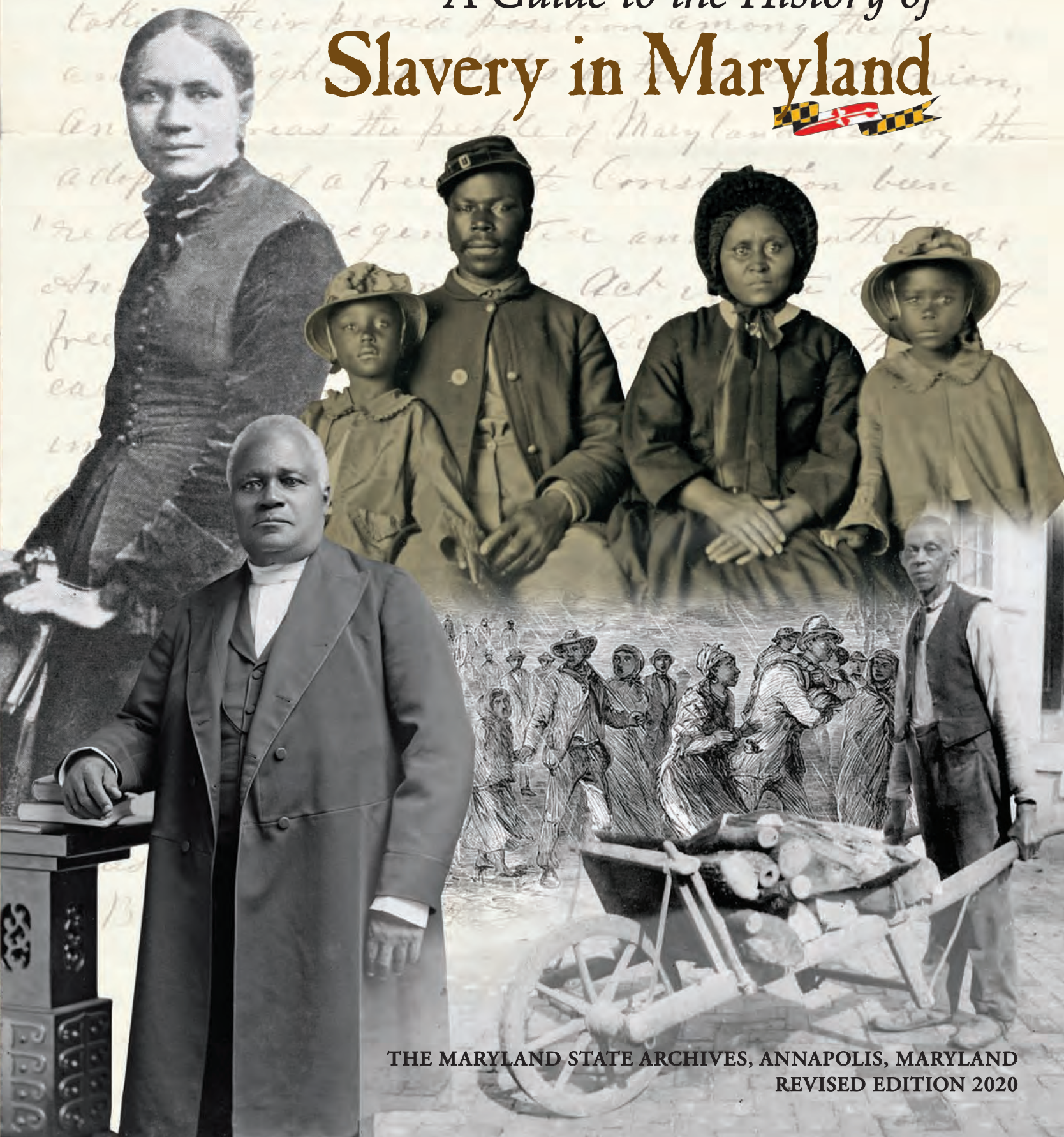


Whereas it is fitting that a people freed  
from the barbaric Customs of a feudal age  
should give some expression to their feelings in  
taking their proud position among the free  
and rights of the nation,  
And whereas the people of Maryland, by the  
adoption of a free Constitution have  
read the regular and  
strictly free  
can  
in

# A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland









# *A Guide to the History of* **Slavery in Maryland**



*Figure 1: Engraving of Africans unloading tobacco on a Chesapeake Bay wharf, c. 1750.*

Slavery and its tragic legacy have played a significant role in our nation's history and have become an important part of the American consciousness. They have been the subject of numerous movies, documentaries, podcasts, museum exhibitions and monuments, as well as books, and multi-media journalistic publications. Their place in American culture has shaped and informed local and national politics, congressional hearings, legislative policies and apologies, lawsuits, and the matter of reparations. In such an environment, slavery and its role in Maryland's history demand that chattel bondage be addressed in classrooms and other forums. This *Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland* provides a brief, but comprehensive, overview of the history of slavery in the state. Built upon the most recent scholarship, this guide offers teachers and students a starting point from which to begin their own exploration of an institution that, in so many ways, has shaped our modern world.





*Figure 2: Woodcut depicting an enslaved man in chains which appeared on the 1837 broadside publication of John Greenleaf Whittier's antislavery poem, "Our Countrymen in Chains."*



# Slavery in Maryland

*“The next thing to hell...”*

– Harriet Tubman

**F**rom the colony’s founding in 1634 until the state abolished slavery in 1864, enslaved Africans and African Americans were important in shaping Maryland’s history. Their labor, and the commodities it produced, provided the foundation for Maryland’s economy and formed its society. Enslaved workers on the tobacco plantations fueled the colony’s economic growth during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fortunes amassed from the free toil of enslaved men, women, and children allowed Maryland’s gentry to dominate colonial politics and propelled some to national prominence. By the nineteenth century, enslaved people could be found in every corner of Maryland: laboring in Cecil County’s iron furnaces; harvesting wheat in Washington County; and caulking ships in Baltimore’s harbor, like skilled enslaved artisan Frederick Douglass.

During the Civil War, African Americans reclaimed their freedom, but the weight of slavery’s history was not easily obliterated, as it continued to cast a long shadow over the state. Slavery’s influence can still be felt, as debates about public monuments, the state song and reparations demonstrate. African Americans have endured poverty and discrimination into the twenty-first century. In 2000, recognizing slavery’s importance to Maryland’s history, the legislature created the Commission to Coordinate the Study, Commemoration, and Impact of



Figure 3: Maryland, c. 1671.

Slavery’s History and Legacy. Seven years later, both houses of the Maryland legislature and the Annapolis City Council officially expressed their “regret for the role Maryland played in instituting and maintaining slavery.”

As the official apologies affirm, slavery is now recognized as a heinous crime, but, for most of human history, few whites considered it either illegal or immoral. Slavery flourished in ancient Greece and Rome and is present in the Bible, Koran, and other sacred texts. Customs and law in Africa, Europe, and the Americas justified slavery and the trade in human beings. When Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans came together in the fifteenth century, each had knowledge of the



institution of chattel bondage. Familiar with slavery and accustomed to a world of social hierarchies, the people of Africa, Europe, and the Americas sold enslaved people and purchased them without fear of violating either the laws of God or of man. To the European colonists who settled in Maryland, the enslavement of Africans and sometimes Native Americans, and the establishment of a society based upon enslaved labor, required no special justification. They acted in a manner familiar to white men and women throughout the Atlantic world of their day.

Over time, slavery wore many faces in Maryland. The lives of enslaved black men and women in 1650 bore little resemblance to those living in 1750 or 1850. Enslaved individuals living in different parts of the state had diverse experiences and often commented on this variance. George Ross, who had been enslaved near Hagerstown, highlighted one of the differences between western and southern Maryland when he observed, “Down in Prince George’s County...they are a little harder than they are in the upper part of the State.”

*A Guide to the History of Slavery in Maryland* traces slavery’s history from the founding of the colony through the American Civil War and is organized around three broad questions:

Figure 4: Woodcut depicting agricultural work in antebellum Maryland, c. 1855.



Figure 5: Enslaved boy, Cecil Calvert, and grandson, c. 1670.

- Why did Maryland’s landholders shift from a reliance on indentured servitude to permanent enslavement in the late seventeenth century and what were the implications of that shift?
- How and why did slavery evolve during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
- Why did slavery decline following the American Revolution and how did that decline shape Maryland society during the nineteenth century?

In considering these questions, this guide also examines how enslaved men, women and children navigated the difficult years of bondage and how, in the process, they created families and communities, institutions, and ideologies which—when the moment arrived—allowed them to seize their freedom.



## The Beginnings of Maryland Slavery

On November 22, 1633, English colonists sailed for the Chesapeake Bay, where George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, had requested ten million acres to establish a colony. Crammed into the *Ark* and the *Dove*, these settlers survived a harrowing Atlantic passage. Their arrival in the winter of 1634 marked the beginning of permanent European settlement in Maryland, but not the beginnings of slavery, which was already well-ensconced in the Western Hemisphere.

By 1634, a plantation system that employed enslaved labor to grow exotic crops—tobacco, rice, coffee and, most importantly, sugar—for an international market flourished throughout the Atlantic world. During the three centuries prior to Columbus's arrival in the New World, Europeans established plantations in and around the Mediterranean, crossed the great ocean, and gained a foothold on the coast of Brazil and then in the Antilles. Initially, planters cared little about the nationality of those they enslaved but they became increasingly dependent upon Africans. Thus, long before the settlement of Maryland, the plantation system based on enslaved African labor had been established.

Despite slavery's importance to the economies of other New World colonies, the institution remained marginal in Maryland during most of the seventeenth century. Indentured English and Irish servants outnumbered enslaved Africans until the 1690s. Black people comprised a small

minority—less than ten percent—of the colony's population. Moreover, not all of these were enslaved; some labored as indentured servants and others had gained their freedom.

Historians have labeled the colony's black men and women Atlantic Creoles, because of their origins in the larger Atlantic world. Most came from the Caribbean islands, while some were born elsewhere in the Americas. Many spoke English, practiced Christianity, and were familiar with English law and trading etiquettes. Mathias de Sousa, a

man of mixed racial origins, accompanied Jesuit priest Father Andrew White, one of the first English settlers to Maryland. Another of the early black arrivals, John Baptiste, successfully petitioned the Maryland Provincial Court for his freedom in 1653. Although purchased as laborers and worked hard by their owners, these Atlantic Creoles formed families, joined churches, and incorporated themselves into Maryland society. Living and

working alongside white indentured servants and trading among themselves and with others (both free and enslaved), they accumulated property. Like de Sousa and Baptiste, they secured their freedom. In 1676, Thomas Hagleton, who was born in Africa but spent time in England, won his freedom in court. Others purchased their liberty, and many more received it as a gift from their enslavers. Free black men and women also migrated into the colony from Virginia. Together, such men and women composed black Maryland's Charter Generation.



Figure 6: Artist's rendition of Mathias de Sousa.



## The Plantation Revolution

The last decade of the seventeenth century witnessed a profound transformation of Maryland society and, with it, a change in the character of slavery. In 1689, following a revolt against Calvert family rule, Maryland planters took control of the colony, consolidated their grip on political power, expanded their landholdings, and increased their need for laborers. At the same time, economic and political developments in Europe disrupted the supply of indentured servants, prompting planters to turn to African labor, most of it imported directly from the continent. The end of the English Royal African Company's slave trade monopoly in 1698 also made it easier for Maryland planters to obtain Africans. African slavery, which had been legalized in a series of laws starting in the 1660s, grew rapidly, and enslaved black people replaced white indentured servants as the primary source of plantation labor.

The nature of the trans-Atlantic slave trade changed. Enslaved individuals no longer dribbled into Maryland in small numbers carrying knowledge of the languages, religions, and trading etiquette of

*Figure 7: Illustration of captured Africans being led in coffle to slave ship.*



*Figure 8: Map of Africa, 1600.*

the larger Atlantic world. Rather, they entered the colony by the boatful, crowded into the holds of ships under the worst of conditions. While fewer than one thousand Africans arrived in Maryland between 1619 and 1697, nearly 100,000 disembarked during the three quarters of a century prior to the American Revolution. By 1755, about one third of Maryland's population—in some places as much as one half—was derived from Africa, mostly from the interior of the continent. The colony became as much an extension of Africa as of Europe.

The men and women shipped across the Atlantic were called "Africans." But they were not Africans when they boarded the slave ships. Rather, they were members of particular nations—Angolans, Igbo, and Mande, for example—each with its own political hierarchy, social structure, traditions, and culture. Some were matriarchal and others were patriarchal. Some Africans labored as farmers, worked as village-based artisans or merchants, or served as soldiers. Most had been free, but some had been enslaved. They wove different kinds of cloth, made different kinds of pottery, smelted different kinds of metals, sang different songs, and worshipped different gods.

For the most part, Maryland planters cared little about the origins of their slaves, and those who did had but small ability to specify the origin of





Figure 9: Enslaved men working in a tobacco barn.

those enslaved. Nonetheless, the workings of the international trade brought a variety of indigenous people to Maryland. Although the Africans who came to Maryland derived from all parts of the continent, the vast majority—some three quarters—originated in the Windward and Gold coasts of West Africa; in particular, Igbo culture deeply influenced black life in the colony.

The advent of the slave plantation—what has been called the Tobacco Revolution—had a devastating effect on black life in Maryland. Members of the Charter Generation decamped or were swallowed by the massive wave of African imports. Under the new system, few black people gained their freedom and, in the half century prior to the American Revolution, the proportion of black people enjoying freedom declined from one in four to one in twenty-five. Planters put the newly arrived Africans to work in primitive inland plantations, where the largely male population lived lonely lives without friends or families. Driven to work at a feverish pace, the enslaved suffered grievously. Deadly diseases, for which newly arrived Africans had little resistance, killed them at a murderous rate. The sexually imbalanced population—in part

ADVERTISEMENTS. 3

**J. M. WILSON**  
HAVING REMOVED TO THE  
**CORNER OF ESPLANADE & MOREAU STS.**  
**NEW ORLEANS.**  
Will keep on hand and be constantly receiving during the season,  
LARGE SUPPLIES OF  
**MARYLAND**  
AND  
**VIRGINIA NEGROES;**  
CONSISTING OF  
**Field Hands, House Servants, Cooks,**  
**Seamstresses, Washers and Ironers,**  
**Mechanics, &c,**  
ALL OF WHICH WILL BE SOLD  
**LOW FOR CASH,**  
OR, ON TIME, FOR GOOD CITY ACCEPTANCE.  
**PLANTERS AND PURCHASERS**  
Generally are respectfully invited to  
Call and Examine before Purchasing elsewhere.

Figure 10: Sale notice for enslaved workers in Maryland and Virginia.

a product of the planters' preference for enslaved men—could not form families. During the first decades of the eighteenth century, the fertility rate of the black population declined and its mortality rate increased as the harsh regimen of tobacco agriculture transformed Maryland into a veritable charnel house for black people.

Violence, isolation, exhaustion, and alienation led enslaved Africans to profound depression and occasionally to self-destruction, but enslaved people also contested the new regime. Resistance took a variety of forms. The enslaved refused to accept the names given to them by their owners, secretly retaining their African names and customs. Some ran away, often moving toward the backcountry in large groups to reestablish African society in the New World. Others paddled into the Atlantic, pointing their canoes eastward toward Africa.



Some confronted their owners directly in bloody frays. Yet others used guile rather than their muscle. They destroyed livestock and farm equipment and feigned an inability to operate various tools such as rakes and wheelbarrows. This practice afforded the enslaved momentary respite and satisfaction, and frustrated owners and their foremen. Yet, despite efforts such as these, the enslaved could not topple the planters' regime.

## Africans to African Americans

Sometime during the 1740s, Maryland slavery began to change yet again. This transformation, nearly invisible at first, would permanently reshape black life in Maryland. As enslaved Africans developed immunities to the diseases of the Americas, they lived longer. Planters, seeing the advantage of an indigenous, reproducing labor force, imported women as well as men so that the ratio of men and women in the population struck an even balance. As the gender ratio flattened, black men and women again established families. Planters gave women some time off during the last trimester of pregnancy and the black population began to increase naturally.



