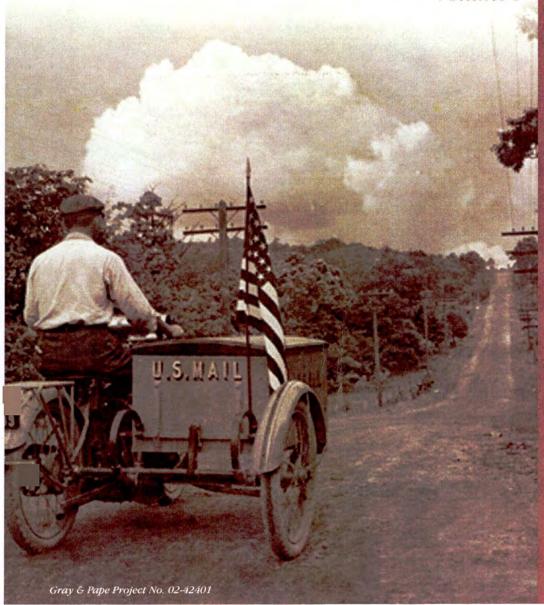
Final Maryland National Road Historic Context



GRAY & PAPE
INC.
CULTURAL RESOURCES CONSULTANTS

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Volume I



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MARYLAND NATIONAL ROAD HISTORIC CONTEXT

Prepared for:

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ABSTRACT

"...the Historic National Road not only survives, it thrives. While the speeding interstate traffic bypasses hundreds of cities and towns and villages, the National Road is intimately familiar with them. It is an old friend – it remembers and preserves our history and tells the tales of our growth" (Keddie and Jarzen 2001).

Gray & Pape, Inc., of Cincinnati, Ohio was engaged by the Maryland Historical Trust to define the Historic Contexts and Property Types associated with the historic National Road across that state. These investigations are part of a larger effort to create a Multiple Property Documentation Form.

This report draws on primary and secondary source materials, including the efforts of five other states through which the National Road passes to document their associated historic properties. The investigation examined the records for 1071 previously inventoried properties within a 1/2-mile corridor stretching east to west 178 miles across the entire state of Maryland. The Maryland Historical Trust Historic Resource Inventory was combined with the resource recommendations of a previous Corridor Partnership Plan to create a series of GIS-based resource maps/ resource databases. The previous Corridor Partnership Plan was produced in 2001 and is entitled Corridor Partnership Plan for the Maryland Historic National Road Scenic Byway by Lardner/Klein Landscape Architects, P.C., of Alexandria, Virginia:

By comparing the known resource base with the cumulative scholarship represented by the efforts of other National Road states, and by reviewing the unique history of the route within the State of Maryland, the investigators have generated eight themes clustered into four chronological periods. Taken together, these Historic Contexts account for the wide variety of Property Types directly relevant to the National Road in Maryland, and serve as a framework within which future discoveries may be evaluated.

A rigorous definition of the degree of historic association necessary for a property to be considered associated was fundamental to the success of this study. Mere physical proximity to the National Road corridor is not sufficient to establish historic association. Of the 1071 known resources located within the study corridor, 346 of them fit one or more of the Property Types defined during these investigations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

ABSTRACT	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
231 01 1100120	
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
Significance of the National Road	
Report Organization	
Acknowledgements	
CHAPTER II. REQUIREMENTS OF THE MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOC	UMENTATION
FORM	
MPDF Name	
Associated Historic Contexts	
Associated Property Types	
Nrhp Registration Forms.	
Proposed Multiple Property Listing Name	
Troposed Manaple Troporty Disting Manie	
CHAPTER III. GUIDANCE BY COMPARISON	7
How Other States Have Defined Historic Contexts and Property Types for	
	7
Guidance Offered by the Maryland National Road Corridor Partnership Pl	an11
Guidance Offered by the Maryland Historical Trust	
CHAPTER IV. PROPOSED HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND PROPERTY T	YPES FOR
MARYLAND'S NATIONAL ROAD	
Triage of Known Resources	
Degree of Historic Association	
Proposed Historic Contexts and Property Types	
Troposou Inisione Contents and Troposoy Types	
CHAPTER V. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE	19
Pre-1811 Routes and Traces Ancestral to the National Road/ Baltimore Pil	
Road Construction and Maintenance Technologies Along the National Ro	_
Pike in Maryland, 1811-1853	

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

VOLUME I

Corridor-Specific Service Industries Along the National Road/ Baltimore Pike in	
Maryland, 1811-1853	
Economic Eclipse and Relocation Along the National Road/ Baltimore Pike in Maryland 1853-1908	-
The National Road/ Baltimore Pike in Maryland During the Civil War 1861-1865	53
Road Construction and Maintenance Technologies Along the National Road/ Baltimore Pike in Maryland, 1908-1970	
Corridor-Specific Service Industries Along The National Road/ Baltimore Pike in Maryland, 1908-1955	63
CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSIONS	.66
CHAPTER VII. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY	.67
CHAPTER VIII. REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY	.95
APPENDIX A. Statement of Significance for All American Road Designation	

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Index to the Map Sheets in Appendix C Along the Maryland National Road	2
Figure 2. Virginie, Maryland en 2 Feuilles Par Fry et Jefferson Traduit, G. L. Le Rouge, 1777	ļ
Figure 3. Map of the State of Maryland, 1794, Dennis Griffith	5
Figure 4. The State of Maryland, 1795, Samuel Lewis	5
Figure 5. Federal and Private Turnpike Construction Sequence (Base map from Davis et al. 1891-95: Plate CXXXVI)	
Figure 6. Maryland, 1824, by Anthony Finley	
Figure 7. Battle-Fields of South Mountain, Showing the Positions of the Forces of the United States and of the Enemy, During the Battle Fought by the Army of the Potomac under the Command of Maj. General George McClellan, Sept 14, 1862 (Davis et al. 1891-95, Plate XXVII:3)	
Figure 8. Martenet's Map of Maryland, 1885, by Simon J. Martenet)

VOLUME II

APPENDIX B. Database of Known Resources for Maryland National Road

VOLUME III

APPENDIX C. Maps Showing All Previously Identified Resources Within the Maryland National Road / Baltimore Pike Study Corridor

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

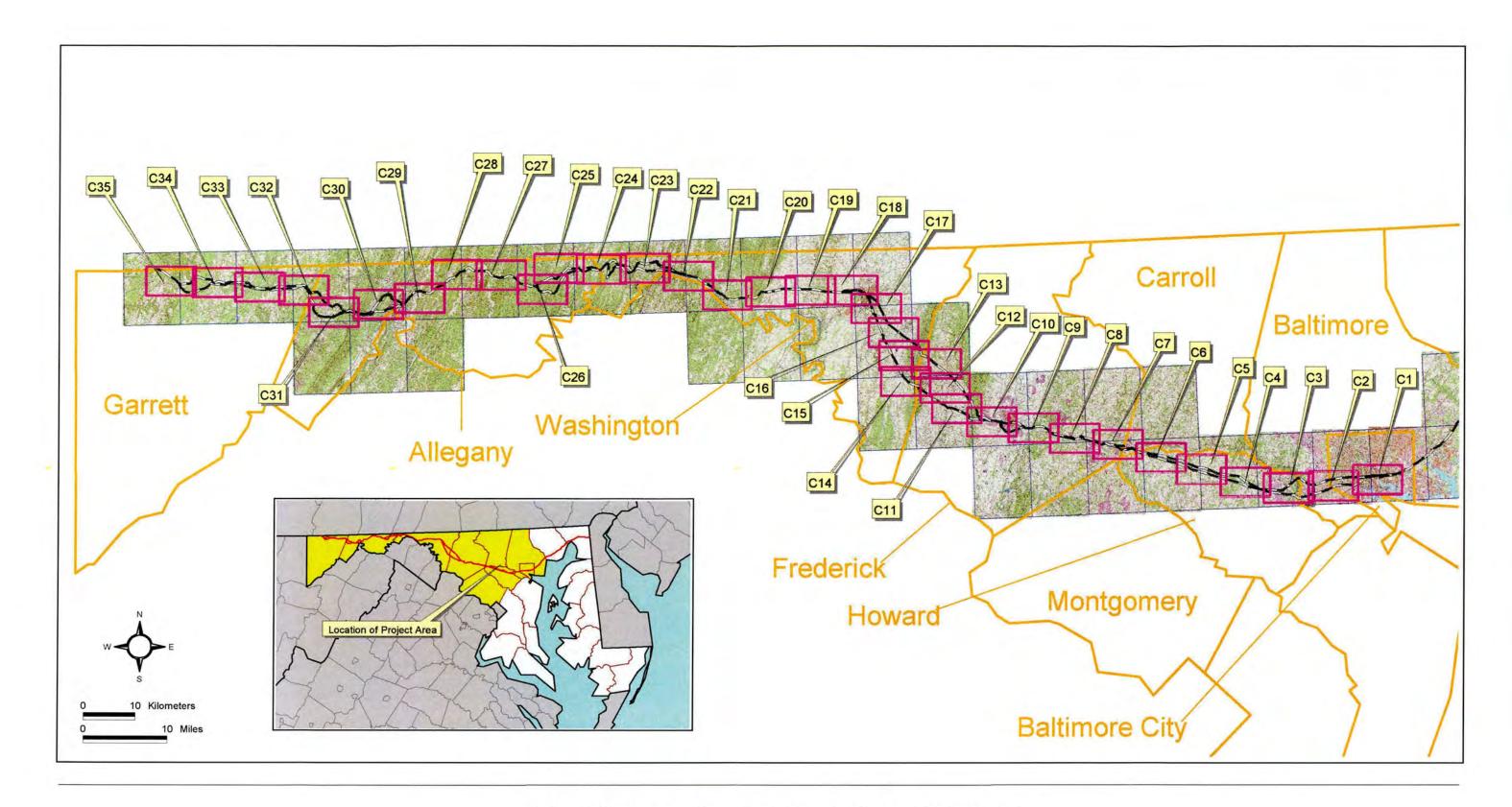
The State of Maryland has contracted with Gray & Pape, Inc., of Cincinnati, Ohio, to generate Historic Contexts and define Property Types associated with the historic National Road across that state (Figure 1). These investigations are part of a larger effort to create a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) (NPS 10-900-b), which can then be used to, "...nominate thematically-related historic properties simultaneously, or to establish the registration requirements for properties that may be nominated in the future" (NRHP Bulletin 16B 1991:2). Throughout this document, "Historic Contexts" and "Property Types" will be capitalized, as the terms will be used in the technical sense defined in NRHP Bulletin 16B, 1991.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NATIONAL ROAD

The National Road was the first federally funded interstate transportation route, effectively connecting the original colonial settlements of the eastern seaboard to the Trans-Alleghany West, and as such, it was the primary instrument of settlement, commerce, and the spread of ideas for a large swath of the old Northwest Territories. Following a decline in throughtraffic as a result of railroad and canal efficiencies, the National Road again became a major artery in the early twentieth century with the advent of personal automobile touring and commercial trucking. The National Road/ U.S. 40 corridor became a nexus for the transformation of the American landscape with the rise of service industries catering to this new traffic.

The National Road is now the first transportation corridor crossing six states to be designated an All American Road within the National Scenic Byways program of the Federal Highway Administration. Several of the states through which it passes have obtained individual State Scenic Byway and National Scenic Byway designations (Keddie and Jarzen 2001). For a full quote of the Statement of Significance submitted for the All American Road Designation, see Appendix A. In 1976, the National Road was designated a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark by the American Society of Civil Engineers.

There is no doubt about the significance of the National Road to our nation's history. With the enormous demonstrable impact the Road has had on American life, it is all too easy to identify historic properties along the route that embody the general Areas of Significance identified by the NRHP (NRHP Bulletin 15 1991:8). In their 1998 inventory of cultural resources associated with the National Road across the State of Ohio, Miller et al. (1988:8) identified Architecture, Archaeology, Commerce, Communications, Community Planning



Index to Map Sheets in Appendix C Along the Maryland National Road

and Development, Economics, Engineering, Exploration and Settlement, Landscape Architecture, Literature, Social History, and Transportation as relevant Areas of Significance. Within the State of Maryland, it is important to include both Historic-Aboriginal (Contact Period) Archaeology and Military as additional Areas of Significance for the National Road, for its association with Nemacolin's Path (a Contact Period Native American trail) and the South Mountain, Hagerstown, Funkstown, Monocacy and Pleasant Mills Civil War battlefields. Given the enormous range of possible historical associations for properties along the National Road, it is all the more critical that said properties are organized by Historic Contexts, and that the necessary degree of historic association is rigorously defined by relevant Property Types.

REPORT ORGANIZATION

The requirements of the MPDF will serve as the organizing principles of this report. The report begins with a review of said requirements, followed by a proposed name for the Multiple Property Listing. There follows a discussion of how other states through which the National Road passes have addressed Historic Contexts and Property Types. The review will also consider how other MPDFs have dealt with the issue of historic association to, in effect; limit the "study set" of properties within a larger resource base. The current document will then provide proposed Historic Contexts and associated Property Types for the National Road in Maryland. There will follow an operational definition of the degree of historic association necessary for a given property to be considered in this study.

This document will then present an overview discussion of the history of the National Road in Maryland, organized by the proposed Historic Contexts. The reader is encouraged to evaluate the efficacy of the organizational structure provided to the narrative by the proposed Historic Contexts.

For each Historic Context, a list of associated Property Types will be generated, including a discussion of the physical characteristics defining the type, and a preliminary discussion of the degree of integrity necessary for a given property to convey its significance. Rather than isolate associated Property Types from their Historic Contexts, Property Types will be introduced in the text with the Historic Contexts in which they are associated (NRHP Bulletin 16B:12).

The Historic Contexts and their associated Property Types will then be applied to an inventory of known resources within a half-mile corridor along the surviving National Road across the State of Maryland. The half-mile corridor was selected as an operational definition of the current study area, and does not reflect the true geographical distribution of associated resources. The current study is not intended as a definitive inventory of resources associated with the National Road, but instead serves to lay out the ground rules by which individual resources may be included in such an inventory. The analysis outlined above will result in an initial culling of properties for consideration for registration to the NRHP within the MPDF, but does not preclude future additions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was written by Orloff Miller, Ph.D., of Orloff G. Miller Consulting, under contract to Gray & Pape, Inc., of Cincinnati, Ohio. The author wishes to thank Aaron Cowan and Stephen Roberts of Gray & Pape, Inc., for rounding up materials from previous investigations, and Ruth Myers of Gray & Pape, Inc. for her timely GIS work. Thanks are due to Cindi Ptak for access to various Maryland state GIS files, and to Peter Kurtze of the Maryland Historic Trust (MHT) for his patience while materials were assembled from which the analysis could proceed. Michael Matts of Gray & Pape, Inc., served as Project Manager.

CHAPTER II. REQUIREMENTS OF THE MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM

A Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) is a tool for organizing historic properties by historic association to better understand the known properties and to create a frame of reference for the evaluation of newly identified properties. The contents of this discussion are paraphrased from NRHP Bulletin 16B, 1991. A MPDF must contain the following:

MPDF NAME

The MPDF name must include a unifying principle and the geographic extent to which it applies. The chronological period to which it applies, while optional, can be useful.

ASSOCIATED HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Every MPDF must define one or more applicable Historic Contexts. A Historic Context must in turn define a *Theme* based on a broad area of significance to American history (as defined by the NRHP), which may include events or patterns of physical or cultural development. A Historic Context must define a specific *Place*, a geographic location of specific extent (known or likely) based on common patterns of cultural development. A Historic Context must define the specific chronological *Period* when the events significant to the Historic Context occurred.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Based upon the Historic Contexts, every MPDF must identify associated Property Types. The **significance** of a specific Property Type is based on the strength of its tie to a Historic Context. In other words, the **degree of historic association** is critical to the definition of Property Types. Specific Property Types may be emblematic of some aspect of History, Architecture, Engineering, Archaeology, or Culture. An individual property may be associated with more than one Historic Context.

The definitions for associated Property Types are critical for assessing new-found properties, and establish the "threshold," for inclusion. Therefore, the first requirement is to describe the **physical characteristics** of the Property Type. These characteristics might include the defensive architectural details of a frontier station, or the archaeologically diagnostic elements of a prehistoric culture.

As the language of this discussion implies, the necessary degree of association must be explicitly defined in order for the relationship between a given property and the Historic Context to be made clear. As will be seen later, this proviso has profound implications for which properties are to be included in the current study.

The Property Type discussion in a MPDF must define the necessary threshold of integrity for a given property to convey its significance and represent the type. In practice, these discussions usually revert to the standard language of a NRHP nomination, while making special reference to the physical characteristics of the type as described above.

NRHP REGISTRATION FORMS

NRHP registration forms must be completed for each property or district nominated under the aegis of a MPDF. Although outside the purview of the current investigation, an actual NRHP submission would include registration forms, where,

"At the most specific level, the National Register Registration Form illustrates how an individual property or historic district relates to the historic contexts, represents a property type, and meets registration requirements for the type" (NRHP Bulletin 16B 1991:3).

Said forms will comprise the work product of a subsequent phase of work.

PROPOSED MULTIPLE PROPERTY LISTING NAME

The subject of these investigations has been operationally defined as *Cultural Resources Associated with the Historic National Road in Maryland*. According to the National Park Service (NRHP Bulletin 16B 1991:2), "Under this general heading, one or more historic contexts may be identified".

CHAPTER III. GUIDANCE BY COMPARISON

HOW OTHER STATES HAVE DEFINED HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND PROPERTY TYPES FOR THE NATIONAL ROAD

As noted above, Historic Contexts must include each of the following three elements; a historical theme directly associated with the subject, a specific geographical area, and a specific chronological period. Again, according to the National Park Service, "Historic Contexts describe the impact of various historic themes, trends, or patterns on areas as small as part of a community or as large as the nation" (NRHP Bulletin 16B 1991:3).

Individual properties can be discussed, analyzed, and nominated to the NRHP collectively as Property Types. As the name implies, Associated Property Types must be demonstrably associated with one or more specific Historic Contexts, and must be represented by an assemblage of specific properties.

Several other states have already either begun or completed resource inventories along the National Road, providing the current researchers with several fruitful examples of Historic Contexts and Property Types to be expected in Maryland. The National Road crosses portions of Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Of these states, only West Virginia and Pennsylvania have filed formal MPDFs. According to Greg Ramsey of the Pennsylvania State Historic Preservation Office, the State of Pennsylvania has also begun to update a 1987 resource inventory along the National Road, to follow up on a 1994 Special Resource Study (Grantz 1987; Greg Ramsey, Personal Communication with Stephen Roberts, October 2004; Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission 1994). The Ohio Department of Transportation has completed a resource inventory along the National Road (Miller et al. 1997). Paul Diebold of the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology reports that to date there have been no National Register submissions based on the National Road in that state, although he has begun a resource inventory spreadsheet compiled through County surveys. To date the spreadsheet lists 861 sites by county, with no formal criteria for inclusion. Mr. Diebold also noted that the Indiana National Road Association has prepared a Corridor Management Plan and an Interpretive Master Plan (Paul Diebold, Personal Communication with Stephen Roberts, October 2004; National Trust 1997). Jerry Roll of the National Road Association of Illinois reports that no National Register submissions have been developed, and no inventory has been undertaken to date, although an "intrinsic quality assessment" of the Road was prepared as part of the All American Road designation (Jerry Roll, Personal Communication with Stephen Roberts, October 2004).

PENNSYLVANIA

Not all Historic Contexts registered with the NRHP have strictly adhered to the guidelines reviewed above. For example, in the MPDF filed in 1995 for *Historic Resources of the National Road in Pennsylvania*, a single Historic Context was defined: "The Growth and Development of the National Road, 1811-1945" (Safley et al. 1995). Since the implied geographic area is the State of Pennsylvania, and the chronological period spans 134 years, this particular Historic Context may be too vague to provide real guidance to future decision-making.

Although not reflected in the Historic Context title per se, the text discussion within the Pennsylvania MPDF defines three distinct historical phases within the history of the National Road. These periods include 1811-1854 (construction of the Road through completion of first trans-Allegheny railroad line), 1854-1900 (a period of decline and localization of Road traffic), and 1900-1945 (revitalization of the Road due to automobile touring) (Safley et al. 1995: E1-E16). With minor variations, this chronological scheme is consistent for every state through which the National Road passes.

The Pennsylvania MPDF formally lists only two Property Types within the single Historic Context; Historic Districts (including Pike Towns and Bypassed Segments of original route), and Tavern Buildings (Safely et al. 1995:Section F). However, in the Methods section of the report, it is noted that field survey of National Road-related resources across the state listed 205 resources, including "structural features" (such as bridges, culverts, retaining walls, and mileposts), taverns and inns, toll houses, nineteenth century service industries (blacksmiths and wagon repair shops), commemorative markers, and a variety of twentieth century service industry sites (including tourist camps, cabins, motels, hotels, early service stations, etc.) (Safely et al. 1995:H1). The MPDF suggests a rationale for the limited number of Property Types defined, due to the endangered status of bypassed roadbed and early tavern sites (Safely et al. 1995:H2).

WEST VIRGINIA

The 1992 MPDF, Historic and Architectural Resources Along the National Road in Ohio County, West Virginia (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992a), lists four Historic Contexts, each representing a distinct theme and chronological period. Historic Contexts include, "The Construction of the National Road to Wheeling, 1805-1818," "The Heyday of the National Road, 1818-1853," "Decline of the National Road and Continued Development of Ohio County, 1853-1890," and "Development of Wheeling Suburbia and Resurgence of the National Road, 1890-1930." The West Virginia Historic Contexts provide all three of the required elements: a historical theme directly associated with the subject; a specific geographical area; and a specific chronological period.

The West Virginia MPDF for the National Road is limited to a single county, and is therefore limited in the number of Property Types defined. The types include nineteenth century public

houses (inns, taverns, and hotels), corridor historic districts, and mile markers (NRHP). Five NRHP Registration Forms are included in the MPDF, including Mile Markers, the Feay Inn, the Stone Tavern at Roney's Point, the Beagle Hotel, and the National Road Corridor Historic District in Wheeling (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992b-f). These properties fall neatly within the Property Types associated with Nineteenth Century Corridor-Specific Service Industries (the inns and taverns), Settlement Pattern along the National Road/ US40 (the Corridor Historic District), and Nineteenth Century Road Construction and Maintenance Technologies (the mile markers).

OHIO

There is no formal MPDF for the National Road in the State of Ohio. However, the Ohio Department of Transportation commissioned an inventory of properties associated with the National Road across the State of Ohio, resulting in a three-volume report in 1998 (Miller et al. 1998). Those investigations identified 507 new resources, and updated forms for 173 previously identified resources, making the Ohio work the most exhaustive cultural resource management study for the National Road conducted to date.

The Ohio report distinguished the following themes and associated Property Types (shown in parentheses) (Miller et al. 1998:8-10):

Pre-1825 Ohio Routes and Traces Ancestral to the National Road (historic routes/ traces predating the National Road, traveler's camps or Native American villages associated with said routes)

Settlement Pattern along the National Road/ US40 in Ohio, 1825-1950 (Pike Towns)

Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Road Construction and Maintenance Technologies in Ohio (19th Century: bypassed segments of relict roadbed, toll houses, mile markers, bridges, culverts, retaining walls, paving quarries, road crew camps; 20th Century: ODOT facilities, early Highway Patrol structures, alternative paving technologies, bypassed relict roadbeds).

