

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Antietam National Battlefield Additional Documentation – Mission 66-Era Resources

Other names/site number: WA-II-477

Name of related multiple property listing:
National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: _____

City or town: Sharpsburg State: MD County: Washington

Not For Publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

___ national ___ statewide X local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

X A ___ B X C ___ D

_____ Signature of certifying official/Title:	_____ Date
_____ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government	

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In my opinion, the property <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.	
<u><i>Eiulbeth Hagle</i></u>	<u>12/19/17</u>
Signature of commenting official:	Date
<u>DIRECTOR / SHPO, MD. HISTORICAL TRUST</u>	
Title :	State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

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Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	buildings
<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	sites
<u>22</u>	<u>2</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	objects
<u>28</u>	<u>4</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 2

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

RECREATION AND CULTURE: park

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Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

RECREATION AND CULTURE: park

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

MODERN MOVEMENT

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: Stone, concrete, wood

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Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

INTRODUCTION TO ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

Antietam National Battlefield was automatically listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966. In 1982 the National Park Service (NPS) prepared and accepted a National Register Nomination Form for the battlefield.¹ The National Register boundary of the battlefield follows its authorized boundary, established by Congress. The 1982 nomination form identified the period of significance as a general range of 1800-1899 with the specific date of September 16-18, 1862, and the areas of significance as conservation, military, and politics/government.

In 2009 the NPS completed an update to the National Register nomination for Antietam National Battlefield. This additional documentation included a narrative for three historic contexts that were not included in the original nomination: 1) The pre-battle history and agricultural development of the rural community that made up the battlefield, 2) battle-related history including the effect of the Battle of Antietam on the outcome of the Civil War; the impact of the battle on the surrounding local population; and the issuance and the effect of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and 3) post-battle memorialization, monumentation, and efforts at battlefield preservation.

The 2009 additional documentation also included properties within Antietam's authorized boundaries that had been acquired since 1982, including the D. R. Miller Farm, Otto House, the Alfred Poffenberger Farm, the Roulette Farm, the Cunningham Farm, the Shull Tract, and the Fulk House. While these properties were discussed in the 1982 nomination, new studies had been completed since the original National Register listing. Other properties, long held by the park, had undergone extensive restoration/rehabilitation since 1982. This new information warranted the update of the nomination form.²

Neither the 1982 National Register form nor the 2009 update evaluated the significance of the Mission 66-era resources of Antietam National Battlefield. The NPS's Mission 66 program has had a lasting impact on the landscape at Antietam and the way that visitors experience the battlefield and understand its history. The collection of Mission 66 resources at Antietam effectively illustrate the major goals and design standards of the Mission 66 era. The goal of this National Register additional documentation is to ensure proper baseline documentation for the

¹ Gary Scott, *Antietam National Battlefield*, National Register Nomination Form (Washington, DC: National Park Service 1982).

² Paula S. Reed (Paula S. Reed and Associates, Inc.), *Antietam National Battlefield – Additional Documentation*, National Register Nomination Form (Washington, DC: National Park Service 2009).

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historic resources at Antietam National Battlefield that are associated with the Mission 66 program.

Section 7 of this additional documentation includes a description of all the Mission 66-related resources of and improvements to the battlefield. Section 8 provides a statement of significance and identifies areas of significance, an expanded period of significance, a narrative statement of significance, and a historic context for the Mission 66 resources at Antietam. Resources identified in Section 7 were evaluated for their contribution to the Antietam National Battlefield Historic District within the expanded period of significance. Contributing resources are those that relate to the significance of the Mission 66 program at Antietam and retain historic integrity as defined in National Register Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete a National Register Nomination Form*. The historic context developed in the Multiple Property Documentation Form *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources* (Carr et al. 2015) was used to place Antietam National Battlefield's Mission 66-era resources within the larger nationwide and regional contexts and to aid in the evaluation of their significance.

Summary Paragraph

The National Park Service (NPS) built the Mission 66 landscape at Antietam National Battlefield between 1960 and 1967, dramatically transforming the battlefield from a predominately late 19th and early 20th century commemorative site built under the administration of the War Department to a landscape that incorporated modern visitor services including improved roads, interactive interpretive exhibits, and a focus on preserving the historic scene of the battle. The majority of these improvements were made possible through a land acquisition program that aimed to protect the battlefield from modern encroachment. The centerpiece of the Mission 66 program at Antietam was the Visitor Center. Built into a hillside overlooking the battlefield, it displays many architectural features that are emblematic of the "Park Service Modern" style, developed by the NPS as part of the Mission 66 program. Today, the way visitors experience Antietam National Battlefield is greatly influenced by the improvements made as part of Mission 66.

Narrative Description

OVERVIEW

Congress established Antietam National Battlefield in 1890 to commemorate the September 17, 1862, Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest single-day battle in American History and a major turning point in the American Civil War. The War Department administered the battlefield until 1933 when it was transferred to the NPS. The commemorative landscape at Antietam National Battlefield includes monuments, roadways, fences, curbing, an observation tower, and other associated features primarily erected by or under the purview of the War Department.

Located in rural Washington County near the town of Sharpsburg, Maryland, the battlefield and its surrounding landscape are mostly agricultural and many of the farms and farmlands in and near the battlefield appear much as they did on the eve of the battle in 1862. As such, Antietam is considered one of the best-preserved Civil War battlefields in the national park system. Of the

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3,230 acres within the battlefield's authorized boundary, 1,991 are currently owned in fee by the federal government and managed by the NPS to maintain the historic setting and provide for visitor enjoyment. Another 751 acres are held in partial federal ownership (less than fee) and include privately owned land with easements held by the federal government that restrict the levels and types of allowable development. The remaining 466 acres remain privately owned and most continue to be farmed by local residents.³

At the time the NPS launched the Mission 66 program in 1956, Antietam National Battlefield was approximately 195 acres, including the National Cemetery.⁴ The land generally consisted of the battlefield roads and their adjacent right-of-ways, built by the War Department to allow visitors to travel through the scenes of the battle, and small pockets of land that held monuments. Land surrounding the battlefield, as it is now, was mostly agricultural, yet suburban development from Sharpsburg began to threaten the bucolic setting of the battlefield in the years following World War II.

National parks across the country experienced a tremendous increase in visitors after World War II, paralleled by an overall deterioration caused by deferred maintenance during the war. In 1956 the NPS initiated the Mission 66 program to reinvent the park system by its 50th anniversary in 1966. Over the 10 year period, the more than \$1 billion was spent on infrastructure and other improvements in the national parks.⁵ The Mission 66 program, whose goals were further propelled by the interest surrounding the centennial of the Civil War and the battle itself, transformed Antietam National Battlefield, expanding it to 790 acres of federally owned land and 42 acres in scenic easements by 1967.⁶ Major construction projects include a new Visitor Center; the improvement of the tour route through parking areas, pull-offs, interpretive exhibits, and rerouting and regrading of existing roads to meet modern safety standards; the preservation and reconstruction of historic structures; and the construction of bypass roads that helped limit the tour route to visitor traffic. These improvements reshaped how visitors experienced the battlefield and learned about the Battle of Antietam.

The Visitor Center, the centerpiece of the Mission 66 improvements at Antietam, has the distinct architectural characteristics of "Park Service Modern" style with its low, horizontal massing, flat roofs with overhanging eaves and sunscreens (brise soleil), and its observation room that provides panoramic views of the battlefield. Despite these modern design elements, its use of local stone and its incorporation into a natural hillside minimizes its appearance on the landscape. The new building centralized visitor services at Antietam and provided information, interpretation, restrooms, and administrative offices all in one building, all accessed through a

³ National Park Service, *Foundation Document, Antietam National Battlefield* (National Park Service 2013), 5.

⁴ Congressional records state that the site was 183 acres, but the prospectus states that it was 195 acres including the 11-acre cemetery. Assume that the 183-acre description did not include the cemetery. United States Congress. House. Subcommittee on Public Lands; Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Antietam Battlefield Site in the State of Maryland*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 26 February 1959.

⁵ "Mission 66: Modern Architecture in the National Parks," accessed 20 June 2017 at <http://www.mission66.com/mission.html>.

⁶ Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, *Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service 1986), 317.

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central lobby. Although most administrative functions have been removed from the building, the Visitor Center continues to serve as the primary location for visitor services at the battlefield.

Improvements to the tour route as part of Mission 66 are generally characterized by parking areas and pull-offs, walks, and overlook terraces. Several interpretive exhibits were also built along the tour route and incorporate low-profile walls made of local stone that echo the historic stone walls scattered throughout the battlefield. Parking areas were designed to be unobtrusive and include curved edges and access roads. When the realignment of roads was necessary to improve safety and visitor experience or to prevent harm to historic resources at the battlefield, the NPS typically designed curved roads that follow the natural topography of the landscape, starkly contrasting with the generally straight roads built by the War Department. Two bypass roads, built by the NPS and transferred to Washington County and the State of Maryland after they were finished, resulted in a dedicated tour route that reduces local traffic and helps protect the battlefield's historic resources. All Mission 66 improvements to Antietam National Battlefield, unless noted, were designed by the National Park Service Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC), located in Philadelphia.

The Narrative Description below describes the features impacted by the Mission 66 program at Antietam in detail. It is organized by the existing battlefield tour route and how visitors travel through the battlefield, beginning at the Visitor Center and ending at the National Cemetery. In addition to describing existing conditions, it includes information on the resources' pre-Mission 66 condition to help explain how they changed as a result of the program. The narrative also includes descriptions of current conditions where they differ from that of the Mission 66 era.

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD VISITOR CENTER

Visitor Center (1 Contributing Building)

Summary/Overview

The Antietam National Battlefield Visitor Center was designed by the EODC along with consulting architect William Cramp Scheetz Jr. of Philadelphia and built between 1961 and 1962.⁷ The NPS specifically chose the site of the Visitor Center along Hagerstown Pike (Dunker Church Road) and adjacent to the 20th New York Volunteer Infantry Monument and the New York State Monument for its expansive views of and its central location within the battlefield. In addition, the site made the building the cornerstone for the improved battlefield tour route and provided advantages for interpreting the battlefield to the modern park visitor. The building combines Modernist design principles – long, flat roofs, a modular form, and lack of ornamentation – with native stone. These features, along with its incorporation into the side of a natural ridge that make the multi-level building appear as one story, result in a building that is *unobtrusive* on the landscape despite its modern design. Along with its interior floorplan that originally included interpretive space as well as administrative areas, these characteristics exemplify the tenets of the Park Service Modern style and epitomize the NPS's new building type developed during Mission 66 – the visitor center.

⁷ PCP No. B-5-7, Drawing No. 3019A, William Cramp Scheetz Jr. and EODC, Visitor Center Antietam National Battlefield, September 1961, on file NPS Electronic Technical Information Center (ETIC).

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The building as it stands today consists of the original building with four primary additions/alterations: the expansion of the lobby in 1973, the expansion of the restrooms in 1977-1978, the addition of the auditorium/theater in 1980, and the removal of the administrative offices and their renovation for use as a bookstore in 1996.

Site/Setting

The Visitor Center at Antietam National Battlefield is set back almost 400 feet from Dunker Church Road and stands on a 25-foot rise. In front (west) of the building is the parking area that stands between the building and Dunker Church Road. The building is set into the hill, therefore allowing a section of the building to sit below grade and giving the building the appearance that it is a single story.⁸ The access road to the parking area and the parking area itself create a semi-circular drive in front of the Visitor Center. A large, predominately open, grassy area separates the parking area from Dunker Church Road.

A slightly curved, poured concrete sidewalk leads up to the Visitor Center to the main entrance of the building. A secondary walk branches off to the northwest, leading to the restrooms and around to the rear (east) elevation of the building to the observation room. The secondary walk also connects to the “Antietam Remembered” Trail (see below). The main sidewalk is in its original configuration. The locations of the secondary sidewalks were adjusted as a result of the restroom and auditorium additions. On the southeast side of the main entrance is a brick sidewalk and a semicircular terrace that holds a Model 1857 12-pounder Napoleon field gun. This sidewalk and terrace were built in 1966 and originally covered with green stone dust.⁹

Exterior

The Visitor Center consists of a one-story main block, which holds the lobby, an administration wing (now a bookstore), restrooms, utility rooms, and an auditorium (added in 1980). On the rear (east) side of the building is a two-story wing that holds exhibit space and offices below and a battlefield observation room above. Since the building is set into the side of a hill, the exhibit space and offices are completely below grade and the observation room is on-grade at the rear of the building. The Modernist building is composed of long-rectangular forms with flat, built-up roofs that have overhanging eaves. In several areas, the roofs are extended further past the walls of the building with wood sunscreens.

The building is primarily constructed of concrete block and sits on a poured concrete, on-grade foundation. Many of the exterior walls are faced with irregular coursed fieldstone. A long north-south stone-clad wall, partially set into the hill, serves as the east wall of the building's main block and is capped with flagstone coping. Other sections of the building have large expanses of windows and are constructed primarily of wood framing and clad in board-and-batten siding. The original single-pane windows have been replaced with modern double-pane windows.

⁸ Alpha Corporation and Quinn Evans Architects, *Antietam National Battlefield Visitor Center Historic Structures Report* (National Park Service 2017), 4-1.

⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 7 September 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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The building's primary (west) elevation is accessed from the adjacent parking area. It consists of the former administrative wing on its south end, the main entrance and restrooms near the center, and the auditorium on its north end. The administration wing is set back from the main entrance. It has a partial stone wall below and large paired one-light, wood-frame windows above. Board-and-batten siding separates the windows. The entrance/lobby section of the building has partial stone walls and paired one-light, wood-frame windows with one-light transoms. A one-story vestibule (built in 2002) of similar windows and materials is attached to the west elevation of the entrance. A wood sunscreen extends from the roofline of the entrance. Adjacent to the vestibule to the north is a low stone planter, attached to the west wall of the entrance.

The restroom section of the building, located north of the main entrance, is accessed from the exterior of the building via two metal single-leaf doors. A freestanding stone wall stands to the west and screens the doors from the parking lot and creates a walkway to the restrooms. It also serves as the backdrop for the primary sign of the Visitor Center.

The west elevation of the auditorium is primarily faced in fieldstone but has three evenly spaced wood panels set out from the fieldstone wall. The panels are clad in board-and-batten siding, break up the large stone wall, and visually connect the auditorium with the south end of the building, which is also partially clad in siding.

The north elevation of the auditorium is clad in fieldstone and lacks fenestration except for a single-leaf door on its eastern end. Set back from the auditorium and to the east is the north elevation of the main block. It has a single-leaf door that provides access to an employee break room. The area in front of the door and between the east wall of the auditorium is enclosed with a wood fence. This area holds mechanical equipment.

The observation room sits a half story above the main block on the east side of the building. Its north, east, and south elevations consist of low stone walls and large one-light fixed windows with one-light transoms above. These three sides of the observation room have sunscreens that extend from the roof and shade a concrete walk that wraps around the north and east sides of the building and a part of a flagstone terrace on the south side of the observation room. The north and south elevations each have a single-leaf glass door that lead out to the walk and terrace, respectively. Historically fiberglass planters of three different sizes and colors stood on the terrace, purchased as part of the landscaping of the Visitor Center (described below). These planters have recently been removed due to issues caused by their weight on the terrace and the exhibit space (a former fallout shelter) roof below.

The south elevation of the main block is clad in fieldstone and has a single-leaf door.

Interior

The interior of the building is organized to separate administrative areas from visitor services areas. Visitors enter the building into a large, open lobby with a welcome desk on the left (north). The floor of the lobby is flagstone and the north and south walls are stone, intended to carry the exterior features into the interior of the building. On the east side of the lobby is a staircase leading a half-flight down to the exhibit rooms and a staircase leading a half story up to the

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observation room above. Originally, a wood slatted screen was located on the east wall of the lobby between the stairs. The screen has been covered with plywood. An exhibit wall, built approximately three feet in front of the former screen, holds interpretive material. Between the two walls is access to a lift, located underneath the stairs to the observation room, which provides visitors with disabilities access to the lower exhibit rooms.

On the south side of the lobby is the gift shop, which originally held administrative offices. The door to the administrative offices has been enclosed with stone and a larger opening has been added to the west of the original opening. On the north side of the lobby is a corridor that leads to the restrooms (west) and mechanical and break rooms (east). Further north from the corridor is the auditorium, built in 1980.

On the lower level are two exhibit rooms and offices. The south exhibit room and offices are located in what was originally a fallout shelter, not part of the original plans but added while the building was under construction in 1962. It also doubled as an auditorium until 1967 when the administrative staffs of Antietam and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal merged and the area was converted to office space. It remains as such today.

The observation room is a single open room with large expanses of glass on three sides, providing a 270 degree view of the battlefield to the north, east, and south. The floor of the room was originally composite tile that has been covered in carpeting.

Additions/Changes

The primary changes to the building include the expansion of the lobby and the restrooms, the construction of an auditorium, and the removal of the administrative offices from the south wing. The NPS expanded the lobby to the west in 1973-1974 to accommodate large crowds during heavy visitation. The expansion involved moving the front glass wall forward and enclosing an existing 16 by 24 feet flagstone patio at the entrance to the building. The front wall was reused from the original building, the side walls were constructed of stone with windows above, and the existing roof was extended to match its original design and materials. In 2002 Antietam staff built an enclosed vestibule with vertical siding, fixed pane windows, and a double-leaf glass door, at the main entrance of the building, which conceals the majority of the west (front) wall of the entrance.¹⁰

The restrooms of the building were expanded to the west in 1977-1978. This project involved enlarging the restrooms by approximately 300 square feet and adding exterior doors on the west side so that visitors could also enter the restrooms from the exterior of the building. The project included the stone wall on the west elevation of the building that screens the entrances to the restrooms.¹¹

¹⁰ William R. Failor, Superintendent, memorandum to Director, National Capital Parks, 26 February 1973, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives; also see Alpha Corporation and Quinn Evans Architects, 3-49.

¹¹ Denver Service Center, "Antietam National Battlefield Site and Cemetery: Expansion of Restroom Facilities, Visitor Center," Project No. 3120-3370, July 26, 1977, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives; also see Alpha Corporation and Quinn Evans, 3-58.

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The last major changes to the building occurred in the 1980s and 1990s with the construction of the auditorium and the removal of the administrative offices from the building. The 131-seat auditorium was constructed on the north side of the building in 1980. The exterior walls of the auditorium are fieldstone and the addition has a similar roofline and scale as the original building. In 1995 the administrative office wing of the building was renovated for use as a bookstore. At this time a new doorway was constructed to the west and the original doorway and information window (also located on the south wall) were enclosed with stone. The walls dividing the office corridor and individual offices were removed at this time.¹²

Parking Area (1 contributing structure)

The Visitor Center Parking Area was constructed under a separate contract, awarded to Bester-Long, Inc. of Hagerstown, Maryland in the spring of 1962.¹³ Construction began in April 1962 and was completed by April 1963.¹⁴ The parking area retains the configuration shown in its 1961 plan.

The entrance and exit roads to the parking lot, as well as the parking lot itself, create a semi-circular drive in front of the Visitor Center and are accessible from Dunker Church Road. At the exit on the northern end of the parking area, visitors can either proceed straight to continue north Dunker Church Road and to Dunker Church, the first stop on the tour route, or take a short curved road spur that allows a left-hand turn south onto Dunker Church Road.

Historically and today, the parking area provides spaces for approximately 64 cars and three tour buses. Located at the northern end of the parking area, the bus spaces are separated from the rest of the parking area and consist of three stepped diagonal spaces. A sidewalk lines the east side of the parking lot and leads to the Visitor Center's main sidewalk.

Dunker Church Trail ("Antietam Remembered" Trail) (1 contributing structure)

The "Antietam Remembered" Trail, originally called the Dunker Church Trail, was built in 1963 by E.D. Plummer Sons of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Included as part of the project was the construction of brick terraces around the existing monuments and in front of the Dunker Church.¹⁵ The loop trail begins at the north side of the observation room and leads visitors west to the 20th Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry Monument, which is surrounded by a square brick terrace. The trail continues northwest to the New York State Monument and the Maryland Monument. In addition to the circular brick terrace around the Maryland State Monument, the project also added two granite benches on the monument's west side. The trail continues south to the 5th, 7th and 66th Ohio Infantry Monument, located on the east side of Dunker Church Road. A rectangular brick terrace surrounds the monument. The trail then brings visitors across Dunker

¹² Alpha Corporation and Quinn Evans Architects, 3-72 – 3-73.

¹³ PCP No. R-6-4, Contract No. 14-10-0528-2506, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3023, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Visitor Center Entrance Road and Parking Area, September 1961, on file ETIC.

¹⁴ Monthly Progress Report, May 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, College Park, Maryland; Monthly Progress Report, April 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, College Park, Maryland

¹⁵ PCP R-6-4, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction, 1962, on file ETIC; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 March 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

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Church Road to the Dunker Church (see below) or southeast back to the Visitor Center. About halfway between the Dunker Church and the Visitor Center is a brick terrace and four pieces of artillery, marking the location of the S. D. Lee Battery position during the battle. The trail was originally bituminous greenstone, but has been repaved in asphalt with exposed aggregate.¹⁶

Entrance Sign (1 non-contributing object)

The entrance sign was erected along the east side of Route 65 (Sharpsburg Pike), south of the entrance road to the Visitor Center in 1966 after the completion of the Route 65 bypass. It consists of a low, rectangular fieldstone base that is approximately 26 feet long, two feet high, and two feet deep. On top of the base are two symmetrically placed walls that are approximately five feet long, nine feet high, and one-and-a-half feet deep.¹⁷ Between the walls is a wooden sign, suspended from a rounded wood pole by metal brackets. The sign reads

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National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

On the north and south sides of the west wall is the National Park Service emblem (arrowhead).

Originally the sign was L-shaped and consisted of the stone base, the eastern stone wall, and an adjacent wooden sign. In the late 1990s/early 2000s the NPS modified the sign and expanded the base to the west, built the additional stone wall, and replaced the wood sign. Because it has been extensively altered since its construction, the sign no longer retains integrity and is non-contributing to the Antietam National Battlefield Historic District.

Visitor Center: Historic Associated Features (1 contributing site)

Vegetation

Similar to the construction of the parking area, planting and grounds development at the Visitor Center was completed under a separate contract than the building itself.¹⁸ The EODC designed the plan and the NPS awarded a contract to Treeland Nurseries of Frederick, Maryland in 1962. Work began in August of the same year and was completed in October 1963.

Following the 1962 plans, trees line the western edge of the parking area to screen it from view from Dunker Church Road and Route 65. Additional clusters of trees stand adjacent to the sidewalk that borders the east side of the parking area and north of the entrance walk. A preliminary survey of the trees along the east and west sides of the parking area indicate that many of the original trees shown in the planting plan remain, including American holly, white and red oak, dogwood, Washington hawthorn, and American yellowwood trees.

¹⁶Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction, 1962, on file ETIC.

¹⁷Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3041, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Entrance Sign, Visitor Center Entrance, 1965, on file ETIC.

¹⁸PCP No. M-12-3, Drawing No. NPS-ANT-3035, EODC, *Planting, Visitor Center – Burnside Bridge Area*, January 1963, on file ETIC.

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For the most part, plantings near the Visitor Center building are primarily limited to foundation plantings along the primary elevation (west) of the former administration wing, installed in 1973, and a few shrubs near the northeast and southwest corners of the building that hide mechanical and service areas. While the original plans called for trees on the west side of the building to guide views from the observation room, this area is currently grassy and open, allowing for panoramic views of the battlefield and beyond.

Views and Vistas

The observation room and its surrounding walks/terraces provide 270 degree, predominately unobstructed views of the battlefield. To the north are views of the Cornfield and North Woods and to the northeast are views of the Mumma Farm. On the horizon is a view of South Mountain. To the southwest, visitors can see Bloody Lane and the Observation Tower.

From Mumma Lane looking southwest, visitors on the tour route have clear views of the observation room sitting on the ridge above the road.

Small-Scale Features

At the center of the east side of the parking area is a large flag pole that is encircled by a concrete sidewalk. The flag pole was erected in 1963.

THE ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD TOUR ROUTE – MISSION 66 FEATURES

Summary/Overview

The Antietam Battlefield Tour Route is an eight-and-a-half-mile self-guided driving tour with 11 stops. Beginning at the Visitor Center, the first stop on the tour is the Dunker Church, located on the west side of Dunker Church Road. This segment of road was historically part of Hagerstown Pike, now strictly part of the internal road system at Antietam after the construction of the Route 65 bypass. Visitors then head north on Dunker Church Road and turn east on Mansfield Avenue. On the north side of the road is a parking area for Stop 2 (the North Woods). Visitors continue east and then south on Mansfield Avenue and turn west onto Cornfield Avenue until they reach a pull-off for Stop 3, the East Woods (built after Mission 66). The tour continues on Cornfield Avenue until Stop 4 (the Cornfield), a parking area and interpretive exhibit on the north side of the road. After the Cornfield, visitors turn south onto Dunker Church Road and then west to Stop 5 at Philadelphia Brigade Park (the West Woods). They then head back south on Dunker Church Road and turn northeast onto Smoketown Road and then southeast onto Mumma Lane where they pass Stop 6 (the Mumma Cemetery), just before the Mumma Farm. Visitors continue south on Mumma Lane where they can stop at a pull-off on the east side of the road for Stop 7 (the Roulette Farm). Visitors then turn east onto Richardson Avenue for Stop 8 (the Bloody Lane Overlook) and the Observation Tower. After continuing south on Richardson Avenue, visitors cross over Route 34 (Boonsboro Pike) and onto Rodman Avenue. They then pass over the Rodman Avenue/Sherrick Run Bridge and turn east onto Old Burnside Bridge Road to the Burnside Bridge Overlook (Stop 9). After stopping at the overlook, visitors travel back north and then west on Old Burnside Bridge Road and turn south onto Branch Avenue until they reach

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Stop 10 (the Final Attack, built post-Mission 66). Branch Avenue takes visitors further south and then west to its intersection with Harpers Ferry Road. Heading north and passing the Hawkins' Zouaves Monument, visitors turn east at the intersection of Harpers Ferry Road and Route 34 until they reach the final stop, Stop 11 (Antietam National Cemetery).

Many of the roads on the tour route were built by the War Department during the late 19th century and were revised and reworked during Mission 66 to meet the demands of automobile tourists. The Mission 66 program at Antietam primarily used the existing roads and improved interpretation by creating a multi-stop route that took visitors chronologically through the phases of the battle. It also incorporated additional roads into the route, improved existing roads to meet modern safety standards, softened many of the straight alignments of the roads for enhanced scenic views, and rerouted roads to bypass historically sensitive resources. Additional projects included preserving or restoring the historic scene of the battle, accomplished by reconstructing and rehabilitating historic buildings and structures, removing non-historic buildings, and adding historic artillery to key locations of the battle. While approximately 30 various artillery and carriages were put on the battlefield during this time, the exact locations of all of the artillery are not known. If known, their locations are noted below.

The roads that are part of Antietam National Battlefield were described in detail in the 1982 National Register Nomination for the battlefield. However, it is uncertain if they were officially counted as contributing resources. This additional documentation assumes that that roads have been previously listed as one contributing structure.

Dunker Church (Tour Stop 1)

Summary/Overview

Located along Hagerstown Pike (Dunker Church Road) and near the Visitor Center, the Dunker Church (Stop 1) was originally built in 1852 by local members of the German Baptist Brethren, or "Dunkers," on four-and-a-half acres donated by Samuel Mumma, the owner of a nearby farm. The modest one-and-a-half-story brick building was one of the focal points during the Battle of Antietam and became one of the most recognizable landmarks of the battle and the Civil War, mostly due to Alexander Gardner's photographs of the church. After the congregation moved to a new church in Sharpsburg in the early 20th century, a violent storm destroyed the church in 1921. By the time the Washington County Historical Society transferred the property to the NPS in the early 1950s all that remained of the original building was its foundation.

With the help of a donation made by the State of Maryland, the NPS reconstructed the building between 1961 and 1962 using salvaged materials and through the assistance of historical research. The NPS dedicated the reconstructed church on September 2, 1962, right before the centennial of the Battle of Antietam on September 17.

In addition to the reconstruction of the church, Mission 66 improvements to the church and its surroundings include the brick terrace, walk, and interpretive signs (since replaced) in front (east) of the church, and its connection to the Ohio, Maryland and New York Monuments via the "Remembering Antietam" Trail (also see Visitor Center above).

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Setting

The Dunker Church faces roughly east along Dunker Church Road and sits back approximately 40 feet from the road. On the north side of the church is a partially paved drive, accessed from Dunker Church Road, that travels south and west behind the church. Now closed to through traffic, the road was a former section of Confederate Avenue and provides access to the 13th New Jersey Volunteer Infantry, 125th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and 34th New York Infantry monuments. Two ADA-accessible parking spaces are located on the paved section of the road near its intersection with Dunker Church Road. Along the northwest side of the church is an area of the battlefield known as the West Woods, which is densely covered in trees.

Dunker Church (1 contributing structure, previously listed)

The one-and-a-half-story Dunker Church is three bays wide and two bays deep and sits on its original fieldstone foundation. It is constructed of six-course American-bond brick with a corbeled cornice along its main (east) and west elevations. Original salvaged bricks were used on the main elevation of the building and the remaining bricks used during the reconstruction were fabricated to match the originals. The building has a side-gable, wood shingle roof with a center brick chimney. Windows are six-over-six double-hung wood sash with wood sills and paneled wood shutters, many of which were salvaged from the original church. On the main elevation is a centered single-leaf six-paneled door with a stone threshold. Fieldstone stairs lead to the door. A second entrance is located on the south elevation and has a similar six-paneled door. Two small windows in the south gable end are each covered by a single wood shutter. Above the building's windows and doors are soldier brick lintels.

The interior of the church is a single open room. It has wood floors, plaster walls, and a plaster ceiling. In the center of the room is a single wooden pier that helps support the chimney. Adjacent to the pier is a coal/wood burning stove. Simple wooden pews are arranged to face the center of the room. The building has no interior ornamentation.

Terrace and Walks (1 contributing structure – part of Antietam Remembered Trail)

A red brick terrace extends from the front (east) side of the church and connects to an exposed aggregate sidewalk. Brick stairs lead down from the terrace to Dunker Church Road and the "Antietam Remembered" trail, right across from the 5th, 7th, and 66th Ohio Infantry Monument. The walk in front of the church also leads north, passing two waysides. Although historically a wayside was erected at this location during Mission 66, the two waysides are more recent additions. The terrace, stairs, and sidewalk were constructed in 1963 as part of the trail.¹⁹ The sidewalk was extended to the north when the ADA accessible parking spaces were added.

Plans show a parking area on the south side of the church, along a future road that would connect to the Route 65 bypass.²⁰ This section of road and the parking area were never built.

¹⁹ PCP R-6-4, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction, 1962, on file ETIC.

²⁰ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction, 1962, on file ETIC.

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North Woods/Mansfield Avenue (Tour Stop 2)

Summary/Overview of Changes

The Mansfield Avenue Parking Area is currently Stop 2 on the battlefield tour route. It stands on the north side of the road, east of the access road to the Joseph Poffenberger Farm, and in between two monuments dedicated in 1906 to Pennsylvania regiments (the 7th Pennsylvania Reserve (36th) Infantry and the 4th Pennsylvania Reserve (33rd) Infantry). Along the west side of the parking area is a monument dedicated to Clara Barton in 1962 and on the east end of the parking lot is an interpretive wayside (not historic).

The War Department built Mansfield Avenue as part of the tour road around 1895 to bring visitors from Hagerstown Pike just south the Poffenberger Farm and through the North Woods before turning south to meet Smoketown Road just north of the East Woods. At the time the NPS built the Mansfield Avenue Parking Area in 1960, its land ownership along the road was limited to the right-of-way (the NPS did not acquire the Poffenberger Farm until 2000). Therefore, Mission 66 improvements along Mansfield Avenue occurred within these limits.

Although plans for the parking area did not specify interpretation, the NPS likely built the parking area at the location of an interpretive exhibit and map erected in the 1950s for the “Initial Attack” of the battle. A 1961 “Sign and Wayside Plan” for the battlefield indicated that the parking area was to be “obliterated” and that a new parking area was to be built further east on the south side of Mansfield Avenue to interpret the initial attack. This parking area was never built and the 1960 parking area remained. Today, the parking area marks the North Woods stop on the battlefield tour road, near the location where General Hooker launched the initial Union attack.

Parking Area (1 contributing structure)

Built in 1960 as part of Antietam’s first Mission 66 projects, the Mansfield Avenue Parking Area is located on the north side of the road with a space (roughly 100 by 30 feet) for 10 diagonally parked cars.²¹ The shorter east and west edges of the rectangular parking area curve slightly outward to the east and west, respectively. The parking area lacks curbing.

A wayside (not historic) is located on the eastern end of the parking lot. Facing north, the wayside has visitors look south toward the north woods and the Cornfield.

North Woods/Mansfield Avenue: Historic Associated Features (1 contributing site)

Views and Vistas

Although the Mansfield Avenue Parking Area does not have a designated overlook, from the vantage point of the parking lot visitors can see expansive views of agricultural fields and the Poffenberger Farm to the northwest. To the south and southwest are views of the North Woods.

²¹ PCP No. R-21, Drawing NPS-ANT-3013B, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Layout, Grading & Surfacing – Four Parking Areas (Entire Park Area), 1960, on file ETIC.

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East Woods (Tour Stop 3) (1 non-contributing structure)

The East Woods stop on the tour route (Tour Stop 3) is an asphalt-paved pull-off located on the north side of Cornfield Avenue near its intersection with Smoketown Road. The pull-off is approximately 125 feet long and allows for around four cars to parallel park. The stop marks the location where Union Gen. Joseph K. F. Mansfield was fatally wounded as he led his XII Corps into battle.

The 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” originally showed a stop for Mansfield’s Attack along Smoketown Road at the location of the Mansfield Monument. This stop, along with its elaborate stone terrace, was not built due to issues with land acquisition. By the 1965 the battlefield had planned a stop for Mansfield’s Attack at or near the current location of Stop 3 on Cornfield Avenue. The 1965 Visitor Use Plan stated that the stop would include one cast aluminum map with an audio and sighting device and that a parking space was required. The May 1965 “Roads – Walks & Miscellaneous Construction” drawings illustrate a stone wayside exhibit that had an audio device and informational markers as well as a pull-off with parking for eight cars.²² Despite these plans, there is no evidence that the current pull-off was built prior to 1967 and that the stone wayside exhibit was constructed. Although Stop 3 is illustrated on a 1966 brochure for the battlefield and the tour route, aerial photographs indicate that the pull-off was built between 1984 and 1988. There are no photographs, contracts, or other evidence to indicate that the stone wayside exhibit was built and later demolished. Therefore the pull-off is non-contributing.

Cornfield Avenue Parking Area and Interpretive Exhibit (Tour Stop 4)

Summary/Overview

The Cornfield Parking Area and Interpretive Wayside, currently Stop 4 on the battlefield tour route, stands on the north side of Cornfield Avenue near its intersection with Dunker Church Road. Flanking the parking area are the Monument to Company E & H, 2nd Vermont United States Sharpshooters (east), erected in 1900, and the 84th /14th Brooklyn Volunteer Infantry Monument (west), erected in 1915. The War Department built Cornfield Avenue around 1895. The road stretches east/west from Dunker Church Road to Smoketown Road and parallels the south side of the cornfield of the D. R. Miller Farm. In the 1960s the NPS did not own the D.R. Miller Farm Property (acquired in 1990), therefore limiting construction to the tour route right-of-way.

As part of Mission 66, the NPS built the parking area along Cornfield Avenue in 1960 and an adjacent sidewalk and a stone wayside in 1967. This interpretive stop looks north over the cornfield toward the D. R. Miller Farm. It also provides access to the Cornfield Trail, built in 2001. Historically and currently, this stop interprets the fighting that occurred in the Miller Farm cornfield, the site of more fighting than any other location within the Antietam National Battlefield.

²² National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961, on file ETIC; Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3033A, EODC, Visitor Use Plan, Part of the Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site, 1965, on file ETIC; EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

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Cornfield Avenue Parking Area (1 contributing structure)

The Cornfield Parking Area, along with three others, was one of the first Mission 66 projects constructed at Antietam in 1960.²³ It consists of a roughly rectangular (approximately 120 feet by 30 feet) parking area with spaces for ten diagonally-parked cars (originally designed to fit 12 cars). A curb lines its northern edge. The shorter east and west sides of the parking area lack curbing and curve slightly outward to the east and west, respectively.

Cornfield Avenue Interpretive Exhibit and Sidewalks (1 contributing structure)

The Cornfield Avenue Interpretive Exhibit was built by the Harpers Ferry Job Corps in 1967 to conceptual designs from the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” and specifications from the “Roads-Walks & Miscellaneous Construction” plans.²⁴ The exhibit stands along the northwest side of the parking area. The adjacent sidewalk was built as part of the interpretive exhibit and runs along the entire length of the parking area’s northern edge. Along the east side of the parking area is a curved sidewalk that connects to the northern sidewalk. On the west side of the parking area is a short sidewalk angled approximately 30 degrees northwest/southeast that also connects to the north sidewalk and leads directly to the interpretive exhibit.

The interpretive exhibit sits on a concrete block foundation and is constructed of irregularly coursed fieldstone with raked mortar joints. It consists of two wall sections joined at an approximately 120 degree angle that stand approximately 3 feet tall. Connected to the west side of the exhibit is a stone wall that is around 125 feet long and roughly 2 feet high that parallels the adjacent sidewalk.

The shorter western section of the wayside is around 7 feet long and the longer eastern section is roughly 13 feet long. On the western end of the exhibit is a roughly 2 foot wide section that is about four-and-a-half-feet high with a stone step. Originally a sighting tube was attached to the top of the wall at this location and accessed via the stone step. The location of the sighting tube is evidenced by a mortar patch in the stone. Attached to the front (south) of the western section of the wayside is a bronze plaque that reads “Constructed by the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Conservation Center 1967.”

The longer, eastern section of the wayside has two interpretive wayside panels attached to the top that are not original to the structure. A photograph of the wayside from the 1970s indicates that the exhibit originally had four interpretive panels on top of the wall.²⁵ As originally built, there also was an audio device/panel on the south elevation of the longer section of the exhibit, near its western end. This device/panel has been removed and infilled with stone.

²³ PCP No. R-21, Drawing NPS-ANT-3013B, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Layout, Grading & Surfacing – Four Parking Areas (Entire Park Area), 1960, on file ETIC.

²⁴ Drawing No. ANTI 302-41030, National Park Service, *Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan*, 1961, on file ETIC; Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

²⁵ Photograph ANTI(P)10801, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

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Cornfield Avenue: Historic Associated Features (1 contributing site)

Views and Vistas

The Cornfield Interpretive Wayside, as planned, provides extensive views north over the D. R. Miller cornfield and toward Hooker's Advance and northeast toward the East Woods and Mansfield Attack. Originally the sighting tube (no longer extant) was to provide views northwest toward Battery B, 4th US Artillery, located on the west side of Dunker Church Road.

Starke Avenue Picnic Area (1 non-contributing site)

The former Starke Avenue Picnic Area is located on the north side of Starke Avenue near its intersection with Route 65 and adjacent to the former alignment of Confederate Avenue, which was eliminated when the Route 65 bypass was built. Although development plans for the battlefield indicated a lunch area with 12 tables and parking for 12 cars and two buses, the area was never built to this scale.²⁶ Photographs indicate the underbrush was cleared from an area on the west side of what was Confederate Avenue and tables were scattered throughout the trees in 1967.²⁷ Today, the former road alignment is visible, but all indications of the former picnic area are no longer present.

Because the picnic area was not designed as shown in Mission 66 plans for Antietam and lacks any physical evidence of its use as a picnic area, it is non-contributing to the Antietam National Battlefield Historic District.

Philadelphia Brigade Park /West Woods (Tour Stop 5)

Summary/Overview

The Philadelphia Brigade Park, Stop 5 on the tour route, stands on the west side of Dunker Church Road, north of the Dunker Church and east of Route 65 in an area of the battlefield known as the West Woods. Established in 1895 from 11 acres of land purchased by the Philadelphia Brigade Association from local farmer George Poffenberger, the park is the site of the Philadelphia Brigade Monument, an obelisk dedicated in 1896 to the brigade's four regiments. Historically the park was accessed via a narrow gravel drive that encircled the monument. The Philadelphia Brigade Association sold the land to the National Park Service in 1940 for \$1.

Improvements to Philadelphia Brigade Park completed as part of Mission 66 occurred in several phases. The earliest improvements, completed in 1960, involved reconstructing and paving the entrance road and enlarging the circle drive to accommodate parking for 24 cars. In 1963 the NPS added one Parrott cannon and a 12-pound iron Howitzer cannon to mark the Brockenbrough's Confederate Battery. In 1967 members of the Harpers Ferry Job Corps and the NPS completed the interpretive improvements at the park with the construction of a sidewalk lining the parking area, the addition of two stone interpretive exhibits, and the construction of a trail that leads to the monument to the Baltimore (Maryland) Battery (erected in 1900).

²⁶ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3007H, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, *General Development Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1965, on file ETIC.

²⁷ Photograph ANTI(P)22C01, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

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The second stone interpretive exhibit was located north of the Baltimore Battery along the fence line of the park. Erected in 1967 by the Harpers Ferry Jobs Corps, this stone exhibit interpreted “Nicodemus Heights” and “Rock Outcroppings.” From the exhibit, a walk brought visitors east back to the parking area. The exhibit and walk have been removed.²⁸

Parking Area at Philadelphia Brigade Park (1 contributing structure)

The NPS reconstructed and paved the road leading to the Philadelphia Brigade Monument and constructed the parking area in 1960 as part of a project that built three additional turnouts/parking areas along the tour road (Cornfield Avenue, Mansfield Avenue, and Burnside Bridge).²⁹ At Philadelphia Brigade Park, the parking lot consists of three distinct areas located along the west side of circle drive that surrounds the monument. The two parking areas that flank the north and south sides of the circle drive are formed on their east sides by concave edges. Two circular cutouts/planting areas separate the center (west) parking area from the north and south parking areas. The entire parking area and circle drive are lined with poured concrete curbs.

Philadelphia Brigade Park Interpretive Exhibit and Walks (1 contributing structure)

Built as part of interpretive improvements to the Philadelphia Brigade Park in 1967, a paved concrete aggregate sidewalk (originally a bituminous greenstone surface) lines the parking area along the north, west, and south sides of the circle drive. The stone interpretive exhibit at the Philadelphia Brigade Park stands adjacent to the sidewalk on the southwest side of the circle drive. The exhibit structure is roughly 31 inches high, 9 feet 9 inches long, and 30 inches deep and constructed of irregular coursed fieldstone with raked mortar joints. On the south elevation of the structure is a bronze plaque that reads “Constructed by Harpers Ferry Job Corps Conservation Center 1967.” On top of the structure are two interpretive wayside panels, not original to the structure. Plans indicate that the structure originally had one interpretive wayside panel. The stone interpretive exhibit originally had an audio device near the northern end of its east elevation. The device has been removed and the area patched/rebuilt with fieldstone.

The stone exhibit structure is very similar to the plan featured in the 1961 “Sign and Exhibit Wayside Plan” and the May 1965 “Roads-Walks and Misc. Construction Plans.”³⁰ Both plans indicate that the exhibit, with its wayside panel and audio device, were to interpret the fighting in the West Woods, where Union Gen. John Sedgwick’s division lost more than 2,200 men in less than a half an hour of combat. Although the wayside panel was replaced with two panels and the audio device removed, the exhibit continues to provide information on this phase of the battle.

On the north side of the stone wayside, a sidewalk leads southwest to the Baltimore Battery, Maryland (Confederate) Monument, dedicated on this site on May 30, 1900. The cannons in Philadelphia Brigade Park stand along the south side of the trail that leads to the Baltimore

²⁸ Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961; Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC; Photo ANTI(P)18B233 (1967), Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

²⁹ PCP No. R-21, Drawing NPS-ANT-3013B, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, *Layout, Grading & Surfacing – Four Parking Areas (Entire Park Area)*, 1960, on file ETIC.

³⁰ Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961; Drawing No. NPS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Miscellaneous Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

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Battery, Maryland Monument. One of the cannons is a 3-inch ordinance rifle. The second cannon is a 12-pounder Howitzer.

Mumma Lane

Summary/Overview

Mumma Lane is a paved one-way road that travels southeast between Smoketown Road and Richardson Avenue. Near the entrance to the Mumma Cemetery (Tour Stop 6), the road gently curves south to bypass the Mumma Farm before heading slightly southwest to Richardson Avenue. Near the middle of the southwestern portion of the road is a small pull-off on its east side that provides views and an interpretive wayside for the Roulette Farm (Tour Stop 7).

Directly prior to the Mission 66 improvements, Mumma Lane was described as a “timeworn, rutted country lane” that led west to the Mumma Farm from Smoketown Road and south toward the Sunken Road, better known by its Civil War connotation “Bloody Lane,” via a 90-degree angle turn on the northeast side of the farmhouse.³¹ At this time visitors on the tour route would have driven west from Cornfield Avenue, southwest on Smoketown Road, and then south on Hagerstown Road to reach Bloody Lane instead of the current route that incorporates Mumma Lane.³² Mission 66 improvements to Mumma Lane included rerouting, widening, and surfacing of the road, the construction of the pull-offs at Mumma Cemetery and the Roulette Farm, and modifying the intersection of the road with Richardson Avenue.

Mumma Lane Improvements (part of contributing circulation network)

Improvements to Mumma Lane and its integration into the tour route began in November 1965 and were completed in June 1966.³³ Mission 66 improvements widened, graded, and paved the lane, allowing visitors views of the Mumma and Roulette farms. The Mission 66 improvements also eliminated the right-angle in Mumma Lane. Instead of traveling around the east side of the Mumma Farm, the realignment allowed the visitor to bypass the farm and drive southeast along its west side. The new alignment has three slight curves that soften the turn, yet still allow visitors to view the Mumma Farm. The original alignment was left in place as a gravel road that bounds the north and east sides of the Mumma farmhouse and connects to Mumma Lane. An additional change to the road also occurred at the intersection of Richardson Avenue where the road curves slightly to the west and widens to allow for vehicles to easily turn east onto Richardson Avenue and continue on the tour route.

Improvements to and the realignment of Mumma Lane were included in the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” and the 1965 “Roads-Walks & Miscellaneous Construction” plans for Antietam and appear to have been completed to plans.³⁴ However, the culverts that are shown on the 1965 plans do not appear to have been built.

³¹ Snell and Brown, 353.

³² Snell and Brown, 353.

³³ PCP No. R-18, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

³⁴ Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961; Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

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Mumma Cemetery Pull-Off (Tour Stop 6) (1 contributing structure)

In August 1966 the battlefield found it necessary to construct a temporary pull out on Mumma Lane near the Mumma Cemetery after a temporary sign identifying the cemetery caused numerous drivers to park on the road shoulders. In order to avoid additional damage, the battlefield converted a rutted portion of the shoulder to a pull out.³⁵ The pullout is currently paved with asphalt.

Roulette Farm Pull-Off (Tour Stop 7) (1 contributing structure)

The pull-off on Mumma Lane (Tour Stop 7) is bounded by poured concrete curbing and provides a spot for vehicles to parallel park and view a single interpretive wayside panel. It also allows for expansive views across open agricultural fields toward the Roulette Farm where Union troops under Gen. William Henry French and Gen. Israel Richardson crossed the fields to meet the Confederates posted on the Sunken Road. The pull-off was specified in the 1961 “Sign and Exhibit Wayside Plan” and the 1965 “Roads-Walks & Miscellaneous Construction” plans and completed along with the improvements to Mumma Lane between 1965 and 1966.³⁶ Plans called for an identification sign and marker, which have been replaced. However, plans indicate that the marker was to interpret French’s and Richardson’s advance, similar to today.

Richardson Avenue and Bloody Lane

Summary/Overview

Richardson Avenue is a two-way paved road that travels roughly east and then southeast from Route 65 before turning south at the Observation Tower. Here, the road zigzags south until it intersects with Route 34 (Boonsboro Pike). At approximately the midpoint between Mumma Lane and the Observation Tower, Richardson Avenue runs parallel to Bloody Lane (also known as the Sunken Road), a rutted farm road that served as an important line of Confederate defense during the Battle of Antietam and where many soldiers died when they were caught by Union crossfire. This section of the road contains the Bloody Lane Overlook (Tour Stop 8) and an additional parking area at the Observation Tower, both constructed as part of Mission 66.

The War Department built Richardson Avenue to parallel the historic Sunken Road or Bloody Lane around 1895 and the Observation Tower at the eastern end of Bloody Lane in 1896. Prior to the Mission 66 improvements, the section of Richardson Avenue between Mumma Lane and the Observation Tower was located approximately 100 feet to the north of the current alignment of Richardson Avenue, on the south side of Bloody Lane. A small parking area was located adjacent to the Observation Tower at the general location of the current parking area.

One of the improvements identified in both the 1962 and 1965 Master Plans for Antietam was the realignment of the tour road along Bloody Lane that would allow the restoration and protection of the historic road trace. Mission 66 improvements began in 1966 and involved widening and moving Richardson Avenue to the south and constructing the Bloody Lane

³⁵ The NPS acquired the Mumma Cemetery in 1962.

³⁶ Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961; Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

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Overlook parking area and a larger parking area at the Observation Tower.³⁷ The Harpers Ferry Job Corps erected the Bloody Lane stone overlook in 1967. Since the projects included work outside of the War Department tour road right-of-way, the improvements were made possible by the acquisition of the Sadie V. Piper Farm in 1964, a tract bordered on the north and east by Richardson Avenue and consisting of 193 acres³⁸

Improvements made to Richardson Avenue during Mission 66 also included resurfacing the road between the Observation Tower and Route 34, which was completed in 1965-1966.³⁹ The intersection of Richardson Avenue and Route 34 was changed as part of Maryland State Highway Administration's improvements to Route 34 in 1957-1958.

A short segment of the original road alignment of Richardson Avenue remains north and west of the Bloody Lane Overlook. This gravel road provides access to Roulette Lane and the Roulette Farm, which the NPS did not acquire until 1998.

Richardson Avenue (part of contributing circulation network)

As part of the Mission 66 improvements to the Sunken Road, the tour road was moved approximately 100 feet to the south and widened to 16 feet (the War Department Roads were around 12 feet wide), but still parallel to the trajectory of Bloody Lane.⁴⁰ As part to the improvements, the curve at the location of the Observation Tower, where the road turns south toward Route 34, was softened from a 90-degree turn to a more gradual turn.

Bloody Lane Overlook

Parking Area (1 contributing structure)

The Bloody Lane Overlook Parking Area was built as part of the project to realign Richardson Avenue in 1966. Located southwest of the intersection of Roulette Lane and Bloody Lane, the parking area is approximately 150 feet long and 50 feet wide. It provides spaces for 13 (originally planned for 15) diagonally-parked cars on the northeast side and five parallel-parked cars on the southwest. Concrete curbing and sidewalks run the length of both parking areas.

A drop inlet is located on the northwest corner of the parking area and is covered by a metal grate. The outlet is located along the south side of the Sunken Road, but it appears to have been infilled.

Bloody Lane Overlook Viewing Terrace and Walks (1 contributing structure)

Two short aggregate concrete paths lead from the sidewalk along the northeast side of the parking area and form a triangle. At the apex of the triangle is a single walk that leads northeast to the overlook. This configuration for the sidewalk is shown in the original plans for the parking

³⁷ PCP No. R-31, Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, *Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins' Zouaves Walks*, March 1966, on file ETIC.

³⁸ Snell and Brown, 314.

³⁹ PCP R-23, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

⁴⁰ Snell and Brown, 95.

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area, but they were likely built at the same time as the overlook terrace in 1967 (photos taken after the completion of the parking area do not show the sidewalks).

The Bloody Lane Overlook consists of a concrete terrace, stone interpretive exhibit with waysides, and a stairway leading down to Bloody Lane. The overlook stands on the location of the former alignment of Richardson Avenue. The Harpers Ferry Job Corps built the overlook in 1967.

The rectangular terrace is roughly 12 by 35 feet and covered in exposed aggregate concrete. An L-shaped stone wall of coursed fieldstone lines the northwest and northeast sides of the terrace. The northwest wall is approximately 16 inches high and the northeast wall is roughly 28 inches high. On top of the northeast wall are two interpretive wayside panels, not original to the structure. Plans called for two wayside panels, set closer together than the existing panels. An audio box was located along the western end of the northeast wall and has been removed and infilled with stone.

On the east end of the northeast wall is a stairway that leads down to Bloody Lane. The stair is flanked by walls constructed of fieldstone and steps clad in flagstone. On the south side of the stairway's eastern wall is a bronze plaque that reads "Constructed by the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Conservation Center 1967." The 1961 "Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan" called for an angled sunshade over the exhibit, but it was never constructed.

Bloody Lane Overlook: Historic Associated Features (1 contributing site)

Views and Vistas

The Bloody Lane Overlook allows visitors to look down on Bloody Lane from above. It also provides views of the agricultural fields of the Roulette Farm, where Union troops under Gen. French and Gen. Richardson crossed to meet the Confederates at the Sunken Road.

Observation Tower Parking Area (1 contributing structure)

The NPS built the Observation Tower Parking Area in 1966 as part of the relocation and improvements to Richardson Avenue and to replace a smaller parking area at the site. The parking area stands on the north side of Richardson Avenue near where Richardson Avenue curves to the south. The Observation Tower stands on the east side of the parking area.

The parking area parallels Richardson Avenue and is accessed via an entrance road that curves northeast from the road. It provides diagonal parking for eight cars on the north side and 10 cars on the south. An angled parking space, separated from the rest of the parking area by a grassy median, stands along the west end of the parking area and is reserved for a single bus. On the eastern end of the parking area is a small section, called a "jog" on the original plans, that extends to the north and currently provides a single space for ADA accessible parking. Poured concrete curbing borders the parking area. The exit is on the west end of the parking area and curves south to connect back with Richardson Avenue.

Sidewalks parallel the north and south sides of the parking area and provide pedestrian access from the parking area to the tower. The north sidewalk has been recently reconstructed with

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square granite pavers. Along its eastern end, a stone wall that predates the existing parking area parallels the sidewalk. The south sidewalk is concrete aggregate and extends southeast past the parking spaces for approximately 40 feet before turns northeast. Here, pedestrians must cross the exit road toward the Observation Tower before the sidewalk continues on the opposite (north) side of the road.

A drop inlet is located on the west corner of the parking area. An additional drop inlet is located on the southeast side of the entrance to the parking area. Both inlets are covered by metal grates. The outlets, specified in plans as having rubble masonry headwalls, were not located.

Rodman Avenue Bridge (1 contributing structure)

The Rodman Avenue Bridge was constructed in 1965-1966 and it carries Rodman Avenue over the new Burnside Bridge bypass and Sherricks Run near the Sherrick Farm.⁴¹ Once across the bridge, visitors can turn east to visit the Burnside Bridge Overlook, or continue west and then south on Branch Avenue. The bridge was designed by the EODC and constructed by Dewey Jordon, Inc. of Frederick, Maryland, who was also contracted to build the Route 65 bypass and a new bridge over Antietam Creek for the Burnside Bridge bypass.⁴² Work began in 1965 and construction was completed in 1966.

The two-lane, T-beam bridge has three spans and is constructed of cast-in-place concrete. The bridge has rounded concrete piers and simple concrete wing walls and abutments. The deck of the bridge is lined with an aluminum guard rail. Timber approach guardrails extend from the bridge north along Rodman Avenue.

Prior to the construction of the bridge, Rodman Avenue turned to the west and then gradually south before its intersection with Burnside Bridge Road. The construction of the Burnside Bridge Road bypass eliminated the bend in Rodman Avenue. At this location the road continues straight and over the bypass via the Rodman Avenue Bridge to its connection with the Old Burnside Bridge Road.

Burnside Bridge (Tour Stop 9)

Summary/Overview

Along with the Dunker Church, Burnside Bridge is one of the most recognizable structures on the battlefield. The bridge crosses Antietam Creek in the southeastern portion of the battlefield and was the site of a critical action during the battle. Directly prior to the Mission 66 improvements, visitors accessed the bridge from Burnside Bridge Road, a county road that traveled from Sharpsburg toward Rohrsville, Maryland, and points east. Under the administration of the War Department, several monuments and cast-iron tablets were erected near the bridge in the late 19th and early 20th century on land deeded to the department. A former farm lane

⁴¹ PCP R-27, Project No. 7A1, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3044A, EODC, *Rodman Avenue Tour Road Bridge*, September 1963, on file ETIC.

⁴² Drawing No. ANTI-302-41907, National Park Service, prepared by the Bureau of Public Roads, *Plans for Project 3A1, 7A1, 10A2, Grading, Paving, Structures, and Other Work (Relocated Maryland State Route 65)(Relocated Rodman Avenue)(Relocated Burnside Bridge Road)*, 1964, on file ETIC.

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provided access by foot to the McKinley Monument (known as the McKinley Monument Walk), located on the west bank of Antietam Creek. A small parking area stood south of the bridge along the creek's east bank. Built in the 1940s, the parking area allowed visitors on the tour road to park and then turn around and head back over the bridge to finish the tour.⁴³

As part of the Mission 66 plan for Antietam the NPS removed regular local and commercial traffic over the bridge by way of a bypass road, preventing it from further deterioration. In order to improve the visitor experience in the Burnside Bridge area, the NPS also built a new interpretive area known as the Burnside Bridge Overlook on the bluff of the west side of Antietam Creek that offered views of the bridge. With the help of the Bureau of Public Roads, the NPS constructed the Burnside Bridge bypass between 1963 and 1964, which diverted traffic along the north side of the existing road, crossing Antietam Creek via a new bridge, and then south where it connected with the original alignment. After the bypass road was completed in 1964, the NPS transferred it to Washington County.

As a result of Mission 66 improvements, today visitors travel east from Branch Avenue along the historic alignment of Burnside Bridge Road. After reaching Antietam Creek, visitors turn south on an access road that leads up to the overlook and its adjacent parking area. Here, visitors can park and visit the overlook and interpretive exhibit, located on a ridge overlooking the creek. Visitors can also walk down to the bridge itself and the adjacent monuments via a path that after it descends the ridge, connects with the historic McKinley Avenue Walk. On the east side of the creek are additional monuments and a lower viewing terrace. Adjacent to the terrace is a stone wall along the creek, rebuilt during Mission 66. Also accessed from the Overlook Parking Area is the Snavelly Ford Trail, which travels south from the parking area and then follows Antietam Creek to the bridge. These improvements occurred in multiple phases and under multiple contracts/projects.⁴⁴

In 1963 the NPS awarded a contract to Treeland Nurseries, Inc. of Frederick, Maryland to complete the landscaping at the Visitor Center and the Burnside Bridge Overlook.⁴⁵ The superintendent's monthly reports note that the project was completed, however, no extant plant material remains and none of the existing vegetation appears to match the plans.⁴⁶

⁴³ National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI), Burnside Bridge Area* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 76.

⁴⁴ The projects are: parking area on east bank of Antietam Creek (1960, PCP R-21, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3013B, no longer extant); Overlook Parking Area and Entrance road (1962-1963, PCP R-16-1, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3026); Burnside Bridge Overlook and Walk (1963, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A); Reconstruction of historic stone wall (1963, PCP M-22-3, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A); Grounds Development Visitor Center and Burnside Bridge Overlook (Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3035); Trail to Snavelly Ford (1965, R-34, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102); Burnside Bridge Bypass (1965-1966, PCP R-27, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3037A, now owned by Washington County); Widening and Repaving of Burnside Bridge Road (1966; PCP R-31, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3111).

⁴⁵ Drawing No. NPS-ANT-3035, EODC, *Planting, Visitor Center – Burnside Bridge Area*, January 1962, on file ETIC; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 March 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁴⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 7 November 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Old Burnside Bridge Road Overpass (1 contributing structure)

Although not shown in the original plans for the bypass, an overpass was built as part of the construction of the Burnside Bridge bypass in 1964, directly west of the intersection of Rodman Avenue and Burnside Ridge Road.⁴⁷ Accessible from the south side of the Burnside Bridge bypass, the overpass allows for a gravel farm lane to pass under Old Burnside Bridge Road, providing access to the Otto Farm (Tract 18, the J. N. Dorsey Tract). The three-sided box overpass is constructed of concrete and is a single span.

Overlook Access Road (1 contributing structure)

In order to access the Burnside Bridge Overlook, Mission 66 plans for the site proposed a new vehicular road that would lead to an overlook and parking area (see below). Using portions of the historic Burnside Bridge Road, the new road branches off of the historic road bed north and west of the Burnside Bridge, moving south up the hill toward the Overlook Parking Area. The road circulates one-way traffic counterclockwise through the parking area around a teardrop-shaped median, before taking visitors back down the hill adjacent to the lane of traffic going up to the overlook. A rubble stone ditch, shown on the original plans, lines the west side of the road and was built concurrently with the entrance road. The NPS contracted with Bester-Long, Inc. of Hagerstown, Maryland to construct the access road in 1962 and it was completed in 1963.⁴⁸

Overlook Parking Area (1 contributing structure)

Built in 1962-1963 and included with the contract for the overlook access road, the Burnside Bridge Overlook and Parking Area is located in the southwest portion of the battlefield on a knoll overlooking the Burnside Bridge.⁴⁹ The construction of this feature dramatically changed the manner in which visitors experienced the space, as they gained the vantage of the Burnside Bridge from that of the Confederate forces, a marked difference from earlier interpretive efforts at the bridge, which happened from the vantage point of Union forces.

The overlook parking area consists of a central teardrop-shaped median, oriented with the curve facing south and the point at the northern entrance into the parking area. Around this central median, one-way vehicular circulation follows the form counterclockwise with diagonal parking for 12 cars placed around its southeast side. Jutting out from the west side of the curved southern edge of the parking area are three rectangular parking spaces designed for buses. Originally, the three parking spaces were stepped, however, currently the two western spaces are the same size. The westernmost parking spot is now connected to a farm lane to the south via a short paved road spur. A curved grassy median separates the bus parking from the adjacent parking for personal vehicles. An information kiosk (not original) is located in the median. A concrete aggregate sidewalk lines the south edge of the parking area and leads to the overlook. The parking area, except for the central median, has poured concrete curbing.

⁴⁷ "By-Pass at Antietam Will Preserve Burnside Bridge," *The Morning Herald* (Hagerstown) 19 May 1964:3.

⁴⁸ PCP R-16-1, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3026, EODC, *Tour Roads and Parking Areas Burnside Bridge*, 1961, on file ETIC.

⁴⁹ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3026, EODC, *Tour Roads and Parking Areas Burnside Bridge*, 1961, on file ETIC.

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On the north end of the east side of the parking lot is a wider, triangular shaped section of sidewalk that is lined by an L-shaped, irregular coursed fieldstone wall that is approximately 3 feet high and has raked mortar joints. On the south end of the sidewalk is the path and steps down to the overlook and bridge (see below).

A metal grate drop inlet is located on the northern point of the median. A second similar inlet is located on the north corner of the parking area. The culverts share a single pipe outlet, which is located along the east side of the entrance road near the exit to the parking area. An additional metal grate drop inlet is located on the southwest corner of the parking area. Plans show the outlet/headwall further south, but it was not located.

Rifle Pit Overlook (Upper Terrace) and Burnside Bridge Walk (1 contributing structure)

The Rifle Pit Overlook, also known in plans as the Upper Terrace, is located below the parking area to the east and accessed via a curved sidewalk from the parking area that follows the topography of the hillside. At the entrance to the sidewalk and near the parking area, the path steps down and is flanked by irregularly coursed fieldstone walls. The overlook stands directly above the location of an abandoned quarry that the Confederate soldiers used as rifle pits, positioning themselves on high ground above the bridge and creek. Thus, the overlook physically immerses visitors into the site. The overlook was built in 1963.⁵⁰

The Rifle Pit Overlook consists of a flagstone terrace in the shape of an irregular polygon. Along the east side of the terrace, which overlooks Burnside Bridge, are two stone retaining walls adjoined at an approximate 120 degree angle. On the terrace, the wall is approximately 14 inches high on its northern end. The remainder of the wall is approximately 30 inches high. A cut out near the junction of the two walls holds an interpretive wayside panel. Although the panel itself is not original, an interpretive panel, providing information on the "Bottleneck at the Bridge," was at this same location shortly after the construction of the overlook. An additional interpretive sign (not original) sits on top of the wall to the north. Originally below this sign was an audio box, which has been removed and the wall infilled with fieldstone. Adjacent to the audio box was a cutout in the wall, similar but smaller than the one that remains, that held a historic photograph of Burnside Bridge. This cutout has been infilled with stone.

An L-shaped, irregularly coursed fieldstone wall, also with raked mortar joints, extends around the west side of the terrace and measures approximately 30 inches tall. Near the center of the longer, western section of wall is a wooden bench that is cantilevered out from the wall. While not the original bench, it has been replaced in-kind.

On the east side of the walk to the overlook is a stairway, leading down to a path that connects to the McKinley Avenue Walk. This path also follows the contours of the hillside. Irregular coursed fieldstone retaining walls line sections of the path. Post and rail fencing, not in the original plans, have been added along portions of the walkway to keep visitors on the path. A stone gutter, shown on the original plans, is located on the north side of a retaining wall on the west side of the path.

⁵⁰ Contract 14-10-0529-2510, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, EODC, *Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction*, 1962, on file ETIC.

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Stone Wall East Side of Antietam Creek (1 contributing structure)

Mission 66 improvements to the Burnside Bridge area also included the reconstruction of the historic stone wall along the east bank of Antietam Creek, which began in 1963.⁵¹ The wall is constructed of fieldstone with raked mortar joints and is approximately 4 feet high with a cap of upright stones. The wall is slightly battered and ranges from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet 3 inches wide.⁵²

Monument Plaza (Lower Terrace) (1 contributing structure)

The Monument Plaza at Burnside Bridge, also known as the lower terrace, was constructed as a part of the Mission 66 redevelopment and was built at the same time as the overlook (upper terrace) in 1963.⁵³ Located on the east bank of Antietam Creek and north of the bridge, the terrace accommodates four monuments, the 51st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, the 35th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 2nd Maryland Infantry, and the 21st Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, which were removed from each of the four corners of the bridge in 1963. The monuments stand in a curved row along a paved walk that leads from the bridge northwest to the lower plaza. On the opposite side of the walk are three wayside panels, not original to the site. The lower plaza is roughly rectangular and constructed of poured concrete with a heavy broom finish. Along the west side of the plaza is the restored stone wall. Two concrete benches are at a 90-degree angle at the northern end of the plaza to provide guest a means to reflect on the bridge and monuments and also visually define of the plaza. The Modernist benches have bases constructed of stacked concrete slabs of various sizes. The seats of the benches are poured, unfinished concrete. On the seat of the southern bench is a concrete slab that originally held an interpretive marker, evidenced in original plans and by a portion of the metal bracket that remains in the bench.

Snavelly Ford Trail (1 contributing structure)

Construction of the Snavelly Ford Trail began in 1965 and was completed in 1966.⁵⁴ The intent of the trail was to enable visitors to walk along the west bank of Antietam Creek from Burnside Bridge to within sight distance of Snavelly Ford. The path also parallels the movement of the Rodman's Division, which with the reinforcements of Col. Hugh Ewing's brigade, crossed at Snavelly Ford to attack Confederates forces.⁵⁵

The 1.8-mile unpaved trail begins at a southern point of the Burnside Bridge Overlook Parking Area, following the topography of the ridge south and east to the Georgians Overlook, the location from which southern troops fired down upon Federal troops approaching the bridge. The course of the trail continues south following the western bank of Antietam Creek to Snavelly

⁵¹ PCP M-22-3, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, EODC, *Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction*, 1962, on file ETIC.

⁵² Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, EODC, *Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction*, 1962, on file ETIC.

⁵³ Contract 14-10-0529-2510, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, EODC, *Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction*, 1962, on file ETIC.

⁵⁴ PCP No. R-34, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction, Working Drawings*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

⁵⁵ Snell and Brown, 353.

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Ford, the location where several divisions of Union soldiers crossed the creek in a flanking maneuver and made their way up the hill toward Sharpsburg. The trail continues north to an overlook with a glimpse of the ford. The trail continues for approximately half a mile adjacent to the historic Otto farm fields prior to returning to the Burnside Bridge Overlook Parking Area.⁵⁶

Georgian Overlook (1 contributing structure)

The Georgian Overlook, proposed and constructed during the Mission 66 period, is located along the Snavelly Ford Trail, southeast of the Overlook Parking Area on a ridge west of Antietam Creek with a vantage point of the valley of Burnside Bridge. In the interpretive plans, the overlook was labeled “As the Georgians Saw It,” its purpose to provide visitors with an understanding of why the Confederate position was so detrimental to the Union forces during the fighting associated with Burnside Bridge.

The overlook has a metal wayside, likely installed in conjunction with the construction of the Georgians Overlook and Snavelly Ford Trail in 1965 - the text on the wayside matches the text shown on the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan.” However, the plans also show a stone wall with a “viewing device” and the marker.⁵⁷ The wall and viewing device were not erected.

Burnside Bridge: Historic Associated Features (1 contributing site)

Views

The Burnside Bridge Overlook provides multiple views of the surrounding landscape. From the Burnside Bridge Walk, heading down to the Upper Terrace, visitors have views to the open agricultural fields to the southeast. The Upper Terrace of the overlook allows for views east toward Antietam Creek and Burnside Bridge, particularly during months of minimal or no foliage. On the lower terrace, visitors have views of the bridge, the adjacent stone wall that lines the creek, and west toward the knoll of the overlook. The Georgian Overlook allows for views northwest toward Antietam Creek.

Branch Avenue (part of contributing circulation system)

Branch Avenue is a one-way road that leads south from its intersection with Old Burnside Bridge Road and the Rodman Avenue Bridge and then travels west to connect with Harpers Ferry Road, the end of the tour route.⁵⁸ The Mission 66-era Master Plan for Antietam stated that the intersection of Branch Avenue and Burnside Bridge Road was “on a short steep hill” and that cars had to “enter it at an awkward position and have to negotiate this brief stretch of road in second gear.” In addition, buses had difficulty with the road and it was very hazardous during bad weather.⁵⁹ Consequently, Mission 66 improvements as part of the Burnside Bridge bypass

⁵⁶ Burnside Bridge CLI, 105.

⁵⁷ The Superintendent’s monthly report for March 1967 mentions that tree clearing occurred at the overlook, confirming that it had been built at this time. Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 April 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland; National Park Service, “Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan,” 1961, on file ETIC.

⁵⁸ Gary Scott, *Antietam National Battlefield*, National Register Nomination Form (Washington, DC: National Park Service 1982), 21.

⁵⁹ National Park Service, *Antietam National Battlefield Master Plan, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

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changed the alignment of the road to eliminate the awkward intersection and improve the grade.⁶⁰

Once crossing the Rodman Avenue Bridge, visitors now turn east toward Burnside Bridge, or west to continue on Branch Avenue. Here, Branch Avenue curves to the west for a more gentle approach and grade up the hill. It then travels south where it connects with the road's original alignment. The historic road trace of the original Branch Avenue alignment remains and is lined by a fieldstone wall and several monuments. A small parking area is located near the intersection of the Mission 66-era alignment and Branch Avenue, near the 36th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Monument, and serves as Stop 10 on the tour road marking the Final Attack (see below).

The new alignment was completed in July 1964. Shortly after, the NPS constructed concrete ditches along the road to prevent damage to the road shoulder.⁶¹ The concrete ditches were recently reconstructed with stone, similar to the historic stone ditches built by the War Department along Rodman Avenue.

The Final Attack (Tour Stop 10) (1 non-contributing structure)

The tour stop and pull-off for the Final Attack stands on the east side of Branch Avenue, south of its intersection with Old Burnside Bridge Road and at the intersection of Branch Avenue's new road alignment and the original road alignment. This tour stop allows visitors to look roughly east across the hills where Gen. Burnside marched his men toward Sharpsburg, threatening to cut off Lee's line of retreat.

This parking area was not included in the original plans for the tour route and was likely constructed after it was clear that the NPS would not be able to acquire the land around the New York 9th Infantry Monument (see Hawkins' Zouaves below) where they had planned an interpretive exhibit for the "Last Phase of Battle." A 1966 photograph illustrates several artillery in the former Branch Avenue road trace and a small gravel pull-off or shoulder near the intersection of the new alignment and the original alignment. The stop does not appear on a 1975 brochure for the battlefield and tour route, but a photograph indicates that by 1980 the pull-off area had been paved.⁶² Because it does not appear to have been planned and built as part of Mission 66, the pull-off is non-contributing.

Hawkins' Zouaves Monument Walk (1 contributing structure)

The Hawkins' Zouaves Monument is located between Branch Avenue and Harpers Ferry Road. During Mission 66 the NPS planned a terrace and overlook for the monument that would interpret the last phase of the Battle of Antietam. However, the NPS was not able to acquire the

⁶⁰ PCP No. R-27, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3037A, EODC, *Burnside Bridge Road Bypass & Tour Road Connection*, 1963.

⁶¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 August 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

⁶² Photograph ANTI(P)08C91(1966); Photograph No. ANTI(P)18B288 (1980), on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

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adjacent property. Consequently, improvements were limited to a new walk to the monument, built in 1966.⁶³

The walk takes visitors east from Harpers Ferry Road and then north to the monument. As part of Mission 66, the existing walk was widened and resurfaced with bituminous concrete.

Antietam National Cemetery (Stop 11)

Improvements at the National Cemetery during Mission 66 were limited to a wayside north of the Cemetery Lodge and rehabilitation work on the rostrum. The wayside appears to be no longer extant, although a new wayside stands in its general location.

The rostrum is an open structure that consists of a wood pergola with a brick platform and columns. The structure serves as a speaker platform for special events and ceremonies and was built by the War Department in 1879 following standard plans designed by the Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs. In 1964-1965 the NPS completed a historic structures report and in 1967 rehabilitated the rostrum. Records indicate that the work involved removing all brickwork, capstones, and the stairs, relaying and replacing the bricks and stairs, and rebuilding the pergola. The work did not impact the overall integrity of the structure, although some work, such as the brick platform and details of the pergola, were not rebuilt to the original design. The structure underwent a major rehabilitation in 2008. At this time the brick platform of the structure was removed and returned to grass and the beams of the pergola were remade to the original specifications.⁶⁴

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

The Mission 66 resources at Antietam National Battlefield retain integrity in the areas and period of significance defined in Section 8 of this additional documentation (1960-1967). Overall, the Mission 66 resources at Antietam convey their historical significance through location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, setting, and association. Minimal changes have been made to the resources. For the most part, changes include the replacement of wayside panels, resurfacing of sidewalks, and the removal of small-scale features, such as the sighting device at the Cornfield Avenue Interpretive Exhibit and the audio devices at Cornfield Avenue, Philadelphia Brigade Park, Bloody Lane, and Burnside Bridge. Few of the features in their entirety, with the exception of an interpretive exhibit at Philadelphia Brigade Park, have been completely removed or altered.

The Antietam National Battlefield Visitor Center generally retains physical integrity to the period of significance. While alterations have occurred, including several additions, they have largely been complementary to the original massing, materials, and appearance of the original building. The entrance and sequence through the building for the most part have also been

⁶³ PCP No. R-31, Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, *Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins' Zouaves Walks*, March 1966.

⁶⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 April 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland; Snell and Brown, 356-357; National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey, *Antietam National Cemetery, Rostrum* (HABS MD-936-D) (National Park Service 2009),

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retained, with the exception of the relocation of the auditorium and the opening of the bookstore. However, these features do maintain the general characteristics of the original plan, as they are accessed from the main lobby.

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INVENTORY OF RESOURCES

The following resource inventory lists all of the countable resources associated with Mission 66 at Antietam National Battlefield. Road improvements made as part of Mission 66 are included in the general circulation system, are counted as one contributing structure.

RESOURCE NAME	LOCATION	DATE	TYPE	STATUS	PREVIOUSLY LISTED
Visitor Center	Visitor Center	1961-1962	Building	Contributing	
Visitor Center Parking Area and Walks	Visitor Center	1962-1963	Structure	Contributing	
"Antietam Remembered" Trail	Visitor Center	1963	Structure	Contributing	
Entrance Sign	Visitor Center	1966	Object	Non-Contributing	
Visitor Center Historic Associated Features Vegetation Views and Vistas Flag Pole	Visitor Center	1963	Site	Contributing	
Dunker Church	Dunker Church	1962	Building	Contributing	Yes
North Woods/Mansfield Avenue Parking Area	Poffenberger Farm/Mansfield Avenue	1960	Structure	Contributing	
North Woods/Mansfield Avenue Historic Associated Features Views and Vistas	Poffenberger Farm/Mansfield Avenue	1960	Site	Contributing	
East Woods Pull-Off (Tour Stop 3)	Cornfield Avenue	ca. 1984-1988	Structure	Non-Contributing	
The Cornfield Stone Interpretive Exhibit and Sidewalks	The Cornfield	1967	Structure	Contributing	
The Cornfield Parking Area	The Cornfield	1960/1967	Structure	Contributing	
Cornfield Avenue Historic Associated Features Views and Vistas	The Cornfield	1960/1967	Site	Contributing	
Starke Avenue Picnic Area	Starke Avenue and Route 65	1967	Site	Non-Contributing	
Philadelphia Brigade Park Interpretive Exhibit and Walks	Philadelphia Brigade Park	1967	Structure	Contributing	
Philadelphia Brigade Park Parking Area	Philadelphia Brigade Park	1960/1967	Structure	Contributing	

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RESOURCE NAME	LOCATION	DATE	TYPE	STATUS	PREVIOUSLY LISTED
Mumma Cemetery Pull-Off	Mumma Lane	1966	Structure	Contributing	
Roulette Farm Pull-Off	Mumma Lane	1965-1966	Structure	Contributing	
Bloody Lane Overlook and Walks	Richardson Avenue	1967	Structure	Contributing	
Bloody Lane Overlook Parking Area	Richardson Avenue	1966/1967	Structure	Contributing	
Bloody Lane Overlook Historic Associated Features Views and Vistas	Richardson Avenue	1966/1967	Site	Contributing	
Observation Tower Parking Area	Observation Tower/Bloody Lane	1966	Structure	Contributing	
Rodman Avenue Bridge	Rodman Avenue/Sherrick Farm	1965-1966	Structure	Contributing	
Burnside Bridge Overlook Access Road	Burnside Bridge	1962	Structure	Contributing	
Burnside Bridge Overlook Parking Area	Burnside Bridge	1962	Structure	Contributing	
Rifle Pit Overlook and Burnside Bridge Walk	Burnside Bridge	1963	Structure	Contributing	
Burnside Bridge Lower Terrace/Monument Plaza	Burnside Bridge	1963	Structure	Contributing	
Snavelly Ford Trail	Burnside Bridge	1965-1966	Structure	Contributing	
Georgian Overlook	Burnside Bridge	1965-1966	Structure	Contributing	
Stone Wall Along Antietam Creek	Burnside Bridge	1963	Structure	Contributing	
Old Burnside Bridge Overpass	Burnside Bridge	1964	Structure	Contributing	
Burnside Bridge Historic Associated Features Views and Vistas	Burnside Bridge	1962-1963	Site	Contributing	
The Final Attack Pull-Off (Tour Stop 10)	Branch Avenue	c. 1966-1980	Structure	Non-Contributing	
Hawkins' Zouaves Monument Walk	Harpers Ferry Road	1966	Structure	Contributing	
Tour Road/Circulation System		Various	Structure	Contributing	Yes

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ARCHITECTURE

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Period of Significance

1960-1967

Significant Dates

1960

1961-1962

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

National Park Service/Eastern Office of Design and Construction

William Cramp Scheetz Jr.

Harpers Ferry Job Corps

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The Antietam National Battlefield is locally significant under Criterion A (events) in the area of planning and community development (park planning) for its association with Mission 66-era planning of the National Park Service (NPS). The collection of resources at Antietam from this era, with its Mission 66 Visitor Center as the anchor, illustrates many important facets of the Mission 66 program, including new visitor centers and services, improved visitor accessibility for automobiles, new and expanded interpretation, and a focus on historic preservation. Antietam National Battlefield is also locally significant under Criterion C (architecture) for its Mission 66-era Visitor Center, which exemplifies the principles of the “Park Service Modern” style.

The recommended period of significance for the Mission 66 era at Antietam National Battlefield begins in 1960, the year that Mission 66 construction and land acquisition began at Antietam, and extends to 1967, which marks the completion of the Mission 66 program at Antietam.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

CRITERION A – PLANNING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (PARK PLANNING)

A significant example of the changing visions for national park planning and development during the period of significance¹

The Mission 66-era resources at Antietam National Battlefield, including the reconstructed Dunker Church, new pull-offs/parking areas and interpretive exhibits along the tour route, the improvements made to the tour route itself to improve conditions, and the construction of new roads to bypass important features of the battlefield – all anchored by the “Park Service Modern”-style Visitor Center – reflect the fundamental principles of the NPS’s Mission 66 program to modernize, enlarge, and revitalize the national park system by its 50th anniversary in 1966. These improvements to the battlefield, in addition to an aggressive land acquisition program that was also part of the Mission 66-era master plan for the battlefield, transformed Antietam National Battlefield for the modern visitor while preserving the significant aspects of the battlefield and its historic landscape.

The new Visitor Center at Antietam was the centerpiece of the Mission 66 era plan for the battlefield, its site not only chosen for its view of the battlefield, but also as the start of the tour route. Adjacent to the Visitor Center, the reconstructed Dunker Church also anchored the start of the self-guided driving tour and exemplified the Mission 66-era desire to restore and preserve the “historic scene” of the battlefield. Additional restoration/preservation efforts at Antietam,

¹ Carr et al, *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Santa Fe, New Mexico: National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office, 2015), 59.

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including the rehabilitation of Burnside Bridge and removal of non-historic buildings, furthered the efforts to restore the historic scene of the battlefield landscape at Antietam.

Improvements to the tour route was one of the main components of Antietam's Mission 66 program, following the goal to upgrade existing roads to accommodate modern vehicular traffic. In addition, pull-offs and parking areas along with necessary signs, markers, and interpretive exhibits, enhanced the tour road and visitor experience, which were all an integral part of the overall Mission 66 program. Additional road improvements focused on bypassing historically sensitive areas and limiting external traffic within the battlefield to further protect the battlefield's historic resources, such as Burnside Bridge. Trails that supplemented the tour road and accessed from the Visitor Center as well as the Burnside Bridge Overlook enhanced the visitors' experience at Antietam by providing a more intimate interaction with the historic landscape and monuments and memorials of the battlefield. These Mission 66-era changes marked a dramatic transformation in the Antietam National Battlefield landscape from the 19th- and early 20th-century improvements made by the War Department.

The Mission 66 resources at Antietam National Battlefield meet the registration requirements outlined for historic districts in the Multiple Property Documentation Form "National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources"²

CRITERION C – ARCHITECTURE

Significant for their association with the design precepts and construction techniques of the Modern Movement "Park Service Modern" style, practiced by National Park Service architects, landscape architects, planners, and historians during the Mission 66 era.³

Designed by architect William Cramp Scheetz Jr. in conjunction with the NPS Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC), the Antietam National Battlefield Visitor Center was one of more than 100 visitor centers planned and built by the NPS as part of the Mission 66 program. Antietam's Visitor Center, built between 1961 and 1962, expresses many of the character-defining features of the NPS's Mission 66 visitor centers, a new building type developed by the NPS during this era. In particular, the building combined multiple visitor and administration functions in one space, including visitor services, restrooms, exhibit areas, an observation room and terrace, as well as administrative offices. The building also exhibits the distinct characteristics of the "Park Service Modern" style with its low, horizontal massing, flat roofs with overhanging eaves, and its observation room with window walls that offer visitors expansive views of the battlefield. The organization of the building's interior plan emphasized visitor flow, with its large open lobby that led visitors up to the observation room, down to the exhibit space, or to adjacent restrooms. In the lobby, Scheetz integrated the exterior landscape into the building by continuing the flagstone flooring and the stone walls from the exterior into the interior of the building.

In addition, the chosen site for the new visitor center at Antietam strongly reflects the objectives of the Mission 66 program. The NPS staff viewed the site of the visitor center as a powerful way

² Carr et al, 94-98.

³ Carr et al, 59.

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to interpret the battlefield and to connect the visitor to the site itself. Yet while displaying distinct characteristics of “Park Service Modern” style, the building was specifically designed and sited to be as inconspicuous as possible and to harmonize with the surrounding landscape, despite its prominent location. This was made possible by its low, elongated massing that was set into the hillside to give it a one-story appearance from the main elevation, and the architect’s use of local stone that made the building blend into the surrounding landscape and topography.

The site of the Antietam Visitor Center was not only chosen for its prominent view of the battlefield, but also for its location within the park itself, where it would anchor the battlefield tour route. A trail connecting visitors from the building to adjacent monuments and the Dunker Church were also an important part of the overall plan and an aspect of Mission 66 landscape design and planning. Landscape design for the visitor center and adjacent parking area enhanced the design of the visitor center. Native trees and shrubs were strategically planted to frame views from the building and to screen parked cars from drivers along Dunker Church Road.

The Antietam National Battlefield Visitor Center possesses the required characteristics for Mission 66 visitor centers listed in the Multiple Property Documentation Form “National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources.”⁴

HISTORIC CONTEXT

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MISSION 66 PROGRAM AND ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

“This is a Mission 66 Project.” Signs with this message became familiar to visitors of the national park system between 1956 and 1966 as visitor centers, parkways, auditoriums, and other facilities under construction all presented this “same, brief badge of identification.”⁵ The NPS’s “Mission 66” program was a 10-year capital initiative with the goal of adapting and enlarging the park system through infrastructure and facilities improvements, acquisition of new park lands, increased staff and training, and the construction of new buildings. Conceived by NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth during the early 1950s, the Mission 66 initiative intended to “modernize, enlarge, and even reinvent the park system” by 1966, the 50th anniversary of the NPS.⁶

Following World War II there was a massive influx of visitors to national parks across the country, a rise in visitation that NPS planners predicted would only continue. In 1942 the parks had been visited by 6 million people, but by 1946 visitation more than tripled to 22 million. By 1950 the number reached 33.2 million and NPS staff anticipated that by 1966 visitation would

⁴ Carr et al, 65-67.

⁵ National Park Service, *Mission 66 Progress Report* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1966), on file NPS Electronic Technical Information Center (ETIC).

⁶ Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 3; Judith H. Robinson, Tim Kerr, and Janel Crist Kausner (Robinson and Associates, Inc.) *Mission 66-Era Visitor Centers, Administration Buildings, and Public Use Areas in the National Capital Region*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2012 DRAFT), 2.

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rise to 80 million. These increasing numbers of visitors arrived at parks that had endured a long period of reduced funding.⁷

After the initial founding and development of the parks during the 1910s and 1920s, the NPS entered a sustained period of budgetary restriction during the Great Depression of the 1930s, World War II in the 1940s, and the Korean War in the early 1950s. During the 1930s and 1940s, these financial difficulties were offset to a degree by the contributions of New Deal programs such as the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps and by reduced visitation during World War II. However, with the sudden flood of new visitors in the decades following World War II, the already existing problems of deferred maintenance and staffing became acute. The federal government showed little interest in the matter. In 1955 the NPS's budget was only \$32.9 million, down from a 1940 budget of \$33.6 million, and staffing in 1955 remained near wartime levels.⁸

Wirth described the situation of America's parks in the January 1955 edition of *The Reader's Digest*:

It is not possible to provide essential services. Visitor concentration points can't be kept in sanitary condition. Comfort stations can't be kept clean and serviced. Water, sewer and electrical systems are taxed to the utmost. Protective services to safeguard the public and preserve park values are far short of requirements. Physical facilities are deteriorating or are inadequate to meet public needs. Some of the camps are approaching rural slums.⁹

Faced with a significant crisis in the national park system, Wirth and his staff crafted an ambitious solution: a long-range plan with a proposed budget and duration to address the NPS's current and developing needs. In early 1956 Wirth proposed a \$700 million program for improvements service-wide to President Dwight. D. Eisenhower and Congress, with points relating to increased resource access, improvements in staffing and utilities, and innovative new visitor facilities. Over the following decade, Congress would spend over \$1 billion for the expansion of buildings, parkland, and services across the NPS.¹⁰

⁷ Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics and the People* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 234; Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 3rd edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 64; William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (New York: Praeger Library of U.S. Government Departments and Agencies, 1972), 34; Lary M. Dilsaver, ed. *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 150.

