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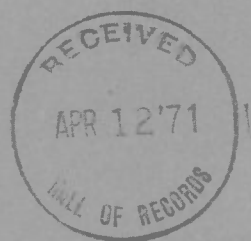
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THE JAMES McCORMICK FAMILY  
Prominent mercantile family of Baltimore



*James McCormick (1760-1841); Mrs. McCormick (Rachel Ridgely Lux) (1762-1810); children: son, William Lux McCormick (b. 1803); daughter, Sophia Pleasants McCormick; and eldest son, John Pleasants McCormick (1799-1862).*

Painted circa 1804, by JOSHUA JOHNSTON,  
First Negro artist of record.

Johnston advertised in the *Baltimore Intelligencer*, December 19, 1798: "Portrait Painting . . . as a *self-taught genius*, deriving from nature and industry his knowledge of the Art, . . . experienced many unsurpassable obstacles in the pursuit of his studies, it is highly gratifying to him to make assurances of his ability to execute all commands, with an effect, and in a style, which must give satisfaction. He therefore respectfully solicits encouragement. Apply at his House, in the alley leading from Charles to Hanover Street, back of Sear's Tavern."

The Roman Catholic Cathedral's Burial Records record the death of two children of the artist, Oct. 22, 1795 Sarah, daughter of Joshua and Sarah Johnson, aged 11 months; and Oct. 8, 1805 Eliza Johnson (Negro) daughter of Sarah Johnson, free Negro, Dec'd. yesterday in the 6th year of her age.

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Richard R. Duncan, *Editor*  
David Sullivan, *Assistant Editor*

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## INTRODUCTION

BY BENJAMIN QUARLES

THIS pathbreaking issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* addresses itself to a fundamental need in American studies—that of calling attention to one of the nonwhite ethnic groups that played a vital supporting role in the shaping of the various states and the nation. Although this issue of the quarterly spotlights the black Marylander, such a concentration on one racial component by no means connotes a narrowness of outlook. The newer emphasis on black history inevitably makes for a fresher and more realistic appraisal of American history. Hence the contents of this volume, however disturbing at points, deepen and enrich our understanding of the past as past, particularly of the Maryland past.

“Would America have been America without her Negro people?” To W. E. B. DuBois, the historian who raised this question in 1903, the answer was obvious. Likewise in the case of Maryland such a question would seem to be rhetorical. Blacks were numerous in the Chesapeake Bay regions from the days of the Calverts. In 1860 Maryland had more free Negroes than any other state, and Baltimore outstripped all other American cities in this category. Few other states can boast so many black men of mark, including a quartet as diverse in generation and calling as surveyor-mathematician Benjamin Banneker, orator Frederick Douglass, North Pole explorer Matthew Henson and Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall.

The articles in this volume do not, however, deal with big-name achievers. Rather they deal with the generality of blacks, men and women anonymous as individuals but reflecting the web of social life, constituting “a part of the main.” In like manner these articles do not lay out broad trends or project the larger synthesis. State and local history at its best, however, they comprise the grassroots of the discipline, the bedrock pieces so necessary to a valid discerning of the over-arching design.

As to time-span the writings in this volume fall largely in the two centuries preceding the Civil War. No apology is needed on this score, the neglect of this period in black history being as glaring as that of any other. As to chronology and topic for the

antebellum period there is an admirable balance in these three articles and three "sidelights." The opening article portrays the experiences of free blacks in the courts in early Maryland, another describes the plight of the black laborer during the decade preceding the Civil War, and a third article, covering a broader span, investigates those emboldened slaves who made the dash for freedom.

The three "sidelights" are every bit as varied in content. They include, taking them in chronological order, an account of an alleged racially motivated manhandling of an actor playing Othello at a Baltimore theatre, a longer piece describing the relatively unproductive efforts of Frederick County whites to send their black residents to Liberia, and a final "sidelight" in which Philip S. Foner, a longtime authority in black and labor history, edits a lengthy speech, delivered in Baltimore in February 1864 by a clergyman of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, urging blacks to enlist in the Union armies.

In reading these pieces we must not be surprised if on occasion an author reminds us of the problem of scanty and fugitive sources. Black memorabilia are not easy to come by; the documents are not readily accessible. John Chavis of the Detroit Historical Museum has posed the problem of the researcher in black history: "Where are the diaries, the family bibles, the business records, the correspondence in fancy script tied in dusty bundles? These are not, in most instances, part of the Negro past. Where are the silver services, the porringers, the samplers, the furniture dark and glossy, the oil portraits of awesome ancestors?"

Such a problem faced the contributors to this issue of the magazine. Hence we assent without cavil when one contributor observes that "trying to establish an exact total of the runaway bondsmen for Maryland is very difficult." We nod with understanding at an opening sentence of another author which points out that the basic problem one encounters "in trying to discover something about the free Negro during the American colonial period is that there are few records of him. . ." And we are hardly bemused when the author of the "sidelight" on violence on the Baltimore stage invites his reader, via a footnote, to send him additional information on such incidents, for which he would be "extremely grateful."

Happily indeed this problem of black source materials has not been overlooked in this issue of the quarterly. Nancy G. Boles has assembled a most useful listing of the Maryland Historical Society's black history manuscript collections. Among many other riches, these contain the extensive papers of the Maryland Colonization Society, now available on microfilm.

Another professional on the Society's staff, Mary K. Meyer, provides some helpful hints on the search for black genealogy. This field, as she points out, is not for those who are faint of will. But her observations, along with the bibliography compiled by Mrs. Boles, demonstrate and convey a "we shall overcome" spirit in the search for black sources.

The editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Dr. Duncan, is to be highly commended for this issue—its conception and its execution. If his is the lion's share, credit also falls to the individual contributors to this volume. Undoubtedly they are to be classified as social scientists rather than as social engineers. But the reader may note in passing that many of the black-white themes and patterns they unveil are not dissimilar from those of today. And the careful, open-minded manner in which these racially oriented themes are handled gives their recital an added measure of relevance to our times.



*Benjamin Bannaker's*  
PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARY-  
LAND, AND VIRGINIA  
ALMANAC,  
FOR THE  
YEAR of our LORD 1795;  
Being the Third after Leap-Year.



—PRINTED FOR—  
*And Sold by* JOHN FISHER, *Stationer,*  
BALTIMORE.

The cover page for the 1795 almanac published by Benjamin Bannaker  
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## FREE JUPITER AND THE REST OF THE WORLD: THE PROBLEMS OF A FREE NEGRO IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

BY C. ASHLEY ELLEFSON

### I

THE basic problem that one encounters in trying to discover something about the free Negro during the American colonial period is that there are few records of him and that what records there are are widely scattered. Many of them are no doubt still undiscovered, and as researchers search through the judicial records of the pre-revolutionary period more of them will surely come to light.

Scarce as the records of the free Negro are, however, in at least one case we can find multiple references to the same free Negro. This is Jupiter, who lived in Maryland at the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth. From what we know of his life we can discover what must have been the typical problems that a free Negro faced in colonial America.

Jupiter first appears as the slave of Robert Henly, a gentleman landholder of Charles County. When on February 15, 1683/4 Henly made his will, he provided that Jupiter should serve one Thomas Harris for seven years after Henly's death and then be free. Henly's will was probated on March 8, 1683/4,<sup>1</sup> and thus by March 8, 1690/1 Jupiter must have completed his service with Harris.

Upon receiving his freedom Jupiter faced the first of his problems—earning a living. What he did during the years that followed his release from slavery he revealed in June of 1710 in a complaint that he entered against Mary Contee, the widow of Colonel John Contee,<sup>2</sup> before the Charles County court. In this complaint he pointed out that after his service to Harris had ended, he indented himself for seven years as a waiting man to Colonel John Courts, that when his time with Courts expired, he had bound himself for five years to Contee, and that his service with Contee had expired on April 7, 1710.<sup>3</sup>

If he had served Harris for seven years, Jupiter in his complaint left seven years and one month unaccounted for. Since by April of 1704 he was already the servant of John Contee,<sup>4</sup> it seems very likely that he served two separate indentures with Contee, one for seven years and the other for five. And after 1710 he served at least one more term as an indentured servant, this one with Charles Jones, another gentleman of Charles County, and then with Jones' widow, Jane.<sup>5</sup>

That Jupiter served four separate periods of indentured servitude is not indisputable proof that it was extremely difficult for the free Negro in colonial Maryland to survive. It indicates rather that this was one way in which he could earn his living. But at the same time, it indicates that opportunities for the free Negro were extremely limited, that during his terms of servitude he never became skilled enough to become an artisan, and that he never accumulated enough money or property to become a free farmer.

<sup>1</sup> Charles County Wills, Liber A, No. 2, pp. 74-77.

<sup>2</sup> Wills, Liber 12, pp. 276-278; Charles County Administration Accounts, 1708-1738, pp. 60-62.

<sup>3</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber B, No. 2, pp. 766-767.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber A, No. 2, pp. 326, 393-394.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber E, No. 2, p. 484; Charles County Administration Accounts, 1708-1738, p. 230; Provincial Court Judgments, Liber T. P., No. 2, pp. 296-297; Liber I. O., No. 1, pp. 82-84.

## II

The second problem of the free Negro was to avoid being punished for a crime that he did not commit. Whenever a crime occurred in colonial Maryland, the Negro was for several reasons the most likely suspect. First, the white man had no confidence in either the understanding or the morality of the Negro.<sup>6</sup> Second, the Negro had no stake in the society in which he found himself, and therefore the white man assumed that he would ignore the rules of society.

A third reason for the white man's suspicion of the Negro applies only to the free Negro. Not only did he have no stake in society, but as a free Negro he did not have even a *place* in the society of slaves, slave-holders, indentured servants, masters, yeoman farmers, craftsmen, and merchants. Thus the suspicion that the ruling class directed against the Negro slave was compounded against the free Negro.<sup>7</sup>

But the justice who committed Jupiter for hog-theft early in 1710/11 had another reason for suspecting him. He had previously been convicted of that crime. At the Charles County court for March of 1703/4 the grand jurors had returned a presentment in which they charged that on April 20, 1703 Jupiter stole a hog from Charity Courts. When Jupiter appeared

<sup>6</sup> The preamble of a law of 1729 reveals something of the white man's attitude toward the Negro. It states that "several petit Treasons, and cruel horrid Murders, have been lately committed by negroes which Cruelties they were instigated to commit, and hereafter may be instigated to commit the like Inhumanity, because they have no Sense of shame or Apprehension of future Rewards or Punishments. . . ." See 1729, c. 4, in *Archives of Maryland* (70 vols.: Baltimore, 1883-1964), XXXVI, p. 454.

<sup>7</sup> John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York, 1947), pp. 216-217; Saunders Redding, *The Lonesome Road: The Story of the Negro's Past in America* (New York, 1958), pp. 39-40; Nathaniel Weyl, *The Negro in American Civilization* (Washington, D. C., 1960), pp. 53, 55-62; Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (Baton Rouge, La., 1966), p. 448; John Codman Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States* (2 vols., Boston, 1858-1862), I, pp. 233, 240-242; II, pp. 157-158, 170; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York, 1964), pp. 47, 71; Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 176-183, 195-196, 199-201, 211-216; James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860* (New York, 1921), pp. 95-100, 102-104, 106-112, 115-128, 207; John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1943), *passim.*; John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865* (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 52-53, 63-66, 69, 71-74, 95-98, 106-108, 119-120, 123-124, 135, 143-145, 156; Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago, 1961), p. 96; Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana: A Study of a Minority* (Indianapolis, 1957), pp. 20, 62.

in court the next month, he asked for an attorney; the justices appointed Cornelius White; and through White Jupiter pleaded not guilty and asked for a trial by jury. The jury found him guilty, and the justices ordered that he should receive thirty lashes "well Laid on Upon the bare back" at the public whipping post, that he should stand with his neck in the pillory for half an hour, and that he should pay Charity Courts six hundred pounds of tobacco, four times the value of the stolen hog. They also directed that he pay the fees that had accrued in the action against him.

