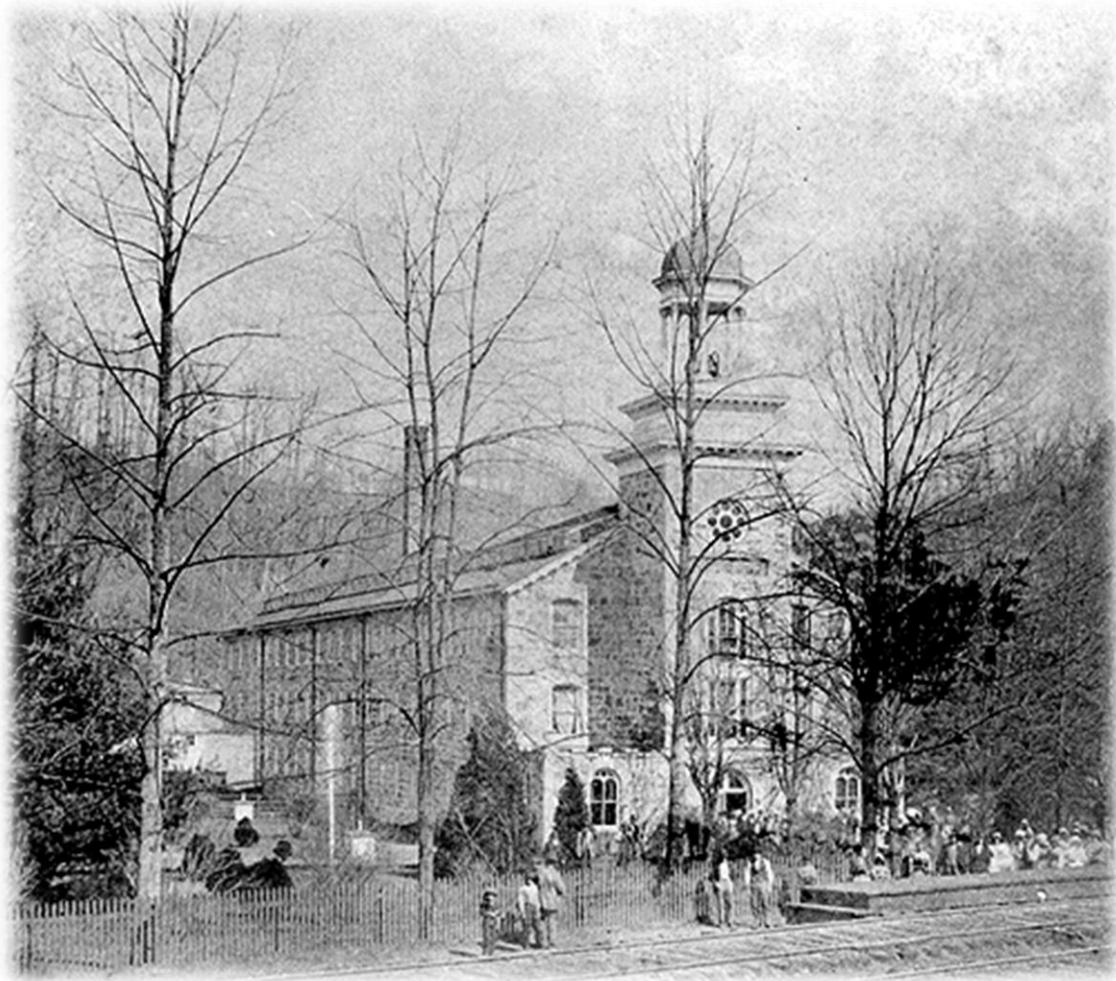


MENDING A FRACTURED LANDSCAPE: BALANCING CULTURE
AND NATURE IN THE VANISHING MILL TOWN OF DANIELS,
MARYLAND



Nancy Q. Pickard
HISP 710/711
University of Maryland
School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation
May 2012

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: MENDING A FRACTURED LANDSCAPE:
BALANCING CULTURE AND NATURE IN
THE VANISHING MILL TOWN OF
DANIELS, MARYLAND

Nancy Quinn Pickard, M.C.P. /M.H.P., 2012

Directed By: Donald W. Linebaugh, Ph.D., Director,
Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

The remnants of historic Daniels Mill provide a fleeting glimpse into the past, to a spot where a community once thrived. The community, which began as the small mill village of Elysville, is representative of the many mills that once flourished in the region during the height of the Industrial Revolution. Located along the Patapsco River, Elysville became one of the earliest railroad communities in the country, as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad passed through town on its route west to Point of Rocks, Maryland. The village was renamed Alberton in 1854, and under strong management grew into a model company town reflecting many of the moral and cultural values of the period. By the end of the twentieth century, however, after major demolition, flooding, and fire, little evidence of the village remains. The few town buildings left standing provide little sense of the once thriving mill village and obscure its historic importance.

The C.R. Daniels Company, which last owned the town and operated the factory, moved from the site in the wake of the devastation left by Hurricane Agnes in 1972. Since that time, the remains of the once cohesive community have been left to deteriorate, and have fractured into three distinct parcels: mill, church, and park. In its effort to extend Patapsco Valley State Park, the Maryland Department of Natural Resources acquired a large portion of the Daniels Mill site, but excluded two parcels containing culturally rich resources. This purchase effectively split the landscape, protecting natural resources to the detriment of cultural resources. In particular, the park parcel contains ruins of company housing and religious structures that have been absorbed into a natural setting under the management of the Department of Natural Resources. Currently valued as a recreational area, the historical values of the site are not acknowledged. The lack of interpretation at Daniels impacts one's sense of the deep cultural heritage of the site, and leads to a consideration of the possible preservation alternatives for the site.

This project examines the fragmented parts of the lost mill town as a cultural landscape, and considers how the conflict between environmental conservation and historic preservation has impacted the site. Additionally, this study explores the existing conditions to determine if management of Daniels Mill, as a cultural landscape or heritage area, would better reconcile the contrasting needs of natural conservation and cultural heritage.

MENDING A FRACTURED LANDSCAPE: BALANCING CULTURE AND
NATURE IN THE VANISHING MILL TOWN OF DANIELS, MARYLAND

By

Nancy Quinn Pickard

Master Final Project submitted to the Faculty of the
Historic Preservation Program of the
School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation,
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Historic
Preservation
2012

Advisory Committee:

Dr. Donald W. Linebaugh, Assoc. Professor,
HISP Director, Chair

Dr. Andréa Livi Smith
Assistant Professor, Department of Historic Preservation
Director, Center for Historic Preservation
University of Mary Washington

Dr. Jennifer Stabler
Archeology Planner Coordinator
M-NCPPC Historic Preservation Section

© Copyright by
[Nancy Quinn Pickard]
[2012]

Dedication

I dedicate this project to the members of my family in recognition of their support, unfailing encouragement, and willingness to explore the park in search of ruins.

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge Dr. Donald Linebaugh, Dr. Andi Levi Smith, and Dr. Jennifer Stabler for their insight and encouragement during the development of this final project. I am especially thankful to Dr. Linebaugh for his guidance and unfailing support throughout this process.

I would also like to extend special thanks to John McGrain, Richard Parsons and Angela Nichols for their assistance. I thank John McGrain for his dedication to compiling and preserving Maryland mill history, and for his willingness to share his personal files. I am indebted to Richard Parsons, and the Baltimore County Public Library for their care and keeping of these historical files and for granting me permission to reprint many of the photographs and prints contained in this document. My thanks go to Angela Nichols for her thoughtful suggestions and careful editing of my final draft.

Finally, I would like to thank my classmates with whom I have shared this journey, for providing inspiration and motivation along the way.

Table of Contents

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Dedication | vi |
| Acknowledgements | vii |
| List of Tables | ix |
| List of Figures | x |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2: Development of the Patapsco River Valley | 9 |
| Topography and Environment | 11 |
| Embargo, Textiles, and the Rise of the Factory | 13 |
| Rise of Transportation Systems | 16 |
| Chapter 3: Elysville/Alberton/Daniels: A Rich Heritage..... | 26 |
| Elysville: Growth of an Industrial Landscape | 29 |
| Alberton: A Model Factory Town | 35 |
| Daniels, A Textile Town in Transition | 57 |
| Chapter 4: Protecting a Natural Resource..... | 71 |
| Maryland State Forestry Program | 74 |
| Patapsco State Forest Reserve 1907 - 1933 | 76 |
| Chapter 5: Preserving a Cultural Landscape..... | 83 |
| Balancing Natural and Cultural Resources | 85 |
| Daniels Mill as a Cultural Landscape | 88 |
| Bibliography | 114 |

List of Tables

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Table 1. Chronology of Daniels Mill..... | 30 |
| Table 2. Chronology of Patapsco Valley State Park..... | 75 |
| Table 3. Implementation Strategies | 106 |

List of Figures

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Figure 1. Map of greater Baltimore area, showing the location of Daniels in relation to Baltimore | 3 |
| Figure 2. Enlarged section of Baltimore Area, indicating the location of Daniels within the green space of Patapsco Valley State Park. | 4 |
| Figure 3. Enlarged section of 1860 Martenet Map of Howard County, showing the mills located along the Patapsco River in both Baltimore and Howard counties in 1860..... | 12 |
| Figure 4. Enlarged section of map by L. Jocobi, C.E., showing the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad..... | 19 |
| Figure 5. Enlarged section of map of City and County of Baltimore, 1850, from original surveys by | 32 |
| Figure 6. Alberton Cotton Factory letterhead showing a B&O Railroad freight train passing the factory, 1868 | 38 |
| Figure 7. A. Hoen lithograph for Alberton Letterhead June 29, 1868..... | 43 |
| Figure 8. Bell tower of Alberton Factory from the late 19 th -century..... | 45 |
| Figure 9. Alberton Cornet Band, circa 1890..... | 48 |
| Figure 10. Late 19 th century photograph of landscaped grounds around the mill | 48 |
| Figure 11. St. Stanislaus Kostka Catholic Church circa 1926 prior to fire..... | 50 |
| Figure 12. Circa 1910 insurance map of Gary Manufacturing Company..... | 53 |
| Figure 13. 1940 town auction, photograph by <i>Baltimore News American</i> | 55 |
| Figure 14. Workers homes on Alberton Road, November 1940 | 56 |
| Figure 15. Aerial view of Gary Memorial Church | 56 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 16. November 27, 1956 aerial view of the C.R. Daniels Cotton Duck Mill Complex at Daniels, Maryland | 59 |
| Figure 17. Mill of C.R. Daniels Company, 1973..... | 60 |
| Figure 18. Frame houses on Baltimore County side of the river, 1968 | 63 |
| Figure 19. Aerial view of C.R. Daniels Plant, taken after Hurricane Agnes, 1972 | 66 |
| Figure 20. Fire at former Daniels Cotton Duck Mill | 69 |
| Figure 21. 1950 Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park | 81 |
| Figure 22. Bird’s eye view of Daniels Mill, May 2012. Showing Alberton Road, the historic mill | 91 |
| Figure 23. Historic structures remaining on Daniels Mill parcel..... | 92 |
| Figure 24. Map showing Daniels Mill parcel and Patapsco River surrounded by parkland..... | 93 |
| Figure 25. Ruins of tenement homes along Alberton Road in Patapsco Valley State Park, March 2010..... | 94 |
| Figure 26. View of standing mill structures from Alberton Road trail..... | 94 |
| Figure 27. Stone bridge abutments from an earlier B&O Railroad alignment | 95 |
| Figure 28. Ruins of tenement homes in park area | 96 |
| Figure 29. Boundary map for Daniels Mill Historic District..... | 96 |
| Figure 30. Daniels Mill from Baltimore County, March 2012..... | 98 |
| Figure 31. Gary Memorial Church and its cemetery | 99 |
| Figure 32. View of Gary Memorial Church within state parkland | 100 |
| Figure 33. The dam at Daniels Mill, March 2012..... | 101 |
| Figure 34. Active railroad tracks leaving Daniels Mill..... | 102 |

Chapter 1: Introduction

Running some 32 miles along the Patapsco River in central Maryland, the Patapsco Valley State Park connects the city of Baltimore to Anne Arundel, Baltimore, and Howard counties, providing acres of green space for area residents (Figure 1). A well-utilized recreation destination, the park provides fishing, boating, picnic and leisure areas, as well as miles of hiking, walking, and horse trails. The verdant and peaceful landscape along the river provides a feeling of escape to an unspoiled natural environment. A hike along the river at the Daniels Area of the Patapsco Valley State Park is a pleasant way to spend an afternoon, enjoy nature, and find some solitude, but few visitors realize they are walking through the remains of a once thriving mill town (Figure 2). Remnants of the town still exist along the trail and ample vestiges of the past appear to the careful observer. The subtle clues to past development and forgotten structures exist in the form of vegetation-covered granite walls, foundations, bridge abutments, and road signs marking once-traveled roads. Along with the deteriorating ruins of a large factory complex and an intact church, these tantalizing objects are what remain of the historic town of Daniels, Maryland, historically known as Elysville and then Alberton Mills. This study provides an overview of the rich heritage of the town, and identifies how the ongoing chasm between natural and cultural resource management has contributed to the rapid decline of the town's rich heritage resources.

Originally developed by the Elysville Manufacturing Company in the 1830s, the mill, located on the Patapsco River and along the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, became an important nineteenth-century textile manufacturing facility

that produced cotton products for more than a century. Like many other mills and textile factories located along the river, the Elysville Manufacturing Company constructed the factory during the early Industrial Revolution with the intention of providing locally manufactured goods. The waterpower provided by the river, along with the vast quantities of local lumber and granite for building, attracted many industries. The construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad through the Patapsco River valley provided connections to new markets and further encouraged industries to situate their operations along the river. Similar in construction and design to other textile mills in the region, the mill at Daniels is representative of the early industrial development of the river valley, and that of the greater Baltimore region.¹

Transitioning from early industry to model mill town to modern factory, the operation of the mill provided nearly continuous employment in the valley for over 130 years. A Maryland Historical Trust survey of Daniels indicates that at one time the industrial village included “stores, a railroad station, a school, and mill workers homes.”² The homes that sheltered workers in Daniels since the 1840s were demolished by the mill owners in 1968 and operations were permanently halted four years later as a result of major flood damage wrought by the effects of Hurricane Agnes. Today, although listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the few surviving structures are deteriorating and little evidence remains of the once flourishing community and industry.

¹ Henry Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley: Cradle of the Industrial Revolution* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2001), 41-74.

² Maryland Historical Trust, “Daniels Mill, Howard County Historic Sites Inventory, HO-27,” <http://www.mdihp.net/>, (accessed September 12, 2011), 3.

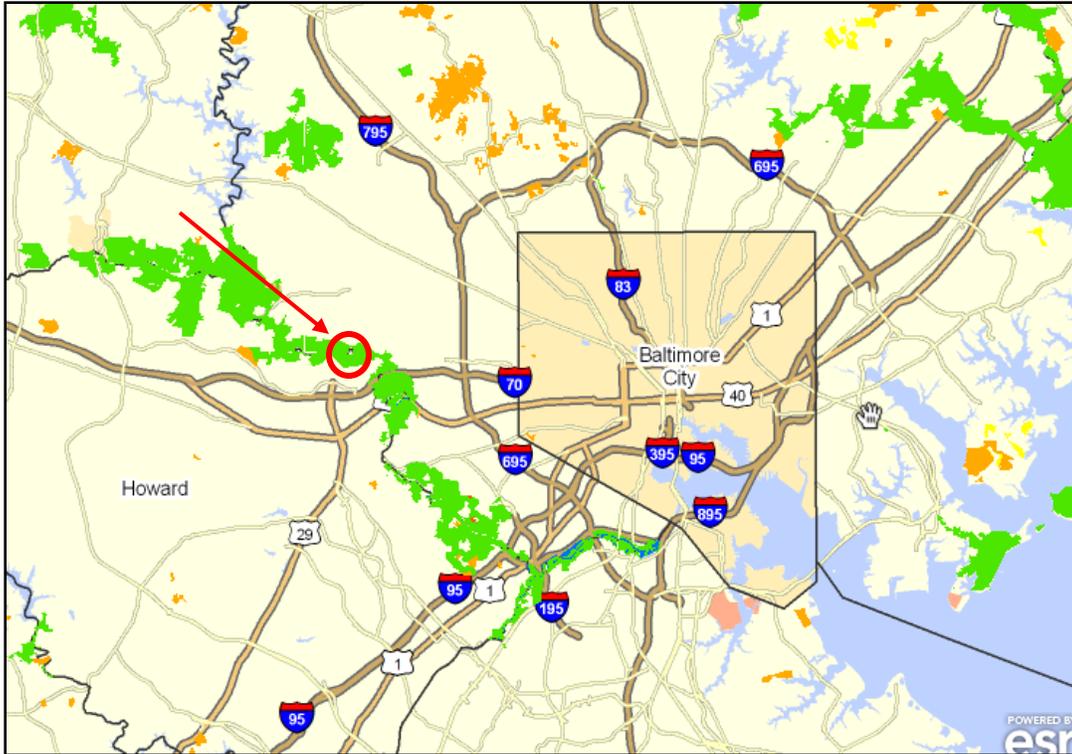


Figure 1. Map of greater Baltimore area, showing the location of Daniels in relation to Baltimore (Maryland Online Mapping).

The former mill village at Daniels is surrounded by acres of parkland and recent residential development. The small parcel of land with the remains of the historic mill contains the only industry still active in this part of the valley. The workers' tenements that once existed along Alberton Road have been reduced to ruins and absorbed along with the roadway itself into a "natural area" of Patapsco Valley State Park. A street sign still exists for Alberton Road; however, it is closed to vehicular traffic and functions as an unimproved pathway for hikers and horseback riders. As was envisioned many years ago in state planning reports, the nature trail here is well used by bikers, hikers, fisherman and even rock climbers who challenge themselves on the steep, rocky hillsides.³ The "Alberton" trail, like many in the park,

³ Department of Natural Resources, *Trail Management Plan, Patapsco Valley State Park, 1998*, <http://www.dnr.state.md.us/irc/docs/00000630.pdf> (accessed November 27, 2011).



Figure 2. Enlarged section of Baltimore Area, indicating the location of Daniels within the green space of Patapsco Valley State Park (Merlin Maryland Online Mapping).

follows the curve of the river. In tracing the river's course it parallels the railroad tracks, meandering past abandoned bridge abutments and huge rock outcroppings. At a significant bend in the river a view of the historic mill emerges from the green landscape, and the rush of the river over the dam can be heard. Prior to 1968, crossing the river here on the old swinging bridge would put residents in the center of town surrounded by clusters of worker's homes, factory buildings, and the town store. With the absence of the old swinging bridge, the only existing route over the river is the active railroad bridge. The bridge provides a link to the main streetscape of the historic village and it is here that the sense of a historic community becomes more evident. Across Daniels Road from the historic mill stands Gary Memorial United Methodist Church, a nineteenth-century gothic revival church and its graveyard, intact but without context. The survival of this one church, a lone remnant of the vanished community, does little to communicate the lost history of Daniels.

The early industrial landscape of Daniels has fragmented in the last forty years and is slowly disappearing into the landscape with each passing season. The distinct areas of the town, which once functioned under a single ownership entity and with similar purpose, now exist in a fractured state; parkland, the church, and light industry exist side by side but lack visible and functional cohesion. The reasons for this divide are multiple and varied; however, differing views on the best use of the land appear to play a role. Industry held control over and developed the valley throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but shifting values and progressive ideas of reform and environmental stewardship ushered in changes in the last century.

The development of Patapsco Valley State Park as a green corridor, linking Baltimore City with the outlying counties, is emblematic of the widespread movement to protect natural resources and create recreational areas. Often lost in movements to protect and reclaim “wilderness” areas are the vital historic resources that provide important linkages to our cultural history. Well-intentioned efforts to clean up watersheds and provide natural recreation areas have led to widespread destruction and abandonment of industrial heritage. In “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” Robert Melnick notes that early parks were often “altered for short-term human enjoyment, satisfaction, and pleasure,” and that parks such as Yosemite gained popular appeal for their “natural splendor to the almost constant exclusion of human history.”⁴ This desire to cultivate “natural” areas extended outside of the national parks, as the rise in the environmental movement brought this conservation ethic to cities and towns. Rebecca Conard further explains

⁴ Robert Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” eds. Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 34.

in “Applied Environmentalism, or Reconciliation Among ‘the Bios’ and ‘the Culturals,’” that after World War II “a brew of enthusiasm for outdoor recreation and concern for the effects of pollutants on human health gave rise to a passion for saving pristine places.”⁵ In their efforts to conserve important places, conservationists and preservationists have often worked against each other rather than in tandem. Recent strides and increased communication in these areas have occurred and the emergence of heritage sites and cultural landscapes point to improved cooperation. The formation of the National Heritage Area program in the 1980s exemplifies these changes and according to Charles Roe; represented “an increased interest in urban cultural and industrial resource protection, and, in some instances, a convergence of interest between historic preservation and land conservation interests.”⁶ Thus, examining the Daniels historic site as a cultural landscape creates an opportunity to bridge the divide between natural and cultural resource protection.

This paper seeks to examine the history, heritage, and significance of the Daniels site and consider how the conflicting goals of natural and heritage conservation can be jointly realized. The industrial and cultural heritage of the site is presented here, along with an exploration of the development of Patapsco Valley State Park, an evaluation of the current condition of the landscape, and possible strategies for improved interpretation and integrated site management. An interpretive plan for the cultural landscape of the mill and community on the river would be ideal and this paper considers whether such an interpretation can be accomplished. The

⁵ Rebecca Conard, “Applied Environmentalism, or Reconciliation Among ‘the Bios’ and ‘the Culturals,’” *The Public Historian* 23, no. 2 (Spring 2011), 13.

⁶ Charles Roe, “The Natural Environment,” in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Robert Stipe (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 243.

past plans and actions of the state and the Department of Natural Resources have not valued the history or cultural heritage at Daniels, yet it is possible that developing the cultural landscape would also enhance the value of the recreational amenities.