⁸ Wirth, 237

⁹ Charles Stevenson, "The Shocking Truth About Our National Parks," *The Reader's Digest*, January, 1955, also quoted in Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*.

¹⁰ National Park Service, *Our Heritage* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1956); Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000), 3-5; Wirth, 238-254; Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 463.

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Figure 1. Sign in front of the site of the Antietam Visitor Center, 1962. Source: Hagerstown Daily Mail, 15 March 1962.

Antietam National Battlefield was one of the units within the national park system that greatly benefited from the Mission 66 program (Figure 1). While the Mission 66 plans for Antietam National Battlefield had several goals, the main objectives and accomplishments of the program were land acquisition, the construction of a new Visitor Center, and the improvement of the conditions and interpretation of the tour route. Many of the proposed improvements of Antietam's Mission 66 program emerged in earlier NPS planning efforts, but were made possible by Mission 66 funding and shaped by the preservation, interpretation, planning, and design philosophies of the Mission 66 era. The Mission 66 program ultimately transformed Antietam National Battlefield, expanding it from 195 acres to 790 acres with an additional 42 acres in scenic easements. With the help of Mission 66 appropriations, the NPS was able to not only preserve portions of the battlefield's historic landscape, but also improve visitor services and experience.

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THE NEED FOR MODERNIZATION AND A SUMMARY OF THE MISSION 66 PROGRAM AT ANTIETAM

On September 17, 1862, near the town of Sharpsburg, Maryland, and on the banks of Antietam Creek, the Union and Confederate armies fought the bloodiest single-day battle in American History. At the end of the day over 23,000 men were killed, wounded, or missing and General Robert E. Lee's Confederate troops had retreated back across the Potomac River into Virginia. Although the battle technically ended in a draw, the Confederate retreat gave President Abraham Lincoln the opportunity to issue the Emancipation Proclamation five days later on September 22, 1862, an important step toward ending slavery in the United States.

In 1865 the State of Maryland established Antietam National Cemetery for the purpose of interring Union soldiers who died during the Battle of Antietam. Twelve years later the Antietam National Cemetery Board turned the cemetery over to the United States Government. In 1890 Congress established Antietam National Battlefield (referred to subsequently as Antietam or the battlefield) to commemorate the battle. The War Department administered both the battlefield and the cemetery until 1933 when they were transferred to the NPS.¹¹

With limited funds, the War Department's plan for Antietam concentrated on identifying the troop movements and important sites within the battlefield, erecting iron tablets to mark and provide information on these locations, and purchasing strips of land for roads, which allowed visitors to travel to specific points of the battle. After the NPS took over the administration of the battlefield, it was able to acquire land through donation, thanks to a 1940 act (25 Stat. 357), but was not authorized to purchase land with federal funds.

By the 1950s Antietam remained little changed from its years under the purview of the War Department. The battlefield, including the cemetery, was only 195 acres and predominately consisted of the War Department-era roads and their right-of-ways. The Dunker Church, one of the most iconic structures from the Battle of Antietam, remained a ruin, despite years of efforts by the NPS and the Washington County Historical Society to reconstruct the building. Visitors to the battlefield began their tour at its small museum on the second floor of the Lodge at the National Cemetery, which did not provide suitable space to adequately interpret the battlefield and properly display exhibits and museum collections. Suburban encroachment from Sharpsburg threatened the agricultural landscape of the battlefield, which had remained remarkably unchanged for almost 100 years.¹²

The initiation of the Mission 66 program by Director Wirth in the summer of 1955 coincided with an administrative change in the NPS, which dramatically impacted Antietam and improved the operation and development of the battlefield. On July 1 the NPS divided Region One, which contained parks all along the East Coast except for National Capital Parks around Washington, DC, into two regions. The new Region One, headquartered in Richmond, Virginia, now administered the parks in the southeastern United States and the new Region Five, headquartered

¹¹ Snell and Brown, xvii.

¹² *Prospectus for Mission 66, Antietam National Battlefield Site and Cemetery*, 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Frederick Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus Antietam National Battlefield Site," 31 July 1957, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

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in Philadelphia, administered parks in the northeastern and Ohio Valley states, which included Antietam. With this reorganization, regional staff were able to concentrate their efforts on considerably fewer parks than before. In particular, the new regional director, Daniel J. Tobin, and his assistant director, George A. Palmer, were both interested in the planning and development of Antietam.¹³ Initially Harry W. Doust, who began his role as superintendent in August 1950, led the Mission 66 effort at Antietam.¹⁴

Also driving the effort at Antietam was the centennial of the Civil War (1961-1965), which overlapped the Mission 66 program. The NPS anticipated a 50 percent increase in visitors at its battlefields and Civil War areas during the centennial years and a 25 percent increase in the following years. However, the development and interpretation of many of the NPS Civil War battlefields, like Antietam, had changed little since the 19th century. With Mission 66, the NPS envisioned having every Civil War-era site ready for the increased visitation with improvements such as the acquisition of additional land and the construction of visitor centers and roads.¹⁵

As interest in the Civil War grew in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, communities across the country established Civil War Round Tables, independent organizations that shared a common interest in the history of the Civil War. Along with the NPS and others, the round tables successfully lobbied Congress to establish the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, created by public law in 1957 (PL 85-105). The NPS served as the administrative agency for the commission and in order to ensure the coordination of the centennial activities of both the NPS and the commission, the NPS was “authorized to undertake as part of the Mission 66 program, the further preservation and development of such battlefields and sites, at such time and in such manner as will insure that a fitting observance may be held at each such battlefield or site as its centennial occurs during the period 1961-1965.”¹⁶ As stated by Susan Trail, current superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield, in *Remembering Antietam*, “Thus, from the very beginning, the Centennial and Mission 66 became linked together, especially with the placement of the Civil War Centennial Commission under the oversight of the NPS.”¹⁷

Regarding Antietam National Battlefield in 1957, Regional Director Tobin stated his intentions for the Mission 66 program at the battlefield,

With the advent of the 100th anniversary of this battle in 1962 it is proposed to program sufficient funds to complete Mission 66 for the area by this time. This can only be done by taking advantage of what is already proposed. The acquisition of additional land may

¹³ Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, *Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service 1986), 248.

¹⁴ Snell and Brown, 248.

¹⁵ Wayne Chrismer, “Mission 66: To Make Your Civil War Tour More Enjoyable,” *Civil War Times Illustrated* (June 1961):12; Carr, 192-193.

¹⁶ Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press: 2007), 25-26; Victor Gondos Jr., “Karl S. Betts and the Civil War Centennial Commission,” *Military Affairs* 27 (Summer 1963): 52-54.

¹⁷ Susan W. Trail, “Remembering Antietam: Commemoration and Preservation of a Civil War Battlefield” (PhD diss. University of Maryland 2005), 380.

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take more than the few short years before us, and we feel that the present land in Federal ownership should be utilized to fullest advantage.¹⁸

Consequently, the NPS and local organizations hoped to have many of the proposed Mission 66 projects at Antietam finished in time for the centennial of the battle. It turned out that this goal was overly ambitious and very few projects were completed by September 17, 1962.

Since many of the Mission 66 improvements at Antietam were dependent upon land acquisition, preliminary surveys and conceptual plans were often completed early on but the projects were not executed until years later after land acquisition was complete. In other instances, plans for specific projects, such as additional interpretive sites along the tour route, had to be modified or were never executed because the land was not acquired. While many of the parks within the national park system continued to complete projects identified during Mission 66 planning as late as 1972, the majority of the projects at Antietam were complete by 1967 and the remaining were stymied as a result of a cap placed on land acquisition. Because construction projects occurred when land and funds were available, the history below is primarily organized by major themes and then chronologically.

MISSION 66 PLANNING EFFORTS AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Mission 66 Prospectus (1955-1957)

While the projects funded and completed under the Mission 66 era at Antietam transformed the battlefield, many of the improvements were conceptualized decades earlier. When the NPS took over the administration of Antietam National Battlefield and Cemetery in 1933, the new NPS management placed an increased focus on accommodating the visiting public. This emphasis on visitor experience resulted in the need for new facilities at Antietam, including comfort stations and parking lots, as well as improvements to the War Department roads for automobile traffic. Even as many other battlefield parks were able to make substantial improvements through Public Works programs of the 1930s and early 1940s, little progress was made at Antietam since the NPS was unable to acquire land.¹⁹ By the time the Mission 66 program was implemented, Antietam needed an updated comprehensive plan that would not only protect the battlefield from infringing development, but also outline the improvement to the battlefield's facilities in anticipation of the rise in visitors from the centennial.

In June 1955 NPS Director Conrad Wirth asked all NPS superintendents to submit a Mission 66 prospectus. General guidance for the prospectuses asked each park to first "determine and state the important park resources." Then, planners were to "fix a road and trail system" that would allow visitors to "see, experience, and enjoy the values to be derived from" the resources. While in many cases the road systems already existed, they often required improvements, realignments, or extensions. The park was then to "determine what visitor facilities, other than roads and trails" would allow visitors to not only enjoy the park's resources, but also meet requirements to protect

¹⁸ Memo from Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to Director of the National Park Service Conrad Wirth, 11 January 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹ *Trail, Remembering Antietam*, 327.

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the resources and provide visitor services. Finally, the park was to recommend what land acquisition was needed.²⁰

Superintendent Doust submitted the initial Mission 66 Prospectus for Antietam in late July 1955.²¹ The plan focused on the threat of modern encroachment in the form of “ribbon” development along the highways leading into Sharpsburg and a “very cheap housing development” along the southern end of the battlefield. As Superintendent Doust stated in the prospectus, “It is easy to visualize what will happen if we are not able to stop this buying up of lands along the highway of sufficient depth to discourage this sort of thing. If allowed to continue, our battlefield will soon be hidden from the public eye except along our battlefield tour route. . .”²²

For new development at the battlefield, the 1955 prospectus focused on the construction of a museum-administration building (later called a visitor center), which had been proposed over a decade earlier. Still not certain was the location of the new building. While Doust noted that a site adjacent to the New York Monument along Hagerstown Pike was the proposed location, he advised a restudy of the site since he believed a site near the National Cemetery would be ideal since many visitors first came to the cemetery area, the land would cost less, and a museum could be added to the present National Cemetery Lodge. Doust stated, “To say that the proposed new location is more in the center of the battlefield is open to debate. There is no question that it would be easier and cost less to operate if the proposed museum was located next to the [existing] Administration-Museum Building in the National Cemetery.”²³

The plan also identified the need to improve two steep hills that were hazardous to visitors on the tour route, one at the intersection of Richardson Avenue and Boonsboro Road near the National Cemetery and the other at the intersection of Rodman Avenue and Branch Avenue, near Burnside Bridge Road.²⁴ Other proposed improvements included in the initial prospectus were the planting of new trees in the National Cemetery and Philadelphia Brigade Park, the construction of additional cannon carriages to mark battery positions and to mount the park’s existing cannons, and the razing of the foundations on the Spong Farm that would be used to rebuild the stone wall along Antietam Creek adjacent to Burnside Bridge.²⁵

Following recommendations from the Washington Office and the Regional Office, a revised version of the prospectus was released in April 1956.²⁶ In June the NPS issued a press release

²⁰ Carr, 84.

²¹ Memorandum from the Acting Regional Director, Region Five, to Director Wirth, 21 July 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, College Park, Maryland.

²² *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²³ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁶ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 20 April 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 43, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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that outlined the general goals of the Mission 66 program at Antietam to the public. The highlighted projects included the construction of the Visitor Center, the improvement of roads to ease traffic to and from the new Visitor Center, the expansion and development of utilities to support the new facilities, the installation of interpretive markers and the purchasing of cannon carriages as part of the interpretive program, the acquisition of additional land to protect historically significant areas, and the increase in personnel for interpretation and maintenance requirements. The prepared statement indicated that the total cost for all the improvements would be around \$11,000 for roads and trails and \$185,000 for buildings and utilities.²⁷ The *Washington Post* picked up the story as did local papers, including the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* and the *Hagerstown Morning Herald*.²⁸ In October Regional Landscape Architect Franklin Neubauer spoke to around 30 Washington County residents and explained the “government’s hopes and plans for Antietam under ‘Mission 66.’”²⁹

In late November 1956 a meeting was held at Antietam on the plan for the battlefield with staff from the NPS Director’s office, including Robert M. Coates from the Mission 66 committee and Roy E. Appleman, historian from the Division of Interpretation, staff from the NPS’s Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC), staff from the Region Five Office, and Superintendent Doust. Land acquisition and the need for corresponding legislation as well as the relocation of commercial roads off of the battlefield were two of the main points of initial discussion. The group then took a tour of the battlefield to “check the physical characteristics” and spent an hour discussing the interpretative plan and the location of the Visitor Center. While Superintendent Doust and Assistant Regional Director George A. Palmer made the case for the Visitor Center’s location near the National Cemetery, Appleman presented the case for the location of it near the New York Monument, stating that it offered a “marked advantage of a spectacular view of the field, proximity to battle action and ample area on which to place physical developments.” The group later made a visit to the New York Monument site as well as Burnside Bridge, where the group discussed the possibility of bypassing the structure and laying out a new road for commercial use.³⁰

At the end of the two-day meeting, the group reached several conclusions. First the group unanimously agreed that the NPS should acquire the land that extended from the Poffenberger Farm on the north to and including the Piper Farm adjacent to Boonsboro Pike to the south; west beyond Hagerstown Pike to include the Confederate positions and the present historic Hagerstown Pike itself; and east to protect the view of the tour route, but “not necessarily to Antietam Creek.” The group also agreed that Burnside Bridge should be maintained for visitor

²⁷ Department of the Interior Information Service, Fragale – Int. 2504, National Park Service, For Release Sunday, 3 June 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, College Park, Maryland.

²⁸ “\$200,000 Earmarked for Antietam Battlefield,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail* 31 May 1956:1; “\$200,000 Earmarked for Work at Antietam Battlefield,” *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 1 June 1956:3; “U.S. to Spend \$200,000 on Antietam Battle Site,” *Washington Post*, 3 June 1956:B1.

²⁹ Memorandum from Superintendent Doust to Director, National Park Service, 31 May 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 74, Folder A26, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; “Zoning of Land Proposed in Vicinity of Battlefield,” *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 1 November 1956:1.

³⁰ Memorandum to Director Wirth, Report of Master Plan Conference on Antietam NBS, 10 December 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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traffic, made possible by rerouting local traffic, and that sufficient land should be purchased to permit the construction of an overlook from the bluff on the east side of Antietam Creek. For the improved tour route, historic roads and lands were to be used in developing the route. The group noticed that it was taking the shape of a double loop (dumbbell) with its point of intersection near the National Cemetery at Boonsboro Pike (Figure 2). They also decided not to include the Dunker Church in the revised prospectus and that “the decision to reconstruct or not to reconstruct the church should be made from the standpoint of administration rather than planning.”³¹

The group did not make a final decision on the location of the Visitor Center at the meeting, but reviewed plans developed by the EODC that showed two possible locations. The first, Scheme “A,” showed the building on the New York Monument site. While located on high land “providing almost a full sweep of the entire action,” the site required “some back tracking and crossing of traffic” on the tour route and occupied a prominent site on the battlefield that “could be considered an intrusion that would be disturbing.” The second, “Scheme B,” placed the Visitor Center near the National Cemetery, which was noted as favorable because of its location on a major traffic route and it gave visitors more freedom to decide how much of the tour they wanted to take.³²

In January 1957 Regional Director Tobin wrote to Director Wirth with several comments on the A and B schemes. Tobin’s office agreed with the land acquisition plan and that 1,000 acres of land were needed to preserve and protect the battlefield area. They also agreed on the proposed double-loop tour route and agreed that it should use as many of the existing roads as possible to avoid construction scars. The regional office did not recommend a closed tour route, believing that visitors should be able to leave the tour if they wished.³³

For the location of the Visitor Center, the regional office favored Plan “B”, which placed the building at the National Cemetery. In his memo to Director Wirth, Tobin stated, “There is a strong belief in this Office that the National Cemetery Headquarters Building and site should be converted to an adequate Visitor Center. If not, we recommend that the Visitor Center be located on the Boonsboro Road as near the National Cemetery as possible.”³⁴

³¹ Memorandum to Director Wirth, Report of Master Plan Conference on Antietam NBS, 10 December 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³² Memorandum to Director Wirth, Report of Master Plan Conference on Antietam NBS, 10 December 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Memorandum to Chief, Mission 66 Staff from Robert Coates, 6 December 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³ Memo from Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to Director of the National Park Service Conrad Wirth, 11 January 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁴ Memo from Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to Director of the National Park Service Conrad Wirth, 11 January 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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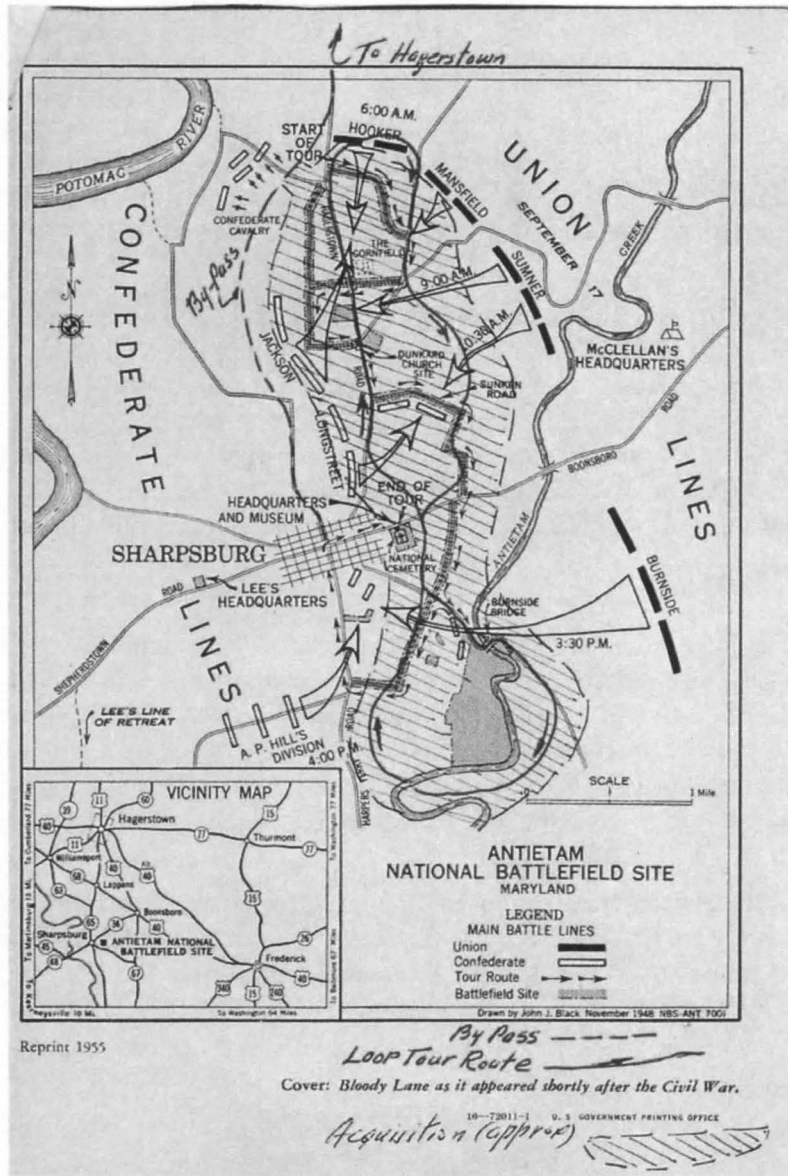


Figure 2. Map showing planned double loop tour route and bypass, 1956. Source: Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

Historian Appleman favored Plan "A", which located the Visitor Center on the New York Monument plot. As he stated in an earlier letter to the chief of the Division of Interpretation, arguing his stance:

For many years in the 1930s and the 1940s the then Region One staff, the Park Superintendent and Coordinating Superintendent (Superintendent Coleman, Gettysburg)

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studied this matter and reached the conclusion that the best site for a visitor center was on a high ridge giving a good – an excellent – overlook of the major part of the battlefield. This site is adjacent to the New York Monument tract on the Hagerstown Road. It is also opposite the site of the Dunkard Church. Its advantages are, that better than any other place it would give the best general view of the field of operations, and accordingly permit the best visitor comprehension from any one spot of what happened at Antietam. The site is near the center of the most important field of action. Located just off the Hagerstown Road, the most important and most heavily travelled one passing through the battlefield, it would be ideally suited for visitor convenience.³⁵

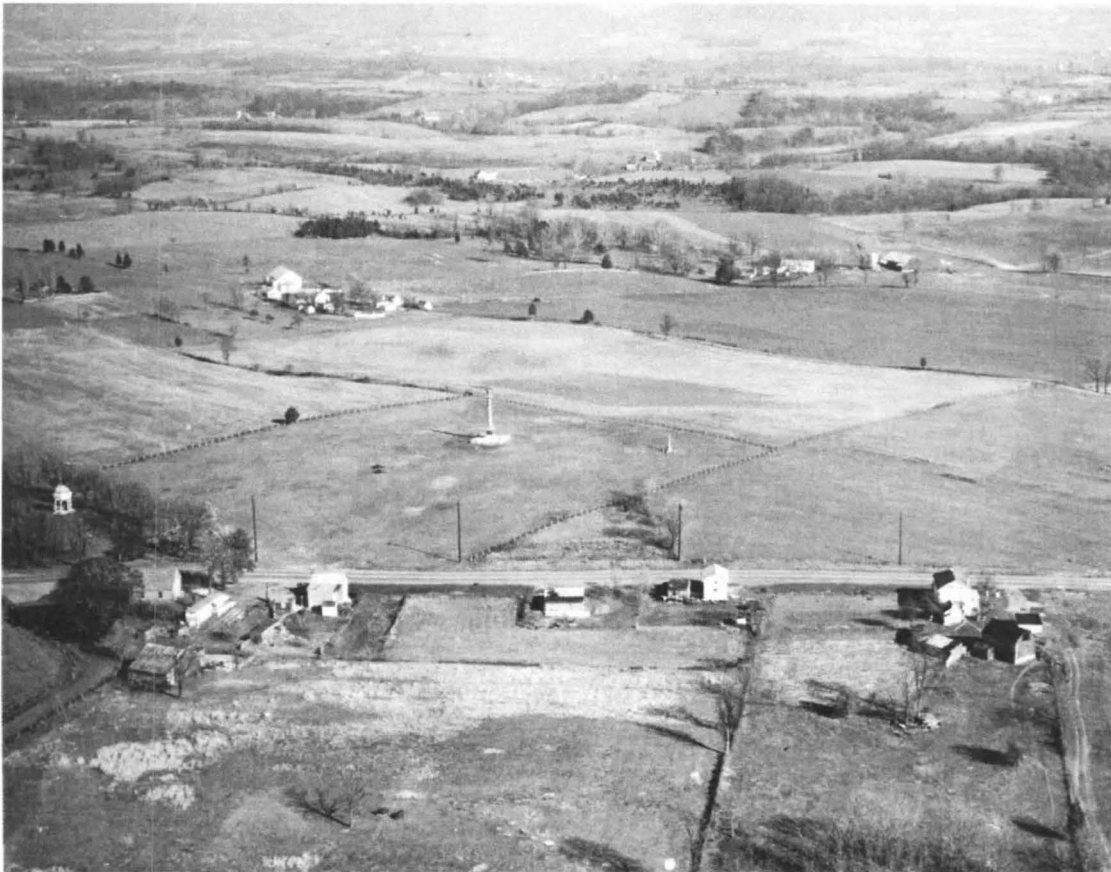


Figure 3. Site of the Visitor Center looking east, 1961. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

Through early 1957 Appleman continued to refute the recommendations of the regional director, who thought that the new Visitor Center should be located at the National Cemetery, and of Superintendent Doust, who favored a suggestion from the November meeting that placed the

³⁵ Snell and Brown, 294.

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Visitor Center on a site on the northwestern edge of the battlefield near the site of the Dunker Church.³⁶

In March 1957 Director Wirth responded to revisions to the Mission 66 Prospectus for Antietam. Wirth noted that a site at or near the New York Monument was selected for the Visitor Center and stated, “This location is well adapted to a building designed somewhat along the lines of the Yorktown Visitor Center in which visitors will go to the roof of the building to obtain a view of the battlefield and surrounding country. Visitors would receive initial orientation at this point, and then proceed northward via the West Woods to the Poffenberger Farm and swing south.”³⁷ In May 1957 Wirth approved the latest development plan that showed the Visitor Center adjacent to the New York Monument site³⁸ (Figure 3).

Final Prospectus

The final Mission 66 prospectus for Antietam, issued in December 1957, identified four major goals in order to “preserve this battlefield and to present it to the visiting public in such a manner that they will fully understand what took place here.” The first goal was to purchase all of the land where the battle occurred. The second was to build new roads and incorporate them into the existing tour route to allow the visitor to see the battlefield. The third goal was the construction of the new Visitor Center near the New York Monument. Finally, the fourth goal was to have a sufficient staff for the management, protection, interpretation, and maintenance of the battlefield.³⁹

The estimated cost for the entire development at the battlefield was \$2.2 million dollars, with \$1.8 million estimated for roads and trails and almost \$500,000 for buildings and utilities.⁴⁰ This greatly contrasted with the 1956 estimate of \$200,000 in funding with \$11,000 for roads and trails and \$185,000 needed for buildings and utilities.⁴¹ The proposed land acquisition amounts had also risen from around 130 acres to 1,600 acres, needed “In order to fully preserve and protect this historic site. . .” It also stated that the “interpretation of Antietam National Battlefield Site will be built around a Visitor Center and a road system to present a comprehensive battlefield tour . . . The present road system, laid out by the original Battlefield Commission, is still very effective and with minor extensions and reorientation to the new Visitor Center will very effectively serve as a means of interpreting the newly acquired land areas.”⁴² This plan

³⁶ Snell and Brown, 295-297.

³⁷ Memorandum from Director Wirth to Chief, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction 1 March 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁸ Drawing 302-3007C, EODC, *General Development Plan, Part of the Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1957, on file ETIC; Memorandum from Superintendent Doust to Director, 31 May 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 74, Folder A26, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁹ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, 2-3, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland.

⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Notice of Approval, Antietam National Battlefield Site Prospectus, 4 February 1958, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁴¹ “\$200,000 Earmarked for Antietam Battlefield,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 31 May 1956, 1.

⁴² *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, 3-4, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland.

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became the foundation of the Mission 66 improvements and subsequent master plans developed for Antietam in the next decade.

Master Plan Development (1962-1967)

According to the Administrative History (1986) of Antietam National Battlefield, “1962-1965 was the golden age of planning” at the battlefield. For the first time Antietam had a qualified staff to draft large sections of the battlefield’s master plan.⁴³ The NPS hired a new permanent historian for the battlefield in 1958, a position held by Robert L. Lagemann until 1967. New permanent positions also included a second historian, held by Dwight E. Stinson (1960-1962) and John W. Bryce (1962-1967), a park ranger, and a clerk-typist.⁴⁴

By the early 1960s, the plans for the Mission 66 improvements had become more concrete. The battlefield also had a clear direction for acquiring land after President Eisenhower signed into law “An Act to provide for the Protection and Preservation of Antietam National Battlefield” (74 Stat. 79) on April 22, 1960, allowing the NPS to purchase land for Antietam (see Land Acquisition below).⁴⁵ Since the final bill limited the amount of acreage the NPS could acquire to no more than 600 acres by fee simple or condemnation, several of the initial development plans were likely unobtainable. Regardless, Antietam continued to focus on improving the tour route and interpretation, as well as preserving the historic scene of the battlefield by completing projects where possible. Initially leading the effort in the 1960s was Antietam Superintendent Benjamin H. Davis (1960-1963), who replaced Doust in August 1960.

The draft 1962 Master Plan for Antietam primarily focused on the proposed bypass roads, the tour route, and the construction of the Visitor Center. The main goals of the development plan were to 1) acquire lands necessary to preserve the integrity of the battlefield and prevent encroachment, 2) construct bypasses and overpasses to separate local traffic from visitor tour use, 3) construct a visitor center and parking area for initial orientation and information, 4) construct a one-way visitor tour route supplemented by exhibits and interpretive aids illustrating the various phases of battle, and 5) use acquired farmsteads to meet staff housing needs.⁴⁶

The plan also detailed general development proposed for the battlefield. After receiving an orientation at the Visitor Center, the plan indicated that the visitor was to walk along a trail toward the Dunker Church, viewing monuments and interpretive markers along the way, and then return to the Visitor Center parking area. Then they were to drive the tour route, “stopping briefly to read the markers where there are one-car parallel pull-offs,” and “parking and getting out to view the field, maps, and illustrations, and hear taped messages or read texts at the major interpretive stops.”⁴⁷ Antietam staff made revisions to the plan and Superintendent Harold I.

⁴³ Snell and Brown, 362.

⁴⁴ Snell and Brown, 311.

⁴⁵ “Antietam Bill Sent to Floor of House,” *Washington Evening Star*, 20 January 1960:23, Snell and Brown, Administrative History, 306.

⁴⁶ *Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition*, Volume I (National Park Service 1962), on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

⁴⁷ *Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition*, 1962.

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Lessem (1963-1967), who took over the duties from Superintendent Davis in September 1963, submitted the plan to the regional director in December 1963.⁴⁸

In May 1964 NPS Director George B. Hartzog, who succeeded Conrad Wirth in 1964, issued a directive for all parks to prepare a revised “Master Plan Handbook” and to accelerate master plan preparation. The resulting 1965 Master Plan for Antietam followed the guidelines of the 1964 “Road to the Future” report that restated and revised the general principles of the Mission 66 program to coincide with Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall’s “New Conservation” and broader environmental movement. While the Mission 66 program continued to exist until 1966, “With a new director and a new rhetoric of park planning in place by the end of 1964, the Mission 66 program existed mainly as a congressional budgetary entity, as compilations of construction statistics, and in the memories of Wirth and his fellow National Park Service associates.”⁴⁹

Largely the goals of the 1965 Master Plan did not greatly differ from that of the previous plans. It clarified the intent of many of the proposed projects and described the desired general character of the battlefield. A “Development Analysis” created as part of the plan stated that the purpose of the proposed development at Antietam “is the preservation of the integrity of the historic scene and its interpretation in its entirety to the visitor.” This was to be accomplished through the acquisition of land by less than fee simple, a largely one-way vehicular tour route supplemented by appropriate exhibits and interpretive aids illustrating the various phases of the battle, and the construction of bypass roads to separate non-battlefield traffic from visitor use.⁵⁰ Although Director Hartzog never officially approved the final version of the plan, it was approved by the regional director and the chief of the EODC in the summer of 1965 and its policies applied between 1965 and 1967.⁵¹

EXPANDING THE BATTLEFIELD: MISSION 66 AND LAND ACQUISITION

Development Threats

Land acquisition was the utmost focus of Mission 66 efforts at Antietam and identified as one of the primary goals in its Mission 66 prospectus and the subsequent master plans. It was also one of the eight objectives of the NPS Mission 66 program nationwide and identified in *Our Heritage*, a NPS promotional booklet for the Mission 66 program, which stated that the goal was to, “Acquire lands within the parks and such other lands as are necessary for protection or use . . .”⁵² When NPS launched the Mission 66 program, the 195-acre Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery mostly consisted of roads and their adjacent right-of-ways, the Dunker Church site, Burnside Bridge, monument plots, and a small amount of farmland.

⁴⁸ Snell and Brown, 363.

⁴⁹ Carr et al, *National Park Service Mission 66 Era Resources*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Santa Fe, New Mexico: National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office, 2015), 44.

⁵⁰ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

⁵¹ Snell and Brown, 317.

⁵² National Park Service, *Our Heritage* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1956).

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Ultimately, the majority of the proposed Mission 66 improvements could not occur without the acquisition of additional land.

While the original War Department plan for Antietam worked for over 50 years because the area remained predominately rural, by the late 1940s residential development began to expand from Sharpsburg near the boundaries of the battlefield. Some local landowners found that they could make more money selling small lots to real estate companies than farming the land and houses and gas stations began appearing along the main roads to the battlefield.⁵³ In November 1947 Roy E. Appleman, at that time the NPS historian for Region One, urged the NPS to establish a land acquisition program for the battlefield after seeing three new houses under construction on Harpers Ferry Road adjacent to the battlefield. Appleman wrote to the regional director:

This new construction is fair warning of what may be expected to take place in the vicinity of Sharpsburg at an increasing tempo, as the years pass. Sharpsburg is situated in very picturesque country, and the surrounding land offers excellent building sites for residences. It is my belief that within a relatively few years the Sharpsburg area will be built up, either for permanent residences or for summer homes. This spreading-out building tendency has gone on at an accelerated rate of speed, drawing from the Washington area during and since [World War II]. Circumstances have left Sharpsburg and the adjoining countryside relatively unchanged from the Civil War period up to the present, but we cannot expect that this condition will continue very much longer. Time is running short for the Federal government to act in acquiring (while there is still time) sufficient lands at Antietam to make a battlefield park of historic ground. At the present time, the site is very little more than a ribbon of road. The War Department made a mistake in planning its land acquisition program at Antietam. The Park Service will have to recognize this fact and act quickly to correct it.⁵⁴

Although Appleman recognized the imminent threat, the NPS lacked the authority to purchase land for the battlefield. Legislation passed by Congress in 1940 (54 Stat. 212) only allowed the Secretary of the Interior to accept land through donation or donated funds, not purchase lands. In order to accomplish the land acquisition goals and to move forward with Mission 66 development, the battlefield needed Congress to revise the existing legislation to allow the NPS to use appropriated funds to purchase land.⁵⁵

Fortunately, a renewed interest in the Civil War that came with the approaching centennial along with the goals of the Mission 66 program brought the land acquisition at Antietam to the forefront.⁵⁶ For the first time in the history of the battlefield, Antietam's prospectus emphasized the need to purchase the land within the battlefield in order to preserve the "historic scene."⁵⁷

⁵³ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland; "'Hill' Girds for Antietam of '59," *Washington Post*, 7 January 1959:A14.

⁵⁴ Snell and Brown, 230.

⁵⁵ Snell and Brown, 173, 179, 300.

⁵⁶ Trail, 364.

⁵⁷ Trail, 375, *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site* 20 April 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 43, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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The final 1957 Mission 66 prospectus specifically stated that “in order to fully preserve and protect this historic site, it will be necessary to acquire certain tracts of farmland over which this great battle raged, to the extent of approximately 1,600 acres”⁵⁸ (Figure 4).

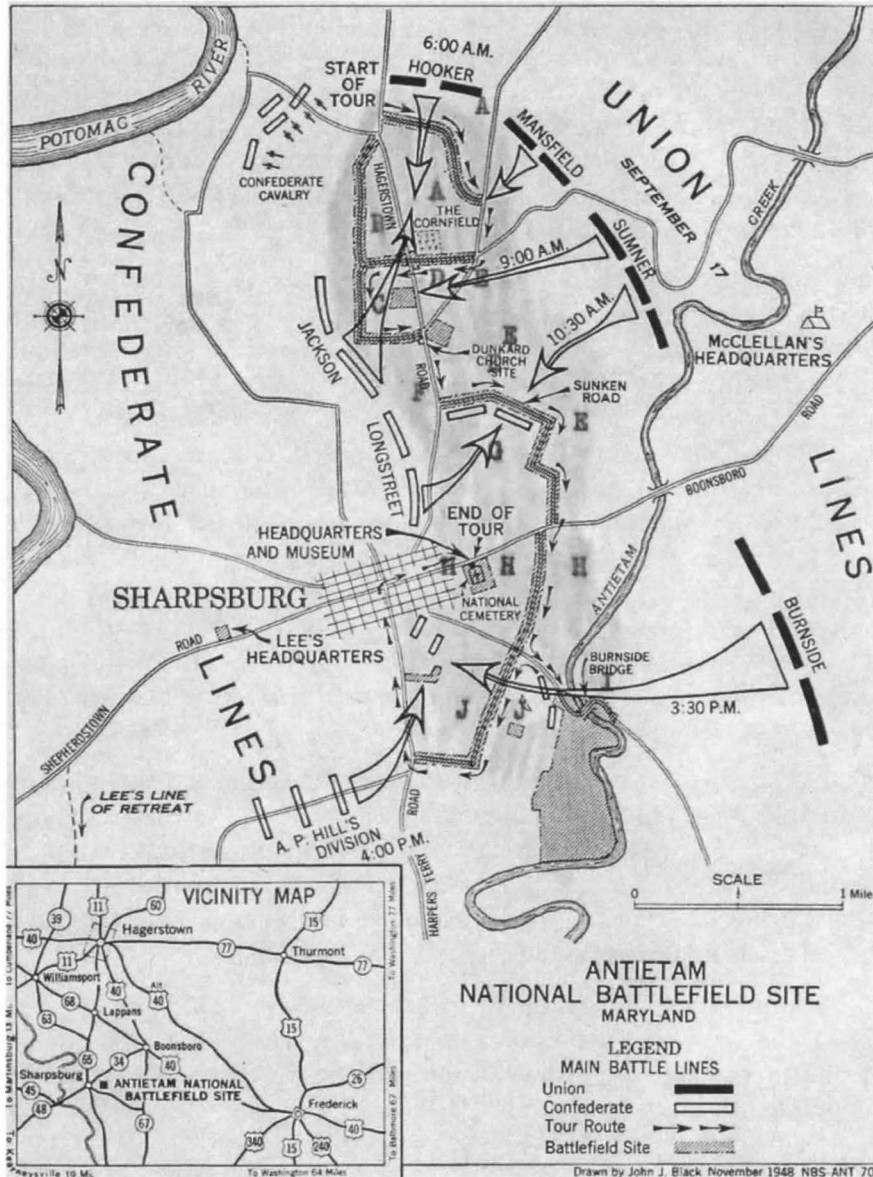


Figure 4. Map from 1957 prospectus showing lands to be included in the battlefield. Source: Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁵⁸ Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site, 17 December 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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As the NPS refined the Mission 66 prospectus for Antietam in 1956-1957, the land acquisition problem became critical. In February 1956 Superintendent Doust reported the sale of the Roulette Farm, located in the center of the battlefield and adjacent to the historic Bloody Lane. Doust said of the matter, "It is rather a shame that we were unable to acquire this property due to its historic significance. On its fields perhaps was fought some of the more savage battles of the Civil War." Doust also reported the further subdivision of lots along Hagerstown Pike and noted, "In the near future, unless the Park Service does something to prevent it, the entire battlefield along this road will be hidden from view by these buildings."⁵⁹ In July 1956 Superintendent Doust learned that a real estate company from Hagerstown planned to take over the Piper Farm, a large 193-acre property located south of Bloody Lane and north of Boonsboro Pike, and divide the property into small tracts for a housing development. Although the subdivision of the Piper Farm did not occur, the threat remained for all of the properties in and around the battlefield.⁶⁰

Later that year, in September 1956, Staff Historian Roy E. Appleman wrote a memo to the chief, Division of Interpretation regarding the land acquisition for Antietam:

It's not too late to acquire the historic land needed to guarantee the Antietam battlefield. But that time is running out. The 100th Anniversary of the battle is 1962. Before that time all the land needed should be acquired and related development completed for the Centennial Celebration we know will take place. Land acquisition at Antietam should have the very highest priority among the Civil War Battlefield parks. It needs land more than any other, and, too, there is scarcely a single battle of that war that had more profound significance on the final outcome of the struggle than did Antietam.⁶¹

Superintendent Doust echoed this sentiment and stated,

Due to recent inquiries by local persons regarding the acquisition of land for this purpose, it is clear that some action must be taken in this matter as soon as possible. I think a competent board of park personnel from both the Region Five and Washington Office, if necessary, should make a survey of these lands to decide what property should be acquired at Antietam National Battlefield Site not only for the preservation of the battlefield itself but also for its protection against real estate encroachments in the area. If it is at all possible I think lands should be purchased, as a whole, as soon as Act of May 14, 1940, (54 Stat. 212) which prohibits us from purchasing land can be repealed.⁶²

In the submission of the initial Mission 66 Prospectus in 1955, Superintendent Doust only recommended the purchase of around 130 acres, which was subsequently determined to be extremely low. Acting Regional Director George A. Palmer wrote in November 1955,

⁵⁹ Ronald F. Lee, Chief, Division of Interpretation, to Chief of Lands, 23 April 1956, Antietam National Battlefield Correspondence, 1955-1959, History Division Files, WASO, NPS, Quoted in Trail, 376.

⁶⁰ Trail, 376.

⁶¹ Memo from Staff Historian Appleman to Chief, Division of Interpretation, 6 September 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁶² Quoted in memo from the Superintendent Doust to the Regional Director, Region Five, 18 September 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Under the discussion of land acquisition, we realize that your recommendations are in line with the National Park Service policy of the early 1940's but for Mission 66 we believe they are inadequate. We wish to recommend that you increase your land program to include the acquisition of all the land within the quadrangle of roads from [North] Woods to the Dunkard Church site and from the East Woods to Bloody Lane. In addition, we would like your consideration of additional land to protect the approach to Burnside Bridge as well as additional land on the Confederate Heights looking down on Burnside Bridge.⁶³

Doust quickly revised his land acquisition recommendation and detailed ten tracts that he felt were of great significance to the battlefield, "realizing, of course, that we cannot purchase the entire tract over which the battle raged . . ." In his November 1955 revision, Doust recommended around 700 acres for acquisition.⁶⁴ Doust also had the support of NPS Director Conrad Wirth, who fully recognized the threat of development at Antietam. When approving the battlefield's revised Mission 66 prospectus in 1956 he wrote to Superintendent Doust, "It appears that special legislation must be sought to authorize use of government funds for [land acquisition]. We will appreciate any pertinent comments from you on this problem."⁶⁵

With the growing public interest surrounding the Civil War Centennial and increased awareness of Antietam battlefield's vulnerability to development, local Civil War Round Table groups as well as the United States Centennial Commission became a powerful network and voice that lobbied for the passage of legislation that would allow the NPS to purchase land for the battlefield.⁶⁶ In August 1957 Maryland Congressman DeWitt S. Hyde introduced a bill (H.R. 9581) that would authorize the Department of the Interior to purchase land for the battlefield. In support of the bill, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst wrote:

H.R. 9581 would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to purchase the land needed to effectuate the Mission 66 plans and programs for the Battlefield Site, including roads therefor, and to insure appropriate observance of the 100th anniversary in 1962 of the Battle of Antietam.

Practically all the land required for the Site is now in agricultural use as it was at the time of the battle. It is this historical setting which is sought to be preserved. However, economic pressures are increasing to divert it to other (suburban) development. To avert

⁶³ Memorandum from Acting Regional Director, Region Five, to Superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site and Cemetery, 1 November 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁶⁴ Superintendent Doust to Regional Director, 22 November 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁶⁵ Memo from Director Wirth to Superintendent Doust, 23 January 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 731, Washington Office Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield, 1956-1958, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁶⁶ Trail, 387.

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the threatened destruction of the historic scene, it is essential that authority to purchase the required land be given as soon as possible.⁶⁷

The bill hit a snag when the House committee deferred action and sent the bill back to the Public Lands Subcommittee to confirm if it had local support since land acquisition would deprive local governments of around \$5,000 a year in tax revenue.⁶⁸ The bill and its accompanying Senate bill (S. 1238) died automatically when Congress adjourned in August 1958.⁶⁹

Newly elected Maryland Congressman John R. Foley revived the bill in January 1959 (H.R. 1805). During hearings in front of the Land Committee, NPS Director Wirth stated that the estimated land needed to complete the battlefield was around 1,800 acres, held at that time by approximately 26 landowners. He also confirmed that the funds needed for land purchase was around \$300,000, to be taken from Mission 66 appropriations once the NPS had the authorization to purchase the land. Wirth stated that it was the NPS's intent to keep most of the land within the battlefield agricultural in order to preserve the historic scene and that it would likely lease back the land to local farmers. Wirth also noted that the NPS hoped to acquire all the needed land by the centennial in 1962.⁷⁰

Numerous local groups, including the mayor and town council of Sharpsburg, the Sharpsburg American Legion Post, the Washington County Board of Commissioners, the Hagerstown Chamber of Commerce, and the Hagerstown Civil War Round Table, as well as the Centennial Commission submitted resolutions to Congress in support of the bill. Congressman Foley also brought 12 witnesses, many from the groups listed above, in front of the House Public Lands subcommittee hearing in February 1959 to voice their support. At the hearing, the Centennial Commission's executive director Karl Betts noted that the commission adopted a resolution in January 16, 1958, that urgently recommended the passage of the bill and that approximately two hundred representatives of civic, patriotic, and historical groups across the country unanimously approved the resolution.⁷¹

Many of the owners of the farms under consideration for the battlefield, however, did not support the legislation and feared that the NPS would condemn their properties. Congressman Foley felt that if the owners have no intention of selling or if the owners "in breach of good faith" decided to sell to a subdivider, "then the National Park Service can protect the Government's interests in the Battlefield site by exercising the power of condemnation. Thus, by exercising discretion, the

⁶⁷ U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on Public Lands, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *To Permit the Use of Appropriated Funds in Purchasing Land in Connection with the Antietam Battlefield Site*, 85th Congress, 2nd Session, 11 February 1958.

⁶⁸ Associated Press, "Bill to Widen Antietam Park Runs Into Snag, published in the *Washington Post*, 20 March 1958:B13.

⁶⁹ Memorandum from Superintendent Doust to Director, National Park Service, 26 May 1959, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 74, Folder A26, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁷⁰ United States Congress. House. Subcommittee on Public Lands; Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Antietam Battlefield Site in the State of Maryland*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 26 February 1959.

⁷¹ United States Congress. House. Subcommittee on Public Lands; Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Antietam Battlefield Site in the State of Maryland*, 86th Congress, 1st Session, 26 February 1959.

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objections of the farm owners should be easily resolved by the National Park Service.”⁷² Unfortunately this philosophy alienated many of the local landowners and fostered growing hostilities between them and the NPS over the following decades.⁷³

In April 1959 nine members of the House Interior Committee joined Congressman Foley on a tour of the battlefield to see firsthand the challenges posed by the current limitations in land purchases.⁷⁴ Press from the *Washington Post*, *Life* magazine, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Evening Star* also attended. Progress on the bill again stalled as Florida Congressman James A. Haley objected to the federal government taking land “off the tax rolls.” Haley suggested that the land could be protected by implementing local zoning laws. The NPS agreed to look at other options, including paying landowners for a permanent restricted covenant that limited certain types of development on their property.⁷⁵

After three years in Congress, the House finally passed the bill in February 1960 and the Senate followed in April 1960. President Eisenhower signed the bill on April 22, 1960 (74 Stat. 79). The final bill limited the amount of acreage the NPS could acquire to no more 600 acres by fee simple purchase or condemnation, a compromise made by Wirth due to the objection of members of the committee who thought that 1,800 acres of untaxable land was excessive.⁷⁶ The law did allow the NPS to protect land through means other than fee simple purchase, such as through scenic easements, as long as the total areas held by the NPS did not exceed 1,800 acres.⁷⁷

Land Acquisition Commences

While the primary impetus behind the land acquisition was to protect the battlefield from development, the NPS’s initial proposal for land acquisition by purchase was primarily for Mission 66 development. In 1960 the NPS identified the land needed as 205 acres for the new Visitor Center, 32 acres for maintenance facilities, and 69 acres for roads “to provide access to landmarks and to eliminate nonpark traffic.” In addition, the NPS wanted to acquire by purchase 265 acres in the east, west, south, and north woods in order to restore and preserve the woods, recognizing that retaining the land as woods would be a difficult sell for scenic easements. The NPS also proposed to acquire 29 acres of the Poffenberger Farm because it believed its association with Clara Barton would be an important attraction for visitors.⁷⁸

⁷² Quoted in Trail, 388-389; “Witnesses Favor Foley Bill for U.S. to Preserve Site of Antietam Battle,” *Washington Post*, 27 February 1959:A1.

⁷³ Trail, 389.

⁷⁴ “Lawmakers Tour Antietam, Greeted by Verbal Hot Shot,” *Washington Post*, 11 April 1959:B1.

⁷⁵ “Antietam Park Bill Hit on Tax Effect,” *Washington Evening Star*, 9 April 1959:B1; “Park Service Agrees to Study Fee Proposal for Antietam Land,” *Washington Post*, 9 April 1959:B1.

⁷⁶ “Antietam Bill Sent to Floor of House,” *Washington Evening Star*, 20 January 1960:23; Snell and Brown, 306.

⁷⁷ Snell and Brown, 307; Trail, 389.

⁷⁸ U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Protecting and Preserving the Antietam Battlefield Site in the State of Maryland*, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, 1 April 1960, S. Rept. 1214.

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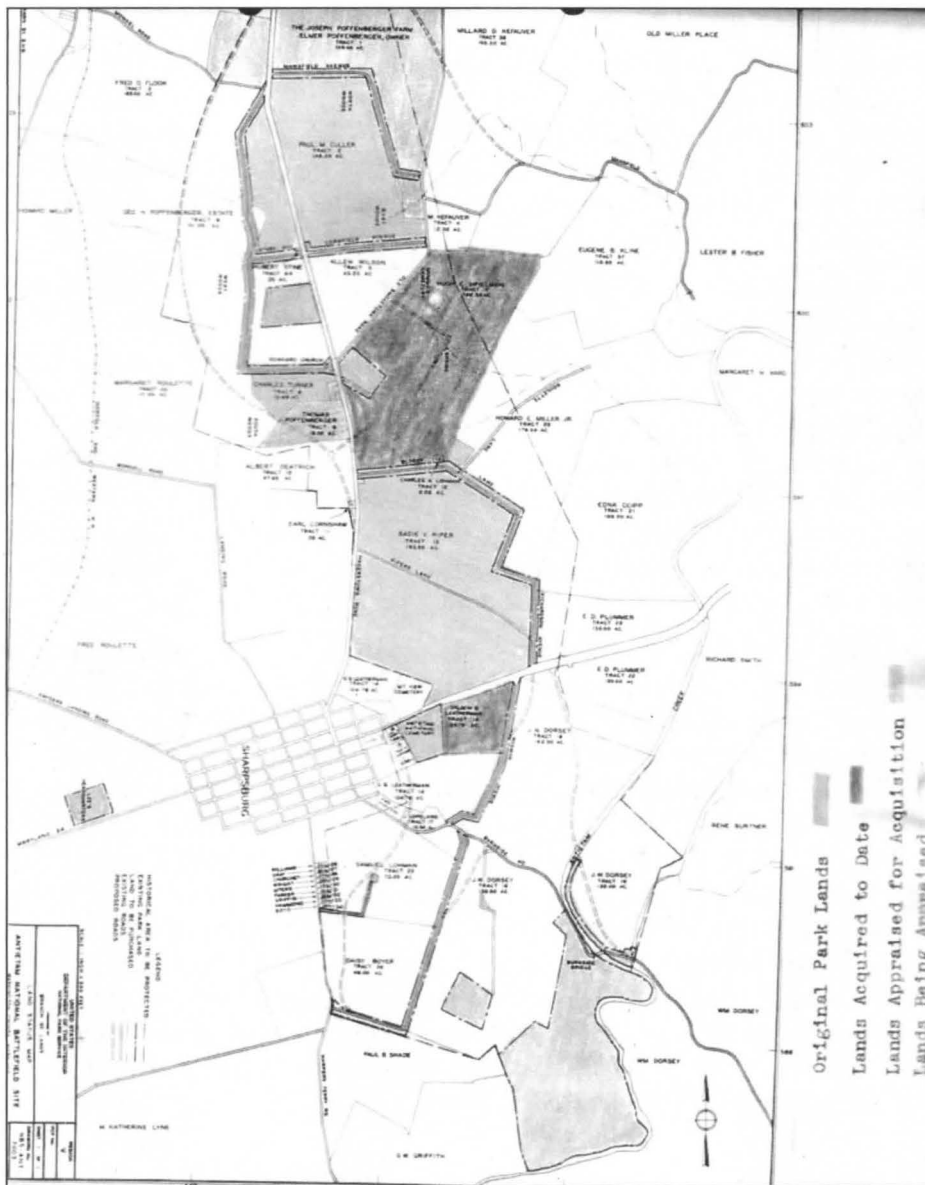


Figure 5. Map of the battlefield showing land acquisition as of 1961. Source: Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 April 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park.

With this in mind, the NPS focused its first acquisition on the site of the new Visitor Center, the key component of the Mission 66 improvements. In May 1961 the House Subcommittee on appropriations for the Department of the Interior agreed to release \$200,000 in funds for the

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purchase of land at Antietam.⁷⁹ The following December 1961, the NPS purchased a 148.5-acre tract of land from Hugh C. and Hattie G. Spielman (Tract No. 7) for the site of the new Visitor Center and its adjacent parking area. It also purchased a 22.12-acre parcel adjacent to the National Cemetery and between Rodman Avenue (part of Tract 14) to protect the cemetery from encroachment on the east⁸⁰ (Figure 5). Within two weeks of the purchase of the Spielman property, the NPS awarded the construction contract for the Visitor Center (see Visitor Center below).⁸¹

Following the purchase of the Spielman property, land acquisition continued to focus on those lands needed to complete the Mission 66 construction projects. Superintendent Benjamin H. Davis specifically stated, “It is my understanding that at this point we are to concentrate our efforts on acquisition of lands in fee simple title we will need to proceed with our development program.” Knowing this, in early 1962 Davis developed a detailed breakdown of the park’s development program, the land requirements for each project, and the priority in which these lands should be acquired. Thus, with exception of the projects on land already in NPS holdings, including the Spielman Tract, all of the construction projects were fully dependent on land acquisition. Consequently, many projects had to be put on hold until the land was acquired or never occurred if the landowners were not cooperative.⁸²

By February 1962 the battlefield had made some progress on land acquisition. Appraisals had been made on several properties, including the Albert Turner property (part of Tract No. 8), and the Charles Lohman property on Bloody Lane (Tract No. 12), where there was a small souvenir stand. Appraisers had also been assigned to the Thomas Poffenberger Farm (Tract No. 9) and the Joseph Poffenberger Farm (Tract No. 1), which the American Legion had promised to help acquire through the donation of funds. In addition to the two tracts already acquired (Tract 7 and part of Tract No. 14), the properties being appraised totaled 411 acres and were estimated to cost \$230,000. The NPS planned to acquire all of the properties by fee simple title, leaving 189 acres in the battlefield’s 600-acre authorization. Superintendent David noted that as part of the 189 acres remaining, the battlefield needed to acquire right-of-ways for improving the tour route and constructing the bypass roads as well as small areas needed for development projects. The battlefield had not yet made any negotiations for lands for less-than-fee simple purchase, but hoped to make such an arrangement for the acquisition of the Culler Farm (Tract No. 2). They were also negotiating with the Maryland State Roads Commission for the transfer of a small tract

⁷⁹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 9 June 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁸⁰ Superintendent’s Monthly Reports, 5 January 1962 and 7 December 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent Doust to Regional Director, 22 November 1955, Record Group 79, Entry 40, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁸¹ Trail, 411.

⁸² Memo from Superintendent Davis to Regional Director, 12 February 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 52, Acquisition and Disposal of Lands, Antietam, 1956-1966, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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of land near the Visitor Center site.⁸³ By the end of 1962, the NPS had acquired five tracts of land in fee, totaling approximately 172 acres and at a cost of \$83,400.⁸⁴

In 1963 tensions over land at both Antietam and Gettysburg National Battlefield, where the battlefield was experiencing resistance from local officials who refused to rezone part of the battlefield, caught the attention of President John F. Kennedy. As explained in the *Washington Post*,

They're fighting it out again on the fields of Gettysburg and Antietam. The Union forces have mounted a new offensive but the rebel units refuse to budge. The object of this new internecine struggle is the same as it was a century ago – control of territory. The Federal forces now on the attack is the National Park Service. Field commander of the assault is Donald (not Robert) E. Lee, the Agency's chief of lands.⁸⁵

In order to solve the issue at Antietam, the NPS planned to pressure Congress to change the legislation and allow the agency to purchase up to 1,800 acres of land by fee simple.⁸⁶

While spending the weekend at nearby Camp David, President Kennedy visited Gettysburg with his family on Sunday, April 1, 1963. The following Sunday while back at Camp David, President Kennedy traveled to Antietam for a tour of the battlefield.⁸⁷ The president was accompanied by Senator Ted Kennedy and his wife Joan, as well as Assistant Secretary to the Treasury James A. Reed, and Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army Ralph Horton. While the Secret Service made prior arrangements with the battlefield for a visit, it had not been made public. The party arrived by helicopter around 11:45AM and landed on the Spong Farm property, near Burnside Bridge. Antietam National Battlefield Historian Robert L. Lagemann, who was also serving as acting superintendent after Davis's departure in January 1963, escorted the President and Mr. Reed in the lead vehicle over the battlefield and Mr. Horton and Senator and Mrs. Kennedy followed in another car accompanied by Historian John Bryce. A third vehicle held Secret Service. The tour lasted 90 minutes and the President and his party "seemed to enjoy the battlefield tour and the direct contact with other park visitors." Although the President "asked several questions regarding the National Park Service's plans for developing Antietam, including pertinent queries about the status of land acquisition," no direct progress was made to change the limitations on land acquisition.⁸⁸

In 1964 the NPS was finally able to purchase two large tracts that were key to the battle. The first was the J.W. Dorsey Tract (Tract 18), a 213-acre tract along Branch Avenue and adjacent to the park's Burnside Bridge land holdings. The other property was the Piper Farm (Tract 13), a 193-acre tract that the NPS wanted to acquire for almost a decade. With these two properties and the

⁸³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 February 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁸⁴ Snell and Brown, 314.

⁸⁵ "Union Meets Stubborn Resistance Again on Two Civil War Battlefields," *Washington Post*, 11 March 1963:A3.

⁸⁶ "Union Meets Stubborn Resistance Again on Two Civil War Battlefields," *Washington Post*, 11 March 1963:A3.

⁸⁷ "Sunday Tourists at Gettysburg," *Washington Post*, 1 April 1963:A1; "President Takes Sunday Tour of Antietam Battlefield Area," *Washington Post*, 8 April 1963:A3.

⁸⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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13-acre Charles Clark tract (Tract 6), the NPS was approaching its 600-acre acquisition limit at 592.43 acres.⁸⁹

The limitations of the 1960 act frustrated the NPS, particularly because gaining land by scenic easements proved to be more difficult than expected. As explained by Harold I. Lessem, who became the superintendent at Antietam in September 1963,

The 600 acre ceiling on land acquired in fee simple (see H.R. 1805) is without doubt the chief obstacle to the ultimate and optimum development of this Site. The pernicious restriction should be deleted as quickly as possible while there is still an opportunity to secure urgently needed acreage for the purpose of expanding and perpetuating our most priceless immediate environs. Each day poses another threat to this historically correct condition. For instance a house is now going up in the heart of the East Woods, a crucial sector of the Battlefield.⁹⁰

Local landowners showed little interest in scenic easements and the difficulty securing easements was evident in the superintendent's monthly reports. For example, in May 1962 negotiations on the acquisition of the Culler Farm (Tract No. 2), the location of the Bloody Cornfield, for less-than-fee simple came to a standstill when the owner set their prices higher than the NPS was willing to accept.⁹¹ A similar outcome occurred in October 1962 when the NPS failed to negotiate a scenic easement on the John W. Dorsey tract (Tract 18) because "he placed the value of these proposed restrictions at a minimum of half the value of the farm in fee simple title."⁹² In October 1965 one of the owners of the Joseph Poffenberger Farm (Tract No. 1) notified the NPS that they would sell the tract on a scenic easement basis "if the price is right."⁹³

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall explained the struggles surrounding the easements to Chairman Wayne N. Aspinall of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on December 6, 1962:

Using every means of friendly persuasion occurring to them, representatives of the National Park Service have endeavored to negotiate agreements with several farm owners in the Antietam area for placement of covenants, restrictions and conditions on the farmland. The owners readily recognized that they would be free to continue to farm and use their lands substantially as they had in the past. However, the negotiations for less-than-fee interests were disappointing and completely negative as far as reaching any reasonable price basis was concerned. The owners requested from 65 to 75 percent of the appraised fee value of the land even though it was pointed out to them that they, their

⁸⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2 August 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Snell and Brown, 354.

⁹¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 June 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁹² Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 October 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁹³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2 November 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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heirs, successors, and assigns could continue to farm and use the lands in perpetuity as they had in the past.

It is evident in the several negotiations with the landowners that the limited use plan itself was not the sole obstacle to reaching prices that could be considered reasonable for the partial interest the Government desired to acquire. Landowners and farmers in the Antietam area are becoming increasingly aware of the desirability of their holdings for homesites, motels, restaurants, museums, helicopter scenic tours, subdivisions, sales booths, and other commercial activities which they feel are bound to be required as greater visitation occurs. Several of them envisage Antietam as a second Gettysburg with a similar commercial potential. Therefore, the owners either refuse to subject their land to limited use agreements or ask almost full fee value of the land if such agreements are to be entered into now.⁹⁴

When tourist development at Antietam after the centennial did not materialize as predicted, resistance of the local landowners somewhat lessened. However, between 1960 and 1967, the NPS was only able to obtain easements from four owners for a total of 42.44 acres at a cost of \$44,300.⁹⁵

Meanwhile Congress refused to lift the limit of 600 acres that the NPS could acquire by fee simple purchase. Between 1964 and 1967 the NPS was only able to make three additional land purchases, including the 2.5-acre tract of the former Sharpsburg-Antietam Museum, which had been built on a portion of the Piper Farm in 1961 by a private company. These acquisitions left the remaining balance of only 4.30 acres of the original 600 acres.⁹⁶ In addition to the \$41,300 spent on scenic easements, only \$17,300 remained from the original \$300,000 appropriation to purchase 4.30 acres in fee or to acquire scenic easements on additional land.⁹⁷

Conclusion

When the Mission 66 program came to a close in 1966, Congress had appropriated more than \$76 million dollars for Mission 66 land purchases and 2.1 million acres had been added to the national park system, either by purchase, donation, or other means.⁹⁸ But at Antietam, with Congress's reluctance to increase the purchase cap above 600 acres, the NPS was more than half short of its 1,800-acre goal at the end of Mission 66 and only held 790 acres in fee simple and 42 acres in scenic easements. In 1966 Superintendent Lessem stated, "The primary purpose of our Mission 66 was to procure sufficient land to develop and preserve the terrain and historic scene where the battle was fought. Unfortunately, the law restricted us to 600 acres [in fee simple], and some of the plans for the area could not be realized . . ."⁹⁹ It was not until more than a decade

⁹⁴ Quoted in Snell and Brown, 315.

⁹⁵ Snell and Brown 317.

⁹⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2 August 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

⁹⁷ Snell and Brown, 317.

⁹⁸ National Park Service, Mission 66 Progress Report (Washington, DC: National Park Service 1966), 21.

⁹⁹ "Antietam Battlefield Undergoes Facelifing," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 23 October 1966:14.

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later in 1978 that Congress increased the acquisition ceiling and the NPS was able to purchase additional land at Antietam.¹⁰⁰

“RESTORING THE HISTORIC SCENE”: HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND INTERPRETATION AT ANTIETAM

Introduction

As explained by Ethan Carr in *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma*, “The emphasis on interpretation and preservation and the expansion of professional capabilities and activities in these fields made Mission 66 the most important federal historic preservation effort between the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.”¹⁰¹ While land acquisition aided in the preservation of the historic scene at Antietam, it also meant that the NPS now had ownership of agricultural lands and a number of dwellings and farm buildings, some dating to the time of the battle. When it implemented the Mission 66 program in 1956, the NPS also managed two iconic structures that were synonymous with the Battle of Antietam – the Burnside Bridge and the Dunker Church, although only the foundation remained of the latter.

The NPS treated Antietam National Battlefield similar to its national historical parks where it strove to preserve entire scenic landscapes, as well as their historic buildings, as public parks. As explained by Carr, “historical parks and parkways might feature a restored landscape, house museum, or battlefield, but they did so in the context of a new designed landscape calculated to present the public a series of what NPS Chief Landscape Thomas Vint once called ‘historic scenes.’”¹⁰² According to Vint, these scenes would best be preserved by “stopping the clock” on a specific date that reflected the park’s significance.¹⁰³ At Antietam the historic scene was the farms and the surrounding agricultural and wooded land that made up the landscape at the time of the battle on September 17, 1862. Therefore, one of the goals of the prospectus and master plans developed for Antietam during Mission 66 was not only to preserve and restore the historic scene of the battle, but to design new landscape features, such as new overlooks and interpretive exhibits along the tour route, from which a visitor could experience the historic scene.

In its list of guidelines, the 1962 Master Plan for Antietam stated, “Restore the historic scene on the Antietam battlefield to what it was on September 17, 1862, and maintain it in that condition.”¹⁰⁴ Several goals mentioned in the 1965 Master Plan related to the historic scene including “Formulate plans for preservation and selective restoration of distinctive features, both man-made and natural, essential to maintain the integrity of the historic scene.” In addition, the plan included future management policies that were intended to preserve the historical values of the battlefield. Under the header “Re-creation and Maintenance of the Historic Scene,” the plan included “Continued effort to acquire up to 1,200 acres in less than fee; Demolition of all non-

¹⁰⁰ Snell and Brown, 458.

¹⁰¹ Carr, 175.

¹⁰² Vint also served as Chief of Planning beginning in 1938, Chief of the Division of Design and Construction in 1952, and was a member of the steering committee that oversaw Mission 66 development proposals.

¹⁰³ Carr, 176-177.

¹⁰⁴ Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

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historic structures not required for farm permittees; Restoration, where indicated, of roads, fences, vegetative cover, and other landscape features.”¹⁰⁵ With these guidelines in mind, Antietam was able to make strides in preserving and restoring the battlefield landscape during Mission 66, a goal that continues to this day.

Dunker Church

The reconstruction of the Dunker Church was one of the major components of restoring the historic scene of the Battle of Antietam. Plans for the reconstruction of the church predate the Mission 66 program, but it was not until increased interest in the Civil War that came with the upcoming centennial that the project was finally completed. It was also one of the first projects at Antietam completed during Mission 66 since the project did not require land acquisition.

One of the most visible and iconic landmarks of the Battle of Antietam, the Dunker Church was originally built along Hagerstown Pike in 1852 by local members of the German Baptist Brethren, or “Dunkers.” After the church was seriously damaged during the battle, the congregation repaired and rededicated the building by 1864 and held regular services in the church until the turn of the 20th century when it built and moved to a new church in Sharpsburg. After lack of maintenance and the taking of bricks by souvenir hunters weakened the structure, a violent storm destroyed the church in 1921.¹⁰⁶

After its destruction, Sharpsburg resident Elmer G. Boyer purchased the property, salvaged most of the undamaged materials, and then sold the property. The new owners built a house on the foundation of the former church and used the property for a gas station and souvenir shop. The Washington County Historical Society purchased the property in 1951 and removed the building on the church’s foundation.¹⁰⁷ The Washington County Historical Society presented the deed to the .30-acre Dunker Church site to the NPS on May 30, 1951. Title search by the federal government took almost two years and it was not able to formally accept the donation until April 15, 1953. In the meantime, the NPS began researching the history and developing plans for the reconstruction of the church.¹⁰⁸

Although the restoration of the church was greatly supported by Superintendent Harry W. Doust and others at the NPS as well as the Washington County Historical Society, Regional Director Elbert Cox of Region One curtailed the project in the summer of 1953. With the Korean War in progress, funding for the project was not available. Cox also doubted that the church was historically significant enough to justify the amount of money needed to reconstruct the building, which was estimated at that time as more than \$50,000. In the meantime, the NPS stabilized the church foundations in the fall of 1953.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Snell and Brown, 369-371.

¹⁰⁶ National Park Service, “The Dunker Church,” accessed 22 September 2017 at <https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/dunkerchurch.htm>.

¹⁰⁷ National Park Service, “The Dunker Church,” accessed 22 September 2017 at <https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/dunkerchurch.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ Snell and Brown, 260-265.

¹⁰⁹ Snell and Brown, 260-265.

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The anticipation of the centennial of the Battle of Antietam in 1962 rekindled the interest in the reconstruction of the Dunker Church. Behind the movement were several local residents and organizations, including the Sharpsburg Rifles (a local reenactment group), Page T. Otto (a member of the Sharpsburg Church of the Brethren, the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission, and other Civil War organizations including the Sharpsburg Rifles), and the Washington County Historical Society.¹¹⁰

While the NPS and the Washington County Historical Society researched the history of the church and gathered images and drawings of the appearance of the exterior and interior of the church, a detailed architectural study was needed before the church could be reconstructed. In 1960 Archie W. Franzen, supervising architect at the Harpers Ferry National Monument, completed Part 1 of the Historic Structures Report for the Dunker Church. By the end of November 1960, working drawings were underway for the church's restoration.¹¹¹

In January 1961 Antietam Battlefield Historian Robert L. Lagemann accompanied EODC Architect James F. Talbutt and Archie Franzen to the Brethren Churches at Tilghmington and Downsville, Maryland, where they examined architectural details as part of the completion of the blueprints for the Dunker Church restoration. They also visited Sharpsburg resident Elmer Boyer who was storing the woodwork and hardware salvaged from the original church.¹¹² Aiding the research were interviews with local residents who were members of the congregation and were able to remember and describe the interior of the building to NPS historians.¹¹³ With the support of the Washington County Historical Society, the State of Maryland gave a \$35,000 donation to the NPS in February of 1961 to reconstruct the church. The NPS provided the services of its architects and historians to supervise the work.¹¹⁴

Groundbreaking ceremonies took place at the church site in on May 6, 1961, and over 100 people attended. Following the groundbreaking, the ceremony moved indoors to the Sharpsburg Museum due to inclement weather. NPS Associate Director Eivind T. Scoyen told the crowd that the reconstructed church would serve as a point of orientation for visitors to the battlefield, similar to its purpose in the battle when it served as a point of help for the wounded. Other speakers included Russell H. McCain, executive assistant to Maryland Governor Millard Tawes, president of the Washington County Historical Society Dr. Walter H. Shealy, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, and Antietam Superintendent Benjamin H. Davis.¹¹⁵

The NPS opened bids for the church reconstruction on July 20, 1961, and awarded the contract to the Blake Company of Hagerstown, Maryland, for the amount of \$12,884. Work on the reconstruction began on August 2, 1961. The NPS prepared the foundations and furnished all the

¹¹⁰ "State Grant of \$35,000 Clears Way for Start of Restoring Dunkard Church," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 3 February 1961:1.

¹¹¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 December 1960, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹¹² Superintendent's Monthly Report, 7 February 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹¹³ "Dunkard Church Rebuilding May Begin This Summer," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 20 January 1961:4.

¹¹⁴ Snell and Brown, 319, "Records Sought on Old Church," *Washington Post*, 8 November 1960:B4.

¹¹⁵ "Dunker Church Rebuilding Linked With Space Flight," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 8 May 1961.

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bricks, windows, doors and shutters as well as all the specialty millwork to be installed by the contractor. The NPS had acquired some of the building's original windows, frames, shutters, benches, and other materials from Mr. Boyer, which were repaired and refurbished in the shops at Harpers Ferry National Monument under the supervision of Archie Franzen. The NPS had enough brick to reconstruct about two-thirds of the wall along Hagerstown Pike. These original bricks also served as samples for Victor Cushwa & Sons of Williamsport, Maryland, to replicate the remainder of the bricks.¹¹⁶



Figure 6. The Dunker Church during reconstruction, 1961. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

By the end of August, the contractor had constructed all of the walls above the height of the windows and doors - around 3,000 of the original bricks were incorporated into the exterior walls of the building. The contractor had also installed the windows and door frames, many of which were original to the building¹¹⁷ (Figure 6). By the end of the year, the Cavetown Planing Mill

¹¹⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 9 June 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland, Snell and Brown 320.

¹¹⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2 August 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 8 September 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Company of Smithburg, Maryland, had delivered the flooring for the church and the contractor had painted the exterior of the building.¹¹⁸

The reconstruction work on the church was 90 percent complete by January 1962. Workers were laying the floor, setting the stone stills, and painting the woodwork on the interior.¹¹⁹ Supervising Architect Franzen and Superintendent Davis inspected and accepted the completed building on January 16, 1962. The total cost of construction, including the contractor's fee, supplies, services, and salaries, but excluding the original planning by the EODC, was a little over \$20,000, much less than anticipated ten years earlier.¹²⁰

The reconstructed church was dedicated on September 2, 1962, coinciding with a rededication of the New York monuments.¹²¹ While rain on the day of the ceremony "dampened the fairly large crowd present, but not the spirit of the occasion," Governor J. Millard Tawes gave the main address and thanked "many individuals and organizations whose public-spirited endeavors made possible the restoration of the Dunker Church." Accepting the church on behalf of the NPS was Assistant Regional Director George A. Palmer, who stated "We in the National Park Service accept and do dedicate this Dunker Church for the use of those quiet and resolute people of today who will come here from across our land to acknowledge their loyalty and faith in their country."¹²² With the reconstruction complete, the Dunker Church would become one of the focal points of the improved tour route and interpretation of the battlefield.

Other Preservation Efforts at Antietam

Building Removal

As the NPS gained ownership of additional property, mostly farmsteads, it slowly began to remove buildings that were not part of the historic scene of the battle. In June 1964 the NPS opened bids for the demolition of the John Turner residence (on Tract 8) and awarded the contract to Eugene Kline of Sharpsburg for \$317.50.¹²³ Mr. Kline began removing the building in August and demolished the buildings by hand with only the help of his son. By the end of the month, all above ground traces of the buildings were gone and only the cellar remained to be infilled the next month.¹²⁴ The following May the contractor razed the Albert Turner house (on Tract 8).¹²⁵ On July 3, 1964, five volunteer fire companies burned the Paul Dorsey barn, which

¹¹⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 7 December 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹¹⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 January 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹²⁰ Snell and Brown, 320-321.

¹²¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 October 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹²² "Dunker Church Rededicated Despite Inclement Weather," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 4 September 1962.

¹²³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹²⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹²⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 June 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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had been recommended for removal. The Paul Dorsey residence, a “sub-standard structure in every respect,” suffered the same fate a day later.¹²⁶

Artillery

One of the additional efforts to restore the historic scene at Antietam was the acquisition of Civil War-era artillery, the construction of appropriate carriages, and the installation and interpretation of the artillery in the landscape. This effort was listed as part the development schedule in the 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus.¹²⁷ Prior to Mission 66, the battlefield had ten pieces of artillery mounted on carriages to depict some of the artillery positions of both Union and Confederate troops. The battlefield also had 14 unmounted artillery tubes waiting to be placed on the field.¹²⁸

In 1960 the NPS purchased two 12-pounder Napoleon cannon tubes for the battlefield from Mr. F. J. Givens, of Wexford, Pennsylvania, with funds from an account for field interpretive exhibits. In addition, the battlefield received eight cast iron, 10-pounder Parrott tubes that had been displayed for some 90 years at the Norfolk and Western Railway Station in Sharpsburg.¹²⁹ The same year, the Saratoga National Historical Park transferred a Howitzer barrel to Antietam. The battlefield also received two cannons from Morristown National Historical Park and two 3-inch ordnance rifles with carriages from Captain O. W. Naramore of East Peoria, Illinois, by July 1961. Antietam planned to mount the tubes on carriages and display them along with 18 others in the battlefield.¹³⁰

In May 1961 the NPS contracted with the District of Columbia, Department of Corrections in Lorton, Virginia, to reproduce 29 field artillery carriages to display authentic cannon on selected parts of the battlefield. However, the department only fabricated one standard carriage type, which presented a problem since the battlefield’s 29 artillery pieces were different sizes. Antietam staff carefully measured each tube and by altering the dimensions of the carriages, the Department of Corrections was able to produce mounts for all of the cannons. The entire cost of the project was \$30,727.24, with around \$25,000 going directly to the Department of Corrections for the construction of the carriages, which cost \$875 each.¹³¹ By April 1962 all of the 29 carriages had been delivered. The NPS planned to place the carriages and the artillery on the battlefield as soon as the NPS acquired the necessary sites.¹³²

¹²⁶ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 2 August 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹²⁷ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland.

¹²⁸ Snell and Brown, 276.

¹²⁹ The Antietam Administrative History mentioned that the NPS negotiated with the Norfolk and Western Railroad in 1942 to acquire the eight 10-pound Parrott field guns, Snell and Brown, 110-111.

¹³⁰ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 December 1960, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Monthly Progress Report, August 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹³¹ Completion Report, Construct and Install Cannon Carriages, December 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 80, Box 82, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹³² Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 January 1962 and 10 May 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 June 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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In April 1963 the battlefield installed six cannons and carriages on the field to mark actual locations of batteries that played a significant role in the Battle of Antietam. Of the six, the battlefield mounted four 10-pounder Parrott rifles on the site of Tompkins Battery, which supported the Union attack on the Sunken Road. Located a short distance southeast from the Visitor Center, this battery and artillery were in direct view from the Visitor Center's observation terrace. The four cannons would also be visible from the revised tour route section on Mumma Lane, which would connect Smoketown Road and the Sunken Road east of the Visitor Center.¹³³



**Figure 7. Mounting the cannon carriages in Philadelphia Brigade Park, 1963.
Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archives.**

In addition the battlefield also installed one Parrott rifle and one 12-pounder Howitzer barrel in Philadelphia Brigade Park to mark the Brockenbrough's Confederate Battery (Figure 7). The superintendent's monthly report noted that in all instances the battlefield chose the exact types of barrels to correspond with the armament of the specific Civil War batteries and selected their location to be within 50 feet of the historic gun placement. Twenty-three additional barrels and carriages remained in open storage for marking additional batteries.¹³⁴

¹³³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹³⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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In August 1963 employees mounted five more cannon barrels and carriages on the battlefield, leaving 18 in storage. Four were installed at the artillery interpretive site that was recently completed along the Dunker Church Trail (now the Antietam Remembered Trail) near the Visitor Center. The battlefield also mounted a single 12-pounder, bronze Howitzer barrel on a “Lorton” cast iron carriage on the east side of the Antietam Creek, about 50 yards from the Burnside Bridge. Antietam planned to move the cannon to a permanent position nearer to the creek once the reconstruction work on the historic stone wall and the construction of the interpretive area were complete.¹³⁵

When the NPS issued the contract for the construction of the carriages in 1961, it confidently believed that it would acquire additional land and appropriate locations would be made for all of the cannons. However, the 600-acre land ceiling prohibited the fruition of the plan. When the contract officially closed in December 1964, only 11 artillery and carriages were on display. The battlefield thought that the cannons were important to the interpretive value of the battlefield since they added to its “martial atmosphere.” Visitors could examine and touch the authentic cannons, which enriched their experience and since the cannon were located on the sites of important battery positions, the artillery greatly enhanced the interpretation of the battle.¹³⁶

In August 1965 Antietam National Battlefield Historian Robert L. Lagemann completed research on the battery locations and gun types and working closely with maintenance, sorted all the barrels and carriages in storage. Lagemann also made on-site specific locations for the remaining carriages and secured permission from two local farmers to mount guns on their private land. At the end of the month, Lagemann supervised the installation of 18 carriages and guns to mark eight historic batteries and all 29 of the carriages, constructed by inmates at Lorton Prison and delivered in 1962, were now installed at the battlefield. The sites were chosen for the following criteria: importance of the battery and if it influenced a significant part of the battle; accessibility to visitors or a clear view of it from the existing or planned tour route; types of barrels on hand in storage; and ownership of land of the exact battery site. The mounted guns had already “received enthusiastic approval by both park visitors and residents of the local community” and Lagemann “considered the installation of these guns the single most noteworthy improvement in outdoor interpretive exhibits to have been achieved since the reconstruction of the [Dunker] Church.”¹³⁷ In April 1966 a generous donation enabled the battlefield to order and install a cast iron carriage and its single remaining gun, located near the National Cemetery to mark the position of the Palmetto Battery of South Carolina.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, August 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹³⁶ Completion Report, Construct and Install Cannon Carriages, December 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 80, Box 82, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹³⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 3 September 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹³⁸ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 May 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Rehabilitation Efforts

The list of development projects in the 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus for Antietam included a line item for the rehabilitation of the Clara Barton Hospital and the rehabilitation of other farmstead buildings.¹³⁹ However, as the Mission 66 program entered its final years, the battlefield had not completed any of these projects. In 1965 Superintendent Lessem submitted a revised development schedule and wrote to the regional director, “Please note that all projects dependent on land acquisition have been deleted. More emphasis is now directed to the proposition of improving our farm properties.” Included in the list of proposed projects was the rehabilitation of the Sherrick House, the Piper Farm House, and the farms’ secondary structures.¹⁴⁰ Yet there is no evidence that these projects, or any other farm rehabilitation projects, were completed before 1967, perhaps due to lack of funding.¹⁴¹

In 1963 the NPS issued a contract with Lane Waterproofing of Philadelphia to rehabilitate the monuments at the battlefield and the War Correspondents at Crampton’s Gap (located in Gathland State Park but administered by the NPS) at a cost of \$24,900.¹⁴² The crew of skilled craftsmen arrived in July 1963 and began sandblasting the monuments and bronze plaques. In total the team removed soil and stains from 37 monuments on the battlefield and covered all bronze surfaces with a layer of epoxy. The work also included repairing the dome of the Maryland Monument and the replacing and resetting marble tiles in the New York State Monument. After the completion of the work at the battlefield, the monthly superintendent’s report noted that “All work on the battlefield proper was done very well, leaving the monuments in first-class appearance.”¹⁴³

In addition to the rehabilitation of the monuments and Burnside Bridge (see below), another project completed during Mission 66 was the rehabilitation of the rostrum at the National Cemetery. Built in 1879 following standard plans designed by the Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, the structure served as a speaker platform for special events and ceremonies at the cemetery. In 1964-1965 the NPS completed a historic structures report on the structure to aid in its rehabilitation.¹⁴⁴ In March 1967 Superintendent Lessem, NPS Historical Architect Henry A. Judd, and NPS Architect Archie Franzen met at the Washington Service Center to discuss the rehabilitation of the rostrum.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site, 17 December 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁴⁰ Snell and Brown, 354-355.

¹⁴¹ Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site, December 17, 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁴² Superintendent’s Monthly Report, June 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁴³ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, July 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁴⁴ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 April 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Snell and Brown, Administrative History, 356-357; Historic American Buildings Survey, Antietam National Cemetery, Rostrum (HABS MD-936-D) (National Park Service 2009),

¹⁴⁵ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 April 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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By the end of April, all deteriorated brick, stone, and wooden members had been removed and the crew moved on to rebuilding the structure. According to the superintendent's monthly report, work progressed slowly due to the NPS's desire to conserve as many of the original bricks as possible.¹⁴⁶ The work included removing all brickwork, capstones, and the stairs, relaying and replacing the bricks and stairs, and rebuilding the pergola.¹⁴⁷ The rehabilitation project, completed by direct labor, was finished by July 1967 at a cost of \$10,100.¹⁴⁸

Conclusion

Many of the projects completed at Antietam during Mission 66 followed the continuing trends of the NPS's historic preservation efforts that began during the New Deal. In particular, the NPS historical parks became the training grounds for the agency's historic preservation program, characterized by the involvement of NPS historians, landscape architects, and architects.¹⁴⁹ Overall, efforts to preserve, restore, and rehabilitate historic features of the battlefield and ultimately the "historic scene" tied into all of the other pieces of the Mission 66 program at Antietam. Land acquisition helped ensure that the largely agricultural landscape of the battlefield remained and that views of the battlefield from the Visitor Center, stops along the tour route, and the tour route itself were reminiscent of the time of the battle. Reconstruction of the Dunker Church anchored the location of the new Visitor Center and provided additional opportunities for interpretation of the battlefield. By preserving and restoring the features along the tour route, from the general landscape to specific features such as Burnside Bridge, and by removing structures that were viewed as obtrusive, the NPS aimed to greatly improve visitor experience on the tour route.

As Antietam Superintendent Harold Lessem said in 1967 at the end of Mission 66, running a battlefield like Antietam "is a problem of conserving and preserving. You can't put the thing under glass or behind bars." Lessem thought that visitors had to make themselves a part of the battle to fully appreciate its historical value. With the work of Lessem, his predecessors, and others, he believed that "Our most valuable asset today is the relatively unspoiled character of the battlefield . . . it retains its essential historical character, not having changed much since 1862."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 4 May 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁴⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 April 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Snell and Brown, Administrative History, 356-357; Historic American Buildings Survey, Antietam National Cemetery, Rostrum (HABS MD-936-D) (National Park Service 2009).

¹⁴⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 July 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁴⁹ Carr et al, 39.

¹⁵⁰ "Lessem on Antietam: Can't Put the Thing Under Glass, Or Behind Bars," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 4 February 1967:18.

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ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD VISITOR CENTER

Introduction

With the purchase of the Spielman Tract (Tract 7) in December 1961, the NPS set in motion the construction of a new Visitor Center, a project that was decades in the making. The NPS had established a small “temporary” museum on the second floor of the Cemetery Lodge in 1936-1937, but by the 1940s the battlefield was in great need of a new building. In 1942, after much discussion, Director of the NPS Newton B. Drury decided that the new permanent museum for Antietam would be on the New York Monument Plot. With World War II underway, however, all federal funds were diverted to the war effort and no progress was made on the new building until Mission 66.¹⁵¹

When discussions of a new museum building were brought into Antietam’s Mission 66 planning efforts, the building shifted from being called an “administrative-museum building” to a “visitor center.” The resulting Antietam National Battlefield Visitor Center became one out of more than one hundred new visitor centers built by the NPS during Mission 66. This new building type expanded the small museums built at national parks during the 1930s and centralized administrative facilities and museum services into one building. With the new visitor centers, the NPS also attempted to meet the needs of the modern tourist, with amenities such as restrooms and parking, while also providing new methods of interpretation. As stated in *Our Heritage*, the visitor center was one of the most pressing needs of the national parks and “one of the most useful facilities for helping the visitor to see the park and enjoy his visit.” The promotional material further explained that “the typical visitor center provides information service, publications, maps, general exhibits on the park, comfort stations and public telephones, and it is manned by uniformed personnel. It is, in fact, the center of the entire information and public service program for a park.”¹⁵²

With a new building type also came a new architectural style that integrated the precedents of the NPS’s rustic style of the decades prior with the characteristics of Modern architecture. Known as “Park Service Modern,” the use of Modern architecture reinvented and modernized the NPS in the postwar era. The combined functions of the visitor center resulted in a larger building that had more potential to have a visual impact on the landscape. NPS architects believed that since the landscape was one of the primary reasons for visitation at national parks, the new buildings should be subservient to the landscape. Thus, using the principals of Modern architecture, visitor centers were typically stripped of decorative elements, had low profiles with their massing broken into smaller units, and used exterior materials and colors that blended in with the surrounding landscape. The buildings’ open floor plans allowed for better visitor circulation and the efficient location of other service areas, such as restrooms. Reinterpreting the NPS’s long-standing goal to harmonize architecture and park landscapes, the architects often located the visitor centers on sites that were not visually prominent and that required *minimal* ground disturbance and native plant removal. Adjacent parking lots and roads followed the existing topography and were often screened with native plants and had planting islands to minimize the

¹⁵¹ Snell and Brown, 293.

¹⁵² Allaback, 17.

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visual impact.¹⁵³ The Antietam Visitor Center followed many of the NPS principles developed for this new building type and became the central feature of the Mission 66 improvement program at the battlefield.