As a servant, of course, Jupiter had neither the money nor the tobacco to pay the four-fold damages and the fees. Therefore, John Contee, his master, appeared in court and agreed to pay both charges, and in return the justices directed that Jupiter should serve Contee, at the rate of sixteen hundred pounds of tobacco per year, beyond his contracted servitude until his additional service was sufficient to reimburse Contee for those payments.<sup>8</sup>

Sometime before March of 1710/11 an unidentified justice of Charles County directed the sheriff to take Jupiter into his custody on suspicion of the theft of a second hog. When the Charles County court met in March, the justices sent the evidence against Jupiter before the grand jury, but the jurors did not consider it sufficient to justify their returning either a presentment or an indictment against him. Therefore the justices directed that he be cleared by proclamation.<sup>9</sup>

### III

Jupiter's third problem was that of maintaining his freedom, or, probably more accurately, of determining for himself whom he would serve. In his petition to the Charles County court in June of 1710, he complained that sometime near Christmas of 1709, about three months before his indenture to Colonel John Contee was to expire, Mary Contee "Contrived by Indirect means to Draw" him into another contract. He complained that on the basis of that contract but "contrary to Law, Equity and

<sup>8</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber A, No. 2, pp. 326, 393-394. For the laws providing the penalties that the justices imposed, see 1700, c. 2, *Archives of Maryland*, XXIV, 98-101; 1704, c. 25, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, pp. 266-268.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber D, No. 2, p. 66.



A. B. Jackson: *Porch People* (See Notes and Queries Section for information)  
Privately Owned

Good Conscience" Mary still detained him as a servant, and he asked the court to release him. The justices decided that he should not be bound by the last indenture, since it was made while he was still serving under a previous one. Making a new indenture before the previous one expired was illegal.<sup>10</sup>

Immediately, Mary requested an appeal to the provincial court. After she provided security sufficient to guarantee the prosecution of her appeal and the payment of the costs in the provincial court if the justices there decided against her, the justices of Charles County granted the appeal.<sup>11</sup>

But Mary, rather than pursuing her appeal, tried a different device for retaining Jupiter's service. At the provincial court for April of 1711 she brought an action of replevin against Charles Jones, who also claimed Jupiter as a servant. In this action Mary charged that on March 1, 1710/11 Jupiter was legally her servant, that on that day Jones took him from her,

<sup>10</sup> 1704, c. 23, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, p. 258. See also 1715, c. 44, *Archives of Maryland*, XXX, p. 288.

<sup>11</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber B, No. 2, pp. 751, 766-767.

and that since that time Jones had illegally detained him. Jones replied that on March 1, 1710/11 Jupiter was actually his own servant rather than Mary's. At the provincial court for October of 1711 Mary decided that she would not prosecute her action any further, and the justices thereupon ordered that Jupiter serve Jones and that the sheriff of Charles County should determine what damages Jones should receive from Mary on her unsuccessful action of replevin.<sup>12</sup>

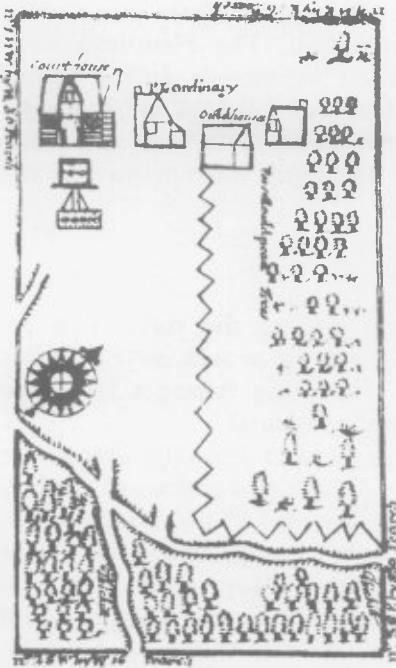
After Mary initiated her action of replevin against Jones, but before she withdrew it, Jupiter petitioned the provincial court against her. In this petition, which he presented on July 17, 1711, he stated simply that the Charles County court had set him free according to an act of the assembly, that therefore he was a free Negro, and that in spite of this Mary still detained him as a slave. Then he asked the provincial justices to release him. They agreed with him and ordered her to release him immediately. They also ordered that if she refused to obey their order, the sheriff of Charles County should take him out of her custody and set him free in spite of any objections that she might have. Finally, they ordered the sheriff to return their order to the next provincial court with an endorsement explaining how he had carried out their instructions.

When the provincial court met in October of 1711, Joseph Manning did return the order and stated that on July 26, in the presence of John Nichols Jr. and Edward Chapman, he set Jupiter free.<sup>13</sup> This is the same court at which Mary withdrew her action of replevin against Jones. Since in July of 1711 the provincial justices decided that Jupiter should be freed from Mary's service because the Charles County court in June of 1710 correctly held that his last indenture was illegal, it must have seemed to Mary in October that she had little chance of proving to the provincial justices that on March 1, 1710/11 Jupiter was legally her servant.

The device by which the provincial court would determine the damages that Charles Jones should recover from Mary Contee on her action of replevin against him was the writ of inquiry. In October of 1712 Jones sued his writ of inquiry out

<sup>12</sup> Provincial Court Judgments, Liber T. P., No. 2, pp. 17, 296-297; Liber I. O., No. 1, pp. 82-84.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber T. P., No. 2, pp. 108, 323.



Plat of public buildings  
showing Court House,  
Charles County, 1697.  
Charles County Courthouse  
and Hall of Records,  
Commission, Annapolis.

of the provincial court against Mary and her new husband, Philemon Hemsley. By that writ the court ordered the sheriff of Charles County to summon a jury of twelve men to determine what damages Jones had sustained in the action of replevin. To the provincial court for April of 1713 Thomas Dent returned the writ and reported that on April 2, 1713 the jury had decided that Jones had suffered damages of two thousand pounds of tobacco. The provincial justices then ordered Mary and Philemon to pay Jones that amount as well as unspecified costs on the writ of inquiry. Mary and Philemon immediately produced an injunction.<sup>14</sup>

The Hemsleys' producing the injunction meant that they intended to pursue their action against Charles Jones in the court of chancery. In granting the injunction Edward Lloyd, the chancellor of the province,<sup>15</sup> ordered the provincial court to

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber I. O., No. 1, pp. 82-84.

<sup>15</sup> In the absence of a governor Lloyd as president of the council was serving both as governor and as chancellor of the province. See Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 120, 124.



do nothing further in the action until the chancery court could hear the allegations of the complainant. The Hemsleys, however, were unable to prosecute their injunction. In the record of the court of chancery for March of 1713/14 an action of Philemon Hemsley against Charles Jones is entered as abated by the death of the defendant.<sup>16</sup> Thus Jupiter remained in the service of Jones' widow, Jane.<sup>17</sup>

#### IV

With some difficulty, therefore, Jupiter did succeed in his effort to determine for himself whom he would serve. Yet his most difficult problem, that of recovering damages for Mary Contee's illegal treatment of him, remained.

In an effort to secure damages Jupiter brought before the Charles County court in March, 1711/12 two actions of trespass and false imprisonment against Mary and Philemon Hemsley. Represented by Richard Lewellin, he charged in the first of his actions that on the previous March 3 Mary with force and arms "took Imprisoned & evil handled" him at Portobacco and had kept him illegally in her custody until March 13, 1710/11. For this alleged false imprisonment he claimed damages of fifteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In his second action he complained that at Portobacco on April 6, 1711, Mary with force and arms "took Imprisoned and evil handled" him and kept him illegally in her custody until July 25. In this case he claimed damages of twenty thousand pounds of tobacco.

After Jupiter entered his declaration in each case, Mary and Philemon, represented by Cornelius White, imparled to the June court, which meant a granting of a continuation to the defendants until that date. Then, at that time, the Hemsleys presented to the Charles County court two writs of habeas corpus, by which they removed the cases to the provincial court.<sup>18</sup>

Finally in July of 1712 both Jupiter and the Hemsleys appeared before the provincial justices. Before the provincial court two lawyers, Thomas Bordley and Daniel Dulany, represented

<sup>16</sup> Chancery Record, Liber P. L., p. 62.

<sup>17</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber E, No. 2, p. 484.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber E, No. 2, p. 136; Provincial Court Judgments, Liber T. P., No. 2, pp. 615-618; Liber V. D., No. 2, pp. 94-98.

Jupiter, while only Wornell Hunt represented Mary and Philemon. Again the Hemsleys resorted to imparling, this time until October. However, when the court met, Jupiter's attorneys suggested that since the Hemsleys had not given special bail to guarantee their payment of the damages that he might recover against them the provincial court should award him a writ of *procedendo* in each action. With that writ the provincial court would order the Charles County court to proceed to judgment in the case just as though the writ of habeas corpus had never been issued.

The provincial justices agreed with Jupiter's attorneys.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of the two writs of *procedendo*, therefore, in November of 1712 Jupiter's two cases against the Hemsleys once more went before the Charles County court. Once more Richard Lewellin was Jupiter's attorney, and once more, Cornelius White represented the Hemsleys. The Hemsleys declared that they were not guilty of either of Jupiter's charges, and in each action they asked for a trial by jury. In March of 1712/13 a separate jury heard each case. Each jury decided that Mary and Philemon were guilty: one awarded Jupiter six hundred pounds of tobacco, to which the justices added 1046 pounds of tobacco for his costs, and the other awarded him three hundred pounds of tobacco, to which the justices added 2738 pounds of tobacco for costs.<sup>20</sup> That the total costs in the cases amounted to more than four times the total damages goes a long way toward indicating the price of justice in colonial Maryland.

The Hemsleys, however, refused to pay. Sometime before August 1713, therefore, Jupiter sued out a writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum* in each of his actions. By this writ the Charles County court directed the sheriff of the county to take the Hemsleys into his custody and to hold them until they either paid Jupiter what they owed him or made arrangements to pay it. Thomas Dent returned the writs to the Charles County court for August of 1713 and reported that he did have the Hemsleys in his custody.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Provincial Court Judgments, Liber T. P., No. 2, pp. 615-617, 617-618.

<sup>20</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber E, No. 2, pp. 214-215, 216.

<sup>21</sup> Since the Hemsleys were quite well off, they were probably not in jail but rather were in custody in their own house. See Oliver Goldsmith, *The Good-Natur'd Man*, Act III. In Act II Lofty says of Honeywood: "Undone, madam, that's all. His creditors have taken him into custody. A prisoner in his own house!"