The study begins with an introduction to the Patapsco River valley and provides an overview of the significant natural environment that exists in this part of Maryland. The river has played a central role in the development of the region, and the rich resources of the land contributed to the rise of industry at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Chapter Two provides an overview of the history and development of the Patapsco River valley, and the growth of textile manufacturing in the Baltimore area. The significance of the region as a center of commerce and industry provides historical context for the development of Elysville, later Daniels, as an early industrial landscape. Chapter Three presents the history of the mill and the community that grew to be the town of Daniels. Tracing the development of the town introduces the significant periods of development, and provides an understanding of the rich cultural heritage that is endangered at Daniels Mill. The narrative history of this section divides the growth of the town into three significant periods: Elysville, an early industrial landscape; Alberton, a model company town; and Daniels, a textile town in transition. Chapter Four explores the rise of scientific forestry in Maryland and the history of the Patapsco Valley State Park. The parallel development of the park and forest areas along the Patapsco River during the 1900s was representative of a larger shift toward environmental conservation and the protection of natural resources. A discussion of the conflict between natural and cultural resource protection is provided in Chapter Five, along with an examination of the current

landscape features present at Daniels Mill. The study concludes with an evaluation of the site as a cultural landscape and presents recommendations for preserving the site to better integrate all of the available resources.

Chapter 2: Development of the Patapsco River Valley

Introduction

The Patapsco River has played a central role in the history of Daniels, the growth of industry in the valley, and the development of the Patapsco Valley State Park. While not considered a large or powerful river, the Patapsco River's location near Baltimore has assured it hundreds of years of active use and earned it a place in national history. In *The Patapsco: Baltimore's River of History*, Paul Travers explains, "Patapsco's size belies the enormous historical value of the river" for between the late 1700s and the late 1800s, "the river witnessed the development of America into an industrial and military power."⁷ The beauty and dramatic landscape of the river gorge drew the attention of local residents and travelers, and the waterpower provided through the natural fall of the river has facilitated commerce throughout the valley. Explored in the spring of 1608 by Captain John Smith, the river was used by early colonists as a shipping channel that allowed for inland navigation to Elkridge Landing. As early farmers pushed westward seeking fertile lands, the river provided essential waterways to connect merchants and farmers. The rich and fertile lands south and west of the Patapsco River were attractive to tobacco farmers and large farms dotted the landscape.⁸ The rocky lands of the Patapsco Valley were also found to be rich in iron and stone, and this along with the abundant waterpower attracted small mills and iron works to the river.⁹

⁷ Paul Travers, *The Patapsco: Baltimore's River of History* (Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1990), xii.

⁸ Travers, *The Patapsco*, 4-5.

⁹ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 29.

The arrival of the Ellicott brothers, in 1772, well educated young Quakers from Pennsylvania, ushered in a period of mechanization and industrial growth along the Patapsco. The success of the Ellicotts along with the transportation networks they established, and the abundant natural resources of the valley, attracted larger mills and factories to the region at the start of the Industrial Revolution. With the Embargo Act of 1807, wealthy Baltimore civic leaders and merchants recognized the need to establish manufactories in the United States, and they sought to construct large textile operations in the Baltimore region. The first of these was Union Manufacturing Company, which in November 1808 became the first manufacturing enterprise to be incorporated in the state of Maryland. Union Manufacturing Company obtained a charter for the “manufacture of textile and woolen goods” and constructed a mill site immediately upriver from the Ellicotts’ mills. The success of Union Manufacturing Company and the arrival of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1831 attracted additional industry, so that by 1840, at least five textile mills were operating on the banks of the Patapsco River (Figure 3).¹⁰ Political connections, technological advancements, growing transportation networks, the topography and contour of the land, as well as the power of the river, all played a role in attracting industry to the idyllic Patapsco Valley. The national rush to establish trade routes to the west further attracted industry as Baltimore merchants invested heavily in the creation of canals and railways to link their ports and products with markets to the west. It was in this

¹⁰ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 41-49; Travers, *The Patapsco*, 67-85; John McGrain, *Molinography of Maryland Mills*, Maryland State Archives, Special Collections No. 4300, Annapolis. Textile Mills include Thistle Mills at Ilchester, Patapsco Mills, Granite Mills, Union Manufacturing Company, and Elysville Manufacturing Company.

environment that the Ely brothers, early industrialists, first purchased land and subsequently incorporated the Ely Manufacturing Company.

Topography and Environment

The town of Daniels is sited along the Patapsco River in a deep river gorge. The fall and bend of the river at this location are extreme, creating a unique physical environment ideal for industrial development. The fall line in Maryland runs diagonally from Delaware, through Baltimore and southwest toward Washington, D.C. It is here that the waters of the Patapsco River fall as they flow from the Central Piedmont to the Lower Coastal Plain. The river drops 300 feet in elevation from the town of Woodstock to Elkridge in the south.¹¹ Historically the river had a dramatic and rushing fall that today has been greatly reduced due to erosion, silting, and the construction of numerous dams. The river itself has cut a deep gorge into the rock layers, and is described as a “steep, rocky, river canyon” that has been uniquely formed by the water “cutting through the crystalline base” and exposing layers of granite and other rock.¹² The major fall in the river at Elysville provided the power for early industry. The deep gorge created a dramatic scene, but also limited the expansion of the town and contributed to its isolation. Granite outcrops and large timber stands made the area attractive to early industrialists seeking building materials but also attracted the attention of the Board of Forestry in the 1900s.

¹¹ Travers, *The Patapsco*, 10.

¹² Travers, *The Patapsco*, 10.



Figure 3. Enlarged section of 1860 Martenet Map of Howard County, showing the mills located along the Patapsco River in both Baltimore and Howard counties in 1860. Alberton is the first textile factory to the north, the others downriver are: Union Factory, Granite Factory, E. Gray's Factory, and Thistle Factory (Courtesy of American Memory Collection, Library of Congress).

The fertile lands of the Piedmont, abundant vegetation of the valley, rich mineral deposits and waterpower provided by the fall of the river attracted early settlers to this region. Development along rivers and streams was promoted by the Maryland Legislature, and under the Maryland Mill Act of 1669, any man constructing a mill seat could obtain lands, on either side of the colony's rivers, to develop and hold for a period of eighty years.¹³ Attitudes toward the use of natural resources changed over time, and by 1904 the value of the river valley as a "natural site" was recognized by the likes of landscape architects Frederick Law Olmsted and sons. In their *Report upon the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore*, it was recommended that the city of Baltimore consider the acquisition of the river valley as an important park facility for citizens of the city.¹⁴

Embargo, Textiles, and the Rise of the Factory

The importance of rivers as a means of transportation and as a sustainable energy source influenced the development of the colonies, and continued to do so until alternate transportation networks and forms of energy were established. Early American industry focused first on the abundant timber and water resources of the New World. "Water was a renewable resource, and timber was so abundant that new sources were easily found when a local supply was depleted."¹⁵ As new technologies emerged and craftsmen immigrated to the colonies, older industries flourished and new ones were established. While skilled artisans and craftsmen began to provide goods to local villages, the young country remained dependent on trade with Great

¹³ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 7.

¹⁴ Geoffrey Buckley, Robert Bailey, and J. Morgan Grove, "The Patapsco Forest Reserve: Establishing a 'City Park' for Baltimore, 1907-1941," *Historical Geography*, 34 (2006): 90-92.

¹⁵ Robert Gordon and Patrick Malone, *The Texture of Industry: An Archaeological View of the Industrialization of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press), 57.

Britain for most goods. By the end of the eighteenth century, the first factories appeared in the United States. For example, Samuel Slater is credited with constructing the first textile mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island in 1793.¹⁶ However, it was the hostilities against United States sailing vessels on international waters, and the dependence on foreign products, that would ultimately lead to the enactment of the Embargo Act of 1807, the War of 1812, and the rise of the factory movement as the young nation struggled to assert its hard-won independence.¹⁷

Rather than take on the British Navy directly, President Jefferson decided to coerce reform by promoting an embargo on all transatlantic trade. “The Tenth Congress, in December, 1807, passed the embargo legislation which virtually halted all United States shipping to foreign ports.”¹⁸ The embargo had grave economic consequences for the young nation, seriously affecting the price and supply of goods. The city of Baltimore, the third largest city in the nation at that time, was not untouched as the annual value of its exports dropped as much as 80% in 1808. While New England merchants expressed strong opposition to the legislation, the embargo was generally applauded for its action in Baltimore, where commercial interests had been particularly menaced by the “intolerable” actions of the British.¹⁹ The loss of trade with European markets meant a lack of finished goods available for purchase, and the lack of existing domestic manufacturing capacity to fill this void became evident.²⁰ This period of limited trade with European markets encouraged additional

¹⁶ Gordon and Malone, *The Texture of Industry*, 297.

¹⁷ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 41-42.

¹⁸ John Pancake, “Baltimore and the Embargo, 1807-1809,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September 1952), 173.

¹⁹ Pancake, “Baltimore and the Embargo, 1807-1809,” 175.

²⁰ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 41.

textile manufacturing in New England and in the Baltimore region. Historians claim that as a “direct result of Jefferson’s trade embargo against England, textile manufacturers gained a foothold in a very competitive market.”²¹

It was in this charged political environment that a group of Baltimore civic leaders met at Merchants Coffee House to discuss the need for economic independence and self-reliance for the fledgling nation. William Patterson, then president of the Bank of Maryland, argued that the time was ripe for the United States to manufacture its own supplies of clothing and other goods, in order to secure complete economic independence.²² From this meeting, a special committee was formed, and directed to present plans for such a manufacturing enterprise in the Baltimore area. The *Report of the Committee and Constitution of the Union Manufacturing Company* declares its objective as:

Establishing, carrying on, and encouraging, Manufactories of all the useful and necessary articles, which have heretofore been imported from foreign countries – but the establishment of Manufactories of Cotton and Wool, by means of the latest improved labor saving machines, to be put by water, is to be the first and immediate object to which the attention and funds of this association are to be applied.²³

With William Patterson as the chair, the committee received the enthusiastic support of local merchants and concluded that Baltimore could successfully compete with any of the British manufacturing towns. Union Manufacturing Company of Maryland was established with capital from the sale of 20,000 shares of stock.²⁴ In 1808, the company obtained the first corporate charter for a textile plant in the state of

²¹ John Garner, *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 11.

²² Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 42.

²³ William Patterson, “Report of the Committee and Constitution of the Union Manufacturing Company of Maryland,” *Niles Weekly Register* (Baltimore: Niles & Frailey, 1808).

²⁴ Richard Griffin, “An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland, The Textile Industry, 1789-1826,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* (March-April 1966), 26.

Maryland. An advertisement placed in the March 9, 1808, *Baltimore American* requested that mill owners located within 20 miles of the city, who were willing to sell, contact the company directors with specific details of their property.

Recognizing the need for later expansion of their manufacturing enterprise, Union Company directors were looking for a site with “sufficient water power,” land to expand their operations, and connections to larger markets for goods and labor.²⁵ The chosen site was a 458-acre parcel acquired from the Ellicotts in the summer of 1808. The selection of this site, along the Patapsco River in proximity to the Ellicotts’ lower mill, gave the company substantial waterpower, a growing labor force, and access to the Baltimore and Fredericktown turnpike, which offered an improved route from inland towns to the port at Baltimore.

Rise of Transportation Systems

As the Industrial Revolution brought mechanization and uniformity to the factory, the availability of domestically produced products expanded. Spurred by the success of early factories, larger and more productive manufacturing facilities were constructed. The great port cities of the Eastern Seaboard, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, sought to establish reliable trade networks to reach inland markets. Connection to the west signaled opportunity and “Maryland, like Pennsylvania and New York, undertook publicly funded turnpike projects to link developing western lands with established eastern markets.”²⁶ In Maryland, the state supported construction of a turnpike west toward Cumberland and by 1806 the federal government lent legitimacy to the enterprise by commissioning the National Road.

²⁵ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 44.

²⁶ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 65.

The challenge of supplying goods over land were many, and by the 1820's, the grand hopes for the National Road diminished as the "difficulties of construction" and a need for extensive road maintenance made the cost of transporting goods over land prohibitive.²⁷

Unimpressed by the potential of highway transport, the great industrialists and entrepreneurs of the period turned their attention to canals. "Canals cost more to build and operate than did roads but had a much greater carrying capacity because, while the speeds of canal boats and road vehicles were about the same, much heavier loads could be drawn along a canal."²⁸ In the 1820s, New York, Philadelphia and Washington began planning and constructing canals. With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, the city of New York was able to transport goods by water from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. The canal was profitable, drastically reduced transport time, and "freight rates between Buffalo and New York fell from \$100 to \$5 a ton."²⁹ The merchants in towns and cities along the east coast were anxious to find shorter and better transport methods west. Canal enterprises in New York and Pennsylvania were establishing connections all the way to the Mississippi Valley, but "all that the city of Baltimore could offer in competition was the National Road."³⁰ Very few viable canal options existed for Baltimore, as "the city was far from existing waterways. Canals which might link Baltimore south to the Potomac or north to the

²⁷ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 66.

²⁸ Gordon and Malone, *The Texture of Industry*, 133.

²⁹ James Dilts, *The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Nation's First Railroad, 1828-1853*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 25.

³⁰ Alfred James, "Sidelights on the Founding of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R.," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (December 1953), 271-272

Susquehanna seemed impracticable [sic] to construct and west along the Patapsco the terrain that generated exceptional falls made water transport impossible.”³¹

In 1826 an idea grew to develop railway transport as an alternative to a canal for Baltimore. The decision to pursue a railroad system was reportedly made at a dinner party in the fall of 1826 attended by an impressive assortment of Baltimore and Maryland business elite.³² With little knowledge, no concrete engineering plans and an unidentified route, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was born. After an initial stock offering, the B&O Railroad was officially incorporated on February 28, 1827. Although several routes were debated, the Board of Directors decided that a course following a river valley would be the most expedient as the harsh inclines needed to cross hills and mountainous areas were not well suited to rail transit. With the need to begin the track within the city of Baltimore and follow a river valley west, the only waterway offering a direct route was the Patapsco River.³³ Early maps show one possible route for the B&O main line going south from Baltimore to Relay, then west to Parr’s Ridge crossing by Ilchester, Ellicott’s Mills, Union Mills, Hollofield, Elysville, and Woodstock. An alternate route would travel west out of the city and link more directly with the Patapsco at Elysville before continuing westward to Parr’s Ridge. A railway west from Elysville appeared promising in 1827 and most likely contributed to Thomas Ely’s purchase of additional land along the river circa 1830. The second annual report of the B&O Railroad indicated that the route via Relay and

³¹ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 67.

³² Jamie Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface: History, Memory and Place in the Lost Cotton Mill Town of Daniels, Maryland* (master’s thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2008), 36.

³³ Herbert Harwood, *Impossible Challenge: The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in Maryland*, (Baltimore: Barnard, Roberts and Company, Inc., 1979), 9. The early railroad engineers, faced with many unknown factors, had determined that turns of 14 to 18 degrees could be managed, whereas inclines in excess of .6 % should be avoided.

Ellicott's Mills "while not as short as the route via Elysville for instance, had less heavy grades, and in the opinion of the engineers was the best route surveyed for the use of the proposed horse-power."³⁴ The final route chosen became the well-known main line, running from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills via Relay, and onto Elysville and Parr's Spring (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Enlarged section of map by L. Jocobi, C.E., showing the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. (Courtesy of American Memory Collection, Library of Congress).

On July 4, 1828, the laying of the cornerstone for the B&O was the culmination of a daylong celebration and a parade through the city.³⁵ Writing on the significance of the Railroad to the state of Maryland, James Dilts notes, "it took great courage in 1827 to reject the prevailing canal technology and choose a rudimentary form of mine transportation to fashion a long-distance internal improvement. The conception and founding of the Baltimore and Ohio was the single most important business decision

³⁴ James, "Sidelights on the Founding of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R.," 296.

³⁵ Dilts, *The Great Road*, 7-12. Here Dilts provides a detailed accounting of the day's participants and events with attention given to both the parade and the cornerstone ceremony.

made in Maryland during the first half of the nineteenth century.”³⁶ The importance of the commerce and transportation reflected in the development of Baltimore also played a role in the development of smaller towns and communities throughout the region. As it did elsewhere in the state, the growth of new transportation networks and factory systems along the Patapsco profoundly impacted the future of the valley attracting both industry and labor.

Local Improvements

Joseph, Nathaniel, Andrew, and John Ellicott came to the Patapsco Valley in 1771, seeking fertile lands near waterpower on which to establish a merchant mill. The men found these ideal conditions along the Patapsco River, where the steep fall of the river provided enough waterpower for several operations, and the proximity to shipping ports at Elk Ridge and Baltimore enabled trade.³⁷ Although records show earlier gristmills located along the Patapsco, such as Hood’s Mill and Crosthwaite’s Dismal Mill, these operations were oriented to the needs of the local economy, whereas the Ellicotts sought greater export opportunities. The family purchased fifty acres along the Patapsco River in Baltimore County from farmer Emanuel Teal and 34 acres from William Williams, an iron founder, amassing 84 acres along both sides of the river.³⁸ “In 1772 the brothers purchased two miles of riverfront property on both sides of the river, with all the water power rights for two miles above and below the proposed mill site.”³⁹

³⁶ Dilts, *The Great Road*, 2.

³⁷ Joetta Cramm, *Howard County: A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company, 1992), 44.

³⁸ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 7.

³⁹ Travers, *The Patapsco*, 67.

Experienced builders, the Ellicott brothers set to work developing a settlement for their families and workers, constructing a large log structure with apartments to house the mechanics, laborers, and their families. They then cleared land, built a sawmill and a stable, and began constructing their flour mill. In 1774, the Ellicotts opened their first mill, which is described in *The Life of Benjamin Banneker* as “an impressive structure, with its gable end toward the river and stretched 100 feet long and stood 36 feet wide, one and a half stories high, and built entirely of stone. The five pairs of millstones were five feet in diameter.”⁴⁰ Educated businessmen with an interest in math and science, the Ellicott brothers were early adopters of technology and incorporated local inventions, such as grain elevators and hoppers, into their mill design.⁴¹ “Within a short time, the mill became the largest merchant mill for grinding flour in colonial America and an example of industrial success copied by other businessmen around the nation.”⁴²

A large market for flour and bread exports existed at this time in Philadelphia and New York, trading with commercial centers in the West Indies. With its proximity to the fertile Piedmont Region, the growing port at Baltimore was ideally suited to take advantage of this export market.⁴³ The Ellicotts believed that the region’s transition from tobacco to wheat would be beneficial for the economy, and they sought to establish an integrated economic enterprise, investing not only in mills and grain, but also in transportation and trade networks.

⁴⁰ Cramm, *Howard County*, 44.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Travers, *The Patapsco*, 70.

⁴³ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 8.

By late 1774, the Ellicott family held miles of property along the Patapsco. Joseph Ellicott moved his family three miles upriver, and built a new mill where James Hood's mill once stood. This mill became known as "Hollofield" or Ellicott's Upper Mill. The success of the Ellicott brothers brought other entrepreneurs to the Patapsco and soon there were additional mill seats along the river. The transportation networks around the mill grew with the Baltimore and Fredericktown turnpike connecting Ellicott's Lower Mills to their warehouse and wharf in Baltimore. In 1787, John and Andrew Ellicott convinced the state to lay a new road from Baltimore to Frederick, by way of Ellicott's Lower Mills.⁴⁴ With the expansion of the mills, stores, worker's housing and other enterprises developed along the new National Road.

The advantages of the Patapsco River and the improvements undertaken by the Ellicotts did not go unnoticed. The addition of the Union Manufacturing mills, close to the already established village of Ellicott's Mills, attracted large numbers of additional residents. The towns of both Oella and Ellicott City trace their early development to this period of industrial growth. The National Register nomination for the village of Oella, completed in 1975, describes the district as "a 19th century village of pristine, unpretentious, functional worker's houses."⁴⁵ Although Union Manufacturing Company was established with very different financial, ownership, and production goals than earlier saw and gristmills, its development along the river is similar to that of the earlier mills. Housing for skilled laborers was built as the site first developed, with water-powered sawmills and smith's shops appearing as the dam

⁴⁴ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 64.

⁴⁵ Maryland Historical Trust, *Oella Historic District*, Baltimore County Historic Sites Inventory, BA-150, page #s, accessed October 11, 2011, <http://www.mdihp.net>.

and mill race were constructed. Only after the land was cleared, the millrace leveled and water diverted, did construction begin on the primary mill structure and additional support structures. The river and the land together provided the raw materials for construction and substantially determined the development of the site. The unique fall of the Patapsco River provided the power for industry, and the land supplied the wood, iron and stone required for the buildings. By 1813 the directors of Union Manufacturing Company, having chosen a site wisely, found themselves at the helm of the largest cotton manufacturing company in the nation.⁴⁶

The arrival of the B&O Railroad in the valley in 1829 was a huge incentive to industry. The first railroad station in the nation was constructed at Ellicott's Mills, and soon passenger train service as well as material transport was established along the route; the first tracks arrived at Elysville by 1831. Construction of the tracks required great engineering innovation, as the early railroad engineers attempted to manipulate the curving and rugged terrain. The mills would benefit greatly from the railroad with most establishments erecting sidings directly to their operations. The success of earlier cotton and woolen factories and the building of the great iron road, attracted additional investment and in the next thirty years as many as five large textile operations came to be seated alongside the Patapsco River. The first of these successor mills was built by the Patapsco Manufacturing Company, which purchased an existing mill site approximately one mile south of Ellicott's Lower Mill. A few years after this the Thistle Mill was being planned for a site near the town of Ilchester. By 1840 Elysville Manufacturing Company was moving its operations to a new site on the Patapsco, and Granite Manufacturing Company was involved in legal

⁴⁶ Travers, *The Patapsco*, 104.

maneuvering to establish a factory just south of the Union Mills. These five manufacturing enterprises are identifiable on the 1860 Martenet Map of Howard County (Figure 4). The mills, developed on the perimeter of the original Ellicott landholdings, are seen hugging the river banks, and collectively span the approximately eight-mile distance from Elysville to Ilchester.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the transformation from small village gristmill to active industrial landscape was nearly complete. The 1850 United States Census of Manufacturers indicates that Union Manufacturing Company, Thistle Cotton Factory, Patapsco Cotton Manufactory, Alberton Manufacturing Company, and Granite Factory were all operating along the Patapsco. Despite their apparent success, these manufactories were plagued with financial issues and property disasters from their beginnings. The problems arose from the continual need to expand and stay competitive in the growing regional market. Irregular cycles of high and low demand in the cotton industry led to an often-unpredictable market, translating to periods of exhausting work interspersed with worker layoffs.⁴⁷

Fire, a force well known as an enemy to early industrial entities, took its toll as well, destroying the first Union Mill in 1815, the newly renovated Patapsco Cotton Factory in 1820, and the modern Granite Mill in 1864.⁴⁸ Seasonal weather fluctuations often brought storms and unpredictable freshets to the valley, but major flooding was not identified as a concern. This changed, as flooding in 1866 washed

⁴⁷ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 52-59.