*Figure 11: Yarrow Mamout (Muhummad Yaro), a man formerly enslaved in Maryland, painted by Charles Willson Peale in 1819.*



*Figure 12: Illustration of enslaved families on a plantation, 1792.*

With the growth of an African American population, planters relied less on the trans-Atlantic slave trade to replenish their labor force. By the middle of the eighteenth century, few Africans were entering the colony and the black population was largely native born. Maryland lawmakers officially ended the colony's participation in the international slave trade in 1774, but, in fact, the trade had all but ceased by mid-century. On the eve of the American Revolution, ninety percent of the colony's enslaved population was native born, and black people completed the process of transforming themselves from Africans to African Americans.

Enslaved African Americans differed from their African forebears in important ways. Fluent in English and familiar with the countryside, they developed skills that propelled some into the artisan class and allowed them to create their own small independent economies. The so-called slave economy—raising stock and barnyard fowl, working gardens and provision grounds, and crafting baskets, pots, and other salable items—provided the material basis for community life. Families knit themselves into networks of kin that spread across the Maryland countryside, creating complex social connections, patterns of belief, and recognized leaders.





*Figure 13: Illustration of a burial ceremony among the enslaved.*

## Maryland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

“Tobacco, as our staple, is our all, and Indeed leaves no room for anything else,” wrote Benedict Leonard Calvert in 1729. More than any single aspect, the cultivation of tobacco shaped the experience of Maryland’s black people. Since tobacco could only be grown in small patches, planters divided their workers into small squads and spread them out across the countryside. Although some slave owners maintained large home plantations with grand houses and numerous outbuildings that housed artisan shops of all sorts, most agricultural laborers worked and lived in small units called “quarters” that were scattered about Maryland’s landscape. Tobacco exhausted the soil, so these quarters had to move frequently. The mobility of the quarter and the small size of units of production meant that the enslaved were always on the move. Visiting was a common occurrence among the enslaved, especially since many husbands and wives lived in separate quarters.

Although quarters were often supervised by a white overseer, planters frequently turned

their management over to an elderly or trusted enslaved person. The presence of patriarchs or matriarchs in the quarters increased the independence of enslaved blacks, allowing them a great degree of control over their domestic and religious lives. Joining the memory of Africa with the circumstances of life in Maryland, African Americans began to create their own society, different than that of Africa and different than that of their white enslavers, but connected to both. The

unique character of African American life could be seen in all aspects of enslaved culture from the way black people prepared their food to the way they buried their dead. Evidence from cemeteries suggests that enslaved communities used the burial of a loved one as a time to assert their collective identity, create bonds among themselves, and re-establish links to remembered African customs.

## The American Revolution in Black Life

The American Revolution again transformed the lives of African Americans in Maryland. Although slavery survived the upheaval unleashed by the Revolutionary War, the institution of chattel bondage underwent sweeping changes as Maryland became a state in the new American republic. Amid the turmoil, black men and women found opportunities to challenge slavery and reclaim their freedom.

Military necessity forced the opposing armies to seek black military laborers and soldiers. Recognizing slavery’s importance to the Chesapeake’s economy and the potential value of black soldiers, the British government acted first.



In early November 1775, Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, issued a proclamation that offered freedom to indentured servants and the enslaved of rebellious planters. Although the number of enslaved black men and women who responded to Dunmore's proclamation was small—historians estimate that fewer than one thousand enslaved people escaped under the governor's edict—his order echoed throughout the Chesapeake.

While their masters denounced British tyranny, the enslaved renounced their owners by flocking to British lines, where they found refuge and freedom. The approach of British forces encouraged bondsmen and women to escape. In 1780, when British warships sailed into the Chesapeake, a desperate planter wrote to Maryland Governor Thomas Sim Lee, cautioning that, "If a stop is not put to these Crusers I am Convinced that all our most Valuable Negroes will run away." Indeed, by the end of the American Revolution, some five thousand Chesapeake enslaved people had escaped to the British. Many enlisted in the military struggle against their former enslavers. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore organized runaway enslaved men into an "Ethiopian Regiment," which battled American

*Figure 14: Artist's rendition of British soldiers reading Lord Dunmore's proclamation.*



*Figure 15: Drawing of runaways escaping from the Eastern Shore of Maryland.*

forces in 1775 and 1776. Others waged a guerilla war against slaveholders. On the Eastern Shore, freedom seekers joined bands of marauding outlaws (many of whom were white) and attacked plantations.

American military officers and politicians were slow to recruit enslaved or free blacks. Maryland's tobacco planters had invested heavily in slavery, and they were reluctant to surrender their valued property or to take actions that might threaten slavery's survival. By 1780, however, military necessity forced them to reconsider. Unable to recruit enough white soldiers for continental and state service, the legislature agreed to accept enslaved volunteers, provided that they had their owners' permission. The following spring, Maryland lawmakers subjected free blacks to the draft.

Changes on the battlefield soon affected life on Maryland's plantations and farms. Enslaved individuals became increasingly unruly, and fear of slave insurrections shot through the slaveholding class. The slaveholders' authority, once absolute, unraveled as the enslaved encountered black and white outlaws, marauding redcoats, and American recruiting officers. Declining commodity prices, which ruined many planters and rendered them unable to clothe and feed their human property, further weakened the owners' authority. As conditions on the plantations worsened, many fled.

Other changes that accompanied the war transformed the life of the enslaved. The disruption of international tobacco markets forced planters to



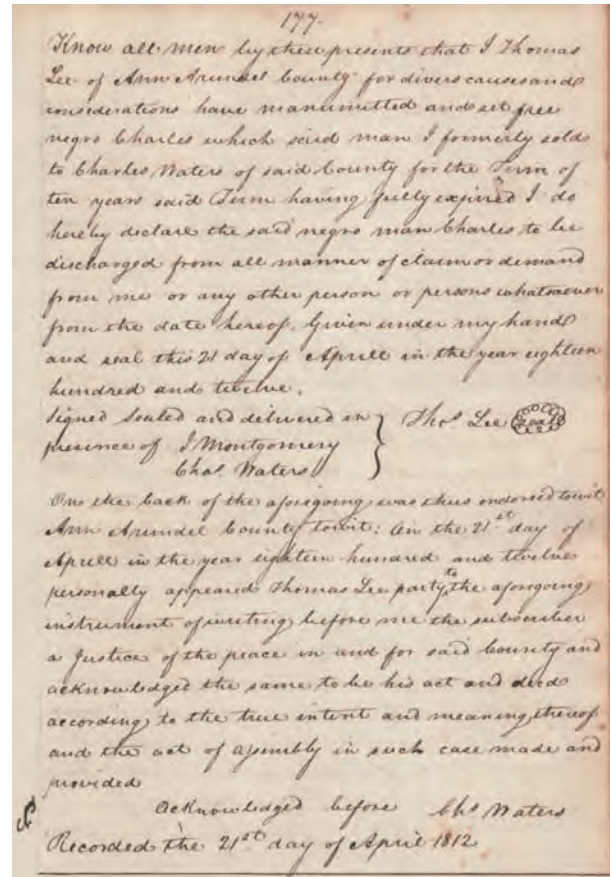
Figure 16: 1812 Manumission record,  
Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

become more self-sufficient. Unable to purchase British manufactured goods, planters trained enslaved men and women to fashion barrels, weave cloth, and smelt iron. The skills that enslaved artisans acquired during the American Revolution imbued them with a new confidence. Some hired their own labor with—and sometimes without—their owners' permission. Planters also turned from tobacco to the production of foodstuffs, growing corn and small grains. Mixed farming required fewer workers than tobacco monoculture, encouraging slaveholders to sell, hire out others, and occasionally free their human chattel.

## Slavery and Freedom in the New Nation

The combined pressure of the American Revolution and the decline of the tobacco economy forced Maryland's lawmakers to consider slavery's place in the new republic. To the north, slavery was fast collapsing under the weight of the egalitarian promise of the Declaration of Independence. Even before the war ended, constitutional conventions, legislatures, and courts abolished slavery in New England. Lawmakers in Pennsylvania passed a gradual abolition act in 1780, and—after considerable delay—New York and New Jersey followed. Antislavery forces—a combination of evangelical and secular egalitarians—pressed their case in Maryland, bringing the question to the floor of the state legislature several times in the 1780s and 1790s. Slavery survived abolitionist challenges in Maryland, but it did not survive unscathed.

When the state refused to act, individuals moved on their own. Manumissions increased during the 1780s and grew even more numerous when, in 1790, the legislature allowed slaveholders



to free their enslaved by will as well as deed. Manumissions are the first legal contracts between a free person and an enslaved individual recognized by the state. This period also saw a rise in freedom suits by enslaved individuals against their owners, with claims of descendancy from a free woman. Members of the Butler, Queen, and Mahony families who were held in bondage on Jesuit farms filed petitions proclaiming their freedom on the basis of being descended from a free woman. In 1798, brothers Charles and Patrick Mahoney fled from John Ashton, a Jesuit priest at White Marsh Church. Following the escape, Ashton placed an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* accusing the brothers of pretending “that they are set free by the verdict of a jury in the last general court.” Successful escape itself became easier as the number of free black people grew. The greatly enlarged free black population aided friends and relatives in the purchase of their liberty and, when that was not possible, they often assisted them in making their escape.





Figure 17: State House, Annapolis, MD, 1850.

Emboldened by revolutionary ideology, newly freed black people pressed for greater civil and political rights, publishing a plea for freedom on May 15, 1783 in the *Maryland Gazette* a few months before the removal of the United States capital to Annapolis. In Baltimore, free black man Thomas Brown campaigned for the Maryland House of Delegates. Although he was defeated, Brown's bid for office suggests the powerful impact of the American Revolution. Indeed, Brown based his campaign on his commitment to the revolutionary movement. In a letter to Baltimore's voters, Brown noted that he had been "a zealous patriot in the cause of liberty during the late struggle for freedom and independence, not fearing prison or death for my country's cause."

Still, at century's end, slavery remained deeply entrenched in Maryland, and slaveholders continued to be a powerful force in the state's economic and political life. As abolitionist sentiment waned, the defenders of slavery seized the initiative. The legislature strengthened slavery and circumscribed free blacks' liberty. Fearing that free blacks would subvert the extant racial order, legislators enacted a series of laws that limited their civil and political rights. In 1796, the General Assembly prohibited free blacks from testifying in freedom suits. That same year, the legislature

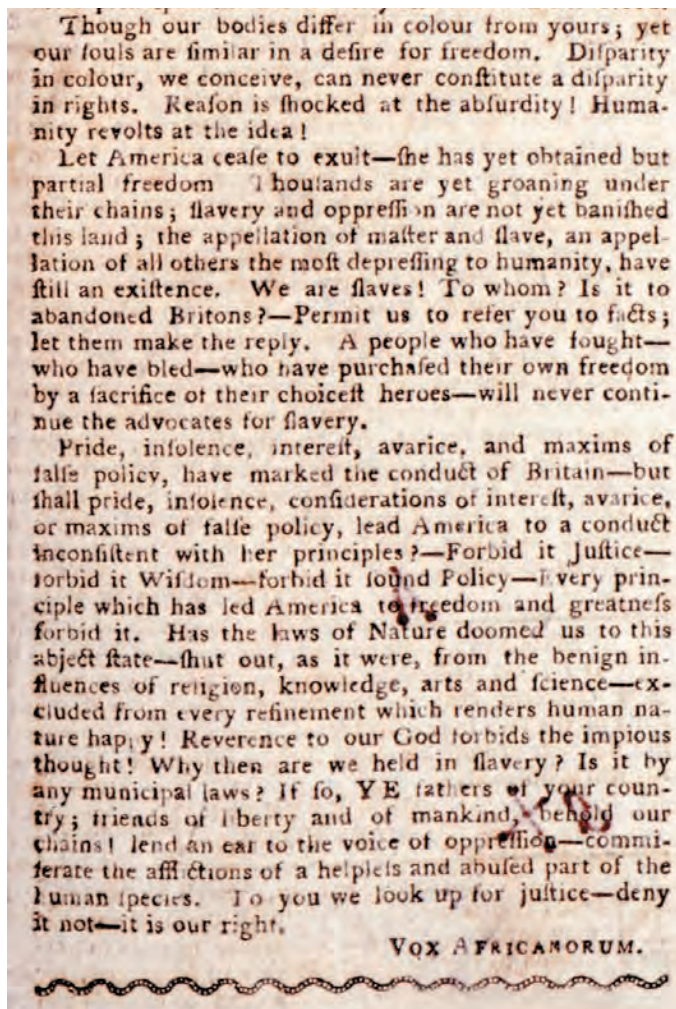


Figure 18: Article by Vox Africanorum from the May 15, 1783 Maryland Gazette.

passed strict vagrancy laws, allowing county governments to sell unemployed free blacks into terms of servitude and to apprentice their children to white planters. Six years later, lawmakers disenfranchised black men. There would be no Thomas Browns in the Maryland State House.

In 1805, to further regulate the status of Maryland's black population, the legislature established Certificates of Freedom, a document which indicated the free status of a person of color. The law required African Americans who were born free or manumitted to record proof of their freedom in the county court. As Chapter 66 from the Laws of 1805 stated: "great mischiefs have arisen from slaves coming into possession of certificates of free Negroes, by running away and passing as free under the faith of such certificates."



Figure 19: Seaman George Roberts who served aboard the *Chasseur* during the War of 1812.

## The War of 1812 in the Chesapeake

By the 1810s, the revolutionary upheaval that had moved the state to the edge of abolition was becoming a distant memory. But, as the nation edged towards another war with Britain, black people—enslaved and free—again sensed new opportunities to appropriate their freedom. When British forces sailed into the Chesapeake Bay in 1813, black men and women seized this opportunity.

British warships attracted hundreds, if not thousands, of freedom seekers and with this Maryland's government leaders again feared for slavery's future. While Maryland planters fretted about the growing number of runaways, the British enlisted them as pioneers and guides. In 1814, Admiral Alexander Cochrane issued a proclamation

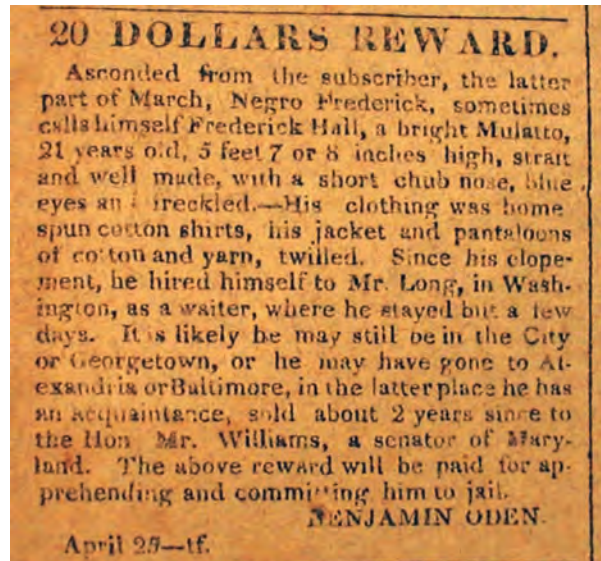


Figure 20: Newspaper advertisement in the *Daily National Intelligencer* for Frederick Hall who escaped from his enslaver during the War of 1812.

which offered immediate emancipation that “those who may be disposed to emigrate from the United States will, with their Families, be received on board of His Majesty’s Ships or Vessels of War.” On Tangier Island, they trained a small “Corps of Colonial Marines,” consisting entirely of escaped enslaved people. These soldiers fought in numerous actions against American forces and were praised for “their great spirit and vivacity, and perfect obedience” and their “extraordinary steadiness and good conduct when in action against the enemy.”

At war’s end, three to five thousand black men, women, and children from Maryland and Virginia received their freedom from the British. However, in the years that followed, they faced a difficult struggle. A handful of refugees, including the “Colonial Marines,” were sent to Bermuda, where they served at an English naval base, while others made their homes in Trinidad. The largest group of refugees—some two thousand former enslaved people—took refuge in Nova Scotia and about 400 settled in New Brunswick. The black refugees were settled on poor land and were often met with resistance in Nova Scotia. Employment opportunities were few, but some refugees worked as domestics while others were able to establish businesses.





