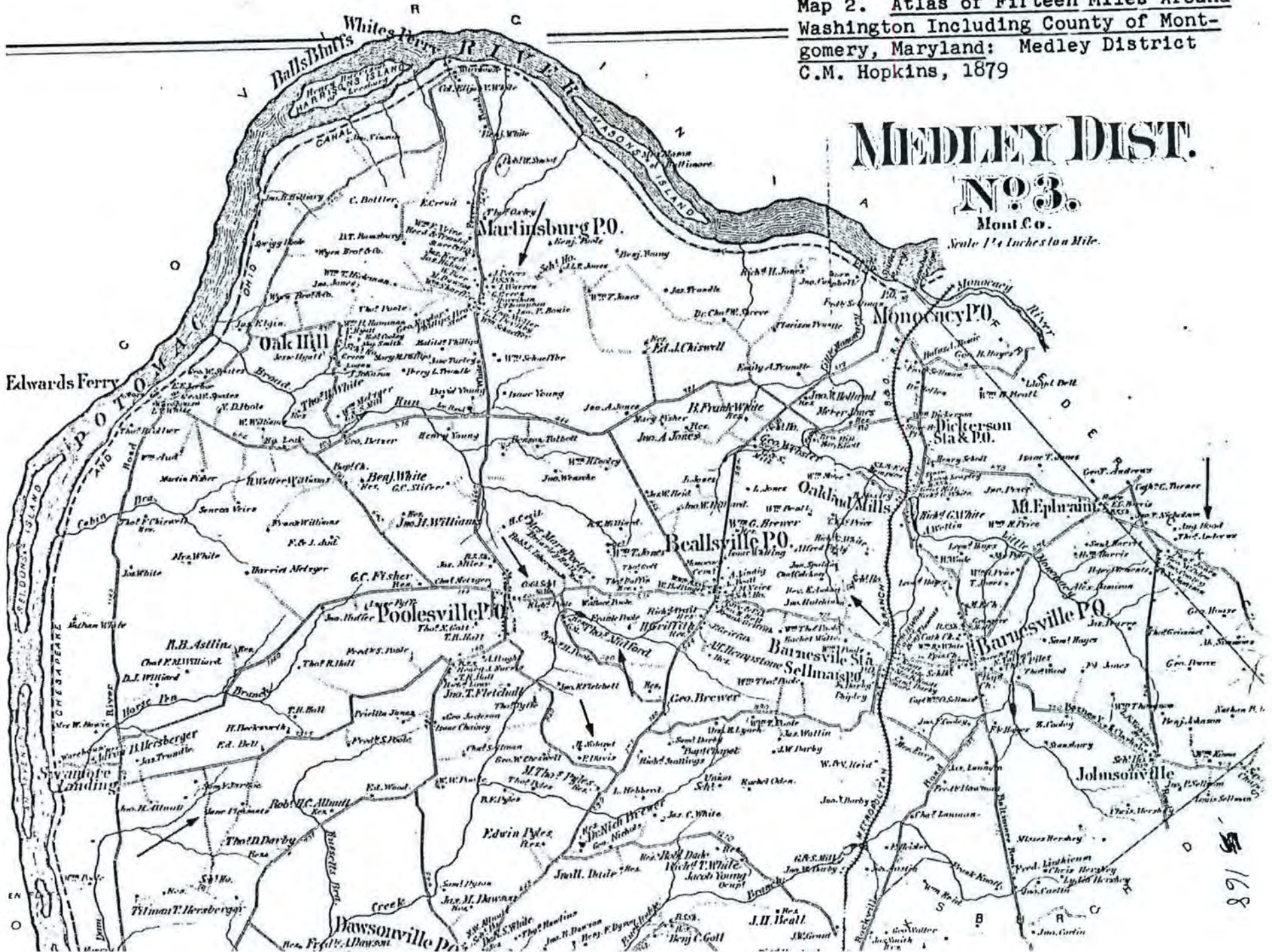


Figure 34. The Spencer family cemetery, Big Woods. These wooden grave markers were painted white and names painted brown. The paint has since washed off. This land was purchased in 1814 by the Spencer family, (Figures 67-71). This is the earliest black grave yard in the survey area, and one of the oldest in the state. Photograph by Anne Le...

Map 2. Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington Including County of Montgomery, Maryland: Medley District C.M. Hopkins, 1879



MEDLEY DIST.

No. 3.

Mont Co.

Scale 1/4 Inches to a Mile.

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the era. Three old log houses still remain (the Isaac Owens, Fred Hamilton, and Lewis Brown houses) but they are abandoned and in deteriorating condition. Figure 35 is the abandoned log house of Isaac Owens built in the late 1800's. A half dozen or more frame houses remain, and some are still inhabited, the most handsome example of which is the John T. Onley house, built c. 1899. Like Jerusalem and Jonesville, the community that emerged by the late 19th century was entirely black.

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

By the early 20th century the community was completely settled, consisting of adjacent small farmsteads along all three roads. At this time the area was more lightly wooded than it is today. Life-long resident Florence Hallman recalls that she could see from one homestead to another, especially in the area north of the new Big Woods Road. The houses were surrounded by cleared yards, with outbuildings behind the houses such as a meat house, privy, hen house, and hog pen at a further distance. There were also vegetable gardens and fruit trees, the products of which were gathered and stored by families. Numerous community members, such as Idella Craven, Hester Hamilton, and Ida Hallman, continue these practices and have passed them on to their children.¹

Community Institutions

Big Woods was sufficiently large to have its own community institutions. In fact, the Mt. Zion M.E. Church in Big Woods, founded in 1867, was one of the first black churches founded in the county in the years after emancipation. One of the church trustees was Philip Spencer, descendant of the free black

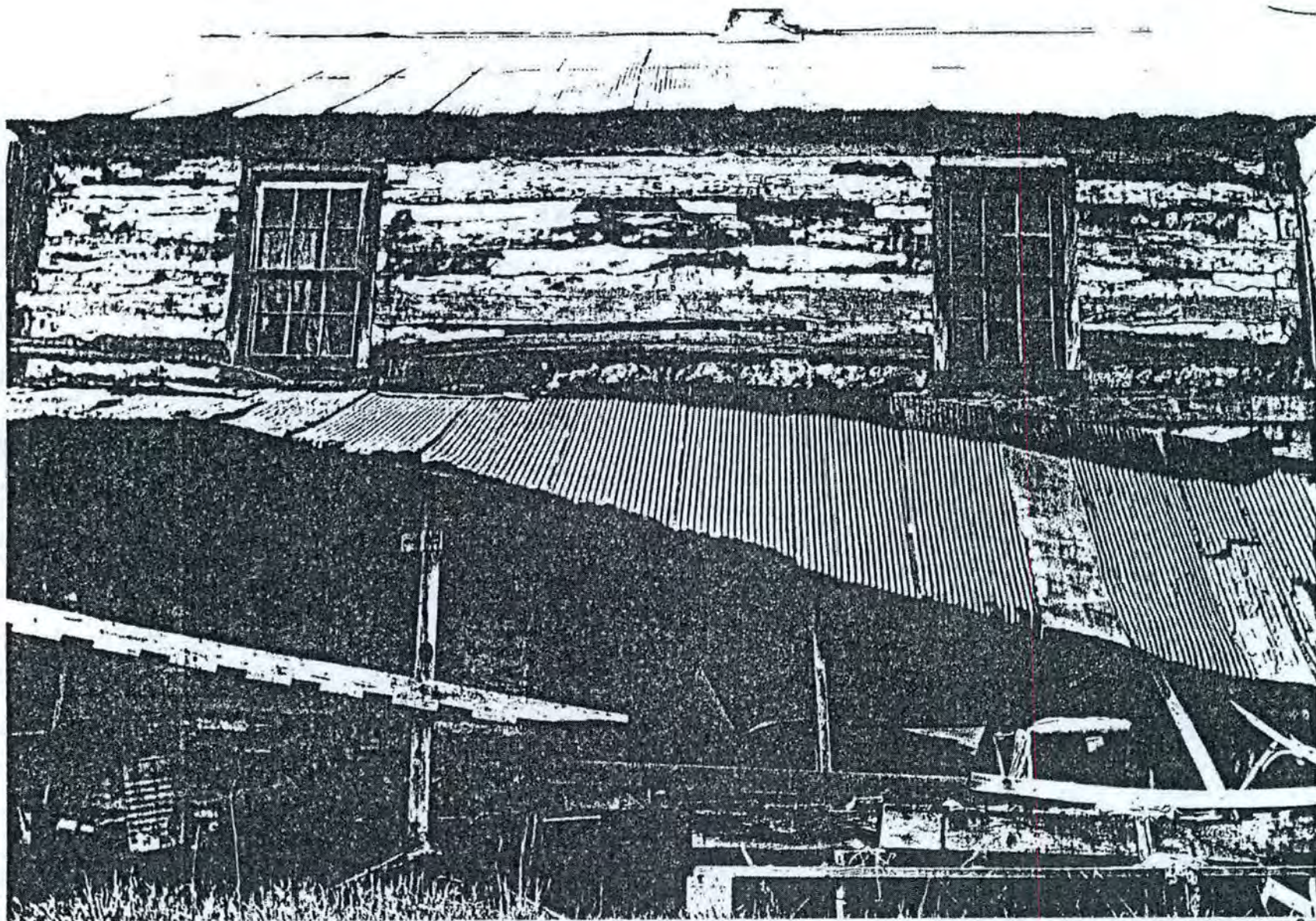


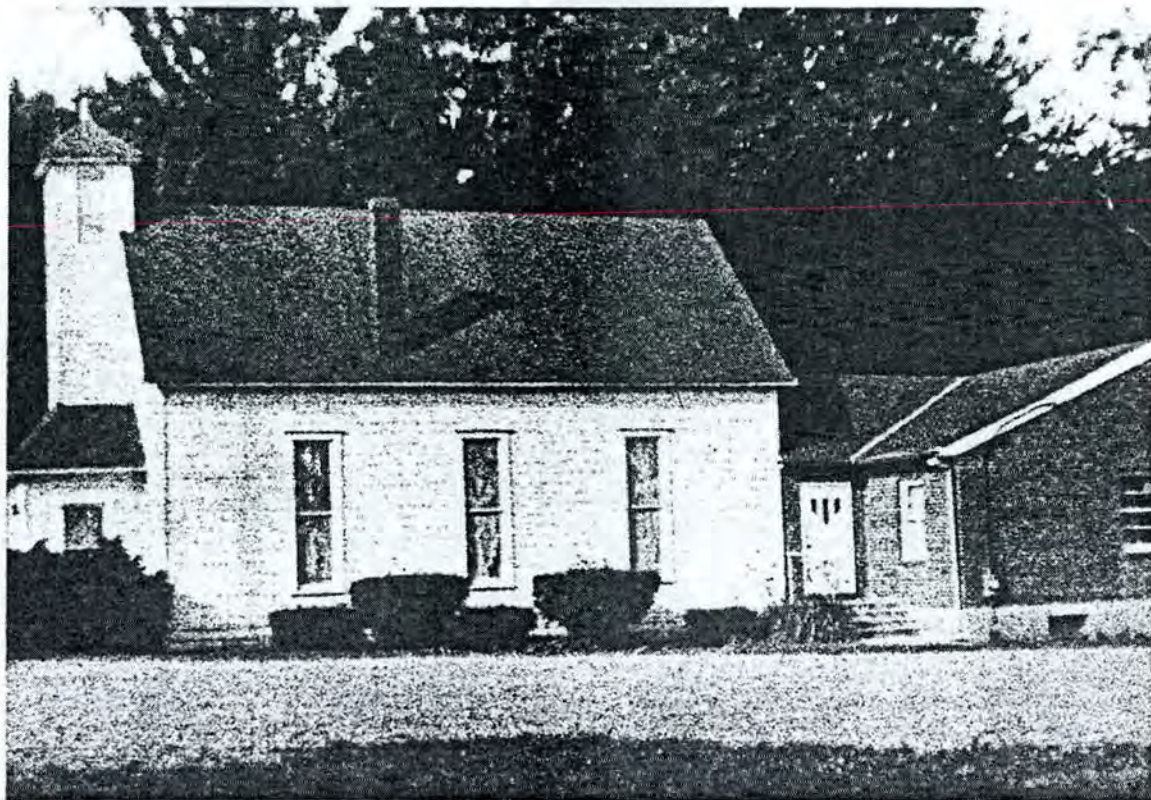
Figure 35. Owens-Diggins log house, Big Woods. This abandoned, two story log house, built c. 1873 represents the type built by freed slaves on the land they acquired in the last decades of the 19th century in Montgomery County. Such houses were built from trees felled nearby, hewed, and raised into place by cooperative labor of the community.

Photograph by Anne Lewis

founder of the community. In the 1880's that church was replaced on a nearby site by another one, ^(Figure 36) which resembled small Methodist churches built later in other rural communities, such as Sugarland and Martinsburg. Florence Hallman, who was reared in Big Woods in the early 1900's, recalls that after construction of the second church, the first one was used as the social gathering hall. It had been the school, too, and is shown on the 1879 Hopkins Atlas (Map 2) next to the Rev. Elijah Awkard's property. In the last decade, craftsmen in the congregation, such as William Bell, have extensively repaired and remodelled the church and covered the weatherboards with brick veneer so that today it is modern in appearance. ² (figure 37).

The old cemetery, which was located next to the first church, is still in use, and the grounds well maintained by community residents. Many founders of the community and their descendants are buried there.

Another community institution was the Sellman Lodge of the True Reformers, organized in 1909 by founders of the community -- James and Florence Onley, Flora Anne Onley, Noah and Elizabeth Lee, Richard and Julia Mercer, to name a few. In 1915 it was reorganized as the Sellman Council No. 947 of the Independent Order of St. Luke. The lodge hall was a small one story frame building with the entrance in a gable end. Inside was one open room with a stage. The hall is still standing, but was moved a short distance in 1949-1950 and enlarged and converted into an attractive dwelling by the present owners, William and Florence Bell. Mrs. Bell is a direct descendant of the Spencers who founded Big Woods.



Copy by George W. McDaniel. Collection of the Mt. Zion Methodist Church.

Figure 36 . Mt. Zion Methodist Church, Big Woods community. This frame church was built in the 1880s and resembled the other Methodist churches in the surveyed communities. Behind it is the recently constructed Sunday school.



Photograph by George W. McDaniel

Figure 37 . Remodelled Mt. Zion Methodist Church with members of Big Woods community. This is the same church seen in figure after it was remodelled by members of Big Woods in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Left to right are: Florence Bell, Jane Stearns, Ida Hallman, Idella King Craven, Walter Craven, and Florence Hallman. Each contributed to the survey.

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Near the turn of the century a separate school house was built on the west side of Beallsville Road, ending the use of the church as a school. Like the other black schools in the survey area, it consisted of one room, but was later doubled in size. The building no longer stands but former students who still reside in the community recall the school's history.³ Figure 38 shows the 45 students with their teacher Hazel Green in 1929. Interest in education continues in the community, as exemplified Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Lewis Brown house
- Owens-Diggins house
- Sellman Lodge of True Reformers
- John T. Onley house
- Mt. Zion Methodist Church cemetery
- Mt. Zion Methodist Church
- Spencer family cemetery
- Awkard family cemetery
- Gene Hackett house
- Richard and Bertha King house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

The wooden grave markers at the Spencer family cemetery and the stone markers at the Awkard family lot should be moved for safe-keeping to the Mt. Zion cemetery and set up there as a memorial to the founders of the community. The log houses of Isaac Owens and Lewis Brown could perhaps be rehabilitated,

by Ida Hallman, a community leader who has taught school for many years.





Copy by George McDaniel.

Figure 38 . Sellman School students, c. 1929, Big Woods community. Among the present members of the Big Woods community seen in this photograph are: Florence King Bell, second row; fourth from left, Idella King Craven, third row; second from right.

especially the former, if someone could be found who needs a house. The Owens house is still in sound condition, whereas the Brown house is beginning to deteriorate.

The John T. Onley house is in need of minor repairs, especially along the gutters and eaves. Repairs need to be made quickly before water damage to this fine house becomes more severe.

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1. Florence Hallman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, July, 1978; Hester Hamilton and Idella Craven, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, July, 1979; Hester Hamilton, and Ida Hallman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, July, 1978 and August 1978.
 2. Florence Hallman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel; William and Florence Bell, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Big Woods community, July, 1979.
 3. Persons to be consulted for a history of the Sellman School include Idella Craven, Florence Bell, Flavius Hackett, Hannah Tibbs Jones, Ida Hallman, and Evelyn Herbert, to name a few.

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

COMMUNITY: Big Woods

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Awkard Family Cemetery M-12-42-1	CV 31 - p. 378	Wooded	c. 1880	Significant Historical Resource
2. Lewis Brown house M-12-42-2	CV 31 - p. 500	Fair	c. 1873	Significant Historical Resource
3. Tom Crumpton house (Site) M-12-42-3	CU 33 - p. 78	Destroyed	late 1800s	Site
4. Mt. Zion M.E. Church Cemetery M-12-42-4	CV 41 - p. 155	Good	c. 1867	Significant Historical Resource
5. Dan Diggins house (Site) M-12-42-5	CV 31 - p. 336; 333; 387	Destroyed	c. 1878	Site
6. Owens-Diggins Family Property M-12-42-6	CV 41 - p. 613; 504	No house	built on	this site
7. Awkard-Diggins Property M-12-42-7	CV 31 - p. 730	No house	built on	this site
8. Gene Hackett house M-12-49-8	CV 31 - p. 109	Good	1880s-1890s	Historical Resource
9. Henry Hackett house (Site) M-12-42-9	CV 41 - p. 65	Destroyed	c. 1883	Site
10. Fred Hamilton house M-12-42-10	CV 31 - p. 935	Deteriorated	1880s-1890s	Historical Resource
11. Lawrence Hamilton house M-12-42-11	CU 52 - p. 90	Good	c. 1927	Historical Resource
12. Adolphus Higgins house (Site) M-12-42-12	CV 41 - p. 149	Destroyed	c.1872-1895	Site

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: Big Woods (cont.)

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
13. Louisa Hutchinson house (Site) M-12-42-13	CV 41 - p. 258	Destroyed	1870s	Site
14. Robert Vinton Hutchinson house M-12-42-14	CV 41 - p. 202	Destroyed	c. 1880s	Site
15. Elbert Johnson house (Site) Thomas Johnson hs. M-12-42-15	(Site) CU 33 - p. 241	Destroyed	c. 1880s	Site
16. Richard King house (Site) M-12-42-16	CV 31 - p. 114	Poor	1880s-1890s	Historical Resource
17. Lee-Simms house (Site) M-12-42-17	CU 33 - p. 23	Destroyed	c. 1874	Site
18. Noah Lee house (Site) M-12-42-18	CV 31 - p. 909	Destroyed	1880-1900	Site
19. Richard Lee house (Site) M-12-42-19	CV 31 - p. 964	Destroyed	c. 1868	Site
20. James Lee house (Site) M-12-42-20	CV 41 - p. 684	Good	c. 1894	Historical Resource
21. Richard Mercer house (Site) M-12-42-21	CV 31 - p. 906	Destroyed	c. 1892	Site
22. Mt. Zion M.E. Church M-12-42-22	CV 41 - p. 635; 639	Excellent	c. 1880s	Historical Resource
23. Henry T. Onley house (Site) M-12-42-23	CV 31 - p. 551	Destroyed	c. 1873	Site
24. Henry Thomas Onley, Jr. house M-12-42-24	CV 31 - p. 363	Fair	c. 1915	Historical Resource

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: Big Woods (cont.)

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
25. James Onley house M-12-42-25	CU 33 - p. 509	Poor	1875-1895	Historical Resource
26. John T. Onley house M-12-42-26	CV 31 - p. 844	Good	c. 1899	Historical Resource
27. Onley-Campbell house M-12-42-27	CV 41 - p. 595	Good	c. 1922	Historical Resource
28. Ned Onley house (Site) M-12-42-28	CU 33 - p. 395	Destroyed	c.1875-1895	Site
29. Owens-Diggins house M-12-42-29	CV 41 - p. 504	Fair	c. 1873	Significant Historical Resource
30. Payne house M-12-42-30	CU 51 - p. 324	Fair	c. 1913	Historical Resource
31. Sellman Lodge M-12-42-31	CV 31 - p. 775	Good	c. 1915	Historical Resource
32. Sellman School (Site) M-12-42-32	CV 41 - p. 689	Destroyed	late 1880s, 1890s	Site
33. Mary Smith house M-12-42-33	CV 61 - p. 777	Poor	c.1875-1895	Historical Resource
34. Spencer Family Cemetery M-12-42-34	CV 41 - p. 95	Wooded	c. 1814	Significant Historical Resource
35. Mose Tibbs house (Site) M-12-41-35	CV 41 - p. 149	Destroyed	c. 1872	Site

BLOCKTOWN

Present Description

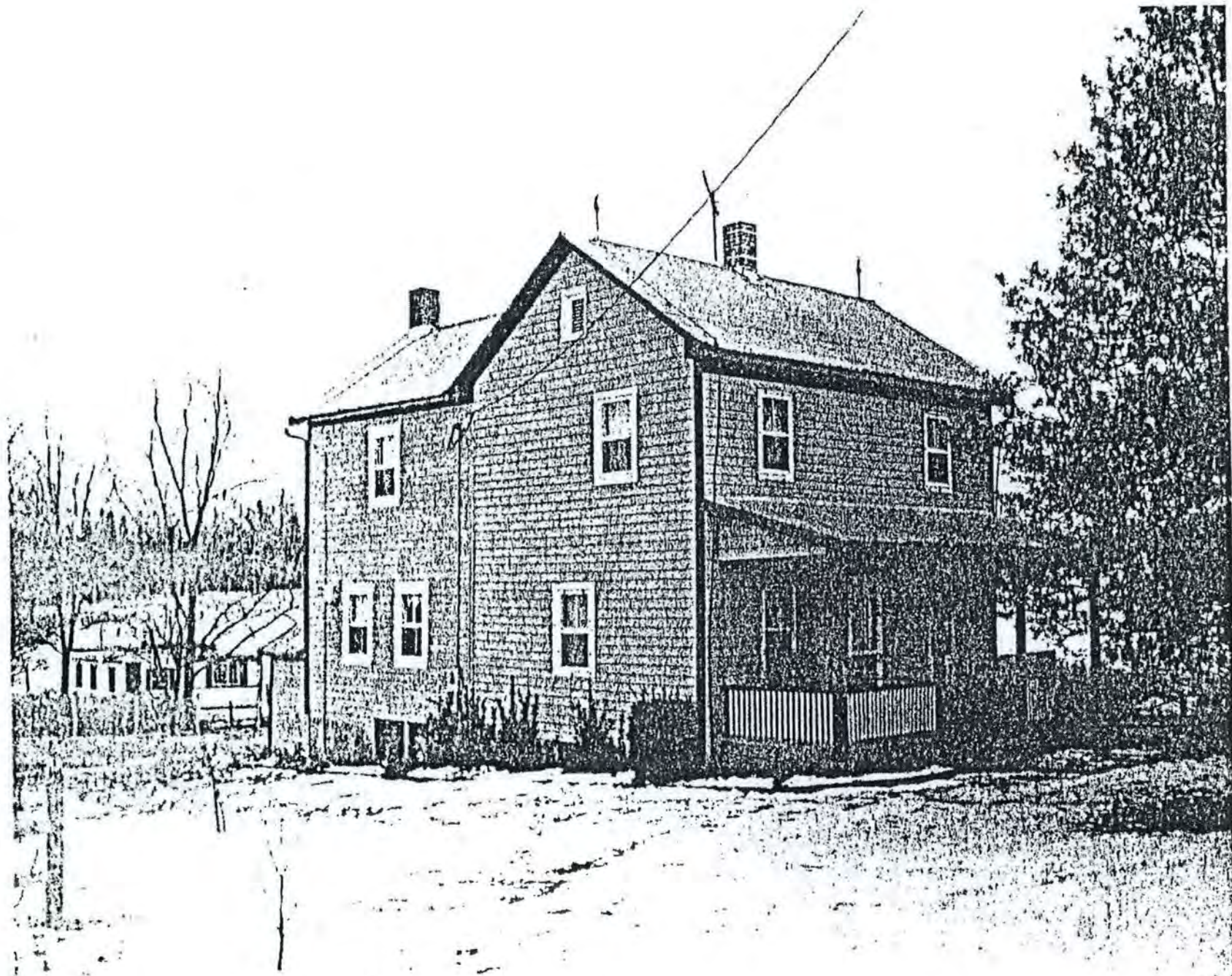
Blocktown is a small bi-racial community of modern, well kept houses on Slidell Road, just north of its junction with Rt. 117. (See Map 1) Two of the old frame houses of the nineteenth century remain, but both have been modernized over the years.

Due to recent development along Slidell Road and Rt. 117, the boundaries of the historical community of Blocktown are no longer in evidence, and the community now seems to be an extension of Boyds.

History

According to the Inventory of Historical Sites in Western Montgomery County, Maryland,¹ Blocktown was begun after the Civil War as a black community, and houses were built on wooden blocks (portions of railroad crossties) instead of foundations to lower construction costs, hence the name, Blocktown. None of the residents of the community today recall this account, nor do descendants of the founding Jackson family. None of them, however, knew of another explanation for the name of the community.

The patriarch and matriarch of the 20th century community were Thomas A. and Jennie Jackson, who in 1884 purchased 12



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Figure 39. Thomas A. Jackson house, Blocktown. The original section is the two story section in
fr It was probably built soon after Jackson's purchase of land in 1884. Its overall form re-
se and that of other houses of black and white la mers of modest means of the period.

Photograph by Joe Davis

30

acres from John and Ellen Darby for \$425 (Site #4 on Map 3, Blocktown Community). It is likely that their two story frame house was built soon thereafter. (Figure 37) According to Thomas Jackson's great granddaughter Louise Onley, he had been a slave, but she did not know where. The 1867 census of freed slaves shows that a Thomas Jackson had been a slave of Dr. Nicholas Brewer, and another Thomas Jackson had been a slave of Dr. William Brewer. Either person could have been Blocktown's Thomas Jackson.²

Pace of Development

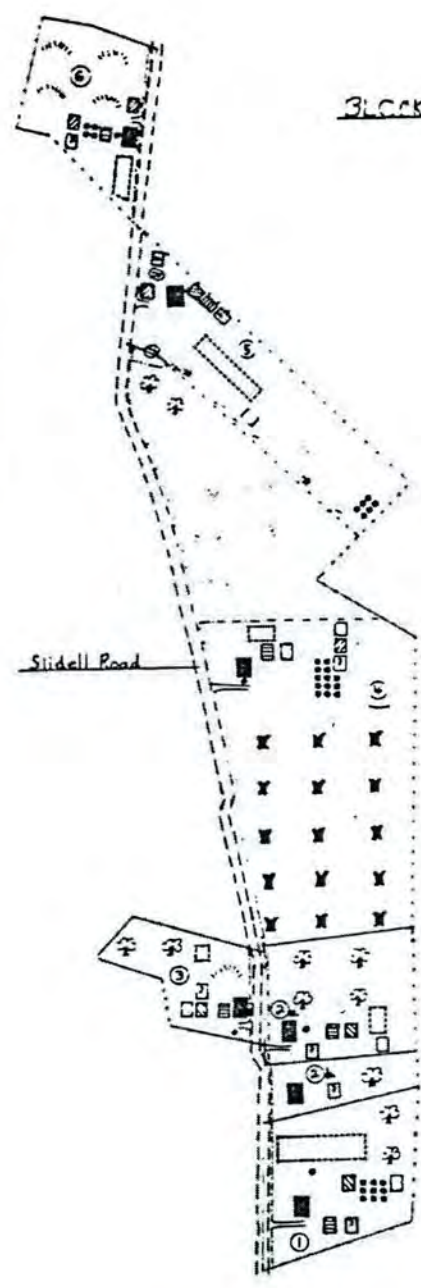
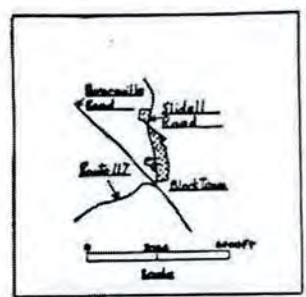
The early postbellum history of the community is unclear. Deeds do show that families who are known to have been white lived there, so it was a mixed community, unlike Jerusalem and Jonesville. Some of the earlier blacks may have been tenants on the property owned by the Darby family along Slidell Road, and others may have been small landowners, who either died or moved before the time that present-day Jackson descendants can remember. For example, one Jackson descendant purchased two acres for \$1,000 in 1908, the high price indicating that a substantial house stood on the property. Whether its previous owners were white or black is not remembered by oral informants and deeds as a rule do not give the race of the owner.

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

In the first quarter of the 20th century, Thomas Jackson's descendants purchased tracts of land nearby and settled there as shown in Map 3. For example, his son Daniel Thomas Jackson and

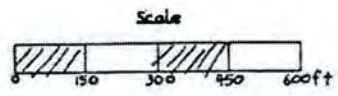
Map 3

BLACKTOWN COMMUNITY, c. 1900-1925



Key

CHURCH	
CEMETERY	
LODGE	
COMMUNITY CENTER	
STORE	
POST OFFICE	
SCHOOL	
JEWELLING	
PRIVY	
STABLE	
MEAT HOUSE	
HEN HOUSE	
MILK HOUSE	
CORN/FEED HOUSE	
PIG PEN	
GARDEN	
PASTURE	
CORNFIELD	
HAY FIELD	
ORCHARD	
FOREST	
THICKET	
WELL	
SPRING	
STREAM	
POND	
PARCEL BOUNDARY	
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	
FENCE	
DIRT ROAD	
LANE	
PATH	
STREAM FLOW	



- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1. WILLIAM LUCKETT HSTD. | 2.20 AC. |
| 2a. DANIEL JACKSON HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| b. RENTED HOUSE | |
| 3. DORSEY GARROLL HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 4. THOMAS JACKSON HSTD. | 12.50 AC. |
| 5. HARRY JACKSON HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 6. WILLIAM JACKSON HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |

DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE
HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY

Cartographer
Steven Doolittle
Sugar Creek Regional Trails
Oral Informant
Dorothy Curtis

his wife Mary Florence Bell Jackson bought land adjacent to his home in 1908/ (Site #2a). Their son Harry Jackson settled on land north of his grandfather's/ (Site #5) and another son William lived on two acres that his father had purchased in 1913, across Slidell Road from his brother Harry/ (Site #6). In 1923 a daughter of Daniel T. Jackson, Gladys Lockett, and her husband William Lockett purchased two acres a short distance south of her parents' home/ (Site #1). Thus by the 1920s, Blocktown had become essentially a community of an extended family. Only one family of Jackson descendants (that of Dorothy Curtis) -- remains in the community today.