Nineteenth Century Corridor-Specific Service Industries in Ohio (Public Houses [inns, taverns], Wagon Stands/ Drover's Camps, Stage Stops, Smithies, Cartwrights, Liveries).

Twentieth Century Corridor-Specific Service Industries in Ohio (Gas and Service Stations, Tourist Camps, Tourist Cabins, Hotels, Motor Courts, Motels, Diners/Restaurants, early Strip Malls/ Shopping Plazas.

Commemorations and Memorials (monuments, plaques, historic markers, museums).

Within the historical narrative of the Ohio report, thematic discussions were presented in the context of important nineteenth and twentieth century developments.

INDIANA

The Indiana National Road Corridor Management Plan (National Trust 1997) has a very different function from a MPDF, and only hints at potential Historic Contexts in the discussion of intrinsic qualities, including but not limited to its Historic and Cultural qualities. The Plan notes that the corridor is itself an artifact, and has been recognized as a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark in 1976 (National Trust 1997:9) The Plan also notes that the Road serves as a physical exemplar of the nineteenth century ideology of Manifest Destiny, effectively linking the burgeoning Midwest to the older eastern seaboard (National Trust 1997:9).

Based on the discussion above, the Historic Contexts inferable from the *Indiana National Road Corridor Management Plan* (National Trust 1997) might include Nineteenth Century Engineering/ Infrastructure for the National Road; Long Distance Trade on the National Road; and Settlement Pattern along the National Road. Property types might include relict roadbed, bridges, and other features of original road construction, transshipment depots or markets for long-distance trade, and Pike Towns.

As noted above, a staff member at the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology has begun a resource inventory spreadsheet for resources along the National Road in Indiana, compiled through County surveys (Paul Diebold, Personal Communication 2004). To date the spreadsheet lists 861 sites by county, with no formal criteria for inclusion. A quick review of the sites listed suggests that residential houses are the largest single category represented. The current Indiana list appears to include every inventoried structure occurring in physical proximity to the National Road, rather than only properties possessing historic association with the National Road.

ILLINOIS

The current investigators were unable to identify any formal resource inventory or planning documents for the National Road in Illinois, although Illinois is reflected in the All-American Road designation documents:

The road was completed to the state border at Terre Haute in 1838 and reached Vandalia, then the Illinois state capitol, in 1839. The population influx was not as great an influence in Illinois as in the preceding states, as settlements were already established. However, this did not diminish the importance of the National Road, as it opened a link to the water route of the Mississippi. Stone arch bridges and covered bridges connected the many small communities as the road passed to the great waterway (Keddie and Jarzen 2001).

The above remarks bring up an interesting idea, that the Road had an indirect effect on settlement and commerce running lateral to the route every time it passed a navigable

waterway, while also serving to connect the landlocked interior Midwest (at least, north of the Ohio River) to the Mississippi drainage.

GUIDANCE OFFERED BY THE MARYLAND NATIONAL ROAD CORRIDOR PARTNERSHIP PLAN

A Corridor Partnership Plan for the Maryland Historic National Road Scenic Byway (CPP) (Lardner/Klein 2001) was the result of collaboration between several Maryland state agencies and a Citizen Advisory Group. The relevant agencies included the Maryland Department of Planning, the Maryland State Highway Administration, the Maryland Office of Tourism Development, the Maryland Historical Trust, and the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, with funding from the Federal Highway Administration.

Since the Maryland portion of the National Road is oldest and Maryland was the most densely settled state through which the Road passes, it should come as no surprise that its Historic Contexts differ from those defined for other states. The very first page of the CPP indicates one such unique context. When the federal government mandated and funded the construction of an interstate National Road, the section east from Cumberland to Baltimore was not included. According to the CPP,

"As early as 1792, the State of Maryland had begun building a system of private turnpikes to connect points between Baltimore and Cumberland; however, these pikes were not part of the federal mandate. The private pikes were taken over by the state of Maryland in the 1830s, and combined to become the National Pike, which connected to the National Road in Cumberland" (Lardner/Klein 2001:1-1).

Currently, the entire corridor, including the Cumberland-Baltimore section, is considered part of the National Scenic Byway, and part of the All American Road designation. There will be unique pre-1830s cultural resources within the Cumberland-Baltimore segment, related to the various private turnpikes later stitched together as the "National Pike."

Again, a corridor management plan conducted for the National Scenic Byways program of the Federal Highway Administration does not provide definitions of Historic Context that translate easily to a NRHP MPDF. Instead, management plans are required to document two or more "intrinsic qualities" of the corridor, from a list that includes historic and cultural qualities, scenic, recreational or natural qualities. We are remarkably fortunate therefore, to find that the consultants responsible for the CPP organized their discussion by historic themes presented within a chronological schema with a list of property types associated with each theme.

The Maryland CPP (Lardner/Klein 2001:1-3) notes that the significance of the National Road Scenic Byway, "...is primarily associated with its historic and cultural qualities". The CPP divides the history of Maryland's National Road into three periods: the "Heyday" of the

Road (1810-1850); the "Agriculture and Trade" era (1850-1910); and the "Revival" period (1910-1960).

The "Heyday" reflects the period when the National Road was the primary east-west route to the Old Northwest, and is represented by surviving mileposts, mile houses, inns and taverns, and stone arch bridges. The "Agriculture and Trade" period covers both the industrialization and commerce made possible by the advent of canals and railroads, and the corresponding decline in through-traffic along the overland National Road. Representative resources for this period/theme would include "Victorian mansions and homes, commercial buildings, and well maintained farmsteads," as well as commercial districts, rail and canal corridors connecting or crossing the Road (Lardner/Klein 2001 1-4). The "Revival" period corresponds to the automobile age, and the development of highway related service industries, including motels, tourist cabins, scenic pull-offs, road houses, garages and strip malls.

Within the above organizing principles, the Citizen Advisory Group participating in the CPP study developed a series of 27 photo-documented tours to both inventory and interpret relevant resources along the 178-mile corridor. The CPP noted that many of the resources identified had not (and have not) been formally recorded with the Maryland Historical Trust (Lardner/Klein 2001:1-5). One of the goals of the current investigation is to apply a rigorous list of Property Types generated from formal Historic Contexts to compare the resources now recorded with the State to those listed in the CPP.

The CPP limited its definition of the study corridor to the Road itself and associated public right-of-way (ROW) (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-2). This is in keeping with the objectives of a Corridor Management Plan as required by the National Scenic Byway Program of the Federal Highway Administration. However, in Maryland, significant segments of the routes ancestral to the National Road, or original National Road ROW bypassed by subsequent U.S. 40 construction no longer lie within a public ROW. The current investigation attempts to provide both Historic Contexts and Property Type definitions applicable to all relict segments of the Road, whether located within a current public ROW or not.

The CPP proposes the use of a powerful heuristic device in preservation planning, that of the Cultural Landscape. Cultural Landscapes transcend the narrow limits of NRHP historic properties or districts (or MPDFs) to characterize the sum of these parts, and what that sum means to our shared history. The concept of Cultural Landscapes is a very useful tool for delineating and protecting large-scale viewsheds and streetscapes, which are often too "slippery" to capture with the more traditional "Historic District." Due to the difficulties inherent in attempting to include entire viewsheds within a NRHP district nomination, the current investigators recommend that future preservation planning efforts return to the concept of Cultural Landscapes when attempting to preserve the viewsheds identified in the CPP. While not within the purview of the current study, the investigators applaud the CPP for introducing this concept into the discussion. The National Road corridor exhibits an overlay of significant Cultural Landscapes.

GUIDANCE OFFERED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL TRUST

The MHT has developed a series of statewide Historic Contexts within their Maryland Supplement to National Register Bulletin 16A (MHT 1995). The MHT provided guidance to the current investigation in the form of various scoping documents (MHT Request for Proposals, May 9, 2002), the transcripts of a "pre-proposal conference" (MHT, May 23, 2002), a "question and answer session" (MHT, June 5, 2002), and comments provided on early drafts (Cindi Ptak to Peter Kurtze, March 17, 2003; Peter Kurtze to Michael Matts, December 10, 2003). The MHT statewide historic contexts are not intended as a "one size fits all" solution to resource management, but serve to ground more detailed resource studies in the general trends of prehistory and history within the state.

The National Road corridor passes through the Coastal Plain, the Eastern Piedmont, Western Piedmont, Blue Ridge, Great Valley, Valley and Ridge, and the Allegheny Plateau physiographic provinces (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-3, 4-4). These regions were subject to very different developmental histories, due largely to the rugged terrain and the difficulty of travel in Western Maryland. The distinction plays out in the history of the National Road, in that private funds were raised to create turnpikes across the Piedmont, while federal funds were utilized to build the National Road from Cumberland west.

The statewide chronological/developmental periods relevant to the National Road include the Contact and Settlement Period (1570-1750), Rural Agrarian Intensification Period (1680-1815), Agrarian-Industrial Transition Period (1815-1870), Industrial/ Urban Dominance Period (1870-1930), and the Modern Period (1930-present). Just as the Ohio investigators found ancestral Native American routes critical to the history of the National Road in that state, the current investigation suggests that Nemacolin's Path, a Native American trail, and the Native American traditions upon which Nemacolin's knowledge was based, form an important Historic Context for the National Road in Maryland. The Rural Agrarian Intensification period is represented by the Whiskey Rebellion, which played a prominent role in the early planning of the National Road. The Agrarian-Industrial Transition is represented by the completion of the Road itself, and by its subsequent eclipse by the canals and railroads which followed. The Industrial/ Urban Dominance Period see both the decline and reconstruction of the National Road with the advent of the automobile. The Modern period is most dramatically illustrated by the boom in service industries associated with the National Road.

Statewide themes defined by the MHT relevant to the National Road include at a minimum Contact Period settlement and technology, and Historic transportation, military, economics, and community planning. The statewide themes are too general to adopt wholesale in this discussion, and will be adapted to the specific historic trends relevant to the National Road.

CHAPTER IV. PROPOSED HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND PROPERTY TYPES FOR MARYLAND'S NATIONAL ROAD

By combining the cumulative scholarship represented by the efforts of other National Road MPDFs with a review of the unique history of the route within the State of Maryland (presented below), the investigators have generated eight themes, clustered into four chronological periods. Taken together, these Historic Contexts account for the wide variety of Property Types directly relevant to the National Road in Maryland.

TRIAGE OF KNOWN RESOURCES

As an integral part of the research conducted in order to create the Historic Context narrative, the investigator studied the known resources along a 1/4-mile wide corridor to either side of the Baltimore Pike/ National Road from the City of Baltimore to the Pennsylvania state line (Appendices B and C). Note that the half-mile corridor (total width) was selected as an operational definition of the current study area, and does not reflect the composite geographical distribution of associated resources. The current study is not intended as a definitive inventory of resources associated with the National Road, but instead serves to lay out the ground rules by which individual resources may be included in such an inventory. The process has resulted in an initial culling of properties for consideration for registration to the NRHP within the MPDF, but does not preclude future additions.

The Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, as maintained by the MHT, was combined with the resource recommendations of the CPP, to create a series of GIS-based resource maps and a combined resource Excel database. Within the corridor defined, 1071 cultural resources have been previously identified, although not all are necessarily associated with the National Road. By limiting the study to previously identified properties, the frequency of associated resources by county may appear irregular due to inconsistencies of effort in the identification process.

After studying the resource base along Maryland's segment of the National Road, the investigators compared that information with the National Road resource base in other states, as explained in Chapter III. Then, taking into consideration Maryland's unique history and the historical narratives generated for other states, the investigators developed Historic Contexts and Property Types that account for the known Maryland National Road resource base.

The investigators then returned to the GIS-based resource maps and database, selecting a subset of the known resources that *could*, based on the data at hand, be considered as meeting a threshold of historical association with the National Road. Within the database, such sites

were marked by a YES. The reader is asked to keep in mind that "yes" sites do not confirm NRHP eligibility, only probable historical association. Any resource-specific evaluation of eligibility would still need to confirm integrity, and recheck the source materials upon which the MHT Inventory forms and CPP recommendations are based.

A few other caveats are in order. Some resources were not considered during the "triage" process because the MHT had already determined the resource ineligible on other grounds. If additional data for the historical association of a given resource are identified in the future, any of the sites not included in the current list should be considered. For example, many of the early houses identified along the original route may have served as inns, but have not been identified as such by the data at hand. It is also worth noting that many architectural resources recorded with the state (whether the buildings per se are NRHP-eligible or not) may retain significant archaeological deposits that are potentially eligible properties in their own right, but to date have not been recorded as such.

Of the 1071 known resources located within the study corridor, 346 of them fit one or more of the Property Types defined for these investigations. *Not all 346 will be reviewed here*; instead, examples for each Property Type are provided within the Historical narrative. In addition, several of the resources are historic districts consisting of numerous individual properties with associated archaeological components. The reader is encouraged to study the database (Appendix B) and resource maps (Appendix C) provided with this report for clarification on specific resources of interest and area of study.

DEGREE OF HISTORIC ASSOCIATION

Before presenting these Historic Contexts, a fundamental point of clarification is the degree of historic association. The author is guided by an earlier work conducted for the State of Ohio, which maintains that physical proximity to the corridor of the National Road is not sufficient to establish historic association:

"Settlement pattern is not the same thing as individual house construction; using settlement pattern as a Historic Context, the focus remains on pike towns as a Property Type, not on farmhouses, churches, or Odd Fellows Halls which were also located on the road. Again, mere proximity to the corridor is not considered sufficient for establishing historic association. A property is not eligible if its associations are speculative. Even in those cases where some association is documented, "Mere association with historic events or trends is not enough, in and of itself, to qualify under Criterion A; the property's specific association must be considered important as well" (NRHP Bulletin 15 1991:12), quoted from Miller et al. 1998:9.

Note that if this rigorous definition is followed, then individual houses or churches, or other quite beautiful and potentially significant resources in their own right, although located alongside the National Road, are not necessarily included in the current investigation. Future

researchers are encouraged to consider in their evaluations historical maps such as Sanborn Fire Insurance and editions of U.S. Geological Survey topographic quadrangles.

Nearly every other state documentation (and most of the secondary literature published to date) has discussed the history and resources of the National Road in terms of infrastructure (routing, bridges, etc.), service industries (public houses, gas stations), settlement patterns (Pike Towns), and economic boom and bust cycles (the advent of rail and/or canal service). Maryland is unique in that, within this state, the National Road saw combat during the Civil War, and the greater percentage of the actual route was privately funded rather than being part of the celebrated federal construction program. With these ideas in mind, the proposed Historic Contexts are listed below with associated Property Types, organized as bullet points. Each Property Type is explained in the Historic Context discussions that follow (see Table of Contents for specific page numbers).

PROPOSED HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND PROPERTY TYPES

PRE-1811 ROUTES AND TRACES ANCESTRAL TO THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND

Predating the 1811 start of federally financed construction on the National Road, most of these resources relate to the infrastructure of the ancestral routes, or to specific events:

- Contact-Period Native American Sites
- Nemacolin's Path
- Braddock's Road
- Cresap's "Oldtown"
- Military or Traveler's Camps
- Frontier Battlefields
- Military, Trade, or Traveler Services along ancestral routes (forts, inns)
- Infrastructure of Ancestral Routes (corridor, fords, passes)

ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE TECHNOLOGIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1811-1853

This period represents the "Heyday," of the Road, from the 1811 commencement of construction through completion of the first trans-Allegheny Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad line in 1853. The "National Road/ Baltimore Pike" dichotomy in the theme is intended to contrast resources constructed for the National Road with those constructed for the multiple private turnpikes comprising the Baltimore Pike:

- Bypassed segments of relict roadbed
- Period road cuts
- Toll houses
- Mile markers

- Bridges
- Culverts, or other drainage or flood mitigation structures
- Retaining Walls
- Paving Quarries
- Road crew camps
- "Thank-you ma'ams" (intentional flat spots on long grades for resting horses)
- Stone-built springs and public spring houses, wayside watering troughs

CORRIDOR-SPECIFIC SERVICE INDUSTRIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1811-1853

- Public Houses [stagecoach stops, inns, taverns, wagon stands]
- Drover's Camps
- Smithies, Cartwrights, Liveries
- Pike Town Historic Districts

THE CIVIL WAR ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1861-1865

- Battlefields
- Fortifications/ Entrenchments
- Encampments, Hospitals, Depots, Field Headquarters
- Landscapes delineating lines of Advance and/or Retreat (if Road critical to tactics/ strategy)

ECONOMIC ECLIPSE AND RELOCATION ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1853-1908

This period extends from the completion of the first trans-Allegheny railroad line through to the organization of the Maryland State Road Commission in 1908:

- Transshipment depots
- Markets for long-distance trade
- Local markets
- Resort facilities
- "Paired Town" Historic Districts (where town growth patterned by serial development of alternative transportation corridors)
- Main Streets preserved by economic displacement

ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE TECHNOLOGIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1908-1955

The 1908 date denotes the organization of the Maryland State Road Commission, and somewhat arbitrarily serves to mark the beginning of the automobile age and the rebirth of the National Road:

- Road Maintenance and Administrative Facilities
- Alternative/ experimental paving or drainage technologies,
- Bypassed relict roadbeds/ Reroutes
- Replacement bridges
- Scenic enhancements and memorials
- "Saved by the Bypass" relict streetscapes/ Historic Districts

CORRIDOR-SPECIFIC SERVICE INDUSTRIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1908-1955

- Gas and Service Stations,
- Tourist Camps, Tourist Cabins, Motor Courts, Motels,
- Diners and Restaurants
- Early Strip Malls/ Shopping Plazas

The Historic Contexts and Property Types will provide the organizational structure of the following historical narrative. Throughout the balance of this document, the physical characteristics of a given property type will appear under the heading "diagnostics." Note that new data may alter the definitions presented herein. These definitions may assist in the field recognition of a given property type, but are not intended to exclude specific properties in the face of new information.

CHAPTER V. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

The National Road as celebrated today is not the result of a single vision or a single construction episode, but is instead a composite entity, a series of ad hoc of solutions to a common problem dating back into prehistory; "how do we get across those mountains?" The weight of government was brought to bear on this common problem at a very early date in our nation's history, creating precedents for federal funding and administration for interstate improvements and interstate commerce, and for the use of eminent domain by individual states in return for federal rewards (Gallatin 1808; Safley et al. 1995; Walters 1969). The National Road not only shaped the pattern of settlement, trade, and communications across the old Northwest, but shaped the pattern by which our country is governed and its lands are administered.

PRE-1811 ROUTES AND TRACES ANCESTRAL TO THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND

CONTACT PERIOD NATIVE AMERICAN TRACES AND ASSOCIATED VILLAGES

Nemacolin's Path and Braddock's Road are important Contact Period transportation corridors that predate and align with sections of the National Road. connecting the same points for similar reasons espoused by some of the same individuals (such as George Washington). Therefore, both Nemacolin's Path and Braddock's Road retain strong Historic Association with the National Road. In addition to these illustrious traces, a variety of early paths west out of Baltimore will be considered in the discussion below. These paths were eventually linked together to form an overland route (albeit crude, packhorse trails) between Baltimore and Cumberland, long before the advent of the nineteenth century commercial turnpikes. Cresap's Oldtown, near current S.R. 51, represents a Contact-period site along a trace ancestral to the National Road; in fact one could make the case that portions of MD 51 reflect that older trace (see below).

Hulbert (1901b:18) credits the buffalo for establishing Nemacolin's Path (see below) prior to Native American use. A network of numerous Native American trails extended hundreds of miles throughout the country, such as the Great Warrior Path from Ohio to Georgia, the Five Nations Trail connecting New York and the Carolinas, or the Great Trading Path from the Potomac south through the Shenandoah Valley to the Carolinas (Jackson 1978:53; Lardner/Klein 2001:4-7). The distances involved may give us a misleading sense of permanence or formality, prompting the false premise that the "real" path ran "here" instead of "over there." It is likely that the majority of Native American trails were opportunistic routes that followed established game paths, natural contours and amenable terrain to access

waypoints such as crossings, settlements and landscape features. Paths continually evolve over time in response to natural phenomena and changing cultural settlement patterns. Floods, soil slides, or other shifting natural obstructions and abandonment of settlements required route changes, creating braids of paths that likely frustrated the early attempts of official cartographers.

Research of the Maryland Historic Trust site files and cultural resource management report collection failed to recover previously recorded proto-Historic and Contact Period archeological sites along the Maryland National Road. The Maryland Historical Trust archaeological Cultural Resource compact disk was purchased and reviewed in an effort to locate and identify pertinent sites. The data were not refined enough to allow for a search based on temporal association. Sites are designated as 700m^2 GIS polygons without supporting descriptive files. Maureen Kavanagh, head of archeological survey material at Maryland SHPO, proffered a list of eighteen archaeological sites that she determined to be in the vicinity of the National Road study corridor. However, none of these sites appear to have a proto-Historic or Contact Period component. It should be noted that non-diagnostic prehistoric artifacts have been identified through monitoring of recent streetscape improvement projects along the National Road in Boonsboro, Hancock and Cumberland and future research may determine specific temporal and cultural affiliations for these sites.

In an effort to provide a "prescriptive" context for any future discoveries of proto-Historic and Contact Period sites within the National Road/ Nemacolin's Path/ Braddock's Road corridors, the following discussion by Maureen Meyers, of Gray & Pape, Inc., (Richmond) reviews the current archaeological literature for the relevant regions.

Wall (1997) suggests that eastern Siouan people, possibly the Mannahoac described by Smith (1624), dominated the Upper Potomac region from A.D. 1000 until the mid-sixteenth century. At that time, the Massawomack were located in the Youghiogheny and Casselman drainages, and the Piscataways, Nanticokes, Delawares and others were in the Lower Potomac and Chesapeake River Valleys.

Susquehannock and Shawnee occupations occurred during the early and late seventeenth centuries, respectively. After 1575 Massawomeck and Susquehannock raids on Piedmont groups intensified (Clark and Rountree 1993:117). These raids were likely the result of an extension of the Iroquoian beaver trade south. Indeed, the Massawomack were likely competing with the Susquehannock for a monopoly on this southern trade, as they were aligned with the Erie, and the Susquehannock were aligned with the Iroquois. According to Smith (1624), these raids continued into the early-seventeenth century. Smith described the Massawomecks as living just beyond the mountains near the Powhatan groups (Rountree 1993:23). Wall (1997:3-4) suggests that the Siouan-speaking Monacan and Mannahoac were pushed southward and westward by Iroquois groups, but that the Manahoac may have expanded their range into the Great Valley before this occurred.

The unstable social and political organization of Native groups in the region meant that most settlements were shortlived. Walker and Miller (1993:170) have suggested site occupation

lasted no longer than 25 years in the northern Shenandoah Valley and similar regions. Large overlaps in ceramic complexes seen in the region at this time could have been "a result of territorial shifts in response to pressures from rival groups such as the Iroquois" (Wall 1997:4). For example, in the Upper Potomac region there is a consistent presence of non-local ceramics such as Clemson Island/Owasco, in otherwise Page-type predominant villages. Clemson Island sherds are also seen in small numbers on Monongahela sites in Pennsylvania (Wall 1997:4).

