

**HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL NHP**

**9.
MANAGEMENT OF
MAINTENANCE
OPERATIONS ON
THE C & O CANAL
1830–1924**

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I. FIRST PROVISIONS FOR MANAGEMENT OF CANAL MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES: 1830

In November 1830 the first portion of the canal between Dams Nos. 1 and 2 was opened to navigation.¹ On October 1 the management of the operation and maintenance of this stretch of the canal, as well as the superintendence of the construction of the line between the tidelock at Georgetown and Dam No. 1 and between Seneca and Point of Rocks was divided into two residencies, each in the charge of an engineer.² The 1st Residency stretched from the eastern terminus of the waterway to Section No. 40 (about 2½ miles above Seneca) and the 2nd Residency covered the remainder of the canal to Section No. 84 at Point of Rocks. Thomas Purcell, the resident engineer of the 1st Residency, had his headquarters near Dam No. 2, while Daniel Van Slyke, the resident engineer of the 2nd Residency had his office near Aqueduct No. 2. In addition to his other duties, Van Slyke was named as the first superintendent of the canal with supervisory responsibility over all the newly-designated lock tenders between Dams Nos. 1 and 2.³

The responsibilities of the superintendent and the lock-keepers during the early period of navigation apparently were never formally spelled out. The only description of their duties appears in the form of an order in the *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors* on November 20, 1830:

That each Lock-Keeper be supplied with such tools as may be necessary for the preservation and repair of that portion of the Canal under his care: that receipts be taken from the Lock-Keepers for the tools delivered to them, to be filed with the Clerk of the Company; and that the Superintendent make monthly report to the Board of the condition of all such tools and the condition of the Lock-Keeper's houses and other property of the Company under his inspection: And it was further ordered, that an inventory be made of all tools etc. now belonging to the Company, from which to supply the Lock-Keepers as far as practicable.⁴

¹ *Second Annual Report* (1830), C & O Co., 32, and *Third Annual Report* (1831), C & O Co., 4–5.

² Benjamin Wright, the chief engineer of the canal company since its formation in 1828, resigned his position on October 1, primarily because the legal difficulties with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad would prevent active engineering operations above Point of Rocks for an indefinite period. His position was abolished and was replaced by the two residencies. As part of the reorganization, the former 1st and 2nd Residencies were combined into the new 1st Residency while the former 3rd, 4th and 5th Residencies were united into the new 2nd Residency. The reorganization was ordered by the board of directors as a means of reducing the engineering staff and company payroll costs pending a final resolution of the legal conflict with the railroad. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, B, 171–173.

³ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, B, 173–174.

⁴ *Ibid*, B, 225. While there is little information on the specific maintenance duties of the lock tenders, there is some indication that the navigable portion of the waterway was divided into “lock-keeper districts.” For instance, the directors on July 1, 1831, extended the “authority of the District Lock-keeper at Rushville” so “as to enable him to regulate under the authority of the Superintendent, at the levels between Locks Nos. 21 and 22.” *Ibid*, B, 397.

II: FIRST FORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDELINES FOR MANAGEMENT OF CANAL MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES: 1831

The absence of formally defined regulations for the navigation and the management of the line of the canal soon presented serious problems to Superintendent Van Slyke and the lock tenders. On April 2, 1831, Van Slyke reported to the directors on the chaotic state of operations on the waterway:

The canal has been so thronged with boats since the opening of the navigation on the 19th March last that it is with great difficulty we have been able to preserve order among the Boatmen, who in striving to push forward for a preference in passing the several locks are sometimes disposed to injure each others boats as a means of carrying their point....It would seem important that some rule be adopted by the Board to govern the Lock Keepers, so that the boats may pass the locks by turn as they arrive, as it frequently occurs that fifteen or twenty boats arrive at a lock within half an hour. Hence the contention for tight of preference, which I believe would be allayed if it was known that they must be permitted to pass only by turn as they arrive.⁵

After discussing the remarks by Van Slyke, the directors on May 6 authorized President Charles F. Mercer “to prepare and cause to be published, a code of Regulations for the government of the lock-keepers, boat-men, packet owners and others having business on the Canal.”⁶ On July 16 the board amended and approved the “Regulations for Navigating the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal,” the “Rules for the Collection of Tolls on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal,” and the “Distribution of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal for the Purposes of Navigation, Inspection, and Repairs, into Lock-keepers Districts,” all of which Mercer had submitted.⁷ The latter set of regulations not only defined the location of the lock-tenders’ districts but it also provided the first formally-written description of their duties as follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL, FOR THE PURPOSES OF NAVIGATION, INSPECTION, AND REPAIRS, INTO LOCK KEEPERS DISTRICTS.

The first Lock-keeper’s District shall extend from the eastern termination of the Canal in Washington, to the waste weir next above the old locks at the Little Falls of Potomac, and shall include the basin between Georgetown and Washington, as well as those locks.

The second Lock-keeper’s District shall extend from the first, as high up as to include the waste weir next above the United States powder magazine, and shall also include the dam and feeder at the Little Falls.

The third Lock-keeper’s District shall extend from the second, to the lower end of the external slope of protection wall next above the culvert over Cabin John Run.

The fourth Lock-keeper’s District shall extend from the third district, to the first culvert above his dwelling house.

The fifth Lock-keeper’s District shall extend from the fourth, to the waste weir through the berm of the canal next below the entrance of the Rocky Run Feeder.

⁵ Van Slyke to Mercer, April 2, 1831, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

⁶ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, B, 314.

⁷ *Ibid*, B, 410–428.

The sixth Lock-keeper's District shall extend from the fifth, to the lower end of the first high vertical protection wall above, and shall embrace Rock Run Dam and Feeder.

The seventh Lock-keeper's District shall extend from the sixth to the lower end of the first external slope or protection wall above the Great Falls of Potomac.

The eighth Lock-keeper's District shall extend from the seventh, to the first high bluff above the culvert over Watt's branch.

The ninth Lock-keeper's District shall extend from the eighth, to the lower end of the first external slope or protection wall above the culvert over Muddy Branch.

The tenth Lock-keeper's District shall extend from the ninth, to the upper end of the external slope or protection wall next above the Seneca Aqueduct.

The Lock-keeper of the First District will have charge of the Tide lock, the four lift locks next above the same, and the locks at the Little Falls, with three assistants, one of whom shall live at the lock house near the old locks and attend the same.

The Lock-keeper of the second District will have charge of two locks, with one assistant, who shall live at the lock house, which he himself does not occupy.

The Lock-keeper of the fifth District will have charge of three locks, with one assistant, who shall live at the lock house which he himself does not occupy.

The Lock-keeper of the sixth District will have charge of three locks, with one assistant.

The Lock-keeper of the seventh District will have charge of six locks, with two assistants, one of whom shall live at the lowest lock house on the District, and the other at the lock house next to his own.

The Lock-keeper of the tenth District will have charge of the Seneca Guard, and two lift locks, and be required to keep one assistant till the Canal above Seneca be brought into use, and after that, two assistants; one of whom shall live at the lock house near the Seneca Aqueduct.

The Several District Lock-keepers, and their assistants, will have charge of all the Company's works and property of every description within, or appertaining to the part of the Canal within their respective districts, and will be held responsible for the due care and preservation thereof, from all damages, trespasses, and injuries, and for keeping in order the grounds, fences, &c. about their locks and houses.

The District lock-keepers will appoint, and pay their own assistants; they will themselves be appointed by the President of the Company, on his nomination, approved by the Board of Directors, and will be removable at his discretion, or that of any two Directors of the Board, in the absence of the President.

All orders will be given them, either by, or through the President of the Company, the Superintendent of repairs, or some equally authorized officer, or engineer of the Company, and they will be held responsible for the prompt, diligent, and faithful execution thereof.

Their ordinary standing duties will be as follows:

To attend constantly and diligently by day and night, to the filling and emptying of the lock or locks, within their respective districts, and the passage of all boats or floats, through the same, according the general regulations of the President and Directors, and to such further or particular instructions as they may hereafter receive, in relation thereto.

They shall never absent themselves from their districts, but by special leave of the President of the Company, or of the Superintendent of repairs, except in cases of unavoidable necessity and in cases of this description they shall always leave some safe and trusty substitute to supply their places until their return.

The District Lock-keepers, are constituted inspectors of the Canal, and its various appurtenances, and of the Company's grounds and property within their respective districts. As such, they are required personally to examine or ascertain, by their assistants, the actual condition of all the works and property of the Company within their respective districts, once at least in every week; and when practicable, once at least every other day. In doing so, they shall carefully examine the several locks, aqueducts, culverts, waste weirs, bridges, dams, embankments, slopes, and walls committed to their care; and once every month they shall report in writing, to the Board, through the Superintendent of repairs, the condition of the same, and the number of visits they have made; if any damage or injury has been sustained by any of the said works since the last monthly report, the nature, extent, and scope thereof, and of any to be apprehended, the grounds of such apprehension.

If a District Lock-keeper shall, at any time, discover, that any of the works on the Canal, within his district, are out of repair, he shall immediately report the fact in person or by express, which, for that purpose, he is authorized to hire, to the Superintendent of repairs, and if from the nature of the repairs required, or of the damage apprehended, time be not allowed without farther injury to the Canal or its appurtenances, to wait the orders of the Superintendent, the Lock-keeper shall consider himself empowered, and he is required, at the cost of the Company, to take immediate steps, in the absence of the Superintendent, to repair the injury which has happened, or to prevent that which is apprehended. Of all expenses so incurred by him, for the benefit of the Company, he shall keep a fair account, a copy of which, he shall hand over to the Superintendent, as soon as his presence shall enable him to take charge of such repairs, the Superintendent shall repay to the Lock-keeper, the sums so expended. All such accounts shall be settled as soon as practicable, after they arise, and, at least, once in every month.

No Lock-keeper shall be entitled to receive his monthly pay, who shall have an unsettled account with the Company.

The District Lock-keepers shall be bound, if required, to provide by themselves, or their assistants, accommodation and subsistence, at a reasonable rate, not to exceed a given sum per week, for the Superintendent, and such hands or laborers as may be engaged in such repairs, or on any improvements upon, or alterations of the Canal.

Each Lock-keeper and Lock-keeper's assistant shall be furnished with 2 wheel-borrows, 3 shovels, a pick and a crow-bar, to be used in the improvement and repair of the Canal, whensoever required, and shall be held responsible for the good order and safe keeping of the same; and each District Lock-keeper, in his monthly return to the board, shall state the number and condition of the tools within his District.

In addition to his monthly pay, each District Lock-keeper, shall be entitled to an enclosed lot, near his house.

Every Lock-keeper shall be at liberty, subject to the restraints and regulations of the existing laws, to accommodate the boatmen, and other travelers at his lock house, provided that under no circumstances whatever, shall any Lock-keeper, or his assistant, be allowed to sell or to supply on any terms, to any boatmen, traveler, or other person, any spirituous, or intoxicating liquor, or to allow the use or consumption of any such liquor within or upon his premises, unless particularly authorized so to do by the President and Directors of the Company; and for any violation of this rule, the offender shall be immediately discharged from the service of the Company.

In like manner any District or Assistant Lock-keeper, who shall at any time be found in a state of intoxication, shall be forthwith discharged.

Every District Lock-keeper, and his assistant, shall afford to the boatmen and all other persons navigating the canal, every aid and accommodation in his power, while he duly enforces the regulations for the protection of the Canal and its works—he shall instruct the boatmen how to navigate the Canal, to the best advantage, and especially to what part of their boat they should attach their tow or tracking line; how to track it with most comfort to themselves, and especially the manner of entering and passing out of the locks, and the use of their bow and stern strapping or snubbing ropes.

Every District Lock-keeper having reason to suspect a boat or float to have increased her cargo subsequent to the date of her waybill, is authorized to call upon the owner, master, or other person having charge of said boat or float for a sight of his waybill, to compare with the actual cargo of such boat, and if any augmentation of such cargo shall appear to have been made, subsequently to the date of the permit or waybill, to endorse a notice hereof, on such waybill, for the information of the Collector, and the other Lock-keepers.

All boats or floats left by their owners, or such persons as may have had charge thereof, either sunk in the canal or loosely floating thereupon, and all floating logs, planks or branches of trees, as well as other nuisances within the Canal, the Lock-keeper of the district within which the same may be, shall promptly cause to be removed or abated.

Every District Lock-keeper is required to pay particular attention to the orders regulating the height of water in the several levels between the locks of his district; and the Lock-keepers of the eighth and ninth districts, may be required to receive their orders through the Lock-keepers of the seventh or of the tenth district; and in like manner those of the second, third, and fourth, through the Lock-keepers of the first or fifth district.

In all cases, where practicable, the various levels shall be regulated by the use of the wastes and feeders of the Canal, reserving the side culverts and paddle gates of the locks for their appropriate use – that of filling and emptying the locks when required by the passage of boats.

Each District Lock-keeper shall see that obvious and suitable marks, by description stones or boards, be kept up, above and below each lock, to denote where a boat approaching the same, shall slacken its speed or await its turn for entering the Lock, if other boats have a right to precede it.

No Lock-keeper is authorized to practice himself, or to countenance others, in resisting, by violence, except in self-defense, any outrageous or disorderly conduct on the canal, but he shall take, at the cost of the Company, prompt measures to suppress and punish the same, by the judicial tribunals having cognizance thereof.⁸

Although there was no mention of repair work crews in the company regulations, such laborers were hired on an “as-needed basis” and placed under the direction of the superintendent. One of the earliest extant payrolls in the canal company records indicates that during the period from February 1 to March 1, 1832, 137 laborers were making improvements and repairing breaches, embankments and culverts on the navigable portion of the canal preparatory to its opening for boats in the spring. The number of days worked by the men varied from 1 to 26¼ days during that month at wages varying between 25 cents and \$1 a day. Some 233½ “man-days” of work were performed by the hands boarded by the company on its “boarding-house” boat. The men who

⁸ *Ibid*, B, 422 - 428. On July 22, 1831, the canal from Dam No. 1 to Dam No. 2 was declared “open and free for trade and passing, subject to the Regulations of the Company.” Water was not admitted into the canal all the way to the Georgetown tidelock until September 19, 1831. *Ibid*, B, 432, C, 5.

were boarded at the expense of the company received 40 cents or less per day, while the remainder of the men who supplied their own board and lodging were paid 65 cents or more per day.⁹

On March 24 Superintendent James C. Lackland, who had replaced the sickly Van Slyke on July 1, 1831, was authorized by the directors to perform two duties to upgrade the effectiveness of the regular maintenance activities on the canal. The two assignments were as follows:

That the Superintendent do examine the several lock-keepers with a view to ascertain those that are acquainted with the extent of their respective districts and the various duties required of them, by the printed or other regulations, and orders of the President and Directors; and that he report to the President of the Company, the name of every lock-keeper, whom he shall find, upon examination, to be ignorant of his duty or in any way negligent or remiss in its performance; that he especially instruct the said lock-keepers to inspect, as required, the embankments on both sides of the Canal, within their respective districts in order to ascertain whether any leak exists or is threatened in any part thereof; whether any muskrats have made lodgments therein, and if any, the entrance of their habitations; and that he instruct them in their daily or weekly inspections, and take special care in his own, to pass thro' the several viaducts or culverts of the canal within their district and under his superintendence . . . or . . . by looking thro' the same, whether any leak exists thereon, and that, where any such leaks are discovered, they be promptly stopped, or effectual measures be taken to prevent their enlargement.. . .

That a reward of 25 cents be paid by the superintendent, and charged by him in his periodical settlement of accounts, for every muskrat, which he shall have satisfactory evidence has been killed on the Canal, in the embankments thereof or on the river side adjacent thereto.¹⁰

Preventive maintenance became an issue in June 1833 when the board ordered Superintendent William H. Bryan to inform the lock-keepers that they were to enforce rigidly the regulations prohibiting the navigation of iron-pointed scows and the use of iron-pointed poles.¹¹ In the future, each tender would be responsible for the damage done to his locks by such boats and poles unless it could be proven that an effort had been made to enforce the regulations or that violations had been reported immediately to the Collector at Georgetown. Unless such efforts could be proven, the cost of repairs to the locks could be deducted from the monthly wages of the lock-keepers. To give effect to this provision, the superintendent was directed to certify that the locks were in good order each month before the tenders were paid.¹²

⁹ *Miscellaneous Accounts and Other Records Concerning Construction and Maintenance, 1828–1882*, C & O Co. There is no documentary information on the “boarding House” boat. However, the board purchased the *Lafayette* from Charles Embrey of Williamsport for \$300 in January 1833. The *Lafayette* was fitted for the accommodation of hands employed by the canal superintendent. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, C, 263–264, 278.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, B, 393, 454, C, 111–112. A similar effort to pay bounties for muskrats killed along the canal was revived for a short period in 1870.

¹¹ On June 1, 1832m John Y. Young was appointed as superintendent of the canal at a salary of \$750 per year in place of Lackland who was retiring because of ill health. Sometime early in 1833, William H. Bryan superseded Young as superintendent. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, C, 139, 154, 357.

¹² *Ibid.*, C, 368–369, 392. Later in June 1836, the board directed the superintendent to notify the lock tenders that they would be held responsible for all damages to their districts which resulted from the neglect of duty. *Ibid.*, E, 69.

III. ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW MANAGEMENT DIVISIONS TO ACCOMMODATE WESTWARD EXPANSION OF CANAL: 1833–1839.

In October 1833 the board took steps to provide for the supervision of the new section of the Canal between Dams Nos. 2 and 3 which was to be watered later in the month. Charles B. Fisk, who had been employed as an engineer on the waterway since September 30, 1828, was appointed as the superintendent for the division at a salary of \$500 in addition to his pay as an engineer.¹³

The years between 1834 and 1835 witnessed significant progress in the construction of the waterway and the consequent realignment of management responsibilities for the maintenance of the canal. After Tidelock B was completed in September 1834, the First Lock-Keeper's District was extended to include the entire portion of the canal works from that lock the Little Falls. This stretch of the canal was placed under the responsibility of the tender at Locks Nos. 1–4 who was also serving as the Collector of Tolls at Georgetown. He was to employ assistant lock tenders to operate the locks and to make the necessary inspections and repairs of the line.¹⁴

In December 1834 the canal between Dams Nos. 3 and 4 was completed and watered. To provide for the supervision of this line of the canal the board extended the authority of Fisk's superintendence to include the newly-opened portions. His first duties were to appoint temporary lock-keepers and to erect shanties in which they could live.¹⁵

The canal between Dams Nos. 4 and 5 was opened to navigation by early July 1835 when the board of directors proceeded up the canal in their iron Opacket to examine the status of the completed and projected portions of the waterway. While they were in Williamsport on July 13, the directors appointed George W. Rodgers as the assistant engineer and superintendent of the canal from Harpers Ferry to Dam No. 5 at a salary of \$1,000 per year. At the same time, the portion of the canal below Dam No. 3 was divided into two superintendencies. John Y. Young was to oversee the waterway from Georgetown to Edwards Ferry, while William S. Elgin was to be responsible for the line between Edwards ferry and Dam No. 3.¹⁶

In April 1839 the section of the canal between Dams Nos. 5 and 6 was completed and watered. This section of the waterway was established as the fourth division with John G. Stone as superintendent. At this time new salary scales were adopted whereby Young and Elgin received an annual salary of \$1,000 while Rogers and Stone were paid \$1,200.¹⁷

¹³ *Ibid*, C, 436, D, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, D, 181.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, D, 199.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, D, 366, E, 161.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, F, 38, and *Twelfth Annual Report* (1840), C & O Co., 38–39. In April 1837 Fisk had been promoted to Chief Engineer with supervisory responsibilities over both the construction engineers and the division superintendents.

IV. POLITICAL INFLUENCE AND THE MANAGEMENT
OF CANAL MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES: 1840–1841

A disputed contest in Maryland state politics erupted in 1837 and 1838 between the rising Democrats and the entrenched Whig coalition that had been in power, with a few exceptions, for many years. The political unrest resulted in constitutional amendments providing for the popular election of the governor and the Senate and abolition of the Governor's Council. The electoral reforms paved the way for the election of William Grason as the first Democratic governor in 1838. The momentum gained by the Democrats in his election enabled them to win a majority in the House of Delegates the following year.¹⁸

The new Grason administration in Annapolis soon took steps to apply the Jacksonian-inspired spoils system to the operation of the canal. In the first large turnover of company employees, many long-time and reliable Whig-appointed officials were dismissed or voluntarily retired under pressure and were replaced by generally less-experienced and more politically motivated Democrats. In June 1839, the respected George C. Washington, who had been president of the company since 1834 and had done much to promote additional subscriptions to canal stock by the state legislature, was replaced by Francis Thomas, Jr., who had been a Democratic Congressman since 1831 from Frederick County and was destined to succeed Grason as governor of the State in 1841.¹⁹ Following an abortive attempt to move the company headquarters to Baltimore in June 1839, the board of directors ordered its removal to Frederick in June 1840.²⁰ Among the canal officials who were fired or resigned between May and November 1840 were the following:

- May 7—Joseph Hollman replaces John G. Stone as Superintendent of 4th Division.
- May 7—William Mathews replaces William H. Bryan as Commissioner.
- July 9—John D. Grove replaces George W. Rodgers as Superintendent of 3rd Division.
- July 9—John P. Ingle resigns as Clerk and is replaced by Thomas Turner.
- Sep. 17—William O'Neale replaces William S. Elgin as Superintendent of 2nd Division.
- Sep. 26—Chief Engineer and Principal Assistant Engineer positions combined and filled by Ellwood Morris; Charles B. Fisk fired.
- Nov. 14—Samuel Lyles replaces Robert Barnard as Treasurer and Accountant.
- Nov. 14—Edward Shriver replaces Thomas Fillebroun, Jr., as Assistant Clerk.
- Nov. 14—Ezra Houck appointed Collector General to supervise all toll collectors.²¹

The wholesale changes attracted considerable public notice as the ousted officials carried into the newspapers their opposition to the directorate and other observers expressed their opinions on the separations. In commenting on the resignation of Clerk John P. Ingle, the *National Intelligencer* observed:

¹⁸ Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974), 279–280.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Stockholders*, E, 347–348; *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 75–76; *Niles' Register*, (LVIII (July 4, 1840), 278–281; and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1971* (Washington, 1971), 1805, 1886. Under the direction of Thomas, it was determined to continue construction of the hard-pressed waterway on the basis of the unrestricted issuance of scrip. The decision was highly unpopular with the fiscal conservatism of the Whig-appointed officials and thus played a role in some of the resignations.

²⁰ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 76, 82, 234.

²¹ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 246–247, 256–257, 259–260, and Ingle to Stone, May 7, 1840, Ingle to Bryan, May 7, 1840, Turner to Schnebly, August 12, 1840, and Turner to Elgin and to O'Neale, September 17, 1840, Ltrs. Sent, C & O Co.

The company will miss the services of Mr. Ingle much, especially if it is intended, as some suppose, to force also the other experienced officers of the company out of its service.²²

After the Whigs won a majority of seats in the House of Delegates in the 1840 elections, the new legislature demanded explanations of the canal board's conduct of company affairs.²³ Following the release of a report by President Thomas to Governor Grason in which it was admitted that some canal officials had been removed for "political opinion's sake," the stockholders met on April 2, 1841, to oust the directorate. A special stockholder's committee reported that from all available evidence it was:

satisfied that very valuable and faithful officers have been removed from the service of the Company, and, in some cases, men not competent to perform the duties have been appointed in their places, to the serious injury of the best interests of the Company.²⁴

As the controlling stockholder, the State of Maryland on April 2 replaced the Thomas-led board with a predominantly Whig directorate headed by Michael S. Sprigg who had held a variety of company offices in previous years.²⁵ The new board proceeded to reinstate as many of the old officials as were still available and to reform canal affairs. Among the returning officials were William S. Elgin, George W. Rodgers, and John C. Stone as Superintendents of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Divisions, respectively, and Charles B. Fisk as Chief Engineer, along with ten of his former assistants.²⁶ A resolution was adopted forbidding company officials from interfering in politics, and a copy of the resolution was sent to every one of the nearly 60 permanent canal employees.²⁷

²² Washington *National Intelligencer* quoted in *Niles' Register*, LVIII (July 18, 1840), 308.

²³ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 279, 284.

²⁴ *Proceedings of the Stockholders*, B, 417–419.

²⁵ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 301–302.

²⁶ Turner to O'Neale, Elgin, Hollman, Stone, Grove, and Rodgers, April 15, 1841, Ltrs. Sent, C & O Co. and Morris to Sprigg, April 7, 1841, and Fisk to President and Directors, April 29, 1841, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

²⁷ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 315.