Community Institutions

The community did not develop its own institutions because it was too small and located close to the White Grounds community in Boyds. Hence residents of this community took advantage of the institutions there: attending St. Mark's Church on White Grounds Road, Boyds' Negro School, and were perhaps members of the Odd Fellows Lodge on White Grounds Road also. In fact, Thomas Jackson was one of the first trustees of St. Mark's Church.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Thomas and Jennie Jackson house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

None

4

The Thomas and Jennie Jackson house was recently rehabilitated by a new owner and is in excellent condition. The other frame house remaining from the 19th century -- the Lockett family house -- is rental property and is in need of repair.

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1. Sugarloaf Regional Trails, Inventory of Historical Sites in Western Montgomery County, Maryland, 1975-1977. (Silver Spring: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1978), p. 33.
 2. Louise Onley, telephone interview by George McDaniel, February, 1979; Slave Statistics of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1867-1868, Municipal Collection, Montgomery County Public Library, Rockville, Maryland.

CLARKSBURGPresent Description

Today as in the past, Clarksburg is a bi-racial community with pockets of black homesteads along Rt. 355, Stringtown Road, Rt. 121, and east of Clarksburg in the Purdum community along Kingstead Road. The black enclaves today still retain a number of old log and frame houses, some of which were built by black carpenters who lived in the community.

The quality of houses, the brick church, and the impressive inscribed gravestones reflect the fact that black families there were more prosperous than in the other communities.

History

In contrast to other communities such as Big Woods, Sugarland, Jonesville, Jerusalem, Martinsburg, and Mt. Ephraim, land ownership by blacks was relatively late here. It is possible that blacks owned small parcels of land soon after emancipation, but if so, those sites do not have houses standing on them today, nor are they remembered by elderly informants.

The oldest documented homesteads were begun in the 1880s by freed slaves who purchased land. Three of them were owned by brothers -- John Henry Wims, Warner Wims and Benjamin Wims. All built two story houses which still stand today. The houses of John Henry and Warner were of frame construction, and Benjamin's was of log. All were originally of the same floor

plan: two rooms down and two up. According to informants, these houses are typical of other black landowners.

According to Clarksburg oral informant Ethel Foreman, Benjamin Wims was a cobbler, and she remembers the workbench and tools that he used in his house on Brink Road. Another brother, John Henry Wims, was a mail carrier on the Star Route from Clarksburg to Boyds with his two-horse team -- a job usually reserved for whites. A photograph of him proudly holding his two fine horses appears as Figure 40.¹

Pace of Development

Black families settled in several areas around Clarksburg. One of the earliest settlements was known as Rocky Hill, south on Rt. 355, where the Pleasant View M.E. Church and later the Clarksburg Negro School were built. The nucleus of the Rocky Hill community was the 24 acre tract that Lloyd Gibbs purchased for \$600 in 1884. Two years after purchasing the land, he gave one acre for the site of the future Pleasant View M.E. Church. Across the road he constructed a two-story frame house. Warner Wims, the Moores, and the Masons settled here as well. Teachers who taught at the Clarksburg Negro School roomed in the Mason family home. The presence of the Wims family has survived in the name of Weems Road, which passed along Warner Wims' property.

Other families settled on "Foreman Hill" along Stringtown Road, and east of Clarksburg along Rt. 121 and in the Purdum area.



Figure 40. John Henry Wims, mail carrier, shown holding his two fine horses beside his house on the Frederick Road in Clarksburg. Born c. 1849 as a slave, Wims purchased land in 1885 and built his two story frame house soon thereafter. He was one of the few black mail carriers in the County.

Melvin Wims Collection. Copy by Joe Davis

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Early 20th Century Community Appearance

Some blacks lived in the center of town. John Henry Wims' house was located close to the post office, a convenient location since he carried the mail. His home was a two story frame dwelling with decorative woodwork inside and outside, as was the vogue at the time.

Not far from the center of town, along Stringtown Road, Robert Perry Foreman purchased land and built a log house in 1903. It was later enlarged with frame additions, resulting in a seven room house. In 1932, Foreman's daughter Zelma received an acre of land and purchased a two room house for \$50. She had the house moved on skids with a steam engine to her land, hiring Arthur Gibson, a local black carpenter, to add four more rooms to her house.

Scattered throughout the Clarksburg area were settlements of productive homesteads, each occupied by families with special skills. East of Clarksburg along Rt. 121 and Piedmont Road lived the Snowdens and Randolphs, skilled and successful farmers, who grew and sold a variety of farm products. Figure 41 is an aerial photograph of the Snowden farmstead. Nearby lived William Hackey and Arthur Gibson, two brothers-in-law who were capable carpenters. Several houses they built remain -- the best example being Gibson's house, constructed in 1918 and later renovated by Gibson's nephew and namesake, Arthur Randolph (Figure 42). North of Clarksburg, in the Purdum area, lived the Hawkins and the Lyles families, who were also

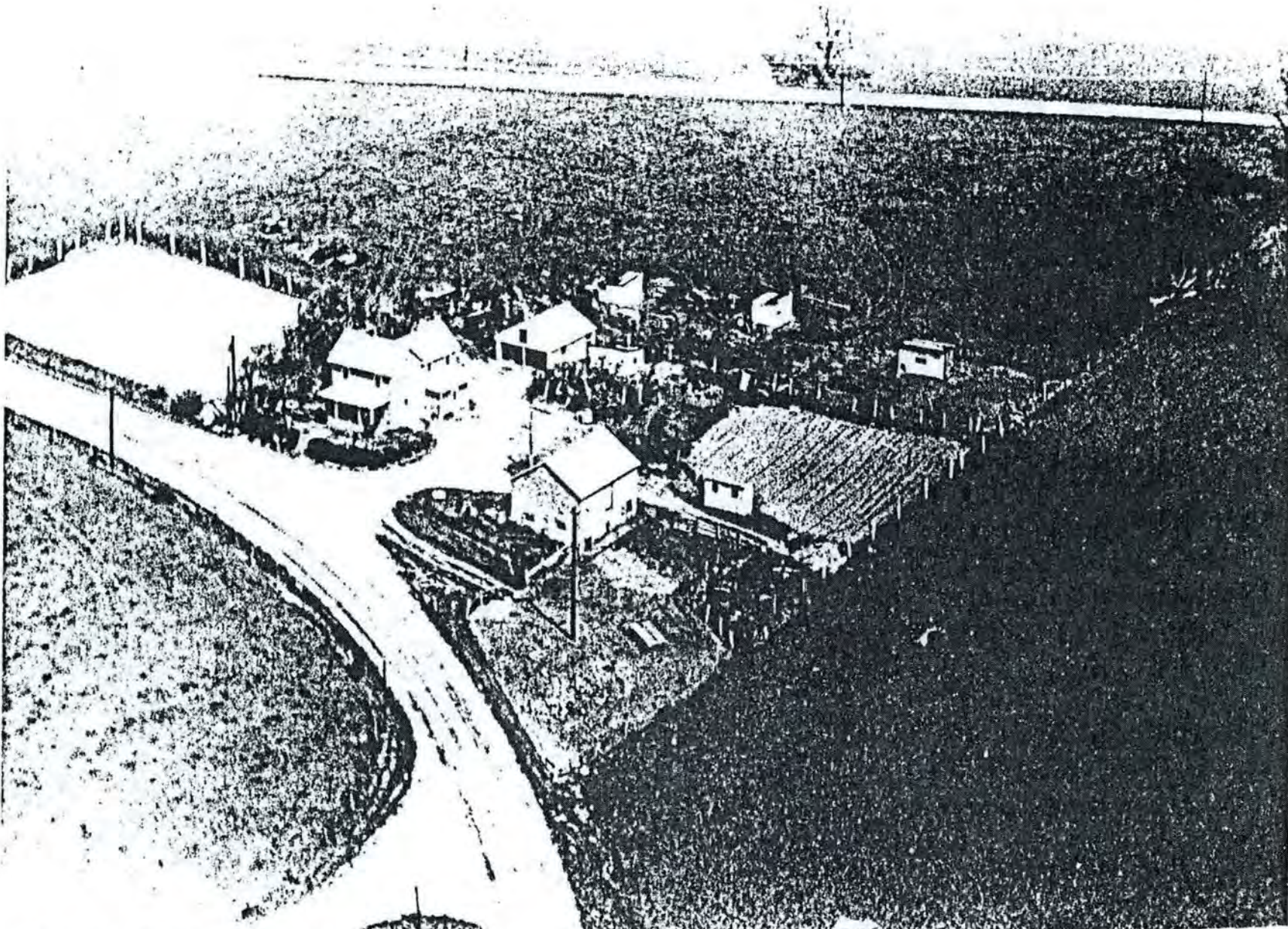


Figure 41. Snowden homestead, Clarksburg. This aerial photograph shows the layout of a small black-owned farmstead, one of the most successful in the survey area. The bank barn (rarely seen on sites surveyed), pasture, two gardens, hog pen, small brooder houses, and other sheds represented the efforts of the Snowden family to raise and produce much of their own food.

(Continuation of Madessa Snowden. Copied by George Daniel

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Figure 12. Arthur Gibson House, Clarksburg. This two story house was built in c. 1918 by the black carpenter, Arthur Gibson, and renovated by Gibson's nephew and namesake, Arthur Randolph. It is perhaps the best preserved of the houses built by black carpenters in the survey area.

farmers. Arnold and Joe Hawkins, who are black, remember that their mother was the midwife for the community of both blacks and whites.²

Community Institutions

The church in the Purdum community, the Pleasant Grove Church, was built in 1868 and is one of the oldest churches constructed by freed slaves in Maryland. According to Elsie Carter, whose father Warner Wims was born in 1846, this church and the Montgomery Chapel Church at Hyattstown were the first two churches built for blacks after slavery.³

The John Wesley Methodist Church, formerly the small, frame Pleasant View Methodist Episcopal Church, was reportedly built in 1878 although the land was not purchased until 1884. The present brick structure was built in 1925. It stands today as the largest and most architecturally stylish black church in the survey area (Figure 43.)

The Clarksburg Negro School first met in the Pleasant View M.E. Church, but later had its own building erected in the 1880s. This building was later destroyed, and its site is now a recreation area. Many current residents of Clarksburg, such as Ethel Foreman, Arthur Randolph, and Virginia Gray, attended school there and recall the details of school life, including the design of the one-room school, the layout of the interior and how lessons were taught. They particularly remember the responsibilities that students had in the upkeep of the school, such as hauling water and chopping firewood. A school photograph of these students with their teacher in the late 1920s, copied as part of this survey, appears as Figure 44.



Photograph by George McDaniel

Figure 43. John Wesley Methodist Church, Clarksburg. Built in 1925 as the replacement for a smaller frame church of the 1880s, this brick structure with gothic motifs is the largest and most architecturally stylish church in the black communities in the survey area. Behind it is the well kept cemetery.



Figure 44. Clarksburg Negro School Class, c. 1932. Grades one through seven. The sheer number (45) and the different ages and abilities of the students of this one room school would have constituted serious challenge to the teaching skills of any person. The teacher, Inez Hallman, from Birch Woods, is second from the right on the back row. (Collection of Ethel Foreman. Copied by Joe Davis)

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Foreman house
- Arthur and Ella Mae Gibson house
- Pleasant Grove Community Church and cemetery
- Thomas and Henrietta Snowden house
- John Wesley Methodist Church and cemetery
- Benjamin Wims house
- John Henry Wims house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

None. The historical houses are either beyond repair or in good condition.

-
1. Ethel Foreman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Clarksburg community, February, 1979.
 2. Arnold Hawkins, Joe Hawkins, Ethel Foreman, Arthur Randolph, interview (taped) by George McDaniel and Karen Sewell, Purdum community, February, 1979.
 3. Ethel Foreman, interview (not taped).

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: Clarksburg

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Clarksburg Negro School (Site)	EV 43 - p. 408	Destroyed	c. 1880s	Site
2. Foreman house M-13-10-3	EW 41 - p. 61	Good	early 1900s	Significant Historical Resource
3. Arthur and Ella Mae Gibson house M-13-10-4	EW 32 - p. 612	Good	c. 1918	Historical Resource
4. Lloyd Gibbs house (Site) M-13-10-5	EV 43 - p. 408	Destroyed	c. 1884	Site
5. William L. Hackey house M-13-10-6	EW 43 - p. 649	Good	c. 1919	Historical Resource
6. Hawkins Family house M-13-10-7	EX 62 - p. 500; 555	Good	c. 1905-1910	Historical Resource
7. Jeremiah Lyles house (Site) M-13-10-8	EX 43 - p. 887	Destroyed	late 19th cen.	Site
8. Maurice and Sarah Mason house (Payne) M-13-10-9	EV 43 - p. 195	Good	c. 1910	Historical Resource
9. Wm. and Rachel Mason house M-13-10-10	EV 43 - p. 464	Poor	c. 1922	Historical Resource
10. Moore house (Site) M-13-10-11	EV 43 - p. 319	Destroyed	c. 1890-1900	Site
11. Pleasant Grove Church & Cemetery M-13-10-12	Not Listed On Tax Map	Good	c. 1868	Significant Historical Resource
12. Clifton Snowden house (Site) M-13-10-13	EW 33 - p. 726	Destroyed	c. 1890-1920	Site



Collection of Melvin Wims. Copied by Joe
Figure 45. Melvin Wims, Clarksburg. He is standing on the front porch
of the house of his grandfather, John Henry Wims. This photograph of
around 1914 shows the style of highly formal dress for children
of the period.

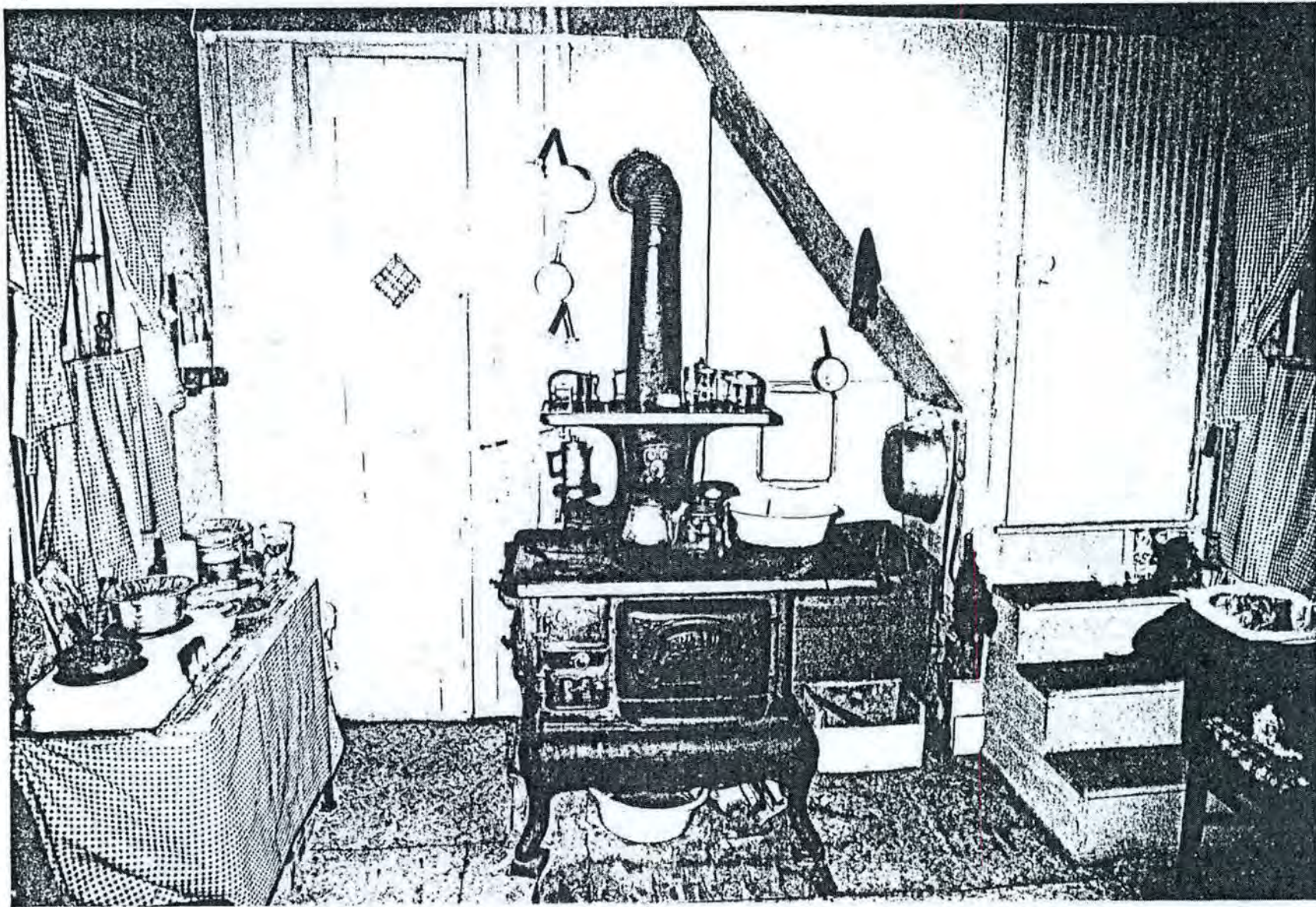


Figure 46. Wims kitchen, Clarksburg. The kitchen of the home of John Henry Wims, now occupied by Melvin Wims. The assortment of utensils on the stove, tables, and walls were part of a traditional wood stove kitchen.

(Photograph by Joe Davis)

HYATTSTOWN

Black historical resources of Hyattstown have virtually disappeared. Only Montgomery Chapel remains, and it is abandoned. There are no old houses from the historical black community still inhabited with one possible exception -- the home of Bill Lyles. He did not respond to messages left at his house, so it could not be surveyed.

Ethel Foreman from Clarksburg confirmed that all the black families of the historical community had left to find work elsewhere.¹

History

The Montgomery Chapel indicates the presence of a once sizeable black community that dates back to the 1870s at least, since the church was founded at that time. The land was given to the church by George Butler, a black landowner nearby. As with the Seneca/Berryville community, the loss of black historical resources in Hyattstown exemplifies the importance of jobs for the survival of a community, and illustrates how fortunate other communities are to have sites and knowledgeable informants.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

There is no longer an historical black community in Hyattstown. Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Montgomery Chapel

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- Montgomery Chapel

It is abandoned and has been vandalized (Figure 47).

Efforts by Friends of Historic Hyattstown to preserve it have been fruitless. It is one of the earliest black churches in Montgomery County.

-
1. Ethel Foreman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel.

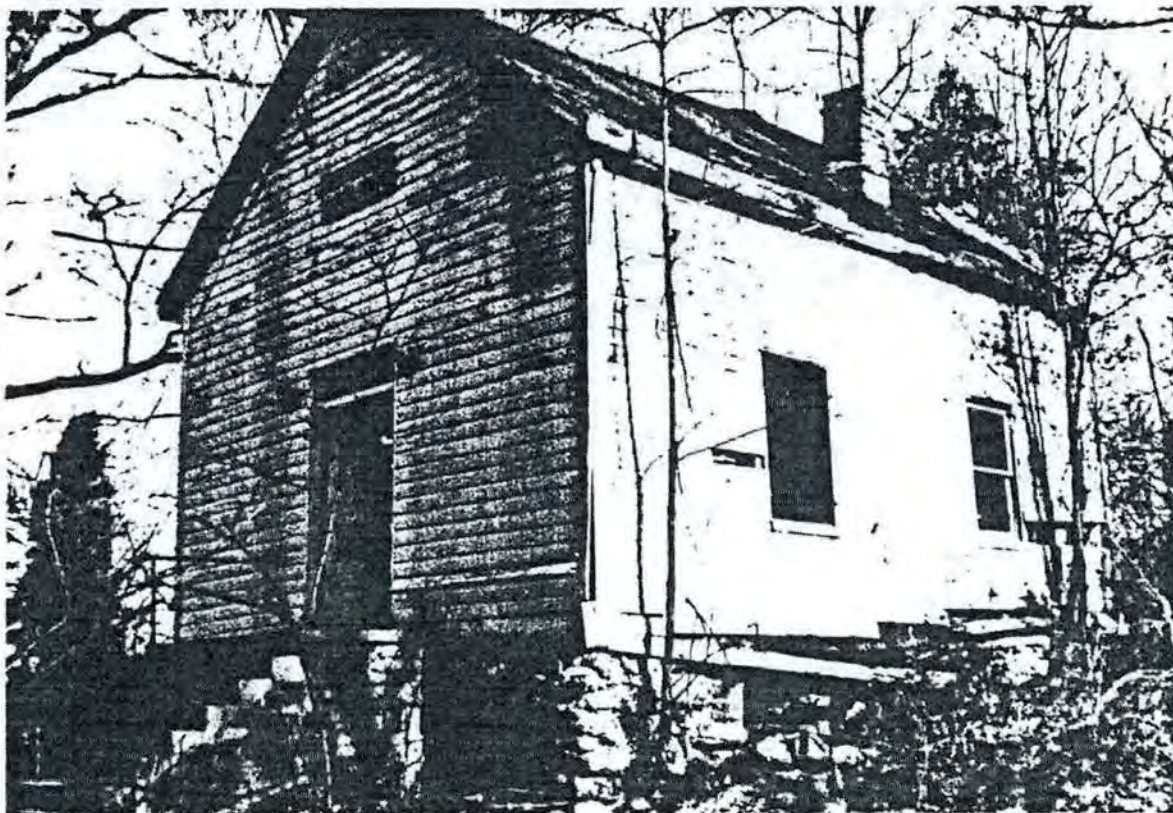


Figure 47. Montgomery Chapel, Hyattstown. This one room frame building is said to have belonged to another church and was moved to this site, donated by a black landowner George Butler in 1884. Along with other black members of the historical black community of Hyattstown, he is buried in the cemetery behind the church. Like other churches in black communities, this one also served as a school (until 1936). In 1964 it ceased operation, and the interior has since been vandalized.

(Photograph by George McDaniel)

JERUSALEM

Present Description

Jerusalem is a small community of approximately 25 households located along Jerusalem Road and Jerusalem Church Road north of Poolesville. In the heart of the community at the junction of Jerusalem and Jerusalem Church Road stands the Jerusalem Baptist Church, one of the few black Baptist Churches in rural Montgomery County and certainly one of the oldest, having celebrated its centennial in 1974. Northwest of the present church, along a lane leading from Jerusalem Church Road, is the old cemetery near which the original church stood.

Further from the community, near the junction of Jerusalem Road and Rt. 109, stands the handsome Elijah United Methodist Church which also serves the community. The present cinder block building with a tall bell tower is the third building to stand on the site. Behind it is the old cemetery.

Most of the houses in the community are of recent construction with cleared front and back yards and with woods surrounding the tracts. These woods have recently grown up on land that was once cultivated. The two surviving log houses -- one built in the 1870s, the other about 1897 -- are abandoned and in the midst of collapse. Located back in the woods, they cannot be seen from the road. The other 19th century house is the two story frame dwelling of the Johnson family, on the

south side of Jerusalem Church Road (Site #2 on Map 4, Jerusalem community). It is still inhabited but in serious need of repair.

History

The origins of the Jerusalem community are unclear. There were plantations in the area, and it is possible that the first log cabins had originally been slave cabins. We do know, however, that as a community of free blacks, the Jerusalem settlement has existed for 120 years.

It is reported that the settlement had its beginnings during the winter of 1861-62, when General Charles P. Stone, commanding Federal forces in the area, established a camp behind Poolesville for runaway slaves from Virginia.¹

Perhaps it was they who named the community Jerusalem, since they perceived it as the "promised land". Ora Lyles, born in 1894 nearby, recalls that older people told her that little log cabins were scattered all over the community, and that it resembled a camp. Perhaps these were the temporary houses built by the freed slaves. Community tradition also maintains that the community was begun by John Harper who was a farm laborer and post and rail maker after emancipation. He was allegedly given land in return for his services to Wallace Poole.

However, according to tradition, Poole did not keep the agreement, and Harper received only an acre of the larger tract promised him (Site #21 on Map 4).²

Slaves living in the area were probably attracted to the community of free blacks. For example, William Robinson, the maternal grandfather of Howard Lyles, had been a slave of Samuel Milford, who owned the mill nearby on Dry Seneca Creek (see Map 2) and whose farm was located along the southern edge of the future Jerusalem community (Site #1, Map 4). Not until 1891 did Robinson purchase three acres from Milford (bringing that portion into the developing community of Jerusalem). But it is highly likely that Robinson had previously lived on that property as a tenant before buying it, since older residents remember his house as "quite old" and as the only place where he lived.³

Pace of Development

Title searches on the different parcels of land in this community show that most of the landowners acquired their land between 1885 and the early 1900s. Compared to the Sugarland and Jonesville communities, this time of land acquisition was rather late. It is probable, however, that these families had been living on the land earlier (in the 1860s or 1870s) and were only able to purchase the land after several years of residency. The tracts of land that they did purchase were adjacent to one another, so that by the early 1900s a solid community of black landowners had developed.

Though most blacks acquired title later, the first black to do so was Wallace Hamilton whose deed is dated 1876 and whose 2.5 acres cost \$75 (Site #16). Three

years later, Dennis Hamilton -- perhaps his cousin -- purchased land adjacent to his/ ^{(Site #17).} The 1900 census listed Wallace Hamilton, who was born in 1843, and his wife Alice (1844) along with their five children. The same census shows Dennis Hamilton, born in 1842 and his wife, Henrietta (Duffin) in 1851. Both men are listed as farm laborers.

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

As in the Sugarland community, the land in this now forested community was cleared in the early 1900s. "You could see from one house to another", as Howard Lyles, grandson of William Robinson and lifelong resident of the community recalled. Map 4 showing the community layout from 1900 to 1925 indicates the earlier appearance of the Jerusalem community and illustrates how the land was used for the cultivation of crops, pasturage, garden vegetables and fruit trees. Map 5 shows the Frank Dorsey homestead around 1900, as it is remembered by oral informants. The space around the house was probably more extensively used than shown -- more like the layout of the Tilghman Lee homestead today (Map 12).

According to Lyles, the clearing of the land was a "togetherness project". The community pitched in to help a neighbor. "The men would grub up wild underbrush and work that land so that it would produce crops. The women were right there too, preparing the meals for them".

The cooperation among the community residents extended into other areas of daily life. "If you had someone in your household

Map 4
 JERUSALEM COMMUNITY, c. 1900-1925

Source
 Steven Doolittle
 Sugarland Regional Trails

Oral Informants
 Joshua Hamilton
 Evelyn Harper
 Joseph Harper
 Howard Lyles
 Ora Lyles
 Charles Moore
 Margaret Moore
 William Moore
 Isabel Owens
 George Robinson
 Francis Thompson

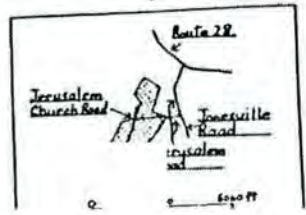


CHURCH	
CEMETERY	
LODGE	
COMMUNITY CENTER	
STORE	
POST OFFICE	
SCHOOL	
DWELLING	
PRIVY	
STABLE	
MEAT HOUSE	
HEN HOUSE	
MILK HOUSE	
CORN/FEED HOUSE	
PIG PEN	
GARDEN	
PASTURE	
CORNFIELD	
RAY FIELD	
ORCHARD	
FOREST	
THICKET	
WELL	
SPRING	
STREAM	
POND	
PARCEL BOUNDARY	
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	
FENCE	
DIRT ROAD	
LANE	
PATH	
STREAM FLOW	

DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE
 HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY

Key

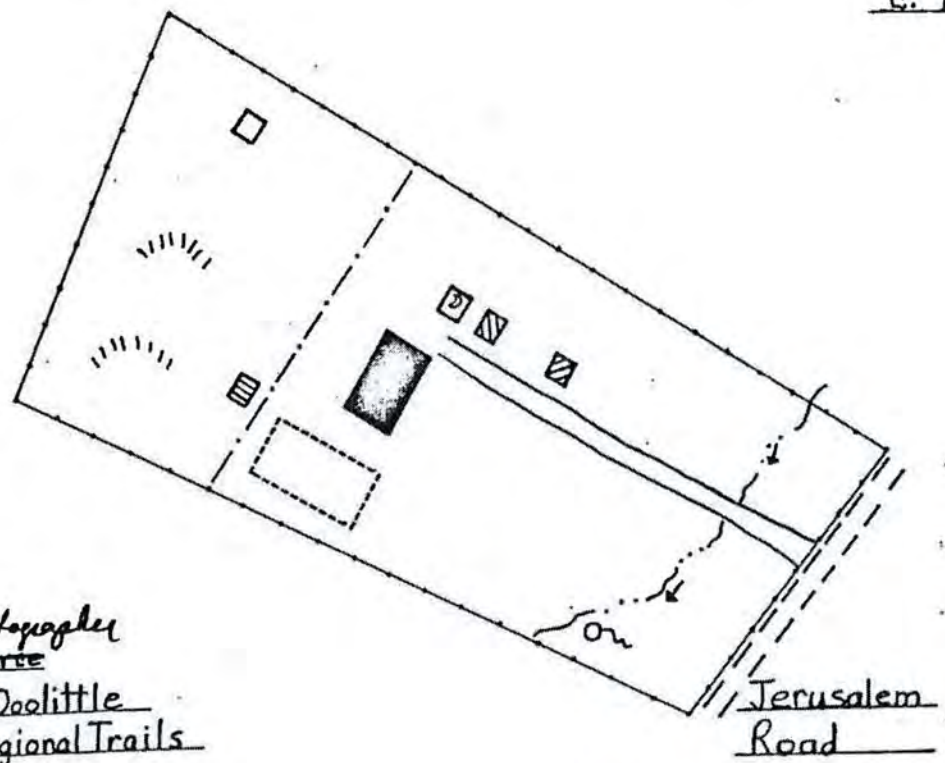
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. WILLIAM ROBINSON HSTD. | 3.22 AC. |
| 2. SARAH JOHNSON HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 3. MILTON HARPER HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 4. WILLIAM LYLES HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 5. SUSAN PROCTOR HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 6. FRANK DORSEY HSTD. | 2.90 AC. |
| 7. GEORGE DORSEY HSTD. | 4.75 AC. |
| 8a. 1st CLARKE HOME (log) | 4.40 AC. |
| b. 2nd CLARKE HOME (frame) | |
| 9. JERUSALEM PARSONAGE | 1.50 AC. |
| 10. JERUSALEM CHURCH | 0.50 AC. |
| 11. WILLIAM DORSEY HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 12. JAMES DORSEY HSTD. | 3.00 AC. |
| 13a. WILLIAM MOORE HSTD. | 7.00 AC. |
| b. BARTLEY MOORE HSTD. | |
| 14. DAVID COPELAND HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 15. ROBERT WILLIAMS HSTD. | 3.75 AC. |
| 16. WALLACE HAMILTON HSTD. | 2.50 AC. |
| 17. DENNIS HAMILTON HSTD. | 9.66 AC. |
| 18. CHARLES McPHERSON HSTD. | 11.00 AC. |
| 19. LIZZIE GRIMEE HSTD. | 4.00 AC. |
| 20. GEORGE LYLES HSTD. | 3.00 AC. |
| 21. JOHN HARPER HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 22. JOHN HALLIMAN HSTD. | 10.00 AC. |



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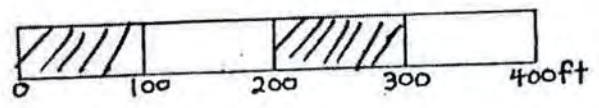
MAP 5
THE FRANK DORSEY HOMESTEAD
JERUSALEM,
c. 1900-1925



Key

- DWELLING
- STABLE
- MEAT HOUSE
- HEN HOUSE
- PRIVY
- PIG PEN
- GARDEN
- PASTURE
- SPRING
- STREAM
- STREAM FLOW
- FENCED PARCEL BDY
- FENCE
- DIRT ROAD
- LANE
- DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE

Scale



Cartographer
SOURCE
Steven Doolittle
Sugarloaf Regional Trails

Oral Informants
Joshua Hamilton
Howard Lyles
Charles Moore

sick, and needed constant care, that care was there day and night". Deep religious faith was integral to the old community, says Lyles. "What they had been through as slaves drew them closer to God. In those days the church was the gaithering point." And in rearing their families, especially on Sunday mornings, they had a family prayer together.⁴

Community Institutions

The Jerusalem Baptist Church, the community's first institution, began in the log home of Robert Williams (Site 15, Map 4) on property he purchased in 1877, but had been founded in 1874 according to church tradition. Near the turn of the 20th century a two story frame building with a balcony (Site #10) was built by George Dorsey, a black carpenter and resident of the community. The two story structure burned, and the present structure was built about 1922 on a new site (Site #8a) on land donated by one of the founding families -- the Clarkes. The original cemetery (Site #10) is still in use.