Archaeological evidence for Susquehannock presence in western Maryland was discovered at the Brashler site in the South Branch region of the Potomac River. MacCord described finds from the site as a mixture of aboriginal and European artifacts (MacCord 1952:246). Subsequent work completed in 1985 revealed a Shultz phase Susquehannock component at the site (Brashler 1987:27). The nearby Herriott Farm site also contained shell-tempered Schultz Incised pottery as well as tubular copper beads, blue and chevron beads, copper coils, brass ornaments, and iron hatchets. These artifacts date to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century "which would correspond to the dispersal of the Susquehannocks down the Susquehanna River and into the Potomac drainage" (Wall 1997:5). Glass trade beads and Susquehannock rim sherds have also been found at the Llewellyn and Barton sites along the North Branch of the Potomac. Three sites in the upper Potomac region at the foot of the Appalachian Front and a fourth downstream contained both European trade goods and Susquehannock pottery. The three former sites are all located on the open floodplain between Keyser, West Virginia, and Cumberland, Maryland (Wall 1997:6). The Susquehannock presence in western Maryland lasted from about 1575 to 1623. By the lateseventeenth century, there is a Shawnee presence in the region. They were living in the North Branch Valley in at least three main settlements until the 1730s when they abandoned their villages and moved into Pennsylvania (Wall 1997:6).

One of the earliest accounts of natives in this region comes from the journal of Captain Henry Fleet (Hoffman 1964:200-241). He describes a journey taken by his brother Edward up the Potomac River, seven days travel up the Potomac Valley, in 1632. His purpose was to visit settlements of the Massawomeck who had been trading with the Anacostia Indians along the Potomac. Smith (1624) also mentioned the Massawomeck twenty-five years earlier. Fleet (Hoffman 1964) described large palisaded villages with large populations and houses with fur. Hoffman calculated that seven days journey up the Potomac would have taken Fleet either south through the valley of the South Branch or west along the North Branch, possibly as far as the Upper Youghiogheny River Valley (Hoffman 1964:200-241).

The next descriptions come from the eighteenth-century accounts of trader Charles Anderson. He had established a trading post near the Monocacy River. Eventually, however, he expanded west toward Opessa's town (a.k.a. Oldtown), a Shawnee village located near the confluence of the North and South branches of the Potomac. According to Anderson (Hanna 1911:153), the village had recently been established there, around 1714. By 1721, although few Europeans ventured beyond the eastern edge of the Monocacy, three Shawnee towns and one Tuscarora town were located in the upper Potomac region (Marye 1935:123). Runaway slaves, servants and convicts used these towns as refugee havens. In 1722, the governor of

Maryland sent Anderson to negotiate with the Shawnee for the return of the slaves. However, complaints about this refugee safe place continued for many years (Marye 1935:125).

In 1730, Anderson established a trading post near Opessa's town, The location of this post is shown on Winslow's map, A Plan of the Upper Part of Potomac River called Cohongoronto Survey'd in the Year 1736. Opessa's town was abandoned in 1738, ending the brief Shawnee occupation of western Maryland. In 1739, Anderson left his trading post there, moving it farther upstream on the Potomac. A 1746 survey of the area notes "Anderson's Cabbin" in this vicinity, across from what is now Cresaptown, Maryland. Wall (1997:2) states that although the Shawnee left Maryland in 1738, it is "...quite probable that the upper North Branch villages were still inhabited when Anderson arrived in 1739".

Others have questioned whether the Shawnee completely abandoned Maryland in 1738. The nineteenth-century historian Lowdermilk (1878) noted the presence of at least one Shawnee hamlet, and possibly a second, near Cresaptown; this may have also influenced Anderson's move to that area. Regardless, Wall (1977:7) thinks the Shawnee were completely gone by the 1740's. Early European settlers as far as the South Branch Valley did not report any Native Americans in the area (Wall 1997:7). About the same time, Thomas Cresap settled in the Oldtown area; this was the first permanent English settlement in Maryland west of the Great Valley, built upon the site on an earlier Native American settlement.

Many Native American place names survive, like Conococheague and Alleghany. Nemacolin's Path led past Aliquippa's Town and Shannopin's Town in Pennsylvania, and may have intercepted Native American settlements or cultural landscapes in Maryland as well (Jackson 1978:69; Lardner/ Klein 2001:4-8). It is likely that future research will identify Contact Period cultural resources along the National Road and the historical association between those sites and the ancestral route will be evident.

EARLY SETTLEMENT ROUTES OUT OF BALTIMORE WEST TO CUMBERLAND

The lands between Baltimore and Cumberland were well known and well traveled long before they were connected by the commercial turnpikes of the nineteenth century. Baltimore was already the center of a wide network of roads by the eighteenth century (Figure 2). By the mid-1740s, roads were completed connecting Baltimore with York, Gettysburg, and Hanover. There were also established routes from Baltimore to Newark, Delaware and Annapolis, Maryland, by the early eighteenth century (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:8-9). The current investigation will make frequent reference to this report, which is based in large part on Volume III of the Maryland Geological Survey Commission (1903) by Arthur Newhall Johnson.

Settlement pressures mounted in the mid-eighteenth century, characterized by small family-based migrations out of eastern Pennsylvania and the Chesapeake, heading generally inland and west. The result was a pattern of scattered family steads and frontier stations, rather than nucleated settlements. The earliest established Euro-American route into the Maryland

backcountry was the so-called "Monocacy Road." The route linked Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Hanover, Pennsylvania, crossed western Maryland between Taneytown and Williamsport (Watkin's Ferry) via a ferry north of modern Frederick, and proceeded south to Winchester, Virginia (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:10) (Figure 2). In the 1730s, when the Monocacy Road first came into use, Taneytown, Frederick, and Williamsport did not yet exist as organized settlements. The Monocacy Road facilitated much of the Pennsylvania German settlement in the Monocacy Valley. However, by the 1790s, it was no longer in use

By 1742 Colonel Thomas Cresap had settled on the site of a Native American village now called Oldtown, on the north bank of the Potomac. A Native American trail connected the outpost to Wills Creek (what would become Cumberland). Colonel Cresap is credited with widening this trace for wagon traffic, creating what would become U.S. 51 (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:12).

By 1744, a ferry across the Potomac at the Conococheague River was serving north-south traffic between Virginia and Pennsylvania, along a route roughly analogous to modern U.S. 11. Captain John Hager laid out the town of Hagerstown in 1762; shortly thereafter a road was established between Hagerstown and Frederick (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:12) (Figure 3).

Soon after the founding of Frederick in 1745, a route was established between Frederick and Baltimore, passing through New Market, Ridgeville, Poplar Springs, Cooksville, and Ellicott City. Essentially the same route was to become a part of the various turnpikes linking Baltimore to Cumberland, and was later adopted as the route for U.S. 40 to Baltimore before being bypassed in 1954 (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:10).

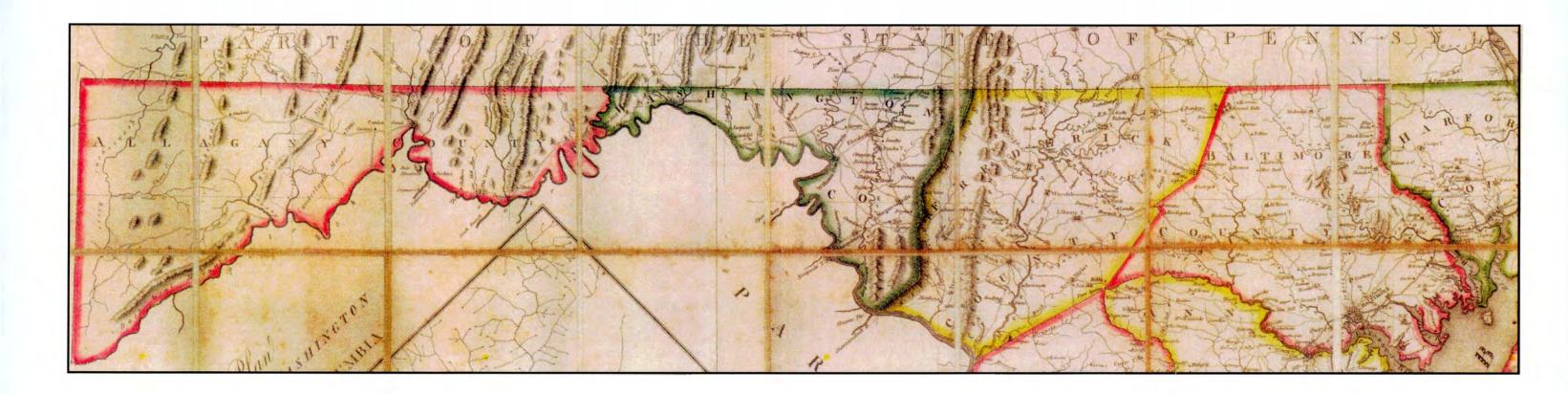
The above discussion suggests that the earliest trails tended to follow the natural landforms of western Maryland, trending along a northeast-southwest axis that targeted known fords or early ferries across the major waterways. (There is NO mention of geology in the above discussion.) This tendency was contradicted by the need for overland routes between rapidly growing inland settlements by the mid-eighteenth century. By 1755, when General Braddock arrived at Cumberland to begin his march, he had been able to ride in a "coach and six" from Washington D.C. to Frederick via the Georgetown-Frederick Road, thence west through Hagerstown to Watkins Ferry (Williamsport). The stretch from Williamsport to Cresap's place at Oldtown still required traveling along the Virginia side of the Potomac (Braddock's Orderly Book, in Lowdermilk 1878:Appendix xvii-iii).

After Braddock's defeat by the French and Indians, control of most of western Maryland was effectively conceded to Native Americans, forcing the almost complete evacuation of settlers from the region. The Maryland Legislature was alarmed enough to appropriate money for the construction of a large stone fort twelve miles west of Williamsport, south of modern day Clear Spring, called Fort Frederick. The fort was connected to the old ferry landing by a road now known as State Routes 68 and 56 (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:16). Fort

The map indicates the approximate route of Braddock's Road west of "Fort Magazin" (Cumberland), and the location of Col. Cresaps station at Old Town. Note that in 1777, cartographers knew of no formal routes east-west between Cumberland and Baltimore, although there were already several north-south routes from southeastern Pennsylvania into northern Virginia. (Le Rouge 1777, in Papenfuse and Coale 2003, Figure 56:61)

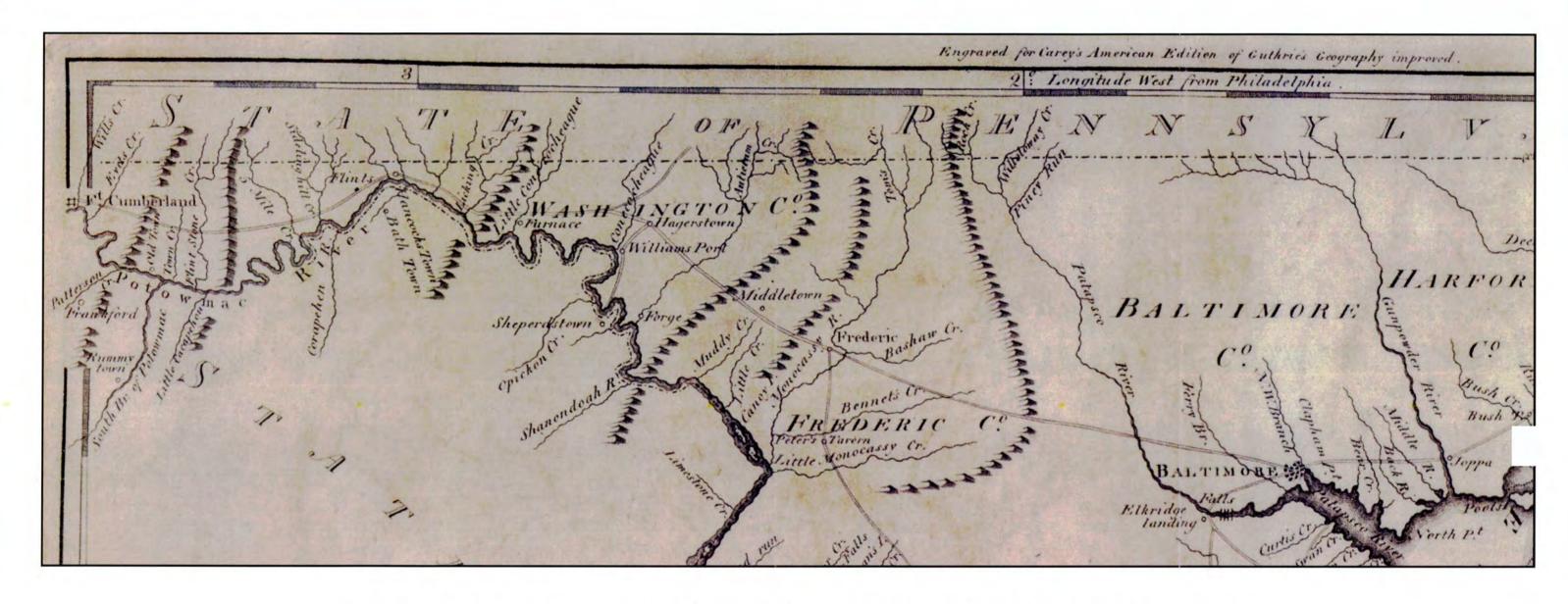
> Virginie, Maryland en 2 Feuilles Par Fry et Jefferson Traduit, G.L. Le Rouge, 1777

> > 24



Map of the State of Maryland, 1794, Dennis Griffith

Figure 3



The map demonstrates a known contiguous route between Baltimore and Cumberland predating the construction of both private and federal turnpikes. The location of Cresap's Old Town, Mr. Flints place, Hager's Town, and Frederick are indicated (Lewis, 1795, in Papenfuse and Coale 2003, figure 60:64).

> The State of Maryland, 1795. Samuel Lewis

Frederick and Fort Cumberland were the westernmost military outposts in the state, and one of them (Cumberland), was cut off by the mountains. In the late 1750s, the legislature required that a road be constructed at the province's expense, connecting the two forts. Running on the north side of the Potomac, this was the first inter-county road built by the province as a military route (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:16). Completed in the 1760s, it was the first overland route between Baltimore and Cumberland entirely within the colony of Maryland.

NEMACOLIN'S PATH

By the mid-eighteenth century, there were enough backwoodsmen in the Shenandoah Valley and the trans-Allegheny/ Ohio River valley frontier to arouse the trading interests of brokers (called "factors" in the parlance of the day) back east. One such company of factors, which included the Governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, and George Washington on its rolls, was the "Ohio Company of Virginia". The group was founded in 1749 with the purpose of finding an efficient trade route between the Chesapeake and the Ohio River drainages. The Ohio Company engaged Captain Thomas Cresap (the same Cresap who had settled at Oldtown) and a Mr. Christopher Gist (another old hand in the backcountry) to identify the desired route. Nemacolin was a native Delaware, who by all accounts was friends with Captain Cresap.

In 1751, Nemacolin used an axe to blaze trail markings along previously existing Native American paths, in order to make it easier for Captain Thomas Cresap's party to follow. According to Ierley (1990:xx,4), such blazed markings were common to American frontier routes, but were highly unusual in Native American practice. Both the subsequent Braddock's Road and the Cumberland Road used the general route of Nemacolin's Path.. The marked trail ran from Wills Creek (Cumberland) on the Potomac to the Monongahela River's confluence with Redstone Creek, near what is now Brownville (Safley et al 1995). Within a year of Nemacolin's hike with Cresap and Gist, he had come to regret offering his assistance, publicly reprimanding Gist for encouraging encroachment on Native American lands (McConnell 1992:91). Nemacolin's sentiments reflected the growing deterioration of English-Native American relations.

What had been an improvised trade route quickly became a strategic military route during the French and Indian War. In the winter of 1753-4, a young Major George Washington made use of Nemacolin's Path during an unsuccessful mission for the British government. Washington delivered an ultimatum to the French ordering their departure from the Ohio country, and kept a daily journal during his mission. On January 7, 1754, Washington wrote, "This Day we arrive at Wills Creek [Cumberland], after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad Weather" (Washington 1754, in Ierley 1990:8). Major Washington was ordered forward from Will's Creek later that same year, bringing with him 60 men to widen the trail. The project was curtailed by the advancing French, and Washington was forced to hastily build "Fort Necessity" at Great Meadows

(Ierley 1990:8). Within two years, Washington traveled over what was to become Braddock's Road at least three times (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1).

BRADDOCK'S ROAD

Braddock's Road followed the route of earlier Native American trails marked in 1751 and known as Nemacolin's Path. It was little more than a blazed hiking path that had been widened by Washington's men in 1754 to connect the Potomac River at Cumberland with the Monongahela River, extending the route to Fort Pitt at modern Pittsburgh. British Major-General Edward Braddock ordered the road's construction for his march from Cumberland to Fort Duquesne in May of 1755. Braddock's party included 2100 Virginians and British regulars, plus an unknown number of Indian allies. Braddock really needed a true roadbed, nominally 12 feet wide, as he brought with him howitzers requiring nine horses to each piece (Ierley 1990:xvii, xx, 8). Braddock's road crews modified the route as necessary to bring up the cannon. English Lieutenant Spendelow has been credited with recommending the Narrows as an alternate route to climbing Wills Mountain at Fort Cumberland. Kathy McKenney, of the City of Cumberland's Department of Community Development, suggested that the alternate route climbed Haystack Mountain, not Wills Mountain (McKenney comments on draft, April 2005). The Spendelow route was used by those of Braddock's party who had not already made the climb (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:15-16).

Loudermilk notes that, "because the buffalo followed the high ground where the snow was blown clear in the winter" the route of Braddock's Road followed steep grades (Miller et al. 1998). Later investigators have noted that early traces such as the Wilderness Road in Kentucky, Zane's Trace in Ohio, and Braddock's Road in Maryland, tend to follow what artillerymen call the "military crest," that is, the highest traverse across the face of a slope allowed by the terrain without exposing one to the horizon line when seen from below. In a potentially hostile world, even road building was an exercise in tactics. Recent investigations have identified numerous extant sections of Braddock's Road through Garrett and Allegany Counties.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Contact Period Native American Sites

To date, no Contact Period Native American sites have been documented within the National Road corridor in Maryland. A possible exception may be the site of Cresap's Old Town, known to have been a Native American site, and located along an early route west to Wills Creek (Cumberland). The route was used during Braddock's March. However, it is reasonable to suggest that Contact Period resources other than ancestral trails may be discovered in the future, and that such sites would be significant to the history of the National Road. Physical characteristics of the different Contact Period property types that might exist

are yet to be identified, but would likely include Native American Contact Period artifacts representing various activities or settlements described in ethnohistoric accounts. The threshold of integrity necessary for a Contact Period property to be considered for nomination to the NRHP is defined by specific site conditions and prevailing standards of professional best practices (Federal Register; NRHP Bulletins 12, 15, and 36).

Military Or Traveler's Camps

Spendelow Camp (AL-V-B-099)

This is the first camp made during Braddock's March west out of Cumberland, known from the eyewitness account of the march by Capt. Robert Orme, of the Coldstream Guards. The camp was located about 5 miles from the fort, about halfway between modern Cumberland and Frostburg (Orme in Ierley 1990:13). Orme noted that there is a very steep hill about a quarter of a mile west of the camp, where several wagons became stuck during the march.

Savage River Camp

The third known encampment location along Braddock's March was located about 3 miles west of the Savage River. "Near this place was another steep ascent, which the wagons were six hours in passing" (Orme in Ierley 1990:15).

Little Meadows

The name refers to a clear expanse on the west slope of Meadow Mountain, named in the records of the Braddock Expedition of 1755 as the site of the fourth encampment (Ierley 1990:xviii, 15). It took Braddock ten days to cover the 24 miles between Cumberland and Little Meadows (Tomlinson Inn NRHP Nomination 1973).

The fifth encampment of Braddock's March was located on the eastern slopes of Negro Mountain. Based on rumors of a French and Indian force in the area, Lieutenant-Colonel Gage and a detachment of sentries were posted at the summit for several hours (Orme in Ierley 1990:16). The site is known and cited in the CPP as resource 012 in Garrett County.

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Military or travelers camps are by their nature ephemeral, and unless the occupants made ad hoc use of an existing structure, no standing structures should be expected. Military camps of the eighteenth century may or may not exhibit a formal grid pattern, depending on the specific circumstances of duration of occupancy, terrain, or simple expedience. Therefore

the physical characteristics of this property type include diagnostic artifacts representing military activity (or frontier military artifact assemblages) for the period and encampment features such as campfires, privies and trash disposal areas ("sinks"), augmented by period accounts. The threshold of integrity necessary for a military or travelers camp to be considered for nomination to the NRHP is also defined by specific site conditions and prevailing standards of professional best practice (Federal Register 1983; NRHP Bulletins 12, 15, and 36). Isolated finds of even the most diagnostic artifacts (regimental military buttons, Daniel Boone's powder flask, etc) are not sufficient to define an encampment site in the absence of military encampment features and documentary evidence.

Frontier Battlefields

The Shades of Death

This colorful name was given to a dark forest of white pine formerly located east of Meadow Mountain. Early travelers along the National Road feared these woods, as the location was favored for Native American attacks and later highwaymen. The woods were cut down for lumber and shingles, and had disappeared altogether by the early twentieth century (Ierley 1990:xx). The location is known in Garrett County, and is pointed out in the CPP as resource 029.

Negro Mountain

A ridge of the Alleghenies west of Grantsville, Negro Mountain was named for an unknown free African-American who volunteered under Captain Thomas Cresap in the 1754 defense of nearby settlements against Native American attacks. The unknown man had a huge build, and was killed in a skirmish on the mountain named after him (Ierley 1990:xix). This story highlights the earliest settlements in the region.

George Washington's Headquarters (AL-IV-A-047)

Another example of a frontier battlefield resource is the site of George Washington's Headquarters, in Riverside Park, Allegany County. Kathy McKenney notes that the headquarters have been moved to the park, and is not in its original location. While potentially eligible for NRHP listing as a commemorative property, the current site retains no archaeological potential. The physical characteristics of and threshold of integrity necessary for Frontier Battlefields to be considered eligible for listing on the NRHP are discussed in Andrus 1992 (NRHP Bulletin 40).

Military, Trade, or Traveler Services Along Ancestral Routes (Forts, Inns)

Old Mr. Flint's Home (WA-VI-006)

Given the isolation of frontier settlements, travelers could usually expect a welcome even in private homes, blurring the line between "public house" and private space. For example, a Mr. Flint, living near present-day Hancock, was visited by Washington in 1769, although he apparently was not a professional innkeeper (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-7). The building stands to this day and is known as Old Mr. Flint's Home in, Washington County.

Wills Creek

Wills Creek was the first name given to the settlement that would become Cumberland, Maryland. Fort Cumberland was built in the winter of 1754-55, after which time the town was known as Cumberland (Ierley 1990:xxi).

In the winter of 1787-1788, Daniel Boone and his family traveled upriver along the Ohio by keelboat to Redstone, Pennsylvania with 15 tons of wild ginseng root. "Then it was overland along what later would become the Cumberland Road to Hagerstown, Maryland, where Boone sold the ginseng to Thomas Hart, who had established a trading operation there" (Faragher 1992:260-261). Evidently some commodities were valuable enough to be profitable despite the tremendous effort to bring 15 tons of anything over the Alleghenies in 1788; and the preferred route was Braddock's Road. Both Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick are considered "military services" along the routes connecting Baltimore to Cumberland, although the road to Fort Frederick was later bypassed (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-8).