⁴⁸ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 50-57.

out dams, buildings, and mills. Just two years later the devastating great flood of 1868 leveled Granite Mill permanently disrupting production at Gray's Cotton Factory.⁴⁹

The mill established at Elysville also suffered through periods of financial difficulty, being sold, transferred, and even auctioned on numerous occasions. The establishment was also not immune from the ravages of freshets and floods, suffering severe flooding on several occasions. However, the community that began as Elysville during the boom of the textile industry in Baltimore and survived the great floods of 1866 and 1868 outlasted many of the great manufacturing concerns of the region, became a model company town in the later part of the nineteenth century, and survived the lean years of the Depression to emerge as a modern factory in the 1940's, prepared to compete with the rising southern textile factories.

⁴⁹ Sharp, *The Patapsco River Valley*, 83-93.

Chapter 3: Elysville/Alberton/Daniels: A Rich Heritage

Introduction

Baltimore and her surrounding river valleys flourished with activity during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The nation claimed economic independence from Great Britain as an outcome of the War of 1812, and the burgeoning Industrial Revolution brought wealth to the mid-Atlantic region. With the development of the National Road and the construction of the nation's first railroad, the region was well positioned to establish trade with the west. The Ely brothers, determined to benefit from this trade, made plans to establish a significant textile mill along the Patapsco River, approximately eight miles upstream from Ellicott's Mills, and in the direct path of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Deeds and surviving reports indicate that Joseph Ely owned property on the Baltimore County side of the river as early as 1798 and that several homes, a mill and a cemetery also existed there.⁵⁰ Additional records suggest that the Ely family operated a cotton factory known as Ely's Cotton Factory or Mechanics Mill prior to 1829.⁵¹ With the purchase of nearby land and water rights from Ann Ellicott Evans in 1833, it is believed that the Elys moved their operation from Ben's Run, a nearby creek, to the current site on the Patapsco, "seeking stronger water current to power their mill."⁵²

⁵⁰ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 31-34.

⁵¹ McGrain, *Molinography*, 16.

⁵² Jo Beth Thompson, "Elysville to Alberton to Daniels: A Mill Town No Longer," (Unpublished essay, Special Collections Department, Langsdale Library, Baltimore, MD, March 21, 1985), 2, Accessed January 28, 2012. <http://archives.ubalt.edu>. Baltimore County Land Records, Liber TK226 folio 214 show that after the death of Joseph Evans, his widow Ann Evans conveyed power of attorney to Beale Randall for the transfer of property in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties in June 1828. This deed dated January 1833 confirms an earlier sale of the property by Beale Randall to Thomas Ely.

The settlement at Elysville grew into a thriving mill community and ultimately lasted more than one hundred years after passing out of Ely family control. In their quest to build a large and impressive mill, however, the brothers became overextended, ultimately losing title to a large portion of the property. A tumultuous period of ownership followed, in which the mill and small village acquired new owners and a new name before entering a period of prosperity. Under the management of James Sullivan Gary, the mill settled its debts and established a thriving community. The Gary era was long and generally prosperous, spanning three generations of Gary men: James Sullivan Gary, James Albert Gary, and Edward Stanley Gary. The success of Gary Manufacturing Company created great wealth and political importance for the family. Each generation became prominent Baltimore merchants and the younger men rose to elite political and civic leadership roles. During this time, the town was known as Alberton or Alberton Mills, and with its prominent paternalistic owners it was touted as a model company town. Changes in the textile industry and the Great Depression proved too much for the company in the 1930s, and despite attempts to revive operations the Alberton Mills were again put up for auction.

In 1940 the historic mill, dam, and entire village were sold to the C.R. Daniels Company of New York, which renamed the town in its honor. Rejuvenated under C.R. Daniels management, a more modern facility operated successfully here until 1972. Before the end of that decade the mill that had outlasted its local competition and survived numerous floods, economic downturns, Civil War, the Depression, and two World Wars, finally ended its productive life. The demolition, devastation, and

slow deterioration that followed left a fractured landscape offering little indication of the town's industrious past.

An abbreviated history of the village and its various operators is presented here to provide a sense of the town's growth and development. The abundant natural resources of the river valley and the power of the Patapsco River attracted settlement at the site well before the Elys sought their fortune. The region became home to small saw and gristmills, as early settlers recognized the importance of the river. Industry brought life to the village, and while the factory flourished the community developed a rich cultural history. Tracing the history of the town as it developed from Elysville, to Alberton and then to Daniels provides an overview of the town's historic and cultural significance.

The growth of Elysville brought many changes to the natural landscape, as the introduction of a dam, millrace, and railroad tracks shaped an industrial landscape. Harnessing what they needed from the environment and through trade networks, a community grew at the site. The community became a small town, complete with homes, village store, school, churches, and a post office. As Alberton, the community was transformed into a model company town. Family, culture, religion, and hard work characterize this time period: the construction of a community hall, multiple churches, a library, and the establishment of the Alberton Cornet Band indicate the role of cultural institutions in the town. Family was an important part of the culture of the town and this was supported by the owners and supervisors. Appraisals show the development of neighborhood-like family tenements, with names like Upper Brick Row, Lower Brick Row, and Guilford. Census records, which indicate the use of

female and child labor, also show village men were hired as mechanics in the factory or worked as labor on neighboring farms.⁵³ Unfortunately, there is little known about the day-to-day details of life for the employees in the early period of the town, as company records have not survived, and letters and journals from this period have yet to be discovered.⁵⁴ Much more is known about recent generations of town residents: stories gleaned from newspaper accounts, oral histories, resident scrapbooks and annual town picnics offer a picture of a tight-knit community. Newspaper accounts document the auction of the town in 1940, and capture the apprehension of residents as they awaited the fate of their community. Although few company records survive, the available evidence shows the expansion of industry at the site and details a diminished regard for the natural and cultural environment. In the 1960s the town entered a period of transition as an increasing environmental ethic, a new renewed appreciation for natural space and modern day planning initiatives were at odds with industry. By this time, the industry that had permeated the Patapsco Valley and the Baltimore region for generations was greatly reduced, and the development of the Patapsco Valley State Park system was creating a green corridor along the river. Nature triumphed over industry in 1972, when floodwaters brought by Hurricane Agnes devastated the mill complex, forever altering the landscape. Table 1 provides important dates in the development of Daniels.

Elysville: Growth of an Industrial Landscape

Whether through speculation, inside knowledge, or good fortune, in the late 1820s, brothers Thomas and Asher Ely purchased land adjacent to a falls on the

⁵³ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 83-88.

⁵⁴ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 4.

Table 1.

CHRONOLOGY OF DANIELS MILL

| | |
|--------|--|
| 1827 | Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is incorporated |
| 1829 | Ely Manufacturing Company is incorporated in the state of Maryland |
| 1829 | B&O tracks reach the Ellicotts' Lower Mills |
| 1833 | Ann Evans sells "Lime Stone Valley" to Thomas Ely |
| 1831 | First passengers pass through Elysville on the B&O Railroad |
| 1833 | Ely's Cotton Factory is under construction |
| 1836 | Thomas Ely conveys property to Elysville Manufacturing Company |
| 1838 | First re-alignment of B&O Railroad |
| 1846 | Elysville Manufacturing Company deeds property to Okisko Company |
| 1846 | Okisko conveys property to Jacob Albert |
| 1849 | First auction of Okisko property |
| 1850 | Second auction, property sold to William Miller |
| 1852 | Act to incorporate Sagonan Manufacturing Company |
| 1853 | Alberton Manufacturing Company is incorporated |
| 1854 | Elysville post office renamed Alberton |
| 1850's | Sagonan Manufacturing Company acquires Alberton Manufacturing |
| 1856 | James S. Gary takes reigns of Sagoman Manufacturing Company |
| 1859 | Alberton factory and town is sold at auction |
| 1866 | Augustus J. Albert sells (Okisko) property to James S. Gary |
| 1866 | Severe flooding along the Patapsco River |
| 1868 | Elysville Manufacturing Company deeds property to James S. Gary |
| 1868 | Great flood damages Alberton Mill |
| 1879 | St. Stanislaus Kostka Catholic Church erected |
| 1879 | Gary Memorial Church erected (Alberton Evangelical Church) |
| 1879 | James A. Gary runs for governor of Maryland |
| 1895 | St. Alban's Episcopal Chapel erected |
| 1897 | James A. Gary appointed U.S. Postmaster General |
| 1926 | St. Stanislaus Kostka Catholic Church destroyed by fire |
| 1930's | Production at the mill drops to 25% of capacity |
| 1934 | Appraisal by Barnes Textile Service of Boston |
| 1940 | Town of Alberton is sold at public auction to C.R. Daniels |
| 1957 | Passenger service on the main line of B&O Railroad ends |
| 1968 | Housing is demolished |
| 1972 | Flooding from Hurricane Agnes destroys mill |
| 1973 | Daniels Mill listed as a National Register Historic District |
| 1975 | Mill complex of 15 acres acquired by Bonfield Holding Company |
| 1976 | Property conveyed to state of Maryland, Department of Natural Resources |
| 1977 | Fire further destroys the mill building |

Date Compiled by Author, Significant dates in bold.

Patapsco River in what was then Anne Arundel County, with the intention of developing a cotton factory. In 1829, Thomas and Asher Ely, with partners William Ely, Beale Randall and Hugh Balderston, officially incorporated as the “Ely’s Ville Manufacturing Company,” for the purpose of “manufacturing and Tending of cotton and woolen goods.”⁵⁵ With the purchase of “Lime Stone Valley” on the Baltimore County side of the river from the widow Ann Evans, Thomas Ely secured water rights, which provided impressive waterpower for their new mill seat.⁵⁶ This purchase became more prescient a few years later with the arrival of the B&O Railroad. The first passenger train traveled through the community on December 3, 1831.⁵⁷ It is unknown if the Elys had knowledge of the coming railroad prior to 1829, but a community existed at the site by the early years of the B&O, as Elysville appears in early railroad surveys and maps (Figure 5).

By 1833, it appears that construction of a new factory on the site had begun. In his listing of mills along the Patapsco, Charles Varle states that the Elys’ Cotton Factory is “now building and not yet in operation.”⁵⁸ Varle further notes that upstream of Ellicott’s Mills there are a number of “advantageous mill seats” that are not used due to the expense of transporting goods to market; he presumes that with the ease of transport on the railroad many such mill seats will “soon be profitably used.” The new company, however, suffered from financial difficulties early on, and the Ely brothers gained a reputation for property disputes. This reputation grew out of

⁵⁵ Maryland General Assembly, “An Act to Incorporate the Ely’s Ville Manufacturing Company,” (13 February 1829), Session Laws, 1828-1829, Volume 540:41-43.

⁵⁶ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 33.

⁵⁷ Thompson, “Elysville to Alberton to Daniels,” 2.

⁵⁸ Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore, with a Statistical Sketch* (Baltimore: Samuel Young, 1833), <http://books.google.com/books?id=esJ5ETBr2KQC&source=gbs.html> (accessed January 28, 2012), 100.



Figure 5. Enlarged section of map of City and County of Baltimore, 1850, from original surveys by J.C. Sidney, C.E. (Courtesy of American Memory Map Collection, Library of Congress).

financial difficulties of investors and land rights disputes with neighboring property owners. Disagreements with the railroad also occurred early in Elysville's establishment. According to James Dilts, during initial construction, "B&O officials were only able to come to an agreement with the Elys when the B&O provided a switch and depot for the town and mill in exchange for land lost in the right-of-way."⁵⁹ The contours of the valley and the course of the river, which were advantageous for industry, proved to be a great challenge for the railroad and in 1838 the first realignment of tracks was needed to straighten the main line. A "great bend in the road" at Elysville was the major problem and Benjamin H. Latrobe Jr. requested a survey for a shorter alignment across the neck of land that the original tracks bypassed. The new route necessitated the construction of two new bridges over

⁵⁹ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 37.

the Patapsco River. Two Latrobe-designed timber truss bridges were erected, an upstream bridge and a lower bridge built closer to the mill. During negotiations B&O President John McLane accused the Elys of “demanding exorbitant prices” and the railroad condemned the land, awarding damages of \$1,196 to the Elys.⁶⁰

Data from the personal papers of Baltimore County historian John McGrain indicate that by 1845 a fully operational mill was on the site, as well as a burgeoning town. In addition to the mill and dam, the town included a sawmill, storehouse, frame house, and six tenements for workers and their families.⁶¹ The mill site and buildings are more thoroughly described in a court case known as *Okisko Company v. Thomas Matthews*, which indicates that the dam was constructed in 1832, repaired in 1837, and that in addition to one frame house, a home, store, and a bank of buildings were constructed of stone.⁶² To raise working capital, the brothers searched for additional investors and were able to form a new partnership under the name of Okisko Manufacturing Company. An Act to Incorporate the Okisko Manufacturing Company was enacted on January 16, 1846, and several prominent Baltimore wholesalers and entrepreneurs were listed as Directors.⁶³ The family retained ownership of Elysville Manufacturing Company and maintained operation of the mill; their brother Colonel Hugh Ely managed the day-to-day operations of the factory.⁶⁴ In 1846, Okisko Company came under the primary ownership of Jacob Albert, a Baltimore

⁶⁰ Dilts, *The Great Road*, 252-254.

⁶¹ John McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript Pig Iron to Cotton Duck, Vol. II. (Towson: Baltimore County Public Library).

⁶² Maryland Reports: *Okisko vs. Matthews*, Maryland (1852-53), 168, John McGrain Collection (Towson: Baltimore County Public Library).

⁶³ Maryland General Assembly, “An Act to Incorporate the Okisko Manufacturing Company of Maryland,” (16 January 1846), Session Laws, 1845-1846, volume 610: 118; Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 39.

⁶⁴ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 39.

millionaire. The company and the town appeared to initially flourish during Jacob Albert's ownership, but when the Elys filed suit against Okisko in 1848, a court order abruptly halted operations.⁶⁵ The details of this case are diligently explained in the Chancery Court papers for the state of Maryland, which reveal that the central issue at hand was the failure of Okisko Company to transfer the cash funds for the purchase of the site to the Elysville Manufacturing Corporation. Okisko argued that the purchase price had indeed been paid years earlier in the form of Okisko corporate stock. Unable to reach a decision on the merits of the case, the High Court of the Chancery ordered an auction of the property. On September 19, 1849, *The Baltimore American* ran an advertisement for the Okisko property describing it as:

having a fifteen feet fall, together with about forty-five acres of land...capable of driving 100 heavy looms at a low stage of water. The improvements consist of a new three story Granite FACTORY BUILDING, about 108 feet by 48 feet built in the most substantial manner with tin roof and warmed by steam.

Additional buildings included a two-story stone mill with water wheel and running gear, a one-story frame machine shop, a one-story granite building intended for a dye house, and a two-story granite building intended as a drying house. A sawmill, smith shop, storehouse and multiple dwellings are also listed, as well as "inexhaustible quarries of fine Granite Stone."⁶⁶ Hugh Ely stepped in to purchase the property for \$15,000. However this sale was never finalized and it is presumed that he was unable to raise the necessary capital. Hugh Ely, claiming the trustees had misrepresented the property, filed suit against them. Despite numerous appeals the court dismissed Ely's claims and the mill was put into trusteeship. At a June 25, 1850 auction, the mill

⁶⁵ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 41.

⁶⁶ McGrain, Personal files, *American*, Sept 19, 1849, p.4.

property was sold to William D. Miller for \$15,000.⁶⁷ A period of ownership transition followed which effectively ended the control of the mill by the Ely brothers.

Despite the numerous transfers of ownership, ongoing property disputes, and financial woes, all sources indicate that a factory and community were well established by 1850. In *Impossible Challenge*, Herbert Harwood Jr. notes that a passenger on the railroad in the 1850s would have found a string of small industrial villages west of Baltimore “coiled up the Patapsco Valley.” “Marking the upper limit of the Patapsco’s milling,” he continued, “was one of the handsomest of all – the new Alberton Mill, at what used to be Elysville, a stone & belfried factory built in 1845 and surrounded by its own neat company town of uniform brick row houses.”⁶⁸

Alberton: A Model Factory Town

After many turbulent years of change and transition, the small village at Alberton entered a period of prosperity and growth led by the careful management of James Sullivan Gary, and continued well into the twentieth century by his son James Albert Gary and grandson E. Stanley Gary. James Sullivan Gary brought strong leadership, technical experience, and a paternalistic model of management to Alberton Mill, transforming the fortune of the mill and enabling growth and prosperity in the village. Having grown up in the shadow of mills in New England, Gary had worked his way up to management after beginning as a mill worker at the tender age of five. With careful management and a strong work ethic he worked to

⁶⁷ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 41-42. Also detailed by Bradley is a confrontation between Hugh Ely, Asher Ely and Jacob Morris, a representative of the firm Miller & Mayhew, in which shots were fired hitting Asher Ely in the neck.

⁶⁸ Harwood, *Impossible Challenge*, 70.

clear the mill, then under the ownership of Sagonan Manufacturing Company, of the previous indebtedness of past investors.⁶⁹ His son James Albert Gary joined him in management of the company in 1860 and continued to grow Alberton Mills following closely the example of his father. James Albert Gary continued the traditional mill village style of management, while also building a political career. Becoming rather influential in Republican politics in Maryland, Gary sought office several times to no avail. He was eventually appointed U.S. Postmaster General in 1897 by President McKinley.⁷⁰ Grandson E. Stanley Gary, son of James Albert, continued the family ownership of the mill through changing times and fortunes, working to improve and adapt the manufacturing company to a new business model. However, times had changed for the industry as well as for the Gary family. Unlike his father and grandfather before him, E. Stanley Gary grew up away from the mill, more a son of the Baltimore elite than the son of a hard working mill manager. Gary pursued a role in Baltimore society and was involved in the rebuilding effort of Baltimore after the great fire of 1904.⁷¹

Under the ownership of the Gary family, the small village at Alberton grew into a model community with a traditional village green, workers residences, company store, school, post office, residential streets, and several churches.⁷² As can

⁶⁹ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 50-52. Details the financial status of the company under the financial management of James S. Gary who appears to have been managing the mill for several years prior to taking ownership.

⁷⁰ Steiner, et al., *Men of Mark in Maryland: Biographies of Leading Men of the State, Vol. II* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1910), 136, http://books.google.com/books?id=bUgVAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_slider_cls_metadata. (accessed April 28, 2012)

⁷¹ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 71; Steiner, et al., *Men of Mark in Maryland: Biographies of Leading Men of the State, Vol. I* (Washington D.C.: Johnson-Wynne Company, 1907), 145.

⁷² McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript, also lithographs of the time period from John McGrain Collection.

be seen in company letterhead, the village took on the look of a small picturesque New England mill town (Figure 6). The impressive granite mill was the center of the town, located on “the green” and it was surrounded by the store, a few larger residences for the owners and managers, and several rows of tenements. The Gary’s were intimately involved with the life of the town, promoting a culture of hard work, religious observation, and cultural refinement.⁷³ According to Garner, writing in *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*, “most property in company towns was owned by an individual, family or partnership.” This usually meant that in a company town, “virtually everything associated with the settlement, including the houses, store, school, and even the chapel was subordinate to the business enterprise.”⁷⁴ This appears to be the case at Alberton, where the worker’s homes were arranged in close proximity to the mill, a bell rang throughout the day to signal changing shifts, and the only store within walking distance was owned by the factory. Although the traditionally styled mill dominated the site, the village had a community feel with small family-style tenements. The operation of the mill and the growth of the village closely resembled that of many small factory towns in Rhode Island, which “relied on family labor (primarily of women and children) usually housed in modest one, two, or four-family tenements.”⁷⁵ This suggests that the early years of New England native James Sullivan Gary had a strong impact on the development of the community.⁷⁶

⁷³ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 71; McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript.

⁷⁴ Garner, *The Company Town*, 4.

⁷⁵ Garner, *The Company Town*, 4.

⁷⁶ Garner, *The Company Town*, 4-5; McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript.



6. Alberton Cotton Factory letterhead showing a B&O Railroad freight train passing the factory, 1868 (Baltimore County Public Library).

From his birth in Massachusetts on November 15, 1808, until his sudden death in Maryland in 1870, James Sullivan Gary passed his entire life engaged in the operation of cotton and textile mills. Born the son of a mill manager in Medway, Massachusetts, Gary was sent to work in the local cotton mill at age five, after the early death of his father. He continued to work in local mills learning their day-to-day operations and eventually apprenticed in management positions. According to Scharf, he “went to work at the cotton-mill manufactory of Medway Manufacturing Company, where he remained constantly employed until 1820, thus acquiring a thorough practical knowledge of the minutest details of the manufacture, which contributed largely to his success in after-life.”⁷⁷ By age 22, Gary moved to Mansfield, Connecticut, and while there entered into his first business venture, becoming a partner in a cotton factory. The business did not succeed and he lost his investment. Following this setback, Gary moved on to become a department manager

⁷⁷ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 408 <http://books.google.com/books>.

at Lonsdale Manufacturing Company in Rhode Island. Gary next looked south to seek his fortune in the growing cotton textile industry in Maryland.

James Sullivan Gary and his wife Pamela moved their family to Maryland in 1838, when he was hired by Patuxent Manufacturing Company of Laurel. In 1844, Gary is identified as one of six associates incorporating Ashland Manufacturing Company of Baltimore County.⁷⁸ He is believed to have been the sole supervisor of this very successful venture from 1844 until the factory was destroyed by fire in 1854.⁷⁹ It is during this time that James Sullivan Gary first became involved with the factory operations at Alberton. Although there are conflicting reports chronicling the transition of the mills from Elysville to Alberton, there are several indications that Gary may have been acting as the supervisor of the mill, as well as a business partner as early as 1855.⁸⁰ Gary appears to have been “at the helm of Alberton” during and after the panic of 1857, which “led to the sale and/or closing of several small and large mills across the Baltimore area and beyond.”⁸¹ During this time, Gary kept the factory operating despite the debts of the holding company and the mill’s placement under trusteeship. Gary is noted to have gained a majority share of the mill when the entire Alberton factory and town were auctioned in April 1859. The manufacturing enterprise was successfully reorganized in Howard County, Maryland, on May 29, 1860, as the Sagonan Manufacturing Company.⁸² Sagonan was comprised of W. G.