Figure 21: Liberia, 1853.

William Dare, one of the escaped enslaved men from Maryland, opened a hotel in the town of Preston called the Stag Inn. The refugee communities quickly established schools and places of worship. Some of these men and women would later migrate to the United Kingdom and then to the new colony of Sierra Leone on the coast of West Africa.

## Maryland Diaspora

Changes in black life accelerated after the War of 1812, increasing in velocity during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Black Marylanders—free and enslaved—were uprooted in a Second Middle Passage and scattered throughout the North American continent and the larger Atlantic world. In some cases, these migrations were voluntary.

The abolition of slavery in the northern states encouraged many still held in bondage in southern states to follow the North Star in search of freedom. Henry Highland Garnet, a former enslaved man and abolitionist, escaped as a young child with members of his family. He recalled that a family exodus was “planned and carried out” after the death of his enslaver, Col. William Spencer, due to

fears that they would be separated. The reality of family separation was ever present as Maryland’s enslaved community was repeatedly sold to settle debts or for profit in an increasingly thriving southern plantation economy.

Networks of abolitionists welcomed and assisted Marylanders who took flight, landing in urban centers like New York, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. William Still, a free black man from New Jersey and son of former Maryland enslaved people, became one of the greatest Underground Railroad operatives. He provided assistance from his office in Philadelphia to those escaping slavery seeking shelter and safety, many of whom were passing through to their next destination. By the outbreak of the Civil War, thousands of black Marylanders had settled in the northern United States and Canada. The law was used to curtail the unauthorized flight to freedom. Samuel Green, an itinerant Methodist minister from Maryland’s Eastern Shore who helped his sons escape to Canada, was sentenced to ten years in the Maryland Penitentiary for owning a copy of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Other black men and women sailed off to Africa, settling



# 500 Dollars Reward,

*For the following Runaway Negroes, if brought to me or secured so that I get them all, or 100 Dollars for either of them---viz.*

*Sam, Nathan, Boatswain, Henny and Cyrus.*

SAM ran off four years ago—He was an accomplished House Servant—Black—about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, bow-legged, well made and very active—walks with a quick and short step—he had a scar low on his jaw (believed the left.) He is now about 24 years of age. Sam is no doubt employed as a house servant in some private house or tavern—or he may be a gentleman's body servant.

NATHAN ran off in August 1812. He is about 45 years of age, and supposed to be 5 feet 7 inches high—very black and not well made, but moves briskly. He was a Gardener and Coachman, and waited in the house. He took snuff, was addicted to drink, and when in liquor was very talkative and good humoured, elipt his words and laughed a good deal. He has been seen often in Jersey, Philadelphia and Delaware, since he ran off—He is probably employed about a garden or stable.

BOATSWAIN and HENNY are man and wife, both black—ran away 4th September, 1814. He is 27 years old, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, likely, well made and strong; speaks quick and thick, and had a great many bumps in his face, he is apt to stammer when first spoken to.—Henny is 23 years old, of rather a meek and downcast look, but she has a high temper, and very thick lips. She is of common size, and good figure, very healthy, and never had any children. She had, it is believed, a scar or two on one arm, perhaps the left. Boatswain and Henny are both field negroes, but capable of being made any thing.

CYRUS ran off 7th March, 1815. He is a house servant and a good gentleman's servant; black, 21 years old; bold but civil in his manners, fond of dress, speaks quick and rather thick, bow-legged, well set, about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, and walks with great activity and pride. He often wears a short jacket; he rides well.

All the above servants are remarkable for their cunning and sagacity. It is not necessary to mention their cloathing, as they all took a great variety with them, which they will change. They will most probably also change their names. The above reward will be given by the subscriber for all or either of them, and all reasonable charges paid.

All the above servants ran off without cause or suspicion.

*Robert H. Goldsborough,*

Easton, Talbot County, E. Shore, Maryland

August 12th, 1815.

Figure 22: Reward poster for runaways, 1815.



in a portion of the new colony of Liberia called “Maryland in Africa.” Yet not all black Marylanders left the state voluntarily. Instead, they were forcibly deported and relocated in the American south by migrating planters and slave traders.

The industrial revolution that swept across Europe and the northern United States created an insatiable demand for cotton. Lured by fertile land and the promise of great profits, planters from the seaboard states migrated south to meet that demand and made fortunes growing cotton. The Cotton Revolution created a seemingly limitless demand for enslaved labor in the south. Prices soared, and Maryland newspapers reported that “throughout the entire South there is a great demand for slaves, and enormous prices are paid for them.” By 1850, slave dealers were offering between \$1,200 and \$1,600 for healthy young men. With the tobacco economy sagging and slavery losing its profitability, Maryland’s slaveholders saw opportunity in selling their human property south. Between 1830 and 1860, they sold an estimated 20,000 people to the cotton planters of the south.

The interstate slave trade had a devastating impact on black families. As the coffles trudged south, husbands and wives came to appreciate the fragility of the marriage bond and parents learned their children would disappear, never to be seen again. Sales south shattered approximately one marriage in three and separated one fifth of children under fourteen from one or both of their parents. “I have seen hundreds of cases where families were separated,” recalled one enslaved Marylander. “I have heard them cry fit to break their hearts.”

The enslaved struggled to keep their families intact, pleading with their owners to respect the sanctity of their households and, when that failed, threatening violence and flight. Some slaveholders



*Figure 23: Philadelphia abolitionist William Still who assisted numerous escaped enslaved that fled from bondage in Maryland.*

yielded to their appeals, others did not. All, however, respected the threats, especially those within reach of the free states. According to one former slave, Maryland’s location made owners reluctant to act because “it was so near the Northern States.” The ability of Maryland enslaved people to follow the lead of Frederick Douglass—to get on a train in Baltimore enslaved and disembark in Philadelphia as a free man—frustrated slaveholders. When Harry Dale escaped from slavery, his owner placed a newspaper advertisement promising Dale that “if he will return home, I hereby pledge myself to let him choose a master, if he does not wish to live with me.”

Knowing that many freedom seekers might receive assistance, Maryland added numerous amendments to the punishments that would be given should an individual, or “accomplice” assist any runaway. As the possibilities of bargaining with their owners increased, enslaved individuals entered into agreements that allowed them to buy their freedom. Delayed manumission or “term slavery”—agreements under which slaveholders pledged themselves to free their human property after a certain number of years of loyal service—weakens the power of the owners, but did nothing to alleviate the harsh realities of African American life, free or enslaved. Emancipation did not protect them from harassment and the constant fear of being kidnapped and sold back into slavery.



*Figure 24: Image found in Cecil County, Maryland of an unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters.*

## Black Life in the Nineteenth-Century Countryside

During the nineteenth century, Maryland's economy and political culture fractured along regional lines. In the state's northern and western counties, farmers became increasingly dependent upon diversified agriculture, in which slavery played a diminishing role. On the Eastern Shore, soil exhaustion and declining tobacco prices forced farmers to abandon tobacco, manumit their enslaved workers, and cultivate their farms with free black and white farmhands. In the state's southern counties, however, tobacco and slavery remained the cornerstones of the agricultural economy, and planters retained their considerable economic and political might. The effects of these divisions grew more pronounced with time, so that the circumstances and aspirations of black people in different regions diverged sharply.

As they lived and worked alongside whites, and non-slaveholding and free blacks, the enslaved became a diminishing portion of northern Maryland's mobile and flexible workforce. Farmers raising cereals and corn did not want to support workers throughout the year; instead, they hired workers during planting and harvesting seasons, then discharged the unneeded. In such an economy, enslaved people were a liability, not an asset. Northern Maryland's enslaved population then entered into a steady decline. In Washington County, the population peaked at 3,201 in 1820 and fell to 1,435 in 1860. A similar pattern emerged in Cecil County, where the population plummeted from 3,407 in 1790 to 950 in 1860. So dramatic was slavery's decline in the non-tobacco producing counties that one observer





*Figure 25: Nancy Campbell, a manumitted woman from Washington County.*

wrote: “in the grain and pastoral counties of Cecil and Allegany, slavery appears to be undergoing a gradual extinction.”

The decline of slavery also informed all aspects of black life on Maryland’s Eastern Shore. Enslaved people seldom worked in large gangs, but labored independently or in small groups, often alongside their owners, white farmhands, and free blacks. They performed a variety of tasks during the growing season. Winter found them chopping firewood, slaughtering livestock, threshing grain, and hauling produce to markets in Baltimore and Washington. During the spring, summer, and fall, they planted corn, mowed grass, tended livestock, and harvested crops. While performing these tasks, enslaved blacks acquired numerous skills and knowledge of the countryside. They found opportunities to hire themselves, which allowed a considerable measure of independence.

Independence, however, came with a price. Because the region’s slaveholdings were small, enslaved people could not forge communities and families on their home farms and often endured long separations from their friends and families. Like the black family, the black community was not defined by the boundaries of farms or plantations, but spread extensively over entire neighborhoods. Black communities often coalesced in the region’s towns and meeting places, where enslaved and free blacks gathered to socialize and worship on holidays and weekends. In Hagerstown, for example, the constable noted that the town’s white residents were “very much aggrieved from the great concourse of negroes that frequently infest the public square, especially on the Sabbath Day.”

Southern Maryland presented a stark contrast to the state’s grain producing counties. Tobacco and slavery retained their vigor, as evidenced by census returns. In 1850, Maryland’s southern counties—Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Prince George’s, and Montgomery—were home to 50,000 whites, 9,500 free blacks, and over 48,000 enslaved people. In Prince George’s County, the enslaved Plummer family demonstrated the effects of slavery on families, as well as shifts reflected in agricultural practices. Charles Benedict Calvert, who was instrumental in founding the Maryland Agricultural College, now the University of Maryland, owned Adam Francis Plummer. Beginning in 1841, for ten years Plummer walked weekends from Riversdale Plantation in Riverdale Park to Three Sisters Plantation in Lanham to visit his wife Emily Saunders Plummer and their children. Their escape attempt in 1845 failed and resulted in Emily Plummer’s owner changing her position from cook to field hand. When her owner died

in 1851, two children remained at Three Sisters while Emily and three other children were sold and moved to Meridian Hill in Washington, D.C. and later moved to Howard County. With each move, Adam Plummer could visit his family less frequently. In many ways, the life of the enslaved remained unchanged between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The relentless demands of tobacco production dominated workers' lives. Enslaved workers continued to labor in large gangs under an overseer's lash. They had less independence and fewer opportunities to acquire skills, seek outside employment, or purchase their freedom than other enslaved individuals.

The economic divisions within Maryland ignited an intense debate about slavery's continued viability. Agricultural reformers argued that slavery was an outmoded, inefficient system that stunted Maryland's prosperity. Pointing to the declining white population in the state's southern counties, slavery's enemies claimed that the "peculiar institution" discouraged white immigrants and chased their sons and daughters from the state. These opponents of slavery hoped that gradual emancipation would attract white farmers and wage laborers. "The diminished use of slave labour leaves many vacant farms, and many large and uncultivated tracts of land," wrote one reformer, "which must (from the unprofitableness of slave labour) only be cultivated by free, white labour." Slaveholders were reluctant to abandon their human property, but they found their position increasingly untenable; declining tobacco prices, soil exhaustion, and their decreasing authority over their bondsmen and women forced many planters to consider emancipation. Although slavery remained important to the state's southern counties, it declined elsewhere in the state.

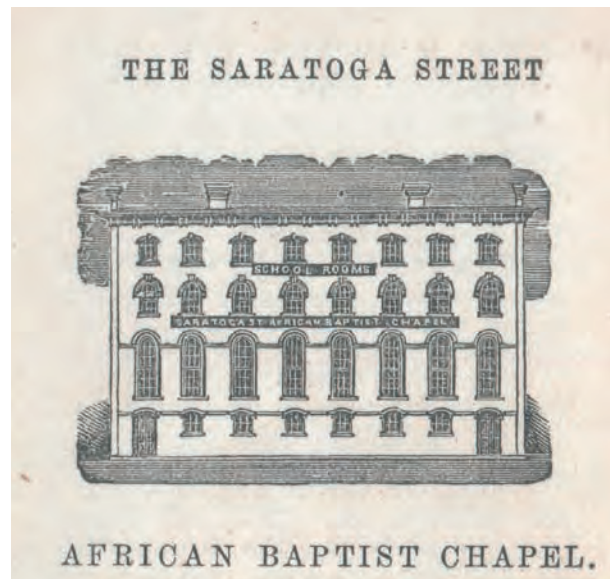


Figure 26: Saratoga Street African Baptist Chapel, Baltimore.

## Black Life in Baltimore in the Nineteenth Century

Recalling his childhood in Baltimore, Frederick Douglass noted "a marked difference" between his treatment in the city and country. "A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation," Douglass wrote. "He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation." Although African Americans faced crushing poverty and hostility from their white neighbors, Douglass's remarks accurately reflected the lives of many enslaved black people in Baltimore.

From the founding of the city, black workers, free and enslaved, played a critical role in the city's economy, especially its maritime sector. They worked the city's warehouses and wharves; labored in shops that produced ropes, sails, and barrels; and constructed ships in Baltimore's sprawling shipyards. The widespread opportunities for employment made Baltimore a haven for freedom seekers from the surrounding counties who could find work with few questions asked. The growing number of free blacks who might shelter a runaway only made Baltimore that much more attractive as a destination. The steady erosion of slavery sent chattel bondage into a decline from which it never recovered.





*Figure 27: Abolitionist, suffragist and poet Frances Ellen Watkins Harper.*





*Figure 28: Rev. Daniel Coker.*

By 1860, Baltimore's African American population had swelled to 27,000, over ninety percent of whom enjoyed legal freedom.

Black Baltimoreans organized their community around a variety of civic and religious organizations. The thick web of associations provided black people with education, spiritual guidance, and a measure of economic security. Many were the product of white exclusivity. Denied entry to the city's public schools, black men and women created their own, such as the Watkins Academy for Negro Youth which the noted poet and abolitionist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper attended through the age of fourteen. But other black institutions had their origins in the unique experiences and needs of black people. Benevolent and fraternal societies protected members against illness, unemployment, and injury, and assured a decent burial at death. Black men organized Freemason and Order of Odd Fellows lodges and joined with black women to create a host of literary societies and lyceums.

The heart of the black community was, however, the city's African American churches. Beginning with Daniel Coker in the 1790s, Baltimore's black leaders played a critical role in establishing the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The Oblate Sisters of Providence, an order of Catholic sisters of African descent was formed to provide education to Haitian refugee children in the city. Still in existence today, the order was

founded by Mary Elizabeth Clovis Lange, known historically as Mother Mary Lange. Such religious institutions provided the foundation for the city's black community; church buildings served as schools, halls for social gatherings, and platforms for political mobilization. By the eve of the Civil War, Baltimore blacks had created some two dozen churches of various denominations.

### **Jubilee! Civil War and Emancipation**

At the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, Maryland's elected officials steered a difficult course between preserving the Union and protecting slavery. As Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks declared, "I care nothing for the Devilish Nigger Difficulty, I desire to save the union, and will cooperate with the Administration in everything to that important result that is proper." While slave holders struggled to retain their human chattel, the enslaved chafed under their owners' authority and clamored for their freedom. Their unrelenting demands for liberty destabilized slavery and forced the state's political leaders—most of them slaveholders—grudgingly to embrace emancipation.

The arrival of federal soldiers during the first year of the war presented Maryland's enslaved population with numerous opportunities to escape from bondage. When a train carrying Union soldiers passed through Frederick, enslaved individuals secreted themselves aboard and escaped. Similarly, the encampment of federal soldiers near Hagerstown allowed one enterprising man to flee from his owner, hire himself to a northern officer, and begin his life as a free man. But the Lincoln administration—fearful that Maryland would desert the Union for the Confederacy—remained committed to the preservation of slavery through 1861 and into 1862.





Figure 29: Commemorative print marking the enactment of the 15th Amendment and showing the parade celebrating it in Baltimore.