The Hemsleys now had four alternatives. They could pay Jupiter, what they owed him; they could stay in the custody of the sheriff; they could try to convince the assembly to release them from custody;<sup>22</sup> or they could seek some legal device by which they could gain their freedom and possibly at the same time gain release from the judgments themselves. They chose the fourth alternative, and the legal device that they discovered was the writ of *audita querela*.<sup>23</sup>

The *audita querela* was a writ in which the defendant against whom a court awarded a judgment could sue out of chancery and in which he alleged that after the court awarded the judgment, something had happened to make the execution of that judgment either unnecessary or unjust. He did not argue that the court should not have awarded the judgment to begin with, since if that had been his argument, he would have had to use either an appeal or a writ of error rather than the writ of *audita querela*. With the writ of *audita querela* the chancellor of the province directed either the court that awarded the original judgment or the next higher common law court to hear the complaint of the defendant in the original action and to do him justice according to "right and according to the Laws of the Land." While the action on the writ of *audita querela* was pending, the defendant in the original action was released from custody if he had been taken into custody, and therefore the writ of *audita querela* was a stay of execution of judgment as well as an order that the court to which it was directed should hear again the action that it specified.<sup>24</sup>

Mary and Philemon Hemsley sued out only one writ of *audita querela* in their two actions. They alleged that on April 2, 1713 Jupiter signed and sealed a release by which he "had for Ever remised and released" them from the judgments against them. In spite of that release, they argued, Jupiter had sued out the two writs of *capias ad satisfaciendum*, on the basis of which Thomas Dent had imprisoned them<sup>25</sup> to guarantee their paying

<sup>22</sup> For laws for the relief of languishing prisoners, see 1715, c. 20, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXVIII, pp. 187-190, and 1715, c. 21, XXXVIII, pp. 190-191.

<sup>23</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber E, No. 2, p. 310.

<sup>24</sup> For the writ of *audita querela* see C. Ashley Ellefson, "The Writ of *Audita Querela* in Eighteenth-Century Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIX (December, 1964), pp. 369-379.

<sup>25</sup> The writ of *audita querela* states that Dent actually had imprisoned the Hemsleys. There is no way to be entirely certain whether they were in jail or were held in custody in their own house.

the judgments against them. Edward Lloyd granted them their writ of *audita querela*, which turned Jupiter's two actions against them into one. With that writ Lloyd ordered Dent to release Mary and Philemon, if they were still in his custody, and to summon Jupiter to appear at the provincial court on October 13, 1713 to show why Mary and Philemon should not be discharged from the execution of the judgments against them. Dent also had to return to that court the writ of *audita querela* together with the names of the two good and lawful men in whose presence he summoned Jupiter to appear. Finally, Lloyd ordered the provincial justices to hear the allegations of both Jupiter and the Hemsleys and to "Cause Speedy Justice to be done upon the . . . Release and Executions . . . as of right and according to the Laws of the Land you shall See fitt."

When the provincial court met in October, Dent returned the writ of *audita querela* and certified that he had done everything the writ directed him to do. At seven successive courts Jupiter imparled, and it was not until July of 1716 that the provincial court finally heard the Hemsleys' action on the writ of *audita querela*. At that court Thomas Bordley, Jupiter's attorney, requested the court to award judgment for Jupiter on the grounds that the amount involved in the action was less than the amount required to give the provincial court jurisdiction in the case.

The justices agreed with Bordley. They decided that according to law they did not have jurisdiction in the case and that therefore the writ of *audita querela* should be quashed. They then ruled that the Hemsleys had to pay Jupiter 1042 pounds of tobacco for his costs in the action on the *audita querela*.<sup>26</sup> Those costs brought to 5726 pounds the total amount of tobacco that the Hemsleys owed Jupiter.

What happened next is unclear. It seems perfectly certain, however, that Jupiter never did collect anything from the Hemsleys. One entry in the account of Charles Jones' estate mentions 150 pounds of tobacco paid to Richard Willson as a debt due "for negro Jupiter's suit with Hemsley."<sup>27</sup> If Jupiter's master had to pay the costs of his suing the Hemsleys, Jupiter could not have collected any damages from them.

<sup>26</sup> Provincial Court Judgments, Liber V. D., No. 2, pp. 94-98.

<sup>27</sup> Charles County Administration Accounts, 1708-1738, p. 230.

Jones, in fact, had already collected two thousand pounds of tobacco from the Hemsleys as a result of Mary Contee's action of replevin against him. Through the writ of replevin, Mary had temporarily recovered Jupiter, and the replevin applied to the same period during which Mary was supposed to have kept Jupiter prisoner. Similarly, the day on which Jupiter was supposed to have released the Hemsleys from the damages against them was the same day on which the sheriff's jury awarded Jones the two thousand pounds of tobacco against the Hemsleys. Thus apparently it was Jones, not Jupiter, who recovered damages from the Hemsleys for the false imprisonment. Legally, it was the master, not the servant, who was the victim.

In the records of the Charles County court for March, 1714/15, more than a year before the provincial court finally heard the Hemsleys' action against Jupiter on the writ of *audita querela*, there appears one additional reference to him. At that court the justices of Charles County

Ordered That Negro Jupiter Notwithstanding his Petitionary Complaint against his mistresse Jane Jones widow be Continued with her till ye next Court to be held here on ye Second tuesday in June next and then ye Petition . . . to be Determined.<sup>28</sup>

Thus even before Jupiter's problems with his former mistress and her husband were solved, he was having difficulty with his latest mistress. Since none of the available court records of the period mentions this petition again,<sup>29</sup> there is no way to tell whether he ever solved that difficulty satisfactorily.

## V

Jupiter's career is important in two ways. First it reveals something of the position of the free Negro in colonial Maryland. While at first glance it might appear that Jupiter was remarkably successful in meeting his problems, a closer view of his life indicates that he had no easy time of it. He did manage to earn a living, but common labor was the best he could hope for. He did avoid prosecution on the second charge of hog-stealing,

<sup>28</sup> Charles County Court and Land Record, Liber E, No. 2, p. 484.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Liber E, No. 2, pp. 496-509; Liber I, No. 2, *passim.*; Provincial Court Judgments, Liber V. D., No. 1, *passim.*; Chancery Record, Liber P. L., *passim.* See also Index for Charles County, 1658-1722.

but his being a free Negro automatically made him a suspicious character. He did succeed in gaining his freedom from Mary Contee, but if Charles Jones had not been interested in getting his labor, he might have been less successful than he was. He did initially recover damages from the Hemsleys, but if he had not had Jones behind him, he probably would not have sued them in the first place, and in the end, it was Jones, not Jupiter, who collected the damages.

Second, the tactics of both Jupiter and the Hemsleys in his actions of false imprisonment illustrate the resorts that were available to people involved in legal actions in eighteenth-century Maryland. Petitions, injunctions, and writs of habeas corpus, *capias ad satisfaciendum*, *audita querela*, *procedendo*, replevin, and inquiry were flying about at a wonderful rate. The cases dragged on from March of 1711/12, when Jupiter first brought them in the Charles County court, until July of 1716, when the provincial court finally quashed the Hemsleys' writ of *audita querela*. Most of the time, Jupiter could not have known what was happening. It was of course not necessary for a party to an action to know what was happening, but he did have to be able to hire a good lawyer or two. As a servant Jupiter could not have done that. He was a pawn in the battle between Charles Jones and Mary Contee Hemsley, both of whom were interested in his labor and probably little else.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In the writing of this article Dr. Morris L. Radoff and his staff at the Hall of Records in Annapolis were very helpful. Part of the research was done while working under a Faculty Research Fellowship from the State University of New York. Discussions with Professor Aubrey C. Land of the University of Georgia were also very helpful.

# THE PROBLEMS OF NEGRO LABOR IN THE 1850's

BY M. RAY DELLA, JR.

IN THE 1850's Baltimore had a unique labor situation. As a major industrial metropolis and a leading trading center, it ranked with New York and Philadelphia. Immigrants flocked to Baltimore because of its northern industrial characteristics. Yet socially and politically, the city was closely tied to the South with a native population similar to that of Charleston or any other southern city. As a result, the southern Negro labor force competed with the incoming "Northern" laborers<sup>1</sup> and foreign immigrants.

Various kinds of employment on a large scale existed in Baltimore in the 1850's with jobs ranging from skilled to common labor. Although articles in the newspapers quite often announced the installment of new machinery in a factory or store, manual labor still predominated even in mechanized establishments. Handicrafts and other skilled jobs were abundant: carpenters, iron workers, wheelwrights, tailors, seamstresses, cabinet makers, printers, painters, butchers, and so forth were employed throughout the city. In many cases the skill or trade had been handed down from generation to generation; this augmented the usual sense of pride associated with such skilled jobs. These skilled workers often joined with fellow tradesmen in local unions or guilds to protect their livelihood; the typographers, for example, had locals in Baltimore which were successful in maintaining wage scales and in protecting themselves from cheap, nonunion labor.<sup>2</sup> "Semi-skilled"<sup>3</sup> jobs were plentiful too, typified by the clerk, dealer (market, tobacco, fruit, etc.), shopkeeper, policeman, bookkeeper and sailor. And there was a continual demand for the unskilled laborer, domestic, washer,

<sup>1</sup> These immigrants are referred to as "Northern" because foreign immigrants after 1845 composed a large sector of the labor force in northern port cities.

<sup>2</sup> Richard B. Morris, "Labor Militancy in the Old South," *Labor and Nation*, IV (May-June, 1948), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> "Semi-skilled" in this sense means requiring some knowledge and training, but not to the degree of a skilled worker, e.g., caulkers, rope makers, etc. were semi-skilled. An example of a skilled laborer would be a cabinet maker.

stevedore, sawyer, and others. Typical daily newspaper advertisements like the following demonstrate the demand for unskilled laborers:

Laborers wanted— . . . 250, on the York and Cumberland Railroad.

100 laborers wanted . . . steady employment and \$1 a day will be given . . . Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

WANTED immediately—100 hands to make cloth and glazed caps. To good hands steady work and liberal wages will be given.<sup>4</sup>

The degree of freedom—however slight it may have been—possessed by free Negroes and hired-out slaves opened the possibility for many kinds of employment.<sup>5</sup> With freedom there came an accompanying increase in leisure time, time which could be spent learning a skill of some sort or getting an education; a few Negroes who wished to better themselves took advantage of this opportunity. Consequently, Negroes were able to find employment at a few skilled jobs and several semi-skilled ones. Furthermore, since a skilled Negro was worth more on the labor market, slaveholders sometimes trained their slaves in order to increase their profits. The apprenticeship system thus complemented the slavery system in training Negroes.

Some semi-skilled occupations became entirely dominated by Negroes; the classic examples were caulking and barbering. After an occupation became "black," the social implications prevented whites from engaging in such jobs. A very good example of such an occupation was caulking. Before 1858 there probably were no white caulkers in the city, and the Negro caulkers even had their own labor union called the Association of Black Caulkers.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, *Matchett's Directory* for 1850 lists approximately 500 Negroes possessing some kind of labor skill.<sup>7</sup> Most of these Negroes who possessed some sort of skill were slaves who had received training from their owners and then had been hired out by the owner or allowed to hire themselves out. Some-

<sup>4</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, June 28, 1850, pp. 2-3. Although the first two examples above were for jobs out of the city, the laborers were recruited in the city and must be considered.

<sup>5</sup> Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (New York, 1964), p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, July 9, 1858, p. 1. Hereafter cited as *American*.

<sup>7</sup> *Matchett's Directory, for 1848-50*, pp. 439-473. Note, however, that *Matchett's* listings are far from complete.