Gwinn's (or Gwynn's, or "Six Mile House," or Plummer's Inn) (AL-III-C-008)

Gwinn's Tavern, established by Even Gwinn, was in business along Braddock's Road before the route became the National Road. The tavern stood near the Six Mile Toll House, six miles west of Cumberland. The structure was destroyed by fire in around 1900 (Ierley 1990:xviii). This site could be archaeologically significant, if it has not been subsequently destroyed.

Martin's Plantation (AL-V-A-030)

A homestead predating the Braddock campaign, Martin's Plantation was the second camp of Braddock's March, located approximately 5 miles beyond Spendelow Camp, or 10 miles

west out of Cumberland, just east of modern Frostburg. Like Spendelow Camp, the site is known from the eyewitness accounts of Capt. Robert Orme (Orme in Ierley 1990:15).

Tomlinson's Inn (Tumblestone's, Stone House, Stone House Inn) (G-I-A-012)

Located on the west slope of Meadow Mountain just east of U.S. 219, Tomlinson's was founded by Jesse Tomlinson on Braddock's Road, and was already in business by 1775 when first recorded by Indian trader Nicholas Cresswell. George Washington slept there in 1784. The original structure known as The Red House is now lost, although the tavern was rebuilt nearby in 1815 during the construction of the National Road. James Polk dined at the tavern en route to his inauguration in 1845. The 1815 tavern still stands as an unmarked private residence (Ierley 1990:xx; Tomlinson Inn NRHP Nomination 1973). The house is listed on the NRHP, at 12871 National Pike (US 40), Grantsville, in Garrett County. The NRHP documentation puts the construction date for the second house at circa 1818 (Tomlinson Inn NRHP Nomination 1973). The original site may be a significant archaeological resource; the extant house a worthwhile resource in its own right.

Other Examples

Other surviving examples of Frontier traveler's services include Pike Hall (CPP resource 135), a tavern in Washington County, the Hager House (WA-HAG-009), a fort in Hagerstown, and an 18th century stone cabin thought to have been an inn in Washington County (WA-V-052).

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Frontier-period travelers' services in Maryland are now minimally over 200 years old, and were seldom purpose-built, making rigorous definitions of physical characteristics or integrity difficult. At a minimum, there should be substantive archival evidence for the property's use by frontier-period travelers, and sufficient integrity to convey the property's significance. Standing architecture may exhibit defensive features, visitor accommodations, or larger than typical wells or privies, and should exhibit some architectural features typical of regional vernacular and/or "high-style" forms for the period. Archaeological sites may exhibit a recognizable "frontier pattern" in terms of artifact assemblages, including period artifacts. The properties often combine architectural and archaeological considerations, and therefore need to be evaluated on the integrity of each.

Infrastructure of Ancestral Routes

This property type would include any evidence for the corridor itself, including relict roadbed, fords, or passes.

Nemacolin's Path

It is the author's understanding that to date no segments of Nemacolin's Path, as distinct from Braddock's Road, have been identified, although at various places the routes were known to have diverged. In practice it will be very difficult to prove such a future find, as the path was little more than a blazed pack trail and was in use for a relatively short time. A circumstantial case may be made based upon traveler's accounts of the divergent path, coupled with demonstrable continuity of use in a particular landform, such as a mountain gap or a well-described ford. Such a case would be supported by the discovery of isolated artifacts and confirmed by intact archaeological features.

The Narrows

So named for the mile-long gap in Wills Mountain, immediately northwest of Cumberland, the Narrows were also called "the Gateway to the West". Both Braddock's Road and the original route of the National Road crossed Wills Creek below the Narrows, climbing steeply up Haystack Mountain toward the southwest and the site of the original fortification. In 1832, the National Road was rerouted north through the Narrows, making a longer but much gentler ascent to the west (Ierley 1990:xix). The location is commemorated by an historic marker (CPP resource 061).

Big Savage Mountain

Braddock's men used a different route over the mountain than that of the later National Road. According to both Ierley and Lacock, Braddock's 1755 route was a mile or so north of the current route (Ierley 1990:15; Lacock 1914).

Little Crossings

Little Crossings is an early travelers' name for the Cassellman River crossing near Grantsville, about 20 miles west of Cumberland. The name contrasts with "Great Crossings" at the Youghiogheny River near Confluence, Pennsylvania, a greater challenge to early travelers. An old bridge has been preserved as part of the State Park at Little Crossings, after having been replaced by a new bridge in 1933 (Ierley 1990:xviii). The two ROWs are adjacent at this location, and provide an opportunity for public interpretation on State lands.

Braddock's Road (18AG241 and 18GA314)

The routing of Braddock's Road has been and remains the subject of intense scrutiny and lively debate. The route was reviewed in Lowdermilk (Lowdermilk 1878:52-3), and again by the Harvard professor, John Kennedy Lacock (Lacock 1914). The route was subject to recent investigation by the Western Maryland Chapter of the Archaeological Society of Maryland, Inc. (Bantz 2003; Lardner/Klein 2001:4-8). Some portions of relict roadbed have been identified in western Allegany and Garrett Counties, and have been assigned site numbers 18AG241 and 18GA314, respectively (Bantz 2003:7). Braddock's Road did not comply with later federal specifications for grade or turning radii for the National Road, so some portions were never rebuilt.(Lardner/Klein 2001:4-8).

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Documenting abandoned road corridors requires both field investigations and archival research. A prepared relict roadbed section of Braddock's Road is unlikely to survive, even in an archaeological setting. Instead, a simple linear dip running across the landscape, with one side a bit deeper or steeper than the other, may be all that remains.. Relict roads often look like weathered field entrenchments. Relict roads (particularly pre-industrial roads) must retain enough integrity to demonstrate direction; they must display trajectory. As a general rule, fords and passes survive more often than flat, straight corridors. As noted above, a circumstantial case may be made based upon traveler's accounts coupled with physical evidence for the relict roadbed. In the absence of relict roadbed, such a case would be supported by the discovery of isolated artifact finds and confirmed by archaeological features.

ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE TECHNOLOGIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1811-1853

This period represents the "Heyday" of the Road, from the 1811 commencement of construction through completion of the first trans-Allegheny B&O Railroad line in 1853. The "National Road/ Baltimore Pike" dichotomy in the theme is intended to contrast resources constructed for the National Road with those constructed for the multiple private turnpikes comprising the Baltimore Pike.

PLANNING

Just as commerce and military security served as inspiration for Nemacolin's Path and Braddock's Road, commercial and military concerns drove forward the National Road. As early as 1784 both Washington and Jefferson suggested that building a portage between the Potomac and the Ohio was desired by Virginians trying to establish trade with frontier settlers in the Ohio Valley (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1).

In 1791 Alexander Hamilton, then President Washington's treasurer, pushed a bill through Congress that created a tax on distilled liquor. Given that distilling it was by far the most efficient way to ship grain from the frontier to the eastern seaboard, frontiersmen were particularly hard hit by the tax. By 1794, several settlements in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, were in open rebellion and federal troops were called in to put down the protesters. The so-called Whiskey Rebellion caught the attention of the federal government at the highest levels, due to the challenge of authority and threat to trade. Once one was on the other side of those mountains, it was easier to trade with the English or French by simply floating downriver, than it was to trade with one's own countryman by re-crossing the mountains. Washington himself became alarmed, stating, "We must open a wide door, and make a smooth way for the Produce of that Country to pass to our Markets before the trade may get into another channel" (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1; Washington, in Searight 1894:24).

Not wanting to be outdone by other states in the rush to capitalize on the western frontier, the Pennsylvania Assembly, session of 1792-93, passed a bill for internal transportation improvements, including provisions to create the Pennsylvania Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Upon its completion, the Pennsylvania Road apparently carried nine-tenths of all transmontane traffic in the United States until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 (Buck and Buck 1939:233; Safley et al. 1995:E4).

Although most folks agreed that such roads were necessary, there was great concern that the federal government did not have the power to mandate, fund or oversee interstate internal improvements. Under a rationale called the "Doctrine of Implied Powers," federal government could exercise authority beyond the Constitution's expressly enumerated powers. A clause in the Constitution stated that the government shall be empowered, "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department of officer thereof". President Jefferson seized on the expressed right to establish post roads, to declare war, to regulate commerce, and to provide for the common defense and general welfare, as reasons enough to use federal power to conduct interstate improvements such as road building (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1).

The Doctrine of Implied Powers created a constitutional debate that continued throughout Jefferson's administration. States-Rights advocates grasped immediately that an interstate project would require the federal government to exercise powers of eminent domain, a power no state was willing to grant (Walters 1969:181). The debate may have scuttled any plans for a National Road, had it not been for Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, who found a way to make the states pay for federal mandates.

Gallatin proposed the deal in a letter dated February 13, 1802. The letter suggested that states of the old Northwest Territories could and would be admitted into the Union if they exempted lands sold by Congress from taxation for ten years, with 5% of the net proceeds from the sale of said public lands to be used for the construction of new roads, "first from the

navigable waters emptying in the Atlantic to the Ohio [river], and afterwards continued through the new State," (Gallatin 1808, Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1). Gallatin's deal also stipulated that the states through which the Road would pass should have a say in its route, and would condemn land for the ROW (Safley et al. 1995:E6). Gallatin's papers include a copy of this letter, endorsed in his hand as "The Origin of the National Road" (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1). Three months later, the legislation enabling the establishment of the State of Ohio was passed. Eventually, the 5% was spent: 3% on the survey and construction of the National Road across the new State of Ohio; the remaining 2% appropriated for the survey and construction of the Road from Cumberland, Maryland to the Ohio border. The same appropriations deal applied as other states joined the Union, including Indiana (1816), and Illinois (1818) (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E1-2).

The prosperous cities of Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Washington D.C. were all candidates for the eastern terminus of the proposed road. Philadelphia would have required a road of much greater length, as would Richmond. Baltimore was a direct commercial rival with Philadelphia, and it would have been political suicide to grant the terminus to either one at the expense of the other. Ultimately, the decision to begin at Cumberland appears to have been based on the old Washington/Jefferson idea of finding the shortest "portage" between navigable drainages, and the Cumberland route had been in use for over 50 years (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2; State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:20).

At the same time that the Road was under discussion, plans were afoot to circumvent the Falls of the Potomac, making the Potomac navigable to Cumberland, Maryland. In a report to Congress in 1805, it was recommended that the new road run to the Ohio River, at a point between Wheeling (then in Virginia) and Steubenville, Ohio (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2). Congress looked favorably on Maryland for two important reasons: it provided the shortest route; and the State of Maryland had already granted charters to turnpike companies committed to improving the roads between Baltimore and Boonsboro (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:21). The decision to begin the federally funded National Road in Cumberland resulted from Maryland's prolific road building projects and, "so as not to interfere with the road building between Baltimore and Cumberland by companies incorporated by the state of Maryland" (Thomas and Williams 1969:183).

CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ROAD

In March of 1806 the law entitled, An Act to Regulate the Laying Out and Making of a Road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio was passed, the details of which included design specifications for the new road. No slope could be steeper than five degrees from the horizon. The ROW was 66 feet in width (1 chain, or 4 rods), cleared of trees and underbrush, centered on a 20-foot strip covered with "stone, earth, or gravel and sand, or a combination of some or all of them" (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2). The base layer was to be composed of stone no more than seven inches in diameter, covered by a layer of stone that could be "passed through a three-inch ring". Evidently, the paving specifications

were ignored for long segments, and washouts and tree stumps within the ROW were common (Searight 1894:17).

Road Commissioners were appointed by President Jefferson to oversee construction, including Thomas Moore and Eli Williams of Maryland. Congress received a Commissioner's Report January 31, 1807, which stated that Josias Thompson had been hired to determine the precise route and to survey and document the path. His assignment was to find the shortest distance between navigable points along the Potomac and Ohio Rivers, to cross the Monongahela at a point best calculated to equalize the advantages of the portage for travelers in both directions, to determine a point along the Ohio capable of supporting both river and road traffic, present and future, and to determine the, "best mode of diffusing benefits with least distance of road" (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2; Safley et al. 1995:E6). This last clause suggests some of the political maneuvering that may have taken place in order to include particular settlements along the route. For example, one road contractor in Virginia had two extra stone bridges built to insure that the Road passed his home (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2).

Construction contracts for the route between Cumberland and Wheeling were issued in 1811, and construction commenced that year on a 10-mile stretch immediately west of Cumberland. The ROW between Cumberland and Wheeling was in place by 1816 (some sources say 1818), with the exception of some of the bridges (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2; State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:21).

CONSTRUCTION OF THE BALTIMORE PIKES

The roads between Baltimore and Cumberland, Maryland were privately developed. These sections were never technically part of the original "National Road," but were considered as such by travelers. Conceived by Baltimore bankers and businessmen in 1797 as a trade route, the Pike was consistently profitable from both its tolls and the increased trade along the route. The segments of road were known collectively as the National Pike or Baltimore Pike (Ierley 1990:xvii) (Figure 4). From east to west, the private turnpikes were called the Baltimore and Frederick Town Turnpike Road (opened 1807), the Hagerstown and Boonsboro Turnpike (completed 1823 as the last segment), the Banks Road (built 1816-1821), and the Cumberland Turnpike (Durrenberger 1931; Leviness 1958; Lardner/Klein 2001:4-16; Nye NRHP 1997).

The private roads east of Cumberland to Baltimore had lagged behind the federal construction project. In 1805 the Baltimore and Frederick Town Turnpike Road was incorporated, with \$220,000 in backing. The plan was to connect Baltimore to Boonsboro via Frederick, about 62 total miles. By 1808, 20 miles were completed, and another 17 miles were under construction (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:29). Construction of sections across the rugged terrain between Boonsboro and Cumberland were delayed due to the increase in construction challenges and costs. The 1805 turnpike company outright refused to complete it..

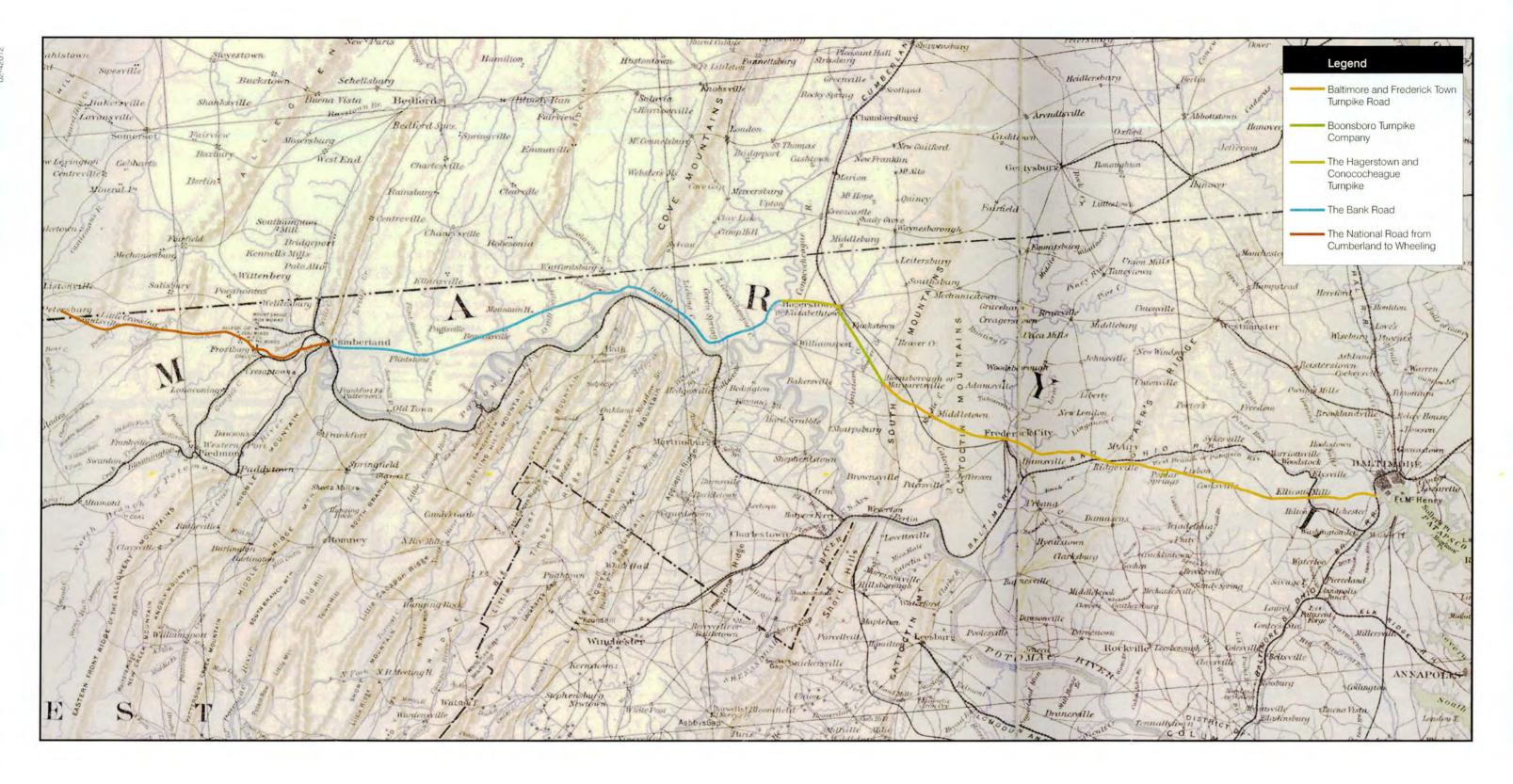
In 1812, the Maryland legislature denied renewal of all bank charters within the state, unless the banks agreed to underwrite the completion of the Road to Cumberland. The banks had no choice but to agree, and incorporated a new company called the Cumberland Turnpike Road, subscribing nearly a half million dollars to the cause (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:31). By 1815, the new company had completed surveys and put the construction out to bid. The so-called "Banks Road" ran from the west bank of the Conococheague River to Cumberland. Specifications called for a roadbed 20 feet wide composed of "wood, stone or gravel well compounded together to a sufficient depth to secure a solid foundation" (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:32). Grades were not to exceed four percent, although the Road as-built included several eight percent grades.

Note that the Banks Road still did not meet up with the Baltimore and Frederick Town Turnpike Road, which ended at Boonsboro, leaving a 15-mile section unimproved. In a forward-thinking act of civic boosterism, Hagerstown, which would otherwise have been bypassed at Williamsport, organized the Hagerstown and Conococheague Turnpike Company in 1818. The road was finished a year later, running from Hagerstown west to the river, complete with a fine stone bridge over the Conococheague (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:33).

There now remained only one stretch of unimproved road between Baltimore and Cumberland: the 10 miles between Boonsboro and Hagerstown. This situation remained in effect from 1818 to 1821 when the Maryland legislature again turned to the banks for assistance. In 1819, there had been a bank panic and the banks were not in a favorable position. They also understood that in order to protect their outstanding investment in the Cumberland road, the remainder of the route had to be completed.

In 1821, the Boonsboro Turnpike Company was incorporated. The construction of this 10-mile stretch of road is famous to this day as the first time in United States history when the McAdam process was used (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:34). The McAdam (later known as "macadam") method of paving was developed by John L. McAdam, and became popular after 1825. The method specifies the use of consecutive layers of ever-smaller sized gravels, each rolled, with the topmost layer of small gravels mixed with wet gravel dust and rolled. The result was a relatively stable, interlocking pavement (Raitz 1996:19). Since road administration was decentralized, it is doubtful that there was ever a time when the entire interstate route was macadam.

By 1824, the composite private route from Baltimore to Cumberland was complete, and began to be known collectively as the "Baltimore Pike" (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:34). The banks, forced to invest in the only route over the mountains, began making a twenty percent dividend on their investment. It has been estimated that their tolls repaid the original investment many times over in less than one generation (Scharf 1882 Vol. 2:1331).



Federal and Private Turnpike Construction Sequence (Base map from Davis et al. 1891-95: Plate CXXXVI)

GRAY & PAPE

Figure 5

In another act of farsighted civic boosterism, the citizens of Hagerstown and Funkstown planted an alley of Lombardy poplars for a distance of three miles between the two towns, implementing what may be the first highway landscaping enhancement project in the United States (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:34).

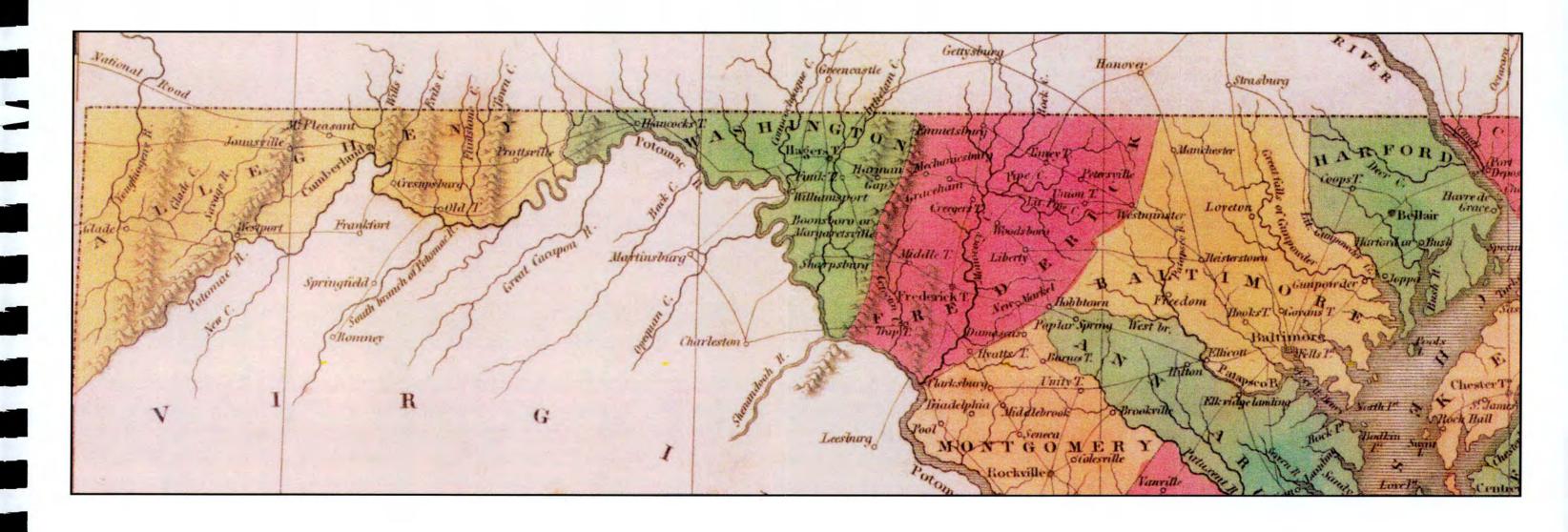
MAINTENANCE

Turnpikes, like the Baltimore and Frederick Town Turnpike Road, were built in sections. Once the turnpike company completed a section of road, the Governor and Council appointed "persons to examine it," ensuring quality road construction (Governor and Council Turnpike Records, 25 January 1807). Mr. David Shriver was a superintendent of construction for the National Road. Mr. Shriver reported that almost immediately upon opening the Road to traffic, the pavement was abused from wagon wheels. Mr. Shriver was one of the first to note that construction funds were being diverted to maintain the segments already in use. By the 1820s, hundreds of thousands of federal dollars were being spent for new construction along the Road in Ohio and Indiana, while no money was appropriated to maintain the Cumberland-Wheeling section (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:23).

