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**Straightening out J.E.B. Stuart's Crossing
of the Potomac at "Rowser's Ford"**

By James H. Johnston





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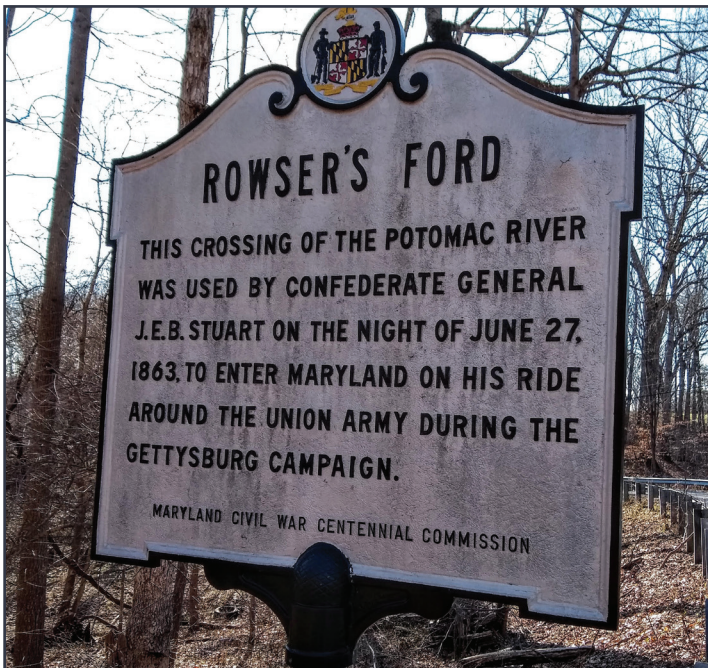
Straightening out J.E.B. Stuart's Crossing of the Potomac at "Rowser's Ford"

By James H. Johnston

Roger S. Cohen, Jr., may have thought he knew more than other historians about where Confederate General J.E.B. Stuart crossed the Potomac into Montgomery County during the Civil War. But if so, he made a glaring error in locating the spot and missed the more important point.

Cohen was singularly responsible for the placement and wording of the historical marker for Rowser's Ford on Violette's Lock Road just off River Road near Seneca. The sign commemorates General Stuart's crossing of the Potomac River with 5,000 Rebel cavalry bound for Gettysburg on June 27, 1863 as part of his "ride around" the Union army. General Robert E. Lee was leading the main Confederate Army towards Pennsylvania through the Shenandoah Valley that June. A huge Union army was trying to keep itself between Lee and the city of Washington. But Stuart convinced Lee to let him "ride around" the Yankees. There was no great military purpose to this. Crossing the river behind the Yankees' backs seemed intended mainly to mock them. However, Stuart didn't cross where the sign is. The crossing was more than two miles downriver. Moreover, he was severely criticized for this ride because he was urgently needed eighty miles away in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where the main Confederate force was by this time.¹

THE CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMISSION



Roger Cohen's marker at Riley's Lock (Photo by the author)

The marker's origins may be traced back to the 1950s when writers like Bruce Catton and his *Army of the Potomac* trilogy were turning Americans into Civil War buffs. One result was that in 1957 Congress created the Civil War Centennial Commission to coordinate a nationwide commemoration. States were encouraged to create their own commissions.

The state of Maryland was conflicted. On the one hand, there were only two major military engagements in the state, the Battles of Antietam and of Monocacy, with each side winning one. On the other hand, many Marylanders in the 1950s still held the Confederate military, particularly its generals, in high regard. Thus, Maryland has forty-nine centennial markers of which twenty-five mention Confederates favorably and seven

deal with Stuart. Of the four markers in Montgomery County, three mention Stuart. Oddly, six Maryland markers, for unexplained reasons, have nothing to do with the Civil War.²

Roger Cohen saw opportunity in the centennial. An accountant by profession, he was an avid Civil War buff and an active member of the Montgomery County Historical Society. He felt he might use his expertise on the war and his position with the society to erect commemorative plaques in the county. Although he persuaded the historical society to put up the Rowser's Ford marker in 1965, it is attributed to the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission.³

Cohen's interest in Stuart and his crossing into Maryland dated back to 1959 when he addressed the subject in a lecture, the text of which is the only known record of his thinking of where Stuart crossed. He told his audience that Confederate partisan John Singleton Mosby crossed the Potomac at Violette's Lock on June 9, 1863 (the crossing was June 10-11) and that Stuart also "crossed the Potomac at Violets [sic] Lock on the night of June 27." Cohen added that this was "another opportunity for one of his [Stuart's] many rides around the Union Army."⁴ The wording is strikingly similar to what is on the Rowser's Ford marker.