⁷⁸ Maryland General Assembly, “An Act to Incorporate the Ashland Manufacturing Company of Maryland,” Laws of Maryland Chapter 206, 1844.

⁷⁹ Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 408.

⁸⁰ Scharf indicates that as early as 1853, Gary and another gentleman had established the Alberton Manufacturing Company at Elysville in Howard County. Bradley notes that Gary family scrapbooks and papers of the Dobbin-Brown files indicate that Gary was functioning as a mill manager at Alberton while the mill was under the ownership of Miller & Mayhew.

⁸¹ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 49.

⁸² Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 49-53.

Thomas, President, and partners James S. Gary, Lewis W. Thomas, James A. Gary, and Evan Thomas Jr.⁸³

Growth of Town and Company

When the Sagonan Company took over control of the site, circa 1860, the property consisted of “forty acres, a new four-story factory building measuring 150 x 48 feet, a store house, seven granite dwellings, and two blocks of frame houses.”⁸⁴

Additional land surrounding the factory and village was acquired by James Gary between 1864 and 1874; eventually the landholdings of the Gary family would grow to 820 acres. Between 1864 and 1867, James Gary purchased water rights along the Patapsco from Sally E. Dorsey, Joseph Wright, and Noah Worthington. He also purchased property from Augustus J. Albert in 1866 and Elysville Manufacturing Company in 1868, effectively combining the land and operations of the former Elysville Manufacturing Company once again.⁸⁵

Gary’s son, James Albert Gary, was made a partner in the manufacturing company in 1861, in a reorganization of the corporation changing the company name yet again. As James S. Gary and Son, the operation grew and expanded into other markets, adding a branch in St. Louis, in 1863 and establishing business offices on German Street in Baltimore.⁸⁶ Various maps and lithographs created during this transitional time help to establish a picture of the early village. The 1854 Ellicott City lithograph by Sachse, shows a detailed picture of the mill, which is flanked by red

⁸³ Howard County Circuit Court, Chattel Records, 1854-1860, “An Act to Incorporate the Sagonan Manufacturing Company,” Laws of Maryland (1852) Vol. 814, 452, <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000814/html/am814--452.html>.

⁸⁴ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 52.

⁸⁵ Gary Manufacturing Company, “Plat of the Gary Manufacturing Company’s Lands,” Howard County Historical Society Archives.

⁸⁶ Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 408.

brick houses. A later lithograph by Hoen, produced during James S. Gary's proprietorship, shows an enlarged mill with a tower (Figure 7).⁸⁷

With the factory now under firmer management and having a stronger financial underpinning, James S. Gary and Son Manufacturing Company was well positioned to handle the challenges it would confront in the coming decade. The Gary men were well known as strong Union sympathizers, which worked favorably for the Alberton Mill, as it appears somewhat protected during the years of the Civil War. Union troops wanting to safeguard the railroad set up a blockhouse west of Alberton to keep watch on the bridge and tracks. Additionally, the factory was kept active during these leaner years because of a contract with the Union army to supply tents and covers to the troops.⁸⁸

Greater challenges were to come later in the decade in the form of severe flooding throughout the Patapsco Valley. Although the mill and village were accustomed to annual spring freshets, the sudden storms of 1866 and 1868 demonstrated devastating power of the Patapsco River. Repairs underway at Alberton in 1866 are believed to have increased troubles for the mill owners and residents down-river of Alberton, as the dam failed and large portions of it sailed toward Union Dam, Oella and Ellicott Mills. Various newspaper accounts note that the damage to the mill from the 1866 storm was severe; however, damage to the mills downstream was far greater. A storm of epic proportions hit the mill town in 1868, bringing with it even greater destructive power. The event nearly took the life of town patriarch James Sullivan Gary, his daughter, son-in-law, and two female servants when the rushing

⁸⁷ McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript, 4.

⁸⁸ McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript, 5.

waters crashed into the stately superintendent's mansion.⁸⁹ Once again the factory was relatively lucky in comparison to other concerns along the Patapsco. Even so, the storm caused up to \$100,000 in damages to the Alberton Mill and made national headlines. The *Baltimore American* reported, "several small houses were swept away, but no lives were lost." The *Maryland Journal* on August 8th claimed the stables, gashouse, and carding machinery were all destroyed. The factory was quickly rebuilt, taking the opportunity to modernize.⁹⁰

After recovering from the floods, the town entered a long period of calm and prosperity. With the sudden death of James S. Gary in 1870, leadership passed to his son James Albert Gary, who at his father's insistence was well educated in the management of the mill. James A. Gary embraced the ideals of the model village and, following in the footsteps of his father, maintained close supervision over the residents of the town. During the years of James Albert's leadership the religious and cultural education of the town residents were strengthened.⁹¹ Records indicate that Gary built a community hall and donated money for the construction of several churches, including Alberton Evangelical Church, Saint Stanislaus Kostas Catholic Church, and St. Albans Episcopal Church. The town is also noted as having flowing fountains, theatre productions, and an extensive library. Following closely on the model of a New England mill village, James A. Gary embraced the beliefs of religion, temperance, and family. An 1871 newspaper described Alberton Mill as a model

⁸⁹ Bradley; Scharf; McGrain; and various other accounts detail the events of this storm where the elder Gary and family members were trapped in the crumbling mansion house during the storm. All but Gary himself are reported to have leapt from the roof of the building and clung to trees for hours to survive the storm.

⁹⁰ McGrain, *Pig Iron to Cotton Duck* Vol. II, 6.

⁹¹ Bradley provides additional information on the managerial supervision and various newspaper and recorded accounts provide examples of the cultural influences.

cotton factory, complete with a “handsome thriving looking town.” A model town was “one in which the paternalism of the owner extended beyond the bare-bones architectural requirements of factories or mines. Well designed houses, parks, schools, libraries, and meeting halls, all set within an attractive landscape, represented an unusual degree of interest by the developer.”⁹² The 1871 article describes a similar scene at Alberton, whereby “the lawn around the factory and the mansion is handsomely embellished with ornamental shade trees, rare flowers, and macadamized walks, three fountains of pure water adding to the beauty of the scene.”⁹³ Also noted in the town is “a temperance society composed of the operatives, and about 95 percent of them belong to it.”⁹⁴ Like other paternalistic owners, it seems that Gary



Figure 7. A. Hoen lithograph for Alberton Letterhead June 29, 1868 (Baltimore County Public Library).

⁹² Garner, *The Company Town*, 11.

⁹³ The Town of Alberton: A Model Cotton Factory –With Fine Improvements, Etc., Reported for the Baltimore Sun, *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Jul 25, 1871; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1986), pg. 4.

⁹⁴ The Town of Alberton: A Model Cotton Factory - With Fine Improvements, Etc., Reported for the Baltimore Sun, *The Sun (1837-1986)*; Jul 25, 1871; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1986), pg. 4.

may have used the design of the town to project the image of a benevolent mill owner, and advance his political career. With his growing wealth and influence, the image of his town as a model community undoubtedly became increasingly important.

James Albert Gary

Born in Connecticut in 1837, shortly before his family moved to Maryland, Gary like his father grew up within sight of a mill. The senior Gary, a strong believer in hard work, insisted that his son learn the business from the bottom up, thus starting his son at the mill as a young man. Splitting his time between factory work and school, Gary acquired both an upper class private school education and the intimate knowledge needed to manage his family's business operations.⁹⁵ A Republican in a Democratic state, Albert ran for office several times, and though unsuccessful he gained the admiration of fellow party members. He was elected by the Republican Party to serve as the Maryland delegate to the Republican Convention in 1872, 1876 and 1880. James A. Gary campaigned for state senate in 1858 and governor in 1879. Some accounts note that his unpopular stance in support of child labor may have cost him dearly in these elections.⁹⁶ Unlike his father, who spent many years residing in Alberton, James A. Gary moved his family to a large home in Baltimore on Linden Street. Here he was known to entertain business associates and political figures. In the late 1800s, he held several important positions in Baltimore including President of both the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and Citizens National Bank, and

⁹⁵ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 61.

⁹⁶ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 61-64. Bradley provides a well-researched account of James A. Gary's political career. A statement of his involvement is also found in *Men of Mark in Maryland*, 135-137

Vice-President of Consolidated Gas Company.⁹⁷ His connections earned him a cabinet position from President McKinley, and in 1897 he was appointed Postmaster General. Citing concerns for his health and business operations, Gary stepped down from his position in 1898.⁹⁸ It is believed that Gary's image as a benevolent mill manager benefitted his political career, and surviving accounts of town residents indicate that the townspeople held equal pride in the political status of their benefactor.⁹⁹

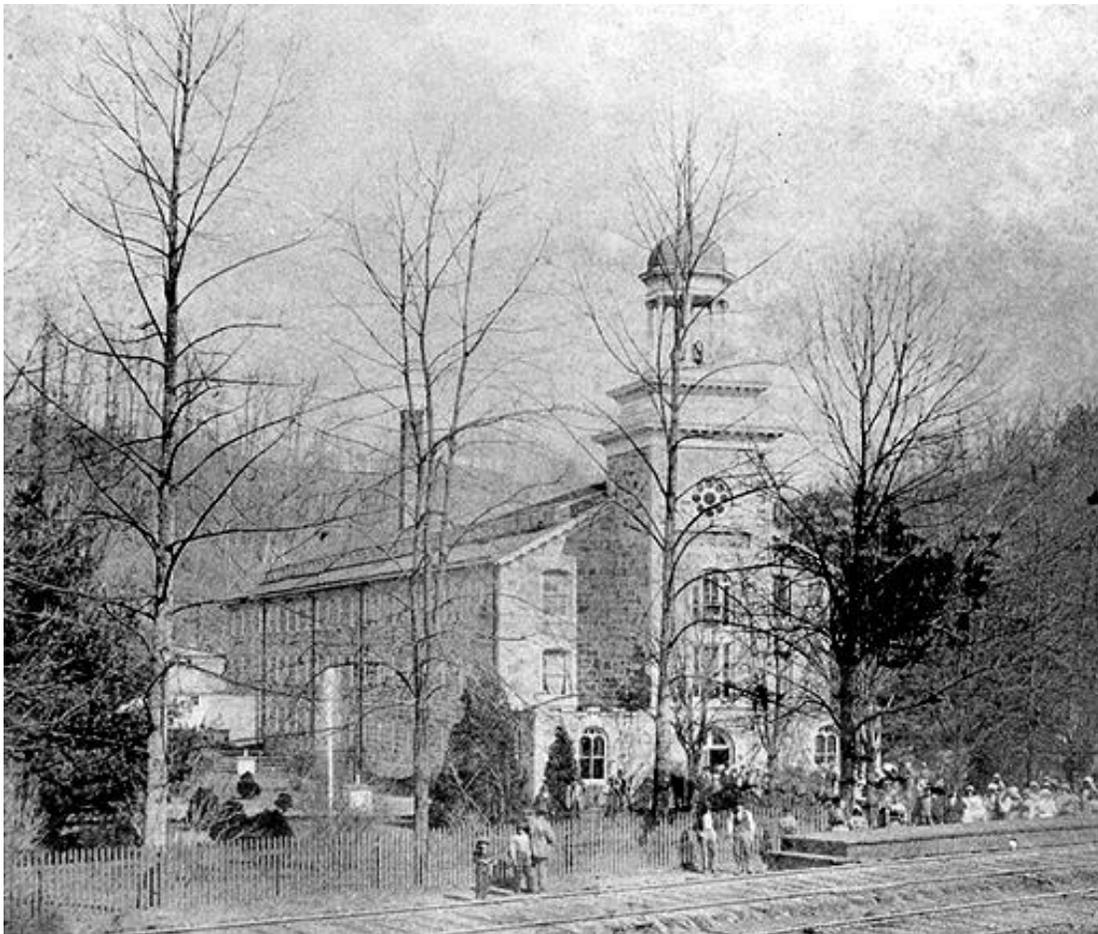


Figure 8. Bell tower of Alberton Factory from the late 19th-century (Baltimore County Public Library).

⁹⁷ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 66-74.

⁹⁸ John McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript - notes from the time seems to indicate that moral objections to the U.S. declaration of war were an important factor in this decision.

⁹⁹ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 68-69. Oral history accounts of past residents.

Labor Relations and Social Capitalism

Although a great deal of information is available on the lives and activities of the Gary family men, little material evidence survives or is available on the town and its residents during this time period. Maps, photographs, and other documentary information portray a picture of an idyllic “model” mill town, where both work and other aspects of daily life were influenced and regulated by the owners and supervisors. This section provides a top down description of life in the mill village based on conditions in comparable towns, because firsthand accounts of workers, which may provide a more complete picture of working conditions and labor relations, have not been identified. A geographical or land use study of the physical layout and construction of the village closely conforms with the norms of many small Rhode Island mill towns. The system of labor relations, management, and paternalism employed at Alberton is also representative of such towns. In Alberton, the strong influence of religion and temperance in the town, along with the social and political connections of the owners, make it an excellent example of a model mill society in the mid-Atlantic states. The success of the textile factory and the continual family ownership by the Gary family allowed this model to continue well into the twentieth century.

Along with the Gary men, mill manager Samuel F. Cobb is often noted in documents for his strict supervision of the mill and his strong hand in the recruitment, housing and social lives of the factory workers. Mr. Cobb became the Alberton mill supervisor in 1870, the year of James S. Gary’s death, marking an important

transition in the management of the town.¹⁰⁰ James A. Gary, though a competent and involved leader, resided in Baltimore and involved himself in public corporations and politics, focusing less attention on day-to-day community life in Alberton. Samuel Cobb took on the responsibility of recruiting, training, housing, and managing the laborers. Unlike many of the larger mill communities, such as Lowell, Massachusetts, which hired numerous young workers and housed them dormitory style, Alberton was managed as a “family style” community.¹⁰¹ Reports indicate that to find workers, Mr. Cobb conducted recruiting trips as far away as West Virginia, searching for rural families with many young girls. To entice them to move to Alberton, he was known to greatly embellish descriptions of the village, sometimes describing it as a workers’ paradise. Alberton was portrayed as a “town with two sunsets” and outrageous claims of banana and other fruit trees ripe with fruit year round, were reported by new workers.¹⁰² Cobb’s management style appears similar to his recruiting tactics. He was greatly concerned about the social lives of the workers, strictly monitoring the consumption of alcohol. He and James A. Gary provided cultural opportunities through the creation of a library, theatrical presentations, and the formation of the town cornet band (Figure 9). Life for the residents was largely dictated by the bell in the factory tower, which rang to summon the workers several times a day. The company also planned recreation such as company picnics and sports gatherings as well as providing Christmas gifts for the children each year.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript, 11.

¹⁰¹ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 121-124.

¹⁰² Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 120-123.

¹⁰³ Bradley, 83-103.



Figure 9. Alberton Cornet Band, circa 1890 (Baltimore County Public Library).

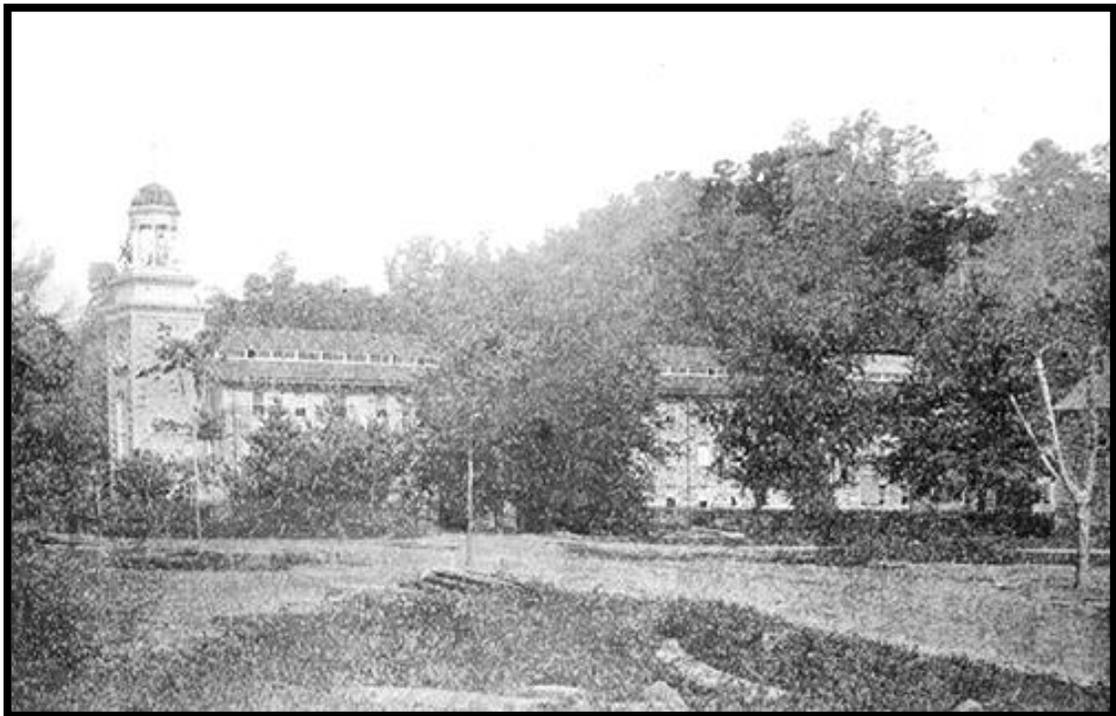


Figure 10. Late 19th century photograph of landscaped grounds around the mill (Baltimore County Public Library).

Religious institutions played a large role in the community with as many as five places of worship erected for town residents. St. Albans Episcopal Church was constructed in “1895 as an expansion of the earlier company store.”¹⁰⁴ When that congregation dwindled the structure was used by an evangelical group. A stone, gothic style Catholic Church was erected by the company in 1879, on the Baltimore County side of the river. Originally named Saint Joseph’s, it later became known as St. Stanislaus Kostka. The building was constructed by John Stack, a Baltimore contractor, and services were led by Jesuit priests from nearby Woodstock College. The chapel was struck by lightning in 1927, sustaining serious fire damage and the structure was not rebuilt (Figure 11).

In 1879 the Gary family donated another lot along the river to the Catholic congregation and a wood frame chapel was built. James A. Gary built Alberton Evangelical Church in honor of his father. In 1946, it became the Alberton Evangelical United Brethren Church, and in 1970 changed to Gary Memorial United Methodist Church. The most recently-built church structure was the Pentecostal Holiness Church of 1940, which was constructed near the dam on the Baltimore County side. At one time a Presbyterian congregation also existed, and used the mill offices as meeting space.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.



Figure 11. St. Stanislaus Kostka Catholic Church circa 1926 prior to fire (Baltimore County Public Library).

While residents lived without public water and sewer into the mid-twentieth century, they were provided with fresh water from a local reservoir and electricity as early as 1882.¹⁰⁶ The lithographs of town showing the village green and quaint homes lined in neat rows, along with the descriptions of picnics and flowing fountains, portray Alberton as an idyllic community. This image avoids the realities of the many children who labored in the factory, often working long hours and earning minimal wages. The gap between the children working in the factory and the children of James Albert Gary widened as the Gary Manufacturing business prospered and the fortunes of its owners grew. James A. Gary and his wife Lavinia provided their ten children a

¹⁰⁶ John McGrain, "Molinography of Maryland Mills," 2008, Special Collection No. 4300, John McGrain Collection, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

wealthy lifestyle with high quality education, social contacts in Baltimore society, and a grand family summer home in Catonsville, Maryland.¹⁰⁷

Edward Stanley Gary

The final Gary to own and operate the textile mill at Alberton was E. Stanley Gary, the only surviving son of James A. Gary and Lavinia. Unlike his father and grandfather before him, E. Stanley did not live in the shadow of the mill. His youth was spent divided between his family home in Baltimore and their summer home, known as “Summit,” in Catonsville. E. Stanley received a high quality education among the Baltimore elite, and like his father before him, he was trained in the operation of the mill as a young man. He worked in the mills from the age of 16, and transitioned into management in the 1880s as his father’s political career accelerated.¹⁰⁸ At his father’s death in 1920, E. Stanley inherited the operations of James S. Gary and Sons, Inc., a firm that by this time was conducting business nationally with brokers in New York, St. Louis and Chicago.¹⁰⁹ However, E. Stanley had increasing interests outside of the village and seems to have been more involved with business in Baltimore than with the detailed operations at the factory. After the great Baltimore fire destroyed the Gary business office on German Street in 1904, E. Stanley Gary took on an important role in rebuilding the city. As the head of the General Public Improvements Conference, he was highly involved with the rebuilding efforts. This position led him into philanthropic and political endeavors, and he eventually became a strong reformer.¹¹⁰ E. Stanley served on several boards in

¹⁰⁷ Maryland Trust nomination form for “the Summit”.

¹⁰⁸ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 70.

¹⁰⁹ *The Amiable Baltimoreans*, 364-368.

¹¹⁰ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 72; *The Amiable Baltimoreans*, 364-368

positions such as the president of the Merchants and Manufacturers Society. He is remembered as a strong advocate of compulsory education in the state of Maryland.¹¹¹

Recession, Depression

With a diminished family interest and growing national difficulties in the textile industry, the prosperous days of the Alberton mills began to fade. Despite facing turbulent economic times, E. Stanley held the company together through the 1930s, when the production of the mill dropped to 25% of capacity and the number of active workers at the mill declined to 35.¹¹² During this period, the mill suffered from a “lack of liquid capital or credit to float raw materials purchases.”¹¹³ A detailed appraisal of the Alberton factory and town holdings conducted by Barnes Textile Service of Boston in 1934 provides a complete picture of the condition of the factory and village at that time. The appraisal was undertaken to determine the condition and viability of the manufacturing operation, and appears to have been

motivated by a desire to better understand the value of the corporate holding in light of increased competition and decreased capital. The objectives of the survey were fourfold: to ascertain the mechanical condition of the plant, make a judgment on the competitiveness of the plant, determine a possible liquidation value, and decide what amount of capital was needed for the factory to successfully continue operations. The majority of the machinery was found to be in fairly good operating condition, with the “preparatory machinery” classified as new and modern, and the rest described as

¹¹¹ For a larger discussion of this see Bradley and Gary family scrapbooks.

¹¹² Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 74; McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript.

¹¹³ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 74.