The enormous traffic burden quickly ruined the haphazard original road surface, and travelers and freightmen were quick to complain to Congress. Once again, the National Road became the subject of congressional debate, this time over whether the federal government had the right to impose tolls for road maintenance. The consensus at the time was that federal tolls were unconstitutional. The Congress hit upon the expedient solution of turning over responsibility for road maintenance to the states through which it passed (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2).

Federally-funded repairs were conducted between Cumberland and Wheeling in 1823, and again in 1827 (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E6). Maintenance responsibility passed to the states in 1831, although federal funds were still spent on repairs throughout the 1830s (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:22). In May 1832, the citizens of Cumberland acknowledged the upcoming repairs to the National Road by planning a celebration of the event (Searight 1894:177).

The State of Maryland was understandably reluctant to take on responsibility for the maintenance of a road already in disrepair, and insisted that all bridges and culverts be built of stone at Federal expense prior to accepting ownership of the corridor (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-9; Raitz 1996:74). The State further insisted that the entire length of the route through Maryland (from Cumberland west) be repaired using the macadam process, and tollhouses were to be built at Federal expense. In 1834, the government agreed to those terms, and the Army Engineers were assigned to the task (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:23). The State of Maryland began collecting tolls along the route in 1835, although the federal repairs were not completed until 1837. By that time, the Cumberland-Wheeling road was the heaviest trafficked route in the country (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:25)



Maryland, 1824, **Anthony Finley**

The Army Engineers observed a new set of construction specifications, according to which they dug out the old roadbed, widened it to 30 feet (it had been 20), and dug ditches on both sides 18 inches below the lowest part of road. The new roadbed was crowned in the middle 3 inches. Nine inches of gravel were deposited in three episodes, compacted between each deposit (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:23).

To aid in the construction of various new turnpikes in Maryland, the General Assembly passed a statute in 1788 allowing for the use of convict labor in road construction (Brooks and Rockel 1979:138). The Joachim Festerling log cabin in Howard County may have been used as a jail for convicted laborers who worked on the Pike (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-16).

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Bypassed Segments of Relict Roadbed

Relict alignments of older roadbed survive at Clarysville and Eckart, west of Cumberland (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-11). Bypassed segments of the National Road include the 1811 route west out of Wills Creek, which originally went up Greene Street to Haystack Mountain. Captain Richard Delafield rerouted the National Road through the Narrows, just as Braddock's lieutenant had done 80 years before (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:25).

Period Roadcuts

Transportation history experts contend that one can roughly date the construction period of a roadway by the number and depth of cut-and-fill operations, with the earliest, hand-made roads exhibiting the least, and modern interstates moving mountains out of the way. The earliest construction phase of the National Road usually only resorted to cut and fill for ramps leading up to bridge abutments and for particularly severe side-slope traverses and switch-backs in the mountains. Due to subsequent rebuilding episodes for US 40, it will be difficult to find period roadcuts anywhere except along bypassed segments of roadbed. To date this property type has not been formally recorded in Maryland, although examples probably survive.

Toll Houses

Toll Houses were built at federal expense prior to Maryland's takeover of road administration. The LaVale Toll House (AL-V-B-012) still stands, and another set of turnpike gates survives 13 miles west of Cumberland (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-9). These were long thought to have been the only tollhouses built along the National Road in the state (State

Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:25), but others have been identified. There are several existing examples of residences used by tollgate operators, including the Benevola Toll Gate House (WA-II-0177) in Washington County and the Jug Bridge Tollhouse (F-3-128) in Frederick County (Dickey, NRHP 1978; Davis, NRHP). Various tollhouses were built by private turnpike companies along the Baltimore Pike as depicted in nineteenth century county atlases and Civil War surveys.

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

East of Cumberland, the toll houses were built by private companies, and may exhibit diagnostic variations depending upon the company responsible. Toll Houses were modest structures built near the roadbed, and originally might have used a "turn-pike" mechanism to block travelers prior to paying their tolls. Most surviving toll houses have been moved as the ROW has been widened over the years, and their turn-pikes are long gone. While tollhouses in Pennsylvania often exhibit a diagnostic octagonal form, this was not typical in Maryland. It should be noted that the gate house may have been a separate booth-type structure from the toll-keepers house, or they may be combined into a simple hall and parlor structure. Most surviving examples have a porch facing the road for the convenience of the toll keeper and to facilitate transactions.

Surviving toll-keepers houses have been adapted and reused over the years, and may exhibit little of their original form or fabric. Such properties need to be carefully analyzed to establish if they are on their original location or exhibit the period hand-craftsmanship and form necessary to convey their significance. In cases where the site is known but the structure is gone, toll houses have proven to be data-rich archaeological sites (Miller et al. 1998, Vol. II:154).

Mile Markers

A variety of mile markers made of stone and cast iron survive along the north side of the ROW, and have been the subject of focused avocations research for a number of years, although a comparative study of private versus public mile markers has yet to be published (Frank Brusca, Personal Communication, Orloff Miller October 2004; Lardner/Klein 2001:4-11). In 1974 the Mileposts of both the Baltimore Pike and the National Road in Maryland were listed on the NRHP. According to that nomination, the stones were located beginning at the courthouse in Baltimore (Mile Marker 0), spaced a mile apart on the north side of the corridor, extending along Maryland S.R. 144, US 40, US 40 Alt., Maryland SR 165, and Scenic US 40 west of Hancock. The NRHP nomination does provide some hint of the variation in stones engendered by the various private companies and federal actions responsible for construction:

"Dimensions of the stones vary from section to section. Generally, they are about twelve inches wide, eight inches deep and project about thirty inches above grade. The distance

[was displayed on the side] of the stones facing the road; "38 M to B" (38 miles to Baltimore). The other three faces bear no inscription. The stone material also varies. The first thirty-nine stones are of Baltimore gneiss from the Ellicott City area. From West Friendship through Frederick to Boonsboro, the material is quartzite, plentiful along the Monocacy River. From Boonsboro to Funkstown, a very white limestone was used and also a different stone cutter whose lettering is very distinctive. West of Hagerstown, the stones are of a grey limestone." (NRHP Nomination, Nye 1974). Sixty-nine milestones were identified along the route.

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

The above description serves as a rough guide for the diagnostics of the property type. Like toll houses, mile markers have often been moved as the ROW has been successively widened. It would be interesting to survey the distances of each surviving mile marker from the centerline of the ROW, in an effort to document this phenomenon.

Bridges

Stone bridges were built by private turnpike companies east of Cumberland, and by the Army Engineers west of Cumberland, providing an opportunity for a future comparative study. The private turnpike "Jug Bridge" at Frederick fell in 1942, and a monument built at the east end of the bridge has since been relocated to a park. The original structure had a private turnpike tollhouse at one end (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-10). The Wilson Bridge over Conococheague Creek forms the border between two private pikes, with the Hagerstown to Boonsboro Pike heading east and the Cumberland Turnpikes heading west (Farmer, in Raitz 1996:55). The Little Crossings Bridge over the Casselman River is now protected and interpreted for the public within the Casselman River Bridge State Park (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-10). Casselman Bridge was begun in 1813. When complete, the bridge was the largest single span in the country, and was open to traffic until 1953 (www.grantsvillemd.com "Grantsville Historical Interpretive Sign Text").

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

As noted above, there should be discernible differences in details of abutment and railing design between the bridges built by the various private turnpike companies, just as they will all contrast with the bridges built by the Army Engineers. As a general rule, the bridges were built of locally-available stone exhibiting the marks of skilled hand-dressing and close, careful fitting, using a minimum of mortar. Some abutments are dry-laid. Most bridges will be composed of solid (as opposed to rubble-core) masonry at the arch, with single or multiple arches, depending upon the length. The bridges often exhibit turned railings at the abutments, a slightly arched deck, and capstones angled outward to drain away from the deck

proper. The bridges dating to the original construction of the Road are now over 170 years old, and should not be expected to exhibit pristine integrity in their masonry or decking.

Culverts/ Drainage and Flood Control

Several original culverts and drains have been identified along the National Road in Washington County, including Stone Arch Culvert WA-II-1134, Stone Drain WA-II-1135, and Cool Hollow Culvert WA-II-0131.

Like the stone bridges described above, the original culverts, drains and other flood control structures along the Road were built of stone, and exhibit a similar level of skilled craftsmanship despite their discrete utilitarian function. Since landforms have changed very slowly, drainage patterns along the route have remained consistent and many of the original structures still carry water. Others have partially collapsed or have been enhanced with liners of corrugated metal or plastic.

Retaining Walls, Paving Quarries, Road Crew Camps, Thank-You Ma'ams, Spring Houses, etc.

The author suggests that a variety of resource types may survive in Maryland that are underrepresented in the current literature for the state, but appear along the route in other states. These include stone-built springs and public spring houses, wayside watering troughs, the "thank-you ma'ams" accommodating horses on long grades, the gravel quarries associated with the original construction of the Road, and road crew camps (Miller et al. 1997). The late Eric Sloane recorded the folk expression "thank you ma'ams," as referring to level road sections intentionally engineered into long grades to allow ascending draught horses to rest (Sloane 1955:170). Thank you ma'ams have been identified at several segments of the National Road in the mountains of eastern Ohio (Miller et al. 1997).

Springs and public-use springhouses should retain some local documentation for their use by travelers, and should exhibit the craftsmanship typical of the period. In Ohio, stone wayside watering troughs have been recorded along the National Road that retain a "T"-shaped opening or hood over the basin, providing access for a paired team of horses (Miller et al. 1997). Road crew camp and stone quarry locations may be recorded in the primary documents for road construction, particularly near long-term job sites, like bridges. If they survive, they should be evaluated based upon their archaeological integrity. Thank-you ma'ams typically did not survive the rebuilding of the ROW during the early-twentieth century, but may survive on long grades of bypassed relict roadbed.

The range of variation within each of these Property Types is worthy of further study. The threshold of integrity for these properties should include reference to HABS/HAER standards, with some consideration for the rough use and reuse these structures have weathered.

CORRIDOR-SPECIFIC SERVICE INDUSTRIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1811-1853

If traffic is the measure of a road's success, then the National Road was successful from the moment it opened. According to Safley et al., "The volume of traffic carried was triple what had been estimated prior to construction" (Safley et al. 1995:E8). Freight which had previously required 6-8 weeks to travel from Baltimore to Wheeling required only two weeks after the Road was completed, significantly reducing the cost of shipment. It has been estimated than in 1818 it was less expensive to ship from Baltimore to Wheeling than it was to ship from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. By 1822, Wheeling road commissioners reported that 1,081 wagons averaging a load of 3500 pounds apiece arrived that year. It was common to see freight wagons backed up in long lines to use the bridges (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E2). By 1845, 100 tons of freight were arriving in Wheeling daily, and the town had grown 500 percent in 20 years. The West Virginia MPDF mentions (but does not provide a citation) that ninety percent of the emigrants flooding into Ohio and Indiana during this period traveled along the National Road (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992;E2). A tavern owner along the National Road reported that, "in the busy season there was a perfect throng all day long and at night the many taverns would be overflowed" (Scholsnagle/ Garrett Co 1978:136).

When the Road first opened in 1816-18, a stagecoach ride from Baltimore to the Ohio River took seventy-eight hours. By 1827, stagecoaches ran twenty-four hours a day and the trip was only fifty-two hours long, at an average speed of six or seven miles an hour (Scholsnagle 1978:139-141). Because of the hilly terrain in western Maryland, it was often difficult for the stagecoaches to make it up a steep incline. To remedy this situation, stage drivers relied on postillions. Postillions consisted of a groom with two horses that sat at the bottom of a hill ready to help the stage ascend the next rise (Scholsnagle 1978:147).

During its heyday, such luminary national figures as Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, James Polk, William Henry Harrison, and the Marquis de Lafayette traveled upon the National Road (Safley et al. 1995:E9). The National Road is often portrayed in the secondary literature as primarily a route of emigration: a physical embodiment of Manifest Destiny (Searight 1894; Rideing 1879; Schneider 1975; Bruce 1916). But while emigrants were indeed heading west, more traffic, in the form of freight, was flowing east. In 1798, it cost \$3.30 to ship a barrel of flour from Hagerstown to the city of Baltimore; by 1825, it cost only 50 cents (Brooks and Rockel 1979:141).

There were two types of men who moved goods along the National Road: wagoneers and sharpshooters. Wagoneers traveled all year while sharpshooters were part-time farmers who hauled goods during the profitable high season (Searight 1894:20). There were many wagoneers who had a reputation for being "robust, hardy, honest, and jovial" (Searight 1894:145). Otto and Daniel Barcus, two brothers from Frostburg, Maryland, were typical wagoneers who made their fortune hauling merchandise from Baltimore to Mount Vernon,

Ohio. John Thomas owned a profitable hotel and livery stable in Baltimore, and he also worked as a wagoneer along the National Road (Searight 1894:112-115).

The proximity of a town to the National Road often determined its growth potential. The town of Cumberland in Allegany County became the center of commercial activity for the county due to its location along the National Road (Cleaver 1988:8). Cumberland's role as a hub for overland roads, railroads, and the canal made it an early example of a truly intermodal trade entrepot.

By 1840, only those communities along the National Road were really prosperous, including Cumberland, Frostburg, and Hagerstown (Cleaver 1988:16). The National Road aided in the "population, town, and economic growth" of a community (Cleaver 1988:22). Hagerstown would have been of particular importance very early on, as the confluence of two arteries of immigration: the National Road and the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road (Rouse 1995, Leyburn 1962).

The economic opportunities implicit in the routing of the National Road or the various Baltimore turnpikes was not lost on land speculators. In fact, Boonsboro was platted at an early date (1792), based on the possibility of a future road. Entrepreneurial town plats were registered for Frostburg (1811), and Lisbon (1811) based on anticipated road routes (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-17). The land adjacent to the National Road was prime real estate in nineteenth-century Maryland. In fact, many owners of adjacent tracts of land advertised proximity to the National Road (Cleaver 1988:11).

The secondary literature on the National Road has identified a diagnostic town layout occurring as services grouped themselves along a main street within communities built with the Road in mind. These are called "Pike Towns" which tend to be linear, spread alongside the road corridor with first-order businesses, such as stage coach stops, along the main street. Typically Pike Towns also retain at least one, and usually two, parallel streets a block away, where less savory services such as wagon stands or liveries were located (Miller et al. 1997:284; Raitz 1996; Safely et al E9-10, F1).

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

A variety of service industries were prevalent along the Road during its heyday, including Public Houses catering to a broad range of clientele, whether inns, taverns, stagecoach stops or wagon stands (Safely et al. 1995:F1-4; Miller et al. 1997). Searight (1894:17, 192) noted that in mountainous terrain, services were distributed at nearly every mile along the route, whether there existed a formal settlement or not, while in gentle terrain, the distance between services increased. Searight's observation plays out nicely in the difficult terrain in the western part of Maryland. In fact, some inns are only one mile apart (for example, Four Mile House, Five Mile House, and Six Mile House) to ensure enough lodging for travelers.

Public Houses

The "Inns of the National Road" National Register nomination resulted in the listing of six inns in Allegany County and three in Garrett County in the NRHP. This nomination includes the mid-nineteenth century Flintstone Hotel, Six Mile House, Colonial Manor, Four Mile House, Five Mile House, the early-nineteenth century Clarysville Inn in Allegany County, the early nineteenth century main building at Penn Alps, and the mid-nineteenth century Casselman, and National Hotel in Garrett County (James and Andrews 1976). Other public houses to be considered include (but are not limited to) the South Mountain Inn at Turner's Gap and the Tomlinson Inn ("Stone House") west of Piney Grove (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-9). Some of the better-known inns along the National Road include the Joshua Roberts Inn in Howard County, the Stage Coach Inn in Washington County, and the Beachley House in Frederick County (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-9). The site of the Fairview Inn (also known as Three Mile House) in Baltimore County serves as an example of a potential archaeological site, as the inn no longer stands at the three-mile marker in Baltimore at McCurley Street. The site has been built over by the Memorial Methodist church.

The Pennsylvania MPDF for the National Road lists diagnostic traits for stagecoach stops (Safley et al. 1995). Given that these services were not standardized, the current investigators suggest that it is premature to attempt an inventory of diagnostic architectural traits for Public Houses. However, it is worth remembering that these were typically large-scale operations, requiring not just a bar and lodging, but livery and cartage facilities. The modern over-the-road truck stop catering to 18-wheelers is a better analog than some quaint bed and breakfast.

The main structure will typically be large, of double-pile form, with a public room near the front. There may be multiple doors on the façade, with greater wear showing on the threshold to the public room. In Maryland, a second-floor gallery may have been incorporated under the roofline across the façade or along a rear ell. In Ohio, field archaeologists inventorying public houses along the National Road noted a high percentage of stone mounting blocks and public-access wells or cisterns located on the street frontage of these nineteenth century service establishments, with dense artifact concentrations at both the kitchen-yard and around the street frontage (Miller et al. 1997).

There was a class structure to these establishments, with stagecoach inns carrying the greatest prestige and prime locations. Wagon stands catering to the draught trade offered more modest accommodations (with multiple clients per bed), and were often located on a side street paralleling the main thoroughfare or on the outskirts of town.

Drover's Camps

The Road was never used exclusively for through traffic, as it served the needs of local markets and connected to intersecting routes along its length. A lot of the freight that passed along the National Road was walking itself to market, assisted by drovers, who sheparded herds of cattle, sheep, or hogs, ambling along at a rate of about ten miles per day

(Durrenburger 1968). Drover's camps were a common sight at creek crossings, where water for the herd was readily available. Drover's camps were usually established on the outskirts of settlements for sanitation, noise, and insect control. A Drover's Barn survives in Maryland behind the Poplar Springs Hotel (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-9).

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Future resource confirmation will require period documentation that a given site was used as a drover's camp. A drovers camp should retain sufficient archaeological integrity to convey its significance.

Smithies, Cartwrights, and Liveries

In addition to overnight accommodations, associated service industries for the period include smithies, cartwrights, and liveries. These were skilled repairmen and suppliers prepared to assist the traveler on his way. A blacksmith and wheelwright have been identified within the Spoolsville Survey District (F-4-044) in Frederick County. In Washington County there survives Harvey House Inn and Wagon Shop (WA-VI-001), while in Allegany County Race's Livery Stable (AL-VII-A-028) served the traveling public.

These Property Types usually require archival documentation and archaeological testing, as surviving outbuilding architecture rarely retains features diagnostic of the trade carried out within. Liveries can be identified by extensive stables and smithies by a surviving forge (or by archaeologically detected slag deposits). Cartwrights are more difficult to identify archaeologically or architecturally, in the absence of craft-specific hand tools, quenching troughs, or jigs.

Pike Towns

Pike Towns are linear in plan, paralleling the through road, typically with one or two parallel side-streets. Pike Towns are relatively easy to spot on a topographic map, and their historic association to the National Road has been well established on the national level by other studies (Miller et al. 1997:284; Raitz 1996; Safely et al. 1995). This distinctive settlement pattern can be proven within Maryland by checking the dates when the town was established, and comparing these data to period maps. Known examples include (but are not limited to) the community of Clear Spring and the New Market Historic District (F-5-59). Note that these resources are not individual homes or community institutions, but are Historic Districts, and should be evaluated as such.

ECONOMIC ECLIPSE AND RELOCATION ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1853-1908

This period extends from the completion of the first trans-Allegheny railroad line through to the organization of the Maryland State Road Commission in 1908. The National Road was completed just in time to be eclipsed by railroads and canals. The seeds of decline were planted when those projects were initiated, well before the dates of completion used here. The Erie Canal was completed in 1825. Three years earlier Maryland granted a charter for the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal (Safely et al. 1995:E8).

The C&O Canal followed the route of the Potomac River for nearly 185 miles, from Washington, D.C. to Cumberland. The canal opened in 1828, although it did not reach Cumberland until 1850. The C&O as a channel was still operational as late as 1924, although a flood forced the original canal company to close in 1889 (Durrenberger 1969:134). The canal was primarily used for hauling coal and timber from western Maryland to the Chesapeake, supplying metropolitan Washington, D.C. Although never able to compete for passenger business, the canal provided a viable option to overland freight charges out of western Maryland, and made possible the major extraction industries of the region in the late nineteenth century. The C&O Canal was plagued with problems, primarily because of the numerous mid-nineteenth century floods in the Potomac River valley. Major floods in 1836. 1840, 1846, and 1847 necessitated constant repairs during that period. However, over time the canal was successful. The period 1870-1890 was the heyday of the canal system in Maryland, and the coal trade is credited as the reason for this success, especially in the town of Cumberland. During the late-nineteenth century, it became more cost effective to ship coal via the C&O Canal, instead of the B&O Railroad or the National Road (Yamin et al. 1993:18-22). Today the canal is commemorated by the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, which extends across portions of Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia.

The B&O Railroad was chartered in 1827, and was the first railroad in the United States built to take both freight and passengers. B&O Railroad ceremonially began construction July 4, 1828, when the elderly Charles Carroll, the last surviving signatory of the Declaration of Independence, help lay the cornerstone of the railroad in Baltimore. Beginning in Baltimore at Monte Clare Station, the railroad ran west through Ellicott Mills, arriving in Frederick in December 1831 and Cumberland in November of 1842, en route to the Ohio River (Durrenberger 1969:51-69; Williams and McKinsey 1967:229; Thomas and Williams 190).

By 1853 the B&O had reached Wheeling, and overnight made the National Road obsolete (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:36). The trip from Baltimore to Wheeling on the B&O took only 18 hours (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E6). Jacob Brown, a resident of Grantsville in Garrett County, stated that the day the railroad arrived,"...a wail went up along the National Road" and that the National Road became no more than a "grass plot" (Schlosnagle 1978:244).

Tolls along the Baltimore Pikes and the National Road steadily declined, and the state funds set aside for road maintenance from surplus tolls were gradually depleted. By 1870 the Road Fund was depleted, and the Road desperately needed repairs. The Maryland legislature debated the issue of \$27,000 estimated to "restore the Pike", but the state attorney general turned down the request. In 1879, with consent of US Congress, the State of Maryland closed the tollhouses, and formally abandoned the route (State Roads Commission of Maryland 1958:37). In 1889, the Banks Road also ceased to operate as a turnpike, and the ROW reverted to the counties. "Although the coming of the B&O Railroad made long-distance travel along the Road relatively inefficient, it also made the highway corridor more attractive for investment," as both agricultural and extraction industries boomed with ever cheaper transportation costs (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-11).

Local markets and transshipment points prospered at the intersection of the railroad and highway routes, and trade between rural and urban areas created two-way local traffic that helped sustain local economies. Intersections between the B&O and the National Road include Ellicott's Mill and Cumberland, while later spur lines connected the railroad to Frederick and Hagerstown. The Hollins farmer's market in southwest Baltimore is an example of the phenomenon (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-12). While Pennsylvania's coke and steel industries took off, the B&O is credited with the success of late-nineteenth century coal and timber industries in western Maryland.

TYPICAL THEME OF THE SECONDARY LITERATURE

Like so many icons of the early Republic, the National Road was the subject of romantic nostalgia by the last quarter of the nineteenth century as an industrialized world power looked back over its shoulder at the stage coach inns, mile-markers, and "pioneer spirit" embodied in what was then a derelict, rutted byway (Rideing 1879; Searight 1894). This image, a combined reverence for the heyday of the Road with a romantic sense of loss, remained dominant throughout the twentieth century, and is capitalized upon as an early form of heritage tourism, long before the coining of that term.