Still, the outbreak of the Civil War heralded the beginning of slavery's demise. Opportunities for escape abounded. Although enslaved people yet had no legal guarantee to liberty, they claimed it nonetheless. Writing to his wife from a federal camp, John Boston, a former Maryland enslaved person, proclaimed, "this Day I can Address you thank god as a free man... I am free from the Slavers Lash."

Some federal officers were sympathetic towards the state's slaveholders, but most lost patience with slaveowners more concerned for their property than for the Union. They grew increasingly reluctant to return runaways to their secessionist masters. Fugitive slaves—or contrabands—were

valuable military laborers and servants, and soldiers recognized their importance to the cause. Soldiers assaulted and intimidated slaveholders who came into their encampments searching for runaways. When a Charles County planter ventured into a federal camp, the soldiers surrounded him, screaming "shoot him, bayonet him, kill him, pitch him out," and pelted him with stones. Slavery was on the defensive.

The federal government's slow march towards emancipation strained slavery in Maryland. When Congress abolished slavery in Washington, D.C. in April 1862, enslaved Marylanders found another safe harbor. Enslaved people from the countryside flocked to Washington where they



*Figure 30: Unidentified soldier, United States Colored Troops.*

found employment laboring for the army and navy and in military hospitals. It was but a short step from employing runaway slaves to freeing them and allowing enslaved men to serve as soldiers in federal ranks, which Abraham Lincoln did in his Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. Although the proclamation did not apply to Maryland, the edict nonetheless emboldened the state's enslaved blacks. "Our slaves are walking off... every day," observed a Baltimore newspaper. "The slightest coercion to compel moderate labor, and they are seized with a desire to walk off to a free state." Before long, black men from Maryland had their chance to enlist in the Union army.

Soldiering provided the acid that dissolved slavery in the state. Federal recruiters demanded access to the state's black population, enlisting enslaved men by the thousands. Slaveholders opposed the enlistment of their enslaved people, despite the bounty they would be paid. Still, the policy found many white supporters, as the enslaved counted towards the state's



*Figure 31: Christian Fleetwood, Medal of Honor recipient, was born free in Baltimore.*

draft quotas, thus saving white men from the draft. The small and middle-size farmers who employed free black workers disliked the policy that enlisted their workers while leaving the planters' labor force intact.

By late 1863, many of the most die-hard slaveowners had conceded that slavery was beyond repair and—however reluctantly—accepted its demise. The willingness of Maryland's enslaved people to exchange slavery for military service proved them right. Given the opportunity, slave men filled the ranks of Maryland's segregated regiments and joined the crusade against slavery. On November 1, 1864, Maryland ratified a new constitution prohibiting slavery. Sixteen days later, noted abolitionist, orator, and former slave Frederick Douglass gave a speech at Bethel A.M.E. Church in Baltimore titled *A Friendly Word to Maryland*. It was one of six speeches that he gave following the emancipation of the state's enslaved population. This moment signified Douglass' return to his home state as a free man.





*Figure 32: Alexander Wayman, Seventh Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church born in Caroline County in September 1821 and died in Baltimore City in November 1895.*

Emancipation was not the final chapter in the long story of slavery in Maryland. For more than two hundred years, slavery stood at the core of Maryland life. Enslaved people grew tobacco, harvested wheat, dug coal, and smelted iron upon which Maryland's economy rested. They helped build the C&O Canal and the B&O Railroad. They cared for and taught the children of their white owners. Enslaved people informed the struggle over freedom that gave the American Revolution and the Civil War their cosmic meaning. The determination of black men and women to maintain their humanity in the face of great inhumanity and force others to accept it transformed not only their lives but also the lives of all Marylanders.

Following the Civil War, Maryland's former slaveholding citizens sought financial assistance from the federal government for the "inconveniences, public and private, produced by such changes of system." The General Assembly of Maryland passed joint resolutions supporting the claim for reasonable compensation for loss of property. As a result, county commissioners were assigned to each jurisdiction to record the evidence of the number and value of persons held to labor and service before emancipation.

During this period, African Americans established their own communities. These consisted of churches, schools, fraternal orders and social groups. One such community was Unionville which was founded by veterans of the United States Colored Troops and their families in the years following the Civil War and the abolition of slavery in Maryland. Built on land from Ezekiel Cowgill, a Quaker and abolitionist originally from Delaware, the town established itself in what had been a stronghold of slavery in Talbot County, near Easton, on Miles River Neck.



Figure 33: Arrival of freedmen and their families at Baltimore, c. 1865.

Education for blacks in Baltimore City became a high priority. In 1864, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People was formed to provide a plan. The next year the Association established sixteen schools in the city. The majority of the teachers in the city schools were white and a small few educated blacks. The schools were described as "crowded to their utmost capacity." Societies were created to raise funds to assist the Association with opening schools in the counties, many of which were housed in black churches. The first county colored school opened through society funds at Easton in Talbot county.

The struggle for equal rights and opportunity would continue long after emancipation. In Maryland, efforts at re-enslaving young black men and women through a revival of a particularly onerous indentured servitude sanctioned by the Orphans Court, was reversed through the use of a *writ of habeas corpus* in the federal courts. In *ex parte* Elizabeth Turner (1867), a precedent which followed in principle Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney's *ex parte Merryman*, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase struck down an attempt to keep Elizabeth Turner in bondage.

The legacy of slavery in Maryland was also manifested through acts of racial terror lynchings perpetrated against newly freed and enfranchised



African Americans who were murdered at the hands of white mobs. These often 'unknown' men employed lethal combinations of shootings, hangings, and dismemberment to 'keep blacks in their place' whether or not they had been found guilty of a crime under Maryland's legal system. Lynchings occurred throughout the state and were generally committed following accusations of violence or sexual assault by an African American toward a white person. There are approximately forty documented occurrences of racial terror lynchings that occurred in Maryland between 1854 and 1933. Unfortunately, the exact number of African Americans who were slain in this manner, both prior to and following the abolition of slavery in Maryland, may never be known.

The battle for full, unfettered citizenship was far from over, however. Integration and enforcement of civil rights would not come for another century, standing as a lesson to all that moving from principle to practice in a democracy requires persistent vigilance and civic engagement at all levels and branches of government. The struggle against racism and inequality, which has its roots in the history of slavery in Maryland and in the nation, continues today.



<b>The Late Vote on the Constitution.</b>		
The following official result of the home vote For and Against the new Constitution of Maryland will be interesting for reference as the returns of the Presidential election come in from the several counties :		
	<i>For.</i>	<i>Against.</i>
Allegany county.....	1,839	954
Anne Arundel.....	231	1,360
Baltimore city.....	7,778	2,053
Baltimore county.....	2,001	1,860
Carroll.....	1,584	1,600
Calvert.....	57	634
Charles.....	13	978
Cecil.....	1,611	1,611
Caroline.....	479	423
Dorchester.....	499	1,486
Frederick.....	2,908	1,916
Howard.....	462	583
Harford.....	1,083	1,671
Kent.....	289	1,246
Montgomery.....	422	1,367
Prince George's.....	149	1,293
Queen Anne.....	320	1,577
Somerset.....	464	2,066
St. Mary's.....	99	1,078
Talbot.....	430	1,020
Worcester.....	486	1,658
Washington.....	2,441	1,653
Total.....	27,541	29,536
		27,541
Majority Against on Home Vote.....		1,995

Figure 35: Return of votes against the 1864 Maryland Constitution prior to the addition of absentee ballots cast by federal troops.

Figure 34: Article 24 of the Declaration of Rights of the Maryland Constitution of 1864.

Art. 24. That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted : and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free.



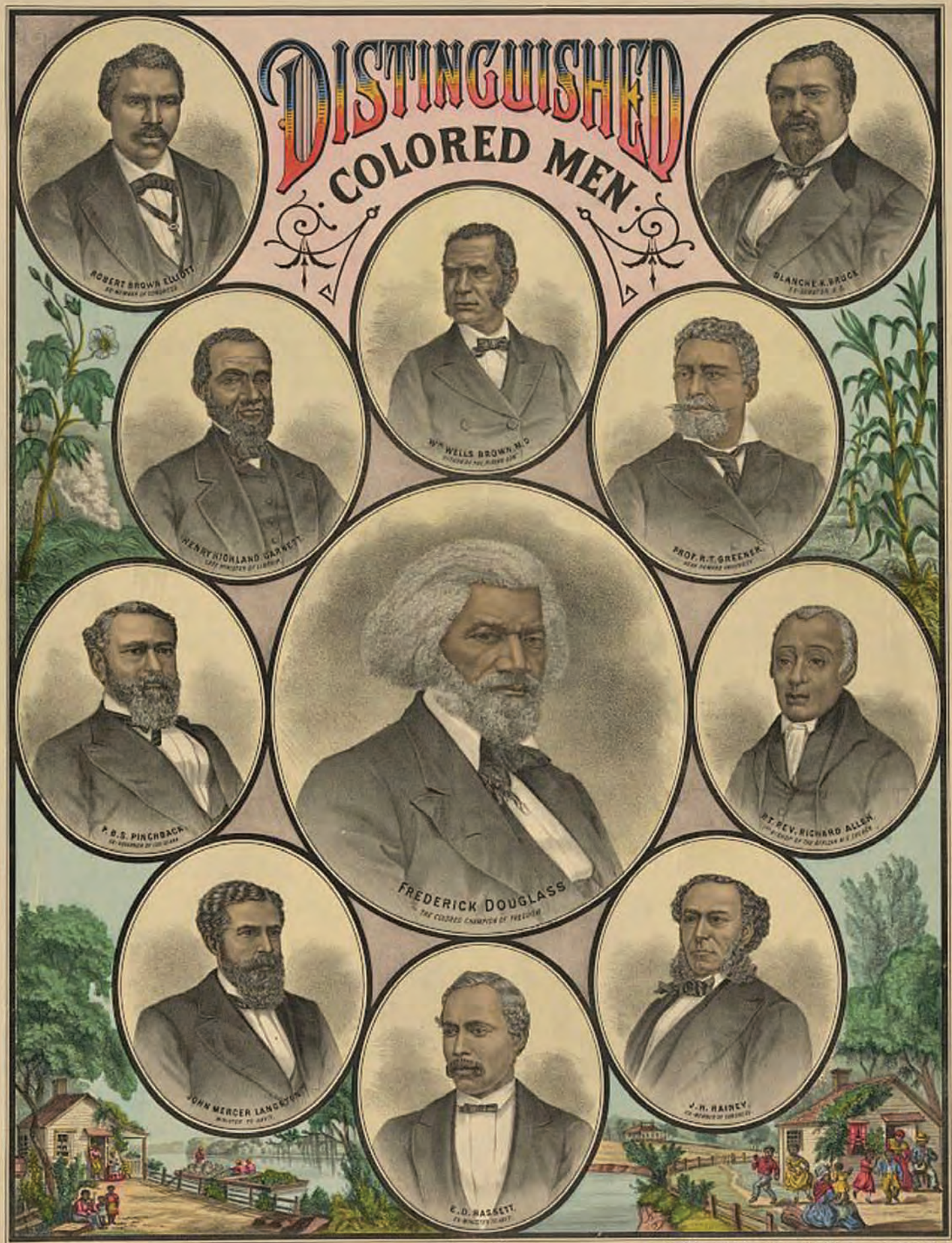


Figure 36: Distinguished Colored Men, including Maryland abolitionists Frederick Douglass and Henry Highland Garnett [sic].





*Figure 37: A man believed to be Robert Butler  
working on the Brome Plantation, c. 1909.*



# Historic St. Mary's City

**H**istoric St. Mary's City (HSMC) is where the colony of Maryland was founded and was its first capital. It is now an archaeological site, National Historic Landmark and a state museum that investigates and interprets the lost city and the people who dwelled here. Persons of African descent were present in St. Mary's City from its beginning. The earliest arrival whose name is known to us was Mathias de Sousa, who arrived on the Ark in 1634 as an indentured servant and served in the early legislature as a freeman in 1642.

Although slavery was not legally codified in Maryland until 1664, seventeenth century records imply the presence of enslaved Native Americans and people of African descent in St. Mary's City as early as 1639. One such person was a man named Antonio. In 1656, newly arrived from Africa, he was killed by his owner, Dutch merchant Simon Overzee, for refusing to work. Overzee was put on trial and ultimately acquitted of the murder. Antonio is significant as the first African in the English colonies who died resisting his enslavement. By the end of the seventeenth century, enslaved Africans had become a prominent element of the population.

In 1695, following a political revolution in England, Maryland's capital was moved to Annapolis, and St. Mary's City was abandoned, its streets and yards converted into tobacco and corn fields that were mostly farmed by enslaved workers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Archaeological research has located the sites of a number of quarters inhabited by these laborers. One cluster, first discovered by HSMC archaeologists in 1990, lay along Mattapany Road,

the oldest road in Maryland. More work in 2016 by a team from St. Mary's College of Maryland found related sites on the opposite side of Mattapany, indicating this area had been a center of African American life in the late 1700s and early 1800s at St. Mary's City. To honor these important sites and their occupants, a commemorative monument will be erected there in 2020.

Of the dozens of African American dwellings that once stood in St. Mary's, only one survives. It is a two-room wooden quarter with a central chimney that housed two groups of enslaved people. Built circa 1840, it was part of a row of dwellings on the Dr. John Brome plantation and is the only frame duplex quarter surviving in Maryland. Located within sight of Brome's "St. Mary's Manor" mansion, which also survives, this structure was one of at least seven quarters on the plantation. Brome inherited nearly all the land of St. Mary's City in the early 1840s and developed it into one of the largest plantations in Southern

*Figure 38: Brome duplex quarter today.*





Maryland. At the time of the Civil War, Brome held sixty enslaved African Americans who lived and worked there. A list compiled by Brome in 1867 provides the only detailed information surviving about the individuals who made up this community.

Further insights about these enslaved individuals have come from archaeological and historical studies conducted by the museum, especially by Dr. Terry Brock for his doctoral dissertation. Archaeologists tested around and within the standing building and investigated a demolished single room quarter that once stood next to it. Figure 41 shows the duplex building and single quarter around 1890. This research revealed many aspects of life on the plantation. Census records indicate that about two-thirds of the people continued to live there after emancipation, apparently working as wage laborers. However, by 1880, most had moved away to newly forming African American communities in the county or in Baltimore. In the early twentieth century, farming work continued to be performed by African Americans, including the Butler family. Around 1930, the duplex quarter became the home of Solomon “Saul” Milburn and his family. Milburn worked for Brome’s descendants, the Howards, running a dairy and caring for the estate. His wife Lily did cooking and housework for the Howards, while raising five children. When the Milburns finally moved away in 1965, it brought to an end 125 years of continuous African American life in the building.

In 1994, the buildings of the Brome plantation were moved from their original location on top of the seventeenth century town center and placed in a comparable landscape setting nearby in St. Mary’s City. Preservation of the structures became



*Figure 39: A pierced 1850s Mexican Real coin found by archaeologists at the single quarter. Pierced silver coins were sometimes given to and worn by African American children for spiritual protection.*

a major priority. Today, the “Manor House” operates as a bed and breakfast and the quarter was opened in 2018 as a permanent exhibit entitled “Struggle for Freedom: African American Life at St. Mary’s City in the 19th and 20th Centuries.” This unique exhibit is structured in three parts depicting different eras in the history of the quarter. One room depicts the 1850s occupation with period furnishings and signage that discusses the Brome enslaved community. The other room of the duplex depicts the 1880s and describes the tremendous changes in African American life brought about by emancipation. Finally, a rear shed built by Solomon “Saul” Milburn has been reconstructed and focuses upon the Milburn family experiences while living here in the early to mid-twentieth century. In March 2018, Milburn’s son, Solomon Milburn Jr., cut the ribbon to officially open the exhibit to the public.

*Figure 40: Members of the Solomon Milburn family at the opening of the “Struggle for Freedom” exhibition at Historic St. Mary’s City in 2018. The Milburns were the last family to occupy the quarter, moving away in 1965.*







Figure 41: The duplex and single quarters on the Brome Plantation around 1890.