Design and Construction

Once the site near the New York Monument was selected in 1957, the NPS began to develop plans to construct the new Mission 66 Visitor Center at Antietam. For the design of the new building, the NPS contracted with William C. Scheetz Jr. of Philadelphia to aid the EODC in the completion of surveys, plans, estimates, and specifications of the new building.¹⁵⁴ With the influx of work created by the Mission 66 program, it was not uncommon for the NPS to rely on the expertise of outside firms, much as it did during the New Deal. In most instances, the NPS offices of design and construction, including the EODC, would be in charge of the design concepts, creation of plans and specifications, and the preparation of the preliminary drawings for the buildings. The private architectural firms would then produce the needed construction drawings. Since visitor centers were the most expensive and visible new buildings in the parks, the work was attractive to private consulting firms.¹⁵⁵ Scheetz had previously designed the visitor center at Hopewell Culture National Historical Park in Chillicothe, Ohio (1959-1960), and served as the architect for the restoration of Anthony Hall at the former Storer College at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. After receiving his architecture degree from the University of Pennsylvania, Scheetz joined his father's firm, Savery, Scheetz & Gilmour in 1937. At the time of his work on the Antietam Visitor Center, Scheetz had continued his father's practice under his own name.¹⁵⁶

Superintendent Doust prepared a Project Construction Program (PCP) Proposal Form for the new building in 1957, outlining the general specifications and costs for the building. The estimated cost for the building was \$153,900, with \$106,300 for the building itself, \$40,400 for exhibits and the audio visual program, and \$7,200 for the office furnishings and equipment. Doust estimated an additional \$14,700 for the landscaping and parking.¹⁵⁷

In 1958 the EODC prepared a preliminary drawing for the new Antietam Visitor Center. The plan conceptualized a rectangular main building fronted by a paved plaza and two smaller buildings. Although the drawings did not specify, the wings were most likely divided by function with the largest to hold the museum and the others for visitor services, such as restrooms or administrative offices. The EODC had designed a similar layout for the visitor center at the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park in 1958-1959, which had a separate restroom building connected to the main building by a courtyard. The drawings for the Antietam

¹⁵³ Allaback, 23-24; Carr et al, 12-14.

¹⁵⁴ Snell and Brown, 330.

¹⁵⁵ Allaback, 25-36, 214.

¹⁵⁶ Robinson et al, 23; Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, "Scheetz, William Cramp Jr.," accessed at https://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/21834.

¹⁵⁷ Project Construction Proposal Forms, dated March 7, 1957. Original in the National Archives, copy in the archives at Antietam National Battlefield. Doust approved the PCP on October 2, 1958.

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Visitor Center also illustrated a curved entrance road to the parking lot in front of the building, which was screened by large planting islands.¹⁵⁸

The final design for the building prepared by Scheetz consisted of a single three-level building built into the eastern slope of the site such that the primary elevation appeared to be a single-story – a common technique used for Mission 66 visitor centers (Figure 8). The first level would house the lobby, restrooms, and an administrative wing. On the east side of the building, the lower level housed museum exhibits. Above was an observation room, with three sides almost entirely of glass, to provide expansive views of the battlefield. The building also used local stone for several of its exterior walls to reduce the visual impact and to harmonize with its surroundings. In addition, its low, horizontal massing, flat roofs, and the use of brise soleil, or sunscreens, to extend many of the eaves were typical of Modern architecture and also made the building less conspicuous on the landscape. A curved entrance drive led to the parking lot and was separated from Hagerstown Pike by a large planting area.¹⁵⁹

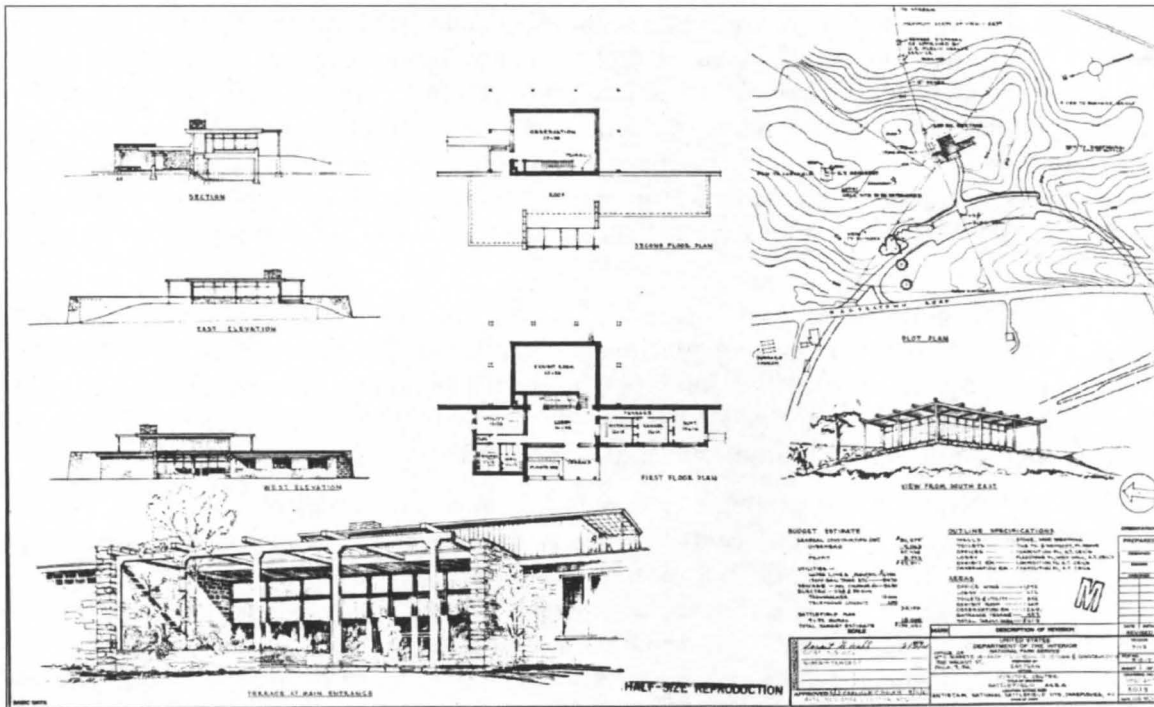


Figure 8. Design of the Antietam Visitor Center by William C. Scheetz Jr., August 1961. Source: National Park Service.

¹⁵⁸ Drawing No. 3012A, EODC, *Visitor Center Development, Part of the Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1965; on file ETIC; Alpha Corporation and Quinn Evans Architects, 3-14,

¹⁵⁹ Drawing No. 3019A, William Cramp Scheetz Jr. and EODC, *Visitor Center Antietam National Battlefield*, September 1961.

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In July 1961 EODC Supervisory Architect John Cabot and William C. Scheetz Jr. were at Antietam to study the site for the Visitor Center.¹⁶⁰ In September the battlefield reviewed and recommended the preliminary plan to the regional director. In the interim, an engineer from the EODC arrived on September 27, 1961, and began work on staking out the building and its related parking area. The NPS also awarded a contract to Austin R. Keyser, Inc. of Frederick, Maryland, to drill an exploratory well at the site as soon as the land was acquired.¹⁶¹

Congress appropriated funds for the Visitor Center in July and in November the NPS opened bidding for the construction of the building.¹⁶² The NPS finally acquired the Spielman Tract on December 18, 1961, and two weeks later, on December 30, 1961, it awarded the construction contract to W. Harley Miller Inc., of Martinsburg, West Virginia, at a cost of \$128,450.¹⁶³ The schedule for the building was an ambitious eight months since the NPS wanted the building to be completed by August in time for the centennial celebration in September.¹⁶⁴

Work on the Visitor Center began in the winter of 1961-1962 and the contractor completed some excavation and footing work before February. Architect William C. Scheetz Jr, EODC Architect Donald Benson, and project supervisor David Smith visited the site on February 8 to decide on the stone for the building.¹⁶⁵ By the end of March, the contractor had poured all of the footings and the masonry subcontractor began laying concrete blocks.¹⁶⁶

By June all of the stonework had been completed and the framing of the office wing, hallways, and restrooms was 90 percent complete. All of the concrete floors had been poured, the flagstone floor in the lobby was installed, and the sunshade around the observation room was complete.¹⁶⁷ The following month, the contractors had erected the sunshade in front of the entrance, finished all the plaster work except for minor patching and touchup, and installed some of the glass windows.¹⁶⁸

In April 1962 the NPS awarded a contract to Bester-Long, Inc. of Hagerstown for the construction of entrance roads and parking areas at both the Visitor Center and Burnside Bridge

¹⁶⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2 August 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶¹ Drawing No. 3019A, William Cramp Scheetz Jr. and EODC, *Visitor Center Antietam National Battlefield*, September 1961.; Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 5 October 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶² "Ask Bids for Visitor Center on Antietam Battlefield," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 27 October 1961: 1; Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 7 December 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 January 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶⁴ "Ask Bids for Visitor Center on Antietam Battlefield," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 27 October 1961: 1.

¹⁶⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 March 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 April 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 July 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 8 August 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.¹⁶⁸

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(see below) at a cost of \$50,027.¹⁶⁹ Work on the parking area of the Visitor Center began by the spring of 1962 and by June around two-thirds of the sidewalk was in place and the grading for the parking lot completed.¹⁷⁰

As work was progressing on the Visitor Center, the Department of Defense contributed \$39,500 for the construction of a fallout shelter in the building.¹⁷¹ This change in the plans followed President John F. Kennedy's call for funds to "identify and mark space in existing structures – public and private – that could be used for fallout shelters in case of attack" in the summer of 1961 during heightened global tensions and threats of an escalated Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. Congress authorized \$207 million dollars for the effort and assigned the Office of Civil Defense (OCD), under the Department of Defense, to administer the program.¹⁷² The Antietam Visitor Center was not the only Mission 66 visitor center to incorporate a fallout shelter. The visitor centers at Saratoga National Historical Park (1962) and at Petersburg National Battlefield (1965), for example, also had fallout shelters and the Visitor Center/Cyclorama Building at Gettysburg (1962) had a fallout shelter added in 1963.¹⁷³

By the end of May 1962, the NPS had approved a change order for the amount of \$4,500 and the contractor began preparing the site and the underpinning of the existing walls for the fallout shelter. The EODC prepared additional plans and specifications and provided them to the contractor in order to prepare full estimates for the fallout shelter project. The addition of the fallout shelter gave the NPS the opportunity to expand the space in the building designated for interpretation and it planned to also equip the fallout shelter for use as an audio-visual room. As noted by Superintendent Davis, the shelter could be "quickly converted to its primary intended use if ever necessary."¹⁷⁴ The project was approved in June 1962.¹⁷⁵

By the end of August, work on the Visitor Center was 90 percent complete, the fallout shelter was around 75 percent complete, and the entrance road and parking area were finished. Work remaining on the building included laying tile floor and installing acoustical ceiling throughout

¹⁶⁹ "Bester-Long to Build Roads on Battlefield," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 2 April 1962.

¹⁷⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 July 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁷¹ Snell and Brown, 334.

¹⁷² "Cold War Fallout: Big Boom in Building of Home Shelters," *San Diego Union* 12 June 2010; Melvin E. Matthews Jr., *Duck and Cover: Civil Defense Images in Film and Television from the Cold War* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland 2011), 112; Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 37.

¹⁷³ Saratoga National Historical Park [8 December 2016], In *Facebook*, accessed 29 August 2017 at <https://www.facebook.com/saratogahp/photos/pcb.1611019208924593/1611015845591596/?type=3&theater>; Richard Longstreth and Christine Madrid, *Gettysburg National Military Park Visitor Center/Cyclorama Building*, National Historic Landmark Nomination, June 1999, accessed at <http://www.mission66.com/cyclorama/docs/nhl1.html>; National Park Service, "Examples of Mission 66 Buildings in the National Park Service 1954-1966, on file ETIC.

¹⁷⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 June 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁷⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 July 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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the building, partitions in the restrooms, and plywood paneling in the audio-visual room.¹⁷⁶ Although the NPS had hoped that the Visitor Center would be completed by the centennial celebration in September 1962, by August it was clear that it would not be finished in time. Consequently, the NPS issued a contract to remove a War Department-era iron and concrete fence and to seed three acres around the building to avoid having the site turn into mud in the event of rain during the planned re-enactment of the battle, scheduled for September.¹⁷⁷



Figure 9. Completed Visitor Center in 1962. Source: Superintendent's Monthly Report, 9 November 1962. Source: Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

On October 10, 1962, EODC Architect Frank Petrillo, construction representative Erino Malacarne, Superintendent Davis, and general contractor W. Harley Miller made the final inspection of the Visitor Center. The NPS accepted the building from the contractor with certain

¹⁷⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 11 September 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁷⁷ Alpha Corporation and Quinn Evans, 3-17; "History of Project," Chronology ca. October 1963, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

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exceptions and during the remainder of the month, the contractors completed portions of the final work.¹⁷⁸

Superintendent Davis described the building in his monthly report for October 1962:

The well and three air conditioner condensers are located behind the latticed fence at the extreme left end of the building. The Administrative Office Wing on the right contains five individual office spaces. In the center is the visitor Reception Lobby from which the visitor may proceed ahead and down six steps to the Interpretive Exhibit Room and to the A-V Auditorium that leads off the Exhibit Room.

A special feature of this Visitor Center is the Observation Room, the west wall of which is visible above the main entrance. From this room one can view the entire battlefield from Mansfield Avenue to the Burnside Bridge area as well as the entire South Mountain range from Turner's Gap southward, including Harpers Ferry and beyond.

It is our opinion that the selection of this site and the design of the Visitor Center were both wise decisions¹⁷⁹ (Figure 9).

The fallout shelter was also completed in November 1962. A representative of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Baltimore, inspected the fallout shelter the following year and recommended that it could accommodate 50 people and agreed to have it stocked for survival rations.¹⁸⁰

With the Visitor Center slated for formal opening in early 1963, the NPS began efforts to furnish the building. Architect Donald S. Nutt of the EODC sent the furnishings plan for the Visitor Center to the regional director in November 1962 (Figure 10). The estimated cost of the furniture was \$3,609.04. Furniture for the public areas included pieces by several now iconic mid-century Modern designers, including settees, sofas, and chairs by Jens Risom; molded fiberglass chairs designed by Ray and Charles Eames and produced by Herman Miller; chairs, benches, and tables from Knoll Associates; and planters by Architectural Pottery.¹⁸¹ The office furniture, ordered from General Services Administration (GSA) stock, was placed in the Visitor Center during November 1962. At the same time, orders were also placed for the furnishings for the building's public areas.¹⁸²

The battlefield headquarters officially moved from the National Cemetery Lodge to the new Visitor Center in January 1963.¹⁸³ The following month the new museum exhibits were installed, consisting of 32 wall panels and display cases "which colorfully and artistically relate[ed] the

¹⁷⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 June 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁷⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 9 November 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁸⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 December 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁸¹ Specific pieces included a Florence Knoll Bench, produced by Knoll; molded plastic stacking side chairs and swivel drafting chairs designed by Charles and Ray Eames and produced by Herman Miller.

¹⁸² Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 December 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁸³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 February 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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story of the 1862 Maryland Campaign, climaxed by the Battle of Antietam.” Many of the artifacts on display at the old museum, as well as many other “battlefield relics, photographs, diagrammatic maps, and brief explanatory texts” were also displayed in “attractive modern museum furnishings.”¹⁸⁴ A diorama showing a phase in the action at Bloody Lane was completed in April.¹⁸⁵

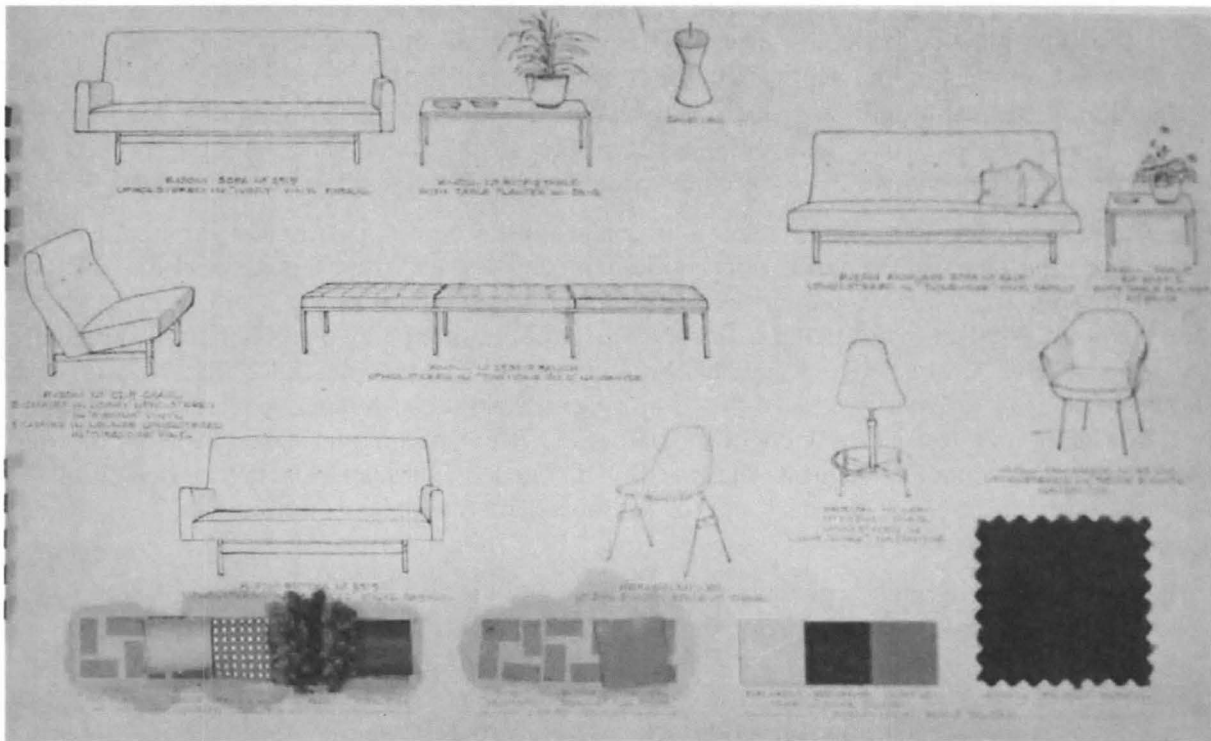


Figure 10. Furnishings plan for the interior of the Antietam Visitor Center, 1962. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

In September 1966 representatives from the NPS’s Washington Support Office (WASO) finally installed the long-awaited audiovisual slide program at the Visitor Center. According to the superintendent’s monthly report, audience reaction was mixed. “The average visitor tends to respond favorably; the Civil War buff tends to be critical of both the script and the graphic material . . . The amount of electronic gadgetry to operate the show is amazing and it already has been necessary for Jack Koziel to adjust and correct the system.”¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ “Many New Exhibits Feature Battlefield Visitor Center,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 12 February 1963:22.

¹⁸⁵ “Visitor Center on Battlefield Gets Diorama,” *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 4 April 1962:20.

¹⁸⁶ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 4 October 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Landscape Improvements

The EODC produced preliminary planting plans for the Visitor Center in August 1962, designed by NPS Landscape Architect Kathryn Simmons.¹⁸⁷ When requesting the approval of the plans, Chief Landscape Architect Eugene R. DeSilets noted:

The site is generally open in character, so we have proposed small tree masses with only an occasional large tree for accent. These accent trees are oaks, thereby recalling the old stands of oaks in the vicinity. The trees to the east of the building are used to define and frame the various views which will be interpreted from the observation room of the visitor center. They will be placed in the field. Should the contract exceed the programmed amount, the terrace pots could be carried as an alternate.¹⁸⁸

Superintendent Davis thought that the oak trees would become too large and eventually block views from the observation room. In early September 1962 he wrote the regional director and said, "In summary, we have gone to great effort and expense to erect the Visitor Center at this vantage point. We feel that we could very soon lose this advantage by overplanting the area with tall specimens."¹⁸⁹ In response, Regional Director Ronald Lee recommended that the five oaks shown on the east and north sides of the Visitor Center should be omitted since the trees "when in full growth, may restrict the view of the battlefield."¹⁹⁰ A photograph taken in 1963 after the landscaping was complete suggests that the EODC heeded Lee's and Davis's advice. While a few trees were planted on the east side of the observation room to guide views, they do not appear to be oak (Figure 11).

In late February 1963, only a few weeks after the building was opened to the public, the NPS opened bids for planting at the Visitor Center and Burnside Bridge and awarded the contract to Treeland Nurseries, Inc. of Frederick, Maryland, at a cost of \$15,049.¹⁹¹ Upon receiving the notice to proceed, the company's crew began setting out trees in early April 1963.¹⁹² The executed plan included primarily native species, including Washington hawthorn, flowering dogwood, eastern redbud, and American holly trees, that lined the western border of the Visitor Center parking area and shielded the parking area from view along Dunker Church Road. Other clusters were located on the east side of the parking area, in front of the Visitor Center. Breaks in

¹⁸⁷ Simons was the first woman landscape architect at the EODC beginning in 1960. See Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 172.

¹⁸⁸ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3032, EODC, *Planting Plan for the Visitor Center, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, August 1962, on file ETIC; Memorandum from Chief Landscape Architect EODC to Regional Director (Northeast Region), 20 August 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 24, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁸⁹ Memorandum from Superintendent Davis to Regional Director, 4 September 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 24, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹⁰ Memorandum from Regional Director to Chief, EODC, 18 September 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 24, National Archives, College Park, Maryland, "NPS Contract to Area Firm," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 26 February 1963:9.

¹⁹¹ Drawing No. NPS-ANT-3035, EODC, *Planting, Visitor Center – Burnside Bridge Area*, January 1963, on file ETIC; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 March 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹² Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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the trees allowed for views from the front of the Visitor Center and views toward the building from Hagerstown Pike.

In June the EODC moved forward with the purchase of fiberglass planters for the observation room terrace, a total of nine round planters from Architectural Pottery that were 6 feet, 4 feet, or 2 feet in diameter, around one-and-a-half-feet tall, and warm-grey, sand-brown, or off-white in color. The planters were to be filled with *Pieris floribunda* (mountain fetterbush) and *Hedera helix balitca* (English ivy).¹⁹³



Figure 11. Visitor Center observation room and surrounding landscaping, looking northwest, 1963. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

In May 1963 the project was 90 percent complete. All of the seeding of the Visitor Center area was finished and nearly all the trees had been planted. The planting of the few remaining shrubs awaited the completion of the walks and favorable planting conditions in the fall.¹⁹⁴ The flagpole

¹⁹³ Letter from Eugene R. DeSilets, Chief Landscape Architect EODC to Edwin Buzan, Design Three Inc., 10 June 1963, Request for Quotation, March 28, 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 24, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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in front of the Visitor Center was finally installed in September 1963.¹⁹⁵ By November, with the exception of spreading mulch, all of the grounds work was completed.¹⁹⁶

Visitor Center and Dunker Church Trail

Additional work at the Visitor Center included the construction of an interpretive trail that incorporated the adjacent monuments and the Dunker Church. The NPS opened bids for the “Interpretive Trail and Wayside” contract on February 26, 1963, which also included work at the Burnside Bridge Overlook. The NPS awarded the contract to E.D. Plummer Sons of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, for the cost of \$72,971.¹⁹⁷ The company began work on the project in early April 1963.¹⁹⁸

The plans for the project called for a loop trail that began at the Visitor Center, led visitors northwest to a terrace showing the S. D. Lee Battery position, and toward Hagerstown Pike and the Ohio Monument. Visitors then crossed Hagerstown Pike to the Dunker Church. The trail circled in front of the Dunker Church and led visitors to the north and east across Hagerstown Pike to the Maryland Monument. The trail then brought visitors past the New York Monuments and back to the Visitor Center. The plan not only called for a new paved walk, but brick terraces at the battery, monuments, and the Dunker Church.¹⁹⁹ Typical of Mission 66-era trails, the Dunker Church Trail was also paved with a hard, bituminous greenstone surface, for safety and ease of maintenance.²⁰⁰

By June 1963 the Dunker Church Trail near the Visitor Center had been completed and the brick terracing around the 20th New York Monument was finished. The excavation work for the walk and steps in front of the Dunker church had begun as well as the excavation for the S. D. Lee Battery Exhibit.²⁰¹ In August 1963 the work was 65 percent complete and the contractor had completed the construction of the brick terrace and stabilized turf surface at the S.D. Lee Battery.²⁰² In November 1963 the contractor installed the granite benches at the Maryland and Ohio monuments, completing the Visitor Center/Dunker Church trail system.²⁰³

¹⁹⁵ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 4 October 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹⁶ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 7 November 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹⁷ PCP R-6-4, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, *Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction*, 1962, on file ETIC; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 March 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹⁸ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 13 May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

¹⁹⁹ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3031A, EODC, *Interpretive Trail and Wayside Construction, Burnside Bridge Area – Visitor Center – Dunkard Church Area*, 1962, on file ETIC.

²⁰⁰ Carr et al, MPDF, 37.

²⁰¹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, June 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁰² Superintendent’s Monthly Report, August 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁰³ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 7 November 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Conclusion: The Completed Design

The completed Antietam Visitor Center and its surrounding landscape incorporated the primary characteristics of the Mission 66 program for this new building type. With its commanding view of the surrounding battlefield landscape and beyond, the location of the new Visitor Center not only oriented visitors to the battlefield, but its central location in the park's circulation plan intercepted visitors along Route 65 and to allowed visitors to travel through the battlefield stops in a chronological order. Its design and siting, although at a prominent location within the battlefield, was as unobtrusive as possible. Nestled into the hillside, the building had the appearance of a one-story building, despite having three distinct levels. The use of long-horizontal massing, flat roofs, minimal ornamentation, and local stone furthered its modern yet minimal appearance and its integration into the landscape.



Figure 12. Visitor Center and Parking Area, looking southeast, ca. 1965.
Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

Common of most visitor centers of the Mission 66 era, visitors entered into an open lobby, with stairs and doorways leading down to the exhibit rooms and auditorium, up to the observation

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room, or to the adjacent restrooms. Staff areas were distinctively separated from the public space of the building, located in an adjacent wing off of the lobby. Large windows and the use of flagstone flooring and stone walls in the lobby skillfully blended the exterior into the interior of the building. Even the original interior furnishings of the Visitor Center's lobby and observation room held a specific purpose. Arranged to promote visitor comfort and foster a home-like quality, the couches, chairs, rugs, and table lamps were common of residential design of the era. This followed the idea that the new visitor center lobbies should evoke a relaxed atmosphere for the visitor who was transitioning from crowded highways to the park setting.²⁰⁴

An integral part of the Visitor Center complex was the parking lot, walks and trails, and the designed landscape. The parking lot and walks, although necessary and practical for automobile travelers, were curved to follow existing topography, minimize construction scars, and lessen their appearance on the landscape. Plantings around the building focused on native trees and shrubs, screened the parking lot, and guided views to and from the new building. The Dunker Church Trail provided a scenic walk along the landscape and allowed visitors to further immerse themselves into the scene of the battle and followed the Mission 66 principles that encouraged the incorporation of roadside and trailside interpretation in conjunction with the design of the visitor center landscape.²⁰⁵ Overall, the Antietam Visitor Center complex epitomized the goals of this new Mission 66 building type and its goal to improve visitor services at the battlefield (Figure 12).

THE "BATTLEFIELD TOUR LOOP" IMPROVEMENTS

Introduction

Following land acquisition and the new Visitor Center, one of the principal objectives of the Mission 66 program at Antietam was developing a largely one-way, vehicular tour route that took visitors through the battlefield chronologically as events happened on September 17, 1862. The NPS planned to supplement the improved tour route with exhibits and interpretive waysides that would illustrate the various phases of battle and help the visitor better understand the Battle of Antietam.²⁰⁶ These improvements catered toward the automobile traveler and provided a new way for the public to experience the battlefield. They also expanded Antietam's interpretation beyond the walls of the Visitor Center by allowing visitors places to exit their cars, view the battlefield from specific vantage points, and learn more about events at a particular location.²⁰⁷ Demonstrating its importance in Antietam's development plans, the 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus indicated an estimated \$1.7 million dollars needed in funding for roads and trails projects out of a total of \$2.2 million projected for the entire program at Antietam.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Allaback, 28.

²⁰⁵ Allaback, 26.

²⁰⁶ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

²⁰⁷ Carr et al, 41.

²⁰⁸ National Park Service, *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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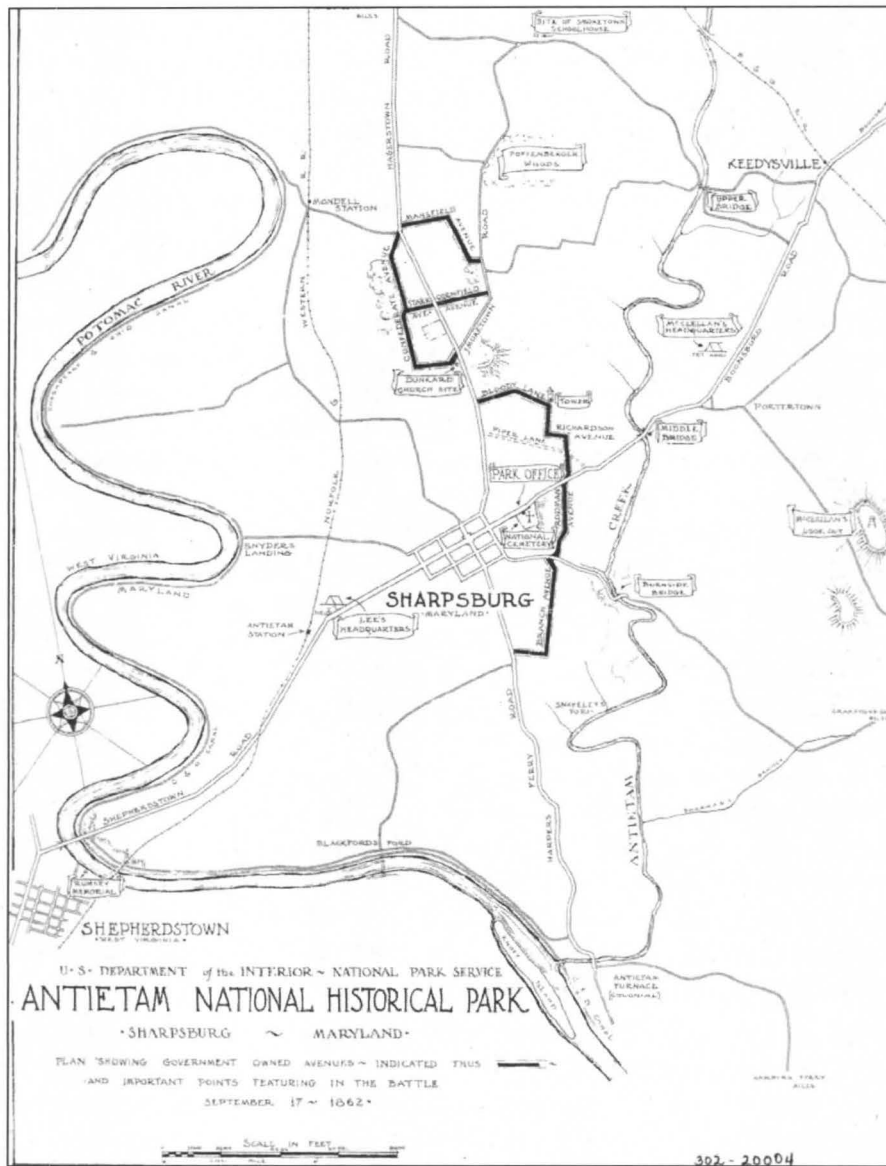


Figure 13. Map of Antietam National Battlefield showing roads built by the War Department, undated. Source: National Park Service.

The existing battlefield roads at the time of the Mission 66 prospectus for Antietam were part of a system largely built and improved by the War Department prior to 1933 (Figure 13). One of the original goals of the Antietam National Battlefield after its authorization in 1890 was to locate and mark the positions of troops within the battlefield and to construct roads and avenues to take visitors to these locations without damaging local farmers' fields and crops. Thus, the War Department initially purchased strips of land amounting to around 22 acres that for the most part followed the actual battle lines. Along these strips, the War Department built around five miles

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of roads that were accessed by state and county roads, such as Hagerstown Pike and Smoketown Road. The War Department roads were around 12 to 16 feet wide, paved with macadam, and typically were built in a straight line, often resulting in abrupt grades. Within the roads' right-of-ways were cast iron tablets, explanatory markers installed by the War Department, and monuments, primarily erected by veterans of the battle and states in the early 20th century. In addition, the War Department erected post and wire fencing along the right-of-ways to delineate the government's property, originally consisting of wood posts and later replaced with concrete.²⁰⁹

Although over 200 markers and 60 memorials had been erected along the battlefield roads during the War Department era, the battlefield lacked interpretive signs and the confusing road system made it difficult for visitors to understand the major troop movements on the battlefield. It was not until after the NPS took over the management of Antietam in 1933 that the concept of a tour route developed. Pamphlets developed by the NPS in the 1930s illustrate the "Antietam Battlefield Tour" that directed visitors to travel the battlefield roads in a specific order starting at the corner of Hagerstown Pike and Mansfield Avenue.²¹⁰ T. Sutton Jett, then a historian at the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, also recommended a self-guided tour at Antietam in 1938 along with outdoor battlefield maps to help orient and lead visitors through the site. In September 1942 several members of the park, region, and Washington Office staff, including Thomas C. Vint (then chief of planning), met at Antietam "for the purpose of going over the proposed tour route and examining the proposed sites for an administration-museum building and 6 or 7 pullouts for interpretive exhibits at key points on the tour."²¹¹ In the late 1940s, Regional Historian Roy Appleman once again recommended a series of roadside exhibits at key points along the battlefield to improve interpretation, modeled after similar exhibits at Yorktown Battlefield and Gettysburg Military Park.²¹² By the early 1950s, the battlefield had erected signs with large directional arrows with the words "Battlefield Tour" at key points and 10 field exhibits with "maps about 36 [inches] square in color showing the important events of the battle transpiring in the immediate locality" along the tour route.²¹³ As described by Region One Museum Specialist J. Paul Hudson in March 1953,

During my visit to the area 4 years ago the park tour route was not marked and there were no trailside exhibits to aid the visitor. Today the park tour route is well marked, and at ten strategic points along the route are exceptionally fine trailside exhibits. Four years ago the visitor got little or no interpretation by driving around the battlefield; today he gets a complete story of the battle, provided he stops and studies the colorful trailside exhibit maps.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Snell and Brown, 71, 78, 88-89, 91, 95, 109-110, 121-122.

²¹⁰ National Park Service, "Antietam Battlefield Site, Map and Description of the Battle of Antietam," ca. 1935. Park Files, ANTI Annual Reports, Folder HFCA-00323, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charlestown, WV.

²¹¹ Snell and Brown, 193-195, 201-200, 243.

²¹² Snell and Brown, 195-196, 244-245.

²¹³ Memorandum from Superintendent Doust to Director, National Park Service, 28 May 1954, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 74, Folder A26, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²¹⁴ Snell and Brown, 270. The locations of these exhibits were likely: Exhibit 1, Mansfield Avenue; Exhibit 2, Cornfield Avenue; Exhibits 3 and 4, Philadelphia Brigade Park; Exhibit 5, Dunker Church; Exhibit 6 and 7, Sunken

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Although these improvements were helpful, the road still lacked other interpretive information and parking areas for visitors to safely exit their cars and view the signs and the surrounding features of the battlefield.

Antietam's final 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus stated that the existing road system through the battlefield was "very well laid out and, in most cases, used old historic lanes and country roads."²¹⁵ With the construction of the new Visitor Center, the NPS planned to change the routing of some of the present roads and use existing roads and lanes wherever possible "to avoid scars over such a small area."²¹⁶ Yet as stated by Director Wirth in his approval of the Antietam Mission 66 prospectus, "Generally speaking, we need not be bound by the existing roads in developing a tour route. We should develop the best possible tour route, irrespective of the existing roads."²¹⁷

At Antietam Mission 66 improvements made to the tour route incorporated many of the roads built by the War Department and several were improved through widening or eliminating hazardous turns and grades.²¹⁸ The EODC also worked closely with the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) for several of the projects at the battlefield, combining the NPS's naturalistic design philosophy with the bureau's safety-focused road and bridge standards. While the NPS design staff shared the BPR's safety concerns, they also wanted to keep speeds low, provide pull-offs and parking areas at overlooks and interpretive sites, retain historic features such as bridges, and avoid areas with sensitive landscapes.²¹⁹ Overall, the improvements to the tour route at Antietam followed the overarching principles of the Mission 66 program. Road alignments and parking areas were predominately curvilinear, designed to minimize cuts and fills and to allow the grading to blend in with the natural topography for strategic views of the surrounding battlefield landscape.²²⁰

For interpretation along the tour route, the NPS focused its plan on improving several of the existing stops and in some instances, supplementing the route with additional pull-offs, overlooks, and exhibits. As part of the proposed Mission 66 interpretive program, visitors were to begin the tour at the Visitor Center, where they could view a series of exhibits and pick up literature that would explain and orient them before starting the tour of the battlefield. As described in a 1957 "Museum Prospectus for Antietam" that outlined the need for the Visitor Center, exhibits, and other interpretive programming, once on the tour route, "a series of exhibits

Road; Exhibit 8, Burnside Bridge; Exhibit 9 Harpers Ferry Road; and Exhibit 10, Battlefield Headquarters (National Cemetery); Tilberg, 9.

²¹⁵ National Park Service, *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²¹⁶ National Park Service, "Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site," December 17, 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland, Memo from Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to Director of the National Park Service Conrad Wirth, 11 January 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²¹⁷ Conrad L. Wirth, Director, to Chief, Eastern Office, Division of Design and construction, 1 March 1957, History Division Files, Box 2, Folder 23, Antietam NBS Correspondence, 1955-1959, WASO, NPS.

²¹⁸ Carr et al, 30.

²¹⁹ Carr et al, 33.

²²⁰ Carr et al, 30-33.

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and tour and information markers would furnish guide service as well as explain battle events on the ground.”²²¹

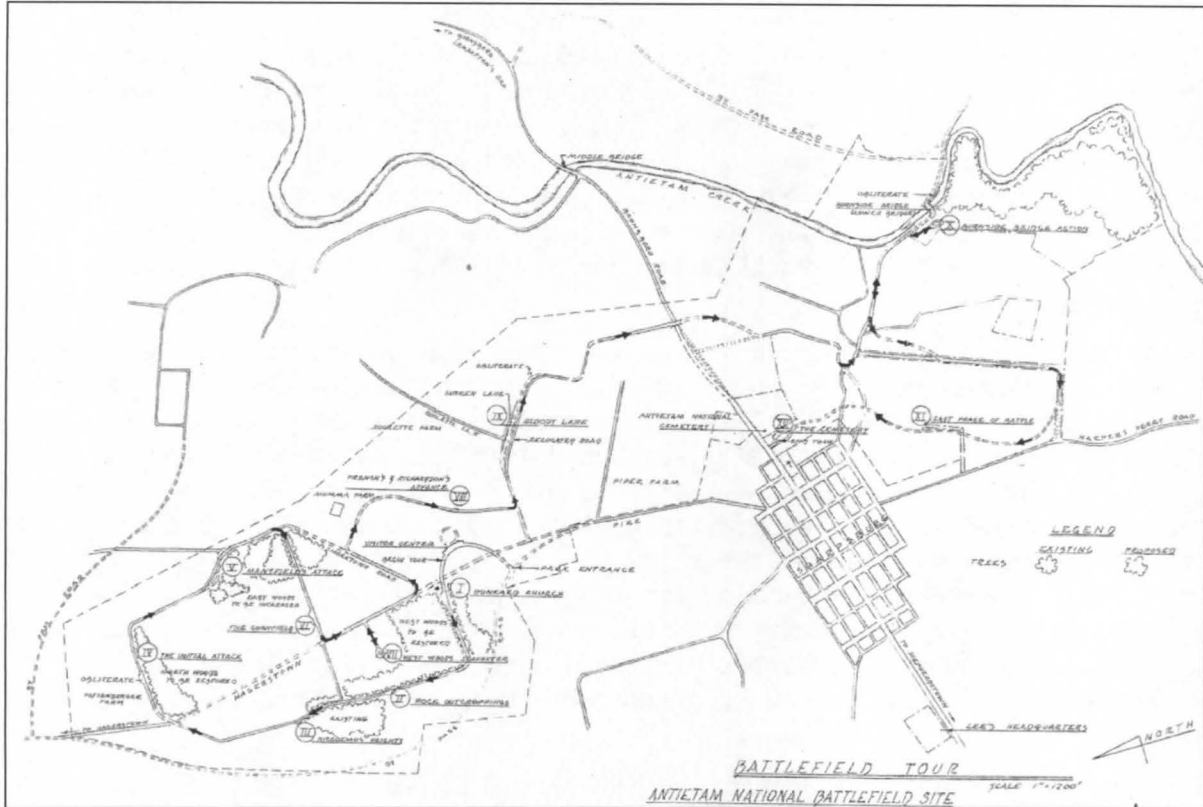


Figure 14. Plan for the tour route from the 1961 “Sign and Exhibit Wayside Plan.” Source: National Park Service.

In 1960 the NPS prepared an “Interpretive Prospectus” for the battlefield that detailed the interpretive program for the battlefield and listed each of the proposed stops along the tour route. The plan indicated that the “function of the roadside exhibits will primarily be to interpret the battle story step-by-step on the historic scene . . . Other miscellaneous interpretive means used on the tour will include: mounted cannon, reconstructed historic building, restored historic scenes (woods, fences, roads), overlooks, and cleared vistas. . .”²²² In his approval of the plan in January 1961, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee wrote, “The ‘outdoor exhibits’ section was the primary *raison d’être* of this prospectus, and we believe this section shows sound thinking.” Lee’s letter indicated that field planning for the exhibits would occur during the upcoming spring.²²³

²²¹ Tilberg, 24.

²²² National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 13 December 1960, Park Files, ANTI Box 1, Folder HFCA-00439, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charlestown, WV.

²²³ Regional Director Ronald F. Lee to Director, National Park Service, 27 January 1961, Park Files, ANTI Box 1, Folder HFCA-00439, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charlestown, WV.

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Presumably with the help of the field planning efforts, the NPS developed a “Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” for Antietam in 1961 that provided detailed conceptual drawings for each of the proposed tour route interpretive stops and exhibits described in the 1960 interpretive prospectus. This plan was partially implemented over the next six years as funding and land became available. The plan identified 11 stops, not including the Visitor Center (Figure 14). While some of the stops already existed, they also included a new stop called “Rock Outcroppings” (Stop 2), located along Confederate Avenue west of Philadelphia Brigade Park, a stop called “Nicodemus Heights” (Stop 3), also located along Confederate Avenue, and a stop called “Mansfield’s Attack” (Stop 5), located along Smoketown Road. It also anticipated an interpretive stop at Crampton’s Gap and the site of General Robert E. Lee’s Headquarters, although not physically connected to the battlefield. While some of the stops, including those for the Rock Outcroppings and Nicodemus Heights, were planned as simple pull-offs with waysides, several of the stops had overlooks, with terraces, wayside exhibits, and visitor-activated audio devices (tape players) that would play a recorded narrative of the scene of the battle. Many of the drawings illustrated stone walls and exhibits that mimicked the historic stone walls that were already present on the battlefield landscape.²²⁴

The 1962 and the 1965 master plans for Antietam further clarified the goals for the tour route and its interpretation. While the two plans generally shared the same objectives for a self-guided tour route that would be supplemented by interpretive exhibits and limited outside vehicular traffic with the help of bypass roads, the 1965 Master Plan specifically stated:

The ultimate tour road will be essentially a one-way system encompassing the interpretive stops in chronological order. The route will follow existing roads insofar as practicable in order to avoid construction scars and unnecessary new road construction. The old tour route, mostly 16 feet in width is still effective, but with certain minor extensions, curves and realignments will be necessary to make the road more satisfactory for modern vehicular traffic²²⁵ (Figure 15).

Some of the main construction efforts on the tour route described in the 1965 Master Plan included:

1. Construction of parking areas at designated interpretive stops.
2. Installation of interpretive devices where practical.
3. Realignment of the tour road along Bloody Lane to permit restoration of the historic trace.
4. Reconstruction of historic walls and fences along the tour route where applicable.
5. Extension of visitor center walking tour trail to the Dunker Church.
6. Construction of other interpretive trails.

²²⁴ The plan was prepared by Regional Historian Frank Barnes of Region Five, Landscape Architect Kathryn Simons of the EODC, exhibit designer Ed Bierly and interpretation planner Marc Sagan of WASO, and Historian Robert L. Lagemann from Antietam; National Park Service, *Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan*, 1961, on file ETIC.

²²⁵ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

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7. Provision for a luncheon site and accompanying parking area along Starke Avenue.²²⁶

The 1965 Master Plan also specified the character for the new features along the tour route. It stated, “In the placement of physical facilities, such as interpretive shelters or overlooks, and in the location of new roads, trails, and parking areas, care should be exercised to avoid unsightly construction to alter or mar the natural terrain and topography or scar the historic scene. The selection of materials should be compatible in scale, texture, and tone with the natural environment and historic setting.”²²⁷

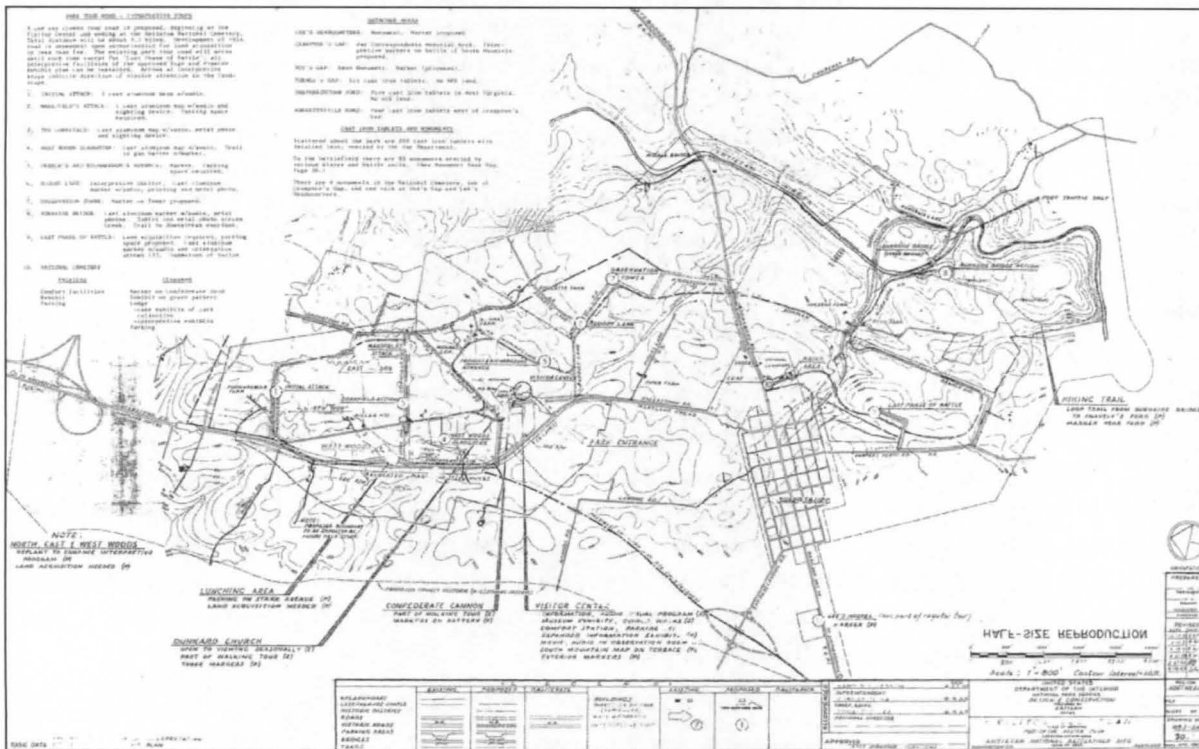


Figure 15. Visitor Use Plan from the 1965 Master Plan. Source: National Park Service.

In some instances land acquisition and lack of funding stalled or eliminated several of the proposed projects and plans were modified as a result. In March 1965, for example, the EODC developed plans for “Roads – Walks & Miscellaneous Construction,” which contained improvements to the tour route. Included in the plans were the designs and specifications for several of the interpretive exhibits initially conceptualized in the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan.” In July the regional director asked the EODC to restudy and reduce the proposed construction work outlined in the plans and to eliminate “anything not included in the latest

²²⁶ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis, 1965, on file ETIC.

²²⁷ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis, 1965, on file ETIC.

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approved PCP [Proposed Construction Project].” Eugene R. DeSilets, acting chief of the EODC, wrote back to the regional director in August and stated that while he appreciated “the necessity of tailoring the work to funds that [were] available,” “[a] considerable amount of work has gone into the preparation of these plans by our office and the Eastern Museum Laboratory, and we are interested in initiating as much of this work as soon as possible to establish the interpretive tour.” Due to funding issues, several stops on the tour route plans were removed, including a new parking area and stone viewing platform on Mansfield Avenue marking the “Initial Attack,” and an interpretive exhibit at Crampton Gap, which was located in a remote area. The NPS had also planned for an additional parking area and stone wayside exhibit on the east side of Cornfield Avenue (Stop 3) to mark Mansfield’s Attack. This wayside exhibit would replace a stop and wayside (Stop 5) specified in the 1961 “Wayside and Exhibit Plan” that could not be built due to land acquisition issues. Although plans and correspondence indicate that this stop was not removed from the plans, there is no evidence that it was built.²²⁸ Yet for the most part, Antietam was able to accomplish many of the goals identified for the tour route as part of the Mission 66 program, which were completed in phases and part of several different construction projects, described below.

Parking Areas (1960)

One of the first projects completed as part of the Mission 66 program at Antietam was the construction of four parking areas along the tour route. Identified in the 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus as a second priority project, the project moved forward because the limits of construction were within the existing right-of-ways or on land already owned by the NPS. The new parking areas would allow visitors along the tour route to stop, exit their automobiles, and view the existing interpretive signs erected during the 1950s. Originally the NPS planned to build additional turnouts and parking areas with a total of \$52,500 allocated for construction, but could not move forward with the remaining areas until it acquired the necessary parcels.²²⁹

In September 1960 the NPS invited companies to bid on the project to grade and surface the four parking areas: Cornfield Avenue, Mansfield Avenue, Philadelphia Brigade Park, and Burnside Bridge. The NPS awarded Norman C. Klipp of Hagerstown, Maryland, the lowest bidder, the contract at a cost of approximately \$15,500.²³⁰ The contractor began construction on the four parking areas in October 1960. A month later on November 26, construction was complete and the NPS officially accepted the project.²³¹

²²⁸ Memorandum from the Chief, EODC, to the Regional Director, Northeast Region, 24 August 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 80, Box 55, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

²²⁹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 8 September 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²³⁰ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 12 October 1960, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²³¹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 December 1960, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 8 September 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Figure 16. View of Cornfield Avenue and Parking Area, 1966. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

The new 10-car parking area on Mansfield Avenue stood on the road's north side within the existing right-of-way and directly adjacent to the 7th Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve (36th) Volunteer Infantry Monument. On Cornfield Avenue, the new parking area was also on the north side of the road near its intersection with Hagerstown Pike (Figure 16). The 12-car parking lot allowed cars to park and look over the cornfield of the D. R. Miller Farm.

At Philadelphia Brigade Park, the project involved reconstructing and surfacing the existing entrance drive and expanding the circle drive around the monument to provide parking for 24 cars. Prior, the road was a narrow, gravel road and there was not a dedicated parking area. The Burnside Bridge Parking Area, located on the east bank of Antietam Creek and on the south side of the bridge, had spaces for 12 cars and likely improved and/or replaced an existing parking area built around 1940.²³²

While these projects were designed to improve the tour route without the need of additional land, the parking areas lacked expanded interpretation and were planned prior to the development of a full interpretive plan for the tour route. Thus, the 1961 "Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan" called for the removal of the parking area along Mansfield Avenue, built only a year earlier, and a new stop interpreting "The Initial Attack" built further west along the road and on its south side with

²³² "Parking Lot Contract at Antietam Let," *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 13 October 1960:26; National Park Service, Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI), Burnside Bridge Area (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 76.

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a large viewing terrace. The plans also called to “obliterate” the parking area at Burnside Bridge, which was removed after the NPS built a larger parking area and overlook on the western ridge overlooking Antietam Creek in 1962.²³³ While the new stop at Mansfield Avenue was never built, most likely since the NPS was not able to acquire the 148-acre Culler property (Tract 8), the exhibits specified in the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” for stops at Cornfield Avenue and Philadelphia Brigade Park were finally built seven years later (see Jobs Corps below).

Burnside Bridge Overlook (1962-1966)

As one of the principle attractions and stops on the battlefield’s tour route, Burnside Bridge was an important focus of several of the Mission 66-era improvements at Antietam. Built between 1832 and 1836 and originally known as Rohrbach’s Bridge, action at the bridge was a critical point of the Battle of Antietam as Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside faced the daunting task of attacking Confederate infantry and artillery positioned above the creek on the west side of the bridge.²³⁴ In 1956 the National Park Service owned a considerable amount of land on the west side of the bridge. Acquired by donation in 1943 from the Washington County Historical Society, the land consisted of approximately 129 acres of the Spong and Dorsey farms. The NPS also received title to Burnside Bridge in 1945, which had been conveyed by Washington County in 1933 but held up until the passage of the 1940 act that allowed the NPS to accept land donations at Antietam and after the State of Maryland enacted legislation to authorize the conveyance.²³⁵

Not long after the NPS received title to Burnside Bridge and after several major repairs, it became clear that the bridge was suffering from deterioration and could no longer handle regular vehicle traffic. Since the Maryland State Road Commission objected to permanently closing Burnside Bridge, the NPS placed a sign at each end of the bridge and at approach road intersections that stated that the bridge was unsafe for vehicles weighing more than three tons. Antietam Superintendent Dr. J. Walter Coleman, who concurrently served as superintendent at Gettysburg National Battlefield, recommended to the regional director that the NPS should enter into negotiations with the Maryland State Roads Commission with the aim of closing the bridge entirely. In October 1955 bidding began for the repair and stabilization of the bridge and work began in March 1956. Planned prior to Mission 66, this project was completed through separate funds.²³⁶

²³³ Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961.

²³⁴ National Park Service, “Antietam Battlefield – Burnside Bridge,” accessed at <https://www.nps.gov/resources/place.htm%3Fid%3D59>.

²³⁵ Snell and Brown, 229, 234.

²³⁶ CLI Burnside Bridge, 77-78.

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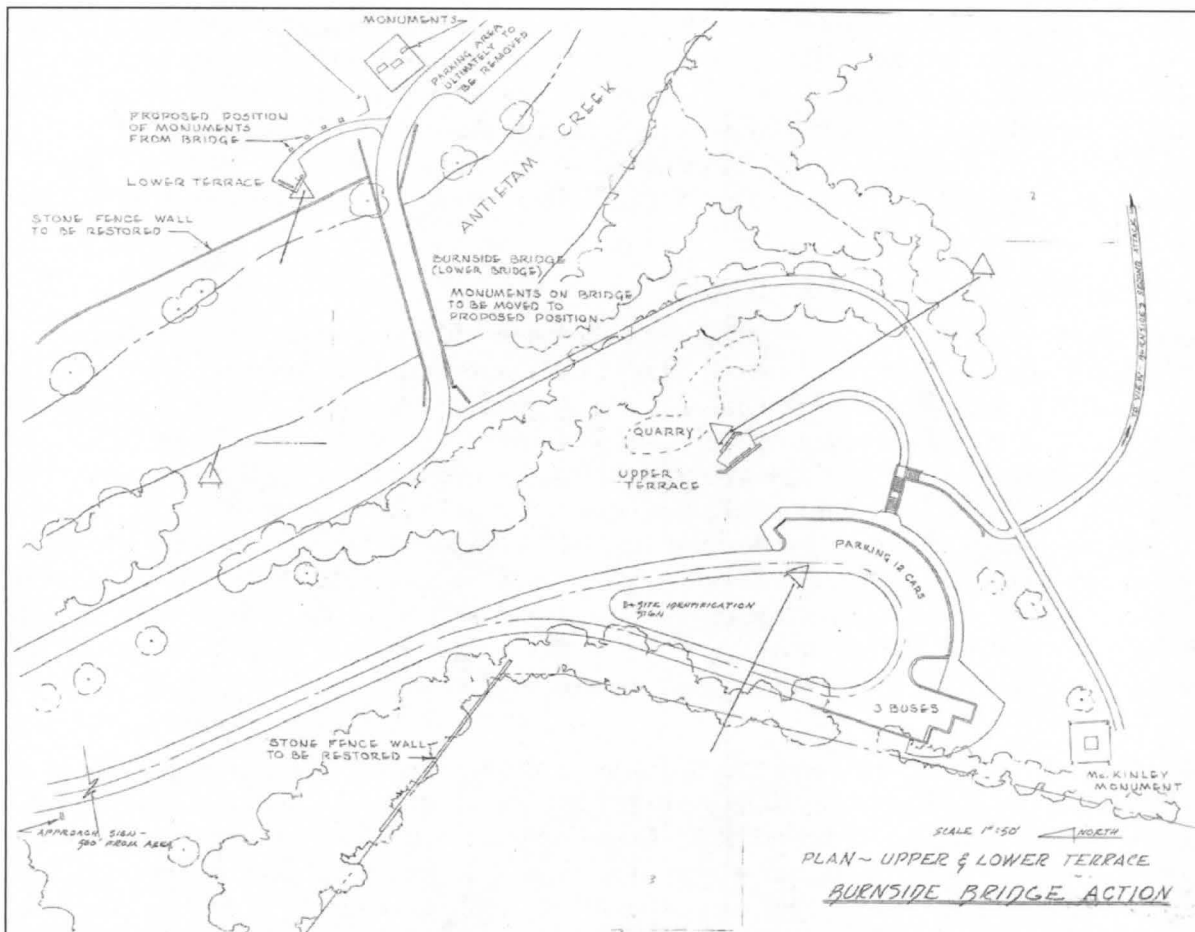


Figure 17. Plan for Burnside Bridge Overlook from the 1961 "Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan." Source: National Park Service.

While not included in the initial 1955 Mission 66 Prospectus for Antietam, during subsequent planning and revisions to the prospectus in December 1956, both the park, region, and Washington Office recognized the need to minimize traffic on the bridge and the desire to construct an overlook from the bluff overlooking Antietam Creek.²³⁷ As stated by Regional Director Tobin in January 1957 during the planning process, "On the Burnside Bridge side of the Battlefield we recommend a restudy that will permit local use of the proposed bridge across Antietam Creek, and a road to Confederate Heights with the least damage to the landscape."²³⁸

Although the 1957 final prospectus included the construction of a bypass road, it did not specifically mention the overlook. It indicated that a portion of the existing Burnside Bridge Road would be "used as a two-way road leading to and from the turn-around point just across

²³⁷ Memorandum to Director Wirth, Report of Master Plan Conference on Antietam NBS, 10 December 1956, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²³⁸ Memo from Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to Director of the National Park Service Conrad Wirth, 11 January 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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and east of the Burnside Bridge.”²³⁹ Initial plans, meetings, and memorandums, particularly a memorandum from Director Wirth in March 1957, suggested that the overlook would be located on the east side of the creek, although later conceptual drawings followed Tobin’s plan for it on the west bluff, likely since the NPS already owned the land.²⁴⁰

The 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” and the 1962 Master Plan more clearly specified the improvements to the Burnside Bridge area. From the intersection of Burnside Bridge Road and Branch Avenue, the tour route would use the existing road alignment and become a two-way spur up to the Burnside Bridge interpretive stop (Figure 17). Here, a new parking area, turnaround, and overlook would be located on the knoll above Burnside Bridge to the west. A tear drop-shaped parking area would provide access to an “Upper Terrace,” located directly above the site of a quarry where Confederate soldiers dug rifle pits and positioned themselves for the Union attack. On the upper terrace there would be an interpretive exhibit with wayside panels and an audio device. The plans proposed a walk that led from the parking area and terrace down the hill and that would connect to the bridge via the existing McKinley Monument Walk. It also proposed a new trail that would allow visitors to view Burnside’s second attack and Snavelly Ford. On the east side of the bridge the plans showed a lower terrace with two benches and a wayside marker. Four monuments, currently on each of the corners of the bridge, would be moved to a walk connecting the lower terrace with the bridge. A stone wall along Antietam Creek would also be reconstructed and the 1960 parking area, located on the southeast side of the bridge, would be removed. All of this would be made possible by a new bypass road that would remove regular traffic from Burnside Bridge, eventually resulting in the closure of the bridge to vehicular traffic.²⁴¹

While land acquisition was necessary for some areas of the project, namely improvements related to the bypass, the NPS land west and south of the bridge provided the opportunity to start development on the overlook.²⁴² The NPS opened bids for a contract to build the entrance roads and parking area at the Visitor Center and the entrance road and parking area at Burnside Bridge in February 1962. A small area of private land was still needed to permit the proper alignment of the entrance road for the Burnside Bridge parking area.²⁴³ In March the NPS awarded the contract to Bester-Long, Inc. of Hagerstown, Maryland, and the contractor was expected to begin the work around the middle of April 1962.²⁴⁴ In May the NPS obtained an option on .36 acres of

²³⁹ *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴⁰ Memorandum from Director Wirth to Chief, Regional Office, Division of Design and Construction, Master Plan Antietam, 1 March 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴¹ Antietam National Battlefield Site: A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961; Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

²⁴² Memorandum from Superintendent Davis to Regional Director, Region 5, Land Acquisition Program, 12 February 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 52, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴³ PCP R-16-1, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3026, EODC, *Tour Road and Parking Area Burnside Bridge*, 1961, on file ETIC; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 March 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴⁴ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 April 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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land of the John W. Dorsey property (Tract 19), the land needed for the entrance road alignment.²⁴⁵

In June the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* reported that work on the project began the previous month and that the site on top of the hill was currently being leveled. It described that from the new parking area, which would provide parking for 12 cars and three buses, “A beautiful view of Antietam Creek, the old bridge and rolling hills may be obtained . . .” and that “When visitors arrive at the lot they will be only a short distance from the [bridge].”²⁴⁶

By early August 1962, the grading of the parking area at Burnside Bridge was complete, curbs were poured, and drainage pipes were in place. However, the NPS had granted more time to the contract for work at Burnside Bridge. The project was 95 percent complete, but additional grading was required due to grade modifications made to the project.²⁴⁷ By the beginning of October, the contract was completed at a cost of \$29,065.²⁴⁸ In July 1963 Bester-Long, Inc. returned to the site to replace 70 feet of curbing that had separated from the pavement the previous winter.²⁴⁹

The NPS opened bids for the “Interpretive Trail and Wayside” contract on February 26, 1963, which included the construction of the interpretive walks and exhibits at Burnside Bridge, the reconstruction of the stone wall along Antietam Creek, and the construction of the Dunker Church Trail near the Visitor Center. The NPS awarded the contract to E.D. Plummer Sons of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, for \$72,971 and the company began work on the project in early April 1963.²⁵⁰ By the end of May, the work was 25 percent complete and the contractor had begun the reconstruction of the historic stone wall north of the bridge.²⁵¹ By August the masonry work on the stone walls on either side of the walkway leading down the hill from the overlook parking area to the bridge was nearly complete and according to the superintendent’s report “resulted in some exceedingly attractive stone work; in fact these walls can be said be beautiful.”²⁵²

²⁴⁵ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 June 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴⁶ “Word Going Ahead on New Antietam Parking Area,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 26 June 1962:6.

²⁴⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 11 September 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴⁸ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 October 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Monthly Progress Report, April 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁴⁹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, July 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵⁰ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 March 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 13 May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵¹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, May 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵² Superintendent’s Monthly Report, August 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Figure 18. Burnside Bridge Overlook, Upper Terrace, 1963. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

In September the contractor had poured the remaining concrete walks at the Burnside Bridge Overlook, finished the flagstone work on the overlook terrace, and had installed the audio box (Figure 18). The contractor also completed the reconstruction of the stone wall on the east side of Antietam Creek and had poured the bases for the monuments (to be moved from the base of the bridge) and concrete walks on the lower terrace (Figure 19).²⁵³ The contractor completed the work at the Burnside Bridge Overlook in October 1963.²⁵⁴

The EODC prepared working drawings for a planting plan around the Burnside Bridge parking area in December 1962 and by January 1963, both Superintendent Davis and the Regional Office had reviewed and approved the plans.²⁵⁵ The NPS issued a contract for the planting around the Burnside Bridge Overlook and the Visitor Center in February 1963 to Treeland Nurseries, Inc. of

²⁵³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 4 October 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 7 November 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵⁵ Drawing No. NPS-ANT-3035, EODC, *Planting, Visitor Center – Burnside Bridge Area*, January 1963, on file ETIC; Memorandum from Acting Regional Director to the Chief of EODC, 11 January 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 24, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Frederick, Maryland.²⁵⁶ With the exception of spreading mulch, all the grounds work was finished by October, coinciding with the completion of the walks and stonework at the overlook.²⁵⁷ With the overlook open to the public, the battlefield relocated the directional arrows near Burnside Bridge to direct visitors to use the new overlook facilities instead of driving over the bridge and installed three cast aluminum interpretive markers near the bridge.²⁵⁸

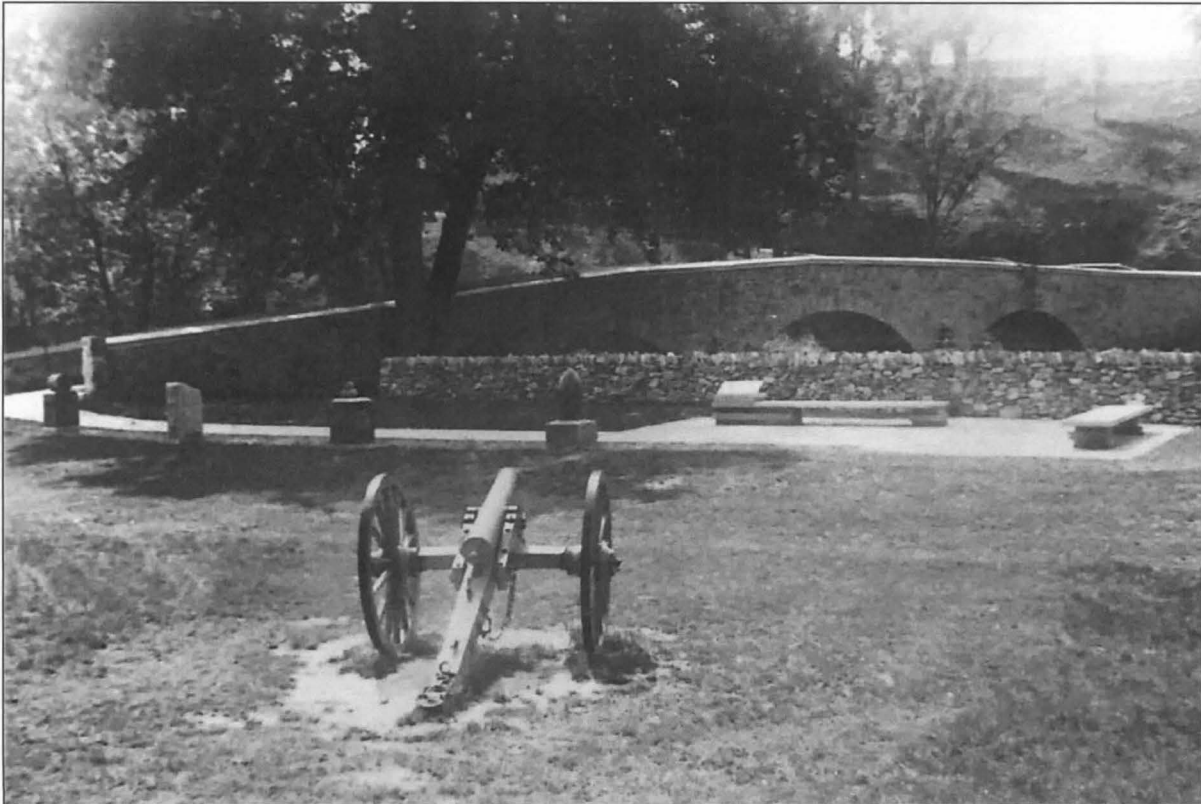


Figure 19. Burnside Bridge Lower Terrace, and stone wall, 1965. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

Now that traffic on the bridge would be limited to pedestrians, the NPS focused on restoring the bridge to its Civil War appearance. Previous work focused on stabilizing the bridge and was not necessarily historically sensitive. The NPS completed a Historic Structures Report for the bridge in April 1964, detailing its history and the proposed work.²⁵⁹ The following July the NPS awarded a new contract for the work to the Building Maintenance Corporation of Arlington,

²⁵⁶ "NPS Contract to Area Firm," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 24 February 1963: 9.

²⁵⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 7 November 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁵⁸ Snell and Brown, 344, 347-350, Completion Report: Rehabilitation of Burnside Bridge, 1964, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

²⁵⁹ Archie W. Franzen, *Historic Structures Report, Part I, Architectural Data Section on the Burnside Bridge, Antietam National Battlefield Site* (National Park Service April 1964).

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Virginia, at the cost of \$10,764.²⁶⁰ In order to protect the bridge, the contractor closed it to the public for one month effective August 20, 1964. During the rehabilitation structural weakness in the bridge became evident, making it necessary to issue a change order to relay a section of the structure's south wall.²⁶¹ Repairs to the bridge also included the repointing of mortar, the removal of concrete coping on the parapets, and the installation of wood boards along the parapets to bring the bridge back to its wartime appearance. At this time, plans emerged to remove the pavement on the sections of road approaching the bridge as soon as the bypass road was completed. Upon the removal of the pavement, these sections of road, along with the bridge, would become accessible to pedestrians only.²⁶²

Concurrently with the work on restoring and repairing the bridge, the EODC also prepared drawings for the Snavely Ford Trail. The alignment and grade of the trail was subject to adjustment in the field and would avoid the removal of large trees and steep terrain.²⁶³ Beginning at the southern end of the Burnside Bridge Overlook Parking Area, the trail would bring visitors south and then east to Snavely Ford and then along Antietam Creek until it reached Burnside Bridge. According to the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* and Superintendent Lessem, the new trail would "enable visitors to hike over a portion of the site which combines great scenic beauty and historical importance."²⁶⁴

In November 1965 battlefield staff inspected the proposed route and made some minor revisions to the plan.²⁶⁵ By the beginning of January 1966 the trail had been excavated by the R. F. Kline, Inc. of Frederick, which had also been contracted to realign and repave Mumma Lane and realign the curves and resurface Richardson Avenue.²⁶⁶ By April 1966 work on the trail was practically complete and in June 1966 the NPS held the final inspection and accepted the project.²⁶⁷

With exception of the bypass, the final work at Burnside Bridge took place in 1966 with the widening and paving of a portion of Burnside Bridge Road and the reconstruction of the McKinley Monument Walk. The NPS issued a contract in 1966 to W.F. Delauter and Son of Thurmont, Maryland, to complete the work, which also included the reconstruction of the

²⁶⁰ Contract No. 14-19-0529-2516; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 1 July 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁶¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 11 September 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁶² Snell and Brown, 344, 347-350, Completion Report: Rehabilitation of Burnside Bridge, 1964, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

²⁶³ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC.

²⁶⁴ "Battlefield to Build Road, Scenic Trail," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 10 October 1965: 18.

²⁶⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 December 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁶⁶ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 January 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁶⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 May 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Hawkins' Zouaves Walk and the reconstruction of Bloody Lane.²⁶⁸ Working drawings of March 1966 indicate that the start of the project was northeast of the Otto House and the end was west of the entrance road to the Burnside Bridge Overlook. The project widened the road to 18 feet and resurfaced the road with bituminous concrete (asphalt). At the McKinley Monument Walk, the project resurfaced the existing walk, eliminated a step near its connection with the overlook walk, and paved a section of the Snavelly Ford Trail that led to the Georgian Overlook.²⁶⁹

The completed work at Burnside Bridge greatly changed the way visitors viewed the bridge. Instead of from the perspective of Union troops, it provided visitors a view of the bridge from the vantage point of the Georgian regiments. At the lower terrace, visitors sitting on the benches were able to "look up at the hillside as Union soldiers did in 1862 before they charged the bridge."²⁷⁰ The waysides and other exhibits expanded the interpretation at the site and the Snavelly Ford Trail allowed visitors a closer view of significant points in the battle. Perhaps most importantly, the improvements to the area preserved Burnside Bridge by removing vehicular traffic from the bridge and restoring the structure and its immediate surroundings to their appearance during the Battle of Antietam. These improvements combined many aspects of the expanded interpretive programs of the Mission 66 era, including the use of audio-visual materials, construction of interpretive signs, and the expansion of interpretive programs outside the visitor center. In addition its parking lot, entrance road, and walks responded to the existing topography, with the intent to minimize its footprint on the existing landscape.²⁷¹

Mumma Lane (1965-1966)

The NPS identified the inclusion of Mumma Lane as part of the improved tour route early on in its Mission 66 planning efforts and as part of the final 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus. In describing this section of the proposed tour route, the prospectus stated that from Smoketown Road,

[The visitor turns] into the old Mumma Lane until he comes to the little stone enclosed church yard on the left (pertaining to the Dunkard Church) which figures very prominently in the battle and was the scene of a savage skirmish earlier in the engagement. Proceeding down this old lane [the visitor] once again turns right skirting the Mumma farm buildings of which all but the stone spring house were burned by D. H. Hill earlier in the action. The eagle-crested shaft of the New York Monument and the Visitor Center will then be on the right. The visitor again comes out upon the Mumma Lane, proceeding down this old road used by the Confederates under D. H. Hill until he reaches the Sunken Road.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins' Zouaves Walks, March 1966, on file ETIC.

²⁶⁹ Drawing No. 3111-A, National Park Service, Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins' Zouaves Walks, March 1966, on file ETIC.

²⁷⁰ "Tape Recording, Overlook Now Aid Antietam Visitors," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 25 October 1963: 5.

²⁷¹ Carr et al, 41.

²⁷² *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, 13-14, Record Group 79, Entry 41, Box 1, Final Prospectuses, 1955-1960, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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The incorporation of the lane, described as a “timeworn, rutted country lane,” into the tour route would allow visitors to view the Mumma Cemetery, the Mumma Farm, and the Roulette Farm before they reached the Sunken Road (Bloody Lane).²⁷³

The NPS acquired the lane and the Mumma Farm in 1961 as part of the acquisition of the Spielman Tract (Tract 7) for the new Visitor Center and the Mumma Cemetery by donation in 1962. Plans called for widening the lane to 16 feet, paving it in its entirety, and changing its alignment near the Mumma Farm. Here, the road would bypass the farm on its east side, thereby eliminating a 90-degree turn on the northwest corner of the farm. The new segment of road would gently curve to connect with the original alignment on the south side of the farm. Along the stretch toward Richardson Avenue, a pull-off would be built on the east side of the road, allowing for a view toward the Roulette Farm. The alignment of the road would also be softened at its intersection with Richardson Avenue with a curve instead of a 90-degree turn. According to Superintendent Lessem, the project would open an extremely important part of the battlefield to vehicular traffic.²⁷⁴

The NPS awarded the contract to R.F. Kline of Frederick, Maryland, in November 1965 along with two other construction projects, the realignment and resurfacing of Richardson and Rodman Avenues and the construction of the Snavely Ford Trail. At the end of November 1965, the contractor began grading Mumma Lane and Superintendent Lessem reported that the work was “unusually rapid due to the large number of mechanized units they are employing on the project.”²⁷⁵ By the beginning of January 1966 the road had been graded and the stone course laid down. In April the contractor installed the curbing and gutter for the pull-out.²⁷⁶ On June 29, 1966, after the NPS formally accepted the project, the battlefield incorporated Mumma Lane into its tour route.²⁷⁷ In August 1966 the battlefield found it necessary to construct a temporary pull out on Mumma Lane near the old Mumma Cemetery. A temporary sign identifying the cemetery had caused numerous drivers to park on the road shoulders and in order to avoid additional damage, the battlefield converted the rutted portion of the shoulder to a pull out.²⁷⁸

Richardson Avenue and Bloody Lane (1965-1966)

Historically the Sunken Road was a dirt farm lane used by farmers to bypass Sharpsburg. By the time of the Civil War, the road had been worn down from years of rain and wagon traffic and its embankment made it an advantageous place for Confederate troops to strengthen their position while waiting for the advance of the Union Army. Over 5,500 soldiers were killed as a result of

²⁷³ Snell and Brown, 353.

²⁷⁴ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC; “Battlefield to Build Road, Scenic Trail,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 30 October 1965:18.

²⁷⁵ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 3 December 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁷⁶ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 3 January 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 May 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁷⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁷⁸ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 7 September 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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fighting on the road, giving it the designation “Bloody Lane.” As part of the original tour route, the War Department built Richardson Avenue to parallel the Sunken Road around 1895 and erected the Observation Tower, positioned at the end of the road before it turned south toward Route 34 (Boonsboro Pike), a year later.²⁷⁹

The intersection of Richardson Avenue and Route 34 had been identified in the 1955 Mission 66 Prospectus as being one of two steep hills on the tour route (the other on Branch Avenue) that needed realignment due to its hazardous conditions to drivers. However, the Maryland State Roads Commission was planning to widen Route 34 and had already drawn up plans and submitted them to the EODC by July 1955. The State of Maryland planned to procure the land needed for the widening, fix the intersection, and once it was completed give the land and section of road to the NPS.²⁸⁰ The state completed the widening and realignment of the road in September 1958; however, the land transfer did not occur until 1962 due to confusion over the ownership of the land. In 1962 President Kennedy signed the bill allowing for the exchange of .05 acres of NPS land on the southern end of Richardson Avenue for approximately .61 acres from the State of Maryland as a result of the widening and relocation of Route 34.²⁸¹ Instead of a straight alignment south down the steep hill to Route 34 and then west along the highway to Rodman Avenue, the new intersection gently curved to the west and then south, bringing the intersection directly across from Rodman Avenue. The 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus and the 1962 Master Plan both called for an overpass at this intersection, which would allow visitors to avoid crossing Route 34 and that “Due to the steep slopes rising on both sides of the new improved portion of the Boonsboro Road [Route 34], an overpass and realignment of Rodman Avenue offers the most feasible solution.”²⁸² Several years earlier, Regional Director Tobin had recommended against an overpass and stated, “a modern grade separation structure of any sort, underpass or overpass, would be undesirable on a Civil War battlefield and we should strive to avoid it.”²⁸³ For unknown reasons, likely due to funding or objections to the plan, the overpass was never built.

The list of development projects in the 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus specified a project to “Realign Curves and Resurface Rodman Avenue, Richardson Avenue and Bloody Lane (Excluding Boonsboro Road Overpass and Approaches),” but no detail was given on the exact plans for the road. However, the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” indicated that the portion of Richardson Avenue that paralleled Bloody Lane would be relocated to the south. On the new realigned road, near Roulette Lane, would be a new parking area and a viewing terrace that would allow visitors to exit their vehicles and view Bloody Lane from above. The plans illustrated a stone interpretive exhibit/viewing terrace with an audio device that would explain

²⁷⁹ Snell and Brown, 95-100.

²⁸⁰ *Prospectus for Mission 66, Antietam National Battlefield Site and Cemetery*, July 1955, National Archives, College Park, on file Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

²⁸¹ “Triangle of Road Work Soon to be Completed,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 5 September 1958:11; “Kennedy Signs Antietam Land Exchange Bill,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 1 June 1962:20; “U.S. and State Swap Land on Antietam Site,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 7 February 1962:24.

²⁸² Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

²⁸³ Memo from Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin to Director of the National Park Service Conrad Wirth, 11 January 1957, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 988, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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the role of the Sunken Lane in the battle and informational wayside panels, one with a map and a second with a painting of the battle. Sheltering the viewing area was a canopy. A set of stone stairs would allow visitors to walk down to the Bloody Lane from the viewing terrace. The existing fence along the Sunken Road and right-of-way was to be removed and restored to the “historical work fence.” The plans also indicated that the Observation Tower would be demolished.²⁸⁴

The 1962 Master Plan also specified plans for the realignment of Richardson Avenue. After stopping to view the Roulette Farm on Mumma Lane, the plan stated that “The tour road will then curve up to Bloody Lane where it will parallel the existing stretch of tour road up as far as the Observation Tower. The old piece of tour road next to the Sunken Road will be obliterated and the remainder will be restored to [the] historic trace.” By this point the Observation Tower was to remain.²⁸⁵ The 1965 Master Plan reiterated this proposal and listed as one of its plans to improve the circulation of the tour route the “Realignment of the tour road along Bloody Lane to permit restoration of the historic trace.”²⁸⁶ The work on Bloody Lane was made possible by the acquisition of the 193-acre Sadie Piper Farm (Tract 13), which bordered the south side of Richardson Avenue along Bloody Lane, in 1964.²⁸⁷

The first improvements to Richardson Avenue began at the end of 1965 by R. F. Kline Inc. of Frederick, Maryland, part of the contract for the improvements to Mumma Lane. The work included repaving Richardson Avenue from the Observation Tower to Route 34 and Rodman Avenue from Route 34 to the Rodman Avenue Bridge and began at the end of 1965.²⁸⁸ Along with the Mumma Lane work, the NPS accepted the completed project in June 1966.²⁸⁹

In March 1966 the Philadelphia Planning & Service Center of Design and Construction (renamed/reorganized from the EODC in 1965-1966) prepared drawings for the work on the “Reconstruction of Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins-Zouave [sic] Walks,” which were to be issued under one contract. On Bloody Lane, plans called for moving Richardson Avenue 100 feet to the south and constructing a new 16-foot wide road that paralleled the old road along Bloody Lane. The War Department road was to be removed. As shown in the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan,” a new parking area and sidewalk were to be constructed near Roulette Lane that would lead to the overlook terrace. Near the Observation Tower, an existing parking area would be removed and a new, larger parking area constructed. From the overlook terrace, the historic Bloody Lane would lead east to the Observation Tower parking area. Other improvements called for the softening of the curve at the

²⁸⁴ National Park Service, Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961, on file ETIC.

²⁸⁵ Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

²⁸⁶ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

²⁸⁷ Snell and Brown, 314.

²⁸⁸ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 3 January 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁸⁹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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intersection of Richardson Avenue and Mumma Lane and the curve of Richardson Avenue near the Observation Tower.²⁹⁰



Figure 20. Realignment of Richardson Avenue and the construction of the Bloody Lane Overlook Parking Area, 1966. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

The NPS issued an invitation to bid on the contract in the spring of 1966 and awarded the contract to W.F. Delauter and Son of Thurmont, Maryland, for a total cost of \$83,737.²⁹¹ On June 16 the NPS held a preconstruction conference for the contract and directed the contractor to commence work the following day.²⁹² The contractor finished all of the paving related to the project by August 1966 and the following month, the project in its entirety was completed²⁹³ (Figure 20). Near the end of the Mission 66 program, the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* described the

²⁹⁰ Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, *Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins' Zouaves Walks*, March 1966, on file ETIC.

²⁹¹ Monthly Progress Report, September 1966, , Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁹² PCP No. R-33, Contract 5-302-2525, Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, *Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins' Zouaves Walks*, March 1966, on file ETIC; Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁹³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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improvements to Bloody Lane as the “Most prominent and extensive of the current battlefield renovations. . .”²⁹⁴ The work on the interpretive wayside exhibit and the overlook, however, would not be completed until 1967 by the Harpers Ferry Job Corps.

Hawkins’ Zouaves Monument (1966)

The State of New York erected the 9th New York Infantry Monument, also known as the Hawkins’ Zouaves Monument, in 1897 to mark the position of the regiment after it forded Antietam Creek toward the end of the Battle of Antietam. Located on the east side of Harpers Ferry Road south of Sharpsburg, the monument stood on a small island of NPS land that was surrounded by the J.W. Dorsey Tract (Tract 19).

As mentioned above, the 1957 final Mission 66 Prospectus for Antietam indicated a change of the end of the tour route at the location of Pegram’s Battery near the intersection of Branch Avenue with Harpers Ferry Road and a new interpretive stop at the Hawkins’ Zouaves Monument.²⁹⁵ The 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” showed a parking area for 12 cars along the new road and a large stone terrace and interpretive exhibit entitled “The Last Phase of Battle” around the monument. The tear-shaped terrace, with the monument in the center, was to have an audio device, a marker, a battle map, and signs marking several important vantage points.²⁹⁶

Because the NPS was not able to secure the land needed for the road and expanded tour stop, these plans never materialized. In 1965 a member of the NPS Exhibits Planning Team suggested that the battlefield install a parking strip along Harpers Ferry Road near the approach walk to the Hawkins’ Zouaves Monument. As the chief of the NPS Eastern Museum Laboratory noted, “Until this area can be put to practical use as a tour stop, the chronological account of the battle cannot be successfully completed.”²⁹⁷ However, since the land needed was in private ownership, they were once again confronted with issues regarding land acquisition. Superintendent Lessem still hoped to install a vehicular approach to the monument from Branch Avenue, possibly through land purchased via a permanent easement.²⁹⁸ Instead, the NPS decided to improve the trail leading from Harpers Ferry Road to the Hawkins’ Zouaves Monument in 1966 as part of other improvements to Bloody Lane and the Burnside Bridge area.²⁹⁹ Plans called for resurfacing the walk in asphalt, rebuilding shoulders with topsoil to meet the finished grade, and seed,

²⁹⁴ “Antietam Battlefield Undergoes Facelifting,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 23 October 1966:14.

²⁹⁵ National Park Service, “Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site,” December 17, 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Drawing 302-3007C, EODC, *General Development Plan, Part of the Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1957, on file ETIC.

²⁹⁶ Antietam National Battlefield Site, A Developed Area Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961, on file ETIC.

²⁹⁷ Memorandum from Russell J. Hendrickson, Chief, Eastern Museum Laboratory to Chief, EODC, 5 April 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 42, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁹⁸ Memorandum from Superintendent Lessem to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 13 April 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 42, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

²⁹⁹ PCP No. R-33, Contract 5-302-2525, Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, *Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins’ Zouaves Walks*, March 1966, on file ETIC; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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fertilize, and mulch the construction area.³⁰⁰ The contractor, W.F. Delauter and Son began the work in June 1966 and completed the work on the walk in August.³⁰¹

Job Corps Waysides (1967)

While the EODC developed the “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” in 1961 and construction drawings for several of the exhibits in May 1965, construction on several of the wayside exhibits lagged, likely due to land acquisition limitations and funding. In January 1967 the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Conservation Center agreed to install three fieldstone “interpretive complexes” at Bloody Lane, Cornfield Avenue, and Philadelphia Brigade Park.³⁰² The Job Corps team began the work in April and Superintendent Lessem’s monthly report noted that “These will be permanent improvements for the Battlefield and a tremendous asset to our interpretive program.” Landscape Architect James (Jim) G. Kiryakakis of the Philadelphia Planning & Service Center made an on-site inspection of the construction plans and sketches and made “many worthwhile suggestions and much constructive criticism.”³⁰³ The completion of these three exhibits solidified many of the goals outlined during the planning process.

President Lyndon B. Johnson had created the Job Corps program in 1964 in response to a rising level of unemployment and social unrest as well as a downturn in the nation’s economy. As part of his “War on Poverty,” President Johnson patterned Job Corps after the successful New Deal-era Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program. Similar to the CCC, Job Corps recruited young men between the ages of 16 and 21 with the goal to teach work habits and attitude along with vocational skills.³⁰⁴ The Job Corps Training Camp at Catoctin Mountain Park, the first Job Corps site in the nation, opened in January 1965 and the Harpers Ferry site followed in April 1966.³⁰⁵

The *Hagerstown Morning Herald* featured an article about the Job Corps work at Antietam in June 1967. Under the direction of instructors Ben Smith and A. E. Baylor, the young men had been working on the stonework for the wayside and overlook terrace at Bloody Lane since April. The overlook was to give tourists a commanding view of the “ill-fated” Sunken Road. According to the newspaper, “Incorporated into the masonry of the overlook will be a tape recorder plus several aluminum maps and authentic pictures of the battle. By pushing a button visitors will hear a concise history of the battle’s progression illustrated by the maps and pictures in front of

³⁰⁰ Drawing No. ANTI-302-3111A, *Philadelphia Planning & Service Center, Design and Construction, Reconstruct Bloody Lane, Burnside Bridge Road, McKinley Monument & Hawkins’ Zouaves Walks*, March 1966, on file ETIC.

³⁰¹ PCP No. R-33, Contract 5-302-2525, NBS-ANTI-3111; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 4 August 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁰² Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 February 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁰³ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 4 May 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁰⁴ National Park Service, Catoctin Mountain Park, “Job Corps,” accessed at <https://www.nps.gov/cato/learn/historyculture/jobcorps.htm>.

³⁰⁵ “New Job Corps Camp Opens at Harpers Ferry,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 22 April 1966:2; National Park Service, Catoctin Mountain Park, “Job Corps,” accessed at <https://www.nps.gov/cato/learn/historyculture/jobcorps.htm>.