Cohen didn't say what his source was for believing Stuart crossed at Violette's Lock, but he apparently relied on a map accompanying a report by Stuart in what is commonly called the *Official Records of the War of Rebellion*. This is a 128-volume compilation of dispatches and reports from both sides that the War Department published between 1881 and 1901. Cohen referenced the compilation in a 1962 letter to Park Loy, the executive director of the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission. He criticized a commission-prepared map and seemed to patronize Loy by saying: "I would suggest starting with the 142 (?) volumes of the Official Records.... I have found these to be a generally reliable source of information."⁵

Cohen apparently didn't realize that Stuart's map was not very good and the marked route was at best an approximation. Stuart's adjutant Henry B. McClellan would have attended to such details. Indeed, in his *The Life and Campaigns of Major-General JEB Stuart* written years after the war, McClellan marked the route on an accurate map that shows the crossing was well downriver from where Stuart's map places it.⁶

Cohen's mistake is compounded by his acknowledgement that Mosby and Stuart crossed at the same place. He must not have read Mosby's books. Mosby repeatedly identified the crossing point as "Seneca Ford" and specifically noted that it was the same as "Muddy Branch Ford." In fact, Mosby said he was the one who told Stuart about the ford. Mosby also remarked it was twenty miles from Georgetown. Mileage marker 20 on the C&O Canal is at the Muddy Branch near Pennyfield Lock, not where the sign is at Violette's Lock. Mosby thus put the crossing more than two miles downriver from Cohen's marker.⁷ As will be seen, Muddy Branch is where all historical records – except Stuart's map and Cohen's marker – place the crossing.

NO ONE DARES CROSS THE POTOMAC AT VIOLETTE'S LOCK

The Potomac at Violette's Lock is fearsome. It is almost a mile wide and filled with rocks, whitewater rapids, speeding channels, deep water pools, and huge piles of driftwood. Visitors today stare in disbelief at the thought that 5,000 cavalry with wagons and artillery could cross at this spot. One look should have given Cohen pause in thinking Stuart crossed here.

Whitewater canoeists routinely put their boats in the river near the lock, cross to the Virginia side, and shoot downriver through a flume. They eventually reach a tranquil stretch of water and take their canoes out more than two miles downriver at Muddy Branch. Susan Sherrod is one. I met her as she was putting a canoe in the river above the rapids. When I asked if tough Confederate cavalymen could cross at

Violette's Lock, she said absolutely not. She is also a horsewoman. A rider would never take a horse through rapids, she explained, because the horse might step in a hole and break a leg. Forging Seneca Rapids, as they are called, with 5,000 cavalry in the fading light of day, which is when Stuart's men began crossing, would have been a disaster.

Stuart described the crossing in heroic terms, but even he said that his cavalry could not ride over a rocky bottom:

As General Hampton approached the river, he fortunately met a citizen who had just forded the river and who informed us there were no pickets on the other side and that the river was fordable, though two feet higher than usual. Hampton's brigade crossed early in the night, but reported to me that it would be utterly impossible to cross the artillery at that ford. In this the residents were also very positive — that vehicles could not cross. A ford lower down was examined and found quite as impracticable from quicksands, rocks and rugged banks. I, however, determined not to give it up without trial; and before twelve o'clock that night, in spite of the difficulties to all appearances insuperable, indomitable energy and resolute determination triumphed, every piece was brought safely over and the entire command in bivouac on Maryland soil.⁸