V. FLUCTUATIONS IN MANAGEMENT OF CANAL MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES DUE TO DESPERATE COMPANY FINANCES: 1842–1850

By 1842 the financial condition of the canal company was desperate and construction between Dam No. 6 and Cumberland had come to a halt.²⁸ Accordingly, steps were taken to reduce the number of canal employees and management positions and the company's overhead costs to operate and maintain the waterway. One scheme that was attempted in December 1842 by Superintendent Young was in an effort to reduce repair costs on the 1st Division was that of contracting for the hire of Negro slave work gangs.²⁹ In June 1843 the board of directors instructed Young to reside at Seneca and to function as the tender at Lock No. 23 and Guard Lock No. 2 in addition to his supervisory duties.³⁰

Upon the recommendation of Chief Engineer Fisk, the board of directors on May 25, 1844, reduced the number of divisions on the navigable portion of the canal from four to three. The new divisional alignment was as follows:

- 1st Division—Eastern terminus to Edwards Ferry River Lock—32 miles—John Y. Young, Superintendent
- 2nd Division—Lock No. 25 to 500 feet above head of Guard Lock No. 4—54.8 miles—William S. Elgin, Superintendent.
- 3rd Division—Point 500 feet above head of Guard Lock No. 4 to current western terminus at Dam No. 6—48.5 miles—John G. Stone, Superintendent.

The superintendents, each of whom received an annual salary of \$800, were directly responsible for the supervision of the collectors, lock tenders and repair crews on their divisions.³¹

Another reduction in the number of divisions was made in June 1845 following the resignation of Superintendent Young. At first, the directors agreed to reduce the length of the 1st Division only to cover the distance from the eastern terminus to and including the Little Falls Feeder and Guard Lock No. 1. John Moore, the newly appointed superintendent of this division, would receive \$60 per year. The canal from Guard Lock No. 1 to the Edwards Ferry River Lock would be added to the 2nd Division under Elgin for which increased responsibility he would receive an additional annual stipend of \$300. When Moore declined the offered position "at the compensation fixed," the entire 1st and 2nd Divisions were combined under Elgin for which service he was to be paid \$1,200 per year.³² This arrangement, according to the report of President James M. Coale, reduced the operating expenses of the waterway and provided for more "efficient attention to the canal and its works."³³

A special committee of the stockholders issued a report in July 1846 on the inadequacies of the system of managing the operation and maintenance of the canal. Recently, there had been numerous complaints about the incompetency and neglect of some of the lock-keepers that was contributing to the detention of trade and the necessity for costly repairs at various places. The committee conceded that the 135-mile length of the canal was difficult to supervise. It noted the widely-held belief that many grievances were kept quiet because the local people tended to frown on informers. As the board was far away from the canal and only met monthly, the investigations

²⁸ *Niles' Register*, LVX (September 9, 1843), 19 and *Ibid*, LXII (March 26, 1842), 52.

²⁹ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, F, 513.

³⁰ *Ibid*, G, 44. At the same time, Superintendent George W. Rodgers was ordered to reside in Williamsport "or at some other more central part of his division, but upon the line of the canal."

³¹ *Ibid*, G, 165 and *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1845), C & O Co., 9–10.

³² *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, G, 244–245, 249.

³³ *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1845), 4.

of reported problems often took place long after the fact and allowed the tender to cover their actions. Moreover, the lock-keepers generally refused to cooperate with or respect the superintendents who had little authority to enforce their orders. To alleviate these problems, the committee recommended that the tenders be made directly responsible to the superintendents who would in turn be held accountable for all negligence and dereliction of duty. The number of divisional superintendents should be increased to three, and they should be placed under the direction of the chief engineer who would assume the title of general superintendent.³⁴

Some portions of the committee's report were adopted by the board in December 1846 when Chief Engineer Fisk was ordered to lay the canal out into three divisions. In February 1847 the directors approved Fisk's divisional boundaries as follows:

1st Division—Tidelock B at the mouth of Tyber Creek in Washington to and including the Dam No. 2 complex.

2nd Division—Dam No. 2 complex to near and above Guard Lock No. 4.

3rd Division—Near and above Guard Lock No. 4 to Dam No. 6.

John Lambie, a highly-recommended citizen of Washington County was appointed as Superintendent of the 1st Division at an annual salary of \$700, while Elgin and Stone were retained on the 2nd and 3rd Divisions, respectively, each at annual salaries of \$900.³⁵

President Coale explained the recent changes in canal management to the stockholders in June 1847 by observing:

The past year...has been one of peculiar trial to the Company and of labor and anxiety to the subordinate officers on the several divisions of the line. In no former year in the recollection of any one connected with the Company have so many freshets occurred and of such general magnitude. Admonished by its results, and with a view of guarding the Canal against injury by every reasonable precaution which it is in our power to provide, the Board...laid off the line into three divisions, in such a manner as in their opinion would be best calculated to insure the utmost amount of personal supervision on the part of the Superintendents. . .³⁶

³⁴ *Proceedings of the Stockholders*, C, 592–594.

³⁵ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, G, 475–477, H, 1–2. In August 1847 the company headquarters was moved back to Frederick from Cumberland where it had been located for several years. This more central location would be more convenient and accessible to all portions of the navigable portion of the canal, and thus would provide for more efficient management of the line. *Ibid*, H, 18–19, 67, 69.

³⁶ *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1847), C & O Co., 6–7.

VI. ADOPTION OF NEW BY-LAWS AND ORGANIZATIONAL ALIGNMENT TO MANAGE MAINTENANCE ON THE COMPLETED CANAL: 1850–1851

The construction of the canal between Dam No. 6 and Cumberland was completed in the fall of 1850. On October 10 festive ceremonies were held at Cumberland to formally open trade on the waterway to that city. From that date until the winter weather closed the canal to navigation for the season, the recently-completed portion of the waterway was designated as the 4th Division. Fifteen tenders were appointed to operate the locks on the division, but no superintendent was named.³⁷

In November 1850 the board of directors adopted a six-division alignment for the “superintendence of the repairs” which was to take effect on January 1, 1851. The names and boundaries of the divisions, which were laid out by Chief Engineer Fisk, were as follows:

- 1st—Georgetown Division—Eastern terminus to Seneca Feeder, inclusive.
- 2nd—Monocacy Division—Above Seneca Feeder to Dam No. 3 Feeder, inclusive.
- 3rd—Antietam Division—Above Dam No. 3 Feeder to point 500 feet above Guard Lock No. 4.
- 4th—Williamsport Division—Point 500 feet above Guard Lock No. 4 to first stop lock below Licking Creek.
- 5th—Hancock Division—Above first stop lock below Licking Creek to Lock No. 59.
- 6th—Cumberland Division—Above Lock No. 59 to western terminus at Cumberland.³⁸

On April 1, 1851, new “by-laws, rules, and regulations” for the officers of the company were put into effect by the board. According to the by-laws, the officers connected with the management and preservation of the canal and the collection of tolls were as follows:

- 1. General Superintendent
- 2. Superintendent of Repairs
- 3. Lock-keepers
- 4. Collectors
- 5. Acting Collectors
- 6. Inspectors

The by-laws included general regulations and position descriptions for the officers which remained in effect with slight modifications until 1889 when the canal went into a receivership:

GENERAL REGULATIONS

103. They shall give their personal and constant attention to the duties of their respective offices, and shall not be directly or indirectly concerned in any store, shop, or other trading establishment for the purchase or sale of spirits, produce, merchandise, or property of any description, on or near the line of the Canal, or have directly or indirectly an interest

³⁷ *Report to the Stockholders on the Completion of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal to Cumberland* (Frederick, 1851), 140.

³⁸ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, H, 391–391. Later, the following individuals were named as the division superintendents: John Lambie, Georgetown; William S. Elgin, Monocacy; Levin Benton, Antietam; John G. Stone, Williamsport; Overton G. Lowe, Hancock; and Henry M. Dungan, Cumberland.

in any boat running upon the Canal, or have any other employment or occupation without the special permission of the President and Directors; under the penalty of being dismissed from service.

104. It shall be their duty to preserve and take care of all books, papers, vouchers, maps, documents, instruments, tools, and other property of the Company, which may come into their possession; and every such officer or agent, leaving the service of the Company, shall surrender up and deliver over to his successor, or other person duly authorized to receive the same, all the books, papers, vouchers, maps, documents and instruments pertaining to his office and all other things whatever, the property of the Company, which may be in his control.

105. No officer of the Canal shall either directly or indirectly be interested in any contract for labor, materials, provisions, implements, or other thing connected with the construction, improvements, repairs or expenses of the Canal or its appurtenant works; and no officer shall either directly or indirectly derive any benefit from the annual expenditures on the Canal beyond his established compensation.

GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

106. The General Superintendent shall have the general management and direction of all repairs and improvements of the Canal, that may, that from time to time, be required. He shall give general directions and instructions to the Superintendents of repairs, in regard to the manner of making and carrying on the ordinary repairs, and special directions and instructions in regard to all those not of an ordinary character, and in regard to all improvements.

107. He shall, so far as practicable, personally examine all breaches,—particularly those that will take more than one week for their repair,—and shall give special directions and instructions to the Superintendents of repairs in regard to the manner in which they shall be repaired.

108. He shall, as often as practicable, examine the accounts of the Superintendents of repairs, to ascertain whether economy is observed in the doing of the work entrusted to their management; and may, if he think it advisable, at any time, require that their accounts and vouchers for disbursements shall be transmitted through him, to the Canal office.

109. He may, if he think it advisable, require that all reports and returns made by any or all of the Superintendents of repairs to the office of the Company, shall be transmitted through him; and in like manner that all communications to them, from the office of the Company, shall be transmitted through him.

110. He may, if he deem it necessary, suspend any Superintendent or Lock-keeper and fill the vacancy thereby created, until the next meeting of the President and Directors, at which time, he shall report to the said President and Directors, such suspension and temporary appointment, with his reasons therefore and the facts of the case.

111. In the case of the death, resignation or removal of any Superintendent or Lock-keeper, he shall nominate for appointment by the President and Directors, some suitable person to fill the vacancy; and, if he deem it necessary, may temporarily fill the vacancy until such appointment is made.

112. He shall personally inspect and examine the Canal and all its structures, every six months, and, also, after any high fresh in the Potomac that does serious injury to the Canal; and shall, after every such inspection and examination, make a full report thereof to the President and Directors.

113. He shall, in his semi-annual reports, required by the last regulation, sum up and classify the expenses and cost of maintenance of the Canal, during the six months next preceding, shall give a condensed account of the operations in his department since the last preceding semi-annual report, and shall recommend whatever he may think necessary to promote the interest of the Company so far as it is dependent upon the condition in which the Canal is kept.

114. He shall, from time to time, make such other reports, and shall perform such other duties as the President and Directors may require and prescribe.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF REPAIRS

115. It shall be the duty of each Superintendent of repairs, under general or special directions and instructions from the General Superintendent, to superintend and direct the repairs and improvements of the Canal on his division, and to do every thing in his power to preserve said Canal, and the works connected therewith, from injury, and to keep them in a good state and condition; for which purpose he shall be allowed such bosses or foremen, removable at his pleasure, each with such force of laborers, and governed by such regulations, as the General Superintendent may prescribe; and he is particularly charged with the duty of seeing that the bosses or foremen and laborers under his charge shall be diligent and faithful in the performance of their respective duties to the Company.

116. He shall have charge of all the boats, horses, tools, implements, and other personal property of the Company on his division, and shall cause all such property, not in use, to be kept in a place of safety; and at the close of each quarter shall return, through the General Superintendent, to the office of the Company, to be placed on file, an inventory of all such property under his charge.

117. He shall purchase, under such regulations as the General Superintendent may deem proper and prescribe, provisions, materials, implements and tools, needed for the execution and prosecution of the work under his charge.

118. He shall visit the whole length of his division as often as the General Superintendent may require; and shall keep the General Superintendent constantly informed, of the state and condition of the line under his charge, and of all other matters under his superintendence; and at the close of each quarter, and oftener if required, he shall make report to the General Superintendent, of the state and condition of the Canal under his charge, and its appurtenant works, as also of the houses and enclosures of the lock-keepers; including in such report what injuries the Canal has sustained since the last preceding report and the

cases thereof; what measures he may have taken or may think necessary to guard against similar injuries in future; what depredations or encroachments may have been committed on the Canal or its works or other property of the Company; and such other information as he may consider important to its interests.

119. On the occurrence, on his division, of any breach in the Canal, or other injury to its works, suspending the navigation, he shall immediately proceed to the same, remain thereat, and superintend the repairs thereof, until the navigation shall be restored. He shall, also, as soon as practicable, and from time to time as he may be able, report to the General Superintendent, in writing, the occurrence of such breach or injury, with the place, time, causes, extent, and descriptions thereof, the means adopted or proposed to be adopted by him for repairing the same, the time which will probably be occupied by such repairs, their probable cost, and all other information in his power relative to that subject, which may be useful or interesting. He shall also apprise the several Collectors of such breach or other injury, and of the time at which the navigation will probably be restored; and shall send similar information to the office of the Company.

120. He shall superintend and direct the Lock-keepers, on his division, in the performance of their duties, and report the misconduct of any Lock-keeper to the General Superintendent.

121. He shall by the 20th of each month send, in such form as shall be prescribed, through the General Superintendent, to the Clerk of the Company, an estimate of the probable amount of the expenses of the month, on his division, for repairs and maintenance of the Canal.

122. He shall, by the 20th of each month, send to the Treasurer of the Company, his account of payments for the preceding month accompanied by the requisite vouchers.

123. He shall, under no circumstances whatever, take a receipt for labor done, services performed, or materials, provisions, implements, or tools purchased for the Company, unless the money for the same shall have been actually paid.

124. He shall, by the 10th of each month, send to the Clerk of the Company, through the General Superintendent, a statement of the fines imposed on his division, during the preceding month. In this statement shall be fully and particularly given and set forth, in each case, the name or names of the person or persons on whom the fine was imposed; the nature of the offence; by whom the fine was imposed; and whether the same has been paid or not; and if the offence was committed by the owner or master of any boat or float, or by any person employed thereon or assisting in the management thereof, the name of such boat or float shall also be given.

125. He shall, at the close of each month, obtain from the acting Collectors on his division, and from such Collectors as he may be instructed to do, accurate returns of all way-bills and permits *issued* and *received* by them during the month,—also, the way-bills and permits *received*,—and shall transmit the said returns and the said way-bills and permits *received*, to the Clerk of the Company, by the 10th of the succeeding month.

126. The money that he shall receive under the 135th, 154th and 155th regulations, for fines imposed and tolls collected,—also that he may himself receive for fines imposed, shall be held in such manner or deposited in such place to the credit of the Company, as may be from time to time directed and prescribed.

127. The Superintendent of repairs shall perform such other duties in addition to those already enumerated, as the President and Directors or General Superintendent shall from time to time assign to them.

LOCK-KEEPERS

128. It shall be the duty of all lock-keepers to make a daily and particular inspection of the locks under their charge, and of any other works which they may be directed, by order of the General Superintendent or of the Superintendent of repairs on whose division they are, to attend to; and to prevent by all lawful means within their power, any injury to said locks or other works, from carelessness of boatmen or from malicious or disorderly persons.

129. They shall use their utmost exertions to keep the said locks or other works in the best possible order, and in case of any accident or injury to them, or to the Canal in the vicinity of their stations, requiring immediate attention, they shall take the necessary measures to remedy the same and to prevent further injury; and in the meantime to send the earliest intelligence thereof to the Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal.

130. It shall be their duty, at all hours, by night as well as by day, unless otherwise ordered by the General Superintendent or Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal, to pass all boats and floats presenting themselves at their locks, and entitled to pass the same under the regulations of the Company.

131. They shall not permit the boatmen to pass their boats or floats through any lock, except in the presence and under the direction of the keeper thereof or his assistant.

132. The Lock-keepers shall not absent themselves from their locks, on any occasion, without leave from the Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal. They shall reside in the houses provided for them, at their respective stations; and shall be charged with the care and preservation of their respective houses and of the enclosures attached thereto; and also any property of the Company that may be put in their keeping by the General Superintendent or the Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal; and for any injury to the said house or enclosures or the said property, if occasioned by their neglect or carelessness, they shall be, respectively, liable.

133. Lock-keepers, when repairs are making in the neighborhood of their locks, at points where, and at times when, there is difficulty in obtaining board and lodging for those persons employed upon such repairs, shall afford such accommodation, in the way of boarding and lodging, the whole or in part of the said persons, at fair and usual rates, as in the opinion of the Superintendent of repairs of that part of the Canal, he can reasonably and with propriety be asked and required to afford.

134. Although, under these regulations, the Lock-keepers are, in many cases, authorized to impose fines; yet, except in cases of emergency, it is desired that they should forthwith report each violation of a regulation to the Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal, with all the facts in the case, in order that the fine may be imposed by the said Superintendent; and that such other measures in relation to the said violation may be taken as in the judgment of the said Superintendent may be thought necessary.

135. All fines imposed by Lock-keepers shall be forthwith reported to the Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal; and all monies received by them for fines imposed by them shall be immediately paid over to the said Superintendent.

136. Any Lock-keeper who shall knowingly permit a boat to pass his lock in violation of any provision of these regulations; or who shall himself neglect or refuse to comply promptly, with any one of such of these regulations as prescribes his duties, either towards the Company or those engaged in boating on the Canal, shall be forthwith suspended from duty by the Superintendent of repairs on that part of the Canal, on his becoming cognizant of the facts; and a report of the case shall be immediately made to the General Superintendent, by the said Superintendent, for his action thereon; and in the meantime the said Superintendent may appoint some person to fill, temporarily, the vacancy thus created.

137. Every Lock-keeper shall perform such other duties connected with the Canal, as the General Superintendent may from time to time require of him.³⁹

In June 1851 the stockholders were informed about the early operation of the management of the canal under the new divisional alignment and the by-laws by President Sprigg as follows:

In conformity to the recommendation contained in a resolution passed at your last meeting, the board have appointed Charles B. Fisk, Esq., general superintendent of the canal, and has conferred upon him such authority over the subordinate officers on the line of the canal, as will, it is believed, give an efficient organization to this important branch of the service. In this connection, we would also state, that we have adopted a system of by-laws, rules, and regulations for the government, and prescribing the duties of the various officers connected with the management and preservation of the canal, and the collection of tolls. We have every reason to believe, as far as we can judge, from the short period which has elapsed since the by-laws of the company went into operation on the first of April last, that very beneficial results have, and will attend them; in the preservation of the works of the company, in securing a proper vigilance and subordination on the part of the officers on the line of the canal, and producing a degree of order and regularity on the part of those navigating the canal, which has heretofore not existed. . .⁴⁰

³⁹ *By-Laws, Rules, and Regulations; In Force on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, 1st April 1851* (Baltimore, 1894), 33–39. Since the duties of the collectors, acting collectors, and inspectors pertain more directly to the regulation of trade on the canal, their positions descriptions may be found in Chapter XII of this study.

⁴⁰ *Twenty-Third Annual Report* (1851), C & O Co., 3–4. In June 1851 it was determined to move the company headquarters from Frederick to the Washington City Hall. After the new office was established, the books and papers of the company were “simplified and arranged with such order and method, as have not before existed,” thus affording efficient reference to the affairs of the company and eliminating many of its earlier cumbersome management difficulties. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, H, 448–449, and *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report* (1852), C & O Co., 19.

VII. POLITICAL INFLUENCE DISRUPTS EFFICIENCY
OF MANAGEMENT OF CANAL MAINTENANCE: 1852–1867

Hard on the heels of the destruction wrought by the April 1852 flood there was an equally devastating assault on the fortunes of the canal by political interference in its management and operation. In 1851 the Democrats had capitalized on the reapportioned legislative structure provided by the new constitution adopted that year to win decisive control over the General Assembly for the first time. At the annual meeting in June 1852, the controlling stockholder, the State of Maryland, acting through its representatives appointed a new administration for the company headed by ex-Democratic Governor William Grason as president. The dominance of the state in company affairs meant, in effect, that the political party in power in Maryland also controlled the selection of the canal board and indirectly the many subordinates on the line, thereby making the canal positions objects of party patronage. Canal positions had been used for party purposes once before in the early 1840s at which time there had been two successive sweeps of office, as the Democrats installed its political friends in 1840 and the Whigs promptly reinstated the older officials when they returned to power the following year. Thereafter, there had been no large-scale interference until 1851, primarily because the Whigs had maintained majorities in the General Assembly for most of this period while the Democrats had controlled the governorship except for an interlude in 1844–47. Now that the Democrats controlled both the executive and legislative branches of the state government, the Grason administration proceeded to revive the spoils system in the management of the canal, reaching all the way down to the lock-tenders and the repair crew bosses in the thoroughness of its sweep.⁴¹

As had been the case in the early 1840s many of the older and experienced canal officials were replaced by generally less competent political appointees. All of the division superintendents were fired with the exception of John Lambie of the Georgetown Division. The new superintendents were as follows:

Monocacy Division—William O’Neal, Jr.
Antietam Division—Charles Clarke
Williamsport Division—Benjamin F. Hollman
Hancock Division—James Condry
Cumberland Division—William P. Sterritt

In addition, the collectors at Williamsport and Cumberland were relieved of their jobs while the collector at Georgetown resigned. Perhaps, the most significant resignation was that of General Superintendent Fisk, who had served the company for some 24 years in a variety of engineering positions. In his stead, the board appointed Thomas L. Patterson at an annual salary of \$1,800.⁴²

Thereafter, more or less complete reorganizations reflecting the unsettled conditions in Maryland politics, occurred regularly until 1867 when the Democrats emerged as the dominant party of the state. As new boards succeeded the old ones, they promptly replaced their political enemies with party favorites. There was little or no concern for the welfare of the canal. The serious effects which the continued political interference had on the operation and the maintenance of the canal was later graphically described by a group of disgruntled bondholders in 1881:

In such way money was raised for completion of the Canal in 1850 [repair bonds of 1844], more than thirty years ago. And for two or three years the interest on the Bonds

⁴¹ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 280, 295–297, 301, and Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, 208–209.

⁴² *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, H, 537–541, 550–552, 556.

was promptly and punctually paid: a fact which was calculated to allay any anxiety that may have prevailed in the premises, and to appreciate the value of the Bonds on the markets.

The canal was thus under a stable, anti-political, and very able management, no changes having been made in its executives for seven years. But about this time the state made a change in the canal management, giving it into the hands of a political administration instead of the stable business control which had lifted it from the lowest stages of depression in 1840–1, 2 and 3, to completion and apparent prosperity in 1850.

Therefore [after 1850] as the State administration changed, so did the management of the canal, until about 1870, when it was ascertained that during the twenty years preceding there had been a dozen different administrations and executive heads in the management of this once popular and magnificent State Work. As an inevitable consequence of this too much-management the canal became a magnificent failure; transportation was uncertain; the big ditch was gradually filling up; the culverts were dilapidated; interest on the bonds was unpaid and largely in arrears; and the bonds themselves sunk in the market to a point below sale or quotation. . . . the State. . . by virtue of her ownership of five Eighths of the Capital Stock, has had . . . the Exclusive Management, and has absolutely shaped and controlled the policy of the Company.

Administrating its affairs by officers chosen by her; changing those officers with every change of her politics; removing one year officials who had just begun to be familiar with the duties and responsibilities of their position . . . it is no wonder this Enterprise has languished. . . . Without a fixed and Stable policy; without a Corps of trained and Experienced officers; without Judicious and systematic Economy, paralyzed by perpetual Changes in its administration; the victim of abuses, Mismanagement and lavish Expenditures; its power and influence Constantly used in the Service of [the] political organization which, for the time, appointed its officers and regulated its direction. . . ⁴³

In the autumn of 1853 the Democratic candidate for Governor, T. Watkins Ligon, was elected to replace the outgoing Democrat, Enoch Louis Lowe, while the Whigs recaptured both houses of the state legislature. As a result of these political developments, Samuel Hambleton was installed as the new canal president in June 1854 in place of Grason. The new board instituted several changes in the management of the line during the following year. In June 1855 the new management policies were explained to the stockholders:

Rigid rules were prescribed for the conduct of the superintendents upon the line of the canal. Weekly reports were required of them upon their respective divisions, which have since been regularly made to the office at this place [Washington]. Monthly reports were also enforced from the general superintendent; the good results of both which requirements have been manifested.

