

EXPANDING THE PARK

The 1971 act finally gave the National Park Service the authority and means--with subsequent appropriations--to enlarge its narrow canal right-of-way into a viable park. Land acquisition was the primary purpose of the legislation and became the first priority following its enactment.

The act did not inaugurate Park Service real estate dealings along the canal, however. There had been some previous additions in the three decades since the railroad had conveyed the canal. There had also been moves to alienate some of what the Service had then acquired.

Cumberland, it will be recalled, had tried to obtain the canal property within the city limits in 1941 (page 53). Once the Service became committed to the parkway concept, it was willing to relinquish portions of this property in exchange for other lands fulfilling its needs.

In September 1953, at the request of Sen. J. Glenn Beall, Associate Superintendent Harry T. Thompson of National Capital Parks met in Cumberland with representatives of its chamber of commerce, the Maryland State Roads Commission, and Pittsburgh Plate Glass. PPG was planning a plant in the Mexico Farms area and wanted part of the canal property for a railroad siding. "The essence of the conference was to the effect that the National Park Service would cooperate fully with the Cumberland Chamber of Commerce and with the industrial firm since the canal proper between Lock 75 for a distance of approximately 1-1/2 miles upstream . . . was scheduled for abandonment as a canal, and that we would encourage the Chamber of Commerce to proceed on the assumption that all of the land between the Western Maryland Railroad and the river might be made available to the industrial plant and that the National Park Service would endeavor to locate the parkway eastward of the B & O Railroad tracks," Thompson reported.¹

Previously, du Pont had decided against locating a plant near Hagerstown, citing complications in getting access to needed river water from the Park Service. This public relations fiasco, as Thompson characterized it, figured in Hagerstown's opposition to the parkway. Thompson's eagerness to cooperate with Cumberland and PPG was

¹Memorandum, Thompson to files, Sept. 28, 1953, file 1460/ C&O General, National Capital Parks, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md. Hereinafter cited as file 1460/C&O, WNRC.

designed to demonstrate that the parkway would not impede Maryland's economic development.²

By the time the Corps of Engineers' Cumberland-Ridgely flood control project got underway in the mid-1950s, the Park Service had essentially written off the canal above Lock 75 (the last lift lock) at North Branch. The Corps was permitted to fill in the last mile of the canal and a former basin used as a ballpark and obliterate the inlet lock at the terminus. The Western Maryland Railway extended track across the terminus site, and a new connection between the Western Maryland and B & O railroads further altered the scene. Remaining portions of the canal in Cumberland were silted, overgrown, and laden with raw sewage; Robert C. Horne of NCP described conditions there as "frightful" in a 1956 inspection report.³ The first national historical park bills, drafted by the Service soon afterward, provided for the disposal of canal lands above North Branch in exchange for lands desired elsewhere.

The B & O Railroad was interested in a land exchange because it had built some of its track in Cumberland on canal property and had neglected to reserve those sections when the government acquired the canal in 1938. The Park Service was most interested in obtaining an acre of B & O land in Harpers Ferry where the fire engine house occupied by John Brown and his raiders had stood. It also wanted B & O parcels totaling 25 acres at or near Tuscarora, Point of Rocks, and Knoxville, including some of the land that the railroad had reserved for additional trackage.⁴

The railroad would not part with the latter, but negotiations proceeded on the Cumberland and Harpers Ferry tracts. When the park bills containing the necessary land exchange authority stalled, Senator Beall inserted an exchange provision in pending legislation adding the Storer College property to Harpers Ferry National Monument: "To facilitate the acquisition of the original site of the engine house known as John Brown's 'Fort' and the old Federal arsenal, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to exchange therefor federally owned park lands or interests in lands of approximately equal value in the vicinity of Cumberland, Maryland, which he finds are no longer required for park purposes."⁵

²Memorandum, Thompson to Conrad L. Wirth, Oct. 27, 1953, file 1460/C&O, WNRC.

³Memorandum, Horne to files, June 27, 1956, C&O Administration and Protection file, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park.

⁴Memorandum, George A. Palmer to Conrad L. Wirth, May 7, 1957, C & O Canal Parkway file L58, C & O Canal NHP.

⁵Public Law 86-655, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 74: 520.

This legislation was enacted without difficulty on July 14, 1960, but the exchange negotiations faltered thereafter. The B & O wanted all the canal property above North Branch and sought to replace a railroad bridge over the canal between Locks 73 and 74 with fill that would sever the canal. In June 1962 Director Conrad L. Wirth responded with the Park Service's position. The terminus of park development would be at Lock 75; therefore, the railroad would not be permitted to sever the canal below that point. The Service would require additional land from the B & O for its park development at North Branch, and it was unwilling to cede all its land above that point to the railroad, preferring to transfer or lease land not needed for actual railroad development to Cumberland or Allegany County for recreation.⁶

Competing requests for canal property in Cumberland and the B & O's merger with the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad led to another hiatus in negotiations. They resumed in 1965 but soon encountered further obstacles. Richard L. Stanton of the NPS Lands Division discovered what he termed a fraudulent appraisal equating the value of the lands to be exchanged. As reappraised by Stanton, the property to be given the railroad was worth far more than that to be received by the government. In November 1966 John M. Kauffmann, a chief planner for what would become the Potomac National River proposal, discouraged alienation of canal land above North Branch because of its expected role in that project. The Park Service was now willing to quitclaim only those lands actually occupied by the railroad (three sections totaling about 15 acres) in exchange for the engine house site, while the railroad continued to press for additional canal lands for its future expansion. By 1969 the negotiations had again reached an impasse.⁷

That January the Service exchanged the ballpark tract in Cumberland, comprising 16.2 acres, for 183.55 acres of Maryland land under State Roads Commission jurisdiction. With Rep. Charles McC. Mathias's

⁶Wirth position cited in memorandum, Richard L. Stanton to Donald E. Lee, Aug. 17, 1965, in "Chesapeake & Ohio 1965" file L1425, C & O Canal NHP.

⁷Interview with Richard L. Stanton, June 8, 1989; memorandum, Joseph R. Prentice to Regional Director, Northeast Region, NPS, Oct. 26, 1966, John Brown Fort file L1425, NCP, WNRC; memorandum, Stanton to Regional Director, National Capital Region, NPS, *ibid.*; "Briefing Paper, B & O Railroad Land Exchange," attached to memorandum, William Penn Mott, Jr., to Secretary of the Interior, Apr. 5, 1989, copy in C & O Canal National Historical Park file, NPS History Division. Prentice, superintendent of Harpers Ferry National Monument, pressed for acquisition of the engine house site in 1966-1967 because the engine house, then located on the former Storer College grounds, had to be moved to make room for the Service's new Interpretive Design Center. The failure to consummate the exchange meant that the structure had to be relocated on another site.

support, Cumberland had sought the ballpark tract for industrial development since 1964. The Service stalled on this request because its negotiations with the B & O for Cumberland lands had priority; meanwhile, the SRC encroached upon the tract for an approach to the Cumberland Thruway. This led to its exchange in 1969 for land the SRC had acquired for Interstate 70 between Great Tonoaloway Creek and Millstone.⁸

Efforts to acquire a 338-acre tract between the canal and MacArthur Boulevard below Great Falls got underway in 1958. This Maryland Gold Mine tract, so called from the name of a gold mine there sporadically active from 1867 to 1940, lay within the authorized jurisdiction of the George Washington Memorial Parkway. The parkway road was still expected to extend to Great Falls, and the tract was needed for the purpose. In addition, the U.S. Geological Survey, with the support of the Park Service and the National Capital Planning Commission, planned to use part of the tract for a new headquarters and research center.⁹

The Service sought a donation from Paul Mellon's Old Dominion Foundation to acquire the tract in 1959, but that effort failed. In 1964 Margaret Johnson, the owner, sold it to Herman Greenberg's Community Builders, Inc. Greenberg applied for rezoning to develop the property, whose value had increased with the construction of the Potomac Interceptor Sewer through it. The Service began purchase negotiations; when agreement could not be reached, the government condemned the tract on July 14, 1965, and was assessed \$2,012,111 for it by the court.¹⁰

The government did not use the tract as planned. The parkway road was not built beyond a junction with MacArthur Boulevard more than a mile to the east. The Geological Survey headquarters proposal was successfully opposed by the Civic League of Brookmont, Maryland, and Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, who noted that the national capital area's *Policies Plan for the Year 2000* prescribed such development in corridors away from the Potomac.¹¹ (The Geological Survey subsequently built in Reston, Virginia.) The undeveloped tract was included within the

⁸Letter, R. C. Petersen to Edwin M. Dale, June 11, 1964, Cumberland Chamber of Commerce file L1425, C & O Canal NHP; letter, Mathias to Dale, June 29, 1965, *ibid.*; memorandum, Richard L. Stanton to Regional Director, NCR, Oct. 17, 1968, C & O Canal 1968-69 file L1425, C & O Canal NHP; Stanton interview.

⁹Memorandum, Conrad L. Wirth to Chairman, NCPC, May 2, 1958, C & O Canal--Great Falls Park file, Office of Land Use Coordination, National Capital Region, NPS; GWMP--Gold Mine Tract file, *ibid.*

¹⁰GWMP--Gold Mine Tract file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

¹¹*Ibid.*

George Washington Memorial Parkway and remained there after establishment of the C & O Canal National Historical Park, but it has been managed as part of the latter in practice.

... Along much of the canal, the uncertain status of boundaries and land titles severely impeded park management. The C & O Canal National Monument (above Seneca) had more than three hundred miles of boundary, of which less than a third had been surveyed and even less had been marked. "This has given rise to an untenable situation with respect to management, development and use of canal lands, and has allowed encroachments, trespass and overlapping claims to land ownership to continue at the expense of our public image and in defiance of our public responsibilities," Superintendent W. Dean McClanahan complained in 1967.¹²

McClanahan was especially concerned about the lack of title data. "In spite of 29 years of public ownership, we still do not know exactly what the Federal Government's rights, titles and interests in and to these lands actually amount to," he noted. "In some instances there is real doubt that the Government has sufficient title to adequately administer or even claim ownership to various tracts of land that are essential to provide continuity of public access and use."¹³ Above Dam 4 where the towpath ran along the riverbank, for example, riverside properties owned by William B. McMahon and Jacob Berkson were unencumbered by recorded deeds to the canal company. In the absence of land acquisition authority above the George Washington Memorial Parkway limits, however, title searches or litigation that might bolster private claims to canal lands had low priority. Resolution of boundary and title issues awaited enactment of the national historical park legislation.

On December 23, 1970, a day after the Senate cleared the legislation for the President's signature, Dick Stanton, then chief of the Office of Land Acquisition in the Park Service's Eastern Service Center, outlined an acquisition strategy for the park: "Except for approved development areas, we do not feel that there should be any roadblocks to an orderly, scheduled land acquisition program. It should simply begin on either end of the 184-mile strip and proceed up or down the canal. The title, access, and squatter problems will be systematically eliminated through direct purchase acquisition or condemnation. . . . One of the matters which the Directorate feels very strongly about, is to absolutely avoid any tendency to buy out of

¹²Memorandum, McClanahan to Regional Director, NCR, Feb. 17, 1967, C & O Canal NM Boundary Adjustments & Survey file, NCP, WNRC.

¹³*Ibid.*

priority by serving special interest groups or individuals who, through some means or other, manage to create a great deal of heat."¹⁴

Following enactment of the park legislation, the Park Service's legislative office held an "activation meeting" on January 25, 1971, to identify responsibilities and procedures for implementing it. Land acquisition was a major topic. The legislation required that "the exact boundaries of the park" be established and announced within 18 months. Because a metes and bounds description could not be completed that soon, it was decided to depict the boundary on portfolios of tax maps to be filed with the land records of the affected counties by May 1. Stanton's office would draft letters for NCP General Superintendent Russell E. Dickenson to send to each landowner on the berm (inland) side of the canal indicating generally what part of his or her land fell within the boundary. Dickenson would tell Stanton's office what interest was desired in each tract (fee simple or easement) and which purchases were of highest priority. Stanton agreed to set up a lands office in the area by May 1.¹⁵ George W. Sandberg, appointed land acquisition officer, found quarters at Fort Detrick in Frederick, Maryland.

That September the Park Service informed Maryland's congressional delegation of its acquisition policy and plan for the canal. Of 47 planned developments, 34 would need additional private lands. These lands would be purchased in fee, with the owners allowed to retain occupancy pending development. All lands between the canal and river (except those containing public utility plants) would be purchased in fee; here improved residential property owners could retain 25-year or life tenancies and clubs could retain rights for 25 years. Farmlands between the canal and river could be retained for a period of years or leased back for agricultural purposes; compatible commercial properties could be leased back under special use permits.

Owners on the berm side would be given the option of fee or easement purchase. Easements would restrict their properties to their present uses or low-density residential development removed from the canal, flood plains, and steep slopes. Where there was less than a hundred feet of public ownership on the berm side, the Park Service would seek sufficient interest in adjacent private land to permit public access and the maintenance of screening vegetation. The Service hoped to protect about 25 percent of

¹⁴Memorandum to NCP General Superintendent Russell E. Dickenson, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

¹⁵Memorandum, Joe Holt to Dickenson, Jan. 25, 1971, C & O Canal NHP file, History Division.

the private lands within the authorized park boundary by less-than-fee interests.¹⁶

Land acquisition did not move as swiftly and methodically as hoped. Progress was slowed by difficulties with a mapping contract and public opposition to the many development areas in the park's master plan that were to receive priority. The proposed level of development was sharply criticized by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission after it was organized in December 1971; as a result, the master plan was scrapped and a major new planning effort inaugurated. Affected landowners were not notified until the spring of 1972. When acquisition finally began thereafter, it proceeded on an "opportunity purchase" basis: land was bought first from those who were eager to sell.¹⁷

Some thought purchases should continue to be made only from willing sellers. At a public meeting on the new park plan in Brunswick in June 1972, landowner John Staub of Dargan Bend argued that the Park Service should take better care of what it had before taking property from those who wanted to keep it. "What we don't approve of is dealing with our federal government on a take it or leave it basis, bargaining, so to speak, with a gun at our heads or our backs. . . ," he said. "We don't like the idea, and we do not intend to kiss the boot that kicks us from our land."¹⁸

Previously, Mary Miltenberger, a park commission member from Allegany County, had proposed that counties be encouraged to set up historic districts along the canal to control development and thereby lessen the need for land acquisition. Goodloe E. Byron, western Maryland's congressman, introduced a bill incorporating both viewpoints in April 1972. It would suspend the government's power to condemn improved properties for the park where local authorities had approved protective zoning satisfactory to the secretary of the interior.¹⁹ The Park Service opposed this "Cape Cod formula" (so called from its initial use at Cape Cod

¹⁶Letters, Raymond L. Freeman to Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., et al., Sept. 16, 1971, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

¹⁷Memorandum, Philip O. Stewart to Pank E. Defendorf, Jan. 28, 1972, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination; memorandum, Richard L. Stanton to Russell E. Dickenson, Apr. 14, 1972, *ibid*.

¹⁸Transcript, "Public Information Meeting to Discuss the Future of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park," Brunswick, Md., June 7, 1972, Office of Land Use Coordination.

¹⁹Transcript, C & O Canal National Historical Park Commission meeting, Jan. 15, 1972, p. 101, C & O Canal NHP; H.R. 14515, 92nd Congress.

National Seashore) on the canal, fearing that it could prevent the acquisition of lands needed for park development. Byron's bill made no progress then or in the next Congress, after which he dropped it.

Tropical storm Agnes, which devastated the canal soon after the Brunswick meeting, had a positive effect on the land acquisition program: those who were flooded out were less inclined to resist the government's purchase offers. By the end of 1972 acquisition was well underway. The Service had then identified 1,009 private tracts totaling 11,513 acres and had purchased 104 of them totaling 1,732 acres for \$2,494,819. John G. Parsons, an NCP planner who was leading the new park planning effort, played a key role in deciding what property interests should be acquired based on projected park development, topography, existing uses, and other such criteria.²⁰

Dick Stanton, now associate director for cooperative activities at NCP and Parsons' boss, helped resolve many policy issues as they arose. It was decided that the Service would not purchase land up to the authorized boundary if doing so would entail major severance costs and meet no real need. Properties between the canal and river would be appraised as if their owners had legal access across the canal, but the NPS reserved the right to adjust such access for the benefit of the park where the owners retained occupancy or use. Properties accessible only via the towpath would be acquired without retained rights to avoid vehicular use of the towpath.²¹

Riverfront land acquisition was complicated by the uncertainty of ownership between the high and low water lines. The government sought to purchase to the low line, but title companies would only insure private sellers' titles to the high line because of possible claims by Maryland beyond that point. To resolve the problem, Stanton arranged to have sellers warrant titles to lands above the high line and quitclaim titles below. The Service would thereby control the intervening strip unless a court later decided that Maryland owned to the high line, in which case the state might be persuaded to donate its holding.²²

The NCP lands division set terms for all scenic easement acquisitions in September 1972. On lands subject to scenic easements, only permanent single-family residences could be constructed and occupied, although

²⁰C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination; memorandum, James F. Sewell to Pank E. Defendorf, Feb. 7, 1973, *ibid*.

²¹Transcript, C & O Canal National Historical Park Commission meeting, May 13, 1972, pp. 103-04.

²²Memorandum, Stanton to Russell E. Dickenson, May 9, 1972, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination; Stanton interview.

camping vehicles were permissible for temporary occupation. No new structure could rise more than forty feet or be built on slopes steeper than twenty percent. Except for basement excavations and footings, wells and septic facilities, and required road construction, no change in the character of the topography or disturbance of natural features would be allowed. There could be no cutting of non-hazardous trees larger than six inches in diameter at breast height. There could be no "accumulation of any trash or foreign material which is unsightly or offensive" and no signs exceeding certain specifications. All existing buildings could be maintained; if damaged or destroyed, they could be rebuilt or replaced in the same locations after approval of plans by the secretary of the interior or his designee if they were at least two hundred feet from the inland edge of the canal prism.²³

Certain of these and other easement terms were amended and interpreted in the light of experience. Mrs. Drew Pearson's house in Potomac was less than a hundred feet from the canal prism. She was permitted to replace an appurtenant structure there in February 1973, and a general policy of reviewing such requests was adopted. At the same time, swimming pools and patios were added to the list of allowable improvements.²⁴

Easements were often difficult to enforce. Edwin M. ("Mac") Dale, canal superintendent from 1957 through 1965, had worked on the Blue Ridge Parkway, where the Park Service had pioneered this method of land-use control. "Don't ever get involved with scenic easements--they are a snare and a delusion," he later told Dick Stanton. "You either own it or you don't." William R. Failor, superintendent from 1972 to 1981, found it hard to educate his staff about easement terms and limits and to maintain sufficient contact with landowners, especially new ones, to remind them of restrictions.²⁵

Enforcement of the tree cutting restriction was especially difficult. As Failor admitted, many owners violated it with impunity over the years. Ultimately, one went too far. In March 1985 park rangers discovered that 134 trees had been cut down on government property in fee ownership and adjoining property covered by a scenic easement in Potomac. The latter

²³Attachment to memorandum, Pank E. Defendorf to James F. Sewell, Sept. 6, 1972, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

²⁴Memorandum, Richard L. Stanton to James F. Sewell, Feb. 21, 1973, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

²⁵Stanton interview with Dale, Feb. 3, 1987, tape at C & O Canal NHP; Failor interview with author, Feb. 1, 1990.

belonged to Isaac Fogel, who had hired a tree service to improve his view of the river. Fogel was indicted in August 1988 and convicted in February 1989 on two counts: aiding and abetting the conversion and disposition of United States property, and aiding and abetting the removal of timber. He was fined \$25,000, sentenced to 3-1/2 years in prison (all but 15 days in a halfway house was suspended), and made to perform three hundred hours of community service.²⁶ The conviction was important for its deterrent effect on others who might be tempted by the high premium on riverview properties in Potomac to follow Fogel's example.

The land acquisition program proceeded vigorously through the mid-1970s, with the occasional protests common to government takings of private property. The owners of a subdivision lot on Praether's Neck (the area within the large riverbend bypassed by Four Locks) complained to Representative Byron in October 1973 about the Service's "land grab." They had been told that they had to sell and could rent back for only two years thereafter, whereas the Potomac Fish and Game Club below Williamsport would be allowed to remain for 25 years. NCP Director Manus J. (Jack) Fish, Jr., explained that continued residence in the subdivision would be incompatible with Park Service plans for restoration of the historic scene and a visitor use and environmental study area. In acting on the park legislation, he noted, Congress had favored special consideration for sportsmen's clubs, most of which were removed from planned visitor facilities.²⁷

In November 1974 Maryland's two U.S. senators wrote the secretary of the interior to urge that 25-year leasebacks negotiated thereafter contain an option for an additional 25-year period at fair market rental. The primary intended beneficiary was the Potomac Fish and Game Club, with which negotiations were about to begin. Acting Secretary John C. Whitaker replied that the granting of such options would be unfair to previous sellers and would unduly impede future park management. He promised that the government would be liberal with Potomac Fish and Game: while limiting it to 25 years on the river side of the canal, the Park Service would acquire only a scenic easement on the club's inland property. Dissatisfied, the club again brought its considerable influence to bear, with the result that acquisition of its riverside property was deferred "for lack of funds"

²⁶Memorandum, Linda Toms to Barry Mackintosh, Feb. 12, 1990, C & O Canal NHP file, History Division. As manager of the park's Palisades District, Toms played a key role in building the case against Fogel, for which the C & O Canal Association gave her its William O. Douglas Award.

²⁷Letter, George J. Brothers to Byron, Oct. 3, 1973, C & O Canal--Dam 4 file, Office of Land Use Coordination; letter, Fish to Byron, Oct. 24, 1973, *ibid*.

in October 1975. Ultimately, Dick Stanton concluded an agreement with the club in 1986 whereby the Service would not acquire the riverside property as long as the club did not increase its development.²⁸

Whites Ferry, near Poolesville, became another exception to the policy of acquiring fee title to all land between the canal and the river. The proprietors of the ferry, the last on the Potomac, indicated that they would leave if the Park Service took the 2.62-acre tract containing the operation, and the Service had no desire to go into the ferry business. "I really feel that the best thing we could do on Whites Ferry would be just to bypass the whole proposition," Stanton told John Parsons in 1976. "The public is being served and we always have the option at some later date to buy the land if the ferry is discontinued or a bridge built by the State." Acquisition of the ferry tract was not pursued. The operators had an informal arrangement with the Service beginning in 1975: they maintained one of their two picnic areas, for which they charged a fee, on canal property; in return, they mowed the grass and picked up trash along the canal. The Service formalized this arrangement in a special use permit in the mid-1980s, when the operators built a large picnic pavilion on park property.²⁹

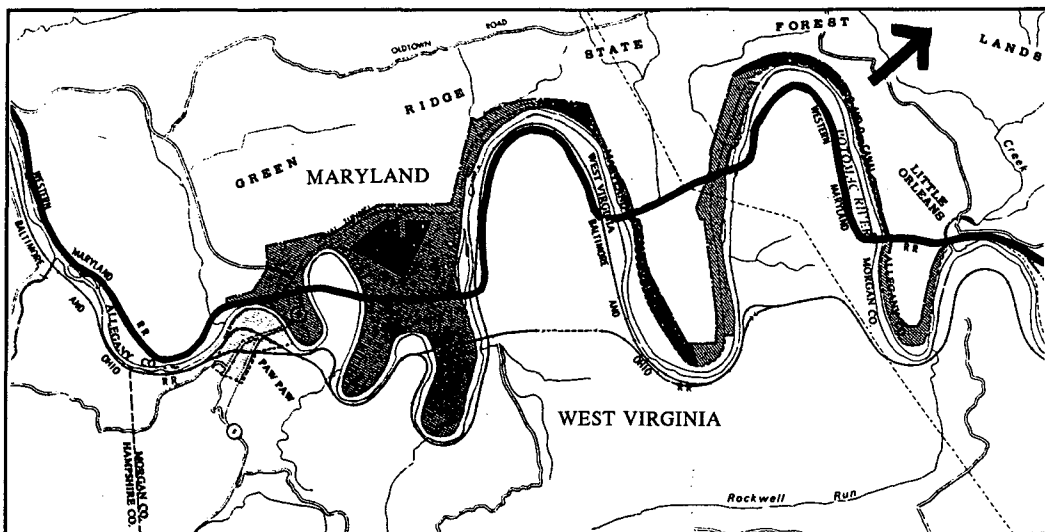
The park's annual report for 1975 described the land acquisition program as "near completion." As of that May, 1,205 tracts had been identified for fee or easement acquisition, of which only ninety remained to be negotiated. Condemnation proceedings were underway on 189 tracts. About a quarter of these were "friendly" condemnations to clear titles; the rest were forced by owners holding out for higher prices or better occupancy or easement terms than the government was willing to offer.³⁰

By the end of 1977 the Park Service had spent the \$20.4 million authorized for land acquisition in the 1971 park act and obtained most of the lands and interests that it had planned to acquire under the act. It then held 12,640 acres in fee and scenic easements on another 1,164 acres, for a total of 13,804 acres. Not included was most of Praether's Neck, which remains the largest privately held area between the canal and river within the authorized park boundary. A small but critical exclusion was 2,200

²⁸Letter, Sens. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., and J. Glenn Beall, Jr., to Rogers C. B. Morton, Nov. 11, 1974, C & O Canal Land Acquisition Policies file, Office of Land Use Coordination; letter, Whittaker to Mathias and Beall, Jan. 10, 1975, *ibid.*; letter, Richard L. Stanton to John N. Sterling, Oct. 31, 1975, C & O Canal-Sportsmen's Clubs file, Office of Land Use Coordination; telephone conversation with James D. Young, Nov. 21, 1990.