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them.” Superintendent Lessem praised the work of the corpsmen and pointed out that the project was one of several underway by the Job Corps at the battlefield.³⁰⁶

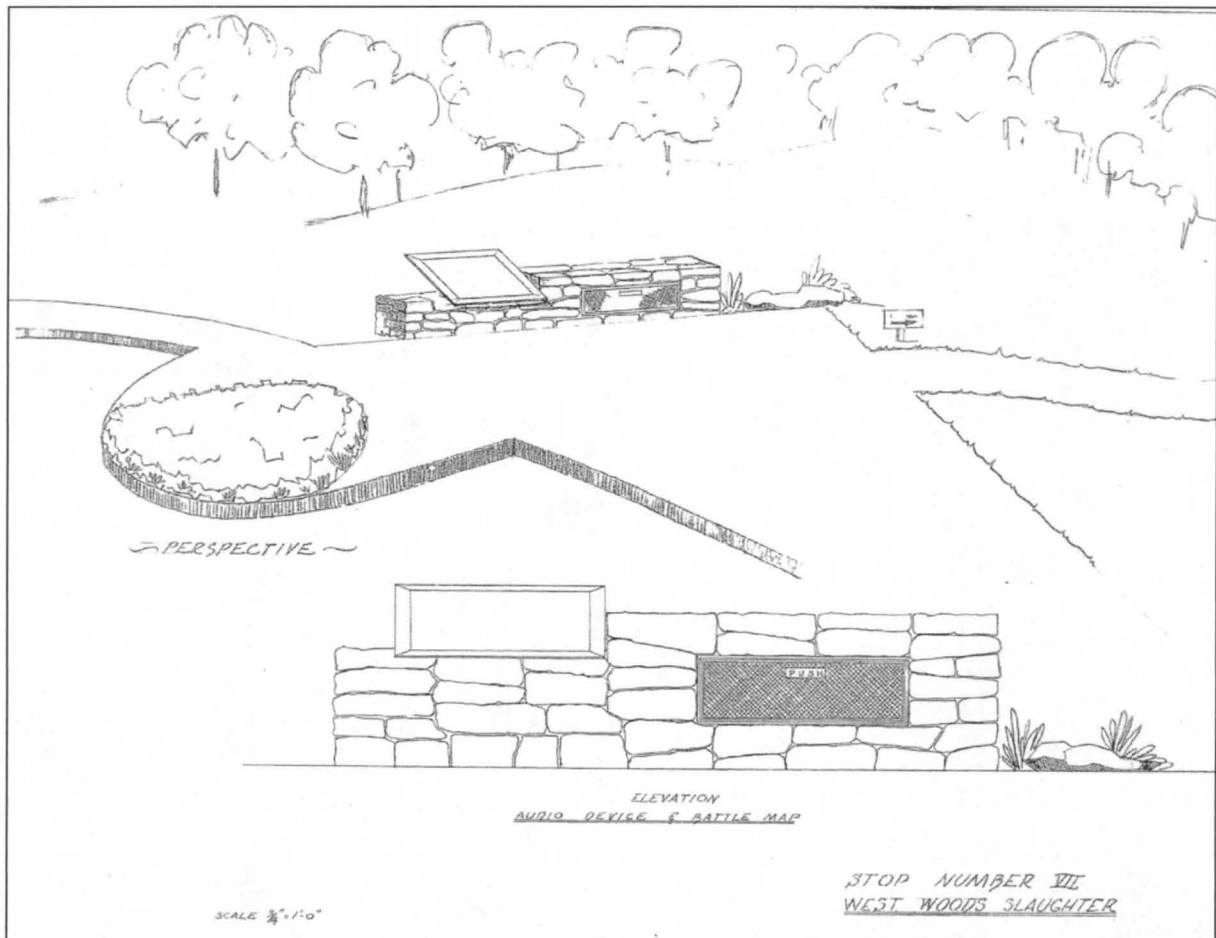


Figure 21. Plan for the West Woods Slaughter Interpretive Exhibit at Philadelphia Brigade Park from the 1961 “Sign and Exhibit Wayside Plan.” Source: National Park Service.

The Harpers Ferry Job Corps Conservation Center completed all of the masonry work on the Bloody Lane interpretive complex by early July 1967. At that time, they were also working on the stone waysides in the Philadelphia Brigade Park and Cornfield Avenue and the installation of the walks and terraces were to commence shortly. Once again Landscape Architect Kiryakakis visited Antietam to provide guidance on the projects and his advice was “practical, aesthetic and invaluable.”³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ “Job Corps Workers Reconstruct Battle Site of Civil War,” *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 16 June 1967:14.

³⁰⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 July 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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At the Cornfield, plans generally followed the conceptual drawings from the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan,” but the exhibit itself had to be shifted to the west side of the 1960 parking area within the existing right-of-way instead of on the north side due to land acquisition issues.³⁰⁸ The completed exhibit consisted of the stone wayside exhibit with four interpretive panels, an audio box that narrated what occurred at Miller’s cornfield during the Battle of Antietam, and a siting tube that allowed visitors a view toward Battery B, 4th US Artillery, to the northwest. Built, but not shown on the plans, was a stone wall that extended from the exhibit along the north side of the parking area.



Figure 22. Construction of the interpretive exhibit at Philadelphia Brigade Park by the Harpers Ferry Job Corps, 1967. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

The plans for the exhibits at Philadelphia Brigade Park also changed as a result of land acquisition issues. The 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan” indicated a stone exhibit at the park interpreting the “West Woods Slaughter” and separate tour stops for the “Rock Outcroppings” and “Nicodemus Heights,” pull-offs that would be located on Confederate Avenue. The lack of land acquisition and the elimination of Confederate Avenue as a result of the Route 65 bypass removed both of these stops from the tour. Consequently, the 1965 “Roads–Walks & Miscellaneous Construction” drawings specified that there would be two wayside

³⁰⁸ Memorandum from Superintendent Lessem to Chief Landscape Architect, EODC, 10 March 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 42, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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exhibits at Philadelphia Brigade Park, one interpreting the West Woods Slaughter and the other interpreting Nicodemus Heights and the Rock Outcroppings.³⁰⁹ The stone wayside exhibit for the West Woods Slaughter was built near the parking area and contained an interpretive marker and an audio box (Figures 21 and 22). The second wayside, located along the western fence line of Philadelphia Brigade Park, contained a stone wall that doubled as a bench and two markers, one interpreting Nicodemus Heights and one interpreting the Rock Outcroppings.

At the Bloody Lane Overlook Terrace, the stone wayside exhibit shifted slightly from the 1961 “Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan.” As the designs advanced from conceptual to construction drawings in 1965, the painting was removed from the exhibit, therefore eliminating the need for the shelter.³¹⁰ The completed overlook consisted of a concrete terrace and stone wayside exhibit with three interpretive panels and an audio box. A stone stairway on the east side of the exhibit allowed access down to Bloody Lane.

Signs (1961-1967)

Several sign projects were completed at Antietam during Mission 66 that aided in the interpretation of the battlefield and orienting visitors to the site and the tour route. In March 1961, before most of the Mission 66 related projects began, the NPS further improved the tour route by erecting new signs along the roads. The newly marked tour route had 31 directional signs, 29 of which were installed that month. All had the new uniform color scheme adopted by the battlefield – light gray background with “Postal” blue lettering. Twenty of the signs had the legend “Battlefield Tour” and an arrow 34 inches long that pointed in the correct direction and 18 of the signs had a 3-inch number indicating a key feature of the tour. According to the superintendent’s monthly report, “By following these arrows in their numerical order, the visitor is now able to tour the battlefield in the chronological order in which the battle was fought, without being confused by the conflicting directions of the former, unnumbered sign system.”³¹¹

In January 1964 the NPS issued a contract to George D. Reynolds Co. of Hagerstown, Maryland, for the main entrance sign for the park, located near the Visitor Center, and nine secondary signs. The project was started in January 27, 1964, and completed on November 25, 1964. Under the terms of the contract, the battlefield agreed to install the signs and all were in place by November 1964 with exception of the main entrance sign, which was pending the construction of the Route 65 Bypass.³¹² In October 1966, after the completion of the bypass, the battlefield installed its “handsome” new entrance sign³¹³ (Figure 23).

³⁰⁹ Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1961; Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3102, EODC, *Roads-Walks & Misc. Construction*, May 1965, on file ETIC; Memorandum from Superintendent Lessem to Chief Landscape Architect, EODC, 10 March 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 42, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹⁰ Memorandum from Superintendent Lessem to Chief Landscape Architect, EODC, 10 March 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 42, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹¹ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 11 April 1961, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹² Completion Report, Directional and Traffic Control Signs, Entrance Sign and Secondary Signs, Record Group 79, Entry 80, Box 99, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹³ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 3 November 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Figure 23. Antietam National Battlefield Entrance Sign, 1967. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archive.

In July 1966 Antietam installed 22 new cast aluminum markers (two at Crampton's Gap). It also installed three routed signs, fabricated by the Catoctin Job Corps Center.³¹⁴ According to the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* in 1966, "Throughout the battlefield area, new cast aluminum interpretive plaques have been installed, replacing the former cast iron descriptive signs. The new plaques present more of a diagrammatic picture of the battle, the batteries, and the troop movements than did the former signs." The replaced signs were not the tablets erected by the War Department, but likely the signs erected in the 1950s. The article noted that 25 signs had been erected, with 11 more in the planning stages. The signs had a white face with a blue border, blue inscription, and blue illustration.³¹⁵

During February 1967 the battlefield installed 24 "handsome" interpretive and directional signs along the tour route, fabricated by the Catoctin Job Corps Camp. Several of the markers referred

³¹⁴ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 4 August 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹⁵ "Antietam Battlefield Undergoes Facelifting," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 23 October 1966:14.

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to the artillery positions.³¹⁶ The battlefield also received a new cast aluminum marker that explained that the State of Maryland financed the reconstruction of the Dunker Church.³¹⁷



Figure 24. Starke Avenue Picnic Area, 1967. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

Starke Avenue Picnic Area (1967)

While the construction of day use facilities were common projects during Mission 66, the final Mission 66 Prospectus for Antietam specifically noted that “No plans have been made to provide camping or picnicking area as they can better be provided along the Potomac River (C&O Project).”³¹⁸ By 1962 plans had shifted. The Master Plan noted that “Luncheon facilities must be provided on the Spong Farm in the Burnside Bridge vicinity. This facility is necessary because no such facilities are provided in the vicinity of Sharpsburg.”³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 February 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 5 April 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 February 1967, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹⁸ National Park Service, *Mission 66 Prospectus, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 17 December 1957, Record Group 70, Entry 41, Box 1 (Final Prospectuses 1955-1960), National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³¹⁹ Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

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While the picnic area at Burnside Bridge never materialized, the 1965 Master Plan indicated in its list of projects a “luncheon site and accompanying parking area along Starke Avenue.” An accompanying “General Development Plan” specified that the area would have parking for 12 cars and 2 buses as well as 12 picnic tables.³²⁰ While the plan suggested that the picnic area could move forward without land acquisition, the picnic area never developed beyond a cleared area on the west side of a former section of Confederate Avenue, north of Starke Avenue. Photographs indicate that the clearing occurred and the picnic tables were added in 1967³²¹ (Figure 24).

Bypassing the Battlefield

Introduction

The 1957 Mission 66 Prospectus and the subsequent master plans called for three bypass roads that would reduce unnecessary through traffic and protect the battlefield’s historic resources. While the 1957 prospectus listed the bypass roads in its development plan, the 1962 Master Plan provided additional detail on the need and construction of the roads. The first was a new road that would bypass Burnside Bridge. The Burnside Bridge bypass was important not only to eliminate automobile traffic on the bridge and thereby protect it from further damage, but also to remove traffic from the area in general as it interfered with visitors at a significant part of the battlefield. When completed, the NPS would transfer the newly constructed bypass road to Washington County in exchange for the present road from Burnside Bridge to Branch Avenue.³²²

A second bypass road would begin west of State Route 65 (Sharpsburg Pike) from a point north of Sharpsburg and would connect back to the existing Route 65 at a point north of the battlefield. This new road would limit through traffic in front of the Visitor Center and Dunker Church as well as on Cornfield and Mansfield avenues. Similar to the Burnside Bridge bypass, the Route 65 bypass would be turned over to the State of Maryland when completed, this time in exchange for a portion of Route 65 that bisected the battlefield from Bloody Lane (Richardson Avenue) to Mansfield Avenue. Portions of the original Route 65 were to be used for the battlefield tour route and the remainder, “returned to its historic appearance.”³²³

Finally, the NPS recommended a third bypass, constructed from Route 65 at a point north of the battlefield near the intersection of Upper Bridge Road (Keedysville Road) and Smoketown Road. According to the master plan, this road would completely eliminate the use of the tour route for purposes other than the tour of the battlefield, particularly the use of Cornfield and Mansfield avenues.³²⁴ Of the three bypasses, this road was the least crucial and was never built, likely due to land acquisition restraints.

³²⁰ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3007H, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, *General Development Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1965, on file ETIC.

³²¹ Photograph ANTI(P)10801, Antietam National Battlefield Archives.

³²² Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

³²³ Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962.

³²⁴ Master Plan for Antietam National Battlefield Site, Mission 66 Edition, 1962; Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis, 1965*, on file ETIC.

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Burnside Bridge Bypass (1963-1964)

Prior to the issuance of a construction award, the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR), which was providing the engineering work and inspection for the road, began the survey for the bypass road around Burnside Bridge in August 1962.³²⁵ Plans indicate that the bypass was initially planned to start on Route 34 east of Richardson Avenue and then travel south to reconnect with the original alignment to avoid crossing Antietam Creek.³²⁶ However, the Washington County Commissioners did not agree to the NPS's proposed route and objected to the fact that it increased the distance into Sharpsburg by more than a mile. The NPS agreed to investigate another route and on September 25 EODC Landscape Architect Dean Stout, Superintendent Davis, Resident Landscape Architect Bruce Meyers, and members of the BPR team made a preliminary check on an alternate route.³²⁷ In April 1963 the Board of County Commissioners granted permission to the NPS to construct the Burnside Bridge bypass.³²⁸

The NPS opened bids for Project 10A1, the Relocated Burnside Bridge Road, in late June 1963 and awarded the contract to Richard F. Kline of Frederick, Maryland, for \$179,866.³²⁹ Less than a mile long, the new bypass would divert from the existing Burnside Bridge Road at its intersection with Rodman Avenue and Branch Avenue. Here, the bypass would travel east and cross Antietam Creek via a new bridge north of Burnside Bridge, built as part of a separate contract. West of Antietam Creek, the bypass would curve south and reconnect with the existing Burnside Bridge Road east of Burnside Bridge.³³⁰

Work began on the Burnside Bridge bypass in August 1963 with the contractor completing the final survey of the western end of the route, establishing a field office, and clearing away brush.³³¹ By May 1964 the work on the bypass was 90 percent complete.³³² In June 1964 the road, except for its paving, was completed and the NPS held a final inspection and accepted the work.³³³ Although the NPS had initially hoped to construct the Rodman Avenue Bridge and the new bridge over Antietam Creek along with the Burnside Bridge bypass contract, these projects were later grouped together in one contract for the Route 65 bypass (see below).³³⁴

³²⁵ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 2 November 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland, "By Pass on Antietam Battlefield Will Divert Traffic From Burnside Bridge," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 19 May 1964.

³²⁶ Drawing 302-3007C, EODC, *General Development Plan, Part of the Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield Site*, 1957, on file ETIC.

³²⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 6 June 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³²⁸ "Board OK's Building of Burnside Bridge Bypass," *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 17 April 1963:31.

³²⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³⁰ Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3037A, EODC, *Burnside Road Bypass & Tour Road Connection*, 1963.

³³¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³² Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 June 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³³ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 1 July 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³⁴ "New Road Accepted into County System," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 1 March 1966.

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Figure 25. Rodman Avenue Bridge and realigned Branch Avenue, 1966. Source: Antietam National Battlefield Archives

Branch Avenue (1964)

As part of the construction of the Burnside Bridge bypass in 1963-1964, the NPS changed the routing of Branch Avenue near its intersection with Rodman Avenue and the road to the Burnside Bridge Overlook.³³⁵ Both the initial 1955 Mission 66 Prospectus and the subsequent 1965 Master Plan specifically identified the problem with the existing road. The 1965 Master Plan stated, “Because the intersection of the Burnside Bridge Road and Branch Avenue lies on a short steep hill, cars now enter it at an awkward position and have to negotiate this brief stretch of road in second gear. Buses have difficulty in this present portion and the road is very hazardous during bad weather.”³³⁶ The new alignment created a safer intersection and a more gradual approach up the hill through a gentle curve that followed the existing topography and connected with the original alignment of Branch Avenue to the south (Figure 25).

³³⁵ PCP No. R-27, Drawing No. NBS-ANT-3037A, EODC, *Burnside Road Bypass & Tour Road Connection*, 1963, on file ETIC; Memorandum from Chief Landscape Architect, EODC, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 19 April 1963, Record Group 79, Entry 82, Box 22, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³⁶ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

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Richard F. Kline of Frederick, Maryland, made the improvements to Branch Avenue as part of its work on the Burnside Bridge bypass. The new alignment was completed in July 1964. Shortly after, the NPS constructed concrete ditches along the road to prevent damage to the outer road shoulder.³³⁷

Route 65 Bypass, Paving of Burnside Bridge Bypass, and Construction of Bridges over Burnside Bridge Bypass and Antietam Creek (1965-1966)

At the time of Mission 66, Route 65 cut through the battlefield along the east side of the Dunker Church. As a major connection between Sharpsburg and Hagerstown, the road had become a safety hazard, “where numerous intersections leading to battlefield shrines and slow-moving tourist autos have been a problem.”³³⁸ When completed, the *Hagerstown Daily Mail* pronounced that the construction of the 1.5-mile long bypass was “Probably the greatest change to the battlefield site. . .”³³⁹

Described more specifically in the 1965 Master Plan, the purpose of the new road was to:

[D]irect through traffic off that portion of Hagerstown Road within the park. The proposed bypass of the Hagerstown Road will begin about the intersection with Piper’s Lane and will curve northwest to link into Confederate Avenue by the South and West Woods; from Confederate Avenue, it will swing northeast to rejoin the closed Hagerstown Road just west of the Poffenberger Farm. . .”³⁴⁰

Initial development plans as late as 1958 show the Route 65 bypass beginning at a point south of the Visitor Center and then curving further to the west, avoiding the South and West Woods and leaving Confederate Avenue intact.³⁴¹ By 1962 the plans for the road had changed, with the road still curving to the west south of the Visitor Center, but then generally following the alignment of Confederate Avenue right-of-way, likely due to funding or land acquisition constraints. Consequently, while the alignment of the Route 65 bypass succeeded at eliminating traffic through the battlefield and in front of the Visitor Center and Dunker Church, it also obliterated the War Department’s Confederate Avenue and cut through an area of the West Woods that witnessed heavy fighting during the battle.³⁴²

The BPR team completed the survey for the proposed Route 65 bypass as early as November 1962 and forwarded the report to the chief of the EODC and the regional director.³⁴³ After the completion of the Burnside Bridge bypass (excluding the paving of the road) NPS solicited for bids for a multi-project contract in February 1965. This contract included grading and paving the

³³⁷ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 6 August 1964, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³³⁸ “Antietam Battlefield Road Changed,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 22 January 1966:10.

³³⁹ “Antietam Battlefield Undergoes Facelifting,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 23 October 1966:14.

³⁴⁰ Drawing No. 3106, EODC, *The Master Plan, Antietam National Battlefield, Development Analysis*, 1965, on file ETIC.

³⁴¹ Drawing No. ANTI-302-3007D, EODC, *Antietam National Battlefield, General Development Plan*, 1958, on file ETIC.

³⁴² Trail, 415.

³⁴³ Superintendent’s Monthly Report, 9 November 1962, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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Route 65 bypass, paving the Burnside Bridge bypass, constructing the Rodman Avenue Bridge (over the Burnside Bridge bypass) and constructing a new bridge that carried the Burnside Bridge bypass over Antietam Creek. Dewey Jordon Inc. of Frederick, Maryland, submitted the lowest bid and were able to start work immediately.³⁴⁴ The total allotted cost for the Route 65 bypass was \$539,000 and the construction of the two bridges was \$188,000.³⁴⁵

Construction began in May 1965.³⁴⁶ By August the contractor had finished the concrete foundation and supports for the two bridges and laying the stone base for the bypass.³⁴⁷ In January 1966 the footings, columns, steps, abutments, and wings were finished on the bridge over the Burnside Bridge bypass (Rodman Avenue Bridge). For the bridge over Antietam Creek, the footings, columns, stems, abutments, and wings had been constructed and the superstructure was almost complete. Superintendent Lessem noted in his monthly report for January 1966 that the clearing, grubbing, excavation, and drainage of the Route 65 bypass were 90 percent complete; the subgrade, base materials, prime coat and asphalt base material were 98 percent complete; and the headwalls and inlets were 100 percent complete.³⁴⁸ On June 24, 1966, the Route 65 bypass was open to through traffic.³⁴⁹

EODC and BPR staff held a pre-final inspection of the bypass construction projects in July 1966. The Washington County Engineer also inspected the Burnside Bridge bypass and although a few minor deficiencies were noted, the county authorities approved the construction. The Washington County Commissioners accepted the Burnside Bridge bypass into its road system in March 1966, thereby eliminating vehicular traffic from Burnside Bridge.³⁵⁰

In October 1966 road construction at Antietam, which had been ongoing for the last three years, finally came to an end. The contractor resumed seeding the shoulders of the bypasses on October 13 and two weeks later, state roads employees inspected the State Route 65 bypass. On October 27 the BPR and NPS Landscape Architect Kiryakakis and Superintendent Lessem conducted the final inspection and approved the work.³⁵¹ The new Route 65 bypass was later transferred to the

³⁴⁴ Projects 3A1 (Grading and Paving Relocated State Route 65, R-25), 7A1 (Bridge on Rodman Avenue over Relocated Burnside Bridge Road, R-27), and 10A2 (Burnside Bridge Bypass and Bridge over Antietam Creek, R-27); U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads, Bid Announcement; 5 January 1965; Letter to NPS Director George B. Hartzog Jr. from A.F. Ghiglione, Deputy Director for Operations, Office of Engineering and Operations, 19 February 1965, RG 79, Entry 80, Box 55, Roads and Trails, Antietam, 1965-1966.

³⁴⁵ Monthly Progress Report, September 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁴⁶ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 5 May 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁴⁷ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 September 1965, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁴⁸ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 January 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 122, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁴⁹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 13 July 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁵⁰ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 4 August 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland; "New Road Accepted into County System," *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 1 March 1966.

³⁵¹ Superintendent's Monthly Report, 3 November 1966, Record Group 79, Entry 11, Box 80, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

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State of Maryland and the section of Hagerstown Pike officially became part of the park's tour route (now Dunker Church Road).

Conclusion: The Completed Tour Route

When finished in 1967, the tour route at Antietam was greatly improved and several plans envisioned for the battlefield since the 1940s finally came to fruition. It also incorporated many of the philosophies of the Mission 66 program to improve visitor services, particularly self-guided interpretation of the battlefield. These included the belief that the NPS roads and trails were more than just access routes, but "recreational and inspirational features in themselves" that required, "the utilization of turnouts, markers, overlooks, and other roadside features to realize their full public use potential. A road or trail only becomes complete when these facilities are installed to bring out the significance of the area traversed and the importance of natural history or historical features observed."³⁵² Antietam accomplished this by employing many of the suggested strategies of the program, including building turnouts and overlooks, using audio-visual aids (the audio narratives and maps), and the incorporation of roadside markers, new signs, and exhibits along the tour route.

Beyond interpretation the NPS improved the condition of the tour route for the modern automobile traveler. Roads were widened and repaved, parking areas added, turns and alignments softened, and bypasses constructed to lessen non-battlefield traffic and to reduce traffic in historically sensitive areas. Along with the construction of the Visitor Center and efforts made to preserve the historic scene of the battle, the tour route and its associated improvements brought together many of the overall goals of the Mission 66 program at Antietam.

CONCLUSION: MISSION 66 AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Although the centennial of the Battle of Antietam proved to have less of an impact on the number of battlefield visitors than expected, the "combination of the centennial and the National Park Service's Mission 66 produced permanent tangible results at Antietam."³⁵³ With land acquisition, the construction of the Visitor Center, improvements to the tour route, and new interpretive exhibits, the Mission 66 program at Antietam met many of the overarching goals of the nationwide program. In fact, with the exception of the initial development by the War Department, no other program has made such a lasting impact on how visitors experience Antietam National Battlefield as Mission 66.

Not everyone thought that the Mission 66 changes to the battlefield were improvements. As one long-time resident stated in 1968 in response to a threat of a proposed electric transmission line visible from the battlefield,

[O]ne must admit much more has detracted from our historical area since Route 65 put that curve in a straight road. Making that curve eliminated the only Confederate Avenue after much protest . . . [The] famous breastworks [from the battle] was still standing, not

³⁵² National Park Service, *Mission 66 for the National Park System* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1956), 32, on file ETIC.

³⁵³ "Civil War Observances Fade Into History, Too." *Hagerstown Morning Herald*, 4 April 1965:1.

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all, but most, when the change on Rt. 65 was completed. It is not standing now, the government destroyed all signs of it . . .

People from Hagerstown who were familiar with the battlefield had guests whom they wanted to see the historic Dunkard Church. They drove to Sharpsburg and back never finding the church which they were so well acquainted all their life.

We did get a nice administration building for information but finding what you want to see is a task.

The famous Bloody Lane which had soldiers' blood running down it, is now so changed no new tourist would believe it ever did run.

Burnside Bridge has always been an outstanding tourist attraction and tourists would love to walk on it or just touch it. Now just getting to it is a job since the change in the avenues and roadways. An excellent parking lot is on the top of a big hill. After parking the car, if one is a good walker with no heart condition, one can start on the top of the hill, walk step by step down to the bridge. The return to the parking lot is step by step up the long steep hill . . . [A]ged or heart patients [once] could walk along the old country road, a level walk to the bridge. Now that is wired closed not allowing walkers to use the easy way.

Time was when one enjoyed taking visiting guests over the battlefield or just driving over it to visit the historic spots. Not now . . . If you have not been over the battlefield in the last few years, drive over it and see that a tower being visible amounts to nothing compared to what has been taken from our battlefield and its historical value.³⁵⁴

With the dual push of Mission 66 and the Civil War Centennial, the NPS was able to help preserve the battlefield from the residential development that increasingly threatened it. Yet the NPS focused most of this preservation through its own development and its concern for the historic scene as viewed from the new Visitor Center and the improved tour road. As stated by Susan Trail, NPS officials at that time “saw no contradiction between placing a new visitor center on a prominent ridge in the heart of the battlefield, while removing other modern structures that they felt constituted visual intrusions on the landscape.”³⁵⁵

Although these perspectives differ from current management practices, more than 50 years later the Mission 66 landscape at Antietam, overlaid with the initial development from the War Department, illustrates the ideals of the NPS mid-20th century. Not only did the Mission 66 program ultimately preserve and protect the Antietam National Battlefield “for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations,” but it vastly improved and aided in the visitor’s perception and understanding of the battlefield. As such, the Mission 66 landscape at Antietam stands as a significant example of the NPS’s changing visions for national park planning and development.

³⁵⁴ “The Voice of the People,” *Hagerstown Daily Mail*, 22 February 1968:6.

³⁵⁵ Trail, 418.

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SIGNIFICANT DATES

- 1955** Antietam National Battlefield submits its initial Mission 66 Prospectus.
- 1957** The Mission 66 Prospectus is finalized.
- 1960** Congress passes legislation allowing the NPS to purchase up to 600 acres in fee simple at Antietam National Battlefield and up to 1,200 acres in less than fee simple.
- The first Mission 66 construction begins on four parking areas on the tour route (Mansfield Avenue, Cornfield Avenue, Philadelphia Brigade Park, and Burnside Bridge).
- 1961** The State of Maryland donates funds to restore the Dunker Church. Reconstruction begins with a groundbreaking ceremony in May.
- In December the NPS purchases the Spielman Tract (Tract 7), the future site of the Visitor Center. Construction begins on the new building in the winter of 1961-1962.
- The NPS develops the "Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan" that provides detailed conceptual drawings for the interpretive stops and exhibits on the tour route.
- The NPS issues a contract to the District of Columbia Department of Corrections to construct 29 cannon carriages for interpretation purposes.
- 1962** In April the NPS awards a contract for the construction of the entrance roads and parking areas at the Visitor Center and the Burnside Bridge Overlook.
- Centennial commemoration at the battlefield begins on August 21 and climaxes with the anniversary of the Battle of Antietam on September 17.
- On September 2 the NPS dedicates the reconstructed Dunker Church.

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- 1963** In January the new Visitor Center is opened to the public.
- In February the NPS awards a contract for planting/landscaping at the Visitor Center and Burnside Bridge.
- In April President John F. Kennedy visits Antietam National Battlefield.
- The NPS issues a contract for the “Interpretive Trail and Wayside” project, which includes the Dunker Church Trail (Antietam Remembered Trail), the exhibits and walks at Burnside Bridge, and the reconstruction of a stone wall along Antietam Creek near Burnside Bridge. Work begins in April and is completed by November.
- In August construction begins on the Burnside Bridge bypass. The work, except for paving and the construction of a new bridge over Antietam Creek (completed on a separate contract), is finished in June 1964.
- 1964** Work begins on the rehabilitation of Burnside Bridge.
- The NPS purchases two large tracts that were key to the battle: the J.W. Dorsey Tract (Tract 18) and the Piper Farm (Tract 18). Along with two other purchases, the NPS approaches its 600-acre fee simple purchase limit at 592 acres.
- 1965** In May construction begins on the construction of the Route 65 bypass. The contract also includes the construction of the Rodman Avenue Bridge and a new bridge over Antietam Creek for the Burnside Bridge bypass. The work is completed by October 1966.
- The NPS issues a contract for “Roads –Walks & Miscellaneous Construction” that includes the realignment and widening of Mumma Lane, the resurfacing of Richardson and Rodman avenues, and the construction of the Snavelly Ford Trail. The work begins in November 1965 and is completed by June 1966.
- 1966** The NPS issues a contract for several improvement projects along the tour route, including the reconstruction of the Hawkins’ Zouaves Walk, the rebuilding of the McKinley Monument Walk, the widening and repaving of a section of Burnside Bridge Road, and the improvements to Richardson Avenue (realignment and construction of two parking areas). The work begins in June and is completed by September.
- 1967** The Harpers Ferry Job Corps completes the construction of four stone interpretive wayside exhibits at Antietam (two at Philadelphia Brigade Park, one at the Cornfield Avenue Parking Area, and one at the Bloody Lane Overlook).
- The NPS rehabilitates the rostrum at the National Cemetery.

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9. Major Bibliographical References

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

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- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
 previously listed in the National Register
 previously determined eligible by the National Register
 designated a National Historic Landmark
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # MD-934-B (Visitor Center)
 recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
 recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency
 Local government
 University
 Other
Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): WA-II-477

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 3,263

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (decimal degrees)

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

Point	Latitude	Longitude
A 39.497203	-77.747571	
B 39.496467	-77.736208	
C 39.493811	-77.732689	
D 39.483509	-77.726957	
E 39.475971	-77.708724	
F 39.456594	-77.727872	
G 39.450160	-77.723598	
H 39.441572	-77.727433	
I 39.438475	-77.740629	

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J 39.441378	-77.746186
K 39.454773	-77.748601
L 39.462983	-77.745277
M 39.470403	-77.755240
N 39.484363	-77.762344
O 39.491410	-77.760720

Discontiguous Tract Locations

P 39.455532	-77.760234
Q 39.405755	-77.639316
R 39.470543	-77.616804

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

This National Register additional documentation does not change the original boundary of the historic district, which follow the legislative boundary of Antietam National Battlefield. The legislative boundary also includes three discontiguous areas: the Major General Jesse L. Reno Monument at Fox's Gap, the War Correspondents Memorial Arch at Crampton's Gap, and the Monument to Gen. Robert E. Lee's Headquarters in Sharpsburg.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundary of the historic district remains the same as the boundary recorded in the 1982 National Register nomination and follows the legislative boundaries for Antietam National Battlefield.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Patti Kuhn Babin, Architectural Historian/Historian
organization: National Park Service, National Capital Region
street & number: 1100 Ohio Drive SW
city or town: Washington state: DC zip code: 20242
e-mail patricia_babin@nps.gov
telephone: 202-619-7229
date: October 2017

Additional Documentation

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Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Antietam National Battlefield

City or Vicinity: Sharpsburg

County: Washington

State: Maryland

Photographer: Patti Kuhn Babin

Date Photographed: March, June, and August 2017 (specific dates give in descriptions of photographs)

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0001)
Entrance Sign and Visitor Center Parking Area, Looking Northeast (8/4/2017)

2 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0002)
Visitor Center Parking Area, Looking South (8/4/2017)

3 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0003)
Visitor Center, West Elevation, Looking Southeast (8/4/2017)

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- 4 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0004)
Visitor Center, West Elevation, Looking East (8/4/2017)
- 5 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0005)
Visitor Center, West Elevation, Looking North (8/4/2017)
- 6 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0006)
Visitor Center, East Elevation (Observation Room), Looking Southwest (8/4/2017)
- 7 of 28. (MD_Washington County_Antietam National Battlefield Historic District_0007)
Visitor Center, East Elevation (Observation Room), Looking South (8/4/2017)
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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Photographs

Antietam National Battlefield Historic District – Additional Documentation

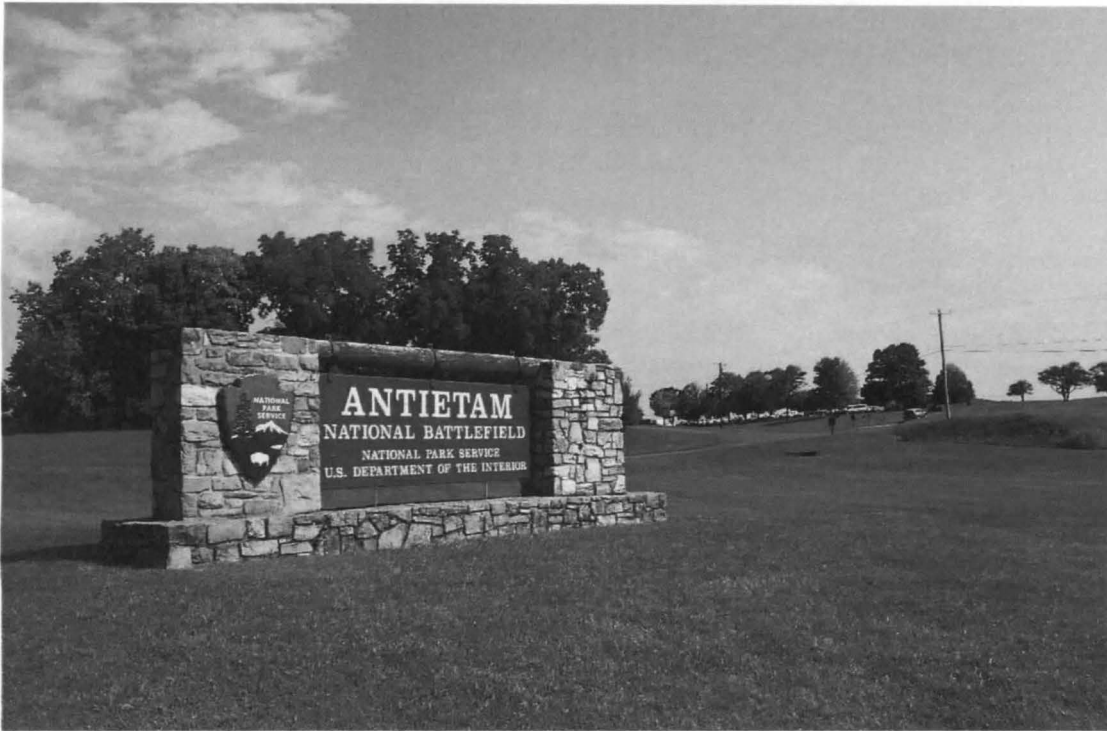


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Photographs
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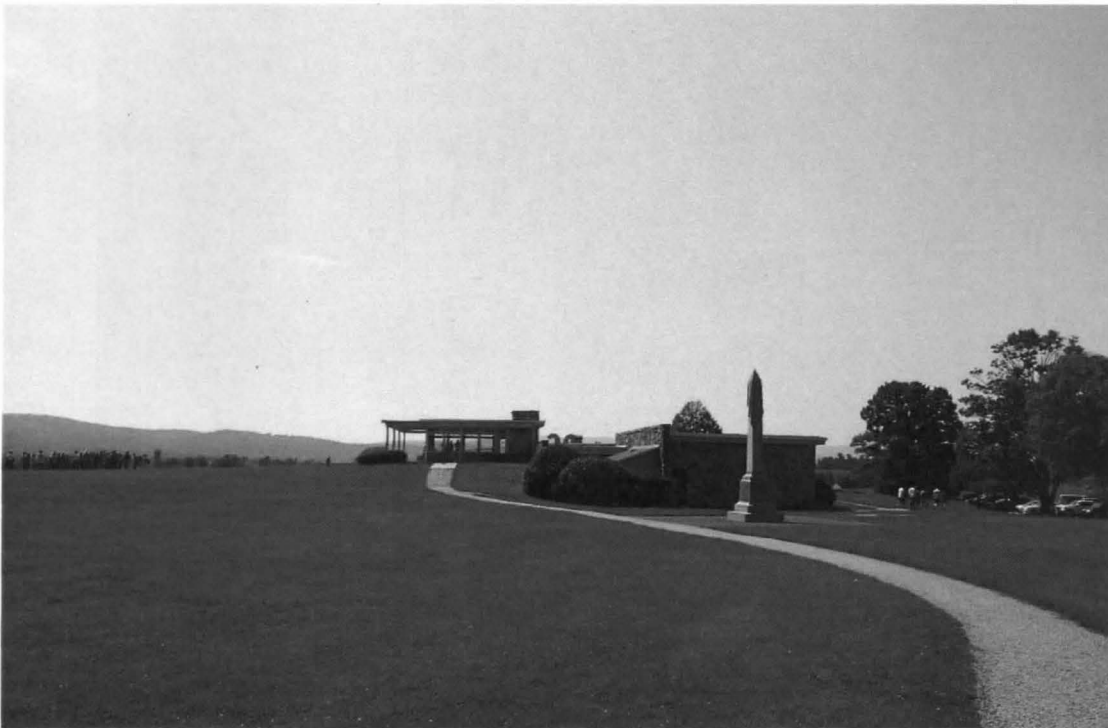


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Photographs
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Photographs
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Photographs
Antietam National Battlefield Historic District – Additional Documentation

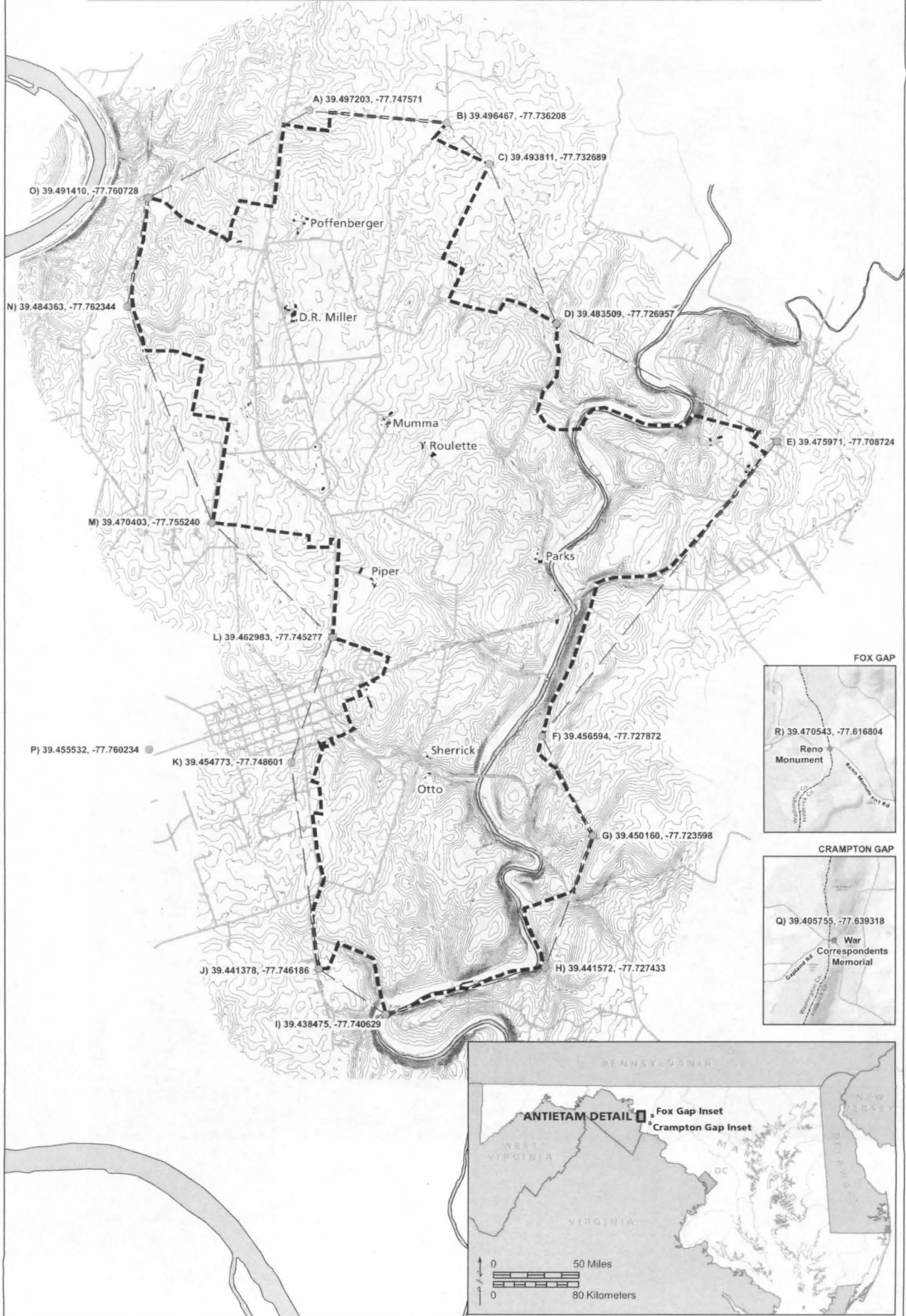


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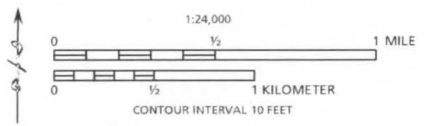
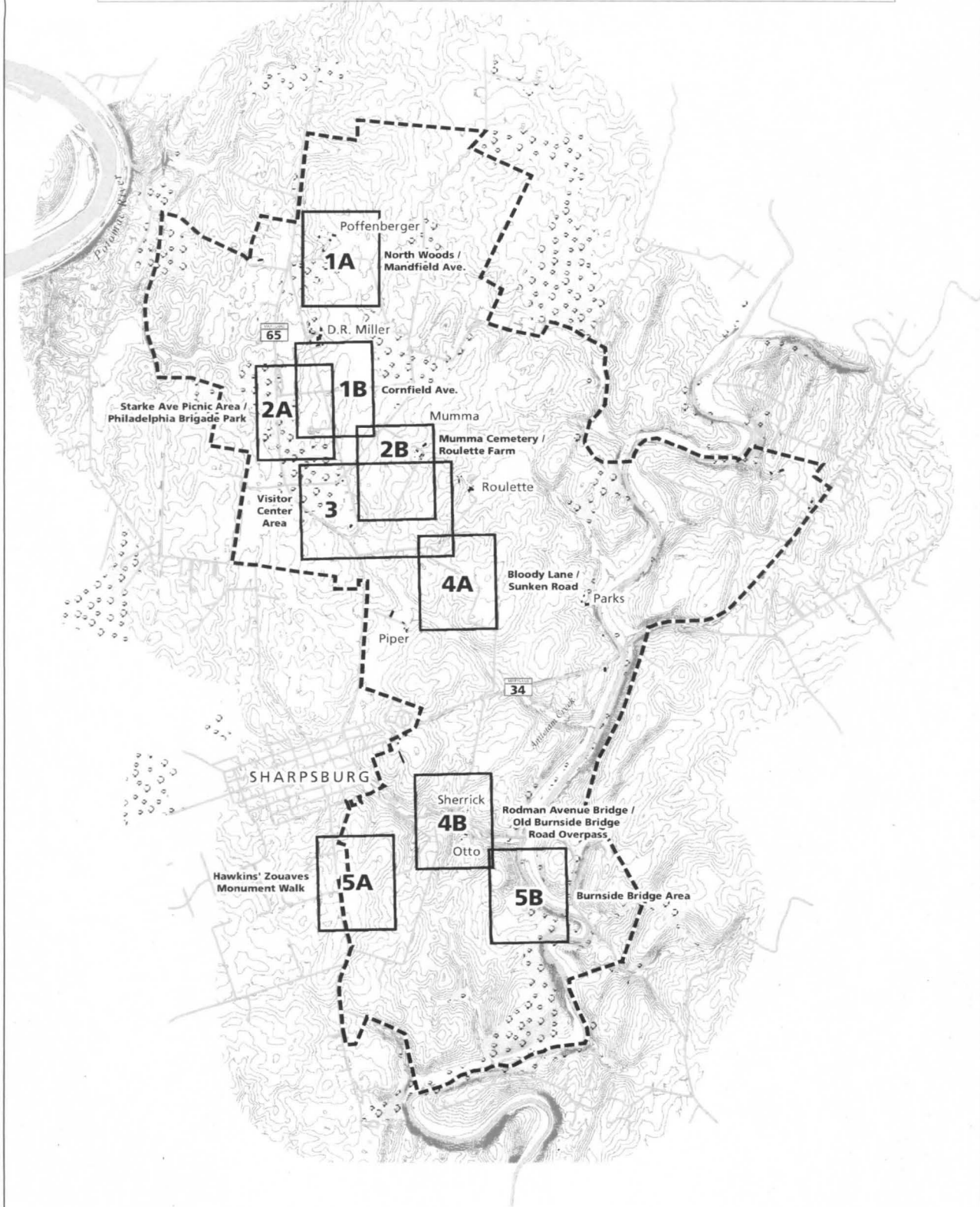


Photo 28 of 28. Burnside Bridge, Lower Terrace and Stone Wall, Looking Southeast (3/29/2017)


**ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
MISSION 66 ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION**



ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
MISSION 66 ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION



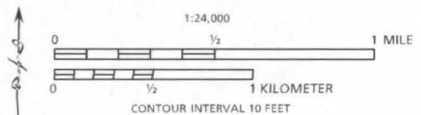
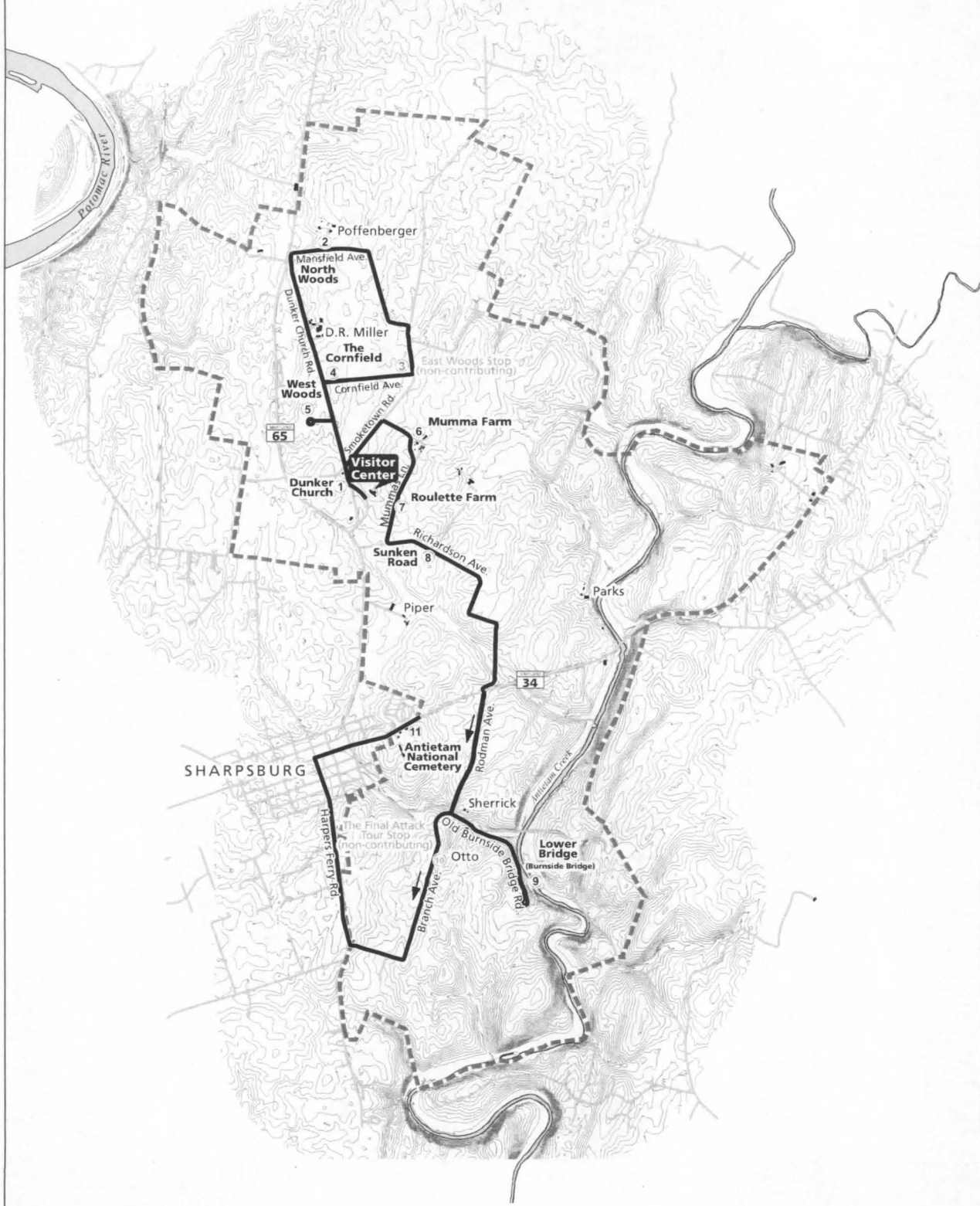
OVERVIEW AND DETAIL LOCATOR



Antietam NB Boundary



ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
MISSION 66 ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

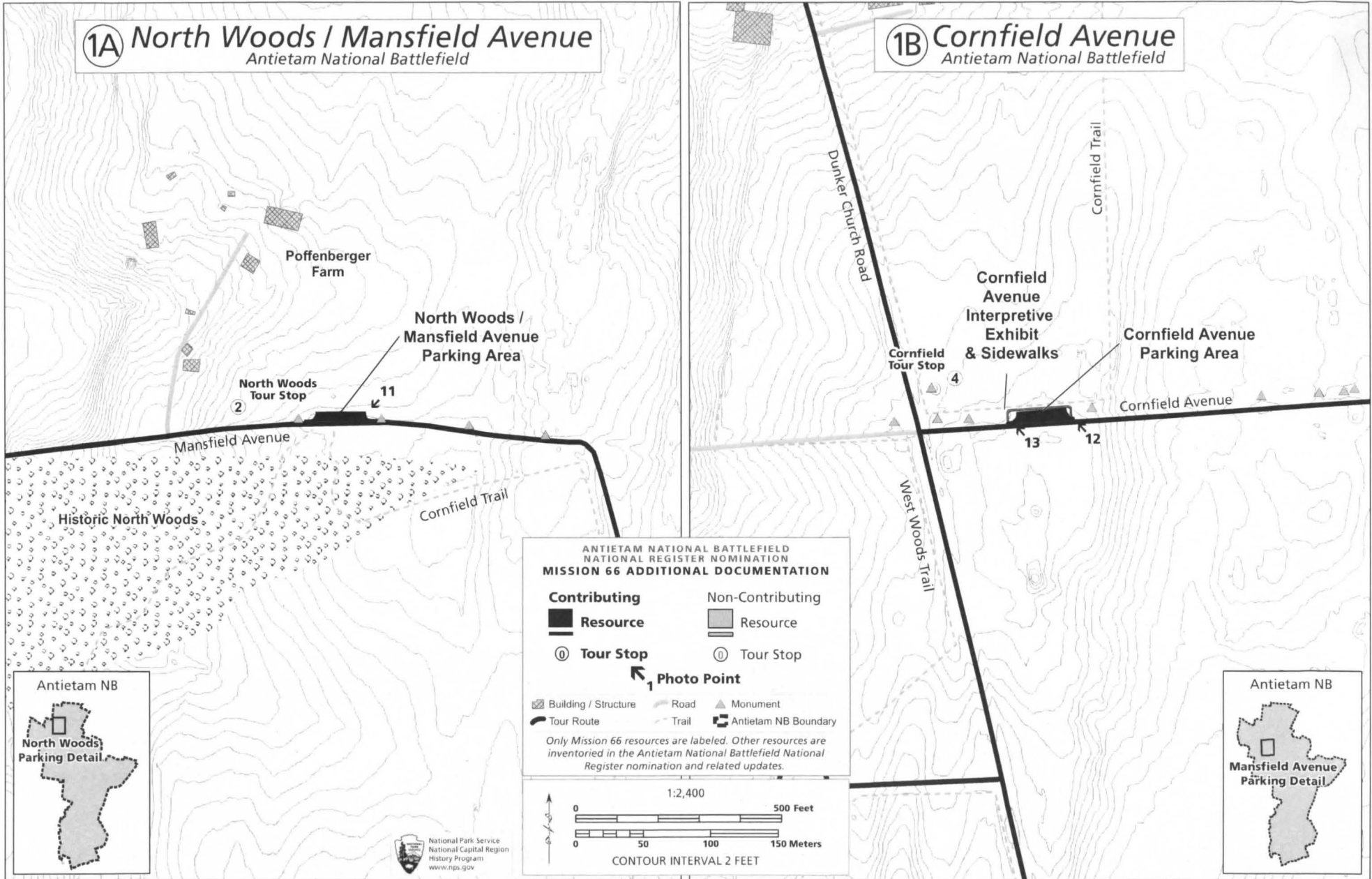


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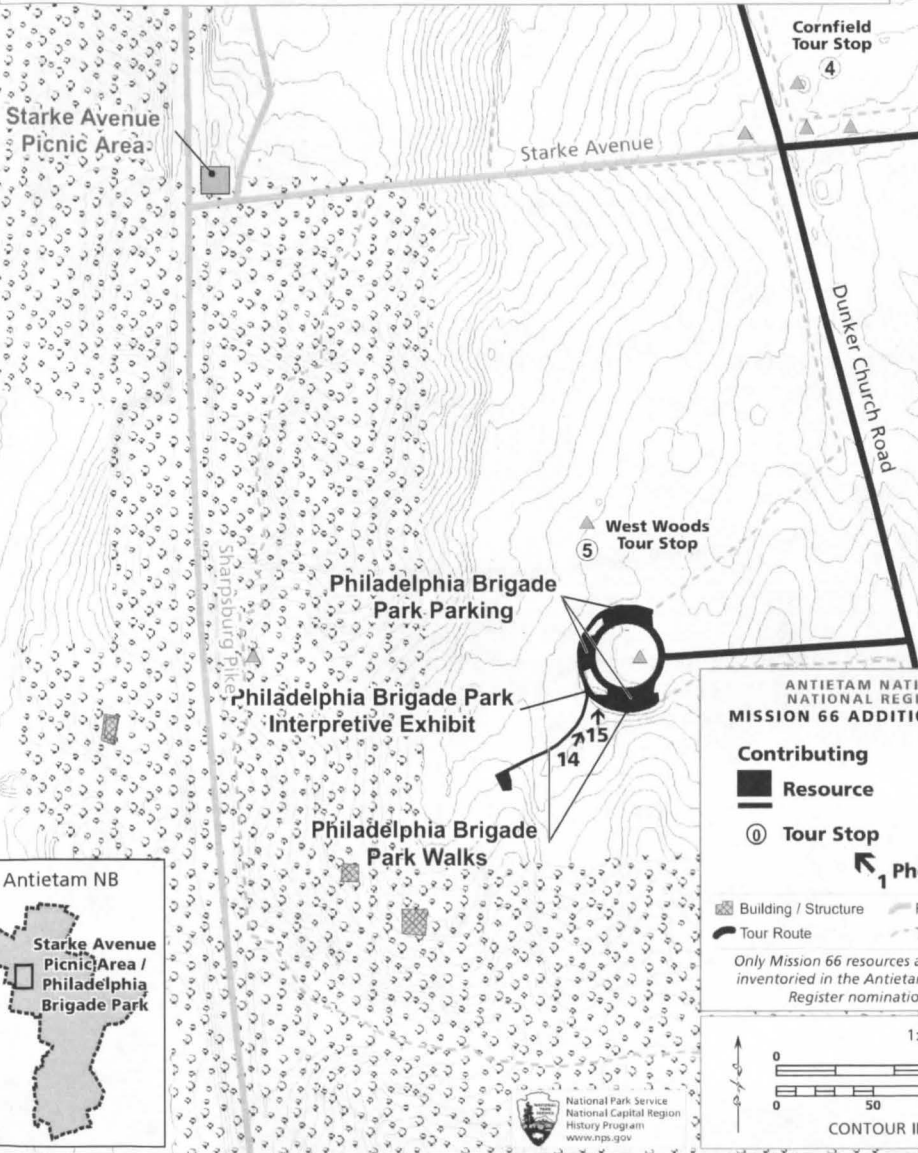
- Tour Route
- Road
- Contributing Stop
- Non-Contributing Stop
- Antietam NB Boundary

1A North Woods / Mansfield Avenue
Antietam National Battlefield

1B Cornfield Avenue
Antietam National Battlefield

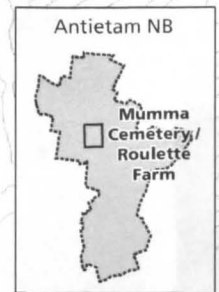
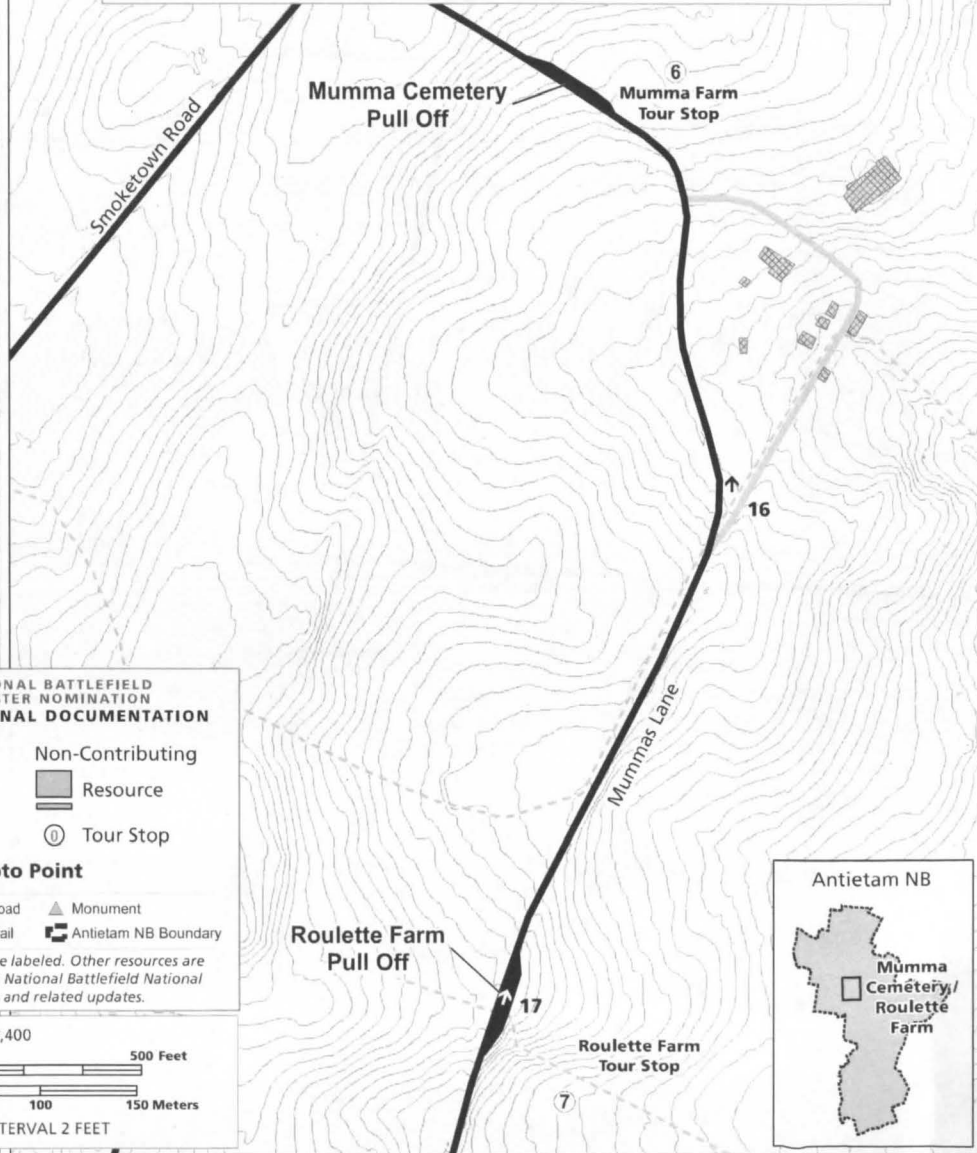


2A Starke Avenue / Philadelphia Brigade Park Antietam National Battlefield



NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N

2B Mumma Cemetery / Roulette Farm Antietam National Battlefield



ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
MISSION 66 ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

Contributing Resource	Non-Contributing Resource
Resource	Resource
Tour Stop	Tour Stop
Photo Point	

Building / Structure	Road	Monument
Tour Route	Trail	Antietam NB Boundary

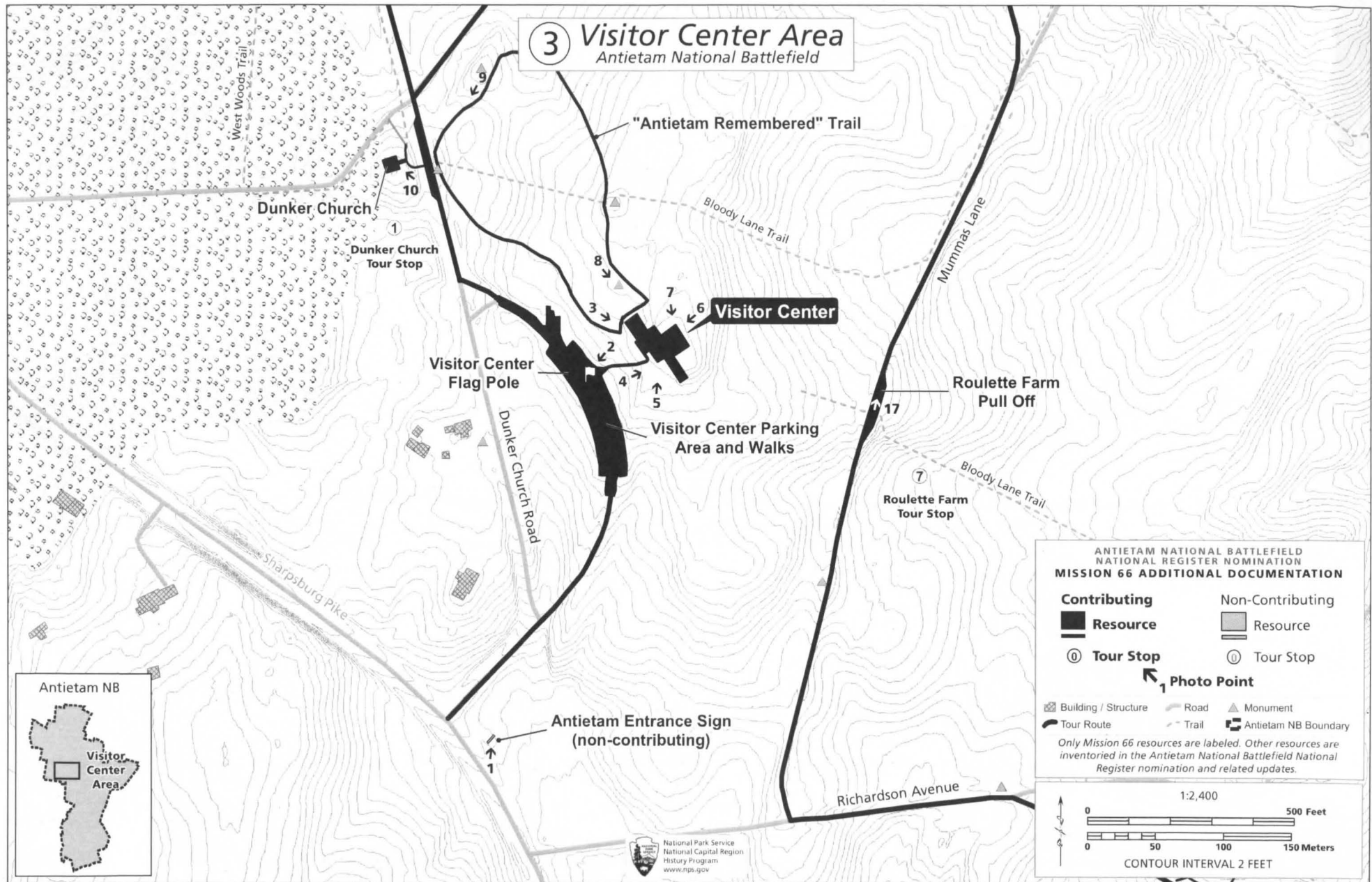
Only Mission 66 resources are labeled. Other resources are inventoried in the Antietam National Battlefield National Register nomination and related updates.

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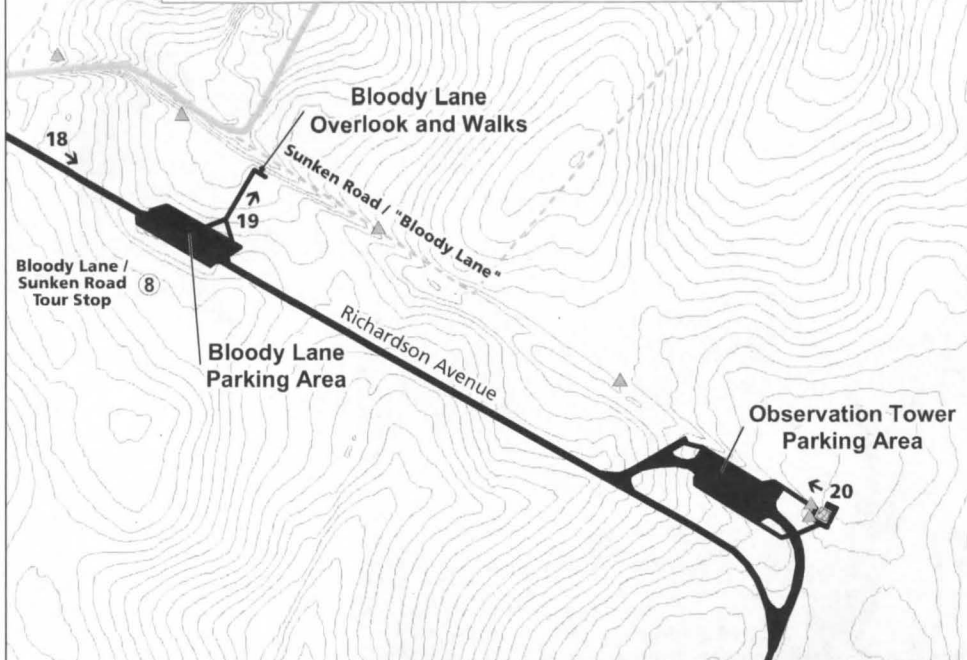
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CONTOUR INTERVAL 2 FEET



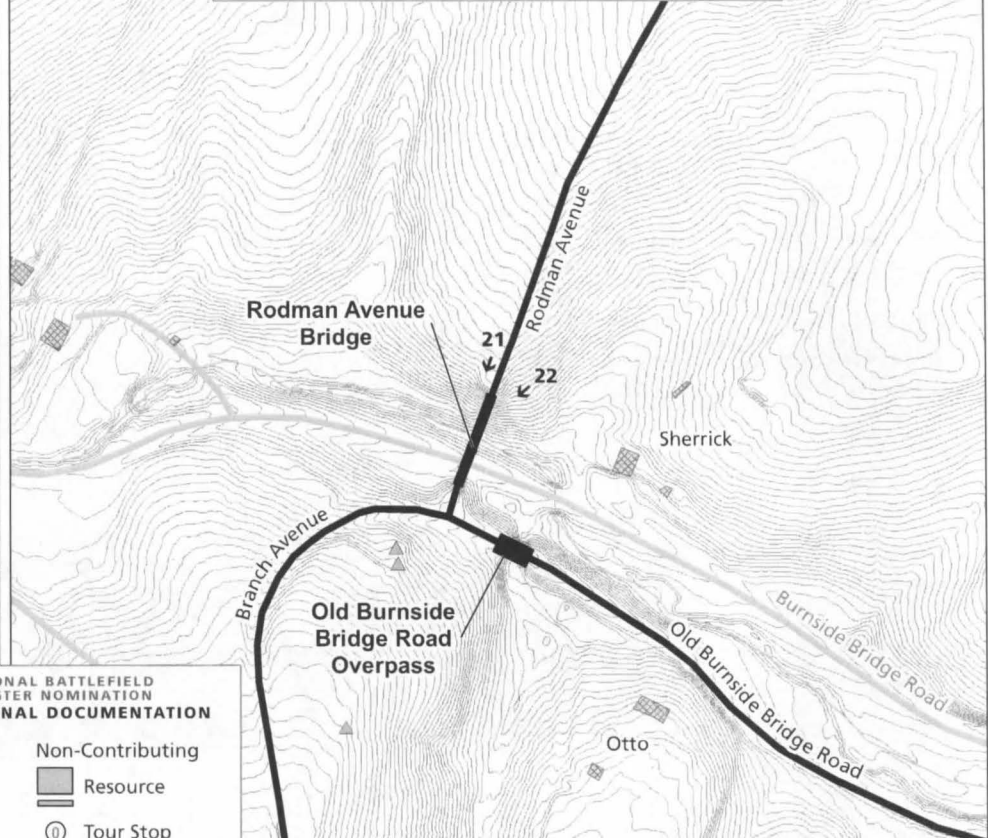
4A Bloody Lane / Sunken Road

Antietam National Battlefield



4B Rodman Avenue Bridge

Antietam National Battlefield



ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
MISSION 66 ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

Contributing	Non-Contributing
Resource	Resource
Tour Stop	Tour Stop
Photo Point	
Building / Structure	Road
Tour Route	Trail
Monument	Antietam NB Boundary

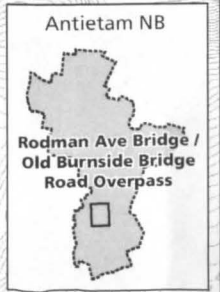
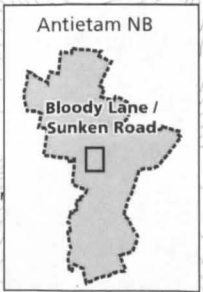
Only Mission 66 resources are labeled. Other resources are inventoried in the Antietam National Battlefield National Register nomination and related updates.

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CONTOUR INTERVAL 2 FEET



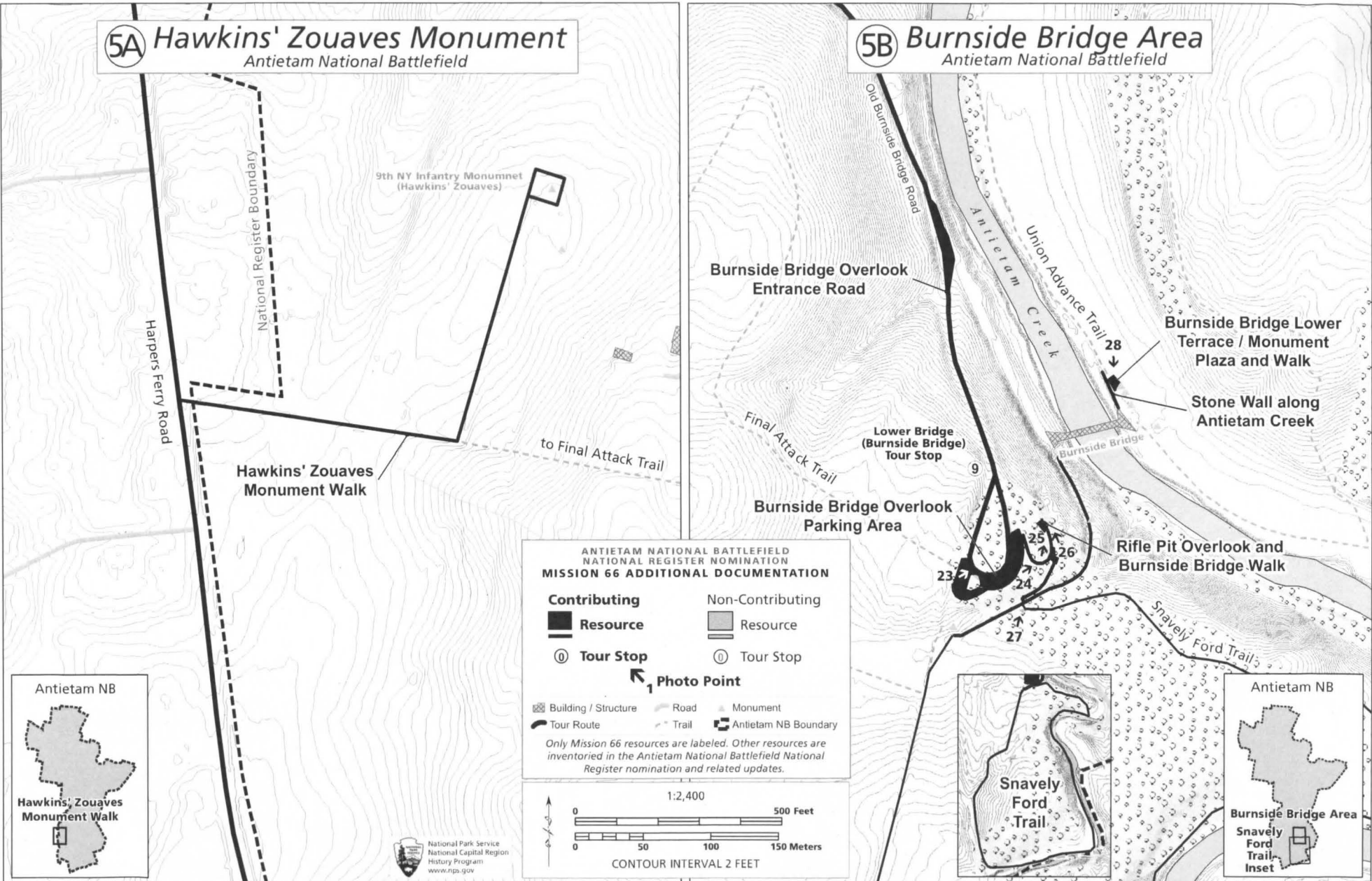
National Park Service
National Capital Region
History Program
www.nps.gov

5A Hawkins' Zouaves Monument

Antietam National Battlefield

5B Burnside Bridge Area

Antietam National Battlefield



9th NY Infantry Monument
(Hawkins' Zouaves)

Burnside Bridge Overlook
Entrance Road

Burnside Bridge Lower
Terrace / Monument
Plaza and Walk

Stone Wall along
Antietam Creek

Lower Bridge
(Burnside Bridge)
Tour Stop

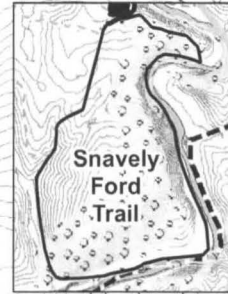
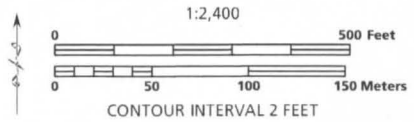
Rifle Pit Overlook and
Burnside Bridge Walk

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
MISSION 66 ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

Contributing	Non-Contributing
Resource	Resource
Tour Stop	Tour Stop
Photo Point	

Building / Structure	Road	Monument
Tour Route	Trail	Antietam NB Boundary

Only Mission 66 resources are labeled. Other resources are inventoried in the Antietam National Battlefield National Register nomination and related updates.



United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word process, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Antietam National Battlefield - Additional documentation
other names _____

2. Location

street & number _____ not for publication
city or town Sharpsburg vicinity
state Maryland code MD county Washington code 43 zip code _____

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature of certifying office/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments).

[Signature], SHPO 9-23-08
Signature of certifying office/Title Date

Maryland Historical Trust
State or Federal agency and bureau

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

I hereby, certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register.
 See continuation sheet.

determined eligible for the National Register.
 See continuation sheet.

Determined not eligible for the National Register.

removed from the National Register.

other (explain): _____

Signature of the Keeper _____
Date of Action _____

Name of Property

County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
27	15	buildings
		sites
12		structures
8		objects
		Total

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

number of contributing resource previously listed in the National Register

6. Function of Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions)

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation _____

walls _____

roof _____

other _____

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

National Register Nomination Additional
Documentation, Antietam National Battlefield

Name of Property

Washington County, Maryland

County and State

Section 7 Page 2

Physical Description:

These continuation sheets constitute an update of the existing National Register nomination for Antietam National Battlefield, near Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland. The boundaries of the current National Register Nomination follow the authorized boundaries of the National Park, established by congress. The same boundaries for the Antietam National Battlefield Historic District will be kept, but new historic contexts are being added to address particular areas of history pertaining to the battlefield as a historic cultural landscape. Narrative context development was not part of the National Register nomination process in 1980-1981 when the original nomination was developed. The three historic contexts for Antietam being added on the following continuation sheets are: 1) the pre-battle history and agricultural development of the rural community that made up the battlefield. 2) Battle-related history including the effect of the Battle of Antietam on the outcome of the Civil War; the impact of the battle on the surrounding local population; and the issuance and the effect of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. 3) Post-battle memorialization, monumentation and efforts at battlefield preservation.

The physical landscape of the Antietam Battlefield played an important role in the development of the 1862 battle. Natural features of the rolling landscape between the Antietam Creek and Potomac River, as well as access to bridges and fords, dictated many of the troop movements and artillery locations, and ultimately the military objectives of the battle. Cultural landscape features, particularly roads, fields, and woodlots associated with the farms located within and around the battlefield area, also influenced decisions concerning troops and artillery. Many of these natural and cultural landscape features remain today, making Antietam one of the most well preserved Civil War battlefields in the United States. However, some of the cultural landscape features have changed, particularly the loss of woodlot acreage and orchards, a result of changes in farming practices over the years. The addition of battlefield tour roads and monuments, beginning in the 1890s as part of the memorialization and commemoration of the battle, has also impacted the battlefield landscape.

Also recorded on these continuation sheets is documentation for the National Register of Historic Places for properties within the Park's authorized boundaries that have been acquired since 1981. Among these properties are the D.R. Miller Farm, Otto House, the Alfred Poffenberger Farm, the Roulette Farm, the Cunningham Farm, the Shull Tract, the Fulk House and property located behind it. Most of these properties were identified and discussed in the 1980 nomination, but have been studied further in intervening years. This activity necessitates the updating of the National Register nomination documentation. In addition there are properties which have long been held by the park, but which have had extensive restoration/rehabilitation since 1981, such as the Piper House that was adapted as a Bed and Breakfast in 1985. Also recorded in the following narrative is the Flook farm, which is still privately owned, but protected by scenic easement, and located within the park boundary.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

National Register Nomination Additional
Documentation, Antietam National Battlefield

Name of Property

Washington County, Maryland

County and State

Section 7 Page 3

Each of the nine properties added to the Antietam National Battlefield nomination, through this additional documentation form, were evaluated for their contribution to the historic battlefield park. To be determined a contributing resource the property needs to be related to one of the three historic contexts established above, retain historic integrity, and date from the Period of Significance as established in the 1980 nomination form. The specific Period of Significance as established in the Statement of Significance is September 16-18, 1862, however, the first page of the nomination establishes a broader period of significance to include the late 19th and early 20th century period of commemoration; specifically listing monuments established between 1865 (The Antietam National Cemetery) and 1942 (Lee Headquarters Marker). The nomination indicates that the period of commemoration continued into the 1960s but the nomination does not include any monuments dated past 1942.

This collection of continuation sheets is to be attached to the existing National Register nomination along with updated photographs and maps. The continuation sheets describe the recently acquired properties and amend information for those properties that has changed since the original nomination was prepared. Other continuation sheets will construct historic contexts for the three phases of the park's history listed above and provide current evaluations for the added properties.

1. The Fulk House, 18902 Shepherdstown Pike, Keedysville, MD

The Fulk House is located on a one-acre lot on the north side of Route 34, and along the west side of the Pry House lane. The house, constructed in the 1920s in the American Four Square style, is a 2 ½-story frame dwelling with hipped roof, on a concrete and cast stone foundation. The three bay front (south) elevation has a central entrance and paired windows with a full-length porch supported with square posts. The front roof elevation has a single central gabled dormer, with fixed six light window. A side gabled one story, one bay, mudroom addition is located on the west elevation of the house, with a modern pressure-treated lumber stair access to the south-facing door. One exterior brick chimney is located on the east elevation of the house, and one interior brick chimney extends from just west of the central peak of the roof. Windows appear to be replacement sash with six over six muntin inserts. The building is sheathed with vinyl siding and the roof is asphalt shingle. The architectural integrity of the house is affected by the application of vinyl siding and replacement windows, but the house still retains the character defining features of the foursquare style, namely the square plan, hipped roof, porch and paired windows.

1 non-contributing building. (Although the Antietam National Battlefield Staff designated the Fulk house as ineligible in 1996 relative to the 1862 battle and the later commemorative period, it could be eligible in other contexts, such as architecture.)

2. The Shull Tract, 17710, Mondell Road, Sharpsburg, MD

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

National Register Nomination Additional
Documentation, Antietam National Battlefield

Name of Property

Washington County, Maryland

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This 11.6 acre tract is located on the west side of Route 65 (the Hagerstown Pike) and along the north side of Mondell Road. Most of the acreage is still under cultivation. The fencerows are lined with mature deciduous trees. The southwest corner of the tract, fronting on Mondell Road, was partitioned off for an approximately 1/2 acre building lot on which a brick ranch style house was constructed in the 1970s. The rancher, with attached garage, is built into a hill, with a lower story walkout basement in the rear. The surrounding yard is landscaped with pine trees, shrubs, and flowers. Several temporary sheds are present. The house lot, shielded by mature pine trees and located several hundred feet west of the Hagerstown Pike, does not intrude on the visual landscape of the remaining tract, which retains much of its 19th century integrity.

1 non-contributing building (house)

1 contributing site (landscape, Union staging area at the northern edge of the battlefield)

3. The John Flook Farm (Nicodemus Farm), West side, Sharpsburg Pike, Sharpsburg,

MD

The John Flook Farm, known as the Nicodemus Farm during the 1862 Battle of Antietam, is located on the west side of Route 65, along the modern by-pass of the old Hagerstown Pike. The farm, which consists of just over 158 acres, continues to be cultivated and grazed by cattle. It is privately owned, but protected by scenic easement. The building complex associated with the farm is located near the northeast corner of the farm property, fronting onto Route 65. A remnant trace of the Confederate Avenue, constructed by the War Department in the 1890s, runs between the building complex and the modern Route 65. The most prominent feature of the complex of buildings is the c.1875 house, now vacant. Though this two story house post-dates the Battle of Antietam there was an existing farm in this location during the battle and therefore this dwelling may contribute to the agricultural development of the rural community that made up the battlefield. The dwelling is a two story, five bay, frame dwelling, with a five bay ell with continuous, mitered roofline. A distinctive feature of the house is the presence of gables at the south end and the west end of the ell, and a hip joint at the north end. The north and east elevations present identical elevations. When viewed from the northeast, each elevation is defined by symmetrical spacing of six over six sash windows and a central door. A poured concrete pad with iron railings at ground level is located along the east elevation. Three interior brick chimneys are located at the gable ends and at the northeast corner roof peak. Each wing is two bays deep. A bulkhead cellar entrance is located at the base of the south elevation. Along the south elevation of the ell (inside the angle of the ell) is a one-story porch with turned posts. The house is clad with aluminum siding and the roof is covered with asphalt shingles. An abandoned well is located due west of the main house.

The interior of the dwelling house, while deteriorated, is largely in keeping with the 1870s construction date. Walls are plastered over machined lath. Doors have four recessed panels with cast iron hardware of a type readily available in the 1870s. The front (east) entrance opens into a central stair hall. The stair has shallow risers and a turned newel post. The main parlor

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occupies the southeast end of the house. The dominant feature of this room is the projecting fireplace with wood mantelpiece. The mantel carving has stylized gothic arches and a turned, relief-drop piece in the center below the mantelshelf. The northeast parlor opens into a dining room to the west. The mantelpiece in this room was strictly decorative, with no firebox and baseboard running across its base. A shallow mantelshelf projects above a single horizontal panel across the frieze. A door in the south wall of the dining room leads to the kitchen occupying the northwest end of the house. The kitchen has a fireplace in the west wall.

Immediately behind the house, to the south and west are two small frame sheds and a frame wash house/out kitchen with six over six sash windows, a brick exterior chimney, and German siding. Also located west of the main house, past several frame and metal farm sheds is the large, cantilevered, "Swisser" style barn, constructed of heavy hand-hewn timber frame on limestone foundation, probably dating to the early or mid 19th century. The barn appears to be in excellent condition with freshly painted vertical siding and metal roof with a straight roofline. It continues to house cattle on the farm. Later additions to the barn include a frame equipment shed on the north elevation and a concrete silo. A small turnout shed is located immediately southeast of the barn. Located south of the main house is an early 19th century log wagon shed and corncrib, with unpainted vertical siding. South of the wagon shed are several modern farm buildings, including a large metal equipment shed, and two metal roofed, wire corn cribs.

Also located on the grounds of the farm, southeast of the main house, and immediately west of the old Confederate Ave. (formerly a farm lane), are foundation remains rumored to be that of a blacksmith's shop. The stone-lined well associated with the location of the 1862 Nicodemus house is located in the field to the south of the building complex, following the old Confederate Ave. south. The former house site is east of the well, and is now under cultivation. A cast iron Park Service tablet along MD Route 65 points to the location of the house that was present at the time of the battle.

- 7 contributing buildings (house, 2 frame sheds, washhouse/out kitchen, wagon shed/corncrib, turnout shed)
- 3 contributing sites (Nicodemus Heights artillery area, earlier house/well, and smith shop)
- 1 non-contributing building (metal equipment shed)

4. Roulette Farm, 18100 Bloody Lane, Sharpsburg, MD

The Roulette Farm is located in the center of the Antietam Battlefield on a gravel lane leading northeast from the Bloody Lane. The building complex, which includes the dwelling house, forebay bank barn, spring house/slave quarter, ice house, and smoke house, with the later additions of milk house, silo, equipment sheds and garage, retains remarkable integrity to its 19th century occupation. The farm occupies hilly land on the west side of the Antietam Creek. Field demarcations are evident with old stone walls marking their boundaries as well as field access lanes and an old route to the creek.

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The main house is a 1-1/2-story log, frame and stone dwelling on a stone foundation, constructed in three phases with a continuous roofline, although historic photographs indicate that the northernmost log section was raised in height from one story. The house is covered with aluminum siding over all three sections. The south section of the house is of frame construction, four bays wide in a window/window/door/ window pattern with the window lintels at a lower height than the door lintel. The uneven level of the lintels is usually a clue to early construction, associated with the 18th century. The windows are six over six sash. The door has six recessed panels with a four-light transom above it. A stone exterior chimney, extended with brick, is located on the south gable end wall. A brick and stucco interior chimney extends from the north end of the south section (now in the middle of the house). The steeply pitched roof is covered with channeled metal sheets and extends over a wide, one story full length porch, supported with chamfered posts. The south section of the house has one small gabled dormer on the west elevation of the roof.