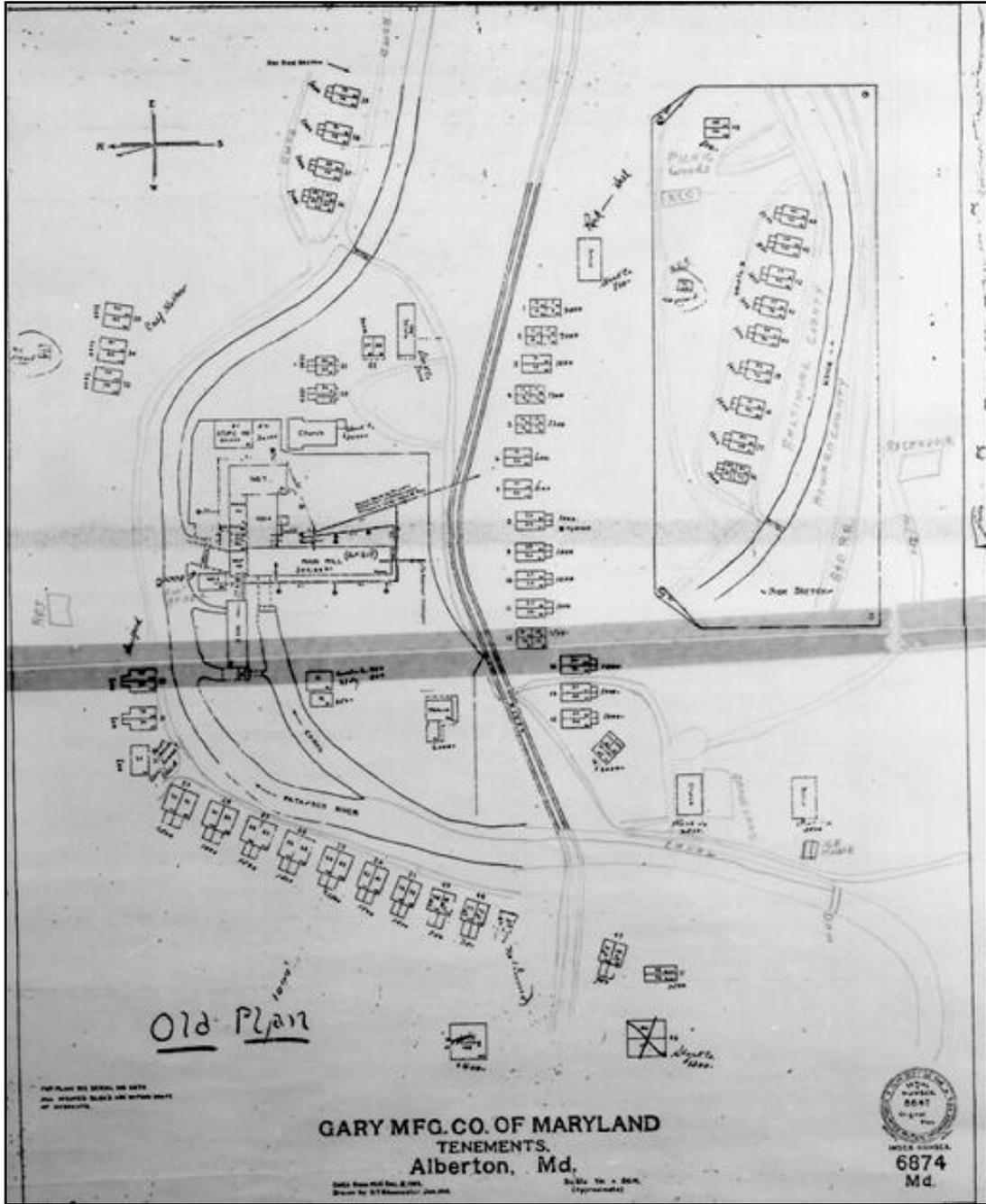


Figure 12. Circa 1910 insurance map of Gary Manufacturing Company (Baltimore County Public Library).

old but kept in “good mechanical condition.”¹¹⁴ The mill was described as being in “very good physical condition” despite being fairly old.¹¹⁵ The tenement buildings were also surveyed and included approximately 110 units, all situated “convenient to the mill.” All tenements had running water and ten had baths, most were of brick construction and in fairly good condition.¹¹⁶ Replacement value for the entire mill was estimated at \$794,140, and a liquidation value of \$211,650 was estimated for the sale of certain fixed company assets, with the exception of the manufacturing buildings.¹¹⁷

Although falling behind the times, the operation was deemed viable with possible annual profits of \$114,000. With these findings, Gary sought the investment necessary to revamp the operation, and in 1935 he secured capital from First National Bank of Baltimore.¹¹⁸ With conditions in the textile market outside of his control, and unusual drought conditions occurring in the Patapsco Valley, the influx of capital proved insufficient to meet the needs of the Alberton Mills. The village needed assistance to feed its residents and employment at the mill dropped to 35 workers. With the country in the grip of depression, and the production of the mill at its lowest point ever under Gary family ownership, additional credit was acquired from First National Bank of Baltimore in April 1939.¹¹⁹

This action did not succeed in resurrecting the firm’s past success and the James S. Gary and Sons Manufacturing Company, like so many textile operations

¹¹⁴ Barnes Textile Service, Survey of James S. Gary & Son, Inc., John McGrain Collection (Towson: Baltimore County Public Library), 22.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 3

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 9

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 21

¹¹⁸ Bradley, Looking Beyond the Surface, 77

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 78.

before it, was taken over by its creditors. The corporation was placed in trusteeship in 1940, marking the end of the line for the town of Alberton, the Gary family leadership, and the Alberton Mill. The trustees leased the Gary holdings to C.R. Daniels Company of New York and New Jersey. The new management won employee favor shortly after taking the reins by reducing utility bills and clearing the outstanding debts at the company store, which had accrued during the years of the depression.¹²⁰ On November 25, 1940, however, the entire town and mill was once again placed on the auction block, hurling its residents into an uncertain future.



Figure 13. 1940 town auction, photograph by *Baltimore News American* (Baltimore County Public Library).

¹²⁰ McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript, 12.



**Figure 14. Workers homes on Alberton Road, November 1940.
Photo by Hans Marx, *Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore County Public Library).**



Figure 15. Aerial view of Gary Memorial Church (Baltimore County Public Library).

Daniels, A Textile Town in Transition

The factory, the entire town, and the fate of its long-time residents were to be auctioned off in a public event on November 23, 1940. Newspaper accounts of the auction described the atmosphere as apprehensive and somber, as residents anxiously awaited their fate. Many were long-time employees, often second- or third-generation family members, to whom Alberton was home. Although loyal to their past employers, residents expressed hope that brighter days lay ahead under new management.¹²¹ A lengthy auction notice for the property was advertised in the *Baltimore Sun* on October 24, 1940, which described the property as the “cotton duck manufacturing plant of James S. Gary and Son, Inc.,” and included details on the land, buildings, machinery, dwellings, and water rights and privileges.¹²² The advertisement detailed a large manufacturing concern and town, which had grown substantially from the cotton mill that was last auctioned in 1859.

Edward A. Trumpbour, a representative of C.R. Daniels Company, was the only bidder present, and to the relief of several townspeople he acquired the town, mill, and 550 acres of land for \$65,000. The population of Alberton was approximately 800 residents on the date of the sale, and the property purchase included their 118 homes, two churches, and the local store. Residents, eager to return to work and maintain their homes, were pleased with the outcome of the sale and a few women are noted to have “wept in relief.”¹²³ C.R. Daniels Company quickly

¹²¹ A Staff Correspondent, "Town of Alberton Goes for \$65,000," *The Sun*, November 24, 1940, accessed April 29, 2012, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539962830?accountid=14696>. Additional articles in John McGrain Collection.

¹²² "Classified Ad 6 -- No Title," advertisement, *The Sun*, November 21, 1940, accessed April 29, 2012, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/540047179?accountid=14696>.

¹²³ Staff Correspondent A, "Town of Alberton Goes for \$65,000."

announced plans to move significant operations to the town and to increase employment at the site to 250 laborers.¹²⁴

C.R. Daniels of New York was established in 1920 and later acquired by Trambour brothers, merchants from New York. Manufacturers of finished canvas products, such as tarps and laundry bins, C.R. Daniels acquired the mill as a step in the vertical integration of their operations.¹²⁵ The company was successful in this location, expanding operations at the mill from cotton duck production to include the assembly of canvas products under the name of Dandux. A 1951 Dandux brochure, touts the quality of its products, which were produced from “raw material to finished product.” The advertisement notes that skilled craftsmen, under strict quality controls, produced finished products from “cotton duck woven right in Dandux’ own mill;” the ad includes photographs that depict steps in the production process from field to finished product. As additional assembly space was needed, the plant added a range of low concrete block buildings around the original granite mill.¹²⁶ These additions greatly changed the architectural character of the original mill complex, which was further transformed as the new low buildings began “engulfing both the old St. Alban’s Episcopal Church and the brick superintendent’s mansion.”¹²⁷ While the residential areas remained intact, the picturesque landscaping and village green gave way to a modern textile factory.

C.R. Daniels Company officially changed the name of the town to Daniels and invested in the town, spending considerable sums to fix up homes for the residents.

¹²⁴ McGrain, Unpublished Manuscript.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 13.

¹²⁶ C.R. Daniels, Dandux Brochures, 1954, John McGrain Collection (Towson: Baltimore County Public Library).

¹²⁷ Ibid, 13.

Residents enjoyed a low cost of living in town, and a 1952 news article claims that the company had no layoffs in eleven years.¹²⁸ Much of what is known about this period comes from a few newspaper articles and interviews with past residents. These sources suggest that the residents were happy living in the isolated village during this time. Many residents felt that company houses, though old and lacking indoor plumbing, were spacious, well-constructed, and offered amenities like yards and gardens.



Figure 16. November 27, 1956 aerial view of the C.R. Daniels Cotton Duck Mill Complex at Daniels, Maryland. Photographed by Lawrence McNally, for the *Baltimore News American* (Baltimore County Public Library).

¹²⁸ Personal Collection of John McGrain. Evening Sun, “Metropolitan Main Streets”, 1952.

By the midpoint of the 1960s, the mill village at Daniels was one of the last in the state. Mills throughout the region had halted production during the twentieth century, and mill communities were either abandoned or absorbed into city neighborhoods. C.R. Daniels Company had made a transition away from cotton duck production by this time, facing continued competition from larger textile mills in the south.¹²⁹ The small mill village in the Patapsco Valley was becoming an anomaly on the landscape. Recalling a forgotten past, the town was described as “having wandered by mistake into the Twentieth Century.”¹³⁰



Figure 17. Mill of C.R. Daniels Company, 1973 (Maryland Historical Trust HO-27).

¹²⁹ Bradley, “Looking Beyond the Surface,” 115-119.

¹³⁰ James D. Dilts, “The Changing City: Death of a Town,” May 12, 1968, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Sun (1837-1986).

Demolition of Company Housing – 1968

Despite their apparent economic success at the Daniels location and the continued growth of the factory, it appears that the C.R. Daniels owners were less enthusiastic about their role as village managers. Although they continued to manage the historic mill tenements, there is no indication that the management considered adding additional housing for the benefit of new workers. In fact, reports indicate that by the mid-1960s only twenty percent of the factory workers resided in the village.¹³¹ This is indicative of a shift away from the paternalistic model of mill management to a more modern business model. For reasons that have yet to be disclosed, at some point during the year 1965 the owners and management of C.R. Daniels made the decision to dismantle the village that stood along the river for some 125 years. As perhaps a final act of paternalistic control, this decision was reached without the knowledge or input of the community. Without holding a single community meeting or town gathering, the management mailed letters to unknowing residents informing them of the plan to demolish their homes. Residents were instructed to secure other living arrangements, as the homes were to be dismantled in the upcoming year.¹³²

The news quickly spread through town as shocked residents shared their letters and disbelief with one another. The displacement of the residents was particularly difficult for the many retired workers who relied on the extremely low rental prices of the dwelling units to survive on mill pensions that provided them less than \$200 a month. Residents were given one year to find alternative housing, during

¹³¹ John McGrain Collection (Towson: Baltimore County Public Library).

¹³² Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 138-140. Bradley details numerous personal interviews with past residents and newspaper accounts. The recent occurrence of this event has allowed for substantial documentation.

which time many of the former employees slipped away. Without access to company records there is limited indication of where the former residents moved and how many continued on as employees after moving from town.

In 1968 the buildings were dismantled and some were even burned on site, leaving behind a tragic scene and forever changing the legacy of the town. At a time when many industries were struggling and factory towns across the nation were closing their doors, this traumatic event stands out as a rare incidence of a successful and functioning factory abandoning the town supporting it. The destruction of the historical buildings and closing of the town did not go unnoticed by the local authorities and neighboring communities. In fact, as word spread of the slated demolition and the great loss of low-income housing, concerned groups stepped in to try to stop the destruction. Community groups, advocating for the low-income residents, attempted to meet with C.R. Daniels representatives on several occasions. They argued that low cost housing in the greater community was already a large issue and the displacement of an additional 90 households would be a strain for the region. Preservation organizations, including the Smithsonian Institution and the Maryland Historical Trust, also attempted to communicate with the management but they were not able to stop the demolition. The Smithsonian “expressed interest in the purchase or preservation of the homes or the entire town, as it represented a complete example of a “rapidly vanishing type of industrial development.”¹³³ A letter from Orlando Ridout of the Maryland Historical Trust, dated June 1968, urges then Baltimore County Executive Dale Anderson to refrain from issuing demolition permits to C.R.

¹³³ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 142; Dilts, “The Changing City: Death of a Town,”; Notes from Maryland Historical Trust Library, Daniels Vertical File.



Figure 18. Frame houses on Baltimore County side of the river, 1968 (Maryland Historical Trust Nomination Form HO-27).

Daniels Company, on the basis of the number of low-income homes as well as the historic nature of the community.

Despite local, state, and national advocacy for the buildings, C.R. Daniels Company was granted permits and allowed to proceed with the demolition of housing. The demolition occurred over a period of months in 1968, with residents gradually finding government assistance for moves to low income housing. Newspaper reports during this period were widespread and the demolition of the “storybook” town became a popular human-interest story, even garnering national attention with an article in *Time Magazine* on June 21, 1968. The article “Death of a

Company Town” describes Daniels as “one of the last examples of the almost vanished bit of Americana, the company town, which once ranged from Western mine and lumber settlements to Southern cotton camps” and further reports on the social problem that will be created for retired mill workers who had planned to spend the remainder of their days in the village. By the end of the year, the last of the worker’s homes had been removed leaving only the factory, village store, railroad tracks, and several churches to tell the story of the town.

A lack of communication from the company left local advocates and past residents speculating on the true reasons for the closing of the town. News reports focused on the expense of maintaining the homes, the cost of bringing sewer services to the town, recent low water levels from drought conditions causing restrictions on water to residents, the Federal Fair Housing Act, and the desire of C.R. Daniels to get out of the “property management business.”¹³⁴ While these reasons were mentioned, no meetings were granted with advocates, and reports that state and local funds were available to reduce the cost of modernizing the village infrastructure apparently had no effect on the decision. A letter from Baltimore County Executive Dale Anderson to Maryland State Liaison Officer Orlando Ridout IV, dated July 17, 1968, states that the county had contacted top officials from C.R. Daniels, offering county assistance for planning and providing water and sewer facilities to the town, to which they were informed that the company’s decision to demolish the dwellings was final.¹³⁵ No involvement or attempts to stop the demolition from either the state or local Howard County authorities are indicated. In an attempt to document and protect the mill, it

¹³⁴ Bradley, “Looking Beyond the Surface,” 141-145; Dilts, “The Changing City: Death of a Town.”

¹³⁵ Letter to Maryland Historical Trust, 1968, “Daniels Vertical File,” Maryland Historical Trust.

was nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in 1968. Prior to demolition, limited photo documentation of the property was also undertaken.

Daniels Mill was officially accepted for inclusion on the National Register in 1973.

Despite the demise of its mill village, C.R. Daniels maintained operations at the mill site, continuing to manufacture canvas products. A few churches and buildings survived the demolition of the village. Gary Memorial Church, located opposite the main mill building, remained and became a gathering point for the congregation and past residents. The church remains active today and continues to be a meeting site for former residents. Although many town residents moved away, others who lived locally continued to work in the factory and adapted to the change. Any hostility that existed between the displaced residents and the corporate management was soon to be forgotten when, on June 21, 1972, just four years after the removal of residents, torrential rains resulting from Hurricane Agnes caused widespread devastation in the Patapsco Valley.

Devastation

Damage to the region from Hurricane Agnes was significant, causing loss of life, major flooding, and the massive destruction of roads, bridges, and buildings throughout the Baltimore area. In Howard County, flooding was extensive, washing out all but three roads in and out of the county when both the Patapsco and Patuxent rivers overflowed their banks. In Ellicott City, historic granite buildings that had survived nearly 200 years of freshets and floods were swept off their foundations. Roads were washed out leaving many stranded throughout the county. At Daniels, the river virtually swallowed the remaining buildings leaving large portions of the factory

underwater and trapping a watchman and his family for hours. The force of the river was so strong that the town store was lifted off its foundation and washed downriver. The receding waters left a scene of devastation with the factory machinery considered a total loss (Figure 19).¹³⁶ The course of the river was temporarily changed and rail tracks and bridge abutments were permanently destroyed. The sudden rise of the river throughout the valley trapped people in their homes, and caused many past residents to be thankful they no longer lived in the village. Damage at the C.R. Daniels

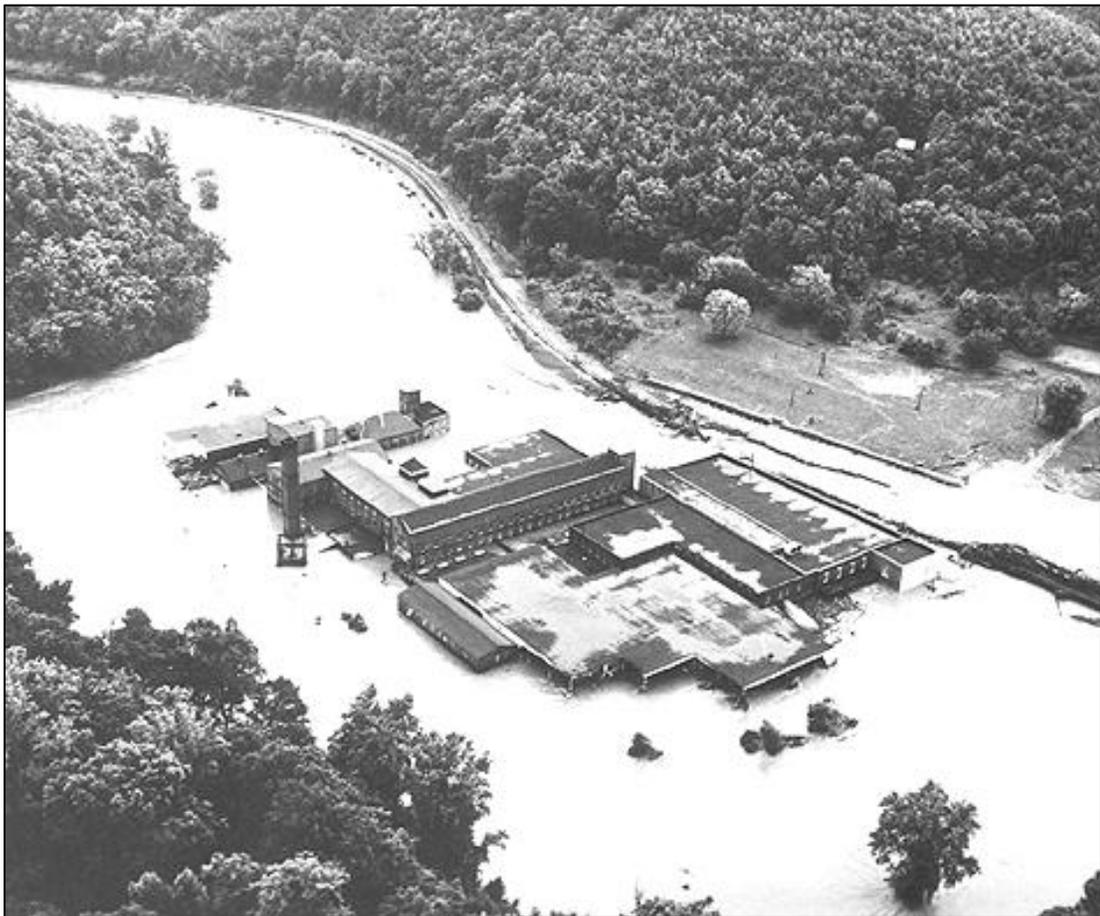


Figure 19. Aerial view of C.R. Daniels Plant, taken after Hurricane Agnes, 1972 (Baltimore County Public Library).

¹³⁶ Travers, *The Patapsco*, 175-177.

complex was estimated to be \$2.7 million, and while the walls of the original granite factory stood steadfast on the site, the interior and all machinery was declared a loss. In the aftermath of the flood, the past decision of C.R. Daniels to demolish the tenement homes was considered divine intervention and credited with saving many lives.¹³⁷

In the first days after the flood there are accounts of longtime employees, reporting to the factory to assist with the clean up and repair of the factory works, as would have been common practice in earlier times.¹³⁸ However, the floodwaters brought by Agnes heralded the end of productive life for the historic mill, which had been in nearly continuous operation since the 1840s. Within a few days, the state of Maryland announced that they were condemning the land surrounding the mill to become part of the Patapsco Valley State Park, which at this point occupied much of the land up and down the river.¹³⁹ The exclusion of the 15-acre mill parcel from the state acquisition of land was a concern for those interested in possible preservation or rehabilitation to active use. The Maryland Historical Trust once again stepped in to advocate for the mill site, attempting to persuade the Department of Natural Resources to purchase the remains of the mill and integrate it into the park. A letter dated July 30, 1973, from Brice M. Clagett, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Maryland Historical Trust to Mr. James B. Coulter, Secretary of the Department of Natural Resources, requests the Department to incorporate the 1830s stone mill into the park claiming that:

¹³⁷ McGrain, *Unpublished Manuscript*, 14, Bradley, "Looking Beyond the Surface," 152.

¹³⁸ Bradley, "Looking Beyond the Surface," 153.