²⁹Memorandum, Stanton to Parsons, June 16, 1976, C & O Canal-White's Ferry file, Office of Land Use Coordination; Young conversation.

³⁰*Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Annual Report, 1975*; Transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, May 10, 1975, p. 15.



The Western Maryland Railway in West Virginia.

linear feet of towpath along the slackwater above Dam 4 claimed by Jacob Berkson, owner of the adjoining property. After protracted negotiations, Berkson finally donated the strip for tax purposes in 1986.³¹

A significant addition to the park beyond the boundary authorized in 1971 was a 34-mile stretch of the Western Maryland Railway between Woodmont and North Branch. The merger of the Western Maryland with the parallel B & O Railroad in the Chessie System eliminated the need for this stretch, and the Interstate Commerce Commission approved its abandonment in February 1975. About four miles of the abandoned section, which traversed the sweeping Potomac bends below Paw Paw, West Virginia, lay within the park boundary--in places directly alongside the canal. Six of the remaining thirty miles lay in West Virginia, in three discrete segments reached by six Potomac bridges. Three tunnels, one nearly a mile long, cut through mountain ridges on the Maryland side of the bends.

The Park Service wanted the abandoned right-of-way primarily to prevent private parties from acquiring and developing it. It could also be used for a scenic bicycle trail, and parts of it would enable better access by patrol and maintenance vehicles to isolated portions of the towpath. The Service obtained authority to acquire the right-of-way in the omnibus National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, which revised the park boundary "to include approximately 600 additional acres" and authorized another \$8 million for land acquisition--enough for other outstanding

³¹Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Annual Report, 1977; interview with Richard L. Stanton, Feb. 27, 1990.

purchases as well as the right-of-way, which the Service had appraised at \$650,000.³²

The legislation did not specifically mention the Western Maryland Railway or expansion of the park into West Virginia, where opposition to federal acquisition had been instrumental in blocking the Potomac National River. Riverfront landowners and officials in Morgan County, West Virginia, did not become fully aware of the Service's plans until 1980, when final purchase negotiations were underway with the railroad. They were not pleased.

Jack Fish, regional director of the Service's National Capital Region (as the National Capital Parks office was retitled in 1975), attempted to mollify them at a meeting of the Morgan County Commission that August. He claimed that the Service was acquiring the West Virginia segments of the right-of-way only because of the railroad's desire to sell the abandoned route in toto. (In fact, the Service had never sought less than the entire stretch.) Two landowners voiced concern about people crossing the railroad bridges from Maryland and trespassing on private lands. Another feared that the government would be able to condemn existing crossing easements over the right-of-way, thereby acquiring effective control of lands between it and the river. Viewing the acquisition as an entree to the Potomac National River--never officially dropped--they were not satisfied by Fish's promise to barricade the bridges, "mothball" the West Virginia segments, allow present access across them by adjoining owners to continue, and work toward their management by the state or county under a cooperative agreement.

Dayton Casto, a county leader, summed up local feelings about the Service's acquisition plan: "Let me tell you, it was the best kept secret since the atom bomb. . . . This thing didn't come up until just the last three months that we have known. . . . You have the Park Service over in Hancock saying we're going to make a hiker-biker across here, and then you are saying you are going to mothball it. Now which one do we believe? You say you are not going to get any more land, and yet you have an official position that says you are preparing legislation on the Potomac National River. These things are confusing us and making us unhappy."³³

Under continued political pressure, the Service was forced to agree to relinquish fee title to the West Virginia segments to adjoining owners.

³²Memorandum, Ira J. Hutchison to Legislative Counsel, July 14, 1978, C & O Canal--Western Maryland Railway file, Office of Land Use Coordination; Public Law 95-625, Nov. 10, 1978, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 92: 3467.

³³Record of Morgan County Commission meeting, Aug. 7, 1980, C & O Canal--Western Maryland Railway file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

When it acquired the right-of-way from the railroad on January 2, 1981, the deed and payment for the West Virginia segments were placed in escrow for ninety days, during which it negotiated terms with the owners. But the Service placed restrictions on what could be done with the land and required that all of it be conveyed simultaneously. The owners were unable to act in concert, and the Service took title on April 1. Thereafter it offered special use permits to the owners, under terms that none found sufficiently advantageous to accept. The Service barricaded the bridges, making them difficult but not impossible to cross; a proposal to remove them in 1983 after one person was killed and another badly injured in falls was not seriously pursued.³⁴ The 34-mile right-of-way, although overgrown, remains intact, requiring only several millions in federal funds and a revolution in West Virginia attitudes to fulfill its outstanding potential for a scenic bikeway.

Nearly a decade after the Western Maryland acquisition, the Park Service obtained another railroad right-of-way at the other end of the canal. The B & O's Georgetown Branch discontinued service in May 1985 when its last customer, the General Service Administration's West Heating Plant in Georgetown, shifted to delivery of coal by truck. The line ran along the river side of the canal from Key Bridge west to its bridge over the canal and Canal Road near Arizona Avenue, thence along the heights above the canal en route to Bethesda and Silver Spring, Maryland. There was much discussion of using the Bethesda-Silver Spring segment for light rail passenger service and some thought of extending this to Georgetown, but most interested parties favored only a hiking and biking trail for the Bethesda-Georgetown segment.

As with the Western Maryland, the Service was eager to acquire the right-of-way along the canal to prevent its private acquisition and development and to install a paved bicycle trail, which would be especially valuable here to separate bicycle traffic from pedestrians on the heavily used towpath just above Georgetown. Working with the Service and the National Park Foundation, Kingdon Gould III, a wealthy Washington businessman, bought the Washington portion of the right-of-way for \$11 million in November 1989. Having obtained \$4 million for the acquisition in fiscal 1990, the Service and the foundation arranged to lease the right-of-way from Gould until Congress appropriated another \$7 million the

³⁴Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meetings, Jan. 3, 1981, Apr. 18, 1981, Sept. 16, 1981, Sept. 18, 1982, Mar. 3, 1984.

following year. On November 20, 1990, Gould transferred 4.3 miles of the line totaling some 34 acres to the Service.³⁵

The park boundary legislated in 1971 authorized no land acquisition beyond North Branch, some eight miles below the historic canal terminus in Cumberland. The Service's prior decision to terminate park development at North Branch, the extent of residential and industrial development on lands bordering the canal property beyond that point, and the recurring pressures from the railroad and Cumberland interests to cede rather than enlarge park holdings made this decision a logical one.

Mary Miltenberger, one of Allegany County's two representatives on the park commission, did not agree. At the commission's first meeting in December 1971, she complained that the Service's plan to make North Branch the western gateway to the park would deprive Cumberland of much-needed tourist income. With her encouragement, Cumberland's city council passed a resolution in May 1972 favoring a boundary expansion above North Branch, a position endorsed by the park commission that July. That December Maryland's U.S. senators, J. Glenn Beall, Jr., and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., held a hearing on the matter at Allegany Community College. Those present were generally supportive.³⁶

In December 1973 Senators Beall and Mathias and Gilbert Gude, Montgomery County's representative in Congress, introduced legislation to include within the park boundary above North Branch an additional 1,200 acres, of which not more than half could be acquired in fee. The bills also directed a visitor center to be established at or near the canal terminus; the Western Maryland Railway station there was envisioned to serve this purpose. But Goodloe Byron, western Maryland's congressman, declined to cosponsor the legislation without assurance that all affected landowners were in agreement--a virtual impossibility.³⁷

Asked to comment on the legislation in August 1974, Jack Fish avoided taking an explicit position but called attention to the developed nature of the area in question, implicitly questioning its suitability for addition to the park. He suggested a study of the proposal by an outside planning group that did not share NCP's ties to the expansion proponents. In response,

³⁵CSX Georgetown Spur file, Superintendent's Office, C & O Canal NHP. A few hundred feet of the right-of-way at the District line, adjoining the Dalecarlia water filtration plant, went to the Corps of Engineers.

³⁶Transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Dec. 20, 1971, p. 36; memorandum, Manus J. Fish, Jr., to NPS Associate Director, Legislation, Aug. 16, 1974, C & O Canal NHP file, NPS Legislation Division.

³⁷S. 2841 and H.R. 12111, 93rd Congress; transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Sept. 29, 1973, p. 241.

Russell Dickenson, then NPS deputy director acting for the Service, recommended against the expansion bills while expressing support for a study authorization. Although Beall and Mathias reintroduced their bill in July 1975, Congress never moved further to expand or study expansion of the park above North Branch.³⁸

The Chessie System still wanted title to at least those canal lands in Cumberland occupied by its tracks, and the Park Service still wanted the railroad's property at Harpers Ferry where the engine house occupied by John Brown had stood. Negotiations resumed in 1986 with Chessie's successor, the CSX Corporation. As of 1991, the Service was willing to transfer four tracts used by the railroad totaling 15.04 acres and grant a perpetual easement for the railroad's bridge over the canal at North Branch. In return, it sought all of the historic U.S. Armory site at Harpers Ferry, including the land occupied by the existing railroad station. A controversial proposal for a new parkway along the canal in Cumberland that would use part of the land involved there complicated matters somewhat, but the exchange authorized by Congress in 1960 appeared closer than it had for some time.³⁹

At the end of 1990, the boundary of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park encompassed 19,237 acres. The Park Service held fee title to 12,713 acres and scenic easements on 1,356 acres, for a total of 14,069 acres under its ownership or control. The state of Maryland and other public jurisdictions held another 2,528 acres, much of it in Green Ridge State Forest and Fort Frederick and Seneca Creek state parks. The balance, 2,640 acres, remained in private hands.⁴⁰

³⁸Memorandum, Fish to NPS Associate Director, Legislation, Aug. 16, 1974, C & O Canal NHP file, NPS Legislation Division; memorandum, Dickenson to Legislative Counsel, Oct. 15, 1974, *ibid.*; S. 2182, 94th Congress.

³⁹Briefing Paper, B & O Railroad Land Exchange"; interview with John Parsons, Mar. 2, 1990.

⁴⁰"National Park Service Listing of Acreages as of 12/31/90," NPS Land Resources Division.

PLANNING THE PARK

After the National Park Service abandoned its plan to build a parkway along the canal in 1956, it was again faced with deciding how to develop and otherwise treat the canal property above Seneca. Every park was supposed to have a master plan for development and use. The Service completed such a plan for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument in 1964, but the unsettled status of the national historical park proposal limited its value. A hasty replanning effort accompanied the park proposal's revival in 1969, but there was strong opposition to the resulting development plan once the park bill had passed. A new effort followed, culminating in the mid-1970s in a general plan enjoying broad support.

In the spring of 1956 George Thompson, a recreation planner in the Service's Philadelphia regional office, surveyed the canal and prepared recommendations for land acquisition and recreational developments along it. The Philadelphia office assumed administrative oversight of the canal above Seneca from National Capital Parks in September 1958, and in April 1959 Assistant Regional Director George A. Palmer, William R. Failor, a planner with that office, and Edwin M. ("Mac") Dale, superintendent of what was then called the C & O Canal National Historical Park Project, reconnoitered the canal from Cumberland to Harpers Ferry. Their purpose was to review Thompson's recommendations for acquisition and locate areas for immediate development.

Failor stressed the need for a comprehensive study of existing non-recreational canal uses, which predominated nearly everywhere beyond Harpers Ferry, before general development planning. He recommended disposing of the canal above North Branch because it passed through "a hodge podge of uses with no zoning protection." Palmer was opposed to any such disposal of canal property, viewing it as a bad precedent.¹ (As has been seen, that controversy would continue.)

Dale's maintenance force was then clearing vegetation and other obstructions from the towpath and portions of the canal bed. Palmer commented that another season of work would probably make it possible to drive the entire towpath without a break except at certain aqueducts. But he was unhappy with the lack of aesthetic sensitivity displayed in some instances. "One of the saddest looking sections of the Canal is that cleared by National Capital Parks in 1957," he wrote the regional director. "The

¹Memorandum, Failor to Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin, Apr. 24, 1959, historical files, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park; memorandum, Palmer to Tobin, May 6, 1959, *ibid*.

Canal and towpath were stripped clean and the sprouts are now coming up to five or six feet. By summer, they will be ten. The result is that this section of the canal doesn't have an abandoned look, it has a neglected look. The sections cleared by Superintendent Dale are better, because he did leave some selected trees along the towpath. I believe we should go even further in planning for clearings by leaving clumps of trees, breaking the monotony by varying the degree of thinning, and generally presenting a more pleasing appearance than just raw canal."²

Palmer wanted to stop further clearing until it had been determined through master planning which sections of the canal would be developed and how. He also wanted to leave evidence of flood devastation: "Just below Lock 33 at Harpers Ferry, I would not touch the ruins of the Canal because here, more than at any other point, the destruction illustrates . . . one of the principal reasons for its eventual closing."³

The master plan for the national monument was prepared by the Park Service's Eastern Office of Design and Construction in Philadelphia and approved by Acting Director Jackson E. Price on August 28, 1964. It outlined the many problems caused by the lack of adequate boundary data, adverse neighboring development, and encroachments. The park could not be effectively administered, it declared, without a clearly defined boundary extended for resource protection and development of administrative and visitor facilities. It called for extensive recreational developments and proposed rewatering many stretches of the canal, including the 13-mile stretch from Lock 71 in Oldtown through the Paw Paw Tunnel to Lock 62.⁴

Much of the proposed development was carried forward into the 1968 Potomac National River plan, which John M. Kauffmann "split lengthwise" in 1969 for the boundary map and development outline accompanying the successful national historical park legislation (page 97). Proposed development in the first year after enactment included a major visitor center complex at North Branch and canal restoration, boat ramps, and other amenities at North Branch and Brunswick. The second year would see a visitor center, marina, and campsites at Praether's Neck, new visitor facilities at Hancock, Williamsport, and Edwards Ferry, and restoration of several aqueducts, locks, and lockhouses. Restoration of historic features and development of new facilities, including more boat ramps,

²Memorandum, Palmer to Tobin, May 6, 1959, C & O Canal NHP.

³Ibid.

⁴*The Master Plan for Preservation and Use, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument, Maryland*, copy at C & O Canal NHP.

campgrounds, picnic areas, and comfort stations, would continue at the same level during the next three years.⁵

As noted previously, some conservation groups expressed displeasure with the extent of proposed development during the hearings on the park legislation in 1970, and Congress cut the authorized development appropriation from \$47 million to \$17 million. This was not necessarily meant to curtail the Park Service's plans, but it would require the Service to return to Congress for an increase in the development ceiling after the \$17 million had been appropriated and spent. Following enactment of the legislation in January 1971, Kauffmann proceeded to incorporate his development outline in a new master plan for the expanded park. The ambitious plan called for 25 boat launch facilities accessible by automobile, 31 group camps with a total capacity of 6,000, and nearly 3,000 picnic sites. These and other developments were designed for a day-use visitor capacity of 53,500.

Copies of the master plan "were, somehow, obtained by the private sector and circulated to the public without the authorization of the National Park Service," in Dick Stanton's words. Quite apart from the plan's content, the impression of secrecy did not bode well for its acceptance. Justice William O. Douglas wrote Anthony Wayne Smith, president of the National Parks and Conservation Association: "I understand the Park Service has decided on three parking lots being located between the Canal and the River--and that all their plans are secret!! That is par for the Park Service. We should start hollering!"⁶

"We are already hollering," Smith replied, enclosing a copy of a letter he had sent Assistant Secretary of the Interior Nathaniel P. Reed: "The procedures being followed by the National Park Service with respect to the old C & O Canal are an outrage and violate all the purposes for which the protectors of the Canal have been fighting for over 17 years. We are simply not going to put up with this kind of thing by the National Park

⁵Development schedule accompanying letter, Walter J. Hickel to Wayne N. Aspinall, May 27, 1970, in U.S. Congress, House, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hearings* before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, on H.R. 658 and Related Bills, Aug. 11 and 13, 1970 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 16.

⁶Stanton, "A National Park Service Review of the Goals, Efforts, and Accomplishments of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission," November 1976, C & O Canal Commission file, Office of Land Use Coordination, National Capital Region, NPS; letter, Douglas to Smith, Sept. 16, 1971, C & O Canal files, National Parks and Conservation Association.

Service and the Department of the Interior. . . . I think you have an obligation to see that this nonsense is stopped."⁷

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission had been viewed by the Service as the appropriate forum for public involvement in the master plan. Unfortunately, the commission was not organized until nearly a year after enactment of the park legislation. Kauffmann spoke on the plan at its first meeting on December 20, 1971. "We have to, first, recognize the limitations of the park," he said. "It is long and narrow and full of fragile resources. It is going to be a very difficult task to administer this, to develop it wisely and properly for the type of uses which you can expect in this urbanized region in the future."⁸ His plan proposed a variety of conditions: the canal would be rewatered for as much as half its length, left naturally overgrown in other areas, and maintained in grass near communities to present a town park appearance.

The first large proposed development upriver from the already developed section below Seneca was at Edwards Ferry. Here the plan called for a marina building and dock for a hundred boats. Reaction from commission members was negative. Grant Conway of Montgomery County complained about the noise and pollution from power boats and existing efforts to accommodate them: "The Park Service has already put so many ramps in the river that people can't hear themselves talk in their yards near the river." Kauffmann argued that the proposed marinas were intended to concentrate power boating in limited areas rather than to increase it, but the critics were unpersuaded.⁹

Conway and Rome F. Schwagel of Washington County also expressed concern about the planned extent of rewatering, which would require much tree removal and other disturbance of naturally regenerated areas. NCP Director Russell E. Dickenson defended the rewatering on historical grounds, but no commission members voiced support. The commission did agree on the importance of stabilizing the aqueducts to maintain the continuity of the towpath, a concern heightened by the partial collapse of the Seneca Aqueduct three months before. The members voted unanimously for a motion by Justice Douglas, attending as "special adviser to the commission," that aqueduct restoration receive priority.¹⁰

⁷Letter, Smith to Reed, Sept. 14, 1971, C & O Canal files, NPCA.

⁸Transcript, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission meeting, Dec. 20, 1971, p. 15, C & O Canal NHP.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 35, 49.

After the meeting Assistant Secretary Reed, who had been present, relayed his reaction to Kauffmann: "My reading of the Advisory Board meeting was that the priority is to protect the Canal and the locks. Repair the damage and last and *least* construct visitor facilities. . . . Unless I am wrong, the Canal should *not* be developed for heavy use mass recreation. Bicycling, walking, canoeing, limited, low development, low density camping are the features the Advisory Board wants. Unless your Master Plan reflects this objective, there will be years of strife ahead."¹¹

A fresh start was called for. Kauffmann moved on to other assignments, and John G. Parsons, a dynamic young landscape architect and planner at NCP headquarters, was charged with developing a new park plan "acceptable to the National Park Service, the Commission, and the public," as Dick Stanton later wrote.¹²

During May and June 1972 the Service held five public information meetings, in Washington and each of the four Maryland counties containing the park, to discuss the planning effort and obtain public comment. Parsons and his colleagues distributed a draft "study plan" for the park, and one of them remained available for two days after each meeting. A total of some 1,500 people attended, and about fifty took advantage of the opportunities for further discussion.

The National Parks and Conservation Association was among those commenting on the study plan. NPCA supported its proposal to provide only walk-in camping but found too much development emphasis remaining elsewhere. It opposed the plan's call for a new developed area at Watts Branch in Potomac, expansion of parking to accommodate 150 cars at Violettes Lock, marina services at Edwards Ferry, and a footbridge across the Potomac at Harpers Ferry.¹³

At a meeting of the park commission that July, Carl Linden and Alan Franklin of the C & O Canal Association presented their group's position on park development. They wanted nothing that would encourage or support recreational activities not directly related to the canal, including drive-in campgrounds, picnic grounds, and walk-in campgrounds accessible from parking areas like that at Antietam Creek. "It should be a park developed for those who are willing to walk into it," Franklin said. Harry

¹¹Memorandum, Reed to Kauffmann, Dec. 22, 1971, C & O Canal Commission file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

¹²"A National Park Service Review of the Goals, Efforts, and Accomplishments of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission."

¹³"Statement on the C & O Canal National Historic Park Study for Preservation, Management and Use," June 1972, C & O Canal files, NPCA.

Rinker, president of the Pennsylvania Canal Society, disagreed. He saw the park as the national canal park, catering not just to area residents but to people coming from afar by car. He wanted more vehicle access and development for those visitors, who might lack the time or ability to hike long distances.¹⁴

Partly in response to such differing demands, Parsons developed a zoning concept for the park. At a commission meeting that September he unveiled his plan to divide the park into five categories, ranging from major interpretive zones to primitive zones. The former would be the most developed and accessible; the latter would be the most untouched and remote. In addition to reflecting the park's diversity, the zones would be used to control visitor use. In major interpretive zones, sufficient parking would be provided to allow as many as three hundred people per mile; in primitive zones, the target maximum was 25 per mile.¹⁵

The zoning concept was incorporated in a "Preliminary Draft Master Plan," which won the commission's endorsement in January 1973. The draft was widely circulated. There were more public meetings and more public input. The *Washington Post* editorialized on the Park Service planning effort following the twentieth anniversary Justice Douglas Hike in April 1974: "As Justice Douglas has often said, the traditional strategy has been, 'First save the canal from the parkway, then save it from the Park Service.' This may be easier than it used to seem, for the National Park Service has been listening to public sentiment and has apparently abandoned earlier plans to 'improve' the park by adding large marinas, plug-in campgrounds and other intrusive facilities. In concert with the Maryland congressional delegation, the Park Service is now focusing on obtaining sufficient money for repairs and restoration."¹⁶

The *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park General Plan* was endorsed by the park commission in July 1975 and officially approved by NCP Director Manus J. (Jack) Fish, Jr., in January 1976. It began by defining the park's management objectives: to "preserve the atmosphere of past times and enduring natural beauty and safeguard historic remains and natural features," to "impart to visitors an understanding and appreciation of an historic way of life blended into the natural setting of the Potomac Valley," and to "develop the potential of the park's recreation

¹⁴Transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, July 8, 1972, pp. 50-60.

¹⁵Transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Sept. 9, 1972.

¹⁶"A Milestone for the C & O Canal," May 2, 1974.

resources for safe yet stimulating enjoyment by the visitors within limits compatible with the other two management objectives."¹⁷

The general plan divided the park into 32 sections, each assigned to one of the five zones. Six sections totaling 10.4 miles--at Georgetown, Great Falls, Seneca, Williamsport, Four Locks, and North Branch--were assigned to Zone A, the National Interpretive Zone. Here the emphasis would be on historical restoration and interpretation, with vehicular access and facilities to accommodate the largest numbers of visitors. Zone B, the Cultural Interpretive Zone, applied to ten segments totaling 23.4 miles. They would also focus on cultural resources, but with less development. Zone C, the Short-Term Recreation Zone, was "designed to serve the general towpath user seeking a leisurely stroll of 2 to 6 hours in a natural setting." Six segments totaling 39.1 miles were so classified. Zone D, the Short-Term Remote Zone, was the category for seven segments totaling 61.8 miles, each intended to provide "an undisturbed day in a natural setting." Zone E, the Long-Term Remote Zone, applied to three segments totaling 49.6 miles, the longest being a 29.5-mile stretch from Hancock through the lower Paw Paw Bends to Lock 62. These would serve "those who seek a near wilderness involvement with the environment."¹⁸ The idea of controlling visitor use by setting explicit carrying capacities for the various zones did not find its way into the plan.