From *The Illustrated London News*, 1861. Maryland Historical Society

of them, however, were free Negroes or free Negroes who chose to hire themselves out as slaves for a specified period.

Historians such as Jeffrey R. Brackett and James M. Wright have argued over the role of discrimination in Baltimore labor. Brackett has said: "It is undeniable that whites took advantage of their superior position."<sup>8</sup> Wright contended that Brackett's thesis "lacked much of being correct,"<sup>9</sup> and that efforts to keep Negroes out of certain occupations failed.<sup>10</sup> The evidence shows that neither of the above theses are entirely correct. Whites did exclude Negroes from such jobs as policeman, steamboat captain, and all government positions to name only a few cases, but in general, wherever there was a dire need for labor, Negroes were not excluded.

<sup>8</sup> Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 188.

<sup>9</sup> James M. Wright, "The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860," [Columbia] *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, (New York, 1921) XCVII, no. 3, p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Discrimination, however, did play a role in the compensation which Negroes received in occupations which were integrated. Inferior wages were the usual means of conveying such discrimination.<sup>11</sup> Even when the wages were nearly equal for the same job, other factors generally favored the white, and "as a consequence of efficiency they received higher wages than Negroes."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, while the number of skilled and semi-skilled jobs fluctuated with the labor market's demand, white labor organizations, in many cases cited later, controlled Negro labor by excluding the Negroes from such associations and then discriminating against them. These associations were forerunners of later labor unions. During this period they really resembled brotherhoods more than labor unions, and their functions were limited to immediate aims such as eliminating Negro labor in a specific occupation.

Numerically, of course, the majority of Baltimore's Negroes were still in the unskilled labor force. These workers were employed in private homes, in restaurants, around the docks, on railroads, and in factories.<sup>13</sup>

In a few cases, Negro house servants were fortunate enough to live in the highest style, while most others were not so fortunate. House servants were of two types, regular slaves and slaves or free Negroes who were hired out. Some of the regular slaves did not live badly, for they were usually owned by well-to-do people who cared for their slaves almost as if they were members of the family. Of course this was not always true. Hired servants were not likely to be in their master's favor and were usually poorly treated, housed, and fed because the kind of person who usually hired a slave for a servant was middle or lower class.<sup>14</sup> Such occurrences were quite common in Baltimore as various persons would attempt to climb the social ladder by hiring a Negro servant, as hiring carried with it the same status as owning.<sup>15</sup>

An extreme example of a slave who was quite successful is

<sup>11</sup> Wade, *Slavery in Cities*, p. 47. Wade, however, does not cite figures here and his sources are not clear.

<sup>12</sup> James Hall, *An Address to the Free People of Color of the State of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1859), p. 3. A speech made by James Hall in Baltimore in December, 1858.

<sup>13</sup> See Table II.

<sup>14</sup> A. Briscoe Koger, *The Maryland Negro* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Wade, *Slavery in Cities*, p. 43.

recorded in an article in the *Illustrated London News* on April 8, 1861. It cites a Baltimore servant who hired himself out to a steamboat captain as a porter and at the same time served his "misses" as a domestic servant. "The dandy slave," according to the article, lived well and dressed fashionably.<sup>16</sup>

The common laborer depended on employment stemming from Baltimore's commerce. The wages of these Negroes were poor compared to white wages.<sup>17</sup> Some Negroes hired themselves out for as little as ten cents per day.<sup>18</sup> Not all Negro common laborers hired themselves out by the strict contract of the "hiring-out method."<sup>19</sup> Some were employed like white laborers on a daily basis as with railroads such as the Baltimore and Ohio.

Besides the common laborer and domestic, Negroes performed other kinds of menial tasks.<sup>20</sup> Most prominent were the draymen, wagoners, carters, and deliverers who literally swarmed around the docks and downtown areas. The third most popular occupation in 1850, behind the laborer and carter, was the washer and ironer, and this occupation included many women.

Unlike the deep South, Baltimore could not place Negroes in categories of a specific nature. In other words, in Charleston, for example, nearly every Negro could be classified as either a domestic or a drayman or a washer, or the like. Again, since Baltimore was clearly neither northern nor southern, the classification of laborers often presents problems for today's historian. It is true that some Negroes were trained to perform certain specific tasks and could do no other, but those Negroes who had been raised in Baltimore or had lived there for some time learned to adjust to the labor situation by being flexible. Hence, many

<sup>16</sup> *Illustrated London News*, April 8, 1861. Koger supports this article. See Koger, *Maryland Negro*, p. 22. This example is extreme, however.

<sup>17</sup> As pointed out earlier in this article, skilled Negro laborers did not receive wages comparable to whites doing the same jobs; Negro common laborers fared even worse. Furthermore, these poor wages did not increase but fell with the hard times at the end of the decade.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864* (Baltimore, 1964), p. 87.

<sup>19</sup> The hiring-out contract was a very rigid one between slave and master or slave owner and hirer, or free Negro and hirer, with the hirer in many cases assuming certain obligations such as doctor's care, blanket, clothing, and sometimes housing, especially in the case of house servants.

<sup>20</sup> While Matchett's figures are very incomplete (he lists less than 3,000 occupations), he probably has taken a fair sample and at least gives one an idea of which occupations employed the most Negroes. See *Matchett's Directory, for 1849-50*, pp. 439-473. See also Wright, "Free Negro in Maryland," p. 152

Negroes might work as laborers on the docks by day and make a wage for themselves or their owners (if slaves) and return to their master's home and perform the duties of a domestic at night.<sup>21</sup> This kind of flexibility was suitable to Baltimore's labor situation prior to 1850, and when competition forced Negroes from their jobs as laborers later in the 1850's, they were able to take jobs as domestics. Those who were not so trained probably left the city to go to New York or Boston, if they were free, or were sold into the deep South, if they were slave.

Since Negroes usually lived near their employment, two kinds of housing developed. In the northern part of the city where the aristocrats lived, Negro housing consisted of slave quarters which probably varied from good to very poor depending on the owner.<sup>22</sup> Laborers, carters, and washers lived in the area adjacent to Camden Station, the docks, and factories.<sup>23</sup> The Negroes living in the southern part of the city were mostly free Negroes and slaves who hired themselves out; therefore, their housing was unlike the quarters provided for the servants in the northern sector. Instead of quarters, the houses were often wooden shacks and the entire area was the nucleus of Baltimore's slums (i.e. Welcome Alley and Happy Alley).<sup>24</sup>

Before 1850 Negroes dominated many unskilled jobs, but the percentage of blacks employed diminished with the degree of skill required; in very skilled or "elite" jobs Negroes were scarce.<sup>25</sup> The situation changed considerably during the fifties as the Irish and German immigration increased, for these immigrants did not object to unskilled work, and soon began to displace the Negro. To illustrate this point one can take any Baltimore directory between 1857 and 1861 and turn to the section with names beginning with "O," denoting Irish ethnic background, and compare the pages there with any pages in a directory between 1849 and 1852, not denoting a particular ethnic background. The ratio of unskilled Irish workers in the

<sup>21</sup> Koger, *Maryland Negro*, p. 22. Also, see *Illustrated London News*, April 8, 1861. Note: free Negroes would work as domestics also if they had the proper training.

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Manuscript Census Materials* (Annapolis, Md., 1850), IV-VII. Also, see map, Wards 11 and 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Also, see map, Wards 14, 15, 16, and 17. Note: before the 1850's Ward 1 was included here but the Irish in the latter part of the decade forced the Negroes from this ward. See Table III for statistics.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America* (London, 1845), I, p. 128.

<sup>25</sup> *Matchett's Directory, for 1849-50*, pp. 2-438.

latter part of the decade will average nine to one over unskilled, non-immigrant workers early in the decade.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Negroes were in a two-way squeeze; while immigrant labor displaced them from the unskilled market, because of the pressure of a flooded labor market at a time when Baltimore's economy was down, native whites began to drive them from skilled and semi-skilled jobs also.<sup>27</sup>

Shifts in Negro population in the 1850's illustrate the effects of the basic structural changes in the labor market. By comparing the census statistics of 1850 with 1860, these shifts in certain key wards are clear. Since the Negroes were being driven out of jobs as laborers, draymen, and stevedores and into more menial kinds of work, such as domestics, porters, and the like, one would expect the Negro population in the southern part of the city to decline while it should increase in the northern sector. Wards 11 and 20 have already been cited as areas in which many domestics lived; according to the census reports, the free Negro population in the 11th ward increased from 2,078 in 1850 to 2,389 in 1860, and slaves increased from 252 in 1850 to 353 in 1860; likewise, in the 20th ward free Negroes increased from 1,272 to 1,917 and slaves from 66 to 246. These figures are even more significant when one considers that the entire Negro population in Baltimore decreased in this same period from 32,021 in 1850 to 27,898 in 1860. Moreover, in the southern sector of the city, in the 14th ward, free Negroes decreased from 1,221 in 1850 to 1,176 in 1860 and slaves decreased 177 to 142; in the 15th and 16th wards free Negroes increased slightly, but slaves dwindled respectively from 307 to 173 and 134 to 80; finally, in the 17th ward the decrease was 2,400 to 2,168 for the free Negroes and 45 to 3 for the slaves.<sup>28</sup>

It is easy to see how the changes in the labor market would affect the Negro, especially the free Negro who had no spokesman. When employment failed, the hired-out slave or regular slave could rely on his master who would either find another job for him or sell him to someone else. The new owner could

<sup>26</sup> For example, see *Woods' Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore, [1860]), p. 291 which shows names beginning with "O" and compare it to a page in *Matchett's Directory, for 1849-50*, p. 145.

<sup>27</sup> *Sun*, May 18, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population*, I, p. 221; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population*, I, p. 214.

either find employment for the slave or sell him again, but the free Negro had to fend for himself.