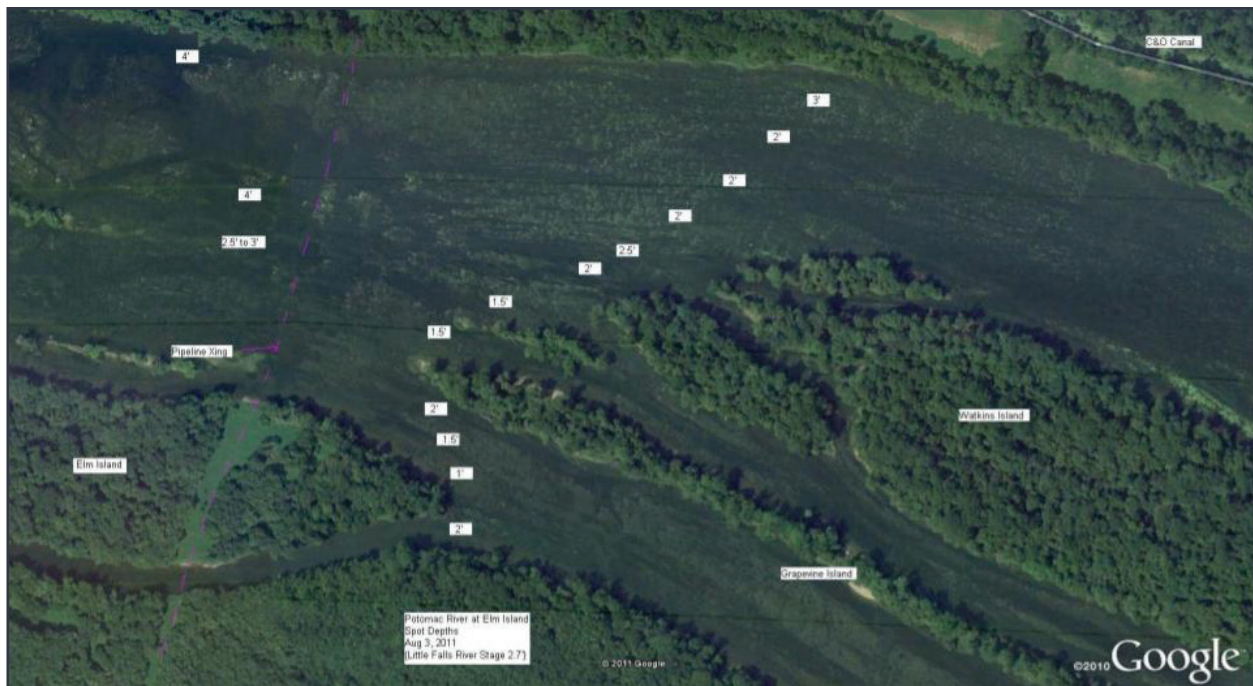
The *Washington Post* carried an article in 1979 about three young men who crossed through the rapids on foot in order to fish on the Virginia side. While they made it over and back safely, one described the perils: “We stuck to the edge, grousing in pain when we cracked bare shins against sharp rock edges and going glug, glug, glug when the shelf occasionally gave out and put us in up to our sunglasses.”⁹

In 2020, Orlando Spaulding, a retired military and commercial pilot living in Virginia, took an interest in where Stuart crossed. He canoed across the river from the

Maryland side at Violette's Lock to the Virginia side, shot down the flume, and paddled back to Maryland at the mouth of Muddy Branch. He used his cell phone's GPS to note his position and measured the river depth with his paddle. His measurements that day show the river was over the head of man and horse upriver of Violette's Lock, but in the downriver crossing at Muddy Branch, the maximum depth was only three and a half feet.¹⁰ J.E.B. Stuart said the river was two feet higher than usual on the day he crossed, and McClellan, his adjutant, wrote that the water was up to the men's saddles. This means the water was at most four or five feet deep. As will be detailed later, a witness said the Rebels had prisoners who were not on horses and who walked across the river.



The Potomac near Violette's Lock, where Cohen placed Stuart's crossing (Photo by the author)



Depths of Potomac at Muddy Branch Ford as measured by Orlando Spaulding (*Google Earth image; annotations provided by Spaulding*)

Although Spaulding had the idea and means to measure the water depths at Muddy Branch, all those who canoe or kayak this stretch of river today tell the same story. The river is very shallow and wide at Muddy Branch. When asked where Stuart might have crossed, canoeist Susan Sherrod described the same route that Spaulding mapped. A hiker told the author that he had walked from the Maryland side to one of the islands and back. The water never got above his chest, but his medium-sized dog had to swim part of the way.