Fire destroyed the records of the Elijah United Methodist Church, but its church history dates that church from 1871, the first church having been built on the ground given by John Adams of Poolesville. Several churches have since stood on that spot, the most recent (built after 1950) being the handsome church used by the congregation today.

As in other aspects of community life, blacks had to provide their own education for themselves. Since in the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th there was no county-built school for black students, they had to attend school in the

Loving Charity Hall, located behind Elijah's Methodist Church (Figure 48). (This is identified in Hopkins Atlas as the "Colored School north of Poolesville".) In 1925 citizens of Jerusalem and other nearby black communities raised money to buy property for a new school for which the Rosenwald fund⁵ paid the construction costs. The educational experience of blacks in Jerusalem is but one example of the historical neglect on the part of the county for the educational needs of black children, and of the efforts of blacks to meet the educational needs of their children.⁶

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Dennis and Henrietta Hamilton log house
- Frank and Mollie Dorsey log house - (Figure 13)
- Johnson family house
- Jerusalem Baptist Church and cemetery
- Elijah Methodist Church and cemetery
- McPherson-Harper house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- Johnson family house

This house was built by the community carpenter, George Dorsey, near the turn of the 20th century. It has no running



Figure 48 The Poolesville Negro School class, c. 1909. Behind the students is the imposing Leaning
City Hall, the downstairs of which was used as the school. The hall now demolished, served as a

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water and is in a poor state of repair, though its framing timbers may still be sound. The house is owned by a number of heirs today; no one takes adequate responsibility for its upkeep. The two log houses in the community are abandoned, in ruins, and beyond stabilization. The more recently built churches and houses of the 1910s and 1920s, such as the George and Ora Lyles house and the McPherson-Harper house, are in good condition, and do not require stabilization at this time.

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1. Untitled study in Maryland Collection, Montgomery County Library.
 2. Ora Lyles, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Phil Mudd, Bill Kelley, and Anne Fitzgerald; Joe Harper, interview (not taped), by George McDaniel, Jerusalem community, September, 1978.
 3. Howard Lyles, interview (taped) by George McDaniel, Jerusalem community, January 26, 1979.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Rosenwald Fund - a foundation begun by the owners of Sears-Roebuck, Inc. that gave money for construction of black schools throughout the South, and for public health improvements.
 6. These educational concerns are more fully described in History of the Black Public Schools of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1872-1961, by Nina Clarke and Lillian B. Brown.

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: JERUSALEM

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Clarke Family houses (Sites) M-17-51-1	CT 32,33,73	Destroyed	c. 1890s	Sites
2. David Copeland house (Site) M-17-51-2	CU 31 - P. 905	Destroyed	c. 1881	Site
3. Frank & Mollie Dorsey house M-17-51-3	CT 33 - P. 177	Deteriorated	c. 1890s	Historical Resource
4. George Dorsey Family house (Site) M-17-51-4	CT 33 - P. 125	Destroyed	c. 1890s-1900s	Site
5. James Dorsey house (Site) M-17-51-5	CU 31 - P. 793	Destroyed	c. 1900	Site
6. Wm. H. Dorsey house (Site) M-17-51-6	CU 31 - P. 880 & 882	Destroyed	c. 1884	Site
7. Lizzie Grimes house M-17-51-7	CT 33 - P. 314	Good	c. 1913	Historical Resource
8. John & Mary Hallman house (Site) M-17-51-8	CT 33 - P. 374	Destroyed	c. 1904	Site
9. Dennis Hamilton house M-17-51-9	CT 33,63,117,126	Deteriorated	c. 1879	Significant Historical Resource
10. Wallace & Horace Hamilton houses M-17-51-10	CT 33 - P. 13	Deteriorated	early 1900s	Historical Resource
11. John & Annie Harper house (Site) M-17-51-11	CT 33 - P. 317	Destroyed	possibly 1880	Site
12. Jerusalem Baptist Church & cemetery M-17-51-12	CT 32 - P. 32	Excellent	c. 1922	Significant Historical Resource

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: JERUSALEM (cont.)

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
13. Jerusalem Church Parsonage (Site) M-17-51-13	CT 33 - P. 19	Destroyed	c. 1918	Site
14. George & Ora Lyles house M-17-51-14	CT 33 - P. 265	Good	c. 1924	Historical Resource
15. Ann Maria & Wm. Moore house (Site) M-17-51-15	CU 31 - P. 770	Destroyed	c. 1884 & early 1900s	Site
16. William & Mary Lyles house (Site) M-17-51-16	CT 33 - P. 311	Destroyed	c. 1890-1902	Site
17. McPherson-Harper house M-17-51-17	CT 33 - P. 169	Good	c. 1913	Historical Resource
18. Hartley Moore house (Site) M-17-51-18	CU 31 - P. 825	Destroyed	c. 1890-1900	Site
19. Poolesville School (Sites 1&2) M-17-51-19	CT 23 - P. 876	Destroyed	late 1800s & 1926	Site
20. Susie Proctor house (Site) M-17-51-20	CT 33 - P. 255	Destroyed	c. 1912	Site
21. William & Virginia Robinson house (Site) M-17-51-21	CT 33 - P. 426	Destroyed	c. 1891, or earlier	Site
22. Robert Williams house (Site) M-17-51-22	CU 31 - P. 770	Destroyed	c. 1877	Site
23. Elijah United Methodist Church M-17-51-23	CT 23 - P. 876	Excellent	c. 1950	Significant Historical Resource
24. Wims-Moore house M-17-51-24	CT 32 - P.	Good	1880-1900	Historical Resource



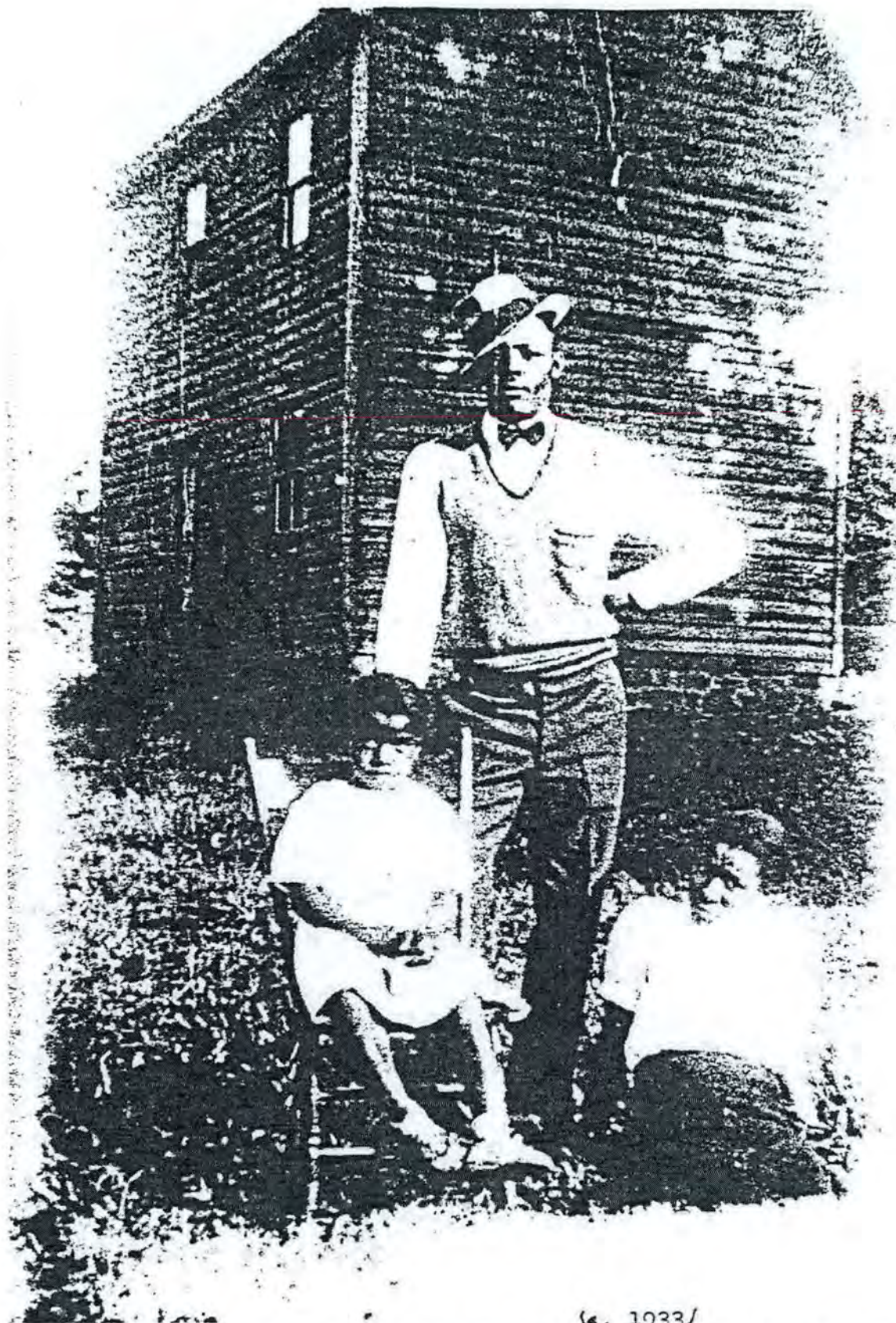
Figure 49. Frank Dorsey log house, Jerusalem. With one room down and one up, and a frame shed kitchen on the back length, this house was smaller than most. Like other log houses of black families in the survey area, this one will soon collapse, leaving little trace of its existence above ground.

Photograph by Anne Lewis



Figure 50. Frank and Mollie Dorsey, Jerusalem. Frank was born a slave in c. 1861. Soon after their marriage in 1893, he built the small log house seen in figure 49 where he lived the rest of his life.

(Collection of Beulah Calrke. Copied by Anne/
Lewis)



(c. 1933)

Figure 51. Descendents of two communities. Standing; Lawrence Turner of Jonesville; Virginia McKilroy in the chair, and Evelyn (Moore) Harper of Jerusalem. Behind them is the two story frame house of William Moore, built in the 1890s in Jerusalem as the replacement of his original log house. This succession of house types was typical in black communities.

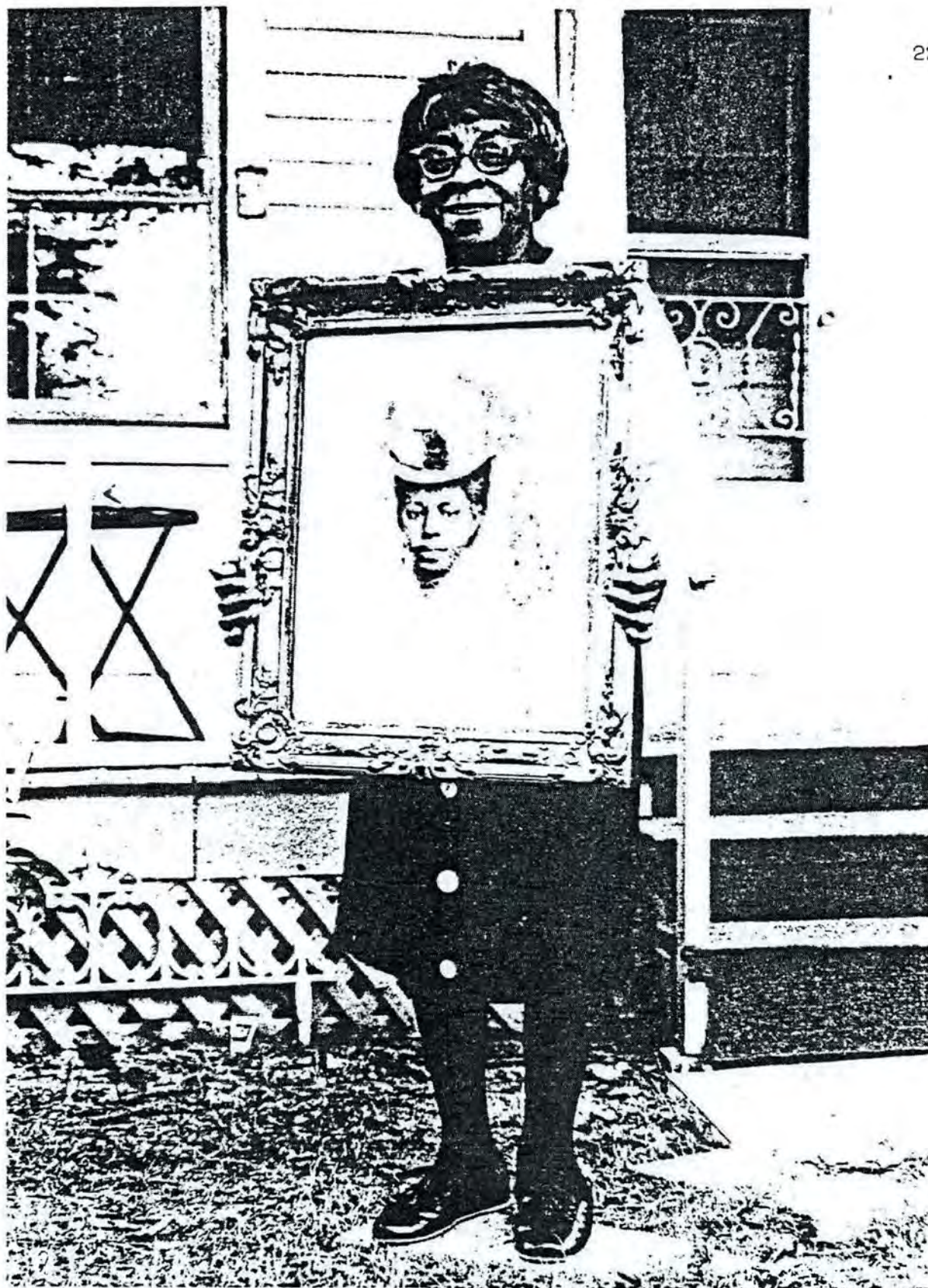


Figure 52. Ora Lyles, Jerusalem, is holding a photograph of her mother, Josephine Duffin McPherson, born in 1862. The Duffin family has been traced to the turn of the 19th century, and is one of the oldest documented black families in the county.

(Photograph by George McDaniel)

JONESVILLE

Present Description

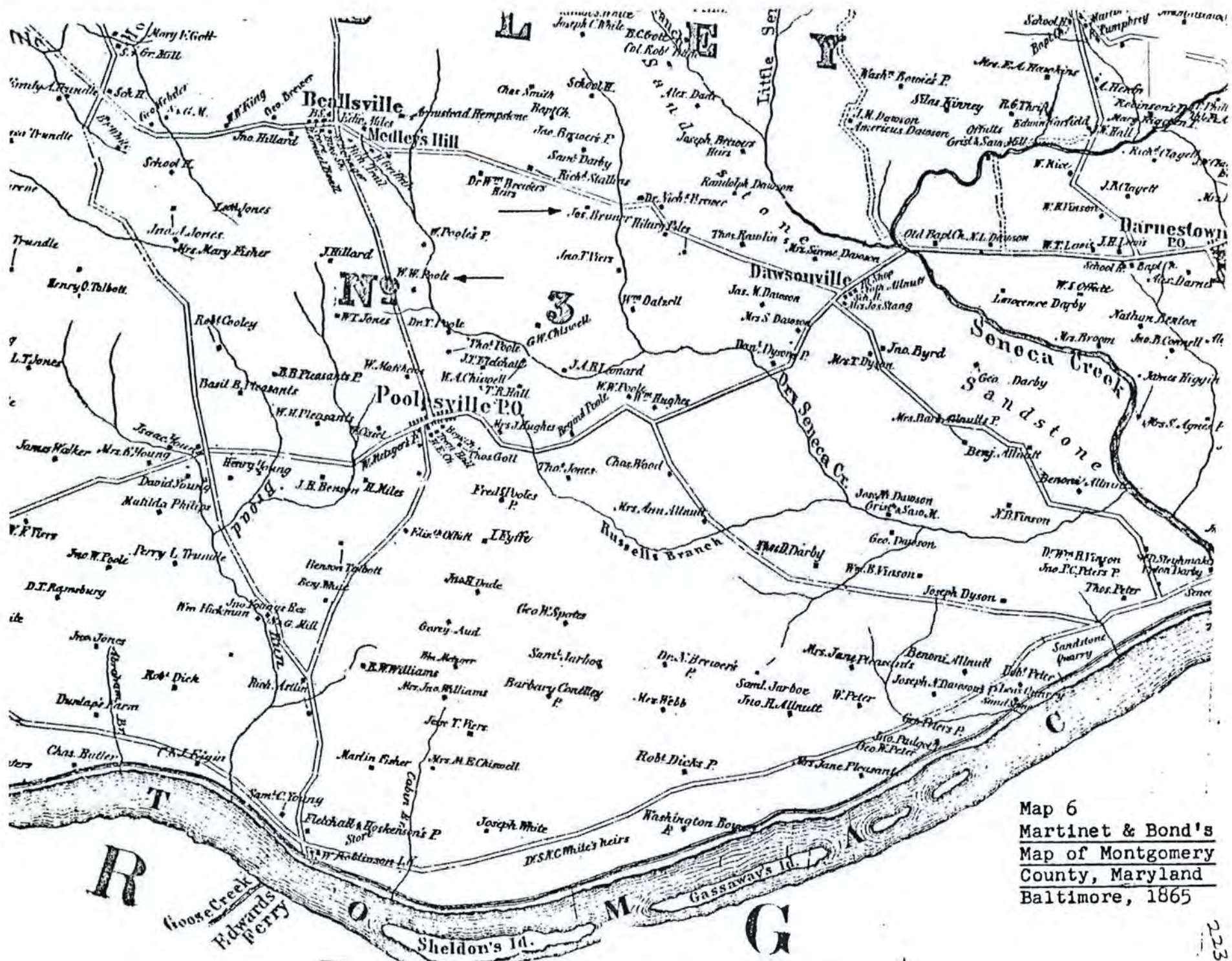
Jonesville is a small community north of Poolesville between Jonesville Road and Cattail Road. It consists of 15 or more houses and mobile homes at the end of Jonesville Road. Much of the land is either wooded or in residential lots. Thus its appearance today does not reflect its history which extends back for more than a century. Five of the old houses from the community still remain and a few informants have survived to tell of the old houses and ways of life.

History

Like only one other community, Turnertown, in the survey area, Jonesville received its name from the founding families, Erasmus Jones and Richard Jones, who may have been brothers. The first tract of 9 1/8 acres was purchased in 1866 by Erasmus Jones. While the identity of Erasmus/^{Jones}and the location of his house are not remembered, the home of Richard Jones still stands. He purchased nine acres in 1874 from the heirs of Joseph Bruner, a white farmer, whose residence was shown on the Martinet and Bond's Map of Montgomery County of 1865. (Map 6) It was part of the tract of Aix la Chappelle, a plantation nearby where Erasmus and Richard Jones may have worked.

Pace of Development

In the late 1800s and early 1900s other black families settled in the Jonesville community. They were either



Map 6
 Martinet & Bond's
 Map of Montgomery
 County, Maryland
 Baltimore, 1865

descendants of Erasmus and Richard Jones or had married into the family or were simply seeking available land. These people included the families of Basil Bailey, Mary Genus, Horace Genus, Thomas Harper, Levin Hall, George Martin, Henry Noland, and Perry Davis. The homes of Noland and Davis are shown on the Hopkins Atlas map of the Medley District (Map 2).

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

At this time Jonesville Road continued from Jerusalem Road to Cattail Road, and the land was cleared so the community was not an isolated cul-de-sac as it is today. As the map of the historical community in the first quarter of the 20th century (Map 7) shows, the houses were surrounded by gardens and outbuildings and one could see all the way to Cattail Road.

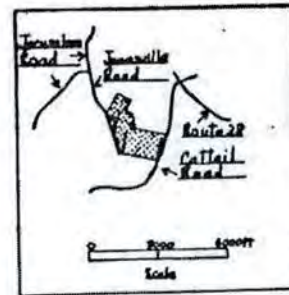
The home of Richard Jones, later of Levin Hall, and now of the Sims family (still standing, Figure 53) was like most log houses of black families after emancipation in Montgomery County/ (Site #10, Map 7). Plain in appearance, it stood two stories high and contained two rooms down and two up. Close by was the dwelling of Mary Genus Davis/ (Site #7). A smaller frame house of one room down and one up, it still stands today. Next to it stood the home of Horace Genus, the son of Mary Genus Davis/ (Site #6). Like the houses built by the second generation in other communities, it was a two story frame house with two rooms down and two up and had decorative features that were popular near the turn of the century. Similar in construction and design were the homes of Basil Bailey and Solomon Owen on Cattail Road (still standing) (Sites 3 and 1).

Key

CHURCH	
CEMETERY	
LODGE	
COMMUNITY CENTER	
STORE	
POST OFFICE	
SCHOOL	
DWELLING	
PRIVY	
STABLE	
MEAT HOUSE	
HEN HOUSE	
MILK HOUSE	
CORN/FEED HOUSE	
PIG PEN	
GARDEN	
PASTURE	
CORNFIELD	
HAY FIELD	
ORCHARD	
FOREST	
THICKET	
WELL	
SPRING	
STREAM	
POND	
PARCEL BOUNDARY	
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	
FENCE	
DIRT ROAD	
LANE	
PATH	
STREAM FLOW	

DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE

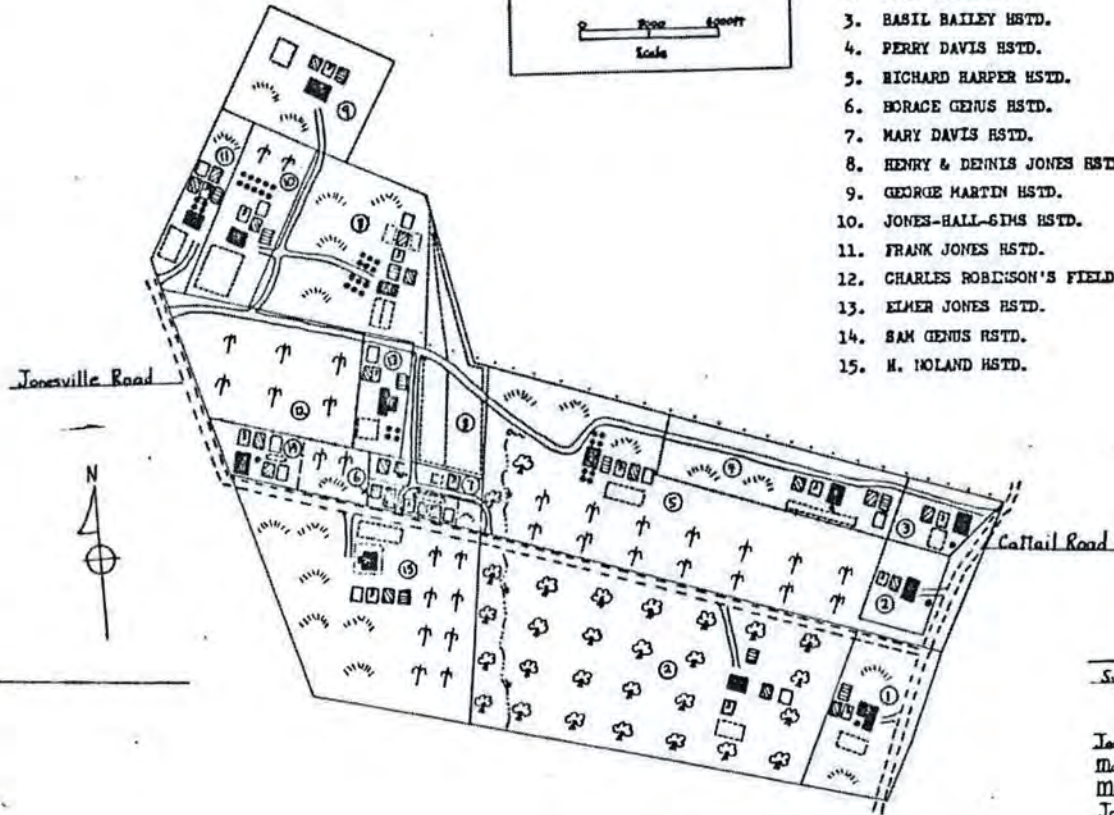
HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY



Map 7

JONESVILLE COMMUNITY, c. 1900-1925

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. SOLOMON OWENS HSTD. | 2.50 AC. |
| 2. JOHN TYLER HSTD. | 10.66 AC. |
| 3. BASIL BAILEY HSTD. | 1.75 AC. |
| 4. PERRY DAVIS HSTD. | 3.00 AC. |
| 5. RICHARD HARPER HSTD. | 8.25 AC. |
| 6. HORACE GENUS HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 7. MARY DAVIS HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 8. HENRY & DENNIS JONES HSTD. | 5.76 AC. |
| 9. GEORGE MARTIN HSTD. | 2.50 AC. |
| 10. JONES-HALL-SIMS HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 11. FRANK JONES HSTD. | 1.13 AC. |
| 12. CHARLES ROBINSON'S FIELD | 3.00 AC. |
| 13. ELMER JONES HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 14. SAM GENUS HSTD. | 1.30 AC. |
| 15. H. INGLAND HSTD. | 7.75 AC. |



Castrovalle
Steven Dealittle
Sugarcreek Regional Trails

Oral Informants
Joseph Harper
Martha Johnson
Mary Reed
John Sims
Charlie Turner

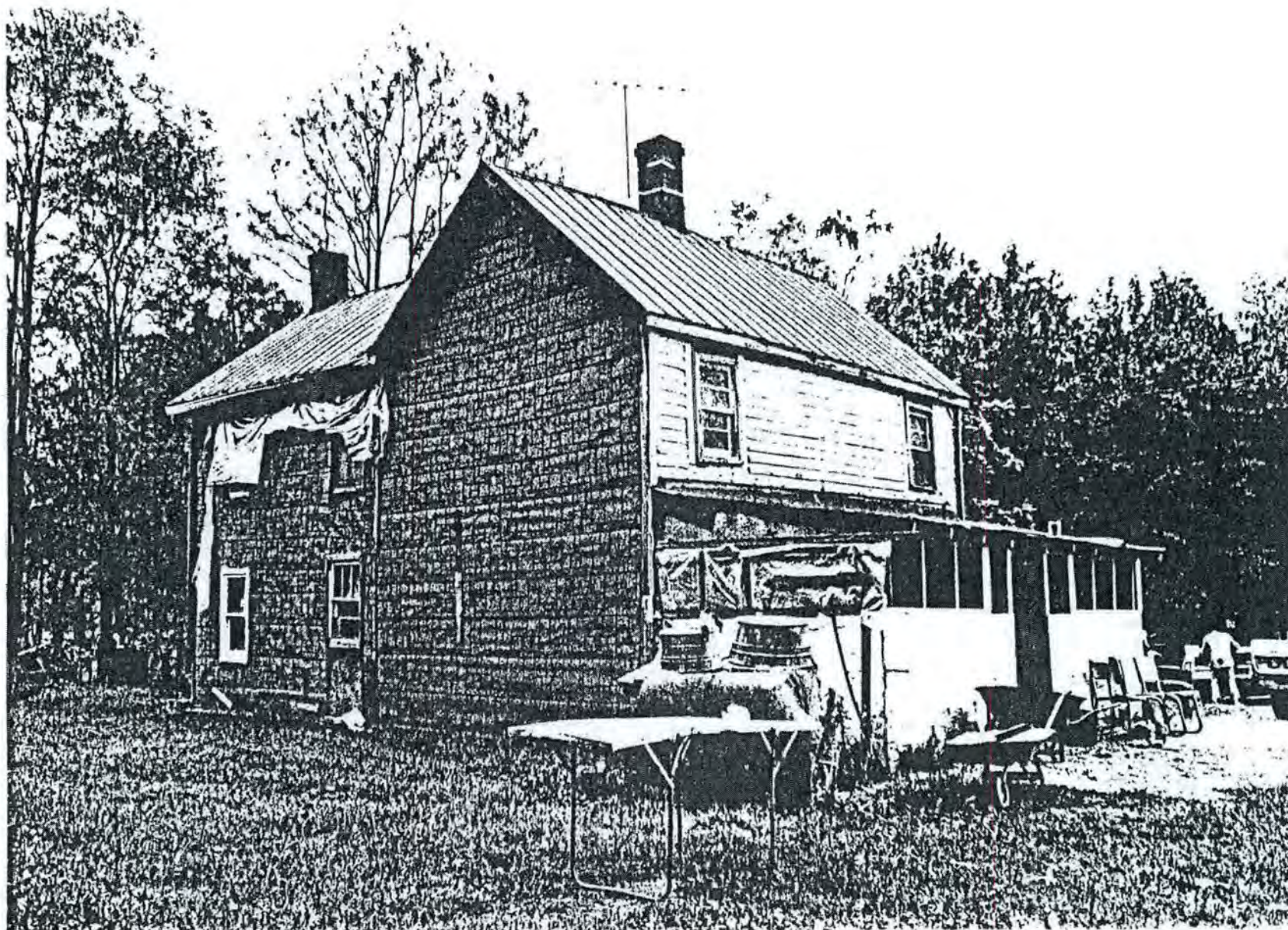


Figure 53 . Jones-Hall-Sims log house, Jonesville. Probably built in 1874, this was the home of Richard Jones, who helped found the Jonesville community. Changes include the addition of a two story frame block to the back length, weatherboards over the logs, and a shed porch to the front. In 1896 Levin Hall purchased the house, and four generations of his descendants live there today.