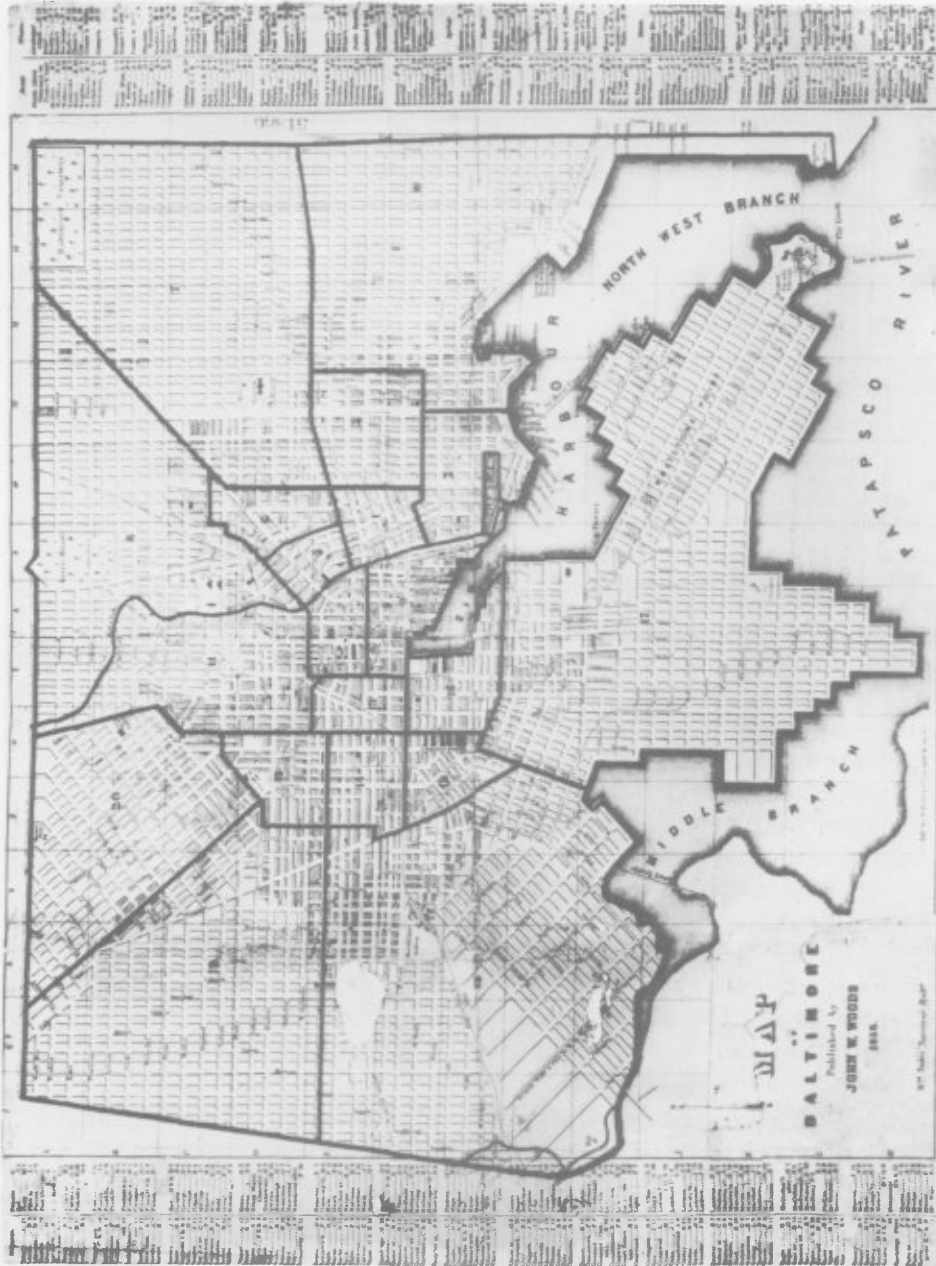
TABLE I  
THE SHIFT OF BALTIMORE'S NEGRO POPULATION  
FROM 1850 TO 1860\*

Ward	1850			1860		
	White	Free Negro	Slave	White	Free Negro	Slave
11	6,593	2,078	252	7,829	2,389	353
14	6,013	1,221	177	5,744	1,176	142
15	7,753	2,242	307	10,101	2,787	173
16	4,555	1,189	134	6,675	1,482	80
17	7,389	2,400	45	12,784	2,168	3
20	6,192	1,272	66	11,413	1,917	246

\* Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Historical Account of Maryland* (no imprint), p. 26; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population*, I, p. 221. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860, Population*, I, p. 214.

If the owner of a slave could not find a job for which to hire out his Negro, he might choose to sell him to a slave trader. The slave trade when combined with the scarcity of jobs for unskilled Negroes in the late fifties may account in part for the sharp decline in Negroes living in the inner city wards by 1860, since some slaves who were allowed to hire themselves out were also permitted to find their own housing, and in most cases these slaves who were now acting as free Negroes settled near their jobs around the docks during the 1830's, 1840's, and early 1850's. Unable to find jobs, these slaves could not keep their contracts with their owners, which stated that a specific sum was to be paid to the owner by the week or month in return for the slave's freedom to hire himself out and perhaps to live in his own house. The owners faced with a slave not needed by themselves and not needed on the labor market, probably sold him to one of Baltimore's traders.

With the need for slave labor in Baltimore decreasing so rapidly in the 1850's, one might expect the slave trade to be very prosperous. For this reason (decrease in demand for slaves) and a general decline in the feasibility of slavery throughout Maryland, historians such as James Wright and Fredrick Bancroft have suggested that the slave trade was indeed quite



Map of Baltimore, 1856, showing ward divisions. *Maryland Historical Society*

lucrative.<sup>29</sup> Not to deny statistics which show that many slaves were shipped to the South from Baltimore, a closer examination of the evidence indicates that the slave traders did not have such a good business. In the first place, recent research has revealed that contrary to contemporary reports and later rumors, there is no proof that slave-breeding took place in Maryland, which means that the slave traders had to depend on the natural turnover of slaves for their business. Since according to the Census the number of slaves only declined by 728 during the decade and part of this can be attributed to some manumission that was inevitable despite the efforts to prevent it,<sup>30</sup> it is unlikely that the slave trade increased at this time to any great degree. Contrary to Bancroft,<sup>31</sup> there is no evidence to indicate that many slaves were brought to Baltimore.<sup>32</sup> A few traders were successful, but the slave business was unstable and does not merit the reputation of prosperity which it has gained. In fact, between 1840 and 1861 even the most prosperous dealers, except Campbell, Wilson, and Slatter, were unable to stay in business more than a few years. It is probable that even Campbell, Wilson, and Slatter would have had problems staying in Baltimore. The fact that these traders were able to maintain their trade, despite census figures which show a decline of only 728 slaves, can be explained by two possibilities. First, although there were few Negroes brought into Baltimore except from the immediate suburban area,<sup>33</sup> there are no figures to indicate how many from the suburbs entered the city and these figures could be quite high. Secondly, because of the ambiguities of determining whether a Negro was a slave or not, no statistics are very reliable. The point is not to confuse the reader as to whether the slave trade was successful or not. Rather it is to show that historians have said that the trade was quite significant while, on the other hand, such a position is really quite difficult to

<sup>29</sup> Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 171. For example, Semmes cites a visitor who claimed Marylanders bred slaves to ship to the South.

<sup>30</sup> Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington, D. C., 1936), IV, pp. 16-38.

<sup>31</sup> Wade, *Slavery in Cities*, p. 202. See also Frederick Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 37. Bancroft cites Baltimore as the major slave trading center for a tristate region, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia.

<sup>32</sup> *The New York Daily Tribune*, July 30, 1863.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*



prove; but neither can one disprove it, but merely present an hypothesis such as the one above.

The thesis that the Negro suffered as a laborer because of immigration is strengthened by the fact that nearly everything that was a part of the slave system in Baltimore was either in decay or at least stagnant. Man's progress has been defined in terms of population growth—if the population is increasing, a civilization or group is making "progress."<sup>34</sup> In Baltimore in the 1850's not only did the population decline but slums increased;<sup>35</sup> the number of jobs available to the Negro decreased; the slave trade seemed to be stagnant and so on. The key to the whole situation was immigration from Europe and the Panic of 1857.

The immigration which caused such an impact on the Baltimore Negro was produced by conditions in Europe, such as the political revolutions on the continent and famine in Ireland. The thesis set forth here attributes the attempt to rid Maryland of the free Negro to this immigration and the fact that the slaveholding population did not realize that immigrants were pushing the defenseless Negro aside and thereby asserting a policy of segregation in the labor market. Instead of seeing that slaves would be excluded, too, the slaveholder blamed the abundance of free Negroes for the Negro unemployment situation. And no one seemed to be aware of the implications of the Panic for labor.

One individual did see the situation as it was. Andrew B. Cross in a letter in 1860 defended free Negro labor, saying that whites depended on the free colored population as hirelings to do their work.<sup>36</sup> He wrote:

It could hardly take the slaveholder by surprise and say to him that if the free colored population are removed, there is no safety for the interests he has in his slaves. How long will slave labor compete with free white labor? The free colored population instead of being an injury to the slaveholder's interest is the main defense which they have. It keeps out that much free white labor, which would soon make an end to the slave interest. It is defended when we defend the free colored man.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> V. Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (New York, 1962), p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> *American*, February 16, 1860, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew B. Cross to Col. Curtis Jacob, February 16, 1860, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The incoming Irish were quite willing to labor, haul merchandise or other material, or even work as porters and waiters as "job busting" became a normal tactic and made most jobs for Negroes scarce by 1860. Charles MacKay, a Scottish visitor to Baltimore in the 1850's, saw the transition, "they [whites] were gradually replacing the blacks except as domestic servants, barbers, and drivers [coachmen]." <sup>38</sup> Dr. R. S. Steuart, writing as early as 1845, realized the impact which immigration was making on Negro labor and predicted what would happen in the 1850's:

Already . . . white labor has driven the black from many employments . . . and even on Fells Point [a heavy shipping area which employed many draymen, stevedores, and other such workers] may be witnessed the same result, in consequence of the late rapid increase of German and Irish immigrants . . . <sup>39</sup>

Although Negroes offered only passive resistance, the transition of the labor market was not smooth. By the end of the decade whites were becoming jealous of Negro competition even in trades that had once been carried on principally by Negroes (e.g., caulking). <sup>40</sup> The Negro recognized the threat to his existence in Baltimore and made a definite effort to keep what he considered rightfully his. Outright friction was inevitable. The riots in the latter part of the decade were a portent of the segregation that was developing in Baltimore's labor market.

Both sides attempted to express themselves through organization, but many of these attempts were weak; only the whites had some success. The best organized laborers, the typographers, were successful in maintaining wage scales and in protecting themselves from cheap nonunion (Negro) labor and underpaid apprentices. <sup>41</sup> Other attempts failed; for example, in 1847 a "memorial" from a number of citizens for a law to prevent free Negroes from huckstering hay or straw was referred without result to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House

<sup>38</sup> Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors*, p. 170.

<sup>39</sup> Dr. R. S. Steuart, *A Letter from Dr. R. S. Steuart to John L. Carey on the Subject of Slavery* (n.p., 1845). Also, see Table III noting the low Negro population in the Fells Point area (This is significant since Negroes lived as close to their employment as possible) of the first ward in 1860 compared to 1850.

<sup>40</sup> Wright, "Free Negro in Maryland," p. 172.

<sup>41</sup> Morris, "Labor Militancy in the Old South," p. 35.

of Delegates.<sup>42</sup> In a similar attempt, a petition to bar free Negroes from any mechanical branch of trade did not result in any legislative action.<sup>43</sup> Another unsuccessful organized attempt to oust Negroes from their employment took place in 1859 as the "Stavegut Society" sought work on the city railroads, but for no less than \$1.25 a day, while Negroes had been working for \$1.00.<sup>44</sup>

Violence often achieved for white laborers what peaceful organization could not. In May, 1858 (a critical year since Baltimore was still feeling the unemployment results of the depression of 1857), twenty-five to thirty men organized to drive off the colored from the brickyards of Henry Thomas and Donnelly in the Fells Point area. One colored man was shot, and the *Sun* reported that the incident terrorized the Negroes so badly that it was difficult to get them to return to work. The police had to remain on guard for days.<sup>45</sup> The situation worsened, for in July of the same year riots between Negro and white caulkers forced the closing of Skinner's boat yard, also near Fells Point. Before, Negroes had dominated that trade; the *American* reported that "until the riot Baltimoreans were not aware that any white caulkers even existed in [the city]."<sup>46</sup> Negroes complained that the whites were trying to take an occupation that had always belonged to them, but their cry went unheeded, and at the time of the riot white caulkers had already infiltrated across the basin to the boat yards on the south side of the harbor in the Whitestone Point area.<sup>47</sup> Because of frequent attacks on them, a number of Negroes emigrated to other seaboard cities in search of employment.<sup>48</sup> This eruption of riots spawned two labor organizations, the Association of Black Caulkers and the Society of Employing Shipwrights (the white organization). The local court ordered both to dissolve, and the Association did, but the Society, instead of dissolving, forced Skinner, the

<sup>42</sup> Wright, "Free Negro in Maryland," p. 210.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>44</sup> *Sun*, June 3, 1859, p. 1. Maryland papers were always printing stories on how competition from free Negroes drove wages down. See Wagandt, *Mighty Revolution*, p. 87. Note: A dollar per day might sound like quite a bit of money for a Negro to earn in the 1850's, but work constructing canals and railroads was severe and demoralizing. See Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, p. 159.