In Stuart's day, there was a weir or diversion dam across the river at Violette's Lock. Its function was to funnel river water into the C&O Canal to keep it filled and flowing. It may not have stretched all the way across the river. It could not be used as a bridge in any event. The top was sloped at a fifteen-degree angle towards the downriver side, and water flowed over it. It was made of rocks and wasn't paved.¹¹ Cavalry and artillery couldn't cross on the dam any more than they could go through the rapids and flume. Recalling the crossing, adjutant McClellan wrote that the water was up to the men's saddles and they were in the water for almost a mile.¹² If they had been on the dam, they would have been riding through a waterfall more than four feet high.

In sum, the river above the dam was too deep to cross. The Confederates could not have crossed on the dam. And the rocky rapids that extended for almost two miles below the dam were impassable for horses, wagons, and artillery. The only feasible place to cross this stretch of the Potomac is where it widens and slows and is shallower. This is at the mouth of Muddy Branch along the route mapped by Spaulding.

JOHN ROWZEE'S FARMS

Another clue that Cohen overlooked was Stuart's calling it "Rowser's Ford." Had Cohen investigated, he would have discovered that a Virginian named John Rowzee owned a large farm in Virginia and another in Maryland directly across the Potomac at Muddy Branch. Rowzee's brother Reuben was lock keeper at Violette's Lock,¹³ and Rowzee's sons John Edwin and George Albert were fighting with Mosby.¹⁴ Stuart simply

misspelled what he was probably told was “Rowzee’s Ford,” meaning the ford between the two Rowzee farms. The river there was fordable in 1863 – and is still fordable today – but at the time of the Civil War it was known to everyone except Stuart as either Muddy Branch Ford or Seneca Ford.



Looking downstream toward Muddy Branch Ford. The Virginia shoreline is on the right with two islands visible at center (Photo by Matthew Logan)

THE HISTORICAL RECORD CONFIRMS THE CROSSING WAS AT MUDDY BRANCH

In Cohen’s defense, he didn’t have the historical resources available on the internet today. The historical evidence for Stuart crossing via the Muddy Branch Ford is overwhelming.¹⁵ Major D.W.C. Thompson of the California 100 Cavalry (actually about 400) was patrolling the river at the time. After the war, he wrote: “Stuart’s cavalry having crossed the Potomac at Muddy Branch Ford, the battalion was sent to watch their movements. By a forced march it came up with the enemy, and had an engagement with the rear guard near Brookville [sic], Maryland, on the first day of July, and continued to follow them into Pennsylvania, capturing stragglers and harassing their column.”¹⁶

Two days after the crossing, the *Washington Evening Star* of June 29 reported on two civilians who were captured by Stuart in Virginia and taken into Maryland via “Muddy Branch.”¹⁷ The *Baltimore Sun* on August 30 reported that Union forces captured a man at Muddy Branch who admitted to guiding Stuart across the river in June.¹⁸ Muddy Branch Ford is mentioned 166 times in Northern newspapers between 1861 and 1863 in stories about Union soldiers garrisoned there.¹⁹ There is no mention of a Rowser’s or Rowzee’s Ford.

There are eyewitness accounts to the crossing in addition to those of J.E.B. Stuart and his adjutant. George A. Dagwell was a Union officer who had been wounded and taken prisoner by Stuart. He wrote that the horse soldiers crossed first, followed by the artillery, ambulances, and prisoners in that order. He and the other wounded were in ambulances, and the unwounded prisoners walked. The water was only about three and a half feet deep.²⁰ This is the same depth that Orlando Spaulding found in recent times at Muddy Branch.