The Board deeming the continuance of the office of Engineer of the Company, at a salary of \$1,800 per annum, an unnecessary expense, as no repairs or construction requiring scientific plans and estimates were within the present means of the Company, abolished this office and substituted that of General Superintendent, with a salary of \$1,200 per annum, in its stead. The good results of this policy have been manifested to the Board. They secured the services of Mr. A. K. Stake upon the canal, whose practical

⁴³ “Memorial of Certain Bondholders of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company to the Board of Public Works of Maryland,” *Fifty-Third Annual Meeting* (1881), and *Proceedings of the Stockholders*, E, 340–341, 343.

knowledge of the canal, having been engaged upon it in various capacities for many years; his untiring energy in the service of the Company, passing twice a month over the greater part of the line, and his regular monthly reports in writing of its condition, were found to be far preferable to the results of the former office of Engineer. A rigid system of economy was ordered and enforced.⁴⁴

As part of the effort to reduce operating costs, the board recommended that the division superintendents sell the house boats which were used to lodge the repair crews and make arrangements for “room and board” for the men at lockhouses or private dwellings along the waterway. When it was found that such arrangements were difficult to make, the directors withdrew the recommendation.⁴⁵

On June 30, 1855, the Hambleton board ordered a small reorganization of personnel. The following officers and individuals were involved:

DIVISION SUPERINTENDENTS

Antietam—Charles Clarke replaced by Levin Benton

Williamsport—Henry Artz replaced by Lewis G. Stanhope

Hancock—James Condry replaced by Denton Jacques

Cumberland—Asahel William replaced by Lloyd Lowe

COLLECTOR OF TOLLS

Williamsport—Charles Embry replaced by Ellie Stake

Hancock—David E. Price replaced by Henry Wells.⁴⁶

Next the Hambleton board turned its attention to a reorganization of the company office. The separate offices of clerk and treasurer were combined, and an assistant clerk was hired in the place of an accountant whose office had been combined formerly with that of treasurer. These changes reportedly contributed to the efficient management of the company and provided an annual savings of \$300 in overhead expenses.

The stockholders were informed in June 1856 concerning the beneficial results of the newly-created office of clerk and treasurer held by W. S. Ringgold:

As the affairs of the Company are now necessarily managed by a President and Board of Directors who meet monthly, much of the responsibility devolves upon this confidential officer, in the intermediate periods of meeting; great familiarity with the past records and affairs of the Company, with its present condition and resources; with the routine of duty and reports from superintendents and employees on the line of the canal; prompt intelligent and vigorous action is required, in the absence of the President and Directors, and other reasons readily suggesting themselves, will show the high qualities required on this officer.

The insuring to the Company increased usefulness and devotion in this office on the part of the present Clerk and Treasurer, alone swayed the Board in the change of organization above mentioned.

The stockholders were also told of the valuable service of General Superintendent Stake:

⁴⁴ *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report* (1855), C & O Co., 3–4.

⁴⁵ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, I, 103–104.

⁴⁶ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, I, 181.

I [Hambleton] feel it a duty to bear testimony to the great energy and devotion of the general Superintendent of the canal to the duties of his station; his great familiarity with every department of the work, resulting from his long previous business connections with it;—his industry and known intelligence;—his special weekly personal attendance on the line to his duties;—his regular and accurate reports, have all been a source of great satisfaction to the Board for the past two years.⁴⁷

As a result of the statewide elections in the autumn of 1855, the American Party, which was the offspring of the nativist Know Nothing Movement, gained control of the House of Delegates and had sufficient strength, with the cooperation from a few of the sympathetic Whig holdovers, to organize the Senate as well.⁴⁸ The victorious Americans proceeded to remove the Hambleton board in June 1856 and replace it with a new set of directors headed by William P. Maulsby as president. Within a month the new board ordered a thorough reorganization of both the management of the line and the company office. The six divisions were reduced to four, and the general superintendent and the division superintendents were replaced by new appointees. Moreover, the authority of the general superintendent was diminished to the extent that the division superintendents were made directly responsible to the directors. The boundaries and superintendents of the four new divisions were:

Georgetown Division: Eastern terminus to Conrad's Ferry; James P. Wade, Superintendent.

Monocacy Division: Conrad's Ferry to Dam No. 4; Charles Clarke, Superintendent

Hancock Division: Dam No. 4 to Dam No. 6; Denton Oliver, Superintendent

Cumberland Division: Dam No. 6 to Dam No. 8; Richard M. Sprigg, Superintendent

Dewalt Stottlemeyer was named as the new general superintendent.⁴⁹

President Maulsby presented the rationale for this reorganization to the annual meeting of the stockholders in June 1857. According to his report, when the board had been selected in the previous June

it adopted the conclusion that the true policy . . . was to reduce, as far as possible, the number of officers on the line of the Canal, and to require from those remaining increased activity and attention. . . It was thought that the entire time and attention of the six Division Superintendents had not been occupied, and perhaps could not be profitably occupied, in the discharge of their official duties, and it was deemed wise, so to apportion the number to the duties to be discharged, as to leave to the incumbents no unoccupied time. Accordingly the Board determined to reduce the number from six to four, reserving for the future action a further reduction, if experience should demonstrate its propriety.

Maulsby went on to cite the reasons for diminishing the authority of the general superintendent and making the division superintendents directly responsible to the board by observing that the

several grades of officers, and consequent degrees of responsibility each to the other, actually interfered with, rather than promoted, the prompt and efficient making such repairs

⁴⁷ *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report* (1856), C & O Co., 11–12.

⁴⁸ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 314–315.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, I, 277–283.

as are constantly needed to keep the Canal in order, and which to be effectual must be, when needed, quickly done.—The work actually done on the line is by, and under the immediate supervision of, the Bosses. These being responsible to, must wait for the directions of the Division Superintendent. The Division Superintendent, being responsible to the General Superintendent, and not amenable for a failure to make repairs, except such as, and when, ordered by the General Superintendent, might wait for the directions of that officer; and thus it did occur that the whole trade on the Canal, at a period not remote, was suspended for several days because of the breaking of the beam of a Lock-gate, which might have been repaired in a few hours; (the means being offered by a gentleman residing adjacent to the spot,) but was not done until the employees of the several grades could meet and consult each other, and obtain the authority, professed at all events to be, deemed requisite. This circumstance is mentioned but as an instance illustrating too general a habit. The members of the Board saw, on their own inspection, that repairs were not made with the promptness which they deemed due to the interests dependent on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, and in their attempts to trace out the cause they found themselves involved in a maze of uncertainty, the ultimate responsibility generally resting where a charge of manifest negligence could not well be sustained against the individual officer, altho' the interests mentioned were not the less sorely suffering; and by the way of relieving the difficulty, to an extent at least, they abolished the office of General Superintendent, thus making the Division Superintendent responsible directly to the Board. An incidental result of this action has been a saving to the Company of Three Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars—Two Division Superintendents at \$900.00 each, and the General Superintendent at \$1200.00 for salary and \$250.00 an allowance made by a former board for his traveling expenses—although the primary object in this reduction of officers was, not a reduction of expenses, but a promotion of efficiency. So well satisfied had the Board been with the effect of its action in this respect, that whatever change shall hereafter be made should, in its opinion, consist in further reduction of the number of Superintendents, and if need be an increase of salaries to those retained, rather than in an increase in the number of officers. A regulation heretofore adopted prohibits any Superintendent from engaging in or attending to any other occupation whatever; and although the present Board has earnestly striven to enforce it, and although it believes that it has succeeded to some greater extent than was the case prior to its efforts, yet it thinks with regret that the success has not been perfect, and that efforts to that end should not be surceased until they shall have attained perfect success. The mighty interests, connected with and dependent on the management of the Canal, demand that each individual, who shall consent to take on himself a part of so weighty a responsibility, shall surrender to the duty each mental and physical energy with which he may be endowed, and that a dereliction of duty in this regard can hardly be too harshly characterized.

Maulsby concluded his remarks on the new management apparatus of the company by describing the changes in the central office:

The Board felt itself constrained by the supposed requirement of the intent of the Charter of the Company to rescind the action of its Predecessors, and to separate the discharge of the duties of Treasurer from those of the Clerk, and accordingly elected Samuel M. Magraw Esq., Treasurer, and re-elected W. S. Ringgold Esq., Clerk. It was at the same time felt that the change could not with propriety be accomplished at an increased cost to the Company, in its then and now financial condition, and accordingly the salaries lately paid

to the Clerk and Treasurer, and a subordinate Clerk—\$2800.00—were divided, and \$1400.00 fixed as the salary of each officer, Clerk and Treasurer. In this connection the Board asks leave to say, that such increase in the net revenues of the Company at no distant period is anticipated, as will justify the payment to the Clerk of a salary better apportioned to the labor, skill and devotion which the invaluable officer now occupying that position, daily brings to the complete discharge of the duties imposed upon him.⁵⁰

In the hotly-contested statewide elections in the fall of 1857 the American Party maintained its control of the state legislature and its nominee for Governor, Thomas H. Hicks, won the statehouse.⁵¹ On March 18, 1858, the canal company stockholders met and, at the direction of the Hicks administration, elected a new board of directors headed by Lawrence J. Brengle as president.⁵² The new board quickly set to work reorganizing the management of the company. The office of engineer was abolished and replaced by the office of engineer and general manager with an annual salary of \$1,500. John G. Stone, a former division superintendent, was appointed to fill the position. The old six-division alignment was restored and most of the former superintendents were returned to their positions:

Georgetown Division: Eastern terminus to Seneca Feeder; Horace Benton, Superintendent
Monocacy Division: Seneca Feeder to Dam No. 3 Feeder; Silas Browning, Superintendent
Antietam Division: Dam No. 3 Feeder to Guard Lock No. 4; Levin Benton, Superintendent
Williamsport Division: Guard Lock No. 4 to Guard Lock No. 5; Andrew M. Stake, Superintendent
Hancock Division: Guard Lock No. 5 to foot of Lock No. 58; Lewis G. Stanhope, Superintendent
Cumberland Division: Lock No. 58 to Western Terminus; Lloyd Lowe, Superintendent.

The board approved the following resolution relative to the duties and performance of the division superintendents and the general superintendent:

That it shall be the duty of the division Superintendents to devote their whole time, and give their undivided attention to the care and management of their respective divisions; and that it be the duty of the General Superintendent to see that they comply with the provisions of this order.

Among other personnel changes were the appointment of three new collectors at Williamsport, Hancock and Cumberland, and a new Inspector of Cargos at Georgetown, and 44 new lock tenders. The old office of treasurer and accountant was reestablished and given to Henry W. Hoff-

⁵⁰ *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report* (1857), C & O Co., 3–5.

⁵¹ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 324–326.

⁵² Since the election of a new board was usually held at the annual meeting of stockholders in June, Maulsby complained that the election was illegal and that his board should be entitled to hold office until June. He submitted the question to the company counsel for a legal opinion but was overruled. Angered by his abrupt dismissal, Maulsby locked the vault containing the books and papers of the company and locked the door to his office and took the possession of the keys. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 1–4.

man, an American Party Congressman from Western Maryland who had just been defeated in his bid for reelection.⁵³

In June 1858 President Brengle reported to the stockholders concerning the recent changes in the management of the canal:

The [Maulsby] board immediately preceding the present board, on assuming the direction of the affairs of the Company, proceeded at once to change the organization which had existed on the line of the Canal since its completion to Cumberland, by removing, in the first place the General Superintendent and all six division Superintendents, who were all experienced, well tried men, and had long been connected with the Canal; then, reduced the Superintendencies from six to four, and appointed a General Superintendent and four division Superintendents, to these responsible positions, who, with a single exception, had hitherto never been connected with the Canal, and as we are informed, had no experience or knowledge of such duties as pertained to their stations.

In a few months thereafter, the office of General Superintendent was abolished, thus leaving the whole line of the Canal of 186 miles under the direction of four division Superintendents, without experience themselves, without the immediate direction and control of an experienced head, and with no general system of management. To this mistaken policy chiefly, we think, can be attributed the disasters which have occurred [at Dams Nos. 4–5].

The present board, believing that past experience justified the course, have restored the former organization of the line of the Canal, by establishing six divisions; and with two exceptions have appointed the former experienced Superintendents of divisions. We have also appointed John G. Stone, Esq., Engineer and General Superintendent, who was long connected with the canal in former years; and it is believed from his experience, energy and capacity, that he will render very efficient services in this station.

With this organization on the line of the Canal, it is confidently hoped that renewed energy, vigor and economy, will be experienced in the management of the work, and that it will result in a more reliable, and less interrupted navigation of the Canal, than has existed for the past two years.⁵⁴

Capitalizing on the collapse of the American Party and utilizing the heightened negrophobia following John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry, the Democrats secured control of the Maryland General Assembly in the November 1859 elections.⁵⁵ At a special meeting of the canal stockholders in May 1860 a new board of directors was selected with James Fitzpatrick as president. The following day ex-American Party Congressman Hoffman resigned from his position as treasurer and accountant and was replaced by John M. Miller.

A committee composed of the president and three of the newly-elected directors was asked to review the management system of the canal and to make recommendations for its improvement. In its report on May 16 the committee observed:

that in their judgment the existing arrangement of six superintendents having control and management has proved utterly inefficient and unworthy of further reliance. Therefore they would respectfully recommend that the entire line of the canal be divided into sixteen supervisorships in distance regulated as nearly as possible to the condition of the ca-

⁵³ *Ibid.*, K, 1–10, 13–16, 18–19.

⁵⁴ *Thirteenth-Annual Report* (1858), C & O Co., 3–4.

⁵⁵ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 329–330.

nal at the several points along its entire length; and that on each of such divisions one supervisor be employed at fifty dollars per month, and that each supervisor shall be subject to, and under the control of the President and Directors...and the General Superintendent in the employment of the Company....⁵⁶

The canal board quickly adopted the recommendations contained in the report with several accompanying amendments. The number of supervisorships was increased to eighteen and the salaries of the supervisors were raised to \$55 per month. The directors then proceeded to fire and abolish the positions of the six division superintendents and their repair crews bosses, after which the eighteen supervisors were appointed to districts whose boundaries were determined by General Superintendent Stake:

Isaac R. Maus—Tidelock B to Magazine
Joshua W. Offutt—Magazine to Lock No. 22
George W. Spates—Lock No. 22 to Edwards Ferry
John A. Dade—Edwards Ferry to Monocacy Basin
John Short—Monocacy Basin to Berlin
John T. O'Bryne—Berlin to Dam No. 3
P. C. Savin—Dam No. 3 to Aqueduct No. 4
Lawson Puffenberger—Aqueduct No. 4 to Lock No. 40
George W. Grove—Lock No. 40 to Guard Lock No. 4
W. P. McCardell—Guard Lock No. 4 to Lock No. 44
Thomas Charlton—Lock No. 44 to Lock No 45 (including dam and feeder)
Emanuel Tice—Lock No. 45 to Aqueduct No. 6
B. B. Boatman—Aqueduct No. 6 to Lock No. 53
Lawrence Murray—Lock No. 53 to Dam No, 6
John McLaughlin—Dam No. 6 to Lock No. 61
Frederick Kasekamp—Lock No. 61 to Lock No. 67
Thomas Sammon—Lock No. 67 to Lock No. 73
David Wineow—Lock No. 73 to Cumberland

Among the other personnel changes were the appointment of new employees to fill the following positions: inspector of cargos at Georgetown; watch at Paw Paw Tunnel; collectors at Georgetown, Williamsport, Hancock and Cumberland; 47 lock tenders; superintendent of boats at Georgetown; and paymaster.⁵⁷

President Fitzpatrick offered a lengthy rationale for the new system of management to the stockholders at their annual meeting in June, 1860:

⁵⁶ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 177–178, 183. Under the Brengle administration, the canal company had experienced such desperate financial problems that it had been forced to pay the lock tenders and repair crews with certificates of indebtedness. So serious was the financial condition of the company that even President Brengle went unpaid for a period of months. *Ibid*, K, 147–148, 219.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, K, 182–186, 192–195, and *Thirty-Second Annual Report* (1860), C & O Co., 16–19. Before the eighteen new supervisors began their work on June 1, General Superintendent Stake provided them with general instructions which required them

to devote their entire time and attention to the Canal, to prevent breaches or other interruptions, if possible, to repair them promptly, assist each other promptly, carry out the By-Laws, send information about interruptions to the different Collector's Offices, and pay strict attention to the portion of Canal under their charge, etc.

The present Board of Directors, deeply impressed with the magnitude of the trust confided to their charge, and anxious to realize the just expectations of all persons connected in interest with the prosperity of the Canal, to prevent in future those disastrous interruptions of its navigation, which have prostrated the business of important portions of the State, and to restore confidence to all great interests involved in its fate, gave their earliest attention, at their very first meeting, to the whole system of management heretofore adopted on it, and made such alterations, as in their judgment, will remove evils that have been so deeply felt and so justly complained of .

They have reduced the management to a rigid, responsible, practical and economical system. They have abolished the offices of Division Superintendents, which they considered were disbursing agents, and substituted for them, eighteen Bosses or Supervisors, each of whom will have charge of a certain number of miles, ranging in extent according to the condition of the work, as some parts of the Canal require more vigilance and labor to repair and preserve it in navigable order for five miles, than other parts will be for fifteen. The Board retained the office of General Superintendent, and that officer, who is familiar with the condition and wants of every mile of the Canal, will assign their respective divisions to the eighteen Supervisors, but no distance will exceed fifteen miles. Under the old system of Superintendents, there were sixteen Bosses, who received liberal pay and who really discharged all the valuable and responsible duties on their respective divisions. By abolishing the Superintendents and elevating the Bosses to power and direct responsibility, the valuable part of the old system is developed into the most efficient usefulness.

The Board entertains well grounded confidence, that the operation of this system, which went into effect on the first instant [June], will prove beneficial to the work and to all persons interested in its prosperity. By it the entire Canal is placed under the daily personal examination of vigilant officers who have been selected with reference to their industry and fitness, and whose duty it will be to take charge of the men employed under them, labor with them, and give their whole time and undivided attention to that part of the work allotted to their respective care and supervision. Each of them will be immediately responsible to the Board for the condition of his division, the whole of which he can examine every day in person, and prevent, by timely attention, those breaks which have so frequently occurred from neglect and the absence of that watchfulness, which should guard every portion of a work, upon the uninterrupted navigation of which the welfare of so many depends. It will be strongly impressed upon them, that negligence, incompetency or dereliction of duty, will be promptly visited with the forfeiture of their places, and that no man will remain in the service, who will not give practical proofs of his competency and fidelity in the discharge of the duties, which, by accepting the position, he assumed to perform. The interests involved are too numerous and important to admit the idea of retaining men in places who are not willing and able to labor skillfully and untiringly to establish and maintain its prosperity and usefulness on a permanent basis.

While this alteration is confidently expected to introduce vigor and promptness in the working of the Canal, no additional expense had been incurred in its adoption.

Six Superintendents received each \$900 per year,	\$5,400
Sixteen Bosses under them received each \$450 per year	\$7,200
	\$12,600
Eighteen Supervisors will now receive \$660 per year	\$11,880
Showing difference in favor of the new system of:	\$720

To this must be added the salary of a paymaster [James Condry], whose duty will be to pass over the entire line monthly and pay off all the employees of the Company and take their receipts in person. The Board considers the appointment of a paymaster indispensable to the perfection and accuracy of the system they are endeavoring to inaugurate. For many and obvious reasons the paying department of the service should be distinct and separate from those who control the labor and provide the necessary supplies of various materials. The Supervisors will have but one duty to perform—the preserve their respective divisions in navigable and good repair, and from that, nothing but unavoidable casualties will excuse them.⁵⁸

The statewide elections in the fall of 1861 were held under the cloud of the Civil War. The Union Party, in its own right but fortified by the presence of the Federal military, won large majorities in both houses of the General Assembly as well as the governorship with Augustus W. Bradford as candidate. The election was significant in that it virtually ended any hope for pro-Southern elements to gain control in the state.⁵⁹

The state Unionist forces lost little time in reorganizing the management machinery and personnel of the canal company. On January 30, 1862, Alfred Spates, a rising Allegany County Democrat who had been elected as president of the company the previous year, was reconfirmed in his office.⁶⁰ At a board meeting on February 12 the directors abolished the fourteen supervisorships and determined to restore the former six division management system. The new divisions and superintendents were:

Georgetown Division: Tidelock B to Lock No. 23 (inclusive); Horace Benton, Superintendent
Monocacy Division: Lock No. 23 to Guard Lock No. 3 (inclusive); John Caneron, Superintendent
Antietam Division: Guard Lock No. 3 to Guard Lock No. 4 (inclusive); Levin Benton, Superintendent
Williamsport Division: Guard Lock No. 4 to Guard Lock No. 5 (inclusive); Jacob B. Masters, Superintendent
Hancock Division: Guard Lock No. 5 to Guard Lock No. 6 (inclusive); Thomas Hassett, Superintendent
Cumberland Division: Guard Lock No. 6 to Guard Lock No. 8 (inclusive); Lloyd Lowe, Superintendent

Other changes were also made in the management and personnel of the company. The office of treasurer and accountant was abolished and replaced by the combination of the offices of clerk and treasurer into one position and an assistant clerk. The four collectors at Georgetown, Williamsport, Hancock and Cumberland were replaced, and 21 new lock tenders were appointed.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Thirty-Second Annual Report* (1860), 3–5. Later in December 1860, the supervisorships of John Short, George W. Grove, Emanuel Trice and Thomas Sammon were abolished and incorporated into the fourteen remaining subdivisions. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 232.

⁵⁹ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 354–355.

⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 250–253. Immediately following the election of Spates, General Superintendent Stake had resigned his position. Ringgold to Stake, July 10, 1861, Ltrs. Sent, C & O Co.

⁶¹ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 272–277, 282. Apparently the position of general superintendent was not filled; thus, the division superintendents were directly responsible to the board.

President Spates notified the stockholders in June 1862 that the former system of management had been restored to the canal. His justification for the reorganization was as follows:

Two years ago a change was made in the supervision of the line of the canal, by the appointment of eighteen supervisors and a paymaster, in place of six superintendents of divisions as had previously existed (with occasional change in the number,) since the canal was opened for navigation. It was supposed that this would be more efficient and less expensive than the former system. After a brief trial it was found otherwise, and that a divided responsibility, want of regularity and system, without satisfactory checks and responsibility for payments made, rendered the change not only less efficient and satisfactory, but more expensive. The present Board have therefore restored the former system of management by the appointment of six experienced and efficient superintendents of divisions, who will make the disbursements on the line of the Canal under proper regulations, and thus dispense with a paymaster. Some other changes in the emphasis of the Company have been made, without detriment to the efficiency of the service, and by these various reforms, effecting an annual reduction in the expenses of the Company of about \$8,000.⁶²

After receiving reports that some superintendents were neglecting their duties, the board established a new policy to govern their conduct. In December 1862 the following order was approved and distributed to each superintendent:

That the several Supts. of the Canal be required to conform themselves strictly to the rules and regulations of the Company, that said Supts. be required to pass over the entire length of their respective divisions at least once a week, and to report to the Clerk of the Company, and also to the Collectors of Tolls at Georgetown and Cumberland, whenever any interruptions of the navigation shall occur, and how long such interruption will continue; that they also be required to make monthly reports to the Board of the conditions of their respective divisions, and that any carelessness on their part in the performance of these duties will be deemed cause for their removal from office.⁶³

In the elections held in the fall of 1864, the Unionist coalition, dominated by its Radical wing since 1862, maintained control of the state legislature. Nevertheless, the emergence of a powerful Conservative force within the coalition was manifested by the election of Thomas Swann as governor. Encouraged by the gubernatorial victory, the Conservatives began a campaign to wrest control of the Unionist movement from the Radicals. With the collapse of the Confederacy in April 1865, the Radicals were left in a state of disarray as support for the war, which had been a cohesive core for the Union Party, was now gone and could no longer be used to submerge divisive issues in the coalition.⁶⁴

At the annual meeting of the stockholders in July 1865 the Swann administration pushed through the election of Jacob Snively as company president in place of Alfred Spates.⁶⁵ The new president and directors appear to have made few alterations in the system of management of the

⁶² *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report* (1862), C & O Co., 5.

⁶³ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 315. In April 1864 the board authorized salary increases for the division superintendents, repair crew bosses and lock tenders. The superintendents' annual pay was set at \$1,000, while the monthly wages of the bosses were put at \$45. In October 1864 the superintendent of the Georgetown Division was authorized to hire a harbor master for the regulation of boats in Georgetown at a monthly salary of \$45. *Ibid*, K, 383, 402.

⁶⁴ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 381–382.

⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 431.

canal. One change that was made was the reestablishment of the position of engineer and general superintendent in December 1865. To this position the directors named Charles P. Manning, a noted civil engineer who had earlier been employed to examine and report on the condition of the canal and the repairs and improvements needed to restore it to its prewar operating condition.⁶⁶ In November 1866 John Cameron was removed as superintendent of the Georgetown Division and replaced by Isaac R. Maus.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 465. Later in September 1866, the board dispensed with the services of Manning and again abolished the position. Ringgold to Manning, September 10, 1866, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

⁶⁷ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, K, 526.