Photograph by George McDaniel

#

The third generation continued with these building traditions, as can be seen in Figure 54, the house constructed by Elmer Jones c. 1925 / (Site #13). Thus the houses in Jonesville reflect the transitions in housing of black landowning families from the period after emancipation through the 20th century and indeed up to the present.

Community Institutions

Institutions such as churches and schools did not develop within Jonesville itself, probably because it was less accessible than the nearby Jerusalem community located along Jerusalem Road and the Beallsville-Poolesville Road. For this reason the members of the Jonesville community belonged to the two churches in Jerusalem, attended school in Jerusalem, and were probably members of the Loving Charity Society there.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Basil Bailey house
- Mary Genus Davis house
- Thomas Harper house
- Jones-Hall-Sims house
- Elmer Jones house
- Solomon Owens house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization

- Mary Genus Davis house
- Jones-Hall-Sims house

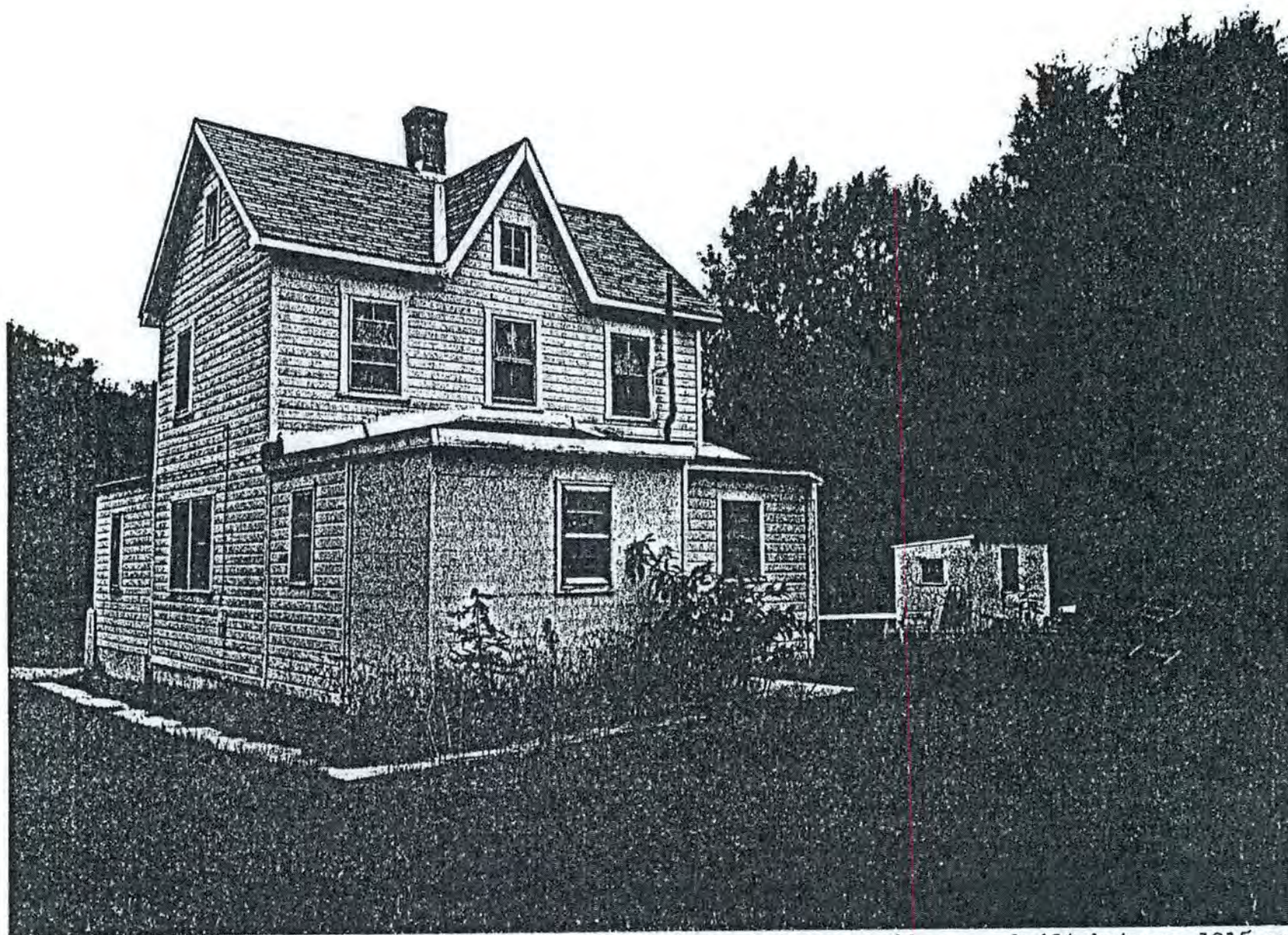


Figure 54. Elmer Jones house, Jonesville. The two story frame section was built between 1915 and 1925 by Elmer Jones. His descendants continue to live in the house. Jones was a jack-of-all trades -- carpenter, stone mason, bricklayer. His house is representative of the type built for the more prosperous landowners in the black communities throughout the county and state around the turn of the 20th century. (Photograph by George McDaniel)

These two houses were the first built in the community by its founders and need repairs. The structures themselves are still sound. Both are still inhabited by descendants of the founders.

Today the members of the Jonesville community still retain some of the traditional ways of life and are concerned about the preservation of their community's heritage. The Sims family are trying to rehabilitate the Jones-Hall-Sims house since it is so much a part of their family's history. Among the families interviewed during the survey, they are one of the relatively few who continue to produce their own food, raising and butchering their own hogs, and curing the meat, and growing their own vegetables. In the fall^{of 1978} as part of this survey, students from a class in Maryland history at Montgomery College participated in a hog butchering with them and recorded their methods in a photo essay (Figure 53).

—(Site #5)

The Harper family house in Jonesville/was dismantled and reassembled in 1976 at the Brookside Nature Center in Wheaton Regional Park as an example of "a pioneer cabin". It has been changed radically from its earlier appearance but three of the Harper brothers are still living. Two of them, Joe and Cole Harper, reside in the Jerusalem community nearby. All three could participate in historical workshops or tours of the house as oral informants for school groups and could provide a rich history, not only of the Jonesville community, but of the black experience in Montgomery County.



WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

COMMUNITY: Jonesville

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Basil Bailey house M-17-8-1	CT 563 - p. 703	Fair	1899	Historical Resource
2. Mary Genus Davis house M-17-8-2	CT 343 -p. 689	Fair	c. 1870-1890	Significant Historical Resource
3. Horace Genus house (Site) M-17-8-3	CT 343 -p. 717	Destroyed	c. 1911	Site
4. Thomas Harper house (Site) M-17-8-4	Wheaton Regional Park's Brookside Nature Center	Reconstructed	Late 18th cen. Early 19th century	Site
5. Jones-Hall-Sims house M-17-8-5	CT 43 - p. 497	Fair	c. 1874	Significant Historical Resource
6. Dennis & Henry Jones (Site) M-17-8-6	CT 343 -p. 529 527&	Destroyed	Unknown	Site
7. Elmer Jones house M-17-8-7	CT 343-p. 635 634 &	Good	1915-1925	Historical Resource
8. Frank Jones house (Site) M-17-8-8	CT 43 - p. 495	Destroyed	c.1870- 1890	Site
9. George M. Martin house M-17-8-9	CT 43 - p. 390	Good	c. 1880s	Historical Resource
10. Noland house (Site) M-17-8-10	CT 43 - p. 769	Destroyed	Late 1880s	Site
11. Solomon Owens house M-17-8-11	CT 343 - p. 890	Fair	c. 1901	Historical Resource

MARTINSBURG

Present Description

Martinsburg is a small community centered at the junction of White's Ferry Road and the Martinsburg-Dickerson Road. Although comparatively few of the 30 or 40 houses of the historical black community remain standing, those few that have survived, along with three important community buildings, have significant connections to the rich history of the community. For the most part, the houses and buildings are still occupied and are well kept.

History

Martinsburg began as a cross-roads village before the Civil War with a store, a post office, and a blacksmith's shop. From its beginning it was a bi-racial community. Some of the early black settlers had been slaves in the vicinity, although one man, Nathan Nailor, was allegedly free before the Civil War and had purchased his wife, who had been a slave. After emancipation the ex-slaves stayed in the community, purchased land, and continued to work as farmers, farm laborers, or craftsmen. Most blacks owned small homesteads of one to five acres, though Nathan Nailor owned more than 90.¹

Among these freed slaves was a man named Major Graham. He was identified in the 1867 census of freed slaves in Montgomery County as the former slave of Margaret A. Hickman, whose farm was on the east side of Elmer School Road. His son, Lemuel Graham, born in 1894, still lives in the Martinsburg area in

his family's house. Other founders of Martinsburg whose names appeared in the 1867 census were: Albert Green, Gilmore Green, James Ridout, and John Peters (a blacksmith and the maternal grandfather of Lemuel Graham).

Pace of Development

The beginning point for the black community was on the summit of the hill northwest of the junction of Martinsburg Road and White's Ferry Road, near the present-day cemetery of Warren M.E. Church. Ninety-seven acres there had been purchased for \$1,141 by Nathan Nailor in 1866, and on a portion of this tract a small church was built. In the late 1800s the church building was moved down to its present site on White's Ferry Road, and in 1903 a new church was constructed by Scott Bell, a white carpenter hired from Poolesville. In the late 1800s other black settlers purchased land on the Martinsburg-Dickerson Road, White's Ferry Road, and Elmer School Road. Not far from the heart of Martinsburg, other blacks lived along Trundle Road and Club Hollow Road. Of the original center of the community, little remains except for the cemetery and several houses. Most of the hilltop itself is wooded, and the road is in poor condition.

Of all the communities studied in the up-county area, Martinsburg is the most thoroughly identified in the 1879 Hopkins Atlas of Montgomery County (Map 2). Whereas the other black communities that are known to have been in existence at that time -- such as Sugarland or Jerusalem -- were not

indicated on the map, in Martinsburg five houses of black families were identified by name: those of Gilmore Green, John Peters, Isaac Warren, James Ridout, and Albert Thompson. The last three are still standing. Photographs of Albert Thompson and John Peters were copied as part of the survey (Figures 55 and 56). Also shown in the atlas is the site of the blacksmith shop of John Peters.

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

Oral informants Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham remember that in the first quarter of the 20th century, there were about 40 black homesteads in the Martinsburg vicinity. Community centers had developed along two road junctions -- Martinsburg and White's Ferry Road along Elmer School and White's Ferry Roads. Near the former were the church, school, and benefit society lodge. Also the homes of prominent blacks were built nearby: John Peters, Albert Thompson, Gilmore Green, and Isaac Warren. Near the other junction were the store, post office, blacksmith's shop, and the home of James Ridout, another prominent black landowner. The road from the old cemetery on the hill also intersected White's Ferry Road near this junction.²

Community Institutions

Martinsburg is the only rural black community in Maryland known to still have the three principal institutions of the historical community -- the church, school and benefit society lodge -- still standing in its center. Warren M.E. Church was named after Isaac Warren, a member of its first board of



Figure 53. Portrait of Albert Thompson, Martinsburg. A former slave born in 1817, Thompson was one of the founders of the black community in Martinsburg. His residence is shown on the Hopkins Atlas of Montgomery County of 1879, map 2 . His son Charles was a blacksmith in Martinsburg, and his granddaughter, Evelyn Herbert, taught school there. (Collection of John Thompson. Copied by George McDaniel)



Figure 56. Portrait of John Peters, Martinsburg. Born c. 1861 as a slave, Peters was a blacksmith in Martinsburg and was obviously prosperous. This is one of the very few photographs of a 19th century Negro blacksmith to have survived. His grandson Lemuel Graham inherited his manual dexterity.
(Collection of Lemuel Graham. Copied by Jee)

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trustees. The handsome frame church with gothic motifs, constructed in 1903, is still in use and shares its minister with the Mt. Zion Church in the Big Woods community. A painting of the church by resident Lemuel Graham appears as Figure 57. Close to the church is the lodge hall for the Loving Charity Society, a community benefit society found throughout Maryland and Virginia, and headquartered in Richmond, Va. The large two-story and once attractive hall (Figure 58) was constructed c. 1914 by carpenter Scott Bell (who had built the Warren M.E. Church in 1903). Like other lodge halls, the building served as a community center for plays, dances, lectures, and other community activities. It is one of the few lodge halls in the state that has survived.

Next to the church is the one room Martinsburg Negro School (Figure 59) probably built in 1886. It is now used as a community center. Many of the residents of Martinsburg have attended this elementary school. Oral informant Evelyn Herbert attended this school and later taught there. She remembers large classes -- as many as 45 to 50 in the small one room. In a taped oral interview she recalled the pleasures of teaching, as well as the "deplorable conditions" of black schools, especially the difficulty of obtaining adequate books. Those provided were out of date, cast-offs from the white schools. Pay for black teachers was only about \$57 a month, while white teachers received almost twice that.

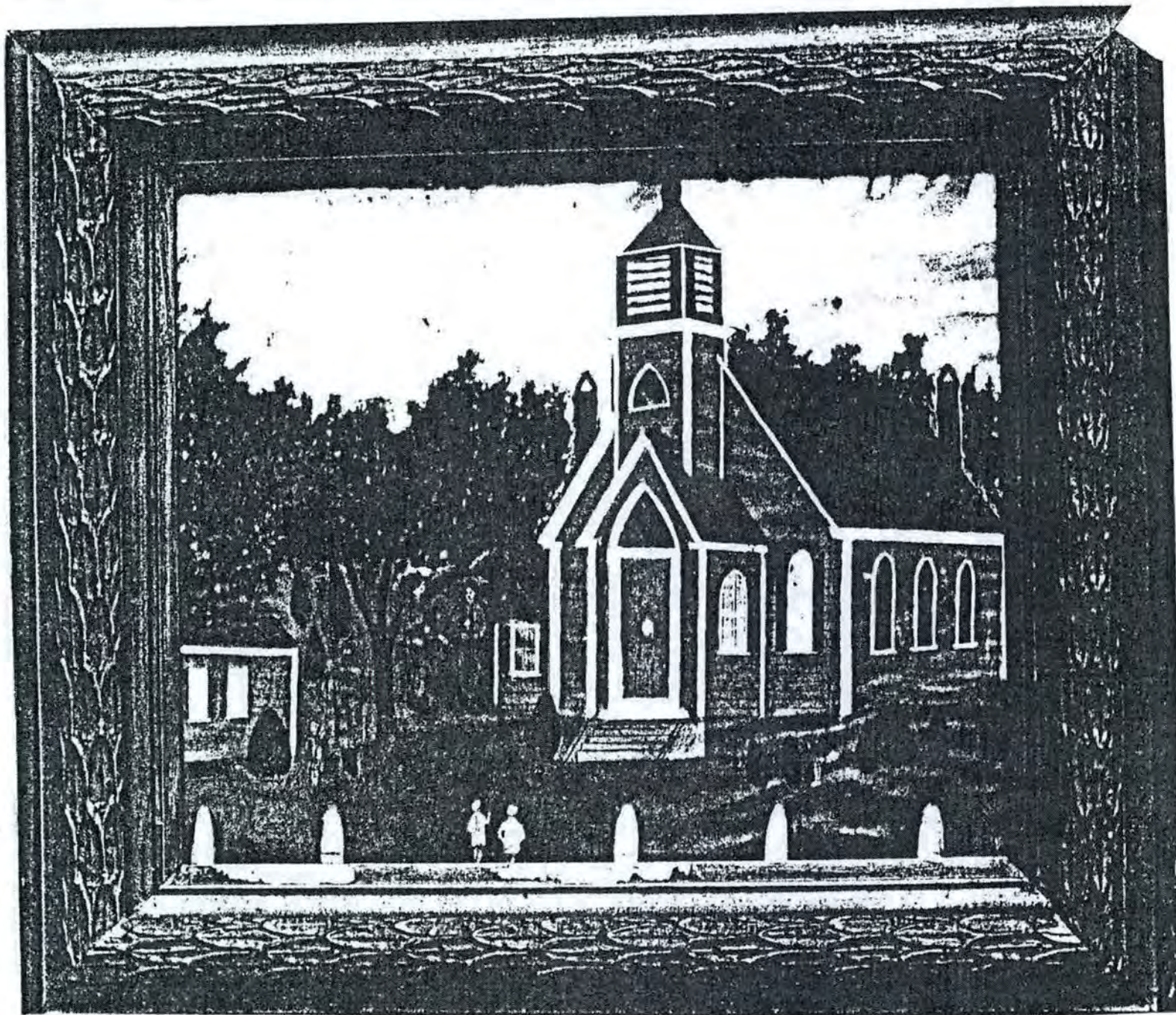


Figure 57. Painting of Warren Methodist Church, Martinsburg. Painted by Lemuel Graham of Martinsburg in the 1920s, this is the only painting of an historical black site to have been found, and Graham is the only black artist identified during the survey.

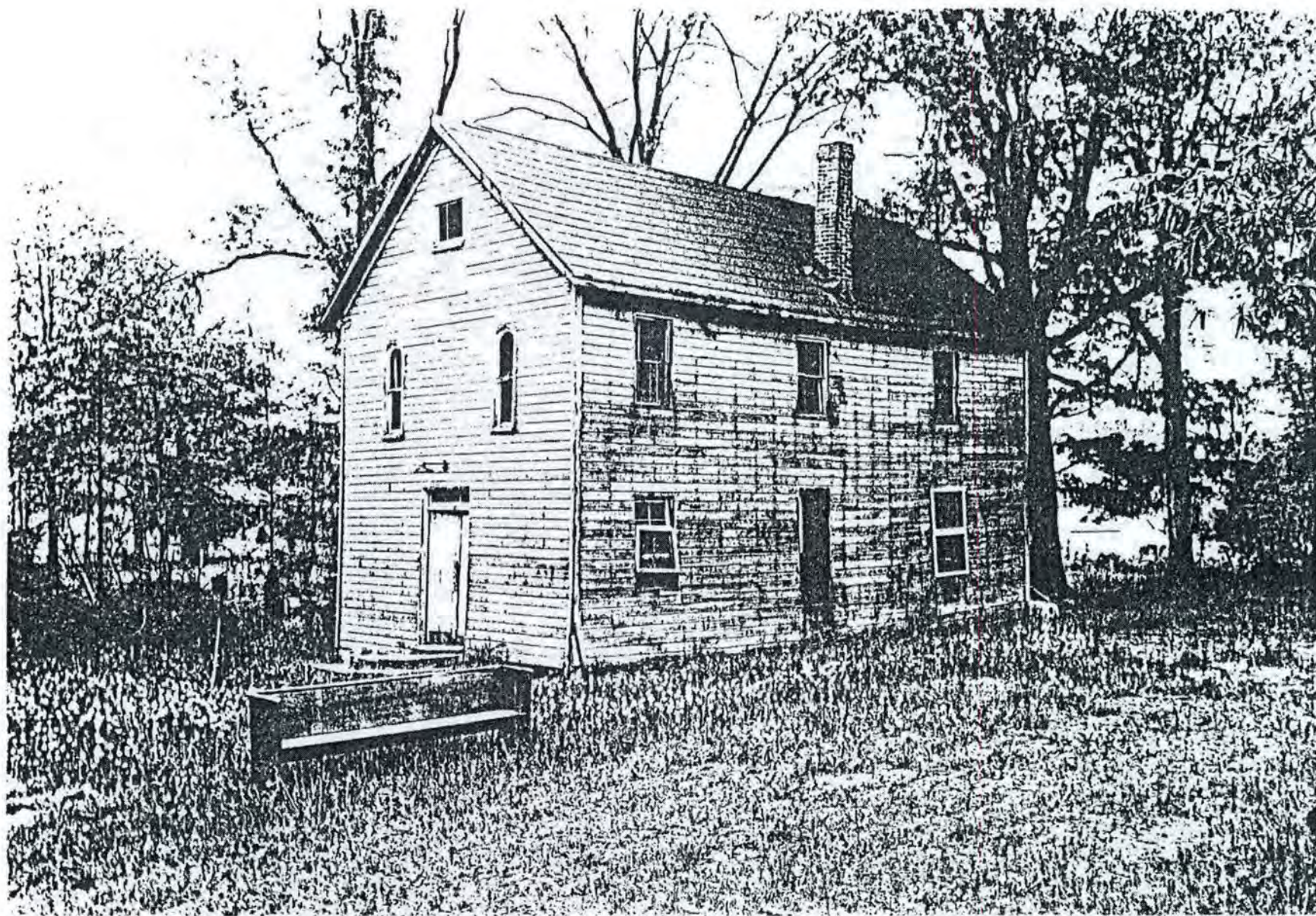


Figure 58. Loving Charity Hall, Martinsburg. This two story frame building of handsome proportions was constructed in c. 1913 as the hall for the Loving Charity Society in Martinsburg. Once a center for the community, it is now abandoned. In front is an old pew removed from the adjacent Warren Methodist Church.

(Photograph by George McDaniel)



Figure 59. Martinsburg Negro School. This originally one room building was constructed in the 1880s. Grades one through seven were taught. Although educational facilities were severely limited, one teacher recalled that during her tenure here in the 1930s, every student who finished could read and write. (Photograph by George McDaniel)

School began in September and lasted to April, but many students could not attend the complete session because they had to work. For example, Lemuel Graham attended only two months a year, working on farms from spring to Christmas, and received formal education only through the fourth grade. Yet like many older blacks who did not complete their education, he learned to read and write; his mind is alert and disciplined; and he enjoys learning. During his working years, he was a jack-of-all-trades: barber, cobbler, farm laborer, cook, chauffeur, and custodian.

The recollections of Martinsburg's teacher, Evelyn Herbert, give us a perspective on black education all over the county. As Evelyn Herbert recalls, "Reading, writing, and arithmetic were a must, every morning, and spelling. You also had geography and history. In the first grade it was mostly reading. You train them to write. Yes. Most of them were beautiful writers, I'll say that. Most of them could read. I don't think any child that went out of this door couldn't read or write."³

Given the conditions under which she and other teachers and students worked, this was a remarkable achievement. Schools like this one are therefore an important legacy of the black experience in Montgomery County.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Warren Methodist Church
- Martinsburg Negro School
- Loving Charity Hall
- Thompson house (Figure 60)
- Graham house
- Hood-Herbert house (Figure 61)
- Betters house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- Loving Charity Hall

This building should be rehabilitated. Ideas for its re-use (perhaps jointly with the school) are as a community center, gathering place for senior citizens, a farmer's market, or even adapted to become a private home.

- Thompson house

This house is the only surviving log house from the historical community and shows the changes in house styles. Its original occupant/owner was one of the founders of the black community in Martinsburg.

-
1. George Nailor, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Martinsburg community, May 1979.
 2. Evelyn Herbert and Lemuel Graham, interview (taped) by George McDaniel and Judy Docca.
 3. Ibid.



Figure 60. Albert Thompson house, Martinsburg. John Thompson is standing in front of the original log house of his grandfather, Albert Thompson. It is the one and a half story block at right (c. 1877). It was covered with weatherboards in 1916, when John's father, Otho Thompson, added the frame section at left.

(Photograph by George McDaniel)

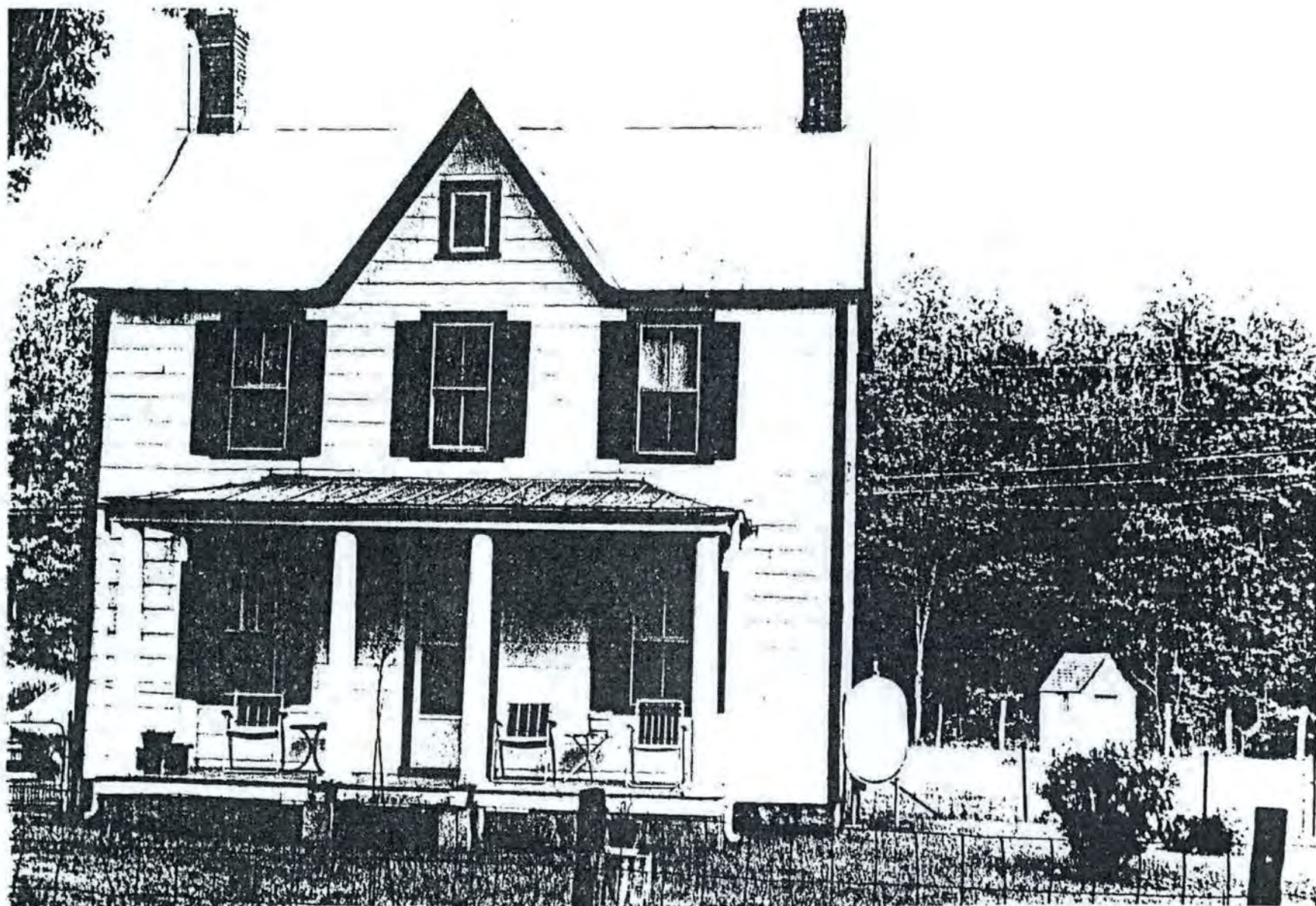


Figure 61. Hood-Herbert House, Martinsburg. This two story frame house with a typical three bay facade and a cross gable pediment was built in 1904 by George Columbus Hood. He was a landowning farmer, and his wife taught school in Martinsburg, Sugarland, and other black communities in Montgomery County. His daughter, Evelyn Herbert, also a school teacher, continues to live here. She remembers that the building materials for the house cost \$60.00. (Photograph by George McDaniel)

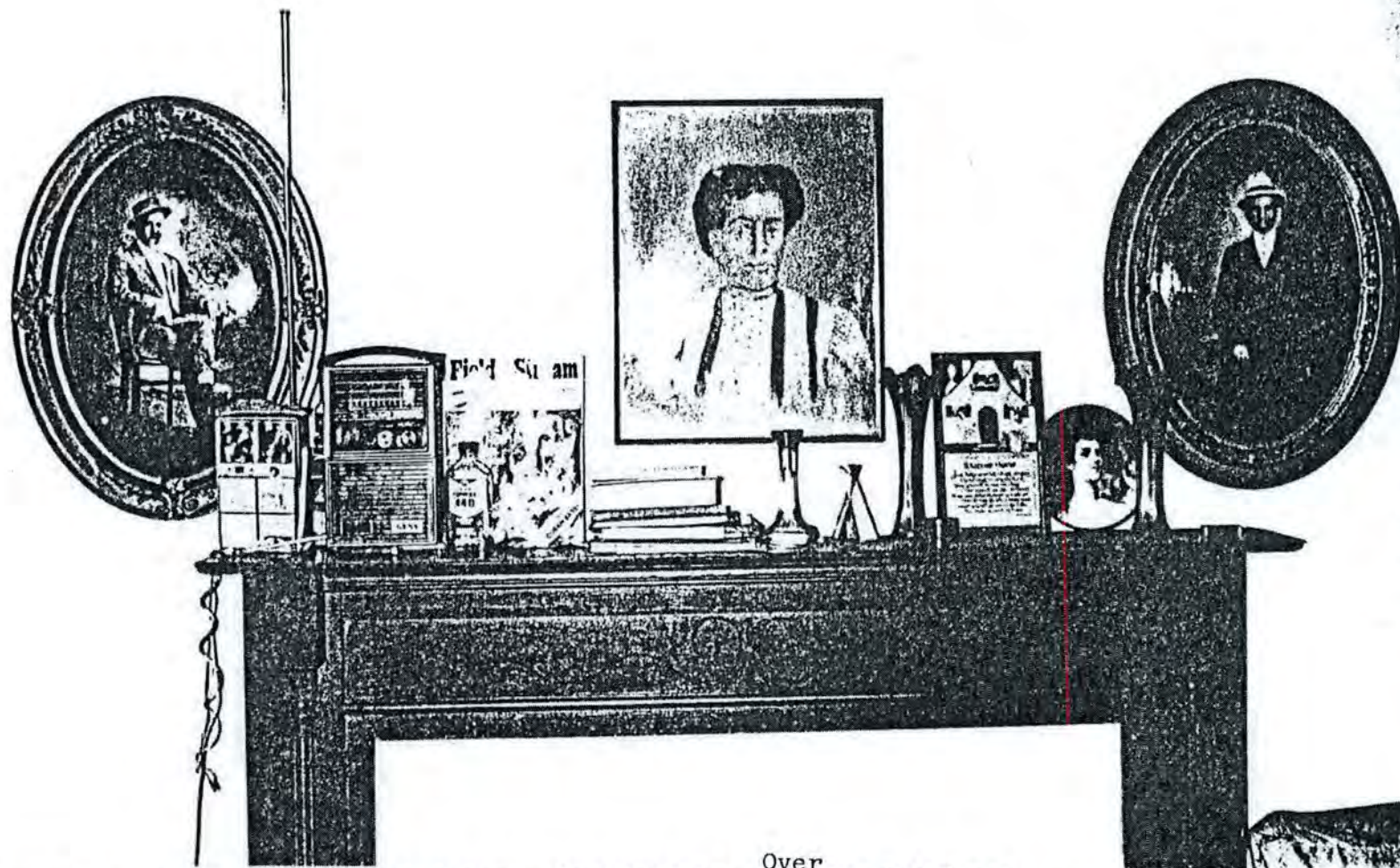


Figure 62. Graham house mantelpiece, Martinsburg. Over the mantelpiece are the family picture of Florence Graham, born in 1855, and two of her sons. Florence was the daughter of John Peters, figure 56. This mantelpiece represents a type of decorative detailing in the homes of more prosperous black families. Traditionally family pictures hung above the mantel. (Photograph by George McDaniel)

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WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

COMMUNITY: MARTINSBURG

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Betters house M-16-12-1	BU21 - P. 141	Fair	c. 1890	Historical Resource
2. Dorsey-Scott house M-16-12-2	BT31 - P. 765	Poor	c. 1900	Historical Resource
3. Fairfax house M-16-12-3	BT23 - P. 33	Fair	c. 1926	Historical Resource
4. Fisher-Diggs house M-16-12-4	BU21 - P. 837	Fair	c. 1900	Historical Resource
5. Graham house M-16-12-5	BT13 - P.	Very Good	c. 1911 c. 1926	Historical Resource
6. Graham house (Site) M-16-12-6	BU31 - P. 817*	Destroyed	c. 1870 1880	Historical Resource
7. Green-Hebron house M-16-12-7	BT31 - P. 817	Poor	c. 1870 1890	Historical Resource
8. Gilmore Green house (Site) M-16-12-8	BU31 - P. 865	Destroyed	c. 1876	Site
9. Hood-Herbert house M-16-12-9	BT23 - P. 588	Very Good	1904	Historical Resource
10. Jenkins log house (Site) M-16-12-10	BT21 - P. 438	Destroyed	Unknown	Site
11. Loving Charity Hall M-16-12-11	BU31 - P. 919	Poor	c. 1914	Significant Historical Resource
12. Martinsburg Negro School M-16-12-12	BU31 - P. 919	Very Good	1886	Significant Historical Resource

MT. EPHRAIMPresent Description

The Mt. Ephraim community is located along the old Mt. Ephraim Road which winds its way along Sugarloaf Mountain in Frederick County. Only a few sites of the historical black community remain. Two of the older houses have been modernized and are still inhabited, while others have been torn down or simply abandoned and are now in ruins in the woods. The oldest house in the community is now converted into a nature cabin. Around the turn of the century there were 15 or more black families living in the community, but today descendants of only one family remain - the Paul Wilson and John Wilson families. Fortunately, the Wilsons have keen memories, plus a rich collection of photographs and artifacts of the old community. Two other black families, the Bowies and Naylor's, live on Comus Road in re-modelled log houses.