A chart depicted the kinds of facilities that would be suitable in the various zones. Boat concessions could go in Zones B and C, for example, while hiker-biker campgrounds would be appropriate in Zones C, D, and E. The existing drive-in campgrounds at McCoys Ferry, Little Orleans, and Spring Gap were to be phased out "when private enterprise meets the demand." (They were still present 15 years later.) Twenty-four miles of the canal, comprising the 13 Zone A and B segments outside the already-watered 22 miles below Seneca, were proposed for rewatering; where engineering studies found this infeasible, the bed would be cleared of natural vegetation, sodded, and mowed.

The park commission's influence was apparent in the plan's strong statement about development priorities: "It is imperative that higher priority be given to the stabilization and restoration of historic structures than to new development. If this is not done, the danger of losing these fragile, limited, nonrenewable resources, for which the park has been established, becomes apparent. . . . No new visitor use facilities will be constructed until emergency flood rehabilitation and aqueduct stabilization

¹⁷*Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park General Plan* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976), pp. 1-2.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

work has been funded and further research on stabilization and restoration of the cultural resources has occurred."¹⁹

A chapter titled "Sectional Concepts" addressed each of the 23 sections with suggestions for its treatment. It was prefaced with the caveat that "the concepts here may change significantly and will not be implemented until a sectional development plan for the entire section is completed." These plans, to be undertaken with "complete public involvement," would dictate all development beyond the restoration work then in progress after tropical storm Agnes. The Great Falls section was slated for initial attention.²⁰

The Great Falls section was the most heavily used area of the canal outside Georgetown. It was made so by its location in the Washington metropolitan area and its many attractions: the falls themselves, canal barge trips running through the uppermost of five closely spaced locks, the historic Great Falls Tavern, the picturesque Widewater section of the canal, the rugged Billy Goat Trail along the river's Mather Gorge, the river's suitability for whitewater canoeing and kayaking, and the scenic quality of the area as a whole. The National Capital Team of the Park Service's Denver Service Center began work in 1978 on the area's development concept plan or DCP, as the sectional development plans were titled. The planners held two public hearings in the vicinity in late 1979 and produced a draft in mid-1980.

The draft identified a range of problems, including inadequate facilities to meet recreational demands; inadequate interpretation of the canal and tavern, the nearby Maryland Gold Mine, and the historic Washington Aqueduct running beneath the area; conflicts between hikers and bikers on the congested towpath; an interrupted stretch of the towpath at the head of Widewater; a lack of access to view the falls after Agnes swept away a set of bridges to Olmsted Island in 1972; poor circulation patterns; inadequate office space in the tavern, rest room facilities, and food concession service; and a run-down hiker-biker campground at Swains Lock. After presenting five alternative programs for addressing these and other concerns, it described a preferred course of action.

Under the recommended plan, a dock for the canal barge would be built below Lock 20, which would remain operational for the barge trips. Access and circulation would remain essentially unaltered. The parking lots at Swains Lock and opposite Old Anglers Inn (below Widewater) would be paved and striped but not expanded. A twenty-car parking area would be added near the Maryland Gold Mine. To limit crowding, overflow parking would not be allowed. Cyclists would be required to walk their

¹⁹Ibid., p. 24.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 23-24, 41.

bicycles between Widewater and the Great Falls Tavern during peak visitation periods. The towpath at the head of Widewater would ultimately be restored; meanwhile, a wooden walkway begun there would be completed. The bridges to Olmsted Island would be replaced. The campground at Swains would be retained. The lockhouse at Lock 16 would be rehabilitated to house seasonal park employees. Administrative offices on the second floor of the tavern would be moved to a historic stone house nearby that had been built and used by the Corps of Engineers; two adjacent modern houses would be razed upon their expected transfer from the Corps to the Park Service.²¹

The towpath by Widewater, periodically scoured and washed out by floods, had been a bone of contention for several years. At the House hearing on the park bill in 1970, conservation group representatives criticized work then underway to reconstruct part of it; the Park Service appeared to them to be building a road rather than a path.²² In the spring of 1976, in conjunction with towpath repair work necessitated by the 1972 tropical storm Agnes, the park began to construct a 270-foot-long wooden bridge over a rocky stretch below Lock 15. Edwin F. Wesely, a commission member from Montgomery County, considered the bridge intrusive and unnecessary and sounded the alarm among the conservation community.

Most other commission members and conservationists had less quarrel with the structure itself than with the Service's failure to consult the park commission and other interested parties before proceeding with it. (Because the park was in the National Register of Historic Places, the Service was required to consult the District of Columbia's or Maryland's state historic preservation officer and the federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation on all projects affecting it.) The Service suspended construction of the bridge and brought the issue before the commission that May. There John Parsons confessed the error of the 1970 work while defending the present project: "We were doing an insensitive, lousy fill job at Widewater, and I'm glad that the conservationists stopped us. . . . I think we've heeded that advice, and we have built something with a great deal of sensitivity to the resources." Superintendent William R. Failor argued that the bridge was necessary to maintain the continuity of the

²¹"Finding of No Significant Impact, Environmental Assessment, Great Falls Park, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Development Concept Plan," in C & O Canal Commission minutes file, July 19, 1980, C & O Canal NHP.

²²U.S. Congress, House, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hearings before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, on H.R. 658 and Related Bills, Aug. 11 and 13, 1970 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 92, 107.

towpath and did not constitute the kind of new development requiring a sectional development plan or DCP. But the Service agreed to go no further with it until could be fully addressed in such a planning effort.²³

When the commission reviewed the draft DCP in October 1980, the proposal to complete the bridge over the rocks again came under criticism, as did several other ingredients of the plan. Four commission members formed a committee to review the draft and propose revisions. The committee recommended against completing the bridge, favoring instead "a staggered path effect which would reflect the natural terrain" pending ultimate restoration of the towpath to its historic condition. It opposed the new parking area or any other development on the gold mine tract. It urged some treatment other than asphalt and striping for the parking areas at Swains Lock and Old Anglers Inn to maintain their rural character. It advocated retaining the modern Corps of Engineers houses as employee residences. The commission endorsed its committee's recommendations that December.²⁴

Superintendent Dick Stanton shared a draft "record of decision" on the DCP with the commission in April 1981. It appeared to incorporate most of the commission's views. Only the exterior of the lockhouse at Lock 16 would be restored; employees would be housed in the modern residences if they were transferred to the Park Service. The parking area at Old Anglers Inn would be paved and striped to increase its efficiency; nothing was said about that at Swains. The forty-car parking area nearest the Great Falls Tavern would be removed to provide a more appropriate setting for the tavern. The existing pullout for cars near the intersection of Falls Road and MacArthur Boulevard would be slightly improved to provide better access to trails in the Gold Mine Tract and "present a more park-like entrance portal." The "staggered path effect" would be tried at Widewater; if it proved satisfactory, the Service would consider removing the bridge and extending the new treatment the entire distance.²⁵

Regional Director Jack Fish approved the DCP that summer, but Stanton told the commission that no money would be available to implement it anytime soon. A decade later, nothing had been done about the parking areas or the rocky stretch at Widewater. The park requested \$325,000 in 1989 to restore 875 feet of towpath there, but the project lacked sufficient

²³Interview with Carrie Johnson, Jan. 31, 1990; transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, May 22, 1976, pp. 119-21, 152.

²⁴Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meetings, Oct. 18 and Dec. 6, 1980.

²⁵Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Apr. 18, 1981.

priority for funding.²⁶ The Service did acquire and occupy the Corps houses and a garage building, freeing space in the tavern, and it partially restored the exterior of the Lock 16 lockhouse. It built a dock for the canal barge below Lock 20, and it proceeded with plans to replace the bridges to the falls overlook on Olmsted Island. The change most evident to Great Falls visitors by the end of 1990 was the inauguration of a \$3-per-car fee that November. Collected at the entrance to the parking area, it was expected to help control public use and lessen overcrowding.

The next development concept planning effort addressed the last ten miles of the canal running through North Branch and Cumberland. Terry Langlois, a Denver Service Center planner who had worked on the Great Falls DCP, began the Cumberland/North Branch DCP in 1979 and presented three alternatives to the park commission in July 1980. The commission members from Allegany County and local officials favored the alternative leading to the greatest development, estimated to cost more than \$10 million; unlike those from wealthy Montgomery County, they were eager to attract more visitors to lift their depressed economy. At the commission's request, Cumberland and Allegany County appointed a study team headed by commission member John D. Millar to make recommendation to the planners. In April 1981 Millar reported "overwhelming support" for rewatering from Spring Gap to a waste weir a mile below the terminus, a distance of more than ten miles.²⁷

The Park Service planning team concluded that the rewatering and other improvements favored by the community could not feasibly be accomplished within ten years (the general rule guiding what went into a DCP). Obtaining sufficient water, relocating the roads and storm drains crossing the canal, and funding the work involved posed major problems. While proposing engineering feasibility studies of rewatering, the planners gave first priority to restoration of the Evitts Creek Aqueduct. They also favored exterior restoration of the lockhouse at Lock 72, removal of a road and bridge crossing the canal at Lock 74, adaptive use of the Lock 75 lockhouse at North Branch as a ranger office and visitor contact facility, and redevelopment of the former Western Maryland Railway station at the terminus by the city of Cumberland to house a visitor information exhibit on the canal.²⁸

²⁶Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Sept. 16, 1981; Widewater Towpath file, Superintendent's Office, C & O Canal NHP; interview with James D. Young, Jan. 18, 1990.

²⁷Minutes, C & O Canal Commission, July 19, 1980, and Apr. 18, 1981.

²⁸Record of Decision in file, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Dec. 5, 1981.

The Cumberland/North Branch DCP as approved and published in October 1982 reflected these views. Under continued pressure from the community, however, it was revised in May 1983 to express greater support for rewatering in the near term. "As a minimum, the canal would be rewatered between Locks 72 and 75 (1.2 miles) and between Evitts Creek Aqueduct and Candoc (1.34 miles)," it declared. "Lock 75 would be an appropriate location for a floating barge. Other areas that prove to be feasible would be rewatered."²⁹

The Park Service opened an information center in the Cumberland railroad station in May 1985. It performed some stabilization work on the Evitts Creek Aqueduct, and with funds obtained through the efforts of Rep. Beverly B. Byron in 1989, it installed dikes and flooded a section of the canal in Cumberland to test its water-holding ability. But the greatest chance of achieving the extensive and permanent rewatering sought by the community appeared to lie in a new proposal for yet another canal parkway (page 176).

The Williamsport section of the canal was next to receive development planning attention. The planners began work there in late 1980 and completed its DCP in August 1982. The DCP prescribed actions to be undertaken in two phases. Phase I actions included stabilizing the Conococheague Aqueduct, restoring an old trolley power station for use as a visitor contact and management facility, restoring the exterior of the Cushwa Warehouse and outlining the former canal turning basin next to it in stone, restoring Lock 44 and its lockhouse, conducting an engineering feasibility study of rewatering, and rewatering the canal from Lock 44 to the Conococheague Aqueduct. The historic Bollman Bridge over the canal would be closed to motor vehicles and only vehicles carrying disabled persons would be allowed to reach the river on Potomac Street, with the result that Riverfront Park would be inaccessible by car to all but the disabled. In Phase II, the canal would be rewatered east of Lock 44, if feasible, to permit locking through a barge; the turning basin would be restored and rewatered; and the existing boat ramp in Riverfront Park would be removed.³⁰

The park commission approved the Williamsport DCP but expressed concern that the Bollman Bridge not be closed until an alternate route was available. Community opposition to the actions affecting Riverfront Park mounted, and in December 1982 the commission requested removal of any

²⁹*Development Concept Plan for the Cumberland/North Branch Area, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park* (National Park Service, 1983), p. 5.

³⁰*Development Concept Plan and Assessment for the Williamsport, Maryland, Section of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park* (National Park Service, August 1982).

reference to closing the bridge and relocating the boat ramp. The Service heeded the commission's advice in a revised edition of the DCP, issued in May 1983.³¹

The Phase I rewatering was successfully completed in the mid-1980s. Thanks to Beverly Byron and Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski, the Service's 1991 appropriation earmarked \$2.3 million for rewatering in Williamsport, Hancock, and Brunswick. Williamsport's share of the money would be used to begin Phase II, including excavation and restoration of the turning basin, continued rewatering past Lock 44 to a Potomac Edison access road, and restoration of the lock to operating condition.³²

Work on a DCP for the Brunswick section got underway in 1981. The Service's major problem there was the use of the towpath for vehicular access to a town-operated campground and a sewage treatment plant between the canal and river. Between the canal and the town center lay a large Chessie System railroad yard. The Service initially sought, without success, to have this traffic rerouted along railroad property.³³

A draft of the DCP, circulated in August 1982, called for the Brunswick section to be rezoned from B to A if the town and the railroad developed "a high quality living museum of the railroad era." Under Phase I of the proposed development, towpath traffic west of Maple Avenue would be eliminated except for a crossing to the state-owned boat ramp under the U.S. Route 17 highway bridge, Lock 30 would be stabilized, and the lock gates would be restored. Under Phase II, a new road crossing the canal at Maple Avenue and running parallel with it east to the sewage treatment plant and campground would allow removal of the remaining towpath traffic. The boat ramp under U.S. 17 would be eliminated and its function shifted to the campground ramp. The canal would be rewatered if engineering studies demonstrated the feasibility of doing so.

The park commission asked that the proposals to rezone the section and eliminate the boat ramp be stricken; thus revised, the DCP was published in February 1983. It was amended in April 1988 to incorporate a description of the Brunswick Waterfront Project, a product of the Brunswick Revitalization Committee in cooperation with the Park Service and the park commission. The addition specified the responsibilities of the town and the Service for upgrading the area over a three-year period; the

³¹Minutes, C & O Canal Commission, Sept. 18, 1982, and Dec. 4, 1982; *Development Concept Plan for the Williamsport Area, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park* (National Park Service, May 1983).

³²Telephone conversation with James D. Young, Dec. 13, 1990.

³³Minutes, C & O Canal Commission, Dec. 5, 1981.

town was to provide signing and publicity and take steps to enhance the approach to the park.³⁴

During the summer of 1989 the park raised part of the canal berm at Brunswick and tapped the town's water supply to fill the canal there. Brunswick agreed to turn its water intake system over to the park when a planned replacement system became operational.³⁵

The Service undertook a DCP for the Georgetown section in 1985-86. The planning effort there was complicated by redevelopment proposals for the Georgetown waterfront, most of which lay outside the park boundary. The park commission endorsed a DCP draft in May 1986. It was subsequently approved by outside review bodies, and the D.C. Council adopted a resolution recommending that city-owned waterfront lands be transferred to the Service. With no new development proposed for the great majority of the park, there was little pressure or need for development concept planning elsewhere.

³⁴Minutes, C & O Canal Commission, Sept. 18, 1982; *Development Concept Plan and Assessment Amended To Include the Brunswick Waterfront Project for Brunswick, Maryland, Section of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park* (National Park Service, April 1988).

³⁵Young conversation, Dec. 13, 1990.

MANAGING THE PARK

For much of its tenure under the National Park Service, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was an administrative anomaly. Acquired as a public works project, it lacked status as a unit of the national park system for more than two decades. For a decade thereafter, most but not all of it held such status as a national monument; the rest remained part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway and National Capital Parks. The two parts were managed by different superintendents for 17 years; for eight of those years they reported to different regional offices. Even after the park achieved administrative unity under a single superintendent, its elongated nature and varied environment and clientele posed unusual management challenges.

After the Park Service acquired the canal in 1938, the District of Columbia portion (4.7 miles long) fell within the Potomac Palisades Parkway component of National Capital Parks, the segment from the District line to just above Great Falls (about eleven miles) lay within the George Washington Memorial Parkway's jurisdiction, and the remainder, outside any legally authorized park entity, was informally classed as an NCP "reservation."¹ The superintendent of National Capital Parks (C. Marshall Finnan to August 1939, Irving C. Root from January 1941 to July 1950) oversaw the whole with the aid of NCP staff and the United States Park Police, an arm of NCP.

As noted earlier, the Park Service focused its early efforts on restoration of the canal from the inlet lock below Seneca to Rock Creek in Georgetown. Beginning in 1941, NCP staff members made periodic inspection trips along the canal above Seneca. Associate Civil Engineer William G. Hayward traveled there that spring. He found the B & O Railroad dumping trash, cinders, and miscellaneous fill on canal property in the Cumberland area--a practice that continued over the years despite repeated complaints to railroad officials. Because there were insufficient park policemen for the task, Hayward suggested that five old canal company

¹Memorandum, Hillory A. Tolson to Arthur E. Demaray, Aug. 18, 1944, C & O Canal file 650.03, National Capital Parks, National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Although the legal authority for the George Washington Memorial Parkway, the Capper-Cramton Act of 1930, authorized federal acquisition of the entire canal property below Point of Rocks, the parkway itself extended only from the D.C. line to just above Great Falls.

supervisors be hired to patrol the canal and watch for such encroachments, but this was not done.²

Amid the general curtailment of park activities during the war years, the Service could devote little attention to the upper canal. NCP did form a C & O Canal Real Estate Board to handle leases and permits. Mary A. McColligan, its chairman, and Frances J. Worthington, a realty specialist, went on inspection trips accompanied by Walter H. Sconyers, a Park Police private then assigned to canal patrol work. The board continued into the 1950s, when William Hayward served on it with the two women.

Park Police officers were the only uniformed Park Service representatives on the upper canal during this period. In April 1951 Sgt. Thomas C. Tingle and Pvt. Samuel H. Hower hiked from Cumberland to Seneca in a patrol designed to attract press coverage and promote the Service's parkway proposal. They reported general support for the parkway except from those who feared "the removal of their summer cottages and other privileges they now enjoy." On a routine inspection that November, Hower discovered "a very foul condition" near the terminus in Cumberland: "A sewer of considerable capacity empties into the canal, runs across the canal and into the river. The odor is terrible."³ In March 1954 Hower was detailed to assist Justice William O. Douglas's anti-parkway hike, which avoided Cumberland's degradation by beginning at North Branch. Later that year Pvt. Roland A. Fallin was posted at Harpers Ferry and given the upper canal as his beat.

National Capital Parks remained a unitary organization, without subordinate superintendents for its various components, until 1965. It did have personnel assigned primarily to manage particular areas, and in January 1953 Associate Superintendent Harry T. Thompson, then lobbying hard for the parkway, proposed that a capable custodian be appointed for the entire canal. He would be stationed in Williamsport or some other central location, become completely familiar with the canal, supervise all improvements, and serve as the canal's primary contact with the public.

²Memorandum, Hayward to Francis F. Gillen, Apr. 12, 1941, "Inspection Trips, C & O Canal" file, National Capital Parks, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md.; memorandum, Gillen to Sidney McClellan, Oct. 22, 1943, Administration, Maintenance, and Protection file 1460/C&O-5, NCP, WNRC; letter, Irving C. Root to Chief Engineer, B & O Railroad, Oct. 27, 1943, *ibid*.

³Memorandum, Tingle and Hower to Chief, U.S. Park Police, May 10, 1951, Inspection Trips file, WNRC; memorandum, Hower to Chief, U.S. Park Police, Nov. 14, 1951, C & O Canal January 1950-December 1954 file, WNRC.

NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth endorsed the proposal, but no action was taken on it.⁴

Instead, when Wirth abandoned the canal parkway for the national historical park proposal in 1956, he decided to break the canal administratively at Seneca. The restored portion would remain with NCP. The remainder--the part proposed for national historical park designation--would receive its own superintendent reporting to the NPS regional director in Philadelphia. As noted previously (page 76), this division would allow NCP to retain the canal segment within its traditional service area while removing the national historical park to the nearest regional office charged with overseeing discrete units of the national park system.

The Region Five office in Philadelphia immediately became involved in planning for the park, sending George Thompson to survey the canal above Seneca for recreational development opportunities in the spring of 1956. In May 1957, anticipating early enactment of the recently introduced park legislation, Regional Director Daniel J. Tobin recommended establishment of a park headquarters. He favored Hagerstown for its central location reasonably near the canal, its access via U.S. Route 40, and its accommodations for families. Ben H. Thompson, head of planning activities in the Service's Washington office, recommended setting up a full-time park staff for planning and operations even if the legislation did not clear the current Congress.⁵

Director Wirth followed their recommendations. On August 11, 1957, he appointed Edwin M. ("Mac") Dale superintendent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Project with headquarters at Hagerstown. Dale's new domain remained under NCP for another year, during which time he reported officially to the NCP superintendent but dealt extensively with Philadelphia. On September 1, 1958, he and his area of responsibility were formally transferred to Region Five. The canal was administratively divided one hundred feet downstream from the first culvert above the Seneca Aqueduct, leaving the sandstone mill and quarry beyond Seneca Creek under NCP. "Visitor use of the Canal to that point is more urban than wilderness type and breaks rather sharply at Seneca," NCP Superintendent Harry Thompson wrote Wirth to explain the line of

⁴Memorandum, Thompson to Wirth, Jan. 22, 1953, with Wirth endorsement, C & O Canal January 1950-December 1954 file, WNRC.

⁵Memorandum, Tobin to Conrad L. Wirth, May 23, 1957, Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Parkway file L58, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park; memorandum, Thompson to Wirth, June 5, 1957, *ibid*.



Edwin M. Dale

demarcation.⁶ President Dwight D. Eisenhower's January 18, 1961, proclamation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument ratified this division by setting the monument's lower boundary at this point.

Mac Dale, a Virginia native, had served as chief ranger on the Blue Ridge Parkway and as the first superintendent of Harpers Ferry National Monument. He had two major tasks: to establish a firm Park Service presence along the canal, reclaiming parts of it from private encroachments; and to build public support for the proposed national historical park.

Unfortunately, these tasks were not mutually supportive. Dale made many appearances before civic organizations and other groups to promote the park and ease fears that it would bar Marylanders from the Potomac. But his efforts to crack down on neighboring landowners, squatters, and others using canal property for their own purposes (sometimes unwittingly where the boundary was unclear) generated hostility. He was accused of a dictatorial attitude and of regarding people along the river as the enemy. He did succeed in clearing the towpath of fences and eliminating many other adverse uses. John C. Frye, a longtime canal supporter, later

⁶Memorandum, Thompson to Wirth, Sept. 4, 1958, C & O Administration and Protection file, C & O Canal NHP. The division gave Dale and Region Five less than the national historical park in the pending legislation, wherein it extended below Seneca to the projected George Washington Memorial Parkway terminus above Great Falls.



W. Dean McClanahan

recalled Dale as "the ramrod type" who "accomplished so much with so little--the right person at the right place at the right time."⁷

Dale's public relations problems hurt him with his superiors, whose priority was getting the park legislation passed. In turn, he became frustrated by their seeming lack of support for his efforts to build and maintain a traditional park regime. After he had worked long and hard to curtail certain privileges of the Potomac Fish and Game Club, for example, Regional Director Ronald F. Lee yielded to an appeal for leniency from the club's president. Dale retired from his job and the Service on December 31, 1965, somewhat embittered by such experiences.⁸

W. Dean McClanahan became the second superintendent of the C & O Canal National Monument on January 30, 1966. McClanahan had been a ranger at several parks in the Southwest, superintendent of Pipestone National Monument in Minnesota, and most recently a forester in the Natural History Division at Park Service headquarters. Four months later, on June 1, the national monument portion of the canal returned to the Service's National Capital Region, as the National Capital Parks organization was retitled in 1962. (The NCP designation was temporarily restored between December 1969 and October 1976, but the regional office and organization remained.)

⁷Interview with Dale by Richard L. Stanton, Feb. 3, 1987, tape at C & O Canal NHP; Donald R. Frush in transcript, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission meeting, May 12, 1973, C & O Canal NHP; interview with William Clark, Feb. 15, 1990; interview with Carrie Johnson, Jan. 31, 1990; interview with Frye, Feb. 1, 1990.

⁸Dale interview; letter, Dale to George Hicks, May 24, 1987, C & O Canal NHP.