Associated Property Types

Transshipment Points (Local and Regional Markets)

Since the focus of interregional economic activity was displaced from the turnpikes and National Road with the advent of rail and canal corridors, the transshipment points where the Road is intersected by these alternative transportation modes became critical after 1853. We can expect to find a variety of resources at these locations, including transshipment depots, markets for long-distance trade, and local markets. Examples might include the Downtown Cumberland Historic District (AL-IV-A-132), which long served as a hub for three different transportation corridors.

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Not all depots and markets along the National Road should be considered eligible under this Property Type. For a given property (in this case, a district) to be considered, it must be documented that the commercial activity that triggered the establishment of the resource directly resulted from the transshipment of goods between the National Road and a canal or rail route. The district should retain enough contributing elements to evoke the period of said trade.

Resort Facilities

The CPP notes that in the late-nineteenth century, the mountains of western Maryland became attractive as spas or resorts, whether for recreation or for the presumed health benefits. The resulting tourist industry provided a modest boost to local economies along the Road, notably at Frostburg and Braddock Heights (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-12). Examples include the Flintstone Hotel/ Piper Hotel (AL-II-A-001), and the Mauzy Frame House (AL-II-A-057).

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Resort facilities from the period may exhibit any number of eclectic late-Victorian architectural forms and styles, usually with an elaborate porch and manicured grounds from which to socialize, promenade, and enjoy nature. While the grounds may now be in disarray or gone entirely, eligible properties should retain sufficient architectural elements to provide a sense of the period. Springhouses, bathhouses, or isolated (often unheated) cabins for tubercular ("consumptive") patients "taking the cure" form a unique diagnostic landscape.

Paired Towns

The CPP suggests that when towns along the National Road were missed and/or "grazed" by the new canal and railroad ROWs, local commerce shifted to face the new corridor, creating binary settlement patterns closely linked by related population and economic interests (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-11). These "paired towns" form a unique settlement pattern worthy of consideration for NRHP districts. Ellicott City is an early example of the phenomenon. The same standards of integrity outlined above for Transshipment Points would apply to Paired Towns.

Main Streets

The same phenomenon that created "Paired Towns" served to fossilize the Main Street of the towns and villages along the Road eclipsed by the new transportation corridors. The Pennsylvania MPDF for the Road notes that the National Road remains a diagnostic feature of these villages, preserving an earlier streetscape precisely because the local economy was displaced elsewhere (Safley et al. 1995:F2). These Main Street districts are the nineteenth century analog to the "saved by the bypass" streetscapes of the twentieth century, discussed below. To qualify as a district, they should exhibit the commercial frontage of their period of initial prosperity, with minimal in-fill.

THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR 1861-1865

No other state through which the National Road passes was more intimately involved in the battles and maneuvers of the Civil War than Maryland. The Great Valley was the scene of troop movements throughout the Civil War. Both sides recognized the strategic importance of controlling the roads and railroads through the mountains. General George McClellan's letters demonstrate how important the National Road was for troop movement. McClellan stated during the South Mountain campaign that the mountain provided a good military barrier and that the only practicable pass is where the National Road crosses it (McClellan, in O.R. Series I, Volume XIX:27).

Confederate raiders repeatedly disrupted the B&O Railroad lines between Baltimore and Wheeling (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E6). When the Confederates were in control, local Union sympathizers in Clear Spring would take refuge on Fairview Mountain. When the federal troops were in town, the Rebel sympathizers headed for the same mountain (Farmer in Raitz:58).

No other state has considered the National Road/ Baltimore Pike's role in the Civil War in their preservation initiatives or resource identification efforts, and the definitive history of that role has yet to be written. The Official Atlas of the Civil War (Davis et al. 1891-95) includes eleven period maps indicating troop movements or engagements involving the National Road in Maryland. These maps form the basis of the Civil War narrative below..

This Historic Context is intended to assist in the predictive modeling of resource locations for preservation planning purposes, and is not an account of known resources. The actual nomination of specific properties will require reference to the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, and to the various regimental histories, memoirs, and other sources requisite to the study of Civil War resources.

Note that several of the events listed below are only tangentially related to the National Road, particularly north-south troop movements where the Road held no tactical or strategic objective. However, due to the ease with which information and materiel could travel along

the Road, these were dangerous crossings, risking open battle for anyone who dawdled. Taken together, these events form a significant contribution to both the history of the National Road, and the history of the Civil War.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Battlefields

On September 14, 1862, Confederate General Robert E. Lee and Union General George B. McClellan engaged in the Battle of South Mountain, with the Baltimore Pike serving as the central axis of the battlefield. At South Mountain, McClellan attempted to exploit Lee's decision to divide his forces. Because McClellan was unsuccessful, Lee was able to bring his armies back together at Sharpsburg. Two days later on September 16-17th, 1862, the Battle of Antietam was fought approximately 10 miles southwest of the Battle of South Mountain. South Mountain may be considered a preliminary to that definitive engagement.

Following the Battle of Gettysburg, Union General Meade filed a report on that battle that included a map of an engagement between opposing armies dated October 1, 1863, stretching south from Hagerstown and Funkstown (both along the Baltimore Pike) south to the Potomac River at "Dam No 4," approximately three miles below Williamsport. It appears from the map that the north end of the Union line was anchored on the high ground immediately north of Funkstown, to either side of (and immediately adjacent to) the Baltimore Pike (Meade in Davis et al. 1891-95:XLII:5; O.R. Series I, Volume XXVII, Part 1:114).

In June and July, 1864, the Confederates of the Valley District of the Army of Northern Virginia conducted extensive raiding in Maryland and the District of Columbia, attempting to threaten Washington D.C. and lift Grant's siege at Petersburg. The advance included cavalry raids north of and around Baltimore, crossing the Baltimore Pike west of Ellicott Mills en route to Brookville. The raiders entered Baltimore County from what is present-day Carroll County, and exited via Howard County. A second cavalry unit rode from Boonsboro to Hagerstown along the Baltimore Pike. Confederate General McCausland's cavalry were engaged at Hagerstown July 7, 1864, facing elements of the 4th U.S. Regular Cavalry on the southeastern outskirts of town (Hotchkiss in Davis et al. 1891-95, LXXXIII:4).

Meanwhile that same day (July 7th), Confederate Infantry marched along the National Road from Boonsboro, through Middletown, camping between Middletown and Catoctin Mountain on July 8th before proceeding to Frederick and points south (Davis et al. 1891-95, LXXXI:4; Hotchkiss in O.R. Series I, Volume XLIII, Part 1). On July 9, 1864, the Confederates were confronted at the Battle of Monocacy, during which Confederate General Rodes' Division was formed up along the Baltimore Pike immediately east of Frederick, confronting Union troops massed west of the Baltimore Pike bridge over the Monocacy River. The Federals retreated east along the Baltimore Pike following the Battle of Monocacy (Hotchkiss in Davis et al. 1891-95:LXXXIII:9; XCIV:3).

From July 29 through August 8th of 1864, Confederate cavalry under McCausland and Johnson again raided north, crossing the Baltimore Pike and burning the town of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. En route north, the Confederates fought an engagement at Clear Spring July 29, on the Baltimore Pike. Upon their return from Pennsylvania, the Confederates fought at Hancock July 31st, and at Pleasant Mills August 1, 1864. Each of these communities lies along the Baltimore Pike (Hotchkiss in Davis et al. 1891-95, LXXXII:3).

The Battle of Pleasant Mills was fought August 1, 1864, about 2.5 miles from Cumberland along the Baltimore Pike (National Road). Opposing artillery faced off from high ground overlooking a tollhouse, grist and saw mills, and a small graveyard. It appears from a surviving map of the battle that at least some of the Confederate artillery was posted directly on the Baltimore Pike (Knight, in Davis et al. 1891-95, LIV:3; Kelly, in O.R. Series 1, Volume XXXVII, Part 1:188).

Troop Movements

In October of 1862, Confederate Major General J.E.B. Stuart led his cavalry in a giant reconnaissance around the federal army encamped at Harper's Ferry, advancing as far as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. On the 10th of October his riders crossed the Baltimore Pike west of Clear Spring, riding north from McCoy's Ford. On the 11th or 12th of October, Stuart's Cavalry re-crossed the Baltimore Pike, riding south through the town of New Market (Blackford in Davis et al. 1891-95:XXV, 6; O.R. Series 1, Volume XIX, Part 2:54).

As part of the Gettysburg Campaign, the 2nd Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia under Lieutenant General R.S. Ewell advanced across the Baltimore Pike somewhere to the east of Hagerstown northwest of Boonsboro, and afterwards retreated through Hagerstown, camping just north of town (Hotchkiss in Davis et al. 1891-95, XLIII:7; Ewell in O.R. Series I, Volume XXVII, Part 2:325, 452).

Signal Stations

The National Road corridor may retain properties that are strongly associated with the role of the Road as a line of supply or communications, independent of any specific battlefield or engagement. Such resources might include Signal Stations, Supply Depots, transshipment points between the Road and adjacent railroads or canals, or the sites of strategically critical extraction industries dependent upon the Road for access.

Major A. J. Meyer, Chief Signal Officer of the U.S. Army, presented two detailed maps identifying the locations of Signal Stations across the State of Maryland (Davis et al. 1891-95:XXVII, 1; Ibid, XLV:2; O.R. Series I, Volume XIX, Part 1:36,124). Signal Stations 20 and 21 were located in Frederick, 22 and 23 were located to either side of the Baltimore Pike

atop Catoctin Mountain to the west, 24 was in Middletown, 25 and 26 were located atop South Mountain, again to either side of the Baltimore Pike, Station 48 was in Hagerstown, and Station 47 was located west of Clear Spring along the Baltimore Pike. The rest of the mapped stations were distributed between the Sharpsburg/ Antietam battlefield areas south of the Road along the Potomac River, and the Road itself. Clearly the Baltimore Pike was thought to be a critical communications corridor.

Military Hospitals

The U.S. Army maintained a federal hospital on Dan's Mountain, overlooking Flaggy Run near Clarysville, Allegany County (Preservation Society of Allegany County 2000). Clarysville Inn in Allegany County was used as part of that hospital complex.

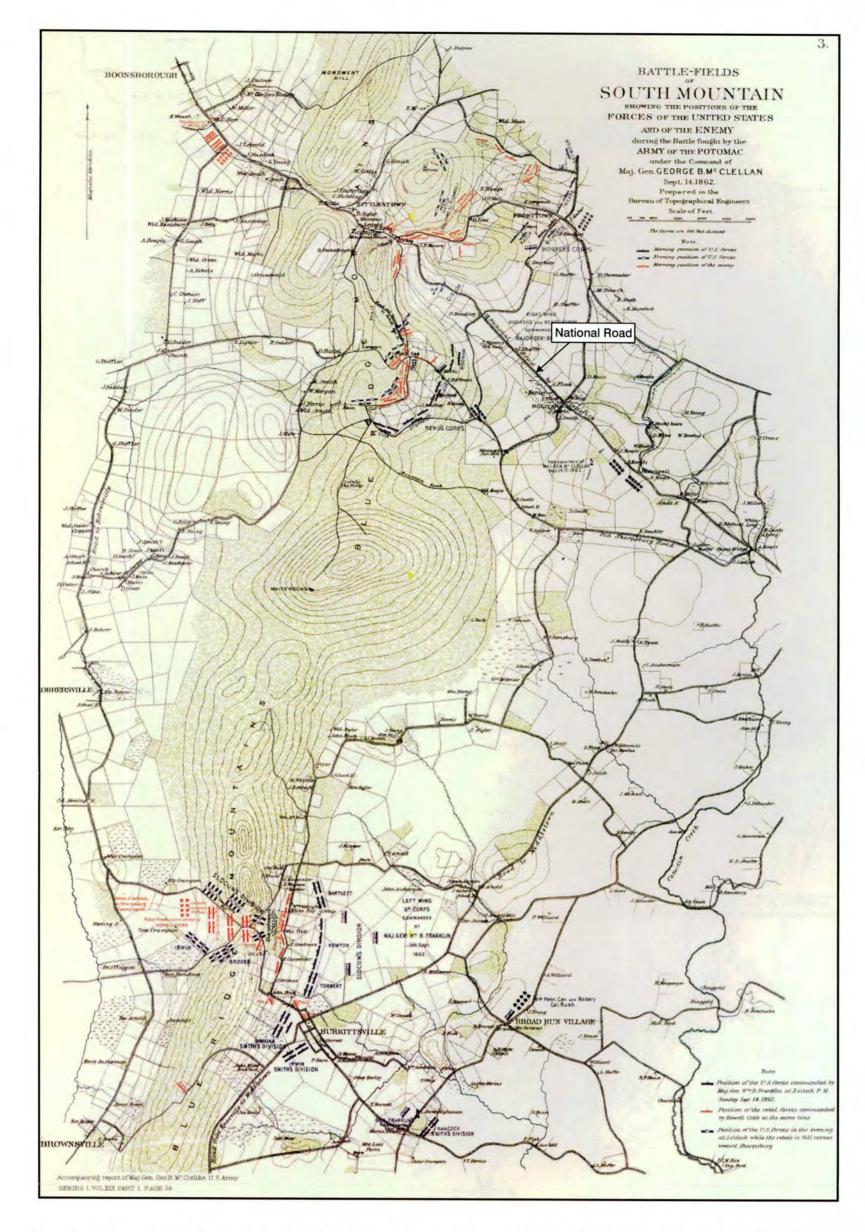
Field Headquarters

A surviving military map of the Battle of South Mountain indicates the location of Lee's Field Headquarters along the Road, troop and artillery positions astride the Road, and the locations of a Baltimore Pike bridge burned during the action (Figure 5). In addition to military resources, this detailed map also indicates the location of "D. Hutzel's Mountain House," an Inn at Turner's Gap along the Baltimore Pike, the names of property owners and their field boundaries, and the location of various tollhouses in the vicinity (Davis et al. 1891-95, XXVII:3).

Property Type Diagnostics and Integrity

Landscapes, buildings, structures or objects may be considered contributing elements to a Battlefield according to the standards of the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) and NRHP Bulletin 40, Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields (Andrus 1992). Battlefields include the scenes of engagement, as well as fortifications/ entrenchments, lines of advance and/or retreat, and encampments, field hospitals, field headquarters, etc. The ABPP requires that troop movements can only be considered contributing elements to a battlefield if the movements were made with the expectation that they were in the presence of enemy combatants. The

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Note the location of General Lee's Headquarters at Widow Herr's, the Hutzel Mountain House at the summit of Turner's Gap, various troop and artillery positions, and a "burnt bridge" at the extreme right of the frame. Each of these locations lies directly on the National Road.

Battle-Fields of South Mountain, Showing the Positions of the Forces of the United States and of the Enemy, During the Battle Fought by the Army of the Potomac under the Command of Maj. General George McClellan, Sept 14, 1862 (Davis et al. 1891-95, Plate XXVII:3)

necessary degree of historical association is here defined as substantive documentation that the location of said properties was the direct result of military advantages accrued from proximity to the National Road.

MHT State Historic Sites Inventory Form F-4-123 records the survey of Civil War related resources between Bolivar Crossroads ("Old Sharpsburg Road"), and the summit of South Mountain at Turner's Gap.

In recognition of the critical role played by these regions, a Civil War Heritage Area is planned for Frederick and Washington Counties (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-12).

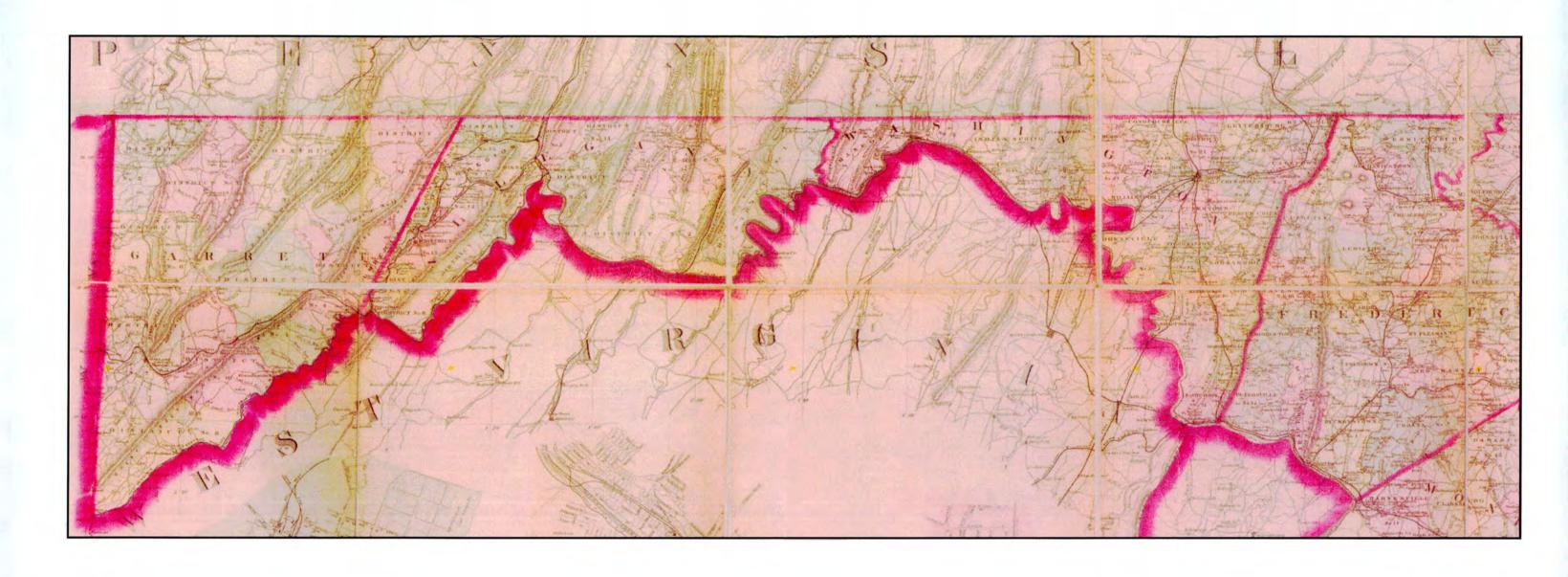
ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE TECHNOLOGIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1908-1970

THROUGH TRAFFIC IS RESTORED

The 1908 date denotes the organization of the Maryland State Road Commission, and somewhat arbitrarily serves to mark the beginning of the automobile age and the rebirth of the National Road. Strange as it may seem, it was not the automobile that renewed interest in long-distance self-guided overland touring, it was the bicycle. Bicyclists created a powerful lobby for government oversight in interstate road improvements, in the form of the League of American Wheelmen (Butler 1994; Miller et al. 1997:39). Congress created the Office of Road Inquiry (ORI) at the behest of bicyclists. By 1916 the ORI had become the Bureau of Public Roads (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E8).

In Maryland, the Maryland Road League formed as a lobby group and issued a report to the state in 1894 (MRL 1894). The report resulted in a mandate for a Highway Division within the Maryland Geological Survey. In 1899, a comprehensive report was issued by the Maryland Geological Survey (Johnson 1899, Johnson 1903; Reid and Johnson 1902). Additional reports were issued in the period 1900-1910, again by Maryland Geological Survey (Crosby 1906-1910). The Maryland State Roads Commission was established in 1908, and was required to file annual reports and updated standards in 1912, 1919, 1920, 1924, etc. (Maryland State Roads Commission 1958:2; Slater et al. 1997).

In 1912, the Missouri Old Trails Road Association lobbied to restore the old "Cumberland Road," and link the route into a transcontinental highway to be designated the "National Old Trails Ocean to Ocean Highway" (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E9; Lardner/Klein 2001:4-17; Safley et al. 1995:E14). The National Highway Association sought federal funds in that year appealing to "historic and patriotic interests" to restore the National Road, resulting in the National Old Trails Road (Safley et al. 1995:E14).



Martenet's Map of Maryland, 1885, Simon J. Martenet

59

By 1921, the Maryland State Roads Commission owned all previously private turnpike toll roads, and had assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the National Road ROW (Durrenberger: 164-5). The National Road was again a long-distance through traffic corridor. In 1921, the United States passed the Federal Highway Act. The legislation required states to develop highways that were "interstate in character" and resulted in "a primary road system built with federal aid" (Culhane et al. 25-26). In 1926 the United States adopted a numbering system for interstate roads, and the National Road became U.S. 40 (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E9). Improvements including resurfacing, rerouting, new bridges, and new road cuts were continuously underway from 1915 to circa 1935 (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E9).

MODERN PERIOD

Given the perspective of decades, roads can be viewed as ongoing processes rather than as finite products. Alterations in the routing of U.S. 40 and the construction of Maryland's Alt. U.S. 40 in the 1940s and 1950s continued to create bypassed landscapes through the present (Farmer in Raitz 1996: 59; Lardner/Klein 2001:4-7, 4-15).

The American landscape acquired its modern character with the advent of the limited access interstate highway system in the late 1950s through the early 1970s. U.S. 40 became the unlimited access "local" route analogous to I-70, built in the 1960s (Jourdan and Pfeifer 1992:E9). The mid-century proliferation of wayside services was itself a unique if somewhat outré period in our architectural history endangered now by redevelopment pressures and beautification projects. It may seem counterintuitive to some if we preclude pretty nineteenth century farmhouses from these investigations, while including tin gas stations (Longstreth 1995).

The opening of Interstate 70 caused a huge decline in the number of people traveling the National Road. The construction of Interstate 70 caused a ninety percent decline in truck traffic and a fifty percent drop in automobile travel. This was especially detrimental to many of the businesses in the small towns along the Road (Clay and Raitz, in Raitz 1996:370-375).

Maryland is in a unique position in its ability to demonstrate the layering of alternative routes to similar destinations from prehistory through the modern period, from Nemacolin's Path to I-70, often each corridor within sight of another, each with its own rate of travel, carrying capacity, road building and road routing priorities.

The desire to preserve the National Road became a common theme in the 1980s and 1990s. Several states explored different strategies to preserve and maintain the historic and natural resources along the National Road. A number of programs developed that could provide guidance for development and implementation of a preservation plan for the National Road. Programs like National and State Scenic-Byways, National and State Trail programs, National Heritage Corridors, National Heritage Areas, and State Heritage Parks all offered ideas on how best to save the National Road. The National Road in Maryland is currently

listed as a Maryland State Scenic Byway, an honor received in 1998, and was designated an All-American Road in 2002 (Harper, in Raitz 1996:396-397).

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Road Maintenance and Administrative Facilities

The Ohio Historic Properties Inventory for the National Road noted that as states renewed responsibility for the maintenance and administration of the Road, a variety of related structures and buildings began to appear, including early Highway Patrol structures and Highway administration buildings (Miller et al. 1997:41-45).

While some of the 1920-30s era structures have merit in their own right based upon Art Deco architectural features, it is their association with the National Road that concerns us here. These structures may or may not retain their original function, and have often been subject to repeated remodeling over the years. A given property will be considered eligible if archival documentation demonstrates that it was built to serve the National Road/ US 40, and architectural analysis demonstrates that it retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance.