St. Mary's City has many important stories to tell: the state's colonial beginnings, the first experiment of religious freedom in America, and the African American experience in Maryland. The tragic 1656 case of Antonio is presented at the St. John's Site Museum exhibit, the place where Antonio died resisting his enslavement. The beginnings of slavery are discussed at several exhibits, including the ruins of Governor Leonard Calvert's house where slavery was legally codified by Maryland in 1664. Finally, the enslaved people, landscape, and architecture of the nineteenth century can be explored at the Struggle for Freedom exhibit.


For more information, visit [hsmcdigshistory.org](http://hsmcdigshistory.org). 



Figure 42: Map of St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1865.





*Figure 43: Slave cabin as it appears today,  
with main house in the background.*



# Historic Sotterley

**H**istoric Sotterley is a remnant of a large plantation farm in St. Mary's County. The site interprets roughly the period 1699-1960 and is made up of over twenty historic buildings and ninety-four acres along the Patuxent River. A nineteenth century extant original slave cabin still stands and a manor house that dates to circa 1703.

James Bowles, an agent for the Royal African Company, was in Maryland by 1699 and bought land on what was to become known as Sotterley. There, he made his money by producing and exporting tobacco and other crops, receiving stipends from colonial government posts, and through the slave trade. Sotterley is one of five documented middle passage sites in Maryland, where captured Africans from the West Coast of the continent first landed in the American British colonies. Historic Sotterley is also a UNESCO Slave Route Site of Memory.

According to primary documents from the slave ship *Generous Jenny* that landed at Sotterley in 1720, Bowles was making a 30 percent profit from buying and selling Africans. With Bowles' death in 1727, his land and property including the enslaved, like Dick Carpenter, Prince, Robin, "Coffee," and Doll, were passed on to his wife, Rebecca Tasker Addison Bowles and their three daughters. By 1729, Rebecca married George Plater II, a lawyer and secretary to the royal governor. Plater was required to buy land from his three step-daughters, Mary, Eleanor, and Jane Bowles. With large dowries, these women married into some of the wealthiest slave owning families in Virginia.

Judy and Pompey were two enslaved people at Sotterley in the 1730s. They were accused of



*Figure 44: View of Sotterley's main house as it appears today.*

poisoning the overseer and were jailed for a year, then hanged in 1739. The royal governor alone could approve such punishments. It is not known if this was a drastic act of resistance or if they were falsely accused. Their fate would have most likely been the same regardless.

George Plater III inherited his father's land and property by 1755. Sotterley gets its name from Sotterley in Suffolk, England, the Plater (Playter) ancestral home and is seen in newspapers before the Revolution as "Plater's seat at Sotterley." A contemporary of George Washington, Plater III joined the American Revolution and became the sixth governor of Maryland. Life for the enslaved under Plater ownership can be assessed by considering the large number of people that took flight or were sold during the eighteenth century, discovered through slave advertisements, inventories, letters and other government records. It is known that enslaved individuals escaped with the British from Sotterley during the American Revolution and ended up in New York, including Nace and Phil. George Plater III, as did all owners



of Sotterley during slavery, unapologetically participated in racial chattel slavery for labor and for profit. Plater III's heir, George Plater IV, died in 1803 leaving a minor son. George V. John Rousby Plater, uncle of George V, took over control of Sotterley for his young nephew.

In 1815, at least forty-eight enslaved persons, including men, women and children, emancipated themselves from Sotterley during the War of 1812, some joining the British Colonial Marines. Families like the Seales, Courseys and Munroes ended up in Halifax, Nova Scotia. James Bowie and Joseph Wood settled in Trinidad. John Rousby Plater would later receive reparations for the enslaved that left Sotterley. This mass exodus of labor and downturns in the economy triggered the break up and sale of large estates. Plater V sold Sotterley by 1822, and the parcel of property on the main farm of 1,000 acres was purchased by Thomas Barber in 1823. This same year, John Rousby Plater shipped a cargo of mainly four and five year-old enslaved children from Baltimore to New Orleans. Plater V shipped a sixteen year-old mulatto girl named "Darkey" on this same cargo. The domestic slave trade in Maryland was lucrative.

*Figure 45: Slave cabin interior today.*



*Figure 46: Slave cabin exterior today.*

Sotterley's new owner, Thomas Barber, married Margaret Dallum Wellmore, his third wife. Her daughter from her first marriage was Emeline Dallum Wellmore. At Barber's death in 1826, he left his property jointly to his daughter Lydia Barber and his step-daughter, Emeline. Later that same year, Emeline married Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe from Charles County. Lydia Barber married Chapman Billingsley. The men had the property legally divided with Billingsley receiving 600 acres and Briscoe receiving 400 acres including the manor house. Enslaved individuals were also divided, such as the father of a family being owned by Billingsley and his wife and children being owned at Sotterley by Briscoe, or vice versa. This cross ownership was a convenience for the owners but also served as a means to control the enslaved population. The Canes and the Edwards were some of the enslaved families living under this arrangement.

Hilry Cane, the patriarch of the Cane family, was owned by Chapman Billingsley. His wife, Mariah, and, after her death, his second wife, Alice Elsa Bond, and their children, were owned at Sotterley by the Briscoe family. Hilry was a skilled plasterer and was rented out to other owners



# RECORD OF SLAVES IN ST. MARY'S COUNTY,

DATE.	NAME OF OWNER.	NAME OF SLAVE.	SEX.	AGE.	PHYSICAL CONDITION.
1869					
April 16 <sup>th</sup>	W <sup>m</sup> Willie H. Briscoe	Horrie Edwards	Male	15	Good
		Geo <sup>s</sup> Cane	"	20	"
		Frank Cane	"	17	"
		Alfred Edwards	"	17	"
		Thomas Millard	"	17	"
		Horace Millard	"	12	"
		Samuel Edwards	"	17	"
		Charles Medley	"	25	"
		George W. Briscoe	"	26	"
		Wm <sup>l</sup> Brown	"	33	"
		Robert Plater	"	37	"
		James Millard	"	48	"
		Hamilton Howard	"	49	"
		Alex Medley	"	52	"
		Rebecca Edwards	"	52	"
		William Barnes	"	52	"
		Temperance Cane	Female	18	"
		Matilda Cane	"	22	"
		Alice Cane	"	16	"
		Elija Cane	"	14	"
		Sarah Cane	"	12	"
		Charlotti Ann Brown	"	19	"
		Mary Edwards	"	21	"
		Maria Millard	"	23	"
		Mary Jane Wilson	"	18	"
		Henry Cane	"	20	"
		Ann Wilile Barnes	"	21	"
		Georganna Barnes	"	17	"
		Cecilia Edwards	"	17	"

Figure 47: Listing of formerly enslaved people owned by William Briscoe of Sotterley, 1869.





Figure 48:  
Agnes Kane Callum

much of the time but was “allowed” to visit his family at Sotterley. It was a dangerous time for any African American in St. Mary’s County by the mid 1800s, as world, national, and local events made owners afraid and nervous not only of the enslaved population, but of the loss of their labor, livelihood, and way of life.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, three of Briscoe’s sons joined the Confederate Army in Virginia. One enslaved man from Sotterley left to join the USCT, 7th regiment. His name was George Washington Barns. He was married to Georgiana Shaw Barns, who is listed twice on the Slave Statistics of St. Mary’s County: as Georgiana Barns on Dr. Walter Briscoe’s list, and as Georgiana Shaw on Dr. Neale’s list. A widow’s pension document cites that “there were too many people named Barns,” so George’s last name was changed to Briscoe. George and one of the sons of his former owner fought on opposing sides at Petersburg, Virginia. After the war, the 7th regiment was sent to Indianola, Texas, for guard duty. A cholera epidemic broke out and George died there. All three of Dr. Walter Briscoe’s sons survived the war. The legacies of slavery, racism and segregation, wore on after emancipation in Maryland, and St. Mary’s County, for over a century.

By 1960, Sotterley had become a museum and was open to the public. In the early 1970s, a woman by the name of Agnes Kane Callum came to Sotterley with her father. On the tour, the manor house and the owners were discussed, but Callum asked about the little structure on the riverside of the house, the slave cabin. Agnes Kane Callum was a descendant of Hilry and Alice Elsa Cane who were enslaved at Sotterley in the nineteenth century. For many years, she worked to get the story of her people told, remembered, and interpreted



Figure 49: Cane family reunion at Sotterley, 1972.

at Sotterley, developing unlikely alliances and friendships with owner descendants, like Judge John Hanson Briscoe, former speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates to save Sotterley and its history from extinction. Callum was renowned for her genealogy work and for transcribing the Slave Statistics of St. Mary’s County. Much of her work was donated to the Maryland State Archives.

Today, Callum’s legacy lives on and the unvarnished story of American slavery continues to be taught and told at Historic Sotterley. Visitors can tour the slave cabin and see an exhibit based on research and on Agnes Kane Callum’s oral history and traditions of what life was like at Sotterley for the enslaved in the nineteenth century. Many descendants, from enslaved, owners, and workers, come to Sotterley to learn their history and see the places where their ancestors lived and breathed, honoring their humanity, their culture, their ingenuity and their perseverance. They help us come to grips with the realities of our collective past and move forward toward understanding, healing and reconciliation.

To learn more and to visit Historic Sotterley, please reference its website, [www.sotterley.org](http://www.sotterley.org).





A list containing the names, ages, and sexes of the Negroes seized and taken away from the property and place of John Rousby Plater, by the commanders of the British fleet lying in the Patuxent River Maryland in the months of June July and September 1814 during the late war with Great Britain.

Slaves and Boys	ages	value
Stephen Courney	37	\$100
Abraham Wood	39	350
Yape Wood	20	500
Chowley Young	10	100
John Young	14	80
Daniel Young	12	100
Henry Young	13	100
James Thomas	40	150
John Hale	50	150
John Seale Junr	28	150
house servant		
William Hammer	12	380
Isaac Hammer	9	250
Matthew Courney (silly)	11	150
James	6	215
Benjamin Seale	5	210
Francis Hammer	3	210
Prince Young	60	100
Peter Campbell	55	100
Lewis Munroe house servant	26	600
Gerard Munroe	14	510
Michael Munroe	5	225
Lewis Munroe	3	150
Twenty in November		\$7450
22 Men in July		2500
22 female		250
5 Men in June		250
total 49		

Slaves and children	age	value
Susanah Courney	40	\$300
Maria Hale	44	300
Lacey Hammer	20	350
Sophia Hale	15	375
Maria Hale	17	375
Franky Hale	20	375
Maria Wood	10	250
Hennet Williams	50	200
Man Young (silly)	35	350
Catharine Young	20	375
Elizabeth Hammer	10	200
Percy Hewitt (agood look)	46	450
Louisa Thomas	1	50
Mary Hammer	1	50
Patty Seale	1	40
Piggy Seale	0	200
Ester Seale	4	150
Peggy Courney	14	50
May Ann Young	9	150
Grace Munroe (a look)	27	400
Ester Munroe	7	150
Ketty Munroe	2	100
Twenty two in November		\$5250

In addition to the above list of 44 (for which Captain House of the ship the Severn gave a certificate amount of their being on board his ship and of July 1814 and he sent them to the following Negro Men were taken and carried away from the ship the Severn in the month of June 1814 then dying in the Patuxent River.

State of Maryland at the Mouth of Saint Leonards Creek -

Men	age	value
Peregrine Young	20	\$700 a most valuable servant.
Ignatius Seale	19	500 a black smith.
James Bowie	20	600.
Joseph Wood	22	550.
Cornelius	25	550 this last was taken by Admiral Cockburns fleet whilst on the Patuxent River either in the month of Sept or October 1814.

State of Maryland Saint Marys County.

We it remembered that on this Twenty third day of June Eighteen hundred and Twenty one personally appears before me the subscriber a Justice of the Peace said County John Rousby Plater of the County and State aforesaid and made oath that the Holy Writings of Almighty God deposit and faith that the above lists and valuation contains the names, ages, sexes and value of the Negroes that were taken from him during the war by the British commanders at the respective periods as by the list of Captain Joseph House of the frigate Severn annexed will in part appear and faith that the deponent further saith, that when the expedition from the frigate Loire landed at his house on the 14 of June 1814 under the command of Commodore Barry and Captain Brown he saw and spoke to the following Negroes of his then in the hands, but Peregrine Young, Ignatius Seale, James Bowie and Joseph Wood. And that to the best of his knowledge and judgement the valuation annexed to their respective names in the two lists above stated is true and just, and that each Negro was both the sum at which he is appraised and valued. And he further deposes that the certificate and note signed Joseph House Captain annexed to this paper (his taking on board of his ship the Negroes the property of the deponent as the original papers sent him by Captain Joseph House. And that the names and ages and sexes are truly stated on the said certificate, but in some instances the ages are not correctly stated. And that including Cornelius on board of Admiral Cockburns fleet ~~was~~ on the Patuxent River makes a total of Forty Nine taken away.

Sworn to before me the day and Year above written  
J. Davis

Figure 50: Claim of John Rousby Plater for forty-nine runaways, 1828, St. Mary's County.





*Figure 51: Unknown African American servant or tenant farmer near Hampton slave quarters, c. 1897.*



# Hampton National Historic Site

**H**ampton National Historic Site in Towson is a National Park Service property originally established in 1948 for its architectural merit. The sixty-three acre park is the core of what was once a vast agricultural, commercial, and industrial estate that evolved over 200 years of ownership by one family, the Ridgelys. The story of Hampton NHS is the story of people—enslaved African Americans, indentured servants, paid workers, and owners. The site today includes Hampton Mansion; numerous outbuildings; a farm with an elaborate dairy, barns, and standing slave quarters; formal terraced gardens; and other significant landscape features.

When completed in 1790 for Captain Charles Ridgely, the Hampton mansion may have been the largest private residence in the United States. It remains a showplace today, but behind the scenes in the historic era was a large community of people who labored at the ironworks, in the fields and farmyards, on the docks and ships, in gardens and orchards, and inside the mansion from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. Their work supported the opulent lifestyle of the Ridgelys across the generations.

In colonial days, the Hampton labor force included both enslaved Africans and indentured servants. The latter were mainly immigrants from the British Isles who labored for a period of years until their passage fee to America was remitted. In addition, there were free artisans, convict laborers, and, during the American Revolution, British prisoners of war. Working conditions, especially in the Ridgelys' Northampton Ironworks, were dreadful and many of the indentured and convict servants and enslaved laborers ran away.



*Figure 52: Current lawn entrance view of Hampton.*

With the end of indentured servitude after the Revolution, almost all labor across the Ridgelys' vast plantation was provided by enslaved workers. The enslaved had been present at Hampton from its beginnings and worked in every capacity. They were critical to building Captain Ridgely's Hampton Mansion in the 1780s. They dug foundations, quarried and hauled stone, constructed the massive masonry walls, quarried lime for mortar, mixed stucco and plaster, and performed many other tasks. Across the estate, the enslaved worked in both skilled and unskilled capacities; they were field hands, cobblers, woodcutters, limestone and marble quarriers, millers, ironworkers and founders, blacksmiths, dairy workers, gardeners, carriage drivers, and jockeys. They also performed household work including cleaning, sewing, cooking, serving food, and caring for children.

Unlike most slave plantations, Hampton was an industrial site as well as an agricultural enterprise until the 1830s. Also distinctive, Hampton is only about twenty-five miles from the free state of Pennsylvania and ten miles from the city of Baltimore with its huge population of free blacks, so refuges for runaways were close by. Newspaper advertisements document numerous runaways from Hampton over the decades. Those seeking to escape bondage were not just the laborers in the



**\$100 REWARD.—RAN AWAY** from the farm of John Ridgely, Esq., in Baltimore county, on Friday last, a light colored **NEGRO GIRL**, who calls herself **REBECCA POSEY**, about five feet one or two inches high, and fifteen years old, with a round good looking face. She had on when she left a dark blue striped dress, a dark colored shawl, and no bonnet. The above reward will be paid for the recovery of said girl. [425-st\*] **N. COOPER, Manager.**

Figure 53: Baltimore Sun newspaper ad for Rebecca Posey, August 26, 1852.

ironworks and fields but even house servants. For example, fifteen-year-old Rebecca Posey ran away in 1853, even though her father, Mark Posey, was head waiter, a senior position in the household for which he received such privileges as fine clothing. Later, during the early years of the Civil War, even Mark himself, with his wife and younger children, sought to escape.