The center section of the house is of stone construction, two bays wide, with nine over six sash windows that are taller than those found in the south section. Beginning with the center section, the roof does not extend beyond the exterior walls of the house. A small gabled dormer is located on both the east and west roof elevations of the center section. A one room, one story, shed roofed addition is added on the west elevation of the center section. The north section of the house is of log construction, two bays wide, door/window, in a recessed porch supported with chamfered posts. The interior wall of the porch is finished with struck plaster and a baseboard. Windows in this section are six over six sash. The roof has one gabled dormer on both the east and west elevations. A brick and stucco interior, double flue chimney is located in the north gable end. On the north elevation is a one-story stone bake oven/shed with gabled roof. The lower storage area of the bake oven is accessed through a board and batten door on the east elevation of the stone structure. A puncheon system was observed in the ceiling of the storage area, presumably to insulate and support the floor of the bake oven above.

The interior of the Roulette house offers a puzzling collection of materials and construction details. The center stone section and the north end log section are each three-sided constructions, indicating that the stone part was added to an existing building to its south, and the log section was added to the stone section. Yet, the log section retains 18th century woodwork and trim and the early bake oven, while the southernmost section of frame construction has early 19th century detailing, suggesting that it was more recently constructed than the other parts of the house. It, however, is the only part that stands alone as a single structural unit. The frame section contains two rooms and a wide stair and entrance passage. The two rooms are at the south end of the house. The southeast room has a fireplace, the one with the exterior stone chimney. The fireplace mantel has pilasters and a large frieze beneath a broad mantelshelf. The rooms have chairrail with small delicate molding. Window and door architraves are trimmed with Grecian ogee molding. At the first story, English Carpenter Locks with brass knobs are on six panel doors with low relief panels. However, at the second level, flooring is attached with rose-headed

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wrought nails. All other woodwork on the second floor of this frame section is later, dating from the early 19th century. The staircase is enclosed, with a door opening onto the series of steps rising from the west side of the hall. Another door opens into a closet under the stairs. There is no cellar under this section of the house.

Immediately west of the four-sided frame section is the three-sided stone part, with the common wall between the parts being the north wall of the frame section. The stone section consists of one large room with a fireplace in its south wall along with a door into the frame section and two cupboards. A door in the west wall opens into a 20th century shed extension that now contains a bathroom. A third door opens into the log section to the north. The mantelpiece has an architrave with three panels above it and a narrow shelf with a cornice beneath. This mantel suggests a date from the very early 19th century. Window and door architrave moldings are Grecian ogee similar to those in the frame section.

The log section is attached to the north stone wall of the middle section. In its west wall is a large service fireplace that includes an opening with a cast iron door into a brick lined beehive bake oven. The fireplace has been altered with new brick infill, but a bracketed mantelshelf remains. The kitchen has a door in the east wall onto a work porch, and an enclosed winder stairs in the southwest corner of the room that leads to the second floor and to the cellar. Only the log and stone portions of the house have a cellar beneath. The kitchen retains original raised panel doors and architraves with heavy ovalo molding. A cupboard next to the fireplace has been reworked to accommodate two doors with low relief panels from the early or mid 19th century. Thus from readily observable materials in the Roulette house, the two added sections have components that are older than those of the frame section to which the other two parts were added. This property definitely deserves a more detailed architectural analysis than could be done within the scope of this evaluation.

Immediately north of the main house is a log smokehouse/workhouse on a stone foundation, built into the north face of the hill on which the house sits. The steep gabled roof is sheathed with corrugated metal, as are the walls. Rough weatherboard siding covers the gable ends. Just north of the smokehouse is the icehouse. Much of the limestone construction of the icehouse is built into the hillside with only a few feet of stone wall exposed above the grass level, with a gabled, standing seam metal roof with vertical gable end siding. The north gable end of the icehouse extends out from the hill where a frame gable end addition, with board siding and sliding garage-style doors, creates a one-story workshop space. The List of Classified Structures, maintained by the National Park Service, indicates that both the smokehouse and ice house were most likely built in the early nineteenth century.

Northeast of the icehouse is the 1½ story, two room springhouse/slave quarters. The List of Classified Structures, maintained by the National Park Service, shows the springhouse was constructed between 1761 and 1784. Constructed of limestone, the springhouse section now has a concrete floor and is accessed on the west elevation through a board and batten door. The south

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end of the building (the second room), also constructed of limestone, was added later in addition to raising the entire building to 1-½ stories. This section appears to have been slave quarters, with a board and batten door, several 6 over 6 windows, and a brick interior gable end chimney. The steeply pitched, standing seam metal roof overhangs the entrances to the springhouse and slave quarters on the west elevation. Just west of the springhouse is the spring head structure of earth berm, stone and a brick arched vault. Water from the spring flows through a stone recessed channel into the springhouse. Northeast of the springhouse and the springhead is a pond, of unknown construction date.

The Roulette barn, most likely built by William Roulette in the mid-nineteenth century, is located a short distance east of the main house complex. The cantilevered bank barn is constructed of heavy timber frame with a limestone foundation. Built into the hill, the loft area is accessible from the recessed west entrance. The lower story forebay on the east elevation, has been enclosed with concrete blocks and the interior floor covered with poured concrete, apparently for the operation of an approved sanitary dairy area. The barn has vertical board siding overall and a channeled metal roof. Also located around the building complex are stone retaining walls located in front of the house, and stone walls (fences) throughout the farm which have been determined to have been present during the 1862 Battle of Antietam.¹

5 contributing buildings (house, log smokehouse/workshop, icehouse, springhouse/slave quarter, barn)

6 contributing structures (spring head, 3 retaining walls and 2 stone walls/fences)

1 contributing site (battle and staging area)

5. D. R. Miller Farm, 6143 Dunker Church Road, Sharpsburg, MD

Paula S. Reed researched the D. R. Miller farm for a Historical Report produced for the National Park Service in 1991. Much of the following description and statement of significance is taken from that report, with updates for any physical changes, which have occurred since 1991. Please refer to this report and to the subsequent Historic Structures Report for the D.R. Miller farm for more detailed description.

The property known as the D. R. Miller Farm contains approximately 141 acres and is improved with a two story log house, a frame bank barn, a secondary concrete block barn and numerous frame and concrete block sheds and outbuildings. The farmstead is located approximately two miles north of Sharpsburg, on the Antietam Battlefield. The old Sharpsburg-

¹ Per phone conversation on Dec 5, 2007 with Jane Custer, Chief, Cultural Resource Management Division, Antietam National Battlefield: The buildings off the northwest corner of the barn (a block milk house built in 1956, a concrete silo built in 1958, and a metal equipment shed built in 1966) have been demolished. Immediately south of the barn was a frame, small animal shed. Per Jane Custer Dec 5, 2007: This shed has collapsed and the debris has been removed.

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Hagerstown Pike, a road that has been in its present location at least since the late 18th century, separates the house and barn. The house is situated on a rise of ground and faces south, overlooking the barn and the other outbuildings. Although the house was altered substantially in the 1860s, and again about 1950-1960, it was initially constructed in the late 18th century and there is a large amount of remaining 18th century material surviving intact.

The D. R. Miller Farmhouse is a two story, four bay log house on a roughly coursed fieldstone foundation. The exterior surface is sheathed with aluminum siding. A 1½ story shed roofed addition wing of braced corner post log construction extends to the rear or north. Additional first story shed-roofed work porches along the north wall of the main house and east elevation of the wing have been enclosed, likely in the 1960s. The fenestration at the front elevation consists of evenly spaced and aligned windows with narrow frames and 6 over 6 light sash. The main entrance is located in the east bay of the front elevation. At the front door is a one bay entrance porch, which although partially rebuilt appears to contain parts that suggest initial construction during the 1860s. Now the porch rests on a concrete base and is reached by a flight of concrete steps. Original posts and railing have been replaced although the approximate configuration remains the same. A sloped cellar bulkhead projects from the foundation between the first and second bays from the west end. Two 20th century brick exterior chimneys extend up the east and west gable walls. An interior brick chimney is located at the north end of the rear addition.

An interior inspection of the Miller house revealed that there was originally a central chimney around which three or four rooms were located. The southeast room located inside the front entrance shows evidence in the northwest corner of a large kitchen fireplace, now enclosed. To the north, a mudroom, which leads to the northeast enclosed porch, includes enclosed stairs leading to the second floor and stair leading to the cellar through a trap door in the floor. The room west of the kitchen has a raised floor installed in the mid 20th century renovation. In the northeast corner is an 18th century corner fireplace and mantelpiece, now enclosed. The room immediately north (northwest of the kitchen) is similar with the diagonal fireplace located in the southeast corner. Most of the wood moldings in these two rooms appear to date from the 18th century. The northwest room continues into the north addition. A boxed beam running east-west across the ceiling, reveals the location of the original rear wall of the main house. The most northern room (in the addition) has an open fireplace on the north wall. A more detailed description of the first floor interior may be found in the D. R. Miller Farm History Report.

The second story of the D. R. Miller Farmhouse has undergone major alteration, changing the floor plan and character defining elements of the interior space. Two features are noted in the History Report, however, as important to the dating of the two sections of the house. First the staircase to the attic located in northeast corner of the house is original to the initial 18th century building. A notable feature is the ogee and ovalo molded band, which was never painted just under the attic floor as the stairs turn in the corner.

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The attic retains much of its original 18th century components. Floorboards are attached with hand-wrought rose-headed nails and rafters are hewn with joints secured with pegs. In the floor and above it in the roof are patched areas revealing the former location of the central chimney, which once rose through the house.

The cellar is dirt floored and excavated under slightly more than half the area covered by the house. Significant features of the basement include massive stone piers, which supported the central chimney system, and a puncheon flooring system.

Located immediately northeast of the main house are two small cast stone work sheds dating to the 1950s. To the east of the house is a five bay concrete block garage built circa 1950. East of the garage is a concrete block and frame dairy barn and milk house. The dairy barn and milk house were built in 1952. South of the dairy barn is a low concrete block livestock shed built in the 1960s, and a turnout shelter with companion silo built in the 1950s. Located just south of that is a low metal machinery shed built in the 1970s. Immediately east of the machinery shed is a smaller concrete block storage shed built circa 1960.

Also located on the D. R. Miller Farm to the southwest of the main house is a stone walled springhead, and across the old Hagerstown Pike, is the 18th century stone bank barn foundation with a late 19th century frame barn constructed on it. Attached to the barn are two 20th century silos, and several shed roofed additions.

- 2 contributing buildings (house and bank barn)
- 1 contributing structure (springhead)
- 1 contributing site (Cornfield battle area and staging areas)
- 8 non-contributing buildings (all other barns and sheds)

6. The Cunningham Farm, 16442 Shepherdstown Pike, Keedysville, MD

The Cunningham Farm is located on a hill above the west bank of the Antietam Creek, due east of the Piper Farm, and accessed by the a lane running north along the creek from Rt. 34 at the Middle Bridge. The complex of buildings includes a late 19th century or early 20th century tenant house on the lane leading to the main house, an early 19th century barn, the early 19th century main house and out kitchen, and various associated sheds. A mobile home is also located on the property, which is occupied by the life estate tenant.

The main house, which faces east, is a 1½-story log building on a limestone foundation. It was constructed in two phases, observable only from the interior. The front elevation is 5 bays in length at the first story in a window/window/window/door/window pattern. A full length, shed roofed porch supported with chamfered posts extends across the front. The earlier section of the house, the south part of the building, has two bays with two aligned windows on the upper story. Presumably one of the lower bays, now both windows, was originally an entrance; the western-

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most window of the two lower bays does have a higher lintel than the other window, a common characteristic of early doors. Vinyl siding, covering the earlier wood German siding over the entire building, has obscured any changes such as that just described. Windows overall are generally six over six sash, however, nine over six sash were observed at the first story, of the south elevation and the southern-most window of the west elevation. These are both in the apparent oldest section of the house. A door has been cut into the window opening on the upper story of the south gable wall, with a set of modern wooden access stairs leading to it. A concrete block exterior chimney is located on the north section of the west (rear) elevation. Another concrete block chimney is located on the north gable end of the house. A shed roofed one story addition with an outside access door on its east elevation, is attached to the north end wall, extending east from the main building as far as the width of the east porch. The extremely low-pitched, recently replaced roof suggests that the roof was raised to increase the living space on the upper story. The roof is sheathed with asphalt shingles.

Entrance into the farmhouse, through the main door on the south elevation leads into a single, large room, located in the north section, which was apparently used most recently as a kitchen. From the south wall of the room protrudes the encased, formerly exterior, massive stone chimney, showing that the northern log section of the house was a three-walled addition. Two steps up, lead south through an opening in the formerly exterior log wall, into the large room encompassing the entire south end of the house. The room has an enclosed winding staircase to the upper story located in the northeast corner.

The stairs open into the upper story south section of the house, divided into two rooms by partitions of wide beaded board. Each room has a small six over six sash window on the east and west wall. The southernmost room has an outside access door, referred to previously, in the south gable wall. The door opening is unfinished on the interior and the original log construction can be observed at this location. Some riven lath was also observed in the upper story rooms. The single upper story room located in the north addition of the house is separated by the former exterior east log wall, with steps down into the room through a beaded board and batten door with wrought iron strap hinges. A boxed beam runs along the west wall of the room at floor level.

Visible from the attic was new roofing material and remains of the stone chimney between the two sections. Observable architectural evidence suggests that the house was raised from one and a half stories to two full stories, with the present new, shallow roof.

A half cellar, excavated only under the north addition to the house, is accessed through exterior banked doors below the northern-most bay on the east elevation. There are no particularly notable features in the cellar. It has an earth floor, and there is no fireplace or any particular division of space that was observable.

Located southwest of the main house is a log out kitchen with a stone foundation and stone chimney. It has unpainted vertical siding and corrugated metal roof. Attached to the north

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elevation is a masonite shed addition. Southwest of the main house is a frame smokehouse with unpainted German siding, a hipped roof with corrugated metal sheathing and a shed roofed wood shed attached to the north elevation. South of the main house and northeast of the barn is a frame two bay equipment shed with vertical siding. Immediately south of the equipment shed is a frame small animal shed with vertical siding. Both buildings have corrugated metal roofs.

The large cantilevered forebay bank barn is located south of the main house. It is constructed of heavy hand hewn timber, post and beam framing, with a cut limestone foundation, and faces south. The barn is clad with vertical board siding and a channeled metal roof. A dormer has been added to the south roof elevation to house a pulley system to lift or lower material to and from the barnyard. On the east gable end a two story, one bay, drive through wagon shed and corncrib appears to have been added after the main barn was constructed. A dry-laid stone retaining wall encloses the southern edge of the animal yard, south of the barn.

A mobile home, occupied by the life estate tenant, was located immediately north of the main house. A metal garden shed is located southwest of the main house.²

The tenant house associated with the Cunningham Farm is located south of the main farm complex fronting on the west side of the access lane and facing east toward the Antietam Creek. It is a two story, three bay frame house, resting on a cut limestone foundation. The central entrance is offset to the south of center, otherwise the windows are symmetrically placed. Windows are long and narrow, with two over two sash. A gabled one bay entrance porch sits on a raised stone foundation. The house foundation is partially excavated into the hill above the creek, exposing nearly a half-story on the east elevation of the cellar, where two windows are placed with wooden horizontal bars across them. The basement is divided into two rooms with a stone wall through the center. Access to the cellar through steel doors is located on the north elevation. A shed roofed, one story enclosed porch addition is located at the west elevation. Brick inside end chimneys are located in the gable ends of the house. The roof covering is channeled metal. The house is sheathed in vinyl siding. The foundation and cellar with nicely cut stonework and wooden-barred windows are circa 1860, the frame structure on the stone foundation is circa 1900.

A retaining wall along the west side of the access lane is described in the 1999 Determination of Eligibility by National Park Service historian, Richard Quin as original to the main farm complex property.

7 contributing buildings (house, log out kitchen, frame smokehouse, frame equipment shed, animal shed, bank barn, tenant house foundation,)

2 contributing structures (stone retaining walls)

3 non-contributing buildings (tenant house frame section, metal shed and mobile home)

² Per Jane Custer Dec 6, 2007: The mobile home has been demolished.

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7. The Otto Farm

The Otto House and grounds are located on the south side of Old Burnside Bridge Road on a hill overlooking the Sherrick Farm. The house is a 2 story corner post diagonally braced log building on a limestone foundation with an attached one and a half story kitchen extension, also of log construction. The house is built into the north face of the hill, fronting onto Burnside Bridge Road. The north (front) elevation is constructed into the slope with a raised basement. The main story of the north elevation is eight bays in length, the west or main section with five bays and a central entrance, and the east kitchen section with three bays in a window/window/door pattern. Windows have nine over six sash within wide frames with ovalo trim. A one story full-length shed roofed porch is tenoned into the corner posts on the east elevation. It is elevated above the basement story. Along the porch, the house wall is finished with plaster and baseboard. There is evidence that a similarly tenoned one bay porch was located at the rear central entrance of the west section, with a plastered wall and baseboard as well. The rear porch is now shed roofed with 2 square support posts on a concrete pad. The west section of the house has two brick interior chimneys in the gable ends. The east section of the house appears as 1 ½ stories at the south elevation, with a steeply pitched roof terminating as a porch overhang. A massive exterior brick chimney is located on east gable end wall.

Interior inspection reveals the east section of the house to be a slightly later three-sided addition to the west section. Asbestos shingle siding over the entire building covers original beaded siding on the east elevation and German siding exposed on the south elevation.

The interior of the main section of the Otto House is divided into four rooms at the first story, bisected by a central stair and entrance hall. The two east rooms, however, have been opened into one, with a boxed beam supporting the span just to the south of the chimney wall. The interior retains original chairrail, baseboard, mantels and trim. Mantels have a simple architrave with ovalo molded trim beneath a small shelf. Interior doors have six low relief panels, except for one door on the second floor, east side that has raised panels. The attic of the east kitchen extension provides a view of the east end wall of the main section from its exterior side. There the cornerpost log construction with diagonal bracing is exposed, along with original gable siding. Lack of weathering on these materials indicates that the kitchen wing was attached at the time of construction of the main section or shortly thereafter.

The architectural features of the Otto house suggest a construction date of approximately 1800, give or take a few years. One notable feature of the interior is the carved initials of a Union soldier in a second story north side windowsill. The Otto house retains a high level of integrity to the Civil War period and before.

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Only one outbuilding remains standing on the grounds of the Otto House, a small frame shed on a concrete foundation with vertical board siding. The building served as a workshop and hog barn. It also contains a privy. This little building dates from the mid-20th century.

The foundation remains of the Otto barn are located southwest of the house. The barn was demolished sometime between 1940-1960, according to park personnel.

- 1 contributing buildings (house)
- 1 contributing structure (barn ruins)
- 1 contributing site (battlefield and hospital)
- 1 non-contributing (shed/hog barn)

8. Locher House/A. Poffenberger Farm

The building complex associated with the 112 acre Locher/A. Poffenberger Farm is located on the west side of the modern Route 65 by-pass. The buildings are just northwest of the old intersection of the commemorative routes known as Confederate Ave. and Starke Ave., on the western edge of the historic West Woods. Included in the group is the log dwelling house, bank barn, and stone root cellar, as well as several 20th century sheds.

The log dwelling house, currently in an advanced state of decay, is a one and a half story, single pen construction on stone foundation, with a three-sided timber frame one-room addition on the north end. Historic photos show there was another log section on the south end of the building, which is no longer in evidence. The log section now standing is devoid of siding, exposing extremely weathered hewn and round logs. The corner notch pattern is a steeply pitched V-notch, generally associated with early settlement (mid-late 18th century) construction. Riven weatherboard covering the south gable also indicates an early construction. Weatherboard on the south gable indicates the southern section no longer standing would have been a three sided addition as well, and that the log section standing is the oldest section of the dwelling. The house has two bays on the south elevation, a window and a door; and two bays on the east elevation of the log section with replacement window openings with flat architraves. The west elevation of the log section has one bay, an original small square window opening. The north frame addition has board and batten siding and one window and a door in east elevation, and one window in the west elevation.

The interior of the dwelling was viewed from the entrance and through windows due to the unstable condition of the building. The dwelling is entered through the door on the south elevation, opens directly into the single room of the log section with exposed log ceiling joists hewn only on their top sides. A winding stair to the loft above is located in the southwest corner. Entrance into the frame section is through a doorway on the north wall of the log section. On the south wall of the addition, the original north exterior log wall, is a brick chimney with an open

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fireplace in the north room addition. Stairs leading to the loft of the north room are located in the northwest corner of the room.

A stone vaulted root cellar is built into the hillside south of the dwelling house. The cellar has recently been restored and a replacement board and batten door covers the entrance. The north (rear) wall of the cellar shows evidence of a vent opening, which has since been enclosed with stone. South of the dwelling and root cellar is the original stone foundation of the bank barn with a later, low profile, gambrel roof structure constructed on it. Off the northwest corner of the barn is a concrete block milk house built circa 1950.

A historic road trace is located between the barn and house.

- 2 contributing buildings (house, barn)
- 2 contributing structures (root cellar, road trace)
- 1 contributing site (house extension/archaeological site)
- 1 non-contributing (milk house)

9. The Piper House, Sharpsburg Pike, Sharpsburg, MD

In 1984-1985, the Piper House was leased to a private tenant who rehabilitated it into a Bed and Breakfast facility. The National Park Service approved all work done to the building. The only exterior alterations were at the rear of the building, where a small two-story addition containing bathrooms was constructed at the southeast corner, a rear access porch and second floor entrances. The Piper house now has four bedrooms with private baths, a kitchen and two parlors. The original mid 19th century woodwork remains in the log section of the house.

The Piper House is a two-story, four bay west-facing log dwelling, built in two parts. A two-story frame L-extension was added to the rear elevation in 1913. Windows and trim, German siding and a standing seam roof were added at the same time. Originally, the north section of the log portion of the house was only one story high with a large service fireplace in the north end. That was raised to two stories and the fireplace removed when the early 20th century kitchen addition was constructed. This sequence of construction was revealed when the renovations were underway in 1985.

The National Park Service restored the Piper barn in the early 1980s, as well as the secondary residence. These buildings received new roofs and siding and some structural repair, but their appearance did not change, other than they are cleaner, repaired and better maintained.

- 5 contributing buildings (house, secondary residence, smokehouse, root cellar, barn)
- 1 contributing site (headquarters site, battlefield and staging area)

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Contributing and Non-contributing Resource Addendum Totals (November 1999)

Contributing buildings: 32

Contributing structures: 12

Contributing sites: 9

Non-contributing buildings: 15

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history.
- B** Property associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D** Property as yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply)

Property is:

- A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B** removed from its original location.
- C** a birthplace or grave.
- D** a cemetery.
- E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F** a commemorative property.
- G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets)

Area of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

Period of Significance

Significant Dates

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets)

Previous documentation on files (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey

- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: _____

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Statement of Significance:

Historical Summary

The Antietam battlefield offers layers of history, which interlock and overlap with one another. In addition to the nationally significant history of having a pivotal battle of the Civil War fought on the landscape, the battlefield farms are an important slice of regional history rooted in the rich soil cultivated and developed into prosperous farms by German husbandmen. The battlefield is therefore a cohesive entity as a rural historic landscape. The landscape itself had a profound affect on the agricultural development of the area and specifically on the course and outcome of the Battle of Antietam.

A few pioneering farmers and fur traders initially settled the area in the 1730s and 1740s. At that time Maryland's frontier or "back country" had just been opened for settlement by Lord Baltimore, and Germans were migrating through the area to create settlements in Virginia. Seeking to develop the back portions of Maryland, Lord Baltimore began to encourage settlement on his colony's frontier. Speculators from eastern Maryland responded by acquiring large tracts for subdivision and resale to German farmers. As settlement progressed, political divisions of the frontier occurred. Until 1748, the Antietam area was part of Prince George's County. Afterward it was Frederick County until 1776 when Washington County was formed.

Settlement was sparse until the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, and the end of Pontiac's rebellion the following year. Thereafter, settlement progressed rapidly as transportation routes improved and word of the rich farmland in the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys spread. The land was made fertile by numerous limestone outcrops, which give special visual character to the landscape as well as providing material for buildings and fences. The English speculators who had acquired large grants of land as investments began to subdivide and sell into smaller lots of 100-300 acres which were ideal for a profitable family farm. These farms were divided into fields of 20-40 acres and planted with small grains and corn or clover. Other lands were left in pasture and woodlots, as the process of clearing the land was slow. Woodlot and pasture functions were often combined in areas where rock outcrops made cultivation difficult. Allowing cattle and hogs to forage through woodlands helped to keep them open and clear. As farms developed and inhabitants prospered, towns and villages grew to support the local population. Sharpsburg shares with Hagerstown the title of being the oldest established town in Washington County. Both were incorporated in 1763, although settlements were present on their sites earlier.

The area prospered, achieving a high level of cultivation and development during the period from 1760-1860. Most of the substantial farmhouses and "Swisser" barns common to the region were constructed between 1790 and 1850.³ Favored building materials for houses were

³ The large "Swisser" barns with cantilevered forebays and a ramp or bank at the back are a hallmark of central Maryland and south central Pennsylvania rural landscapes. These buildings were vernacular adaptations influenced by the dominant

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log (nearly always covered with siding or stucco), native limestone, or brick (most brick farmhouses in the area date from after 1820). The earliest barns were log or limestone with brick or timber framing favored after the 1830s.

By the time of the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the area was well established and intensively farmed. Farms were characterized by fields and boundaries marked with wood or stone fences, orchards and small herds of cattle, hogs and sheep, and flocks of chickens and geese. Farms had carefully maintained woodlots kept to supply firewood, building materials and fencing. Demand for wood was great in the 19th century with the need for construction material and fuel (most households consumed about 10 cords of wood per year for heating). Historic photographs affirm the massive consumption of wood, revealing that the landscape at the time of the Civil War had far fewer trees than are seen today.

The prosperity of the greater region led to its being served by important transportation routes, a good system of turnpikes, the National Road, C&O Canal and the B&O Railroad. These amenities and the overall prosperity of the region were certainly factors influencing Confederate General Robert E. Lee's decision to enter Maryland and occupy the portion of it consisting of the Cumberland Valley in September of 1862. Among Lee's several goals was a desire to take pressure away from Virginia in supplying the needs of the Army. He wanted to draw the Union Army away from their base of supplies and he hoped to gain support for the Confederate cause from Great Britain. He also seemed to believe that there were enough Confederate supporters in central Maryland to yield a new source of fighting men. Finally, he hoped that by entering the North, citizens would pressure congress for a negotiated end to the hostilities. What war weary and hungry Confederate soldiers saw as they moved into the Sharpsburg area was a collection of rich, lush farms offering seemingly boundless food and supplies. They did not, however, have an opportunity to linger and enjoy the fruits of the land, unless they remained among the many wounded who recuperated in local field hospitals for weeks after the Battle of Antietam.

For the people of the Sharpsburg area, the effects of the Battle of Antietam continued for months, even years afterward. Claims to the government for damages were delayed because verification of who caused the destruction was difficult (the Federal government only reimbursed

German culture in the region. According to Robert F. Ensminger the early log Sweitzer barn is comparable in size and form to the double-log-crib eave-forebay bank barn of Prätigau, Canton Graubünden Switzerland. The Swiss barn is also known as a Sweitzer barn or a Bank barn. The lower stories were generally for stock and the upper stories were used for the storage of hay. Though these two story barns, with a cantilevered forebay, may vary in their specific details, there is one consistent feature; the tie beam always fastens over the roof plate in a complex tying joint that locks into the end post. The evolution of these barns from log through timber to the "Classical Sweitzer Barn," typically constructed of stone, roughly parallels the cultural development of the region from uncertain frontier agriculture to a more stable agricultural economy. Stone, a more appropriate building material for the larger structures of the early nineteenth century, reflected the Palatine homeland of many of the Pennsylvania Germans who provided the form for these distinctive barns.

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property owners for damages caused by Union troops), and it was also sometimes difficult for the Government to establish the applicant's loyalty. In most cases, claims were not paid until the 1880s. In the meantime, farmers had to reconstruct miles of destroyed fencing, replace livestock that had been slaughtered or driven off by the armies, and absorb the loss of crops trampled by men and equipment. In addition, shot and shells damaged buildings, wagons and harnesses were taken and stored crops were confiscated as food and fodder for army livestock. Long-term impacts included the danger presented by unexploded artillery shells in the ground, which made it difficult for farmers to plow fields the following spring, and pollution of the local springs and wells from the visitation of some 120,000 soldiers with their accompanying horses and mules. Hasty burial of the dead and improper disposal of severed arms and legs and dead horses added to the post battle pollution problem and contributed to a local typhoid epidemic. Caring for the sick and wounded also overtaxed the local population.

On a more national scale, the Battle of Antietam and the Maryland Campaign had an impact on the outcome of the Civil War. Robert E. Lee failed to accomplish his goals with the invasion of the North, in part because the loss of a copy of his plan for the campaign to Union forces caused unexpected changes of strategy. While neither side scored a decisive victory at Antietam, the fact that the Confederates withdrew, gave President Lincoln the long hoped for opportunity to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation announced the liberation of slaves in the rebelling states and changed the stakes of the War from a challenge over the permanency of the Union to a challenge for the social and economic fabric of the South. The moral issues involved made it more difficult for the South to find support for its war effort among foreign governments.

Years after the War, the Antietam Battlefield presented a case study in commemorating battlefields from the Civil War. Antietam became a model for government protection by acquisition of minimal amounts of land by the War Department for placement of monuments and access ways to them. In the late 19th century and the early 20th century the placement of monuments and roadways created a collection of structures that are now part of the Battlefield scene. Although they interrupt the historic landscape, they were placed by veterans of the battle and have formed another historic layer in the Battlefield's experience.

One memorialization effort is important as being nearly contemporary with the Civil War. The Antietam National Cemetery was dedicated in 1867, as a memorial resting-place for Union dead from Antietam. Annual ceremonies and visitations to the cemetery became one of the first celebrations of Memorial Day in the United States.

In recent years, preservation of the battlefield has become an important issue as residential and commercial development have created pressure to convert the landscape from its traditional agricultural use into suburban housing or commercial functions to capitalize on a growing tourist industry. New efforts to meet this challenge have resulted in innovative easement programs and partnerships with government and private groups to protect the Battlefield and its environs.

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I. Settlement and Agricultural Development of the Land in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

The history of European settlement of the western regions of Maryland, beyond the Blue Ridge Mountain range of South Mountain, begins after the 1732 proclamation of Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, opening the western frontier of Maryland to settlement. The promise of large land grants attracted the English land speculators of the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay and southern Maryland. The promise of the rich, well-watered farmland attracted the German farmers of Pennsylvania who bought smaller tracts of 150-300 acres from the wealthy landholders.⁴

In 1732, Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland, issued a proclamation opening Maryland's frontier for settlement. This was an effort to increase population and consequently income from the "back" parts of the colony. In part this was in response to an economic depression that had gripped the tobacco market intermittently since the mid 1600s. Tobacco planters devised various means to keep the price of tobacco up, such as limitation of production, destruction of inferior tobacco and prohibitions on shipping poor quality tobacco. The bottom line was that the amount of tobacco being produced was greater than the demand for it in British and European markets.⁵ The depth of this depression occurred about 1730. For Monocacy Hundred (a hundred was an area of land inhabited by a hundred taxables) which included the area of Maryland from Frederick County west in the 1730s, lists of taxables were prepared in 1733, containing 106 names. Also a list with 83 names was made in 1734 by constable John Nelson, of those individuals who had no tobacco burnt as part of the price support program then in effect.⁶ This shows that tobacco cultivation had been practiced at least to some extent in the western parts of Maryland. What is not clear, however, is whether those whose names appeared on the list as not having their tobacco burnt, grew no tobacco at all, or whether they grew high quality tobacco that was marketed and not destroyed.

Another aspect of the improved economy of Maryland after the early 1730s was the development of the western parts of the province. Influences on the course of settlement of Maryland's frontier were political, economic and geographic. Until Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon began their survey to establish a line between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in 1765, the boundary was contested, sometimes hotly. The border disputes and the attitudes of

⁴Paula S. Reed, History Report: The D.R. Miller Farm, Antietam Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland. Hagerstown, MD: Preservation Associates, Inc., 1991, p. 1.

⁵Aubrey C. Land, "Provincial Maryland," Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds. Maryland, A History, Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974, p. 34.

⁶Tracey and Dern, p. 129.

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the two colonial governments to settlers along the border area affected the course of settlement as did the relationship of the colonial governments with the Indians who held land along the western frontier.

Frank W. Porter claims that "during the early decades of the eighteenth century economic and political conditions in Maryland mitigated against any westward movement."⁷ He cites several factors delaying settlement in western Maryland, including border disputes of the 1730s and 1740s, the threat of Indians, the holding of warrants by speculators to large tracts of western land issued by the land office, and environmental misconceptions concerning the agricultural potential of western Maryland.⁸

Both Maryland and Pennsylvania encouraged settlers to establish themselves in the border areas so that each colony would have a presence there. Those settlers of course were being used as pawns by both governments, a fact that resulted in no small frustration to them. Taking advantage of the intense Maryland-Pennsylvania border controversy, Virginia's governor, William Gooch, granted the unhappy settlers from Pennsylvania land in his colony's backcountry. Gooch's motives, too, were political. He was involved in a land dispute with Thomas Lord Fairfax over the extent of Fairfax's Northern Neck Charter,⁹ an area covering present northern Virginia and the eastern panhandle of West Virginia. The more land Gooch could grant under the name of the colonial government, the weaker that the Fairfax claim would be. Gooch's land policy resulted in a stream of settlers from Pennsylvania passing through Maryland on their way to Virginia. They traveled on two principal routes, both known as the "Monocacy Road." The boundary dispute in Virginia and the migration of settlers passing through Maryland provided the impetus for Lord Baltimore to open his backcountry for settlement. He issued his proclamation in 1732, offering 200 acres of land in fee, subject to a four shilling per year quitrent per each 100 acres to any family who would settle and work the land in the area between the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers.¹⁰ He thus employed methods similar to Governor Gooch's to entice settlers to Maryland's backcountry.¹¹

The opening of the backcountry by Lord Baltimore only served to encourage profit-seeking speculators who could hold the land by warrant and thus not be subject to the quitrent. In other words, they would have the land warranted and surveyed, which would hold the land in

⁷Frank W. Porter, "From Back Country to County: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70, (Winter 1975), p. 329.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid. p. 334.

¹⁰Ibid. quoting *Maryland Archives*, 28:25.

¹¹Ibid. p. 334.

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their name, but not have it patented or actually granted which would make it subject to the quitrent. As might be expected, this practice eventually elicited concern within Maryland's colonial government, which responded by investigating the methods employed in reserving lands or warrants without issuing patents. Daniel Dulaney, a member of the committee investigating the situation (who was also among the early survey holders in Western Maryland), considered the practice "one which had prevented 'Great Quantities of Lord Baltimore's back Waste Lands (now of no Use or Advantage to Him) from being taken up and paid for.'"¹²

Dulaney's reference to the backcountry as "Waste Lands" is also significant. The early perception of much of the area west of the tidewater, was of uninhabitable barrens. The term "waste lands" and "barrens" came about because portions of the interior were grasslands. To early eighteenth century settlers, trees were associated with fertility of the soil, so that the absence of trees meant to them poor and barren land. The interior land was also not particularly well suited to the production of tobacco. Frank Porter considers this misconception concerning fertility of the land one of the causes of delayed settlement in Maryland's backcountry.¹³ The notion that the land might not be fertile, however, did not seem to discourage wealthy planter-merchants from eastern Maryland from purchasing large tracts as investments.

It is significant that much of the actual settlement population in what is today Washington County came from Pennsylvania, rather than from eastern Maryland. During its initial settlement period, Pennsylvania, unlike most of the other colonies was distinctly heterogeneous in its mix of populations. The varied group of settlers who made homes in Pennsylvania did so because of a policy established by the founder of the colony, William Penn. Pennsylvania was established significantly later than most of the other colonies. After its organization in 1681, Pennsylvania grew quickly, and its major city, Philadelphia, came to be for a time the second largest city in the British Empire. The success of Pennsylvania's colonization was in part due to William Penn's foresight and long range development plan and also to the settlers' quest for a better life.

The Cumberland Valley, bounded on the east by South Mountain and on the west by the first of the Appalachian Mountain ranges, encompassed the western settled region of Pennsylvania in the 1730s and '40s. Following the valley south, the trail of the mostly German pioneers of Pennsylvania, who were seeking fertile land to grow their wheat and other grains, led through the valley of the Antietam and the Conococheague drainages, to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, crossing the Potomac River at the Packhorse Ford. Packhorse Ford is located about a mile south of the present highway and bridge across the Potomac at Shepherdstown.

¹²Ibid. quoting Maryland Archives, 37:506.

¹³Ibid. p. 337, and I. Daniel Rupp, *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams and Perry Counties*, (Lancaster, PA: Gilbert Hills, 1846), p. 385.

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The road the travelers followed was referenced in many of the early land patents as the "Waggon Road," including a patent granted to Richard Sprigg in 1736 called "Piles Grove" (sometimes referred to as "Piles Delight"), located between the Potomac River and Antietam Creek just north of Sharpsburg. The survey certificate, dated 1734, described the property as "beginning at a White Oak near a small branch and near a large spring..about a mile from a road called the Waggon Road ..."¹⁴ Another early description of the "Waggon Road" is found in the 1739 patent to John Hanthorn for "Saint John," located near the town of Tilghmanton today, it reads "...on east side of the waggon road that leads from the Potomac River by Stulls Mill..."¹⁵ (Stull's Mill was at or near Hagerstown). Clearly, a very early road or roads passed through the Antietam drainage to the ford of the Potomac River. The Conococheague Road, also mentioned in early patents, passed through the valley, east to west from South Mountain to the ford at Williamsport, roughly followed by Dog Street and Keedysville Roads today. Weary travelers seeking good land and fast water must have been greatly tempted by what they saw along the banks of the Antietam Creek. Some of these people did choose to settle in the Antietam valley. This early tenancy of German settlers seems to be supported by the establishment of German denomination churches in the area, as cited by Bell in The History of the Leitersburg District: "There was a German Reformed congregation at Conococheague as early as 1747,... a German Lutheran congregation at Antietam in 1754," noting that there were numerous other German churches established in the 1760s, substantially outnumbering the English churches.¹⁶ These early pioneer settlements were apparently referenced by their general location like Monocacy, Antietam and Conococheague. These place names did not refer to specific locations but rather to settlement areas.

Because of their foreign language and customs the Germans were both praised and disliked by the English-speaking people. They were generally acknowledged as being hardworking, industrious and good farmers, but the English felt overwhelmed by their sheer numbers. Eventually there was enough concern on the part of Pennsylvania's colonial government to undertake efforts to control Germans to prevent an "English plantation from being turned into a colony of aliens."¹⁷

The reaction of English-speaking people to the Germans was probably due substantially to the language difference and exclusive religious philosophy held by some Germans, which encouraged them to remain a distinct and close-knit group reluctant to blend with their neighbors. In central Maryland, for example, German-language newspapers were printed well into the

¹⁴Washington County Land Patents, Book 1, Page 1, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

¹⁵Tracey plat map of Washington County, Washington County Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

¹⁶Herbert C. Bell, History of Leitersburg District, Washington County, Maryland. Leitersburg, MD: Published by the author, 1898, (3rd Edition, Waynesboro, PA: The Caslon Press, 1985) p. 10

¹⁷Speech of Governor Patrick Gordon, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1840), 3:362.

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nineteenth century and German was spoken in church services. These conditions supported the attitude of separateness, perceived or real, attributed to the Germans.

As settlement progressed from the initial interests of fur trading and subsistence farming there developed more substantial farms. Grain farming was prominent, and as a result many gristmills were established. The mills took advantage of the ample waterpower in Washington County to convert grain into more easily transportable and marketable flour or meal. The prominence of milling was a significant feature of the local economy. It reflects the influence of Pennsylvania in that Washington County developed a general agricultural economy with emphasis on small grains, rather than the staple economy focusing on tobacco (despite the attempts by large landowners like Charles Carroll) which developed in eastern Maryland. Lemon asserts that Pennsylvania's economy based on general farming was largely the result of markets that opened up at the time that Pennsylvania was being settled. Export trade with the West Indies, New England, southern Europe and Ireland, as well as to ships' provisioners, created a demand for flour, bread, wheat, as well as corn, lumber and flax seed.¹⁸ These trade markets opened up after older colonies like Virginia and Maryland had established bilateral trade with England, which limited their ability to develop an exchange in new commodities. Pennsylvania was founded about the same time as these new extended trade mechanisms were developed, causing its agricultural system to be significantly shaped by the contemporary market situation.¹⁹ In contrast to Pennsylvania, according to Lemon, the tobacco colonies to the south had a lower average living standard, a slower rate of white population growth, and few subsequent towns, at least until they turned to wheat production. Unlike Pennsylvania's farmers and merchants, tidewater planters were restricted to trade with London and Glasgow merchants in a commercial structure which permitted less autonomy and flexibility.²⁰ We find that the economies of the tidewater plantation system and the general agriculture of small family farms introduced from Pennsylvania met in central Maryland during the middle third of the 18th century.

That the German settlers of the first half of the 18th century were tenants on the land rather than owners seems to be supported by the land patent records of Washington County. Most of the earliest land patents, dated between 1730 and 1740, were granted to men of English or Scotch/Irish descent, who never intended to live on the land. The list of men included such prominent names as Charles Carroll and Daniel Dulaney whose homes were in eastern Maryland

¹⁸Lemon, p. 29, citing Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia*, (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), chap. 1, and Gordon Bjork, "The Weaning of the American Economy: Independence, Market Changes and Economic Development," *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964): 545.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid. p. 127.

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and who were kept busy as lawyers and statesmen in Annapolis. Clearly much of this land was being rented to people willing to clear and work the land.

In the lower Antietam drainage, the area that would later be known as the Sharpsburg District, the predominant landowner was Joseph Chapline. Joseph was of English heritage and had grown up on a plantation in southern Maryland. His "manorial" grant of 1739, which he called "Mount Pleasant," from Charles Calvert included just over 2,000 acres and required that he live on his plantation bringing English civilization to the wilderness. Chapline's southern Maryland upbringing must have influenced his decision to grow tobacco on his plantation, a crop not suited to the weather or soil of western Maryland. His tobacco fields later became the footprint of his new town of Sharpsburg, indicating that tobacco was probably not a successful crop.²¹ Other early landowners in the lower Antietam drainage included James Smith, probably from Scotland, and Dr. George Stuart (Stewart), also from Scotland, Col. Edwin (Edward) Sprigg, and the previously mentioned Richard Sprigg.

The German settlers had a profound influence on the development of agriculture in the Antietam drainage. Their already established pattern of grain production and mill construction would be repeated in the fertile fields and on the banks of the Antietam Creek. Stull's Mill, on the upper Antietam and the Witmer Mill, located on Beaver Creek and also apparently owned by the Stull family, were both established by 1739.²² The combination of rich limestone land, established roads and waterpower made the valley of the Antietam a nearly perfect place for a grain economy. Also, the less temperate weather and more restricted land area of the valley made the cultivation of tobacco difficult. Tobacco, the traditional money crop of the English plantations of Maryland, was a plant with a long growing season. Tobacco also required a great deal of land to allow the movement of crops as the demanding tobacco plant exhausted the soil. It is likely that the perceived inability to produce profitable crops preferred by the English, allowed the German settlers to establish their farming style early in the development of the Antietam valley, and also contributed to the perception among the English that the land was barren.

The French and Indian War interrupted settlement of the western regions of Maryland beginning with the defeat of General Braddock in 1755 and lasting to 1763. Most of the Antietam drainage settlers fled east of the South Mountain for protection. A letter written by George Washington to Lord Fairfax of Virginia noted that all but two families had fled the

²¹Lee and Barbara Barron, The History of Sharpsburg Maryland. Barbara and Lee Barron, 1972, pp. 12-14.

²²Susan Winter Frye, Mill Settlement Patterns Along the Antietam Creek Drainage, Washington County, Maryland. Bound thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984, p. 38.

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settlement called Conococheague.²³ The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, however, began the process of resettlement and the development of the Antietam drainage area progressed rapidly. The southern migration of German farmers from Pennsylvania accelerated. The granting of land patents increased accordingly, however, German owners became increasingly common. No doubt many of the earlier land speculators were cashing in on their investments. In the lower Antietam drainage, Joseph Chapline, James Smith, and Col. Sprigg in particular began to sell parcels of their large holdings.

In 1762 Christian Orndorff, a German miller, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, purchased 503 acres of "Smith's Hills" from James Smith, on the banks of the Antietam Creek.²⁴ The next year, in 1763, Joseph Chapline founded the town of Sharpsburg just over a mile from the home of Christian Orndorff. An indicator that the Sharpsburg area was being populated by German settlers is the establishment in 1768 of first the Lutheran Church and then the German Reformed Church. In 1765 Chapline and three other investors established the Antietam Iron Works, near the mouth of the Antietam Creek. The same year Thomas Van Swearingen was given permission to begin running a ferry across the Potomac River just three miles west of Sharpsburg to Shepherdstown, then in Virginia.²⁵ (Shepherdstown was also established in 1763). It is likely that Christian Orndorff had by this time constructed his mill. A 1768 petition to the Frederick County Court called for changes to the road "from Christian Orndorff's Mill (on Antietam) to Captain Lockett's Ferry [the Mouth of Monocacy]."²⁶ This new road would have branched south from the Conococheague Road, where Geeting Road now leaves Dog Street Road, and continued to Orndorff's Mill on the Antietam Creek. The road then continued through Sharpsburg to the Swearingen Ferry and to Shepherdstown. Shortly after the establishment of the new road to Sharpsburg and Orndorff's Mill, Jacob Hess, Orndorff's son-in-law, constructed a mill of his own on the Little Antietam Creek near the intersection of the old and new roads at present Keedysville.

It appears the developments of the 1760s in the lower Antietam drainage remained the basis for growth in the area for the rest of the 18th century. The 1794 Dennis Griffith Map of the

²³Thomas J. C. Williams, History of Washington County, Maryland. (Hagerstown, 1906)
Baltimore: Clearfield Co. and Family Line Publications, 1992, p. 56.

²⁴Julia A. Drake and James R. Orndorff, From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1938, p. 22.

²⁵Barron, pp. 28-36.

²⁶Millard Milburn Rice, New Facts and Old Families From the Records of Frederick County, Maryland. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1984, p. 55 (Frederick County Judgement Record Liber P, Folio 7). Note: Rice erroneously calls the Orndorff Mill the old Israel Friend Mill which would have been at Williamsport, at the end of the old Conococheague Road.

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State of Maryland, clearly shows the roads and mills as described above. The upper Antietam, in the area of Elizabeth Town (Hagerstown) shows a great deal more mill development. This is probably a result of the many more roads in the area and the establishment of Elizabeth Town as the County Seat in 1776 when Washington County was created out of Frederick County. By the 1783 U. S. Tax Assessment twenty flour mills are listed along the Antietam drainage, and by 1790 that number had grown to twenty-three. Susan Winter Frye [Trail], who has researched the mills of the Antietam drainage notes: "Eastern Washington County, with its large mills along Antietam Creek, probably represented the most advanced stage of market integration in the county."²⁷ Frye cites the many roads leading from Hagerstown across the mountains to Frederick and Baltimore, saying "...certainly the Baltimore market during the late 18th century spurred the growth of the flour milling industry along the Antietam Creek and its tributaries."²⁸

The prosperity that grew in Washington County during the latter 18th and early 19th centuries was the result of agricultural intensification as frontier conditions lessened and farming and support networks matured. Most prominent in the developing economy during the time period was the dominance of wheat and small grains and the shift away from less profitable tobacco. While southern Maryland remained committed to tobacco cultivation, the central and western counties increasingly turned to wheat production. Wheat was a more saleable product than tobacco and was not restricted by production legislation as tobacco had been. It was, however, on the list of commodities that by law had to be shipped to England in pre-Revolutionary days. Therefore, in the 1760s and 1770s, wheat profits were limited by market conditions in England. The increase of wheat production, though, promoted growth of Baltimore, Frederick and Hagerstown, as well as towns in south central Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. These places show evidence of significant growth in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. By 1790, Frederick was the most populous county in Maryland, and York County, Pennsylvania, which included present day Adams County, directly north of Frederick was the most populous county in Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia. Baltimore became important to the processing and shipping of grain and began to siphon trade from the grain producing areas of Pennsylvania, setting up a trade rivalry with Philadelphia.

Eventually the region became known for grain production. Grain was sold in bulk, or processed into flour and meal, or distilled into whiskey. These commodities were shipped to markets in Baltimore or Philadelphia. Shipping from central and western Maryland and the grain growing regions of Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley was a problem, and hindered the growth and prosperity associated with grain production. There was no inland water route to the farming areas, although navigation of the Potomac and Susquehanna were promoted or opposed by various factions. Rail service did not develop until the 1830s, so highway transportation had to serve the freight hauling needs of the region. Maryland, therefore promoted turnpike

²⁷Frye, p. 44.

²⁸Frye, p. 46.

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development, although most of these toll routes were privately funded. The output and growth in population in the western areas of Maryland encouraged construction and improvement of roads which were generally described as "miserable and worst in the union" in the late 18th century.²⁹ Baltimore officials in 1787 laid out 20-foot wide roads to Frederick, Reisterstown and York, Pennsylvania. However, it was private turnpike companies and in some cases mill owners who actually constructed the roads.³⁰

The impact of the proliferation of flourmills and distilleries cannot be overstated in analyzing the development of agriculture in the Antietam drainage through the late 18th century. To support such a large number of mills in such a small area there had to be numerous farms focusing on grain production. In the Sharpsburg District much of the land owned by Joseph Chapline had been distributed to his sons following his death in 1769. However, it wasn't until the 1790s that this land began to be sold off in earnest and individual farms with "Swisser" barns began to take shape. Many of the names of the buyers, mostly of German origin, would become familiar following the 1862 Battle of Antietam.

According to the nation's first census, taken in 1790, Washington County's white population in that year was 14,472. Of those, 4,356 were of German descent, or 31%. This percentage of Germans was the highest in the state. Frederick County had a population of 26,937 whites, with 5,137 Germans which computes to 20% of the white population. For comparison, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, immediately north of Washington County, had a total population of 15,057 whites, of whom 1,296 or 9% were of German descent. In 1790, Washington County was the third most populous county in the state, following Frederick County, which had the largest population, and Baltimore County. For Washington, Frederick, and Franklin (PA) Counties, the largest portion of the population was tabulated as English/Welsh.³¹

James Chapline, son of Joseph Chapline, began selling portions of his tract called "Addition to Loss and Gain," north of Sharpsburg along the Hagerstown Road, in 1796, and again in 1797, when he recorded several deeds to Jonas Hogmire equaling 121 3/8 acres. A German named John Myers (Meyers) apparently occupied the land Hogmire purchased, who may have been there since as early as 1786. Myers later bought the farm from Hogmire. The property would be known as the D.R. Miller farm in 1862.³² In 1788, John Middlekauff purchased "Kelly's Purchase" just north of the Hogmire tract, on the road to Hagerstown. In the 1790s John Miller, a German immigrant came to the area via Waynesboro and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He began buying land along the Hagerstown Road as well, including several tracts that would later be known as the Samuel Poffenberger farm, the Henry Piper farm [and the land later known as

²⁹ Brugger, p. 153.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ A Century of Population Growth From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970, p. 272.

³² Reed, pp. 20-21.

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the William Roulette farm].³³ The tract of land on the west side of the Hagerstown Road known as "Resurvey of Addition to Piles Delight" owned by Col. Edward Sprigg was also up for sale. A 1792 advertisement in the Hagerstown newspaper, The Washington Spy indicates the land was under cultivation by renters or leasees. The ad stipulated, "Possession of the lands will be given immediately, but liberty reserved to the persons occupying any part thereof to gather and remove crops now growing thereon and to hold possession of their respective fields until that is done."³⁴ Some 2,000 acres of the property was sold to David McMechen, a man from Baltimore, and undoubtedly the rental arrangements continued. An 1803 tax assessment lists fourteen persons showing ownership of "part of R. of Addition to Piles Delight" indicating the tract was subdivided and sold again following the 1792 sale.³⁵ Christian Orndorff divided his holdings among his sons Christopher, Christian and Henry prior to his death in 1797. In 1796 Christopher Orndorff sold the mill and farm to Jacob Mumma. Headstones in the Mumma Cemetery, located on the Mumma farm, dated as early 1790 suggest the Mumma family had been farming the land prior to the 1796 purchase.³⁶ Also in 1796, Joseph Sherrick purchased 200 acres, located south of Sharpsburg, from Henry Orndorff.³⁷

While specific information concerning the production associated with these early farms was not found, the fact that many of the land sales of the 1780s and 90s were from owner to tenant indicates that crops were successful and profitable. Also the rapid increase of large mills, including merchant mills, as well as small custom mills, along the Antietam Creek indicates large and successful grain crops. Slave ownership is also a good indicator of agricultural practice. Washington County was not a big slave holding county in the late 18th century, however, there were several large slaveholders, and quite a few small owners of one to four slaves. Of the 2,445 families living in Washington County in 1790, 269 were slaveholders, about 12%; of the slave holding families, only six owned twenty or more slaves, and 188 owned from one to four slaves.³⁸ Specifically the statistics break down to 90 families with one slave, 98 families with two to four

³³Francis F. Wilshin, Historic Structures Report: Mumma "Spring House," Piper "Slave Quarters," Sherrick "Smoke House," History Data, Antietam National Battlefield Site Maryland. National Park Service, 1969, p. 131.

³⁴The Washington Spy, July 11, 1792, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

³⁵1803 U. S. Tax Assessment, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

³⁶Ibid., p. 16.

³⁷Ibid., p. 250.

³⁸Washington Co. Census vertical file, internet source: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. Washington Co. Free Library, Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown, MD.

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slaves, 55 families with five to nine slaves, 20 families with 10-19 slaves, four families with 20-49 slaves and two families with 50 to 99 slaves.³⁹ According to the 1790 census, there were 1,286 slaves in Washington County and 64 free blacks.

The 1790 U.S. Population Census for the Sharpsburg area, indicated the following families owning slaves: Chapline, Orndorff, Middlekauff, Eversole, and Hogmire. Many of the slave owners listed throughout Washington County were mill owners, including Orndorff, Funk, Clagett, Hager, Hughs, and Stull. The predominance of smaller numbers of slaves per household indicates a less labor intensive form of farm production compared to the tobacco culture found in the county of St. Mary's where, of 1,527 families in the county, 892 were slave owners, with two families owning 100-200 or more slaves, and 73 families owning more than twenty slaves⁴⁰

The close of the 18th century would also bring the promise of expanded markets for the farmers of the Antietam drainage. Proximity to the Potomac River had been some small advantage for transportation in earlier years, but in 1784 a charter for the Potomac Navigation Company (Potomac Canal Company) was granted by Virginia and Maryland for the improvement of navigation on the Potomac River from the North Branch, near the Cheat River, to Georgetown. By 1790 the locks skirting Great Falls above Georgetown were completed. According to T.J.C. Williams, "The trade down the river to Georgetown was considerable from the first. The rapid current of the stream carried the loaded boats down with but little labor...They were large enough to convey about a hundred and sixty barrels of flour. Hay, flour and whiskey were the principal products shipped from the County."⁴¹ Susan Winter Frye points out, however, that the Potomac River transportation was extremely seasonal due to the drastic water level changes typical of the river in winter and summer, making road transportation a continued necessity.⁴² The roads to Baltimore and Philadelphia and the river to Georgetown would spur competition between these port cities that would accelerate in the next century, improving transportation to markets, and profits, for the frontier farmers of Washington County.

Perhaps the attraction of Philadelphia as a rival market along with opening the Ohio Valley markets for Maryland caused businessmen to become interested in experimenting with rail transportation to develop a route from Baltimore to the Ohio River. A corporation was formed as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in 1827. While the cornerstone for the new railroad was being laid on July 4, 1828, with the help of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, last living signer of

³⁹ A Century of Population Growth From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900, Baltimore: Geneological Publishing Co. 1970. P. 203, 296.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Williams, p. 62 and 64.

⁴²Frye, p. 47.

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the Declaration of Independence, by then in his 90s, the first shovel of dirt was lifted by President of the United States, John Quincy Adams for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The canal was to follow the north side of the Potomac River from Georgetown to Cumberland, then overland to the Ohio River. Both of these projects affected Washington County. The railroad fared much better than the canal, and by 1832 had reached the Potomac River at Point of Rocks in Frederick County. It then crossed into Virginia, bypassing Washington County.

The dawn of the 19th century brought enormous growth to Central Maryland, part of the "bread basket" of the country, and its primary market, Baltimore City. According to Frye, "By 1810 Maryland had become the third largest flour-producing state in the nation behind Pennsylvania and Virginia. Washington County was the state's foremost county in terms of the value of its flour mills and the number of barrels of flour produced by these mills."⁴³ An 1831 editorial in the Hagerstown newspaper the Torchlight and Public Advertiser numbers the flour mills of Washington County as "upwards of sixty-four," saying "...it is believed that we send annually to market 130,000 bbls. Being about one fifth of all the flour inspected in Baltimore."⁴⁴ This tremendous growth in production was supported by equal population growth. Between the years 1790 and 1820 Washington County grew by 8,603 people, by 1860, the population had grown by another 8,342 people while growth in many eastern counties had slowed or even decreased. The growth of farms and grain production in the western counties was made necessary by the phenomenal growth of cities such as Baltimore, which increased its population by over 200,000 people between 1790 and 1860.

The settlement of the lower Antietam drainage, in the Sharpsburg District in the 19th century exhibited a mixture of wealthy farmers, yeoman farmers, craftsmen, and laborers, centered on the town of Sharpsburg, the surrounding mills and the Antietam Iron Works. From 1800 to 1860, the white population on the farms surrounding Sharpsburg town more than doubled from 558 to 1,989. Significantly, the "free colored" population also grew during this period, from 2 to 235 living in the Sharpsburg District (exclusive of the town of Sharpsburg).⁴⁵ During this time also, the prosperous farms destined to become famous as the Antietam Battlefield began to take shape as the large land holders of the time passed away and the heirs divided their estates, particularly the lands of Joseph Chapline, John Blackford, and John Miller. A new generation of prominent landowners, whose wealth was derived more from farm production and commerce than from huge grants of land, would emerge. Chief among these in the Sharpsburg area were Philip Grove, Jacob Miller, and Jacob Mumma.

⁴³Ibid., p. 45.

⁴⁴Torchlight and Public Advertiser, March 10, 1831, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁵U.S. Population Census, 1800 and 1860, microfilm, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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Through the first half of the 19th century transportation to markets and the price of farm products became the focus of attention for most farmers in Washington County. Newspaper columns carried current prices for products on a weekly basis, and editorials discussed overseas markets and local transportation costs. Personal letters and journals even found space for discussions of current prices. Prices appear to have fluctuated wildly, no doubt prompting much discussion. An "Abstract of the Baltimore Price Current" found in the March 5, 1811 issue of the Hagerstown Gazette, shows the price of wheat flour at 9.25 per barrel, rye flour at 6.25 per barrel, Maryland wheat at 1.95 per bushel, and whiskey at .48 per gallon. Other products listed included bacon, butter, Indian corn grain, bees wax, and wool. Tobacco is also listed, however, Potomac tobacco bringing in one of the lowest prices at 2.50 cwt. as compared to 6.50 for Virginia fat.⁴⁶

The writings of an Englishman by the name of John Palmer, who was traveling through the "Western country" in 1817, reported the price of wheat in Hagerstown at \$1.40 per bushel. Hard times continued as crops were destroyed by hail in 1818 and 1821, and in 1822 by drought.⁴⁷ By 1831, the March 10 issue of the Hagerstown newspaper the Torchlight and Public Advertiser lists "Hagers-town Prices Current corrected Weekly" with flour at 5.25 per barrel and wheat at 1.00 per bushel. Prices are also listed for rye, corn, oats, potatoes, apples, meat, butter, and bran. The same issue carries an editorial discussing the effect of the overseas market on the price of flour in Baltimore. "The operations in Flour were freely made throughout the past week. In the beginning of the week sales were made at \$5,87 [sic] a \$5,94 per barrel. In the early part of Wednesday, and before the advance of bread stuffs in England were generally known, several purchases were made from stores at \$6 per barrel. In the after part of the day, after the news bad [sic] became known the price advanced to \$6,25, at which rate some sales were effected." Whiskey sales in Baltimore were also noted at 31 cents per gallon (by the barrel).⁴⁸

Local farmer John Blackford notes in his Journal for June 1838 the price of wheat sold to Mumma's Mill at \$1.50 per bushel, and in December 1838 he lists the price of flour at \$7.75 to \$8 [probably per barrel, locally].⁴⁹ A column entitled "The Markets" in the April 18, 1844 issue of the Torchlight and Public Advertiser quotes prices from the markets of Hagerstown, Williamsport, Alexandria, Georgetown, and Baltimore. The Hagerstown price for flour in 1844 was \$4.50 per barrel, and wheat at 85 cents per bushel, nearly half the prices given locally in 1838. The Baltimore market price for flour "Standard brands" was \$4.75 per barrel; the notation

⁴⁶Hagerstown newspapers, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁷Williams, p. 163-164.

⁴⁸Hagerstown newspapers microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁴⁹Fletcher Green and Thomas & Nathalie Hahn, Ferry Hill Plantation Journal. Shepherdstown, WV: Thomas W. Hahn, 1975, p. 54 and 119.

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for grain states: "Wheat continues very scarce.- We continue to quote Md. And Virginia at 100 a 105 cents for good to strictly prime reds." Whiskey is quoted at 23 ½ to 24 cents per gallon (in barrels). Market prices for rye, corn, oats, beef, butter and potatoes are also included.⁵⁰

A March 1856 letter from local farmer Jacob Miller to his daughter in Iowa notes that "wheat is worth \$1.25 [presumably per bushel] but if you go to a Mill and want to buy flour they will ask \$9. Per barrel oats is worth about 40 cts potatoes 50...."⁵¹ Certainly Mr. Miller was disgruntled over the price he was paid for his wheat and other produce, versus the retail price of the processed flour. Whether the 1844 prices reflect cheaper transportation costs or represent a national economic slump is unknown. However, by 1856, the prices appear to be on the rebound.

Another important farm product in the Antietam drainage, not addressed in the newspapers was wood. As the standing timber, so omnipresent on the land in the 18th century, began to slowly disappear, the importance of wood as a product for sale grew. An 1811 sale notice for the 600 remaining acres of "Resurvey on Addition to Piles Delight" which David McMechen purchased from Col. Edward Sprigg's widow states: "This Land is of the first quality; 200 acres cleared, and the residue covered with the best of timber."⁵² The value of such a stand of timber is repeatedly discussed in John Blackford's journal for the year January 1838- January 1839. Blackford in fact mentions the price of wood many times more than the price of wheat or flour, despite the fact that he ran a plantation of over 1,000 acres. Green and Hahn, editors of Blackford's journal note that although wheat and other grains were Blackford's number one cash crop, timber came in second. In addition to supplying his own Ferry Hill Plantation with various needs for wood, the editors note: "He [Blackford] sold large quantities of wood for fuel to the inhabitants of Shepherdstown, Sharpsburg, and Boonsboro. The wood sold for \$2.50 per cord, and Blackford sold as many as one hundred cords per year to a single customer in Shepherdstown....In addition to wood for fuel Blackford sold posts, plank, scantling, and shingles in considerable quantities. In some instances he sold logs to the mills....And he sold timber to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company for fuel and repairs."⁵³ By 1860, the wood lot on any farm had become a valuable commodity. The average household might consume about 10 cords of wood per year for heat and cooking.

Clearly local farmers were interested in the prices their crops would bring. Prices were subject to change depending on availability in the markets and weather changes. An important

⁵⁰Hagerstown newspapers microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁵¹Jacob Miller letters, Antietam Battlefield, NPS, personal copy, Edith B. Wallace.

⁵²Hagerstown Gazette, March 5, 1811, Hagerstown newspapers microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

⁵³Green and Hahn, p. xii.

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aspect of pricing was the cost of transportation of the farm product to the markets. After the turn of the century several major improvements in transportation in Washington County had profound effects on the local farming population. The "turnpike fever" which began in 1796 with proposals for the National Road from Baltimore to Wheeling, hit its pitch between 1810 and 1830, a period when numerous macadamized toll roads were chartered and constructed in Washington County. The National Road, begun in 1811, was the first federally sponsored highway. The National Road reached Wheeling, West Virginia in 1818 and ended in Vandalia, Illinois in 1841.⁵⁴ The National Road passed through Boonsboro to Hagerstown and beyond. A turnpike leading from Boonsboro through Sharpsburg to the Potomac River ferry was chartered in 1815 and completed by 1833.⁵⁵ Such road improvements would greatly increase the ability of farmers to transport their products in winter, but the limitations of transportation by wagon was frustrating to farmers such large distances from the major markets.

With the demise of the Potomac Canal Company in 1828 came the promise of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, with a canal planned to parallel the Potomac River from Ohio to Georgetown. The fledgling Baltimore and Ohio Railroad also held promise for cheap, rapid transportation of products from the Western Maryland farms. An 1831 editorial in the Hagerstown newspaper Torchlight and Public Advertiser states in monetary terms the advantages of such modes of transportation: "Our farmers are now paying from \$1 to \$1,50 per barrel, for carriage to Baltimore. The Canal or Rail Road, will, it is believed, produce a saving of 70 cents per barrel in the price of transportation to market, which will be about \$90,000 upon the whole crop, making that addition to the income of the county. But flour is but one item—the same result will take place in regard to our corn, beef, rye, pork, whiskey, lumber, lime, iron, fruit, vegetables, &c."⁵⁶ By 1834 the C&O Canal had reached the Sharpsburg District and continued nearly to Williamsport. The railroad, however, crossed to the Virginia side of the Potomac River at Point of Rocks, before reaching Washington County, because of the narrow right-of-way passage at that point, which was already owned by the canal company. The railroad would likely have made a greater impact on Washington County farm production than the advent of canal transportation appears to have.

The reaction in Washington County to the B&O's choice of routes was angry. "In 1836 the Maryland Legislature [had come] to the aid of the [B&O] railroad company by making the state the guarantor of a new issue of its bonds, and a clause [had been] inserted in the bill providing that the company must locate its road through Hagerstown, or forfeit to Washington County one million dollars. After the Company decided to go into Virginia, Washington County

⁵⁴ This information was obtained from <http://www.history-magazine.com/natroad.html>. A content search of the History Magazine site indicated the article was published in November 1999.

⁵⁵ Williams, pp. 151-155.

⁵⁶ Torchlight and Public Advertiser, March 10, 1831, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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brought suit for the one million...[But] an extra session of the Legislature was called, and this clause of the act was repealed. The suit went on, it being contended on the part of the county that the legislature had no power to impair the obligation of a contract. The Court of Appeals finally decided that while the legislature could not rescind a contract, it could remit a penalty, and that this provision...was not a contract, but was in the nature of a penalty. Thus Hagerstown lost its railroad, and the people of Washington County lost the million dollars."⁵⁷ Hagerstown did eventually become a rail center with important routes up the Cumberland Valley to Philadelphia, and to Baltimore and the West by way of the Western Maryland Railroad. The B&O supported a spur line into Hagerstown in 1867, but it never had a major impact on the city. The spur line passed along the Antietam Creek and through Keedysville to the Potomac River at Weverton.

The mills of the Antietam drainage show some increase in grain consumption between 1820 and 1850, probably a result of the improvements in transportation, which occurred during those thirty years. Data gathered from U.S. Manufacturing Censuses for Washington County shows that consumption grew for a few mills, remained the same for others, and for some it actually decreased.⁵⁸ One of the largest mills on the Antietam, the D & H Clagett Mill, increased its grain consumption from 30,000 bushels in 1820, to 75,000 in 1850. In the Sharpsburg/Keedysville area, District No. 1, the John Mumma (formerly Orndorff) Mill used 20,000 bushels of grain in 1820. By 1850 it was known as the Watson and Newcomer Mill and consumed 31,000 bushels. The McPherson & Brien Antietam Iron Works also operated a "Merchant Mill" in 1820, with "4 pair stones and suitable machinery," the notation "all in operation" indicating a rather large mill producing flour on a regular basis. In 1850, the Antietam Iron Works does not list a mill among its assets. These mills represent the larger merchant mills, which bought grain for flour, which they produced and sold at larger markets, or combination merchant/custom mills of the area. The smaller, local, custom mills, which ground flour for the farmers to consume or sell at local markets, maintained grain consumption at a steady or slightly increased rate; the nearby Eakle's Mill (formerly Furry's Mill), near Keedysville, consumed 2,000 bushels in both 1820 and 1850.⁵⁹ No farm production data was found from 1820 to compare with that compiled in 1850. However, it is probable that production did increase to some degree with the greater demand for grain in the merchant mills, the improved means of transportation, and the growing availability of the threshing machine in the 1830s. Direct comparative data is available for farm production in 1850 and 1860, and increases in grain

⁵⁷ Paul J. Westhaffer, History of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, 1835-1919, Ephrata PA: Science press, 1979, p. 41, quoting James Peebles Matthews in William H. Egle, ed. Notes and Queries Relating to Pennsylvania. Harrisburg: Daily Telegraph, Annual Volume for 1899, p. 6-9.

⁵⁸Frye, Grain Consumption Data chart, p. 90.

⁵⁹1820 U. S. Accounts of Manufactures, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD; 1850 U. S. Census of Manufactures, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

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production can be seen, especially in corn and rye, but also in wheat.⁶⁰ In 1859 Jacob Miller notes in a letter "the farmers are using the reaper more and more every year and I think before many years the wheat rye oats & barley [sic] will all be cut with the reapers."⁶¹ It is likely that technological innovations such as the reaper and threshing machine, as well as innovations in milling technology led to increased production of grains on the farms, and consumption of grains in the mills.

Whatever the reasons the decade leading up to the Civil War appears to be one of relative prosperity for the farms of the Sharpsburg District. The value of the farms in the area rose slightly during this period, especially the prime farmland that would soon be the bloody Antietam Battlefield, including the farms of Henry Piper, Joseph Sherrick, Samuel Mumma, Jacob Grove, David R. Miller, and William Roulette. During this period also, the number of slave owners in the Sharpsburg area rose, while the number of slaves fell. In 1850, 17 local farmers and millers owned 89 slaves, while in 1860, 24 men of various occupations owned 86 slaves, mostly one or two slaves per owner.⁶² That the wealth of these men was tied directly to the production of the land is made clear in an 1859 letter from Jacob Miller in which he describes his attempts to raise money he owed to his late wife's estate:

"...I confessed a Judgment to him [the Administrator, Jacob Houser] with a stay of execution for one year fully satisfied in my mind that I would be ready to meete [sic] the call. But things in general took a change, the next crop of wheat failed which wound up money matters verry [sic] close which threw everybody out of market in buying land so I failed in selling and raising the money but that is not the case this year. We have had an abundant crop of wheat which is already making money more plentiful and will still be more so after a while and I think will bring people into mark [sic] between this and next Spring to buy land."⁶³

In 1859 land was money, but only if that land was producing something to sell. Fortunately for the farmers of the Sharpsburg District, the land was generous.

The appearance of the landscape in the Sharpsburg District in 1862 had a profound effect on the development of the Battle of Antietam. In terms of terrain, Lee's Confederate army held the advantage, setting up their defensive line of battle on the high ground between the Antietam

⁶⁰U. S. Agricultural Census, 1850 and 1860, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁶¹Jacob Miller letters, July 1, 1859.

⁶²U. S. Slave Census, 1850 and 1860, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁶³Jacob Miller letters, August 10, 1859.

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Creek and the Potomac River. With Stuart's cavalry on the left near the Potomac, and his artillery nearby on the rise known as Nicodemus Heights, the line extended south along the Hagerstown Pike, under the cover of the West Woods and the Sunken Road, through the town of Sharpsburg, and commanding the cliffs above the Lower Bridge of the Antietam on their extreme right. With their backs to the Potomac River, a quick retreat for the Army of Northern Virginia would be impossible. However timely access to the final stage of the battle by A.P. Hill's troops coming from Harpers Ferry resulted in an ultimately controlled retreat across the Packhorse Ford, with the aid of the hilly landscape.

The Antietam Creek, so important in the development of the grain-based agricultural economy of Washington County, served as a natural barrier for the defensive line of General Lee. The report of General McClellan best describes Lee's use of the natural landscape:

"On the 16th the enemy had slightly changed their line, and were posted upon the heights in rear of Antietam Creek, their left and center being upon and in front of the road from Sharpsburg to Hagerstown, and protected by woods and irregularities of the ground. . . . The ground between their immediate front and the Antietam is undulating. Hills intervene, whose crests are commanded by the crests of others in their rear. On all favorable points their artillery was posted. . . ."

⁶⁴

McClellan took advantage of the high ground on the east bank of the Antietam Creek for his headquarters to observe the progression of the battle. Here he also placed much of his artillery, which rivaled Stuart's artillery in their destruction because of their advantage of elevation. Unfortunately many of the Union shells hit the town of Sharpsburg.

The arrangement of the fields and woodlots on the Union right played an important role in the development of the morning phase of the battle. "Hooker stood at the northern apex of a triangle- the North Wood, a large patch of trees that served as his launching point. To his left, at the eastern base, was the East Wood, and to the right was the West Wood and the little white Church of the Brethren [Dunkard Church]. In between lay the D.R. Miller farm and its cornfield of some 30 acres."⁶⁵ The previously unnamed woodlots would forever be remembered by their battlefield designations. Miller's bloody field, whether planted with corn or another grain, would forever be known as The Cornfield.

⁶⁴O.R., Vol. XIX, Part I, pp. 29-30, Report of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, quoted in Jay Luvaas and Harold Nelson, U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Antietam The Maryland Campaign of 1862. (Washington: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1988), p. 120.

⁶⁵James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), p. 212.

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Later in the day, Roulette and Piper's fields and orchards, divided by the Sunken Road, would be contested by the opposing armies, with the Union troops forced to use an open field approach to the Confederates entrenched in the trough-like road. Brig. Gen. Nathan Kimball, USA:

"Directly on my front, in a narrow road running parallel with my line, and, being washed by water, forming a natural rifle-pit between my line and a large corn-field, I found the enemy in great force, as also in the corn-field in rear of the ditch. As my line advanced to the crest of the hill, a murderous fire was opened upon it from the entire force in front."⁶⁶

The battle for the Sunken Road and Piper's fields lasted for more than three hours and was reportedly the bloodiest phase of the daylong battle. The wagon road, filled with the bodies of the dead soldiers, would acquire a new ignominious name, the Bloody Lane.⁶⁷

The afternoon phase of the battle focused on the Lower Bridge, later known as Burnside's Bridge, across the Antietam Creek, the extreme right of Lee's defensive line. Toombs' three Georgia regiments were entrenched on the heights immediately above the bridge on the west bank. General Burnside's Ninth Corps faced the open plain on the east bank of the creek, with the bridge crossing their objective. Here the terrain was certainly against the Union forces, however, Burnside's insistence on crossing the creek by the bridge and at Snavelly's Ford, gave Toombs' small defensive force the further advantage of time. Burnside, as Henry Kyd Douglas notes, missed the fact that "they might have waded it [Antietam Creek] that day without getting their waist belts wet in any place."⁶⁸

As Burnside's corps finally crossed the creek, Toombs' regiments withdrew to join the rest of D.R. Jones' division on the high ground southeast of Sharpsburg (running south from the area of the National Cemetery today). The undulating terrain over which the Federal troops had to cross to reach the Sharpsburg defenses forced them to move slowly and exposed them to danger from the superior position of the Confederates. Just as the superior numbers of the Union force began to overcome the Jones defense, A.P. Hill's division arrived from Harpers Ferry. Crossing the Potomac River at Packhorse Ford behind Lee's defensive line, they marched up Miller's Sawmill Road to meet the advancing Union troops on the high ground south of Sharpsburg. "My troops were not in a moment too soon. The enemy had already advanced in three lines, had broken through Jones' division, captured McIntosh's battery, and were in the full

⁶⁶O.R., Vol. XIX, Part I, p. 193, quoted in Luvaas and Nelson, p. 201.

⁶⁷Murfin, p.262.

⁶⁸Henry Kyd Douglas, I Rode With Stonewall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p.172.

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tide of success. With a yell of defiance, Archer charged them, retook McIntosh's guns, and drove them back pell-mell. . . . The three brigades of my division actively engaged did not number over 2,000 men, and these, with the help of my splendid batteries, drove back Burnside's corps of 15,000 men."⁶⁹ In each phase of the afternoon confrontation, the outnumbered Confederates used the landscape features to their advantage against the overwhelming force of the Ninth Corps.

Throughout the daylong battle, General Lee had used the Sharpsburg landscape to compensate for his smaller numbers. His strong position above the Potomac River had also protected his only path of retreat, across the Packhorse Ford, which he took advantage of the following night, September 18th, 1862.

In the years following the Civil War, the land on which Sharpsburg District farmers lived and worked soared in value while production increased. In 1870, Washington County produced an average of 25-3/4 bushels of wheat per acre, the highest in Maryland.⁷⁰ However, during the war, the railroads had spread to prime farming regions to the west, attracting many of the descendants of the industrious German farmers who had developed the farms of Western Maryland. Soon these same railroads would be bringing grain from the west to the eastern markets and lowering grain prices. The farmers of Washington County also still faced debts incurred from losses during the war which were slow to be repaid; land values were lower by 1880 probably the result of numerous mortgage defaults. Technological advances of the 1870s and 80s, particularly the steam powered thresher, and the binding reaper reduced the cost of labor, while fertilizers improved yields, both helping to improve the economic state of Washington County farmers.⁷¹

Several examples of these changes can be found in the statistics from the Sharpsburg District (District No. 1) of the U. S. Agricultural Censuses of 1870 and 1880. In 1870, Samuel Poffenberger's farm of 178 acres was valued at \$12,000, produced 1030 bushels of wheat, 57 bushels of rye, and 800 bushels of corn, with an annual labor cost of \$500. In 1880, Samuel's farm of 165 acres was valued at \$10,000, produced 1,120 bushels of wheat, 75 bushels of rye, and 1,000 bushels of corn, with an annual labor cost of \$60, and an additional cost of \$125 for fertilizer. Samuel's neighbor, David R. Miller's farm of 265 acres was valued at \$22,000 in 1870. He produced 1,000 bushels of wheat, 25 bushels of rye, and 200 bushels of corn, with a labor cost of \$450. In 1880 the farm of 265 acres was valued at \$15,900, produced 900 bushels of wheat, 75 bushels of rye, 1200 bushels of corn, and 90 bushels of oats, with an annual labor cost of \$425, and annual fertilizer cost of \$200. It is probably significant to note that David

⁶⁹O.R., Vol. XIX, Part I, p. 918, Report of Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill, quoted from Luvaas and Nelson, pp. 235-236.

⁷⁰Reed, History Report: D.R. Miller Farm, p. 2.

⁷¹Williams, pp. 374-375.

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Miller also produced 500 bushels of apples in 1880, far more than other local farmers, which may account for the higher labor cost. The increase in corn production, shown by both Samuel Poffenberger and David Miller, appears to have occurred also with neighboring farmers in 1880.

Also listed on the 1880 census is Poultry, with farms generally showing 30-50 chickens. Whether this is a new product for Washington County farmers or if these numbers represent household consumption is unknown, however, William Blackford, whose farm was located near the old Packhorse Ford, listed 150 chickens in 1880, far above the average, indicating some kind of market use. There is no indication among the Sharpsburg District farmers of an increase in milk cow, cattle, sheep, or swine stocks from, 1850 to 1880 these numbers remain generally level.⁷²

The last decades of the 19th century brought the slow demise of waterpower and the rise of steam, powered by coal. With the rise of grain production in the mid-western states, the direct transportation by rail to major markets, and the introduction of steam powered mills which could be located nearer to the markets, the importance of the farms of the Antietam began to wane. The large merchant mills of the Antietam drainage had already begun to reduce consumption of grains by the 1880 Census of Manufactures. The smaller custom mills, however, appear to have taken up some of the grains, probably for local markets. In the Sharpsburg District, the merchant mill at the Antietam Iron Works consumed only 3,910 bushels of grain in 1880, and the Newcomer Mill (formerly the Orndorff or Mumma Mill) reduced consumption from 31,000 bushels in 1850 to 12,500 bushels in 1880. However the Pry Mill increased production from 13,000 bushels in 1850 to 30,000 bushels in 1880, and Eakles Mill increased from 2,000 bushels to 15,350 bushels in 1880.⁷³

As the mills of the Antietam disappeared around the turn of the century, farmers of the region shifted their production emphasis to dairy products. The proliferation of 20th century animal barns and milk houses on 19th century farmsteads attests to this shift in farm production.

⁷²U. S. Agricultural Census, 1870 and 1880, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

⁷³Frye, p. 90.

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II. The Battle of Antietam, It's Impact on the Local Population, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Outcome of the Civil War.

Much has been written about the Battle of Antietam of 1862, the bloodiest single day of the American Civil War. Troop movements and the decisions of generals have been analyzed and discussed in numerous books and treatises in the 137 years since the battle ended. The impact of the battle on the local citizens of the Sharpsburg area, however, has only begun to be touched. The homes of many of the people living along the lower Antietam Creek in 1862 were damaged and their lives forever changed, not only by the ferocious battle, but also by events, which occurred afterward.

The Battle of Antietam also affected the outcome of the Civil War in several ways, most obviously with Abraham Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation following the Union 'victory' at Antietam. So too, the battle's outcome impacted Lincoln's relationship with General George McClellan, which ended with McClellan's removal as the head of the Army of the Potomac. Both the Emancipation Proclamation and McClellan's demise helped to change the face of the Civil War.

The farms of the Sharpsburg District, along the lower Antietam Creek drainage, in 1860 were well established and prosperous, much of the land having been cultivated for more than 100 years by that time. The farms of the area ranged from around 100 acres to 250 acres; on the 1860 Agricultural Census local farmers reported wheat harvests of 800 to 1500 bushels and corn harvests of 400 to 1000 bushels. While wheat production remained fairly steady, other grains, especially corn, were beginning to show increased production. Property values were rising as well, Sharpsburg had become a busy canal and mill town, servicing the commercial needs of farmers and boatmen alike. The Potomac River Bridge, constructed at the old Blackford's Ferry around 1850, connecting Sharpsburg to Shepherdstown, enhanced commercial ties already well established between the two towns. The population of the town of Sharpsburg in 1860 was approaching 1000 and the district surrounding the town numbered over 2,200, 235 of which were free blacks. Beginning in the second quarter of the 19th century, slavery was on the decline in Washington County and the Sharpsburg District, but in 1860, there were at least 86 slaves living on Sharpsburg District farms, a sign of prosperous times. There were fewer slaves overall, but more owners with one or two slaves each.⁷⁴

In 1861, the busy lives of the people of the Sharpsburg area began to change. The lines between Union and Secessionist states were drawn. Sharpsburg would become a border town in a border state. The district was divided between Republicans, "good Union men," and Democrats, who were sometimes suspected of being southern sympathizers. Young men from the area joined

⁷⁴U. S. Population Census, Agriculture and Manufacturing Census, and Slave Census, 1860, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.

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the armies of both sides, including Henry Kyd Douglas, who served on the staff of Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson.

Jacob Miller, whose letters to his daughter living in Iowa through the 1850s and 60s are a window on domestic life in Sharpsburg during that time, was a prominent land owner, businessman, public servant, and a Democrat. He was acquainted with, and often related to, many of the farmers and townspeople of Sharpsburg. Jacob's letters document the opinions and experiences of the local citizens in the year leading up to, and including, the Battle of Antietam, as well as several years following the battle. In an August 20, 1861 letter, Jacob describes the political divisions, and troubles, in the Sharpsburg area resulting from what he called "this black republican warefare [sic]."

"...I dreded some of our rowdies in town the[y] called us ceessionists and so reported us to the northeren troops and expected to see us all arrested when the northeren troops came on but they ware disapointed the offisers said they did not intend to molest any one on account of their politicle opinon after they ware hear a while they ware better pleased with the democrats than with the Union or dis Union party as we call them and prove them to be such by being in favour of the war which is disunion it Self there can be no union between two parties when war exists between them."⁷⁵

[Note: all spelling and punctuation is that of Jacob Miller's]

Jacob goes on to describe the rowdies of the 'disunion party' as "supported by some of the leading men of their party such as Dr Biggs, Isiah Huet Bill & Frank Cronise Judge Smith or Shoemaker." Clearly, the town was divided, but more telling in this description was Jacob's opinion about the war. He was clearly not in favor of what he saw as the Republican war, however, he also certainly was not a secessionist. This distinction becomes important in 1862, when part of General Robert E. Lee's reasoning for the invasion of Maryland was to free the border states from the Union, assuming that a majority of southern sympathizers might be willing to secede, and change the balance of power in the war.

In September of 1862, word had reached the people of the Sharpsburg District of the Confederate army's arrival in Frederick and march west to South Mountain. They heard the cannons pounding the mountain on the other side of Boonsboro, and prepared for the coming battle. While the season's wheat crop had been harvested, the corn was still ripening in the fields of Joseph Poffenberger, Samuel Poffenberger, Michael Miller, Alfred Poffenberger (on the Mary Grove Locher farm), Jacob Nicodemus, David R. Miller, R. F. Kennedy, Henry Neikirk, William Roulette, Samuel Mumma, Henry Piper, Joseph Sherrick, John Otto, Henry Rohrback, their tenants, and their neighbors. Nothing could be done to protect the crops in the fields and barns but, according to Oliver T. Reilly, an early battlefield guide, horses were hidden by the farmers to

⁷⁵Jacob Miller letters, August 20, 1861.

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prevent their being stolen. "Mr. Samuel Poffenberger...had his eight horses hidden in his large cellar to keep them from being stolen during the battle. Wm. Unger on the Kennedy farm near the Antietam had his in his cellar and those who didn't do this lost theirs."⁷⁶ Reilly reported that "Several hundred persons took shelter for several days at and in Killinsburg Cave, about two miles west of this town [Sharpsburg], on the day of the battle." Many also stayed according to Reilly. "Mr. William Roulette, owner of the Roulette farm at Bloody Lane, during the battle September 17th was hiding in his cellar and Capt. Samuel Wright of a Company of the 29th Mass. saw Mr. Roulette come out of the cellar and for a short while stand and look at them."⁷⁷ A letter from Elizabeth (Miller) Blackford, Jacob Miller's daughter, to her sister Amelia in Iowa, dated February 8, 1863, describes in detail the experience of a citizen who stayed in her home until the fighting began and then left.

"...I had determined to remain at home and go in the Seller, there was two of the Dr's Darby & Tailor, from Louisiana boured with us during their stay, they came in when about to move their wounded and prevailed on us to leave I was standing at the window when a shell exploded in Mr Russel's house between the roof and ceiling sent the shingles flying every direction cut several rafters in two and splintered others some pieces made holes in the chimney and out at the gable end, one piece went in the flore driveing the end of a feather bolster in so tight they could scarcely get it out, it was that, that unnerved me at the moment. I gave way and we left going out the back way to Gerry Groves Town woods, with the shells fliying over our heads and around us, we were in more danger than if we had staid at home but I, did not know what to expect the Doctors seemed decided upon our leaving as we had no man about the house and leave every thing to the mercy of stranglers, no doubt the Drs thought we would be imposed upon by them if wee staid . . . we went to Stephen Groves in an Ambulance from the woods passing through several Regiments, poor men marching in to battle, I left the girls and nan there, took John Frank and walked down to Frances [between Millers Sawmill Road and the C & O Canal] we found Mr. Peter Beeler, and all his family there..."⁷⁸ [Note: the spelling and punctuation is that of Elizabeth Miller Blackford's]

Elizabeth Miller Blackford was a single mother, her husband, Franklin Blackford, son of Col. John Blackford, having died in a hunting accident in West Virginia. The girls she speaks of would be her daughters, Laura, Helen, Mary, and Jeannette, "nan" is probably a slave; John Frank

⁷⁶Oliver T. Reilly, The Battlefield of Antietam, Sharpsburg, MD: Oliver T. Reilly, 1906, p. 21 (pages are not actually numbered).

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁷⁸Jacob Miller letters, from Sister Elizabeth, February 8, 1863.

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was her youngest son. It seems incredible that she would have stayed in Sharpsburg with such a fierce battle approaching, let alone leave with her children with shells flying all around them. Similar stories were told by various Sharpsburg residents, an experience few modern Americans could relate to.