<sup>45</sup> *Sun*, May 18, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> *American*, July 8, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Sun*, July 5, 1858, p. 1.

owner of the boat yard, to hire twelve whites in the place of Negroes and allowed the other Negroes to work only by a permit obtained from the president of the Society.<sup>49</sup> Labor riots continued into 1859 as a group of Negroes putting copper on the bottom of a boat at Fells Point on June 28 were attacked and beaten by whites when they refused to stop work. The culprits were caught but were released as there were no white witnesses, and the "reign of terror" on Baltimore's Negro laborers continued.<sup>50</sup> Larger attempts at organization such as the slaveholder's convention in 1859 and the free colored convention in 1852 received much publicity but accomplished little.<sup>51</sup> This problem of competition and its relation to labor organization in Baltimore during the depression in the late 1850's is best summarized by Richard B. Morris:

The large measure of quasi-freedom which Negro labor enjoyed, called forth new regulatory measures, while white labor, which time after time demonstrated that it was not readily submissive to control, constituted a standing challenge to the business and law-and-order groups in the state. No other slave state in the 1850's experienced quite the same degree of white labor militancy, and in no other slave city, even including New Orleans, was there such a virile trade union movement as in Baltimore.<sup>52</sup>

Upon examining other specific cases it is evident that Negroes were displaced from all kinds of jobs. While the native whites were monopolizing most skilled jobs, the immigrants' readiness to engage in manual labor and their increasing numbers augmented competition to the point that ominous displacements of the Negro were inevitable; moreover, the whites, even without resort to physical force, were constantly manifesting their ability to take the Negroes' jobs.<sup>53</sup> In Table II the twenty-five occupations in which most Negroes were engaged according to Baltimore's directories for 1850 and 1860 are listed. Out of the

<sup>49</sup> *American*, July 8, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> *Sun*, June 29, 1859, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> The only thing the Negro convention managed to accomplish was a statement in the *Baltimore Sun* to the effect that Negroes were embittered at the treatment they were receiving as a result of increasing immigration. *Sun*, July 28, 1852, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Richard B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southern History*, XIV (Aug., 1948), p. 386.

<sup>53</sup> John L. Carey, *Slavery in Maryland Briefly Considered*, A speech given in Baltimore in 1845, found in *Slavery Pamphlets*, Vol. LXIX, No. 22, p. 39.

TABLE II  
LEADING NEGRO OCCUPATIONS\* IN BALTIMORE  
IN 1850 AND 1860\*

	Occupation	1850	1860	Difference
1	Barbers	91	96	+ 5
2	Blacksmiths	31	27	- 4
3	Bricklayers	63	93	+ 30
4	Butchers	16	9	- 7
5	Carriage Drivers	33	34	+ 1
6	Carters, Draymen, etc.	385	331	- 54
7	Carpenters	26	13	- 13
8	Caulkers	75	63	- 13
9	Cooks	22	26	+ 4
10	Grain Measurers	27	17	- 10
11	Hod Carriers	14	10	- 4
12	Hucksters	19	28	+ 9
13	Laborers	799	571	-228
14	Ostlers	11	9	- 2
15	Oystermen	24	50	+ 26
16	Porters, Waiters, etc.	236	226	- 10
17	Rope Makers	12	1	- 11
18	Sawyers	146	47	- 99
19	Seamen	94	107	+ 13
20	Seamstresses	20	4	- 16
21	Shoe Makers	24	11	- 13
22	Shop Keepers	21	13	- 8
23	Stevedores	35	34	- 1
24	Washers	260	142	-118
25	White Washers	70	62	- 8
	TOTALS	2,754	2,044	-710

\* Total Negro labor decrease of 38.8 percent from 1850 to 1860.

\* Matchett's *Baltimore Directory*, For 1849-50 (Baltimore: R. [Richard] J. Matchett, 1849, pp. 439-473; *Woods' Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, [1860]), pp. 427-459.

twenty-five listed, there were eighteen losses, four minor gains, and only two major gains (oystermen and brickmakers) for Negroes from 1850 to 1860, and one of them, brickmaking, can be explained by the large amount of construction taking place in Baltimore.<sup>54</sup> Despite the incompleteness of the directories, they do permit one to see the trends, including major losses which were in four occupations (laborers, sawyers, carters and draymen, and washers) strongly affected by the immigration. Most of these jobs were paramount for the Baltimore Negro, since he had depended on them as a leading source of employment. As a recent writer has said, "Whenever the two races are placed in competition, the black soon goes to the wall, and is crushed

<sup>54</sup> In the 1850's many more brick buildings were being constructed than wooden ones because of fire danger which had been causing much loss of property in the city.



Slave quarters near Harrisonville, Baltimore County, c. 1910.  
*Maryland Historical Society*

out.”<sup>55</sup> In short, competition was the crux of the whole problem affecting lower, middle, and upper class attitudes toward the free Negro and the hired slave who was quasi-free.<sup>56</sup>

To summarize the implications of the competition which resulted from the European immigration, it is helpful to see how the Negroes' situation in the 1830's differed from that of the 1850's. The following is one of several similar descriptions of the Negro in the thirties.

In Baltimore . . . you perceive not in the streets the slavish ignorance and indifference, painted as it were, on the features of the lower order in the South: here are still numbers of free servants, who exercise a powerful influence over the less fortunate and respectable circles, prevail a frankness, liberality, and hospitality extremely pleasing to every stranger; there at the same

<sup>55</sup> Wagandt, *Mighty Revolution*, p. 87.

<sup>56</sup> See Brantz Mayer, *The Emancipation Problem in Maryland* (Baltimore: n.p., June 17, 1862), p. 4. Also Richard B. Morris, "The Measure of Bondage in the Free States," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (1954), p. 235.

time, this good nature and kindness among masters entirely remove the humiliating part in the situation of a slave, and so reconcile him to his fate . . . [a] debased condition. Any person, ignorant that slaves exist, would never be able to discover it, nothing in the houses or streets giving the slightest indications of it . . . the situation of a slave is far from degrading.<sup>57</sup>

In the late fifties besides the deplorable economic conditions which were the lot of the Negro in Baltimore, the legal situation worsened with the passing of laws and ordinances that were more restrictive than those already in existence; moreover, in an attempt to further tighten the grip on the free Negro, old laws and ordinances were strictly enforced.<sup>58</sup> These laws, however, were an economic reaction and not a reaction to a slave rebellion. There is nothing to indicate that John Brown's raid had any influence on the passing of these laws.

TABLE III  
BALTIMORE CITY POPULATION BY WARD IN 1850\*

Ward	White	Free Negro	Slave
1	13,483	1,091	79
2	8,490	917	85
3	9,764	1,862	195
4	6,611	766	250
5	4,430	1,190	84
6	6,766	2,145	104
7	6,590	1,013	57
8	8,125	750	78
9	4,268	333	139
10	4,196	596	241
11	6,593	2,078	252
12	7,214	1,911	158
13	4,495	807	264
14	6,013	1,221	177
15	7,753	2,242	307
16	4,555	1,189	134
17	7,389	2,400	45
18	10,644	934	168
19	7,095	717	63
20	6,192	1,272	66
TOTALS	174,853	29,075	2,946

\* Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Historical Account of Maryland* [no imprint], p. 26; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population*, I, p. 21.

<sup>57</sup> C. D. Arfwedson, *The United States and Canada in 1832, 1833, and 1834*. (London, 1834), I, pp. 308-309.

<sup>58</sup> *Laws of Maryland*, 1817, no. 104; 1831, no. 323; 1838, no. 375; 1849, no. 296; 1860, no. 322; 1862, no. 106. Baltimore City Council, *The Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore*, 1858, no. 39. The latter refers to punishment by whipping for offending any city ordinance.

TABLE III  
BALTIMORE CITY POPULATION BY WARD IN 1860\*

Ward	White	Free Negro	Slave
1	14,545	433	54
2	8,666	628	46
3	13,478	1,750	115
4	6,553	385	72
5	4,416	903	41
6	7,916	1,894	78
7	10,984	1,378	43
8	13,575	753	59
9	2,864	188	92
10	3,712	553	50
11	7,829	2,389	353
12	7,793	1,967	111
13	3,691	691	91
14	5,744	1,176	142
15	10,101	2,787	173
16	6,675	1,482	80
17	12,784	2,168	3
18	19,837	1,219	275
19	11,944	1,019	94
20	11,413	1,917	246
TOTALS	184,520	25,680	2,218

\* U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population*, I, p. 214.

Another implication which came out of the labor turmoil in the fifties was the impracticability of slavery in Baltimore. Slave owners in an attempt to make a profit from their slaves resorted more and more to the widespread practice of hiring out,<sup>59</sup> which broadened the opportunity for the use of slaves by allowing for a constant reallocation of the labor supply according to demand. Even though hiring out made profit possible for the slaveholder and made the hiring of slaves possible for the poor white who could not afford to buy them,<sup>60</sup> the usefulness of the system was threatened in the late fifties because of the positive identification of the hired slave with the free Negro. The peculiarity of the hired slave's position, being half-slave and half-free, is what caused the identification with the free Negro.

A final problem was the general effect on Negro life. This effect, though not very clear in the 1850's, was only the begin-

<sup>59</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), p. 114. Also see Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, pp. 160-163.

<sup>60</sup> Wade, *Slavery in Cities*, p. 43. The prestige of owning slaves was very important, and since hiring was synonymous with owning slaves, poor whites engaged in it whenever possible. See Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, p. 145.



ning of a trend. Without good jobs the necessities of life—food, shelter, and clothing—were difficult for the Negro to obtain. Also, because of the tightening of legal restrictions, freedom in life was minimized. Morals waned and slums developed, especially in the southern part of the city, as total segregation (e.g., housing) followed segregation in labor. Not only is this true of the fifties but also after the Civil War, for the fifties were merely the beginning of segregation and its horrible results of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The problems of the turbulent fifties had emerged from the gradual decline of slavery, the increase of the free Negro population before 1850, European immigration, and the Panic of 1857. There were ominous signs of the future throughout the thirties and forties as a few contemporaries commented on the labor situation.<sup>61</sup> By 1845, it was becoming clear that the Negro would be displaced by the Irish and Germans, and the decade before the war bore out what the thirties and forties had forecast. The war, in 1861, merely interrupted the trend toward total segregation, for it continued with increasing severeness into the twentieth century. The civil rights crisis in the Baltimore of the present day is the mark of more than a century of that segregation which began in the Baltimore of the 1850's.

<sup>61</sup> For example, Carey; see Carey, *Slavery in Maryland*, and Stuart, *A Letter from Dr. R. S. Stuart*.

# THE FUGITIVE SLAVES OF MARYLAND

BY ELWOOD L. BRIDNER, JR.