At its height in the late 1820s, the enslaved population on the Ridgely's 25,000 acre landholdings numbered nearly 350 men, women, and children, making it one of the largest slaveholding plantations in Maryland. The Hampton estate's second owner, Maryland Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely, freed many of his enslaved workers upon his death in 1829: women ages 25-45 and men ages 28-45. However, many more (the children, young adults, and those over age 45) remained enslaved, divided among the governor's numerous heirs. Those under the specified ages of 25 and 28 had to wait for years before they would benefit from the terms of the governor's will and be freed. Although this may sound generous, in reality this gradual manumission tore families apart, as husbands were forced to leave wives and mothers had to leave any children over the age of two behind in bondage. Further, Governor Ridgely's manumission did not end slavery at Hampton. His son, John, inherited no slaves and thus purchased those he needed to work his diminished estate of about 4,500 acres. John purchased some seventy-seven or so more enslaved individuals over the years but manumitted only one, Charles Hale Brown, a man who was likely his son. The era of forced servitude at Hampton remained until the Maryland Constitution of 1864 abolished slavery.

*A true and perfect Inventory of all and single  
lar, the goods, chattels, and personal estate of Charles  
Ridgely of Hampton late of Baltimore County, de-  
ceased. Appraised by us the subscribers such of us  
having been first legally authorised and duly  
sworn, as will be seen by the annexed warrant*

*List of property at the furnace*

- Negro Jim Bell	60 yrs old	50.00
- ditto Dick Smith	58	150.00
- ditto Bill Goodwin (in bank, riding)	54	50.00
- ditto Jake Derry	40	225.00
- ditto Davy Thompson		
- ditto Wack Richardson	55	100.00
- " Stephen Lock	45	225.00
- " George Batty	54	50.00
- " Boufny Ashburn	48	150.00
- " Bob Coats	40	300.00
- " Derry Coats	42	300.00
- " Egan Cogwood	32	300.00
- " Simon Sims	34	300.00
- " Sam Corrad	30	300.00
- " Will Conny	30	300.00
- " Sam Anderson (Smith)	38	300.00
- " Lewis Martin	22	300.00
- " Sam Batty	17	250.00
- " Ephraim Batty	17	250.00
- " Henry Korath	16	250.00
- " Bob Williams	14	125.00
- " Bill Williams	14	150.00
- " Jake Johnson	14	150.00
- " Sam Batty	10	150.00
- " Peter Anderson	9	150.00
- " Loyal Anderson	6	100.00
- " Sam Anderson	4	75.00
- " Matthew Coats	4	75.00
- " Sam Coats	4	20.00
- " Big Dyer	50	30.00
- " Rose Thompson		
- " Mary Ashburn	50	125.00
- " Bob Batty	40	125.00
<i>Amel taken forward</i>		5,405.00

Figure 54: Probate inventory of Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely's property at Northhampton Furnace, 1829.

Although there are only a handful of surviving artifacts owned or used by Hampton's enslaved workers, and no surviving documents or first person narratives written by them, there is a huge quantity and wide variety of documentary sources from which to glean information that can give a glimpse of their lives at Hampton. These sources include business papers, probate records, account books, bills and receipts, correspondence, journals, diaries, family memoirs, and photographs. Initial major research into these documents in the 1990s provided key information about slavery at Hampton: lists of many hundreds of names with





*Figure 55: Nancy Davis (1833–1908) with Eliza Ridgely, III (1858–1954), c. 1863. Figure 56: Nancy Davis with Margaretta Ridgely (1864–1949) and her sister Juliana Ridgely Yeaton (1862–1951), c. 1895.*

ages and monetary values, lists of the manumitted and escapees, and statistical analyses of gender and age. Although giving important overviews of enslavement on the Ridgelys' properties, there was little information on individuals, their family ties, their specific jobs, and even less information on what happened to them post-emancipation.

A three-year Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Hampton NHS from 2016–19 sought to answer the latter questions and especially to discover where Hampton's formerly enslaved lived in freedom and if they had living descendants. Combining the primary sources and research documents noted above with public records such as census records, newspapers, maps and atlases, city directories, cemetery and vital records, and military records, a team of researchers has now uncovered extensive information about individual enslaved workers, establishing large family groups and interrelationships, tracking individuals and groups post-emancipation, finding their later residences and occupations, and identifying a significant number of living descendants from several of those formerly enslaved. Hampton-related oral histories from both a previous project in the late 1990s

and in the recent EOA project have also provided important clues.

As a result of this work, much fuller stories can now be told about a number of the individuals enslaved at Hampton. Previously, there were only two enslaved women, Nancy Davis and Lucy Jackson, for whom a number of life details were known. Nancy (née Brown) came to Hampton in 1851 from the adjacent Cowpens property with Margaretta Howard when the latter married John and Eliza E. R. Ridgely's son and heir, Charles. Nancy married Louis Davis, a Hampton slave, and became a much-beloved personal servant to the Ridgely children. Following her emancipation in 1858, under the terms of Governor Ridgely's will, Nancy stayed with the family until her death in 1908 at age seventy-five. She is the only African American buried in the Ridgely family cemetery.

Extensive additional research during the ethnographic study led to the identification of both of Nancy's parents (Polly Batty, once enslaved by Governor Ridgely, and Ambrose Brown) plus previously unknown younger siblings. Genealogical research on these siblings, and contact from a community member following a public



Figure 57: Probate inventory of enslaved people owned by Governor Charles Carnan Ridgely at White Marsh Plantation 1829, showing listing for Henry Cummins (c. 1827–1906) father of Harry Sythe Cummings (1866–1917).

presentation of the Hampton study, led to the identification of numerous living descendants of Polly Batty Brown. Separate research on the family of Nancy’s husband, Louis Davis, established an entire large family group of his parents, Bill and Susan Davis, and nine siblings and their spouses. After emancipation, some of them stayed in the Towson area while others moved into Baltimore City. Although Nancy and Louis Davis themselves had no children, dozens of descendants of two of Louis’ sisters have now been identified and family trees established.

In contrast with Nancy Davis stands Lucy Jackson, who John Ridgely purchased from Samuel Owings Hoffman for \$400 in 1838. A son, Henry, was born a month after her purchase, and she had another son, George, in 1842. The latter died young and Lucy persuaded the Ridgelys to underwrite the bill for burying him in the Catholic cemetery in Baltimore, an audacious request at the time. Lucy served as a house servant at Hampton and became head housekeeper in the mid-1840s. In 1861, with the beginning of the Civil War, Henry Jackson—then age twenty-three—fled, and Lucy also fled after May 1862. In 1866, Lucy engaged a Washington, D.C. lawyer to write to the Ridgelys, demanding the return of property she claimed to have left behind. The letter revealed much of Lucy’s previously hidden life in the Hampton household, for it claims that the property was given to her by “her free Husband.” A unique listing of the items claimed includes twenty-one dresses, including six of silk, six pairs of “White Lace Sleeves,” and “furrs & muff.” Despite her elevated position in the Hampton household and being accorded special privileges, Lucy personified the discontent and desire for freedom that was typical of most enslaved people.

At White Marsh	Aaron Cummins	30 00
	Henry Cummins	30 00
	John Cummins	15 00
	Grace Williams	20 00
	Cassie Pinkney	30 00
	Venus Williams	30 00
	Rebecca Cummins	100 00
	Fanny Cummins	100 00

Many more stories can now be told about Hampton’s enslaved individuals and their lives in freedom, some of which were remarkable. One little boy named Henry Cummins, born circa 1826, was recorded in the governor’s 1829 probate records with several others Cummins family members at the Ridgely-owned White Marsh farm. Henry was enslaved there until 1854, after which he joined brother Aaron Cummins in Baltimore City. The young men found work at one of the city’s leading hotels where Henry enhanced his skills as a waiter and cook. Brother Aaron moved to Philadelphia, but Henry stayed in Baltimore where he married in 1863 and established a career as a renowned chef. He and his wife, Eliza Jane Davage, (whose parents had been freed from Perry Hall plantation adjacent to White Marsh) lived in the Mount Vernon neighborhood, where they raised a family of truly exceptional children. Five of their six sons attended college, including second son, Harry Sythe Cummings, the first African American graduate of the University of Maryland School of Law and the first African American elected to the Baltimore City Council. Descendants of Harry Cummings youngest sibling, William O. Cummings, have been identified and have shared information with the ethnographic study team.

Snapshots of other freed families include:

- The Battys, most of whom labored at the Northampton Furnace during Governor Ridgely’s era. Several of the Battys, particularly the family of George and Esther (Hetty) Batty, moved to York County, Pennsylvania in the 1830s, while some of their cousins stayed in





*Figure 58: Harry Sythe Cummings (1866–1917).*


Baltimore County. Several of the Baltimore County Battys lived in the late nineteenth century in the historic African American neighborhood known as “Sandy Bottom” (along York Road near the current intersection with Bosley Avenue in Towson.) There are a number of living descendants from both the Towson and Pennsylvania branches of the Batty family.

- Dinah Toogood, described by the Ridgelys as a “fine cook,” and her husband, Nick, a “general utility man” who was considered a spiritual leader among the enslaved. Emancipated in 1864, after a brief period of employment at Hampton in 1865, the elderly Toogoods left for Baltimore City. By 1867, they were residing in the historic Orchard Street neighborhood in Old West Baltimore, where Nick died at the age of 92 in 1879.
- Jim Pratt, one of three sons born to Charlotte and Henry Pratt who were enslaved at Hampton in the 1830s. The brothers were all farm workers, and, after emancipation in 1864, Jim chose to stay on as a paid laborer at Hampton. He was still working there in the mid-1890s, and a photograph from this time shows Jim pushing a wheelbarrow by the east wing of the



*Figure 59: Hampton farm laborer, probably Jim Pratt (1833–1902).*

mansion. He and his wife, Laura, had twenty-two children, of whom four sons were living in Towson at the time of her death in 1902.

These are only a small sample of the numerous stories that can now be told about Hampton’s enslaved individuals. Research will continue, and the knowledge about Hampton’s enslaved will continue to grow and be shared with the public. For further information, visit: [www.nps.gov/hamp](http://www.nps.gov/hamp). 

*Figure 60: Hampton’s slave quarters today.*







Blugwals & Brown, Inc.

111 & 113 South 4th St. 1864.

**View of Transparency**  
IN FRONT OF HEADQUARTERS OF SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR RECRUITING COLORED REGIMENTS,  
Chestnut Street, Philadelphia,  
IN COMMEMORATION OF EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND, NOVEMBER 1, 1864.



# Slavery in Maryland & Its Legacy, 1634–2020

1634

200 settlers found St. Mary's City. Mathias de Sousa (Matt Das Sousa) arrives in Maryland aboard a ship named the *Ark*. As an indentured servant, de Sousa must face seven years of servitude to pay off his debts and earn his freedom.



1642

Mathias de Sousa (Matt Das Sousa) is the first African-American to sit in a legislative assembly. In 1642 he votes as a freeman in the Maryland Proprietary Assembly.

1663–64

Maryland legalizes slavery. Free white women who enter into marriage with a black slave are declared slaves for the duration of the life of their spouse. Imported Africans are given the status of enslavement for life. Maryland passes a law prohibiting marriage between white women and black men. *An Act Concerning Negroes & other Slaves, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, September 1663/1664.*

1681

Maryland passes a law that children born to free black women and black children born to white women would be free. *An Act concerning Negroes & Slaves, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, August/September 1681.*

1692

Maryland passes a law requiring white men to serve seven years of indenture for marrying or having children with black women. Black men who have relations with white women are also penalized. *The Act concerning Negroes and Slaves, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, May 10/June 9 1692.*

1717

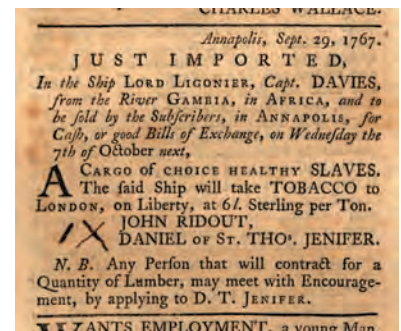
Marriage between a white woman and a free black or mixed-race man is forbidden. If a white man marries a black or mixed-race woman, the woman becomes a slave for life, except if the mixed-race woman was born of a white woman. In that case, the mixed-race woman born of a free white woman who marries a white man would become a servant for a period of seven years. *Law relating to Servants and Slaves, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, May 28 - June 8, 1717 Bacon's Laws of Maryland, V.33; Chap. XIII; V.*

1731

November 9, astronomer and mathematician Benjamin Banneker is born to free parents in Baltimore County, in what is now Ellicott City, Maryland.

1767

Kunta Kinte (ancestor of Alex Haley, author of *Roots*) arrives in Annapolis as part of a cargo of human chattel.



1774

Duties are placed on importation of enslaved Africans into Maryland.

1775

In an attempt to intimidate rebellious colonists, Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, promises freedom to the enslaved people of disloyal masters.

American Revolution begins.

1776

Continental Congress declares independence from Great Britain.



(Opposite) Figure 61: Recruitment poster for United States Colored Troops, 1864.

Above: Illustration, Inspection and sale of a Negro, 1854.



# Reward,

For the following Runaway Negroes, if brought to me or secured so that I get them all, or 100 Dollars for either of them---viz.

*Sam, Nathan, Boatswain, Henny and Cyrus.*

SAM ran off four years ago—He was an accomplished House Servant—Black—about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, brown hair, of a middle and very active—walks with a quick and short step—he had a seal in his left hand. He is now about 24 years of age. Sam is now in the employ of Nathan Boatswain.

1780

Daniel Coker, a Methodist minister and abolitionist, is born in Frederick County.

1783

Maryland prohibits the importation of enslaved people.

May 15, *Maryland Gazette* publishes 'Vox Africanorum' editorial on the inequality of the new nation promoting liberty and justice for all while keeping thousands enslaved.

1786

Maryland courts begin hearing petitions from enslaved blacks who claim their freedom based on descent from a white woman. These freedom suits are facilitated by a court ruling that oral testimony can be accepted as evidence in such cases.

1789

Anti-slavery advocates, including Charles Carroll of Carrollton, found the Maryland Society for the Relief of Poor Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage. In 1789 and 1790, the organization unsuccessfully petitions the Maryland General Assembly to enact a gradual emancipation law. The organization also provides legal assistance to the enslaved petitioning for their freedom.

Josiah Henson, believed to be the inspiration for "Uncle Tom" in Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, is born in Charles County, Maryland.



Josiah Henson

Above: Broadside advertising runaway slaves and the Fugitive Slave Law.

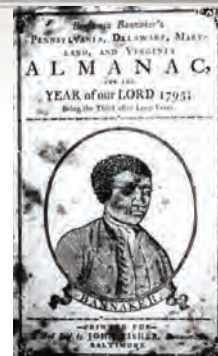
## Read and Ponder THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW!

Which disregards all the ordinary securities of PERSONAL LIBERTY, which tramples on the Constitution, by its denial of the sacred right of Trial by Jury, Habeas Corpus, and Appeal, and which enacts, that the Cardinal Virtue of Christianity shall be considered, in the eye of the law, as CRIMES, punishable with the severest penalties, Fines and Imprisonment.

Freemason of Massachusetts, R. E. M. E. U. L. E. R. That Samuel A. Eliot of Boston, voted for this law, that Millard Filmore, our whig President approved it and the Whig Journals of Massachusetts sustain them in this inquiry.

1791

Benjamin Banneker publishes the first edition of *Banneker's Almanac* and aids in the survey of Washington, D.C.



Banneker's Almanac

Enslaved and free blacks launch the Haitian Revolution. During the following decade, many displaced Haitian planters and their enslaved workers settled in Maryland, along with free people of color.

1792

Thomas Brown campaigns for the Maryland House of Delegates by placing an ad in the Philadelphia-based Dunlap's *American Daily Advertiser*.

1793

Congress passes the first Fugitive Slave Law, which allows for the prosecution of runaways and their return to their owners.

1796

Maryland courts declare that black testimony is inadmissible in freedom suits.