VIII.: MANAGEMENT OF CANAL MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF THE STATE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: 1867–1889

By 1867 Maryland's period of "Self-Reconstruction" has come to an end and a more stable party alignment had emerged. In that year the ascendant Democrats pushed through the adoption of a state constitution and captured control of the governorship and the state legislature. Out of the political flux of the previous fifteen years, the Democrats—now augmented by Conservative Unionists, new voters, and returning veterans—became the dominant party in Maryland and would remain so into the twentieth century. Hence the canal management was no longer subject to the political whims resulting from the frequent shifts of power in Annapolis but was solely an instrument of Democratic patronage in Western Maryland.⁶⁸

In August 1867, several months prior to the November elections, the company stockholders elected Alfred Spates, a long-time Democrat, to a second term as canal president as support for Jacob Snively, who had replaced Spates in 1865, had evaporated along with the Unionist cause. The new Spates administration made few changes in the overall machinery or personnel in the management of the waterway. The only significant change occurred in July 1868 when the number of divisions was increased from six to seven by the creation of a new Seneca Division out of portions of the Georgetown and Monocacy Divisions as follows:

Georgetown Division: Tidelock B to Lock No. 21 (inclusive)

Seneca Division: Lock No. 21 to Lock No. 26 (inclusive)

Monocacy Division: Lock No. 26 to Dam No. 3 (inclusive)

George W. Spates and Amos Thomas were appointed as the new superintendents of the Seneca and Monocacy Divisions, respectively.⁶⁹

Following reports of financial embezzlement and other fiscal irregularities on the part of President Alfred Spates and Superintendent George W. Spates, the stockholders elected Josiah Gordon to the company presidency in June 1869. Upon the recommendation of Arthur Pue Gorman, a rising political star in the emerging Democratic machine in Annapolis who was serving his first year in office both as a member of the canal board and the House of Delegates, the directors employed William R. Hutton, a well-known civil engineer, to serve as the canal's engineer and general superintendent and Sydney I. Wailes as paymaster. The latter was hired to breakup the reported corrupt system of money management that had been perpetrated by several division superintendents under the Spates presidency. An investigation revealed how the former officials had embezzled large sums of company funds for their own purposes:

The time of the laborers and mechanics, under the system of working on the Canal, was kept by the bosses, and returned to the Superintendents. The Superintendents then returned it upon their abstracts to the Board, and received the amount from the Treasurer, which they professed to pay, according to their return. But we found, by comparing the

⁶⁸ Walsh and Fox, *Maryland*, 389–392. There are numerous references in the canal company records to the use of the waterway as a tool of Democratic patronage in Western Maryland. Among these are the following: Gilleace to Clarke, October 13, 1871, Blackford to Clarke, December 20, 1871, Hill to Gorman, August 9, 1872, Duvall, Gannon & Duvall to Fawcett, June 5, 1873, Shay to President and Directors, October 8, 1873, Michael to President and Directors, November 25, 1873, Hawkin to Gorman, February 15, 1875, Biser to Fawcett, August 6, 1875, Prettyman to Gorman, November 7, 1876, Pope to Fawcett, December 8, 1876, Polk to Gorman, March 16, 1877 and Peter to Fawcett, April 10, 1878, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

⁶⁹ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, L, 104. Earlier in May the board had replaced the harbor master at Georgetown and the tender at Locks Nos. 1–4 with its own appointees. *Ibid*, L, 94.

bosses' time books and the abstracts of the Superintendents, that there were very large discrepancies between them, and that a great deal more money had been drawn by two of the Superintendents than had been returned by the bosses, or paid to the laborers under their charge. These two Superintendents have ceased to be officers of the Company.

Although the salaries of Hutton and Wailes added considerably to the expenses of the company, the activities of both men in streamlining the management of the canal more than paid for their employment. In fact, the savings on the Seneca Division alone were enough to pay the salaries of both men. All told, it was announced in June 1870 that the new management policies reduced the bills of expenses submitted by the superintendents by some \$8,757 over the sums of the preceding year.⁷⁰

The Gorman-dominated board was also responsible for two other decisions that had a significant impact on the management of the waterway. In July 1869 the company office was moved to Annapolis, thereby signifying the close affiliation of the company's affairs with the political interests of the state Democratic machine.⁷¹

On May 4, 1870, Engineer Hutton submitted a plan for the complete reorganization of the line that he claimed would save the cost-conscious board nearly \$12,000 in annual salary expenses. According to the proposed plan, the seven divisions would be reduced to five as follows:

- 1st Division: Tidelock B to and including Dam No. 2 and Guard Lock—23.4 miles
- 2nd Division: Dam No. 2 to Dam No. 3 and Lock No. 35—40.2 miles
- 3rd Division: Lock No. 35 to upper end of Big Slackwater at tail of Lock No. 41—26.6 miles
- 4th Division: Lock no 41 to Lock No. 55 and Dam No. 6—45.2 miles
- 5th Division: Dam No. 6 to Dam No. 8—50.4 miles

The number of bosses and repair crews on each division was to be as follows:

- 1st Division: Two bosses and sets of hands
- 2nd Division: Three bosses and sets of hands
- 3rd Division: Three bosses and sets of hands
- 4th Division: Four bosses and sets of hands, the bosses on leaky sections to have a larger number of hands
- 5th Division: Three bosses and twenty men as at present.

The number of hands to be employed under each boss was not to be maintained at a fixed standard, but rather was to vary according to the work needs. One carpenter shop would be required on each division, with the exception of the fifth which would have two, and each shop would employ from 2 to 4 carpenters. The proposed plan would save the annual salaries of the following positions:

2 Superintendents	\$2,000
3 Bosses	\$1,620
2 (or 3) Horses	\$600
Estimated 12 men @ \$260	\$4,320

⁷⁰ *Forty-Second Annual Report* (1870), C & O Co., 8, 15, and *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, L, 180.

⁷¹ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, L, 167–168, 182.

3 Cooks at \$216	\$648
3 Carpenters (estimated @ \$750)	<u>\$2,250</u>
	\$11,938

Additional savings would also be made in the costs for fuel and lights, the maintenance of houses and work scows, and the expense of furniture. As the lock tenders were being overworked because of the increasing canal traffic, they were to receive higher wages so that they could hire one assistant for each lock under their jurisdiction.⁷²

The canal board enthusiastically adopted the Hutton report, but before it could be put into effect a new board headed by James C. Clarke as president was installed in June 1870.⁷³ The following month the new directors voted to implement the Hutton plan on August 1. The superintendents of the divisions were appointed as follows:

- 1st Division (Georgetown)—Isaac R. Maus
- 2nd Division (Monocacy)—Amos Thomas
- 3rd Division (Antietam)—John Shay
- 4th Division (Hancock)—Denton Jacques
- 5th Division (Cumberland)—Edward Mulvaney

The offices of general superintendent and paymaster were abolished, and President Clarke assumed the responsibilities of those jobs, for which he was placed under a \$50,000 bond for the faithful discharge of the “trusts committed to him.” In October it was determined to move the company office from Annapolis to Hagerstown so that the directors would be more accessible to the employees on the line of the waterway. All of the changes were made, according to Clarke in his report to the stockholders in June 1871, “to introduce more system, and greater discipline in the service than heretofore existed” and to secure “greater economy by holding to a more rigid accountability the officers and employees in [the] discharge of their duties.”⁷⁴

Two property inventories survive from the 1870 reorganization which indicates the quantity and types of tools, supplies and provisions that were kept aboard a repair crew’s house-boat on the former Seneca Division and those that were under the immediate control of the division’s superintendent. The house-boat inventory was made because the vessel was transferred from the former Seneca Division to the Georgetown Division to enable Superintendent Maus to house his men while working in the Georgetown area. Up to this time, repair crews had been housed at a local tavern while working in Georgetown at a cost to the company exceeding the 50 cents per day charged the laborers by the canal directors for their room and board. The property inventory of the Seneca Division was made because almost all of its length was transferred to the new Monocacy Division in the reorganization.⁷⁵

⁷² *Forty-Second Annual Report* (1870), 48–50.

⁷³ The Hutton recommendation relative to the salary increases for the lock tenders was put into effect on May 6. Each tender of a single lock was to be paid \$50 per month, while each lock keeper of two locks was to receive \$75 per month. The single lock tenders were to hire one assistant and the double lock-keepers were to employ two assistants subject to the approval of the division superintendent. *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, L, 314–315.

⁷⁴ *Forty-Third Annual Report* (1871), C & O Co., 8; *Forty-Fourth Annual Report* (1872), C & O Co., 10–11; and *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, L, 338–339, 349, 369, 393.

⁷⁵ Hutton to Clarke, August 3, 1870, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co. The inventories may be seen in Appendices A and B. A cursory look at the company ledgers during the 1870s indicates that the company usually made a profit from the collection of the 50-cent daily charge from each laborer for room and board. For instance, the company realized a net gain of \$1,144.32 from January to July 1870 between the amount collected and

The Clarke administration took a number of steps to up-grade the quality of the repair-maintenance work on the canal as well as the productive capacity of the work crews. In June 1871 the wages of journeymen carpenters were increased by 25 cents a day to a total daily rate of \$2.50.⁷⁶ Two months later, a decaying packet boat lying idle at Cumberland was refurbished and converted into a repair crew house-boat.⁷⁷ With trade reaching record levels every year, the additional revenues were used to employ increasing numbers of workers to make the long-deferred repairs and improvements during the winter months. An example of the growing number of winter repairmen can be seen in a report by Superintendent Maus detailing the work activities on the Georgetown Division from November 1871 to March 1872:

A gang of (6) six men under Boss Mason John Brannon commenced cutting stone at Great Falls on 1st November, 1871, and worked up to Feb. 2nd 1872.

A gang of (5) men under Boss Mason John Brannon commenced repairing and rebuilding Locks 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 and 21 on Jan. 8th 1872, and worked up to February 21st 1872 laying 1351 feet of new stone with cement.

A gang of (17) seventeen masons under Boss John Brannon commenced putting up Feeder Wall Feb. 20th 1872, and worked up to March 4th 1872. Length of wall 400 feet, 3 feet thick and from 9 to 15 feet high layed in cement.

A gang of (4) four man under Boss Mason John Brannon commenced repairing walls on Towpath and Berm side of Canal in Georgetown and worked from March 5, 1872 up to March 9th 1872.

A gang of (6) six men under Boss Quarryman Levi Barnes commenced to quarry stone at High Island Feb. 20, 1872, and worked up to March 4th getting out stone.

I placed a work on 1st December, 1871, (5) five Carpenters and (2) two helpers under Boss Carpenter John Collins and have accomplished the following work viz: Repaired Locks 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20 & 21. Built Bridge near Lock 15 on Log wall Level, 3 stanks and one Crib in Feeder, and laying Truck with Lumber from Quarry to high Island, taking up truck put in (2) two new flumes one at Lock 5 and one at Lock 6.

Built (2) two Bridges at the foot of Market house East and West span in Georgetown, and put up railings on Towpath side under Bridges at Market House and Aqueduct.

I placed at work on Jan. 2nd 1872 a gang of (9) nine men under Boss William Matthews, who have done the following work—Building stank at Head of Feeder, removing dressed stone to Locks, worked on Crib to Feeder, puddle culvert below Chain Bridge, repaired Wall at Jennys Mill, puddling Trunk at Thompson & Edmonston's Mill, cutting bushes on Berm Bank from Lock 5 to Lock 8, removed mud & stone from Lock 5 to stop Lock, making stank and pumping out Lock 6, worked on Feeder and cleaning out Bottom of Canal in Georgetown Level.

I placed at work on Jan. 2nd 1872, a gang of (8) eight men under Boss John C. Myers, who have done the following work viz: Tearing down Lock 15, attending Masons at Locks 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15. Tearing down Lock 14, removing mud and stone from

that spent. In January 1872 the net profit was \$476.32 and in September 1875 the profit was \$558.45. Apparently, the carpenters and others who worked in the company shops along the line rented their own quarters except when they were on special assignments at various points along the line. On those occasions, they boarded on the company house-boats or in lock houses or other company structures and paid 50 cents per say for room and board. *Monthly Statements of Receipts and Expenditures for Boarding Employees on the Canal Line, 1872–1877*, C & O Co.

⁷⁶ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, L, 411.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, L, 435–436.

Lock 8 to Lock 15. Worked at Feeder from Feb. 20th up to March 4th. Also removed mud & stone out of Bottom of Canal on Georgetown Level.

I placed at work on Jan. 2nd 1872, a gang of (9) nine men who have accomplished the following work—Tearing down and attending Masons at Lock 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 & 21. Cut the Bushes on Berm Bank of Canal at Lock 20. Cutting to Lock 20, removed mud and stone from out of Bottom of Canal at Lock 20 to Lock 23. Worked on Feeder from Feb. 20th to March 4th, removed mud and stone out of Bottom of Canal on Georgetown Level. This gang under Boss I. G. Fields.

I placed at work on Feb. 13th 1872, under Bosses Cammack, Kendle & Connel (104) one hundred & four men who were wheeling stone, wheeling sand, carrying cement, mixing cement and cleaning out the Bottom of [the] Canal, removing mud and stone out of Georgetown Level. Working off and on to March 11, 1872.

We have on hand (6) six new lock gates and 3 old ones that have been repaired which I consider almost as good as new. There has been more work accomplished on this Division this past winter, than has been done any season for the past ten (10) years; the Division is in a great deal better condition now than it has ever been for that space of time.⁷⁸

In June 1872 Arthur Pue Gorman, who had served both as a member of the canal board and the House of Delegates since 1869, was elected as president of the canal company. Almost immediately Gorman moved the canal office from Frederick to Annapolis. However, there was no reorganization of the canal management or significant turnover of personnel until the latter end of his ten-year presidency.⁷⁹ One of the earliest surveying registers of canal employees that list the positions, number of workers, and salaries by division from Georgetown to Cumberland is that for March 1873. The register is as follows:

GEORGETOWN DIVISION		
Superintendent	I. R. Maus	\$83.33 per month
Collector	W. W. Blunt	125.00 per month
Assistant Clerk	C. Stewart	75.00 per month
Inspector	Hughes	75.00 per month
Harbor Master	James S. Kemp	75.00 per month
Lock-keepers (18)		
Boss Carpenter		70.00 per month
Carpenter (5 men)		2.50–3.00 per day
Boss Mason		5.00 per day
Masons (3 men)		2.50–4.00 per day
Blacksmith		60 per month
Helper		1.50 per day
Boss of Laborers		47.50 per month

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, L, 561–564.

⁷⁹ Frederick *Examiner*, June 5, 1872, and *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, M, 32, 34, 113, 171, 223, 265, N, 1, 49, 87, 108, 192.

Laborers (14 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		20.00 per month
Boss of Laborers (2 men)		47.50 per month
Assistant		1.58 1/3 per day
Laborers (24 men)		1.50 per day
Level Walker		46.50 per month
Cook		20.00 per month
MONOCACY DIVISION		
Superintendent	D. T. Lakin	\$83.33 per month
Collector	George T. Pope	75.00 per month
Assistant Clerk	Joseph Holland	60.00 per month
Lock-keepers (12)		
Boss Carpenter		2.50 per day
Carpenters (3 men)		2.25 per day
Boss Mason		4.00 per day
Masons (5 men)		1.50–4.00 per day
Blacksmith		2.25 per day
Boss of Laborers		47.50 per month
Laborers (11 men)		1.50 per day
Cooks (2 women)		20.00 per month
Assistant cook		1.50 per day
Boss of Laborers		47.50 per month
Laborers (19 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		20.00 per month
Boss of Laborers		47.50 per month
Laborers (24 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		20.00 per month
ANTIETAM DIVISION		
Superintendent	John Shay	\$83.33 per month
Lock-keepers (6)		
Carpenters (2 men)		2.25 & 2.50 per day
Blacksmiths (2 men)		2.25 per day

Boss		45.00 per month
Level Walker		1.50 per day
Laborers (9 men)		1.40 per day
Cook		20.00 per month
Boss		45.00 per month
Level Walker		1.50 per day
Laborers (5 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		20.00 per month
Boss		45.00 per month
Level Walker		1.50 per day
Laborers (7 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		20.00 per month
Mason		3.50 per day
HANCOCK DIVISION		
Superintendent	Denton Jacques	\$83.33 per month
Collector	H. Blackman	35.00 per month
Collector	J. V. L. Ensminger	35.00 per month
Lock-keepers (11)		
Carpenters (4 men)		2.00–2.50 per day
Blacksmith		2.00 per day
Masons (3 men)		3.00–3.50 per day
Stone Cutter		3.50 per day
Tender		1.50 per day
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (32 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		18.00 per month
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (11 men)		.96–1.50 per day
Cook		18.00 per month
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (10 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		18.00 per month

Boy		16.00 per month
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (9 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		18.00 per month
Horse Hire (26 mules & drivers)		189.25 per month
CUMBERLAND DIVISION		
Superintendent	Edward Mulvaney	\$83.33 per month
Collector	William Weber	125.00 per month
Assistant Collector	John M. Resley	100.00 per month
Inspector	C. V. Hammond	75.00 per month
Assistant Inspector	Phoebe A. Neil	16.67 per month
Lock-keepers (20)		
Boss Carpenter		75.00 per month
Carpenters (5 men)		2.25–2.35 per day
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (10 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		18.00 per month
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (6 men)		1.50 per day
Boss		45.00 per month
Laborers (8 men)		1.50 per day
Cook		18.00 per month ⁸⁰

As the canal company had been operating with a five-division alignment since 1870, a group of 29 citizens addressed a memorial to the Gorman board in May 1873 requesting the reestablishment of the Williamsport Division as the sixth superintendency. The memorial contained seven reasons for such an action:

- (1) Most previous boards maintained the division
- (2) Williamsport was centrally located on the canal line
- (3) Williamsport was an historic canal-centered town
- (4) Williamsport had fostered the canal in its early years and had extended credit to the company during the financially-troubled years.
- (5) The coming connection of the Western Maryland Railroad with Williamsport would increase the commercial prospects of the town
- (6) The great lengths of the present divisions

⁸⁰ Payrolls, March 1873–July 1874, C & O Co.

- (7) The danger of the slackwaters behind Dams Nos. 4 and 5 required closer attention.

In conclusion, the memorial mentioned the increasingly important political considerations underlying the request:

But, we respectfully submit, there are other reasons deemed equally as important by the entire party to which, we, in common with the entire management of the Canal belong. So long as the President and Directors of the Company are appointed solely from the dominant political party in the State, so long will that party be held politically responsible for its management. The President and Directors being appointed with equal reference to their political affiliations and their known competency and integrity, the masses of the party naturally expect the principle to be carried out with regard to the patronage and subordinate places. And we beg to remind your honorable Board, in no spirit of captious fault-finding that the failure to fully recognize this principle has placed the supremacy of our party in this county [Washington] in jeopardy, and threatens us now with impending defeat. Recognizing the importance, at this time, of this view of the matter, and to evince our unity and harmony in the accomplishment of what we believe to be of essential importance to the good management of the Canal and the success of our political party, we have laid all individual preferences aside and agreed to recommend Jonathan Spillman for the position of Superintendent, believing that he is in every way competent, and that he will give unbounded satisfaction to the Company and the people of Williamsport.

The memorial was referred to a special committee which recommended that the management of the canal did not require a new Williamsport Division; thus, the proposal was rejected at that time.⁸¹

During the years 1875 and 1876 disputes arose over the wages paid by the company to the repair crews, and further conflicts developed over how much should be deducted from the worker's pay to cover the cost of room and board. In 1875 thirteen crew bosses sent a petition to the directors asking for a pay increase. The petition is interesting in that it describes some of the conditions under which the repairs crews operated:

Our pay remains the same that it was when the present system for managing the Canal was inaugurated and when we take into consideration the increase of labor and responsibility consequent upon the increased trade upon the Canal we feel confident you cannot fail to see the justice of our prayer. We would further set forth that we receive one third less pay than others occupying similar positions under other corporations or public works. In consequence of the regulations established we are prohibited from engaging in any other business; we are therefore dependent upon this above for the support of our families, and when you take into consideration the increase in cost of living compared with the past you will discover that we are rendering service for less pay than formerly. This too when some of us flatter ourselves that by a constant and undivided attention to our duty we have contributed much to the present financial prosperity of this great work. We would further submit that we are in the discharge of our duty constantly exposed to contagious and malarial diseases entailing upon us great physical suffering as well as pecuniary loss. In conclusion permit us to say that we are all deeply impressed with the

⁸¹ Memorial, variously signed, to President and Directors of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, May 31, 1873, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

great responsibility of our position and feel a deep interest in this great work under your charge and knowing you to be gentlemen of enlarged and liberal views, we ask nothing but justice and right at your hands.⁸²

In May 1876 trouble erupted near Sharpsburg when Superintendent Samuel Mc Graw of the Antietam Division ordered his men to repair a breach in the canal. Those workers with carts refused to go to the site of the break until they were assured of receiving \$3.50 per day. The common laborers joined in the short-lived sit-down strike until McGraw agreed to pay them \$1.50 plus room and board per day. Similar wage increases soon spread throughout the entire length of the canal.⁸³

The question of what amount should be deducted from the wages of canal employees for room and board also arose in May 1876. Up to this time the company had deducted 50 cents per day from the pay of workers to pay for the cost of food and housing in “house-boats,” lock-houses, or company-owned structures along the line. Such arrangements were not provided for the carpenters and blacksmiths who worked in the company shops at such locations as Lock No. 5, Great Falls, Edwards ferry, Sandy Hook, Williamsport and Cumberland. These men had to provide for their own room and board (which averaged 75 cents a day) with the exception of those periods when they were assigned to projects along the canal. The problem was complicated by the fact that the company deducted 50 cents a day from the workers’ wages even though at times the company was forced to board its hands in private homes at 75 cents per day. Thus there was considerable dissatisfaction by both canal officials and employees with the company’s system of providing for room and board. Before the problem could be resolved, however, the declining fortunes of the canal would eliminate the need for discussions about the adoption of a more equitable system of providing for the men.⁸⁴

In November 1877 the most disastrous flood in the history of the canal up to that time struck the canal, reaching levels from two to six feet higher than the worst previous flood in 1852. On December 1 all the company employees, including the collectors and lock tenders, who were not engaged on the repairs were relieved from duty so that expenditures were restricted to the actual cost of repairs and office expenses. The line of the canal was also reduced to three divisions as follows:

- 1st Division—Eastern terminus to and including Dam No. 2—John T. Fletchall, Superintendent; Isaac Maus, assistant superintendent
- 2nd Division—Dam No. 2 to upper end of slackwater at Dam No. 4—J. J. Moore, Superintendent; Samuel Mc Graw, assistant superintendent
- 3rd Division—Head of Dam No. 4 slackwater to western terminus—L. G. Stanhope, Superintendent.⁸⁵

⁸² Memorial, variously signed, to Board of Directors of Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, 1875, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co. Apparently, the board paid little attention to the petition.

⁸³ Mc Graw to Gorman, May 17, 1876, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co. Up to this time, the laborers had received \$1.50 per day out of which 50 cents was deducted for room and board.

⁸⁴ Fletchall to Gorman, May 27, 1876, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

⁸⁵ *Fifteenth Annual Report* (1878), C & O Co., 9–10. Paymaster Stephen Gambrell was placed in charge of the repairs on the Georgetown Level; Fletchall was given immediate supervision over the repairs from Lock No. 5 to Dam No. 2; Moore was instructed to employ 200 laborers and as many horses and carts as he could at Dams No. 3 and 4; Stanhope was ordered to rebuild Dam No. 4 and hire 60 men to repair Dams No. 5 and 6; and Cumberland collector A. Willison was authorized to employ 100 men to repair the canal from Dam No. 6 to Cumberland. Gorman to Board of Directors, December 12, 1877, Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

After the canal was restored to navigation in the spring of 1878, the old seven-division management system was reestablished. The positions, number of employees, and salaries that were adopted at this time were as follows:

“The salaries of officers and pay of employees are: President, \$2,500; Treasurer, \$2,000; Engineer, \$2,400; Paymaster, \$1,500; Collector at Cumberland, \$1,500; Collector at Georgetown, \$1,500; Collectors at Williamsport and Hancock, each \$25 per month; assistant clerk to Treasurer, \$1,200; Inspector of cargoes at Georgetown, \$900; Directors, while in season, \$4 per day; seven division Superintendents, each \$1,000 per annum; 17 bosses, each \$45 per month; average of 20 laborers to each division at \$1 per day and board; 15 smiths, \$2.25 per day; about 3 carpenters to each division at from \$4 to \$2.25 per day; lock-keepers, \$60 per month for double and \$40 for single locks.⁸⁶

During the late 1870s the Gorman board sought for ways to reduce its operating expenses by introducing various improvements. One improvement, completed and in operation by October 1879 was the installation of a telephone line along the waterway built by company hands under the supervision by Telephone Engineer J. Frank Morrison at a cost of nearly \$15,000. There were 43 stations so located as to be within easy reach of any point on the canal. The telephone system, which was the longest single circuit then in existence, enabled the canal company to reduce operating costs by providing fast communication of information relative to breaches and canal traffic problems. Such information had been carried formerly on foot or by horseback or mail.⁸⁷

In his annual report to the stockholders in June 1880 President Gorman announced that the telephone system had proven successful in facilitating canal repairs and enabling the company to concentrate its regular work at several locations along the waterway. Such developments had reduced the cost of labor and lessened the need for seven division superintendents. Accordingly, the number of divisions had been reduced to two:

- 1st Division—Eastern terminus to Lock No. 39—J. J. Moore, superintendent
- 2nd Division—Lock No. 39 to Western terminus—Lewis G. Stanhope, superintendent

It was calculated that this reorganization would save the company some \$12,000 annually in overhead expenses.⁸⁸

By 1880 Gorman had used his position as canal president to secure his hold of the Democratic Party in Maryland and win election to the United States Senate. Some critics, such as ex-canal president Alfred Spates, accused Gorman of relegating the real needs of the canal to a level of concern secondary to his effort of employing his position—one of great political influence in Western Maryland and hence Annapolis—as a vehicle to achieve his personal political ambitions. Such charges were summarized in an article in the Cumberland *Civilian* on March 3, 1878:

⁸⁶ Frederick *Citizen*, 1878, in Alfred Spates Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville. The precise date of the article, which had been clipped from the newspaper, could not be determined.