Quartermaster claims are an excellent source for identifying the enormous losses the people of the Sharpsburg area suffered. Shortly after the Battle of Antietam Major General Fitz John Porter, commanding the 5th Army Corps at Sharpsburg, issued Special Order No. 136 which stated, "A Board of survey . . . for the purpose of appraising and ascertaining, if possible, the amount of damages accruing to certain property in this vicinity by troops in the service of the United States." Captain Samuel Conner, 62nd Penna Vols., Capt. D. A. McManigal 131st Penna Vols., and Chaplain O. G. Clark 83rd Penna Vols. were called to serve.⁷⁹ There appears also to have been a similar order issued by the commander of the 1st Army Corps, Special Order No. 22, with J. McK. Snodgrass and J. A. McPherson serving, however, the reports appear to have been submitted at the same time and are not separated in any way.⁸⁰ The Board of Survey personally visited the farms and homes of the citizens of Sharpsburg, beginning October 1, 1862. In addition to recording the damages, including physical damage to buildings and furnishings, as well as claims for crops and animals taken to be used by Federal troops (quartermaster stores), the Board also made decisions regarding the monetary allowances on each claim. One of the more touching of these claims reports was for Jacob Myers, a tenant farmer living somewhere in the area of the Mumma and Roulette farms. Myers' claim was for "Hogs, Bacon, Poultry Toole [sic] & Household & Kitchen furniture Clothing &c \$82.47." The members of the Board of Survey wrote, "we was at the house of Mr. Myers and seen his bill and found he had lost all he had of property and on examining his bill found his prices Agree with our scale of prices, And we awarded to Jacob Myers \$82.47."⁸¹

Following the battle of September 17th, 1862, residents and soldiers faced a field covered with bodies, both dead and injured. As quickly as possible, injured soldiers were removed to the makeshift hospitals set up in nearly every available building and yard. According to Captain Louis Duncan of the Medical Department during the war, all farmhouses north and northeast of Sharpsburg were used as hospitals.⁸² Barns, granaries, sheds, and tents were also used to house

⁷⁹"Extract from Special Orders No. 136," Sept. 30th, 1862, found in Antietam Board of Survey Report National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁰Antietam Board of Survey Report #313, John Grice, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸¹Antietam Board of Survey Report #323, Jacob Myers, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸²From John Nelson lecture, Hospitals of Antietam, Washington County Free Library, 1999.

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the wounded. Several of the Antietam Board of Survey claims reports include references to hospitals:

Henry Rohrback, claim #235, "use of House and 2 barns & outbuildings 5 days"
Catherine Highberger, claim #254, house used as hospital
Stephen Grove, claim #314, "damages to House & Out Buildings"
John C. Middlekauff, claim #320, "Use of House yard barn furniture beds etc. for Hospital from Sept 16th to Oct 6th"
Daniel Poffenberger, claim # 333, "Damages to House & Barn (Hospital) \$100.00"
Joseph Stonebraker, claim #173, "Boarding and use of rooms for hospital for seventeen sick men 2 days" [this claim includes the original receipt for hospital room and board signed by Acting Hospital Steward Ezra Johnson]

A few of the later claims included hospital references as well:

Peter Beeler, claim G-1771, "use of House 6 weeks as a Hospital"
John Otto, claim G-1857, "Use of House Barn & Granary for Hospital from Sept 17th to Nov 4th 1862 \$500.00"
Philip Pry, claim G-2697, "...seeks compensation for 15,000 feet of prime pine plank . . . alleged to have been taken on or about 20th to 30th of September 1863[1862] by Medical Director Dr. Rauch for building Hospitals."

After the injured were removed from the Antietam Battlefield the dead had to be contended with next. The enormous number of bodies, estimated at around 5,000 must have been intimidating; however, quick burial was necessary to avoid the spread of such deadly diseases as typhoid fever and cholera.⁸³ For this reason the fallen soldiers were buried essentially where they lay, making the farm fields of Sharpsburg a temporary cemetery. William Roulette's claim, filed November 1, 1862, included "Buriel [sic] ground for seven hundred Soldiers \$130.00." Samuel Mumma claimed \$150.00 for "Land damaged by traveling & Buriel [sic]."⁸⁴ Such fields were impossible to cultivate until the bodies were removed to permanent cemeteries beginning in 1866. John Trowbridge, a visitor to Washington County in 1865, recalled a conversation with a Sharpsburg farmer he had seen plowing his field: "A power of them in this here field! ...I always skip a Union grave when I know it, but sometimes I don't see 'em, and I plow 'em up.' ...Torn rags strewed the ground. The old ploughman pick up a fragment. 'This here was a Union soldier.

⁸³Steven R. Stotelmyer, *The Bivouacs of the Dead*. Baltimore: Toomey Press, 1992, p. 3.

⁸⁴Antietam Board of Survey Report #230, Wm. Roulette, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Samuel Mumma Board of Survey Report, copy in Francis F. Wilshin, *Historic Structures Report*. National Park Service, 1969, p. 54.

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You may know by the blue cloth' . . . We found many more bones of Union soldiers rooted up and exposed."⁸⁵

Disease became a serious problem for the people living in the area of the Antietam Battlefield in the months following the battle. Jacob Miller's December 7, 1862 letter to his daughter, concerning the death of his brother, Daniel Miller, whose farm was located on the northern edge of the battlefield near Joseph Poffenberger's farm, makes this reality very personal:

"I will now say something about our local affairs. Your Unkle Daniel Miller is no more. He departed from us on Sunday 16th day of November last . . . He was not well when he left home, the day before the big battle, which came off the 17th of September. When he came back he went to Henry Newkirks and continued there the balance of his time. . . after he got back he was taken with a diarear which was a very common complaint with the troops and Citizens. Both armies were afflicted with the disease, however. Daniel took sick on Monday or Tuesday and continued getting worse with sick vomiting spells. I sent once to see him on Thursday and found him ill but he could still converse yet on almost any subject, but the next day I found him worse and so he continued failing to the end he was 84 years of age the 12th day of September last. . . Mrs. Adam Michael is no more she took her flite this day a weak her oldest daughter had just gon before her about eight or ten days, the other daughter and Kalille wore both down and verry ill at the sametime but are geting better, - Hellen and Janet have had a severe attack of tayfoy fevour but are both geting better Hellen is up and about in the house Jacob [Mumma] and Annmarys children nearly all or perhaps all had Scarlet fevour but are all geting well - Henry Mummas wife is no more, she departed this life about two weaks since she had the same fevour nearly all or quite all of John Smith famly wore down but are geting better. Many other citizens and hundreds of soldiers have been taken with the same, and many died, it is an army disease thus ads an addition to the Horrers of war."⁸⁶ [Note: the spelling and punctuation is that of Jacob Miller]

Unfortunately, the illness and death experienced by the local citizens of Sharpsburg were not something for which the Federal government could provide compensation. Residents found later that they would receive no restitution for much of the material damage they suffered as well.

On October 23, 1862, the Antietam Board of Survey reports were forwarded to Brigadier General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac. General Ingalls' reply

⁸⁵Stotelmyer, p.19.

⁸⁶Jacob Miller letters, December 7, 1862.

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to these reports was an indication of the difficulties the people of Sharpsburg would face in receiving compensation for the terrible damages inflicted on their property during the battle:

"I am well aware that the loyal people of this section of Maryland have suffered severely during this campaign and doubtless to any extent beyond any relief they will ever obtain. I regret that they cannot receive full compensation now for their losses, but no disbursing officer with this Army is authorized to pay any claims for damages."⁸⁷ [emphasis his]

Very few of the 1862 claims were settled immediately because they contained claims for damages to property. Two claims that were settled quickly were from Alfred Poffenberger, then living on the Mary (Grove) Locher farm. Alfred received his "Treasury Settlements" in 1867 and 1869 for claims which included wheat, hay, and corn taken between September 20 - 27, 1862 for \$144.30, and corn, rye, and hay taken September 30, 1862 for \$661.40. No claims for property damage were included which probably explains why his claims were settled quickly. Curiously, however, Alfred Poffenberger submitted a new claim in 1877, for corn, fodder, wheat, rye, straw, and hay for \$645.87 1/2, "Alleged to have been taken from him in Washington County Maryland from September 19th to October 20, 1862," a claim which was later rejected.⁸⁸

Most of the earlier claims were resubmitted in the 1870s, minus the property damage, and included claims for hay, corn, wheat, fodder, oats, rye, fence rails, cord wood, and animals. Claimants were required to prove their loyalty to the Union, usually attested to by neighbors, and were asked to produce receipts or vouchers for the stores taken. These receipts or vouchers, were actually rarely given, as explained by John Otto in his 1873 claim, "... the property was taken during the progress of and soon after the battle of 'Antietam,' then and there being fought, it was impossible to obtain vouchers for stores taken, or to find out the names of the officers under whose direction they were taken . . ."⁸⁹ The claim process was so difficult, many claims were not settled until the 1880s. The claim of Jacob Nicodemus of C. (the Nicodemus farm) originally submitted October 8, 1866, was still being processed in 1881 when Hannah Nicodemus, Executrix for the Estate of Jacob Nicodemus, sent a note to the Quartermaster General stating that she had hired new attorneys for the collection of the claim due to "serious delays." The claim was for \$410.00 worth of corn, straw, and hay, with no mention of damage to buildings, it was finally

⁸⁷Correspondence accompanying Antietam Board of Survey Reports, RG92, 8W2, Series #843, Claims Damages, Box #772, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁸Quartermaster Claim M-917, Alfred Poffenberger, RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁹Quartermaster Claim G-1857, John Otto, RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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paid in 1882.⁹⁰ Some claims, including those of Jacob Miller, his sons Morgan and Andrew (referred to as M. and A. Miller on their claim envelope), Samuel Mumma, and Henry Piper, went to the Congressional Court of Claims in 1888. Apparently this was the last resort for restitution for property damage or disallowed claims; Mumma's and Piper's claims included substantial property damage, and, it is likely that the Miller family had difficulty proving their loyalty. A note on the M. and A. Miller record reads: "1889 still no action taken."⁹¹

The Quartermaster Claims submitted by the citizens of the Sharpsburg District ranged in amounts from \$7,472 from Samuel Mumma whose farm buildings were burned, crops and animals taken, and land trampled and turned into a cemetery, to the meager \$82.47 claimed by Jacob Myers. Most claimants, when they finally received their reimbursements, were given about half the amount claimed. Much of what was claimed as taken by the Federal troops, was taken in the months of Federal encampment around Sharpsburg following the September battle, as Jacob Miller describes in an October 1862 letter.

"The Federal troops are encamped from Harpers Ferry to Hancock, some places thicker than others. Around town they are very thick, the outlots are full. The Groves & farms are all full our wilson farm is full Ottos and Shericks farms are full one regiment had encamped in our fiel adjoening town remained there tel they burnd nearly all the rails within their reach, fed and destroid a large rick of wheat in the field, then they shifted their quaters. they have taken all the hay within their reach they have taken about 30 tons from us about the same quanty from Francis and 80 tons from Morgan and rench [Andrew Rench Miller] they have taken every corn field within their reach fodder and all. have taken all our potatoes not only ours but every bodys within their range. So I suppose we will have to send out to you for potatoes and corn this winter."⁹² [Note: all spelling and punctuation is that of Jacob Miller]

This last statement of Jacob's sheds light on an important aspect of the impact this battle had on the local citizens of Sharpsburg. Much of what was taken by the army was not just of commercial value to the farmers, but was their subsistence stores for the coming winter, especially the cord wood, potatoes, apples, corn, and animal stock. No doubt the people of Sharpsburg faced a difficult winter with only one or two months to prepare. The long Federal encampment also prevented many of the farmers from planting their winter wheat crop, as Jacob

⁹⁰Quartermaster Claim 95-1683, Jacob Nicodemus of C., RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁹¹Antietam Board of Survey Reports, #390, M. and A. Miller, #391, Jacob Miller, these are the envelopes only, the claims were removed and have not been located; Wilshin, pp. 41 and 144.

⁹²Jacob Miller letters, October 1862.

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notes in a December 1862 letter: "We have nine acres wheat down on all of our land and if the army had not been hear [sic] I would have had upward of a hundred. many [sic] of the farmers have not sown a handfull [sic]."⁹³

Finally, the citizens of Sharpsburg were impacted not only by the physical damage of the Battle of Antietam, but also by the political ramifications borne out as a result of the battle. Lee's invasion of Maryland had been partly motivated by his desire to ease the pressure of continued battle on the farms of Virginia by drawing the U. S. Army of the Potomac north of the Potomac River; he hoped also to resupply his army on the fertile farms of Maryland and Pennsylvania. But more importantly to the cause of the Confederacy, Lee hoped that the presence of the Confederate Army in the border state of Maryland would 'free' the state from the Union, as well as other slave-holding border states, providing more army recruits. Also, if the army should win a battle on northern soil it would enhance the credibility of the Confederacy, hoping to encourage the support of foreign nations such as England and France, and thus bring a quick end to the war.⁹⁴ As Lee would find, support for his cause in Maryland was soft in Washington County, even among those who had been labeled secessionists by their neighbors, and his defeat at Sharpsburg would ultimately effect support of the Confederacy abroad.

In the North, political opposition to Lincoln and the Republican Party's handling of the war had been growing. The Copperhead or 'Peace Democrat' movement of the Democratic Party, espoused rather simply in Jacob Miller's letters, and expressed in McClellan's defensive approach to battle, had increasingly become a problem for Lincoln and his staff. Following the 'victory' of the Union forces at Antietam, President Lincoln felt the time was right to take away some of the power of the 'Peace Democrats', and remove the possibility of intervention by England and France, by changing the face of the war. By issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in the secessionist states, Lincoln effectively ended any chance for a peaceable compromise between North and South, so hoped for by the Copperheads of the North and the less hawkish members of the Confederacy. Bruce Catton describes the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation thus:

"The war now was a war to preserve the Union *and* to end slavery—two causes in one, the combination carrying its own consequences. It could not stop until one side or the other was made incapable of fighting any longer; hence, by the standards of that day, it was going to be an all-out war—hard, ruthless, vicious, with Sheridan carrying devastation across the Shenandoah and Sherman swinging a torch across Georgia and Grant pitilessly grinding two armies to

⁹³Ibid., December 7, 1862.

⁹⁴Perry D. Jamieson, Death in September, The Antietam Campaign. Fort Worth: Ryan Place Publishers, 1995, p. 18.

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powder so that the Confederacy, if it would not die in any other way, might die of sheer exhaustion."⁹⁵

The effect then was to solidify support, in both the North and South, to win the war, rather than end it with a compromise.

This new, ruthless war was not the vision of General George McClellan, who held to the romantic view of an honorable war, and viewed the Antietam battle as "sublime ... a master piece of art."⁹⁶ McClellan's reluctance to pursue the enemy to the bitter end would result in his removal as commander of the Army of the Potomac. That his political opposition to the President's policies was instrumental in his removal was also evident in a September 25, 1862 letter to his wife. He declares, "The Presdt's [sic] late Proclamation, the continuation of Stanton & Halleck in office render it almost impossible for me to retain my commission & self respect at the same time. I cannot make up my mind to fight for such an accursed doctrine as that of a servile insurrection [sic]-- it is too infamous."⁹⁷ McClellan's removal in November, 1862, following the Battle of Antietam marked the end of the naive, gentlemen's war of 1861 and 1862. In the words of a veteran officer of the Second Army Corps, "When the chief passed out of sight, the romance of war was over for the Army of the Potomac."⁹⁸ It appears to me that the author is trying to imply McClellan had a distorted "romantic view of an honorable war" and this notion was possibly supported by some of his troops as suggested in the quote at the end of the paragraph. McClellan was finally disabused of this notion after the battle at Antietam and his subsequent removal by the President.

Shortly following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, on September 24, 1862, Lincoln suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus, "...in respect to all persons arrested, or thereafter, during the rebellion, to be imprisoned, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court-martial or military commission."⁹⁹ This move consolidated power in the government and put in jeopardy those citizens who might have opposing opinions to their Republican neighbors. The effect in Sharpsburg was felt almost immediately when, in October of 1862, the Rev. Robert Douglas,

⁹⁵Bruce Catton, Mr. Lincoln's Army. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1951, pp. 329-330.

⁹⁶Steven W. Sears, ed., The Civil War Papers of George B. McClellan, Selected Correspondence 1860-1865. New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1989, p. 469, from Sept. 18, 1862 letter to his wife, Mary Ellen McClellan.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 481, from Sept. 25, 1862 letter to Mary Ellen McClellan.

⁹⁸Catton, p. 336.

⁹⁹John W. Burgess, The Civil War and The Constitution 1859-1865. Vol. 2, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901, p. 99.

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father of Confederate officer Henry Kyd Douglas, was arrested on suspicion of signaling the enemy across the Potomac River from a window in his home at Ferry Hill. After some apparently rough treatment in Brunswick and at Fort McHenry over a six-week imprisonment, the elderly Rev. Douglas "was brought before the Provost Marshal. By this gentleman he was treated with much courtesy, and he ascertained, after having undergone an examination, that there was no evidence against him, and that no written charges had ever been preferred."¹⁰⁰ While Rev. Douglas was finally released from prison in 1862, he had become ill in prison and died in 1867.

Another example of the effect of the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus on the citizens of Sharpsburg occurred in 1864, when Jacob Miller, at the time 84 years old, and four of his grown children, were arrested at their homes in Sharpsburg and taken to Harpers Ferry.

"...a Squad of Soldiers came to the house and arrested Sam, Savilla & myself and took us to Harpers-ferry when we got to the mouth of the lane which leads down to the mill the lieutenant and a possy of Soldiers took that road and went on and Arrested Morgan and Rench we Stoped at antielum Bridge til they came up, then we went on to the ferry together. . . .we ware there two & a half weaks . . . Captn Alexandrew who was one of Gen Hunter Staff . . . examined into the matter and found that there was no charge against either of us, the provost Marshal discharged us without asking a word . . ."¹⁰¹ [Note: spelling and punctuation are that of Jacob Miller]

Doubtless, similar stories were told throughout the border states where suspicions among neighbors concerning loyalty to the Union, or possibly simply revenge over a neighborly dispute, however unfounded, could be settled through the military authority of the Provost Guard.

The citizens of the Sharpsburg District had suffered greatly, both physically and mentally, as a result of the devastating Battle of Antietam. The whole divided nation, however, would suffer more in the years to follow as the war intensified and political differences hardened. While Jacob Miller's opinion of the party of Lincoln was harsh, his fears of the long-term effects of the post-Antietam war were probably echoed across the country.

That party [Republican] is the whole and sole cause of all our difficulties and rupture of this, of all Countries the best in the world, and I fear never will be

¹⁰⁰John A. Marshall, The American Bastille: A History of the Arbitrary Arrests and Imprisonment of American Citizens in the Northern and Border States, on Account of their Political Opinions, During the Late Civil War. Philadelphia: Thomas Hartley & Co., 1883, p. 163. This work may be somewhat biased, however the fact remains that Rev. Douglass was arrested without benefit of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and so was imprisoned for 6 weeks without formal charges.

¹⁰¹Jacob Miller letters, September 6, 1864.

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restored, and I know never can be as it was. As to my individual interest in the settlement of this matter will amount to but little as my race is nearly run, but as to the rising generations the difference may be great.¹⁰²

¹⁰²Jacob Miller letters, December 7, 1862.

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III. Post-battle Commemoration and Preservation Activities

The Antietam National Battlefield and the Antietam National Cemetery, as seen today, represent many layers of commemoration. Beginning only five years after the 1862 Battle of Antietam with the establishment of the Antietam National Cemetery, the various forms of commemoration at Antietam have followed the changes in public attitudes toward the Civil War, American history, and preservation in general. The Battlefield site and National Cemetery have served as a tool for memorialization, reconciliation, preservation and education over the intervening years.

Immediately following the bloodiest single day of warfare at the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862, the overwhelming task of burial of the approximately 5,000 dead began. Most were buried near where they fell, in the cultivated fields of the farms along the Antietam Creek. As long as the war continued, this rather ignominious resting-place for the soldiers who had given their lives would have to suffice. However, soon after the war, veteran comrades of the fallen at Antietam sought to establish a more suitable burial site and memorial for their fellow soldiers. As early as 1864, Maryland State Senator Lewis P. Firey introduced a resolution "to inquire into the propriety of purchasing on the part of the State, a portion of the battlefield of Antietam, not exceeding twenty acres, for the purposes of a State and National Cemetery, in which the bodies of our heroes who fell in that great struggle and are now bleaching in the upturned furrows, may be gathered for a decent burial, and their memories embalmed in some suitable memorial."¹⁰³ The act clearly expressed the need felt by citizens and veterans alike, to memorialize the soldiers who had given their lives for the cause. In 1865 the original act was superseded by a similar act, which appropriated \$7,000 and suggested that "expenses . . . shall be apportioned among the States connecting themselves with the corporation . . ."¹⁰⁴ Thus nineteen northern states, whose sons had fallen at Antietam, South Mountain, Monocacy, and Hancock helped establish Antietam National Cemetery. The 11 1/4-acre cemetery, located on a hill overlooking the battlefield on the eastern edge of Sharpsburg, was dedicated on September 17, 1867. While the cemetery was originally intended to include fallen Confederate soldiers as well, reconciliation had not progressed that far just two years after the close of the war, and the Confederate dead were buried at Washington Cemetery in Hagerstown.

In 1877, the United States Congress appropriated \$15,000 to pay the debts of the Antietam National Cemetery State Trustees. In return the title to the cemetery was given to the U. S. War Department "to provide for the preservation and superintendence of said cemetery as one of the national cemeteries of the United States . . ."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery An Administrative History. p.1, from History of Antietam Cemetery, 1869.

¹⁰⁴Ibid, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵Ibid, p. 25.

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Memorialization of those killed in the late Civil War seemed to suffice for the citizens of the United States during the period of reconstruction. Perhaps they were not ready to relive the still painful subject of the divisive war, not ready to commemorate battles, which pitted brother against brother. The farmers along the Antietam Creek were left alone to rebuild their farms after the devastation of the 1862 battle. The agricultural community of the Sharpsburg area again thrived on the grains and corn produced by the farms of the battlefield. In 1868 a Memorial Day tradition was begun in the town of Sharpsburg in which a procession would lead from the Masonic Hall in the town to the National Cemetery, where ceremonies in memory of the fallen were conducted each year. This tradition continues today in the form of the Memorial Day Parade, held every year by the people of Sharpsburg, which ends at the gates of the cemetery.

Beginning in the 1880s, interest in the visitation of battlefields by aging veterans initiated a new era of commemoration at Antietam. The first indication of the increased visits to Antietam was in 1888 when the road bed which led to the cemetery and battlefield site from the Antietam railroad station was improved by the War Department with macadam, curbs, gutters, and sidewalks. A further gesture to the living veterans of the battle was the planting of 300 Maple trees, donated by a Pennsylvania company, to shade the visitors along the route to the cemetery and battlefield.¹⁰⁶ Then, in 1890, after the first National Military Park was created by Congress at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, authorization was also given for a park at Antietam. A field survey of the battlefield at Antietam was begun, to mark the progression of the battle, of both the Union and Confederate armies, with tablets; a similar survey had been initiated at Gettysburg in 1880.¹⁰⁷ Clearly the interest was shifting from memorializing the dead to the memories of the living veterans of the Civil War.

At the same time the War Department was faced with the problem of how to preserve the many battlefields, including Antietam, without repeating the enormous expenditures experienced in the creation of parks at Chickamauga and Gettysburg. The original plan for the preservation of 800 acres of the Antietam battlefield, authorized in 1890 by Congressional Act, would eventually be whittled down to 17 acres. Beginning in 1893, members of the Antietam Board, General Heth and Colonel Stearns, made the recommendation for roads through the battlefield saying,

"On some of the fields, notably, those in the vicinity of the Dunkard church, East Woods, and the Bloody Lane, a large number of tablets will be located. In justice to the farmers owning these fields, we think roadways should be constructed to enable visitors to this battlefield to view and inspect these tablets without trampling upon and injuring growing crops, gardens, orchards, etc."¹⁰⁸

The next year, new Antietam Board President, Major George B. Davis, recommended to then Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont that the Department purchase at Antietam only the land

¹⁰⁶Snell, p. 42.

¹⁰⁷Ibid, p. 67, from the 1895 annual report of Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, p. 78, from the 1893 4th progress report of the Antietam Board.

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necessary for the tablets and roads, leaving the farm fields on which the battle took place in the continued ownership of the farmers. This radical plan for battlefield preservation, now referred to as the Antietam Plan, was described to Congress in 1894 in an essay written by Secretary Lamont.

“Congress has charged the Department with the duty of “preserving and marking” certain lines of battle of Antietam, in order to preserve the field, in all its physical aspects, as nearly as possible in the condition in which it was in September, 1862. This duty can best be performed by leaving the land in the hands of its original owners or their successors, who by continuing to use it for farming, will preserve its topographical features as they existed in 1862.”

The Secretary then continued:

“It is the purpose of the Department, if the necessary land can be bought reasonably, but not otherwise, to acquire several lanes or avenues along which the most severe fighting occurred, and upon the sites thus acquired to erect such tablets and markers as will clearly describe and explain the positions and operations of the several organizations of the armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia which were engaged.”¹⁰⁹

By 1898 the Antietam Battlefield Site was completed with five miles of roads, 200 iron tablets, inverted cannon monuments marking the death of generals, field guns marking battery placements, fences, the stone observation tower at Bloody Lane, and the cannon monument placed at the Antietam railroad station. In addition, a series of troop movement maps had been created, reproduced from the memories of veterans and locals interviewed by General E. A. Carmen. The series of 14 maps, as published in 1904, were entitled “Atlas of the Battlefield of Antietam (1862), Prepared under the Direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board, Major Geo. W. Davis, U.S.A., President; General E. A. Carman, Late Union Army; General H. Heth, Late Confederate Army. Surveyed by Lt. Col. E. B. Cope, Engineer. Drawn by Charles H. Ourand, 1899.”¹¹⁰ These maps are now commonly known as the “Carmen-Cope Maps,” and are considered the definitive maps of the Battle of Antietam.

It was during this time, the 1890s and into the early 20th century that the most intense period of monumentation at the Antietam battlefield occurred. The monuments, generally paid for by states or individual veterans groups, not only memorialized the soldiers who died on the battlefield, but also marked the positions of the various regiments. Speeches given at the dedication ceremonies for the monuments speak not only of memorializing the dead, but repeatedly emphasize the theme of reconciliation. This theme was best related at the May 1900

¹⁰⁹Snell, pp. 88-89, 1894 Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont essay to Congress.

¹¹⁰Ibid, pp. 109-112.

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dedication ceremony of the Maryland monument, in a speech given by President McKinley, a veteran of the Union army:

“ . . . I am glad to meet on this field the followers of Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, and Johnson, with the followers of McClellan, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, greeting each other, not with arms at their hands but with affection in every heart. One reflection and only one crowds my mind. It is the difference between this scene and the scene thirty-eight years ago when the men wearing the blue and the men wearing the gray visiting in shot and shell, death on each other. This meeting after these many years has but one sentiment, love for Nation and flag.”¹¹¹

This timely patriotic sentiment carried the United States through World War I and the Depression years of the 1930s.

Following the transfer of the Antietam National Battlefield Site and National Cemetery from the War Department to the National Park Service in 1933, the vision of the purpose of battlefield preservation began to change. In 1934, the size of the battlefield park was still only 50 acres, the increase due only to the donation of monument sites by the states. Beginning in 1935, Superintendent John K. Beckenbaugh began making recommendations for the preservation of endangered historic sites such as the Burnside Bridge, West Woods, the Locher Cabin, and the Dunkard Church. However, it was not until 1940 that Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept donations of land for the battlefield, including the Philadelphia Brigade Park, the Spong and Dorsey farms at Burnside Bridge, and the Lee's Headquarters lot. By 1943, the Antietam Battlefield Site had grown to 128 ½ acres.¹¹² In 1947, NPS Region One Historian Appleman commented:

“ . . . Circumstances have left Sharpsburg and the adjoining countryside relatively unchanged from the Civil War period up to the present, but we cannot expect that this condition will continue very much longer. Time is running short for the Federal Government to act in acquiring . . . sufficient lands at Antietam to make a battlefield park of this historic ground . . . The War Department made a mistake in planning its land acquisition program at Antietam.”¹¹³

The park service at Antietam did not receive authorization from Congress to purchase land, however, until 1960. The Congressional Act, entitled “An Act to provide for the protection and preservation of the Antietam Battlefield in the State of Maryland,” signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, provided for the purchase of approximately 600 acres and scenic easements on 1,017 acres.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹John W. Schildt, Monuments at Antietam. Great Southern Press: Frederick, MD, 1991, p. 51.

¹¹²Snell, p. 173, 179.

¹¹³Ibid, p. 230.

¹¹⁴Ibid, p. 306.

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The vision of battlefield preservation as an educational tool began to take shape in the 1940s as well. In 1941, NPS Historian Lattimore described the interpretive program at Antietam as "neglected," suggesting more staff for interaction with the public, a better museum, and more trailside exhibits. Despite his criticism of the program at Antietam, Lattimore noted,

"... The lack of interest in this park and the consequent failure of government agencies to develop and promote it have been a blessing, however, for the absence of modern improvements Antietam battlefield has retained an atmosphere of authenticity, which is rarely found in other battlefield parks under our administration."¹¹⁵

The centerpiece for the envisioned interpretive program at Antietam National Battlefield was a new park museum, its location described in the 1942 Master Plan to be at the "New York and Maryland [monuments] plot." Sadly, both World War II and the Korean Conflict would force all plans to be put on hold.

Most important to the development of the Antietam National Battlefield as it is seen today was the Mission 66 Program of National Park Service Director Conrad Wirth. Described as "a 10-year effort intended to provide enough money to properly rehabilitate, develop, interpret, and maintain every park in the system," the program required park administrators and historians to develop interpretive plans and set goals.¹¹⁶ Through the Mission 66 Program the Antietam park defined its land acquisition needs and the development of its interpretive program. This development happened to coincide with the Antietam Centennial Committee's preparations for the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam in 1962. Both the Mission 66 Program and the commemoration of the centennial of the battle brought important changes to the battlefield park. Visual changes, especially the construction of the Visitors Center in 1962, along with the addition of land and scenic easements to the park, the reconstruction of the Dunkard (Dunker) Church, the addition of the Clara Barton Monument and three other monuments, are all direct results of the combined efforts at both the Federal and local levels.

The educational aspect of the battlefield preservation and commemoration was also enhanced during this time of Mission 66 and 1962 Centennial celebration. The development of interpretive programs to enhance the understanding of the visiting public of the logistics of the battle as well as the impact of the battle on the outcome of the war, became a major focus in the battlefield park. This attitude toward the importance of education in battlefield commemoration was reflected in "The Purpose of the Commemoration," from the Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association Centennial booklet:

¹¹⁵Snell, p. 198.

¹¹⁶Ibid, p. 247.

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"It is fitting, therefore, that the Battle of Antietam be commemorated, both in action and in solemn rededication to instill in the hearts and minds of all of us that "these men did not die in vain." It is our hope that this commemoration will bring forth a new respect for and greater awareness of our past and our future."¹¹⁷

The 1962 re-enactment of the Battle of Antietam, located along Bloody Lane, was the last to be conducted on Federally owned land. The Centennial commemoration was apparently not particularly well attended. A recent 135th commemoration and re-enactment, however, was conducted on a nearby farm and was attended by thousands of re-enactors and spectators.

The Antietam National Battlefield and Antietam National Cemetery are significant in American history for the roles they have played during and after the Civil War. The establishment of the cemetery served to comfort the grieving citizenry immediately following the painful and divisive war. The development of commemorative battlefield sites allowed veterans from both sides to meet on former battlegrounds as brothers, and served to help reconcile the Nation. The continued preservation of battlefields today serves to educate the public about a difficult time in our history, which will hopefully prepare us for the future. The Antietam National Battlefield is unique, as has been noted throughout its history, for its remarkable preservation as a rural farming community, giving the visitor the vision of the Antietam battle, not as a moment in time, but as a moment in a place.

Individual Property History and Significance Updates

1. The Fulk House

The Fulk House, constructed by Charles Keedy in the 1920s or early 1930s, is a representative example of the American Foursquare style of architecture. In addition it is a very early example of the process of development along the edges of farms as agriculture began to wane in its domination of the Sharpsburg area economy in the 20th century. The one-acre lot on which this dwelling stands was carved from the historic Pry farm in the first quarter of the 20th century. The rural, water-powered mill economy, which had supported the farms of the Antietam for more than a century, had given way to the centralized coal-powered mills of the larger cities. Faster rail transportation of grains from the larger farms of the Midwest had also deeply effected the smaller Washington County farms. As farming became less profitable and land for new houses increasingly valuable, more farmers began selling lots along the edges of their farms to enhance their incomes.

2. The Shull Tract

¹¹⁷Battle of Antietam Centennial and Hagerstown Bicentennial Official Program and Historical Guide, sponsored by the Antietam-South Mountain Centennial Association, Inc., Aug.31-Sept. 17, 1962, p. 5.

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The Shull Tract is significant as a contributing element to the landscape of the 1862 Battle of Antietam. Located at the northern extreme of the Union line on September 17, 1862, the Shull Tract, then part of the Jacob Coffman farm, served as the staging area for the troops of Brig. General Abner Doubleday's Division of Major General Joseph Hooker's First Army Corps. (Carman-Cope Map, Situation at Daybreak, September 17, 1862). It retains its open, cultivated appearance, with cropland bordered by tree growth along fencelines, and is therefore important, as well for its contribution to the overall rural cultural landscape of Antietam.

3. The Flook Farm

The John Flook (Nicodemus) Farm is significant within the context of the 1862 Battle of Antietam as the location of Major General James E.B. Stuart's horse artillery and the northern extremity of the Confederate defensive line. The location of remnants of Confederate Avenue, which defines the eastern boundary of the farm, adds to the significance of the property as representing the commemorative period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Flook Farm also derives significance as a working farm from the early 19th century with the representative barn and wagon shed, through the 20th century with buildings representing farming practice changes through the years. The construction of the present dwelling house in the 1870s may also represent changes occurring as a result of damages during the 1862 battle. The farm group is also significant for its role in defining the rural cultural landscape at Antietam. While the house was not present at time of the battle, it is nevertheless representative of local and regional construction patterns for farmhouses, and is part of a well-established farmstead that reflects the agricultural and cultural development of the Antietam area.

In 1820-1847 the Nicodemus Farm began to take shape in the hands of Jacob Kauffman (Coffman). The northeastern 100 acres, purchased by Coffman from Jacob Mumma in 1820, were originally part of James Chapline's "Addition to Loss and Gain." The southern portion of the farm was part of Col. Edwin Sprigg's 1747 patent "Resurvey on Addition to Piles Delight." Coffman's acreage north of what would later be known as the Nicodemus Farm was the location of his personal dwelling house (see 1859 Map). It is likely that Jacob Nicodemus was tenancing the southern Coffman acreage prior to his purchase of the farm in 1863.

The low ridge, known as the Nicodemus Heights, situated west of the building complex on the Nicodemus Farm, was the location of Stuart's artillery during the early morning phase of the battle on September 17, 1862. The Nicodemus buildings were sandwiched between the Confederate artillery and the surging tide of Union 1st Corps under the command of General Hooker. Union artillery, charged with disabling Stuart's guns, would undoubtedly have caused some damage to the buildings of the Nicodemus Farm. However, considering the apparent early construction of the barn and wagon shed now standing on the farm, reports that the Nicodemus barn was burned during the battle appear to be false. The 1866 Quartermaster claim submitted by Jacob Nicodemus of C. makes no mention of damages to buildings and even notes the claim for

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12,000 pounds of hay were "taken from the barn" by Union forces occupying the farm following the retreat of the Confederate army.¹¹⁸

Since the present house located on the Nicodemus Farm was built following the 1862 battle, it is generally presumed that the Nicodemus family occupied the house indicated by remnant foundations and stone lined well located several hundred feet southwest of current house. However, the location of these ruins is an unusual distance from the barn and probably warrants further study to determine the original location of the house associated with the extant barn. Possibly also significant is the line found in the 1887 deed for the farm, from Hannah Nicodemus (widow of Jacob) to William Remsburg (son-in-law), which reads: "... being the same farm and premises which was conveyed to Jacob Nicodemus from J. Poffenberger [trustee for the heirs of Jacob Coffman] . . ."¹¹⁹

The ensuing years saw the farm sold to Cyrus Remsburg, son of William Remsburg in 1892; to Otho Flook, son-in-law of Cyrus Remsburg in 1941; to John Flook, son of Otho in 1966; and to John Flook, son of John in 1982. The family's farming practices have not changed much through the years either, other than mechanization. The farm was never converted to dairy production, like the D.R. Miller farm, but rather raises cattle, so that no dairy barn was ever constructed. The original "Swisser" barn, proving sufficient for their needs, was therefore well maintained. The addition of various sheds, silos and corncribs illustrates changes in agricultural storage and mechanization in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

4. The Roulette Farm

The Roulette Farm is significant as part of the rural agricultural and battlefield landscape from the 1862 Battle of Antietam. Located at the center of the battlefield, the farm served as the front line for the troops of Confederate General D.H Hill during the early morning phase of the battle. This line was later pushed back as Union troops moved to face the Confederates at the Sunken Road. The Roulette Farm is also significant for its role in the settlement and development of the Sharpsburg area and its farming economy. Remaining in the Miller/Roulette family (related by marriage) for 150 years, the stability of this family farm helped to maintain the tradition of farming in the area into the late 20th century. Architecturally, the complex is an excellent and little altered example of a farm grouping with a full complement of service buildings. The house reflects several periods of construction and retains important interior and exterior features from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. An important feature is the intact bake oven, few of which remain in the region.

The history of the Roulette farm stretches at least as far back as the 1791 arrival in Washington County, Maryland of German-born immigrant, John Miller. Miller moved into the

¹¹⁸Quartermaster Claim #95-1683, RG 92, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹¹⁹Washington County Land Record GBO 90/361, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

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area with a wave of German farmers from south central Pennsylvania. By the time of the 1803 tax assessment for Sharpsburg Hundred, the senior John Miller owned 632 acres of "Alese [Ellwick's] Dwelling" and "Joe's Farm," both located north of the town of Sharpsburg.¹²⁰ The acreage from these two patents stretched from the farm later known as the Samuel Poffenberger Farm, south to the northern edge of Sharpsburg. According to T. C. Williams, writing in 1906, the 600 acres owned by John Miller were divided among several of his children after his death. The elder John Miller did not leave a will, but records indicate that his estate was settled in 1821. Daniel Miller, John's oldest son, lived on the farm east of his father (listed as D. Miller on the 1859 Map of Washington Co.). Jacob Miller, John's third son, later sold his portion of "Ellwick's Dwelling" to Daniel Piper. Mary, one of John's daughters, received a parcel which she later sold to her daughter's husband, Dr. Robert F. Kennedy. This property was later known as the Kennedy Farm. John's second son, known as John Miller of J. (referred to in records this way to differentiate him from his contemporary, John Miller of D., father of D. R. Miller, and member of an entirely different Miller family), received from his father approximately 180 acres which would later be known as the Roulette Farm. Williams states that the younger John Miller "settled on a part of the homestead, where he resided throughout his life . . ."¹²¹ It seems likely that John of J. constructed at least part of the dwelling now standing on the Roulette Farm, and lived there until he died, intestate, sometime around 1850. It also seems likely that the younger John Miller was already living on the parcel now known as the Roulette farm before his father's death. It appears that at least some of the Roulette house dates from the 18th or early 19th century and may have been built when John Miller of J. set up housekeeping, which would have been around 1800. After John Miller of J.'s death, the trustees of his estate in 1853 sold the farm to William Roulette who had married Margaret Ann Miller, daughter of John Miller of J. William and Margaret lived and farmed this property throughout the rest of the 19th century.

During the September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam, the Roulette farm was first occupied, in the early morning, by the Confederate pickets of General D. H. Hill's Division. Sometime after 10 a.m., after the fighting in the West Woods had died down, Union troops from French's Division, Sumner's 2nd Corps, began the push south, across William Roulette's farm. Richardson's Division later followed them. Over the next 3 ½ hours the Roulette fields between the house and barn and the Sunken Road would be hotly contested by Union and Confederate, until the grossly outnumbered Confederates were finally driven back to Piper's fields. With this the second phase of the bloody battle was ended. McClellan then hoped to crush Lee with a final attack by Burnside on the Confederate right.¹²²

¹²⁰1803 Tax Assessment Record, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹²¹Thomas C. Williams History of Washington County, Maryland, From the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time. (Hagerstown, 1906), Baltimore: Clearfield Co. & Family Line Publications, 1992, p. 911.

¹²²James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982, pp. 245-261.

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5. D.R. Miller Farm

The D. R. Miller Farm is significant for its role as the ground over which the early morning phase of the September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam was fought. The famous "Cornfield" and part of the West Woods were both located on the D. R. Miller Farm. Miller's barn was also mentioned as a temporary hospital following the battle. The D. R. Miller Farm is also significant in the settlement and development of the agricultural economy of the Sharpsburg area, beginning in the 18th century and continuing through the 19th century.

The following is taken from the 1991 D. R. Miller History Report by Paula S. Reed:

"The D. R. Miller Farm complex derives its main significance from its association with the morning phase of the Battle of Antietam which occurred on September 17, 1862. At the opening of the battle, Union General Joe Hooker's First Corps was positioned about a mile north of the junction of the Smoketown Road and the Hagerstown Turnpike. His objective was to gain a moderately raised area of ground just south of that intersection. Also near the intersection was a small white Dunker church, an easy reference point on the landscape. Arrayed against Hooker in the vicinity of the intersection and extending northward along the west side of the Hagerstown Turnpike were Stonewall Jackson's Confederate forces. Confederate artillery was positioned on high ground, Nicodemus Hill, just southwest of Hooker's starting point. Halfway between General Hooker's First Corps and their objective at the Dunker Church area, and directly in his path was David R. Miller's farm ground and buildings. Just south and east of Mr. Miller's house was his 30-acre cornfield which will be forever known as The Cornfield.

The conflict along the Hagerstown Turnpike began about 6:30 A. M. By 9:30 that morning more than 8,000 soldiers were dead or wounded from both sides. Most of the casualties occurred in the cornfield and along the edge of the turnpike, only a few hundred feet south of David R. Miller's house. Centrally located in the morning phase of the Battle, the Miller Farm through fate is remembered in history.

Yet, by 1862, the Miller Farmhouse was already more than half a century old and the land had been claimed under ownership for nearly a century. The house also represents the cultural history of the lower Cumberland Valley and Washington County which was settled chiefly by prosperous German farmers during the late 18th century." It is an excellent example of an 18th century Germanic house type, with a clear history of modification in response to damage done in 1862.

The Miller Farmhouse and barn are also significant for their post-battle additions and changes. Clearly, the Miller farm buildings were impacted by the artillery and infantry battle which raged around them on the morning of September 17th, 1862, which would have required substantial repairs. But the Miller farm continued in its agricultural capacity for another 100

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years after the 1862 battle. The buildings on the D. R. Miller farm tell that story of reconstruction and recovery following the battle, as well as changes in farming practices and prosperity through the late 19th century and into the 20th century.”

6. Cunningham Farm

The Cunningham Farm is significant as a contributing element of the rural cultural landscape that comprised what was to become the Antietam Battlefield on September 17, 1862. Adjoining the farms of Piper and Roulette, the fields of the Cunningham Farm saw action during the middle phase of the daylong battle. The farm is significant also for its role in the settlement and development of the Sharpsburg area. Although altered the house, constructed in two parts, appears to date from the late 18th century, and therefore reflects the early development of the Antietam area. The barn retains most of its early features and is significant in that it seems to have missed the late 19th and early 20th century modernization that most barns in central Maryland received to accommodate newer farming and dairy technology.

The land that would eventually make up the Cunningham Farm was first surveyed in 1739 for Dr. George Stuart, in the earliest days of land speculation following the opening of the western Maryland lands for settlement by the Proprietary. The beginning point for the 1739 survey was described as “on the side of a hill within 1/4 mile of the wagon road that crosses Antietam Creek.”¹²³ According to T. C. Williams, a log house was located on this property as early as 1733 (it blew down in 1874).¹²⁴ The 208 acres was again surveyed in 1745 for James Smith, another speculator in western lands, and patented “Smith’s Hills.” In 1762, James Smith sold 292 acres of “Resurvey on Smith’s Hills” to Christian Orndorff. Orndorff built a mill complex and mansion house on his land by the Antietam Creek. In 1796, Christopher Orndorff, son of Christian, sold 303 acres of “the parcel called resurvey on Smith’s Hills,” including the mill, to Jacob Mumma.¹²⁵

By the 1803 Maryland State Tax Assessment, Jacob Mumma was listed as owning 330 acres of “Smith’s Hills.” This property would have included both the mill and the acreage now known as the Cunningham Farm. Jacob also was listed as owning 182 acres of “Sanderson’s Delight” (probably “Anderson’s Delight”) located south of Joseph Chapline’s “Loss and Gain” and likely the location of the farm known now as the Mumma Farm. Jacob Mumma transferred ownership of the properties to his oldest son John, who operated the mill, in 1821. When John died in 1835, without a will, he was in default on his mortgage to his father. Washington County Chancery Court records show that the court ordered the “farm and mill of said deceased,” 403

¹²³Tracey Land Patent Map of Washington County, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹²⁴Thomas C. Williams, History of Washington County, Maryland, From the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time. (Hagerstown, 1906), Baltimore: Clearfield Co. & Family Line Publications, 1992, p. 1302.

¹²⁵Washington Co. Land Record 1/764, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

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acres in total, to be sold in 1836.¹²⁶ Jacob purchased his property back at the public sale, and in 1837 sold 324 acres to his youngest son Samuel. This sale appears to have included all of Jacob's holdings except the mill complex.

Given that the Mumma family owned the "Smith's Hills" acreage as early as 1796, and that this farm was not contiguous with the farm on "Anderson's Delight," it is probably safe to assume the house and barn on the Cunningham farm were constructed by the Mumma family. There is some evidence that points to Samuel Mumma working and residing at the Mumma's "other" farm. The 1840 U. S. Population Census lists Jacob and Samuel Mumma as separate Heads-of-Households. An 1843 Deed of Trust agreement, between Samuel Mumma and his creditors, puts the "lower farm" (Cunningham Farm) of 190 acres as Samuel's collateral. The 1850 U. S. Agricultural Census lists Samuel with a 190-acre farm and Jacob with 175 acres. By the 1860 U. S. Agricultural Census, approximately 10 years after his father's death, Samuel lists only 150 acres of farmland, presumably having tenanted out the "lower farm."¹²⁷

In 1861, Samuel Mumma sold the "lower farm," described in the deed as 166 1/2 acres, to Philip Pry. Pry owned a farm and manor house on the east side of Antietam Creek and probably also tenanted the "lower farm." On September 17, 1862, the Pry farm on the west side of the creek was on the eastern edge of the late morning phase of the Battle of Antietam. The Confederate position, with General D.H. Hill's division, was along the Sunken Road. This position was contested by the Union 2nd Corps divisions of Generals French and Richardson. According to the Carman-Cope 10:30 a.m. situation map, the Union Brigade under Caldwell's command (Richardson's Division) lined up on the fields west of the (Cunningham) farmhouse, the extreme left of the Union line.

"Caldwell came onto the field on Meagher's left through a plowed field. Since the Irish Brigade was facing Hill's right, Caldwell found himself in left field, so to speak, or much too far to do any good since he faced none of the enemy. At this particular point, the fate of Lee's center was in Caldwell's hands. . . . Richardson ordered him to relieve Meagher's brigade. Caldwell gave a "right flank march" and his five regiments filed in behind Meagher, passing his line "in the most perfect order, under a severe fire of musketry." It was one of the smoothest exhibition of troop movements in the entire battle. As Caldwell moved in, Meagher's brigade took a "left flank" and marched out and around to the rear. Now Caldwell faced the enemy's front . . ."¹²⁸

¹²⁶Washington Co. Chancery Record, Liber 2, Folio 749, Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

¹²⁷U. S. Population and Agricultural Census Records, Maryland Archives, Annapolis, MD; Washington County Land Record, DHW 1/408.

¹²⁸James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982, p. 256.

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Union and Confederate hotly contested the fields around the Sunken Road for 3 ½ hours, until the grossly outnumbered Confederates were finally driven back to Piper's fields.

Shortly after the war was over, Philip Pry sold his 'west of the Antietam' farm to Jacob F. Miller. Jacob F. Miller also owned another farm in the area, known as the Willow Spring Farm, and likely continued to tenant his recently purchased farm on the Antietam. In 1884 the farm was sold to Henry W. Rohrer. Through inheritance and sale, apparently continuing in the Rohrer family by marriage, the farm came into the hands of William H. Cunningham in 1960.

7. Otto Farm.

The Otto House and grounds are significant for the role they played during the afternoon phase of the daylong September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam. As the two armies contested the fields of the Otto Farm, the house, barn and yard were pressed into service as a hospital. The Otto farm property is significant also as an early 19th century farm in the development of the agricultural economy of the Antietam drainage. Built into a hillside, it adapted to the hilly terrain of the Sharpsburg area and utilized typical local construction materials log and limestone. The acreage was small for a farm by Washington County standards, but the Otto family compensated by farming other acreage and prospered in the grain-based economy of the 19th century. The Otto house is additionally significant for its architecture as an excellent example of an unusual (although not rare) variation of log construction, which combines traditional corner post timber framing with horizontal log construction. Important interior finishing elements remain intact as well, along with exterior finishing of spaces beneath the porches as though they were interior space with baseboard and plaster. This finishing preference was frequent in the region in the early and mid 19th century.

The 66-acre John Otto Farm was divided from a parcel of Joseph Chapline's tract called "Mount Pleasant," sold to Peter Ham (Hamm, Harn) in 1815. Ham lived in the town of Sharpsburg and also operated a tanyard there. When Ham died in 1819, he willed all of his property, except the tanyard, to his wife Margaret. An 1828 advertisement for public sale placed by the widow Ham, describes the farm as "A Valuable Plantation, containing about 145 acres of first rate Limestone Land, with common improvements and a never-failing spring thereon . . ." ¹²⁹ Apparently the farm did not sell, however, and in 1831 Mrs. Ham sold 66 acres 120 perches, or half of what was actually a 133 acre tract, presumably the half with the improvements, to John Otto. The other half of the tract was sold to Joseph Sherrick in 1833. A farm lane divided the two halves, providing access to the fields of both owners (see 1859 map).

John Otto, the son of a German immigrant tailor, was apparently a successful farmer. By 1862 he owned and cultivated three farms, including his 66-acre home farm, totaling over 300 acres, with over 500 head of cattle (a large number of livestock for the time). All three of John

¹²⁹Torchlight and Public Advertiser, April 24, 1828, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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Otto's farms were impacted by the battle and the ensuing month-long Union encampment, but none more intensely than the home farm. In addition to hay, corn, rye, wheat, straw, oats, and fence rails taken from his barn and fields, Otto claimed:

"The thirteen cords of wood charged for was cut and seasoned and was piled up in my yard for winter use at the farm near Burnside Bridge. It was burned for fuel in the Hospital and by the soldiers around my house . . ."

The use of the home farm as a hospital is further described by Otto:

"My House, Barn, and Granary were taken possession of September 17th and used for Hospital purposes til the 4th of Nov. 1862, during which time everything in and around it that could be of any service, was taken and used, including Beds, Furniture, Commissary stores, condiments and anything that would contribute to the comfort of the wounded."¹³⁰

Otto's second wife died shortly after the war, in 1867. Three years later he sold the small farm near the Burnside Bridge to Jacob Stine. In 1891 Stine purchased the other half of the original farm, and in 1908 sold the whole tract to James A. Dorsey. The Dorsey family continued to farm the tract through the next six decades. In 1971 the Dorseys parceled out the farmhouse complex on 2.15 acres to Charles and Orpha Mae Kauffman (possibly a daughter and son-in-law). In 1976 the Kauffmans sold the house and grounds to the National Park Foundation who in turn donated the property to the Antietam National Battlefield. The house has remained unoccupied since that time.

8. Locher/Alfred Poffenberger Farm

The Locher/A. Poffenberger Farm is significant for its role in the early morning phase of the September 17, 1862 Battle of Antietam. Situated on the western edge of the West Woods, the Locher/Poffenberger Farm was occupied by Confederate forces. Both sides hotly contested the area around the building complex as the Union 2nd Corps broke through the woods. The farm is also significant as one of the earliest extant buildings from the settlement period of Washington County, Maryland. Archaeological investigations conducted in the vicinity of the dwelling complex indicate occupation at the site as early as 1790, but also suggest possible earlier deposits are located under the northern frame addition.

The tract on which the Locher/Poffenberger Farm is located was first surveyed and patented by Richard Sprigg in 1734. Washington County Land Patent records indicate Richard Sprigg was granted 500 acres under the name of Piles Grove at that time. In 1743 Col. Edwin (Edward) Sprigg was granted 117 acres of Piles Delight (Addition), "Beginning at the end of the

¹³⁰Quartermaster Claim #G-1857, dated 1873, RG 92, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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15th line of a tract of land called Piles Delight, granted Richard Sprigg.¹³¹ Col. Sprigg had the two patents resurveyed in 1750 into a tract of 2,617 acres called Piles Delight (Addition and Resurvey), more commonly known as Resurvey of the Addition to Piles Delight. This tract of land was typical of the eastern Maryland land speculators (usually English or Scotch/Irish) who acquired large grants of land and leased or sold the land in smaller parcels to arriving settlers (usually German). In 1791, Sprigg's son, Frederick, of Montgomery County, Maryland, sold the entire tract to David McMechen of Baltimore. A 1792 advertisement in the Hagerstown newspaper, The Washington Spy indicated the land was under cultivation by renters or leasees. "Possession of the lands will be given immediately, but liberty reserved to the persons occupying any part thereof to gather and remove crops now growing thereon and to hold possession of their respective fields until that is done."¹³² Undoubtedly some of the rental arrangements continued under the ownership of McMechen, however, an 1803 tax assessment lists fourteen persons showing ownership of "part of R. of Addition to Piles Delight" indicating the tract was subdivided and sold following the 1792 sale.¹³³

In 1811, following David McMechen's death, executor William McMechen put the remaining 600 acres of Resurvey of the Addition to Piles Delight up for sale. There is some indication in the newspaper sale advertisement that John Good, described as "on the place," may have been living somewhere on the remaining acreage.¹³⁴ John McPherson and John Brien, both of Frederick County, well known land speculators and owners of the nearby Antietam Iron Works, purchased the parcel. Three years later, in 1814, McPherson and Brien, who had paid \$19,300 for the entire 600 acres, sold 225 acres to Philip Grove for \$13,500. Another parcel had already been sold to Michael Havenar, this was probably located north of the Grove parcel and would eventually become the Nicodemus Farm. The deed to Philip Grove indicates the "division line fenced and agreed on between Philip Grove and Michael Havenar [runs] through a lane..." Probably this was the old farm lane that lead from the Hagerstown Road to the subject log house and eventually out to the Joseph Grove farm (later J. Hauser farm). This later became the basis for Confederate Ave. in the 1890s.

Philip Grove's Last Will and Testament, probated 1841, divided the farm on Resurvey of the Addition to Piles Delight between his daughter Mary (Grove) Locher, and his son Joseph Grove. Each received an equal 112-acre share of the property. Since Mary lived with her husband in Pennsylvania, she leased the farm and its associated log dwelling, as it probably had been for its entire existence. By the 1862 Battle of Antietam, the tenant on the Mary Locher farm was Alfred Poffenberger.

¹³¹Washington Co. Land Patent Records, Book 1, Page 1 "Piles Grove," Book 1, Page 18-19 "Piles Delight (Addition)", Washington Co. Court House, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³²The Washington Spy, July 11, 1792, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³³1803 U. S. Tax Assessment, Western Maryland Room, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

¹³⁴Hagerstown Gazette, March 5, 1811, microfilm collection, Washington Co. Free Library, Hagerstown, MD.

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The Confederate forces of Jackson and Hood throughout much of the early morning phase of the battle occupied the Alfred Poffenberger farm. Surrounded by artillery, it is incredible that any portion of the dwelling house and barn might have survived attempts by Union artillery to take out their Confederate counterparts. In the final confusing hour of the battle for the West Woods, the Alfred Poffenberger house was engulfed by the opposing troops of Segwick and McLaws.¹³⁵

While damages inflicted to the Alfred Poffenberger farmhouse and buildings must have been substantial, his claims to the government do not reflect that. Possibly because it would have been impossible to determine whether the damages had been caused by Union or Confederate troops. Alfred Poffenberger did submit two claims to the Federal Government for Quartermaster stores. He received his "Treasury Settlements" in 1867 and 1869 for claims which included wheat, hay, and corn taken between September 20 - 27, 1862 for \$144.30, and corn, rye, and hay taken September 30, 1862 for \$661.40. Curiously, Alfred Poffenberger submitted a new claim in 1877, for seemingly the same stores: corn, fodder, wheat, rye, straw, and hay for \$645.87 1/2, "Alleged to have been taken from him in Washington County Maryland from September 19th to October 20, 1862," a claim which was later rejected.¹³⁶ Strangely, archaeological investigations carried out around the Locher/A. Poffenberger dwelling found no battle-related artifacts.¹³⁷ Perhaps an enterprising young Alfred recognized the opportunity and collected and sold much of what had been deposited on his property.

Alfred Poffenberger remained on the Locher farm as tenant at least until 1870, when he appeared on the U. S. Agricultural Census for the Sharpsburg District. By 1877, when he filed his third war claim to the War Department, he was listed as living in Iowa. The next tenant, George Poffenberger, may have lived in the log house, but only for a short time. By 1883, George had purchased 65 acres from the David R. Miller farm and immediately built a house there, while still renting the Locher farm and presumably the farm buildings. In 1898, George Poffenberger purchased the Locher farm from the heirs of Mary Locher. The Poffenberger family retained the farm until 1991 when it was sold to the Conservation Fund for donation to the Antietam National Battlefield.

Phase I and II archaeological investigations conducted in the area of the Locher/Poffenberger house site found artifacts dating from early to late 19th century occupations. Manning-Sterling, Brown and Klein note:

¹³⁵See Carman-Copes situation maps, James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982, pp. 216-234.

¹³⁶Quartermaster Claim M-917, Alfred Poffenberger, RG92, 8W2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹³⁷Elise Manning Sterling, Marvin A. Brown, and Terry H. Klein, "Progress Report First Phase of Archeological Investigations West Woods, Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland," Greiner, Inc., Florence, NJ, p. 14.

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“The available evidence suggests that the earlier occupants of the cabin discarded at least a portion of their trash by throwing it out the original windows and doors, and that the discard pattern may have changed in later years when the door to the kitchen [north] addition became the primary door for the building. Ceramic analysis suggests that this transition may have taken place sometime in the 1820s. This pattern indicates that there may be a sealed layer of refuse under the northern addition to the cabin, as the garbage discarded by the earlier occupants would have been covered by the kitchen addition.”¹³⁸

Phase II excavations located an earthen cellar east of the dwelling and the stone foundation of the southern section of the house. Phase II investigations were discussed in a paper presented at The Society for Historical Archaeology, January 1996. More detailed discussion of results of the Phase II excavations is expected in the final report of the 5 years of excavations conducted at the Antietam National Battlefield by URS Greiner, scheduled to be distributed in September 1999.

Archaeological Investigations in the Antietam National Battlefield Park

Archaeological investigations have been conducted on the Piper Farm, the Mumma Farm, the D.R. Miller Farm, and the Locher/Poffenberger Farm. The work done on the Piper Barn in 1979, and the Piper Farm House in 1984-85 was conducted by National Park Service archaeologists Ellen M. Seidel (Piper Barn) and Robert C. Sonderman (Piper House), and was described in a summary report for each excavation. These were both associated with Section 106 impact assessments for restoration and rehabilitation projects on the Piper Farm. In addition, the NPS Regional Archeological Program conducted a remote sensing project in 1994 on the Mumma Cemetery; Marian Creveling describes the work in a report. More recent excavations, beginning in 1994 and continuing through 1997, were conducted in preparation for the implementation of the General Management Plan for Antietam National Battlefield. The investigations were conducted on the Mumma Farm; the D.R. Miller Farm, specifically within the area of the North, East, and West Woods; and around the Locher/Poffenberger log house. URS Greiner and Associates did this work under contract in four phases; a complete final report is currently in progress. Interim reports available include a Phase I Progress Report for the West Woods survey, 1995; a summary paper for the Phase II excavations conducted around the Locher/Poffenberger house, 1995; and a computer visualization project report, 1997. Some of the results of 1997 excavations conducted on the Mumma Farmstead by URS Greiner are discussed briefly in The Mumma Barn Historic Structures Report, completed by Audrey T. Tepper, NPS Denver Service Center, 1998.

Locher/Poffenberger Farm

¹³⁸Ibid, p. 16.

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Phase I archaeological investigations conducted in the area of the Locher/Poffenberger house site are discussed in Progress Report First Phase of Archeological Investigations West Woods, Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland, by Elise H. Manning Sterling, Marvin A. Brown, and Terry H. Klein of Greiner, Inc. (now URS Greiner and Associates). Shovel tests done in the area of the house revealed artifacts dating from early 19th century occupations in sealed soil contexts. Manning-Sterling, Brown and Klein note:

“The available evidence suggests that the earlier occupants of the cabin discarded at least a portion of their trash by throwing it out the original windows and doors, and that the discard pattern may have changed in later years when the door to the kitchen [north] addition became the primary door for the building. Ceramic analysis suggests that this transition may have taken place sometime in the 1820s. This pattern indicates that there may be a sealed layer of refuse under the northern addition to the cabin, as the garbage discarded by the earlier occupants would have been covered by the kitchen addition.”¹³⁹

Given the evidence of intact early domestic deposits, and its potential for yielding information about early tenant farming in the region, Phase II excavations were recommended.

Phase II excavations on the Locher/Poffenberger Farm were conducted in November 1995 and are discussed in a paper presented at The Society for Historical Archaeology, January 1996, by Elise H. Manning-Sterling and Bruce B. Sterling. A more detailed discussion of results of the Phase II excavations is expected in the final report by URS Greiner and Associates.

Cultural features located and examined during the Phase II excavations include an earthen cellar east of the dwelling and the stone foundation of the southern section of the house. The artifact assemblage recovered included a large percentage of ceramic shards from both the early 19th century occupation and the mid to late 19th century occupations of Alfred and George Poffenberger. The Locher/Poffenberger Farm site is an important window on the historic cultural landscape of the Sharpsburg area. Manning-Sterling and Sterling conclude:

“The archaeological record . . . indicates that an unknown tenant, with the means and savvy to acquire the most current ceramics lived here early in the century, and offers insight into the consumer choices made by the families of Alfred and George Poffenberger. The excavations can also provide data which will help discern that changing use of the land and construction techniques through time and provide information about the sites role as battlefield, hospital, and military encampment. Through the continuing historic and archaeological investigations of this unique farmstead, we may attain a better understanding of the social and economic aspects of life in rural nineteenth century Maryland.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹Ibid, p. 16.

¹⁴⁰Elise H. Manning-Sterling and Bruce B. Sterling, “Battlefield and Farmstead The West Woods Survey, Antietam.” Paper presented at The Society for Historical Archaeology, Cincinnati, Ohio, January 4, 1996, p. 9.

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D.R. Miller Farm

Phase I investigations completed in the area of the West Woods in the fall of 1994 and spring of 1995 were reported in the Progress Report First Phase of Archeological Investigations West Wood, Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland, cited above. Greiner, Inc. (URS Greiner and Associates) conducted the work in preparation for the expected West Woods restoration project. The investigation revealed scatters and concentrations of military artifacts. Late 19th early 20th century domestic concentrations were found around the George Poffenberger house sites.

Similar investigations were reportedly conducted in the area of the North Woods and the East Woods in 1996 and 1997. These surveys, described as parts 1 and 2 of Phase III of the URS Greiner multi-year contract are referenced in The Mumma Barn Historic Structures Report, Audrey T. Tepper, NPS Denver Service Center, 1998, Appendix L, Scope of Work for Archeological Services and URS Greiner and Associates. No interim report of the North and East Woods investigations was available for review. A comprehensive final report from URS Greiner is expected in 1999.

Mumma Farm

Phase IV of the URS Greiner multi-year contract to conduct archaeological investigations took place in 1997. These investigations are referenced in The Mumma Barn Historic Structures Report, Appendix L, Scope of Work for Archeological Services and URS Greiner and Associates, cited above. The work reportedly done as part of Phase IV included, completion of an enlarged area of the East Woods survey; the Piper Orchard/Piper Farm pasture conservation project; Sherrick Farm pasture water project; Branch Ave. Wayside exhibit survey; the Mumma Orchard survey; and the survey of the Mumma Farmstead around proposed areas of development. No interim report of any of these surveys was available for review. However, several results from the investigations at the Mumma Farm are cited in the Mumma Barn HSR. These include a cistern located below the Mumma Barn driveway, and battle-related artillery lines located in the Mumma orchard (now a field) during a metal detector survey. A comprehensive final report from URS Greiner is expected in 1999.

An intriguing experimental survey conducted on the Mumma Farm is discussed in the 1997 URS Greiner report Using Computer Visualization to Help Recreate Historical Features on the Contemporary Landscape, by Jeff Coleman. Here an 1862 Gardener photograph and contemporary photos of the Mumma Farm were compared using computer graphic aids to help pinpoint the location of missing farm buildings. A similar study was done using an 1862 battlefield sketch and modern photographs to locate the mass burials near Bloody Lane.

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The NPS Regional Archeology Program investigated the Mumma Cemetery using remote sensing equipment in 1994. The report Geophysical Prospecting at the Mumma Family Cemetery Antietam National Battlefield, was produced by Marian Creveling. The work was conducted to determine the possibility of unmarked graves or realigned grave markers. The result was inconclusive, indicating that more intrusive investigations would be necessary but were not recommended.

Piper Farm

Excavations were conducted by National Park Service archaeologists in 1979, in the vicinity of the Piper Barn in preparation for the stabilization of the barn. The report entitled "Archeological Excavations Piper Barn Antietam National Battlefield Sharpsburg, Maryland" by Ellen M. Seidel, described the purpose of the excavations was to enable the location of "ground-disturbing restoration activities in areas where they will avoid disturbance of any kind." The archaeological investigations focused on the construction sequence of the barn as well as repairs which had been made to the barn over the years and the construction of a nearby cistern. No diagnostic artifacts are noted in the report.

In the winter 1984/1985 excavations were conducted in the north and east yards of the Piper House, under Section 106 regulations, to assess the impact of planned rehabilitation work to be done on the house. The work was reported in "Archeological Test Excavations at Piper Farm House (18WA321), Antietam National Battlefield" by Robert C. Sonderman, National Capital Region Archeology Program. Areas were tested prior to the construction of a drain line, drain field, and septic tank in the north yard, as well as, the footprint for a bathroom addition on the southeast corner of the Piper House. Three of the units in the north yard produced mainly 20th century artifacts and showed disturbance from the construction of a nearby cistern and north porch. However, no layers of earlier occupation were found. Unit 4, located in a natural low area of the north yard produced a deeper level with mid 19th century artifacts. This was described as a possible buried soil horizon associated with infilling of the low spot. This is now the location of the septic tank. The east yard revealed extremely shallow soils producing only 20th century artifacts.

It is interesting to note that no artifacts earlier than mid 19th century were found in the yard of the Piper House. This information, combined with the awkward position of the house in relation to its early 19th century barn, suggests the possibility of an earlier house site on the Piper Farm property.

The exciting potential for the understanding of the historic cultural landscape as illustrated by the excavations at the Locher/Poffenberger Farm site is an important asset of the remarkably well preserved farms located within the boundaries of the Antietam National

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Battlefield. The Miller, Otto, Sherrick, Piper, Roulette, and Mumma Farms all hold the same potential for yielding cultural information because of their documented periods of continuous family ownership. While the Mumma, Piper, and Locher/Poffenberger Farms have been studied to some extent, the Miller, Otto, Sherrick, and Roulette Farms have had little or no work done.

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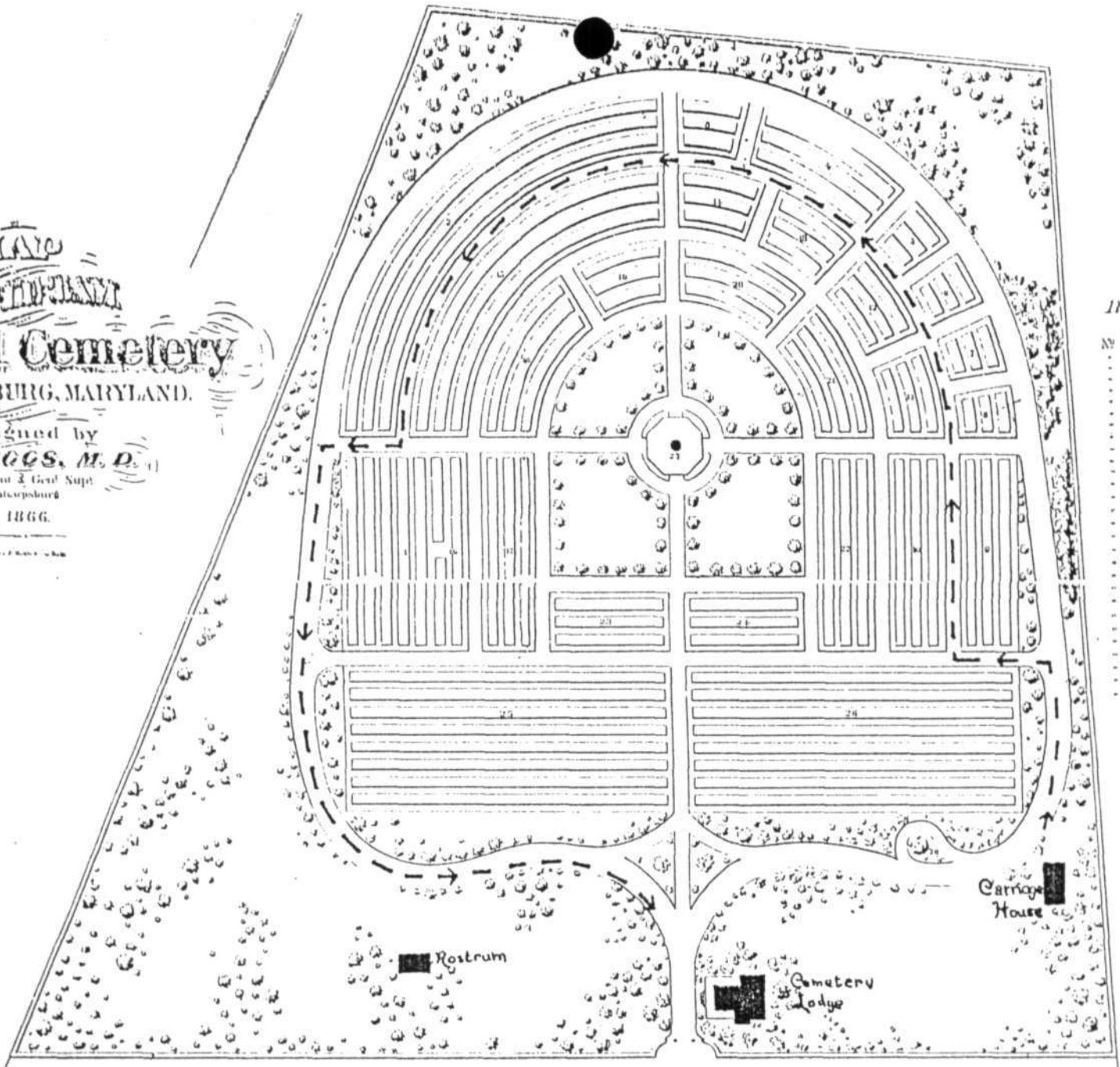
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National Cemetery

 at SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND.

Designed by
A. A. BIGGS, M. D.
 President & Genl. Supt.
 Sharpsburg
 1866.



REFERENCES.

No. 1	Ohio.
2	Unknown US Soldiers.
3	" Soldiers.
4	" US Soldiers
5	Minnesota.
6	Iowa.
7	Illinois.
8	Delaware.
9	Maine.
10	Massachusetts.
11	New Jersey.
12	New Hampshire.
13	Rhode Island.
14	West Virginia.
15	Unknown US Soldiers.
16	Connecticut.
17	Massachusetts.
18	Michigan.
19	Maryland.
20	West Virginia.
21	Vermont.
22	Indiana.
23	US Officers.
24	" Regulars.
25	New York.
26	Pennsylvania.
27	Monument.
28	Genl. Lee's Burial.
29	Porter's Lodge.

Surveyed and Drawn by
 Chas. P. Walker, C. E.
 1867.
 Scale 50 ft. to 1 inch.

SHARPSBURG AND BOONSBORO TURNPIKE.

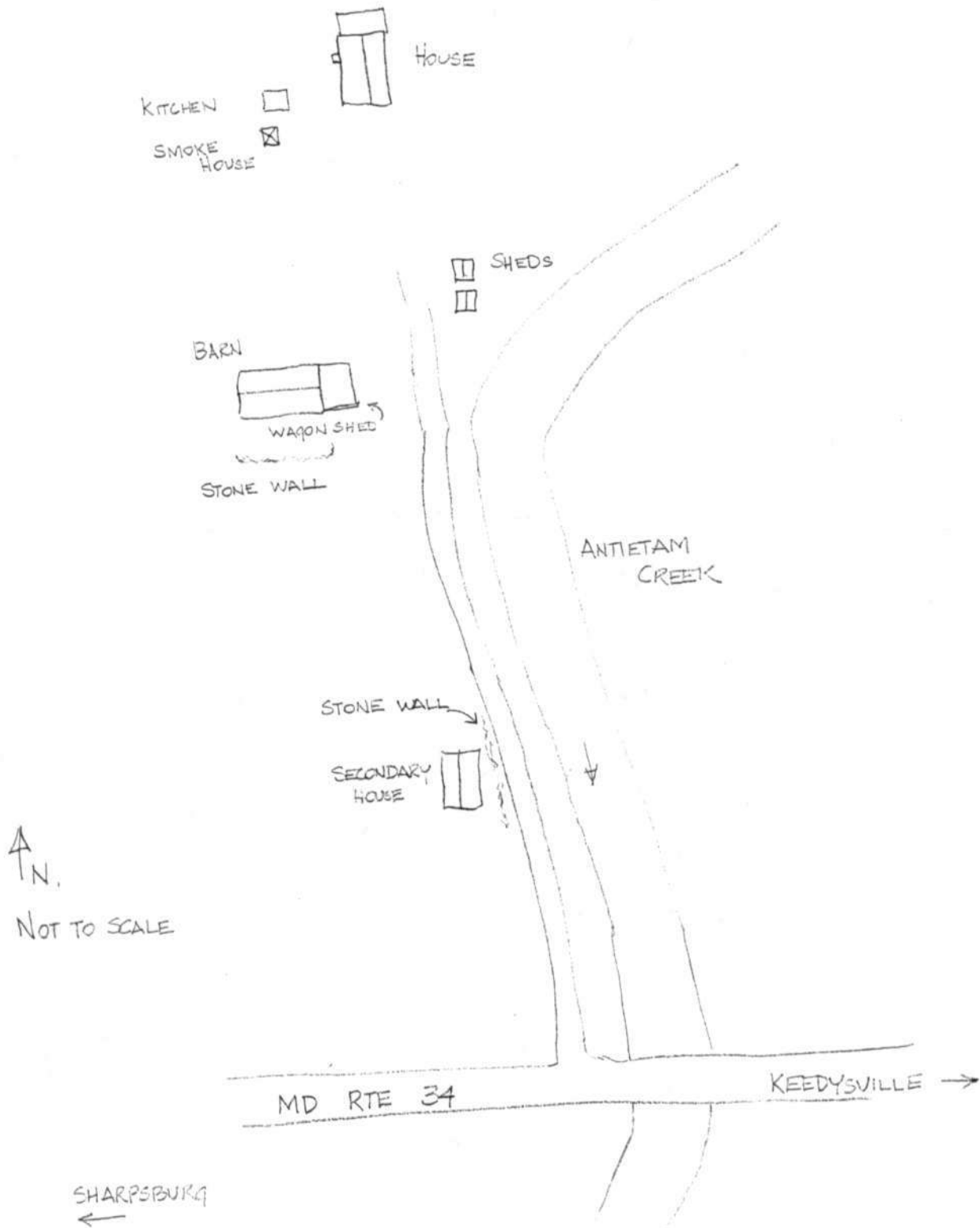
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Revised according to 40 of Congress in the year 1867 by the Board of Directors of the National Cemetery, in the Chief Office of the U.S. Marshal, West Point, Maryland.

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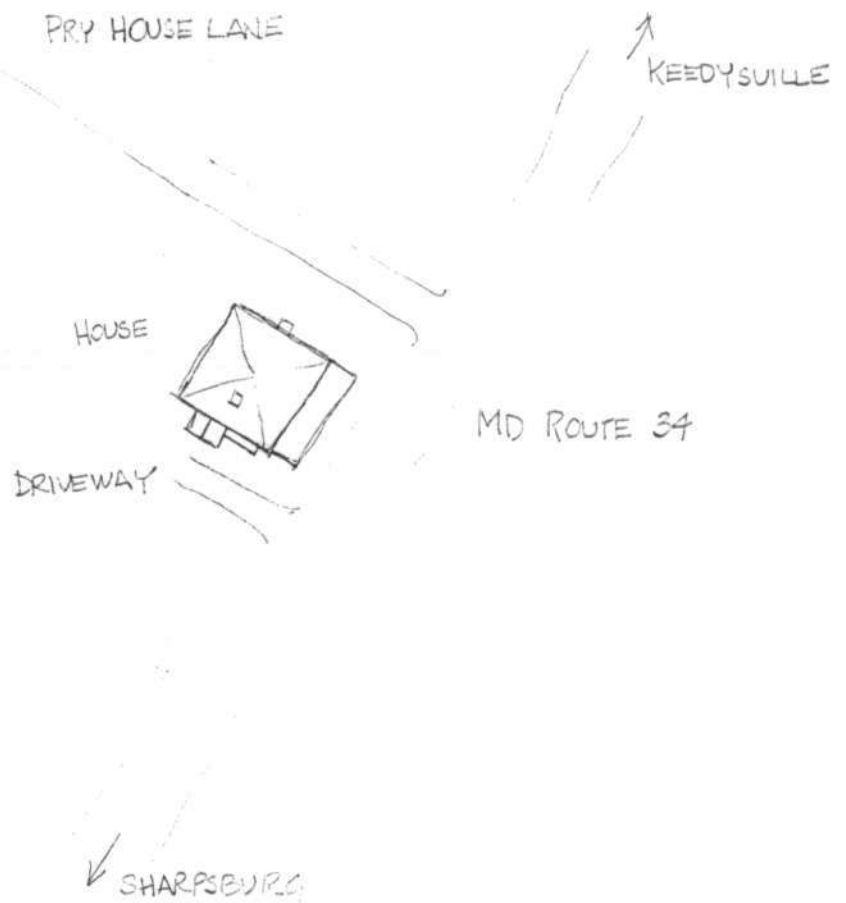
CUNNINGHAM FARM
1642 SHEPHERDSTOWN PIKE
KEEDYSVILLE, MD

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD



WA-11-0477

THE FULK HOUSE
ANTHETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
18902 SHEPHERDSTOWN PIKE
KEEDYSVILLE, MD

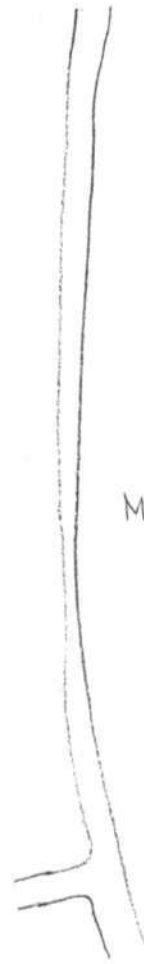
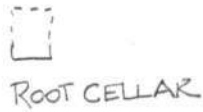
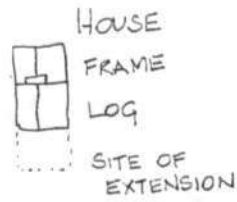


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LOCHER HOUSE
WEST SIDE, MD. RTE 65
SHARPSBURG, MD
ANTIETAM NATIONAL
BATTLEFIELD



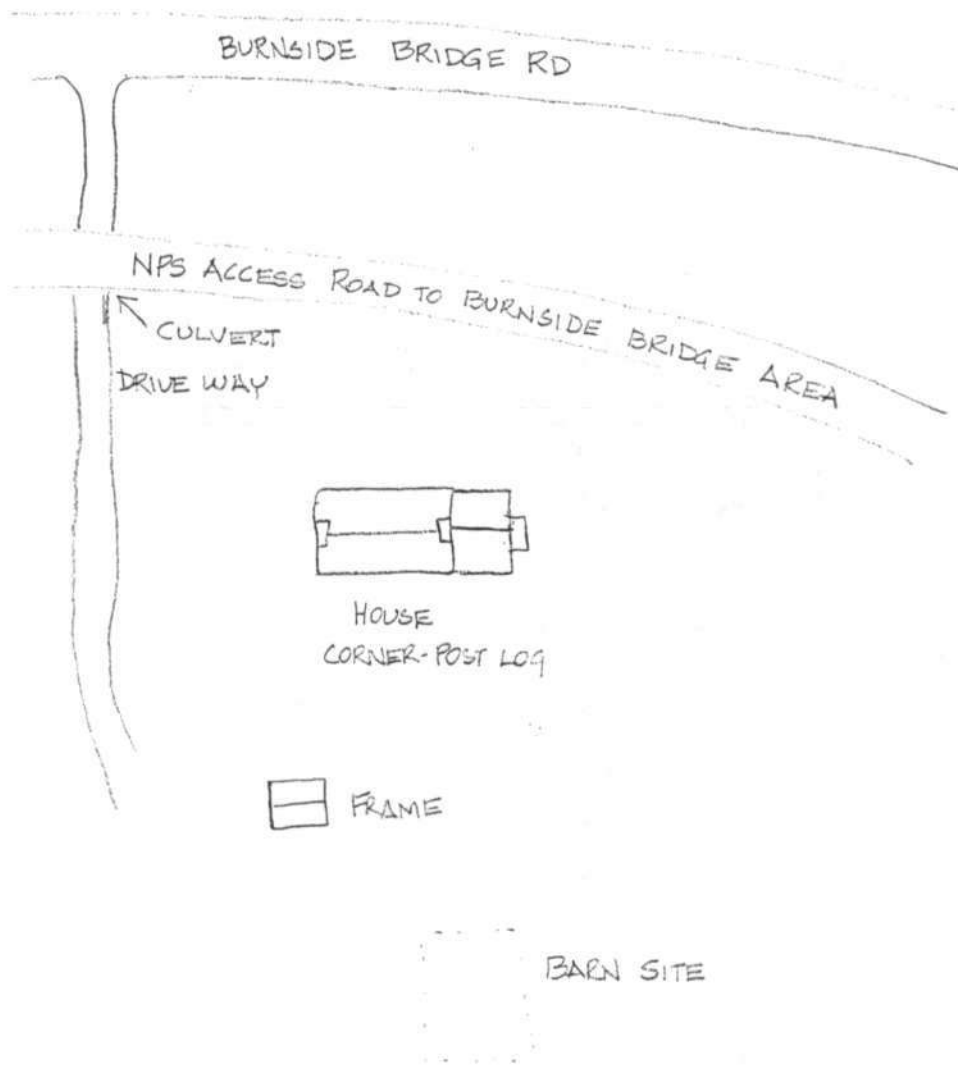
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OTTO FARM
BURNSIDE BRIDGE RD
SHARPSBURG, MD

ANTIETAM NATIONAL
BATTLEFIELD

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SHULL TRACT
17710 MONDELL ROAD
SHARPSBURG, MD

AND
JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

11-ACRE TRACT
CONTRIBUTING FARMLAND

SHULL TRACT

1970S
RANCH-STYLE
HOUSE (NON-CONTRIB.)