The canal segment that had stayed under NCP/NCR had continued to be managed from NCP headquarters for a time. In March 1957, trash dumping in Georgetown and other maintenance problems prompted NCP Superintendent Edward J. Kelly to establish the Committee for Improving the Restored Portion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. It consisted of George W. Harding, chief of NCP's Horticulture and Maintenance Branch; John B. Thomas, public health consultant; Hugo Habluetzel, a horticulturist based at Great Falls; Chief Harold F. Stewart of the Park Police; Cornelius W. Heine, a historian with the Public Use Branch; and W. Drew Chick, Jr., NCP's chief naturalist. The committee's purpose was to recommend and arrange for basic improvements in maintenance, operations; and enforcement of park regulations--activities for which a park staff would normally be responsible.

In May 1965, what was then the National Capital Region was reorganized into subordinate superintendencies. NCR's part of the canal came under Superintendent Floyd B. Taylor of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, whose boundary encompassed most of it. The national monument's transfer to NCR a year later was a significant step toward administrative reunification, but the canal would remain divided under two park superintendents for eight more years.⁹

Mac Dale had strengthened Park Service authority along the upper canal but ruffled neighboring sensibilities in the process. Building on what Dale had accomplished, Dean McClanahan took a more conciliatory tack to win friends for the national monument and support for the park legislation.

Soon after his arrival, McClanahan suggested at a Potomac Valley planning meeting in Hagerstown that hunting might be appropriate at certain times and places within the monument. The *Washington Post* vigorously opposed the idea and condemned its source in an editorial: "Our indignation mounted and then boiled over into incredulity when we noted that the suggestion came, not only from the hunters, but also from W. Dean McClanahan, the new superintendent of the National Monument." NPS Assistant Director Howard W. Baker disowned the suggestion in letters to protesting park supporters, but the exchange surely helped McClanahan in western Maryland.¹⁰

⁹NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., approved the transfer "in order that the entire area may be administered as one unit" (memorandum to regional directors, NCR and Northeast Region, May 13, 1966, C & O Administration and Protection file, C & O Canal NHP).

¹⁰"C & O May Open to Hunters," *Washington Post*, Apr. 5, 1966; "Hunting in the Park?" editorial, *Washington Post*, Apr. 7, 1966; letter, Baker to Anthony W. Smith, June 1, 1966, C & O Canal files, National Parks and Conservation Association.

Dale had begun to develop public use facilities along the canal, including the campground at Antietam Creek, several hiker-biker campgrounds, and the boat ramp and access at Four Locks. McClanahan greatly accelerated the construction of boat ramps, campgrounds, parking areas, and access roads (described more fully in the next chapter). By opening the canal and river to greater public use, this development program went far to dispel old notions of the canal park as a barrier.¹¹

McClanahan's public relations skills were especially evident in his dealings with community organizations. Encountering resistance from adults, he adopted the old tactic of working through their children. He conceived the idea of Boy Scout canal hikes, with hikers receiving patches for completing segments of the towpath. This C & O Canal Historic Trail program was inaugurated in May 1967 with four Scout camporees, the largest at the Antietam Creek campground with 750 participants including Rep. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. Its success prompted the Boy Scouts of America's Baltimore Area Council to publish *184 Miles of Adventure: Hiker's Guide to the C & O Canal* in 1970. Park rangers presented programs in Washington County schools and YMCA camps, then led classes and camp groups on canal hikes. For family groups McClanahan inaugurated Saturday evening campfire programs at Antietam Creek; a majority of the 1,800 who attended the 13 programs given during 1967 were local people who came just for the programs. The superintendent and his staff continued with numerous presentations to civic and church groups. McClanahan found garden clubs and other women's organizations especially receptive; women, he judged, were less opposed to the Service's presence and purposes than men.¹²

McClanahan's efforts to improve public access to the canal and river, increase public use along them, and cultivate good community relations did much to raise the standing of the Park Service in western Maryland. Carrie Johnson, an aide to Mathias closely involved with the park legislation, judged those efforts instrumental in overcoming opposition to it.¹³

Upon his assignment to the canal, Mac Dale had set up headquarters in the Earle Building at 74 West Washington Street in Hagerstown. The office moved to 479 North Potomac Street in 1961 and to 120 North Potomac Street in 1965. Under a general Park Service program of clustering geographically related park units, administration of the C & O Canal

¹¹Interview with Robert W. Bell, Feb. 1, 1990.

¹²Robert W. Bell, "Parks Are for People" (five-page paper), Sept. 29, 1967, C & O Canal NHP; telephone interview with McClanahan, Feb. 28, 1990.

¹³Johnson interview.

National Monument was combined with that of Antietam National Battlefield Site (and the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center) on December 17, 1967. Dean McClanahan inherited the superintendency of the Antietam-C & O Canal Group, as the new organization was known, and moved his headquarters to the recently built visitor center at Antietam soon afterward. He liked the group arrangement, which enabled him to shift personnel and other resources between areas to meet special needs.¹⁴

The enactment of the national historical park legislation on January 8, 1971, prompted no immediate organizational change. Although the entire canal was now a single unit of the national park system, the former national monument portion remained under the Antietam-C & O Canal Group, while the lower portion continued under George Washington Memorial Parkway administration. This was the only time in Park Service history when one contiguous park system unit was divided between two superintendents. Floyd Taylor retired as superintendent of the parkway on June 27, 1971, to be succeeded by David A. Ritchie on July 25.

McClanahan's development orientation, having helped the park cause, now got him into difficulty. In 1970 he had installed a boat ramp and parking area above Dam 4 and begun to widen the eroded towpath upstream along Big Slackwater so maintenance and patrol vehicles could traverse it. In July 1971 Jacob Berkson, an adjoining landowner who claimed title to the towpath along his river frontage (pages 107 and 114), complained about increased motorboat noise and damage to natural surroundings from the ongoing towpath work. When Berkson's attorney threatened a suit to enjoin the project on grounds that the Park Service had not complied with environmental and historic preservation laws, NCP Director Russell E. Dickenson agreed to stop the work and review the matter. Investigators sent by the Service's Washington headquarters concluded that the towpath was not being widened beyond its historic dimensions.¹⁵

That September, while the work was suspended, the park proceeded with a similar towpath improvement project along the slackwater above Dam 5. At one narrow point a rock cliff was blasted, fill was dumped into the river, and the towpath was surfaced with concrete. The Potomac Valley Conservation and Recreation Council organized a "walk-in" to protest the "ruthless destruction of natural beauty," Rep. Gilbert Gude wired NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., to urge consultation with interested

¹⁴McClanahan interview. Antietam's staff were less happy with the arrangement, which cost them space in the visitor center and effectively subordinated their park to the canal.

¹⁵Letters, Oscar S. Gray to Dickenson, July 20 and Sept. 8, 1971, C & O Canal files, National Parks and Conservation Association; memorandum, Ernest A. Connally to Dickenson, Sept. 9, 1971, *ibid*.

parties, and Berkson sought and obtained a court restraining order that held up all work on the canal for a time. The case was finally resolved on August 24, 1972, when Berkson accepted the Service's formal promise to follow all applicable legal compliance requirements thereafter.¹⁶

The imbroglio further hurt the Service's reputation among conservationists, following as it did the much-criticized towpath filling project at Widewater in 1970. When Assistant Secretary of the Interior Nathaniel P. Reed made a wry reference to it at the first meeting of the Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park Commission in December 1971, John Frye responded sharply: "I'd like to say, Mr. Secretary, that the episode of trimming the trees and bulldozing the towpath really turned out not to be funny. In fact, it turned out to be a real tragedy, I think, because that set the work of this commission back about 15 years. . . . This mistake was made not so much from the environmental standpoint or the historic standpoint but from the fact that it turned public opinion completely around and we now have a hostile public whereas six months ago we didn't. Now we've almost got to start all over again."¹⁷

The controversy irreparably weakened McClanahan's position. On August 20, 1972, he was transferred to a staff assignment at NPS headquarters and replaced by William R. Failor. Failor, a Penn State graduate, had joined the Service's Eastern Office of Design and Construction as a landscape architect in 1956. From 1959 to 1968 he held various planning positions in the Philadelphia regional office, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, NCR, and the Service's Washington Planning and Service Center. He came to the canal from the superintendency of National Capital Parks-Central, the NCP unit responsible for Washington's monumental core.

Failor became the first superintendent of the entire park on July 1, 1974, when David Ritchie relinquished the lower part to him. The Antietam-C & O Canal Group was simultaneously disbanded, making the canal Failor's sole responsibility.

With a new superintendent appointed for Antietam and space at a premium there, canal headquarters could not long remain at Antietam. The acquisition of Ferry Hill for the park that April appeared to answer the need. This 39-acre property next to the canal at Sharpsburg across the Potomac from Shepherdstown, West Virginia, had a historic house and

¹⁶Bulletin, Potomac Valley Conservation and Recreation Council, Oct. 11, 1971, C & O Canal files, NPCA; telegram, Gude to Hartzog, Oct. 7, 1971, *ibid.*; *Berkson et al. v. Morton et al.*, Civil No. 71-1085B, U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland; Ann Cottrell Free, "The C & O Canal: Disneyland or Muirland?" *Washingtonian*, December 1971, p. 15.

¹⁷Transcript, commission meeting of Dec. 20, 1971, p. 33, C & O Canal NHP.



William R. Failor

outbuildings well suited for headquarters purposes. The only problem was that the previous owner, who operated a restaurant in the house, insisted on retaining use of the house and five acres for four years. The Service tried to buy his retained right, but he demanded too high a price. As a result, the park set up temporary headquarters in trailers at the rear of the property.¹⁸ James D. Young, the park's resource manager, moved there from Antietam at the end of 1974, but Failor and most of the staff did not complete the move until October 1976. After the previous owner's right of occupancy terminated in March 1979, the park converted the historic Ferry Hill house to offices. The long-awaited final move to them took place in April 1980.

Unification of the park under a single superintendent was followed by its internal division into three administrative districts. The Palisades District initially covered the lower 22 miles from Georgetown to Seneca; its boundary was extended to Mile 31 at Edwards Ferry in 1976. The Piedmont District ran from the Palisades District first to Mile 99 at Williamsport, then to Mile 106 below Dam 5. The Allegany District covered the remaining distance to Cumberland. Each had a district ranger and a maintenance supervisor reporting to a chief ranger (then titled chief,

¹⁸The Ferry Hill purchase price was \$252,000. The Service appraised the retained right at \$9,000. Frederick W. Morrison, the owner, wanted \$50,000 for it; the Service would go no higher than \$35,000, even though it estimated the cost of the temporary trailer complex at \$266,000. Memorandum, Richard L. Stanton to Phillip O. Stewart, Oct. 2, 1974, C & O Canal National Historical Park file, NPS History Division; memorandum, John E. Cook to Manus J. Fish, Jr., Oct. 22, 1974, *ibid*.

interpretation, recreation and resource management, or IR&RM) and a chief of maintenance at headquarters.

The greatest difficulties with this seemingly rational organization had to do with the Palisades District. For a number of reasons related to its different background and distinct character, it did not merge smoothly with its two counterparts in a well-coordinated park administration.

The U.S. Park Police had lost its patrol jurisdiction above Seneca when that part of the canal left National Capital Parks in 1958. It did not regain that jurisdiction when the upper canal returned to NCR in 1966, and it now saw its rivals in green--the law enforcement rangers--invading its turf below Seneca. A tense relationship developed between Palisades District Ranger James F. Martin and the park policemen assigned to his district but not under his control. On one occasion an officer arrested him for carrying a gun.¹⁹

Martin's successor in the early 1980s, Michael Brown, continued to sense what he termed the "paranoia" of the Park Police. He also found the Palisades District poorly supported by the distant park headquarters. The George Washington Memorial Parkway had kept the maintenance employees it wanted when the lower canal left its jurisdiction, and District Maintenance Supervisor Donald O. Foster received little help from Dale B. Sipes, the chief of maintenance. The perceived lack of support from Sharpsburg inclined the Palisades District's personnel to bypass that office, exacerbating a tendency that was probably inherent given the district's urban/suburban character, high visibility and use, relationships with the George Washington Parkway and Park Police, and proximity to the regional office. In effect there were two parks in uneasy confederation: the upper two districts, largely rural and undeveloped, looking to Sharpsburg; and the heavily used and developed Palisades District, exceeding many discrete national park system units in stature, often dealing directly with NCP/NCR.²⁰

Superintendent Failor faced many other management challenges. Among them were the C & O Canal National Historical Park Commission and Richard L. Stanton.

Failor, who had spent much of his career planning for park development and who had lately supervised the major national parklands in

¹⁹Telephone interview with Harry A. DeLashmutt III, Feb. 28, 1990.

²⁰Telephone interview with Michael Brown, Feb. 28, 1990; interview with James D. Young, Jan. 25, 1990; interview with William R. Failor, Feb. 1, 1990; telephone interview with Richard G. O'Guin, Feb. 28, 1990.

the nation's capital, was a firm believer that "parks are for people."²¹ He saw the canal accordingly--much as Dean McClanahan had. The most active members of the park commission, on the other hand, judged natural and historic preservation more important than development to attract and serve increased public use. Nancy Long, the commission's first chairman, soon became critical of what she viewed as Failor's insensitivity to park resources and failure to consult interested parties before undertaking various projects (such as the towpath bridge at Widewater).

As NCP's assistant director for cooperative activities from February 1972 to June 1977, Dick Stanton was the principal Park Service liaison with the commission. A forceful and dramatic personality, Stanton cultivated the members and aligned himself with their predominant philosophy, making little effort to hide his disregard for Failor in the process. Failor privately accused Long and Stanton of trying to manage the park; Stanton readily accepted the charge as it applied to him. According to the canal's chief ranger at the time, the two "drove Failor bananas--they ran the park, there was no doubt about that." After Stanton left NCR and Long's term as chairman expired in 1977, Failor found relations with the commission more to his liking.²²

For the most part Failor got along well with the public. He was ultimately undone by internal management problems. Chief Ranger Richard G. O'Guin charged Dale Sipes with using government property and maintenance employees for his personal gain. The case was not satisfactorily resolved, and staff morale suffered. Failor was also hurt by a discrimination complaint filed by the head of the park's Young Adult Conservation Corps camp, even though he was finally exonerated. These and other difficulties contributed to his reassignment to NCR headquarters as regional chief of interpretation, recreation, and visitor services on January 24, 1981.²³

Failor's successor was none other than his old adversary, Dick Stanton. Stanton's association with the canal had begun when he came to work for the Park Service in its lands office in 1965. He briefly headed the Service's Concessions Management Division before moving to NCP in 1972 as assistant director for cooperative activities. After leaving NCR in 1977, he served successively as regional director of the Service's Mid-Atlantic Region in Philadelphia and North Atlantic Region in Boston. His unhappiness in the latter post combined with his longstanding love of

²¹Failor interview.

²²Failor interview; interview with Stanton, Feb. 27, 1990; DeLashmutt interview.

²³O'Guin interview; Young interview; Frye interview.

*Richard L. Stanton*

canoeing in the Potomac Valley led him to accept NCR Regional Director Jack Fish's offer of the canal superintendency, even though it entailed a demotion. Stanton arrived on duty February 8.

Stanton enjoyed good relations with the park commission, the C & O Canal Association, and most of the park's other constituencies. According to Carrie Johnson, commission chairman from 1982 to 1987, his policy was one of "aggressively coopting the commission" by actively courting its members and keeping nothing from them. Although some complained that he paid more attention to the river than the canal, the Potomac canoe trips he organized for Rep. Beverly Byron and other influential parties did much to win friends and funds for the park.²⁴

Evidence that Dale Sipes was continuing to make personal use of park equipment and staff under Stanton prompted Sipes's exile to the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center. The positive effect of this action on park morale was not furthered by Stanton's controversial management style, which caused much unhappiness among his subordinates. Many found him overly demanding, uncommunicative, and unappreciative, and rifts developed at the highest levels of the park organization. He was thought to take little interest in the Palisades District, heightening its sense of alienation from headquarters. Ultimately he concluded that the district could not be run from Sharpsburg, and in 1987 he approved a new organization there headed by a district manager. Under this arrangement all Palisades personnel including the district ranger and maintenance supervisor came under Linda Toms, formerly the park's administrative officer. Toms served capably in the new position, but the district manager organization was unpopular at

²⁴Johnson interview; Frye interview; letter, Linda Toms to Barry Mackintosh, May 29, 1991, C & O Canal NHP file, History Division.



Thomas O. Hobbs

headquarters. Deprived of direct responsibility for the most developed and visited part of the park, the chiefs of law enforcement, maintenance, and interpretation there felt threatened by their loss of stature. Stanton encouraged Toms to deal directly with the regional office on many matters, heightening the sense of a park divided.²⁵

Stanton retired on August 31, 1989, convinced that his overall record had made "the last eight years . . . the best for the park." Nancy Long praised him as "a dedicated, determined, and devoted park steward who strongly resisted attempts to undermine the integrity of the park," and most park supporters undoubtedly agreed with her positive evaluation.²⁶ Continuing to reside in Hagerstown, he was elected to the board of the C & O Canal Association and promised to remain active in park affairs.

Assistant Superintendent James D. ("J.D.") Young acted as superintendent until December 17, when Thomas O. Hobbs took over. Hobbs, a West Virginian, had joined the Park Service in 1962 as a ranger at Mesa Verde National Park. He held other ranger positions at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park and Acadia National Park before serving as superintendent of Bryce Canyon National Park from 1976 to

²⁵Stanton interview; Young interview; Frye interview; interview with Gordon Gay, Feb. 15, 1990.

²⁶Stanton interview; Long, "Superintendent Stanton Retires," *Along the Towpath* (C & O Canal Association newsletter), September 1989, p. 1.

1980 and chief ranger at Yellowstone National Park from 1980 to 1985. He came to the canal from the superintendency of Isle Royale National Park.

Hobbs's affable, low-key manner was well received among the park staff and the park's outside constituencies. After Linda Toms left her Palisades position for an assignment in Alaska, he reappraised the district manager arrangement and returned Palisades to organizational parity with the other districts. From NCR Regional Director Robert Stanton, he obtained official recognition that rangers with law enforcement commissions had equal standing with the Park Police in Palisades. He gave J.D. Young special liaison responsibilities with the district to insure that it got the support it needed from headquarters. Cooperation improved and tensions diminished, giving cause for optimism that the park might yet become truly integrated.²⁷

Any survey of the park's management must take into account the role of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission over the years. The first commission for a national park system area resulted from the Cape Cod National Seashore act of 1961. When the canal park legislation went through a decade later, the idea was still quite new, and Park Service managers were still largely unaccustomed to involving outsiders in their decision-making.

The legislation required the secretary of the interior or his designee "from time to time but at least annually [to] meet and consult with the Commission on general policies and specific matters related to the administration and development of the park." It set a ten-year life span for the commission and five-year terms for its 19 members, who would receive no pay beyond compensation for expenses. The secretary's initial appointees were Nancy Long, Caroline Freeland, and Donald R. Frush, appointed directly; J. Millard Tawes and Vladimir Wahbe, recommended by the governor of Maryland; John G. Lewis and Thomas W. Richards, recommended by the governor of Virginia; Burton C. English and Louise Leonard, recommended by the governor of West Virginia; James G. Banks and Joseph H. Cole, recommended by the mayor of Washington, D.C.; Ronald A. Clites and Mary Miltenberger, recommended by the Allegany County commission; Kenneth R. Bromfield and James H. Gilford, recommended by the Frederick County commission; Grant Conway and Edwin F. Wesely, recommended by the Montgomery County council, and John Frye and Rome C. Schwagel, recommended by the Washington County commission. The secretary was empowered to name the chairman from among his three at-large appointees. He selected Long, a Glen Echo civic

²⁷Telephone interview with Hobbs, Jan. 16, 1991.



The first park commission with NPS officials, January 29, 1972. Standing: Richard Stanton, James Guilford, Dean McClanahan, Kenneth Bromfield, James Banks, Jack Fish, Edwin Wesely, Louise Leonard, Ronald Clites, Vladimir Wahbe, Rome Schwagel, David Ritchie, John Frye. Sitting: Caroline Freeland, Mary Miltenberger, Grant Conway, Nancy Long, Donald Frush, John Lewis.

activist who had volunteered in Charles Mathias's and Gilbert Gude's political campaigns and had raised funds to purchase the historic Dentzel carousel at Glen Echo Park.

In the early years the commission met nearly every month. The park's general plan was its primary agenda item; it also dealt extensively with land acquisition and development issues. Not surprisingly, some members were more knowledgeable and involved than others. Also not surprisingly, members and Park Service staff formed differing opinions of the commission's value. Park officials thought that a few members, especially Long and Edwin Wesely, intervened unduly in park operations. Long sensed that the commission was "a very difficult pill for the Park Service to swallow." She found the Service uncommunicative and Dick Stanton combative at first. Stanton admitted that the Service did not readily accept the commission, but he and most other officials came to appreciate its usefulness during the planning process, when it became a vital medium for public involvement.²⁸

The second commission, appointed December 21, 1976, included six holdovers from the first. Donald Frush was now chairman; Nancy Long

²⁸Failor, Young, Frye, Johnson, Stanton interviews; interview with Long, Feb. 26, 1990.

and Constance A. Morella were the other at-large members. From Maryland, James B. Coulter replaced Millard Tawes. Margaret Dietz and Dorothy T. Grotos now represented Virginia. Dayton C. Casto, Jr., and Silas F. Starry represented West Virginia. Rockwood H. (Adam) Foster and Lorenzo W. Jacobs, Jr., represented the District; Donald Shannon replaced Jacobs in October 1979. From Allegany County came John Millar and Bonnie Troxell, from Frederick County James Gilford and Wilhelmina Pohlmann, from Montgomery County Edwin Wesely and Kenneth S. Rollins (replacing the deceased Grant Conway), and from Washington County R. Lee Downey and John Frye. With the park's general plan complete and land acquisition largely so, the new group met less frequently; its first meeting was delayed until April 1977. As noted, it became active in development concept planning at the end of the decade.

As the commission's January 8, 1981, expiration date neared, Congress amended the park act to extend its existence for another ten years.²⁹ The new commission did not meet until September 1982. Carrie Johnson was chairman, joined by Polly Bloedorn and Carl L. Shipley at large. Constance Lieder accompanied James Coulter from Maryland. Joan LaRock and Elise B. Heinz represented Virginia; the West Virginians were William H. Ansel and Silas Starry. Barry Passett succeeded Donald Shannon from the District. Montgomery County was represented by Marjorie Stanley and Barbara Yeaman. Edward K. Miller replaced John Frye from Washington County. The other two county delegations were unchanged.

The fourth commission, sitting at this writing, assembled after a year's hiatus in September 1988. The slippage was indicative of the commission's declining role. Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld was chairman; Dorothy Grotos and Samuel S. D. Marsh were the other at-large members. Keith A. Kirk and James F. Scarpelli represented Maryland, Elise Heinz and Charles P. Poland, Jr., represented Virginia, and Thomas F. Hahn and Ralph Albertazzie represented West Virginia. Allegany County sent Josephine L. Beynon and Robert L. Ebert, Montgomery County sent Nancy Long and Jo Reynolds, and Washington County sent Edward Miller and Sue Ann Sullivan. The District and Frederick County returned their previous delegations. With the commission due to expire in January 1991, Congress gave it another ten-year extension in 1990.³⁰

Park Service officials and commission members polled in 1990 on the commission's usefulness rated it positively, for the most part. Although he chafed under the Long-Stanton regime through the mid-1970s, Bill Failor

²⁹Public Law 96-555, Dec. 19, 1980, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 94: 3260.