Reroutes

The rate at which relict roadbeds were bypassed increased from the 1920-1960s, while the limited access interstate cut off segments of older road (for example, Ridgeville) (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-17). For the US 40 ROW, older relict alignments are often preserved at river crossings (like the Casselman River Bridge) and on mountaintops (Scenic US 40 at Sideling Hill) (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-17). Portions of MD 144 may be considered a reroute.

For a relict early twentieth century roadbed to be considered eligible, it should retain some characteristic diagnostic of its period of construction, such as experimental pavement, obsolete guardrail design, or a grade or turning radius no longer "up to code."

"Saved By The Bypass" Streetscapes

Bypasses served to fossilize the Main Street of the towns and villages along the Road eclipsed by the new transportation corridors. The Pennsylvania MPDF for the Road notes that the National Road remains a diagnostic feature of these villages, preserving an earlier streetscape precisely because the local economy was displaced elsewhere (Safley et al. 1995:E16, F2). These Main Street districts are the twentieth century analog to the "paired town" relict streetscapes of the nineteenth century, discussed above.

The CPP notes the Wilson's Store (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-17), "a saved by the bypass" resource where the Road was straightened. The current author suggests that this property type is best characterized by preserved districts rather than single isolated properties, and should retain a variety of contributing elements from the period immediately prior to the bypass.

Alternative Paving Technologies

The early twentieth century saw a lot of experimentation with alternative paving or drainage technologies for motor roads, including the extensive use of brick pavers in the years around World War I, and the continued experimentation with various combinations of concrete and asphalt compounds. Where bypasses have preserved relict roadbeds, these alternative pavements may also be preserved.

Replacement Bridges

As corridors were rerouted and straightened for increased traffic speed, bridges were often replaced. A 1995 study documents many of these bridge replacements in Maryland, while the CPP notes several specifically along the corridor, including concrete bridges over 15-Mile Creek in Green Ridge State Forest, and over Sideling Hill Creek on the west side of Sideling Hill (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-15; Spero & Co. and Louis Berger Assoc. 1995). The 1995 bridge study provides definitions for assessing the integrity of specific bridge resources.

Drains and Culverts

Drainage and earthmoving/ retaining technologies have changed rapidly in the past 100 years, as reflected in the Small Structures study conducted for the Maryland State Highway Administration in 1997. That study provides definitions for assessing the integrity of specific resources (Slater et al. 1997). It may be possible to identify a property exhibiting several successive generations of small structures designed to carry the same "problem" drainage. Such a property would make an ideal nomination.

Scenic Enhancements and Commemorative Markers

The older National Road, newer portions of US 40, and the I-70 corridor have all been subject to scenic enhancements, often with pull-off, commemorative markers, picnic areas, or other period traveler amenities (Leviness 1958). Many of the enhancements of the 1920s-30s from other states along the National Road have been identified as significant resources in their own right (Miller et al. 1997:46). Known examples in Maryland include the Sideling Hill Overlook (CPP 087a, Washington Co), and the Town Hill Overlook (Allegany Co, CPP 84a). Since these structures tend to lie within the current ROW, they are generally in good repair, and readily "convey their significance," as that is their purpose.

CORRIDOR-SPECIFIC SERVICE INDUSTRIES ALONG THE NATIONAL ROAD/ BALTIMORE PIKE IN MARYLAND, 1908-1955

Promoted vigorously by travel guides and historical monographs, the National Road became a tourist destination soon after the automobile became widely accessible (Hulbert 1901a&b, 1904; Bruce 1916; Lacock 1914). The proliferation of the automobile and the rise of wayside service industries created a unique architectural landscape (Belasco 1979; Jakle 1985; Liebs 1985). These new businesses focused on providing access and services for automobiles, resulting in industries like gas stations, drive-in theaters, motels, and truck stops.

Probably the most familiar structure along the roadside is the gas station or garage. The architecture of the gas station evolved through the early twentieth century (Lee 1985; Liebs 1985: Love and Drivas 1990). Gradually, gas stations became more standard in design and purpose, often-selling foodstuff, booklets, and general supplies. Eventually the gas station expanded to include a service bay for repairs. By the 1930s, the general store style of gas station disappeared and the commercialized, flat-roofed, box design began to appear (Raitz 1996:295-298).

Early lodging for "auto tourists" consisted of sleeping in a field or a tent attached to the car. In response to this, tourist camps began to appear in the 1910s (Jackle et al. 1996). Originally, these were under municipal control, but by the 1920s, they were exclusively a private enterprise. During the 1930s, tourist homes became a popular option for early travelers. Individuals would stay at someone's home along the roadway, providing accommodations for the traveler and income for the homeowner. Permanent lodgings designed especially for automobile travelers began to appear in the 1930s with the introduction of cabin camps. These consisted of simple, one-room buildings often grouped together with adjacent parking. The cabin camps eventually evolved into the motor court, motels, and hotels, with a recognizable sequence of architectural traits (Jackle et al. 1996). Motels were not always located along the Road but were often situated near amenities for patrons, like restaurants and theaters (Miller et al. 1997:46-47). Other new automobile-orientated facilities included restaurants, food stands, and truck stops (Miller et al. 1997:46-47, 285-87).

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Gas and Service Stations

Gas stations began as general stores with pumps in front. The Shifler House in Washington County is an example of such a building. The 1831, two story, limestone house operated as a general store for much of its existence. By the early-twentieth century, the owners expanded the services offered at the Shifler House by adding a gas station.

The early-twentieth century Miller Brothers Garage and Station in Allegany County west of Flintstone served as a garage, gas station, and store. The garage is a frame, one-story building. Parallel to the garage is a small, frame store with a shed roof extension that served as a gas pump shelter (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-12). The early-twentieth century J.C. Smith property, also in Allegany County, consists of a dwelling, two garages, service buildings, and gas pump. Shipway's Restaurant and Garage in Allegany County, constructed in the early-twentieth century, offered motorists food and gas until the relocation of Route 40 in the midtwentieth century.

The architecture of Gas and Service Stations has been subject to typological analysis by a number of researchers, and it is now possible to place a given property within a chronology of architectural trends (Jackle 1978, Jackle and Sculle 1994, Lee 1985, Love and Drivas 1990, Liebs 1985). Gas stations are subject to constant rebuilding and remodeling over their use-lives, and their integrity cannot be judged by the same standards as a private home. A Gas or Service Station property should be able to convey its period of initial design, or retain the diagnostic features of several periods of development.

Tourist Camps, Tourist Cabins, Motor Courts, and Motels

Travel by automobile may have reopened the National Road as a through route, but it also reintroduced the need to sleep somewhere while on the Road, at a time when few of the original inns and taverns were still around. The history of accommodations for automotive travelers is a progression from Spartan to luxurious, in a chronological trajectory from impromptu camping in public squares and churchyards, to purpose built tourist camps, to tourist cabins, to motor courts, to motels (Balasco 1979; Liebs 1985).

Tourist Camps were little more than impromptu campgrounds, with minimal services. Tourist Cabins typically consisted of one heated but uninsulated room, with running water and cooking facilities under one roof. They were often decorated in linoleum and furnished in enameled metal. The cabin structures were usually arrayed in a short street pattern, or grouped around a central landscaping feature such as a pond. Many of our grandparents had their first experience of indoor plumbing while honeymooning at a tourist cabin.

The early-twentieth century motel cabins in Washington County are simple, one-story buildings sheathed in stone with one chimney. The CPP notes tourist cabins at Allegany Grove near LaVale, and 1930s motels at Wolfe's Mill (Lardner/Klein 2001:4-12). The Town Hill Hotel, in Allegany County, is an early-twentieth century, two-and-a-half, frame building that offered travelers lodging and a view of the mountainous landscape.

Unlike gas stations, motels often lose their original function, becoming permanent low-cost housing rather than travelers' accommodations. However, most still retain features of their original layout and design diagnostic of their period of construction. Tourist Camps and Tourist Cabins are becoming endangered resources, as many are now abandoned lots slated for redevelopment.

Diners and Restaurants

In our own lifetimes, there has been a shift from eating away from home only on special occasions, to eating out nearly as often as eating at home. The exception has always been made for travelers requiring inexpensive provender along the way. In the twentieth century, the diner met that need. A surviving example of the genre is Shipway's Restaurant and Garage (AL-I-A-050), in Allegany County.

Diners, as opposed to restaurants in the more general sense, usually have a service counter with stools for the customers, and booths along one or more walls. Diners typically provided "short order" food, requiring simple kitchen grills. Diner décor has become so engrained in our national consciousness that many newly constructed establishments attempt to recreate the pressed stainless steel Deco look of the 1930s or the Formica and tuck-and-roll plastic furnishings of the 1950s.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSIONS

This report defines the Historic Contexts and Property Types associated with the historic National Road across the state of Maryland. The document is part of a larger effort to create a Multiple Property Documentation Form.

This report draws on primary and secondary source materials, including historic property documentation resulting from the efforts of five other states through which the National Road passes. The investigation examined the records for 1071 previously inventoried properties within a 1/2-mile corridor stretching east to west across the entire state of Maryland. The Maryland Historical Trust Historic Resource Inventory was combined with the resource recommendations of a previous CPP (Lardner/Klein 2001), to create a series of GIS-based resource maps/ resource databases.

The known resource base was compared with the cumulative scholarship represented by the efforts of other National Road states. By reviewing the unique history of the route within the State of Maryland, the investigators generated eight themes, clustered into four chronological periods. Taken together, these proposed Historic Contexts account for the wide variety of Property Types directly relevant to the National Road in Maryland, and serve as a framework within which future discoveries may be evaluated.

A rigorous definition of the degree of historic association necessary for a property to be considered was fundamental to the success of this study. Physical proximity to the corridor of the National Road is not considered sufficient to establish historic association. Of the 1071 known resources located within the study corridor, 346 of them fit one or more of the Property Types defined for these investigations.

CHAPTER VII. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Detailed account of the evolution of American motor tourism, from roughing it in auto camps to motel ice machines.

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2000 The End of the Line: Phase I and II Archeological Investigations at the Terminus of the C&O Canal, Crescent Lawn Archeological District (18 AG 227), Cumberland, Allegany County. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, Maryland.

This archaeology report contains a wealth of information concerning the tin industry in Cumberland, Maryland, as well as local tin businesses in the project area. The information is very site specific.

Bantz, Robert L.

2003 Discovering the Braddock Trail," ASM Ink: Newsletter of the Archaeological Society of Maryland, Inc., Vol. 29:2, 1, 7-8.

Bill Bantz is a reenactor and avocational landscape archaeologist who spent several months retracing portions of the Braddock Road on foot and generating GPS waypoints. Mr. Bantz's maps were turned over to Carol Ebright of the State Highway Administration.

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An early discourse on the role of government in transportation.

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Broadwater, Maxine Beachy and Matthew W. Novak

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Beachy recorded the changes wrought by the advent of the "Coast-to-Coast Highway" to his native Garrett County in a landmark series of photographs taken in the 1920s.

Brooks, Neal A. and Eric G. Rockel

1979 A History of Baltimore County. Towson, Maryland: Friends of the Towson Library, Inc.

The text provides information about the history of the County, the turnpikes that originate in Baltimore County, and its African-American population.

Bruce, Robert

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Cleaver, Barbara A.

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The author addresses the impact of the National Road on the development of Cumberland and Frostburg, stating that only those communities along the National Road were really prosperous. Cleaver also focuses on the Civil War and the effect that this had on Allegany County.

Clouse, Jerry A.

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The book reexamines the Whiskey Rebellion for the Federal response it engendered, including the Jeffersonian argument for the creation of interstate internal improvements like the National Road. It would be interesting to know more about western Maryland's involvement in the Rebellion.

Colten, Craig E.

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In this essay, Colten discusses the three phases of the National Road. The first phase begins in the early-19th century; the National Road has its greatest impact during this time. The second phase is from the 1840s to the 1890s, during the reign of the railroad, which profoundly changed the role of the National Road. The third phase begins in the 20th century and deals primarily with the influence of the automobile.

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This is an address given on June 12, 1948, in celebration of the bicentennial of Frederick County. This is a good account of the County's history with a lot of attention to early settlement.

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Dickey, Paula Stoner

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This is a National Register nomination for the Toll Keeper's House in Washington County, Maryland. The form contains information pertaining to the history and architecture of the resource. The nomination also contains maps and photos of the property.

Duncan, Richard R.

1974 The Era of the Civil War. In *Maryland, A History 1632-1974*, edited by Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, 309-395. Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society.

While this work does not address the National Road specifically, Duncan's essay provides insight into the plight of African Americans in Maryland during and just following the Civil War.

Durrenberger, Joseph Austin

1968 Turnpikes: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland. Cos Cob, Connecticut: John E. Edwards.

This text is a wonderful source for turnpike history in Maryland and the Mid-Atlantic states. Not only does it address the construction of the turnpikes that would become the National Road, it also discusses early roads in the state, the effect of canals and the railroad on roads in the state. In 1796, a traveler through Maryland stated that Maryland roads "were the worst in the union." He continued by relaying an experience in which the stagecoach driver instructed the passengers to lean to one side and then the other to prevent the carriage from tipping over on the uneven terrain. In 1806 John Melish, a geographer who was traveling to Washington DC to interview Thomas Jefferson, mentioned the dismal condition of the roads between Baltimore and Washington DC (Durrenberger 1968:31).

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Harper's article explores past preservation efforts along the National Road, the impact of the automobile on the road, and the construction of US 40. This article also discusses the evolution of the travel guide. Harper continues with the National Road and the twentieth century, focusing specifically on the preservation movement, tourism, and heritage corridors.

Hoff, Barbara

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This is a National Register nomination for the Union Square/Hollins Market Historic District in Baltimore, Maryland. The form contains information pertaining to the history and architecture of the resource, including maps and photos of the property.

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Ierley, Merritt

1990 Traveling the National Road: Across the Centuries on America's First Highway. The Overlook Press, Woodstock, New York.

A volume of edited primary source material, including 18th century survey journals from Braddock's expedition, the early federal road, the 19th century heyday, the late- 19th century decline, the early Good Roads resurrection of the Road, and the mid-20th century construction of US40. Ierley includes brief context essays for each document, and biographical notes on the authors. The assembled texts do a nice job of presenting the experience of using the Road without the same backward-glancing nostalgia of Searight. As with any travel account, these essays emphasize hardships and accommodations more than infrastructure. The rich material presented herein would have been well served by more extensive annotation and bibliographic support, although this book was written more for popular consumption than scholarly reference.

Jackson, Kenneth T.

1978 Atlas of American History. Revised from 1943 original. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

A book of beautiful pen and ink maps distilling much fine scholarship we would now call Cultural Geography. The book is due for another revision, perhaps updated by modern essays by specialists for each subject.

Jackle, John A.

- 1978 The American Gasoline Station, 1920-1970. Journal of American Culture Fall:520-542.
- 1985 The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North America. University of Nebraska Press.
- 1996 Traveler's Impressions of the National Road. In The National Road, ed. Karl Raitz, 227-255. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

John Jackle presents information regarding the experiences of many travelers along the National Road. Included in this are stories concerning many of the inns and taverns along

the Road. The author also discusses how many towns boomed until the railroad moved into the area, causing many to go into decline.

Jackle, John A., and Kieth Sculle

1994 The Gas Station in America. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Jackle, John A., Keith Sculle, and Jefferson Rogers

1996 The Motel in America. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Jackle is part of a movement to restore the landscapes of the recent past to their rightful place as objects of legitimate scholarship. What we used to dismiss as "tacky tourist stuff" is now endangered by redevelopment. Jackle helps create a context for analyzing and evaluating resources emblemic of the early-mid twentieth century.

James, Pamela and Ronald Andrews

1976 Inns of the National Road National Register Nomination. On file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a National Register nomination for several inns and taverns along the National Road in Maryland. The form contains information pertaining to the history and architecture of the resources. The nomination also contains maps and photos of the properties.

Johnson, Arthur Newhall

The Present Condition of Maryland Highways. In Report on the Highways of Maryland.

Maryland Geological Survey, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore

Third Report on the Highways of Maryland, with Especial Reference to the Operations of the Highway Division During 1902 and 1903. Maryland Geological Survey, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Johnson's Third Report collects an enormous range of primary source material that would otherwise now be unavailable.

Jones, Lynn and Joseph Balicki

2002 Archeological Monitoring of US Alternate 40 from Water Street to Western Corporate Limits Frostburg Streetscape, Part 2. Allegany County, Maryland. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville, Maryland.

This is an archaeology report. The information contained within is limited and very site specific. The report does present a good history of the city of Frostburg.

Jordan, Philip D.

1948 The National Road. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

Jourdan, Katherine M., and Laura J. Pfeifer

- 1991a Historic and Architectural Resources Along the National Road in Ohio County, West Virginia, *Multiple Property Documentation Form*, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1991b National Road Mile Markers Numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, Ohio County, West Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1991c The Feay Inn, Ohio County, West Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1991d Stone Tavern at Roney's Point, Ohio County, West Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1991e Beagle Hotel, Ohio County, West Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1991f National Road Corridor Historic District, Ohio County, West Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Register of Historic Places.

Keddie, Deb, and Joseph Jarzen

2001 The Historic National Road: Statement of Significance for All American Road Designation. National Road Alliance, for National Scenic Byways Program, as amended Dec 13, 2001. Quoted with permission.

Lacock, John Kennedy

1914 Braddock's Road, Pennsylvania Magazine of History. January 1914 (38):1-38.

Lacock was a Harvard professor who spent years meticulously mapping the route of Braddock's Road. The current investigators contacted the Harvard Archives and the Map Library in an unsuccessful attempt to locate Lacock's research notes or original field maps. Following up on Lacock's work should be a priority for future investigators.

Lardner/Klein Landscape Architects, P.C.

2001 Corridor Partnership Plan for the Maryland Historic National Road Scenic Byway. Lardner/Klein Landscape Architects, P.C., Alexandria, Virginia.

This is the corridor management plan for the stretch of the National Road in Maryland. It contains some history of the National Road, as well as information pertaining to the conservation and preservation of the Road. The corridor management plan deals with some intrinsic management issues of the National Road.

Lee, Bob

1985 Ten Gallons for a Dollar: A Pictorial History of Gas Pump Companies and Service Stations. Harlo Press.

This is a popular trade publication rather than a scholarly work, but is useful for trying to create a typology of gas station design over time.

Legler, Dixie, and Carol Highsmith

2001 Historic Bridges of Maryland, Maryland Historical Trust Press.

Although beautifully photographed, this is more than a "coffee table book." Legler provides useful historic background for each bridge, including the stunning 1930s open span over Conococheague Creek on US40.

Leibs, Chester H.

1985 Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture. Little, Brown and Co., New York.

Along with the work of John Jackle, Chester Leibs has legitimized the study of the wayside landscapes of America's recent past. If the book has any failings, it is the lack of maps illustrating the patterns of commercial development created by different transportation corridors.

Leviness, Charles T.

n.d. A History of Road Building in Maryland. Maryland State Roads Commission, Baltimore.

A very useful discussion of routes and infrastructure that relies very heavily on Arthur Newell Johnson's Third Report.

Lewis, Pierce

1996 The Landscapes of Mobility. In The National Road, ed. Karl Raitz, 3-44. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

This essay analyzes the effect of methods of transportation on settlement patterns throughout the United States. In addition, Lewis presents a narrative history of the National Road. The author also discusses the effect of the railroad, canal system, and the automobile on the National Road.

Leyburn, James

1962 The Scotch-Irish. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Leyburn has influenced an entire generation of historians working on the cultural geography of the Upland South. Recommended by Paul S. Bridge.

Longstreth, Richard

1994 I Can't See It; I Don't Understand It; and It Doesn't Look Old to Me, in *Preserving the Recent Past*. Historic Preservation Education Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Longstreth does a great job of defending modern scholarship of the recent American past, while displaying some sympathy for public reactions to said scholarship. This is a good article to recommend to anyone about to present corridor preservation initiatives in a public meeting.

Love, Edward, and Larry Drivas

1990 Gas Stations and Related Designs: United States Design Patents. Series One (2-4): Villa Publishing Syndicate.

This is a much more rigorous way of creating a typology of design for gas stations than the pictorial style used by Bob Lee

Lowdermilk, Will H.

1971 History of Cumberland, Maryland. 1878 (1971) Baltimore, Maryland: Regional Publishing Company.

Lowdermilk provides a good history of Cumberland with an emphasis on the early history and prehistory of the area. However, information concerning the National Road is scant.

MacCord, Howard A.

The Susquehannock Indians in West Virginia, 1630-1677. West Virginia History 2(4): 239-253.

McConnell, Michael N.

1990 A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples 1724-1774. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

McConnell found an astonishing amount of primary material for his analysis of French/British/ Colonial/ Native American relations, making this one of the best studies for the period. This is a history of diplomacy (and the consequences when diplomacy fails).

Marye, William B.

1935 Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants, A Commentary on the Subject of an Old Map. Maryland Historical Magazine 30(2):114-137.

Maryland Historical Trust

1976 Survey of the Loudenslager Farm. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a survey of the Loudenslager Farm in Washington County. The form contains historic and architectural information of the resource. The form also contains maps and photos of the property.

Maryland Historical Trust

1977 Survey of Garden of Eden. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a survey of the Garden of Eden in Washington County. The form contains historic and architectural information of the resource. The form also contains maps and photos of the property.

Maryland Historical Trust

1992 Survey of the Daniel Kefauver Farmstead and Mill Site. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a survey of the Daniel Kefauver Farmstead and Mill Site in Frederick County. The form contains historic and architectural information of the resource. The form also contains maps and photos of the property.

Maryland Historical Trust

Maryland Supplement to National Register Bulletin 16A. Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, Crownsville, MD.

2002 National Road National Register Nomination Project: Request for Proposals, May 9, 2002, in partnership with the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development.

Pre-Proposal Conference Minutes, National Road National register Nomination Project. May 23, 2002, Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, Crownsville, MD.

Questions and Answers, National Road National Register Nomination Project. June 5, 2002, Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, Crownsville, MD.

Maryland Road League

n.d. Statement of Work Done Since Its Organization, with Copies of the Report of the Legislative Committee and of the Two Bills to be Acted On by the Legislature. The Sun Book and Job Printing Office, Baltimore.

Maryland State Archives

n.d. Governor and Council Record for Turnpike Roads, 1806-1835. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland.

The Governor and Council Record for Turnpike Roads provides a reliable source for information regarding dates of road construction. It also gives some detail concerning the state's role in road approval and inspection, as well as referencing earlier laws in Maryland history that affect road construction in the state.

Maryland State Archives

n.d. Map of Maryland Indicating Turnpikes. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. Accession number: MSA SC 1427-1-1150.

There is no date given for this map, however it appears to be relatively modern. The information is not complete.

Maryland State Archives

1792 Resurvey Baltimore Turnpike, William Ritchie. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. Accession number: MSA SC 130-1-44.

This is not a survey of the Baltimore Turnpike, but merely a request for one dating 23 August 1792. It provides no information about the Baltimore Turnpike.

Miller, Orloff G., Adrienne B. Cowden, and Rita Walsh

1997 National Road/ U.S. 40 Historic Properties Inventory in Ohio. Gray & Pape, Inc., for the Ohio Historic Preservation Office.

As the title suggests, this is an inventory of cultural resources along the National Road across the State of Ohio. The current investigator was a principal in this study, and does not retain the necessary distance to evaluate the work.