⁸⁷ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, N, 92–97, and *In the Circuit Court of the United States for District of Maryland: In Equity Daniel K. Stewart vs. Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company and others* (Baltimore, [1878]), 106, 328–329, 333–334. Two descriptions of the telephone system may be seen in Appendices C and D.

⁸⁸ *Fifty-Second Annual Report* (1880), C & O Co., 11.

These charges allege that under the present management the canal has been for several years past in bad condition; that previous to 1872 boats carried from 130 to 135 tons of coal, and now carry no more than 110 to 120. That the prism has filled up as to make it almost impossible for boars to pass in many places; three guagers are employed to do the work of one; two men are employed as collectors at Cumberland at an expense of \$2,700, while one of them offers to do all the work for \$1,500; that an officer of the company here employed a large number of men solely to make use of them for political purposes in the Democratic primaries, so as to defeat certain men who were objectionable to the President of the company, and that for their political services they were paid by the canal company; that officers of the company bought votes, and thus aided in defeating the Democratic candidate; that certain officials were appointed solely in consideration of their promise to render certain services at Annapolis at the bid of the President and Directors of the canal company; that a contingent of \$6,000 in the hands of these officials was expended in such a way as to demand investigation; that some of the officials of the canal company are receiving pay for two offices; and that Directors who are forbidden by the charter to receive more than the amount of their expenses are getting salaries, and that the pay of others has been doubled; that expensive excursions are of frequent occurrence, on which occasions an elegant boat with costly appointments is used, and unnecessary expenses incurred. . . .⁸⁹

Gorman replied to the charges by denying the specific allegations of wrongdoing while at the same time admitting that political considerations had been involved in filling canal jobs. In commenting on the Gorman years as president of the canal company, his biographer, John R. Lambert, commented:

The canal reflected the political complexion of the state. Maryland was the largest stockholder and as such chose its governing officials. The board of public works was composed of the governor, the comptroller, and the treasurer, all of whom had strong party affiliations that dictated their choice of the president and directors of the canal. In the same way, the lesser appointments in the company's service were also made, for the most part, from members of the dominant party. It [the system] had always existed.

According to Gorman, the system was justified because:

In the ranks of either of the political parties, which divide the intelligence of the country not less than its votes, it is always easy to find honest and capable men who are fitted, intellectually and morally, for the most important trusts, and have no great unwillingness to accept them.⁹⁰

In August 1882 Gorman retired as president of the canal company to devote full time to his political career. A secondary reason for his departure was the decline in the fortunes of the canal as a result of trade stagnation, financial depression, stiff competition, and physical deterioration. Following the reign of Gorman, there was a succession of short administrations by political appointees, all of whom owed their positions to him. The administrations were as follows: Lewis C.

⁸⁹ Cumberland *Civilian*, March 3, 1878, in Spates Papers.

⁹⁰ Quoted in John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge, 1953), 71–72.

Smith, (August 1882); L. Victor Baughman (December 1884); and Stephen Gambrell (January 1888).⁹¹

To resolve the financial dilemma as well as it was able, the canal company resorted to several devices. First, it cut the ordinary expenses of operation whenever and wherever possible. Second, the board applied its economy measures to the work of maintenance and improvement by authorizing only the most essential repairs to the waterway and suspending work on the comprehensive program of improvements laid down by the Gorman administration in the mid-1880s.

During a miner's strike in the spring of 1882 trade on the canal was virtually suspended. The board reduced the pay of the lock tenders from \$40 to \$20 per month and that of the bosses and horsemen from \$45 and \$25 to \$25 and \$15 per month, respectively. The salaries were not restored to the pre-strike levels until May 1883.⁹²

Further steps were taken to reduce operating expenses during the winter of 1883–84. Effective January 1, the pay of the lock tenders was reduced by 50 percent. Moreover, 65 employees on the 1st Division and 40 on the 2nd Division were laid off. Many of the men were rehired in the early spring to help get the canal ready for the new boating season.⁹³

Still unable to meet its expenses, the board on April 24, 1884, ordered a 50 percent reduction in the number of its laborers. Accordingly, the following cuts were made:

DIVISION NO. 1			
J. Shipley	Boss Carpenter	From Self & 3 men	to Self & 1 man
M. Lynch	Boss Carpenter	From Self & 2 men	to Self & 1 man
J. P. Biser	Boss Carpenter	From Self & 7 men	to Self & 3 man
G. G. Latchford	Boss	From Self & 14 men	to Self & 4 men
Connell	Boss	From Self & 15 men	to Self & 6 men
Scraggs	Boss	From Self & 20 men	to Self & 10 men
Riley	Boss	From Self & 17 men	to Self & 10 men
Elgin	Boss	From Self & 13 men	to Self & 6 men
Boteter	Boss	From Self & 15 men	to Self & 6 men
Allen	Boss	From Self & 18 men	to Self & 10 men
Drenner	Boss	From Self & 15 men	to Self & 6 men
Marrow	Boss	From Self & 12 men	to Self & 6 men
		From 12 Bosses & 141 men	to 12 Bosses & 69 men
DIVISION NO. 2			
S. D. Young	Boss Carpenter	From Self & 5 men	to Self & 1 man
J. W. Burgess	Boss Carpenter	From Self & 3 men	to -----
S. Troup	Boss Carpenter	From Self & 3 man	to Self & 1 man
Kelly	Boss	From Self & 12 men	to Self & 4 men
Sprigg	Boss	From Self & 12 men	to Self & 4 men
Hittenhouser	Boss	From Self & 7 men	to Self & 4 men
Masters	Boss	From Self & 8 men	to Self & 4 men
S. Sterling	Boss	-----	-----
J. F. Sterling	Boss	From Self & 14 men	to Self & 6 men

⁹¹ Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, 247–248, and *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, N, 197–198, 298–299, 301, 323–324, 350, 370.

⁹² *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, N, 189–190, 214.

⁹³ *Ibid*, N, 246, and *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report* (1884), C & O Co., 17.

Hughes	Boss	From Self & 9 men	to Self & 6 men
Burgan	Boss	From Self & 16 men	to Self & 8 men
		From 10 Bosses & 89 men	to 9 Bosses & 38 men

In addition, one gang of hands at the Basin Wharf in Cumberland was to be dismissed to provide a savings of 25 percent in its operating costs.⁹⁴

Faced with increasing debts and a continuing decline in trade revenues, the board in June 1884 ordered 20 to 25 percent cuts in pay and personnel. The following reductions were made:

DIVISION NO. 1			
J. J. Moore	Superintendent	From \$125	to \$100 per month
J. Isaccs	Assist. Superintendent	From \$100	to \$80 per month
William Snowden	Collector	From \$125	to \$100 per month
W. Jarboe	Clerk	From \$100	to \$75 per month
36 Lock-keepers		From \$40	to \$30 per month
4 Lock-keepers		From \$45	to \$35 per month
1 Lock-keeper		From \$50	to \$40 per month
1 Lock-keeper		From \$65	to \$55 per month
Richard Clark	Helper at Outlet	From \$30 per month	to dismissal
James Vaughan	Mason	From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal
E. Elias	Assist. Carpenter	From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal
D. Reed	Assist. Carpenter	From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal
William Danner	Assist. Carpenter	From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal
Joseph Elgin	Assist. Carpenter	From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal
G. G. Latchford	Boss of Dredge	From \$70	to \$35 per month
A. W. Latchford	Engineer & Watchman	From \$2	to \$1 per day
Average Monthly Force (12 men)		From \$1.10 per day	to dismissal
W. H. Riley	Boss	From \$55 per month	to dismissal
Average Monthly Force (10 men)		From \$1.10 per day	to dismissal
Cannell	Boss	From 8 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
C. F. Elgin	Boss	From 10 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
Scaggs	Boss	From 12 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
R. H. Botter	Boss	From 6 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
William Allen	Boss	From 12 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
Silas Duncan	Boss	From 8 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
James Marrow	Boss	From 7 men to 4 men at \$1.10 per day	
DIVISION MO. 2			
Lewis G. Stanhope	Superintendent	From \$125	to \$100 per month
A. Willison	Collector	From \$150	to \$125 per month
John Edwards	Assist. Collector	From \$100	to \$75 per month
J. Ranahan	Guager	From \$50	to \$30 per month
E. J. Neill	Inspector	From \$40	to \$30 per month
J. Spielman	Collector	From \$50	to \$40 per month

⁹⁴ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, N, 257–258, and *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report* (1884), 19–20.

28 Lock-keepers		From \$40	to \$30 per month
4 Lock-keepers		From \$65	to \$55 per month
2 Lock-keepers		From \$50	to \$40 per month
H. Tedrick	Packet	From \$50	to \$35 per month
Carpenter		From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal
Blacksmith		From \$1.75 per day	to dismissal ⁹⁵

Additional drastic cuts were made in the staff of the central office at Annapolis in July. The offices of general superintendent, assistant superintendent and engineer were abolished, and President Smith assumed the duties of general superintendent. The number of employees at Annapolis was reduced to five—president, treasurer, accountant, clerk, messenger—and their salaries were reduced by 20 percent.⁹⁶

At the annual meeting of the stockholders in June 1885 L. Victor Baughman, who had been elected as president of the canal company in the previous December, announced that the reduction of salaries and wages, the discharge of unnecessary employees, and the consolidation of offices had resulted in a savings of \$26,473.57 in operating expenditures. However, the company was still unable to meet its monthly payroll and had fallen behind several months in its payments to the workers. Most of the company laborers were continuing to perform their jobs despite the backlog in wages, although some workers in Washington County had left their places of employment. Henceforth the two superintendents, J. P. Biser and Edward Mulvaney, would make monthly trips over their divisions and submit written reports to the president concerning the work that needed to be done.⁹⁷

Owing to the limited means of the company, Superintendents Biser and Mulvaney were ordered to dispense with the services of the entire canal labor force in January and February 1886. Only those employees who were needed to police company property were to stay on the payroll and then at reduced salaries.⁹⁸

AMOUNTS DUE TO UNPAID LABORERS AND OTHER PERSONS 1883–1889	
1883	\$ 2,088.54
1884	\$ 2,803.94
1885	\$ 174.46
1886	\$ 589.45
1887	\$ 4,686.48
1888	\$21,609.98
1889	\$26,554.06
	\$58,509.91*

* Amount unpaid as of Nov. 1, 1889, Register of amounts Due Labor, 1883–1889, C & O Co.

⁹⁵ *Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, N, 267–268.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, N, 274. In addition, the position of assistant collector at Georgetown was abolished, and all of the carpenters on Division No. 1 were consolidated under the supervision of J. J. Biser.

⁹⁷ *Fifty-Seventh Annual Report* (1885), C & O Co., 6–7, 9. See the following page for a list of the “Amounts Due to Unpaid Laborers and Other Persons, 1883–1889.”

⁹⁸ *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report* (1886), C & O Co., 11–12.

President Baughman reported to the stockholders at their annual meeting in January 1887 on the results of the cost-saving policies of his administration and the prospects of the company for the coming year. Among his comments were the following statements:

It will be observed that in the first year of our management a saving of over thirty thousand dollars on the running expenses of the canal was effected over the expenditures of the year 1884. A still further reduction of nearly twenty-three thousand dollars was effected this year over the year 1885, thus making the reduction for 1886 nearly fifty-three thousand dollars less than it cost to run the canal in 1884....We feel assured by an enforced system of economy we will be able to make still further reductions during the year 1887.

The present administration does not propose to take advantage of honest labor by employing men in various positions when there is no prospect of obtaining the means by which they are to be remunerated.

We have endeavored to carry out the pledges made to the people of Maryland when we assumed charge of the affairs of this Company two years ago, at which time we gave our assurance that a strict business management would be inaugurated, and that under no circumstances should this great work be prostrated for political purposes.⁹⁹

An article appeared in the Baltimore *Sun* on August 20, 1887, describing in considerable detail the company provisions for room and board for its workers. In light of the desperate financial condition of the company and its numerous cost-cutting policies relative to labor, the article appears to be self-serving. Nevertheless, it is the most exhaustive treatment of the living and working conditions of the canal maintenance crews that is available:

The number of employees of the Canal Company is about 275, of whom 125 are laborers who live in houses on land or in boats owned by the company, their quarters are fitted up with berths, wash stands, dining tables and other conveniences, and are noted for cleanliness. The laborers are paid \$1.10 per day and are charged forty cents daily for board. Good cooks prepare and serve the food, which consists of beef, pork, bacon, vegetables, butter, bread, coffee and sugar. Each berth has a comfortable mattress and clean sheets and plenty of blankets. It was a wise act on the part of President Baughman to provide the men with good food and quarters, as they are in better condition physically than formerly, and, being satisfied, work harder. The cooks, of whom there are about twenty, are the only women in the laborers' houses. They have separate apartments, and manage to preside over their stoves and tables in a manner that commands respect. The men eat breakfast between six and seven o'clock, go to work at seven, take an hour for dinner at midday, and quit work at six o'clock. Then they wash, and spend the evening smoking, singing, telling jokes, and having a good time generally. The company's boats are towed to any point where work is required....

Carpenters, bosses and miscellaneous workmen make up the remainder of the list of employees.¹⁰⁰

In his last annual report to the stockholders in January 1888 just before Stephen Gambrill, the son-in-law of Senator Gorman, was elected to replace him, President Baughman recited the accomplishments of his three year administration. Although somewhat exaggerated, the report indi-

⁹⁹ *Fifty-Ninth Annual Report* (1887), C & O Co., 11–12.

¹⁰⁰ Baltimore *Sun*, August 20, 1887, in Spates Papers.

cates his concern for the achievement of the most efficient management system possible for the canal in light of the deteriorating company finances:

Impressed with the belief that the proper administration of its affairs demanded a total divorce of its management from all political entanglements, we distinctly asserted in our letter of acceptance three years ago that the canal should, during our term, be conducted solely on business principles.

With that end in view, useless offices were abolished, the number of employees decreased, expenses were curtailed, a close personal supervision was given to every branch and department, and no effort was left unused to secure an increase of tonnage and to stimulate the development of trade. As a consequence there is not today, and there has not been during our term, a single supernumerary or extra hand in the service of the company; there has not been, and there is not now, a single instance where a saving could have been effected in any way consistent with maintaining the efficiency of the works that have been overlooked, and every available ton of freight which the capacity of the boats was equal to was secured for transportation. Politics and political matters were kept studiously out of the business and the management of the canal, and we can say, without the fear of a successful denial from any source whatsoever, that the canal has not in any shape or form been used in the interest of or against any political party during our incumbency of the office of president.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ *Sixtieth Annual Report* (1888), C & O Co. 5–6.

IX.: MANAGEMENT OF CANAL MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES DURING THE RECEIVERSHIP PERIOD: 1889–1924

Following the titanic flood of 1889, the canal company admitted that it was unable to raise funds to repair its works and that it was bankrupt. As the majority owner of both the 1878 and 1844 bonds, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad held preferred mortgages on the physical property and the revenues of the canal. On December 31, 1889, it petitioned the Circuit Court of Washington County for the appointment of receivers under the mortgage of 1844. On March 3, 1890, receivers were appointed to restore and operate the canal.¹⁰²

The receivers soon took steps to restore the navigation of the canal. H. C. Winship, a long-time employee of the canal company, was hired as general manager, while H. D. Whitcomb, a former general engineer for the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company and one of the commissioners for the construction of the levees on the Mississippi River, was employed as chief engineer. By the spring of 1891 some 1,000 laborers were involved in the repairs.¹⁰³

At the same time the receivers commenced a review of the overall maintenance and operating needs of the waterway. The assessment led to the preparation of a list of the estimated number and types of positions required to manage the canal:

1	General Superintendent and Manager	\$3,000
1	Assistant Superintendent, 1 st Division	1,200
1	Assistant Superintendent, 2 nd Division	1,200
1	Collector at Cumberland	1,000
1	Clerk at Cumberland	600
2	Boss Carpenters (@ \$60 per month)	1,440
1	Assistant Carpenter (@ \$35 per month)	420
40	Laborers (250 days @ \$1.10 per day)	11,000
3	Boss Carpenters (10 months @ \$60 per month)	1,800
7	Assistant Carpenters (10 months @ \$39 per month)	2,730
10	Section Bosses (10 months @ \$60 per month)	6,000
10	Section Bosses (2 months @ \$15 per month)	300
80	Laborers (250 days @ \$1.10 per day)	22,000
11	Level Walkers (300 days @ \$1.10 per day)	3,630
15	Horses Owned by Bosses & Others (@ \$15 per month)	2,700
1	Collector at Hancock (@ \$30 per month)	360
1	Collector at Williamsport (@ \$40 per month)	480
59	Lock-Keepers (10 months @ \$20 per month)	11,800
6	Lock-Keepers, Outlets and Bridges (10 months @ \$30 per month)	1,800
2	Lock-Keepers, Waybills & Feeders (10 months @ \$40 per month)	800
1	Lock-Keeper, Feeder (10 months @ \$25 per month)	250
3	Lock-Keepers and Inspectors (10 months @ \$35 per month)	1,050
1	Collector at Georgetown	1,200
1	Clerk at Georgetown	720
1	General Bookkeeper and Cashier at Company Office	1,500
		\$78,980

¹⁰² Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, 263–266.

¹⁰³ Petition of Trustees, April 25, 1891, Receivership Papers, Washington County Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland

In addition, a list of other estimated maintenance and operating costs was compiled as follows:

Cumberland Wharf	\$5,000.00
Trimming Cargoes	2,606.50
Operating Territory within District of Columbia including Georgetown Incline	5,000.00
Material for Repairs (gates, houses, flumes, wasteways, trunk bridges, scows, boats, wheelbarrows, shovels, picks, iron	14,020.00
	¹⁰⁴ \$28,626.50

It is not known how closely this estimate was followed in subsequent years as the receivers established a management system for the maintenance and operation of the canal. The payrolls for this period, which are listed as existing in the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal records at the National Archives, have been lost. As a result, there is no accurate method of determining the composition of the employees on the line. However, a cursory examination of the annual expenditures by the trustees during the receivership period indicates a close correlation between those figures and the listed cost estimates in 1890.¹⁰⁵

Because of the unavailability of payroll lists and detailed annual reports for the period little is known about the men who managed the canal during the receivership. The only individual for whom there is some information is George L. Nicholson, who served as general manager and superintendent of the waterway from the early 1890s until 1938 when the canal was sold to the federal government.¹⁰⁶ Another man long associated with the canal during this period was Samuel Sidney Connell, who served as section boss from Lock No. 22 to Brunswick from the early 1900s to 1924.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ "Estimated Cost of Operating Canal," filed June 9, 1890, Receivership Papers.

¹⁰⁵ Reports of Trustees, 1891–1924, Receivership Papers.

¹⁰⁶ Sanderlin, *Great National Project*, 186–187.

¹⁰⁷ Jane Chinn Sween, "A History of Dawsonville and Seneca, Montgomery County, Maryland" (Mss. Maryland Historical Society, 1967), 69. Connell lived in a company house beside the Seneca basin during his tenure from the early 1900s to 1933. The structure was torn down after his death in the latter year.

X. RESUMPTION OF REGULAR MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY CANAL COMPANY CREWS

A review of the canal company records indicates that virtually throughout the operating history of the canal regular maintenance activities were performed by work crews headed by bosses who were generally under the immediate supervision of the division superintendents. During the winter months from mid-December to mid-March the canal was usually closed to navigation. It was during this period that the crews removed siltation deposits and other obstructions from the canal trunk, made major repairs to the masonry locks, aqueducts and culverts, and restored the towpath to grade. Repairs or improvements were made to the lockhouses and the company shops and offices along the waterway. The wooden gates and the wicket rods in the locks and the waste weirs were replaced by new ones built in the company carpenter shops at various points along the canal. Such items as the woodwork in the composite locks also were overhauled during the winter. The winter months were also the time when long-range improvements, such as the lengthening of some of the locks in the 1870s and 1880s, were accomplished. Sometimes when a break occurred at an aqueduct or a culvert during the navigation season, a temporary wooden trunk would be thrown over the “trouble-spot” until more extensive repairs could be made in the winter.

During the boating season which usually lasted from mid-March to mid-December, the company crews were kept busy with a variety of duties. Some of their more frequent activities included clearing deposits and debris from the culvert barrels, strengthening the towpath and berm embankment protection walls, and making minor repairs as needed on the canal structures. Aside from these duties, the crews were kept busy repairing breaches in the canal banks, replacing lock gates that had been damaged by boats, and raising sunken hulls. The crews also performed the necessary restoration work to the canal after the frequent spring and fall freshets which struck the Potomac Valley. When major floods occurred additional hands were often recruited in the towns and villages along the canal to supplement the regular work crews. One of the most frequent problems to face the canal company during the summer months was that of an inadequate supply of water. As this situation was generally caused by the low level of the Potomac and leaks in the dams, the crews often spent much time tightening the structures in an effort to raise the level of the pool of water backed up behind them.

APPENDIX A

PROPERTY ON AND ABOUT THE HOUSEBOAT
ON THE 2ND DIVISION, AUGUST 1870

An inventory of property belonging to the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company on and about the house boat on the 2nd division J. Y. Fletchall Superintendent [August 1, 1870].

J. Y. Fletchall Superintendent [August 1, 1870]¹

2 wheel barrows old sag ½ worn
6 wheelbarrows very good (new)
2 wheelbarrows for stone new & good
3 crow Bars
4 picks
6 shovels old ¾ worn
1 cart & gear
1 tool box in good order
1 feed box in good order
1 small house for provisions
1 stable for horse in very bad order
1 scow in good order
The House Boat in fair condition—a few repairs needed
13 mattresses more than half worn out
13 sheets half worn
13 Bolsters half worn
13 pr Blankets in all, (1 pr.) for each bed or bunk
2 Lamps
1 Boat Lamp
1 Cooking Stove & Fixtures say ½ worn

17 saucers & 13 cups for Table
1 pepper box, 2 oil cans
21 plates, 2 white dishes 1 Brown dish
1 stew pan, 2 Molasses mugs
1 Pitcher, 3 tin pans
1 Kitchen Lamp, 1 Tea Pot, 1 Sifter
1 Coffee mill, 1 Wash bowl
1 Jug, 4 Buckets (wood), 3 tin cups
1 office Stove half worn, 2 chairs
2 Benches for table, 1 long table & one small table for office
1 Stove in Scow & pipe 2/3rds worn
1 Block & fall in good order
1 Tow line new—some old rope of little use
4 spalding hammers—! Grind Stone ½ worn
2 Sledges, 1 shovel
3 Wash basins, 2 stools
6 Table spoons & 6 Tea spoons
½ doz. Tin plates, 10 knives & forks very bad
2 Looking Glasses
1 Small flat boat
1 new arc and 2 old (of no use)

¹ Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

APPENDIX B

TOOLS, BOATS, AND MATERIALS
ON THE SENECA DIVISION 1870

A list of tools, boats, and materials belonging to the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company on the “Seneca Division”

Delivered to A. Thomas as follows [August 1, 1870] ²

One small flat, 10 pr blankets—8 blankets—10 bed ticks, 7 pillow ticks, 10 pillow slips—26 sheets—2 table cloths, 5 towels, 2 curtain mosquito bar, 15 knives, 8 forks, 8 tea spoons, 7 table spoons, 6 buckets, 6 tin cups, 29 plates, 22 cups and 15 saucers, 3 molasses cans, 2 sugar bowls, 1 bowl, 2 milk pots—2 coffee mills, 3 jugs, 1 pitcher, 3 boxes—2 trays—1 polling pin—2 oil cans—tin lantern—dish pan—4 tin plated—2 coffee pots—1 cooking stove & fixtures—2 lamps—1 clock—3 tables—3 chairs—6 benches—4 stools—office stove—Bow lamp—wash pan—3 Sad irons—Bed Stead in office—oil cloth—3 axes—1 hatchet, 2 wash tubs—1 grind stone—2 striking hammers—1 set blocks & rope, 4 cross bars, 2 pinch bars—1 lamping bar, 15 shovels—6 picks—8 wheel barrows—3 spawling hammers—2 sledges—1 tool chest—2 locks—1 water keg—390 rails—62 post 1 hand made scoop in good repair—1 old stove.