IN THE PANORAMA of the American past, few topics have received the extensive investigation which has been given to the peculiar system of Negro slavery. Yet, despite this scholarly attention, there is a haziness encompassing the study which causes contemporary historians to question continually and revise many of the traditional concepts surrounding this antebellum institution.<sup>1</sup> In his pioneering book, *The Liberty Line*, Larry Gara reappraised many of the legends attributed to the "underground railroad" and its shadowy passenger—the fugitive slave. While minimizing the real importance of a highly organized abolitionist escape system, Gara suggested that more attention should be focused on the individual bondsman who successfully fled his enslavement.<sup>2</sup> This suggestion has special meaning for Maryland since the census records released by the United States noted that slaves from that state succeeded in their escape attempts more than those living in other areas of the South.<sup>3</sup>

Trying to establish an exact total of runaway bondsmen for Maryland is a very difficult, if not impossible, task. Only with the 1850 census did the federal government start to collect material on escaped slaves. Obviously, this meant that an accurate accounting of fugitives, from the introduction of slavery into Calvert's colony until one-half of the nineteenth century had elapsed, was unattainable. In addition, the records gathered for 1850 and 1860 are incomplete since both tabulations noted only the slaves who escaped in the year preceding each survey. For example, the 1850 census shows 279 fugitives escaped in 1849.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York, 1956); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery, A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1959); Eugene E. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York, 1965) and *The World the Slaveholders Made* (New York, 1969); and David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, New York, 1966) supply vivid examples of this process.

<sup>2</sup> Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington, Ky., 1961), pp. 3, 42-68.

<sup>3</sup> *History and Statistics of the State of Maryland According to the Returns of the Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1852), p 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

This was only .3088 per cent of the state's total slave population.<sup>5</sup> In comparison with other states, Kentucky's total of ninety-six was second, and Louisiana, with its ninety runaways, was third. While during the same period, 1,512 Maryland slaves died from natural causes.<sup>6</sup> This was five and one-half times the number of Negroes who escaped. By 1860, Maryland ranked behind Kentucky and Virginia, but the difference was slight: Kentucky lost 119 slaves, Virginia 117, and Maryland 115.<sup>7</sup> However, in percentage of escapees to total slave population in the state (.1318), Maryland experienced the highest average in the nation, with the exception of Delaware.<sup>8</sup> These census statistics, it should be remembered, represent only two years in the mid-nineteenth century.

Evidently not every slave owner reported his escaped bondsmen. Often overlooked, in this respect, are the free Negroes who owned slaves. In 1830, approximately 2 per cent of Maryland's slave population was owned by "persons of color."<sup>9</sup> Many of these bondsmen were either relatives or close friends of their owners. Legislation enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland during the first half of the nineteenth century technically qualified some of these slaves as fugitives.<sup>10</sup>

There were apparently some interesting cases where farmers in the Chesapeake region, in order to be relieved of an economic burden, encouraged their servants to escape. With the decline of the traditional one-crop economy, many Virginia and Maryland farmers found slavery incompatible with nineteenth century agricultural diversification.<sup>11</sup> One Bel Air citizen openly admit-

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> J. D. B. DeBow, *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1853), pp. 220, 222; *Mortality Statistics of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1855), pp. 118-121.

<sup>7</sup> *Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1862), pp. 137, 263.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Delaware reported twelve fugitives from only 1,798 which accounted for a high percentage of .6674.

<sup>9</sup> Carter Woodson, *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830* (Washington, 1924), pp. 16-22.

<sup>10</sup> *Laws of Maryland, 1838*, Chp. 63; *Maryland, Journal of the House, 1838*, pp. 14, 40, 206, 264; *Maryland, Journal of the Senate, 1838*, pp. 79, 90; John C. Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States* (2 vols.: Boston, 1858), II, pp. 390-91.

<sup>11</sup> Genovesse, *Political Economy of Slavery*, pp. 27, 44, 99; Avery Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (Urbana, Ill., 1926), pp. 125-27; Vivan Wiser, "Improving Maryland's Agriculture, 1840-1860," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 64 (Summer, 1969), pp. 129-30.

## FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber's farm, on Elk Ridge, on Saturday night, the 2nd instant, a negro man named HANSON, who calls himself

### Hanson Marshall.

He is about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, 38 or 40 years old, the front of his head bald, a stout well set fellow. He is a plantation servant, and a good hand with a scythe, either in grain or grass. His clothes are of strong country-made cloth, coarse shoes and wool hat. His Sunday dress consists of a stuff coat, grey pantaloons and silk waistcoat; but as he has money it is probable he will change his clothes. He also took with him two pair ozunburg trousers and shirts, nearly new. He has been *ruptured and wears a truss.*

The above reward will be paid on having said servant lodged in any Jail in Maryland, so that I get him again.

**RICHARD DORSEY.**

Baltimore  25th June 1827.

N. W. Perry, Printer—Frederick.

Broadside *Maryland Historical Society*

ted that since lower farm prices made ownership costly, he was happy that three of his bondsmen escaped.<sup>12</sup> In 1832, two Frederick County fieldhands reached Pennsylvania and told natives in the Lancaster region that after their former owner had gone bankrupt, he had actively encouraged their escape.<sup>13</sup> A third Maryland farmer, John Giddings of Prince George's County, supplied his bondsmen food and instructions for the trip across the Mason-Dixon Line.<sup>14</sup>

A proper appraisal of the number of slaves who escaped from their Maryland owners must also include those bondsmen who were apprehended before they could cross the state's border. Ante-bellum prison rosters, court dockets, and newspapers supply information on these escapees. An 1802 statute empowered law enforcement officials to imprison any itinerant

<sup>12</sup> Robert Smedley, *History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and Neighboring Counties in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa., 1883), p. 65.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29.

<sup>14</sup> William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 160.

Negro who failed to prove immediately his "freed" status. The arresting officer was to automatically assume that his prisoner was a fugitive slave and was to advertise the captive's physical description in any newspaper published within Maryland or the District of Columbia.<sup>15</sup> If sixty days elapsed after the initial advertisement and the captive remained unclaimed, the local sheriff could sell the individual, and the proceeds, after deducting jail expenses, were sent to the county government.<sup>16</sup> An inspection of the prison rolls for Baltimore, site of the largest penal institution in the state, revealed forty-seven escaped slaves interned in 1849 and seventy in 1859.<sup>17</sup> Combined with the census statistics cited earlier, the totals for these two years did not approach one per cent of Maryland's slave population. These records also failed to show any consistent chronological trend for captured fugitives.

If Maryland bondsmen had fled their owners in substantial numbers, the legislators in Annapolis should have reacted vigorously and enacted measures to protect their constituents. This did not occur. An occasional incident along the Mason-Dixon Line might have caused the lawmakers to pass an infrequent resolution requesting inter-state cooperation in returning particular escapees; but usually, the representatives gave their attention to the other affairs of state: taxes, development of internal improvements, and government reform.<sup>18</sup> By analyzing all available evidence, it seems that the slave who succeeded in escaping his servitude in Maryland was a rare person.

Who was this unusual person who sought a new existence as a free man beyond the Mason-Dixon Line? Information based on 300 Maryland fugitive slaves, taken from Pennsylvania and Maryland newspapers and the records of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, suggests that the road to freedom was trod most heavily by young adult slaves.<sup>19</sup> The average age for male

<sup>15</sup> Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, II, pp. 20-24.

<sup>16</sup> *The Civilian* (Cumberland), March 27, 1828; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 10, 1811; *The Mail* (Hagerstown), September 7, 1849.

<sup>17</sup> Richard B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southern History*, XIV (August, 1948), pp. 389-90.

<sup>18</sup> Maryland, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates, 1816*, pp. 44, 107; *Journal of the Senate, 1847*, pp. 16-18, 150-51, 208; *Journal of the House, 1847*, pp. 62-63, 303-04, 479.

<sup>19</sup> Records for the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee cover the years 1852-1860. Information taken from the news media extends from 1792 until 1862.



Twenty-eight Fugitives Escaping from the Eastern Shore of Maryland.  
 From *The Underground Rail Road* by William Still, Philadelphia, 1872.  
*The Maryland Historical Society*

fugitives was 25.5 years and for females, one year older, at 26.5 years. The reasons for the relative youth of those who escaped are varied. The physical hardships associated with an attempted escape served to dishearten many elderly bondsmen. Realistically, they concluded that their chances for surviving a period of prolonged hunger and exposure were slight. Only those servants leaving their owners during the summer months could obtain food with relative ease. Without nourishment, few persons could survive the seven-to-ten day journey which was required to flee Maryland.<sup>20</sup> One Charles County slave, Abraham Harris, escaped his owner and lived nine days without eating. After reaching Philadelphia, he collapsed and died from malnutrition.<sup>21</sup> Few fugitives were as fortunate as James L. Smith who bought his meals as he traveled through Maryland.<sup>22</sup>

Exposure to climatic conditions was a second enemy for the escaping slave. It was not unusual for fugitives to stop in southern Pennsylvania to rest swollen feet, set broken bones, or

<sup>20</sup> "Friends of Liberty," *The Liberty Bell* (Boston, 1850), p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Still, *The Underground Railroad*, pp. 51-53.

<sup>22</sup> James L. Smith, *Autobiography of James L. Smith* (Norwich, Conn., 1881), p. 47.

seek treatment for frostbitten limbs.<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Williams, escaping from Baltimore County in 1857, found it necessary to have her frostbitten toes removed by a Pennsylvania surgeon.<sup>24</sup>

The desire for freedom with the young adult slaves in the Chesapeake region may have been reinforced by their eagerness to avoid work. The most strenuous agrarian task was assigned to the youngest bondsman, and the patterns of escape in the piedmont and tidewater areas correspond with the peak cultivation and harvest periods.<sup>25</sup> The young fieldhands in the state were also prime candidates for sale during periods of agricultural decline. The mere hint of a pending sale often provided inspiration for escape. Such was the case with Benedict Duncan, William Howard and Robert Belt, prime fieldhands in their mid-twenties who fled to Pennsylvania to avoid being sold.<sup>26</sup>

Family relations also exerted some influence on the selection of fugitives. Slavery, as practiced in the United States, placed the mantle of family leadership upon the mother, which served to emasculate the male bondsman.<sup>27</sup> A dejected male, conceivably finding his avenues of sexual identification blocked and enduring the wrath of a domineering mate, may have been influenced to flee his home.<sup>28</sup> By sex, male servants fled Maryland five times as often as females. Upon reaching Pennsylvania, numerous male escapees from Maryland expressed little sorrow or regret for family members remaining in servitude.<sup>29</sup> However, not all male fugitives were trying to escape from their families. At least three Maryland slave owners thought their escaped fieldhands would remain within the state and attempt to reunite themselves with their wives and children.<sup>30</sup> Family affections of

<sup>23</sup> Still, *The Underground Railroad*, pp. 154, 297-98, 305-09; Edward Turner, "The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 36, p. 313.

<sup>24</sup> Still, *Underground Railroad*, p. 429.

<sup>25</sup> Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, pp. 38-39, 80, 363, 365-66; A. Mott and M. S. Wood, eds., *Narratives of Colored Americans* (New York, 1877), p. 56.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (Boston 1856), pp. 110-12.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 27, 37; Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York, 1946), pp. 75-79.

<sup>28</sup> Gara, *The Liberty Line*, pp. 24, 26; Charles S. Sydnor, "Pursuing Fugitive Slaves," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 28 (April, 1929), pp. 152-53.