³⁰Public Law 101-320, July 3, 1990, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 104: 292.

recalled the commission's value in developing the general plan, fostering communication with local groups and individuals, and impeding unwanted proposals. J.D. Young deemed it a worthwhile adjunct to a strung-out park serving diverse constituencies. He cited the role of members in lobbying Interior Department officials and members of Congress for funds and helping defend park policies in their jurisdictions. Dick Stanton considered the commission an asset during most of his tenure in the regional office and park. But he judged the current membership overly beholden to local interests, especially in Allegany County, and felt the commission had outlived its usefulness.³¹

John Frye thought the commission should have been allowed to expire after its first ten years (his term of service), when the planning and land acquisition processes were largely completed. During that period he found it valuable in redirecting planning away from the initial emphasis on recreational developments, which could not have been maintained with available resources. As a commission member with close ties to many in Washington County, he had served as an occasional intermediary between landowners seeking more lenient terms and park land acquisition personnel.³²

Carrie Johnson appreciated how Nancy Long had established the commission as an active working group. She noted the value of having members with local connections to get things done. Unlike Park Service employees forced to go through channels, members could bring problems directly to the attention of the secretary of the interior and members of Congress. When Dick Stanton reported in 1982 that three aqueducts were in danger, she relayed the need for funds to Secretary James G. Watt and money was forthcoming. Three years later she was able to speak directly to Secretary Donald Paul Hodel about another \$2 million in park needs. She believed that the Service recognized the commission as "a terribly useful sounding board and a terribly useful shield" during her chairmanship.³³

Nancy Long thought the commission had been especially valuable in influencing the park's general plan, in helping to block numerous proposals for adverse development, and in serving as a forum for public involvement. The practice she had begun of holding meetings in different communities along the canal had encouraged public involvement and familiarized members with the whole canal. Unlike Stanton and Frye, she felt that the

³¹Failor, Young, Stanton interviews.

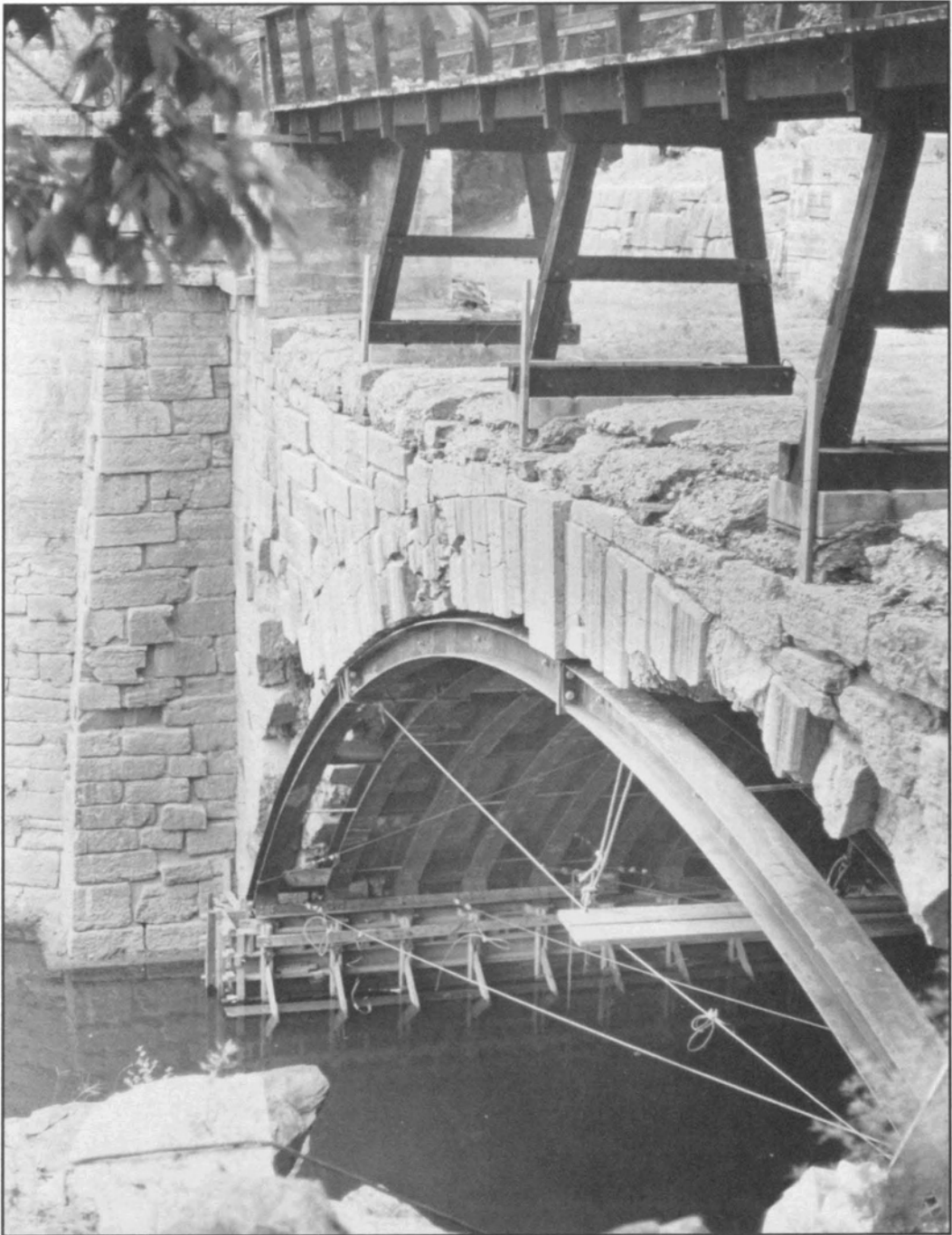
³²Frye interview.

³³Johnson interview.

commission was still greatly needed in the face of increasing development pressures along the length of the park.³⁴

Despite occasional frictions, the park has clearly benefitted from the existence of the commission and the commitment of its most dedicated members. Here, as in so many other national park system areas, private citizens have been vital partners with park managers in determining the overall public interest and working to achieve it.

³⁴Long interview.



Tonoloway Creek Aqueduct stabilization, 1976.

DEVELOPING THE PARK

After acquiring the canal in 1938, the National Park Service transformed its lower 22 miles from a flood-ravaged ruin to a restored waterway with operable locks. No comparable restoration project would be undertaken elsewhere. For the most part, later development work on the canal itself was limited to repairing flood damage and stabilizing aqueducts, locks, and other structures to slow their further deterioration. The cleanup of acquired lands and the addition of modest visitor use facilities constituted the most visible park development above Seneca.

While the canal parkway plan was alive, the Park Service did little to improve and maintain the towpath and canal bed in the unrestored portion. After 1956, when the Service abandoned the parkway and sought support for the national historical park, it devoted more serious attention to these primary resources. The National Capital Parks budget for fiscal 1957 included \$91,300 for clearing and grubbing the canal. Approved by Director Conrad L. Wirth, the program entailed removing all growth less than two inches in diameter and cutting and poisoning the stumps of all larger trees. Initial work was scheduled for areas adjoining Whites Ferry, Brunswick, Shepherdstown, Williamsport, Hancock, Little Orleans, Paw Paw, Old Town, and Cumberland.¹

As the first year's work neared completion, Orville W. Crowder and Grant Conway of the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club protested the clearing of the canal bed beyond areas that were to be immediately rewatered or otherwise developed. Ben H. Thompson, chief of the NPS Division of Recreation Resource Planning, toured the denuded areas and agreed with them. "Such clearing tends to lead to a monotonous sameness and to destroy variety that should be preserved," he wrote Wirth. "As soon as the trees are cleared, sunlight and the movement of air results in drying up the canal bed, the necessity of spraying new trees and shrubs beginning to grow becomes evident, and the net result will be long stretches of grassy canal that have to be mowed. These long grassy stretches are no more interesting than the grassy strips between divided highways and they are almost sterile insofar as any wildlife or natural habitat values are concerned." He recommended that clearing be stopped until the Service had developed a detailed plan for preservation, development, and use.

¹Memorandum, Robert C. Horne to Conrad L. Wirth, July 23, 1956, C & O Administration and Protection file, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park.

Wirth concurred.² Most of the cleared sections were allowed to revegetate, meanwhile exhibiting the "neglected look" rued by George Palmer in 1959 (page 120).

A primary Service goal was to restore and maintain the continuity of the towpath, which neighboring landowners and others had crossed with livestock fences and cut to drain sections of the canal and cross with roads. The only sections that had received much maintenance since the end of canal navigation in 1924 were those used for vehicular access to adjoining properties--a use incompatible with park objectives. As noted, Mac Dale did much to open and improve the towpath during his superintendency of the upper canal. His maintenance crews removed fences, cut trees and brush, and filled several gaps. In many instances the Service had granted vehicular use and fencing permits that could not be discontinued immediately, but required gates and stiles made fences remaining in the early 1960s less obstructive.³

Dale and his successors sought to render the towpath navigable by park maintenance and patrol vehicles as well as hikers and cyclists. This objective, unexceptionable from a management standpoint, caused occasional problems with those less attuned to operational requirements. The projects at Widewater in 1970 and above Dams 4 and 5 in 1971 elicited the strongest reactions. The specter of bulldozers converting a trail into a road, destroying trees, and scarring the surroundings brought cries of protest from nature-loving constituents unsympathetic to arguments that the towpath was historically broad and bare and that vegetation would soon cover the scars.

The towpath became a frequent topic of discussion at meetings of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission. Concerned members perceived a continuing tendency by park management to make it too roadlike and surface it with non-native materials like bluestone. In May 1980, with Park Service support, the commission adopted a resolution to guide towpath treatment. It called for the towpath to be considered as a continuous historic resource, whose restoration and maintenance should conform insofar as practical to the conditions documented in a 1974 report on the canal prism by NPS historian Harlan D. Unrau. In accordance with Unrau's findings, the towpath would be maintained to an average width of twelve feet and to an elevation two feet

²Memorandum, Thompson to Wirth, June 5, 1957, C & O Canal Parkway file L58, C & O Canal NHP.

³Edwin M. Dale, "Historic Structure Report, Part I, Towpath, C & O Canal," 1961; copy in NPS History Division.

above the historic water line using shale, bankrun gravel, and other indigenous surfacing materials.⁴

In the 1950s the NPS installed several primitive campgrounds along the canal. None had drinking water or met usual Service standards. Mac Dale inaugurated the hiker-biker campground system, developed the Antietam Creek campground, and installed the Four Locks boat ramp and access in the early 1960s. He contracted with a well driller to provide drinking water.

Recreational development climaxed under Dean McClanahan. With labor from the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center and special "accelerated public works" funding during fiscal 1969, the park added drive-in campgrounds and boat ramps at Fifteenmile Creek and McCoys Ferry; access roads and boat ramps at Little Tonoloway Creek, Taylors Landing, Snyders Landing, Dam 4, and Dargan Bend; an access road and parking area at Dam 5; and 21 more hiker-biker campgrounds. The park's large routed wooden entrance signs and concrete mileposts were installed during the same period.

Several of the lockhouses were still occupied in the postwar years; these and others underwent a variety of treatments. The frame lockhouse at Lock 5, rehabilitated in 1939 and last occupied by Julia King, was razed in 1957 for George Washington Memorial Parkway road construction. NCP rehabilitated the Lock 6 lockhouse for employee housing in the early 1960s. Its occupant in the early 1970s was Thomas F. Hahn, author of the popular *Towpath Guide to the C & O Canal*, then supervising canal interpretation at Great Falls.

The lockhouse at Lock 7, rehabilitated in 1939, was occupied by NCP Chief Naturalist Donald Edward McHenry during the war and by U.S. Park Police officers through the 1950s. Construction of the parkway road left it accessible only via the towpath and thus unsuitable for employee occupancy. In 1977 the vacant house was "adopted" by the Bethesda Jaycees and Junior Suburban Women's Club, who funded a new roof for it the next year. When preservation professionals at Park Service headquarters complained that the rough cedar shakes used were historically

⁴Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, May 17, 1980; Unrau, "Historic Structure Report, The Canal Prism Including Towpath with Canal Berm and River Revetments," March 1974, C & O Canal NHP.



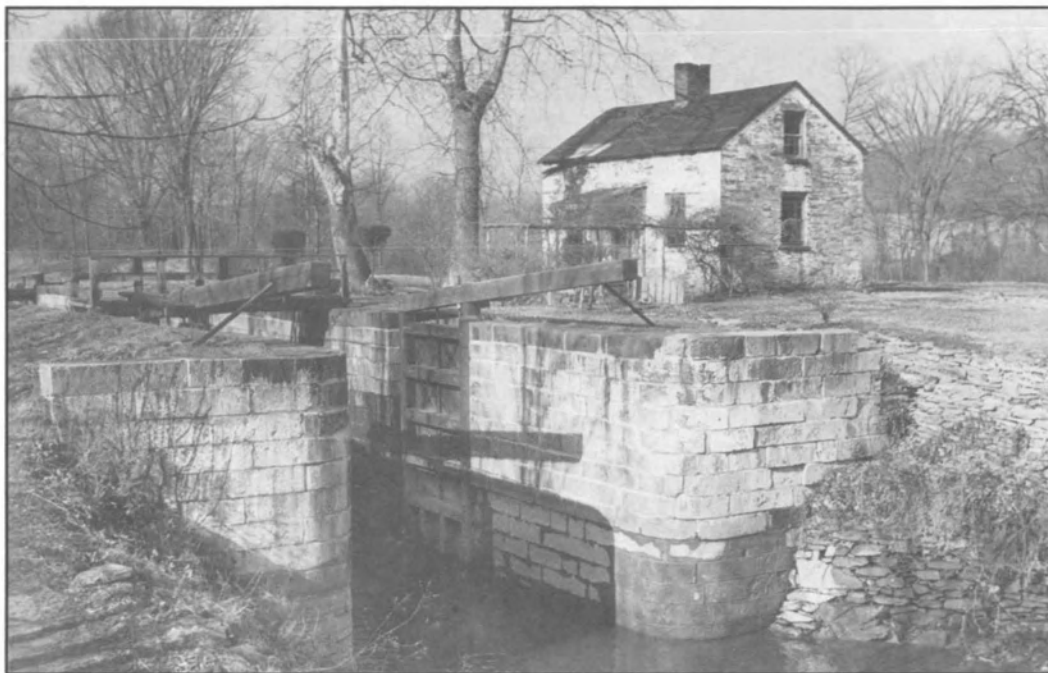
Lockhouse at Lock 6 before restoration.

inaccurate, Regional Director Jack Fish apologized but declined to order their replacement before the roof's expected life span.⁵

The lockhouses at Locks 8, 11, and 13, never modernized, remained occupied under permit through the mid-1950s. The first two were ultimately vacated and boarded up; the last was razed in 1961 for construction of the Capital Beltway. A later frame house at Lock 14 was also demolished. The Service rehabilitated the Lock 10 lockhouse, occupied through the 1950s without plumbing, together with that at Lock 6 in the early 1960s. The Lock 6 and 10 lockhouses were the only ones serving as park employee residences at this writing.

One other lockhouse also serves as a residence--that at Lock 21, or Swains Lock. The canal's only continuously occupied lockhouse is home to Frederick and Virginia Swain. Virginia is Frederick's mother and the widow of Robert Swain, son of the canal company's last locktender there.

⁵Paul Hodge, "Historians Raise the Roof Over Shingles," *Washington Post*, Aug. 23, 1979, p. Md.5.; letter, Fish to Robert R. Garvey, Jr., Aug. 6, 1979, C & O Canal NHP file, History Division. "The rusticated cedar shake is the invention of 20th century developers and belongs on a steak house on Rte. 1, not an historic building," NPS historical architect Hugh Miller told the *Post* reporter.



Lockhouses at Locks 13 (top) and 14 (bottom) c. 1950, later demolished.



Swains Lock (Lock 21) and lockhouse, c. 1938.

After acquiring the canal, the Park Service permitted the Swains to remain for a monthly rent of five dollars. When NCP tried to raise the rent to \$21 in 1959, Robert complained to an influential friend, Justice William O. Douglas. Douglas intervened with Director Wirth, and the rent was adjusted to \$10 "on the basis of service to the Government, resulting from the occupancy of the house by a man who is familiar with the Canal, as well as the public service he provides through the rental of boats to the park patrons." After Robert died in 1967, the Service negotiated a concession arrangement with his widow and son, who thereafter paid a higher but still modest annual fee reflecting their occupancy and income from canoe and boat rentals and refreshment sales. The Swains installed utilities and modernized the interior of the lockhouse themselves.⁶

Most other lockhouses remained vacant and received only enough repair to keep them intact, although a few have been used at one time or another. The Service permitted law enforcement and fish management personnel of the Maryland Game and Inland Fish Commission to use the Lock 25 lockhouse at Edwards Ferry in the 1950s. On spring, summer, and fall

⁶Letter, Conrad L. Wirth to Douglas, May 13, 1959, Swain, Lockhouse 21, Contract file C38, C & O Canal NHP; Angus Phillips, "Life in a Lockhouse on the C & O Canal," *Washington Post*, Jan. 10, 1985, p. Md.1.

weekends since 1975, Girl Scout groups have recreated domestic life with period costumes and furnishings at the Lock 24 (Rileys Lock) lockhouse at Seneca. The Service reconstructed the deteriorated log house at Lock 75 in 1978-79 and has opened it to the public on special occasions. Unfortunately, fire destroyed three vacant lockhouses of frame construction: those at Lock 26 (Woods Lock) in 1969, Lock 74 in 1976, and Lock 54 in 1981.

The Paw Paw Tunnel and its immediate surroundings had to be repaired on several occasions. An NCP inspection in April 1956 revealed fallen brick, cavities in the towpath, and gaps in the handrail within the tunnel. The timber-framed towpath outside the downstream end was rotten and required total replacement, and a rock slide had obliterated part of the towpath beyond the wooden section. Director Wirth ordered full repair at a cost of \$30,000, and NCP maintenance forces carried out the work that summer.⁷ The rock walls of the cut at the downstream end remained unstable, and in 1968 some 15,000 cubic yards of shale slid down to block much of the tunnel's portal, carrying away part of its facade. The Service cleared the slide in 1976-77 but had to let a \$494,000 contract for more stabilization and cleanup at both portals in 1979. The wooden towpath leading from the downstream portal was replaced again at that time.

Before enactment of the park legislation, the canal's managers had given priority to recreational development. Spurred by the park commission, emphasis shifted to preservation of the canal's historic resources after 1971. Preservation needs greatly exceeded available funds, so creativity was called for. At a commission meeting in May 1972, Edwin F. Wesely asked if it would be possible "to tie the canal somehow in with the Bicentennial," inasmuch as parks commemorating the American Revolution were slated for special funding in the coming years. NCP Director Russell E. Dickenson did not think he could get the canal on the official bicentennial list but promised to take advantage of the opportunity should it arise.⁸

A month later, on June 23-25, tropical storm Agnes delivered the Potomac Valley's greatest flood since 1936. The flood waters seriously eroded 66 miles of the towpath and berm wall. There were 19 major breaks below Seneca and nine above, ranging from twenty to 195 feet long. The longest was in the historically unstable towpath embankment at Widewater, which washed out to a depth of 21 feet. Twenty-two culverts suffered major damage, one disappeared, and 140 of them were blocked with silt and

⁷Memorandum, Harry T. Thompson to Ben H. Thompson, May 14, 1956, C & O Administration and Protection file, C & O Canal NHP.

⁸Transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, May 13, 1972, p. 37.



Restoration work below Paw Paw tunnel, 1956.



Jack Fish, Frank Zarb (Office of Management and Budget), Russell Dickenson, and Rogers Morton surveying flood damage at Lock 16, July 1972.

debris, threatening further flooding and canal erosion from the streams they carried. Many of the aqueducts and locks were damaged, and many bridges were swept away. Among the latter were five steel footbridges installed in 1969 for access from the towpath below Lock 18 to the Great Falls overlook on Olmsted Island. Thousands of trees were uprooted, numerous private cottages washed onto park property, and access roads, picnic areas, and parking lots were heavily silted, damaged, and destroyed.⁹

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton surveyed the destruction in July. In the following months he approved the transfer of \$400,000 from other projects for repairs and pledged his support for restoration of the canal to its pre-Agnes condition.¹⁰ Because considerably more money was needed for the purpose, he also approved the park's inclusion on the list of bicentennial areas, despite its lack of relationship to the Revolution.

To plan and oversee the work, Park Service officials established the C & O Canal Restoration Team as a special field unit of the National Capital Parks Team of the Denver Service Center (the primary Service unit providing and contracting for architectural, engineering, and planning

⁹"Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Assessment of Damage as of June 30, 1972," C & O Canal Flood of 1972 file, Office of Land Use Coordination, National Capital Region, NPS.

¹⁰Letter, Russell E. Dickenson to Sen. Henry M. Jackson, Apr. 27, 1973, C & O Canal NHP file, History Division; transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Nov. 4, 1972, p. 21.

services). Organized in September 1973 under Richard G. Huber's leadership, the restoration team occupied park structures at Seneca and Williamsport. The urgency of its mission was heightened by the collapse of the center and west span of the Catoctin Creek Aqueduct on October 30 after heavy rains. This was the second such disaster of the decade--the Seneca Aqueduct's west span had collapsed on September 11, 1971, requiring emergency stabilization of the remaining structure and construction of a bridge to restore towpath continuity across the gap in early 1972.

The restoration team identified those canal features most in need of stabilization and repair and contracted for design and construction services as necessary. The park's bicentennial program ultimately comprised 27 projects completed by July 1976 at a total cost of \$4,250,000. Contractors carried out 14 of them; park maintenance crews undertook the rest. Constituting the most extensive work on the canal since the prewar restoration below Seneca, the projects ranged from wall repairs in Georgetown to aqueduct stabilization near Cumberland. A summary follows.¹¹

1. *Wall Stabilization, Lock 3* (Mile 0.5): In 1975 part of the canal wall by Lock 3 collapsed in the wake of blasting for an adjoining Inland Steel office building and subsurface parking garage. The restoration team prepared plans and specifications for repairs, carried out by the park maintenance force. Successive building construction in Georgetown contributed to further destabilization of canal walls there, leading to a more extensive wall reconstruction project west of Wisconsin Avenue in 1979-81.

2. *Towpath Restoration, Foundry Branch to Lock 5* (Miles 1.3-5.0): Working under a \$437,462 contract, C. W. Stack & Associates of Newington, Virginia, filled breaks, reestablished the historic towpath grade and width, and repaired the canal bed in 1973-74. Following the contract work, the park built a walkway over the 350-foot-long canal spillway east of Chain Bridge. This heavily used towpath section was the first to be restored to historic grade after Agnes. Completion of the work enabled the canal to be rewatered below the Lock 5 inlet in August 1974.

3. *Towpath Restoration, Lock 5 to Lock 10* (Miles 5.0-8.7): Here the park maintenance force continued the work done under contract below.

4. *Little Falls Creek Culvert, Berm Bank Stabilization* (Mile 4.8): After Little Falls Creek breached the berm embankment in 1975, fill was placed over its culvert and the 96-inch Potomac Interceptor Sewer running within the embankment. Another freshet in the spring of 1976 revisited the

¹¹The summary is taken from Merrill J. Mattes, *Landmarks of Liberty: A Report on the American Revolution Bicentennial Development Program of the National Park Service* (Washington: National Park Service, 1989), pp. 16-29.

damage, at which point the berm was rebuilt with gabions (rock-filled steel baskets) tied to reinforced concrete piles.

5. *Repairs to Breaks, Widewater Area* (Miles 12.4-13.45): Agnes drained Widewater through two large breaks, one eighty feet long and 17 feet deep, the other 195 feet long and 21 feet deep. Park maintenance crews plugged the gaps with fill compacted on and around gabion cores. More gabions were placed along the curve at the lower end of Widewater where the larger break had occurred to forestall erosion of the fill from wave action. An inoperative waste weir designed to help control the water level was renovated. The project cost more than \$300,000. As previously noted (page 127), the park's effort to bridge a rocky stretch at the head of Widewater was halted by a public protest in the spring of 1976.

6, 7. *Repairs to Locks 15 and 16* (Miles 13.45 and 13.63): The flood waters scoured the earth around the bypass flumes of both locks to bedrock level, leaving the berm side masonry completely exposed. All lock gates were swept away, and stones were dislodged from the lock walls. Study revealed that the locks had not been restored to their original height in 1938-40. Enough stone was recovered from Widewater to replace all missing stones in Lock 16, and a band of brick--historically used for repairs--was added beneath the capstones to raise the lock to its proper elevation. Concrete, used by the canal company in repairing Lock 15, served the same purpose there. Timbers lagged to the tops of the dams adjoining the locks raised the dams correspondingly. The masonry on the back of the berm lock walls was pargeted, the pool areas behind the dams were filled and graded, and riprap was placed at the upstream end of each berm wall to curb erosion during future floods. New gates and hardware were installed at both locks, and the towpath by them was raised to its historic grade. Park maintenance crews carried out all work for an estimated \$295,000.