History

Like the Big Woods community in Montgomery County, the roots of the Mt. Ephraim community extend back into the antebellum era, beginning with the purchase of land in 1814 by David Moody, a free black. According to Groves' History of Carrollton Manor, David Moody -- a "half Indian" -- was a charcoal burner and contracted to supply the iron furnace of Roger Johnson with charcoal.¹ At that time there were a number of charcoal burners active in the production of charcoal in the forests on Sugarloaf Mountain. In 1810 Benjamin Latrobe, noted American architect, visited Sugarloaf Mountain and

sketched a Negro family living in a bark wigwam and engaged in charcoal burning (Figure 10). It is possible that Latrobe's sketch was of David Moody. Later, in 1833, Moody acquired 53 acres from the Bank of the United States which was selling off a large portion of the Roger Johnson estate. Moody's holdings appear on a map of Sugarloaf Mountain of 1832, which shows Moody's property adjacent to land owned by whites.

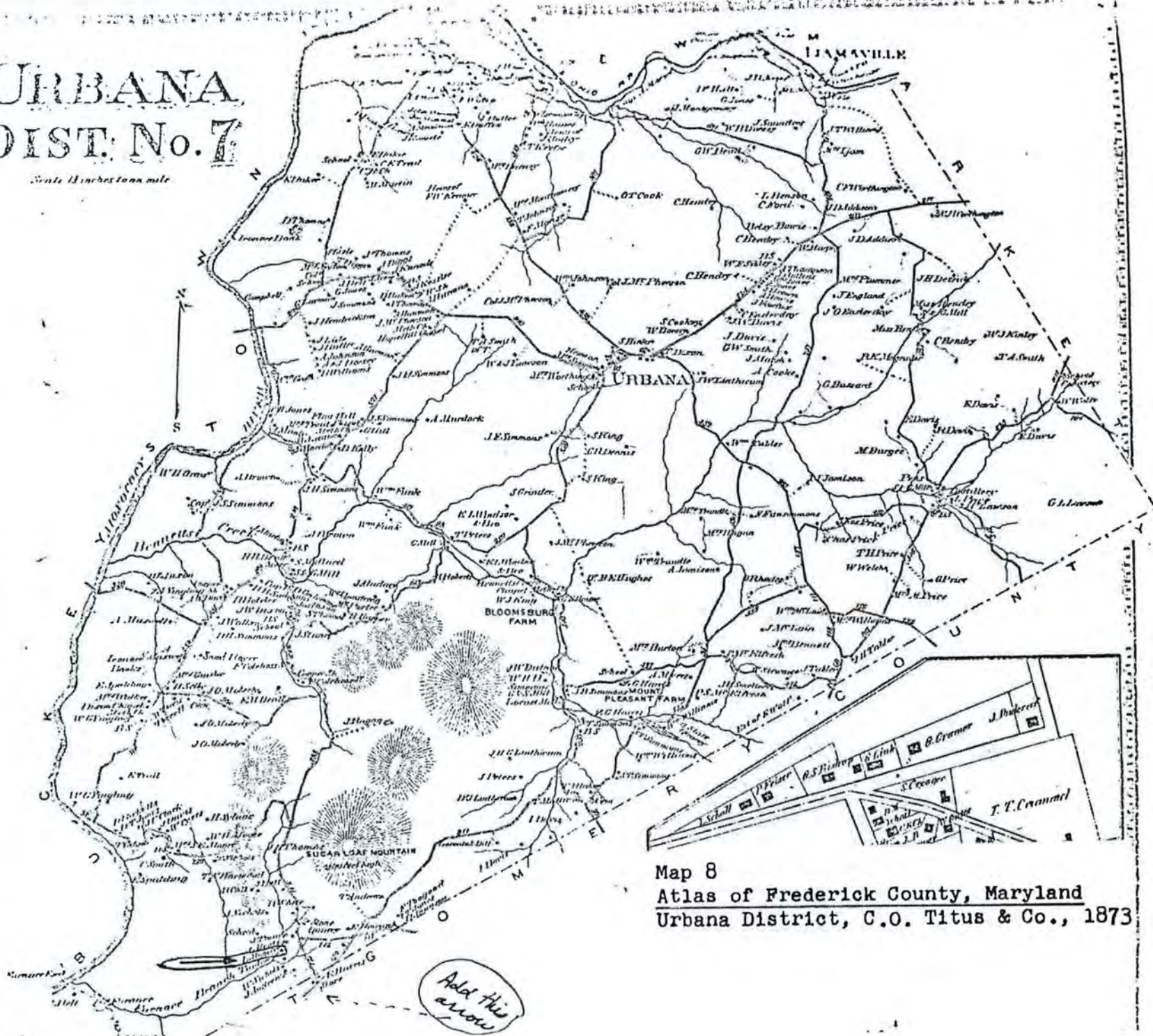
Pace of Development

In the 1873 Titus Map of Frederick County (Urbana District) (Map 8), the same tract of land is shown as owned by L. Moody, who presumably was Levi Moody, a close relative and probably son of David Moody. (Site #14a on Map 10, Mt. Ephraim Community shows the center of the original Moody tract). David Moody's descendants married into the Proctor family of Frederick County. In 1907 William Proctor (whose wife was a Moody descendant) purchased the main portion (75 acres) of David Moody's land from his heirs (Site #14c). Proctor's children then built log houses on small parcels of land given them (without title) by their father (Site #11a-d, 12, 14b, d). These small homesteads continued to be occupied by Proctor descendants throughout the first half of the 20th century (Figure 27).

In 1883 John Beall and his grandson Bene Hallman purchased two 10-acre properties almost adjacent to the Proctor holding from Ephraim Harris, a white storekeeper and postmaster. It was from him that the community took its name. Other grandchildren of John Beall settled on their land, living in log houses (Sites #5, 6 and 7). The Bene Hallman house and tools are shown in Figures 64 and 65. Another relative, Moses Hallman,

URBANA DIST. No. 7

Scale 1/4 inch to a mile

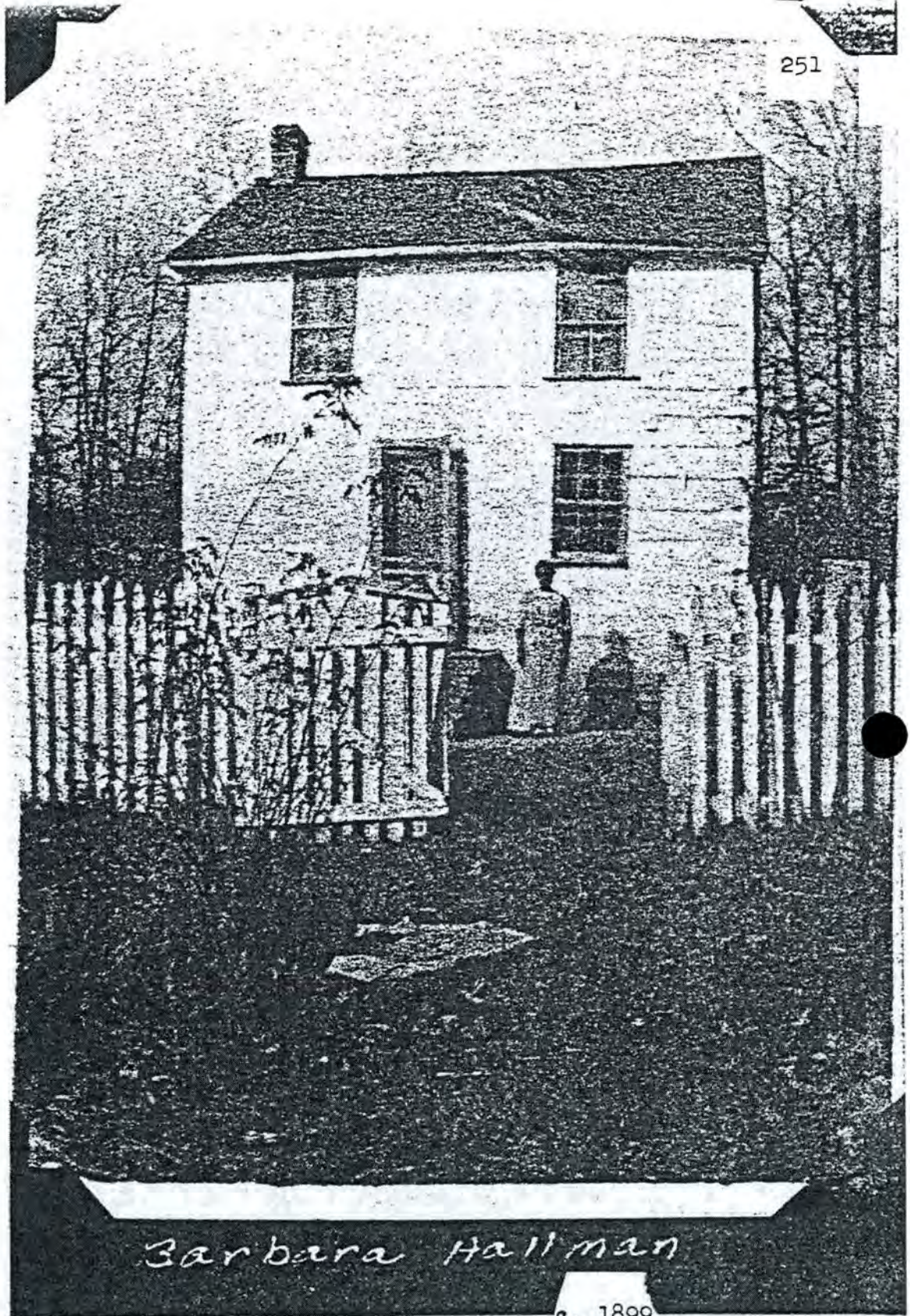


Map 8
Atlas of Frederick County, Maryland
Urbana District, C.O. Titus & Co., 1873

107
249



Figure 63. Ida, Sally, and David Proctor, Mt. Ephraim, ^{1920s} David was the direct descendant, and perhaps namesake of David Moody, the mixed blood (Indian, white, and black) who founded the black community of Mt. Ephraim in c. 1814. They are shown standing in front of their white-washed log house. Their manner of dress -- especially the long skirts, sleeves, aprons, and bonnets -- was 19th century in style and continued into the 20th century in these rural



Barbara Hallman

c. 1899

Figure 64. Bene Hallman house, Mt. Ephraim. Barbara Spencer Hallman is in front of the log house built by her husband, Bene Hallman. This & F63 are the only photographs located that show a log house while it was occupied. Notice the typical whitewashing and well-kept front yard. Most log houses had a window on each side of front door. (Collection of Wilson family. Copy by Joe Davis)

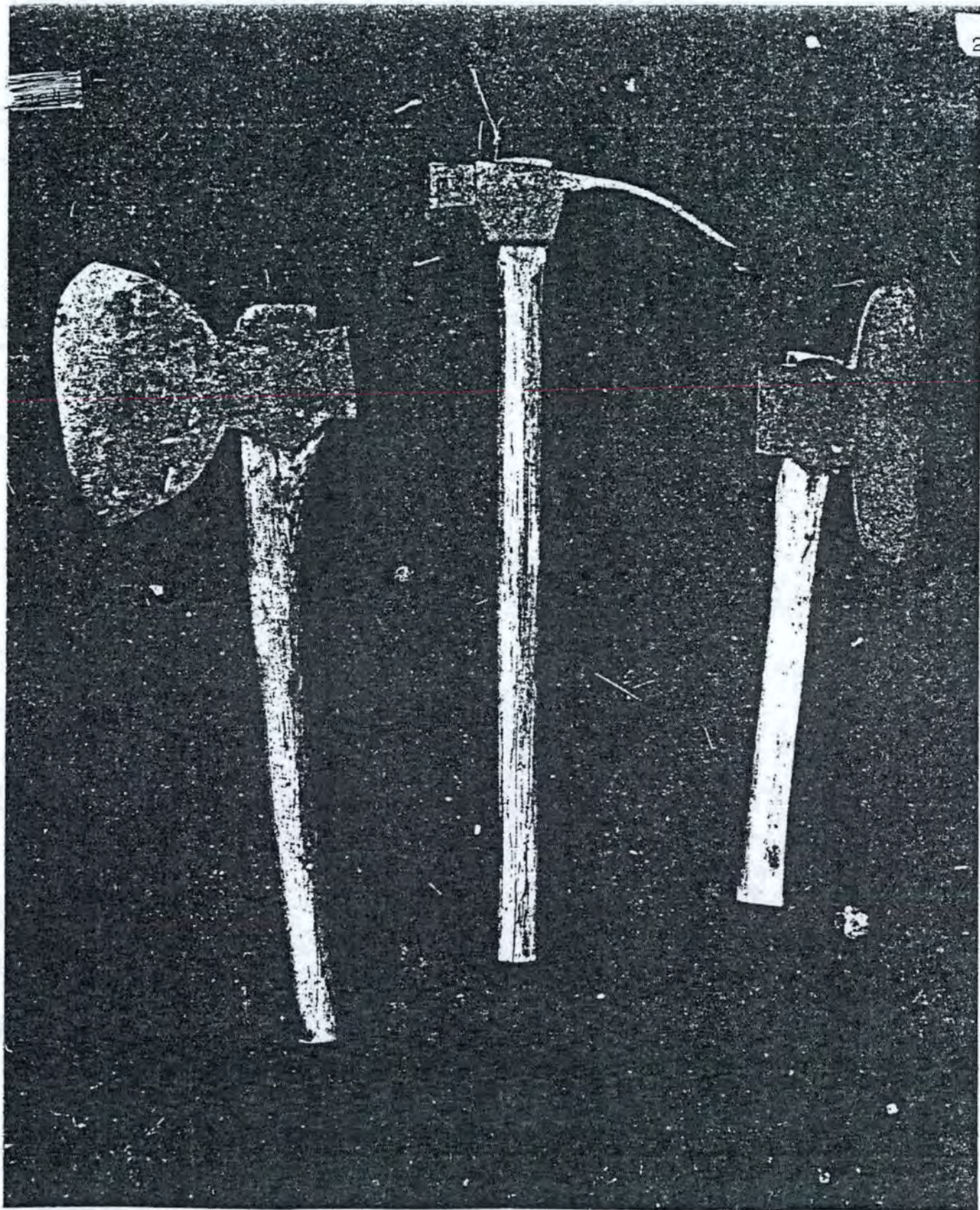


Figure 65. Tools of Bene Hallman, Mt. Ephraim. He used these broad axes and adze to build his log house seen in figure 64. Now in the possession of Paul Wilson, his grandson, these are among the very few historical tools used by blacks that have survived in the county. (Photograph by Joe Davis)

later acquired the land of John Beall, living there most of the first half of the 20th century. (Site 9)

Bene Hallman's wife was Barbara Spencer from Greenfield Mills, daughter of James and Martha Spencer whose home is shown on the Titus Atlas of Frederick County (Buckeystown District, Map 9). James was probably the son or grandson of the free black James Spencer who founded the black community in Big Woods. Spencer family photographs are shown in Figures 69-71.

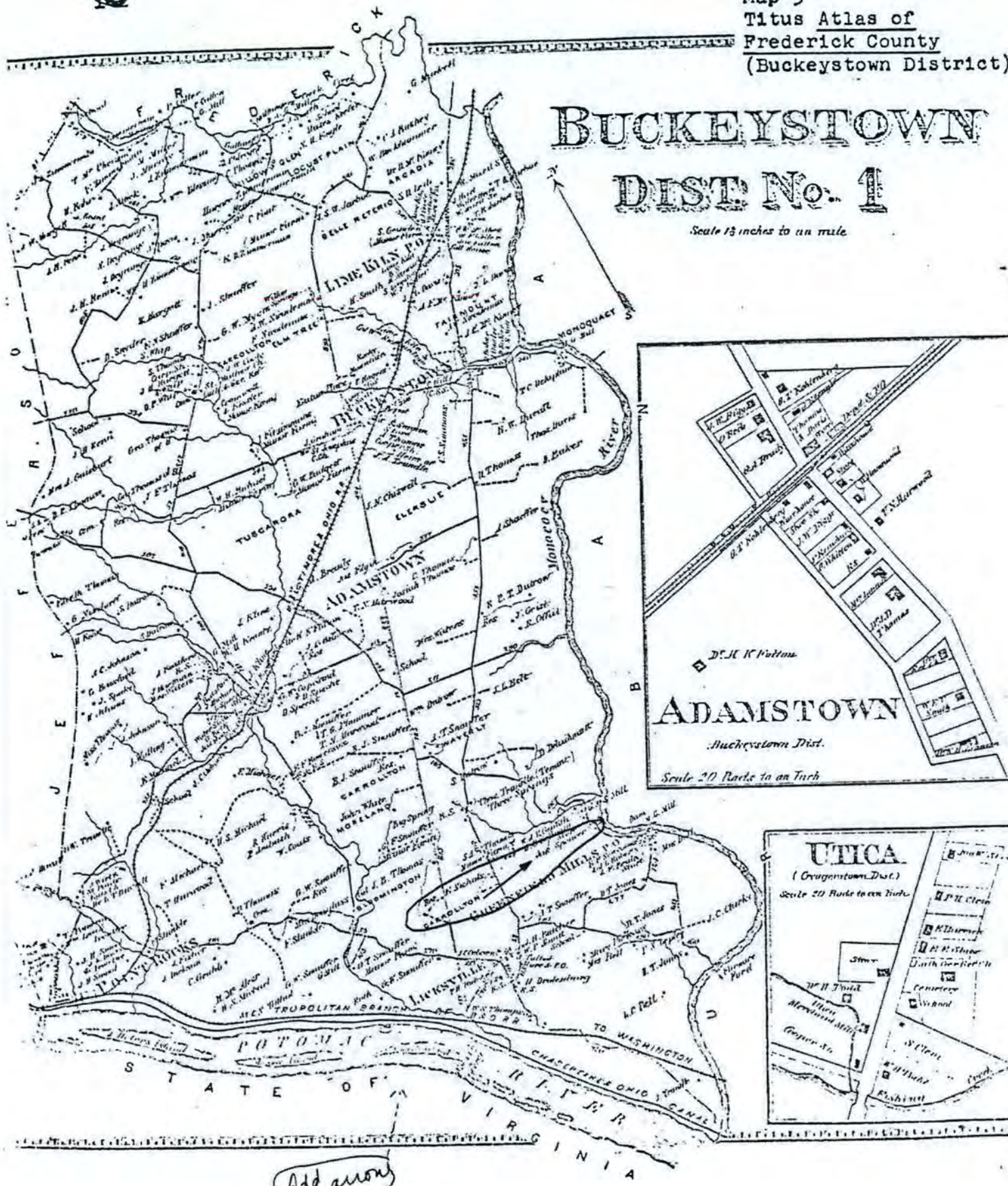
Mt. Ephraim was also connected to other communities by marriage. For example, Augustus Hood who owned a home on the west side of Sugarloaf Road (shown on the Hopkins Atlas of 1879, (Map 2) married Susan Thompson, daughter of Albert Thompson from Martinsburg and whose log house is shown in Figure 24. Their son, George Columbus Hood, returned to Martinsburg and married the school teacher there.

Like many blacks of that time John Beall, the Hallmans and Proctors were jacks-of-all-trades. For example, Bene Hallman worked as a stonecutter at the quarry at Dickerson (Figure 66), as a farm laborer, a broommaker, and as a traditional housewright (the log house that he built for Gordon Strong on Sugarloaf Mountain in the 1920's is still standing). Paul Wilson, Bene Hallman's grandson, still has the broom-making machine used by Hallman (Figure 4) along with his broad ax and adze (Figure 65). Both the Hallmans and Proctors probably worked at the sawmill near Sugarloaf Mountain, Figure 67.

Map 9
Titus Atlas of
Frederick County
(Buckeystown District)

BUCKEYSTOWN DIST. No. 1

Scale 1 1/2 inches to an mile





c. 1899

Figure 66 . Black workers at the Dickerson Stone Quarry/ The man on the far right has been identified as Bene Hallman. This is one of the few photographs of Montgomery County work scenes which includes blacks. (Collection of Wilson familv. Copied by Joe Davis)

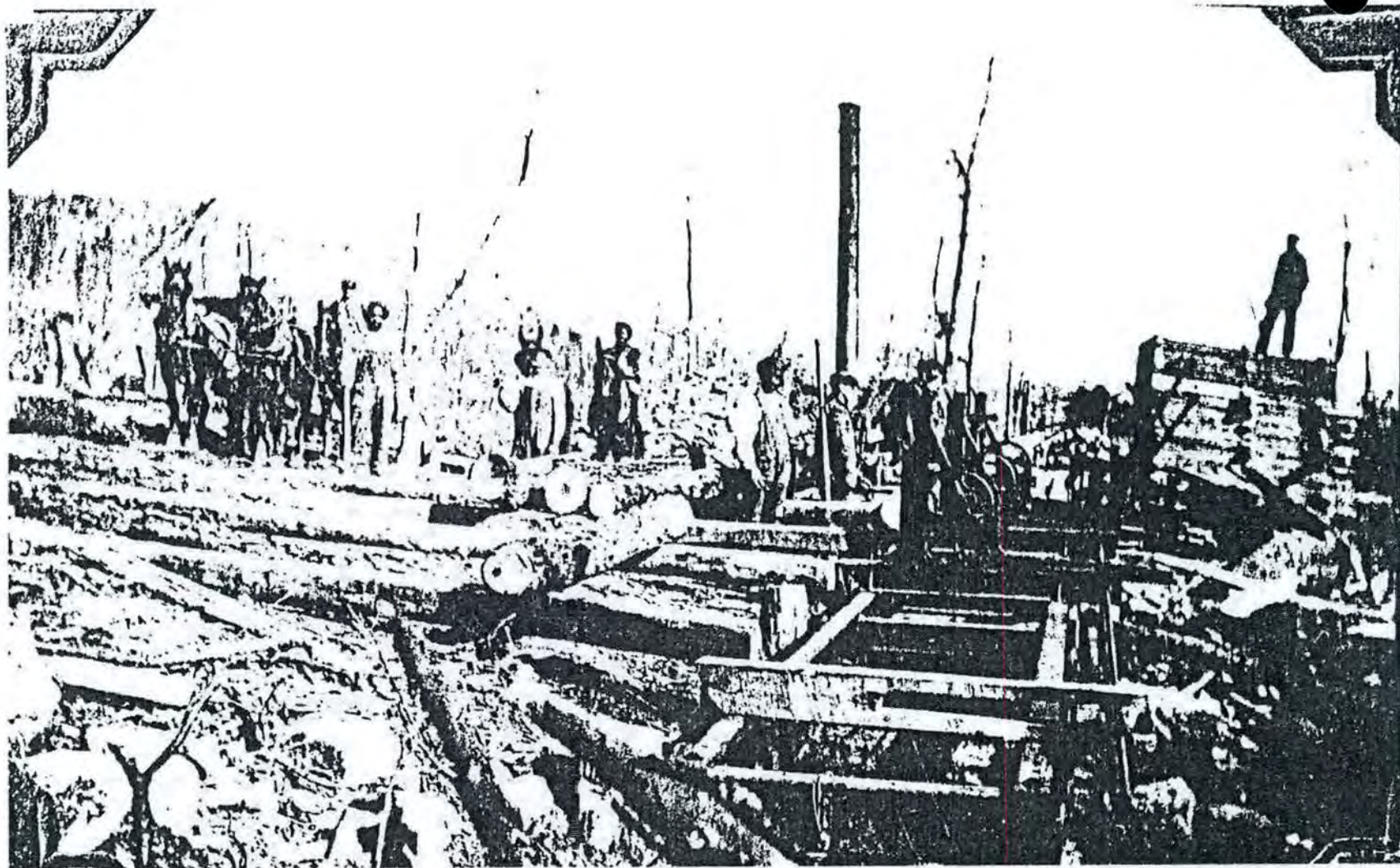


Figure 67. Sawyers at saw mill near Sugarloaf Mountain, c. 1916. Black and white sawyers at a steam powered saw mill in operation around the turn of the 20th century. Paul Wilson from Mt. Ephraim recalls that this was a typical sawmill and that blacks were commonly hired. Standing in front of the team of horses at left is a relative of Wilson, Clarence Hallman, b. 1892, who lives in Washington, D.C. (Collection of the Wilson family. Copied by Joe Davis)

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

By 1910 the black community consisted of 15 or more families, all descendants of either David Moody, John Beall, or Bene Hallman. Their houses were built of logs and usually consisted of two rooms down and two up. Two of the old log houses of the Proctor family are still standing. One, Linwood Proctor' (Site #14d) was reportedly the home of David Moody. The land around the houses was cleared, and a person could usually see from one homestead to another, effectively linking one place to another.²

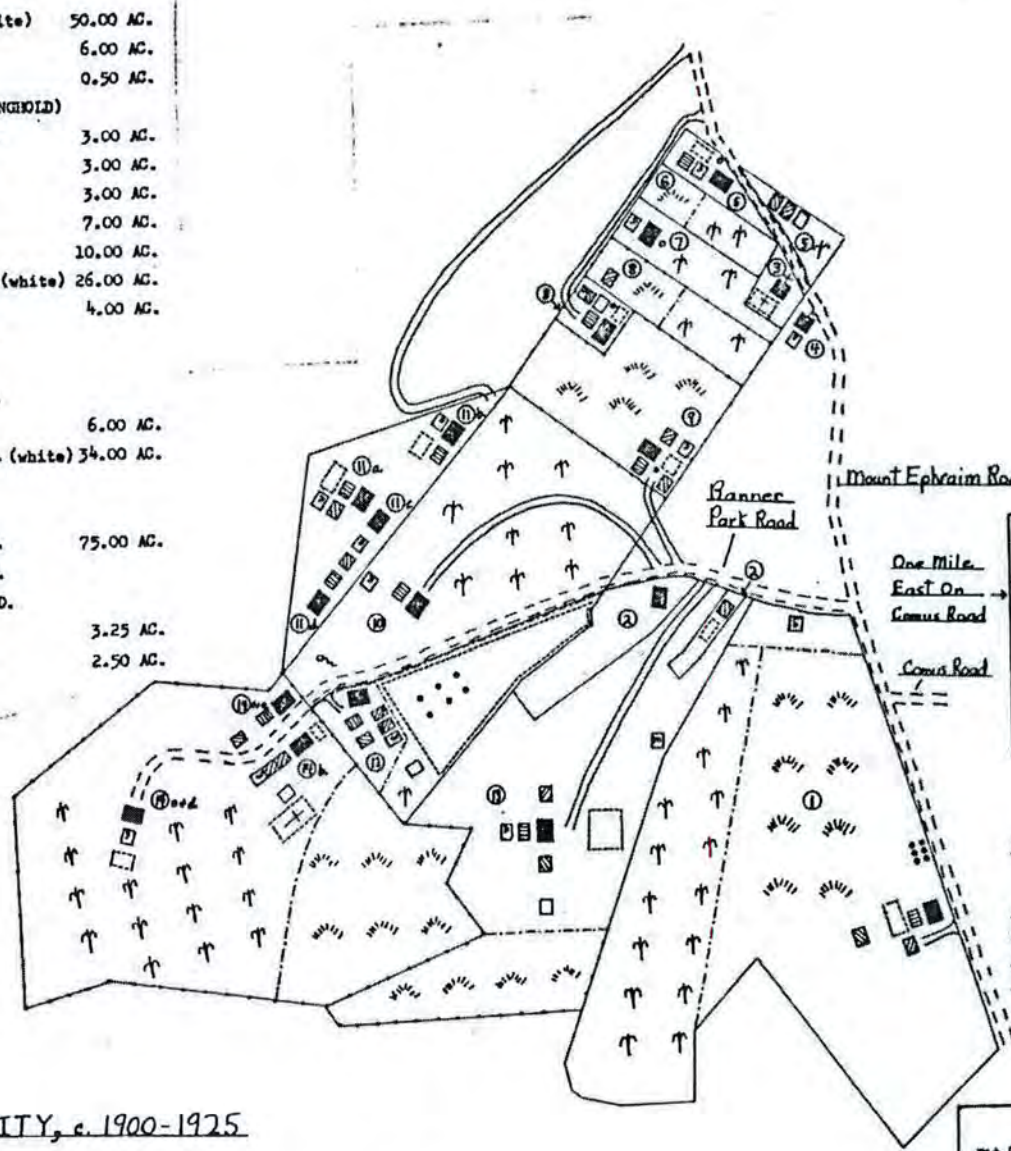
Kinship also joined the community. Near Bell's Chapel lived the descendants of John Beall and Bene Hallman, and along the present "Banner Park" Road lived the numerous descendants of David Moody and William and Mary Proctor. Thus by the early 1900s the community consisted essentially of two extended families, the Hallmans and the Proctors. The families inter-married to some degree, effectively converting the community to one extended family, and younger members had to turn to other communities for mates in order to avoid marrying their first cousins.