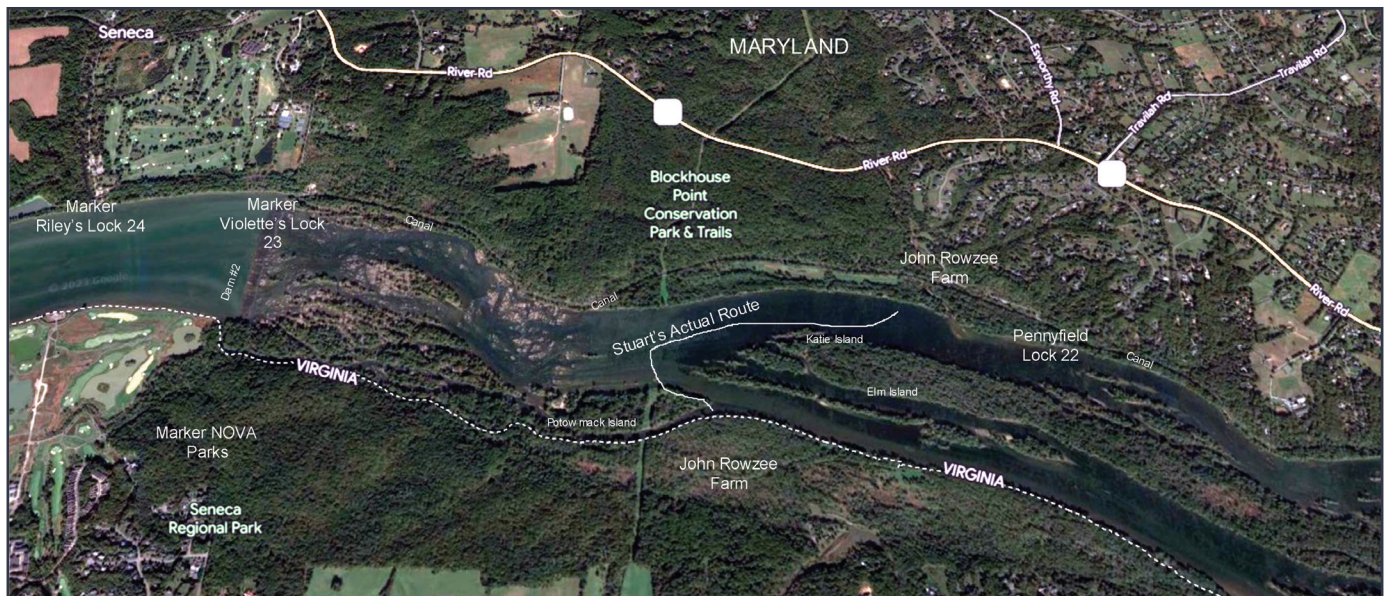


General J.E.B. Stuart (Library of Congress)

Canal boatman Thomas Evans too was an eyewitness. In an affidavit to the Provost Marshal, he said he was crew on the canal boat *George Riggs* that was traveling up the canal from Georgetown on June 27, 1863. It was about six o'clock in the evening when a man he called "Rouser" and a man named Cross stopped the boat at a lock and engaged the crew in conversation that delayed their continuing. Cross then left. This was surely at Lock 23, and the men were surely Reuben Rowzee and Benjamin Cross who had a farm nearby. Evans remembered: "The next I seen was Mr. Cross riding up the tow path, and a rebel soldier behind him. Mr. Cross did not stop but went towards home. I made the remark to Mr. Cross here comes a Rebel Soldier, he said 'Oh dry up' I said if it ain't a Rebel Soldier it is a Government spy dressed in Rebel clothes [and] the soldier rode up close to the boat. I walk out and he asked me if I had seen any Rebs about there. I made a reply, that I had seen one, and that was himself...."²¹

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED

What happened, based on what we know, was probably something like this. On June 27, Stuart's cavalry was in Dranesville, Virginia, a few miles from the river. From there, they took one of two routes to the ford, or more likely, they divided the columns to travel faster and took both routes. One route was north on Seneca Road to the river and then downriver to the ford. The other was from Dranesville toward Georgetown on Old Georgetown Pike and then north on a now-vanished road to Rowzee's farm. It is marked on an old map. From Rowzee's, the Confederates entered the river between Potowmack and Elm Islands, wound around Katie Island, and crossed over to the Maryland shore at Muddy Branch. They encountered no resistance because Union troops had been pulled out of the forts there to help defend against the main Confederate army which had crossed upriver around Shepherdstown, West Virginia. Adjutant McClellan wrote that "horse followed horse" as they crossed. Dagwell remembered bonfires blazed on one of the islands and on the Maryland shore to guide them after sunset.