8. *Restoration of Stop Lock, Level 16* (Mile 13.77): Berma Road, running along the inland side of Widewater, enabled hikers and bicyclists to bypass the rocky and occasionally severed towpath past Widewater, but there was no safe connection across the canal at the upper end. A \$29,380 contract with Curtin & Johnson, Inc., of Washington in late 1973 provided a bridge over the stop lock above Lock 16 and an earth ramp down to the towpath. A second contract for \$128,301 with the Chantilly Construction Company of Chantilly, Virginia, in early 1975 enabled the functional restoration of the stop lock and adjoining guard wall, which were designed to divert flood waters descending the canal into the Potomac. Because the earth ramp would now impede flood diversion, it was removed and replaced by a wooden stairway.

9. *Muddy Branch Culvert Repair* (Mile 19.7): Working under a \$60,000 contract in 1973-74, Curtin & Johnson uncovered and pargeted

much of the culvert barrel, reconstructed the headwall and wingwalls at its outflow end, made lesser repairs at its inflow end, placed riprap upstream for stabilization, and repaired five hundred feet of towpath.

10. *Little Monocacy Creek Culvert Repair* (Mile 41.97): This twenty-foot-diameter culvert suffered complete failure of its inflow headwall and 16 feet of its barrel. The remainder of the barrel had large voids, and there were several missing ringstones and a large cavity at the outflow. Repair work prescribed by Dewberry, Nealon & Davis of Fairfax, Virginia, under a \$17,746 engineering design contract was carried out by Paul E. Lehman of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1975 at a cost of \$95,642. Reinforced concrete was extensively used in the reconstruction and repairs, although a number of missing stones were recovered and reinstalled. Upon completion of the contract work, the park maintenance force reconstructed the canal bed over the culvert.

11. *Monocacy River Aqueduct Repair and Stabilization* (Mile 42.2): The collapse of a wingwall and the loss of coping stones in the 1972 flood further weakened the canal's largest aqueduct. Federal Highway Administration engineers designed stabilization measures, and after a false start with one contractor, the project was awarded to Chantilly Construction for \$334,135. The aqueduct's trunk was regraded to drain outward, and a waterproof membrane was placed to keep water from percolating down through the structure. Reinforcing rods were imbedded to hold the ringstones of the seven 54-foot arches. Unfortunately, funds were inadequate for the major rebuilding required to fully stabilize the aqueduct. It was therefore necessary to compress it in a corset of horizontal timbers and vertical steel channels on each face of the structure tied together by steel rods running across its top and through its arches.

12. *Catoctin Creek Aqueduct Stabilization* (Mile 51.5): The collapse of the center and west span left the east arch and wingwalls and west abutment intact but vulnerable to further damage. The aqueduct was already missing its berm parapet and much masonry from all arches, and the westerly wingwall on the berm side was weakened by erosion from Catoctin Creek. The restoration team awarded a \$9,000 design contract to Robinson Engineering of Falls Church, Virginia, and a \$351,802 construction contract to the John Driggs Company of Camp Springs, Maryland. Stabilization work, carried out in 1974-75, included grouting voids, placing steel anchor rods, replacing stones retrieved from the creek, and repointing the masonry. The westerly creek embankment upstream from the aqueduct was riprapped with limestone. A concrete beam bridge was installed parallel to the aqueduct to link the severed towpath, but it lasted only until another flood in 1976. Towpath travelers were again directed to take an eight-mile detour via a state highway bridge until the U.S. Army supplied a Bailey bridge replacement in 1980.

13. *Little Catoctin Creek Culvert Repair* (Mile 52.51): The inflow headwall, 57 feet of the 16-foot-diameter culvert barrel, and the foundation on one side collapsed in the flood. Few stones from them could be recovered, requiring reconstruction of the missing sections in reinforced concrete. The outflow headwall and wingwalls were repaired with recovered stones. Dewberry, Nealon & Davis designed the project for \$17,746; Cobar Construction Company of Annandale, Virginia, carried it out for \$97,055 during 1975. After the contract work, the park maintenance force reconstructed the canal bed and berm embankment.

14. *Towpath Continuity, Level 34* (Mile 61.6): Agnes breached the guard lock at Dam 3, across from Harpers Ferry, washing out the canal and towpath to a depth of five feet. The restoration team decided to retain the towpath break and span it with a forty-foot bridge to provide a flood relief valve in this area of recurring failure. Park maintenance personnel performed the work.

15, 16, 22. *Stabilization of Guard Locks 4, 5, and 6* (Miles 84.5, 106.8, and 134.1): These guard locks were designed to protect the canal from the flooding of impounded river water and allow boats to pass between the canal and river. The original flood control gates of each lock had been lost previously and replaced by bulkheads that were now deteriorating and leaking. The corrective work, designed by Dewberry, Nealon & Davis for \$61,947 and accomplished during 1975 by Plummer Construction of Hagerstown for \$310,174, entailed extensive repairs to the locks and replacement of the bulkheads with removable cast-in-place concrete panels.

17. *Stabilization of Lock 48* (Mile 108.8): The walls of Lock 48, one of the "four locks" where the canal cuts across Praether's Neck, were slowly collapsing inward. The park had installed wood cribbing in the lock in 1964, but this could not withstand the force of compression. Rather than rebuilding the lock at an estimated cost of \$200,000, the park maintenance force filled it with earth, leaving the capstones exposed.

18. *Mule Barn Restoration, Four Locks* (Mile 108.92): The last mule barn on the canal partially collapsed in 1974. James Askins, chief of the restoration team's branch at Williamsport, supervised its disassembly and reconstruction with new and reused beams and boards.

19. *Parkhead Level Culvert and Waste Weir Repair* (Mile 119.78): Here as in several other places, the canal company had built a waste weir atop a culvert for canal drainage. Both had fallen into serious disrepair. Park maintenance personnel dismantled the weir and part of the culvert barrel, rebuilt the weir on concrete supports to relieve the culvert of its weight, rebuilt the barrel and filled voids with concrete, and repointed all stone masonry.

20. *Tonoloway Creek Aqueduct Stabilization* (Mile 122.9): The west abutment of the aqueduct no longer rested on bedrock, the single arch displayed extensive cracks and missing soffit stones, and the upstream face and wingwalls were badly damaged. Working under a \$206,066 contract in 1975-76, William P. Bergan of Morrisville, Pennsylvania, shored the arch with steel beams and corseted the faces with wood and steel beams held in place by steel tie rods. Timber bulkheads constructed along both sides contained fill placed over the arch to keep it in compression.

21. *Stabilization of Lock 54* (Mile 134): A failing foundation and voids in the walls rendered the lock highly unstable. As at Lock 48, a park maintenance crew filled it with earth in 1974 to prevent its collapse.

23. *Woodmont Culvert Repair* (Mile 135): The ten-foot-diameter culvert had been built on a timber foundation, which was no longer supported at the outflow end because the underlying soil had washed out. Park maintenance personnel dismantled the unstable portion, installed concrete footings, and rebuilt the barrel and outflow headwall and wingwalls with stone and concrete in 1974-75.

24. *Sideling Hill Creek Aqueduct Stabilization* (Mile 136.6): The upstream parapet, wingwalls, and arch face were badly damaged. An \$18,930 design contract with Dewberry, Nealon & Davis and a \$32,490 construction contract with C. W. Stack & Associates led to stabilization measures like those taken at the Tonoloway Creek Aqueduct. Following the contract work in 1975, park maintenance personnel placed earth dikes across the canal above and below the aqueduct to restrict water from saturating its rubble fill.

25. *Fifteenmile Creek Aqueduct Stabilization* (Mile 140.8): The aqueduct was still largely intact but bulging. The project, designed by Dewberry, Nealon & Davis for \$21,048 and carried out by Paul E. Lehman, Inc., for \$147,787, entailed excavating the fill over the arch, sealing the exposed masonry with shotcrete, installing a dike across the canal above the aqueduct and internal drains to carry off water seeping through the trunk, and replacing missing capstones along the berm parapet.

26. *Town Creek Aqueduct Dewatering* (Mile 162.3): Although the aqueduct was in serious condition, bicentennial program work here was limited to construction of a new concrete dike and rehabilitation of a waste weir to keep water out of the structure from the rewatered section of the canal just upstream. The aqueduct itself received stabilization treatment in 1977.

27. *Evitts Creek Aqueduct Stabilization* (Mile 180.7): The upstream side of the smallest and most westerly aqueduct was in an advanced state of deterioration, aggravated by water seepage and winter freezing action. Following a \$21,057 design contract with Dewberry, Nealon & Davis, C. W. Stack & Associates undertook a \$58,097 stabilization project in 1975-76

using the methods adopted for the Tonoloway and Sideling Hill aqueducts. A park maintenance crew then built dikes across the canal at each end of the structure. The park performed further repair work on the berm wingwalls in 1983.

In 1977, following the bicentennial program, the C & O Canal Restoration Team's branch in Williamsport was superseded by the Williamsport Preservation Training Center. Like its forerunner, the training center was headed by Jim Askins and quartered in the Cushwa Warehouse, a historic canal-side building acquired for the park. The center developed a three-year internship program to train preservation specialists throughout the national park system. With its great variety of preservation needs and project opportunities, the canal park was an ideal location for the facility. In October 1987 oversight of the center shifted from the Denver Service Center to the Harpers Ferry Center, the Park Service's headquarters for museum activities and interpretive media. Askins retired in 1989 and was succeeded by Thomas McGrath in 1990.

The bicentennial restoration program left much undone, including replacement of the bridges to the Great Falls overlook on Olmsted Island. Projects to preserve the canal's historic features and restore the towpath for public use had priority, and there was some sentiment that the crowded Great Falls area might be better off without the added attraction of the falls overlook. (A picnic area at Great Falls was removed in 1973 in an effort to reduce crowding there.) The Great Falls Development Concept Plan approved in 1981 called for the bridges to be replaced, but there was still no prospect of action.

Local initiative took over in 1985 when William E. Hanna, Jr., a Montgomery County Council member, advanced a plan to obtain bridge funding from Maryland, the county, and private contributors as well as Congress. Another flood that November postponed action on Hanna's proposal, but he persisted, and in August 1989 the Park Service formally endorsed it. The county assumed responsibility for accepting all contributions and designing and constructing the bridges. Maryland appropriated \$200,000, the county and Congress each appropriated \$100,000, and private parties contributed the balance of the estimated \$500,000 project cost.¹² If all went as planned, Great Falls visitors would be able to view the falls again by the twentieth anniversary of Agnes.

By coincidence, Hanna's funding proposal for the Olmsted Island bridges came just as the Service installed a new footbridge across the

¹²Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Nov. 23, 1985; Olmsted Island Bridges file, Superintendent's Office, C & O Canal NHP.

Potomac at Harpers Ferry. Attached to one of the old B & O Railroad bridges there, the bridge afforded Harpers Ferry's many visitors safe and easy access to the canal for the first time. Towpath use in the Lock 33 area rose significantly as a result. Congress designated the bridge the Goodloe E. Byron Memorial Pedestrian Walkway in honor of the late Maryland congressman, who had suffered a fatal heart attack while jogging on the towpath below Lock 38 on October 12, 1978.¹³

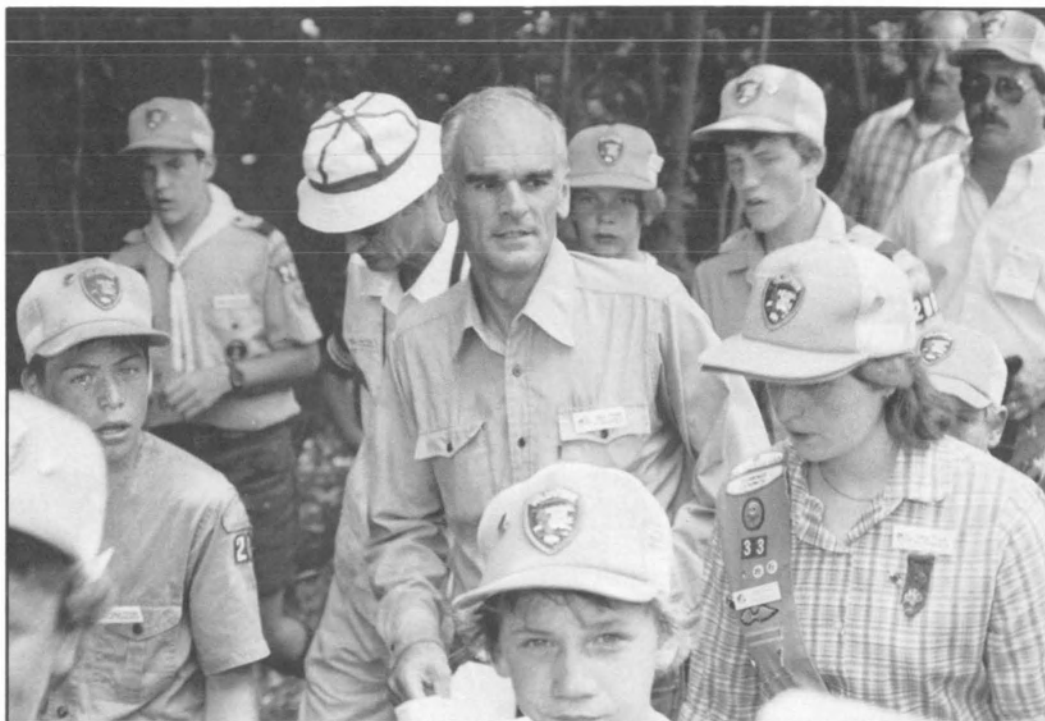
The November 1985 flood did less damage to canal structures than Agnes, but it scoured much of the towpath and deposited vast quantities of debris between Oldtown and Seneca. Superintendent Dick Stanton closed most of the park for an extended period to buttress his appeal for emergency funds, even though many parts were usable within a short time. His appeal was successful: as had Agnes, the flood galvanized support for the park within the administration and Congress, eliciting enough money to restore it to better condition than before. At the suggestion of NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr., Stanton and his staff also organized a massive volunteer cleanup effort. Secretary of the Interior Donald Paul Hodel endorsed the program as part of his "Take Pride in America" campaign and participated in its opening at the Potomac Fish and Game Club on June 1, 1986. By the end of August more than 7,000 Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and other volunteers had joined in. Stanton later accepted a "Take Pride in America" award for the cleanup activity from President Ronald Reagan in a Rose Garden ceremony.¹⁴

With the lands acquired for the park came many buildings. Those postdating the canal's operation were generally removed unless they could serve some park management purpose. Earlier buildings, part of the historic scene during the canal navigation period, warranted preservation. A few, like the Cushwa Warehouse at Williamsport, could be adapted to serve Park Service needs. Unfortunately, there were no evident uses for many of the historic farmhouses and other structures acquired along the canal. If they were not already in poor condition, they soon became so once vacated and neglected. In the struggle for funds to preserve the canal itself, there was little chance of obtaining government money for peripheral buildings.

The alternative was help from outside. The Friends of Great Falls Tavern, organized in Potomac in 1973, donated money and volunteer labor in the following years to help restore and maintain that key structure. Beginning in 1977, as noted above, Bethesda civic groups funded

¹³Public Law 99-192, Dec. 19, 1985, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 99: 1329.

¹⁴Interview with John Frye, Feb. 1, 1990; interview with James D. Young, Jan. 25, 1990; interview with Carrie Johnson, Jan. 31, 1990; interview with George H. Hicks, Feb. 15, 1990.



Secretary Hodel launches volunteer flood cleanup, June 1, 1986.

preservation work on the Lock 7 lockhouse. Another significant instance of outside help involved the Abner Cloud House.

The Abner Cloud House, on Canal Road two miles above Georgetown, was built in 1801 and is the oldest standing structure along the canal. The Park Service obtained it in 1957 under the acquisition authority for the Potomac Palisades Parkway (the George Washington Memorial Parkway's counterpart within the District of Columbia). Because the stone house was not a canal structure, was in deteriorated condition, and appeared unlikely to serve any public or management purpose, there was some sentiment in NCP for demolishing it. A staff recommendation to this effect in 1962 was not followed, nor was a 1966 proposal to renovate it for employee housing.¹⁵ Action awaited a proposal in 1975 from Chapter III of the Colonial Dames of America.

The Colonial Dames chapter, represented by Polly Logan, a Washington socialite, and Helen Byrd, sister-in-law of Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., initially proposed to contribute some \$50,000 toward the restoration of the house, following which it would furnish and occupy its two upper stories as a clubhouse. Logan reduced the figure to \$20,000 at a park

¹⁵Abner Cloud House file in C & O Canal NHP files, History Division.

commission meeting in September 1975. Nancy Long, the commission chairman, expressed some concern about advancing the restoration project ahead of established priorities but did not dissent from the commission's consensus in favor of seeking federal funds for it. With the aid of the well-connected Colonial Dames, the Service obtained \$150,000 for the house from Congress in its fiscal 1976 appropriation, after which it negotiated a cooperative agreement with the chapter.¹⁶

The agreement required the Colonial Dames to contribute only \$16,000, and Long became highly critical of what she called the park's "sweetheart deal" with a restricted membership group. "How many individuals or organizations are able to obtain a public building rent-free for ten years, with an option for renewal, for . . . only \$16,000?" she wrote Superintendent Bill Failor in September 1976. "National Capital Parks appears to regard the \$150,000 in public monies obtained through influence in the Congress as a direct contribution from the Colonial Dames, Chapter III." Still, the house would not have been restored without the chapter's involvement. Long did gain a requirement that the chapter open the upper floors of the house to the public at least six days a year.¹⁷ As part of the restoration project, the above-ground basement fronting on the canal was renovated to serve the public as an information facility.

Among the most significant structures acquired under the national historical park legislation was McMahon's Mill, adjoining the towpath along the slackwater above Dam 4. The three-story gristmill, of heavy timber-frame construction on a limestone base, dated from the early 19th century. The park's general plan, written in 1975, described its condition as "remarkably good" and suggested that it might be restored to operation. The Park Service acquired title to the property in January 1976, but William B. McMahon, the former owner, retained use of the mill for storage until the spring of 1981. Jim Askins then examined it, pronounced it "in an advanced state of disrepair," and estimated that \$101,600 would be required to stabilize it.¹⁸

McMahon wrote Interior Secretaries James G. Watt, William P. Clark, and Hodel between 1983 and 1985 to complain of Service negligence in allowing the mill to deteriorate. He sought to repurchase or lease it and

¹⁶Transcript, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Sept. 13, 1975; C & O Canal--Abner Cloud House file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

¹⁷Letter, Long to Failor, Sept. 11, 1976, C & O Canal--Abner Cloud House file, Office of Land Use Coordination; Paul Hodge, "Restoration on the Canal: Dispute Among the Ruins," *Washington Post*, Nov. 25, 1976.

¹⁸*Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park General Plan* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976), p. 63; C & O Canal NHP file, History Division.

convert it to a restaurant. The Service denied his request, but the attention focused on the mill spurred the park to stabilize its exterior and some of its interior in 1986.¹⁹

Legislation passed by Congress in 1980 authorized the Service to lease historic properties to private parties and retain the proceeds to defray administrative and maintenance costs.²⁰ This provision offered new hope for historic buildings along the canal that were unneeded for management or visitor use purposes and stood low on the priority list for government preservation funding.

A 19th-century frame house at Lock 22, Pennyfield Lock, fell into this category. Occupied until the Service acquired it in the mid-1970s, the Pennyfield house deteriorated rapidly thereafter. Superintendent Stanton identified it as a candidate for leasing, and in 1985 the National Capital Regional Office invited proposals from parties willing to restore the house as a private residence. A local developer was willing to do so if he were given the property rent-free for ten years. The park commission endorsed this plan in September 1986 despite some concern about "privatizing" part of the park.²¹

Action was then delayed by objections from a local Sierra Club chapter, which complained that the developer was receiving too much acreage with the house, and by technical concerns about the restoration plans from Maryland's historic preservation officer. After these hurdles were finally overcome, worsening economic conditions led the developer to withdraw. By 1991 the house was in such bad shape that Superintendent Tom Hobbs recommended its demolition.²²

The Pennyfield house episode did not encourage use of the 1980 leasing authority elsewhere in the park. Meanwhile, however, making creative use of a 1970 law authorizing contracts in support of "living exhibits and interpretive demonstrations,"²³ the park leased out four other houses acquired during the 1970s that contributed to the canal's historic scene: the

¹⁹Letter, McMahon to Watt, Jan. 10, 1983, C & O Canal NHP file, History Division; letter, Stanley T. Albright to McMahon, Aug. 22, 1985, *ibid*.

²⁰Section 111, National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1980, Public Law 96-515, Dec. 12, 1980, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 94: 3000.

²¹Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Sept. 20, 1986.

²²Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, June 10, 1989; telephone conversation with John Blair, Feb. 4, 1991.

²³General Authorities Act of Aug. 18, 1970, Public Law 91-383, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 84: 825.

Barr house by Lock 38, the Burnside house above McMahon's Mill, the Shank house near Dam 5, and the Anthony house at Pearre. Occupancy best served their preservation, and this law also allowed the lease receipts to go toward their upkeep.

Few national parklands are more vulnerable to the effects of adjoining development than the long, narrow C & O Canal. Dealing with potential and actual development alongside the park has been a major concern of Park Service managers over the years.

As noted earlier, fears in Maryland that an expanded federal presence along the Potomac might impede access to the river led to the 1953 law requiring the granting of public utility easements and authorizing the granting of other rights across canal lands (page 64). As part of its brief for the national historical park legislation in 1959, the Service cited the easements granted to that time: to the city of Rockville, for a water intake structure and pipeline below Swains Lock; to the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC), for a water intake structure and pipelines near Watts Branch; to the Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Company, for gas pipelines crossing farther upstream between Swains and Pennyfield locks; to the Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO), for water pipelines and a cable crossing at Dickerson; to the city of Hagerstown, for water pipelines at Williamsport; to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, for an underground telephone cable at Williamsport; to the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, for sewerage, a utility tunnel, and access across canal land below Cumberland; to the Cumberland and Allegany Gas Company, for gas lines at Cumberland and Mexico Farms; to the city of Cumberland, for sewerage.²⁴

When WSSC proposed to construct its river intake and filtration plant near Watts Branch, three-quarters of a mile above Swains Lock, in 1957, Director Wirth expressed concern to WSSC's chairman about the facility's visual effect on the canal. After meeting with NPS officials, WSSC engineers modified their design to the Service's satisfaction. Much community opposition to the project remained, and Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute, joined Potomac citizens in urging the Service and the Interior Department to deny WSSC the access rights it needed. In response, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst cited the 1953 legislation requiring the department to grant utility easements subject to reasonable conditions for protection of the federal

²⁴U.S. Congress, House, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, Hearings* before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 86th Congress, 1st Session, on H.R. 953, H.R. 2331, H.R. 5194, and H.R. 5344, Mar. 23, 24, 25, 26, Apr. 20, 21, 1959 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 30.

interest, described WSSC's cooperation in minimizing the facility's impact, and declared that alternate locations in the vicinity would entail no lesser effect. Obtaining official Service clearance in May 1958, WSSC built the Watts Branch plant during the next two years.²⁵ In the late 1970s, again following negotiations with and approval from the Service, it added a new river intake structure linked to the main plant by a bridge across the canal and towpath. The concrete addition, designed by architect Paul Speiregen and completed in 1981, included informational panels on the canal and river.

The Service became involved with PEPCO's Dickerson project in 1956. In conjunction with its new power plant there, the company proposed to acquire land on both sides of the canal, build a 12-foot dam across the Potomac feeding water into an intake structure, and lay two pipes under the canal to the plant inland. Although they were unhappy about the impact of the project, Service officials gave PEPCO the permission necessary for it to begin work in mid-1957.²⁶ Maryland's U.S. senators introduced bills in each Congress through the early 1960s to sanction the dam, which would flood seven acres of parkland; but opposition from Virginia and conservation interests blocked action on the legislation, and the dam was never built.