1 Dirt scow, 1 large flat, 1 house boat, 2 pumps—want repairing—1 blanket, 1 towel—3 knives—2 butcher knives, 4 forks—6 spoons—1 canister—2 dish pans—1 tin bucket, 2 coffee pots—2 lamps, 2 pans—1 shovel, nearly worn out.

13 Heel posts—11 tow posts—2 marking sticks, 19 beams—146 arms—3 pieces 4x5 yellow pine—250 ft. 1 in. oak—200 ft. 1 in. pine—100 ft. ¾ in. oak—150 ft 3 in. oak—50 ft 1½ in. oak—1 piece 6x10—5 trussels—400 ft 2 in. white pine, lock & key—work bench—2 bench screws 1 cross cut saw—1 boring machine—7 augers—1 Canal stamp—2 bars iron 1 wrench—2 axes—2 crow bars set shear polls & rig—½ bbl. Pitch—bale oakum, 2 timber jacks and 4 rollers—1 cant hook—1 ladder—one grab hook—1 grind stone—2 buckets, 1 cup—22 bolts—5 new pivots—1 old pivot—3 new pots—5 old pots—4 new frames & paddles—1 frame—200 old bolts—T.C.L.s & taps—3½ keys, spikes, 40 nails—1 oil can, 1 brush, 2 hoes—3 sets cast gears—3 jumper drills, 1 churn drill, 5 hand drills—1 scraper—about 1500 old railing iron—2 old shovels—3 house casts, 1 stone truck—1 ring mall about 1000 ft., old lumber, 7 wheel barrows—2 new stone barrows—2 old stone barrows—1 old grout box—3 old barrows worth nothing—3 pumps nearly worn out.

² Ltrs. Recd., C & O Co.

APPENDIX C

REPORT ON CANAL TELEPHONE LINE, SEPTEMBER 27, 1879³

The undersigned committee appointed at the last meeting of the Board of Directors held in Annapolis to examine and inspect the “Telephone” recently constructed under your direction by Mr. Morrison, from Georgetown to Cumberland, and also to examine and inspect the re-building of Dam No. 4 which was washed away by the floods in the Potomac in the year 1877, beg leave to submit the following report:

In company with Mr. Morrison we examined a large portion of the “Telephone” line constructed by him, and now in use, and find the number of poles to the mile to be thirty (30) of good solid chestnut timber, twenty five (25) feet high of an average size of six (6) inches at the upper end, well set in the embankment, on straits four and one half (4½) feet deep and on curves five (5) feet in clay driven foundations except in crossings over Railroads, or county Bridges or other obstructions, in the way of the line where they range from thirty five (35) to forty and forty-five (40–45) feet in height in order to clear the line from all possible contact with such obstructions. At Big Slack Water the line changes from the towpath to the berm side of the Canal and instead of using poles, which was impossible owing to the change from the towpath to the berm side, the wire is strung on iron arms or brackets, securely fastened in the rock on the berm side of the canal, a distance of four (4) miles, and then recrosses to the towpath. The wire used in its construction is galvanized No. 9 gauge regular standard Telegraph wire fulfilling all the Electrical conditions of first class material, placed on the poles by screw glass insulators, or brackets, secured to poles by six (6) inch spikes. All line wire points firmly soldered at the ends in the most approved manner. The instruments are connected with the main line by No. 14 gauge copper wire passing through hard rubber tubes through the wall of the Telephone building and soldered to the line wire and side. The entire line is worked by five (5) cells gravity battery placed at each Telegraph Station, ten (10) additional cells of the same character at terminal points. The Telephone is a carbon transmitter “Edison’s Patent.”

The simple and easy method of communication by telephone adapts it peculiarly well to canal transportation service, and the facilities afforded to work and transportation on the canal must and will very soon dispense with a number of superintendents and other employees necessary under the present management. We have at different places along the line, test the method of communication between different points or stations, and find the line in good working order. Mr. Morrison, who constructed the line, under your direction, accompanied us for the purpose of explaining the manner of operating the line, and to him we are indebted for so much instructing information on the subject.

At the big tunnel an additional line is constructed over the hill from the first lock, east end of tunnel to the watch box at the west end of the tunnel, affording additional facilities for the passage of boats through the tunnel.

³

Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors, N, pp. 92–93.

APPENDIX D

REPORT ON TELEPHONE LINE, NOVEMBER 1, 1879⁴

Under instructions from your Board during the year 1878, I made a complete survey of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, for the purpose of constructing a Telegraph line and establishing stations at proper points for the transaction of the company's business and to expedite the making of repairs when necessary.

In January of the current year, I reported to you that if the line of poles put up by the Superintendents of Divisions on the Canal could be used, that the cost of putting up the wire including line wire insulation etc. would be in round numbers about \$14,000.

From time to time poles have been erected on which it was proposed to place the wires. In March of the current year however, under your direction I made an inspection of the poles and condition of the work and found that the poles already up were too light for the purpose for which they were intended. It was therefore deemed expedient to supply entirely new poles which would not only carry wires to provide for the addition of other wires from time to time as the wants of the company might require. I also found that the dense growth of timber along the canal necessitated the employment of gangs of men other than those engaged in construction to open the way for the building of the line. I began work on the 12th day and completed and put the line in service through its entire length on the first of October. Although it was not until the 31st of the same month that the line was cleared of trees and overhanging brush and placed in perfect condition. The original plan for a Telegraph line was abandoned because of the cost of skilled Telegraph operators and telephones were put in, in which are now being successfully worked by the Locktenders and other canal employees. Every assistance was rendered by the officers and employees of the canal company to expedite the work, men and materials were promptly supplied and in little over five months a line was constructed which from the difficulties to be overcome would ordinarily have taken at least double that time. In many places the only foot hold we could obtain for the poles was by drilling into the solid rock. In spite of this, and other difficulties, the work was completed in the short time above mentioned. The canal company is now in possession of one of the best telegraph lines.

The following description of the work material and equipment will give you a proper understanding of the character of the line. The poles are Chestnut timber not less than six inches at the top, twenty five feet high on the plains with from thirty to forty five feet high at crossings and other places when required.

The average depth in the ground is four & one half feet, except in curves and strains when from five to six feet set was given them. They are set in driven clay and every precaution taken to prevent them caving in on curves. White oak brackets fastened to the poles with six inch spikes support the glass insulators upon which the line wire is securely fastened with tie wire of its own gauge. The line wires are No. nine galvanized wire and stood all the standard tests for conducting tensile strength &c. The equivalent consists of Forty Eight "Edison Universal telephones" comprising Transmitter, Desk Pony, Crown Receiver Switch Key, Signal Bell and Relay. The Battery consists of four hundred cells of "Calland Gravity Battery" distributed as follows:

Georgetown	35 cells
Woods Lock	25 cells
Dam No. 4	15 cells
Dam No. 6	25 cells

⁴*Proceedings of the President and Board of Directors*, N, pp. 93–97.

Cumberland	24 cells
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The remaining stations thirty eight in number have 195 cells distributed Five cells to each station where telephones are placed. The telephones are set up in the watch boxes and Lock keepers houses and connected to the outside line wire by No. four gauge insulated copper wire. Where the wires pass through the walls of these buildings hard rubber tubing is inserted through which they are passed to insure perfect insulation. All the wires and instruments are protected by lightning arresters connected to heavy copper plates which are buried in the damp earth at a proper depth to insure perfect ground connection. All the materials, and all the work, is of the very best description, and all the appliances which modern science has furnished has been applied to make the service as nearly perfect as possible.

Portions of the line have been in service since the middle of September and the entire line since the first of October. The officers of the canal report the service entirely satisfactory. In addition to the main line from the collector's office at Georgetown to the collector's office at Cumberland, I built and equipped two short auxiliary lines, one from the Consolidation Coal Company Wharf at Georgetown to Lock No. five a distance of six and one half miles, to be used for the purpose of regulating boats on the Georgetown level. The other over the Tunnel at Paw Paw, to be used for the purpose of regulating boats passing through the Tunnel.

The total number of poles used in the construction was

5,273 Twenty five feet long

24 Forty five feet long

13 Forty feet long

55 Thirty feet long

and three hundred poles twenty five feet long, span, distributed at different points along the line for repairs making a total of 5,665 poles.

69,300 lbs. of wire was used, including the wire for the auxiliary lines and tie wires.

7,500 screw glass insulators with 6,000 brackets.

The telephones are placed at the following named places:

Collectors office at Cumberland

Bodigan's Lock

Crawfis' Lock

Twiggs Lock

Darkey's Lock

West end of Tunnel

East end of Tunnel, Lock 66-1/3

Bells Lock

Ashkettes Lock

Dam No. 6

Murrays Lock

Brewers Lock

Ticis Lock

Sterlings' Shanty

Sir Johns Run

Williamsport

Hughes' Shanty

Moravey's Lock, Big Slack Water

Guard Lock Dam No. 4

Burgans Shanty
Deloney's Lock
Marrows Shanty
Shepherdstown
Drennans House Boat
Zimmermans Lock
Strippeys Lock
Harpers Ferry
Superintendent Moore's Office
McKernan's Lock
Berlin
Maumons Lock
Woods Lock, Head of nine mile level
Whites Ferry
Lock at head of Eight mile level
Seneca Feeder Lock
Great Falls
Moon's Lock
Outlet Lock
Browning's Shanty
Collector's Office, Georgetown
Winship's Office, Consolidation Coal Cos. Office
Dam No. 5

At Georgetown (Collector's Office) and the station at the east end of the Tunnel two extra telephones were placed to work the auxiliary lines, making a total of Forty six telephones inserted. We have two span telephones on hand to be placed subject to order making a total of Forty Eight telephones.

For ordinary working the line is divided into three sections by switches placed at the following named points:

Dam No. 6
Dam No. 4
Woods Lock (head of nine mile level)

Three switches are so arranged that by a simple movement the whole line can be thrown together making a continuous circuit from Georgetown to Cumberland. To keep the line and instruments in order I recommend the employment of three line Repairers, who have been and are now employed in that capacity.

APPENDIX E

EMPLOYEES JULY 1, 1839

List of persons in the employment of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company on the 1st July, 1839, with the compensation of each.⁵

Robert Barnard, treasurer and accountant, Washington, per annum	\$1,400.00	
John P. Ingle, clerk, Washington	1,800.00	
Thomas Fillebrown, jr., assistant clerk	1,000.00	
William E. Howard, assistant clerk	1,000.00	
George Costin, messenger	250.00	
		\$5,450.00
C. B. Fisk, Chief Engineer, entire line of canal	\$5,000.00	
John A. Byers, principal assistant, between	2,000.00	
Elwood Morris, principal assistant, Dam No. 6	2,000.00	
Charles H. Randolph, principal assistant	2,000.00	
Joshua Gore, principal assistant, Cumberland	2,000.00	
Israel Dickinson, assistant, Cumberland	1,200.00	
Henry M. Dungan, assistant, Cumberland	1,200.00	
Samuel H. Williams, assistant, Cumberland	1,200.00	
Thomas L. Patterson, assistant, Cumberland	1,200.00	
Clement W. Coote, assistant, Cumberland	1,000.00	
Robert P. Dodge, assistant, Cumberland	800.00	
J. A. Sorecki, draughtsman \$3 per day, Cumberland	1,277.50	
William H. Bryan, rodman, Cumberland	780.00	
Fitzhugh Coyle, rodman, Cumberland	720.00	
Benjamin T. Brannan, rodman, Cumberland	540.00	
James R. Young, rodman, Cumberland	540.00	
John T. Cox, rodman, Cumberland	540.00	
Thomas Gore, rodman, Cumberland	540.00	
John Buchanan, rodman, Cumberland	540.00	
John C. Howard, vol. Rodman, Cumberland	360.00	
Charles E. Weaver, rodman, Cumberland	360.00	
Fenton M. Henderson, rodman, Cumberland	360.00	
William T. Winsor, vol. rodmen, duty as chainman	360.00	
A. S. Bender, rodman, duty as chainman	360.00	
		\$26,877.50
Daniel Pierce, axeman, \$26 per month, Cumberland	\$312.00	
John Ogleton, axeman, \$26 per month, Cumberland	312.00	
John Doyle, chain and axeman, Cumberland	396.00	
George Stump, \$20 per month and found, Cumberland	396.00	
Abel T. Crabtree, equal, per year, Cumberland	396.00	
John H. Sargent, equal, per year, Cumberland	396.00	
		\$2,208.00

⁵ *Twelfth Annual Report* (1840), pp. 36–39.

William, (negro) \$15 per month, Cumberland	\$336.00	
David Knode, chainman, \$20 per month and found, No. 6	396.00	
Robert Gates, axeman, \$17 per month and found, Cumberland	360.00	
Samuel Chase, axeman, \$17 per month and found, Cumberland	360.00	
John Eberts, axeman, \$1 per day, Sundays included	360.00	
Thomas Maxwell, \$1 per day, Sundays included	365.00	
William Jones, \$1 per day, Sundays included	365.00	
		\$2,542.00
Alex. B. McFarland, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	\$1,800.50	
*William Anderson, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*Duncan Grant, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*William Challoner, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*Daniel Logan, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*William Hurd, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*James Turnbull, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*James Ellis, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	681.50	
*Joseph Knode, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*Frederick C. R. Maus, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*James Thompson, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*Morgan Snively, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*Thomas Snyder, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*Lewis Bartlett, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*James M. Cushing, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*Reuben Hurle, Jr., superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	547.50	
*George Young, superintendent of masonry, Cumberland	730.00	
		\$11,680.50
Jas. Hilton, lock-keeper—Lock B, Washington	50.00	
Jas. O. Reiley, lock-keeper tide-locks, & locks 1, 2, 3 & 4, Georgetown	1,200.00	
Thos. B. Offut, lock-keeper, Lock No. 5 & Guard-lock No. 1	250.00	
J. Whelan, lock-keeper, Lock No. 6	150.00	
M. Hart, lock-keeper, Lock No. 7	150.00	
L. Barret, lock-keeper, Lock No. 8	150.00	
J. Y. Young, lock-keeper, Lock No. 9 & 10	200.00	
William Burgess, lock-keeper, Lock No. 11	150.00	
Fred. Metts, lock-keeper, Lock No. 12, 13 and 14	250.00	
Hez. Metts, lock-keeper, Lock No. 15 and 16	276.00	
Jos. Caldwell, lock-keeper, Lock No. 17 and 18	276.00	
Daniel Collins, lock-keeper, Lock No. 19 and 20 Crom.	200.00	
R. C. Field, lock-keeper, Lock No. 21	150.00	

* Assistant superintendents of masonry, who are paid at the rate of \$2 per day in the winter months, and \$2.25 the rest of the year, Sundays exclusive.

* Superintendents of sections at \$1.50 per day, Sunday's inclusive, with the exception of George Young, who receives \$2 per day, he being connected with the superintendence of Dam No. 8, in addition to his other duties.

M. F. Harris, lock-keeper, Lock No. 22	150.00	
		\$3,602.00
W. H. Hammondtree, lock-keeper, Lock No. 23 & Guard Lock No. 2	\$200.00	
C. H. Shanks, lock-keeper, Lock No. 24	150.00	
Asa Aud, lock-keeper, Lock No. 25, & Edwards Ferry outlet lock	250.00	
James Fitch, lock-keeper, Lock No. 26	150.00	
Thomas Waller, lock-keeper, Lock No. 27	150.00	
P. McGaughan, collector, Point of Rocks	300.00	
James Davis, lock-keeper, Lock No. 28	150.00	
William Waller, lock-keeper, Lock No. 29	175.00	
William Kuhn, lock-keeper, Lock No. 30, Berlin	100.00	
A. B. Ward, lock-keeper, Lock No. 31	175.00	
J. B. Shope, lock-keeper, Lock No. 32	175.00	
W. S. Elgin, lock-keeper & collector, Lock No. 33 & H. Ferry outlet L	300.00	
John Crowley, lock-keeper, Lock No. 34	175.00	
William McKay, lock-keeper, Lock 35, 36, Guard-lock No. 3, H. Ferry	300.00	
J. Kercheval, lock-keeper, Lock No. 37	150.00	
G. W. Hughes, lock-keeper, Lock No. 38 & river lock, Shepherds-town	200.00	
Joseph Gwyn, lock-keeper, Lock No. 39	150.00	
A. McCoy, lock-keeper, Lock No. 40	150.00	
L. R. Shaw, lock-keeper, Guard Lock No. 4, Dam No. 4	150.00	
Henry Boyd, lock-keeper, Lock No. 41 and 42	200.00	
M. Crisman, lock-keeper, Lock No. 43	150.00	
William Irwin, collector, Williamsport basin	400.00	
Jacob Morten, lock-keeper, Guard Lock No. 5	150.00	
		\$4,450.00
Philip Trammel, lock-keeper, Locks Nos. 45 and 46	200.00	
Daniel Brewer, lock-keeper, Locks Nos. 47, 48, 49 and 50	300.00	
Henry Rowland, lock-keeper, Lock No. 51 and 52	200.00	
Vacant, lock-keeper, Lock Mo. 53	150.00	
Vacant, lock-keeper, Guard Lock, Dam No. 6	150.00	
		\$1,000.00
J. Y. Young, superintendent from Georgetown basin to Edward's ferry	\$1,000.00	
William S. Elgin, superintendent, from thence to Harpers Ferry Falls	1,000.00	
George W. Rogers, superintendent, from Harpers Ferry to Dam No. 5	1,200.00	
John G. Stone, superintendent, from thence to Dam No. 6	1,200.00	
		\$4,400.00
		\$62,210.00
<i>Western Survey party, (temporarily engaged)</i>		
Jno. S. McColloh, acting assistant, entered service May 19, 1839, at		

\$66 2/3 per month			
Richard S. McColloh, rodman, entered service, June 8, 1839, at \$45 per month			
John Widener, chainman, entered service, May 24, at \$1 per day, Sundays inclusive			
John Paw, chainman, entered service, May 22, at \$1 per day, Sundays inclusive			
Samuel Davis, axeman, entered service June 2, 1839, at \$1 per day			
Thomas Taylor, axeman, entered service, May 22, 1839 at \$1 per day, Sundays inclusive			
<i>The cost of the "Western Survey" last year was \$1,029.37, viz:</i>			
Pay of F. Coyle, acting assistant, (while engaged on the "Western Survey") 3 2/3 months, at the rate of \$60 2/3 per month		\$244.44	
J. S. McColloh and R. S. McColloh, volunteer rodmen, 3 5/6 months, at \$30 per month		230.00	
Pay of hands and board		498.87	
Contingencies		56.06	
		\$1,029.37	
<i>President and Directors</i>			
Francis Thomas, President, \$3,000 per annum			
John J. Abert	<i>Directors</i> —\$4 per day to each director during the time which he shall be actually engaged in the duties of his office, provided that such compensation does not exceed, in any one year, the sum of \$300.		
Phineas Janney			
Thomas Perry			
James Carroll			
Jacob G. Davies			
Joseph White			
<i>Summary of annual expenses, as before stated, exclusive of President and Directors</i>			
At the office in Washington		\$5,450.00	
Engineers, axemen and chainmen		31,627.50	
Superintendents of masonry and sections		11,680.50	
Superintendents on the line finished		4,400.00	
Lock-keepers and collectors		9,052.00	
		\$62,210.00	
The pay of the party now temporarily employed in the survey of the Western section, is at the rate of \$2,800 per annum			

APPENDIX F

OFFICERS FEBRUARY 1, 1840

List of the officers of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, in service on the 1st day of February, 1840, with the rate of compensation paid to each.⁶

Francis Thomas, President (compensation per annum)		\$3,000.00
Jacob G. Davies,	<i>Directors</i> —\$4 per day to each, during the time he shall be actually engaged in the duties of his office, provided the pay of each director shall not exceed 300 dollars per annum.	1,800.00
Robert P. Dunlop,		
Washington Duval,		
Phineas Janey,		
John W. Maury,		
Joseph White		
John P. Ingle, clerk		1,800.00
Robert Barnard, treasurer and accountant		1,400.00
Thomas Fillebrown, Jr., clerk		1,000.00
William E. Howard, assistant clerk		1,000.00
George Costin, messenger		250.00
Maximum compensation if each director shall receive \$300		\$9,250.00
John Y. Young, superintendent 1 st Division canal		\$800.00
William S. Elgin, superintendent 2 nd Division		800.00
George W. Rogers, superintendent 3 rd Division		800.00
John G. Stone, superintendent 4 th Division		800.00
Jas. O. Reiley, collector and keeper Locks Nos. 1,2,3,4		1,200.00
P. McGaughanm collector, Point of Rocks		300.00
William Irwin, collector, Williamsport		400.00
Arthur Blackwell, collector, Hancock		400.00
John P. Hilton, keeper of tide-lock B		50.00
Thomas B. Offut, keeper, Lock No. 5, and guard lock		250.00
James Dalzell, keeper, Lock No. 6		150.00
Michael Hart, keeper, Lock No. 7		150.00
Levi Barrett, keeper, Lock No. 8		150.00
John Y. Young, keeper, Lock No. 9 and 10		200.00
Weston Burgess, keeper, Lock No. 11		150.00
Frederick Metts, keeper, Lock No. 12, 13 and 14		250.00
Hezekiah Metts, keeper, Lock No. 15 and 16		276.00
Joseph Caldwell, keeper, Lock No. 17 and 18		276.00
Daniel Collins, keeper, Lock No. 19 and 20		200.00
R. C. Fields, keeper, Lock No. 21		150.00
M. F. Harris, keeper, Lock No. 22		150.00
W. H. Hammondtree, keeper, Lock No. 23 and guard		200.00
Charles H. Shanks, keeper, Lock No. 24		150.00
Asa Aud, keeper, Lock No. 25 and outlet		250.00

⁶ *Twelfth Annual Report* (1840), pp. 34–36.

James Fitch, keeper, Lock No. 26	150.00
Thomas Walter, keeper, Lock No. 27	150.00
James Davis, keeper, Lock No. 28	150.00
William Walter, keeper, Lock No. 29	175.00
William Kuhn, keeper, Lock No. 30	100.00
A. B. Ward, keeper, Lock No. 31, &c	175.00
J. B. Shope, keeper, Lock No. 32	175.00
W. S. Elgin, keeper, Lock No. 33 and collector	300.00
John Crowley, collector, Lock No. 34	175.00
William McKay, keeper, Lock No. 35, 36 and guard	300.00
John Kercheval, keeper, Lock No. 37	150.00
George Hughes, keeper, Lock No. 38 and outlet	200.00
Joseph Gwyn, keeper, Lock No. 39	150.00
Andrew McCoy, keeper, Lock No. 40	150.00
Levi R. Shaw, keeper, Guard Lock No. 4	150.00
Henry Boyd, keeper, Locks No. 41 and 42	200.00
Michael Chrisman, keeper, Lock No. 43	150.00
Joseph Hollman, keeper, Lock No. 44, water power	
Jacob Motter, keeper, Guard Lock No. 5	150.00
Phillip Trammell, keeper, Locks No. 45 and 46	200.00
Daniel Brewer, keeper, Locks No. 47, 48, 49 and 50	300.00
Upton Rowland, keeper, Locks No. 51 and 52	200.00
H. Connwe, keeper, Lock No. 53	150.00
John Roberts, temporary, Guard Lock No. 6	456.00
Superintendents, collectors, and lock-keepers	\$12,958.00
Charles B. Fisk, Chief Engineer	\$4,000.00
Elwood Morris, principal assistant	2,000.00
Joshua Gore, principal assistant	2,000.00
Israel Dickinson, assistant	1,200.00
Hugh M. Dungan, assistant	1,200.00
Samuel H. William, assistant	1,200.00
Thomas L. Patterson, assistant	1,200.00
R. S. McColloh, rodman	540.00
Benjamin F. Branan, rodman	540.00
James R. Young, rodman	540.00
Fenton M. Henderson, rodman	540.00
, axeman	365.00
, axeman	365.00
, axeman	365.00
, axeman	365.00
A. B. McFarland, superintendent of masonry	681.50
D. Logan, superintendent of masonry	681.50
Joseph Knode, superintendent of sections	547.50
Morgan Snively, superintendent of sections	547.50
Thomas Snyder, superintendent of sections	547.50

James M. Cushing, superintendent of sections	547.50
George Young, superintendent of sections	730.00
Wm. H. Brayan, commissioner and clerk in the office of the Chief Engineer	1,000.00
Engineers, commissioners, &c.	\$21,703.00
<i>Summary of yearly compensation.</i>	
The President, and Clerks, (if the directors receive the maximum of their compensation)	\$9,250.00
The superintendents, collectors, and lock-keepers	12,958.00
The engineers and commissioner	21,703.00
	\$43,911.00

Note: There are a few other officers in the service of the company at this time, but as their term of service will expire on the 1st of March next, they are not entered on this list.