Shared work practices also linked the community. For example, the older adult generation -- Bene Hallman, Moses Hallman, Frank Proctor, and James Proctor -- worked at the Dickerson Quarry. The next generation -- John Proctor Thomas Wilson, John Bowie, Charles Bowie, Thomas Proctor -- were "track men", laying track for the B & O Railroad.

CHURCH	+
CEMETERY	⊕
LODGE	L
COMMUNITY CENTER	C
STORE	S
POST OFFICE	P
SCHOOL	⊠
DWELLING	□
PRIVY	⊞
STABLE	▨
MEAT HOUSE	▩
HEN HOUSE	⊞
MILK HOUSE	⊞
CORN/FEED HOUSE	F
PIG PEN	⊞
GARDEN	⊞
PASTURE	⊞
CORNFIELD	⊞
HAY FIELD	⊞
ORCHARD	⊞
FOREST	⊞
THICKET	⊞
WELL	o
SPRING	o
STREAM	~
POND	⊞
PARCEL BOUNDARY	---
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	---
FENCE	---
DIRT ROAD	---
LAKE	---
PATH	---
STREAM FLOW	←

- Key**
1. WILL TURNER HSTD. (white) 50.00 AC.
 2. FRED NICHOLS HSTD. 6.00 AC.
 3. BELL'S CHAPEL 0.50 AC.
 4. COMSTOCK SCHOOL (STRONGHOLD)
 5. WILLIAM HALLMAN HSTD. 3.00 AC.
 6. HANNAH HALLMAN HSTD. 3.00 AC.
 7. JAMES HALLMAN HSTD. 3.00 AC.
 8. BENE HALLMAN HSTD. 7.00 AC.
 9. MOSES HALLMAN HSTD. 10.00 AC.
 10. CHARLIE HARRIS HSTD. (white) 26.00 AC.
 - 11a. DAVID PROCTOR HSTD. 4.00 AC.
 - b. RACHEL PROCTOR HSTD.
 - c. LAURA PROCTOR HSTD.
 - d. CHARLIE PROCTOR HSTD.
 12. FRANK PROCTOR HSTD. 6.00 AC.
 13. CLINTON NICHOLS HSTD. (white) 34.00 AC.
 - 14a. WOODY FAMILY HSTD.
 - b. MORRIS POSEY HSTD.
 - c. WILLIAM PROCTOR HSTD. 75.00 AC.
 - d. LINWOOD PROCTOR HSTD.
 - e. HARRISON RAWLINS HSTD.
 15. ARTHUR WOOD HSTD. 3.25 AC.
 16. ARTHUR NAYLOR HSTD. 2.50 AC.

DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE
HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY



Mount Ephraim Road

Banner Park Road

One Mile East On Comus Road

Comus Road

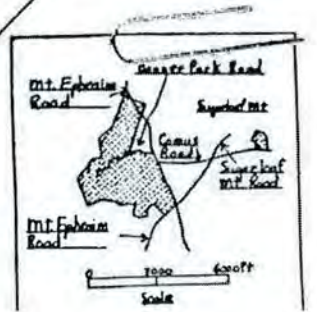
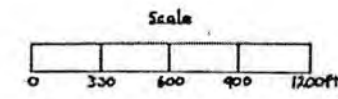


Source
Steven Dealittle
Sugarloaf Regional Trails

Oral Informants
Charlotte Ambush
Frances Bowie
Clarence Naylor
Paul Wilson

MT EPHRAIM COMMUNITY, c. 1900-1925

MAP 10



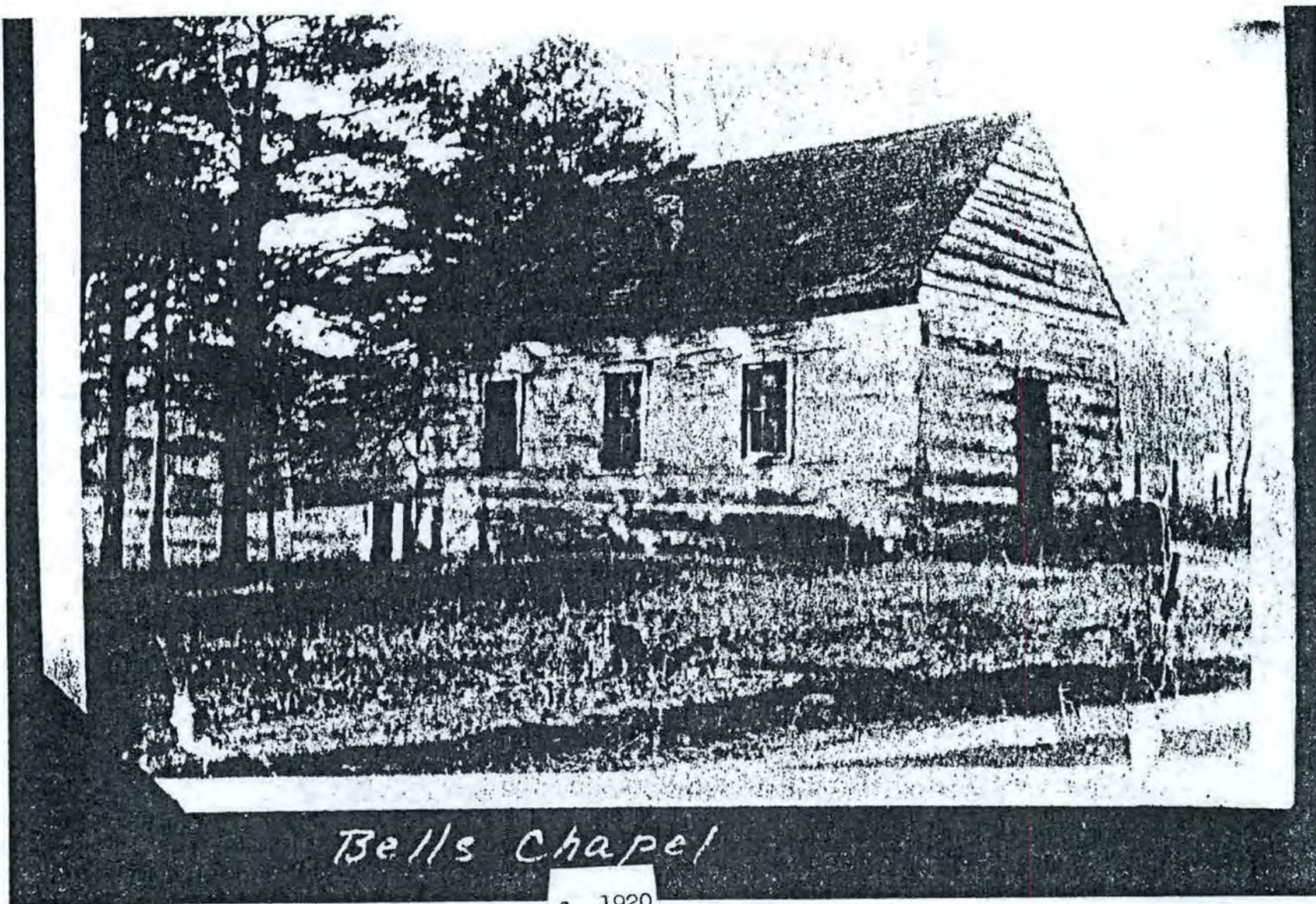
According to oral informant Paul Wilson, eight men would haul a rail with long tongs (like ice tongs), lay it onto the bed, and then two men would "hammer those spikes down before you could hardly blink your eyes".³

Mt. Ephraim was a bi-racial community of small white and black landowners. For example, near the Proctors along Banner Park Road lived members of the Nichols family/ (Site #2), who were white, as were the Turners/ (Site #1). On the east side of the community along the Comus Road, lived other white families, who occupied log houses. Three of them still stand. In the first quarter of the 20th century, two were acquired by black families, the Woods and Naylor's, and descendants still live in the houses today (Sites 15 & 16)

Community Institutions

The two institutions of the black community at Mt. Ephraim were the church and the school. The church, now known as Bell's Chapel/ (Site #3), may have originally been called Beall's Chapel, since one of its first trustees was John Beall when the church was founded in 1874. The original church was log (Figure 68). Significantly other trustees of the early church were William Taylor, Patrick Hebron, and John H. Diggs, trustees of M.E. Church at Sugarland, about 15 miles away, a considerable distance at that time of horse and wagon travel.

In 1925, an attractive, simply designed, one and a half story frame church was built as a replacement. Behind the church is the old cemetery where many of the Proctors and Hallmans are buried.



Bell's Chapel

c. 1920

Figure 68. Bell's Chapel (log), Mt. Ephraim. Built by the Mt. Ephraim community in c. 1874. It is possible that other communities built similar churches before their replacement around the turn of the 20th century by frame structures. This is the only photograph of a 19th century log chapel of a black community known to exist in Montgomery County. (Collection of the Wilson family. Copied by

In the late 19th century, school for black children was held in the log church. In the 1910's the wealthy philanthropist Gordon Strong constructed a handsome one story school with neo-classical motifs/ ^{(Site #4).} It was named the Comstock School. Both the school and Bell's Chapel are still standing, but are only used for special occasions since only a small portion of the community remains there.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Linwood Proctor house
- Bell's Chapel and cemetery
- Comstock School
- Frank Nichols house
- William and Rachel Proctor house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- Linwood Proctor house

Though this house at Banner Park is in good condition now, it is not inhabited and could deteriorate rapidly unless it is cared for. According to family tradition it was the original home of the Moody family, the family of free blacks who founded the black community there in the first half of the 19th century. It is one of the very few log houses of an antebellum free black family to have survived in Maryland.

1. William Jarboe Grove, History of Carrollton Manor, Frederick County, Maryland (Frederick, Md.: Marten & Bielfeld, 1928), P. 407.
2. Charlotte Ambush and Polly Gutheim, interview (taped) by George McDaniel and Steven Doolittle.
3. Paul Wilson, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Mt. Ephraim community, April, 1979.

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: Mt. Ephraim

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Bell's Chapel & Cemetery F-7-1-1	Map 10 No Parcel #, Adjacent to p.22	Good	1925	Significant Historical Resource
2. Comstock School F-7-1-2	Map 110 No Parcel #, Adjacent to p.22	Good	c. 1910s	Significant Historical Resource
3. Cosgrove-Naylor house F-7-1-3	Map 110-p.77	Fair	c. 1850-1873	Historical Resource
4. Bene & Barbara Hallman house (Site) F-7-1-4	Map 110-p. 36	Destroyed	c. 1896	Site
5. James & Malinda Hallman house (Site) F-7-1-5	Map 110-p.22 &35	Destroyed	c. 1885-1905	Site
6. Moses Hallman house (Site) F-7-1-6	Map 110 - p. 34	Destroyed	c. 1880-1893	Site
7. William & Hannah Hallman house (Site) F-7-1-7	Map 110 - p.22	Destroyed	c. 1880s	Site
8. Frank Nichols house F-7-1-8	Map 110 - p. 26	Fair	c. 1875-1895	Significant Historical Resource
9. Morris & Agnes Proctor house (Site) F-7-1-9	Map 113 - p. 12	Destroyed	c. 1875-1895	Site
10. Charles & Laura Proctor house (Site) F-7-1-10	Map 110 - p. 63	Destroyed	c. 1875-1895	Site
11. David & Sally Proctor house (Site) F-7-1-11	Map 110 - p. 63	Destroyed	c. 1875-1895	Site
12. Frank & Maggie Proctor house (Site) F-7-1-12	Map 113 - p. 30	Destroyed	c. 1875-1895	Site

FIVE GENERATIONS



Mirtha Spencer



Barbara Hallman



Mable Wilson



Virginia Wilson



Arlene

Figure 69. Five generations, Spencer/Hallman families, Mt. Ephraim. Page from the family photograph album compiled by Barbara Hallman and her granddaughter Barbara Wilson. This is one of the few black families in the county that has documented its history for five generations.



*Martha Mariah
Spencer*

Wilson family collection. Copied by J. Davis
 Figure 70. Martha Spencer, Mt. Ephraim, ^{ca. 1900}. The mother of Barbara Spencer
 Hallman. She probably was the great granddaughter of David Moody.
 She married James Spencer and lived in Greenfield Mills, Md. Their
 residence is shown on the Titus Map of Frederick County, Md. 9-



Figure 71. James & Caroline Spencer, Greenfield Mills, Frederick County, 1860's. They were born in 1815 and in 1823 respectively, as free blacks. The "James Spencer" who founded the Big Woods community in 1814 was probably the father of this man. His granddaughter was Barbara Spencer Hallman of Mt. Ephraim. Other than photographs of prominent black leaders, there are virtually no photographs of identified blacks from Maryland born earlier than this couple. (Wilson family collection. Copied by Joe Davis)

SENECA/BERRYVILLEPresent Description

Although there is no black community today at Seneca, there are some black landowners in the nearby community of Berryville at Violet's Lock and Berryville Road. All the old houses, the churches, school, and other buildings are gone in both communities. The 82 year old oral informant from Sugarland, Tilghman Lee, remembers that the Seneca/Berryville black community was neither as old nor as large as the one at Sugarland (which dates from the 1870s). James Henry Jackson, a middle-aged informant, confirmed that no historical sites are standing, and that all the old timers had passed on. Lee, Richard Lyles from Sugarland, and I did try to locate and interview an elderly black farmer who was raised in the area, Cecil Murray, but unfortunately he died before we could meet for an interview. Thus, no sites were surveyed nor interviews conducted in Seneca/Berryville.¹

Community Institutions

Tilghman Lee, stated that the old Seneca Community Church was originally located on the east side of Violet's Lock Road. Sharing the site with the church was the school house for the

H

black community. Behind the church was the cemetery. Since access to the cemetery is blocked on Violet's Lock Road, it could not be surveyed. Nothing remains above ground of either the church or school house. A new church has been built on Berryville Road. This survey experience in Seneca/Berryville and Hyattstown illustrates that this survey of black sites has been conducted five or ten years too late. We are indeed fortunate in the other communities to have sites and informants such as Tilghman Lee with us today.

-
1. Tilghman Lee and James Henry Jackson, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel and Richard Lyles, Berryville community, June, 1978.

SUGARLAND

Present Description

This community of about 20 houses is located along Sugarland Road and Sugarland Lane. At the junction of the two roads stands the old church, built in 1893, with the cemetery behind it. The houses today are of different types of construction, ranging from trailers to bungalows to ranch style brick houses. Most of the landmarks of the historical community -- houses, fields, paths, farm lanes, stores -- are gone. Only one house of the old community -- the William Taylor house -- remains, and it is abandoned and in the midst of collapse. Driving through the wooded and residential community today one sees little evidence of the once well-established historical community of approximately 30 families.

History

This community was created by freed slaves who bought adjacent tracts of small acreages in the 1870's and 1880's. The tract was called Sugarland Forest in the antebellum 19th century -- referring to large stands of sugar maples. According to Tilghman Lee, born in 1893 and the son of one of the founders, "one of the slavery-time families" divided one of their fields into parcels and sold off the tracts one by one to freed slaves. The tightly knit configuration of the community surrounded by large landholdings indicates that

this oral account is probably true. On the 1879 Hopkins Atlas (Map 2), this area is designated as the residence of Jane Pleasants, and it is the Pleasants family and their relatives that sold this land. They were probably Quakers,¹ hence more willing to cooperate and support the freed slaves.

Whereas blacks in other communities were usually sold less desirable land, the Pleasants family sold to these freed slaves fertile agricultural land. It was gently sloping, neither too hilly nor too low and wet. According to recollections, the land had already been cleared and cultivated.

The founders of the community were not former slaves of the Pleasants family. Instead, they had belonged to nearby families such as the Allnutts, Pooles and Brewers, as shown in the 1867 census of freed slaves. According to Tilghman Lee, they were able to buy land with a small down payment and continued monthly payments. Deeds show that the land was not mortgaged, so apparently this method of payment was a gentleman's agreement.

Thanks to the fine memory of Tilghman Lee, all of the founding families of the community have been identified and are named in the list of historical sites. The earliest set-

tlers were Patrick Hebron who bought four acres in 1871 (Site #6a on Map 11, Sugarland Community); Rezlin (Luke) Lynch, ten acres in 1871 (Site 18); Nancy Dorsey, wife of Basil Dorsey, two acres in 1874 (Site #10); and William Taylor, two acres in 1876/ (Site #19). The one house still standing is the solidly constructed two story log house of William Taylor, now ruinous. Like most of the other houses it had two rooms down and two up. Those settlers who were financially better off, such as Patrick Hebron, built two story frame houses, as did the second generation of residents.

Another founder, Phillip Johnson, was one of the few former slaves in Maryland interviewed by the W.P.A. in the 1930s. In the interview, he recalls that he had been a slave of Dr. White near Edward's Ferry. He remembered that "we all liked the Missis", but the overseer was "so cruel...I promised him a killin if I every got to be big enough". He enjoyed agricultural work. "It was pretty work to see four or five cradlers in a (wheat) field and others following them raking the wheat in bunches and others following binding them in bundles". Later he was taken to Poolesville and remembers when Confederate and Yankee soldiers raided the town. The son of Johnson's owner, Captain Sam White, "came home from the Confederate Army and said he going to take me along back with him for to serve him. But the Yankees came and left very sud-

den and leave me behind. I was glad I didn't have to go with him". He described a Confederate raid on the Methodist Church: a Confederate soldier "came to the door and he pointed his pistol right at the preacher's head", and while other Confederates guarded the windows, their comrades stole the horses and wagons of the congregation.²

Johnson's recollections show that slaves did have a strong sense of family. His father, who was named Sam Johnson, lived to age 89, died in his son's house/ (Site #25), and was buried in the cemetery in Sugarland. His mother was named Willie Ann and died when he was small. His father then re-married.

After emancipation, in addition to farm work, Phillip Johnson was a minister and preached at Sugarloaf Mountain (Bell's Chapel) for six years. In conclusion, he said that "I think preaching the gospel is the greatest work in the world. But folks don't seem to take the interest in church that they used to."³

Pace of Development

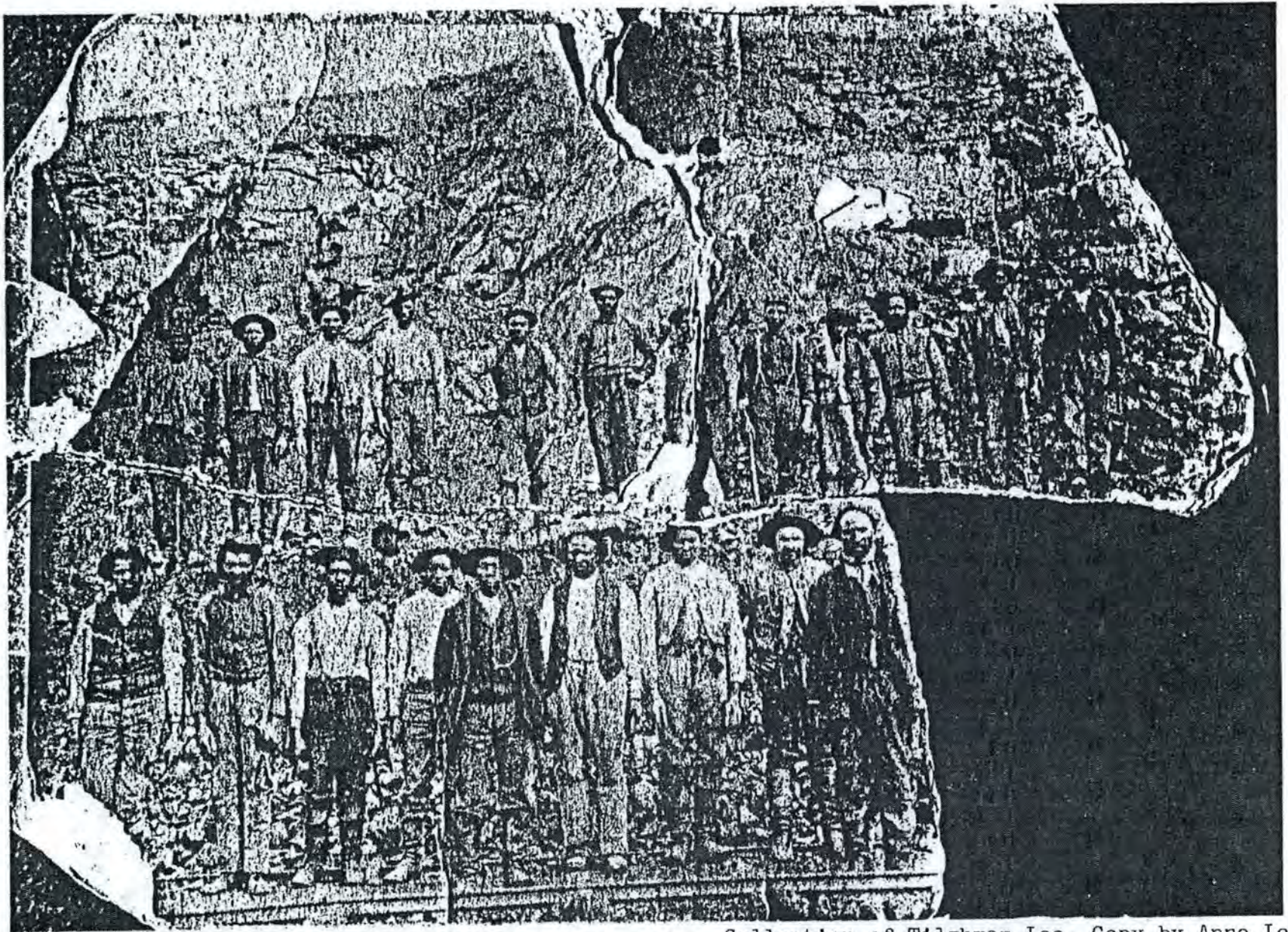
The Sugarland landowners worked as farm laborers on farms nearby for cash wages. The early wages are not remembered, but were undoubtedly low, as for all farm work. Tilghman Lee re-

calls by the early 1900s that the pay was 50 cents a day. "When there wasn't work on one farm they'd go to another." The more successful landowners such as Patrick Hebron were able to rent other farmland, raise their own crops, such as corn and wheat, market it themselves, and therefore had more control over the products of their labor. Hebron sold his harvests to middlemen who shipped them down the C & O Canal to Washington. Some of the men -- such as Sam Lee, John Adams, and Lewis Garnett -- worked as stone cutters at the Seneca Rock Quarry, as did blacks from other nearby communities. The photograph in Figure 72 shows these Sugarland men at the Quarry.⁴

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

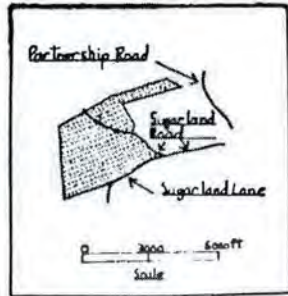
By the turn of the 20th century, all of the land was settled and cleared for use. Homesteads had crop fields, pastures, gardens, and orchards. As Lee recalls, "if there wasn't a building on it, it was used to grow something. They had to, you know, grow and put up everything themselves."

Today much of the community is wooded, but Lee recalls that one could look out from the church and see almost all of the thirty or so houses in the community. Thus there were visual relationships from one homestead to another, as shown in Map 11.



Collection of Tilghman Lee. Copy by Anne Lewis
Figure 72. Black stonecutters at the Seneca Quarry, c. 1900. The man on the right of the top row
is Samuel Lee, father of Tilghman Lee. This photograph shows the historical black presence at
the Seneca Quarry and could be used in educational exhibits about the Quarry or C & O Canal.

Map 11
SUGARLAND COMMUNITY,
c. 1900-1925

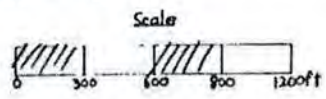


CHURCH	[Symbol]
CEMETERY	[Symbol]
LODGE	[Symbol]
COMMUNITY CENTER	[Symbol]
STORE	[Symbol]
POST OFFICE	[Symbol]
SCHOOL	[Symbol]
DWELLING	[Symbol]
PRIVY	[Symbol]
STABLE	[Symbol]
MEAT HOUSE	[Symbol]
HEN HOUSE	[Symbol]
MILK HOUSE	[Symbol]
CORN/FEED HOUSE	[Symbol]
PIG PEN	[Symbol]
GARDEN	[Symbol]
PASTURE	[Symbol]
CORNFIELD	[Symbol]
HAY FIELD	[Symbol]
ORCHARD	[Symbol]
FOREST	[Symbol]
THICKET	[Symbol]
WELL	[Symbol]
SPRING	[Symbol]
STREAM	[Symbol]
POND	[Symbol]
PARCEL BOUNDARY	[Symbol]
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	[Symbol]
FENCE	[Symbol]
DIRT ROAD	[Symbol]
LANE	[Symbol]
PATH	[Symbol]
STREAM FLOW	[Symbol]

Key

1. JAMES BECKWITH HSTD.	3.00 AC.
2. TILGHMAN BECKWITH HSTD.	4.00 AC.
3. JOHN ADAMS HSTD.	18.00 AC.
4. LEWIS GARHETT HSTD.	14.00 AC.
5. PETER JACKSON HSTD.	3.00 AC.
6a. PATRICK HEERON HSTD.	17.00 AC.
b. LUKE HEERON HSTD.	
c. ROBERT HEERON HSTD.	
7a. NATHAN JOHNSON HSTD.	3.00 AC.
b. POST OFFICE	
8. JOHN HIGGINS HSTD.	4.00 AC.
9. JOE CURTIS HSTD.	6.00 AC.
10. BASIL DORSEY HSTD.	4.00 AC.
11. ST. PAUL'S M.E. CHURCH	1.00 AC.
12. HORACE JACKSON HSTD.	2.00 AC.
13. SUGARLAND SCHOOL	1.00 AC.
14. SAM BEANDER HSTD.	6.00 AC.
15. THOMAS NICHOLS HSTD.	10.00 AC.
16a. BENJAMIN SPARROUGH HSTD.	14.75 AC.
b. SUGARLAND STORE	
17. CHARLES JACKSON HSTD.	4.50 AC.
18. LUKE LIGCH & FAMILY HSTD.	10.00 AC.
19. WILLIAM TAYLOR HSTD.	3.00 AC.
20. LLOYD COATES HSTD.	4.00 AC.
21. SAMUEL JOHNSON HSTD.	4.00 AC.
22. JOHN DIGGS HSTD.	4.00 AC.
23. JOHN ERANISON HSTD.	11.00 AC.
24. RAF ERANISON HSTD.	6.00 AC.
25. PHILLIP JOHNSON HSTD.	6.00 AC.
26. ISAAC BELL HSTD.	10.00 AC.
27. SAMUEL LEE HSTD.	5.00 AC.
28. LEVI HALL HSTD.	10.00 AC.

Cartographer
Saver
Steven Doolittle
Sugarloaf Regional Trails
Oral Informants
Tilghman Lee
Bill Lyles



DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE
HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY

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Behind the church is a small building, used as a community center. Further west of the church was the home of Nathan Johnson, who was the postmaster for the community (Site #7a). West of his property along Sugarland Road was the small Sugarland School. About 200 yards west of the school was a small store, which sold household supplies and foodstuffs that the families did not grow themselves.

The traditional uses of homestead space are continued by a few present-day inhabitants of the community. The best example is the homestead of Tilghman Lee, seen in Map 12. The map shows that almost all land available was used towards some purpose and includes details such as dog houses, wood piles, work tables, and a truck van now used for storage of farm tools. This map and photograph of Lee's side yard (Figure 73) enriches our picture of early 20th century homesteads.