Approximate locations of the key landmarks associated with Stuart's crossing (Google Earth image; annotations provided by the author)

Once in Maryland, Stuart's cavalry still faced the problem of getting over the C&O Canal. Although there is a culvert under the canal at Muddy Branch, nothing suggests the Confederates used it. Instead they rode upriver on the towpath for two miles until they got to Violette's Lock and crossed over the canal on the pivot bridge there.²² Most if not all of the county residents along the river were Confederate sympathizers.

Benjamin Cross, whom the boatman saw leading the group of cavalry, was one. Stuart spent the night at a house near the river, and it was probably that of Cross.

THE OTHER TWO MISPLACED MARKERS

Roger Cohen's mistake was, unfortunately, influential. After his marker went up in 1965, the Civil War Trails put up its own marker commemorating the crossing, but this one is yet another mile upriver at Riley's Lock (Lock 24). Thus, it is three miles from the actual crossing. The marker adds new but erroneous facts saying that the Confederates crossed the canal on an overturned barge and that none of the residents was aware of the crossing until morning. These assertions are made out of whole cloth; neither is true. The Rebels crossed on the pivot bridge, records of the repair of Confederate damage to the canal make no mention of an overturned boat, and locals like Cross were Southern sympathizers who guided and housed them.

Similarly, the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority erected a marker on the Virginia side at the parking lot on Seneca Road directly across the river from Violette's Lock. This marker correctly says that Stuart crossed the river at the Rowzee farm but incorrectly places the farm in the treacherous rapids below the dam at the terminus of Seneca Road rather than two miles downriver at Muddy Branch. Today, county residents, tourists, Civil War buffs, and tour groups make the pilgrimage to Violette's Lock, and, misled by the signs, marvel at how those 5,000 brave Rebels and the dashing general Stuart survived crossing a seemingly impassable stretch of river.

THE REST OF THE STORY AND AN EPILOGUE

In addition to being in the wrong place, the markers myopically focus on Stuart's supposed derring-do and have missed the bigger picture in this drama. Stuart's orders called for him to be well across the Potomac by June 27, 1863. Indeed his orders were for him to be scouting for Robert E. Lee and the rest of the Confederate army, who were by that time more than eighty miles north in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

The next day, June 28, Stuart's cavalry wound its way through Montgomery County. For an account of this, see Robert C. Plumb, "J.E.B. Stuart's 'Wild Ride' Through Montgomery County."²³ Stuart didn't meet up with Lee and the rest of the army until the afternoon of July 2, 1863, the second day of the three-day Battle of Gettysburg, too late to stave off crippling defeat.

Lee would later claim that he never intended to fight a major battle north of the Potomac but that he was marching blind without Stuart to scout ahead. He said he blundered unexpectedly into the Union army and couldn't disengage. Years after the war, Lee's aides argued that but for Stuart's delay, there never would have been a Battle of Gettysburg. And, Confederate General James Longstreet, Lee's second-in-command, wrote a book after the war, saying caustically: [Stuart] rode on a raid, so that when the cavalry was most needed it was far away from the army.... [O]ur plans, adopted after deep study, were suddenly given over to gratify the youthful cavalryman's wish for a nomadic ride."²⁴

This was the last of J.E.B. Stuart's daring rides. He was killed by a Union soldier at Yellow Tavern near Richmond ten months later.

After the war, adjutant Henry McClellan became principal of Sayre Female Institute in Lexington, Kentucky, and remained there as a professor, writing his book about Stuart. He died of a stroke in 1904.²⁵

Partisan John Mosby, the “Gray Ghost,” continued to bedevil Union troops in Fairfax and Loudoun Counties, Virginia. When Confederate General Jubal Early led a raid on Washington, DC in July 1864, Mosby used it as an opportunity to cross the river and burn the blockhouse at Blockhouse Point. After the war, he joined the Republican Party and became a friend of President Ulysses Grant. His support of the party led to his being named U.S. Consul to Hong Kong, and later he was used on special assignments by other presidents.

At the very beginning of the Civil War, Benjamin Jackson Cross was arrested by Union authorities and confined in Old Capitol Prison, where suspected spies were kept. He had helped Confederate partisans, crossing from Virginia, to kidnap a Union soldier who was visiting the Cross farm in Maryland. The soldier was then sent to Richmond and imprisoned. Cross had been released from Old Capitol by the time Stuart showed up in 1863.²⁶ The Cross farm is now the Bretton Woods Recreation Center, a golf club owned by the International Monetary Fund. Stuart’s troops probably camped on the golf course.