The Maryland General Assembly liberalizes the state's manumission laws. Slaveholders can now manumit their enslaved people during their final illness and by will.

1798

Joshua Johnston, or Johnson, believed born in 1765 in the West Indies, places an advertisement in the *Baltimore Intelligencer*. He is the first African American artist to receive widespread recognition.

1802

Maryland's General Assembly declares that free blacks cannot vote.

1806

October 25, Benjamin Banneker dies.

1807

Britain and the United States outlaw the Atlantic slave trade.





**1813-15**

Approximately 700 enslaved individuals flee from Maryland during the War of 1812. Many were accepted on board British vessels in the Chesapeake Bay and carried to British territories.

**1815**

December 23, abolitionist, educator, and minister, Henry Highland Garnet is born in Kent County, Maryland.



*Henry Highland Garnet*

**1817**

October 17, author, clergyman, and abolitionist Samuel Ringgold Ward is born on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

**1818**

Frederick Douglass is born in Talbot County, Maryland.

**1822**

Harriet Tubman is born in Dorchester County, Maryland.

**1825**

Writer and abolitionist, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper is born in Baltimore to free parents.



*Frances Ellen Watkins Harper*

**1831**

The Maryland Colonization Society forms to return free blacks to Africa in an effort to eliminate the growing population. A census was authorized by the General Assembly to aid in the effort to resettle recently freed enslaved people and other free blacks in Africa.

On August 21, Nat Turner leads slave revolt in Southampton, Virginia.

**1832**

In response to the Nat Turner revolt, Maryland's legislature prohibits free blacks from entering the state. At the same time, the legislature bars free blacks from owning firearms without a certificate from county officials and outlaws the sale of alcohol, powder, and shot to blacks. The legislation also impinges upon black churches, as blacks can no longer hold religious meetings unless a white minister is present.



*Nat Turner*

**1838**

Frederick Douglass escapes from slavery in Baltimore, Maryland.

**1845**

Frederick Douglass's autobiography, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* is published.



*Frederick Douglass*

**1846**

Rev. Charles Torrey dies in the Maryland Penitentiary. The abolitionist and Underground Railroad conductor was among many who were arrested and imprisoned for 'aiding, enticing or assisting' enslaved blacks to run away.

**1849**

Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery. In the years that follow, she mounts numerous missions into Maryland's Eastern Shore to lead enslaved blacks to freedom.

**1850**

Congress enacts a strengthened Fugitive Slave Law as part of the Compromise of 1850. The law outrages northerners, who resent provisions requiring them to assist in the capture of runaways.

*Above: Samuel Ringgold Ward and Effects of the Fugitive Slave Law (detail).*





1851

While attempting to reclaim his enslaved runaways at Christiana, Pennsylvania, Baltimore County farmer Edward Gorsuch is killed by free blacks. The “Christiana Riot” is an early example of armed resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law.

1852

Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is published. The novel is a nation-wide success, selling over 300,000 copies.



Harriet Beecher Stowe

1854

Maryland’s legislature prohibits free blacks from leaving their employers before the completion of their contracts. Blacks may be arrested, imprisoned, and fined for abandoning their contracts.

1857

The U.S. Supreme Court hands down the infamous *Dred Scott v. Sanford* decision, which denies African Americans equal rights as citizens. The decision also states that Congress cannot restrict slavery anywhere, thereby allowing the geographic expansion of slave holding. Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney of Maryland writes the decision.

1857

Rev. Samuel Green of Dorchester County is arrested for “knowingly having in his possession a certain abolition pamphlet called *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.”

1859

October 16, John Brown launches assault on Harper’s Ferry from the Kennedy Farm in Washington County, Maryland.



Kennedy Farm

1860

Maryland General Assembly outlaws manumission by deed or will. At the same time, the General Assembly establishes a mechanism for free blacks to renounce their freedom and become enslaved. In response to the worsening legal climate, many free blacks decamp for Pennsylvania and other northern states.

1861

The Civil War begins.

1863

Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, which frees all enslaved people in the territories currently in rebellion. This action did not free those enslaved in Maryland because the state had remained loyal to the Union.

1864

November 1, slavery is abolished in Maryland by passage of the *Maryland Constitution of 1864*; Art. 24 signed by Governor Augustus W. Bradford.

1865

Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrenders to General Ulysses S. Grant in Virginia at the Appomattox Court House.

Slavery is abolished in all of the states by the 13th Amendment.

1867

October 13, in *In re Turner*, federal courts strike down the practice of apprenticeships of black children, ruling that they were essentially in involuntary servitude.

1868

The 14th Amendment is ratified validating citizenship rights for all persons born or naturalized in the United States.

Maryland does not vote to ratify.

Above: Illustration of “The Christiana Tragedy.”





1870

Passage of 15th Amendment prohibiting federal and state governments from denying voting rights based on “race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” granting voting rights to all black men but not to women.

Maryland does not ratify.

1895

February 20, Frederick Douglass dies in Washington, D.C.

1913

March 10, Harriet Tubman dies in Auburn, NY.

1953

April 13, 1953, Harriet Tubman’s restored home in Auburn, NY is memorialized by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

1959

April 28, Maryland Senate ratifies the 14th Amendment.

1973

March 28, Maryland Senate ratifies the 15th Amendment.

1992

Twin Oaks, the summer home of the Frederick Douglass family, built 1891–95, in Highland Beach, is named to the National Register of Historic Places.



Harriet Tubman



Twin Oaks

2006

January 6, the Montgomery County Planning Board agrees to buy property on which the cabin where Josiah Henson was enslaved now stands, to be interpreted as a museum.

2007

May 8, a joint resolution of the Maryland General Assembly issues a formal apology for slavery, signed by the Honorable Thomas V. Mike Miller, Jr., president of the Maryland Senate, and the Honorable Michael E. Busch, speaker of the House of Delegates. On May 14, Mayor Ellen Moyer and the Annapolis City Council approve Resolution No R-17-07 expressing regret for the municipal government’s involvement in the institution of slavery entitled: “Expressing the City Council’s Profound Regret for Role of the Municipal Government in Maintaining and Supporting the Practice of Slavery.”

2017

August 18, statue of Roger Brooke Taney removed from the grounds of the Maryland State House, where it had stood since 1872.

2019

Local politicians, academics, and community members, led by Delegate Joseline Pena-Melnyk, former Bowie State University Professor Nicholas Creary, and Maryland Lynching Memorial Project President Will Schwarz, join forces to convince the Maryland General Assembly to adopt HB 307.

June 1, House of Delegates Bill 307 takes effect, establishing the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

2020

February 10, statues of Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass installed and dedicated in the Old House of Delegates Chamber of the Maryland State House.

*Above: Excerpt from 15th Amendment parade poster, Statues of Frederick Douglass and Harriett Tubman for Maryland State House.*



# Key Dates in Global Emancipation

**O**n November 1, 1864, Maryland abolished slavery when a new state constitution forbidding the practice went into effect. The words of Article 24 of that document stated:

*"[T]hat hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves, are hereby declared free.*

*Whereas it is fitting that a people freed from a barbaric custom of a feudal age should... tak[e] their proud position among the free... Whereas the people of Maryland have by the adoption of a free State Constitution have been redeemed regenerated and disenthralled, And by this progressive act in the cause of freedom... have earned immortal honors for themselves...*

*A committee of the City Council, at the urging of Mayor Chapman, arranged for a 500 gun salute "as an evidence of [the] joy felt by the people of Baltimore for the Salvation of Maryland."*

Figure 62: Article 24 of the Declaration of Rights of the Maryland Constitution of 1864.

- **1780**  
Pennsylvania enacts a gradual emancipation law.
- **1783**  
Massachusetts outlaws slavery.
- **1784**  
Connecticut and Rhode Island enact gradual emancipation laws.
- **1799**  
New York enacts a gradual emancipation law.
- **1804**  
New Jersey enacts a gradual emancipation law.
- **1833**  
British Empire abolishes slavery.
- **1848**  
Denmark and France abolish slavery in their overseas colonies.
- **1862**  
In April, slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia.
- **1863**  
Emancipation Proclamation
- **1864**  
Maryland emancipates slaves through state constitution.
- **1873**  
Spain abolishes slavery in Puerto Rico.
- **1886**  
Spain abolishes slavery in Cuba.
- **1888**  
Brazil is the last country in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery.

Article 24. *That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free.*



# Resources for Studying Slavery in Maryland

**B**road overviews of slavery in the North American colonies and the United States and works that put American slavery in the context of world history can be found in the following publications:

**Baptist, Edward.** *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.

**Berlin, Ira.** *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

**Berlin, Ira.** *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

**Blackburn, Robin.** *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800*. London: Verso, 1997.

**Davis, David Brion.** *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

**Franklin, John H.** *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 9th edition, 2010.

**Horton, James O. and Lois E.** *Slavery and the Making of America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

**Kolchin, Peter.** *American Slavery, 1619–1877*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.



Figure 63: Mary and Emily Edmonson.

## Primary Sources

For the printed sources that historians use to better understand slavery there is no better place to begin than John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977). Included in Blassingame's collection are dozens of interviews with former enslaved individuals from Maryland.

The Freedmen and Southern Society Project at the University of Maryland ([www.freedmen.umd.edu](http://www.freedmen.umd.edu)) has published hundreds of documents describing emancipation, the development of free labor, and the struggles of black soldiers. Culled from the holdings of the National Archives, the project's volumes include an array of primary sources



Negroes ages as follows			
old	sarah was born sept. - - - - -	1765	died feby 1804
old	Henry baly was born May - - - - -	1767	dead - -
old	Bette was born - May - - - - -	1774	died - 1819
	Cate daughter of sarah born augt 1 - - - - -	1779	
	Milly daughter of Bette born Jan 28 - - - - -	1790	
	Harriott daughter of Bette born feby 22 - - - - -	1792	
	Sam son of sarah born March 6 - - - - -	1795	died 1814
	Joah son of sarah born June - - - - -	1799	
	Jinny daughter of Bette born oct 28 - - - - -	1799	
young	Bette daughter of Bette born oct 19 - - - - -	1801	
	Arnyanna daughter of sarah born March 22 - - - - -	1802	
young	sarah daughter of Bette born feby - - - - -	1804	died 1816
	Mary daughter of Cate born oct 29 - - - - -	1805	at Philademo
	Bill son of Milly born June 7 - - - - -	1806	died 1813
	Maryann daughter of Bette born apr 27 - - - - -	1806	
	Stephen son of Bette born apr 28 - - - - -	1808	died 1816
	Easter daughter of Bette born augt - - - - -	1810	
	Bett farmer daughter of Milly born feby - - - - -	1811	
	Augustus son of Bette born July - - - - -	1812	died 1816
	Margret daughter of Milly born Dec 10 - - - - -	1812	died 1815
	Perry son of Harriott born Jan - - - - -	1813	
	Perry son of Cate born apr - - - - -	1813	
	sarah daughter Harriott born augt - - - - -	1814	
young	Sam son of Milly born sept 21 - - - - -	1814	
	Cate daughter of Bette born Jan - - - - -	1815	died 1815
	Phill son of Cate born apr - - - - -	1815	
	Eliza daughter of Harriott born March - - - - -	1816	
	Prifsey daughter of Bette born augt 15 - - - - -	1816	
	Henry daughter of Milly born sept 2 - - - - -	1816	
	Mary daughter of Jinny born feby - - - - -	1818	
	Frederick Augustus son of Harriott feby - - - - -	1818	
	James son of Cate born May 27 - - - - -	1819	dead
	Nancy Daughter of Milly born July - - - - -	1819	
	Wesley son of Jinny born augt - - - - -	1819	
	Henry son of old Bette born feby - - - - -	1820	

Figure 64: "Frederick Augustus son of Harriott February 1818." Ledger of Aaron Anthony's slaves with dates of birth and death, including the birth record of Frederick Douglass.



describing conditions in Maryland during the Civil War and Reconstruction. For a sampling of the project's work, see Ira Berlin et al. eds., *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War* (New York: The New Press, 1992).

Over the past decade, several universities and government agencies have published websites that make a wealth of primary sources available to the general public.

*The Legacy of Slavery in Maryland* website, <http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/> offers a variety of ways to explore the complicated world of enslavement in Maryland. Whether you are a genealogist, scholar, or history student, the site provides the flexibility of different approaches. Hundreds of case studies which have been created for our site are derived from references identified within the Archives record series' and collections.

The interviews with former enslaved individuals and their descendants conducted by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) during the 1930s are an invaluable resource for historians of slavery. These interviews can be accessed by going to the Library of Congress's American Memory website ([www.memory.loc.gov/](http://www.memory.loc.gov/)) and clicking on "Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–38" or "Voices from the Days of Slavery: Former Slaves Tell Their Stories." Among these interviews—which are arranged by state—are several with people who had been enslaved in Maryland.

The Documenting the American South Project, ([www.docsouth.unc.edu](http://www.docsouth.unc.edu)), at the University of North Carolina, includes several narratives written by enslaved Marylanders, along with other primary sources describing slavery in Maryland. A partial list of the documents describing slavery in Maryland includes:

**Ball, Charles.** *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man, Who Lived Forty Years in Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia, as a Slave under Various Masters, and Was One Year in the Navy with Commodore Barney, during the Late War.* New York: John S. Taylor, 1837.

**Bluett, Thomas.** *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who Was a Slave about Two Years in Maryland; and Afterwards Being Brought to England, Was Set Free, and Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734.* London: R. Ford, 1734.

**Bradford, Sarah H.** *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman.* Auburn, N.Y.: W. J. Moses, 1869.

**Douglass, Frederick.** *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave.* Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845.

**Elizabeth.** *Elizabeth, a Colored Minister of the Gospel Born in Slavery.* Philadelphia: Tract Assoc. of Friends, 1889.

**Green, William.** *Narrative of Events in the Life of William Green, (Formerly a Slave.)* Springfield, MA: L. M. Guernsey, Book, Job, & Card Printer, 1853.

**Henry, Thomas W.** *Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry, of the A.M.E. Church.* Baltimore: The Author, 1872.

**Henson, Josiah.** *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself.* Boston: A. D. Phelps, 1849.

**Parker, William.** *The Freedman's Story: In Two Parts.* The Atlantic Monthly, vol. XVII, Feb. 1866.



**Pennington**, James W. C. *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States*. London: Charles Gilpin, 1849.

**Thompson**, John. *The Life of John Thompson, a Fugitive Slave; Containing His History of 25 Years in Bondage, and His Providential Escape*. Worcester: John Thompson, 1856.

**Watkins**, James. *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins, Formerly a "Chattel" in Maryland, U.S.; Containing an Account of His Escape from Slavery, together with an Appeal on Behalf of Three Millions of Such "Pieces of Property," Still Held under the Standard of the Eagle*. Bolton, England: Kenyon and Abbatt, 1852.

## Secondary Sources

**Brinder**, Elwood L., Jr. "The Fugitive Slaves of Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (1971): 34-50.

**Campbell**, Penelope. *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society, 1831-1857*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

**Carr**, Lois Green, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh. *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

**Cassell**, Frank. "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area and the War of 1812." *Journal of Negro History* 57 (1972): 144-55.

**Clemens**, Paul G. E. *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980.

**Dunn**, Richard S. "Black Society in the Chesapeake, 1776-1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983.

**Fields**, Barbara Jeanne. *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1985.

**Franklin**, John H. and Loren Schweninger. *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

**Fuke**, Richard Paul. *Imperfect Equality: African Americans and the Confines of White Racial Attitudes in Post-Emancipation Maryland*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1999.

**Guy**, Anita Aidt. "The Maryland Abolition Society and the Promotion of the Ideals of the New Nation." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 84 (1989): 342-49.

**Hall**, Robert L. "Slave Resistance in Baltimore City and County, 1747-1790." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 84 (1989): 305-18.

**Kulikoff**, Allan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

**Main**, Gloria L. *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.

**Marks**, Bayly Ellen. "Skilled Blacks in Antebellum St. Mary's County, Maryland." *Journal of Southern History* 53 (1987): 537-64.





Figure 65: Individuals standing in former quarters for the enslaved in Baltimore County near Harrisonville, c. 1885.