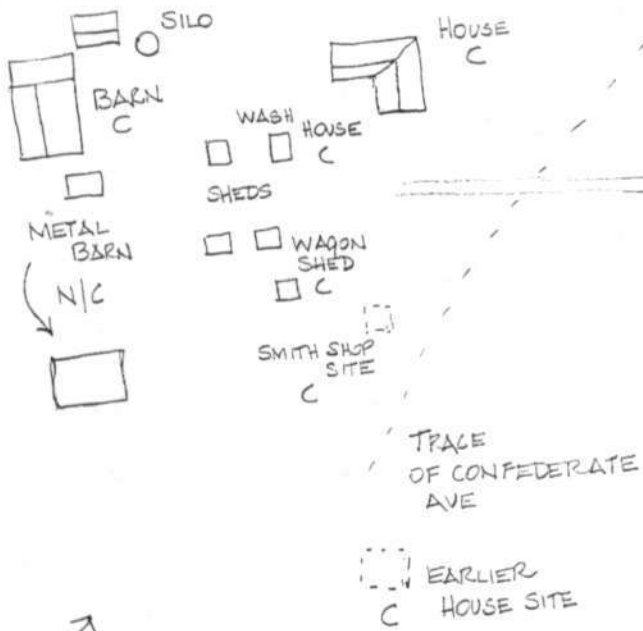
HAGERSTOWN

MD RTE 65
SHARPSBURG PIKE

MANSFIELD AVE

MONDELL
ROAD

← OLD SHARPSBURG-HAGERSTOWN
PIKE



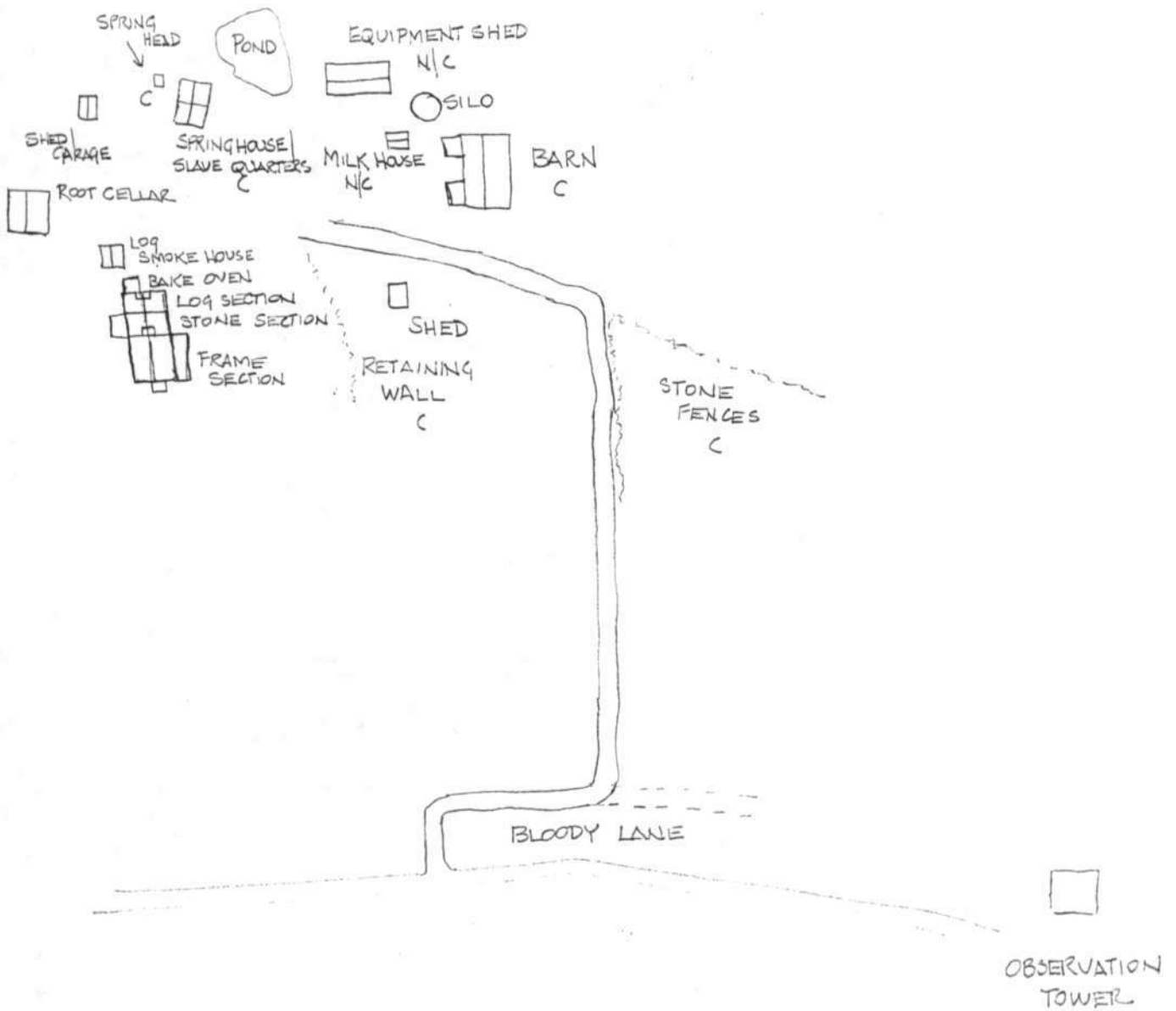
SHARPSBURG

JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

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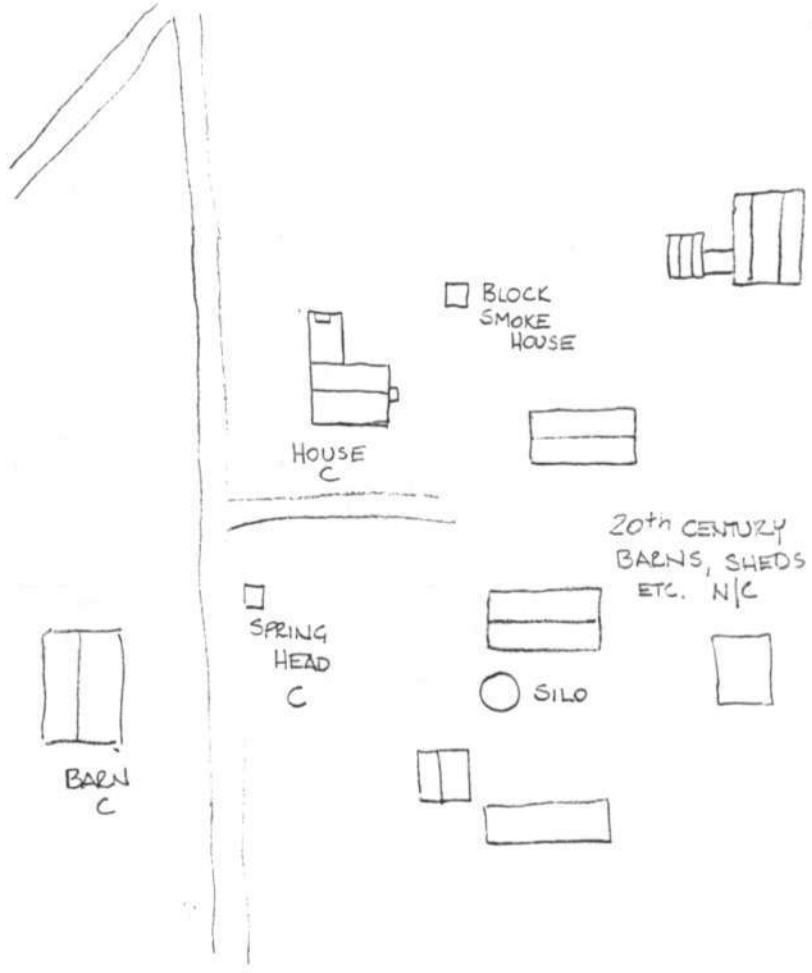
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ROULETTE FARM
18100 BLOODY LANE
SHARPSBURG, MD



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MD ROUTE
65



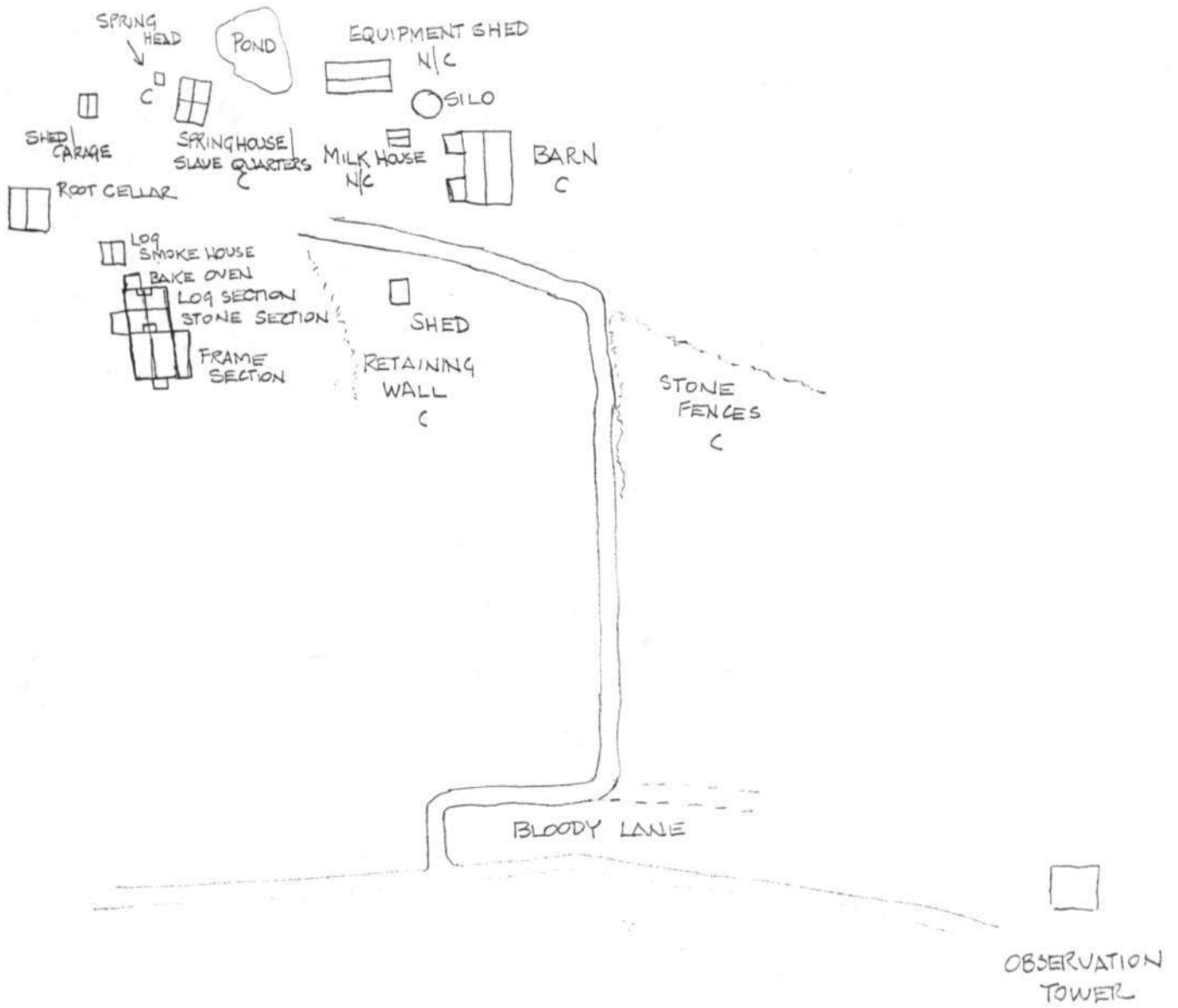
DR. MILLER FARM
6143 DUNKER CHURCH RD
SHARPSBURG, MD



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ROULETTE FARM
18100 BLOODY LANE
SHARPSBURG, MD



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SHULL TRACT
17710 MONDELL ROAD
SHARPSBURG, MD

AND
JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

11-ACRE TRACT
CONTRIBUTING FARMLAND

SHULL TRACT

1970S
RANCH-STYLE
HOUSE (NON-CONTRIB.)

HAGERSTOWN

MD RTE 65
SHARPSBURG PIKE

MANSFIELD AVE

MONDELL
ROAD

← OLD SHARPSBURG-HAGERSTOWN
PIKE

SHARPSBURG

TRACE
OF CONFEDERATE
AVE

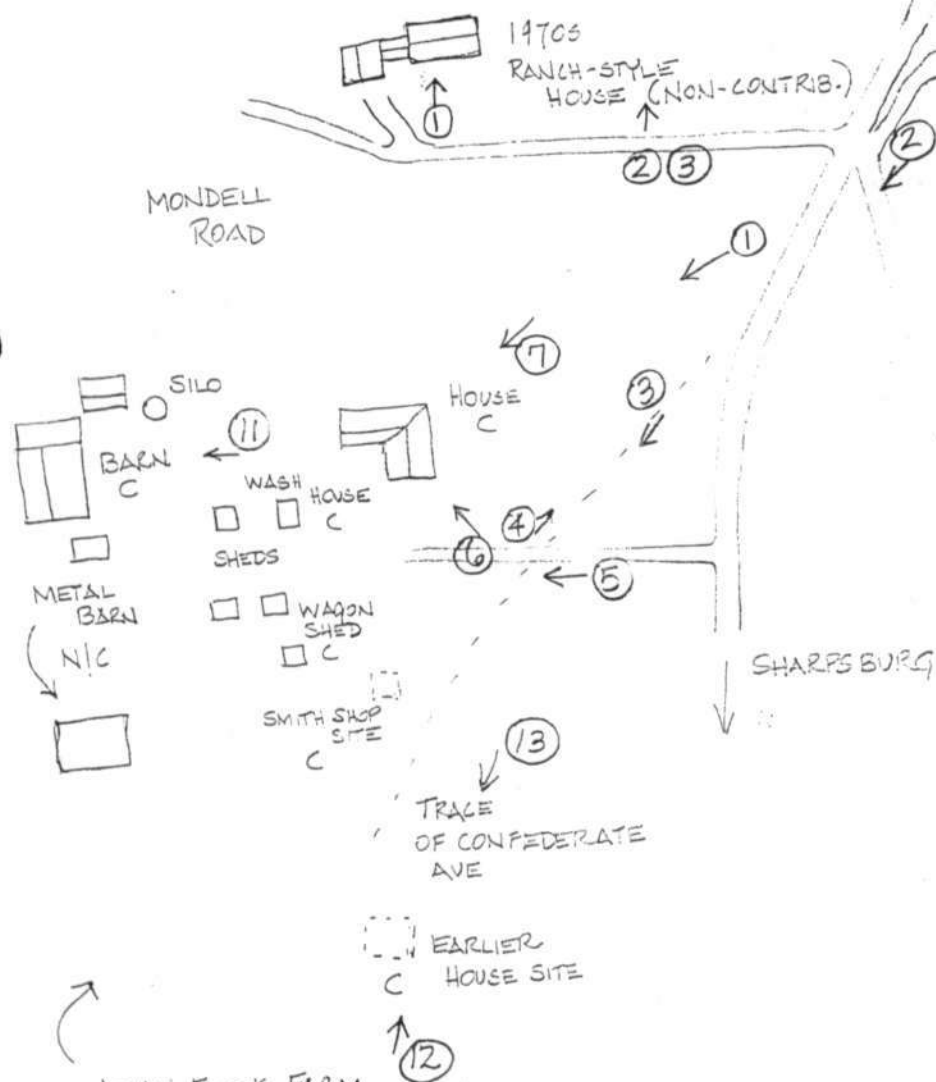
EARLIER
HOUSE SITE

JOHN FLOOK FARM
(NICHODEMUS FARM)

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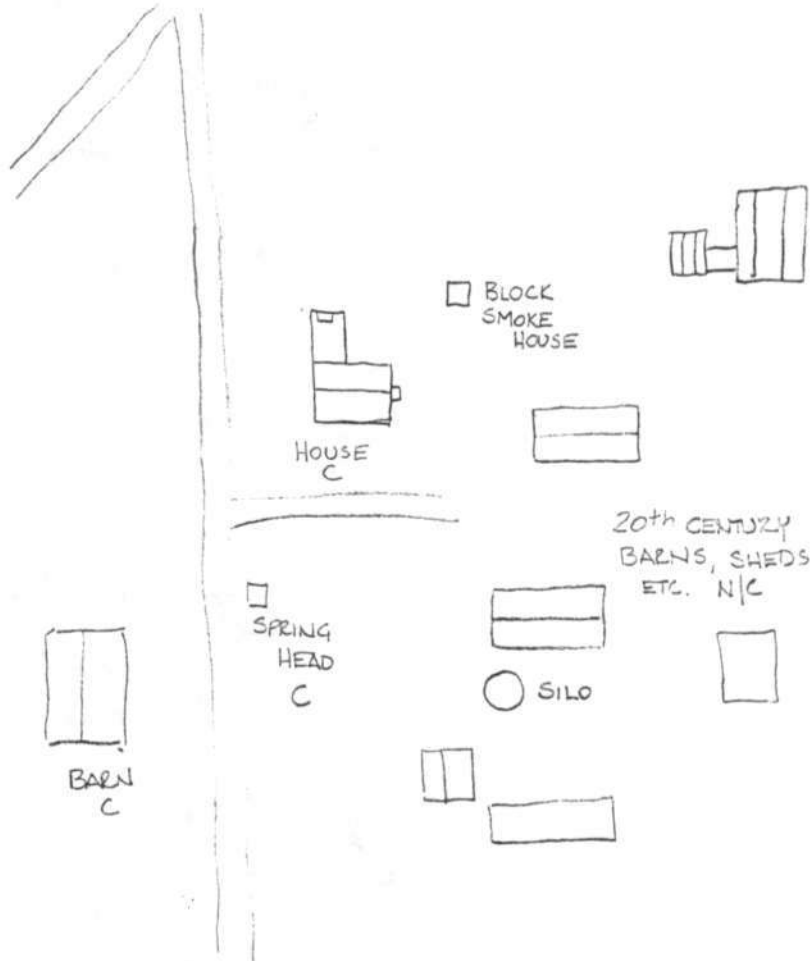
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EXTERIOR ONLY



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MD ROUTE
65



DR. MILLER FARM
6143 DUNKER CHURCH RD
SHARPSBURG, MD

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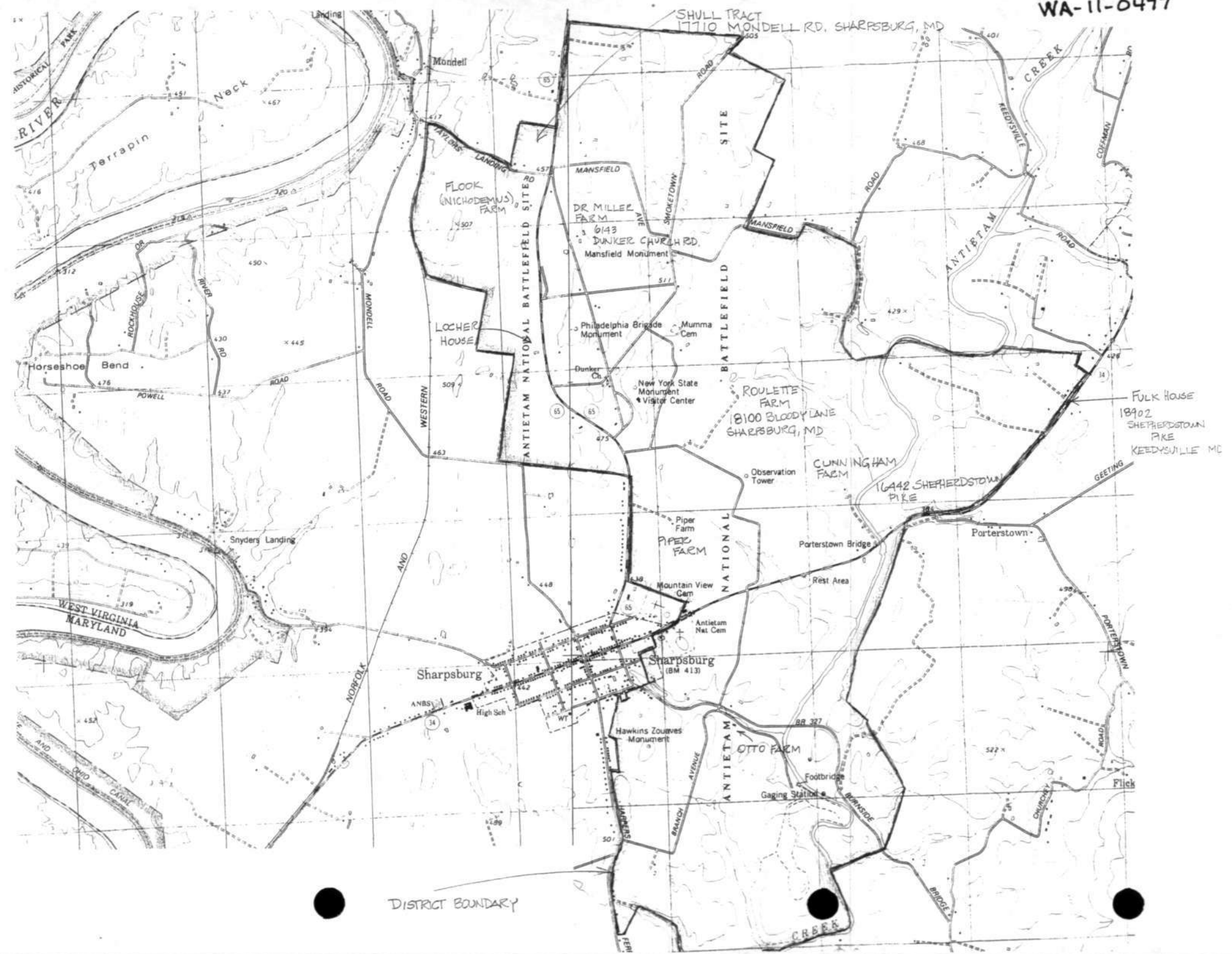
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SHEPHERDSTOWN AND KEEDYSVILLE QUADS

ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION UPDATE

WA-11-0477



DISTRICT BOUNDARY

WA-11-0477



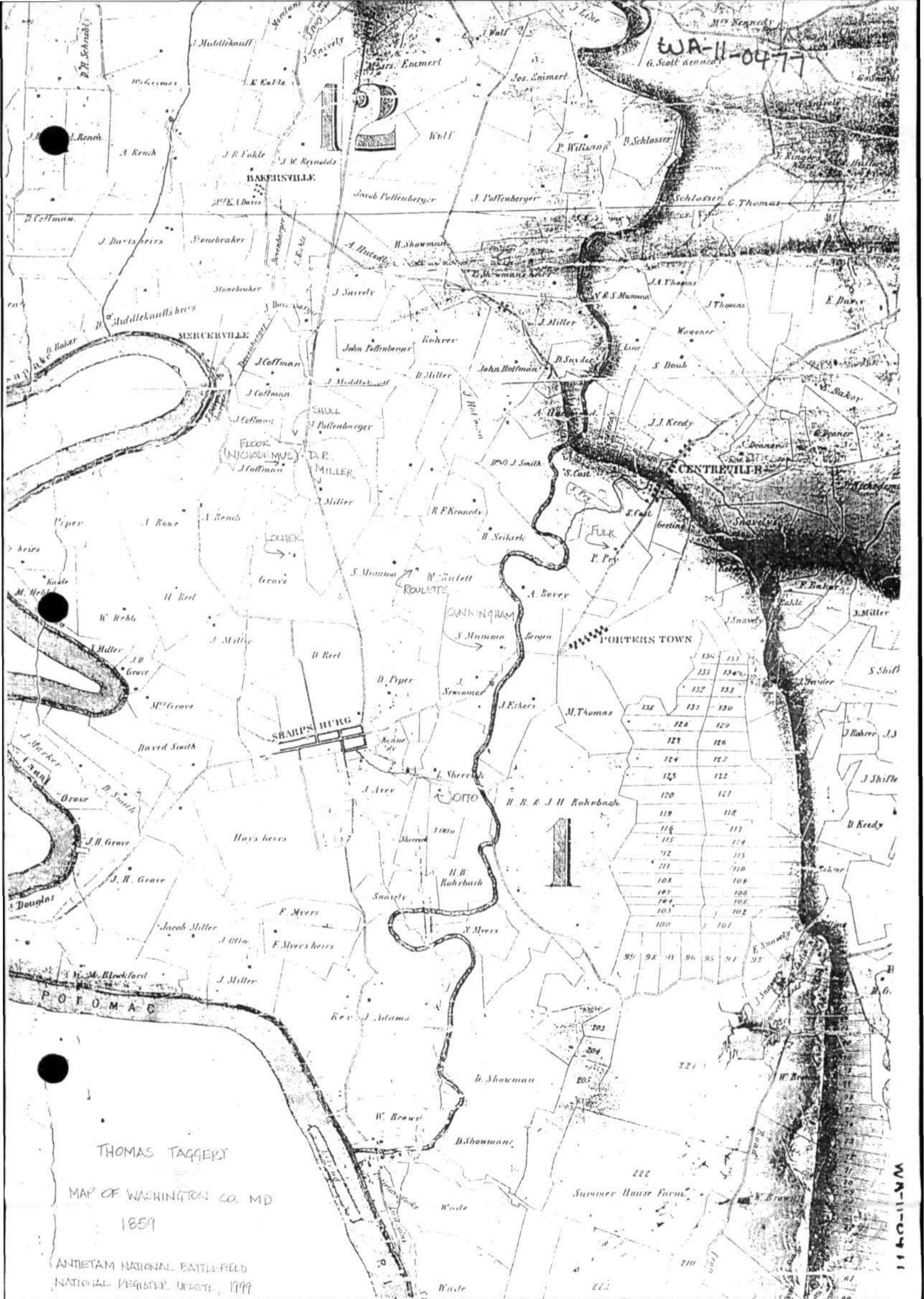
PORTION OF CARMEN-COPE MAP
BATTLEFIELD OF ANTIETAM, 1862

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12

1



THOMAS TAGGERT

MAP OF WASHINGTON CO. MD

1859

ANNETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
NATIONAL REGISTER UPDATE, 1999

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listed ~~1966~~ 1966

WA-II-477

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICENATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

FOR FEDERAL PROPERTIES

FOR NPS USE ONLY

RECEIVED

DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS**1** NAME

HISTORIC Antietam National Battlefield (includes three (3) detached sites:
Lee headquarters site, Sharpsburg; Reno Monument, Fox's Gap; and
AND/OR COMMON War Correspondents Memorial arch, Crampton's Gap)

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER

P. O. Box 158

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN

Sharpsburg

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Sixth

STATE

Maryland

VICINITY OF

CODE
24

COUNTY

Washington

CODE

043

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DISTRICT	<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OCCUPIED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE
<input type="checkbox"/> BUILDING(S)	<input type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE	<input type="checkbox"/> UNOCCUPIED	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSEUM
<input type="checkbox"/> STRUCTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BOTH	<input type="checkbox"/> WORK IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCIAL
<input type="checkbox"/> SITE	<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC ACQUISITION	<input type="checkbox"/> ACCESSIBLE	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATIONAL
<input type="checkbox"/> OBJECT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IN PROCESS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES: RESTRICTED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE RESIDENCE
	<input type="checkbox"/> BEING CONSIDERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES: UNRESTRICTED	<input type="checkbox"/> ENTERTAINMENT
		<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> RELIGIOUS
			<input type="checkbox"/> GOVERNMENT
			<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENTIFIC
			<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRIAL
			<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION
			<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY
			<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER

4 AGENCY

REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS: (If applicable)

National Capital Region/National Park Service

multiple public and private
ownership

STREET & NUMBER

1100 Ohio Drive, S.W.

CITY, TOWN

Washington, D.C. 20242

STATE

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTIONCOURTHOUSE,
REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC.

Washington County Courthouse

STREET & NUMBER

CITY, TOWN

Hagerstown,

STATE

Maryland

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE

Partial representation in State Historic Sites Survey, Maryland Historic Trust

DATE

FEDERAL STATE COUNTY LOCALDEPOSITORY FOR
SURVEY RECORDS

Maryland Historic Trust, 21 State Circle

CITY, TOWN

Annapolis,

STATE

Maryland

7 DESCRIPTION

WA II-477

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
<input type="checkbox"/> EXCELLENT	<input type="checkbox"/> DETERIORATED	<input type="checkbox"/> UNALTERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ORIGINAL SITE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/> RUINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ALTERED	<input type="checkbox"/> MOVED DATE _____
<input type="checkbox"/> FAIR	<input type="checkbox"/> UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Antietam National Battlefield is located near the Maryland bank of the Potomac River and along Antietam Creek north and east of the village of Sharpsburg, Maryland. On September 17, 1862, the Confederates occupied the heights around Sharpsburg, and to them the battle was known as the Battle of Sharpsburg. The Union forces coming westward from Boonsboro crossed the Antietam in the early morning of September 17, 1862, at the Upper or Hitt's Bridge (presently outside the park), at Pry's Ford below the Philip Pry farm, and at the Middle Bridge, where Antietam Creek was crossed by the road from Boonsboro to Sharpsburg. The afternoon of the same day, after fierce fighting, the Federals crossed the Antietam at the Lower or Burnside Bridge and at Snavelly's Ford. To the Union forces, the battle was known as Antietam after the creek that meandered through this hilly portion of the Maryland countryside. North of Sharpsburg, Confederate lines of defense spread out along the Hagerstown Pike where early morning fighting of September 17 centered around the Poffenberger farm; the Miller farm, especially in the Miller Cornfield; the West Woods, the East Woods, the North Woods, and the Dunker Church. Midday the battle moved southeastward to the areas of the Piper, Mumma, and Roulette farms, and centered in the area of the Sunken Road, known to history as Bloody Lane. In the afternoon the fighting moved south of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road first to the area around the Lower or Burnside Bridge, then up the heights across the Antietam through the Sherrick and Otto farms, until in the evening, the battle ended with the Federals almost at the edge of Sharpsburg at the present Hawkins Zouaves Monument near the Harpers Ferry-Sharpsburg Road. Present boundaries of the battlefield park include the area east of Antietam Creek up to the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road and the Philip Pry farm where Major General George B. McClellan, commander of the Union army, had his headquarters. The area of the battlefield also includes the Antietam National Cemetery at the eastern edge of Sharpsburg on the Boonsboro Road where 4,776 Federal soldiers are buried.

The battlefield remains generally as it was in September of 1862, occupied by farms and farmland which is still cultivated. The area was originally settled by German farmers who came down from Pennsylvania in the 18th and early 19th centuries. They built large brick, log, and fieldstone farmhouses and hugh barns with fieldstone lower stories for stock and hugh frame upper stories for storage of hay. Many original farm buildings from the period stand on the battlefield. To these are added the many state and regimental monuments erected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The visitor gets the feeling of unspoiled farmland, distant hilly vistas of Red Hill, Elk Ridge, and South Mountain, neat and well-kept historic farm buildings, and battlefield roads skirting many curious military monuments of decades ago. Several historic roads remain. The Hagerstown Pike and the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road are still extant though the modern Hagerstown highway has been diverted westward leaving part of the old Pike as a road in the park beginning near the Dunker Church and rejoining the modern Hagerstown highway near Mansfield Avenue. The Burnside Bridge Road out of Sharpsburg still exists, but it too has been diverted to a new bridge across the Antietam, leaving the old Burnside Bridge untraveled by vehicular traffic. The Smoketown Road, beginning at the Dunker Church, is historic as is the road that turns right from it through the Mumma farm buildings. The road that winds around through "Bloody Lane" is more or less original, the modern road diverting from

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the historic roadbed at the "Bloody Lane" itself. The Harpers Ferry Road out of Sharpsburg follows its original course. Mansfield Avenue, Cornfield Avenue, Rodman Avenue, Branch Avenue, and the road to the heights above the Burnside Bridge have all been built since the battle to facilitate the visitor's tour of the battlefield. The Piper Lane through the Piper farm is historic.

The historic farmhouses with their surrounding farm buildings are spread out across the battlefield. Architecturally, the farmhouses vary from 18th century clapboard to nondescript two-story fieldstone to a degree of style in the Greek Revival-period Sherrick House and Pry House, both of which possess pleasing architectural lines and distinctiveness.

The National Register boundary coincides with the authorized boundary of Antietam National Battlefield as of this writing. Not all lands figuring in the battle are included within this boundary; such lands outside the boundary may be the subject of a state nomination supplementing this documentation. The primary source for the dimensions of the historic battlefield is the map of the Battle of Antietam, prepared under the direction of the Antietam Battlefield Board, surveyed by Lieutenant Colonel E. B. Cope, Engineer, drawn by Charles H. Ourand, 1899. Published by the Authority of the Secretary of War under the direction of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, located in the National Archives.

Antietam National Battlefield will be described in two sectors bounded by the Sharpsburg-Boonsboro Turnpike. The north sector of the battlefield was the scene of the first Federal attack on the morning of September 17, 1862, from Antietam Creek up to Miller's Cornfield and the Dunker Church. It was also the scene of continued fighting on that morning around the Piper Farm and Bloody Lane. It includes lands going northward on either side of the Hagerstown Pike from Sharpsburg, turning eastward at the Middlekauf farm and from there following a zigzag line to include the Samuel Poffenberger farm but not the M. Miller farm, and continuing down to the Antietam to include the old Kennedy farm but not the Neikirk farm. The boundary crosses the Antietam and follows the creek easterly until it turns southeast to encompass the Philip Pry house. From there the boundary follows the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike crossing the Middle Bridge to Sharpsburg. From Sharpsburg the boundary continues up the Hagerstown Pike turning west to include the farm of Hauser and Poffenberger, the West Woods and the Nicodemus Heights, following for a bit the modern Norfolk and Western Railroad. The boundary zigzags east to again join the Hagerstown Turnpike and continues north to turn west at the Middlekauf farm.

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An important area of the historic battlefield outside the National Battlefield boundary should be mentioned here. This is the area which, continuing up the Hagerstown Road, turns right to Smoketown, scene of the largest Union hospital, and continues to the Upper Bridge of the Antietam and thence around the Samuel Pry mill along the Little Antietam to the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike. This larger area, the staging area for the Union army on the morning of September 17, 1862, contains the J. Poffenberger farm, the George Line farm where General Mansfield died, the Hoffman, Thomas, D. Smith, and Neikirk farms--all hospitals--and the historic Upper Bridge with its nearby Jacob Cost and Samuel Pry houses, again hospitals, and the Pry Ford over the Antietam where the Second Corps crossed the creek.

To the south of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike is the south sector of the battlefield, scene of fighting on the afternoon of September 17, 1862, and of Burnside's famous attack across the Lower Bridge, thereafter known as Burnside Bridge. The south sector includes those areas south of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike on either side of Antietam Creek down to Snavely's Ford near Belinda Springs. It includes a strip on the east bank of the Antietam beginning east of the Middle Bridge traveling down the Antietam to encompass part of the old Henry Rohrback farm and farm buildings, and then down the Antietam eastern bank to Snavely's Ford at Belinda Springs, thence up Belinda Springs Road generally to the Harpers Ferry Road, thence up the Harpers Ferry Road to Sharpsburg, with a few deviations to account for irregularities of property lines, and finally out the Boonsboro Turnpike from Sharpsburg to the Middle Bridge.

The south sector also abuts on a historically significant area of land outside the National Battlefield which was important in the battle. South of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike from the Antietam Creek to the southeast is the historic vista going up to Red Hill where McClellan posted a Signal Corps observation team during the battle. The unspoiled vista to the top of Red Hill is a crucial part of the historic setting that can be seen from most sections of the battlefield.

Also, the area west of Sharpsburg, outside the National Battlefield, contains the path of Lee's retreat after the battle to Blackford's Ford across the Potomac, the Confederate Heights above Sharpsburg, now subdivided for a housing development, and the Stephen Grove house where Lincoln was photographed with McClellan after the battle. The village of Sharpsburg itself contains many remaining historic houses which stood during the battle, as does Keedysville to the east of the battlefield.

Three sites, detached from the National Battlefield but associated with it, are included in this documentation. They are the Lee headquarters site within the village of Sharpsburg, the Reno monument at Fox's Gap on South Mountain, and the War Correspondents Memorial arch at Crampton's Gap on South Mountain.

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INDIVIDUAL STRUCTURES

I. Northerly portion of the battlefield from north to south, north of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike.

A. East of the Hagerstown Pike

1. Middlekauf farm

The Middlekauf farm buildings are located at the end of a private lane east of Maryland Route 65 about two miles north of Sharpsburg. The buildings include a stone farm house, a brick and stone secondary dwelling, a stone springhouse, a frame barn, and several outbuildings. The house and barn were used as a field hospital after the Battle of Antietam. For many years it was believed that the springhouse was used by Clara Barton after the battle as a hospital. More recent research indicates that she used a springhouse at the Samuel Poffenberger farm. Records of the U.S. Sanitary Commission indicate that patients at the Middlekauf farm hospital were from Banks' and Hooker's commands and that the hospital served 100-300 patients with Dr. J. Hayward of Boston in charge. The farm buildings are privately owned.

a. Main farmhouse

The main house is a two-story, four-bay stone structure which faces west. It is built of coursed local limestone on ground which slopes to the east. A double porch extends along the front which is included under the main roof. The roof is covered with sheet metal and small brick chimneys which appear to have replaced the originals are located inside each gable end.

b. Secondary farmhouse

Just northwest of the main house is a stone and brick secondary house which faces south. The brick section is one story and three bays wide. It has Flemish bond at the west and south elevations and English bond on the north. An exterior brick chimney is located at the west gable end. The brick section appears to be the older part of the house. Attached to the east end of the brick dwelling is a two-bay, one-story stone addition. A massive stone chimney with a stone corbel is located inside the east end wall.

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c. Outbuildings

Northwest of the brick and stone dwelling is a series of small outbuildings. One is built of log, one of coursed stone, and the third is of frame construction.

d. Springhouse

Some distance south of the dwellings is a large stone springhouse. Built of native rock, it has a large exterior stone chimney at its west gable end. The center sections of the front and rear walls have been replaced with horizontal weatherboarding.

e. Barn

A large frame bank barn set on fieldstone foundations is located west of the main house. Facing south, it has a pair of projecting dormers above its forebay.

2. Joseph Poffenberger farm

Located adjacent to the North Woods just south of the Middlekauf farm and east of the Hagerstown Pike (Maryland 65), the Joseph Poffenberger farm served as the bivouac of the First Corps on the night of September 16. The farm also served as the Federal staging area for the first attack in the early morning of September 17. The buildings are situated on a bluff and face south.

a. Farmhouse

The house is a two-story, three-bay, L-shaped log structure clad with clapboard painted white. The front of the house has four windows, two to a story. A central front doorway opens to a one-story front porch which has a gingerbread railing. The frame rear ell extension has a typical double gallery. Architecturally, the house appears to be an early log structure.

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b. Springhouse

The springhouse is partially log, clad with board and batten and partially stone. There is a stone chimney at the wooden end of the structure.

c. Barn

The barn is a frame bank barn with a stone foundation.

d. Smokehouse

The smokehouse is log.

3. Mansfield Avenue

Mansfield Avenue is a paved road going eastward from the Hagerstown Pike just below the Joseph Poffenberger farm through the North Woods and turning south to meet the historic Smoketown Road just north of the East Woods. Mansfield Avenue was built after the battle to facilitate the travel of visitors through the lines. It was named after Federal Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield. Turning right on the east end of Mansfield Avenue and going south just a little way down Smoketown Road there is a junction with another road which goes eastward toward the Samuel Poffenberger farm. Near this junction is a stone monument marking the spot where Mansfield fell. Nearby, encased in a base of coursed stone and concrete, is a cannon tube with muzzle facing downward which is also a marker of Mansfield's death. There are six such cannon on the battlefield marking the deaths of six generals who died at Antietam.

4. The North Woods

Just south of the Joseph Poffenberger farm on a ridge less than 200 yards south of the farmhouse stood a triangular strip of forest, now removed, which was known locally as the North Wood. From the shelter of that strip of forest Hooker's men moved to the attack on the early morning of September 17, which culminated in the struggle of the Miller Cornfield.

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5. Smoketown Road

This is an historic road which leads from the settlement of Smoketown south to join the Hagerstown Pike at the Dunker Church. Smoketown, the largest Federal hospital after the battle, lies outside the National Battlefield boundary as does the northern portion of the Smoketown Road. The northern portion of the road is unpaved as it was historically until it enters the Federal reservation and becomes paved.

6. Samuel Poffenberger house

On the Smoketown Road just to the south of where it joins Mansfield Avenue there is a road going eastward. This road leads to the Samuel Poffenberger farm. An impressive fieldstone house sited in a valley, the Samuel Poffenberger house was a hospital after the battle. Through a careful comparison with all other historic houses in the area, Antietam Park Historian James Atkinson concluded that the Samuel Poffenberger house was the site of Clara Barton's work at Antietam. ("The location of the Clara Barton Hospital at Antietam," Antietam NB, 1971.)

a. Farmhouse

The stone farmhouse is a two and one-half-story, five-bay building with a one and one-half-story stone wing built over a spring. Atkinson states that the description of this spring within the house closely conforms to the description by Clara Barton. Attached to the west end wall is a late 19th century two-story brick addition. The main house is constructed of coursed local limestone. Windows are placed at regular intervals in the front and east end walls and have massive framing with ovolo trim. The main entrance is located in the center bay of the front elevation. A four-panel Victorian door has replaced the original. A small one-bay entrance porch seems to be a replacement. Large stone chimneys with corbels at their tops are located inside the end walls. Architectural evidence supports an 1802-1804 construction date for the house. On several Civil War maps the property is improperly called "Dumbar's Mill."

b. Barn

Northwest of the house is a large stone bank barn. It was also used as a hospital after the battle.

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c. Outbuildings

There are several sheds and outbuildings. In front of the house is a deteriorated log outbuilding. Numerous limestone fences border the farm lanes and fields on the property.

7. D. R. Miller farm

The D. R. Miller farm lies stretched along on both sides of the Hagerstown Pike, a mile and one half north of Sharpsburg. The house and outbuildings, located just east of the Pike, were under fire during all the desperate fighting in the Cornfield. The house was the nearest hospital house to the battlefield. The old springhouse in the hollow south of the house furnished water to sufferers of both armies.

8. Cornfield Avenue

Cornfield Avenue is a post-bellum government road which goes from east to west from the Smoketown Road to the Hagerstown Pike and bisects D. P. Miller's cornfield, known as the Bloody Cornfield. On the morning of September 17, Hooker's forces met the Confederate forces in Miller's cornfield, and with much bloodshed the cornfield changed hands several times. Cornfield Avenue was built probably late in the 19th century to assist visitors in seeing the cornfield.

9. The Cornfield

Site of the most fierce fighting at Antietam on the early morning of September 17, the Cornfield was part of the D. H. Miller farm. Located south of the North Woods and between the East Woods and the West Woods, the Cornfield is now traversed by Cornfield Avenue. The line of battle swept back and forth across the field 15 times.

10. The East Woods

The East Woods is located east of the Bloody Cornfield on either side of the Smoketown Road. Only a small portion of the East Woods exists today. On the morning of September 17, Federal troops passed through the East Woods to encounter the Confederates in the Cornfield. Here, Union General Joseph Mansfield was fatally wounded as he led the XIII Corps into battle.

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11. Morrison farm

The Simon P. Morrison farm was located just south of Samuel Poffenberger's farm to the northeast of the East Wood. No farm buildings survive. Army Corps of Engineers maps indicate that this farm served as a Union hospital.

12. Dunker Church

The Dunker Church is a one and one half-story gabled brick building painted white, on a foundation of native limestone. The original church was built in 1852 by the Dunkers, a strict sect of German Baptist Brethren. Some of the bloodiest fighting raged around the church during the battle. Here "Stonewall" Jackson's troops stood against the attack of the Union First and Twelfth Corps. The original church was destroyed in 1921. The present structure, patterned after the older building, was reconstructed in 1962, using some materials from the original. The brick is laid in common bond and painted white as it was at the time of the battle. There is no basement, only a crawl space with vents, and a small loft or attic above the main floor. It is roughly square in plan, measuring 35½ feet by 34½ feet, with a central brick chimney at the peak of the wood shingled roof. The east and south elevations have a central door with double-hung sash windows on either side. The south side also has two small windows in the gable. The west and north sides have two double-hung sash windows only. The door sills are stone. The doors are paneled and the windows have paneled shutters. The only ornament on the plain building is a small cornice made by corbelling out the three uppermost brick courses. The interior is plain whitewashed plaster with unpainted woodwork and benches. These benches are copied from one original example salvaged after the storm of 1921, and are according to the original plan. The church is located on the old Hagerstown Road across from the modern visitor center.

13. Kennedy farm

The Kennedy farmhouse is located southeast of the East Woods toward Antietam Creek. It was used as a hospital after the battle, and soldiers' names are carved on the rocks around the house. It is a two-story four-bay structure and appears to have been built in two parts. One section has small windows in relation to wall area which could suggest an early building date. Nearby is the old Neikirk house which is outside the National Battlefield boundary.

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14. Mumma farm

a. House

The Mumma house is located south along the Smoketown Road northeast of the visitor center. The original Mumma house was burned during the battle and the present structure was rebuilt the next year. The house was constructed in two sections, a plain brick part and a more ornate frame part, both on a stone foundation. The second story windows on the north side have different lintel levels, those on the brick section being higher. The frame section has a bracketed cornice. The same motif is repeated around the flat-roofed entrance porch on the east or main facade which has a lattice balustrade. The structure is joined into a unit by its tin plate hipped roof and one-story veranda along the north porch side. This porch is supported by slender colonnettes. The brick is also whitewashed to blend with the white frame section. The main block measures about 41 by 36 feet. The house is slightly "L" in shape. The frame section is deeper than the original brick block. On the back or south side a one-story kitchen has been added, measuring about 15 feet square with its own exterior chimney. Because of the slightly "L" shape, the hip roof becomes a gable in the rear over each section. There are three brick chimneys, one at each angle of the hip over the frame section and one at the brick end, which is whitewashed.

b. Springhouse

The springhouse is the only building which survived the fire that destroyed all Mumma buildings during the Battle of Antietam. It is constructed of stone and measures 16' 3" by 24' 3". It has a main floor and attic level. Immediately adjacent at the north end is the spring in a sink in the ground enclosed in masonry walls and roofed with a brick vault. The water flows into the springhouse, channeled along the inside of the north and west walls. From there it is carried underground to a draw south of the building. There is a fireplace located at the south end which has a brick capped masonry exterior chimney. Access to the second floor is by climbing over the roof of the spring enclosure. The west wall has one window opening at the first level and a gable window in the south wall for the second level. There are two adjacent doorways in the east wall. The first floor is divided into two rooms and the walls are plaster and whitewashed, with exposed ceiling joists. The rafters are exposed on the second level. The gable roof is covered by wooden shingles. The structure is located east of the main house.

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c. Barn

The Mumma barn is a typical bank barn with the first story stable level of stone and the upper hayloft of frame with vertical boarding. It is covered by a tin plate gable roof. There is a large lean-to shed on the south end and a smaller one on the north. This barn was probably built as part of the postwar complex when the burned-out farm was reconstructed.

d. Cemetery and Cemetery Wall

The Mumma cemetery, which dates back at least to 1790 when the pre-Civil War house and barn were built, is located to the northwest of the house. Only the eastern half or section of the plot contains burials. It measures about 27,550 square feet. The headstones are of various shapes and sizes, some illegible, some of early dates, and some as late as the 1960s. Some of the older stones are given interest by their ornament and eulogies. The cemetery is enclosed by about 665 feet of stone wall in a roughly square shape. The wall is of local fieldstone laid in random courses with mortar, and averages about four feet high. An iron gate on the southeast provides the only entrance. The cemetery is northwest of the Mumma farm.

e. Mumma Lane

A remnant of the original Mumma farm road, 600 feet long, is still visible, leading south out of the farm. It is cut off by the modern tour road which curves by the farm and joins the original roadbed. The road is a partially grassy area, not used as a road today.

15. The Roulette farm

The Roulette farm is to the south and east of the Mumma farm. The orchard and the cornfield between the Roulette house and the Sunken Road called Bloody Lane were scenes of most desperate fighting in the late afternoon of September 17, 1862. Men of the Second Corps tramped through the fields on the way to Bloody Lane. The buildings themselves have importance as examples of the area's early architecture.

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a. Farmhouse

At least part of the house may have been built during the late 18th century. It is a long, narrow, two-part log structure covered with German and aluminum siding. The more southerly part of the house is a one-story, four-bay structure with small six-over-six windows. A deep overhanging porch extends along the front elevation. A large exterior chimney topped with brick is against the south end wall. The remaining five bays are attached to the north end wall of the first section and appear to be an addition. Part of the front wall is recessed. One section of the house has an inside end chimney of brick and several small gable-roofed dormers.

b. Barn

A large frame bank barn typical of the region was used to treat wounded from the 132nd Pennsylvania. It and the house were hospitals after the battle.

c. Springhouse

A fieldstone springhouse and several outbuildings are present.

16. Clipp farm

According to Army Corps of Engineers maps, there was a Clipp farm or house between Roulette's and Bloody Lane. No structures survive.

17. Bloody Lane

Today "Bloody Lane" is a depression, about 500 yards long, between grassy slopes, partially paved with gravel and an asphalt access to the Roulette farm. It was known as the Sunken Road prior to the Civil War because of the depression caused by continuous use and erosion. The road bed was worn down to depths ranging from one to four feet, making it an important line of Confederate defense during the battle and a slaughter trench when Confederates were caught in the lane by Federal crossfire. Since the time of the battle, the north fenceline and road shoulder have continued to erode. The other shoulder has been disturbed by two different tour routes parallel and adjacent to the lane. The current bank along the new road is higher

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than that pictured along the earlier road. The lane is lined with monuments and a modern re-creation of an old split rail fence. "Bloody Lane" is located on the north of the Piper fields and extends to the Observation Tower.

18. Piper farm

a. Farmhouse

The Piper house, off the Hagerstown Road south of "Bloody Lane," is a typical two-story frame, gable-roofed, L-shaped structure with a foundation of random course fieldstone. The main section (west) about 40 by 15 feet was built prior to the Civil War. There is a shed-roofed porch along the west at the first story and also along the north and south faces of the wing. The first floor of the wing (15 by 15 feet) was added around 1898, and the second story of the wing was added in 1912. It has a tin plate roof. Three small brick chimneys protrude from the roof, two from the kitchen wing and one from the original section. In 1974 the porch and porch foundation were rebuilt and minor repairs were done to the chimney. The nine-room interior is in poor condition.

b. Cavehouse (Icehouse)

The Cavehouse, measuring about 10 by 15 feet, was build in the early 1800s of random course fieldstone. It was built with two rooms in a type of split-level arrangement into the earthen bank near the south end of the farmhouse. It has a gable roof. The west room, entered from the west end which protrudes from the hill, was used for produce storage. The east room, which was used for ice storage, is located in the section which goes into the hill, and is entered from its own door on the south-east side. The building, which was in almost ruinous condition, was reconstructed by local labor in 1975. The original stones were used. Care was taken to match the mortar in color and texture to that of the slave house. The cavehouse is located southeast of the Piper house.

c. Slave house

The building on the Piper farm called the slave quarters is a stone masonry building with a wood shingled gable roof measuring about 33½ feet by 14 feet. This structure grew from a smaller building, about 25 by 14 feet. The original section is thought to be the first dwelling on the farm site, dating to about 1740. Additions,

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circa 1880, raised the roof by adding a log wall over the stone section to provide an additional floor. At this time, the north gable wall was taken down and rebuilt to make the building eight feet longer. The exterior stone walls are faced rubble, infilled with clay and small stones. The log portion, dressed on the exterior, is three logs high set back to accommodate the furring strips to permit the use of beveled-edge siding boards. After 1900, drop siding replaced the earlier which was put back during the restoration. There is a large shallow stone fireplace at the north end with a brick chimney outside. The first floor is divided into two rooms by a board partition and there is a stair in the north room to the floor above. Each lower room has a door to the outside on the east but no connecting door between them. There is one window on the east and three on the west, first floor level, and two gable windows on the north and one on the south gable. The interior rooms are whitewashed plaster. The structure was restored about 1968. This included replacing a tin roof with wooden shingles, reconstructing windows, doors and their frames, and installing period style siding. The new chimney was also redone with period type brick using a typical local cap treatment. The slave house is located west of the Piper house, south of Piper Lane,

d. Smokehouse

The smokehouse is a small, nearly 12½-foot-square frame and log building on a stone foundation, built in the mid-1800s. The walls are now covered in weatherboard and the gabled roof is sheet tin. There are no windows in the structure.

e. Barn

The large stone and frame bank barn is original to the farm. The southern end, built in 1820, is 44 feet wide and 84 feet long. This section is constructed with a heavy, hewn timber frame resting on one-story stone walls. The upper section has a tightly boarded floor. The exterior upper level is covered by unpainted, wide boards, fastened vertically to the frame with wrought nails. The west portion of the stone wall has two narrow ventilating slits built into the masonry. The east wall beneath the overhanging loft has seven double "Dutch" doors and five windows. A wooden winch hoist is now partially covered by a lean-to used as a peach packing plant in the 1890s. In 1914, a wooden addition was added making the barn 144 by 44 feet. The original wood shingle roof

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was replaced by tin plate. At this time the five large, picturesque roof ventilators were added. Two large dormer-type double doors were cut into the roof at the gutter line at this time. In 1974, bad timbers and boards were replaced and the exterior was whitewashed. The barn is located on the north side of Piper Lane.

f. Piper Lane

The original farm lane, about 3000 feet long, is entered off Hagerstown Road. It is lined with farm buildings and leads to the Piper farmhouse. Behind the house the road is less used and becomes very rocky and rutted until it fades out to little more than a line of trees at Richardson Avenue.

19. Observation Tower

The observation tower, erected in 1896 by the War Department, is constructed of native limestone. It is 15 feet square and about 75 feet tall. It has an arched entranceway and two slit windows on the south elevation. The tower is open on all four sides at the observation deck above a waist-high wall and is topped by a red tile hipped roof which rests on corner piers at the deck level. The only ornament on the sheer walls are three stone courses, corbelled out to form a band about five feet below the parapet of the observation deck. The deck is reached by an iron stairway which rises on the interior. The tower is located at the juncture of Bloody Lane and Richardson Avenue.

20. Richardson Avenue

Richardson Avenue runs from the Hagerstown Turnpike, parallels Bloody Lane to the Observation Tower, and making a zigzag ends at the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike. Named for General Israel Richardson, the hero of "Bloody Lane," who was wounded there in the battle and died at the Pry house, November 3, 1862, Richardson Avenue is more or less historic. The modern park road follows the old farm road making a diversion at Bloody Lane where the old roadbed was and still can be seen.

21. Keplinger/Newcomer house

Old Army Corps of Engineers maps indicate a house at the corner of Richardson Avenue and the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike. Nothing remains visible there today.

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22. Newcomer house - Mount Pleasant - Christian Orndorff's mill

Situated near the west bank of Antietam Creek where the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike crosses over a modern highway bridge, are the remains of the historic Christian Orndorff mill, known as Newcomer Mill during the Civil War. Nothing is left of the mill buildings themselves; what remains is a circa 1800 two-story clapboard-covered log dwelling traditionally called Mount Pleasant. The structure is a three-bay dwelling set on very low stone foundations. A two-story, four-bay ell, also of log, extends to the rear, or north. The entire structure is covered with beaded weatherboard displaying no decorative trim. A one-story porch supported by chamfered square posts extends along the front elevation. Extending along the entire east wall of the ell is a double porch framed under the main roof span. The roof of the main section is steeply pitched with high brick chimneys extending from inside each gable end and at the juncture of the two sections. Immediately behind the house is a two-story stone and brick kitchen with a bake oven. South of Route 34 (the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike) is a large frame bank barn set on stone foundations.

Mount Pleasant was in a prominent position at the Middle Bridge in the Battle of Antietam. The bridge and road past Mount Pleasant were strategic in the movement of troops. There are several Alexander Gardner photographs of the Middle Bridge with the Orndorff/Newcomer buildings in the background.

23. Log farmhouse up Antietam Creek from the Middle Bridge

This house, of log construction, is clad with German siding. It appears to have received a new roof. The house is a long, narrow two-story, four-bay structure with nine-over-six windows at the first-story level and six-over-six windows at the second story. The exterior surface of the building shows work associated with the late 19th or early 20th century. However, the exterior chimney and the nine-over-six windows suggest that the house may have been standing for some time before the Civil War. More research is needed to date the house. Also present is a large frame bank barn with a fieldstone fence in front of it. In From Millwheel to Plowshare by Drake Orndorff on page 24 a log structure is mentioned in this location with the date given as eighteenth century construction.

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B. West of the Hagerstown Pike

1. Nicodemus Heights

This small hill directly west of the Hagerstown Pike near the Miller farm was occupied by Confederate cavalry under J.E.B. Stuart early in the morning of September 17. As the Federal troops under Hooker come out of the North Woods they were pounded by artillery on Nicodemus Heights as the Confederate infantry in the cornfield charged. Nicodemus Heights proved to be the key position to the early morning phase of the battle, where the commanding position of Stuart's artillery prevented Doubleday from taking the high ground around the Dunker Church.

2. Confederate Avenue - Hagerstown Pike Bypass

Confederate Avenue existed since the late 1890's as a government battlefield road stretching along the Confederate lines from Nicodemus Heights to the Dunker Church. The road left the Hagerstown Pike near the latter's juncture with Starke Avenue, and continuing south until turning west at a right angle to converge again on the Hagerstown Pike at the Dunker Church. In recent years, a new Hagerstown Pike (Route 65) was built to bypass the battlefield. The new bypass left the old pike below the Dunker Church and continued up the old route of Confederate Avenue back to the Old Hagerstown Pike. Thus, Confederate Avenue became the new bypass. The portion of the old Hagerstown Pike through the battlefield in front of the Dunker Church and north to Mansfield Avenue juncture still exists.

3. West Woods

West of the Hagerstown Pike and above the Dunker Church, the West Woods was the scene of some of the heaviest fighting during the morning of the 17th and during the whole war. Union General John Sedgwick's division lost more than 2,200 men in less than one-half hour in an ill-fated charge into these woods against Jackson's troops.

4. Starke Avenue

Starke Avenue is a government battlefield road. It is actually an extension of Cornfield Avenue, separated by the old Hagerstown Pike and going westward until it meets the Hagerstown Pike bypass. It originally joined the old

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Confederate Avenue, now superseded by the bypass. Starke Avenue is named for Confederate General William F. Starke of Jackson's Corps who was mortally wounded a few hundred yards south.

5. Alfred Poffenberger farm

The old Alfred Poffenberger farm was on the western edge of the West Woods just to the west of the Hagerstown bypass. Heavy fighting occurred in the area.

C. East of Antietam Creek

1. The Middle Bridge

Spanning Antietam Creek at the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike was a three-arched stone bridge, built by Silas Harry in 1824. Known as the Orndorff or Middle Bridge after the Battle of Antietam, it was destroyed by high water in the late 19th century. The bridge was strategic in the movement of troops. There are several Alexander Gardner photographs of the bridge.

2. Philip Pry farm

a. Pry house

The Philip Pry house was built in 1844 by Philip Pry and his brother Samuel Pry on high ground west of Keedysville, Maryland. Because of its panoramic view of almost the entire Antietam Valley around Sharpsburg, General George B. McClellan used the Pry house for his headquarters during the Battle of Antietam. The house is a two-story L-shaped brick structure on a stone foundation. The main block of the house has a steeply pitched roof with two single chimneys at the ridge. The upper story has five large double-hung sash windows with shutters which extend with their lintels from the roof eave to the porch roof. The first story has a central double entrance door flanked by two windows on each side. In 1976 a fire partially damaged the house burning off a late-19th-century porch stretched across the front of the house. During a 1977-78 restoration of the house to its Civil War appearance, the small earlier Greek Revival porch was rebuilt and put back on the house. The east end of

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the house has two windows to each story. The ell, which is a continuation of the west wall, has a two-story porch on the east side with simple supports and a second story balustrade. There are entrances off this porch on each floor. The two main doors on the first story have three-light transoms. This ell section has a gable roof with two small windows in the north gable end. The simple interior housed wounded soldiers after the battle. General Israel B. Richardson, Union hero of Bloody Lane, died there on November 3, 1862.

b. Barn

This barn, the original one on the property, is located on the north of the house. Like many barns in the area, it is stone on the first level. Vertical boarding above overhangs the stone level on the south. The barn measures about 60 by 40 feet with a shed addition on the eastern end. The tin plated roof has two ventilators along the ridge. During the battle, the barn served as a hospital.

c. Smokehouse or Cookhouse

The Pry smokehouse is now a brick and fieldstone ruin with only the fireplace wall left partially standing. The brickwork and stone foundations of this structure seem to be as old as the house, but strangely enough, this building does not appear in the Alexander Gardner photograph of the Pry House taken during the Battle of Antietam. Consequently, more research is needed to determine the age of the smokehouse. It is located at the southwest corner of the Pry house.

d. Cavehouse

The cave or springhouse is build into the side of a hill to the east of the house, faced with local fieldstone. Alterations and repairs have been made over the years but the basic structure with random limestone masonry of slabs and large rocks remains in relatively unchanged condition. The interior, now filled with debris, is about 6 feet wide, 8 feet long, and 7 feet high. The opening into the hill has an irregularly-formed wall surrounding it and acts as a retaining wall against the hill.

e. Pry Lane

This historic lane goes from the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike to the Pry house. It remains essentially as it did when the property served as McClellan's headquarters. A double row of trees was planted at one time, and several remain. The lane was shortened about 100 feet when the state highway was widened and straightened in the late 1950's or early 1960's.

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f. Springhouse

The ruins of the springhouse are located slightly to the southwest of the front of the house just down the hill. The front stone archway and some buried walls in the hillside are all that is left of the historic springhouse which appeared in the artist sketch of the Pry house published in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. At this writing, the archway is in need of stabilization. This springhouse is mentioned in The Twenty-Seventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion 1861-65, First Division 12th and 20th Corps by Edmund Randolph Brown a Member of Company C, p. 235, U.S. Army Military History Collection, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. "Sometimes towards evening..went to bivouac above the Pry house, where in the meantime, McClellan had established his headquarters. ...While we were here we used water from the spring used by the Pry house. The picture of this house, with its brick spring house, a short distance down the hill, and rather in front of the house, is familiar to the readers of Harper's Weekly, Harper's History of the Rebellion, the Century Magazine, and other publications."

3. Toll house

This small log house is a three-bay, one-and-one-half-story German-sided structure. Built adjacent to the old alignment of the Sharpsburg-Boonsboro Turnpike, it served as a toll house on this road during the nineteenth century.

II. Southerly Part of the Battlefield South of the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike

1. Newcomer mill

Nothing remains of the old Newcomer mill which was located just southwest of the Middle Bridge over the Antietam. However, there is still standing a large bank barn with fieldstone foundations which was part of the Newcomer complex and appears in the Alexander Gardner photographs of the Middle Bridge taken shortly after the battle. Another stone structure existed on the southeast side which may have been part of the mill operation.

2. Rodman Avenue

Rodman Avenue runs south from the Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Turnpike, crossing over the old Burnside Bridge Road at a modern overpass near the Sherrick House where at a right angle it becomes Branch Avenue. Historic maps indicate that the modern government road follows the course of an old farm

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road present during the battle. Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman's command forded the Antietam at Snavely's Ford and were pushing toward Sharpsburg until they were met by A. P. Hill's fresh troops from Harpers Ferry. Rodman himself was shot and later died at the nearby Henry Rohrback house.

3. Antietam National Cemetery

Antietam National Cemetery was first established by the State of Maryland by an act in 1865, and it was completed in 1867. Contributions which totaled about \$70,000 from 18 Union states completed the cemetery. There are 4,776 Union graves from the Maryland campaign of 1862. Administration was transferred to the War Department for the period of 1877 to 1933, when it came to the Park Service. The cemetery is located in a trapezoidal section of land containing about 11½ acres. The paths were laid out to form an amphitheater with the large Soldiers Monument in the center. The lodge house, its carriage house, and a rostrum are from the early years of operation (to 1879). A later house was added for the superintendent of the park about 1927 and is unhistoric to the park and cemetery. The cemetery is located along Maryland Route 34 (just east of the intersection with Route 65) on the eastern edge of Sharpsburg.

a. Lodge house

The small lodge house on the cemetery grounds was built in 1867. It is about 20 by 30 feet. It is constructed of limestone, laid in random ashlar courses in a gothic villa style. A battlemented tower with a small round window is attached to the north side of the structure. The house itself is a short-armed "L" in plan. The main entrance is on the east gabled end, sheltered by a little gothic-inspired wooden porch. The roof is hipped on the west and over the short south wing. Little peaked roof dormers are placed in the roof to give light to the upper story. The rear or northwest entrance has a small gabled gothic hood. The windows are framed in shallow segmental arches which form a contrasting decorative pattern in the stonework. The gable or east end has a small finial-type ornament at each side at the eave line. The lodge house was originally designed as a residence for the superintendent of the cemetery and as a visitor contact station and administrative offices. It remained unchanged until the late 1920s when public rest-rooms were installed. In 1970 these were rearranged to provide additional office space. The exterior remains little altered. The lodge house is located right inside the front gate of the cemetery.

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b. Carriage house

The cemetery carriage house, now used as a garage, is a small brick gable-roofed structure with an attic level under the roof. A large segmental-arched opening is located in the east side, flanked by a small window. A large square opening, used today for the entrance, is in the south end with a window in the gable above. The carriage house is located within the cemetery walls.

c. Cemetery rostrum

The rostrum was constructed in 1879 according to a Standard Army Quartermaster's plan issued in November 1878. It consists of a platform formed by brick walls, about 5½ feet high. The brickwork is laid with an indented panel effect. The platform is filled with earth and partially paved with concrete. At each end of the platform is a stone stairway with an iron railing. Surmounting the platform are three rows of four piers, 17½ inches square and 12 feet high. The piers support an open trellis roof, originally designed for vines. An iron railing surrounds the platform connecting each pier. Below the railing between the piers are planter boxes. Jonathan Late was the contractor for the rostrum.

d. U.S. Soldiers Memorial

The U.S. Soldiers Memorial is a granite figure of a private Union soldier at parade rest with the cape of his overcoat thrown back from his left shoulder. The statue is 21½ feet tall and rests on a granite pedestal 25 feet high. The statue was carved in the Rhode Island Granite Works at Westerly, Rhode Island, out of granite also called Westerly. A Mr. Conrad modeled the figure and it was carved by J. W. Pollette. Crossed swords, a laurel wreath, draped flags, a drum, cartridge box and canteen are grouped in a high relief cartouche on the front of the base. The statue was exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. The foundation was not completed until 1879. The figure was later installed in 1880.

e. Cemetery wall - fence

The Antietam National Cemetery is enclosed by a random ashlar limestone wall with ornamental iron fencing along Route 34. The wall has a uniform height of 5 feet on the inside and varies from 10 to 15 feet on the

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outside. It is 2½ feet thick throughout. The iron fence is about 6 feet high, including the low limestone base. There is an elaborate gateway entrance of four posts topped with urns and decorated with gothic strapwork. The walls were repaired and repointed by the WPA in 1939.

f. Tombstones

The tombstones in Antietam National Cemetery are of two basic types. Those for the unknown dead from the Maryland Campaign are six inches high and about six inches square. There are 1,836 of these, all Union. The stones for the known dead of the 1862 campaign, also all Union, and for subsequent burials are about 2½ feet high and 1½ feet wide. There are 2,940 from the Civil War and 200 graves from later wars.

4. Sherrick house

The Sherrick house, circa 1830, retains its Civil War exterior appearance. No modern plumbing had been added although the house has been wired for electricity. The house has two cellars. A spring still flows through a cut stone channel in the sub-cellar. The upper cellar contains a summer kitchen and cool food storage space. Both cellars are whitewashed stone on the south--their only exterior exposure. Rising above the cellar is a two-story red brick house with a wood shingled hipped roof. The west wall of this rectangular house is laid in Flemish bond and the other three are common bond. The hipped roof is broken by two brick chimneys on the south edge center and two on the north which rise higher in the roof. The main entrance is located on the west facade. It has a wood, two-columned Doric portico with a balustrade around the flat deck. There is a veranda along the main floor on the south, supported on piers at the cellar level over the spring, which gives the effect of a two-story portico. There is an entrance on the south veranda at the main level (second story on the south) and another one on the east. The interior is more elaborate than the other farmhouses. One of the fireplaces is marbleized, there are chair rails in most of the rooms, and the stairs in the main hall are ornamented with a wave molding. The building has great integrity. There is some evidence that all the interior rooms have their original paint. The Sherrick house is located on the northeast corner of Branch Avenue and Burnside Bridge Road.

The Sherrick smokehouse is a brick 1½-story building measuring 14'5" by 14'7". The foundation walls are whitewashed stone. Diamond patterns in the brick gables ventilate the attic space in addition to a small attic window located over the exterior door in the west. The first floor has a window in each side wall and a large fireplace in the rear (east) wall.

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The roof is gabled with wood shingles. The floor is modern wood laid over an earlier wood floor and joists. A winding, enclosed stair in the corner left of the entrance leads to the attic. The ceiling of the first floor is post period beaded boards and the attic ceiling is exposed. The smoke-house is located southeast of the Sherrick house.

5. Otto house

The Otto house is on a hill directly across from the Sherrick house on the Burnside Bridge Road. This house is a large two-story, eight-bay structure. It would appear to be a log structure which has been sheathed with asbestos siding. When Rodman's command was repelled by A. P. Hill, their line fell back to the Otto farm area. Both the Otto and Sherrick house were Union hospitals after the battle.

6. Stone Mill

This complex of buildings includes a two-story, four-bay stone house with two stone extensions and a stone grist mill building. Both buildings are constructed of coursed native limestone and have openings with wide wooden frames with ovolo trim. Flat arches of finely dressed stones are present above the doors and windows. The mill has a circular opening in each gable and a large brick chimney. A small stone springhouse is also on the property. The house originally had a two-story porch across its front elevation. The house and mill appear to be contemporaneous and exhibit exterior features and masonry work typical of the circa-1800 period.

The Stone Mill is located on the old Burnside Bridge Road on the Sharpsburg side of the Sherrick house and Otto house. Up the ravine past these houses the brigades of Willcox's division advanced against the Confederate brigades of Jenkins and Garnett which held the high ground near the Stone Mill and the southerly slope of what is now the National Cemetery. After A. P. Hill drove Rodman from his advanced position on the Union left, Willcox's position near the Stone Mill was turned, and his lines withdrew back to the hills at the Otto house.

7. Branch Avenue

Branch Avenue is a government road facilitating park visitation. It begins as a continuation of Rodman Avenue at the overpass bridge where the former crosses the Burnside Bridge Road, and making a right to the east, it joins the Harpers Ferry Road. The road is named for Brigadier General L. O'Brien Branch of A. P. Hill's division who was killed in the afternoon of September 17.

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8. Burnside Bridge Road

Burnside Bridge Road is an historic road originally going southeast from the village of Sharpsburg and crossing the Antietam at the Burnside Bridge, passing the Stone Mill, the Sherrick house, and the Otto house. In recent years the road has been diverted to cross the Antietam by a modern concrete bridge a little to the north, leaving the historic Burnside Bridge surrounded by park land and untraveled by vehicular traffic.

9. Burnside Bridge

The Burnside Bridge, originally known as Rohrback's or Lower Bridge, was built in 1836. It is constructed of faced rubble masonry of local blue fieldstone. Three elliptical arch spans are supported by the abutments and two six-foot-wide piers rising from the stream bed. The central span is 35½ feet between the piers and the spans on either side measure 30 feet each. The piers are rounded out beyond the spandrel and arch faces from the springline of the arches to their bases. This was done to ease floating debris past the piers. These are terminated with stone laid to form conical caps which meld with the spandrel faces. The voussoirs of the elliptical arches are of common height and keystones were not used. The width of the road bed is 13'4" and the ends are splayed outward to facilitate entrance at the sharp road angle. The parapets are about 3½ feet high with wooden coping to shed rain into the stream. The present coping is a restoration, replacing concrete additions. Monuments were at one time placed on the end parapets which had been squared off for this purpose. These were removed during the restoration of 1964-65 and the parapets were returned to their original condition. Also a bypass road was constructed so that the bridge could be closed to vehicular traffic. The old road bed can still be discerned. The bridge is located on Antietam Creek southeast of Sharpsburg.

10. Henry Rohrback farm

This nineteenth century farm complex is located at the end of a private lane which extends in an easterly direction from Burnside Bridge Road. The house is a two-story, five-bay brick structure built with Flemish bond at the front or east elevation and common bond at the other walls. Central entrances are present at the first and second stories of the front wall and evidence remains of a two-story porch which once extended across the entire front wall. A one-story, two-bay wing extends to the rear of the house. Numerous outbuildings are located nearby. Among them is a large brick-end bank barn with decorative open work ventilators. High in the gable peak open work patterns form the letters H R for Henry Rohrback.

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The house is associated with the afternoon portion of the battle when fighting was concentrated in the area of Burnside's or Rohrback's Bridge. After the battle, the Ninth Corps of the Army of the Potomac occupied the farm and its buildings. Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman, who was fatally wounded near Burnside Bridge, died in the house on September 30, 1862.

11. Snavely's Ford

On the late morning of September 17, General Robert Toombs and a small contingent of Georgians had the entire Federal command under Burnside bottled up at the Burnside Bridge. Rodman's division was sent downstream to find the only known crossing of Antietam Creek in the vicinity, Snavely's Ford. Late in the morning, Rodman's men crossed the stream and began to drive against the right flank of the Georgians. About the same time, Colonel George Crook's scouts located a ford a few hundred yards above the bridge, and he sent his brigade across there. Rodman and Crook hammered the Confederate flanks while masses of Federal troops poured across the bridge. Today, Snavely's Ford is reached by a Park Service nature trail from the Burnside Bridge.

12. Snavely farm (Belinda Springs)

Near Snavely's Ford below the Burnside Bridge on the Antietam is the old Snavely farm which existed earlier as Belinda Springs farm, an early-19th-century resort. It is located at the end of a long private lane. The buildings are situated at the base of a steep bluff and face east or toward the creek. What remains of the Belinda Springs complex is a two-story log dwelling and a one-and-one-half-story stone structure with frame addition giving it an upper story and attaching it to the log section, several frame outbuildings, and the ruins of a large frame bank barn set on high stone foundations. A small stone structure housing one of the springs also remains.

Before the war, Belinda Springs was a regionally well-known health spa. There was a large complex of buildings where many visitors came to stay and take the cure. In 1832, a cholera epidemic broke out among Irish workers on the C & O Canal and Belinda Springs as a resort was closed for good.

During the Battle of Antietam, the Snavely family owned Belinda Springs, and it was near Snavely's Ford where Rodman's command crossed the Antietam to outflank the impasse at the Burnside Bridge. Belinda Springs has already been submitted to the National Register as a separate nomination.

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a. Farmhouse

The log structure is a two-story, three-bay dwelling set on fieldstone foundations. It is constructed of large hewn-squared logs, many of which are greater than one foot in width. The exterior wall surface was apparently sheathed with rough cast applied over split lath. Over this had been placed wooden weatherboarding. More recently, brick composition siding had sheathed the walls. A shed roof porch extends along the south gable wall. An enclosed walkway of frame construction along the east elevation links it to the stone structure. At present, the roof of the log structure is sheathed with sheet metal. Probably the most unusual feature of the log structure is an interior partition of wattle and daub.

b. Stone house

Linked by the walkway to this log building is a one-and-one-half-story stone structure constructed of roughly coursed local limestone. A frame one-story addition has raised the height of this stone building. A massive stone chimney is located in the east gable end.

c. The Belinda Springs Hotel

Extending to the north of the log building are the remains of foundations of a large extension. This was once a high two-story building of log construction sheathed with weatherboarding. This structure, torn down earlier in this century, was known as the Belinda Springs Hotel.

d. Spring

East of the existing structures is a spring over which is a small stone building and remnants of an attached stone wall. This spring supposedly supplied drinking water for the complex. Nearby were other springs deemed medicinal with high mineral content.

13. Harpers Ferry Road

Harpers Ferry Road is an historic road from Sharpsburg to Harpers Ferry. It marks the western terminus of the authorized park boundary from Sharpsburg south and it also roughly marks the western boundary of the fighting of the late afternoon on September 17.

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III. Outlying Areas

1. Lee Headquarters Marker

There is a small parcel of land maintained by Antietam National Battlefield just outside the village limits of Sharpsburg which was the location of General Robert E. Lee's headquarters tent before and during the battle. It is located on Route 34, the Main Street of Sharpsburg at the western edge of town, and amounts to a little over an acre. The monument on this land was erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy to mark the oak grove that served as Lee's headquarters. It is a rough cut granite slab about six feet tall and measuring three by three feet at the base, with a bronze interpretive plaque on the front. The land and the monument were deeded to the Federal Government on July 4, 1942.

2. Reno Monument

Another small outlying area maintained by Antietam National Battlefield but located outside the park boundaries is the Reno Monument. Located atop South Mountain at Fox's Gap on Reno Monument Road off Route 67, the Reno Monument locates the area where Major General Jesse L. Reno, U.S.A., was killed during the Battle of South Mountain. It was erected by the survivors of the Ninth Army Corps to commemorate their commander and comrade. It is of granite, measuring four feet square at the base block. The main shaft, about two feet square and six feet high, is smooth surfaced with the Ninth Army Corps badge on the front and interpretive information on the sides. It has a low hipped capstone. The plot of ground is surrounded by a 40-foot-square wall of concrete, measuring about four feet high.

3. War Correspondent's Memorial Arch

The War Correspondent's Memorial Arch is located on top of South Mountain at Crampton's Gap. It sits on a two-acre plot under the jurisdiction of Antietam National Battlefield within the larger area of the Gathland State Park, a state park of Maryland. Most accounts ascribe the design to George Alfred Townsend, the originator of the idea for the arch and the donator of the site. Townsend is reported to have based his design on a firehouse and railroad station in Hagerstown, Maryland. The railroad station is not standing today.

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The structure is constructed of random coursed stone with trim around the arches in brownstone and limestone. On the north end is a large tower nine by six feet which rises 55 feet. It is capped with a corbelled battlemented parapet. About 26 feet up on the west side is a niche containing a seated figure with attributes of Mercury. The south end is buttressed by a stone pier or abutment, two feet by seven feet at the base, tapering to about four feet across and rising 45 feet high. This is topped by a weather vane. The structure is $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet across at the base. The interior of the arch is $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide from pier to pier at the widest part of its horseshoe shape. Above the main central arch are three arches in an arcade. The bases of these are about 25 feet above ground level. Below these arches and continuing under the statue niche in the tower is a brick band containing the words "WAR CORRESPONDENTS MEMORIAL" in molded brick in brick panels in large block letters. A row of crenelations about 26 feet long cap the main section of the structure, between the end towers, at the forty foot level. Two terracotta horse heads project from brick panels above the spandrels of the center arch in the arcade. Below, to each side of the main arch, are terracotta shields with two words inscribed in diagonal banners. They are SPEED, on the southernmost end and HEED on the northernmost. Symbolic terracotta heads are placed in round niches in square brick panels above and adjacent to the shields. A brownstone panel with a dedication is located on the north side. A similar panel on the south, now weathered, is inscribed with ten quotations involving correspondents through the ages. Two tablets on the east elevation list the names of 106 Civil War correspondents (Union), 29 Southern names, and 16 artists. The arch was deeded to the government in 1904. The monument has the feeling of an exotic Victorian folly.

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Modern Intrusions Upon the Historic Scene

The modern intrusions upon the historic scene at Antietam are unusually minimal. The battlefield area has stayed very much the same as it was in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries when the various monuments were set up and the battlefield avenues facilitating visitation were constructed.

Standing on one of the highest points of the battlefield to the east of the old Hagerstown Pike near the Dunker Church is the modern National Park Service Visitors Center containing exhibit area, auditorium, a battlefield viewing deck, and park offices. Directly west of the National Cemetery is the Antietam Maintenance complex of maintenance shops and parking area, situated down a slight hill away from public view. These comprise the principal administrative structures of the park. A few modern bridges intrude on the battlefield. The concrete bridge on the Sharpsburg-Boonsboro Turnpike replaces the old stone arched bridge washed away in the 1890s. As Rodman Avenue passes near the Sherrick house and becomes Branch Avenue it goes over a concrete overpass which allows the old Burnside Bridge Road to pass underneath. This concrete overpass is a very modern intrusion on an otherwise unspoiled historic area with the Sherrick farm, the Otto house, and the old Stone Mill in view. A modern road diverts traffic around the old Burnside Bridge crossing the Antietam via a modern concrete bridge a little to the north of the old bridge.

As earlier stated, the modern Hagerstown Pike bypass leaves the old pike to follow generally the old course of Confederate Avenue and rejoins the old pike at the juncture of the Taylor's Landing Road. Several modern houses and farm buildings intrude along the battlefield, the largest number being along the Harpers Ferry Road into Sharpsburg. A log maintenance building used by the C & O Canal is situated across Highway 34 across from the National Cemetery.

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LIST OF MONUMENTS AND MARKERS ON ANTIETAM BATTLEFIELD

I. State Monuments and Markers

A. Connecticut

1. 8th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps
420 yards east of Harpers Ferry Road
2. 11th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps
North of back road to Rohrersville above Burnside Bridge
3. 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
100 yards north of Bloody Lane
4. 16th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps
150 yards east of Branch Avenue

B. Delaware

1. 1st Delaware Infantry
Along the north side of Bloody Lane
2. 2nd Delaware Infantry
Along north side of Bloody Lane
3. 3rd Delaware Infantry
In Philadelphia Brigade Park

C. Georgia

State Monument
South side of Cornfield Avenue

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D. Indiana

1. State Monument
North side at intersection of Cornfield Avenue and Hagerstown Turnpike
2. 3rd Indiana Cavalry
2nd Brigade, Companies A, B, C, D, E, and F
Boonsboro Road between National Cemetery and Middle Bridge
Granite marker
3. 7th Indiana Infantry
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Army Corps
East side of Hagerstown Turnpike, north of Bloody Lane
A 2' X 3' granite marker, 21" high
4. 14th Indiana Infantry
3rd Division, 2nd Corps
North side of Bloody Lane
Granite marker
5. 19th Indiana Infantry
4th Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Army Corps
East side of Hagerstown Turnpike, across from Philadelphia Brigade Park
Granite marker
6. 27th Indiana Infantry
3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite marker

E. Maryland

1. State Monument
East side of Hagerstown Turnpike, opposite Dunker Church
2. Purnell Legion Infantry, U.S.A.
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 12th Army Corps
North of Confederate Avenue near Dunker Church
Granite marker

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3. Baltimore Light Artillery, C.S.A.
Jackson's Division
Southwest corner of Philadelphia Brigade Park
4. 1st Maryland Artillery (Dement's Battery), C.S.A.
Ewell's Division
Old Harpers Ferry Road between Branch Avenue and Sharpsburg
Marker
5. 1st Maryland Light Artillery, U.S.A.
Battery A, 1st Division, 6th Army Corps
South side of Smoketown Road
Granite marker
6. 1st Maryland Light Artillery, U.S.A.
Battery B, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite marker
7. 2nd Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
Northeast corner of Burnside Bridge
Marker
8. 3rd Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 12th Army Corps
Hagerstown Pike, near old Toll-gate house
Granite marker
9. 5th Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane
Granite marker, 20' X 20' X 36' high
10. 5th Maryland Infantry, U.S.A.
3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps, Companies A and I
125 yards north of Bloody Lane in a field
Monument

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F. Massachusetts

1. State Monument
Hagerstown Pike at Cornfield Avenue intersection
2. 15th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry
Gorman's Brigade, Sedgwick's Division, 2nd Corps
East side of Confederate Avenue
3. 21st Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
Southwest corner of Burnside Bridge
4. 35th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry
Ferrera's Brigade, 9th Army Corps
Northwest corner of Burnside Bridge
Marker

G. New Jersey

1. State Monument
North side of Cornfield Avenue and Hagerstown Pike
2. Hexamer's New Jersey Battery
Richardson Avenue, near tower
2' X 2' X 6' granite marker
3. Hexamer's New Jersey Battery
South side of Smoketown Road
Granite marker
4. 1st New Jersey Infantry Brigade
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Infantry, Hexamer's Battery
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite Marker
5. 1st New Jersey Infantry Brigade
1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Infantry, Hexamer's Battery
North side of Smoketown Road
Granite monument, 4'6" long, 2'6" wide, 5' high

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6. 1st New Jersey Infantry Brigade
Crampton's Gap
7. 13th New Jersey Infantry
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite marker
8. 13th New Jersey Infantry
North side of Confederate Avenue, near Dunker Church
Granite marker
9. 13th New Jersey Infantry
Hagerstown Pike, north of Cornfield Avenue, near Miller farm
Granite marker

H. New York

1. State Monument
125 yards east of Hagerstown Pike, north of visitor center
2. 4th New York Volunteers
1st Scott Life Guards, 3rd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
East side of National Cemetery
3. 9th New York Infantry
420 yards east of Harpers Ferry Road, near Branch Avenue
4. 14th Brooklyn New York Infantry or 84th NYVM
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 1st Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
5. 20th Regular New York Volunteer Infantry
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
East side of Hagerstown Pike, near New York State Monument
6. 20th Regular New York Volunteer Infantry
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
East side of National Cemetery
4'6" at base, 9' high

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7. 34th New York Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Confederate Avenue, near Dunker Church
8. 51st New York Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
Near Burnside Bridge, east of creek
9. 59th New York Infantry
3rd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Army Corps
Intersection of Smoketown Road and Hagerstown Pike
10. 104th New York Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue

I. Ohio

1. 1st Ohio Light Artillery Battery
Ewings's Brigade, Kanawaha Division, 9th Army Corps
One-half mile downstream from Burnside Bridge on a hill
2. 5th, 7th, and 66th Ohio Infantry
East side of Hagerstown Pike, opposite Dunker Church
3. 8th Ohio Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane
4. 11th Ohio Infantry Granite Marker
East side Branch Avenue
Shows distance to 11th Ohio Infantry Monument
5. 11th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawaha Division, 9th Army Corps
In a field 167 yards from Branch Avenue on the east side

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6. 12th Ohio Infantry
1st Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
395 yards east of Branch Avenue
7. 12th Ohio Granite Marker
East side of Branch Avenue
Shows distance to 12th Ohio Infantry Monument
8. 23rd Ohio Infantry
1st Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
9. 28th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
10. 30th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
11. 36th Ohio Infantry
2nd Brigade, Kanawha Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue

J. Pennsylvania

1. Durell's Independent Battery D, Pennsylvania Artillery
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
2. Philadelphia Monument
69th, 71st, 72nd, and 106th Pennsylvania Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Army Corps
In the West Woods on west side of Hagerstown Pike, north of Dunker Church

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3. 3rd Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with private soldier on top and a Maltese Cross on
the side
4. 4th Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite Monument with soldier on top and a Maltese Cross on the side
5. 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry
Boonsboro-Sharpsburg Road
6. 7th Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with private soldier on top
7. 8th Pennsylvania Volunteer Reserves
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 1st Army Corps
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with private soldier on top and a Maltese Cross on
the side
8. 12th Pennsylvania Cavalry
113th of the Line, 4th Cavalry Division
North side of Mansfield Avenue
Granite monument with a soldier on top
9. 28th Pennsylvania Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of National Cemetery
32 pound Columbiad Marker
10. 45th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue

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11. 48th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
12. 50th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Rodman Avenue
13. 51st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
Southeast corner of Burnside Bridge
14. 51st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
15. 100th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps
East side of Branch Avenue
16. 124th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
Intersection of Hagerstown Pike and Starke Avenue
17. 125th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
North side of Confederate Avenue
18. 128th Pennsylvania Infantry
1st Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue
19. 130th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane

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20. 132nd Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry
1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 2nd Army Corps
North side of Bloody Lane

21. 137th Pennsylvania Infantry
1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 6th Army Corps
North side of Cornfield Avenue

K. Texas

State Monument
South side of Cornfield Avenue

L. Vermont

1. Old Vermont Brigade
2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th Infantry Regiments
In a field north of Bloody Lane
2. 1st Vermont Regiment, U.S.
Sharpshooters (Company "F")
National Cemetery
3. 2nd Vermont Regiment, U.S.
Sharpshooters (Companies "E" & "H")
North side of Cornfield Avenue
Granite

II. Monuments and Markers to Individuals

- A. Brigadier General George B. Anderson, C.S.A.
South side of Bloody Lane
Inverted cannon
- B. Clara Barton
North side of Mansfield Avenue
- C. Brigadier General L. O'Brian Branch, C.S.A.
West side of Branch Avenue
Inverted cannon

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- D. Colonel J. H. Childs, U.S.A.
South side of Boonsboro Pike, near Middle Bridge
- E. Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, U.S.A.
East side of Smoketown Road, near Mansfield Avenue
Granite obelisk
- F. Major General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, U.S.A.
100 yards from Smoketown Road along a private lane
Inverted cannon
- G. Sergeant William McKinley, U.S.A.
250 yards southwest of Burnside Bridge
- H. Sergeant William McKinley, U.S.A.
250 yards south of Burnside Bridge
- I. Major General Jesse L. Reno, U.S.A.
Fox's Gap, one mile south of U.S. Alternate Route 40 on South Mountain
- J. Major General Israel B. Richardson, U.S.A.
North side of Bloody Lane, near tower
Inverted cannon
- K. Brigadier General Isaac P. Rodman, U.S.A.
420 yards east of Harpers Ferry Road
Inverted cannon
- L. Brigadier General William E. Starke, C.S.A.
In center of Philadelphia Brigade Park
Inverted cannon
- M. Lieutenant Colonel John Lemuel Stetson, U.S.A.
1-East side of Hagerstown bypass near Koagles Lane
Granite monument
1-Intersection of Smoketown and old Hagerstown Pike

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III. Other Stone Monuments

- A. Lee's Headquarters
North side of Shepherdstown Road
- B. Norfolk and Western Railroad Station Monument
Eight cannons forming a monument - removed as an outdoor exhibit and
presently in storage
- C. Observation Tower
Richardson Avenue
75 foot tall limestone and iron tower
- D. Union Soldier
Center of National Cemetery
42'3" granite monument of a Union soldier, with the inscription,
"Not for Themselves, but for their Country"
- E. War Correspondents Memorial Arch
Crampton's Gap, 10 miles east of Sharpsburg

8 SIGNIFICANCE

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PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
<input type="checkbox"/> PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY PLANNING	<input type="checkbox"/> LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> RELIGION	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONSERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> LAW	<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENCE	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> ECONOMICS	<input type="checkbox"/> LITERATURE	<input type="checkbox"/> SCULPTURE	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MILITARY	<input type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> ART	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEERING	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSIC	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATER	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCE	<input type="checkbox"/> EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> PHILOSOPHY	<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		<input type="checkbox"/> INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES September 16-18, 1862

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Antietam National Battlefield is significant because it was the scene of one of the major battles of the American Civil War and of American history. On September 17, 1862, Union forces under the command of General George B. McClellan met Confederate forces under General Robert E. Lee at Antietam Creek near the village of Sharpsburg in Washington County, Maryland. Fierce close combat fighting ensued resulting in the bloodiest day of the Civil War with over 22,000 casualties. On the night of September 17, both armies fell back exhausted and decimated by terrific losses. No fighting resumed on September 18, and on the night of the 18th, the Army of Northern Virginia retreated across the Potomac back into Virginia. Although no victory could be claimed for either side, McClellan's army did arrest the Confederate invasion into Maryland, spoiling Lee's plans of cutting off Northern supply lines to Washington. Because he chose not to pursue Lee into Virginia, McClellan was criticized severely and was removed as Commander in Chief of the Army of the Potomac by Lincoln on November 7, 1862. Using the expulsion of Lee's army from Maryland as an occasion to achieve a great propaganda victory, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on September 23, 1862, releasing the slaves in the states at war with the Federal government and turning European popular opinion against the Confederacy. Thus, the Civil War was turned into a crusade against slavery as well as a war for the Union. The thin thread of Union "victory" at Antietam gave Lincoln the occasion for this master stroke of political strategy, with its massive implications for American Negroes.