¹³⁹ McGrain, *Unpublished Manuscript*, 14.

this structure offers a myriad of possibilities to the park development from museum use to recreational use to storage for park equipment. The building itself is one of the earliest cotton mills erected in Maryland as well as being one of the few to have survived. It is important to remember that our industrial heritage needs preservation as much as, if not more than, our Georgian mansions.¹⁴⁰

Despite attempts by the Maryland Historical Trust and attorneys for C.R. Daniels to broker a deal, the state was not “interested in buying” the historic mill buildings. In 1976, the Department of Natural Resources and the company came to an agreement, and the state obtained 401 acres of what remained of the village of Daniels. A two-acre property was deeded to Gary Memorial Methodist Church and all that remained of the heart of the model village at Alberton was a 15-acre parcel in the bend of the river, containing the flood ravaged remains of the mill, nineteenth and twentieth-century outbuildings, St. Albans Church and the right of way originally deeded to the B&O railroad.¹⁴¹

As noted above, the exterior of the original mill had survived mostly intact and stood amid the ruins as a testament to the strength of the materials and classical design. Nevertheless, C.R. Daniels, which still operates in Ellicott City, relocated to higher ground away from the Patapsco River. Alberton Road, which ran in front of the old brick homes, was closed to traffic and the property became integrated into the Patapsco State Park. The mill parcel was later sold to a private owner for \$25,000.¹⁴²

For a time the mill remains were utilized as a feed storage facility, with the

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Brice M. Clagett, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Maryland Historical Trust (Daniels Vertical File).

¹⁴¹ Howard County Circuit Court (Land Records), [MSA CE 53-749] CMP 759, p. 0533, accessed 02/08/2012.

¹⁴² Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 153.

main mill used as a hay warehouse.¹⁴³ Plans for an industrial park at the site were never realized after a fire broke out at the mill in September 1977. The fire burned within the mill for several days, and it was estimated to have destroyed 75% of the buildings. Ellicott City officials said it was the largest fire recorded in Howard County for over 50 years, and it continued to smolder for eight days.¹⁴⁴ What



Figure 20. Fire at former Daniels Cotton Duck Mill, photo taken September 17, 1977 (Baltimore County Public Library).

¹⁴³ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 161.

¹⁴⁴ Bradley, *Looking Beyond the Surface*, 162.

remained of the interior and the iconic rooflines were destroyed; however, most of the solid stonewalls remained standing (Figure 20). Ownership of the mill has transferred several times since the 1970s, and the mill buildings, lacking protection as private property, have been left to deteriorate. The mill parcel remains privately owned and currently functions as a welding shop and mulch-processing firm.

Chapter 4: Protecting a Natural Resource

Introduction

From the earliest days of human settlement the land along the Patapsco River has been enjoyed for its natural beauty, abundant wildlife and vegetation, and its natural water power. Over time, the natural landscape of the river valley was filled with mills, villages, forges, and factories, all benefitting from the tremendous resources of the valley. However, few realized the destruction their operations were causing to the natural environment. As resources became depleted and pollution in local waterways began to affect the fish and oyster populations in the Chesapeake Bay, public concern over the loss of natural and forested land began to grow. Local environmental concerns and the desire to preserve and beautify the environment echoed a rising national concern for the protection of wild lands.

In the early twentieth century, a conservation ethic gained national support, leading to the protection of forestland and the creation of national parks in the west. The National Park Service was established in 1916 for the protection of natural lands and for preserving the natural beauty for future generations. Similar concerns were experienced at the state level and, in 1906, the state of Maryland passed a forestry law that established the Board of Forestry, and charged it with acquiring and managing state forest reserves.¹⁴⁵ The following year, a donation of 43 acres of land along the Patapsco River led to the creation of the Patapsco Forest Reserve, which ultimately became the first Maryland state park. As early as 1912, portions of the Patapsco Forest Reserve were dedicated to the public for recreational use, allowing citizens to

¹⁴⁵ Department of Natural Resources, "History of Maryland State Parks," 2005, <http://www.dnr.state.md.us/publiclands/sfpshistory.html> 2005 (accessed December 11, 2011).

camp, picnic and swim. Earlier studies led to the creation of the 1950 Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park. The 1950 plan was an ambitious product of the Maryland State Planning Commission, which sought to develop a continuous greenway linking the city of Baltimore with the surrounding counties along the Patapsco River.¹⁴⁶ The ideas advanced in the 1950 plan, though minimally implemented, have continued to influence park planning at the state and county level. A 1976 concept plan for Patapsco Valley State Park included a green corridor as one of its primary goals and clearly referenced the earlier plan. According to the 1976 plan, the green corridor concept dates back to the earlier 1950 Allen Report and recommendations from the Regional Planning Council. The “green corridor is envisioned from the Baltimore Harbor to Parr’s Spring. The corridor could vary in width, linking Baltimore City, county-owned lands, easements, and state park land, and could provide the opportunity for a major trail system from Baltimore City to Parr’s Spring.”¹⁴⁷ The desire to create a greenway or corridor continued through the intervening years, as the Department of Natural Resources slowly amassed large tracts of privately owned land for incorporation into the park.

Today, Patapsco Valley State Park encompasses much of the land along the Patapsco River, including property in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, and Howard counties. A 2009 report by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources describes the park as “contributing to resource and water quality protection by conserving

¹⁴⁶ Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park,” (Baltimore: 1950), <http://www.archive.org/details/developmentplanf65mary> (accessed October 27, 2011).

¹⁴⁷ Maryland Department of Natural Resources, “Concept Plan Patapsco Valley State Park, Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard Counties and Baltimore City, December, 1976,” <http://www.dnr.state.md.us/irc/docs/00014551.pdf> (accessed October 27, 2011)

undeveloped, forested stream valley lands” and providing “natural resource recreation based activities” in the Baltimore region.¹⁴⁸ The protection of the river valley by the state for both natural resource conservation and public recreation marks a tremendous shift in the associated land use patterns along the Patapsco. The river has not only played a vital role in the ecological health of the state, but also in the cultural heritage and development of Maryland towns and cities.

While the park has more recently recognized several historic areas, beginning to tell the story of early industry along the river, however, many other sites of historic importance have been lost in the quest to create a green corridor with natural recreation areas. The Daniels area of the park is one such section to have suffered from neglect. While the Department of Natural Resources was not directly responsible for the large scale demolition and destruction of the resources at the Daniels area, it has not taken an active role in the protection, maintenance, or interpretation of the many cultural resources at this site. The management of cultural resources at the Daniels site is representative of the treatment of many industrial sites throughout the country, which have been lost or forever hidden in the quest for environmental protection. A brief examination of the growth of environmental conservation on both a state and local level explores how this has influenced the development of Patapsco Valley State Park. Various development plans and a history of the park near Daniels are also presented to explore a possible connection between the loss of the industrial landscape and the protection of the natural environment.

¹⁴⁸ Maryland Department of Natural Resources, “2009 Maryland Land Preservation, Parks, and Recreation Plan,” http://www.mdp.state.md.us/PDF/OurProducts/Publications/Misc/Web_LPPRP_Exec_Sum.pdf (accessed February 28, 2012)

Maryland State Forestry Program

The growing national interest in natural areas and forested lands in the early 1900s brought increased pressure on states to protect forest reserves and natural areas for future generations. Maryland's timber reserves and forestlands were considered to be particularly at risk due to cut-and-run lumber practices, unchecked forest fires, and significant erosion.¹⁴⁹ The management of the state wild lands and timber stands was highlighted when B&O Railroad heirs John and Robert Garrett donated 2,000 acres of land in Garrett County to the state of Maryland, under the condition that the state would "institute policies" for the management of the land as well as other Maryland forest reserves.¹⁵⁰ Concerned primarily with the protection of forested lands, the passage of the Maryland Forestry Conservation Act in 1906 created the Board of Forestry and also established policies for the "protection and improvement of state parks and forest reserves."¹⁵¹ Fred Besley, the first State Forester, acquired and managed forest conservation land and is also credited with establishing the state park system in Maryland. The Department of Forestry, under the leadership of Besley, operated as an independent board until 1941, when it was consolidated with other state conservation agencies into the new Board of Natural Resources. The forestry department became the Department of State Forests and Parks, thereby elevating the importance of the state park system. In 1942, Joseph F. Kaylor replaced Fred Besley as the Director of State Forests and Parks. New leadership brought a focus on stream

¹⁴⁹ Department of Natural Resources, "History of Maryland State Parks," 2005.

¹⁵⁰ Department of Natural Resources, "History of Maryland State Parks," 2005.

¹⁵¹ Department of Natural Resources, "History of Maryland State Parks," 2005; Buckley, Bailey and Grove, "The Patapsco Forest Reserve," 92.

valley state parks and the development of recreation areas within the forest reserves.¹⁵²

Table 2.

| Chronology of Patapsco Valley State Park | |
|---|--|
| 1903 | Olmstead Brothers Report on the Development of Public Grounds for Baltimore |
| 1906 | Maryland forestry law establishes the Board of Forestry |
| 1907 | Donation to state of 43 acres along the Patapsco River |
| 1911 | Reports of public concerns leads to the creation of the Patapsco Forest Reserve |
| 1912 | Sections of forest reserve are dedicated to public use |
| 1933 | Patapsco Forest Reserve is officially recognized as the first Maryland state park |
| 1941 | Department of Forestry becomes the Board of Natural Resources |
| 1946 | Patapsco River Valley Commission identifies Patapsco Park as a natural greenway |
| 1950 | Development plan for Patapsco River Valley Park is published |
| 1966 | Federal matching funds become available from Land and Water Conservation Fund |
| 1969 | Maryland Outdoor Recreation Land Loan Act establishes "Program Open Space" |
| 1976 | State acquires acreage at Daniels |
| * | Data Compiled by Author |

By 1966, federal matching monies from the Land and Water Conservation Fund allowed the state to increase its focus on state parks and accelerate the expansion of the state park system. During this time, the Maryland Division of State Parks hired a staff of “professional park planners to develop a bold new program of state park land acquisition and capital development.”¹⁵³ This was the beginning of “Program Open Space,” which was formally established by the Maryland Outdoor Recreation Land Loan Act of 1969. This act generated funds for the acquisition of parkland by imposing a one-half percentage point tax on all real estate transfers in the state. Funds from “Program Open Space” were utilized at the state level for land acquisition and at the municipal level for both acquisition and development. These monies were increased by matching funding from the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund. During its first twenty years, “Program Open Space” facilitated

¹⁵² Buckley, Bailey, and Grove, “The Patapsco Forest Reserve,” 94.

¹⁵³ Department of Natural Resources, “History of Maryland State Parks,” 2005.

the purchase of approximately 60 acres of land.¹⁵⁴ Patapsco River Valley Park, an early focus of the State Planning Commission, was able to expand quickly as funds for land acquisition became more plentiful.

Patapsco State Forest Reserve 1907 - 1933

What is known today as the Patapsco Valley State Park, a 32-mile-long greenway linking the City of Baltimore to Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Howard and Carroll counties, began as an early land donation to the Maryland State Forest Reserve. The donation of 43 acres along the Patapsco River marked a first step toward the creation of recreational lands for the citizens of Baltimore. In their 1903 “Plan for the Development of Public Lands for Baltimore,” the Olmsted Brothers identified land along the Patapsco River as a “prime site for a Reservation” which would be valuable for conservation, but could also service the recreational needs of the growing city population.¹⁵⁵ In 1907, just one year after the enactment of the Forestry Act,

John M. Glenn, a prominent attorney, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, trustee of the Johns Hopkins University Hospital, and a founding member of the Municipal Art Society, donated forty acres of land from his Hilton Estate in the Patapsco Valley near Catonsville to the state. It was here that the interests of the fledgling Board of Forestry and Baltimore’s urban elites converged.¹⁵⁶

Building upon the ideas of the early Olmsted plan, this land donation was put to use as a state park to provide natural and recreational land for the citizens of Baltimore. State Forester Fred Besley conceded that the mission of the State Forestry Board was threefold: to acquire and protect state timber reserves and to “provide for scenic

¹⁵⁴ Department of Natural Resources, “History of Maryland State Parks,” 2005.

¹⁵⁵ Buckley, Bailey and Grove, *The Patapsco Forest Reserve*,” 103.

¹⁵⁶ Buckley, Bailey and Grove, *The Patapsco Forest Reserve*,” 93.

beauty.” He felt that the proximity of the Patapsco Forest Reserve to the city of Baltimore, and its picturesque qualities, made it ideally suited to be a state park for “recreation and pleasure.”¹⁵⁷

Period of Acquisition

Initially the Patapsco Forest Reserve was a “demonstration forest,” and while this was of interest to the public, it did little to protect the large stands of timber along the Patapsco. When newspaper reports expressed public concern for the loss of timber in the Patapsco Valley in 1910-1911, Fred Besley saw an opportunity to promote his beliefs in scientific forestry. To expand his goals, Besley requested \$25,000 from the Maryland General Assembly for the purchase of land fronting the Patapsco River. To support his request he “assembled a cadre of supporters to testify before the Maryland General Assembly in February 1912.” The growth of the park over the next fifteen years was accomplished through the cooperation of the State Forestry Board and a coalition of progressive Baltimore elites.¹⁵⁸ A 1912 *Baltimore News American* article indicates that great progress was being made on the assembly of land for the Patapsco Forest Reserve, and a survey of land records in Baltimore and Howard counties presented by Buckley, Bailey, and Grove shows that by 1941, 1,582.17 acres of land had been transferred to the State.

Used for public recreation as early as 1912, the park continued to grow, but struggled to keep pace with the demand for recreation space. In the post World War

¹⁵⁷ Buckley, Bailey and Grove, *The Patapsco Forest Reserve*,” 94.

¹⁵⁸ Buckley, Bailey and Grove, *The Patapsco Forest Reserve*,” 88. For a more detailed examination of the influence of Progressive Era Elite, the Olmsted Ideas and the City Beautiful on the creation and assembly of the land for the Patapsco State park – this articles details land transactions, reports and actions of the Forestry board to aid in the assemblage of the park.

era, the demand for public outdoor recreation space “grew at an alarming rate.”¹⁵⁹ A survey conducted at that time indicated that the Avalon area of the Patapsco State Park was the most heavily trafficked in the State. In an attempt to meet the demands of the local population, a study by the Regional Planning Commission examined the acquisition of additional parklands, with a special focus on the development of Patapsco River Valley Park. The Patapsco Forest Reserve was officially recognized as the first Maryland state park in 1933, and in the mid-1930s the area was noted for its potential to fill a larger regional role. Investigations by the State Planning Commission in 1938 and the Patapsco River Valley Commission in 1946 identified the park for use as a natural greenway, leading to the creation of the 1950 Development Plan by the Maryland State Planning Commission.

1950 Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park

The 1950 Development Plan was undertaken at the request of the Maryland General Assembly, which sought a comprehensive survey of the Patapsco River Valley and cited the need to address an increasing demand for urban recreation in the most densely populated portion of Maryland.¹⁶⁰ The plan was very ambitious, calling for the addition of nearly 7,000 acres of land to the 1,564 acres of current parkland.

Of this parkland,

about 6,000 acres of the Park will be of forest character and will be given to conservation practices, hiking, fishing, horseback riding, picnicking in small groups, and nature study. The remaining 2,503 odd acres, much of it also

¹⁵⁹ Department of Natural Resources, “History of Maryland State Parks,” 2005.

¹⁶⁰ Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park.” The 1950 plan is noted as being a functional development plan to carry out the recommendations of the Technical Committee of the Patapsco River Valley Commission of 1946.

heavily wooded, are recommended for large-scale picnicking, camping, and urban- and semi urban-type park units.¹⁶¹

There was a lack of consideration given to planning for historical or cultural resources or for the care of existing resources on newly acquired land. The most immediate and pressing need expressed in the report was to secure the land, and to this end the report laid out an ambitious four-year schedule with an anticipated cost of \$800,000.¹⁶²

The need for the park was partly justified by economic considerations, as the many acres of forestland would provide periodic income from the systematic harvesting of timber. Flood control, conservation of water, prevention of erosion, and the protection of habitats for the “indigenous wildlife” were also provided as evidence for expansion of the park.

The development plan envisioned a nearly continuous greenway of parkland running along both sides of the Patapsco River from the Baltimore city line, south to Relay, then following the river upstream to Woodstock on a path nearly identical to the old main line of the B&O Railroad (Figure 21). The plan notes that breaks would occur at Ilchester, Ellicott City, Oella, Hollofield, and Alberton (now Daniels). Figure 21 shows the park bypassing the colleges of Woodstock and St. Mary’s before dividing to follow the North Branch to the Liberty Reservoir and the Baltimore City line, and the South Branch to the community of Sykesville. The width of the park along the river was planned to average one-half mile, and was to exceed this size only in instances where a special attractiveness of the land or requirement of proposed

¹⁶¹ Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park, 1950, 10.

¹⁶² Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park, 1950, 41.

park features required it. The ambitious design of the plan apparently did not address existing land use in the areas of the park, with the exception of large towns and settlements. It was deemed “highly desirable that local planning and zoning boards undertake a review of existing land use patterns in order to provide for an effective balance of future park, residential, and nonresidential development.”¹⁶³

Alberton/Daniels a Potential Development Area

The village at Alberton was specifically mentioned in the plan, noting a proposal to construct a playfield west of the town in the bend of the river. It was also recommended that for better protection of the stream, the land alongside the stream and on both sides of the roadway within the town should be acquired. The report expressly mentions “excluding the houses” but this is not described in further detail, so it is assumed that they proposed to acquire the land on which the houses stand but not the structures themselves. The remainder of the land to be secured at Alberton was to be maintained as forest park.¹⁶⁴

The Development Plan included a priority schedule for land acquisition and facility development over a twelve-year period with land acquisition taking preference during the first four years. In the fourth year, forestland above Alberton, below Alberton, to the north of Alberton and the Alberton scenic drive were scheduled for acquisition.¹⁶⁵ Time has shown that much of the 1950 development

¹⁶³ Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park, 1950,” 18.

¹⁶⁴ Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park.” Forest Park is defined in the appendix as: a forest in which hiking, horseback riding, picnicking and nature study are the only recreation activities permitted. There are no automobile roads except service roads and access roads. Scientific lumbering is appropriate.

¹⁶⁵ Maryland State Planning Commission, “Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park,” 19.

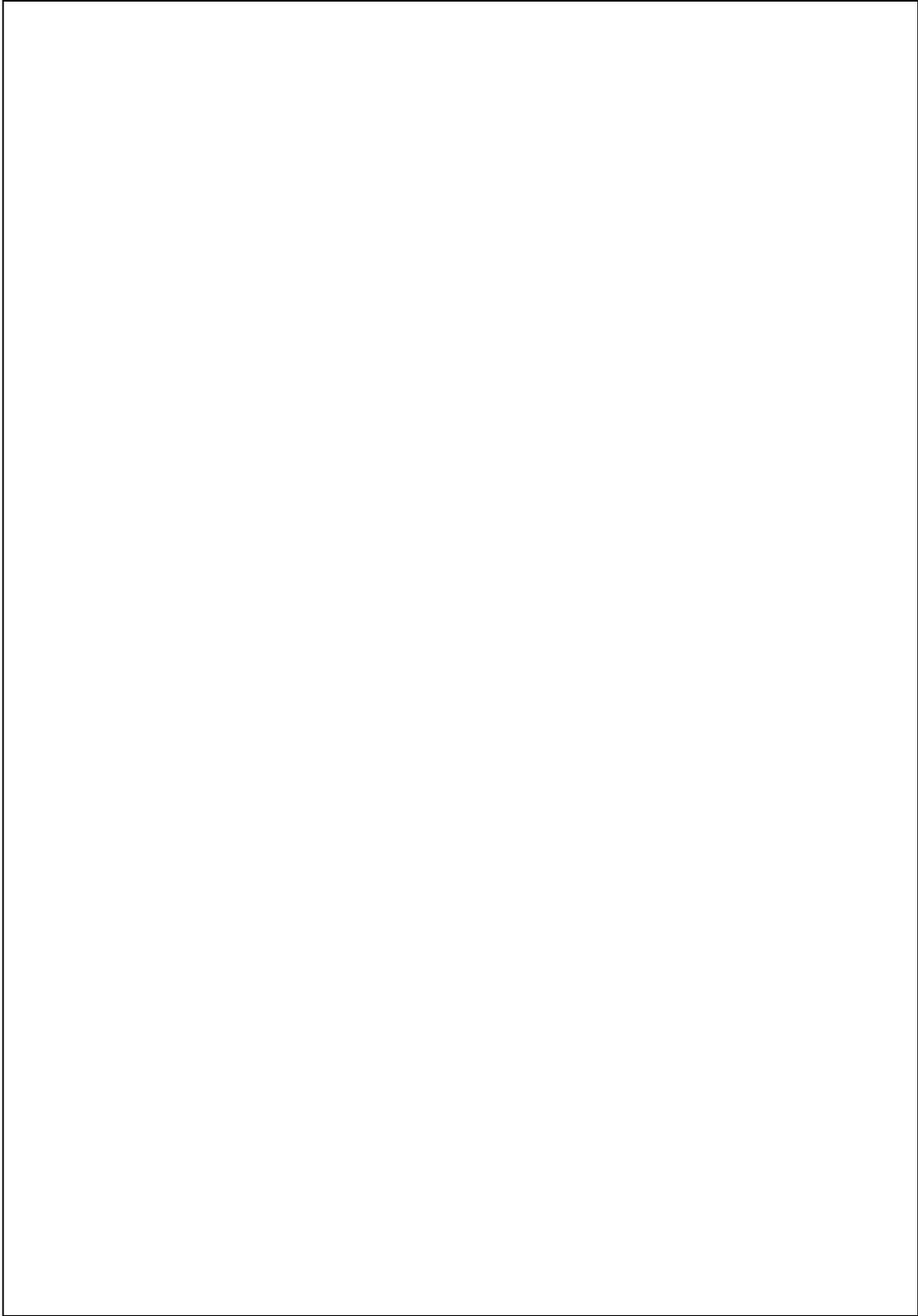


Figure 21. 1950 Development Plan for Patapsco River Valley Park (Maryland Department of Planning, “Development Plan for the Patapsco River Valley Park, 1950”).

plan was never realized, it is evident that the plan was widely accepted and gained approval of the Maryland Legislature. “During the decade of the 1950s, almost \$2 million dollars was appropriated by the Maryland General Assembly for land acquisition.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Maryland Department of Natural Resources, *Trail Management Plan: Patapsco Valley State Park*, 1998 (n.p.: Maryland Department of Natural Resources, 1998).