Community Institutions

By the last quarter of the 19th century, the community had developed its own institutions. In 1871 land was acquired for the church and cemetery, indicating the importance of the church to this community of freed slaves/ (Site #11). The date of purchase, which is earlier than the time of acquisition of property by most of the settlers, shows that they were living in

THE TILGHMAN LEE HOMESTEAD
SUGARLAND,

1979

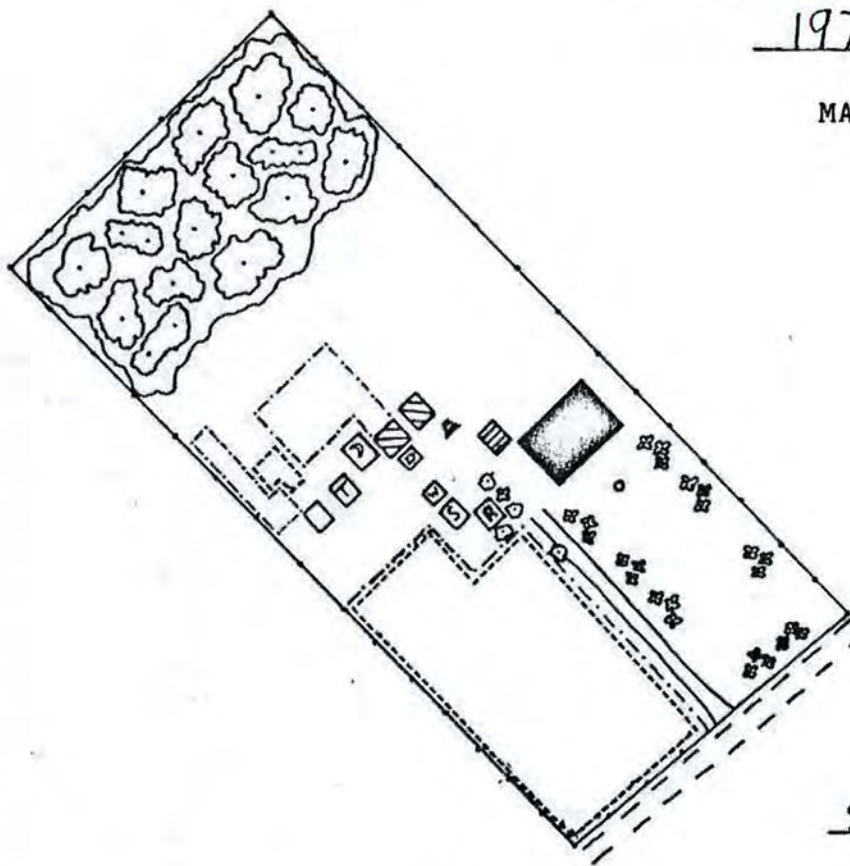
MAP 12



Key

DWELLING	
MEAT HOUSE	
HEN HOUSE	
ROOM CELLAR	
TOOL SHED	
STORAGE VAN	
PRIVY	
PIG PEN	
DOG HOUSE	
WORK TABLE	
WOOD PILE	
GARDE.	
FLOWER PATCH	
SHADE TREE	
WOODS	
WELL	
PARCEL ED.	
FENCED PARCEL 3D'	
FENCE	
DIRT ROAD	
LAID	
CHICKEN LOT	
PIG LOT	

DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE



Sugarland Lane

Cartographer
Source

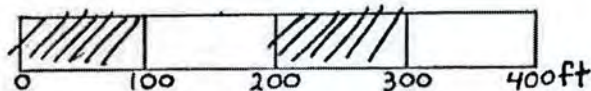
Steven Doolittle

Sugarloaf Regional Trails

Oral Informant

Tilghman Lee

Scale



108 278

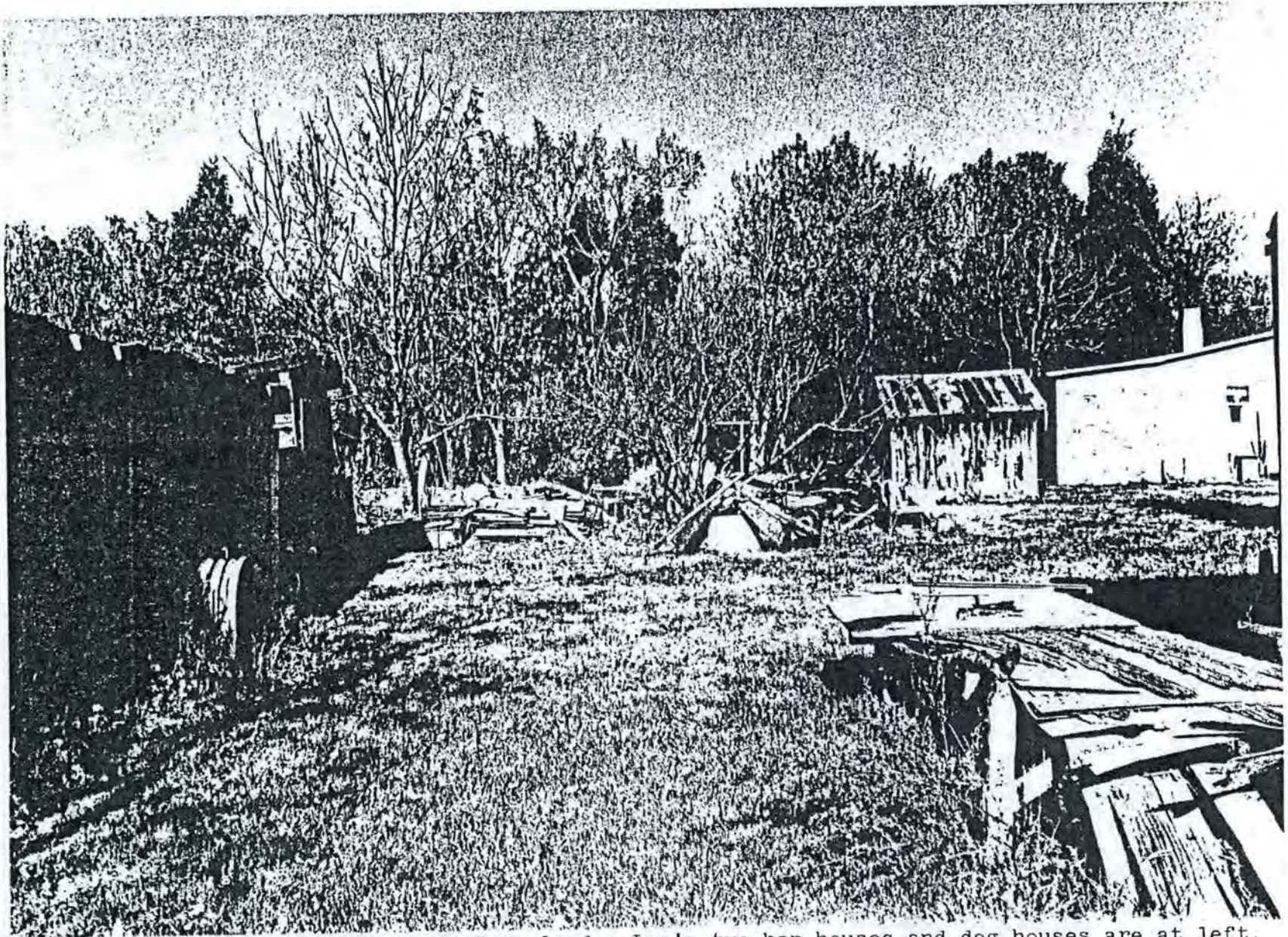


Figure 73. Tilghman Lee homestead, Sugarland. Lee's two hen houses and dog houses are at left, work tables at right, wood pile in the center, and behind his house at right is the meat house. As shown in the more complete plan of his homestead, these buildings and work places were extensions of the house itself, and their presence is a continuation of the traditional use of space in rural homesteads (photograph by Anne Lee)

the vicinity and were planning to settle there, even though they had not yet bought the land. A small church was built at that time, and in 1893 the present church (St. Paul's Community Church, Figure 74) was constructed by Scott Bell, the same (white) carpenter who built the Warren M.E. Church in Martinsburg in 1903. The one-room Sugarland School, near the church, was built in the late 1880's or early 1890's (Site #13). It was replaced between 1925 and 1930 by the present schoolhouse, which has now been converted into a dwelling. The community also had a small post office (Site #76) where mail was collected and distributed by Nathan Johnson, the postmaster. A small store was attached to the home of the storekeeper (Site #16a and 16b). One of the storekeepers was Isaac Beall, whose daughter Cora Campbell lives in the Big Woods community. These places -- church, school, post office, store -- were the principal institutions of the community and were for the most part staffed by people who lived in the community and had been a part of it since its founding.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Saint Paul's Community Church and cemetery
- Sugarland School
- William Taylor house
- Tilghman Lee homestead



Figure 74. St. Paul's Community Church, Sugarland. Built in c. 1893 on land purchased over a century ago. To the right is the community center, on the site of the earlier church, and behind it is the cemetery.

(Photograph by Anne Lewis)

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

• None. The William Taylor house is beyond repair, and St. Paul's Community Church is in good condition and does not need repair at the moment. The Sugarland School, now a private residence, is not the original school house. Those surviving schools in the survey area that are original should have greater priority for rehabilitation.

-
1. Basil Pleasants who lived near Poolesville was a Quaker, and it is believed that Jane was a close relative.
 2. George Rawick, Autobiography of an American Slave, Vol. 16, Md. Narratives, pp. 41-42.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Tilghman Lee, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Sugarland community, July, 1978.

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

COMMUNITY: Sugarland

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. John Adams House (Site) M-17-41-1	CR 43-p. 512	Destroyed	c. 1884 c. 1890-95	Site
3. Sam Beander house (site) M-17-41-3	CS 51-p. 922	Destroyed	c. 1844	Site
4. James Beckwith house (Site) M-17-41-4	CR 43-p. 562	Destroyed	c. 1886	Site
5. Thomas T. Beckwith house (Site) M-17-41-5	CR 41-p. 398	Destroyed	c. 1886	Site
6. Isaac Beall house (Site) M-17-41-6	CR 43-p. 35	Destroyed	c. 1884	Site
7. John Branison house (Site) M-17-41-7	CS 41-p. 682	Destroyed	c. 1884	Site
8. Raf Branison house (Site) M-17-41-8	CS 41-p. 883	Destroyed	c. 1880s	Site
9. Lloyd Coates house (Site) M-17-41-9	CS 51-p. 167	Destroyed	c. 1879 c. 1902	Site
10. Joe Curtis house (Site) M-17-41-10	CR 53-p. 66	Destroyed	c. 1870s	Site
11. John Henry Diggs house (Site) M-17-41-11	CS 41-p.	Destroyed	c. 1879	Site
12. Basil Dorsey house (Site) M-17-41-12	CR 53-p. 40, 42	Destroyed	c. 1874	Site
13. Lewis Garnett house (Site) M-17-41-13	CR 43-p. 398	Destroyed	c. 1884	Site
14. Levi Hall house (Site) M-17-41-14	CR 43-p. 255	Destroyed	c. 1885	Site

CS 284

WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

COMMUNITY: Sugarland (cont.)

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
15. Luke Hebron house (Site) M-17-41-15	CR 53-p. 210	Destroyed	c. 1885	Site
16. Patrick Hebron house (Site) M-17-41-16	CR 53-p. 210	Destroyed	c. 1873-1885	Site
17. Robert Hebron house (Site) M-17-41-17	CR 53-p. 210	Destroyed	c.1885-1895	Site
18. John Higgins house (Site) M-17-41-18	CR 53-p. 118	Destroyed	c. 1880	Site
19. Charles Jackson house (Site) M-17-41-19	CS 41-p. 837	Destroyed	c. 1880s	Site
20. Horace Jackson house (Site) M-17-41-20	CS 41-p. 837	Destroyed	c. 1885	Site
21. Peter Jackson house (Site) M-17-41-21	CR 53-p. 210	Destroyed	1880s	Site
22. Nathan Johnson house (Site) M-17-41-22	CR 53-p. 48	Destroyed	c. 1885	Site
23. Phillip Johnson house (Site) M-17-41-23	CR 43-p. 955	Destroyed	c. 1880	Site
24. Sam Johnson house (Site) M-17-41-24	CS 51-p. 326	Destroyed	c. 1870s	Site
25. Sam Lee house (Site) M-17-41-25	Cr 43-p. 145	Destroyed	c. 1884	Site
26. Tilghman Lee house M-17-41-26	CR 53-p. 118	Good	1930s	Historical Resource

THOMPSON'S CORNER

Present Description

This small community, located along Comus Road west of Rt. 270, consists of small residential lots. There was little to survey since nothing remains of the black historical presence except for one homestead. Except for that home and two modern ranch style houses, all of the other houses are owned by whites. Their styles include at least one old log house, a score of ranch style and bungalow houses, and one new log house, purchased as a do-it-yourself kit from a commercial manufacturer.

History

Clarksburg oral informant Ethel Foreman remembered only two houses of black families, and the home of only one family remains today, the Davis homestead (Figure 75). It is inhabited by Florence Davis, the widow of the son of the original Davis family. Since Mrs. Davis was raised elsewhere, she does not know much about the history of the family or community.¹

The deed for the property shows that William and Annie Davis purchased the 13 acre tract in 1880. According to Florence Davis, the family built this two story frame house soon after purchasing the land. Originally the house consisted of only two rooms down and two up, like many log

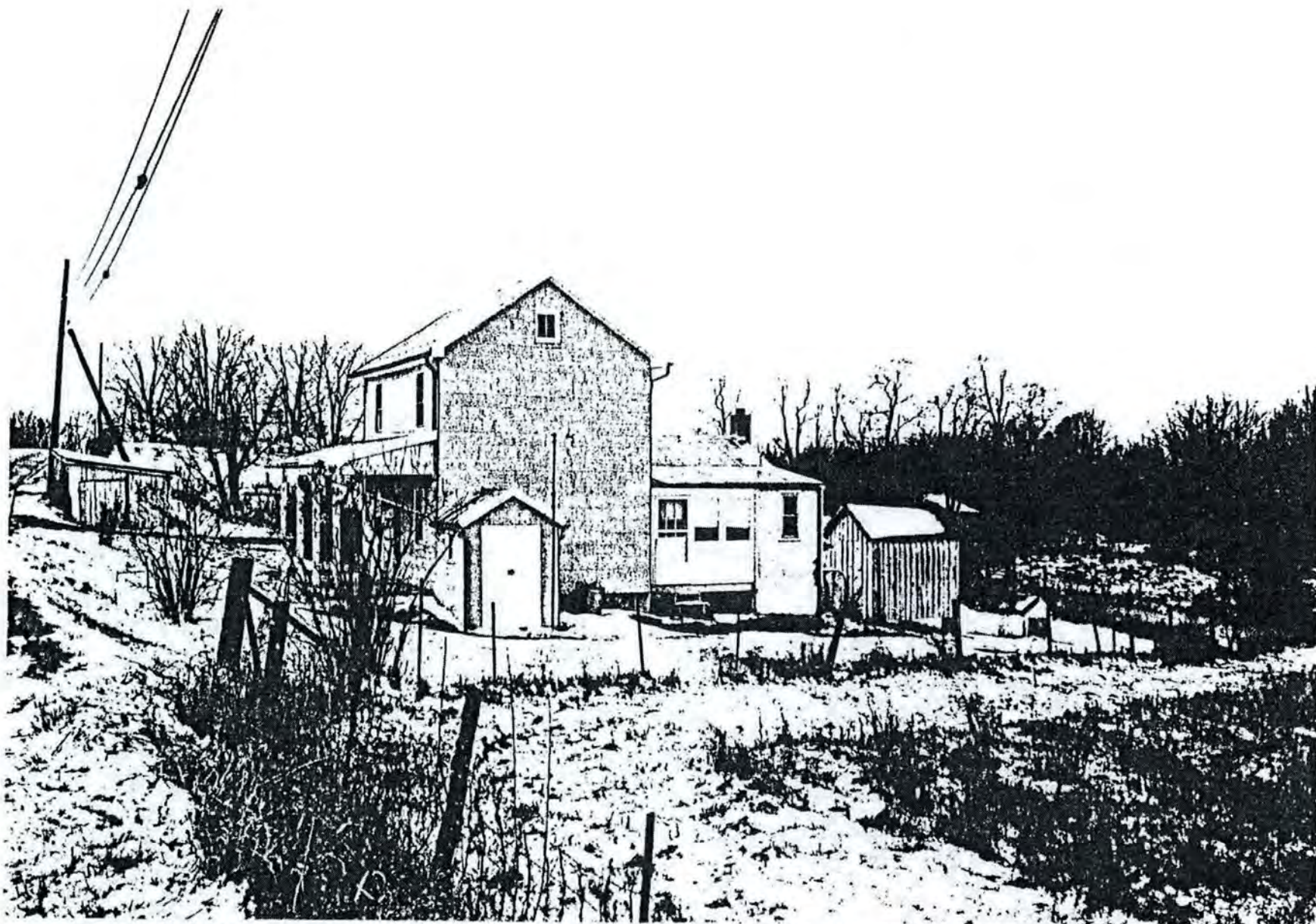


Figure 75. William Davis homestead, Thompson's Corner. This two story frame house with a one story shed addition was constructed in c. 1880. It is the only old house of a black family remaining in the community. Behind it is the board and batten meat house and much smaller dog house. Other outbuildings also remain showing the traditional layout of a rural homestead.

houses of both black and white families in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Though this was the only black homestead to be surveyed in Thompson's Corner, the outbuildings that do remain and the ways in which they were used during the residency of Florence Davis in the 20th century reveal the efforts of black families to provide for themselves. Directly behind and conveniently located close to the kitchen was the meat house, where bacon, side meat, shoulders and hams were stored. Somewhat further from the house was the corn house, and behind it, a shed where the Davis family kept their plows, harnesses, and (later) tractors, and other farm machinery and equipment. Close to this was the hen house. Further behind the house was the hog pen, and behind that the pasture. The Davis family raised steers, which, in addition to hogs, they butchered themselves, curing and storing the meat in the meat house. Mrs. Davis says that they did not have a milk cow and bought their milk and butter from the general store in Clarksburg and Thompson's Corner.

Since there were so few blacks in Thompson's Corner, there were no black churches, schools, or other institutions. Instead, blacks there participated in the institutions in Clarks-

burg, which was the closest community with a sizeable black population.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- The Davis Family homestead

This is the only historical black homestead remaining in Thompson's Corner. Combined with its outbuildings, the homestead illustrates the ways of life of landowning black families in the late 1800s and through the first half of the 20th century.

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- None.

The Davis homestead is in good condition.

-
1. Ethel Foreman, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Clarksburg community, December, 1979; Florence Davis, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, Thompson's Corner community, January, 1979.

TURNERTOWN

Present Description

Turnertown is a small community of black landowners located on Old Bucklodge Lane, east of its junction with Bucklodge Road. Today, three or four houses of different types of modern construction stand on the parcels of land that were owned by black families in the early 1900's. Only one of the old houses -- an abandoned log house on the north side of Old Bucklodge Lane -- remains standing. It is located back in the woods and is not visible from the road. Except for the old meat house that stands near the site of the Harry Turner house, none of the other old buildings remain. Nonetheless, residents and relatives such as Betty Hawkins, Dolores Talley, and Mary Turner, recall descriptions of houses that once stood there and have photographs of some of the founders of the community.

History

Of the black communities surveyed, Turnertown was the most recently established. It was founded by the Turner family, hence the name. In 1897 Emma Turner acquired three acres from John Jamison "in consideration of services rendered unto the said John T. Jamison and Jane E. Jamison, his wife and further consideration of one cent". The description of Emma Turner's purchase in the

above deed suggests that she had worked as a servant for the Jamisons, and that they had given her this tract in recognition of her work. According to her descendant Mabel Irvin, she and her family lived in a small log house, now destroyed (Site #4 on Map 13, Turnertown Community).¹

Face of Development

The 1900 U.S. census for Montgomery County documents the

19th century history of the Turner family. At that time Nancy Rawlings, widow, is listed as head of the family. Living with her was her mother-in-law Emily Turner, born in 1826. Nancy

was born in 1850. Her children were listed as Mollie Hebron, born 1874; David E. Turner, born 1885; Emma, born 1883; Harry E., born 1888; Douglas A., born 1894; and Grandson Hayward

H. Corn, born 1899. (Photographs of David Turner and his

wife Susie, appear as figures 76 and 77).

In 1908 Emma Turner's daughter-in-law, Nancy Turner,

purchased 11 1/2 acres from Jane Jamison for \$114. The tract

was adjacent to Emma Turner's land. Between 1912 and 1914

Nancy Turner divided her land among five of her children --

Harry, Douglas, David, Mollie and Emma -- and conveyed a

(Sites #6, 3, 1, 2, and 7). little more than two acres to each/The other son, Richard,

(Site #4) received land purchased by his grandmother, Emma Turner, in 1897/

The Turners were a talented family. For example, David



Figure 76. David Turner, Turnertown, ^{ca. 1925.} Born in 1885, he was the grandson of the founder of the community, Emma Turner. Judging from his erect posture, intelligent gaze, and formal dress, one would not guess that he lived in a plain log house. (Collection of Delores Talley. Copied by Joe Davis)



c. 1925
Figure '77. Susie Turner, wife of David Turner. She was raised in the Jerusalem community by her grandfather, Wallace Hamilton, one of its founders.
(Collection of Delores Talley. Copied by Joe Davis)

Turner was a musician and played the fiddle at dances in both white and black communities. His brother Richard, a jack-of-all-trades, is remembered by his daughter, Mabel Irvin, as able to "fix everything for everybody". In addition to farm work, he shoed horses and did carpentry, building barns and silos in the area. For a while he worked in Union Station in Washington but he soon left, as Mrs. Irvin recalled, because the job "took him away from the things he liked to do". In the 1930s, he replaced his grandmother's (Emma Turner) log house with a four or five room bungalow that he built himself. Descendants of the Turner family continue to own most of their ancestor's land, and live on two of the sites.²

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

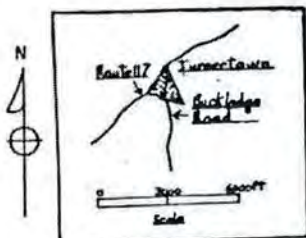
On each of the tracts, two story log houses were built for the families, and they were surrounded by outbuildings, gardens, fields, and orchards as shown on Map 13.

Community Institutions

The community was too small to have a school or church of its own, so residents attended St. Mark's Church in White Grounds as well as the Boyds' Negro School. They were also members of the Odd Fellows Lodge on White Grounds Road, where they attended dances and other social occasions.

MAP 13

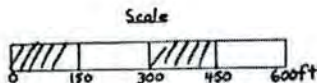
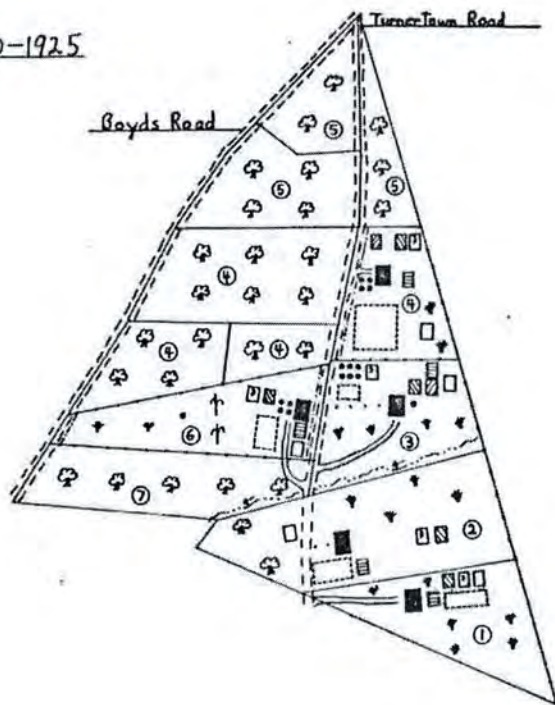
TURNERTOWN COMMUNITY, c. 1900-1925



Cartographer

Steven Dealittle
Superior Regional Trails

Oral Informants
Haywood Duffin
Betty Hawkins
Howard Talley
Mary Turner



Key

CHURCH	[Symbol]
CEMETERY	[Symbol]
LODGE	[Symbol]
COMMUNITY CENTER	[Symbol]
STORE	[Symbol]
POST OFFICE	[Symbol]
SCHOOL	[Symbol]
DWELLING	[Symbol]
PRIVY	[Symbol]
STABLE	[Symbol]
MEAT HOUSE	[Symbol]
HEN HOUSE	[Symbol]
MILK HOUSE	[Symbol]
CORN/FEED HOUSE	[Symbol]
PIG PEN	[Symbol]
GARDEN	[Symbol]
PASTURE	[Symbol]
CORNFIELD	[Symbol]
HAY FIELD	[Symbol]
ORCHARD	[Symbol]
FOREST	[Symbol]
THICKET	[Symbol]
WELL	[Symbol]
SPRING	[Symbol]
STREAM	[Symbol]
POND	[Symbol]
PARCEL BOUNDARY	[Symbol]
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	[Symbol]
FENCE	[Symbol]
DIRT ROAD	[Symbol]
LANE	[Symbol]
PATH	[Symbol]
STREAM FLOW	[Symbol]

1. DAVID TURNER HSTD.	1.69 AC.
2. TURNER & HERRON HSTD.	1.08 AC.
3. NANCY TURNER HSTD.	1.69 AC.
4. EMMA TURNER HSTD.	3.00 AC.
5. WADE HSTD. (white)	1.69 AC.
6. HARRY TURNER HSTD.	1.69 AC.
7. EMMA DUFFIN PROP.	1.69 AC.

DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE
HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY

2/19/10

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- David and Susie Turner log house

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- None. The David and Susie Turner house would be a candidate, but it is abandoned, inaccessible, and in deteriorating condition. Other log houses, which are either still inhabited or more conveniently located for community use, have greater priority.

-
1. Mabel Irvin, telephone interview by George McDaniel, March, 1979.
 2. Ibid.

WHITE GROUNDS

Present Description

White Grounds, located at White Grounds Road and Hoyles Mill Road, is a small community made up of whites and blacks and is considered a part of Boyds. Less populated and less concentrated than either Jerusalem or Sugarland, the White Grounds community today consists of only about ten households, of which the Duffin family is the oldest.

History

We do not know the exact origin of the black community as the records are unclear. We do know that in the 1880s and 1890s blacks began buying land and building houses. Among the earliest settlers were Henry Duffin, born 1829, and his son Addison, born in 1859. Henry Duffin, his brother and other Duffin relatives were former slaves of Benjamin Gott and William Offutt, white landowners. The Duffin family history has been documented at least to the early 1800s and probably to the 1790s to Mara "Duffey", who died in 1848, and who was born near the turn of the century. After emancipation her descendants helped to found not only the White Grounds community, but Jerusalem and Clarksburg and probably others as well. Today her descendants number in the hundreds, probably

in the thousands, and can also be found throughout the county in Laytonsville, Rockville, and elsewhere. Thus the Duffin family constitutes one of the major historical black families of Montgomery County.¹

William Gibbs, born in 1855, was also one of the community founders and lived in a small log house, of which only the early 20th century frame addition remains (Site #3 on Map 14, White Grounds community). ^{Other founders} were John and Lucy Hebron, who later acquired Henry Duffin's property (Site #4). The Thomas family developed an extensive farm along Seneca Creek near Hoyle's Mill.

Pace of Development

In the 1890's much of the land was still owned by whites (Delauders, Leapleys, Williams, Stivers, and Shorbs) most of whom did not live in the community. Beginning in the 1890's and continuing through the first quarter of the 20th century, they sold off small parcels to black families. One white man, Jacob Ruble, a German immigrant (born in 1833) lived in a one and one half story log house like the log houses of black families (Site #7). The 1900 census lists him as a "day laborer". According to local tradition, Ruble's wife Anna was a herbalist doctor, treating people in the community with the medicines she made.