John Rowzee’s first wife was Julia Jackson of Fairfax County, Virginia. Despite the fact that she shared a name with Benjamin Jackson Cross and that husband John bought a farm near Cross’s after her death, she and Cross were apparently not related. But, she was part of the extended Jackson family in Fairfax County and owned the impressive Cornwell Manor, which still stands just off Old Georgetown Pike there. While Benjamin Cross is infamous for kidnapping the first Union soldier during the war, Julia’s cousin, James Jackson, is infamous for killing the first Union officer in the war. Jackson was managing a hotel in Alexandria, Virginia, when Union troops took control of the city in May 1861. Seeing a large Confederate flag flying from the top of the hotel, Union Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, a dear friend of President and Mrs. Lincoln, climbed to the roof and tore the flag down. Enraged, Jackson shot and killed Ellsworth before being killed by the Union troops.

Rueben Rowzee quit tending locks on the canal after Stuart’s crossing and turned to managing hotels first in Tenleytown in Washington, DC, and then at the terminus of the C&O Canal in Georgetown.

John Rowzee filed a claim with the federal government after the war for damage Union troops did to his Maryland farm at Muddy Branch. He said the troops felled the trees, slaughtered his cattle, and tore down several buildings. A federal commission ruled he was only due compensation for a few cords of firewood. His descendants appealed, but it wasn’t until 1912, forty-seven years after the Civil War, that the U.S. Court of Claims finally disposed of the matter by denying the appeal. John Rowzee also is noted for selling several dozen acres of his Maryland farm in 1875 to the founders of the African American community at the intersection of River and Pennyfield Lock Roads that is now known as Tobytown.

CONCLUSION

This many-faceted story has yet to come to a conclusion in real life, for although the true facts now seem clear, the three historical markers for Rowser’s Ford are still misplaced and in error. It is, however, a cautionary tale about trusting historical markers, particularly if they don’t make sense. One look at the wide Potomac and treacherous rapids at Violette’s Lock should have alerted Roger Cohen and those who placed the other nearby markers that this was not where Stuart crossed. In the least, it should have prompted them to additional research and to sources other than Stuart’s inaccurate and self-promoting account.

About the Author

James H. Johnston is a lawyer, writer, and lecturer in Washington, D.C. His books include: *From Slave Ship to Harvard, Yarrow Mamout and the History of an African American Family*; *Murder, Inc.*, *The CIA under John F. Kennedy*; and *The Recollections of Margaret Cabell Brown Loughborough, A Southern Woman's Memories of Richmond and Washington during the Civil War*. His articles have been published in periodicals to include *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and *White House History Magazine*.