The National Register of Historic Places (Bulletins)

- 1985 Bulletin 12. Nomination of Archaeological Properties.
- 1990 Bulletin 15. How to Apply the National register Criteria for Evaluation.
- n.d. Bulletin 32. Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons.
- 1992 Bulletin 36. Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archaeological Sites and Districts.
- 1990 Bulletin 40. Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation

n.d. Indiana National Road Corridor Management Plan, The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Rural Heritage and Heritage Tourism Programs, for the Indiana National Road Association.

Nelson, John E.

1976 Gladstone Hotel National Register Nomination. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a National Register nomination for the Gladstone Hotel in Allegany County, Maryland. The form contains information pertaining to the history and architecture of the resource. The nomination also contains maps and photos of the property.

Nye, Edwin Darby

1974 Old National Pike Milestones, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. NPS.

Papenfuse, Edward C., and Joseph M. Coale III

2003 Maryland State Archives Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.

This recent publication is beautifully produced, and provides a wide variety of detailed maps of the state. Although enhanced by scholarly essays, the book is hard to use as a reference tool due to the lack of good index.

Parish, Mrs. Preston

1970 La Vale Toll Gate House National Register Nomination. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust Library. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is the National Register nomination for the La Vale Toll Gate House. The document provides both historical and architectural information, as well as a topographic map showing the location of the resource.

Peyton, Billy Joe

Surveying and Building the Road. In *The National Road*, ed. Karl Raitz, 123-158. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

This essay primarily focuses on the evolution of road construction methods, specifically the macadam method, a construction type used on the National Road. The author also addresses the impact of the railroad and the automobile on the National Road.

Preservation Society of Allegany County, Maryland

2000 The National Road in Allegany County, Maryland: One of the Great Highways, The National Highway, U.S. 40. The Preservation Society of Allegany County, Maryland, Inc., Cumberland.

This is an edited reprint of the 1914 Lacock travelogue, with additional modern postcards.

Raitz, Karl (ed.)

1996 The National Road. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

This text is a collection of essays concerning the history and development of the National Road from Cumberland Maryland westward. This is one of two volumes, the second volume entitled A Guide to the National Road, serves as a travel guide to the National Road.

Reed, Paula S.

1998 Highland Lodge National Register Nomination. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a National Register nomination for the Highland Lodge in Frederick County, Maryland. The form contains information pertaining to the history and architecture of the resource. The nomination also contains maps and photos of the property.

Reid, Harry Fielding and A.N. Johnson

n.d. Second Report on the Highways of Maryland, with Especial Reference to the Operations of the Highway Division During 1900 and 1901. Maryland Geological Survey, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

See discussion of A.N. Johnson, above.

Rideing, William H.

The Old National Pike, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 59 (Nov 1879):801-807.

This is a "stagecoaches and top hats" romantic evocation of the National Road in its heyday, written at a time when the Road was at its worst state of decline.

Rose, Gregory S.

1996 Extending the Road West. In The National Road, ed. Karl Raitz. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

The author discussed the westward development of the National Road. However, Rose stressed that settlement did not follow or result from the National Road. Basically, the road followed settlement, it came too late to be a major influence in westward settlement patterns.

Rountree, Helen C.

The Powhatans and Other Woodland Indians as Travelers. In Powhatan Foreign Relations: 1500-1722, edited by Helen Rountree:21-52. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Rouse, Jr., Parker

1995 The Great Wagon Road. The Dietz Press, Richmond.

A specialized work on a single early American immigration route, written recently enough to treat the route as a vector of ideas as well as people. Recommended by Paul S. Bridge.

Safley, R. Ann, Gerald M. Kuncio, and Jerry A. Clouse

n.d. The Growth and Development of the National Road in Pennsylvania, *Multiple Property Documentation Form*, National Register of Historic Places.

Scharf, J. Thomas

1881 History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Louis H. Everts.

As was common for the period, a great deal of the text is devoted to the biographical sketches.

Scharf, J. Thomas

(1968) History of Western Maryland, Being a History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Allegany, and Garrett Counties from the Earliest period to the Present Day, Including Biographical Sketches of their Representative Men. Reprinted by Regional Publishing Company, Baltimore.

Scharf is a standard reference for the history of the region, and is typical of nineteenth century encyclopedic history in its fastidious use of detail.

Schlosnagle, Stephen and the Garrett County Bicentennial Committee

1978 Garrett County: A History of Maryland's Tableland. Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Company.

This text is a great source for Garrett County history. The author provides a strong narrative discussion of Garrett County with plenty of examples of local lore concerning travel along the National Road. The author also explores the effect of the railroad on the Garrett County economy.

Schneider, Norris F.

1975 The National Road: Main Street of America. The Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

Searight, Thomas B.

1983 The Old Pike: A History of the National Road with Incidents, Accidents, And Anecdotes. Berryville, Virginia: The Prince Maccus Publishers.

For many years after the 1894 publication, Searight was the authoritative secondary source on the National Road. Topics include tolls and toll houses, a general history of the Road, transportation problems, wagoneers, stage drivers, and the effect of the railroad. Searight based his work in part on interviews he conducted with surviving freight men and tollhouse operators (his own family among them), and his narrative reflects a bias toward the eastern sections of the road.

Shaw, Ronald E.

n.d. Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790-1860. The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington.

Slater, Margaret, Nancy Skinner, and John Wisniewski

1997 Small Structures on Maryland's Roadways: Historic Context Report. Parsons Brinkerhoff Quade & Douglas, Inc., for the Maryland State Highway Administration.

The small structures report provides some history on road building in Maryland, however the primary focus of the text is on road infrastructure, including culverts and other drainage control structures of the twentieth century.

Sloane, Eric

1955 Our Vanishing Landscape, in *Eric Sloane's America*. Wilfred Funk, Inc., reprinted Promontory Press, New York.

Smith, Captain John

1624 (1986) "The General Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, 1624." In *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith* (1580-1631).

Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission

n.d. Special Resource Study: The National Road in Pennsylvania. Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania.

Spillers, Shelby L.

2002 Survey of the Eli D. Kinsinger Farm. Copy on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

This is a survey of the Eli D. Kinsinger Farm in Garrett County. The form contains historic and architectural information of the resource. The form also contains maps and photos of the property.

State Roads Commission of Maryland

1958 A History of Road Building in Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland: State Roads Commission of Maryland.

This publication of the State Roads Commission provides a great history of roads in the state. The text begins with the eighteenth century and follows the history of road building through to the mid-twentieth century.

Stegmaier, Harry I., Jr., David M. Deane, Gordan E. Kershaw, and John B. Wiseman 1976 Allegany County A History. Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Co.

Stegmaier et al, discusses the rise of Allegany County based on the mining and exploitation of the area's natural resources. This good fortune changes at the end of World War II with the cessation of mining in the county and the demise of other industrial endeavors.

Stein, Charles Francis, Jr.

1972 Origin and History of Howard County, Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland: Charles Francis Stein, Jr. and Howard County Historical Society.

The Origin and History of Howard County, Maryland is more of a genealogical text than a historical narrative.

Thomas, James W., L.L.D. and Judge T.J.C. Williams

1969 History of Allegany County, Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland: Regional Publishing Company.

Thomas and Williams present a thorough history of Allegany County. While presenting some good data concerning the original turnpikes that went through Maryland prior to the National Road, the book may work better as a genealogical publication.

Wahll, Andrew J.

1999 Braddock Road Chronicles, 1755. Heritage Books, Bowie, Maryland.

Wahll is a retired National Geographic research cartographer. His book is a compilation of period journals.

Wall, Robert D.

1995 Phase I Intensive Archaeological Investigations at the I-68/US 219 Keyes Ridge Leaching Pond Sites Garrett County, Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Department of Transportation.

This is an archaeology report prepared for the Maryland Department of Transportation. The report provides some information pertaining to the history of Garrett County.

Wall, Robert D.

1997 Late Prehistoric Tribal Distributions and the Contact Period in the Upper Potomac Region. Report prepared for the Maryland Historical Trust Historical Preservation Grant Program for Non-Capital Projects Fiscal Year 1995. Report on file at the Maryland Historic Trust, Crownsville, Maryland.

This brief report is an overview of the Protohistoric period in western Maryland, including both ethnohistoric, early historic, and archaeological data. The historic background section starts in the sixteenth century and goes to the eighteenth century; it covers all local native groups, including the Massawomeck, Susquehanna, Iroquian incursion groups, Shawnee, Tuscarora, and Anacostias. One early map (unknown title or year) shows the location of Protohistoric sites in the North Branch valley. This historic background is augmented with archaeological evidence from surrounding states. (Maureen S. Meyers, Gray & Pape, Inc., Richmond, Virginia).

Walker, Joan M. and Glenda F. Miller

1993 Life on the Levee: The Late Woodland in the Northern Great Valley. In Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis, edited by T. Reinhart and D. Pogue, Archaeological Society of Virginia Special Publication 30: 165-185.

Wallace, Paul A.W.

1993 Indian Paths of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, PA: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

The definitive work on Native American trails in the Contact period. Despite the title, this book is useful for investigators working throughout the old Eastern Woodlands.

Walters, Raymond

1969 Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Washington, George

1754 The Journal of George Washington. Williamsburg, Va.

This is a daily journal written during Washington's service to the British during the French and Indian War. While mentioning several Native villages and trader's stations in Pennsylvania, there is little detail about life along the Maryland section of Nemacolin's Path, other than to note that there was already a settlement at Wills Creek [Cumberland].

Weaver, Joseph H.

1987 Cumberland, Maryland: The Birth and Growth of a Victorian City. Cumberland, Maryland: Commercial Press Printing Company.

This is a good, pithy history. The author discusses the evolution of Cumberland, Maryland from an agrarian town to an industrial center in western Maryland. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad received credit for this great transition, not the National Road, in part because of the cost of shipping bulk commodities such as timber and coal.

Weaver, Joseph H.

1987 Cumberland: 1787-1987 A Bicentennial History. Cumberland, Maryland: The City of Cumberland and the Cumberland Bicentennial Committee.

Similar to Joseph Weaver's other work on Cumberland, Maryland, Cumberland, Maryland: The Birth and Growth of a Victorian City. This text discusses the impact of the National Road on Cumberland, but emphasizes the tremendous impact the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had on the city.

Wilhelm, Herbert G.H.

1996 The Road as a Corridor for Ideas. In *The National Road*, ed. Karl Raitz, 256-284. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

The National Road was more than just a transportation corridor; it was a catalyst for the spread of ideas and culture. Wilhelm maintains that the National Road was a purveyor of eastern culture, specifically the culture of Pennsylvania. This is especially apparent in the architecture and the development of the linear town plan.

Williams, T.J.C. and Folger McKinsey

1967 History of Frederick County, Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland: Regional Publishing Company.

Williams and McKinsey provide a great deal of information concerning road building and development in Frederick County. In addition, the authors discuss African American history, as well as presenting a general county history.

Williams, Thomas J.C.

1968 [1908] History of Washington County Maryland: Including a History of Hagerstown. Baltimore, Maryland: Regional Publishing Company.

This text provides very little information concerning the National Road and transportation in general in Washington County.

Wood, Frederick J.

1919 The Turnpikes of New England and Evolution of the Same through England, Virginia, and Maryland. Boston: Marshall Jones Co.

Wood, Joseph S.

1996 The Idea of a National Road. In *The National Road*, ed. Karl Raitz, 93-122. Baltimore Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

This essay addresses some of the social and logistical issues related to the construction of the National Road, including how to develop the West, regional interests versus national ones, and the siting and funding of the National Road. The author also provides a history of the construction of the National Road and identifies the prominent players.

Yamin, Rebecca, Ph.D., Margarita Jerabek Wuellner, Stuart A. Reeve, Ph.D., Priscilla Knoblock, and Charles D. Cheek, Ph.D.

1993 Phase I and Phase II Archaeological and Historical Investigations Station Square Project Cumberland, Maryland. Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Department of Transportation, State Highway Administration.

This is an archaeology report prepared for the Maryland State Highway Administration. It provides a great deal of information pertaining to the growth of Cumberland, especially the role of industry, the B&O Railroad and the C&O Canal.

CIVIL WAR MAPS

The current investigators are trained in archaeological survey, with all the advantages of Total Stations, GPS/GIS, and laser accuracy. However, there is no way we could create maps of the same accuracy and detail as the engineers of the American Civil War.

- Davis, Major George B., Leslie J. Perry, Joseph W. Kirkley, and Captain Calvin D. Cowles Plate XXV:6, "Map of Route Followed by the Cavalry Division Through Maryland and Pennsylvania, Oct 1862," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate XXVII:3, "Battle-Fields of South Mountain, Showing the Positions of the Forces of the United States and of the Enemy, During the Battle Fought by the Army of the Potomac under the Command of Maj. General George McClellan, Sept 14, 1862," The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate XXVII:1, "Part of Map of Portions of the Military Departments of Washington, Pennsylvania, Annapolis, and Northeastern Virginia, July 1861," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate XLII:5, "Map of the Vicinity of Hagerstown, Funkstown, Williamsport, and Falling Waters, Maryland, October 1, 1863," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate XLIII:7, "Sketch of Routes of the 2nd Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, from Fredericksburg, Va., to Gettysburg, Pa., and Return to Orange C.H., Va., June 4, 1863 to August 1, 1863," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate XLV:2, "Part of Map of Portions of the Military Departments of Washington, Pennsylvania, Annapolis, and Northern Virginia, July 1861," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate LIV:3, "Plan of the Battle-Field at Pleasant Mills, near Cumberland, Maryland, August 1, 1864," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
 - 1891-95 Plate LXXXI:4, "Map Showing Routes and Camps of the Army of the Valley District, Staunton, Virginia to Washington, D.C., and back to Strasburg, Virginia, from June 27 to July 22nd, 1864," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.

- 1891-95 Plate LXXXII:3, "Map Showing Routes, Camps, and Engagements of McCausland's and Johnson's Brigades of Cavalry, from July 29th to August 8th, 1864," The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- 1891-95 Plate LXXXIII:4, "Map of Actions of McCausland's Cavalry Brigade at Hagerstown, Maryland, Thursday, July 7th, 1864," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- 1891-95 Plate LXXXIII:9, "Sketch of the Battle of Monocacy, Frederick County, Maryland, Saturday, July 9, 1864," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- 1891-95 Plate XCIV:3, "Map of the Battle-Field About Frederick City and the Monocacy River, Maryland, July 9th, 1864," *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- 1891-95 Plate CXVI:2, "Route Map of Gettysburg Campaign, January to April 1863," The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- 1891-95 Plate CXXXVI, no title, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

History of Route 40

www.route40.net. Accessed 7 January 2003.

This website is devoted entirely to the history and culture associated with the National Road. There is a section of the website that explores the history of the National Road, specifically Maryland Turnpikes. This part of the website discusses the Baltimore and Havre de Grace Turnpike, the Baltimore and Frederick Turnpike, and Banks Road. The information provided does not go into great deal, but does act as a springboard toward other resources. The website also provides a copy of John Kennedy Lacock's text on Braddock's Road.

Maryland Department of Transportation. Found at www.mdarchives.state.md.us/msa/mdmanual/24dot/html/dotf.html. Accessed 24 December 2002.

The Maryland Department of Transportation website as a section devoted to its origins. This includes a brief institutional history, as well information concerning public roads and private

turnpikes. There is not a wealth of information, however it does discuss the origin of turnpikes and the eventual acquisition of these turnpikes by the State Roads Commission.

"1823 – First American Macadam Road"
http://www.curbstone.com/macadam.htm. Accessed August 2003.

This website deals contains information related to the macadam method of road building. It also discusses later materials and methods including the use of concrete and asphalt.

CHAPTER VIII. REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balicki, Joseph, Elizabeth Barthold O'Brien and Donna J. Seifert

1998 Intensive Phase I Archeological Survey of US Alternate 40 from Bowery Street to MD 36, Allegany County, Maryland. Maryland State Highway Administration Archeological Report #186.

Ballweber, Hettie L.

1987 Addendum Report on the Archeological Reconnaissance of the Proposed National Freeway (AGEA, Tie Lines A&C, and Northern and Western Avoidance Alignments), Allegany County, Maryland. Maryland Geological Survey Report #194.

Cheek, Charles D., Bryan Corle, and Kerry Culhane

2003 Phase I/II Archeological Investigations: US 40 Alt. at MD 669 and MD 495 in Grantsville, Garrett County, Maryland. Maryland State Highway Administration Archeological Report #288.

Cheek, Charles D., and Rebecca Yamin, Dana B. Heck, Leslie E. Raymer, and Lisa D. O'Steen.

1994 Phase III Data Recovery, Mechanic Street Site (18AG206) Station Square Project, Cumberland, Maryland. Maryland State Highway Administration Archeological Report #069.

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APPENDIX A

ALL AMERICAN ROADS STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Historic National Road: Statement of Significance for All American Road Designation

Deb Keddie, Walkabout Company, and Joseph Jarzen, Indiana National Road Association National Road Alliance

Revised 12-13-01 USED WITH PERMISSION

There are few things in history that call to us across time from the beginnings of our nation. The Historic National Road is one of them. For more than 600 miles it is a landscape of historic, cultural and archaeological significance, scenic beauty and bountiful recreation, and a journey through the lives and fortunes of the people that forged America.

Beginning in Baltimore, Maryland and crossing six states, it stretches westward past historic landmarks, mountain vistas, industrial towns, rich farmland and pastures, to reach the Mississippi River and the Eads Bridge in East St. Louis, Illinois. Conceived by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Jefferson, it is a physical translation of the ideals of Jeffersonian democracy — a nation of citizens whose values and politics were tied to the land. In this sense, it was a grand achievement in the dream of a manifest destiny for the new nation. Children learn of great roads in history — the Silk Road, the Apian Way — for our society the Historic National Road is also such an icon. It was the great nineteenth and early twentieth century highway for moving people and commerce.

Authorized by Congress in 1806, the construction of the National Road full-filled a desire, espoused by such national figures as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, to build an all-weather road across the Allegheny Mountains. Though earlier routes such as Nemacolin's Trail and Braddock's Road were significant overland routes, the National Road was the nation's first, federally funded interstate highway.

Construction of the road began in Cumberland, Maryland in 1811, thus beginning the extension inland of the already existing route from the seaport of Baltimore. Within two decades, the road crossed Pennsylvania and western Virginia and reached the states formed from the Old Northwest Territory, encouraging commerce and providing the growing population with improved access to the heart of the new nation. Ultimately, the number of people traveling the road annually would exceed 200,000, and unlike many of the privately constructed roads of the era, this one was free to travel.

Maryland was the beginning of the flow of cultures, races, religions and ethnic traditions that formed the "Main Street" of America. British, German and Irish settlers founded

towns on the models of their European homes that are still evident today. Industry was able to expand as the road opened land for the mining of coal. The road also brought new structures for crossing the rivers of Maryland. The first of the monumental stone bridges on the National Road was the Casselman Bridge, the nation's largest bridge at the time of its construction.

The National Road then passed over the varied landscape of Pennsylvania, opening a country of hills and forests, swamps and rolling regions of stones and land that would be opened for farming and mining. With the road also came the need for new bridges and the Historic National Road can claim the first iron bridge in Brownsville, Pennsylvania. Toll houses developed along the road in Pennsylvania and the other states when ownership of the road became local. Searight's Toll House and Petersburg Toll House are examples of what stood along the National Road.

At Wheeling, the Virginia and Ohio legislatures authorized the construction in 1816 of a bridge over the Ohio River. Numerous circumstances delayed the completion of this structure until 1849 but the road can be credited with the development of the Wheeling Suspension Bridge. This suspension bridge still exists today and carries vehicle as well as pedestrian traffic. It is a National Historic Landmark and one of many engineering monuments along the road.

West of Wheeling, the route continued on the path of Zane's Trace, the first road in Ohio. This is a significant part of the story of the Historic National Road in that many of the earlier Indian trails and colonial routes were incorporated into the alignment of the road thus preserving their legacy.

By the late 1830's, construction had crossed Ohio and reached the Indiana border. The route provided access for Ohio products to reach the growing eastern markets, thus proving its economic worth. Numerous fine stone bridges, including Ohio's unique s-bridges carried the Road across the rugged eastern Ohio terrain. The survival of these bridges today stand as proof of the fine engineering and craftsmanship that went into their construction. Taverns such as the 1822 Pennsylvania House in Springfield began to dot the landscape and now stand as legacies of early westward travel.

For Indiana the impact of the road was evident. The population quadrupled during the period from 1820 - 1840. For some, the journey along the road included a stop in Cambridge City at the Huddleston's family farm for meals and provisions. This former residence is now the Huddleston Farmhouse Inn Museum, which provides a living history of the 1800's and is a fine example of how communities grew through the presence of this important transportation artery.

The road was completed to the state border at Terre Haute in 1838 and reached Vandalia, then the Illinois state capitol, in 1839. The population influx was not as great an influence in Illinois as in the preceding states, as settlements were already established. However, this did not diminish the importance of the National Road, as it opened a link to the water route of the Mississippi. Stone arch bridges and covered bridges connected the many small communities as the road passed to the great waterway.

It is important to note that the road also provided a land link to the great river systems of the mid-continent by traversing rivers like the Ohio, Monongahela, Muskingum, Scioto, Miami, and Wabash Rivers.

The National Road has undergone monumental changes during its nearly 200-year history. The evolution of the automobile and tourist travel was the cause for reconstruction, expansion and the development of US 40. New types of buildings and structures, including diners, motels, gas stations, truck stops and drive-in theatres, were built to serve the traveling public. With changes in transportation technology, came the construction of Interstate 70, which moved traffic away from old pike towns. This bypass by the interstate system impacted the economy of numerous National Road communities, but many of them have responded by interpreting and marketing the heritage of the road and drawing travelers once again. This is evident in the 1998 National Scenic Byway designation of the National Road in Indiana and in 2000 for Illinois.

As significant as the impact of the road on emigration and commerce was the construction of the road itself. This monumental task has not gone unrecognized. In 1976, the American Society of Civil Engineers designated the route as a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark.

The Historic National Road is a truly significant cultural landscape. Today town squares, toll houses, taverns, stone bridges, 1950's diners, beautiful Victorian architecture, and numerous museums provide travelers with authentic experiences. In Scenery Hill, Pennsylvania, the traveler can stop for lodging and good food at the Century Inn – an historic inn and tavern in operation since 1798. Stop in Springfield, Ohio or Richmond, Indiana and you can walk streets that follow the Main Street town plan. In Zanesville, Ohio, fans of Zane Gray can visit a museum bearing this famous literary name, while also enjoying exhibits on the history of the National Road. Cumberland, Maryland is home to the C&O Canal National Historical Park. On any Saturday night in the summer, you can sit in the traditional town square of Marshall, Illinois and listen to the town band playing in the gazebo. The road also takes you to a world Archeological Site – Cahokia Mound Historic Site. The list of sites is extensive and reflects the great mix of cultures and ideas of those who have traveled this route. By driving the Historic National Road, the traveler can rediscover America and explore our nation's culture and history from a new perspective.

We often take our highway system for granted. Congestion, repairs and the frantic pace of travel along the interstates may make us question the need for more roads. However, the Historic National Road not only survives, it thrives. While the speeding interstate traffic bypasses hundreds of cities and towns and villages, the National Road is intimately familiar with them. It is an old friend – it remembers and preserves our history and tells the tales of our growth. It is an integral part of the fabric of our country and who we are as a people.