Chapter 5: Preserving a Cultural Landscape

Introduction

The rapid acquisition of parkland by the state in the 1950s and 1960s coincides with the growing environmental conservation movement. River valleys, wetlands and other natural areas were sought out for protection by federal and state agencies as well as land trusts and conservancies. Many of these places were acquired to become “wilderness” areas that could be conserved in “pristine condition” for the public to get away from the reality of modern life. In actuality, few if any of these lands remained truly wild; most American landscapes have experienced some human interaction and impacts. In “The Natural Environment,” Charles Roe writes that the “land has shaped all of human culture, and people have shaped the land. In temperate North America, like most of the world, no land area has been unaffected by centuries of use and impact by humans. All of America’s landscapes hold the imprints of human occupation.”¹⁶⁷ Despite this clear relationship there has been a long divide between those championing protection of the environment and those seeking to preserve its cultural history. In her article “Applied Environmentalism, or Reconciliation Among ‘the Bios’ and ‘the Culturals’,” Rebecca Conard examines the divide that exists between professionals in natural conservation and historic preservation. She argues that this division “typically plays out as internal, bureaucratic struggles” between the two factions and has led to “competition for funds and decision-making authority.”¹⁶⁸ Although the groups share a central concern

¹⁶⁷ Charles Roe, “The Natural Environment,” 234.

¹⁶⁸ Conard, “Applied Environmentalism, or Reconciliation Among ‘the Bios’ and ‘the Culturals’,” 9.

for conserving spaces of importance to future generations of Americans, their language, policies and methods are vastly different.

In this tradition, the state's focus on preserving a natural recreation space along the Patapsco River Valley, and particularly at Daniels, appears to have occurred at the expense of the rich cultural history of the river valley. The establishment of the park largely occurred outside of the influence of historic preservationists and, as noted, even requests from the Maryland Historical Trust and inclusion, as an historic district on the National Register of Historic Places were not sufficient to protect the historic structures located in Daniels. Up and down the river, historical industrial sites and early settlements ravaged by flood and fire now suffer neglect because of their location in natural areas. Despite this fact, the acquisition of land for park space has sheltered many cultural sites from total destruction due to urban sprawl and suburban development, creating a sort of preservation by neglect. The conservation of large tracts of land by land trusts and conservancies for environmental protection has often had the unintended consequence of preserving historical sites and cultural landscapes.¹⁶⁹ The fractured and forlorn Daniels area exists today as one such area. Despite being marred by devastation and divided by river, railway, and county lines, the remains of the built heritage and the natural landscape provide an intact and important cultural landscape.

Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, writing in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes*, assert that “cultural landscapes exist virtually everywhere that human activities have affected the land” and further explain that these cultural landscapes exist as “environments that clearly display the human organization of natural

¹⁶⁹ Charles Roe, “The Natural Environment,” 234.

elements.”¹⁷⁰ The presence of churches, mill buildings, dam and railroad infrastructure amidst the rugged, rocky gorge at Daniels clearly shows this human intervention even as it leaves visitors questioning the fate of the town. The protected nature of the Daniels historic site in the river valley surrounded by state parkland has sheltered it from one hundred and fifty years of rural farming and suburban growth. Industrial activity still occurring at the site is destructive to the historic buildings and continues to threaten the landscape; however, the important landscape features that represent the establishment of community and industry remain evident and continue to exist in a semi-protected state. This section of the study considers the natural and cultural divide that has led to the fragmentation of the site, the current conditions of the landscape and the possible preservation partnerships or strategies that could be employed to protect the Daniels area as a vital vernacular cultural landscape.

Balancing Natural and Cultural Resources

Early conservation efforts in the United States recognized the importance of conserving natural and cultural elements, as Americans in the late 19th and early 20th century came to realize that the natural and cultural heritage of the nation was limited and possessed great value. The establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 acknowledged the great importance of these values and sought “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life [in national parks, monuments, and reservations] and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future

¹⁷⁰ Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, 3.

generations.”¹⁷¹ Public appreciation for “recreation areas” and preserves began as early as 1891 with the rise of the City Beautiful Movement and the growing desire for urban green spaces. Proponents of green space, such as Frederick Law Olmsted, “extolled the virtues of outdoor space, especially for urban communities.”¹⁷² The Patapsco Forest Reserve was one such area, specifically identified for later use of city and suburban residents. After World War II, public demand for outdoor recreation was high, and Melnick and Alanen contend that this “enthusiasm for outdoor recreation and concern for the effects of pollutants on human health gave rise to a passion for saving pristine places;” this in turn encouraged several decades of environmental activism.¹⁷³ According to Roe, “beginning in the mid-1960s landmark legislation for environmental protection marked an awakening comprehension by the general public and politicians that serious deterioration of environmental resources could be arrested only by fundamental changes in government policies and programs.”¹⁷⁴ New legislation and activism resulted in the institutional, educational, and professional division of cultural preservation and natural conservation specialties, so that by the later decades of the 20th century there was a recognized antipathy between conservation and preservation professionals.¹⁷⁵ The biological and cultural professions have developed different terminology, methods, and regulations for the protection of essential resources. Conservation and historic preservation easements, for example, may offer specific environmental or cultural resource protections but

¹⁷¹ Department of the Interior, "America's Great Outdoors Report," 2011. http://americasgreatoutdoors.gov/files/2011/02/AGO_Report_with_All_Appendicex_3_1_11.pdf (accessed March 23, 2012).

¹⁷² Department of the Interior, "America's Great Outdoors Report."

¹⁷³ Alanen and Melnick, *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, 13.

¹⁷⁴ Charles Roe, "The Natural Environment," 224.

¹⁷⁵ Conard, *Applied Environmentalism*, 9.

often not both. The conflict has been described by Melnick as nature and culture situated at opposite ends of a continuum where wilderness and nature exist “free from human intervention and influence” and on the other end is culture “which is created purposefully and decidedly by people.”¹⁷⁶

Recent conservation projects, the recognition of cultural landscapes, and the establishment of heritage areas may indicate that this situation is improving. Charles Roe indicates that the “initiation of a National Heritage Area program by the NPS in the 1980s represented an increased interest in urban cultural and industrial resource protection, and, in some instances, a convergence of interest between historic preservation and land conservation interests.”¹⁷⁷ Rebecca Conard also identifies “signs of change,” providing examples of programs and cultural landscapes that recognize the complex value of places with natural, historical, and cultural resources.¹⁷⁸ Heritage areas and cultural landscapes can be managed to interpret the cultural history of a site and also educate visitors on the ecological effects of human actions on the environment, and vice versa. Management plans for Daniels Mill that reconnect its fractured parts and interpret it as an historic vernacular landscape could be developed to reintegrate and preserve the multiple cultural and natural resources. Educational programs and interpretive plans could convey the historical character of the community, highlight the technological advancements of industry and transportation at the site, convey the impacts of human interaction with the land, and communicate the importance of environmental stewardship.

¹⁷⁶ Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes* in America, ed. Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, 27-28.

¹⁷⁷ Charles Roe, “The Natural Environment,” 243

¹⁷⁸ Conard, *Applied Environmentalism*, 11.

Daniels Mill as a Cultural Landscape

While the structures and setting of the historic mill and community of Daniels have been recognized as significant for their architectural and industrial value, the condition of the buildings and site has deteriorated to a large degree in recent years. The worker's homes, significant for showing the relationship of early company housing and the social structures of early industrial villages, were dismantled by C.R. Daniels Company in 1968. The floodwaters of 1972 left the mill largely damaged and inactive for a number of years and contributed to the closing of Alberton Road. The fires that followed destroyed the iconic roofline and tower and gutted the interior structure of the mill, leaving its exterior walls exposed to the elements. In the intervening years, Alberton Road has been closed to traffic, the millrace has disappeared from the landscape, and many of the bridges that crossed the river and connected the community have also vanished. With the loss of an active community, an atmosphere of abandonment has settled on the site, and what remains at Daniels gives the impression of an abrupt and possibly tragic end. The historical cultural resources at Daniels require management and protection if they are to be preserved, and their value embraced by the local community. While a small contingent of former residents and activists embrace the historical and intangible values of the vanished community, county and state officials must also appreciate those values to support preservation of the site.

The integrity of the site has been compromised since its inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 and a comprehensive study of existing resources is needed to assess the current fragile state of historical structures on the

privately owned mill site. Despite the loss of integrity, the site remains valuable for its historical significance and its continued importance to former community members who trace their personal histories to the town. The question that remains is whether the fractured remnants of the community still hold value as an historic site and, if so, how can the site be managed to best preserve both the natural and cultural resources. The answer may rest in reading Daniels as a cultural landscape.

The National Park Service defines a cultural landscape as “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic value.”¹⁷⁹ Four categories of cultural landscapes have been identified; historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, historic sites, and ethnographic landscapes. Each of these historic landscapes include “character defining features,” such as buildings, roads, walls and water elements which function as integral parts of the greater landscape. What differentiates designed and vernacular landscapes from the other historic sites is their association with and dependence on natural resources, the interaction of humans with the land, water, and wildlife creates a unique environment.¹⁸⁰

The growth of a village and industry at Daniels is a traditional example of human interaction with the land, whereby early industry located along the river for power to operate their machinery, and fresh water, wildlife and natural resources sustained human life. The construction of the main line of the B&O Railroad through

¹⁷⁹ Charles Birnbaum, “Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes,” 3, <http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm> (accessed January 9, 2012).

¹⁸⁰ Charles Birnbaum, “Preservation Brief 36,” 3.

the village further demonstrates how early industrialists used the timber and granite abundant at the site, and the unique contour of the river valley to create a transportation corridor with connections to expanding markets. What must be established is whether the cultural features remaining at Daniels continue to illustrate the previous relationship of people and the natural environment. To address this issue, this study next considers the current landscape at Daniels Mill through an assessment of the remaining resources.

Current State of Resources

The Daniels Area encompasses at least three fragmented spaces: the historic mill parcel located within the bend of the river; the closed portion of Alberton Road, which now functions as a Patapsco Valley State Park hiking trail; and the historic Gary Memorial United Methodist Church, which stands intact above the mill on Standfast Hill (Figure 22). In addition to these spaces, the landscape includes the Patapsco River, which flows through the site and currently separates the hiking trail from mill and church parcels, the active rail tracks and bridge, the ruins of several historic railroad bridges, the Daniels Dam, and Daniels Road, which connects the site to access of Old Frederick Road. Additional structures in proximity to this site include the Mill Manager's house, constructed in 1865 and located above the site on Daniels Road, and the ruins of the St. Stanislaus Kostka Catholic Church on a hilltop above the Alberton trail.

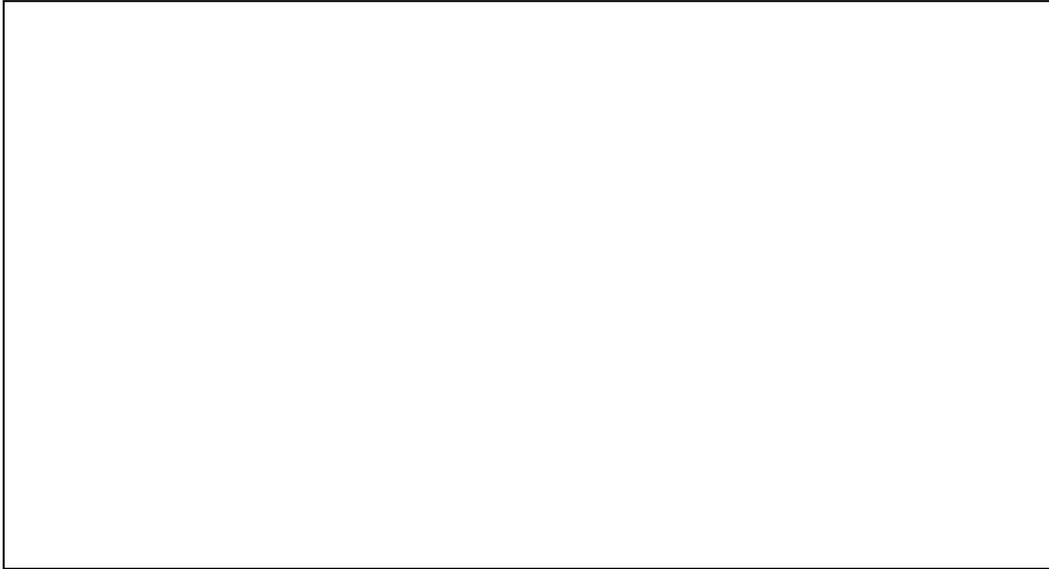


Figure 22. Bird's eye view of Daniels Mill, May 2012. Showing Alberton Road, the historic mill parcel and Gary Memorial United Methodist Church (Bing Maps).

The mill parcel, which contains the ruins of mill buildings, St. Albans Church, and the old village green, remains privately owned. Although listed on local, state, and national historic registers its current owners show little regard for the historical elements. The parcel is zoned for heavy manufacturing, which is consistent with its historic factory use but threatens the historic resources at the site. Standing structures at the site include St. Albans Church, which originally functioned as the company store, a smoke stack from the original mill and remnants of additional historical and modern accessory buildings. Many more structures were originally located on this parcel, but along with the village green on which they stood they have been lost or buried under concrete foundations and asphalt roadways. With no local demolition by neglect statutes or active oversight by local and state preservation agencies, the culturally significant structures continue to deteriorate. The structures that currently remain are identifiable as historic industrial structures and clearly communicate that substantial historic activity occurred at this location.



Figure 23. Historic structures remaining on Daniels Mill parcel (Photograph by Sarah Pickard).

Figure 24 clearly shows the location of this parcel surrounded by parkland and open space. The failure of the Maryland Historical Trust and the Department of Natural Resources to work together to protect this locally, regionally and nationally recognized site is an example of the ongoing divide between natural and cultural resource management.



Figure 24. Map showing Daniels Mill parcel and Patapsco River surrounded by parkland (Merlin Maryland Map Service).

A second area of the fractured landscape is linear, running along old Alberton Road, which is now an unimproved hiking trail. The trail identified in red on Figure 24, runs along the Patapsco River on the Baltimore County side of the river. The trail exists on land owned by the Department of Natural Resources, and in its “natural” state provides scenic vistas of granite rock outcroppings, gently flowing river, and abundant vegetation. Along the trail is evidence of the former paved road, for example, a street sign warning of a sharp curve ahead, and remnants of asphalt roadway walls and curbs (Figure 25). As you approach the Daniels Dam, the historic



Figure 25. Ruins of tenement homes along Alberton Road in Patapsco Valley State Park, March 2010 (Photograph by author).

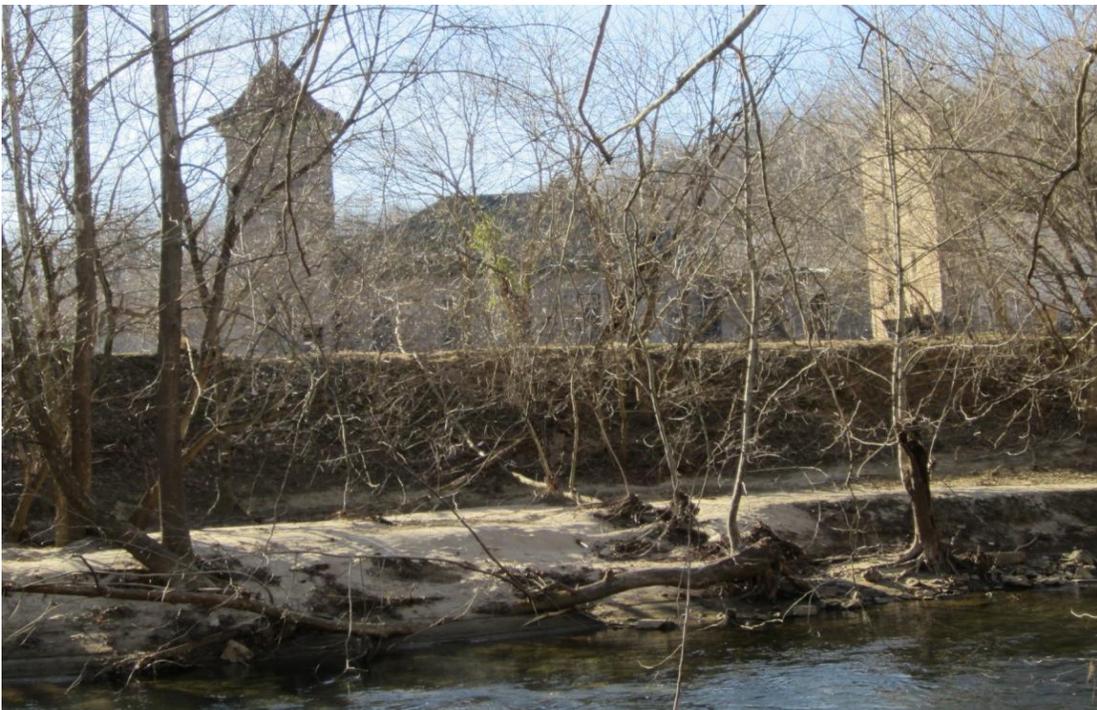


Figure 26. View of standing mill structures from Alberton Road trail. (Photograph by author).

mill site is clearly visible across the river (Figure 26) as are railroad ruins including the unique Latrobe and Bollman truss bridge abutments, constructed to improve the alignment of the original tracks of the B&O Railroad (Figure 27).



Figure 27. Stone bridge abutments from an earlier B&O Railroad alignment (Photograph by Sarah Pickard).

Partial walls and foundations exist as ruins here providing a clear indication of significant human activity (Figure 28). U.S. Geographical Survey maps clearly delineate the location of churches, worker's homes, and additional buildings (Figure 29). In close proximity to the current bridge and dam stands the abandoned remains of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, which was the last religious institution erected at the site not long before the auction of Alberton in 1940.



Figure 28. Ruins of tenement homes in park area (Photograph by author).

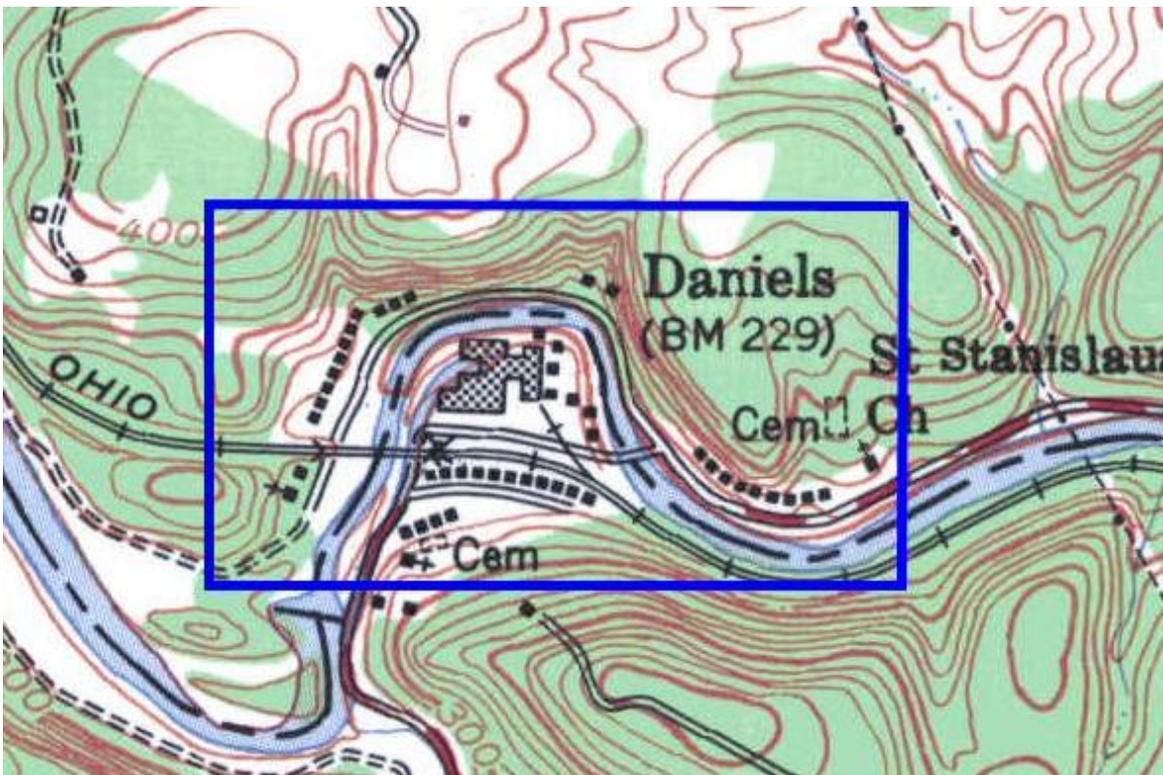


Figure 29. Boundary map for Daniels Mill Historic District (Maryland Historical Trust Library).

Modern railcars still run across the railroad bridge spanning the Patapsco, the only remaining connection between the Baltimore and Howard County sections of the town. This portion of the trail is a particularly important area of the cultural landscape, showing the relationship of the mill to the river, dam, and railroad. Archeological investigations along the trail, and the surrounding park acreage, could provide additional information about the community in Daniels and the relationship between industry and labor.



Figure 30. Daniels Mill from Baltimore County, March 2012 (Photograph by author).

Gary Memorial United Methodist Church, erected by James Albert Gary in memory of his father James Sullivan Gary, and its cemetery constitute the third parcel on this landscape (Figure 31). The intact and historically recognized church, located on an elevated spot overlooking the historic mill, remains as proof of the thriving community once active at the site. The property was deeded to the congregation in 1976, and it has served as a religious sanctuary and informal community meeting space since that time. That former Daniels residents continue to attend Gary Memorial Church is a testament to the intangible heritage of the lost community.



Figure 31. Gary Memorial Church and its cemetery (Photograph by Sarah Pickard).

Just below the church, evidence of a vanished neighborhood of homes is clearly visible along Daniels Road where a low stone wall and several sets of steps rise from the ground. An interpretive panel recently installed here, by the church congregation, provides the only interpretation of the historic town. This parcel is rich in cultural heritage including elements above and below the ground, and the intangible heritage shared by past residents. The architecturally significant church is surrounded by its burial grounds, parkland, and the ruins of tenement homes and a former school (Figure 32).



Figure 32. View of Gary Memorial Church within state parkland (Photograph by Sarah Pickard).

Aspects of the man-made and natural environment serve as unifying features of the landscape allowing it to be read as a discrete cultural landscape despite its current condition. The wooded valley setting creates a sense of isolation and separation from modern community, the river and native species of fish and waterfowl enhance the serene setting. The hydrology of river, streams, and watershed dominates the landscape providing context, connection, and power. The dam directly relates the natural waterpower to the historic industrial structures and the active railroad ties the landscape to the larger region, providing historical context (Figures 33 and 34).