In the early 1970s PEPCO sought permission from state and county authorities to greatly enlarge its Dickerson facility. By this time much flyash residue from the coal-burning plant had washed into the canal, raising the ire of park supporters. Eager to improve its standing with the park and the community, PEPCO agreed to clean, restore, and rewater more than a mile of the canal in 1973 and did so the following year. Dick Stanton and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Nathaniel P. Reed nevertheless opposed PEPCO's request for a zoning exception to construct two 850-foot exhaust stacks. But the county appeals board approved the exception, and PEPCO built one of the stacks within four hundred feet of the towpath

²⁵Memorandum, Wirth to T. Earle Bourne, Nov. 25, 1957, Adjacent Property file 1460/C & O Canal, C & O Canal NHP; letter, Gabrielson to Fred A. Seaton, Feb. 24, 1958, *ibid.*; letter, Ernst to Gabrielson, Mar. 25, 1958, *ibid.*; letter, Harry T. Thompson to John T. Bonifant, May 21, 1958, *ibid.*

²⁶Memorandum, Ben H. Thompson to Conrad L. Wirth, Jan. 31, 1956, C & O Canal--Dickerson Power Plant file, Office of Land Use Coordination; memorandum, Harry T. Thompson and Ben H. Thompson to Wirth, June 11, 1957, *ibid.*

in 1976.²⁷ (The second stack, to serve a future plant addition 2,000 feet from the towpath, was not built.)

In 1967 another power company, Potomac Edison, requested an easement across the canal for a high-voltage interstate transmission line. The line would have a visual impact on Harpers Ferry, Antietam, and the Paw Paw Bends area of the canal and proposed Potomac National River. Responding to objections from Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, Potomac Edison proposed a new alignment that would avoid these areas but more severely affect the canal and river in the Dam 4 area, where the line would parallel the south bank for more than a mile about 1,000 feet from the bank. Udall accepted the realignment in March 1968.²⁸

A year later, the owners of a tract to be crossed by the line paralleling the river offered to give the government a scenic easement on their property to preclude Potomac Edison from condemning a right-of-way across it, thereby forcing the company further back from the river. Acting on legal advice that the Interior Department had no authority to acquire an easement there, especially one that appeared to satisfy a private interest, Assistant Secretary Leslie L. Glasgow declined the offer. He urged Potomac Edison to move the line voluntarily, but the company refused, and he would not insist that it change the alignment Udall had accepted. On July 1, 1969, Interior granted Potomac Edison the permission it sought to cross the canal below Dam 4.²⁹

At this point the House Committee on Government Operations launched an investigation of the power line's impact and Interior's response to the permit application. Its report, issued in May 1970, concluded that the department could have done more to protect the canal. It recommended improved procedures for the review and approval of such projects--procedures like those soon adopted under the recently enacted National Environmental Policy Act. The investigation had no effect on Potomac Edison's alignment but did prompt the addition of an extra tower to lower the line's profile as viewed from the towpath.³⁰

²⁷Letter, Stanton to Peter H. Benzinger, Sept. 19, 1974, C & O Canal--Dickerson Power Plant file, Office of Land Use Coordination; letter, Reed to Chairman, Montgomery County Board of Appeals, Feb. 5, 1974, *ibid.*; Board of Appeals Opinion, Case No. S-235, Petition of the Potomac Electric Power Company, June 20, 1974, *ibid.*

²⁸U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Government Operations, *The Potomac Edison Company's High Voltage Transmission Line and Its Esthetic Impact on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Monument*, H. Rept. 91-1083, May 13, 1970, pp. 4-5.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 7-10.

³⁰*Ibid.*

The extensive redevelopment of lower Georgetown during the 1970s and 1980s had a significant impact on the canal there. New offices, stores, and restaurants brought more people to the area, increasing park use. When nine developers of properties along the canal sought permission to use park land for construction, access, and other purposes benefiting their enterprises, the Park Service was able to obtain benefits in return. For example, the builders of the Four Seasons Hotel agreed to set that building thirty feet back from the park boundary and resurface the adjoining towpath between the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway and 29th Street in brick. Between Thomas Jefferson and 30th streets, Inland Steel's Foundry Mall development on the south side of the canal included space for a park visitor facility, opened in 1976. The facility was later moved to a booth in the mall's lower level.

A canal-side plaza across from this development became the site of a memorial to Justice William O. Douglas. On March 15, 1977, President Jimmy Carter approved legislation dedicating the canal and towpath of the park to Douglas with a suitable memorial "in grateful recognition of his long outstanding service as a prominent American conservationist and for his efforts to preserve and protect the canal and towpath from development."³¹ The memorial took the form of a bronze bust of Douglas sculpted by Wendy Ross, a Service employee at Glen Echo, mounted on a granite pedestal. Douglas was present at the unveiling ceremony on May 17, 1977. The park also added references to the Douglas dedication on its large routed wood entrance signs.

In the Canal Square development west of 31st Street, an old brick warehouse along the canal was rehabilitated as a restaurant and retail sales building. In 1969, in exchange for an annual rental payment, the Service permitted the developer to build a promenade deck on park property overlooking and accessible from the towpath. By the mid-1980s the deck had deteriorated and become a hangout for teenage drinkers, and Superintendent Stanton and the park commission opposed renewal of the permit. The owner corrected the problems and appealed to Director Mott, who judged the deck a desirable public amenity and extended the permit in 1988.³²

In 1983 Washington Harbour Associates and the Western Development Corporation began negotiations with the Service in connection with a major development they planned on the Georgetown waterfront. Part of the

³¹Public Law 95-11, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 91: 21.

³²Letter, Nash Castro to Canal Square Associates, Apr. 7, 1969, C & O Canal 1968-69 file L1425, C & O Canal NHP; minutes, C & O Canal Commission meetings, Feb. 28, 1987, and Dec. 3, 1988.

proposed development was a hotel and office building occupying the tract between 30th Street and Rock Creek--the "Parcel G" on which the Service had received a twenty-foot height limitation easement when it acquired the canal in 1938 (page 19). If the Service would relinquish the easement, the developer would pay to restore the canal tidelock at the mouth of Rock Creek, improve park lands along the creek and river, grant public access and facade easements within the development, and perpetually maintain certain park improvements.³³

Georgetown civic activists opposed to private waterfront development disliked the Washington Harbour plans and lobbied against the proposed agreement. Among the opponents at a Service hearing in January 1984 was John Nolen, Jr., who had been actively involved with the canal's acquisition and development as chief planner for the National Capital Park and Planning Commission in the 1930s. Rather than bartering the height easement away, the Service should seek full title to the parcel, Nolen argued. But there was little chance that Congress would appropriate funds to buy this tract or the developer's land between 30th and 31st streets sought by the opposition. Finding the exchange equitable and in the public interest, Regional Director Jack Fish approved it in October 1984.³⁴ An opposing group sued, but its lower court victory in May 1985 was overturned on appeal that October.

Under the agreement, Washington Harbour Associates contributed \$1 million for the development of a riverfront park west of 31st Street and \$275,000 for restoration of the tidelock. The central Washington Harbour complex and the park were subsequently completed, but economic factors and a change of management delayed construction on the parcel east of 30th Street, and the tidelock contribution remained in escrow with the National Park Foundation. Neither the private development nor the tidelock restoration was imminent at this writing.

At the other end of the park, yet another canal parkway proposal loomed. In 1988 Maryland's State Highway Administration advanced plans for a new road improving access from Cumberland to South Cumberland and the municipal airport. The road would have occupied part of the last mile of the canal that had been buried by the Corps of Engineers flood control project in the 1950s. The Park Service, with the support of the park commission, opposed this alignment, and the State Highway Administration responded in 1989 with an alternative "canal parkway"

³³Memorandum, John Parsons to Jack Fish, Oct. 16, 1984, Washington Harbour Associates file, Office of Land Use Coordination.

³⁴Letter, Nolen to Jack Fish, Mar. 9, 1984, Washington Harbour Associates file, Office of Land Use Coordination; memorandum, Fish to Thomas Regan, Oct. 16, 1984, *ibid*.

concept developed by EDAW Associates. The road would now run alongside the canal on property occupied by two CSX railroad tracks--property that was in Service ownership and figured in the proposed exchange for CSX property in Harpers Ferry (page 118). Where it directly abutted the canal, it would be supported by a retaining wall ten to 15 feet high. The road embankment could serve as a flood control levee, allowing the last 4,900 feet of the canal to be excavated and rewatered. To illustrate how the road would relate to the canal, State Highway Administrator Hal Kassoff cited the stretch of Canal Road beside the canal above Georgetown.³⁵

The C & O Canal Association and some past and present members of the park commission opposed the canal parkway. Canal Road, with its heavy commuter traffic directly opposite the towpath, was something they did not want to duplicate in Cumberland. But a majority of commission members voted to support further study of the concept by the state. Ownership of land needed for the parkway gave the Service a strong negotiating hand, and Regional Director Robert Stanton took advantage of it. In correspondence with Kassoff, he conditioned Service cooperation with the study on commitments from the state, CSX, and the Corps of Engineers designed to maximize benefits and minimize harm to the park. While not endorsing the parkway, Service officials were hopeful that it could lead to a net gain for the canal in Cumberland.³⁶

³⁵Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meetings, Sept. 10, 1988, and June 10, 1989.

³⁶Minutes, C & O Canal Commission meeting, Sept. 9, 1989; letters, Stanton to Kassoff, Oct. 5, 1989, and Jan. 9, 1990, Cumberland Canal Parkway file, Office of Land Use Coordination; Eugene L. Meyer, "Preservationists Balk at Plan for C & O Parkway," *Washington Post*, Jan. 15, 1990, p. B1; interview with James D. Young, Jan. 18, 1990; telephone conversation with Thomas Hobbs, Jan. 16, 1991.



The first Canal Clipper.

USING THE PARK

A park, according to standard dictionary definitions, is a tract of land set aside for public recreational use. This primary purpose is what distinguishes parks from other land reservations, such as wildlife refuges, set aside primarily for the protection of particular resources. This is not to say that other reservations cannot also accommodate recreational use, and it is certainly not to say that parks need not protect resources. The language of the 1916 act of Congress creating the National Park Service still obtains: the Service is to conserve park features and provide for their enjoyment by the public "in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." While not for everyone doing everything they wish everywhere at every time, parks are indeed for people.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal served public recreation long before it became a park. At the beginning of the century the McMillan Commission noted its use "by pleasure seekers in canoes, and by excursion parties in various craft." In 1934, a year after the Park Service assumed responsibility for the national capital park system, a Service historian reconnoitering the canal reported considerable recreational activity: "The canal towpath is much used by hikers. On weekends, at any season of the year, people may be seen singly and in groups walking along the canal, particularly between Great Falls and Washington."¹

Recreational use there surged after the Park Service acquired the canal in 1938 and restored and rewatered the portion below Seneca. The damage from the 1942 flood and the closing of the canal in the Great Falls area during World War II sharply curtailed towpath traffic, which was never high along most of the canal. Service leaders saw the lack of public use above Seneca as a threat to the canal's viability as a park in the face of conflicting development pressures. This concern figured heavily in the 1950 parkway proposal.

The highly publicized hike led by Justice William O. Douglas in 1954 to mobilize opposition to the parkway succeeded both in achieving that goal and in stimulating more of the public to follow the hikers' example. After the Service dropped the canal parkway scheme in 1956 and sought to win support for national historical park legislation, it did much more to improve

¹U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the District of Columbia, *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 96; Edna M. Colman, "The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," 1934, 4-page paper in file 1460/C & O Canal, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park.

the towpath for hikers and cyclists and provide recreational facilities along the way. These improvements enabled the park to capitalize on the soaring public interest in backpacking, bicycling, and physical fitness during the next decade.

The canal helped launch this movement, still with us, in early 1963. On February 9, a month after President John F. Kennedy established the President's Council on Physical Fitness and challenged Americans to become more physically active, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy set out from Great Falls at 4 a.m. and hiked fifty miles in 17 hours. He took the towpath as far as Point of Rocks, then headed inland toward Camp David. (Four other administration officials fell by the wayside.) The attorney general's feat attracted much notice, and a fifty-mile-hike craze swept the country. In later years other government notables would exercise regularly on the towpath. President Jimmy Carter ran once or twice a week from Fletcher's Boathouse to Lock 5 and back. Vice President George Bush, sometimes joined by Barbara Bush and their dog, often ran from Lock 10 down to Lock 6 in the mid-1980s.²

The C & O Canal Association, an outgrowth of the C & O Canal Committee formed at the end of the Douglas hike, was organized in 1956 as a general membership group open to all with an interest in the canal. Under its aegis, Douglas led a one-day hike along a section of the towpath each spring to generate support for the park legislation. Association-sponsored commemorative hikes continued after 1971. On the twentieth anniversary in 1974 and every five years thereafter, participants have gone the full length of the canal. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor kicked off the 35th anniversary hike, completed by 29 participants, in 1989.³

Orville Crowder, one of the canal association's early leaders, hiked the towpath with a measuring wheel to help position mileposts and locate features in canal company records. Crowder established the association's level walker program, wherein members volunteer to walk prescribed levels or other segments of the canal at least twice a year to collect minor trash and report other deficiencies and conditions to the association and the park superintendent. Following tropical storm Agnes in 1972, the level walkers, then led by Thomas F. Hahn, helped report the flood damage. The level walker program has continued active in the early 1990s under the leadership of Karen M. Gray, an association vice president.

²Jerry Doolittle, "Craze for 50-Mile Hikes Started By President's Fitness Challenge," *Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 1963, p. A1; telephone conversation with John W. Magaw, U.S. Secret Service, Apr. 25, 1991.

³*Along the Towpath* (C & O Canal Association newsletter) 21, no. 3 (June 1989): 1.

Members of the C & O Canal Association, the Friends of Great Falls Tavern, and other park users have donated time and effort in many more ways. In 1990, 961 volunteers contributed 7,256 hours of service to the park. They cut brush, cleared vegetation from historic structures, picked up litter, led nature walks, staffed information desks, and presented musical programs during special events. The Girl Scouts' weekend interpretation of 19th-century canal life at Rileys Lock, led by Joan Paull, was sufficiently popular with participants and visitors to be repeated at the historic Knode house at Lock 38.

Mule-drawn barge trips have catered to the more typical park user. *Canal Clipper*, operated by the Welfare and Recreational Association, began service in Georgetown in July 1941. As many as eighty passengers boarded the barge above Lock 3, rose through Lock 4, and traveled as far as Lock 5 before returning. *Canal Clipper* was replaced in the spring of 1961 by the larger *John Quincy Adams*, holding up to 125 people and featuring a snack bar, built and operated by GSI (Government Services Inc., successor to the Welfare and Recreational Association). It lasted only eleven years, being destroyed by Agnes in 1972.

A second *Canal Clipper* built of reinforced concrete was launched in Georgetown in the fall of 1976. During the 1977 season (May through October) it made 305 trips and carried 17,751 passengers. Prolonged canal repairs in Georgetown beginning in 1979 prompted its relocation to Great Falls. There it succeeded the small *John Quincy Adams II*, which had operated from 1967 through the early 1970s. The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation donated \$180,000 for a new Georgetown barge, launched in September 1982 after completion of the repairs there. *Georgetown*, as it was christened, and the second *Canal Clipper* remain in service at this writing. Both are operated by the Park Service, which charges fees to make them self-sustaining. The two barges carried 35,974 visitors in 1990, 16,190 in Georgetown and 19,784 at Great Falls.

The barges became excellent vehicles for interpreting canal history. Standard narrative talks ultimately gave way to "living history" presentations in which costumed employees reenact 19th-century life on the canal. Of course, no description of how a lock worked can match the first-hand experience of floating from one level to another.

Yet another boat materialized at the other end of the canal in the mid-1970s. With the encouragement of the park, a private group called C & O Canal, Cumberland, Inc., began raising funds in 1973 for a 93-foot boat. A naval reserve unit prefabricated it the next year at the Allegany County Vocational-Technical Center. It was intended to float on a rewatered section of the canal between Candoc and Wiley Ford, but when the prospect of rewatering that section dimmed, the sponsors completed its assembly on private land opposite Lock 75 at North Branch, where rewatering appeared

more likely. *The Cumberland* was dedicated there on July 11, 1976. The park later acquired the land on which the boat sat and issued a special use permit to C & O Canal, Cumberland, for its "operation." Rewatering never occurred and the boat remained high and dry (after holes were drilled in its bottom to drain collected water). *The Cumberland* has nevertheless served a useful interpretive purpose, for it more nearly approximates a historic canal packet than do the floating barges downstream. It is the centerpiece of "Canal Days," an annual festival sponsored by C & O Canal, Cumberland.

In 1973 the park opened a small visitor center in Hancock. In 1985 it acquired space in the former Western Maryland Railway Station in Cumberland, close by the buried canal terminus. Both visitor facilities received good historical exhibits and have been effective dispensers of information to upper canal users.

Park visitors have been served by several concessions. GSI (now Guest Services Inc.) operated the Georgetown barge until 1972. It continues to rent canoes, boats, and bicycles at the Harry T. Thompson Boat Center, next to the canal tidelock at the mouth of Rock Creek, and it operates a food concession at Great Falls. Fletcher's Boathouse, between the canal and river above Georgetown, has long rented canoes, boats, and bicycles to park patrons. So has the Swain family at Swains Lock, the next above Great Falls. The Parks and History Association, a nonprofit cooperating association serving most National Capital Region parks, sells publications and other park-related items at the Georgetown, Great Falls, Hancock, and Cumberland visitor centers. The proceeds help support park interpretation and other visitor services.

The Park Service works hard to compile visitor statistics, which help buttress requests for funds and staff by showing how many people are using the parks. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park poses a major challenge in this regard, for its elongated nature and abundance of uncontrolled access points make accurate counts impossible. The park's counting method in the mid-1980s resulted in figures of 4,900,841 total visits in 1986 and 6,048,335 in 1987. The method was then revised, producing presumably more realistic figures of 2,074,721 in 1988, 1,991,207 in 1989, and 1,965,828 in 1990. (All figures are for visits rather than individual visitors, who may be counted repeatedly as they appear at different times and in different places.)

Whatever the totals, there is no doubt about the continuing disparity of public use within the park. In 1990 the Palisades District, extending only one-sixth of the park's length, counted 1,499,028 visits--more than three-quarters of the total. Palisades had 48,360 visits per mile (concentrated most heavily in Georgetown and at Great Falls), while the rest of the park had 3,030 visits per mile. Although some might wish for a more equitable

dispersion of visitors, this pattern is to be expected given Palisades' relationship to the Washington metropolitan area and the special scenic and recreational appeal of the canal's restored section. And for those seeking a different kind of park experience, the relative solitude of the upper canal is highly desirable.

A few visitors travel the full length of the canal, using the hiker-biker campgrounds en route. More travel over extended distances, some of them also camping for a night or two. Other campground users are drawn primarily by the river's recreational opportunities. The park recorded 42,998 overnight stays by such visitors in 1990. Of course, the great majority of visitors come for less than a day at a time to walk, cycle, fish, boat or canoe, watch birds, and otherwise enjoy small segments of the park.

All of them, from the casual day-tripper to the full-length tramper, are beneficiaries of an extraordinary public commitment to preserve 184 miles of canal and riverfront in largely undeveloped condition. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Justice Douglas played key roles leading to this outcome, as did farsighted members of Congress, Interior Department officials, and conservation groups. Like most great things, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park was achieved only with great effort. Recalling the opposition and envisioning what might have befallen Maryland's Potomac riverbank, Gilbert Gude, who sponsored the successful park bill in the House, still marvels at the park's existence. Others involved with the struggle and those who just enjoy this special place today might well echo Gude's assessment: "Amazing."⁴

⁴Interview with Gude, Nov. 20, 1989.



LEGISLATION

[PUBLIC LAW 618—80TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 435—2D SESSION]

[H. R. 5155]

AN ACT

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to have made by the Public Roads Administration and the National Park Service a joint reconnaissance survey of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Great Falls, Maryland, and Cumberland, Maryland, and to report to the Congress upon the advisability and practicability of constructing thereon a parkway, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be expended from the appropriations made to the National Park Service for parkways the sum of \$40,000 for the purpose of making a joint reconnaissance study by the Public Roads Administration and the National Park Service of the federally owned Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Great Falls, Maryland, and Cumberland, Maryland, to determine the advisability and practicability of constructing a parkway along the route of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, including a report of estimated cost.

Approved June 10, 1948.

[PUBLIC LAW 811—81ST CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 987—2D SESSION]

[H. R. 8534]

AN ACT

To authorize the acceptance of donations of land to supplement present parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Great Falls and Cumberland, Maryland.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept on behalf of the United States donations of land and interests in land in the State of Maryland as additions to present parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, between Great Falls and Cumberland, Maryland. The lands to be acquired shall be sufficient to increase the present parkway width to an average of one hundred acres per mile for the entire length of the parkway. The title to real property acquired pursuant to this Act shall be satisfactory to the Attorney General of the United States.

SEC. 2. The Secretary is also authorized to accept land and interests in land for the parkway and, in his discretion, to convey in exchange therefor former Chesapeake and Ohio Canal property now under his administrative jurisdiction or other property accepted by him for the purposes of this Act. In any land exchanges consummated pursuant to this Act, the value of the federally owned property conveyed shall not exceed the value of the property accepted by the Secretary.

SEC. 3. All property acquired pursuant to this Act shall be administered by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U. S. C., 1946 edition, sec. 1-3), entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes".

Approved September 22, 1950.

Public Law 184 - 83d Congress
Chapter 310 - 1st Session
H. R. 5804

AN ACT

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant easements for rights-of-way through, over, and under the parkway land along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and to authorize an exchange of lands with other Federal departments and agencies, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to grant perpetual easements, subject to such reasonable conditions as are necessary for the protection of the Federal interests, for rights-of-way through, over, or under the parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, now or hereafter acquired, for the purposes of electric, telephone, and telegraph lines or conduits, gas, oil, and water pipelines, tunnels, and water conduits, or for other utility purposes incident to industrial, commercial or agricultural use, or to the supply of water for domestic, public, or any other beneficial use, where it is intended to use such rights-of-way for any one or more of the purposes hereinabove named. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Easements for rights-of-way. 67 Stat. 359. 67 Stat. 360.

SEC. 2. No part of said easements shall be used for any other than the purposes for which they are granted, and in the event of any breach of this restriction, or in the event of any failure to observe the conditions in said easements, either of which shall continue for a period of ninety days after notice thereof, or in the event the said easement is abandoned for the purposes granted, the entire interest herein authorized to be granted shall, upon a declaration to that effect by the Secretary of the Interior, revert to the United States.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall cause an appraisal to be made of the fair market value of the said easements, including the resulting damage, if any, to the residue of the parkway lands, which appraisal, after approval by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be paid in cash by the grantees requesting the easement as the consideration for said easements when granted by the United States.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized, in his discretion, to grant perpetual easements, subject to such conditions as are necessary for the protection of the Federal interest, for rights-of-way through, over, or under the parkway lands along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, now or hereafter acquired, for railroad tracks or for other utility purposes: *Provided*, That such easements may be granted in exchange for the relinquishment of existing easements across land now or hereafter in Federal ownership within the parkway: *Provided further*, That the Secretary may cause an appraisal to be made of the value of such easements and may require payment to be made by the grantee as provided in section 3 of this Act: *Provided further*, That no part of said easements shall be used for any other than the purposes for which they are granted, and in the event of any breach of this restriction, or in the event of any failure to observe the conditions in said easements, either of which shall continue for a period of ninety days after notice thereof, or in the event the said easement is abandoned for the purposes granted, the entire interest herein authorized to be granted, upon a declaration to that effect by the Secretary, shall revert to the United States.

SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion, when in the best interest of the United States, to convey, at the fair market value, to counties and municipalities for roads, streets, highways, or other municipal facilities, by proper deed or instrument, any lands or interests in lands of the United States within the parkway along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, under Conveyances.

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the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior and located within the boundaries of such county or municipality, which are not needed for parkway purposes, but not to the extent of severing in any manner the continuity of the parkway lands from Great Falls to and including the city of Cumberland, Maryland.

Transfer of
jurisdiction.

SEC. 6. The Secretary of the Interior, and the heads of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government administering lands along or adjacent to the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, are hereby authorized, for the purpose of facilitating the development, administration, and maintenance of said parkway, to transfer jurisdiction between their respective departments and agencies over such

67 Stat. 360.

67 Stat. 361.

portions of the lands under their respective jurisdictions along or adjacent to the line of said canal as are surplus to their respective needs, without reimbursement, and under such conditions as may be mutually agreed upon by the Secretary of the Interior and the head of the other department or agency concerned; and such transfer of jurisdiction by any department or agency of the Federal Government in possession of such lands is hereby authorized.

Approved August 1, 1953.