Notes

1. "The author wrote about the military aspects of Stuart's crossing the Potomac in "A Ford Too Far on the Road to Gettysburg," *Gettysburg Magazine*, (January 2023), 68, 11.
2. Maryland's Roadside Historical Markers, Department of Planning, Maryland Historic Trust, <https://mht.maryland.gov/historicalmarkers/> accessed March 18, 2022. Those in Montgomery County are Fort Sumner, Rockville Courthouse, Rowser's Ford, and White's Ford.
3. History of the Montgomery County Historical Society for 1965, 3. MCHS Meeting Minutes 1962-1965, Administration, Series I, Subseries 2. Jane Sween Library, Montgomery History, Rockville, MD.
4. Roger S. Cohen, Jr., "The Federal Occupation and Military Campaigns in Montgomery County, Maryland, During the Civil War," Talk Presented to the Montgomery County Historical Society February 2, 1959 by Roger S. Cohen, Jr., of Rockville, Maryland, 5-6. Maryland State Archives, Civil War Centennial Commission, 1959-1965, S131-10, Box Me-Mu, Location 01/32/o/061, MdHR No. 16928-10. The archives has fifteen boxes from the commission. Box 10 contains files related to Montgomery County. The correspondence is generally filed in reverse chronological order. Hereafter "Maryland Archives."
5. Roger S. Cohen, Jr., to Park W. T. Loy, March 23, 1962. Maryland Archives. The question mark and underscoring are Cohen's. Jealousy may also have played a role. Loy lived in Hagerstown near the major Civil War site in Maryland, the Antietam Battlefield. To Loy, the historical significance of the sites in Montgomery County paled in comparison.
6. Henry B. McClellan, *The Life and Campaigns of Major-General J.E.B. Stuart: Commander of the Cavalry of Northern Virginia* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company: Richmond, VA, 1885), cover packet.
7. John S. Mosby, *Mosby's War Reminiscences, Stuart's Cavalry Campaigns*, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1898), 177-79. Mosby mentions the Seneca crossing seven other times in the book at 62, 76, 92, 171, 174, 195, and 205. In John S. Mosby, *The Memoirs of Colonel John S. Mosby*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1917), 222-23, he says Seneca and Muddy Branch are the same fords.
8. J.E.B. Stuart, Report, August 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Vol 27, Pt. 2, 687, 693. Map, Id. 711.
9. Angus Phillips, "A Walk Across the Potomac," *Washington Post*, August 1, 1979.
10. On site interview with Orlando Spaulding, Feb. 2, 2020.
11. Harland D. Unrau, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, Dam No. 2 & Associated Structures, Historic Structure Report*, May 1976, <http://www.npshistory.com/publications/choh/dam-2-hsr.pdf>.
12. McClellan, *Life and Times*, 323-24.
13. In the 1860 census, Reuben Rowzee's name appears immediately after Benjamin Cross whose farm was between Locks 23 and 24 as will be discussed later. The same census shows Thomas Pennyfield as a lock keeper. Lock 22 is named Pennyfield Lock today because the last lock keeper there was named Pennyfield. So it seems likely that the job had stayed in the family and that Thomas Pennyfield tended Lock 22 in 1860 while Rowzee tended or assisted at Lock 23.
14. They were John Edwin and George Albert Rowzee. James J. Williamson, *Mosby's Rangers* (New York: Ralph B. Kenyon Publishers, 1896) 61-62, 133, 160, 475-76, 492, 509. John Edwin apparently was close enough to Mosby to be invited to a dinner with Mosby and Williamson at a house near Upperville, Virginia on May 6, 1863 when they were attacked by Yankees. *Id.* 61-62.
15. On the other hand, Cohen should have known that the Union built three forts on the Maryland side at Muddy Branch to guard the ford from Confederate raiders crossing from Virginia. The log blockhouse at one of those forts gave the name to the county park there now called Blockhouse Point.
16. D. W. C. Thompson to George S. Evans, Adjutant-General, California, Report, November 15, 1867, *Appendix, Journals of California Legislature, Seventeenth Session* (Sacramento CA, Office of the Chief Clerk, 1868), Vol. 1, 141.
17. "General Fitz Lee Crosses into Maryland with 4,000 Troops and 15 Pieces of Artillery," *Evening Star*, (June 29, 1863), 2.
18. "Depredations of the Guerillas," *Baltimore Sun*, (August 30, 1863), 1.
19. See for example, *Alexandria Gazette*, (July 7, 1864) 4; "The War News," *Baltimore Sun*, (September 30, 1864) 4; "Affairs on the Upper Potomac," *Evening Star*, (March 30, 1865), 3. Search of newspaper database Genealogy Bank (February 25, 2020).
20. George A. Dagwell, Thomas West Smith, ed. *The Story of a Cavalry Regiment, "Scott's 900" Eleventh New York Cavalry*: (Veteran Association of the Regiment, New York, 1897), 94.
21. Capt C.B. Todd to Provost Marshal, July 19, 1863, General Records of the Provost Marshal General's Office, Washington, DC, National Archives.
22. Although the pivot bridges have long since vanished from the canal, farmers had insisted the canal company build them. They were sturdy enough to allow wagons and livestock to cross. Dagwell, the Union officer who was a prisoner, reported that one of the artillery pieces fell off the bridge into the canal.
23. *Montgomery County Story*, 56 (Spring 2013), 1-11
24. Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox* 343
25. Henry Brainerd McClellan, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Brainerd_McClellan, accessed March 20, 2022.
26. Carlton Fletcher, "Manuel C. Causten, Prisoner of War," Glover Park History, <https://gloverparkhistory.com/estates-and-farms/weston/prisoner-of-war/> (accessed May 11, 2023).



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