Figure 33. The dam at Daniels Mill, March 2012 (Photograph by author).

The landscape that for so long functioned as an integrated space now serves three separate functions and has many values. The state-owned land and the river provide recreation and natural habitats. The mill parcel functions as an industrial space and is valued for economic reasons. Gary Memorial United Methodist Church serves a religious congregation, and has historic architectural and cultural values. Robert Melnick in “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation” writes, “a landscape valued for both its natural and cultural intensity can be either a point of contention or an opportunity for collaboration and cooperation. It is the collaboration of ways of thinking about landscapes that may assist us truly to value them in a rich and rewarding way.”¹⁸¹ Thus, reconnecting these sites into a more cohesive landscape, and developing an integrated management plan would provide better conservation for all of the available resources.



Figure 34. Active railroad tracks leaving Daniels Mill (Photograph by Sarah Pickard).

¹⁸¹ Robert Melnick, “Considering Nature and Culture in Historic Landscape Preservation,” 25.

Preservation

This paper has considered how the conflicts between natural and cultural resource management have affected the protection of the built heritage at Daniels. Preservationists and conservationists have often worked in separate arenas rather than in collaboration, despite the fact that they often have similar conservation goals. In “Lessons for Land Conservation,” Valerie Talmage suggests that both groups have common goals, which include preserving heritage, protecting community character, and conserving important places for future generations. Fundamental differences between the groups show different methods and practices in regard to relationships with owners, acquisition practices, and funding strategies. Preservationists, she suggests, could benefit from borrowing the acquisition practices of land trusts and conservation groups.¹⁸² In the case of Daniels, historic cultural resources on the parkland have been somewhat protected from further degradation and suburban sprawl. However, the historic resources on the designated mill site have suffered from serious decline. Talmage’s article expresses the belief that in the future it will be necessary to pursue a “combined approach to preserving both natural and historic resources.”¹⁸³

The historical resources present at Daniels Mill, despite their currently undervalued state, possess significance on a local, state, regional, and national level. The cultural history of the mill was officially recognized as important in 1973, when it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Patapsco River valley was recognized as a significant wilderness area, natural resource, and recreation area

¹⁸² Valerie Talmage, “Lessons for Land Conservation,” *Forum Journal*

¹⁸³ Valerie Talmage, “Lessons for Land Conservation,” *Forum Journal*,

more than a century ago by the Olmsted Plan written for the development of Baltimore. Furthermore, Fred Besley, the first state forester and early environmentalist recognized the importance of conserving the land and timber resources, both for future economic use and for protection of the watershed and natural habitats. Recognition of this site as significant, however, does not ensure the viability of the site or mandate the need for a comprehensive preservation plan or conservation of the remaining artifacts. Protection of the site as a local cultural landscape, with development of a preservation plan and management strategy would better protect the resources.

A management strategy for Daniels Mill will require the collaboration of private property owners, the local community, the Howard and Baltimore county planning departments, the Maryland Historical Trust and the Department of Natural Resources. Such a collaborative approach has been in practice at the Blackstone River National Heritage Corridor in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where preservationists and conservationists have undertaken comprehensive evaluation of both historic and natural resources to craft an integrated resource management approach. This management approach seeks balance between historic preservation, environmental conservation, and economic development. Through conservation, preservation, interpretive programs and recreational opportunities the Blackstone River National Heritage Corridor protects the history of the industrial revolution in the valley, and also conveys how changes to the natural landscape during that period have affected the environment.

Daniels provides a similar opportunity in Maryland, to create linkages between nature and culture and establish better connections to the industrial heritage of the Patapsco Valley. A collaborative approach at Daniels is needed to mend its fractured state and create a conservation strategy that embraces all the inherent values of the site. The historical significance presented in this study supports preservation of the Daniels area as a cultural landscape. Even as it exists today, Daniels Mill functions as a representation of our past and serves as a reminder of how earlier generations lived in connection with the natural landscape, and the ways they used the natural resources and contours of the land to sustain growth, establish industrial strength and develop national routes of commerce. The isolated nature of this particular site and its relative protection from modern development provides an opportunity to interpret it as a nineteenth-century industrial village. In the *Texture of Industry*, Gordon and Malone state that,

An Industrial Landscape can give us a unique sense of place and an awareness of scale. We can study maps and descriptions of an industrial site until we build a detailed picture in our mind, only to go there and find our mental image grossly deficient. Walking the historic terrain and examining structures that survive, we can assess the achievement of harnessing the river, spanning the gorge, erecting the mill, transporting the ore. The ruins and missing elements are equally revealing, for they inform us of disasters, technical failures, and the crueler aspects of market economies.¹⁸⁴

Interpretation of the site that includes the damage wrought by pollution, sediment buildup and devastating floods would help to educate visitors about the delicate balance between man and the environment. Conserving the complete landscape provides attention to multiple values including those associated with education, tourism, and recreation.

¹⁸⁴ Gordon and Malone, *The Texture of Industry*,

In recent years a local preservation and conservation group, Patapsco Valley Heritage Greenway (PVHG), has advocated for a green corridor linking the historic industrial places along the Patapsco River. Although these plans have not come to fruition, PVHG continues to advocate for the evaluation and protection of the resources within the park. Interestingly, their past plans for a greenway or heritage area within the Patapsco Valley State Park neglected the Daniels area. Inclusion of the Daniels area as part of a larger Patapsco Valley Heritage Greenway would offer additional support for preservation, and possibly provide access to grant funding available to certified Maryland Heritage Areas.

To reconnect and preserve the landscape at Daniels Mill, a collaborative management strategy is necessary. The various ownership, management and governmental agencies working in tandem must create a new vision for Daniels or watch it vanish from the landscape. The recommendations of this study are recognizing Daniels as a cultural landscape in need of a collaborative management vision that integrates the natural environment with the industrial heritage, and formulating comprehensive strategies to implement that vision.

Implementation Strategy

The fragmented nature of land ownership at Daniels Mill makes developing a preservation plan and implementation strategy more challenging. Comprehensive analysis and planning is essential, and a complete cultural landscape study accounting for the entire site, including all resources and time periods, is necessary. To properly protect historic cultural landscapes the National Park Service recommends preservation planning for the “whole” site that can “help prevent irrevocable

damage.”¹⁸⁵ Preservation planning entails careful study through historical research, inventory of the existing natural and cultural resources, documentation of existing conditions, site analysis for the evaluation of resources, determinations of integrity and significance, the development of a cultural landscape preservation plan, and the establishment of a management philosophy. Such steps will pave the way for a comprehensive understanding of Daniels Mill and help establish a management strategy for the landscape.¹⁸⁶ An implementation strategy that includes comprehensive analysis, planning for future preservation goals, interpretation, and education will protect the vanishing resources at Daniels Mill.

Table 3.

| Implementation Strategies | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| Comprehensive Analysis | Research Inventory Evaluation Documentation | Historic Research Site Specific Research Environmental Analysis Archeological Analysis Inventory of Resources Photographic Documentation Oral History Recordings |
| Planning | Management Strategy Vision and Goals Resource Protection Funding Strategy | Collaboration of Stakeholders Public Participation Formal Designation Stabilization of Resources Secure Funding |
| Interpretation and Education | Site Interpretation Publications Education/Outreach | Interpretive Panels Trail Guides Tours Webpage/Virtual Interpretation Signage Events/Programming |

¹⁸⁵ Birnbaum, “Protecting Cultural Landscapes,”

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

Comprehensive Analysis

Comprehensive analysis of the cultural landscape at Daniels should include research, inventory, evaluation, and documentation of all resources. Research at the site would include an historical cultural element as well as environmental assessment. Historical and site-specific research would provide context and allow for a thorough assessment of the cultural heritage. Evaluation of the extant structures and archeological resources would develop an inventory of resources and aid in the understanding of the history. Assessment should include evaluation of all cultural resources both above and below ground, including buildings, bridges, ruins, landscape features, walls, fences, railroad tracks, and archaeological sites. Assessment of the natural environment should include study of the soil, hydrology, geology, habitats, birds and waterfowl, fish, mammals and native plant species at the site. A complete archeological survey will better inform planners and management to the location of below ground historic resources, and assess their current condition. Archeological investigations at the site are essential in the wake of the years of demolition and devastation. Investigations may also shed light on the possibility of an earlier structures, and may provide additional information about the early mill laborers.

A complete conservation assessment will allow for the identification of significant elements and threats to the site, this knowledge will then influence preservation goals and strategies for the future. In addition to assessment, a documentation program that preserves valuable information for the future is necessary. Complete documentation includes photographs, sketches, archaeological

identification of important sites, written reports, and oral histories with surviving residents.

Planning

The significant resources presently on private land create the largest challenge to any preservation efforts at Daniels Mill. Protection in the form of property acquisition or zoning changes may be considered for the main mill parcel as current operations at the site endanger all resources. Absorption of the mill parcel into the state park, which surrounds it, would offer additional protection and consolidate management of the area to the Department of Natural Resources and Gary Memorial United Methodist Church. Stabilization strategies for surviving ruins should also be considered to slow their decline.

Howard County currently lists Daniels Mill as an historic resource; however, it is not a recognized historic district and, therefore, is not protected by more stringent historic district guidelines. Zoning at the site is also not prohibitive, and allows for activities and operations that are inconsistent with a historic district or an environmental recreation area. A change to the current zoning or creating a local historic district in Howard County would offer more significant protection, but both require the support of private and public stakeholders. Resources in Baltimore County and within Patapsco Valley State Park are currently not identified as local landmarks. Adding this designation to the site may provide some additional recognition and motivation for their protection. The management plan for Patapsco State Park should encompass a complete study of all cultural resources within the park, and include

inventory, archeological survey, documentation, historical research, and environmental assessment.

Interpretation and Education

Once historical, environmental, and archeological research has been completed, interpretation of the site can be accomplished in many ways. The church community has begun to include interpretation at its site in the form of an interpretive panel on church grounds. This conveys a very general history of the community and church. Additional interpretive signs and panels like those at the church and at the Avalon area of Patapsco Valley State Park would help visitors better understand the rich heritage at Daniels. Various publications and media sources could provide information regarding the site, and historical publications, informative brochures, trail guides, and website materials can be used to inform and promote the area.

Educational programs and walking tours could be developed for both heritage programs and conservation initiatives. Interpretive materials and programs on the site could educate visitors on environmental conservation, industrial history, labor and working conditions, railroad and transportation heritage, engineering achievements, life in company towns, and the progressive ideals of city beautification. Utilizing interpretive elements and educational programs to integrate culture and nature at Daniels will enhance the value of the site for future visitors.

Conclusion

The industry that once dominated the Patapsco River Valley has vanished, the residential buildings of Daniels have been demolished, and the mill, roads, bridges and several churches have been left to decline slowly. The few standing structures of

the town are left without a cohesive context. A sense of the past is present at the site, but its interpretation is left to the visitor's imagination. Once a thriving industrial town and community, the area is now valued for its recreational amenities. It may be too late for the town that the Ely brothers envisioned and the Gary family nurtured for three generations, but a conservation strategy that considers Daniels as a cultural landscape can allow for increased protection of the natural and cultural resources. The Department of Natural Resources has a responsibility to increased stewardship, however, a collaborative partnership amongst the many stakeholders will be necessary for preservation of the entire Daniels Mill landscape.

This study traced the rich heritage of Daniels Mill back to its earliest days. The start of the community is similar to many other communities in the valley. The environment and natural resources influenced development and enterprising individuals developed the knowledge and capital to harness the power of the river. As the Patapsco River Valley transitioned from agriculture and small milling operations to revolutionary factory establishments, the Ely brothers moved forward with their own plans. The appearance of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad not only transformed the valley, but also impacted regional and national trade. The location of the town along the railroad tracks remained an influential aspect of its development throughout the nineteenth century. As the community grew from Elysville to Alberton and Daniels, many aspects of its early industrial landscape remained. The dam, while not the original dam from 1832, is evidence of how water was used to power industry. The buildings were constructed of locally quarried stone giving them a distinct appearance representative of the valley. The railroad continues to run through

Daniels, although passenger service ended decades ago. The whistle of the train still echoes in the valley and a bridge crossing the river connects trade routes from the port in Baltimore to an expanded network. The natural elements of the landscape have adapted to changes over the many years, and will continue to do so as the site evolves: river, gorge, timber, large rock formations and animal habitats continue to define the space. The isolation from city center and suburban sprawl, identified in the Olmsted Report more than one hundred years ago, also exists in the natural areas at Daniels. While many of these trails are more traveled than originally envisioned, those seeking solitude can find it in the Patapsco Valley State Park.

The history of the larger Daniels area, as examined in this report, has proven to be similar to that of “wilderness” trails and parks throughout the country. Additionally, the conflict often recognized between biological conservationists and historic preservationists has been shown to impact the present conditions of the vanishing town. The attempt to return the valley to a natural state has meant the loss of many valuable historic resources. Going forward, a more collaborative approach to conservation and preservation at Daniels will increase the value of the site. This value may be difficult to determine or define in a traditional way, but will affect visitors in the near and distant future. In an era that touts sustainability, but does not often achieve it, traditional examples of early industry provide reminders that it is possible to live off the resources of the land. Yet the environmental lessons at Daniels also show the harmful effects of intensive use of natural resources. It remains to be seen whether the fractured portions of Daniels Mill will achieve the cohesive relationship enjoyed in years past or will continue to fade away with time. Creating awareness of

Daniels Mill at this time may allow for research, inventory and essential documentation of these resources before they are lost. Recommendations proposed in this study suggest charting a future course for Daniels in which the separate histories of cultural heritage and natural conservation converge to form a complete cultural landscape.

Bibliography

- An Act to Incorporate Sagonan Manufacturing Company. May 29, 1960. Volume 814. Howard County Circuit Court, Chattel Records, 1854-1860. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. Archives of Maryland Online. Accessed April 28, 2012. <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/>.
- “An Act to Incorporate the Elys’ Ville manufacturing.” Session Laws, 1828, 1829. Volume 540. Laws of Maryland. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. Archives of Maryland Online. Accessed April 28, 2012. <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000540/html/am540--41.html>.
- “AN ACT to incorporate the Gary Manufacturing.” Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly. March 30, 1868. Volume 142, 2833. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. Archives of Maryland Online. Accessed April 29, 2012. <http://aomol.net/000001/000142/html/am142--2833.html>.
- Alanen, Arnold R., and Robert Z. Melnick, eds. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Bagnall, William R. *The Textile Industries of the United States: Including Sketches and Notices of Cotton, Woolen, Silk and Linen Manufactures in the Colonial Period*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1971.
- Birnbaum, Charles A. *Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*. Edited by Technical Preservation Services. Preservation Briefs 36. Accessed December 14, 2011. <http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm>.
- Bradley, Jamie M. “Looking Beyond the Surface: History, Memory and Place in the Lost Cotton Mill Town of Daniels, Maryland.” Master’s thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2008. Accessed October 12, 2011. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses (1666865481).
- Buckley, Geoffrey L., Robert F. Bailey, and J. Morgan Grove. “The Patapsco Forest Reserve: Establishing a “City Park” for Baltimore, 1907-1941.” *Historical Geography* 34 (2006): 87-106.
- Clark, Michael J. “‘Comeback’ Planned at Old Mill Site.” *The Sun*, September 25, 1977.
- Cobb, Samuel. Diaries of Samuel Cobb. Howard County Historical Society, Ellicott City, Md.

- Conard, Rebecca. "Applied Environmentalism, or Reconciliation among 'The Bios' and 'The Culturals.'" *The Public Historian* 23, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 9-18. Accessed December 2, 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2001.23.2.9>.
- Cramm, Joetta M. *Howard County: A Pictorial History*. Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company, 1992.
- Cronon, William, ed. *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995.
- Daniels Mill File. Maryland Historical Trust Library, Crownsville, MD.
- Department of the Interior. *America's Great Outdoors*. Accessed March 23, 21012. http://americasgreatoutdoors.gov/files/2011/02/AGO_Report_with_All_Appendicex_3_1_11.pdf.
- Dilts, James D. "The Changing City: Death of a Town." *The Sun*, May 12, 1968. Accessed March 24, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539470478?accountid=14696>.
- . *The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Nation's First Railroad, 1828-1853*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Dunn, Linda. "Old Mill Houses Of Daniels To Come Tumbling Down." *The Sun*, May 23, 1967. Accessed April 29, 2012. . <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539452750?accountid=14696>.
- Garner, John S., ed. *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Gillen, William P. "Old Mill Town Goes Up In Smoke." *The Sun*, May 22, 1968. Accessed April 29, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539428318?accountid=14696>.
- Gordon, Robert B., and Patrick M. Malone. *The Texture of Industry: An Archaeological View of the Industrialization of North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Griffin, Richard W. "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789-1826." *Maryland Historical Magazine* (March-April 1966): 24-36.
- Harwood, Herbert H., Jr. *Impossible Challenge: The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in Maryland*. Baltimore, MD: Barnard, Roberts and Company, Inc., 1979.

- Henry, Frank. "City Playground--37 Miles Long." *The Sun*, November 5, 1950. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539576108?accountid=14696>.
- James, Alfred R. "Sidelights on the Founding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad." *Maryland Historical Magazine* (December 1953): 267-309.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- . "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory." *Geographical Review* 65, no. 1 (January 1965): 1-36.
- Map and profiles showing the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road with its branches and immediately tributary lines, 1858; compiled and drawn by L. Jacobi C.E. Baltimore*. Map. From American Memory, *Map Collections*. Accessed April 12, 2012.
- Map of the city and county of Baltimore, Maryland. From actual surveys by Robert Taylor. Lithograph by Hunckel & Son*. Map. From American Memory, *Maps Collection*. Accessed April 12, 2012.
- Map of the city and county of Baltimore, Maryland. From original surveys by J.C. Sidney, C.E.* Map. From American Memory, *Map Collections*. Accessed April 12, 2012.
- Maryland Department of Natural Resources. *Concept Plan Patapsco Valley State Park, Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Carroll, Howard Counties and Baltimore City*. Accessed October 27, 2011. <http://www.dnr.state.md.us/irc/docs/00014551.pdf>.
- . *Trail Management Plan: Patapsco Valley State Park, 1998*. n.p.: Maryland Department of Natural Resources, 1998.
- . *2009 Maryland Land Preservation, Parks, and Recreation Plan*. Accessed February 28, 2012. http://www.mdp.state.md.us/PDF/OurProducts/Publications/Misc/Web_LPPRP_Exec_Sum.pdf.
- Maryland Historical Trust. *Daniels Mill*. Howard County Historic Sites Inventory, HO-27. Accessed September 12, 2011. <http://www.mdihp.net/>.
- . *Gary Memorial United Methodist Church*. Howard County Historic Sites Inventory, HO-140. Accessed November 20, 2011. <http://www.mdihp.net/>.
- . *Oella Historic District*. Baltimore County Historic Sites Inventory, BA-150. Accessed October 11, 2011. <http://www.mdihp.net>.

- . *Summit*. Baltimore County Historic Sites Inventory, BA-1107. Accessed November 20, 2011. <http://www.mdihp.net/>.
- Maryland State Planning Commission. *Development Plan for the Patapsco River Valley*. Baltimore, MD, 1950.
- McGrain, John. "Molinography of Maryland Mills." 2008. Special Collection No. 4300. John McGrain Collection. Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.
- . "Pig Iron Volume II, Alberton-Daniels Chapter." Unpublished Manuscript. John McGrain Papers. Baltimore County Public Library, Towson, MD.
- McVarish, Douglas C. *American Industrial Archaeology: A Field Guide*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2008.
- Nicholas, Wendy. "Collaborating to Save Whole Places." *Forum Journal*, Fall 2010, 7-10.
- Olmsted Brothers. *Report upon the development of public grounds for greater Baltimore*, Accessed March 9, 2012. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015067213655>.
- Pancake, John S. "Baltimore and the Embargo, 1807-1809." *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September 1952): 173-187.
- Personal Collection of John McGrain.
- Pierson, William H., Jr. *American Buildings and Their Architects, Volume 2*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- "Plat of the Gary Manufacturing Company's Lands." Daniels . Howard County Historical Society, Ellicott City, MD.
- Reported for the Baltimore Sun. "THE TOWNS OF ALBERTON: A Model Cotton Factory--Fine Improvements, Etc." *The Sun*, July 25, 1871. Accessed April 30, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/534062424?accountid=14696>.
- Scharf, John Thomas. *History of Baltimore City and County, from the earliest period to the present day*. Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881. Google eBook.
- Sharp, Henry K. *The Patapsco Valley: Cradle of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland*. Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 2001.
- Simon J. Martenet Map of Howard County in 1860*. Map. American Memory. Accessed December 15, 2011. http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/map_item.pl.

- A Staff Correspondent. "Mill Town to Go at Auction Sale." *The Sun*, November 17, 1940. Accessed May 2, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539913843?accountid=14696>.
- . "Town of Alberton Goes for \$65,000." *The Sun*, November 24, 1940. Accessed April 29, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/539962830?accountid=14696>.
- Steiner, Bernard. *Men of Mark in Maryland: Biographies of Leading Men in the State Vol. I*. 2 vols. Washington, DC: Johnson-Wynne Company, 1907. Google eBook.
- . *Men of Mark in Maryland: Biographies of Leading Men in the State Vol. II*. Baltimore: B. F. Johnson, Inc., 1910. Google eBook.
- Stipe, Robert E., ed. *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- The Sun*. "Classified Ad 6 -- No Title." Advertisement, November 21, 1940. Accessed April 29, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/540047179?accountid=14696>.
- The Sun*. "An Incident of the Flood at Elysville, Md." July 31, 1868. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/533902879?accountid=14696>.
- The Sun*. "Places: Only ruins remain of once-thriving example of early industrialization." June 29, 1980. Accessed April 29, 2012. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/537726171?accountid=14696>.
- Talmage, Valerie. "Lessons for Land Conservation." *Forum Journal*, Fall 2010, 11-17.
- Thompson, Jo Beth. "Elysville to Alberton to Daniels: A Mill Town No Longer." Unpublished essay. Special Collections Department. Langsdale Library, Baltimore, MD, March 21, 1985. Accessed January 28, 2012. <http://archives.ubalt.edu>.
- Travers, Paul J. *The Patapsco: Baltimore's River of History*. Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1990.
- Varle, Charles. *A Complete View of Baltimore: With a Statistical Sketch*, Baltimore: Samuel Young, 1833. Google eBook.
- Zucker, Kevin. "Falls and Stream Valleys: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Parks of Baltimore." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 90, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 73-96.