APPENDIX G

OFFICERS, ENGINEERS, AND AGENTS APRIL 2, 1841

List of the officers, engineers, and agents in employ of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, on the 2nd day of April, 1841, the day on which the present Board of President and Directors were elected, with the rate of compensation paid to each annually.⁷

Francis Thomas, (president) compensation per annum		\$3,000
Dr. William Tyler,	<i>Directors</i> —\$4 per day to each, during the time he shall be actually engaged in the duties of his office, provided the pay of each director shall not exceed 300 dollars per annum.	1,800
Jacob Markell,		
John McPherson,		
Robert P. Dunlop,		
James Swan,		
William Lucas		
Thomas Turner, clerk		1,800
Edward Shriver, assistant clerk		1,000
Ezra Kouck, collector general of tolls		1,000
Samuel Tyler, treasurer and accountant		1,400
Albert Maybury, messenger		200
		10,200
Elwood Morris, chief engineer 1 st Division canal		\$4,000
Henry M. Dungan, assistant engineer		1,200
Thomas L. Patterson, assistant engineer		1,200
Jacob C. Schnebly, rodman		540
Benjamin F. Brennan, rodman		540
Two chain and axeman		730
Samuel M. Semmes, commissioner		1,000
		9,210
John Y. Young, superintendent 1 st division		\$800
William O'Neale, superintendent 2 nd division		800
John D. Grove, superintendent 3 rd division		800
Joseph Hololman, superintendent 4 th division		800
Benjamin F. Mackall, collector of tolls at Georgetown		800
P. McGaughan, collector of tolls at Point of Rocks		800
William McKepler, collector of tolls at Williamsport		400
Arthur Blackwell, collector of tolls at Hancock		400
John Hilton, keeper of Lock B		50
James O'Riley, keeper of locks Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4		500
Thomas B. O'Offutt, keeper of lock No. 5 and guard lock		250
James Dalzell, keeper of lock No. 6		150
Michael Hart, keeper of lock No. 7		150
Levi Barrett, keeper of lock No. 8		150
Osbourn Crawford, keeper of locks No. 9 and 10		200
Wilton Burgess, keeper of Lock No. 11		150

⁷ *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1842), pp. 24–25.

Frederick Metts, keeper of locks No. 12, 13 and 14	250
Hezekiah Metts, keeper of locks No. 15 and 16	276
William H. Henderson, keeper of locks Nos. 17 and 18	276
D. Collins, keeper of locks Nos. 19 and 20	\$200
Robert C. Fields, keeper of lock No. 21	150
John Fields, keeper of lock No. 22	150
William H. Hammontru, keeper of lock No. 23 and guard lock	200
Charles H. Shanks, keeper of lock No. 24	150
Asa Aud, keeper of lock No. 25 and outlet	250
James Fitch, keeper of lock No. 26	150
Thomas Walter, keeper of lock No. 27	150
James Davis, keeper of lock No. 28	150
John Walter, keeper of lock No. 29	175
W. Kuhn, keeper of lock No. 30	100
Dennis Harrison, keeper of lock No. 31, &c.	175
A. W. Jones, keeper of lock No. 32	175
W. S. Elgin, keeper of lock No. 33 and collector of tolls	300
John Crowley, keeper of lock No. 34	175
William McKay, keeper of locks Nos. 35, 36 and guard	300
John Kerchwell, keeper of lock No. 37	150
George Hughes, keeper of lock No. 38 and outlet	200
Joseph Gwyn, keeper of lock No. 39	150
Andrew McKoy, keeper of lock No. 40	150
Levi R. Shaw, keeper of guard lock No. 4	150
Henry Boyd, keeper of locks Nos. 41 and 42	200
Michael Crisman, keeper of lock No. 43	150
Joseph Hollman, keeper of lock No. 44—water power granted	
Jacob Motter, keeper of guard lock No. 5	150
John Herbert, keeper of locks Nos. 45 and 46	200
Daniel Brewer, keeper of locks Nos. 47, 48, 49 and 50	300
Upton Rowland, keeper of locks No. 51 and 52	200
H. Conner, keeper of lock No. 53	150
Thomas Fleming, keeper of guard lock No. 6	175
Superintendents, collectors and lock-keepers	12,777
Summary	
The President, and Clerks, (\$300 each Director)	\$10,200
Engineers, rodmen, axemen and commissioners	9,210
Superintendents, collectors and lock-keepers	12,777
Total	32,187

THO. TURNER,
Clerk of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.

APPENDIX H

OFFICERS JUNE 1, 1841

List of the officers of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, in service on the 1st day of June, 1841, with the rate of compensation paid to each annually.⁸

Michael C. Sprigg, (president) compensation per annum		\$3,000
James M. Coale	<i>Directors</i> —\$4 per day to each, during the time he shall be actually engaged in the duties of his office, provided the pay of each director shall not exceed 300 dollars per annum.	1,800
John P. Ingle		
Frisby Tilghman		
John T. Dale		
Daniel Burkhart		
John O. Wharton		
Thomas Turner, clerk		1,800
Robert Barnard, treasurer and accountant		1,400
Ezra Houck, collector general of tolls		1,000
Albert Mayberry, messenger		200
		\$9,200
John Y. Young, superintendent 1 st division canal		\$800
William S. Elgin, superintendent 2 nd division canal		800
George W. Rodgers, superintendent 3 rd division canal		800
John G. Stone, superintendent 4 th division canal		800
Benjamin F. Mackall, collector at Georgetown		800
Henry Jamison, collector at Point of Rocks		200
Elie Stake, collector at Williamsport		300
Arthur Blackwell, collector at Hancock		300
John B. Hilton, keeper of Lock B		50
James O'Riley, keeper of locks Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4		500
Thomas B. O'Offutt, keeper of lock No. 5 and guard lock		250
James Dalzell, keeper of lock No. 6		150
Michael Hart, keeper of lock No. 7		150
Levi Barrett, keeper of lock No. 8		150
Osbourn Crawford, keeper of locks No. 9 and 10		200
Wilton Burgess, keeper of Lock No. 11		150
Frederick Metts, keeper of locks No. 12, 13 and 14		250
Hezekiah Metts, keeper of locks No. 15 and 16		276
William H. Henderson, keeper of locks Nos. 17 and 18		276
Daniel Collins, keeper of locks Nos. 19 and 20		200
Robert C. Fields, keeper of lock No. 21		150
John Fields, keeper of lock No. 22		150
W. H. Hammontree, keeper of lock No. 23 and guard lock		200
Charles H. Shanks, keeper of lock No. 24		150
Asa Aud, keeper of lock No. 25 and outlet		250

⁸ *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1841), pp. 85–87.

James Fitch, keeper of lock No. 26	150
Thomas Walter, keeper of lock No. 27	150
James Davis, keeper of lock No. 28	150
John Walter, keeper of lock No. 29	175
William Kuhn, keeper of lock No. 30	100
Dennis Harrison, keeper of lock No. 31, &c.	175
A. W. Jones, keeper of lock No. 32	175
William S. Elgin, keeper of lock No. 33 and collector	300
John Crowley, keeper of lock No. 34	175
William McKay, keeper of locks Nos. 35, 36 and guard	300
John Kerchwell, keeper of lock No. 37	150
George Hughes, keeper of lock No. 38 and outlet	200
Joseph Gwyn, keeper of lock No. 39	150
Andrew McKoy, keeper of lock No. 40	150
Levi R. Shaw, keeper of guard lock No. 4	150
Henry Boyd, keeper of locks Nos. 41 and 42	200
Michael Crisman, keeper of lock No. 43	150
Joseph Hollman, keeper of lock No. 44—water power granted	
Jacob Motter, keeper of guard lock No. 5	150
John Herbert, keeper of locks Nos. 45 and 46	200
Daniel Brewer, keeper of locks Nos. 47, 48, 49 and 50	300
Upton Rowland, keeper of locks No. 51 and 52	200
H. Conner, keeper of lock No. 53	150
Thomas Fleming, keeper of guard lock No. 6	456
Superintendents, collectors and lock-keepers	\$12,758
Charles B. Fisk, chief engineer	\$3,000
John A. Byers, assistant	1,100
Charles H. Randolph, assistant	1,100
Henry M. Dungan, assistant	1,100
Samuel H. Williams, assistant	1,100
Thomas L. Patterson, assistant	1,100
Thomas Gore, rodman	500
Fenton M. Henderson, rodman	500
Jacob L. Schnebly, rodman	500
John J. Buchanan, Jr., rodman	500
William J. Bryan, rodman	500
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Axeman	300
Samuel M. Semmes, commissioner	1,100

	\$14,000
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Summary of yearly compensation

The President, directors and Clerks, (if the directors receive the maximum of their compensation)	\$9,200
The superintendents, collectors and lock-keepers	12,758
The engineers and commissioner	14,400
Total	<u>\$36,358</u>

Or thus:

The president, directors and clerks (if the directors receive the maximum of their compensation)		\$9,200
4 superintendents	\$3,200	
45 collectors and lock-keepers	<u>9,558</u>	
		12,758
1 chief engineer	3,000	
5 assistant engineers	5,500	
5 rodmen	2,500	
8 axemen	<u>2,400</u>	
		13,400
1 commissioner		1,000
		<u>\$36,358</u>

APPENDIX I

OFFICERS, ENGINEERS, AND AGENTS JANUARY 1, 1842

List of the officers, engineers, and agents in the service of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, on the 1st day of January, 1842, with the rate of compensation paid to each annually.⁹

Francis Thomas, President		\$1,000
James M. Coale,	<i>Director</i> —\$4 per day to each, during the time he shall be actually engaged in the duties of his office, provided the pay of each director shall not exceed 300 dollars per annum.	1,800
Frisby Tilghman,		
J. P. Ingle,		
J. R. Dall,		
J. O. Wharton,		
D. Burkhart,		
Thomas Turner, clerk and superintendent of tolls		1,500
Robert Barnard, treasurer and accountant		1,200
Total		5,500
Charles B. Fisk, chief engineer		\$3,000.00
John A. Byers, assistant engineer		1,100.00
Charles H. Randolph, assistant engineer		1,100.00
Henry M. Dungan, assistant engineer		1,100.00
Samuel H. Williams, assistant engineer		1,100.00
Thomas L. Patterson, assistant engineer		1,100.00
Thomas Gove, rodman		500.00
Jacob C. Schnebly, rodman		500.00
John Buchanan, Jr., rodman		500.00
William H. Bryan, rodman		500.00
R. Lorman Ross, rodman		360.00
four axemen		1,110.00
Morgan Snively, superintendent at tunnel, and axeman, \$1.50 per day		547.50
Amauel M. Semmes, commissioner		200.00
		12,717.50
John Y. Young, superintendent 1 st division		\$700
William S. Elgin, superintendent 2 nd division		700
George W. Rodgers, superintendent 3 rd division		700
John G. Stone, superintendent 4 th division		700
Benjanin F. Mackall, collector of tolls at Georgetown		600
Henry Jamison, collector of tolls at Point of Rocks		200
Eli Stake, collector of tolls at Williamsport		300
Arthur Blackwell, collector of tolls at Hancock		300
John Hilton, keeper of Lock B, at Washington		50
James O'Riley, keeper of locks Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4		600
Thomas B. Offutt, keeper of lock No. 5 and guard lock		250
James Dalzell, keeper of lock No. 6		150
Michael Hart, keeper of lock No. 7		150

⁹ *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1842), pp. 25–27.

Levi Barrett, keeper of lock No. 8	150
Osbourn Crawford, keeper of locks No. 9 and 10	200
Wilton Burgess, keeper of Lock No. 11	150
Frederick Metts, keeper of locks No. 12, 13 and 14	250
Hezekiah Metts, keeper of locks No. 15 and 16	\$276
William H. Henderson, keeper of locks Nos. 17 and 18	276
Daniel Collins, keeper of locks Nos. 19 and 20	200
Robert C. Fields, keeper of lock No. 21	150
John Fields, keeper of lock No. 22	150
William H. Hammontree, keeper of lock No. 23 and guard lock	200
Charles H. Shanks, keeper of lock No. 24	150
Asa Aud, keeper of lock No. 25 and outlet	250
James Fitch, keeper of lock No. 26	150
Thomas Walter, keeper of lock No. 27	150
James Davis, keeper of lock No. 28	150
John Walter, keeper of lock No. 29	175
Dennis Harrison, keeper of lock No. 30	175
Wm. Kuhn, keeper of lock No. 31	100
A. W. Jones, keeper of lock No. 32	175
W. S. Elgin, keeper of lock No. 33 and collector of tolls	300
John Crowley, keeper of lock No. 34	175
William McKay, keeper of locks Nos. 35, 36 and guard	300
John Kerchwell, keeper of lock No. 37	150
George Hughes, keeper of lock No. 38 and outlet	200
Joseph Gwyn, keeper of lock No. 39	150
Andrew McKoy, keeper of lock No. 40	150
Levi R. Shaw, keeper of guard lock No. 4	150
Henry Boyd, keeper of locks Nos. 41 and 42	200
Michael Crisman, keeper of lock No. 43	150
Joseph Hollman, keeper of lock No. 44—water power granted	
Jacob Motter, keeper of guard lock No. 5	150
John Herbert, keeper of locks Nos. 45 and 46	200
Daniel Brewer, keeper of locks Nos. 47, 48, 49 and 50	300
Upton Rowland, keeper of locks No. 51 and 52	200
H. Conner, keeper of lock No. 53	150
Thomas Fleming, keeper of guard lock No. 6	175
Total, Superintendents, collectors and lock-keepers	11,977
Summary	
The President, Directors, and Clerks, (\$300 each Director)	\$5,500.00
Engineers, rodmen, axemen and commissioners	12,717.50
Superintendents, and lock-keepers, and collectors	11,977.00
Total	\$30,194.50

THO. TURNER,
Clerk of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.

APPENDIX J

OFFICERS MAY 31, 1842

List of the officers in the service of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, on the 31st day of May, 1842, with the rate of compensation paid to each annually.¹⁰

Michael C. Sprigg, President	\$1,000
James M. Coale, Frisby Tilghman, John R. Dall, John O. Wharton, Daniel Burkhart, John P. Ingle	<i>Directors</i> —\$4 per day to each, during the time he shall be actually engaged in the duties of his office, provided the pay of each director shall not exceed 300 dollars per annum. 1,800
Thomas Turner, clerk and superintendent of tolls	1,500
Robert Barnard, treasurer and accountant	1,200
Total	5,500
Charles B. Fisk, chief engineer	\$2,000
Henry M. Dungan, assistant engineer	1,100
Total	3,100
John Y. Young, superintendent 1 st division	\$700
William S. Elgin, superintendent 2 nd division	700
George W. Rodgers, superintendent 3 rd division	700
John G. Stone, superintendent 4 th division	700
Total	2,800
Benjamin F. Mackall, collector of tolls at Georgetown	600
Henry Jamison, collector of tolls at Point of Rocks	200
William S. Elgin, collector of tolls, Harpers Ferry	300
Elie Stake, collector of tolls, Williamsport	300
Arthur Blackwell, collector of tolls at Hancock	300
Total	1,700
John Hilton, keeper of Lock B, at Washington	50
James O'Riley, keeper of locks Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, Georgetown	600
Thomas B. Offutt, keeper of lock No. 5 and guard lock	250
James Dalzell, keeper of lock No. 6	150
Michael Hart, keeper of lock No. 7	150
Levi Barrett, keeper of lock No. 8	150
Osborn Crawford, keeper of locks No. 9 and 10	200
Wilton Burgess, keeper of Lock No. 11	150
Frederick Metts, keeper of locks No. 12, 13 and 14	250
Hezekiah Metts, keeper of locks No. 15 and 16	276
William H. Henderson, keeper of locks Nos. 17 and 18	276
Daniel Collins, keeper of locks Nos. 19 and 20	200
Robert C. Fields, keeper of lock No. 21	150
John Fields, keeper of lock No. 22	150

¹⁰ *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1842), pp. 25–27.

William H. Hammontree, keeper of lock No. 23 and guard lock	200
Charles H. Shanks, keeper of lock No. 24	150
Asa Aud, keeper of lock No. 25 and outlet	250
James Fitch, keeper of lock No. 26	150
Thomas Walter, keeper of lock No. 27	\$150
James Davis, keeper of lock No. 28	150
John Walter, keeper of lock No. 29	175
Dennis Harrison, keeper of lock No. 30	175
William. Kuhn, keeper of lock No. 31	100
A. W. Jones, keeper of lock No. 32	175
John Crowley, keeper of lock No. 34	175
William McKay, keeper of locks Nos. 35, 36 and guard	300
John Kerchwell, keeper of lock No. 37	150
George Hughes, keeper of lock No. 38 and outlet	200
Joseph Gwyn, keeper of lock No. 39	150
Andrew McKoy, keeper of lock No. 40	150
Levi R. Shaw, keeper of guard lock No. 4	150
Henry Boyd, keeper of locks Nos. 41 and 42	200
Michael Crisman, keeper of lock No. 43	150
Joseph Hollman, keeper of lock No. 44—water power granted	
Jacob Motter, keeper of guard lock No. 5	150
John Herbert, keeper of locks Nos. 45 and 46	200
Daniel Brewer, keeper of locks Nos. 47, 48, 49 and 50	300
Upton Rowland, keeper of locks No. 51 and 52	200
H. Conner, keeper of lock No. 53	150
Thomas Fleming, keeper of guard lock No. 6	175
Total	\$7,477
Total	\$20,577
RECAPITULATION	
President, Directors, clerks, and treasurer	\$5,500.00
Engineer and assistant	3,100
Superintendents	2,800
Collectors of tolls	1,700
Lock-keepers	7,477
Total	20,577

THO. TURNER,
Clerk of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company
 Canal Office, Frederick, May 31, 1842.

Note. The aggregate pay for the directors for the year ending 31st May, 1842, was \$924.

APPENDIX K

OFFICERS MAY 31, 1845

Schedule of officers in the service of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company in the year ending 31st May, 1845, and the compensation to which they have been severally entitled.¹¹

	Name of officer, &c.		Amount	
1 st	In the office at Frederick, viz:			
	James M. Coale, President, per annum		\$1,000	
	D. Burkhart, attendance as director	\$136		
	William Darne, attendance as director	112		
	J. P. Ingle, attendance as director	192		
	William Price, attendance as director	64		
	F. Tilghman, attendance as director	160		
	J. O. Wharton, attendance as director	136		
			800	
	Thomas Turner, clerk, per annum		1,500	
	Robert Barnard, treasurer and accountant		1,200	
	William Price, standing counsel		250	
	C. B. Fisk, chief engineer		2,000	
				\$6,750
2 nd	First superintendency, viz:			
	J. Y. Young, superintendent		800	
	B. F. Mackall, collector		600	
	John Moore, keeper locks 1 to 4, and tide		600	
	Frederick Metz, keeper lock 5 and guard		250	
	James Dalzell, keeper lock 6		150	
	James Wilburn, keeper lock 7		150	
	Levi Barrett, keeper lock 8		150	
	O. S. Crawford, keeper locks 9 and 10		200	
	W. Burgess, keeper lock 11		150	
	Asa Tarman, keeper locks 12, 13 and 14		150	
	Hezekiah Metz, keeper lock 15	12.50		
	William Nevitt, keeper lock 15	137.50		
			150	
	Thomas Brewer, keeper lock 16		150	
	W. W. Henderson, keeper locks 17 and 18	138.00		
	Horrace Benton, keeper locks 17 and 18	138.00		
			276	
	Daniel Collins, keeper locks 19 and 20		200	
	R. C. Fields, keeper lock 21		150	
	John Fields, keeper lock 22		150	
	J. Y. Young, keeper lock 23 and guard		200	
	John Wells, keeper lock 24		150	

¹¹ *Seventeenth Annual Report* (1845), pp. 9–10.

	Asa Aud, keeper Edwards Ferry outlet		50	
				4,776
3 rd	Second superintendency			
	W. S. Elgin, superintendent		800	
	L. C. Belt, Point of Rocks, collector		50	
	W. S. Elgin, Harpers Ferry, collector		100	
	Asa Aud, keeper lock 25		200	
	James Fitch, keeper lock 26		150	
	Thomas Walter, keeper lock 27		150	
	E. Davis, keeper lock 28	125.00		
	John Plummer, keeper lock 28	25.00		
			150	
	John Walter, keeper lock 29		175	
	William Kuhn, keeper lock 30		150	
	D. Harrison, keeper lock 31		150	
	A. W. Jones, keeper lock 32		175	
	W. S. Elgin, keeper lock 33 and Shenandoah		200	
	John Crowley, keeper lock 34		175	
	John Kercheval, keeper locks 35 and guard, &c.		250	
	J. L. Jordon, keeper lock 37		150	
	George Hughes, keeper lock 38 and outlet	83.33		
	Edward Hayes, keeper lock 38 and outlet	116.67		
			200	
	Joseph Gwyn, keeper lock 39		150	
	Andrew McKoy, keeper lock 40		150	
	L. R. Shaw, keeper guard lock 4		150	
	M. Newman, bridge and ferry tender, Noland's Ferry		150	
				3,825
4 th	Third superintendency, viz:			
	John G. Stone, superintendent		800	
	Eli Stake, Williamsport, collector		300	
	Arthur Blackwell, Hancock, collector		300	
	Henry Boyd, keeper locks 41 and 42		200	
	Isaac Dodd, keeper lock 43		150	
	Joseph Hollman, keeper lock 44, (water power)			
	Jacob Motter, keeper guard 5		150	
	John Herbert, keeper locks 45 and 46	100.00	200	
	Henry Harsh, keeper locks 45 and 46	100.00		
			200	
	Daniel Brewer, keeper locks 47 to 50		300	
	Upton Rowland, keeper locks 51 and 52		200	
	Hugh Conner, keeper lock 53		150	
	James Finney, keeper guard 6		200	
				2,950
				18,301

	RECAPITULATION			
	President, directors, and clerks at Frederick			\$4,750
	Chief Engineer			2,000
	Superintendents			2,400
	Collectors			2,400
	Lock-keepers			7,801
	Total			18,301

THO. TURNER, *Clerk.*

APPENDIX L

OFFICERS DECEMBER 31, 1846

Showing the Officers in the service of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company in the year ending 31st December, 1846, and the compensation to which they have been severally entitled for same period.¹²

1 st	James M. Coale, president			\$3,000.00	
	Daniel Burkhart, Director		\$176.00		
	R. W. Bowie, Director		196.00		
	John P. Ingle, Director		196.00		
	William Price, Director		192.00		
	Frisby Tilghman, Director		170.00		
	John O. Wharton, Director		176.00		
				1,106.00	
2 nd	Thomas Turner, Clerk, to 20 th Dec.	\$1,120			
	Walter S. Ringgold, since	30			
			1,150.00		
	F. B. Sappington, Assistant Clerk, to 1 st July		366.66		
	Robert Barnard, Treasures, to February	117.20			
	Philemon Chew, Treasurer, to 15 th April	200.00			
	L. J. Brengle, since,	800.55			
			1,117.75		
	William Price, standing counsel		250.00		
	C. B. Fisk, Chief Engineer		2,500.00		
				5,384.41	
					\$9,490.41
3 rd	First superintendency				
	William S. Elgin, superintendent		400.00		
	C. Hogmire, collector to 1 st April	\$350			
	W. H. Bryne, since	250			
			600.00		
	John Moore, keeper of locks 1 to 4		600.00		
	Frederick Metz, keeper lock 5, &c.		200.00		
	James Delzell, keeper lock 6		150.00		
	James Wilburn, keeper lock 7		150.00		
	Levi Barrett, keeper lock 8		150.00		
	O. Crawford, keeper locks 9 and 10		200.00		
	W. H. Burgess, keeper lock 11		150.00		
	Asa Tarman, keeper lock 15		175.00		
	William Nevett, keeper locks 12, 13 and 14		250.00		
	Thomas Brewer, keeper lock 16		175.00		
	Horace Benton, keeper locks 17 and 18		225.00		
	Daniel Collins, keeper locks 19 and 20		200.00		

¹² *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1847), pp. 19–20.