The 1900 census lists William Gibbs, Addison Duffin and his relatives Joshua Duffin and Nathan Duffin, as farm laborers -- indicating that they worked someone else's land, even though they were landowners themselves (Joshua and Nathan's houses are Sites #14 and #20). John Wesley Dorsey,

a cobbler, rented a house on the site of the present day school from Addison Duffin and later purchased a small parcel next to the church parsonage on which he built a one story house which he also used as a shoe shop/ (Site #9). He and Benjamin Wims are the only black cobblers identified during the survey. Blacks may also have had jobs elsewhere, using the railroad for transportation. For example Mary Naylor, White Grounds oral informant, reports that Grandpa Gibbs helped to build the Washington Monument.²

Early 20th Century Community Appearance

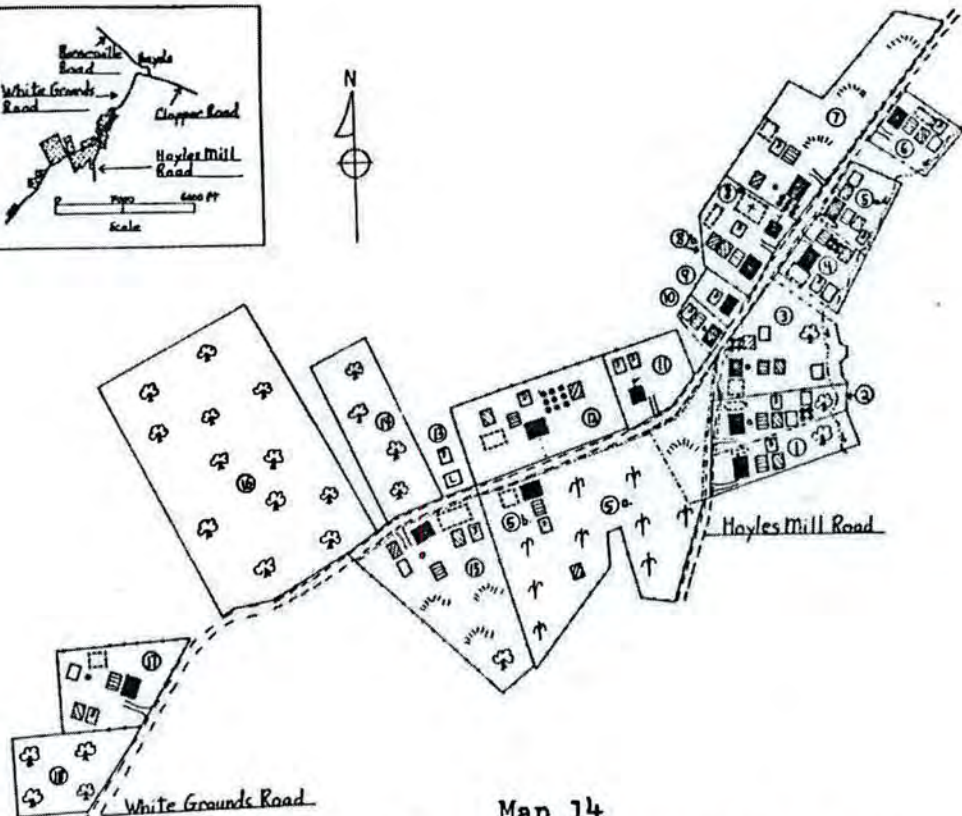
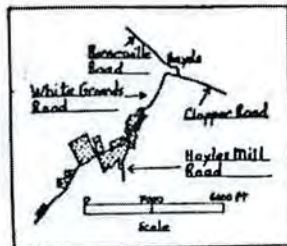
In the first quarter of the 20th century, the community consisted of small homesteads centered at the junction of Hoyle's Mill and White Grounds Road as shown on Map 14. The houses were a mixture of log and frame houses. Unlike other black landowners after emancipation, Henry Duffin built a frame house instead of log/ (Site #4 and Figure 78). Its simple design stands in contrast to the more elaborate and decorative style of the house built by his son Addison on adjacent property c. 1890 (Site #5a and Figure 79). Behind the houses were the typical outbuildings and workplaces. As shown on the map, most of the land was cleared and cultivated. For example, the site where the Taylor Elementary School stands today was cultivated by Addison

CHURCH	
CEMETERY	
LODGE	
COMMUNITY CENTER	
STORE	
POST OFFICE	
SCHOOL	
DWELLING	
PRIVY	
STABLE	
MEAT HOUSE	
HEN HOUSE	
MILK HOUSE	
CORN/FEED HOUSE	
PIG PEN	
GARDEN	
PASTURE	
CORNFIELD	
HAY FIELD	
ORCHARD	
FOREST	
THICKET	
WELL	
SPRING	
STREAM	
POND	
PARCEL BOUNDARY	
FENCED PARCEL BDY.	
FENCE	
DIRT ROAD	
LANE	
PATH	
STREAM FLOW	

Key

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. MARTHA CARTER HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 2. WILLIAM LUCKETT HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 3. WILLIAM GIBBS HSTD. | 3.00 AC. |
| 4. DUFFIN-HEBRON HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |
| 5a. ADDISON DUFFIN HSTD. | 25.00 AC. |
| b. RENTED HOUSE | |
| c. FARM FIELD | |
| 6. DIGGINS HSTD. | 0.50 AC. |
| 7. JACOB RUPLE HSTD. (white) | 5.00 AC. |
| 8a. ST. MARK'S H.E. CHURCH | 2.00 AC. |
| b. ST. MARK'S PARSONAGE | |
| 9. JOHN DORSEY HSTD. | 0.50 AC. |
| 10. BLANCHE WILLIAMS HSTD. | 0.50 AC. |
| 11. BOYDS NEGRO SCHOOL | 1.52 AC. |
| 12. JOHN BROWN HSTD. | 5.00 AC. |
| 13. ODD FELLOW'S LODGE | |
| 14. GEORGE DAVIS HSTD. | 6.00 AC. |
| 15. GEORGE HAWKINS HSTD. | 7.00 AC. |
| 16. JAMES WILLIAMS PROP. (white) | 36.00 AC. |
| 17. JOHN PARKER HSTD. | 5.00 AC. |
| 18. TIMOTHY CATON PROP. | 5.00 AC. |
| 19. JOSHUA DUFFIN HSTD. | 2.00 AC. |
| 20. NATHAN DUFFIN HSTD. | 1.00 AC. |

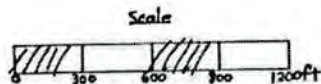
DWELLINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS NOT DRAWN TO SCALE
HSTD. = HOMESTEAD PROP. = PROPERTY



Map 14

WHITE GROUNDS COMMUNITY, c. 1900-1925

Cartographer
Steven Doolittle
Supplod Regional Trails
Oral Informants
Agnes Coates
Mae Coates
Clara Talley



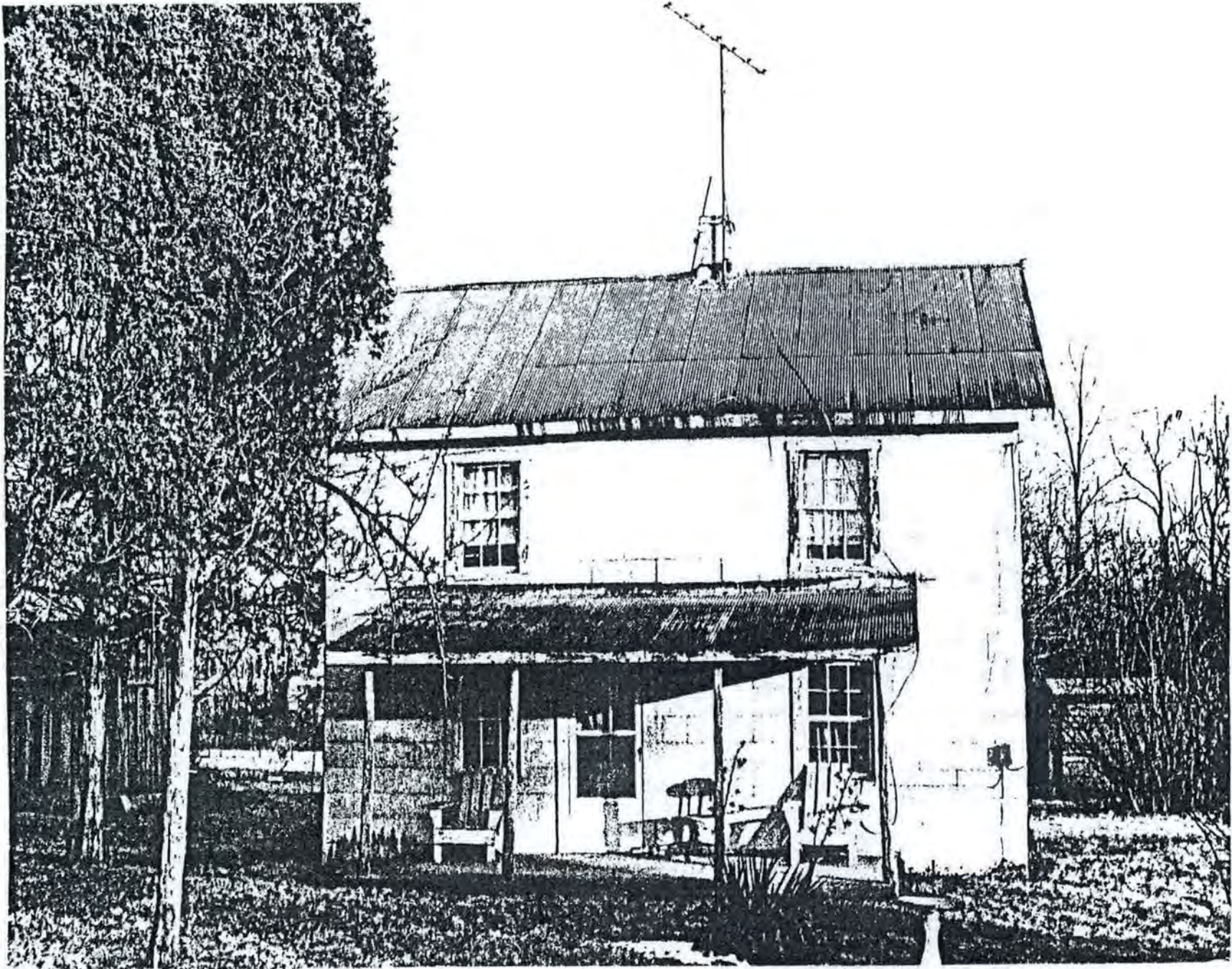


Figure 78. Duffin-Hebron House, White Grounds. This two story frame house was constructed, according to family tradition, by Henry Duffin, a former slave, in the 1870s on land that he purchased. Its basic two room down and two up floor plan is similar to that of most houses of the period, whether of brick or frame construction.



Photograph by Joe Davis

Figure 79. Duffin Family House, White Grounds. This two story frame house was built by Addison Duffin, son of Henry Duffin, in c. 1890 on land adjacent to his father's. The original portion -- the three bay section at left -- is similar in floor plan to his father's house, figure 78. but is more elaborate in decorative details.

(Site #5c).
Duffin/ Houses lined White Grounds Road and the north side of Hoyle's Mill Road. There were also scattered homesteads beyond the heart of the community along White Grounds Road as shown on the map.

The log dwelling of one family still remains, though it is abandoned (Site #1). It originally had two rooms down and two up. It was occupied by the family of Martha Carter, whose daughter Mary Naylor lives nearby in the parsonage of St. Mark's Church, built around 1895 (Site #86).

Community Institutions

St. Mark's Methodist Church, which is still in use today, was built in the early 1890s on land purchased by the trustees of the church in 1879. It is located in the heart of the community at the junction of Hoyle's Mill and White Grounds Roads (Site #8a and Figure 80). Behind it is the cemetery where the founders of the White Grounds, Blocktown, and Turnertown communities are buried. Nearby is the one-room Boyds Negro School, built in 1895 (Site #11). It served as the elementary school for children of the White Grounds, Blocktown and Turnertown communities and is now abandoned. (A photograph of the students in front of this school in the 1920s has been copied, Figure 81). The Boyds-Clarksburg Historical Society is presently attempting to rehabilitate the school for use as a community center.



Figure 80 . St. Mark's Methodist Church, White Grounds. Built in c. 1894, it is still standing and is the center of the White Grounds community. To the right is the Sunday school building, behind it is the cemetery, and to the left of the church is 'a' portion of the parsonage.

Photograph by Joe Davis

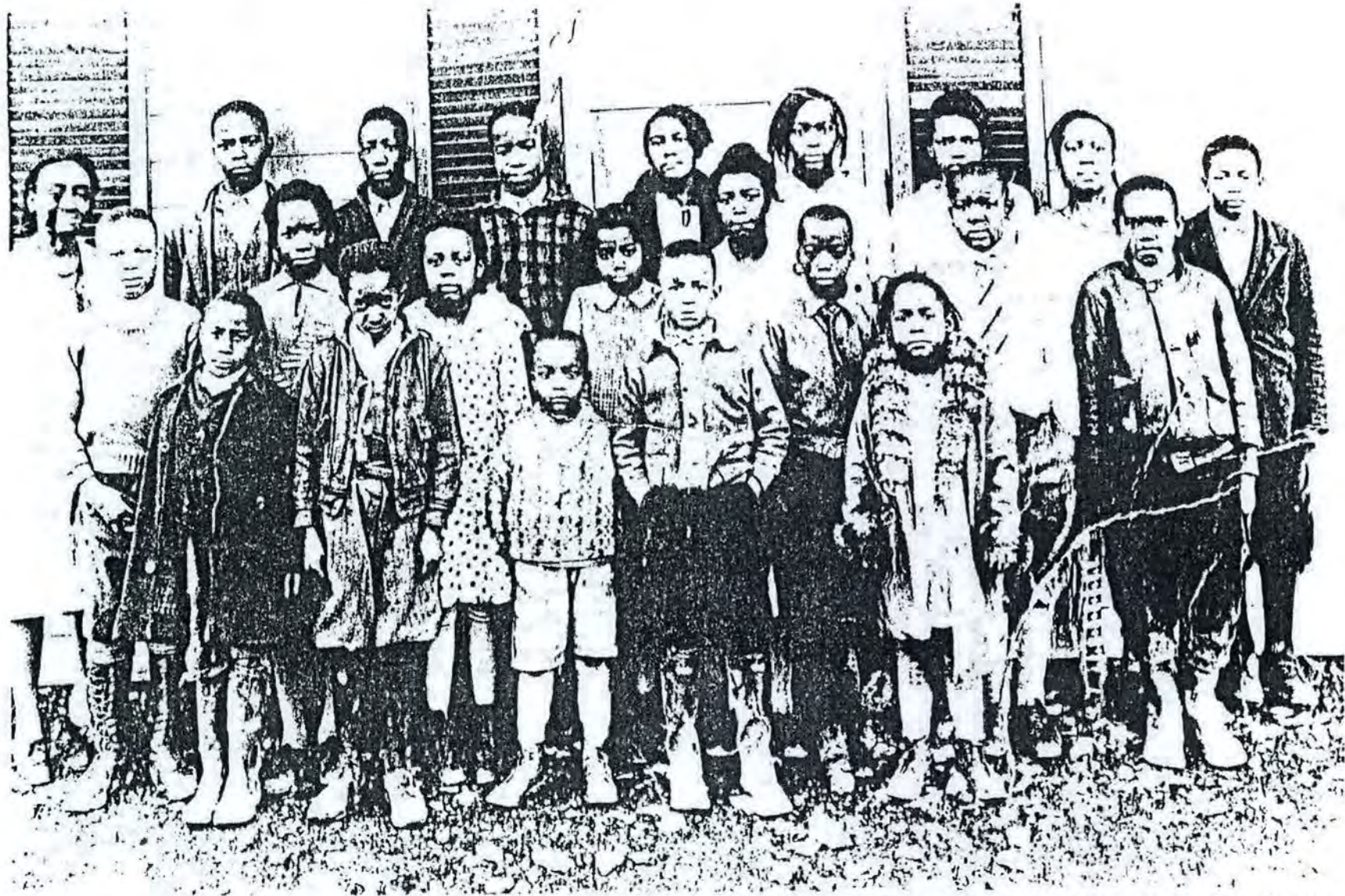


Figure 81. Boyds Negro School Class, c. 1930. The teacher, Lillian Giles, is at left. These students and their descendants continue to live in the White Grounds, Blocktown, and Turnertown communities. Photograph reveals the range of ages in one room schools. Collection of Agnes Coates. Copied by Joe Davis.

Formerly one of the most handsome buildings in the historical community was the lodge of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (Site #13). The lodge had two chapters (one for men and one for women): the Golden Crown Lodge #8779 and the Isabella House of Ruth #4467. Inside the now deteriorating building is the old piano which has been vandalized. The Odd Fellows Lodge is remembered fondly by people in this community as a gathering place for members and visitors, and "for the good times we had at dances there". Mrs. Hester (Praither) Hamilton from Praitherstown remembers driving to dances here as a youth, and it was one of the few entertainment centers for blacks in the rural county.

Places like this lodge are abandoned now throughout rural Maryland but they were important centers of the historical black communities, providing social identity, civic services, and fellowship with the larger community of the black middle class in America.

Historical Resources of Special Significance

Sites recommended for special recognition due to historical significance:

- Duffin family house
- Duffin-Hebron house
- Carter log house
- Odd Fellows Lodge
- St. Mark's Church and cemetery
- Boyds Negro School
- St. Mark's Parsonage

Sites recommended for rehabilitation/stabilization:

- Boyds Negro School

Efforts are underway by the Boyds-Clarksburg Historical Society to preserve and re-use the Boyds Negro School as a community center and gathering place for senior citizens. The structure is in good condition, and its history is integral to the community.

- Carter log house

The house is abandoned and is deteriorating. However, most of the timbers are sound. It is not likely that it could be converted into a dwelling at a reasonable cost, so a more practical choice would be to stabilize it as a storage facility for the Taylor school across the road. Or, the house could be moved to another site, perhaps to a school ground, and re-used as a storage shed or home museum. It is conveniently located near Hoyle's Mill Road, so it is readily accessible.

-
1. Edna Duffin Johnson and her sister Lorraine Duffin still have four or five family Bibles, including those of the Duffins of White Grounds and the Nolands of Jonesville. They contain family records of these and many other families related to them by marriage, such as the Hacketts of Big Woods.
 2. Mary Naylor, interview (not taped) by George McDaniel, White Grounds community, March, 1979.

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WESTERN MONTGOMERY COUNTY BLACK HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

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COMMUNITY: WHITE GROUNDS

SITE	LOCATION ON TAX MAP	PRESENT PHYSICAL CONDITION	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
1. Boyds Negro School M-18-11-1	DU 52 - P. 851	Good	c. 1895	Significant Historical Resource
2. Carter Log House M-18-11-2	DU 52 - P. 955	Fair	c. 1900	Significant Historical Resource
3. Duffin family house M-18-11-3	DU 52 - P. 738	Good	c. 1870s	Significant Historical Resource
4. Duffin-Hebron house M-18-11-4	DU 52 - P. 722	Excellent	c. 1894	Significant Historical Resource
5. John Wesley Dorsey house (Site) M-18-11-5	DU 52 - P. 795	Destroyed	Date of construction: c. 1895-1905	Site
6. Joshua Duffin house (Site) M-18-11-6	DU 41 - P. 603	Destroyed	c. 1914	Site
7. Nathan Duffin house (Site) M-18-11-7	DU 41 - P. 655	Destroyed	c. 1907	Site
8. Gibbs-Coates house M-18-11-8	DU 52 - P. 874 & 792	Good	early 1900s	Historical Resource
9. Lawson house M-18-11-9	DU 63 - P. 220	Good	c. 1930s	Historical Resource
10. Lockett house (Site) M-18-11-10	DU 52 - P. 901	Destroyed	c. 1875-1900	Site
11. Odd Fellows Lodge M-18-11-11	DU 52 - no P. #	Deteriorated	c. 1916	Significant Historical Resource
12. Parker house (Belle Duffin) M-18-11-12	DU 41 - P. 235	Excellent	c. 1910s	Significant Historical Resource

Part III

EXPLANATION OF SURVEY METHODS

Community surveys of many different kinds reflect their several purposes. Among these such a survey of historical and cultural resources as this is relatively new, and previous examples are few in number. The closest precedents are to be found in anthropology and folklore rather than in the social sciences. Census and other population data, sociological and economic analyses, family and community studies all contribute to the cultural investigation attempted here, but they do not define its objective and by themselves would not provide a suitable methodology.

Experience is the best guide. This survey of historic sites and the families and communities that have occupied them is like an exploration into uncharted territory. However experienced the surveyor may be, he will be seeing new things for the first time, and looking at them with a fresh eye. He will have prepared himself by reading extensively what earlier surveyors have reported, but these will not have had the same objective and they will not have covered the ground as closely or as extensively. Like other surveyors, the adventurer on the cultural frontier will have equipped himself with maps, guides,

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transportation, survey and photographic equipment. Most of all, he will carefully plan his approach to the community.

The results from field work in a community survey like this one are in the form of written notes, tape recordings, photographs of sites and people, photocopies of family and community records, historical and original maps. These are the raw material for written history, now and in the future, by the present author and others who will later make use of the same material for other purposes.

The collection of such basic data requires team work. Just as a surveyor in the field is supported by his base camp and still more remote headquarters, the administrative support, specialized skills and financial resources of the project support the surveyor of historical sites.

Because the present survey of black communities in upper western Montgomery County is an original effort, its approach should be more fully outlined. What follows is an explanation of the survey procedure; it is presented in outline form for ready reference and includes comments on personal experiences along the way which may facilitate others in future work for black or white communities.

I. Preliminary planning and preparation

1. Define and articulate the purpose of the survey.
The surveyor and administrators should be clear about the purpose and the products to be produced from the survey. So many times, he/she will be asked "Why are you doing this work?" or "What's this all about?".
2. Learn all you can about the survey area and the communities.
 - a. Read secondary sources describing survey area, its history, geology and architecture.
 - b. Acquire historical, geological, and county road and tax maps.
3. Plan agenda for survey.
Allot time for survey of each community. Invariably there are more resources/sites than initially perceived.
4. Prepare for introduction into the community.
 - a. Establish contacts with community leaders.
 - b. Prepare hand-outs to explain survey and its products to community.

II. Introduction into the community

1. Work through established community institutions -- such as churches, community schools, civic organiza-

4

tions -- or individuals such as community leaders, teachers, ministers.

Introduction through community institutions and leaders enables you to meet a large number of people at one time, to explain the purpose of the survey, and to solicit their help. Once you get started there, then word can spread about the project, and other informants can be located. Also, if the work is attached to an institution, especially a school, then the survey can become more of a community effort in which many members of the community can participate in the process of learning about their history.

- 2. Try to give introductory slide talks before beginning the survey of each community.

At the meetings of introduction to the community, have hand-outs to give to people explaining the project. Lack of communication is one of the most serious problems with survey work, and for the survey to reach its maximum potential there must be ways in which the people can address their questions to the surveyor. Being from the outside, the surveyor can not know fully the past experiences of the community, nor does the community know of the surveyor's

experience and of the nature of the survey.

III. Survey of the community

1. Locate historical sites.

- a. Tour the community with community leaders or community historical informants. The latter are usually elderly persons who remember sites still standing as well as those destroyed.
- b. Identify house sites on the county property tax map.
- c. Interview informally the leader or informant for a general history of the house or building, and for a physical description of it, if it has been destroyed.

2. Examine the sites.

- a. Meet the current owner/occupant and explain the survey. Give that person a hand-out explaining the project.
- b. Investigate and record the design, construction, and floor plan of the building.

3. Photography

- a. Take color slides and black and white pictures as required.

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- b. Inquire if family has any old photographs of the house or of its historical owners/occupants. If so, copy them or make arrangements to copy them.
- 4. Interview the owner/occupant informally (without tape recorder) regarding the history of the site.
- 5. Ask owner/occupant about other houses or sites in the community, and for other informants knowledgeable about his/her house.
- 6. Obtain the telephone number and address of owner and occupant for future correspondence..

IV. Research of sites

1. Courthouse research

Using the liber/folios of deeds of the sites identified on the county tax maps, begin researching the history of the land in the deeds. From the current deeds, conduct a title search to the historical period with which you are concerned.

2. Other courthouse records

Check wills, tax assessments, and probate inventories of the orphans' court for evidence related to sites.¹

1. NOTE for black history: Black sites were rarely described in written documents since blacks usually did not leave wills, or own estates large enough to be described in detail in tax assessments or to be inventoried at the time of death.

3. Secondary sources

a. Historical maps

Historical maps of the area sometimes show the homesteads, schools, churches and/or shops of black communities.

b. County histories

County histories usually have a section providing an overview of black history in the county. However, except for general descriptions of slavery life, brief portraits of notable blacks, demographic details, or discussion of the struggle for civil rights, most county histories do not provide the substantive historical analysis that would be especially helpful to a survey of black sites.¹

4. Censuses

The United States manuscript censuses of 1870, 1880, and 1900 provide important evidence for the social history of communities and homesteads. After obtaining

1. NOTE for Montgomery County: Local histories that were of benefit were: 1) the autobiographies of Josiah Henson -- the fugitive slave upon whose life story Harriet Beecher Stowe based her novel Uncle Tom's Cabin; 2) T.H.S Boyd's The History of Montgomery County, Maryland From Its Earliest Settlement in 1650 to 1879; 3) Jeffrey Brackett's Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War; and 4) Nina H. Clarke and Lillian B. Brown, History of the Black Schools of Montgomery County, Maryland, 1872-1961.

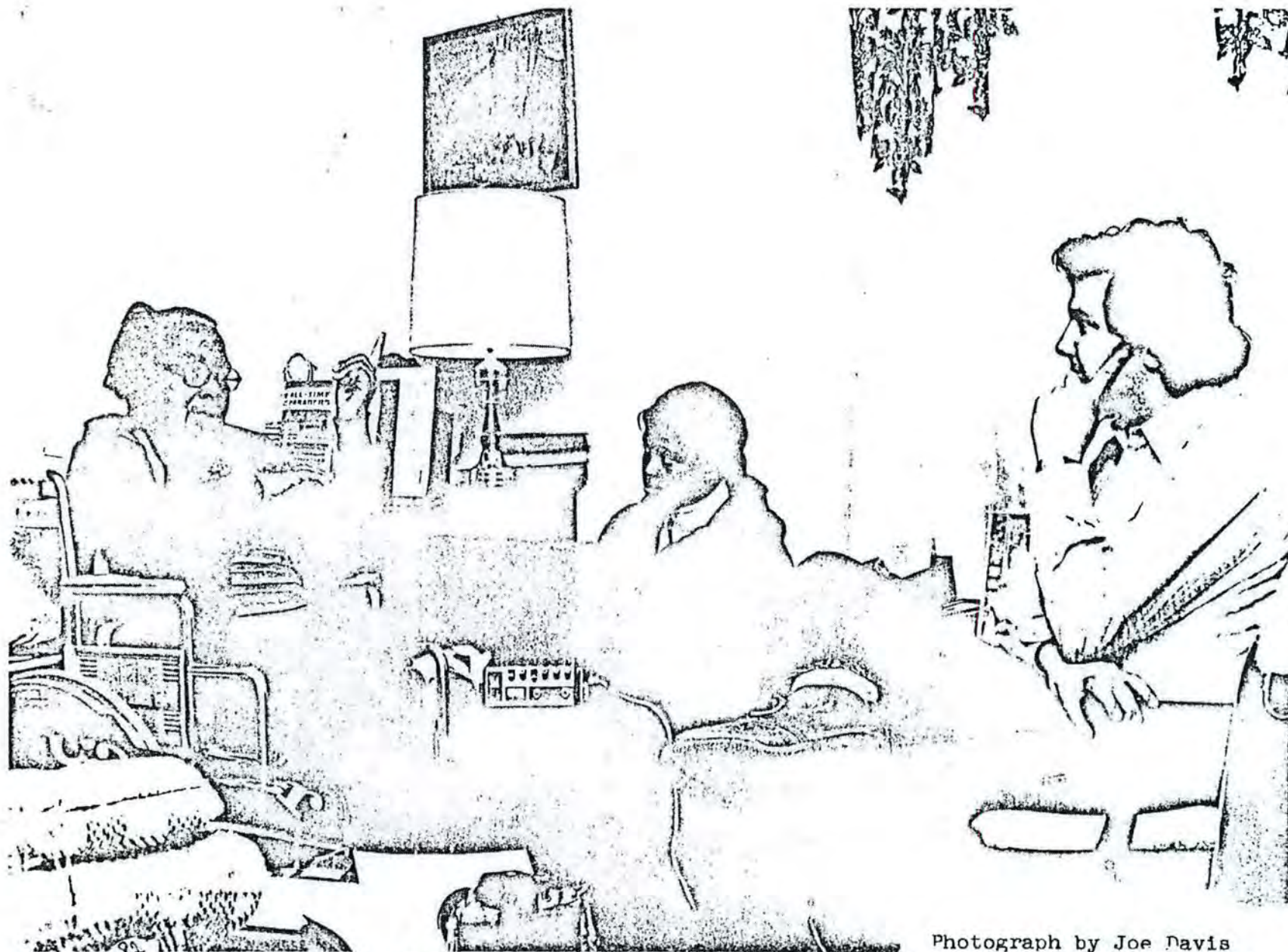
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the names of owners or occupants from oral informants or from deeds, the censuses can be checked for vital statistics about them. The compositions of households, the types of families present -- whether nuclear or extended -- the kinship patterns among members of the community, their occupations, and the degree of education, all can be determined from the manuscripts. Such information allows the surveyor to go beyond simply recording the house and to begin to create a solid historical context for the historic sites.¹

5. Taped oral interviews (Figure 82)

Oral interviews should be taped with specific informants about specific topics. Oral interviews are simply another method of recording evidence about a given topic. Interviews should be focused on a set of topics, and not merely be an opportunity for a person to ramble on about his or her life's story, unless that is the express purpose of the interview. In this sense, the interviewer does, and should, shape the

1. NOTE for Montgomery County: The census of freed slaves of 1867 in Montgomery County is an especially valuable document. After emancipation, former slaveholders were to be compensated for the loss of their slaves, so each slaveholder was to submit a list of their former slaves for reimbursement. This census gives the names, ages, and family compositions of many of the owners and occupants of surveyed sites, who were freed slaves.



Photograph by Joe Davis

Figure 45. Taping oral histories. Clarksburg community historian Ethel Foreman (left) explains the history of her community and family to research assistant, Karen Sewell, and to historic sites surveyor, George McDaniel.

interview process. Otherwise, the results are hours of tape which require even longer hours to transcribe.

Examples of specific topics which were investigated through interviews with oral informants include: traditional construction methods; school life; religious values and practices; traditional medicinal practices; occupations and patterns of work life; furnishings plans of houses; layout of historical homesteads and communities.

V. Survey reports

1. Inventory form

The Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service through the state historical preservation agency -- in this case, the Maryland Historical Trust -- requires that an inventory form be completed for each surveyed site and that a summary of its significance be written. The inventory form consists of several sections which include identification of the location and ownership of the site; a reference to its presence or absence in previous historical surveys; a detailed description of the history of the land and of the buildings; and an analysis of its architectural, social, cultural, or historical significance.

2. Photography

The state historical preservation agency usually requires that black and white prints be made of the site, in addition to color slides. The photographs may be taken by the surveyor, a professional photographer, or a volunteer. Along with the inventory form, they are deposited in the archives of the state agency.

VI. Educational derivatives of the survey

The survey can enrich the historical awareness of citizens in the community by connecting it to educational institutions usually found in any survey area, as suggested in the following ways:

1. Community colleges and universities (Figure 83)

Internships (paid or for academic credit) can be offered to students as research assistants. They gain training and experience by researching courthouse records and manuscript collections and assisting in interviews in the field, as well as in such fields as cartography or cultural geography. Maps 3, 4, 5, 7, and 10-14 are maps of historical communities created by an intern as part of this survey.

Student volunteers can participate in the survey,



Photograph by Elodie Holmes

Figure 83. Montgomery College student at a hog butchering. Jim Lane, left center, a Montgomery College student participating in and recording the hog butchering with the Sims family in Jonesville for a photo essay for his class in Maryland History.

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using oral informants and surveyed sites -- buildings, houses, work places, neighborhoods -- as sources for classes in history, English, anthropology, photography, folklore. For example, they can research and describe the history of a given site for a term paper, or write a photo essay on a traditional folkway still in use.

2. Local high schools

Students can participate in the survey as volunteer or hired researchers and can use the historical resources located and investigated in the survey as part of their classes, especially in social studies. Since high school students usually require more supervision than college students and have less access to transportation, working with them will probably place more demands upon the time and work load of both the surveyor and their teachers.

VII. Returning the history to the community

1. Community presentations

In order to return the results of the historical survey to the communities, slide presentations can be given to local churches, senior citizens groups, historical societies and/or civic organizations. At

the sessions after the presentations, people can bring family photographs to be copied as part of the survey. Also, slide presentations inform members of other communities about historical preservation and the value of local historical resources, so they will perhaps become interested in sponsoring an historical survey in their area.

2. Folk Festivals

A survey locates a significant number of valuable informants who can convey to wider audiences their knowledge of past traditions, crafts, and ways of life. Local, state, or national folk festivals provide an excellent forum for these living historical resources.

3. Newspaper articles

Articles in local newspapers are a useful way to spread the word about the purpose and results of the survey to the public at large. Ideally, articles should appear 1) at the outset of the survey to inform the communities about the forthcoming survey, 2) during the course of the survey to keep the people abreast of its progress, and 3) at the end of the survey to explain to them the survey's results and to identify the places

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of deposit of the survey for the citizens' use in the future.

4. Television appearances and radio programs

Television, of course, constitutes an excellent medium for the transmission of information about historical preservation and historic sites surveys. For television features, keep in mind that the television staff and audience are visually oriented, and select sites and/or informants that are visually engaging and that do not require lengthy explanations. Otherwise, those lengthy sections will be edited out once the film is in the control of the production staff at the television station. Try to inform the community about when the feature will be shown.

5. Final Note

Try to feature each community or neighborhood in at least one newspaper article, folk festival, or television appearance.