**Phillips, Christopher.** *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

**Whitman, T. Stephen.** *At Freedom's Door: Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake.* Maryland Historical Society, 2007.

**Wagandt, Charles Lewis.** *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964.

**Walsh, Lorena S.** “Rural African Americans in the Constitution Era in Maryland.” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 84 (1989): 327–41.

**Walsh, Lorena S.** “Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620–1820,” in Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds, *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993.

**Whitman, T. Stephen.** *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.



Figure 66: Enslaved nurse with child.



[illegible]



# Slavery in Maryland

## Figure List

*Frederick Douglass*, DG327, Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society. .... Inside Cover

**Figure 1:** Cartouche, “Chesapeake Bay Tobacco Wharves, ca. 1750” from Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Huntingfield Map Collection of the Maryland State Archives) Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson, 1753, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey, and North Carolina* MSA SC 1399-1-61. .... Title Page

**Figure 2:** American Anti-Slavery Society, and Anti-Slavery Office. *Am I not a man and a brother?* Photograph, 1837. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008661312/>. .... Title Page (reverse)

**Figure 3:** *Noua Terrae-Mariae Tabula*, Maryland State Archives Special Collections (William T. Snyder Map Collection) MSA SC 2111-1-2. .... Page 1

**Figure 4:** *Hagers-Town Town and Country Almanack*, John Gruber. Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Maryland State Archives Books Collection) MSA SC 4643-1-2. .... Page 2

**Figure 5:** *Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore* by Gerard Soest, c. 1670. Courtesy of Enoch Pratt Free Library, Central Library State Library Resource Center, Baltimore, Maryland. .... Page 2

**Figure 6:** *Mathias de Sousa relief*, courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland. .... Page 3

**Figure 7:** Buel, J.W. *Heroes of the Dark Continent*. (New York, 1890), 66. Library of Congress. .... Page 4

**Figure 8:** Arnoldi, Arnaldo di. *Africa*. (Siena, Italy: Mathej Florimj for. Senis, c. 1600), Library of Congress Geography and Map Division. .... Page 4

**Figure 9:** *In the tobacco barn*. Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Charles Carroll Exhibit Graphics Collection) MSA SC 2292-1-97. .... Page 5

**Figure 10:** “Sale from Maryland and Virginia.” Advertisement, courtesy of the Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. .... Page 5

*Figure 67: Possible birth record of Harriet Tubman, showing payment to a midwife.*



*Figure 68: Reverend Samuel Green*

**Figure 11:** *Yarrow Mamout* (Muhammad Yaro) by Charles Willson Peale. Philadelphia Museum of Art, purchased with the gifts (by exchange) of R. Wistar Harvey, Mrs. T. Charlton Henry, Mr. and Mrs. J. Stogdell Stokes, Elise Robinson Paumgarten from the Sallie Crozer Hilprecht Collection, Lucie Washington Mitcheson in memory of Robert Stockton Johnson Mitcheson for the Robert Stockton Johnson Mitcheson Collection, R. Nelson Buckley, the estate of Rictavia Schiff, and the McNeil Acquisition Fund for American Art and Material Culture, 2011-87-1. .... Page 6

**Figure 12:** Detail of *Liberty Displaying the Arts & Sciences* by Samuel Jennings, 1792. Courtesy of The Library Company of Philadelphia. .... Page 6

**Figure 13:** Lily, Charles. *The African Burial Ground*, 1994. Courtesy of the Art & Artifacts Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. .... Page 7

**Figure 14:** *Dunmore's Proclamation Being Read to Virginia Slaves* by Vernon Wooten, c. 1970s, image #1977-296-2, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. .... Page 8

**Figure 15:** Still, William. *Underground Rail Road: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, etc.* (Philadelphia, PA: Porter & Coales, Publishers, 1872), 102. .... Page 8

**Figure 16:** *Manumission of Charles by Thomas Lee* (1812) f. 177. ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT (Manumission Record) Maryland State Archives MSA C 109-2. .... Page 9

**Figure 17:** State House, Annapolis Maryland, 1850. Photograph. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004669298/>. .... Page 10

**Figure 18:** Excerpt from the *Maryland Gazette*, May 15, 1783, Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Maryland Gazette Collection) MSA SC 2311-18. .... Page 10

**Figure 19:** Portrait of George Roberts, 1861, Z24.2560, courtesy of The Maryland Historical Society. .... Page 10

**Figure 20:** *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 19, 1814, MSA SC 3745. .... Page 11



**Figure 21:** United States Navy. “Maryland in Liberia.” Drawn under the superintendence of Com. Lynch, U.S.N. at Wm. Sides Office, Balt., 1853. Courtesy of the General Research & Reference Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. .... Page 12

**Figure 22:** *Reward Poster for Runaway Slaves*. Maryland State Archives Special Collection (The Sarah D. Griffen, Clyde Griffen, and Margaret Thibault Collection of Goldsborough Family Papers) MSA SC 2085-51-5. .... Page 13

**Figure 23:** William Still, photograph, 1872. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2007678771/>. .... Page 14

**Figure 24:** Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform with wife and two daughters. Photograph, between 1863 and 1865. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010647216/>. ....Page 15

**Figure 25:** Photograph of Nancy Campbell, unknown date. Courtesy of the Earl Roulette Collection, National Park Service. .... Page 16

**Figure 26:** Davis, Noah. *A Narrative of the Life of Rev. Noah Davis*. (Baltimore, 1859), 99. .... Page 17

**Figure 27:** Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins. *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted*. (Philadelphia: Garrigues Brothers, 1893), frontispiece. .... Page 18

**Figure 28:** Payne, Daniel A. *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. (Nashville: AME Sunday School Union, 1891). ...Page 19

**Figure 29:** Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Constance B. Schultz Slide Collection). *The Result of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Rise and Progress of the African Race in America and its Final Accomplishment, and Celebration on May 19th A.D. 1870*. Maryland State Archives MSA SC 1260-104. .... Page 20

**Figure 30:** *Unidentified soldier*, Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Agnes Kane Callum Collection) MSA SC 3010. .... Page 21

**Figure 31:** Du Bois, W. E. B., Collector. *Christian Fleetwood*, photograph, circa 1900. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/97506113/>. .... Page 21

**Figure 32:** Alexander Walker Wayman, C.M. Bell, photographer, 1891. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016689584/>. .... Page 22

**Figure 33:** “Arrival of freedmen and their families at Baltimore, MD.” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated*, September 30, 1865. .... Page 23

**Figure 34:** *Proceedings of the State Convention of Maryland to Frame a New Constitution, Commenced at Annapolis, April 27, 1864*. (Annapolis: Richard P. Bayly, printer, 1864), 723. .... Page 24

**Figure 35:** “The Last Vote on the Constitution” November 12, 1864. Maryland State Archives Special Collections (*Baltimore County Advocate*) MSA SC 2932. .... Page 24

**Figure 36:** *Distinguished Colored Men*. c. 1883. New York: Published by A. Muller & Co., Chicago, IL: Geo. F. Cram. Photograph of original lithograph. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/00651115/>. .... Page 25

**Figure 37:** Photo of Robert Butler, courtesy of Historic St. Mary’s City. .... Page 26

**Figure 38:** Courtesy of Historic St. Mary’s City. .... Page 27

**Figure 39:** Courtesy of Historic St. Mary’s City. .... Page 28

**Figure 40:** Courtesy of Historic St. Mary’s City. .... Page 28

**Figure 41:** Courtesy of Historic St. Mary’s City. .... Page 29

**Figure 42:** St. Mary’s County. *Simon J. Martenet, Martenet’s Atlas of Maryland*, 1865, Maryland State Archives, Huntingfield Collection, MSA SC 1399-1-75. .... Page 29

**Figure 43:** Courtesy of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, Maryland. .... Page 30

**Figure 44:** Sotterley Plantation West View (land side) HABS MD, 19-HOLWO.V, 3-8, c. 1914, Library of Congress. .... Page 31

**Figure 45:** Courtesy of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, Maryland. .... Page 32

**Figure 46:** Courtesy of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, Maryland. .... Page 32

**Figure 47:** 1869, *Entry for William Briscoe*, 1868, f. 324. St. Mary’s County Commissioner of Slave Statistics (Slave Statistics) Maryland State Archives MSA C1698-1. .... Page 33

**Figure 48:** Agnes Kane Callum, MSA SC 1885-613-11. Page 34

**Figure 49:** Courtesy of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, Maryland. .... Page 34

**Figure 50:** Claim of John Rousby Plater, St. Mary’s County, Case #310, 1828, entry 190, Record Group 76, National Archives and Records Administration. .... Page 35

**Figure 51:** Courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 36

**Figure 52:** Hampton North Portico, E.H. Pickering, Photographer, HABS MD,3-TOW.V, 1A-8, September 1936, Library of Congress. .... Page 37

**Figure 53:** *Baltimore Sun* August, 26, 1852. .... Page 38

**Figure 54:** G. Howard White Collection, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 38

**Figure 55:** (HAMP 6301, carte-de-visite taken in a Baltimore photographer’s studio), courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 39

**Figure 56:** (HAMP 20312, snapshot taken outside west wing at Hampton), courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 39

**Figure 57:** G. Howard White Collection, courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 40

**Figure 58:** Harry Sythe Cummings, courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society, Johnson-Wynne-Co. Publishers, ca. 1916, PP240.010. .... Page 41

**Figure 59:** (HAMP 44219, snapshot taken outside east wing at Hampton), courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 41



**Figure 60:** Courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland. .... Page 41

**Figure 61:** View of Transparency, 1864. Ringwald & Brown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photograph, Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm000423/>. .... Page 42

**Figure 62:** GENERAL ASSEMBLY (Constitutions, Original) 1864 S972, Maryland State Archives. .... Page 48

**Figure 63:** Mary and Emily Edmonson. Photograph, between 1850 and 1860; printed circa 1930. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/91789694/>. .... Page 49

**Figure 64:** Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Mary A. Dodge Collection) MSA SC 564-1-94. .... Page 50

**Figure 65:** Slave Quarters [former] near Harrisonville, Baltimore County, c. 1885, Z24.2054, courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society. .... Page 53

**Figure 66:** *Slave Nurse and Child*, courtesy of the Charles Schwartz Collection. .... Page 53

**Figure 67:** COURT OF APPEALS (Judgements, Eastern Shore) 1828 Maryland State Archives, MSA S 380-61-15. .... Page 54

**Figure 68:** Still, William. *Underground Rail Road: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, etc.* (Philadelphia, PA: Porter & Coales, Publishers, 1872). .... Page 55

**Figure 69:** Still, William. *Underground Raid Road: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, etc.* (Philadelphia, PA: Porter & Coales, Publishers, 1872). .... Credits Page

Carte-de-visite portrait of Harriet Tubman, Collection of the National Museum of African American History/Smithsonian Institution ..... Inside Back Cover

## Timeline Image Credits:

### Page 43

*Inspection and Sale of a Negro.* (1854 engraving, reproduced between 1960 and 1980) Photograph. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/98510180/>.

“Notice of Slave Auction, Lord Ligonier, September 29, 1767” Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Maryland State Law Library Collection of the *Maryland Gazette*) October 1, 1767 issue MSA SC 2311-1-12.

### Page 44

Maryland State Archives Special Collections (The Sarah D. Griffen, Clyde Griffen, and Margaret Thibault Collection of Goldsborough Family Papers) MSA SC 2085-51-5.

*Broadside for Fugitive Slave Act*, Gilder Lehrman Collection GLC01862, (Boston, 1850).

“Josiah Henson” from *Father Henson’s Story of His Own Life*. (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1858), frontispiece.

Banneker, Benjamin. *Benjamin Banneker’s Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1795; Being the Third after Leap-Year*. (Baltimore: John Fisher, 1795), title page.

### Page 45

Ward, Samuel Ringgold. *Autobiography of a fugitive negro: his anti-slavery labours in the United States, Canada & England*. (London: John Snow, 1855).

*Effects of the Fugitive Slave Law*, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division <https://lccn.loc.gov/2008661523>.

Henry Highland Garnet - Excerpt from: *Distinguished Colored Men*, ca. 1883. New York: Published by A. Muller & Co., Chicago, IL: Geo. F. Cram. Photograph, Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/00651115/>.

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, 1872. Photograph, Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002698208/>.

“Nat Turner” from Woodson, Carter G. *The Negro in Our History*. (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1927).

*Frederick Douglass*, by Simmie Knox. Oil on canvas, 2014. Collection of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1545-3471.

### Page 46

“The Christiana Tragedy,” 1872. Photograph, Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002698204/>.

“Harriet Beecher Stowe” from Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom’s Cabin or, Life among the Lowly*. (Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1896), frontispiece.

Kennedy farm in Washington County, Maryland from Historic American Buildings Survey Engineering Record, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

### Page 47

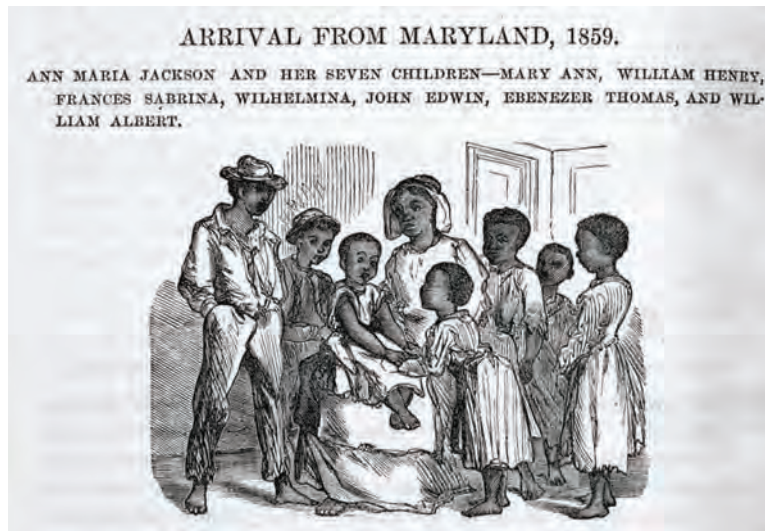
Excerpt from: Maryland State Archives Special Collections (Constance B. Schultz Slide Collection). The Result of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Rise and Progress of the African Race in America and its Final Accomplishment, and Celebration on May 19th A.D. 1870. Maryland State Archives MSA SC 1260-104.

*Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass*, statues for Maryland State House, in progress, StudioEIS, Brooklyn, New York. Maryland State Archives.

“Harriet Tubman,” detail of photograph, courtesy of the Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Founda.

Twin Oaks, Highland Beach, Maryland, 2018.





*Figure 69: Ann Maria Jackson and her seven children from William Still's  
The Underground Railroad.*

## Credits:

### MARYLAND STATE ARCHIVES

Tim Baker, State Archivist

Elaine Rice Bachmann, Deputy State Archivist

Emily Oland Squires, Director, Research  
and Outreach

### Study of the Legacy of Slavery in Maryland

Chris Haley, Director

Maya Davis, Research Archivist

Ryan Cox, Research Archivist

### UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND COLLEGE PARK

Department of History

Ira Berlin (1941–2018)

Herbert Brewer

### HISTORIC ST. MARY'S CITY

St. Mary's City, Maryland

<https://hsmcdigshistory.org/>

### HISTORIC SOTTERLEY PLANTATION

Hollywood, Maryland

<https://www.sotterley.org/>

### HAMPTON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Towson, Maryland

<https://www.nps.gov/hamp>

### Website for more information:

<http://slavery.msa.maryland.gov/>

Michele A. Danoff

Graphics by Design

FRIENDS OF THE  
MARYLAND STATE  
ARCHIVES



*February 2020*







177  
Know all men by these presents that I Thomas  
Lee of Ann Arundel County for divers causes and  
considerations have manumitted and set free  
negro Charles which said man I formerly sold  
to Charles Waters of said County for the Term of  
ten years said Term having fully expired I do  
hereby declare the said negro man Charles to be  
discharged from all manner of claim and demand  
from me or any other person or persons forever  
from and after the date hereof, Given under my hand  
and seal this 21 day of April in the year of our  
heavenly King do twelve  
and del  
Montgo  
Waters