	Samuel Fisher, keeper lock 21		150.00		
	John Fields, keeper lock 22		150.00		
	E. L. Trail, keeper lock 23		200.00		
	John Wells, keeper lock 24		150.00		
	Asa Aud, keeper Edwards Ferry outlet		50.00		
				4,325.00	
					4,325.00
4 th	Second superintendency				
	William S. Elgin, superintendent			\$800.00	
	Lloyd C. Belt, collector		\$50.00		
	William S. Elgin, collector, Harpers Ferry		100.00		
				150.00	
	Asa Aud, keeper lock 25		200.00		
	James Fitch, keeper lock 26		150.00		
	Thomas Walter, keeper lock 27		150.00		
	John Plummer, keeper lock 28		150.00		
	John Walter, keeper lock 29		175.00		
	William Kughn, keeper lock 30		150.00		
	D. Harrison, keeper lock 31		150.00		
	A. W. Jones, keeper lock 32		175.00		
	W. S. Elgin, keeper lock 33, &c.		200.00		
	John Crowley, keeper lock 34		175.00		
	J. Kircheval, keeper lock 35, &c.		250.00		
	J. L. Jordan, keeper lock 37		150.00		
	Edward Havs, keeper lock 38, &c.		200.00		
	Joseph Gwinn, keeper lock 39		150.00		
	A. McCoy, keeper lock 40		150.00		
	J. Buchanan, guard lock 4		150.00		
	W. Watkins, ferry		150.00		
				2,875.00	
					3,825.00
5 th	Third superintendency				
	John G. Stone, superintendent			800.00	
	Eli Stake, collector		300.00		
	Arthur Blackwell, collector		300.00		
				600.00	
	Henry Boyd, keeper of locks 41 and 42		200.00		
	Isaac Dodd, keeper of lock 43		150.00		
	C. Myers, keeper locks 45 and 46		200.00		
	Jacob Morter, keeper guard lock 5		150.00		
	Daniel Brewer, keeper locks 47,48,49 and 50		300.00		
	W. Rowland, keeper locks 51 and 52		200.00		

	H. Conner, keeper lock 53		150.00		
	James Phinney, keeper guard lock 6		200.00		
				1,550.00	
					2,950.00
					\$20,590.41

RECAPITULATION

President, Directors, Standing Counsel, Clerks and Chief Engineer	\$9,490.41
Superintendents	2,000.00
Collectors	1,350.00
Lock-keepers	7,750.00
	<hr/>
	\$20,590.41

L. J. BRENGLE, *Treasurer.*
Office Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co.,
Cumberland, January 6, 1847

APPENDIX M

OFFICERS DECEMBER 31, 1848

Statement showing the Officers in the service of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company in the year ending 31st December, 1848, and the compensation to which they have been severally entitled for same period.¹³

1 st	James M. Coale, President, salary at \$1,000 to 1 st August		\$586.07		
	Since at \$2,000		827.85		
				\$1,413.92	
	William A. Bradley, Director		132.00		
	George Schley, Director		132.00		
	Samuel P. Smith, Director		264.00		
	Henry Daingerfield, Director		72.00		
	William Cost Johnson, Director		84.00		
	John Pickell, Director		96.00		
				780.00	
	George Schley, Standing Counsel		200.00		
	Walter S. Ringgold, Chief Clerk, at \$1,000		1,000.00		
	Walter S. Ringgold, Sec. to Stockholders at \$100		100.00		
	Lawrence J. Brengle, Treasurer, at \$1000		1,000.00		
	F. B. Sappington, Asst. Clerk to 21 st July at \$500	254.18			
	F. D. Tormey, Asst. Clerk from 7 th Aug. at \$500	200.10			
			454.28		
				2754.28	
					4948.20
2 nd	First Superintendency				
	John Lambie, Superintendent			700.00	
	William H. Bryan, Collector at Georgetown		800.00		
	John Page, Inspector of Cargoes, Georgetown		300.00		
				1100.00	
	John Moore, Keeper of Locks 1 to 4		600.00		
	Frederick Metz, Keeper of Lock 5, &c.		200.00		
	James Delzell, Keeper of Lock 6		150.00		
	James Wilburn, Keeper of Lock 7		150.00		
	Levi Barrett, Keeper of Lock 8		150.00		
	John Lambie, Keeper of Locks 9 and 10		200.00		
	W. H. Burgess, Keeper of Lock 11		150.00		
	John T. Harrison, Keeper of Locks 12, 13 and 14		250.00		

¹³ *Twenty-First Annual Report* (1849), pp. 30–31.

	Rebecca Tarman, Keeper of Lock 15		175.00		
	Mary A. Brewer, Keeper of Lock 16		175.00		
	William D. Howser, Keeper of Locks 17 and 18		225.00		
	Daniel Collins, Keeper of Locks 19 and 20		200.00		
	Samuel Fisher, Keeper of Lock 21		150.00		
	John Fields, Keeper of Lock 22		150.00		
	Edward L. Trail, Keeper of Lock 23		200.00		
				3125.00	
					4925.00
3 rd	Second superintendency				
	William S. Elgin, superintendent			900.00	
	Lloyd C. Belt, collector at Point of Rocks		\$50.00		
	William S. Elgin, collector at Harpers Ferry		100.00		
				150.00	
	John Wells, Keeper of Lock 24		150.00		
	Asa Aud, No. 25 th to the 1 st of June	\$111.11			
	George W. Bozzell, since	138.89			
			250.00		
	James Fitch, Keeper of Lock 26		150.00		
	Thomas Walter, Keeper of Lock 27		150.00		
	Galen Benton, No. 28 th to 1 st August	\$87.50			
	William Watkins, since	62.50			
			150.00		
	John Walter, Keeper of Lock 29		175.00		
	William Kuhn, Keeper of Lock 30		150.00		
	Dennis Harrison, Keeper of Lock 31		150.00		
	A. W. Jones, Keeper of Lock 32		175.00		
	William S. Elgin, Keeper of Lock 33, &c.		200.00		
	John Crowley, Keeper of Lock 34 &c.		175.00		
	John Kercheval, Keeper of Lock 35, &c.		250.00		
	John L. Jordan, Keeper of Lock 37		150.00		
	Edward Hays, Keeper of Lock 38, &c.		200.00		
	Joseph Gwynn, Keeper of Lock 39		150.00		
	Andrew McCoy, Keeper of Lock 40		150.00		
	John Buchanan, Dam 4		150.00		
	W. Watkins, ferry to the 5 th of May		51.26		
				2,976.26	
					4,026.26
4 th	Third superintendency				
	John G. Stone, superintendent			800.00	
	Eli Stake, collector at Williamsport		300.00		
	Arthur Blackwell, collector at Hancock		300.00		
				600.00	
	A. K. Stake, Keeper of locks 41 & 42 to 1 st July	\$100.00			

	L. Stanhope, since	100.00			
			200.00		
	Isaac Dodd, Keeper of Lock 43		150.00		
	J. Hollman, Keeper of Lock 44 (water power)				
	C. Myers, Keeper of Locks 45 and 46		200.00		
	Jacob Morter, Guard Lock 5		150.00		
	Daniel Brewer, Keeper of Locks 47,48,49 & 50		300.00		
	Upton Rowland, No. 51 and 52 to 1 st April	\$50.00			
	J. Miller, since	150.00			
			200.00		
	Sarah Conner, Keeper of Lock 53		150.00		
	J. Doyle, Guard Lock 6		200.00		
				1,550.00	
					2,950.00
					16,849.46
RECAPITULATION					
President, Directors, Standing Counsel, Clerks and Treasurer					\$4,948.20
Superintendents					2,400.00
Collectors					1,850.00
Lock-keepers					7,651.26
					16,849.46

L. J. BRENGLE, *Treasurer*.
 Office Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company,
Frederick, January 10th, 1849

APPENDIX N

OFFICERS DECEMBER 31, 1850

Statement showing the Officers in the service of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, in the year ending 31st December, 1850, and the compensation to which they have been severally entitled for same period.¹⁴

1 st	James M. Coale, President			\$2,000.00	
2 nd	William A. Bradley, Director		\$68.00		
	Henry Daingerfield, Director		64.00		
	John Pickell, Director		116.00		
	Wm. Cost Johnson, Director		32.00		
	George Schley, Director		116.00		
	Samuel P. Smith		184.00		
				580.00	
3 rd	George Schley, Standing Counsel		200.00		
	W. S. Ringgold, Chief Clerk		1,400.00		
	W. S. Ringgold, Sec. to Stockholders		100.00		
	L. J. Brengle, Treasurer		1,400.00		
				3,100.00	
					5,680.00
4 th	First Superintendency				
	John Lambie, Superintendent			900.00	
	William H. Bryan, Collector at Georgetown		800.00		
	John Page, Inspector of Cargoes, Georgetown		300.00		
				1,100.00	
	Thomas Sampson, Lock B		50.00		
	John Moore, Locks 1 to 4		600.00		
	Frederick Metz, Lock 5 to 10 th March	\$55.56			
	Hy. L. Thomas, Lock 5 since	144.44			
			200.00		
	James Delzell, Lock 6		150.00		
	W. Duly, from 8 th March, Lock 7		121.77		
	Levi Barrett, Lock 8		150.00		
	John Lambie, to 15 th Dec., Locks 9 and 10	\$191.17			
	Charles Resenthal, since	8.83			
			200.00		
	W. H. Burgess, Lock 11		150.00		
	John T. Harrison, Locks 12, 13 and 14		250.00		
	John L. Trammel, Lock 15, one month	\$14.58			
	Richard Collins, from 8 th March to 15 th June	47.28			
	John Minnes, from 1 st August	72.91			

¹⁴ *Report to the Stockholders on the Completion of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal to Cumberland* (Frederick, 1851), pp. 139–140.

			134.77		
	Joseph Nevitt, Lock 16, one month	\$14.58			
	Lucy A. Metts, from 10 th March	140.98			
			155.56		
	Wm D. Houser, Locks 17 and 18		225.00		
	Daniel Collins, Locks 19 and 20		200.00		
	Samuel Fisher, Lock 21		150.00		
	John Fields, Lock 22		150.00		
	Edward L. Trail, Lock 23		100.00		
				2,987.10	
					4,987.10
5 th	Second superintendency, viz:				
	Wm S. Elgin, Superintendent			900.00	
	Lloyd C. Belt, collector at Point of Rocks		\$50.00		
	Wm S. Elgin, collector at Harpers Ferry		100.00		
				150.00	
	John Wells, Keeper of Lock 24		150.00		
	George W. Bozzell, Keeper of Lock 25		250.00		
	James Fitch, Keeper of Lock 26		150.00		
	Thomas Walter, Keeper of Lock 27		150.00		
	William Watkins, Keeper of Lock 28		150.00		
			850.00	1,050.00	10,667.10
	John Walter, Keeper of Lock 29		175.00		
	William Kuhn, Keeper of Lock 30		150.00		
	Dennis Harrison, Keeper of Lock 31		150.00		
	A. W. Jones, Keeper of Lock 32		175.00		
	Wm. S. Elgin, Keeper of Lock 33, &c.		200.00		
	John Crowley, Keeper of Lock 34 &c.		175.00		
	John Kercheval, Keeper of Lock 35, &c.		250.00		
	John L. Jordan, Keeper of Lock 37		150.00		
	Edward Hays, Keeper of Lock 38, &c.		200.00		
	Joseph Gwynn, Keeper of Lock 39		150.00		
	Andrew McCoy, Keeper of Lock 40		150.00		
	Thomas Wilson, Dam 4		150.00		
				2,925.00	
					3,975.10
6 th	Third superintendency, viz:				
	John Stone, Superintendent			800.00	
	Eli Stake, collector at Williamsport		300.00		
	Arthur Blackwell, collector at Hancock		300.00		
				600.00	
	L. Stanhope, Keeper of locks 41 & 42		200.00		
	Isaac Dodd, Keeper of Lock 43		150.00		
	J. Buchanan, Keeper of Lock 44		150.00		
	Jacob Morter, Guard Lock 5		150.00		
	C. Myers, Keeper of Locks 45 and 46		200.00		

	John S. Moore, Keeper of Locks 47 to 50		300.00		
	J. Miller, Keeper of Locks 51 and 52		200.00		
	Sarah Conner, Keeper of Lock 53		150.00		
	James Doyle, Guard Lock 6		150.00		
				1,650.00	
					3,050.00
7 th	Fourth Superintendency, viz:				
	<i>From Dam No. 6 to Cumberland</i>				
	Reuben Worthington, Collector at Cumberland			35.00	
	Overton G. Lowe, Lock No. 56	\$150.00	27.50		
	F. McNary, Lock No. 57	150.00	25.00		
	John Beard, Lock No. 58	150.00	25.00		
	Henry Gay, Lock No. 59	150.00	37.50		
	Wm. Crawford, Lock No. 60	150.00	22.92		
	John Doyle, Lock No. 61	150.00	10.42		
	H. Kesekamp, Lock No. 62	150.00	25.00		
	H. Hunsicker, Lock 63 1/3, 64 2/3 and 66	250.00	24.30		
	Jacob Carts, Lock No. 67	150.00	25.00		
	Michael Minnaugh, Lock No. 68	150.00	20.83		
	Lloyd Lowe, Locks No. 69, 70 and 71	250.00	10.41		
	David Strong, Lock No. 72	150.00	75.00		
	James Moore, Locks 73 and 74	200.00	100.00		
	Archibald Young, Lock No. 75	150.00	83.33		
	A. J. Wilkins, Guard Lock No. 8	200.00	111.11		
				623.32	
	Temporary Lock-keepers			265.75	
					924.07
					\$18,616.17

Treasurer's Office Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company,
Frederick, January 1st, 1851
 L. J. BRENGLE, *Treasurer and Accountant*

APPENDIX O

PRESIDENTS, DIRECTORS, AND CHIEF OFFICERS FROM JUNE 1828 TO FEBRUARY 27, 1851

A list of the Presidents, Directors, and chief officers, of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, from its organization in June, 1828, to February 27th, 1851.¹⁵

<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Period of Service</i>		<i>In Office</i>		
	From	To	years	mo's	days
Charles Fenton Mercer	June 21, 1828	June 6, 1833	4	11	15
John H. Eaton	June 6, 1833	June 27, 1834	1	00	21
George C. Washington	June 27, 1834	June 3, 1839	4	11	7
Francis Thomas	June 3, 1839	April 2, 1841	1	10	00
Michael C. Sprigg	April 2, 1841	Dec. 3, 1842	1	8	00
Wm. Gibbs McNeill	Dec. 3, 1842	Aug. 17, 1843	0	8	14
James M. Coale	Aug. 17, 1843	Feb. 27, 1851	7	6	10
<i>Directors</i>					
Joseph Kent	June 21, 1828	June 11, 1831	2	11	21
Phineas Janney	June 21, 1828	June 2, 1840	11	11	12
Walter Smith	June 21, 1828	June 3, 1839	10	11	13
Peter Lenox	June 21, 1828	June 6, 1833	4	11	16
Andrew Stewart	June 21, 1828	June 6, 1833	4	11	16
Frederick May	June 21, 1828	June 11, 1831	2	11	21
William Price	June 11, 1831	June 27, 1834	3	00	16
John J. Abert	June 11, 1831	Dec. 21, 1839	8	6	10
William Gunton	June 6, 1833	June 3, 1839	5	11	28
Richard H. Henderson	June 6, 1833	June 3, 1839	5	11	28
George Bender	June 27, 1834	April 29, 1835	0	10	2
M. St. Clair Clarke	June 15, 1835	June 22, 1836	1	00	7
Thomas Carbery	June 22, 1836	July 16, 1838	2	00	24
John Hoyer	July 16, 1838	June 3, 1839	0	10	18
Thomas Perry	June 3, 1839	Dec. 21, 1839	0	6	18
James Carroll	June 3, 1839	Dec. 21, 1839	0	6	18
Jacob G. Davies	June 3, 1839	June 2, 1840	1	00	00
Joseph White	June 3, 1839	June 2, 1840	1	00	00
Robert P. Dunlop	Dec. 21, 1839	April 2, 1841	1	3	12
Washington Duvall	Dec. 21, 1839	June 2, 1840	0	5	12
John W. Maury	Dec. 21, 1839	June 2, 1840	0	5	12
Frederick A. Schley	June 2, 1840	Declined	0	00	00
James Swan	June 2, 1840	April 2, 1841	0	10	00
John McPherson	June 2, 1840	April 2, 1841	0	10	00
William Lucas	June 2, 1840	April 2, 1841	0	10	00

¹⁵ *Report to the Stockholders on the Completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Cumberland* (Frederick, 1851), pp. 149–150

William Tyler	June 2, 1840	April 2, 1841	0	10	00
Jacob Markell	July 22, 1840	April 2, 1841	0	9	11
Frisby Tilghman	April 2, 1841	June 7, 1847	6	2	5
John R. Dall	April 2, 1841	Aug. 5, 1842	1	4	3
John O. Wharton	April 2, 1841	June 24, 1847	6	2	22
Daniel Burkhart	April 2, 1841	June 24, 1847	6	2	22
James M. Coale	April 2, 1841	Aug. 17, 1843	2	4	15
John P. Ingle	April 2, 1841	June 24, 1847	6	2	22
William Price	Aug. 5, 1842	June 24, 1847	4	10	19
William Darne	June 4, 1844	July 23, 1845	1	1	19
Robert W. Bowie	July 23, 1845	June 7, 1847	1	10	15
William A. Bradley	June 24, 1847				
Henry Daingerfield	June 24, 1847				
Wm. Cost Johnson	June 24, 1847				
John Pickell	June 24, 1847				
George Schley	June 24, 1847				
Samuel P. Smith	June 24, 1847				
<i>Chief Engineers</i>					
Benjamin Wright	June 23, 1828	Nov. 13, 1830	2	4	20
Charles B. Fisk	April 12, 1837	Sept. 26, 1840	3	5	14
Elwood Morris	Sept. 26, 1840	April 13, 1841	0	6	17
Charles B. Fisk	April 13, 1841				
<i>Clerks</i>					
Asa Rogers	June 28, 1828	Declined	0	00	00
John P. Ingle	July 5, 1828	July 9, 1840	12	00	4
Thomas Turner	July 9, 1840	Dec. 20, 1846	6	5	11
Walter S. Ringgold	Dec. 20, 1846				
<i>Treasurers</i>					
Clement Smith	July 5, 1828	July 7, 1834	6	00	2
Robert Barnard	July 18, 1834	Nov. 14, 1840	6	3	27
Samuel Tyler	Nov. 14, 1840	April 13, 1841	0	5	00
Robert Barnard	April 14, 1841	June 4, 1841	0	1	20
M. C. Cramer	June 4, 1841	Aug. 6, 1841	0	2	2
Ezra Houck	Aug. 6, 1841	Sep. 15, 1841	0	1	9
Joseph Schell	Sept. 16, 1841	Dec. 22, 1841	0	3	6
Robert Barnard	Dec. 22, 1841	Feb. 13, 1846	4	1	21
Philemon Chew	Feb. 13, 1846	April 14, 1846	0	2	1
Lawrence J. Brengle	April 15, 1846				

APPENDIX P

LIST OF CANAL POSITIONS, APRIL 1884¹⁶

Division No. 1		
Superintendent	J. J. Moore	\$125 per month
Collector	William Snowden	\$125 per month
Assistant Collector	William Jarboe	\$100 per month
Clerk	J. B. North	\$50 per month
Harbor Master	Frank Fishe	\$50 per month
Assistant Superintendent	Joseph Isaacs	\$100 per month
42 Lock-Keepers		\$40–\$65 per month
Superintendent, telephone		\$50 per month
Chief Engineer, Georgetown Incline		\$100 per month
Assistant Engineer, Georgetown Incline		\$72 per month
Helpers (4)		\$40–\$50 per month
Boss Carpenter (3)		\$65 per month
Carpenters (8)		\$1.75 per day
Smith		\$1.75–\$2 per day
Caulker		\$1.75 per day
Laborer		\$1.10 per day
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (23)		\$1.10 per day
Level Walker		\$40 per month
Mason		\$2.50 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss of Dredge		\$70 per month
Engineer		\$2 per day
Dipper Tender		\$1.50 per day
Fireman (2)		\$1.50 per day
Deck Hand		\$1.15 per day
Laborers (16)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (8)		\$1.10 per day
Level Walkers (2)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		66-2/3 cents per day
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (7)		\$1.10 per day

¹⁶ Payrolls, April 1884–February 1885, C & O Co.

Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (13)		\$1.10 per day
Cook (2)		\$.66 2/3–\$1.10 per day
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (7)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (15)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (9)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (8)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Horse Hire		\$509
Total Payroll per month—\$6,222.06		
Total Collected for Room and Board—\$918.79		
<u>Division No. 2</u>		
Superintendent	Lewis G. Stanhope	\$125 per month
Collector	A. Willison	\$150–\$50 per month
Collector	J. Spielman	\$150–\$50 per month
Clerk	E. Edwards	\$100 per month
Gauger	John Ranahan	\$50 per month
Inspector	E. Null	\$40 per month
35 Lock-Keeper		\$40–\$65 per month
Telephone		\$50 per month
Steam Packet		\$25–\$30 per month
Assistant Engineer		\$38 per month
Boss Carpenter (3)		\$65 per month
Carpenters (9)		\$1.10–\$2 per day
Masons (3)		\$1.75–\$2.65 per day
Boss		\$55 per month

Laborers (6)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Laborers on Mud Machine		\$1.10 per day
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (9)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (7)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (5)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Level Walkers		\$1.10 per day
Laborers (5)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Level Walkers (2)		\$1.10 per day
Laborers (6)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (7)		\$1.10 per month
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Level Walkers (2)		\$1.10 per day
Laborers (1)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Horses (19)		\$388.75
Teams (2)		
Total Payroll per month—\$5,713.15		
Total Collected for Room and Board—\$629.53		
<u>BASIN WHARF</u> (INCLUDED IN DIVISION NO. 2 PAYROLL)		
Clerk		\$100 per month
Boss		\$50 per month
Trimmer		\$50 per month
Watchman		\$50 per month

Hostler		\$35 per month
Carpenters 92)		\$1.50 per day
Laborers (3)		\$1.10 per day
Dumpers (5)		\$1.65 per day
Trimmers (7)		\$1.65 per day
Driver		\$1.50 per day
Total Payroll per month—\$373.30		

APPENDIX Q

LIST OF CANAL POSITIONS, FEBRUARY 1885¹⁷

Division No. 1		
Superintendent	J. P. Biser	\$60 per month
Collector	William Snowden	\$50 per month
Clerk	J. B. North	\$20 per month
Harbor Master	Frank Fisher	\$50 per month
40 Lock-Keepers		\$15–\$40 per month
1 Assistant Lock Keeper		\$15 per month
Captain—Packet		\$35 per month
Telephone		\$50 per month
Engineer, Georgetown Incline		\$47.50 per month
Assistant Engineer, Georgetown Incline		\$35 per month
Helpers		\$25 per month
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss Carpenter (3)		\$65 per month
Laborers (2)		\$1.10 per day
Carpenters (2)		\$1.50–\$1.75 per day
Boss, Dredge		\$22.50 per month
Engineer		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (6)		\$1.10 per day
Level Walker		\$40 per month
Cook		\$20 per month
Quarryman		\$25 per ½ month
Laborers (11)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$10 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (23)		\$1.10 per day
Masons (2)		\$2.50 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (5)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month

¹⁷ Payroll, April 1884–February 1885, C & O Co.

Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (6)		\$1.10 per day
Cook (2)		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (12)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (6)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (6)		\$1.10 per day
Mason		\$2.50 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborer		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Horse Hire		\$281.50
Total Payroll per month—\$2,672.92		
Total Collected for Room and Board—\$530.40		
<u>Division No. 2</u>		
Superintendent	Edward Mulvany	\$65 per month
Collector	A. Willison	\$62.50 per month
Assistant Collector	John L. Edwards	\$37.50 per month
34 Lock-Keeper		\$15–\$27.50 per month
Telephone		\$50 per month
Engineer, Pump		\$38 per month
Boss Carpenter (3)		\$65 per month
Carpenters (3)		\$1.10–\$1.75 per day
Blacksmith		\$1.90 per day
Mason		\$2.40 per day
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (4)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month

Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (4)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (5)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (12)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Boss		\$55 per month
Laborers (9)		\$1.10 per day
Cook		\$20 per month
Horse Hire		\$237
Total Payroll per month—\$2,413.21		
Total Collected for Room and Board—\$236.80		
<u>BASIN WHARF (INCLUDED IN DIVISION NO. 2 PAYROLL)</u>		
Boss		\$25 per month
Watchman		\$50 per month
Hostler		\$30 per month