Title 3—THE PRESIDENT

Proclamation 3391

ESTABLISHING THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL NATIONAL MONUMENT, MARYLAND

By the President of the United States
of America

A Proclamation

WHEREAS by deed of September 23, 1938, the United States acquired from the Receivers of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company certain lands, together with all appurtenances thereunto belonging, known as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; and

WHEREAS since September 23, 1938, such lands have been administered and protected by the Department of the Interior through the National Park Service; and

WHEREAS, by section 2 of the act of Congress approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225), the President of the United States is authorized "in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected"; and

WHEREAS the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal is of historic and scientific interest, and historic structures and objects of scientific interest are situated upon the lands thereof:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, 34 Stat. 225 (16 U.S.C. 431), do proclaim that, subject to valid existing rights, there is hereby reserved and set apart as a national monument, to be known as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument, that portion of the property now owned by the United States and acquired by it under the said deed of September 23, 1938, which extends from Cumberland, Maryland, to a location 100 feet downstream from the first culvert above the Seneca aqueduct, the monu-

ment hereby established containing approximately 4,800 acres.

The said deed of September 23, 1938, is recorded in the land records of the County of Allegany, Maryland, in Book R.J. No. 181 at Folio 603, of the County of Washington, Maryland, in Book No. 207 at Folio 575, of the County of Frederick, Maryland, in Book No. 414 at Folio 245 *fc.*, and of the County of Montgomery, Maryland, in Book No. 638 at Folio 76. Detailed maps of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal property, consisting of 15 rolls prepared by B. F. Mackall, are on file with the Director, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., and the Superintendent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Project in Hagerstown, Maryland.

Warning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, deface, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument shall be supervised, managed, and controlled in accordance with the act of Congress entitled "An Act To Establish a National Park Service, and for Other Purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), and acts supplementary thereto and amendatory thereof, including the act of September 22, 1950 (64 Stat. 905), and the act of August 1, 1953 (67 Stat. 359).

Nothing in this proclamation is intended to prejudice the use of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument for such works as the Congress may hereafter authorize for municipal and domestic water supply, navigation, flood control, drainage, recreation, or other beneficial purposes.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this eighteenth day of January in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and [SEAL] sixty-one and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fifth.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HESTER,
Secretary of State.

[P.R. Doc. 61-693; Filed, Jan. 23, 1961;
10:26 a.m.]



Public Law 91-664
91st Congress, H. R. 19342
January 8, 1971

An Act

To establish and develop the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Development Act".

Chesapeake and
Ohio Canal
Development
Act.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

- (a) "Park" means the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, as herein established.
- (b) "Canal" means the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, including its towpath.
- (c) "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.
- (d) "State" means any State, and includes the District of Columbia.
- (e) "Local government" means any political subdivision of a State, including a county, municipality, city, town, township, or a school or other special district created pursuant to State law.
- (f) "Person" means any individual, partnership, corporation, private nonprofit organization, or club.
- (g) "Landowner" means any person, local government, or State owning, or on reasonable grounds professing to own, lands or interests in lands adjacent to or in the vicinity of the park.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARK

SEC. 3. (a) In order to preserve and interpret the historic and scenic features of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and to develop the potential of the canal for public recreation, including such restoration as may be needed, there is hereby established the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, in the States of Maryland and West Virginia and in the District of Columbia. The park as initially established shall comprise those particular properties in Federal ownership, containing approximately five thousand two hundred and fifty acres, including those properties along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in the State of Maryland and appurtenances in the State of West Virginia designated as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument, and those properties along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal between Rock Creek in the District of Columbia and the terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Monument near the mouth of Seneca Creek in the State of Maryland. The boundaries of the park shall be as generally depicted on the drawing entitled "Boundary Map, Proposed Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park," in five sheets, numbered CHOH 91.000, and dated October 1969, which is on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior: *Provided*, That no lands owned by any State shall be included in the boundaries of the park—

Boundaries.

84 STAT. 1978
84 STAT. 1979

- (1) unless they are donated to the United States, or
- (2) until a written cooperative agreement is negotiated by the Secretary which assures the administration of such lands in accordance with established administrative policies for national parks, and

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(3) until the terms and conditions of such donation or cooperative agreement have been forwarded to the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and Senate at least sixty days prior to being executed. The exact boundaries of the park shall be established, published, and otherwise publicized within eighteen months after the date of this Act and the owners of property other than property lying between the canal and the Potomac River shall be notified within said period as to the extent of their property included in the park.

(b) Within the boundaries of the park, the Secretary is authorized to acquire lands and interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, but he shall refrain from acquiring, for two years from the date of the enactment of this Act, any lands designated on the boundary map for acquisition by any State if he has negotiated and consummated a written cooperative agreement with such State pursuant to subsection (a) of this section.

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall take into account comprehensive local or State development, land use, or recreational plans affecting or relating to areas in the vicinity of the canal, and shall, wherever practicable, consistent with the purposes of this Act, exercise the authority granted by this Act in a manner which he finds will not conflict with such local or State plans.

ACCESS

SEC. 5. (a) The enactment of this Act shall not affect adversely any valid rights heretofore existing, or any valid permits heretofore issued, within or relating to areas authorized for inclusion in the park.

(b) Other uses of park lands, and utility, highway, and railway crossings, may be authorized under permit by the Secretary, if such uses and crossings are not in conflict with the purposes of the park and are in accord with any requirements found necessary to preserve park values.

(c) Authority is hereby granted for individuals to cross the park by foot at locations designated by the Secretary for the purpose of gaining access to the Potomac River or to non-Federal lands for hunting purposes: *Provided*, That while such individuals are within the boundaries of the park firearms shall be unloaded, bows unstrung, and dogs on leash.

84 STAT. 1979
84 STAT. 1980

ADVISORY COMMISSION

Establishment.

SEC. 6. (a) There is hereby established a Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park Commission (hereafter in this section referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of nineteen members appointed by the Secretary for terms of five years each, as follows:

(1) Eight members to be appointed from recommendations submitted by the boards of commissioners or the county councils, as the case may be, of Montgomery, Frederick, Washington, and Allegany Counties, Maryland, of which two members shall be appointed from recommendations submitted by each such board or council, as the case may be;

(2) Eight members to be appointed from recommendations submitted by the Governor of the State of Maryland, the Governor

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84 STAT. 1980

of the State of West Virginia, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, of which two members shall be appointed from recommendations submitted by each such Governor or Commissioner, as the case may be; and

(3) Three members to be appointed by the Secretary, one of whom shall be designated Chairman of the Commission and two of whom shall be members of regularly constituted conservation organizations.

(c) Any vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(d) Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation, as such, but the Secretary is authorized to pay, upon vouchers signed by the Chairman, the expenses reasonably incurred by the Commission and its members in carrying out their responsibilities under this Act.

(e) The Secretary, or his designee, shall from time to time but at least annually, meet and consult with the Commission on general policies and specific matters related to the administration and development of the park.

(f) The Commission shall act and advise by affirmative vote of a majority of the members thereof.

(g) The Commission shall cease to exist ten years from the effective date of this Act.

ADMINISTRATION AND APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 7. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the Act of August 25, 1916 (30 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4), as amended and supplemented.

39 Stat. 535.

Sec. 8. (a) Any funds that may be available for purposes of administration of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal property may hereafter be used by the Secretary for the purposes of the park.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, not to exceed \$20,400,000 for land acquisition and not to exceed \$17,000,000 (1970 prices) for development, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indices applicable to the types of construction involved herein.

Approved January 8, 1971.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 91-1553 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
SENATE REPORT No. 91-1512 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 116 (1970):

Oct. 5, considered and passed House.

Dec. 22, considered and passed Senate.

An Act to dedicate the canal and towpath of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park to Justice William O. Douglas, and for other purposes. (91 Stat. 21) (P.L. 95-11)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the canal and towpath of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park are hereby dedicated to Justice William O. Douglas in grateful recognition of his long outstanding service as a prominent American conservationist and for his efforts to preserve and protect the canal and towpath from development.

SEC. 2. In order to carry out the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to provide such identification by signs, including, but not limited to changes in existing signs, materials, maps, markers, interpretive programs or other means as will appropriately inform the public of the contributions of Justice William O. Douglas.

SEC. 3.; The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized and directed to cause to be erected and maintained, within the exterior boundaries of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, an appropriate memorial to Justice William O. Douglas. Such memorial shall be of such design and be located at such place within the park as the Secretary shall determine.

SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Approved March 15, 1977.

Legislative History:

House Report No. 95-38 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).

Congressional Record, Vol. 123 (1977):

Feb. 24, considered and passed Senate.

Mar. 2, considered and passed House.

An Act to authorize additional appropriations for the acquisition of lands and interests in lands within the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in Idaho. (92 Stat. 3467) (P.L. 95-625)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

**TITLE III—CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK**

* * * * *

SEC. 320. Section 8(b) of the Act of January 8, 1971 (84 Stat. 1978) is amended by changing "\$20,400,000" to "\$28,400,000". The boundaries of the park are revised to include approximately 600 additional acres: *Provided, however,* That such additions shall not include any properties located between 30th Street and Thomas Jefferson Street in the northwest section of the District of Columbia.

* * * * *

Approved November 10, 1978.

100 STAT. 1144

PUBLIC LAW 99-456—OCT. 8, 1986

Public Law 99-456
99th Congress

An Act

Oct. 8, 1986
[S. 1766]

To designate the Cumberland terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park in honor of J. Glenn Beall, Sr.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Cumberland terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park is hereby dedicated to J. Glenn Beall, Sr. in grateful recognition of his outstanding efforts to preserve and protect the canal and towpath from development.

(b) In order to carry out the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to provide such identification by signs, including changes in existing signs, materials, maps, markers, or other means as will appropriately inform the public of the contributions of J. Glenn Beall, Sr.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized and directed to cause to be erected and maintained, within the exterior boundaries of the Cumberland terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, an appropriate memorial to J. Glenn Beall, Sr. Such memorial shall be of such design and be located at such place as the Secretary shall determine.

(d) There are authorized to be appropriated up to \$25,000 to carry out the purposes of this Act.

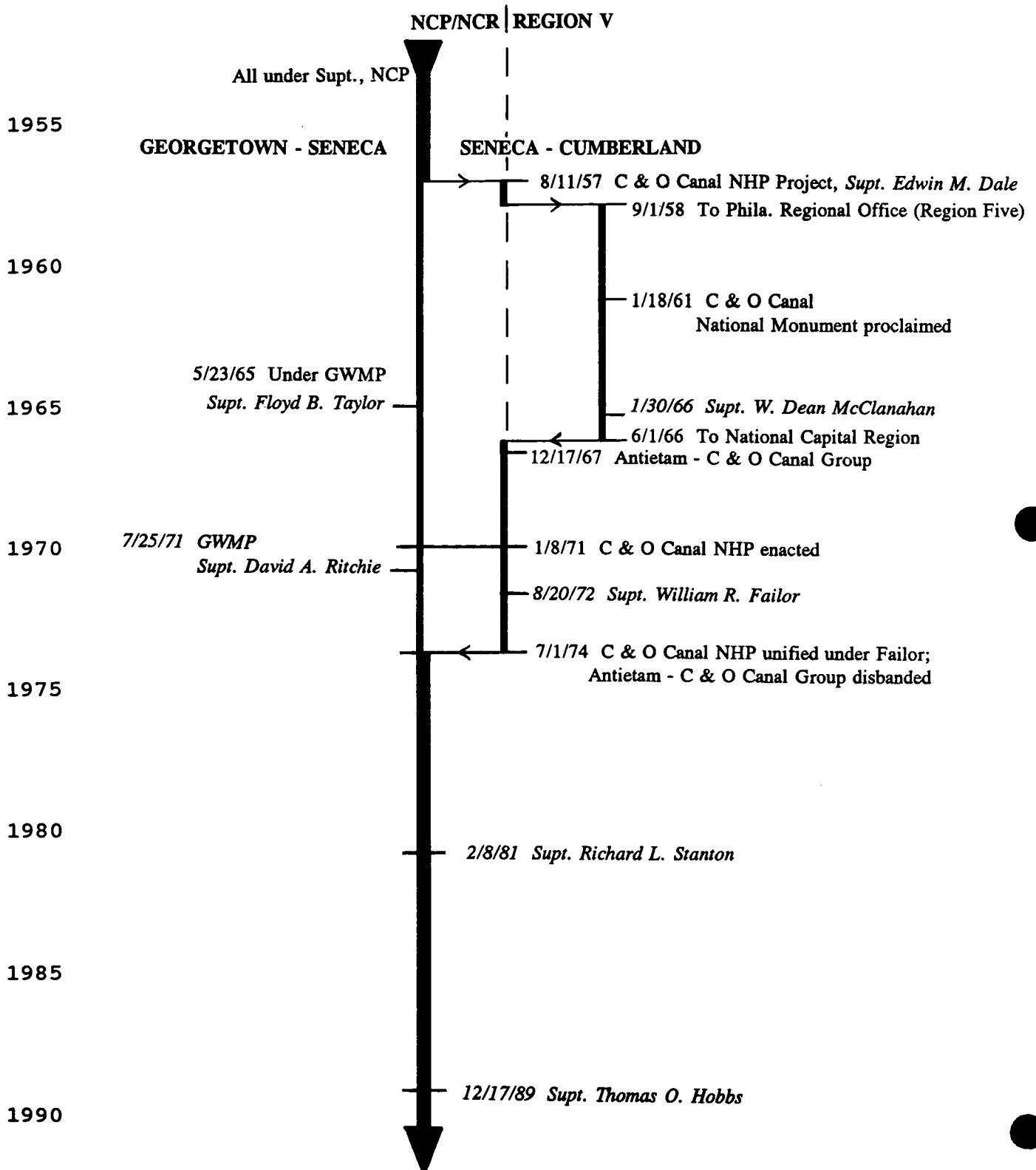
Appropriation
authorization.

Approved October 8, 1986.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 1766:

SENATE REPORTS: No. 99-340 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 132 (1986):
Aug. 1, considered and passed Senate.
Sept. 24, considered and passed House.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHRONOLOGY



PRINCIPAL PARK OFFICIALS

Superintendents

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| Edwin M. Dale | 8/57 - 12/65 |
| W. Dean McClanahan | 1/66 - 8/72 |
| William R. Failor | 8/72 - 1/81 |
| Richard L. Stanton | 2/81 - 8/89 |
| James D. Young (Acting) | 9/89 - 12/89 |
| Thomas O. Hobbs | 12/89 - |

GWMP superintendents over canal below Seneca

| | |
|------------------|-------------|
| Floyd B. Taylor | 5/65 - 6/71 |
| David A. Ritchie | 7/71 - 6/74 |

Assistant Superintendent

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| James D. Young | 1/77 - 7/91 |
|----------------|-------------|

Management Assistants

| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| Robert W. Bell | 8/70 - 10/71 |
| A. W. Anderson | 11/71 - 6/74 |

Administrative Officers

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| Robert Robertson | 1972 - 5/76 |
| James F. Beck | 10/76 - 8/81 |
| Linda Toms | 11/81 - 4/87 |
| Peggy Morris | 11/87 - 5/88 |
| Chris Streng | 10/88 - |

Chiefs of Maintenance

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| Dale B. Sipes | 1971 - 2/85 |
| Claude Caraway (Acting) | 2/85 - 6/85 |
| Dan Hostler (Acting) | 6/85 - 12/87 |
| Kenneth May | 1/88 - |

Chief Rangers

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Robert W. Bell | 7/62 - 8/70 |
| George Church | 10/70 - 12/73 |
| Harry A. DeLashmutt | 4/74 - 4/77 |
| Richard G. O'Guin | 7/77 - 8/82 |
| Harvey D. Sorenson (Acting) | 8/82 - 8/84 |
| Elaine D'Amico | 8/84 - 6/85 |

David Murphy
Michael Mastrangelo
Keith Whisenant

6/85 - 8/87
8/87 - 3/91
7/91 -

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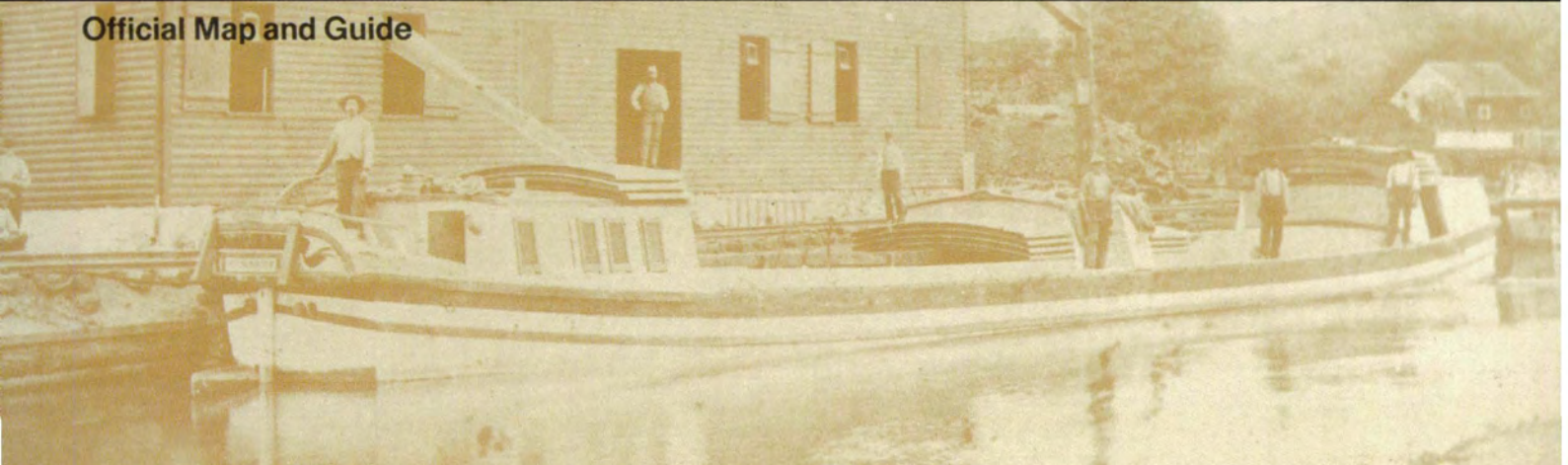
National Historical Park



Chesapeake and Ohio Canal

Washington, D.C./Maryland/West Virginia
National Park Service / U.S. Department of the Interior

Official Map and Guide



The C&O Canal started as a dream of passage to western wealth, operated as a conduit of eastern coal, suffered extensive and finally fatal flooding, and then resisted being paved as a highway. Today it endures as a national historical park—a pathway into history, nature, and recreation.

Information

Beside the Potomac River, the C&O Canal stretches from the mouth of Rock Creek in Georgetown to Cumberland, Maryland. Its 74 lift locks raise it from near sea level to an elevation of 605 feet at Cumberland. Its towpath today provides a nearly level byway for hikers and bicyclists. Its watered sections provide quiet waters for canoeists, boaters, and anglers.

The canal was proclaimed a national monument in 1961 and named a national historical park in 1971. Its 184.5-mile length preserves both history and nature. From tidewater at Georgetown in Washington, D.C., to Cumberland on the Allegheny Plateau, the canal winds through the Piedmont, past the dramatic Great Falls of the Potomac, and then through the ridge and valley section of the Appalachian Mountains. Its rich floodplain forests are gifts of the river's frequent floods.

The National Park Service operates information centers at Georgetown, Great Falls Tavern, Hancock, and Cumberland. For general information write: Superintendent, C&O Canal National Historical Park, Box 4, Sharpsburg, MD 21782, or phone (301) 739-4200. For information about the Georgetown to Seneca section, phone (301) 299-3613. For emergencies phone (301) 739-4206, or, from Georgetown to Seneca, (202) 619-7300.

Maps and books about the canal are sold at some information centers and by mail. For a free list write: Parks and History Association, P.O. Box 40929, Washington, DC 20016, or phone (202) 472-3083.

Canal Recreation

Ranger Programs and Museum Information about the walks and evening programs, conducted year-round, is available at information centers. A museum in the historic Great Falls Tavern includes an exhibit about the canal's operation.

Hiking and Bicycling The canal's towpath is an elevated trail 184.5 miles long. It was originally built 12 feet wide as a path for mules that pulled canal boats. Today it provides through-travel opportunities for hikers and bicyclists. Mile markers are posted.

Camping *Drive-in camping* areas (primitive facilities only, no group camping allowed) at McCoys Ferry, Fifteen Mile Creek, and Spring Gap operate on a first-come, first-served basis. *Group campgrounds* are found at the Marsden Tract, Antietam Creek, and adjacent to Fifteen Mile Creek. *Hiker-Biker overnight* campsites for tent camping occur approximately every five miles between Horsepen Branch and Evitts Creek. The Marsden Tract site requires a free permit. Obtain this from the park ranger at Great Falls Tavern (see address and phone number under "Great Falls Information" by smaller map). Camping is permitted in designated areas only.

Supplies Camping supplies, ice, food, and beverages can be bought at most stores along access roads. Water-pump handles are removed in winter, so water must be carried then.

Canoeing and Boating Canal canoeing and boating are popular in watered levels, or sections, between Georgetown and Violette's Lock. You must portage around each lock. Canoes can be rented at Swains Lock and at Fletcher's Boathouse (see map below). Above Violette's Lock only short, isolated stretches can be canoed—Big Pool, Little Pool, and a 4.5-mile section from Town Creek to Oldtown. Motorized craft are generally prohibited, except electric trolling motors are allowed at Big Pool.

River Canoeing and Boating Only experienced canoeists should attempt to canoe on the Potomac River. Obtain canoeing information at Great Falls Tavern. For safety, canoeing is discouraged in these areas: Little Falls to Chain Bridge; Great Falls of the Potomac; and between Dam 3 and the U.S. 340 bridge downstream from Harpers Ferry. Boating in these areas is extremely hazardous and should not be attempted when water levels are high. All boating on the Potomac is subject to Maryland regulations; the river is not within the park. The National Park Service provides public access boat ramps—see maps.

Horse Use Horseback riding is permitted from Swains Lock to Cumberland. Horse parties are limited to five riders. No horses are permitted in the campgrounds or the hiker/biker campsites. Horse riders should contact park headquarters for complete regulations on overnight camping. Horses must be kept at least 50 feet from picnic areas and campgrounds. They are not permitted in the Paw Paw Tunnel.

Picnicking You may picnic anywhere along the canal, but fires are permitted only where fireplaces are provided.

Vehicles Prohibited All motor vehicles, including mopeds, motorcycles, snowmobiles, and horse-drawn vehicles, are prohibited on the towpath.

Safety and Management Swimming and wading are prohibited in the canal. River currents are strong, deceptive, and unpredictable. The Potomac River must be respected as extremely dangerous. Hunting and trapping are prohibited. Fishing is subject to Maryland or Washington, D.C., regulations.

Cover photo: Darby Mill, Williamsport, Md., about 1895.

Georgetown to Swains Lock

Georgetown Information The canal information center is in the Foundry Mall between 30th and Thomas Jefferson Streets; phone (202) 653-5844.

Great Falls Information The canal visitor center is in the Great Falls Tavern, 11710 MacArthur Blvd., Potomac, MD 20854; phone (301) 299-3613.

Boat Trips Relive the canal's heyday afloat under mulepower and lock through with a crew of costumed interpreters. Boats run at Georgetown and Great Falls from mid-April to mid-October. Tickets go on sale two hours before each trip. Reservations are taken for organized groups only. For Georgetown tickets, go to the canal information center (location above), or phone (202) 472-4376. For Great Falls, go to the tavern visitor center, or phone (301) 299-2026.

Rentals Rent canoes, boats, and bicycles at Thompson's Boat Center, (202) 333-9543; Fletcher's Boathouse, (202) 244-0461; or Swains Lock, (301) 299-9006.

Georgetown Georgetown predates creation of the Nation's Capital. It was an early, busy tidal port for the East Coast and Europe trades. The canal's tidelock lies at the mouth of Rock Creek, near the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Canal and towpath today thread a quaint commercial and residential area featuring fine restaurants and shops. In the canal's heyday Georgetown was a thriving industrial center.

Great Falls The Great Falls of the Potomac River attracted tourists from the canal's early days. The tavern, first built as a lockhouse, was expanded twice in its first four years. From Widewater—an earlier river channel—upstream to Great Falls the canal adjoins an exciting river landscape. Mather Gorge below Great Falls was carved by the falls. A trail system provides scenic but sometimes rugged hiking options. Ask at the tavern visitor center for directions to the Maryland Gold Mine. The visitor center exhibits show a lock model and canal era artifacts. A snack-bar at Great Falls is open April through October. No rentals.