The Battlefield and National Cemetery at Antietam are significant in that they represent an early attempt by Americans to memorialize and commemorate those who fought for their country in the Civil War.

In March 1865, the Maryland legislature appropriated \$15,000 and appointed four trustees to purchase a suitable plot of ground on the Antietam Battlefield for the interment of the remains of the Union soldiers who fell in the battle of Antietam. Additional funds came from Northern states whose troops participated in the battle, totaling about \$70,000. Ground was purchased at the edge of Sharpsburg and enclosed by a substantial stone wall. The work of removing the bodies from the fields where they had hastily been buried after the battle began in October 1866 and was finished in August 1867. Bodies were brought from surrounding towns of Middletown, Frederick, Weverton, Burkittsville, Williamsport, Boonsboro, Funkstown, and Rohrsersville. The cemetery was dedicated on September 17, 1867, with President Andrew Johnson present. In 1880 a forty-

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INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 2

seven foot monument depicting a private soldier was erected in the center of the cemetery. The monument had been designed for the main entrance of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia by James G. Batterson's quarries near Providence, Rhode Island. After the exposition closed in 1878 the statue was taken to Washington and from there it was brought up the C & O Canal to Antietam. It was shipped in two pieces and joined together at the belt. The statue itself minus the pedestal stands twenty-one feet six inches, towering over the cemetery. The number of Civil War bodies buried in the cemetery is 4,759 of which 1,848 are unknown.

Beginning in 1868, annual observations of Decoration Day or Memorial Day were held at the Antietam Cemetery. Observances and veterans reunion were also held on September 17, the anniversary of the battle. For many years afterward Union and Confederate veterans returned to Sharpsburg for these annual ceremonies. An avenue of trees was planted from the Sharpsburg railroad station into town to serve as an avenue for Memorial Day processions. In 1885 General George B. McClellan returned to speak to the Memorial Day gathering and was warmly received by Union and Confederate veterans alike. President Theodore Roosevelt came to the cemetery on September 17, 1903, at the dedication of the New Jersey monument. President Franklin D. Roosevelt came at the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1937.

Beginning in the late 1890's veterans' organizations from the various states began erecting monuments on the battlefield commemorating the regiments engaged in the battle as well as larger state monuments honoring all the military units from a particular state at Antietam. This practice continued heavily through the turn of the century and to a lesser degree down to the 1960's. Some monuments are obelisks, some columns, and some simple markers. The most elaborate were often surmounted with realistically carved statues of Union soldiers in various stances of military preparedness or attack. The Maryland State Monument is an ornate eight sided pavilion supported by columns with a dome and surmounting statue. Cannon mounted in stone with their muzzles pointed downward mark the spots where generals were shot in the battle. There are three regimental monuments in the National Cemetery. There are six cannon to slain generals and 81 monuments scattered throughout the park. All in all they represent a wide sampling of late 19th and early 20th century military memorialization from the period when such monumentation was in its heyday. Most striking artistically are the carved stone statues of young soldiers standing vigilant across the battlefield. Many of these were erected by Pennsylvania regiments. Standing on roadways at the edge of fields they add much to the particular haunting charm of Antietam.

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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 3

Antietam National Battlefield is significant in that the historic scene remains incredibly intact. Some of the woods are gone; some of the roads have been changed. But most of the houses, barns, farm buildings, views and vistas remain much as they were in September of 1862. The most remarkable feature of Antietam which distinguishes it from most other battlefields managed by the National Park Service is the almost perfect integrity of the site. The setting was always rural. The German farmers who owned the farms around the battlefield tended to maintain their antebellum houses and barns in good repair. So far there has been only a minimum of development around Sharpsburg. The farms are still farmed. Corn still grows in Miller's cornfield, where the heaviest fighting took place. The Observation Tower, Cemetery, Cemetery Lodge, and the monuments are obvious additions now historic in their own right. The Hagerstown Pike has been moved slightly and widened. A few modern houses abut the park entrance, and the modern visitors center is an intrusion on the battlefield. But from many views and vistas the visitor gets an almost exact impression of how an American rural landscape appeared over a century ago.

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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER 10 PAGE 2

UTM References

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B. 18 264680 4375220
C. 18 264960 4374920
D. 18 265400 4373760
E. 18 266360 4373060
F. 18 266900 4372990
G. 18 266920 4372830
H. 18 265350 4370710
I. 18 265590 4370050
J. 18 265160 4369090
K. 18 264160 4368820
L. 18 263640 4369130
M. 18 263560 4370490
N. 18 264080 4371410
O. 18 263800 4371530
P. 18 263820 4372250
Q. 18 262960 4372390
R. 18 262360 4374020
S. 18 262560 4374720
T. 18 262480 4370740
U. 18 272730 4364910
V. 18 274665 4372020

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

WA-II-477

- "State Historic Sites Survey," Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis Maryland
- "List of Classified Structures," National Capital Region, National Park Service
- "Antietam," plates XXVIII-XXIX, Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.
- "Map of Antietam," Antietam Battlefield Board, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1904.
- "Antietam, September 17, 1862," Fred Wilder Cross, unpublished manuscript, Antietam NB

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY 3249.63

UTM REFERENCES See Continuation Sheet

A	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING	B	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
C	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING	D	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

See accompanying map

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Gary Scott, Architectural Historian

ORGANIZATION

National Capital Region, National Park Service

DATE

August 20, 1981

STREET & NUMBER

1100 Ohio Drive, S.W.

TELEPHONE

202-426-6660

CITY OR TOWN

Washington, D.C.

STATE

12 CERTIFICATION OF NOMINATION

Not a nomination--documentation of existing register property

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER RECOMMENDATION

YES ___ NO ___ NONE ___

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE

In compliance with Executive Order 11593, I hereby nominate this property to the National Register, certifying that the State Historic Preservation Officer has been allowed 90 days in which to present the nomination to the State Review Board and to evaluate its significance. The evaluated level of significance is ___ National ___ State ___ Local.

FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE SIGNATURE

TITLE

DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST:

DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

Piper Farm
WA-H-0335

Antietam National Battlefield WA - II - 477
Sharpsburg, Washington County, MD
Catoctin Center for Regional Studies,
Frederick Community College
July 2009

Addendum

Number 8 Page 2

Piper Farm (WA - II - 0335)

Daniel Piper purchased this farm in 1846 and operated it with his grown son Henry, who inherited it when his father died in 1854. The Piper family was typical of the region in being both avowed Unionists and slaveholders. In 1850, each man owned a family of slaves: Daniel, five, several of them children; Henry, four, ages six months to 24 years. To accommodate the two slave families, around that time the stone slave quarters were divided into two sections, each with one room, an outside door, and an upper loft. (A second room on the south end of the building was constructed at an unknown date. It has a door on the east elevation and a window on the west elevation, and was used for either additional living space or work space. Around 1912, log wall additions raised the upper story of the building to accommodate its use for housing part of a tenant farmer's family.)

By 1860, there were six slaves on the farm, five of them children, and one sixteen-year-old free black farm hand named John J. One of these slaves, Jeremiah (Jerry) Cornelius Summers, was born on the farm in 1849. Thirteen years old in September 1862, he fled with the Piper family when they abandoned their home as the Confederate army began to set up its line of defense across the farm's fields and orchard in preparation for the Battle of Antietam. During the mid-day phase of the fight on September 17, General Longstreet used the farmhouse as his headquarters.

In April 1864, Summers was at the center of a controversy in the Sharpsburg community. A company of the 19th U.S. Colored Troops headquartered at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Sharpsburg was accused of seizing "diverse colored men, free and slave," including Jeremiah Summers, from the surrounding area to join their ranks. Henry Piper protested that Summers was still a minor and therefore not subject to military service. He retrieved the boy from the church headquarters and returned with him to the farm. The company commander then sent a guard of "eight or more armed colored" troops to arrest Piper. He was released in return for his consent for Summers to rejoin the company. "Almost immediately thereafter" the troops left town. Piper had to go to Frederick to speak with the Provost Marshal before he could get Summers back. The citizens of Sharpsburg and the surrounding area were "aggrieved and outraged" by what they perceived as unauthorized impressment of Summers and by the disrespectful and violent manhandling of Piper during his arrest. At a hastily organized meeting they drafted a petition to Major General Lew Wallace asking for an investigation of the incident.

Piper Farm
WA-II-0335
Antietam National Battlefield
Sharpsburg, Washington County, MD
Catoctin Center for Regional Studies,
Frederick Community College
July 2009

Addendum

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After his emancipation in November 1864, Jerry continued to work and live on the Piper farm, employed by Henry's son Samuel. He testified in support of Piper's claim against the government for compensation for war damage to the farm. Henry Piper had retired to an elegant stone house in nearby Sharpsburg, where he employed Jerry's son, Emory Summers.

In 1924, Fred W. Cross, a visitor to the Antietam Battlefield, took several photographs of Jerry Summers at his home located on Bloody Lane on the northern edge of the Piper farm. Cross described Summers as "the last of the slaves of Sharpsburg," noting, "At Henry Piper's death Jerry was given the use for life of a small cottage and garden plot facing the northerly stretch of the 'Bloody Lane.'"

Jeremiah Cornelius Summers died the following year in 1925 at the age of 76. He was buried in the cemetery of Tolson's Chapel in Sharpsburg.

Piper Farm
WA-H-0335
Antietam National Battlefield
Sharpsburg, Washington County, MD
Catoctin Center for Regional Studies,
Frederick Community College
July 2009

Addendum

Number 9 Page 2

Wallace, Edith B., "Reclaiming Forgotten History: Preserving Rural African-American Resources in Washington County, Maryland" (master's thesis, Goucher College, 2003), 16, 43, 61, 87, 90, 121, 137.

Antietam National Battlefield
WA-II-447 477
Sharpsburg vicinity, Washington County, MD
Catoctin Center for Regional Studies,
Frederick Community College
July 2009

Addendum

Number 8 Page 4

Otto House (WA-II-354)

The Otto House is a typical example of an antebellum farm house in the mid-Maryland region. Deed research has led to the assumption that the main house was built ca. 1790. It remained in the Otto family into the twentieth century and was eventually sold to the National Park Foundation in 1976. It is now held by the National Park Service, and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1981. The house is the only remaining building from the nineteenth century Otto farmstead.

John Otto lived on the 60-acre farm at the time of the Civil War. Located near Burnside's Bridge, the house was used as a refuge by Confederate officers and soldiers immediately prior to the Battle of Antietam. When Rodman's command was repelled by A. P. Hill, their line fell back to the Otto farm. As a result, the house and barn were used as a hospital for Union soldiers during and after the battle.

The farm is also significant due to its association with Hilary Watson, one of the leading freedmen of the area after the civil war. As of 1860, John Otto owned two slaves: 27-year-old Watson, who worked with Otto in the fields, and Watson's 54-year-old mother, who probably worked in the house. The pair lived, in his own words, "in the same house the white people did," most likely in a small room above the kitchen. In a 1915 interview, Watson said that Otto paid him for harvest work and for work he did while hired out to other farmers.

During the Battle of Antietam in September 1862, the farm was first occupied by Confederate soldiers, then Union, and then converted into a temporary hospital after the battle. The Otto family left the farm before the battle started, but Watson stayed to look after the place. He later recalled his encounter with a Confederate soldier:

On Tuesday all the Otto family left and went down country for safety. I stayed on the place. Once I fastened up the house tight and walked up in the field. By and by I had a feelin' that I'd better go back, and I went. I found some one had broke a pane of glass in a window and reached in and took out the nail that kept the sash down. Then he'd raised the window and crawled in. Close by, inside of the room, was a washbench, and he'd set

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Sharpsburg vicinity, Washington County, MD
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a crock of preserves and a crock of flour on it ready to carry away. I took the things and put 'em where they belonged and started on the trail of the thief. It was easy follerin' him, for he left all the doors open which he went through. In the dining-room he'd poured a lot of sugar on a handkercher to take along, and he'd gone into my old boss's room and strewed his papers around over the floor. Next he'd gone upsteps, and I went up 'em, too, and hyar he was in a little pantry. He was a Rebel soldier – a young feller – and not very large. I was skeered, but he was mo' skeered than I was – certainly he was; and I said, "You dirty houn' you, I have a notion to take you and throw you down those steps."

Oh! I could have mashed him, for I saw he had no revolver. He did n't say anything. He left. I reckon I was too big for him.¹

May 1864 saw the first military draft for African Americans in Washington County. Watson, then 32 years old, was drafted, but then exempted after Otto paid the \$300 commutation fee. Years later, a writer researching stories about Civil War sites interviewed Watson, who was still living in Sharpsburg. Watson told the writer "when I was drafted to be a soldier, my boss said, 'Do you want to go?' and I told him, 'No, sir.' So me'n'him went to Frederick and he paid three hundred dollars to keep me out of the army."² No doubt it was a little more complicated than this. Otto must have been reluctant to lose a farm hand during the war, but according to both Watson and the Otto family history, Watson was close to the Otto family.

After his November 1864 emancipation, Watson continued to work on the Otto farm; the 1870 census records him working there as a farm laborer with his wife, Christina, and Adeline Turner, 104 years old.³ In 1872, he purchased a lot on High Street in Sharpsburg, where he built a log house for himself and his wife, Christina. Watson was one of the leading members of Sharpsburg's African-American community. He was instrumental in the building of Tolson's Chapel in 1866, and served as a trustee for several years after its construction. And in 1899, the

¹ Clifton Johnson, *Battleground Adventures: The Stories of Dwellers on the Scenes of Conflict in Some of the Most Notable Battles of the Civil War* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 106.

² *Ibid.*, 105.

³ *United States Federal Census Records*: 1870, District 1, Washington County, Maryland.

Antietam National Battlefield
WA-II-447 477
Sharpsburg vicinity, Washington County, MD
Catoctin Center for Regional Studies,
Frederick Community College
July 2009

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county school board built an African American school (to replace the one that had been meeting in Tolson's Chapel since 1868) next door to Watson's house, where his granddaughter taught. In 1910, he was working as a broom-maker and living with Christina in Sharpsburg.⁴ Watson died on September 20, 1917, at the age of 85, and is buried in the graveyard of Tolson's Chapel.

⁴ *United States Federal Census Records*: 1910, Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland.

Antietam National Battlefield
WA-II-447 477
Sharpsburg vicinity, Washington County, MD
Catoctin Center for Regional Studies,
Frederick Community College
July 2009

Addendum

Number 9 Page 1

Otto Farm, no. MD-943-A; Historic American Building Survey <
<http://memory.loc.gov/pnp/habshaer/md/md1200/md1269/data/md1269.pdf>>.

Edith B. Wallace, "Reclaiming Forgotten History: Preserving Rural African-American Resources in Washington County, Maryland" (master's thesis, Goucher College, 2003), 37, 62-63, 83, 90, 91, 139.

BARN, with exceptions shown, was in its present form in 1862. Roof was hand-made wooden single. Cupolas added 1912.

Loft was logs laid across cross-beams (3 of these are still there). Shocks of wheat were laid on the logs.

Cistern Formerly brick; concrete covered 1900's

wood replaced in doors but hinges, etc., original

date '1820' carved above door.

Fruit-packing Shed (before 1862)

fruit packed in crates
crates out
down

Shed for wagon parking (before 1862)

corn crib

1912 addition

hay

Grainery (storage after threshing)

Stone walk to lower stable doors

← milk cows

← feed box

← grainery

← milk cows

barn yard

← feeding room

← horse barn

no doors

Stone wall (present 1862)

Present in 1862. Much of foundation remains & pieces of press. Said to be just like old Dutch presses in Penna

CIDER PRESS Built 1852 (now destroyed)

corner stone: part remains

"truck"

post & rail

Stone walk to other sheds

lane

corner post still marked

pond

Grape Ar

Pear Tree

gate(s) located in fence - exact position(s) unknown

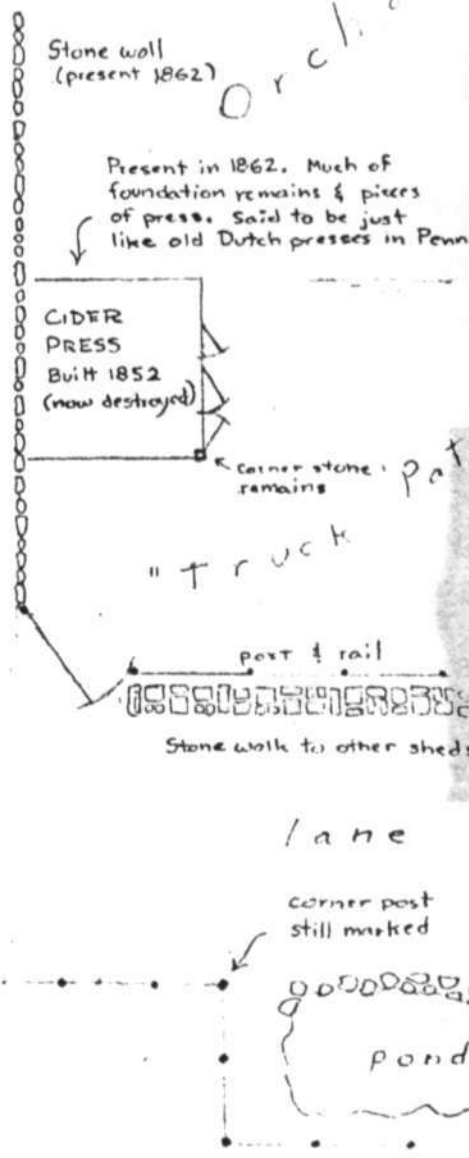
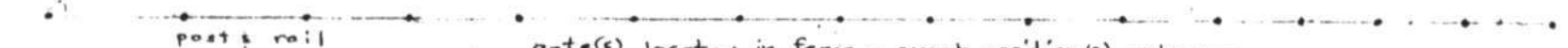
Piper Farm

Hagerstown Pike

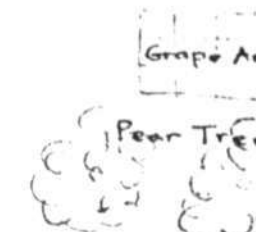
lane

post & rail

WA-II-477

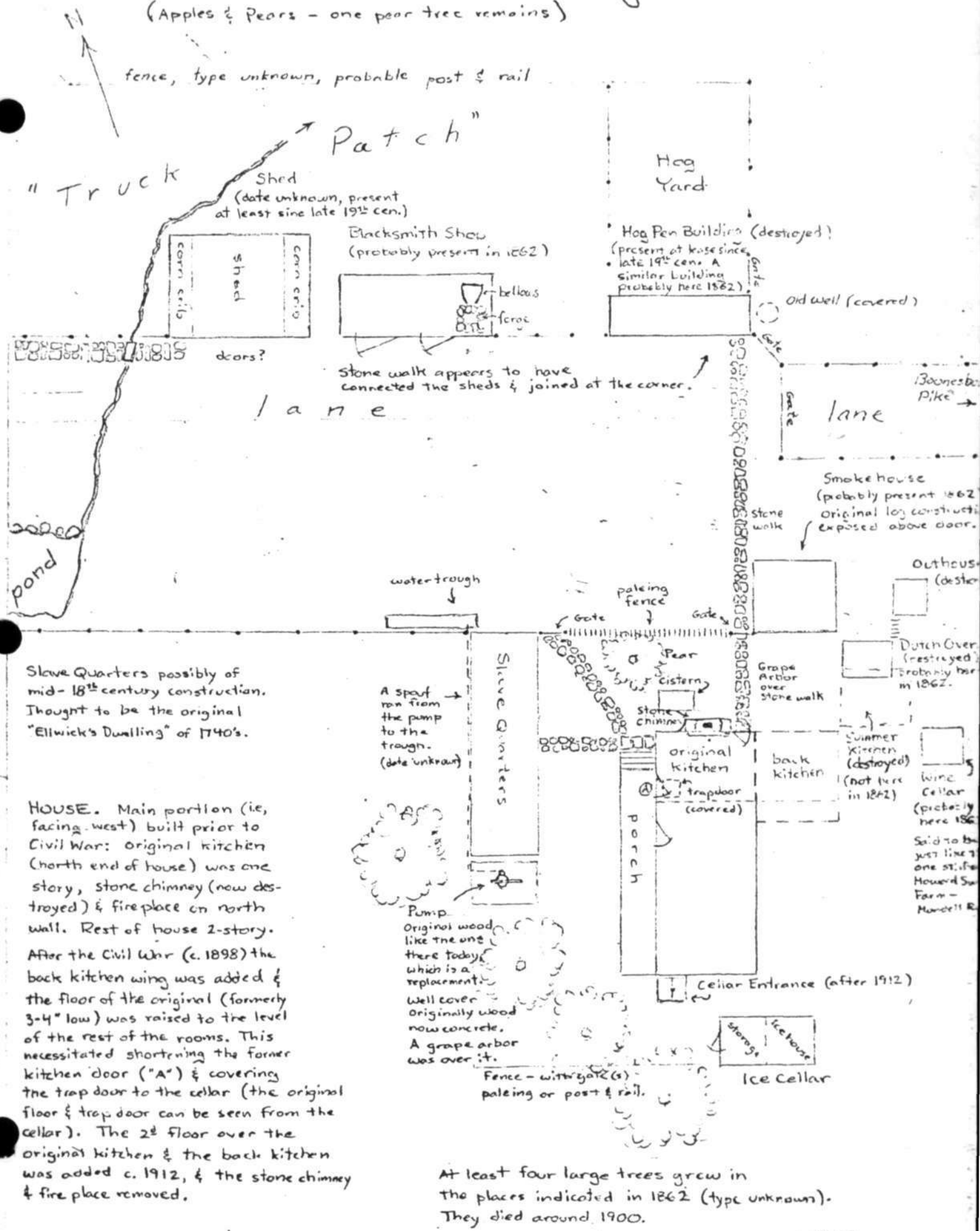


Orchard



O R C H A R D Piper Farm

(Apples & Pears - one pear tree remains)



fence, type unknown, probable post & rail

"Truck" Patch

Shed (date unknown, present at least since late 19th cen.)

Blacksmith Shop (probably present in 1862)

Hog Pen Building (destroyed) (present at base since late 19th cen. A similar building probably here 1862)

corn crib
shed
corn crib

bellows
forge

old well (covered)

doors?

Stone walk appears to have connected the sheds & joined at the corner.

lane

Smoke house (probably present 1862) original log construction exposed above door.

pond

water-trough

Slave Quarters possibly of mid-18th century construction. Thought to be the original "Ellwick's Dwelling" of 1740's.

A spout ran from the pump to the trough. (date unknown)

HOUSE. Main portion (ie, facing west) built prior to Civil War: original kitchen (north end of house) was one story, stone chimney (now destroyed) & fireplace on north wall. Rest of house 2-story.

After the Civil War (c. 1898) the back kitchen wing was added & the floor of the original (formerly 3-4' low) was raised to the level of the rest of the rooms. This necessitated shortening the former kitchen door ("A") & covering the trap door to the cellar (the original floor & trap door can be seen from the cellar). The 2nd floor over the original kitchen & the back kitchen was added c. 1912, & the stone chimney & fireplace removed.

Pump
Original wood like the one there today which is a replacement.
Well cover originally wood now concrete.
A grape arbor was over it.

Cellar Entrance (after 1912)

Fence - with gate(s) paleing or post & rail.

storage
Ice house
Ice Cellar

At least four large trees grew in the places indicated in 1862 (type unknown). They died around 1900.

WA-II-477

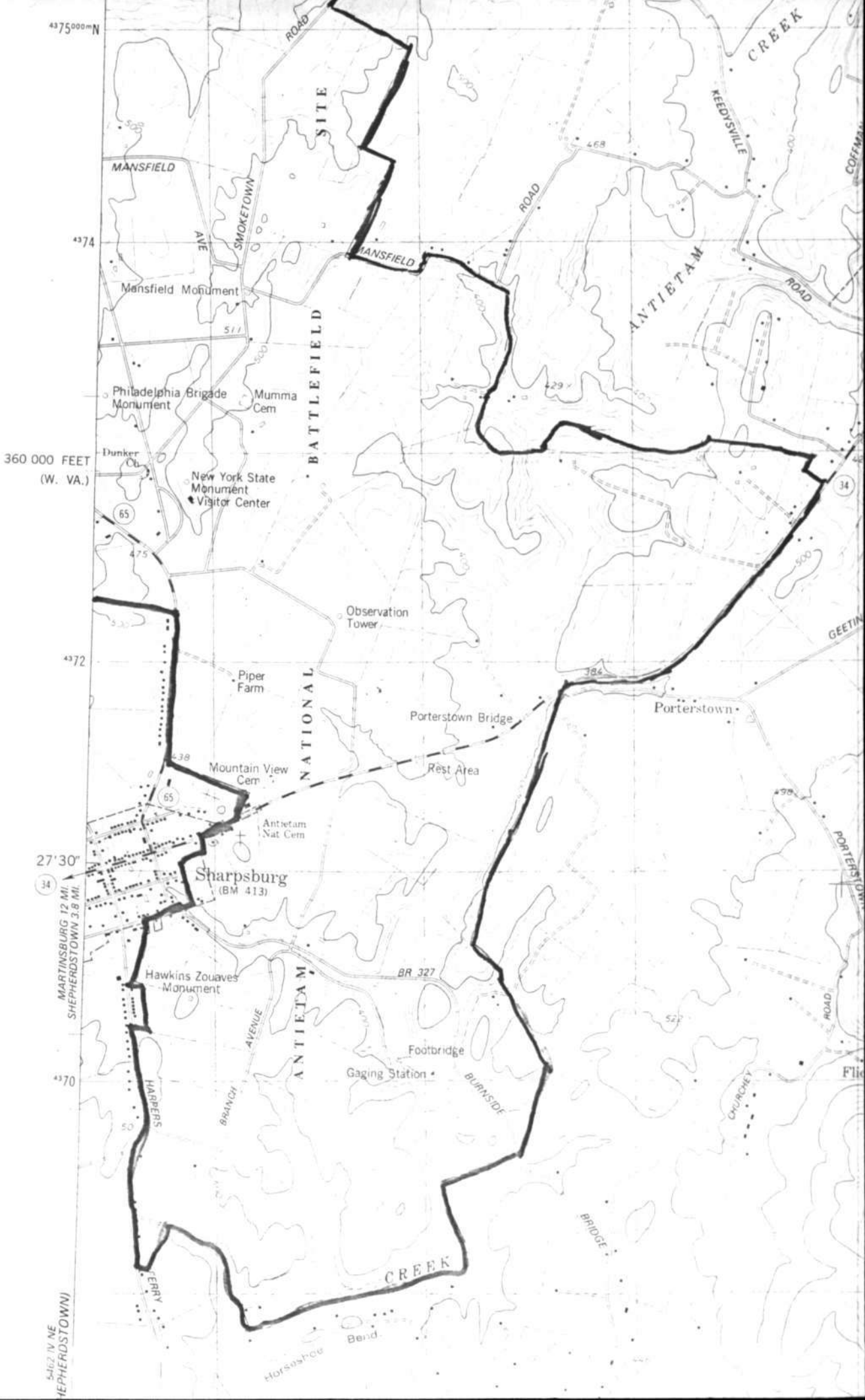
Grantees shall supply the following data on nonfederal match and administrative costs. Documentation should cover the entire fiscal year.

1. Source of Match (express in dollar amounts)	<u>Cash</u>	<u>Donated goods and Services (in-kind)</u>	<u>Donated Property</u>
a. Survey and Planning			
-- Federal			
-- State			
-- County			
-- Municipal			
-- Educational Institution			
-- Private, Non- profit			
-- Commercial Organization			
-- Private			
Totals			
b. Acquisition and Development			
-- Federal			
-- State			
-- County			
-- Municipal			
-- Educational Institution			
-- Private, Non- profit			
-- Commercial Organization			
-- Private			
Totals			

2. Total amount expended in administrative costs for the State historic preservation program in fiscal year 1981, including dollar value of in-kind services and donations. (See Chapter 6, page 12, HPF Grants Management Manual for the definition of administrative costs.)

KEEDYSVILLE, MD. - W.VA.
NW/4 Antietam 15' Quadrangle
N3922.5-W7737.5/7.5

WA-II-477



SHEPHERDSTOWN QUADRANGLE
WEST VIRGINIA—MARYLAND
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)

NE 4 MARTINSBURG 15' QUADRANGLE
BAKERSVILLE 1.3 MI
2 490 000 FEET (W. VA.)

5463 II SW
(FUNKSTOWN)

77°30'

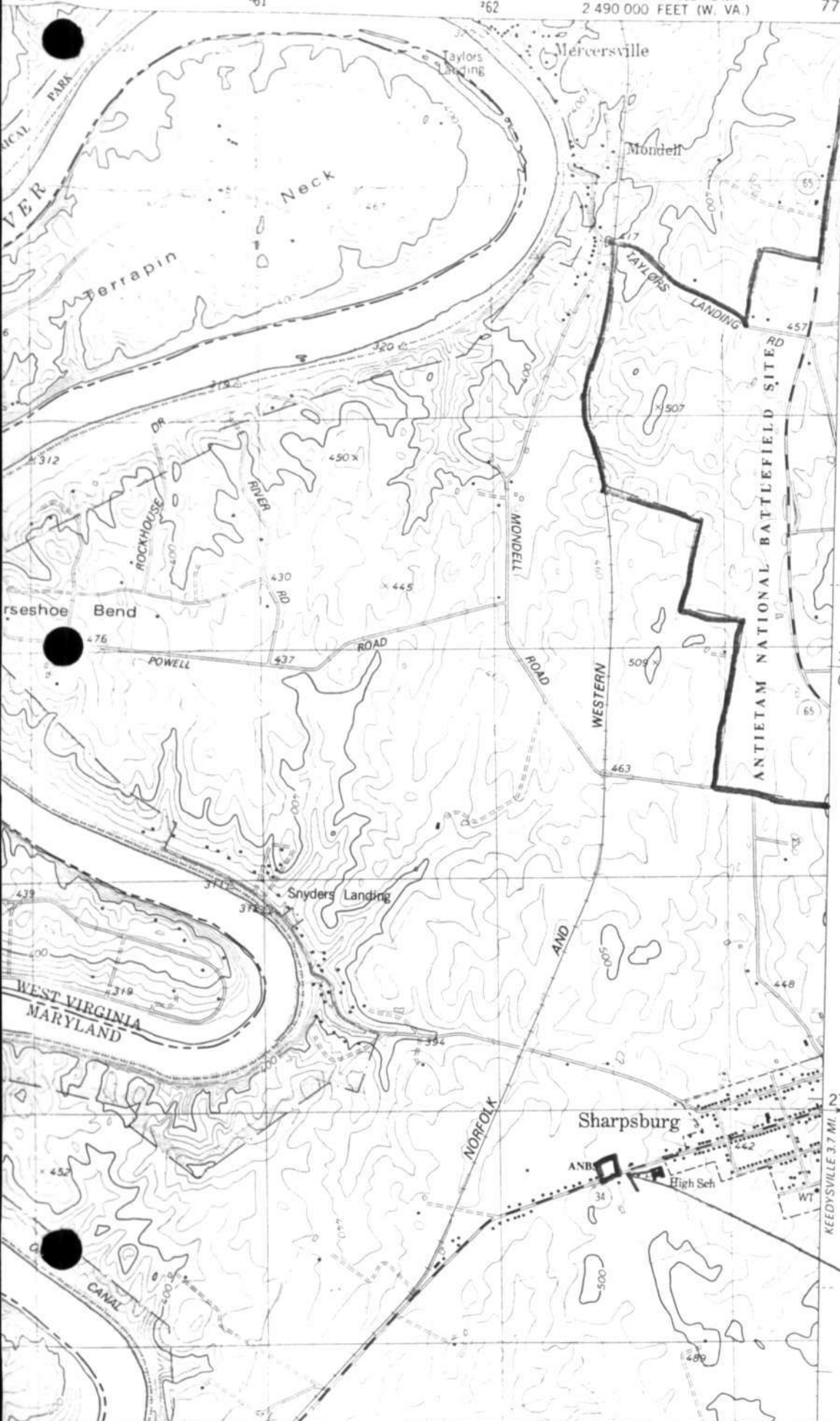
761

762

77°45'

39°30'

WA-II-477



LAPPANS 4.2 MI
HAGERSTOWN 11 MI

360 000 FEET
(W. VA.)

27°30'
KEEDYSVILLE 3.7 MI

R.E. Lee Hqs.
Antietam NB

5463 11 SW
(FUNKSTOWN)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

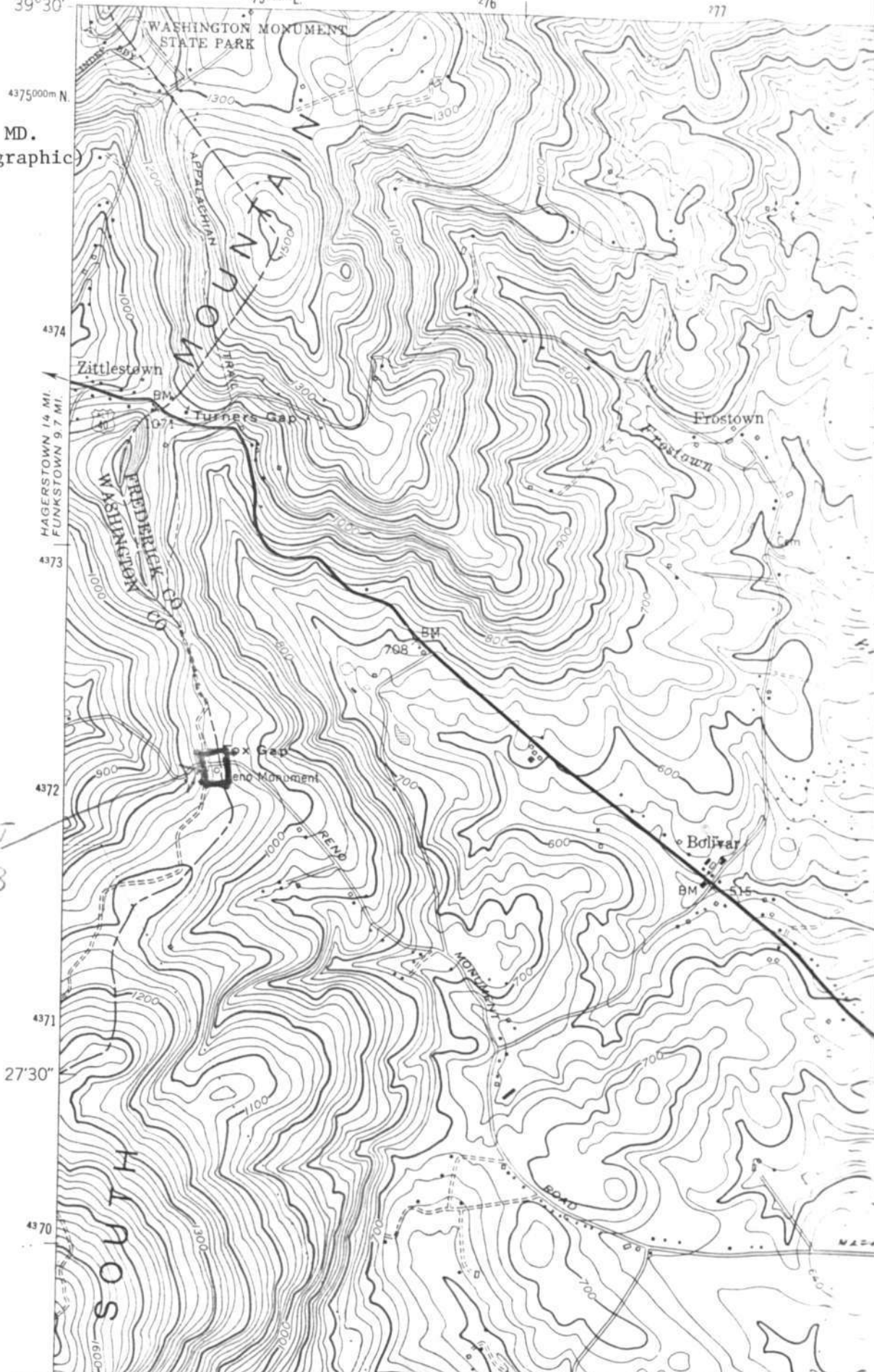


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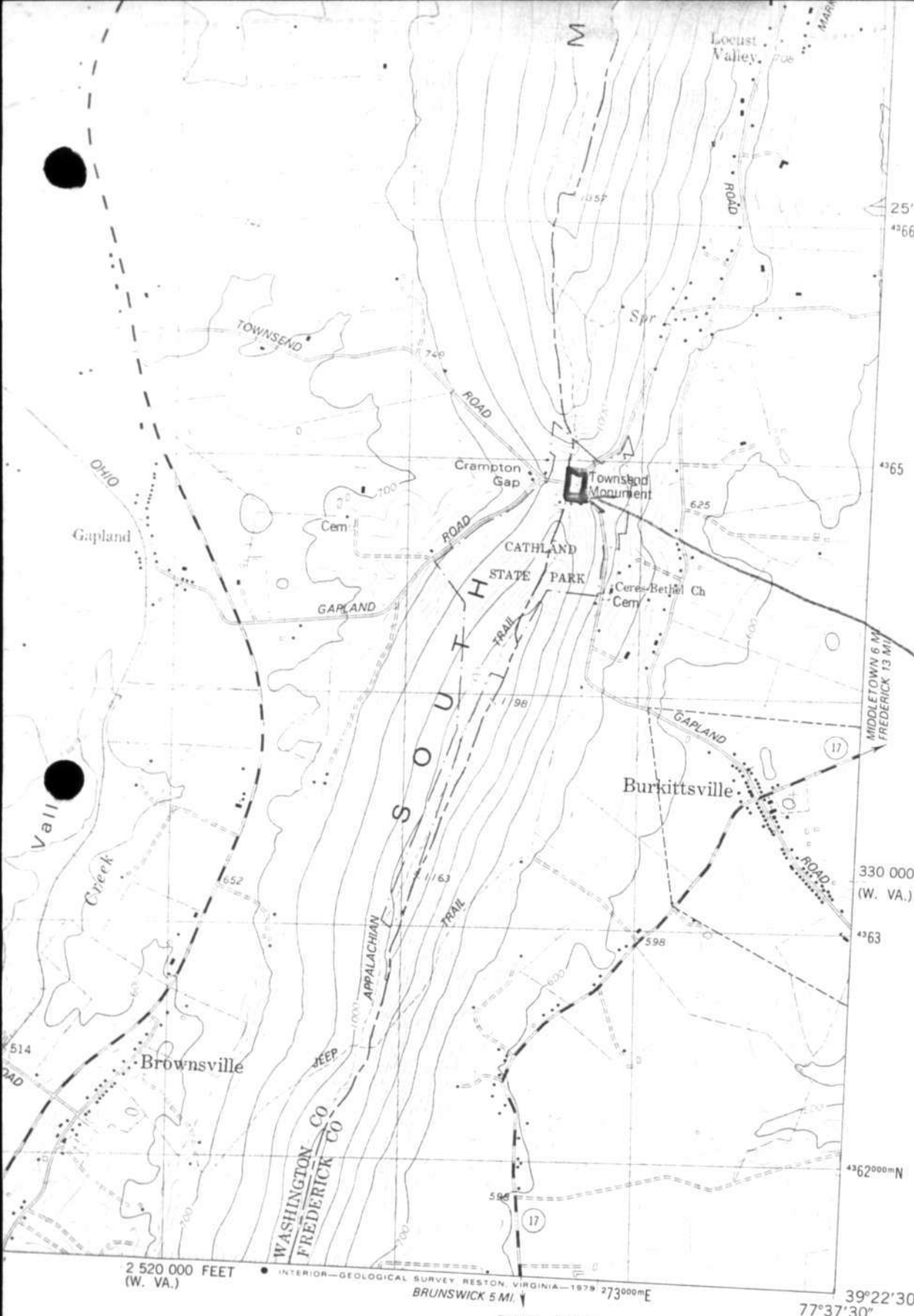
77°37'30" 275,000m E. 276 77
39°30' 4375000m N

MIDDLETOWN QUADRANGLE, MD.
7.5 Minute Series (topographic)
N3922.5 - W7730/7.5



*Reno Monument
Anticline NB*

WA-II-477



War Correspondents Arch Antietam 13

2 520 000 FEET (W. VA.)

INTERIOR—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY RESTON, VIRGINIA—1979 2730000E

BRUNSWICK 5 MI.

39°22'30" 77°37'30"

(POINT OF ROCKS) 5462 / SE

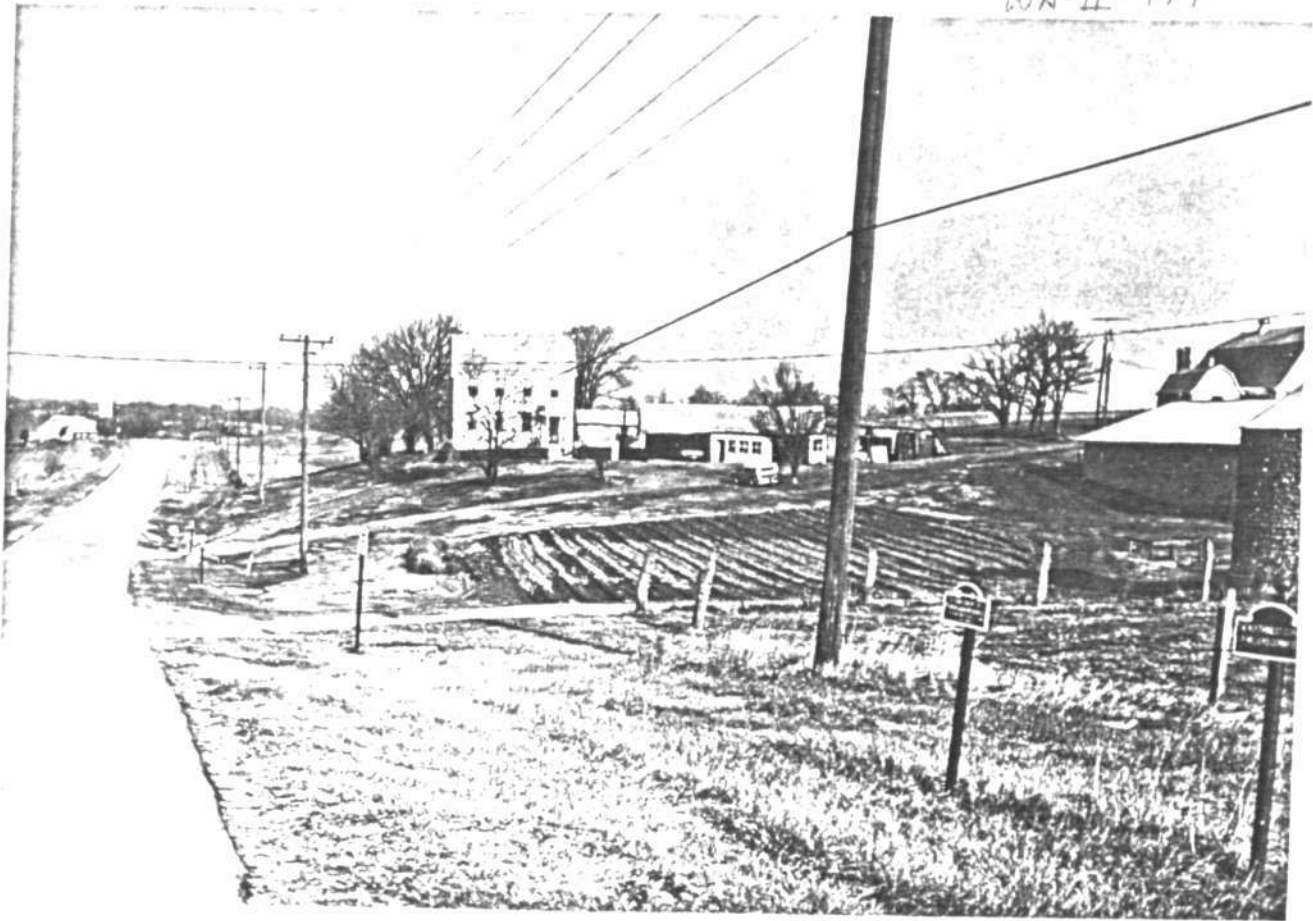
- ROAD CLASSIFICATION
- Primary highway, hard surface
 - Secondary highway, hard surface
 - Light-duty road, hard or improved surface
 - Unimproved road
 - Interstate Route
 - U. S. Route
 - State Route



QUADRANGLE LOCATION

KEEDYSVILLE, MD.—W. VA. N3922.5—W7737.5/7.5
 NW/4 ANTIETAM 15' QUADRANGLE
 N3922.5 W7737.5

WA II-477



WA-II-477



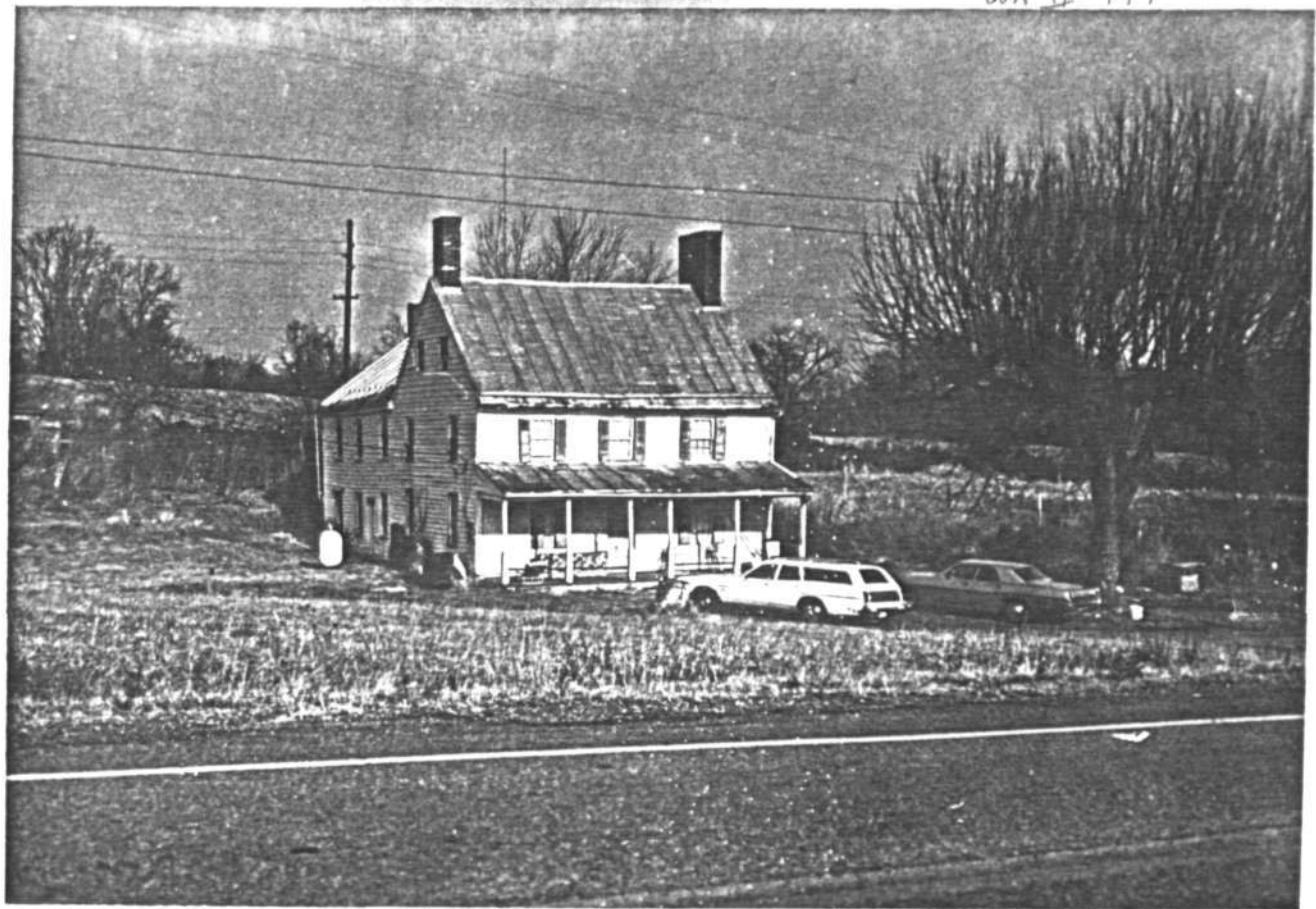
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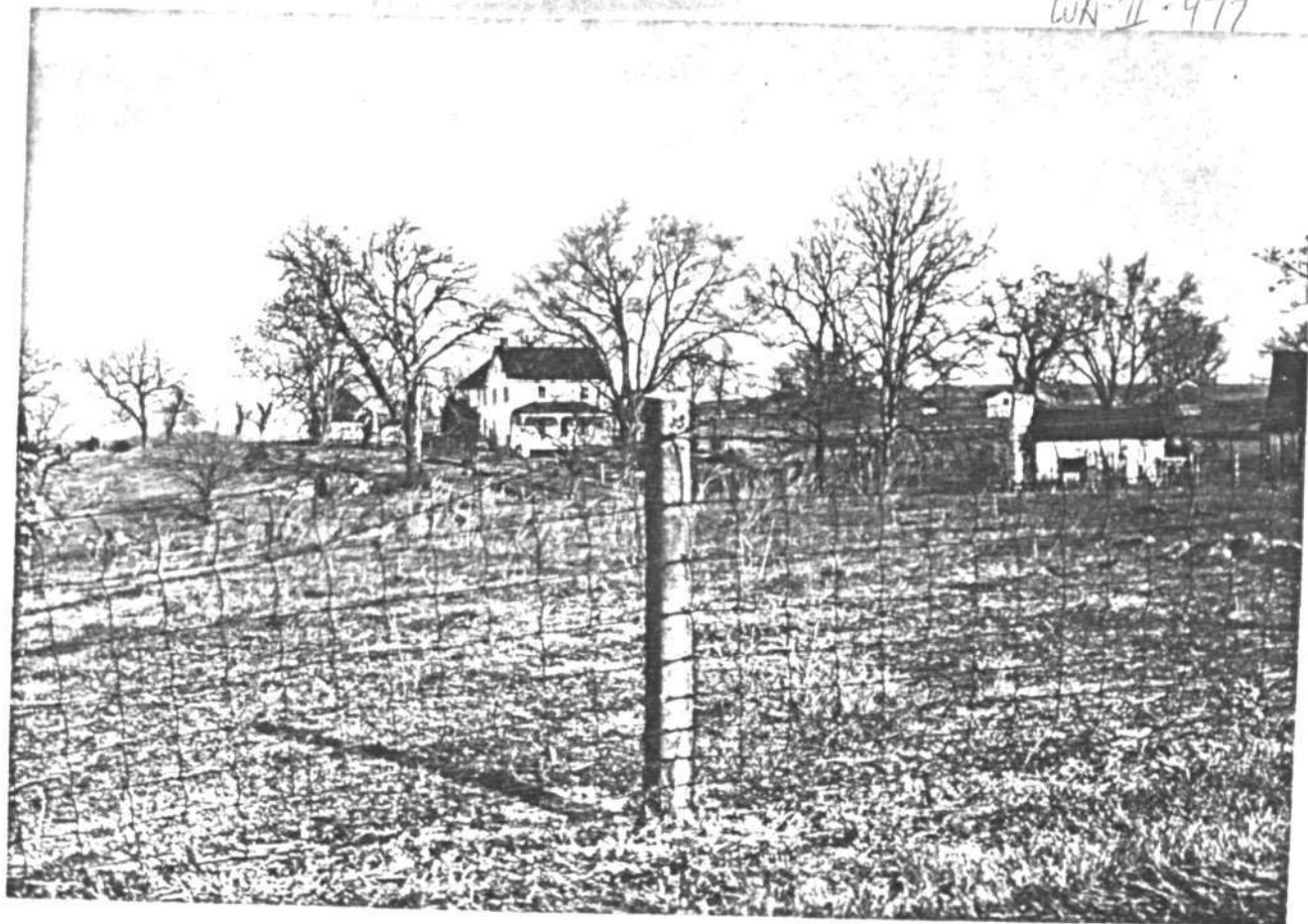
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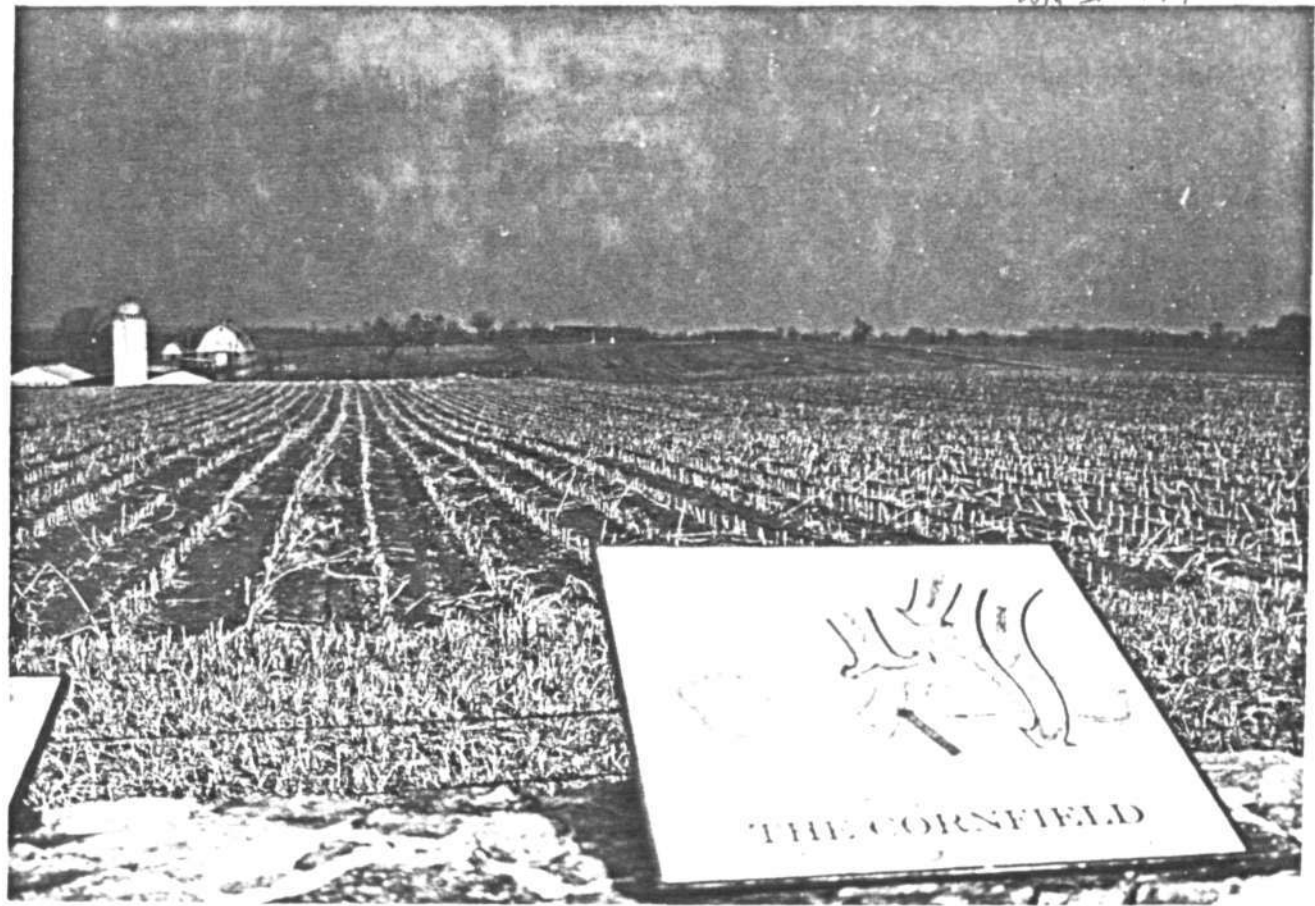
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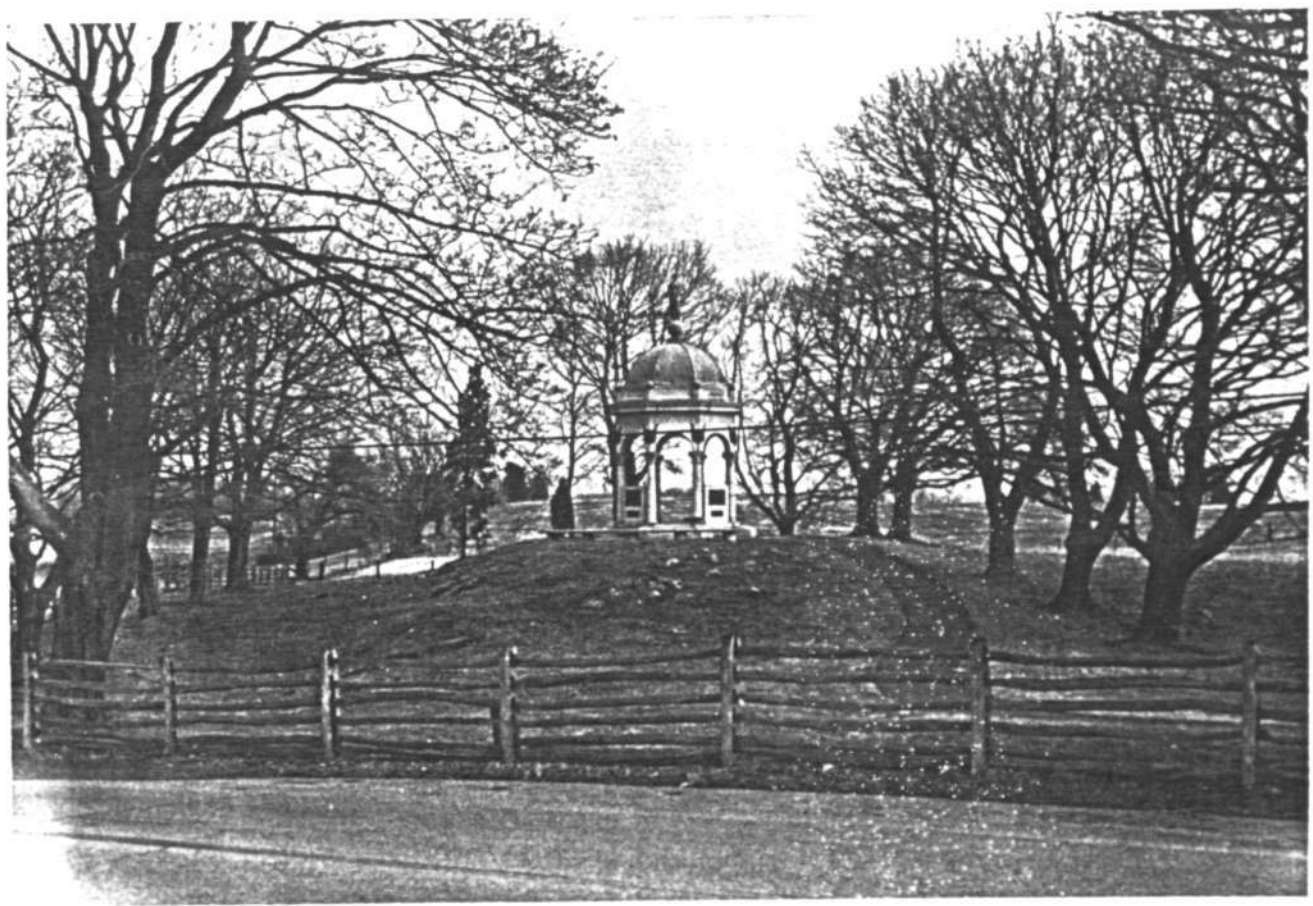
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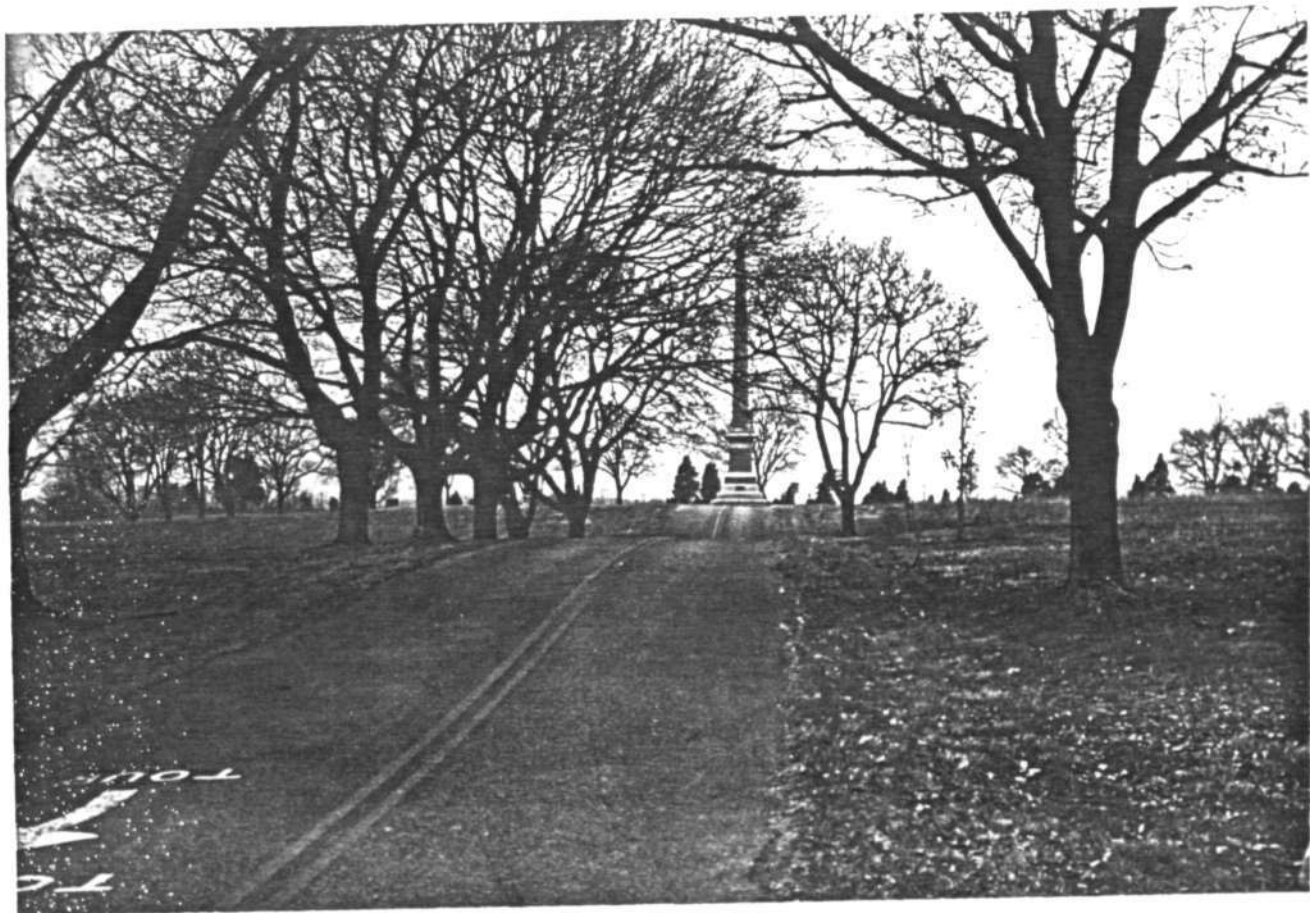
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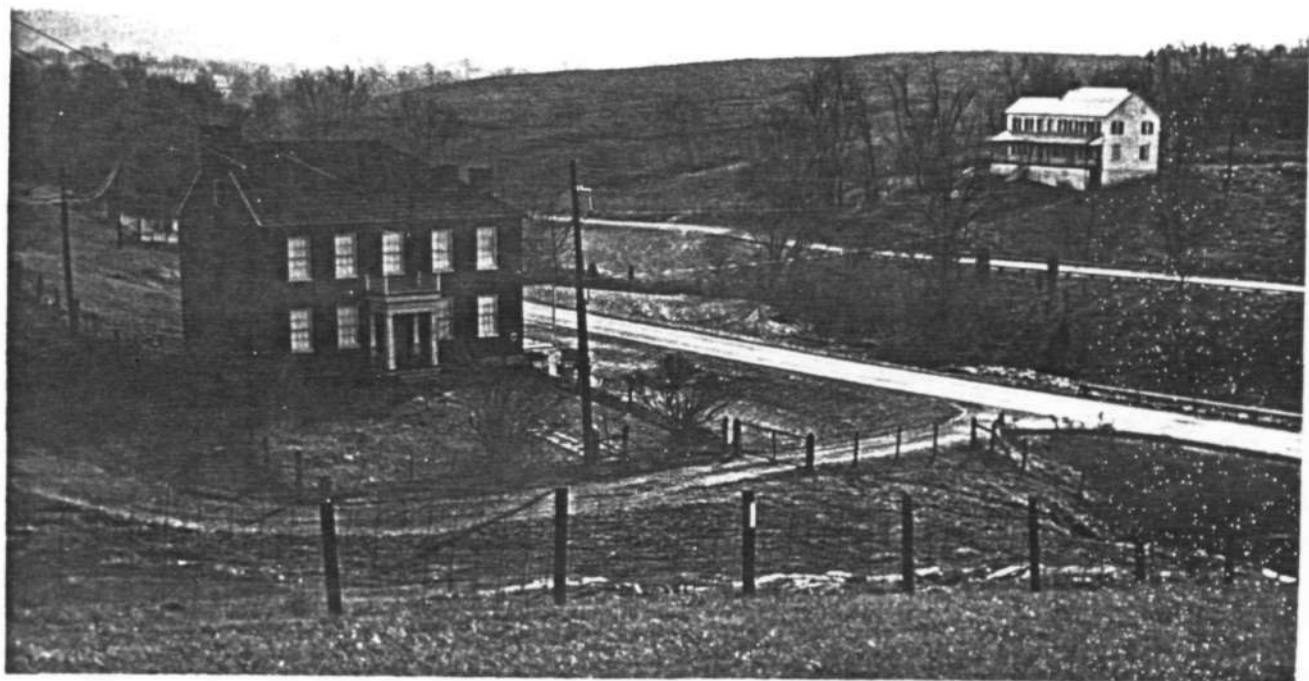
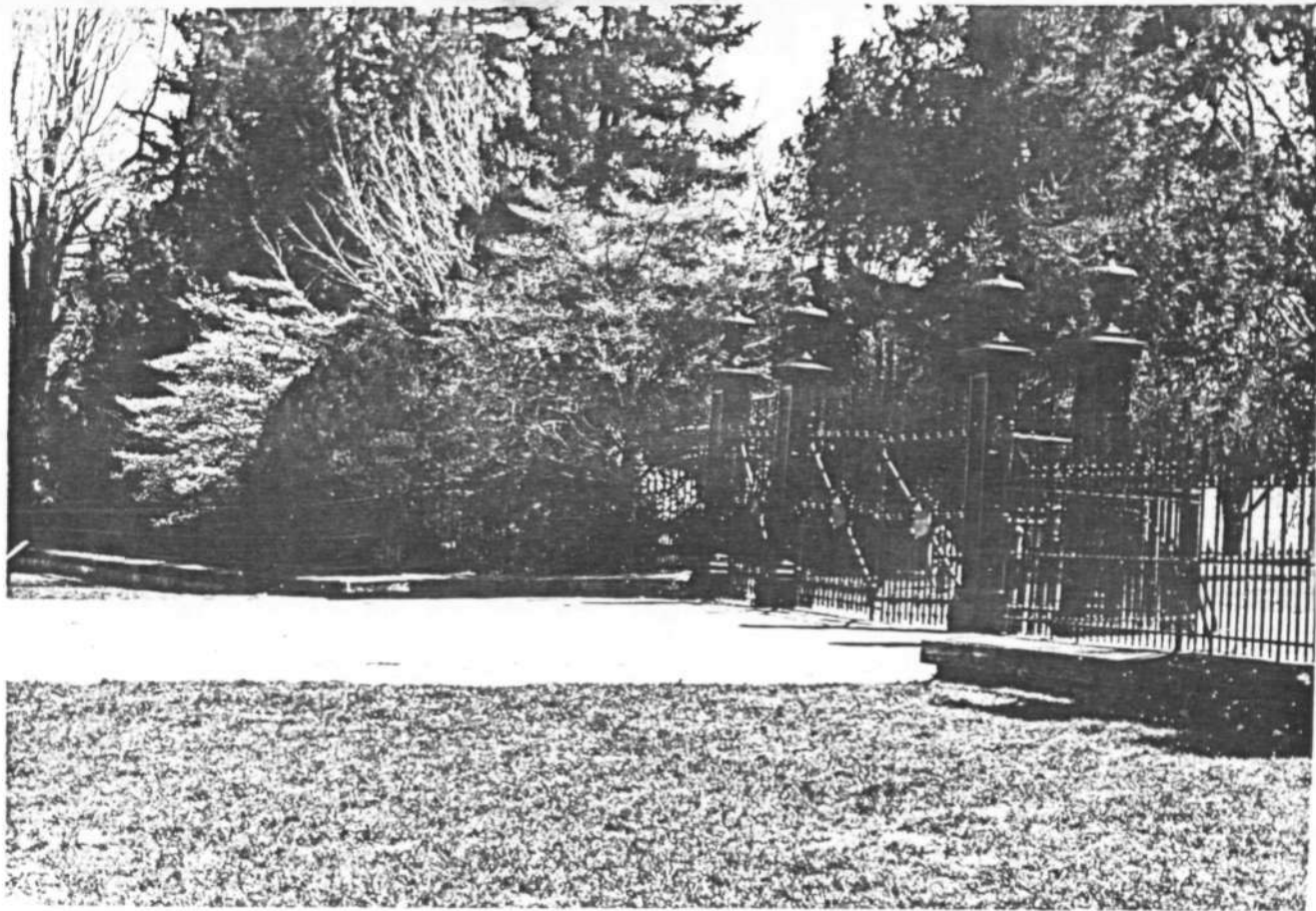


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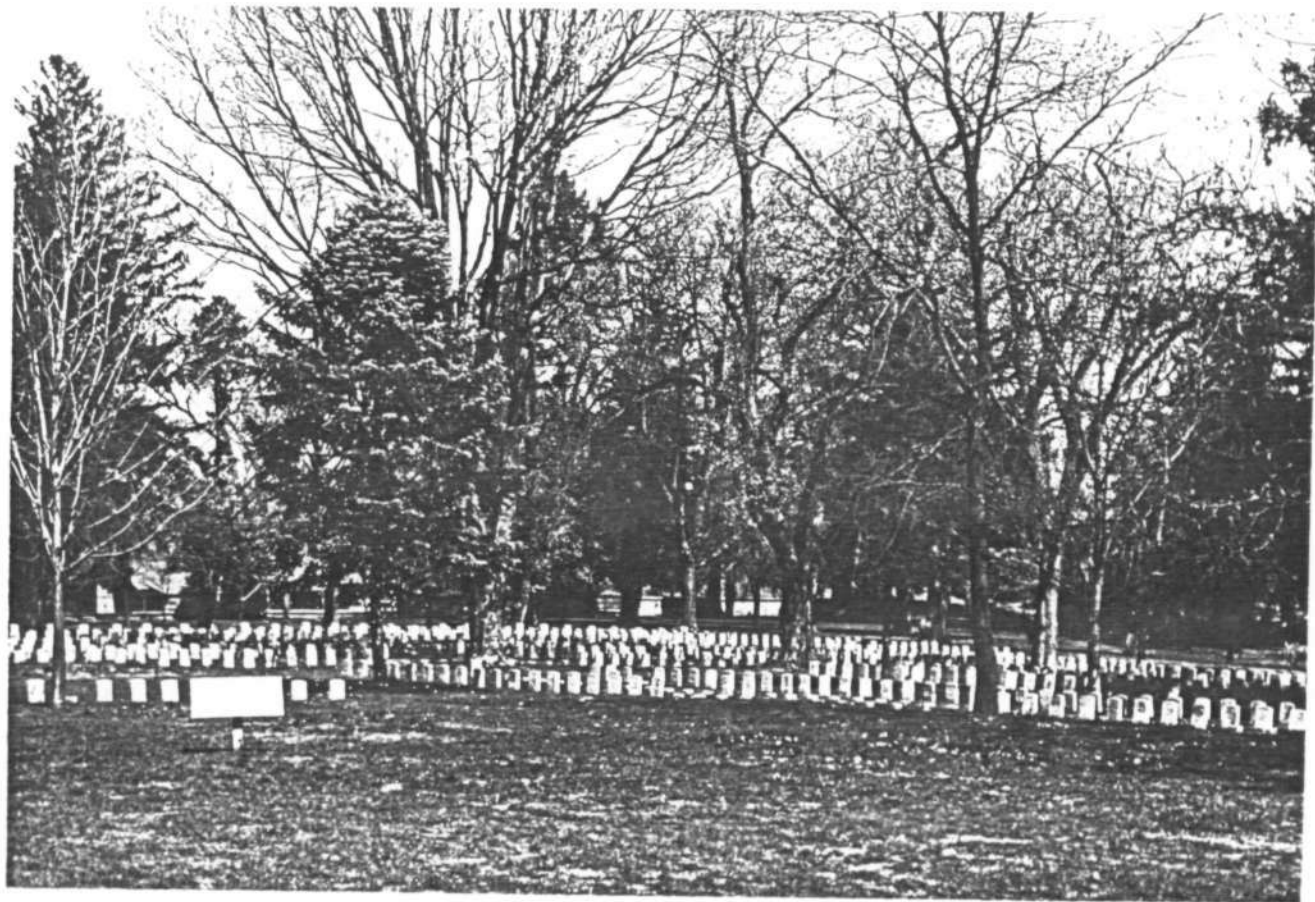
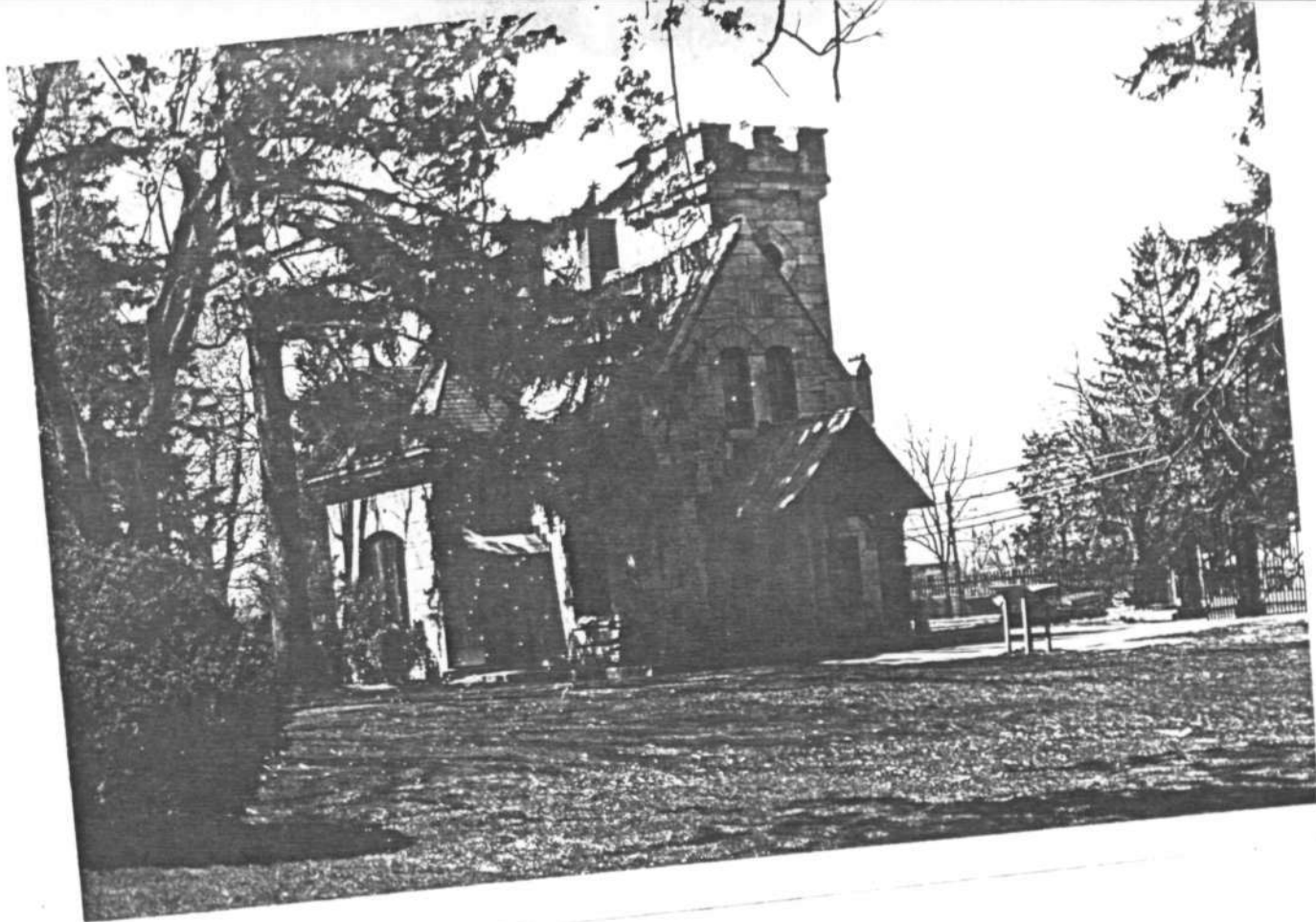


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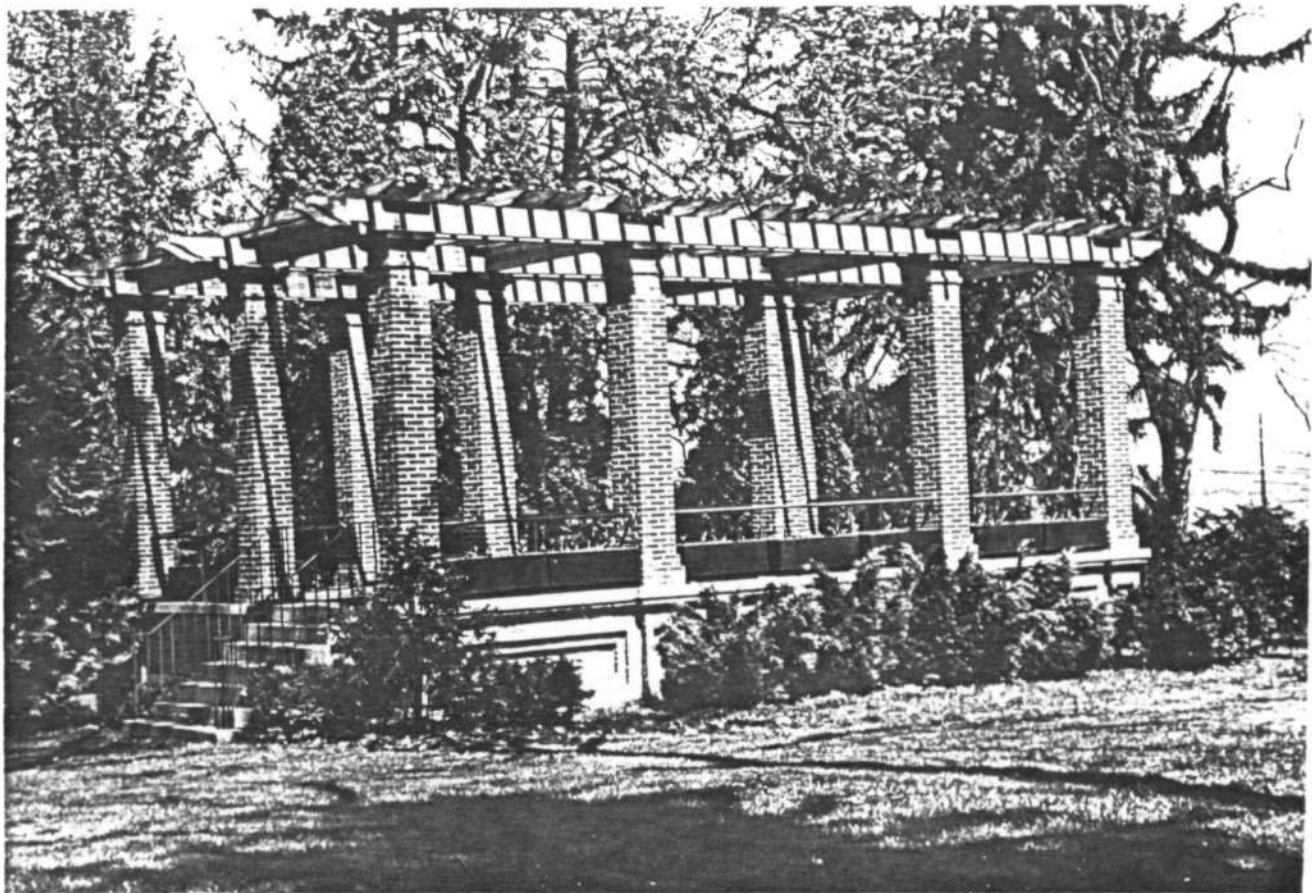
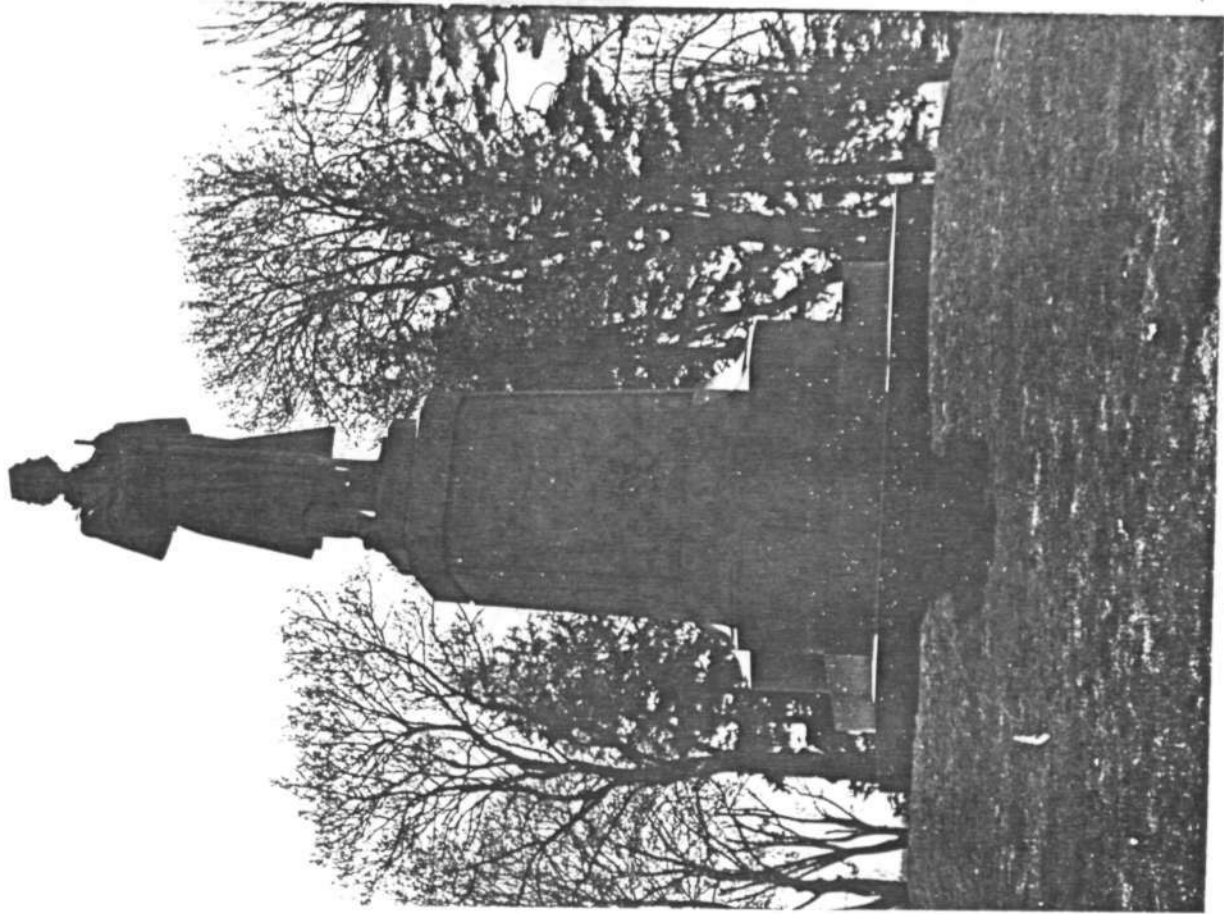




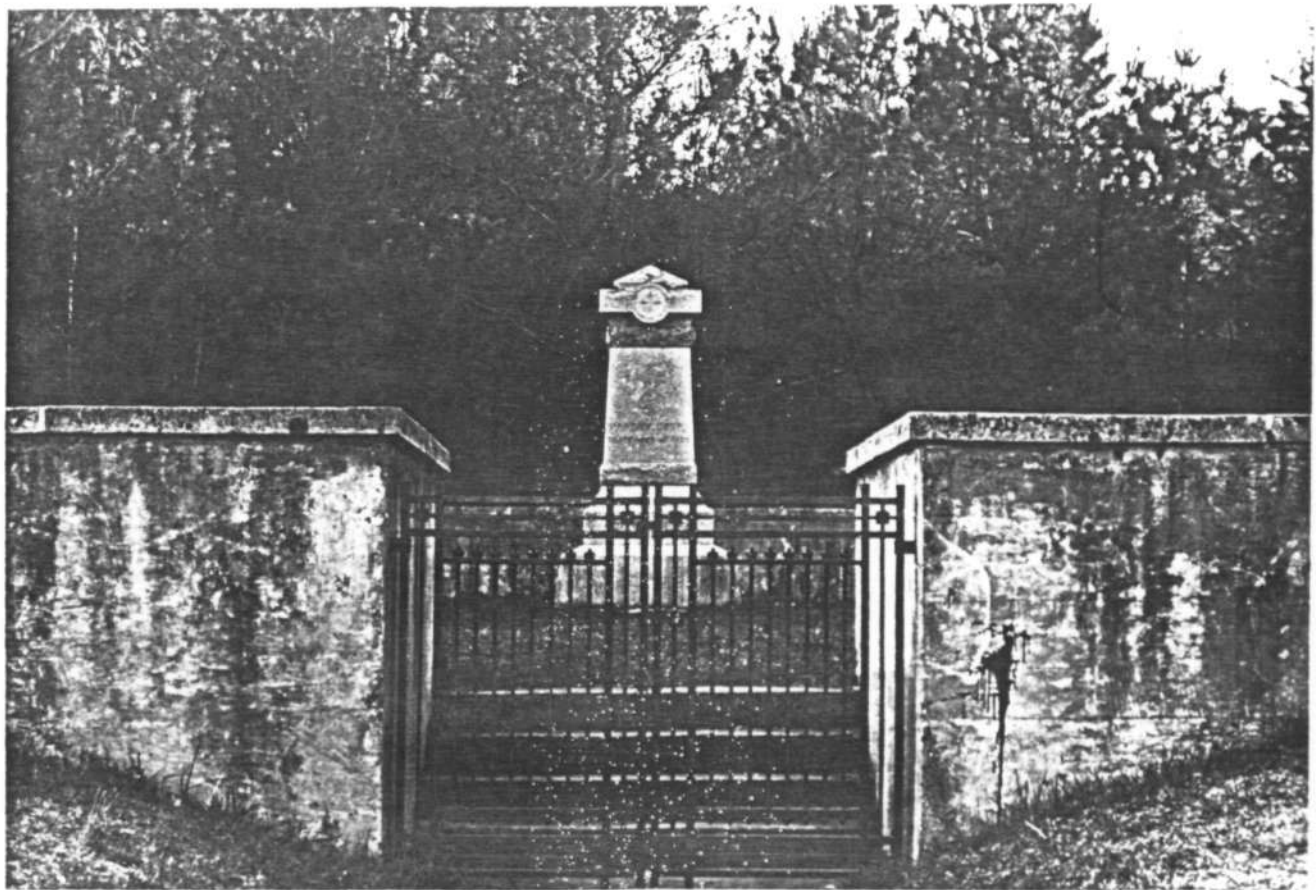
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