<sup>29</sup> *The People's Monitor* (Easton), October 7, 1815; Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, p. 356; Still, *The Underground Railroad*, pp. 51-52, 70-73, 97-105, 298, 300-02, 393, 474-75.

<sup>30</sup> *The People's Monitor*, June 24, 1815; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 20, 1815; *Easton Republican Star*, September 5, 1826.

this nature explained the actions of three Caroline County males who carried their mentally retarded brother to Pennsylvania so that all four might enjoy freedom in 1857.<sup>31</sup>

Female slaves seemed to show greater concern for family relations in escaping than did males. The ledgers of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, an agency that relocated many of the runaway bondsmen from the Chesapeake region, recorded numerous Negroes who brought their entire families across the Mason-Dixon Line without benefit of male aid. A typical family group was composed of the mother and three-to-seven children. The eldest woman assisted by this Philadelphia organization was seventy years old when she left her New Market home, in Dorchester County, with several of her twelve children.<sup>32</sup>

Another factor influencing the choice of potential fugitives was residence. Census records revealed that successful escapees fled from the Eastern Shore area and the central piedmont region with greater frequency than other Maryland sections.<sup>33</sup> The number of runaways from those counties bordering Pennsylvania: Washington, Frederick, Baltimore and Harford, attested to the relative ease in slipping across the Mason-Dixon Line. On the Eastern Shore, the slaves residing in the extreme southern counties rarely escaped. Somerset County noted only one fugitive for 1849, and the slaveholders in Worcester and Dorchester counties failed to report any escaped slaves. Blacks living in the northern neck of the peninsula, adjacent to Delaware, fled from their masters in larger numbers. Kent County recorded ten escaped slaves in 1849, while Queen Anne's reported seventeen and Talbot, twenty-two. In southern Maryland, only Prince George's and Anne Arundel counties lost slaves with the same frequency as that experienced in the northern and eastern regions. The proximity of these counties to the District of Columbia may help to explain this situation. Between 1800 and 1862, 375 fugitive slaves were captured within Washington's territorial limits.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Still, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 143.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 512, 532.

<sup>33</sup> *History and Statistics of Maryland, Seventh Census*, p. 35. County totals for 1860 census were not available (letters to author from National Archives, dated October 14, 1969, and State of Maryland Hall of Records, dated October 22, 1969).

<sup>34</sup> William Laprade, "Domestic Slave Trade in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro History*, XI (January, 1926), p. 24.



Enslaved Negroes residing in the towns and cities of Maryland escaped less frequently than the state's rural slaves. This was to be expected since few individuals were held in servitude in the state's urban centers.<sup>35</sup> Also, the urban slave enjoyed a better environment than those held captive on farms and plantations. In comparison with the latter, the city bondsmen ate better food, wore more clothing, and lived in better houses.<sup>36</sup> To Frederick Douglass, who had been enslaved in both an agrarian and metropolitan environment, "a city slave was almost a free citizen [and] enjoyed privileges all together unknown to the whip-driven slaves of the plantations."<sup>37</sup> Despite these apparent advantages, certain urban slaves still wanted to escape their bondage. The infrequent fugitives from Maryland towns possessed similar backgrounds. Nearly all were former domestics, working as body or household servants for masters who were often doctors or lawyers. A smaller number had previously worked for merchants and political officials.<sup>38</sup>

Unlike the individual fugitive slave, family escapes required greater planning and organization. Frequently carriages or wagons were stolen in order to accommodate infants and children.<sup>39</sup> Anticipating pursuit, some families armed themselves to resist capture. One group arrived in Pennsylvania with nine pistols, three swords and six knives.<sup>40</sup> When apprehended, slave families were known aggressively to resist arrest. In Frederick County, one family of eight bondsmen "were [sic] overtaken near Boonsborough, but stabbed three of the whites and made their escape."<sup>41</sup> In neighboring Washington County, the Hagerstown *Herald and Torch* published a report in 1856 of "a man slave . . . and two women and two children slaves [who] ran away Sunday night . . . and were overtaken before they reached

<sup>35</sup> Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (New York, 1964), p. 325; Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), chart facing page 382; Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933), II, p. 656.

<sup>36</sup> Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, pp. 62, 125, 132.

<sup>37</sup> Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1855), p. 147.

<sup>38</sup> Still, *Underground Railroad*, pp. 97, 105, 138-39, 232, 239, 394, 409, 419-20, 458; Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, pp. 348-49.

<sup>39</sup> *Sun* (Baltimore), October 13, 1849; *Herald and Torch* (Hagerstown), May 28, 1856; Still, *Underground Railroad*, p. 302.

<sup>40</sup> Still, *Underground Railroad*, p. 99.

<sup>41</sup> *Sun*, September 13, 1849.

the Pennsylvania line, but made a stout resistance and succeeded in getting away."<sup>42</sup>

Frederick Douglass, Maryland's most famous escaped slave, furnished an interesting insight into the problem confronting the servant who pondered a multiple escape. Douglass tried to organize a mass escape on the Eastern Shore in 1838. He failed when one of the conspirators told his master of the impending plot. Douglass believed that the lack of confidence in fellow slaves probably served to eliminate many group defections.<sup>43</sup> Only once did Maryland experience a "slave rebellion." In early July 1845, several armed bands of bondsmen left their homes in Charles, St. Mary's and Prince George's counties and met near Washington. The size of the combined groups was estimated to be between thirty-eight and seventy-four individuals. After marching through the District of Columbia, the Blacks entered Montgomery County where they encountered a force of armed farmers near Gaithersburg. Following a pitched battle in which several slaves were killed, the group was subdued and imprisoned. By hanging the leaders and selling the remaining conspirators to new owners in "the deep South," authorities hoped to discourage similar outbreaks.<sup>44</sup>

Having determined approximately how many slaves fled from Maryland and having described the type of individual who was successful in his escape effort, it would seem appropriate to examine the difficulties these persons encountered on their journey to freedom. Careful planning was important to the ultimate success of every escape plot. Few slaves simply left their master's home and, without preparation, walked to freedom. Fearing detection, bondsmen attempted to make all necessary arrangements in complete secrecy. "I hated . . . secrecy," Frederick Douglass remembered, "but where slavery was powerful and liberty weak, . . . [one] was driven to concealment or destruction."<sup>45</sup> John Thompson, another fugitive from Maryland,

<sup>42</sup> *Herald and Torch*, May 28, 1856.

<sup>43</sup> Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Hartford, Conn., 1884), p. 197.

<sup>44</sup> *Niles Register*, July 12, 26, 1845; Joseph Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865* (Boston, 1938), p. 181; Herbert Aptheker, in *American Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943), found additional "revolts" within Maryland but contemporary concern in ante-bellum newspapers was very slight, suggesting that Aptheker has overdrawn his case.

<sup>45</sup> Douglass, *Life and Times*, p. 198.

reported that he declined several offers to join friends in escaping and waited until he found a trustworthy person to accompany him on the trip to Pennsylvania.<sup>46</sup> Harriet Tubman even mentally planned the first day of her escape trip long before she actually left the Eastern Shore.<sup>47</sup>

Slaves planning to escape from Baltimore had special obstacles to overcome. The municipal government of that port city had enacted a series of codes designed to regulate closely the conduct of resident bondsmen. After a prescribed hour, travel within the metropolis was forbidden and discovery could result in corporal punishment for the delinquent servant.<sup>48</sup> A state statute adopted in 1828 prohibited Negroes from assembling, even for religious services.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, all blacks were technically restricted from employment as draysmen or hack-drivers.<sup>50</sup> Negroes desiring to leave Baltimore by train or steamboat were required to possess a series of detailed legal documents. Understandably, these collective measures made the city "one of the most difficult places in the South for even free colored people to get away from, much more for slaves."<sup>51</sup>

An intricate segment of every planned escape was timing. The perspective fugitive gave careful consideration to this aspect of his plot. Evidently, most bondsmen reached similar conclusions in this area since defections fell into definite patterns. Many successful escapes occurred on weekends.<sup>52</sup> This was a logical choice for many reasons. Traditionally, slaveholders extended travel privileges to their servants on weekends. With families and friends living on adjacent or neighboring farms, small weekend migrations were commonplace. And on these days, few persons questioned any transit band of Negroes, which in turn gave escaping slaves one or two days travel in

<sup>46</sup> John Thompson, *The Life of John Thompson, A Fugitive Slave* (Worcester, Mass., 1856), pp. 75, 84-85.

<sup>47</sup> Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman* (Washington, 1943), pp. 37-38.

<sup>48</sup> Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, p. 187.

<sup>49</sup> Jeffery Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* [extra Vol. 6, Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Sciences* (Baltimore, 1889)], p. 202.

<sup>50</sup> William Lloyd Garrison, *The Maryland Scheme of Expatriation* (Boston, 1834), p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> Still, *Underground Railroad*, p. 136.

<sup>52</sup> *Sun*, October 13 and 26, 1849, November 5, 1849; *Wilmington Chicken*, quoted in *Sun*, October 27, 1849; *Easton Gazette*, October 29, 1825; *The News* (Hagerstown), April 9, May 28, 1856; Still, *Underground Railroad*, pp. 70-72, 136-37, 208, 272-74, 281-84, 419-21; Drew, *The Refugee*, pp. 32-33, 53.

# ~~\$~~50 Reward.

Ranaway on Saturday the 17th inst. a coloured woman by the name of

## **EASTER,**

Who was formerly the property of Arthur Hill, near Reisterstown;—the said Easter is rather between a mulatto and black, short chunky, with thick lips and somewhat freckled in her face; she is about 22 years of age; she had on a light calico frock when she went away, and a cloth over coat, olive colour. She has some relations living in Baltimore at Fell's Point, where she is expected to be lurking at this time. If she is taken in Baltimore County and secured so that I get her again I will give 25 dollars, and if out of the State 50 dollars.

**JACOB WOOLERY,**

Wishes four miles of Winchester

Dec. 24, 1825.

Broadside  
Maryland  
Historical Society

relative safety. Also, pursuit by irate masters was remote on weekends. Since ante-bellum society commonly used this time for recreation and relaxation, slaveholders were often absent from their farms.<sup>53</sup>

The publication habits of Maryland newspapers contributed, to a degree, toward the practice of starting an escape on a weekend. In the pre-Civil War era, the only regularly published daily newspapers in the state were located in Baltimore. None of these journals issued a Sunday edition. All county newspapers were weekly or bi-weekly publications. The majority of these county gazettes went to press in the mid-week and did not reach the public until Friday or Saturday. Therefore, by leaving on Saturday or Sunday, a slave might actually gain one week of travel before notice of his escape reached the general public. One party of successful fugitives from the Eastern Shore claimed to have considered these facts in planning their journey.<sup>54</sup> If an

<sup>53</sup> *The Torch* (Hagerstown), April 9, May 28, 1856; *Easton Gazette*, December 7, 1835; *Sun*, August 1, 1840, November 5, 1849; Alexander Ross, *Recollections and Experiences of an Abolitionist: 1855-1865* (Toronto, 1875), pp. 138, 192; Thompson, *Autobiography*, p. 78; A. Mott and M. S. Wood, eds., *Narratives of Colored Americans* (New York, 1877), p. 163; Conrad, *Harriet Tubman*, p. 65.

<sup>54</sup> James F. Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days* (New York, 1883), pp. 24, 27, 81.

individual owner wanted to incur the additional expense of circulating descriptive handbills, public notification was quickened by only one or two days. Some well organized plots made provisions for remaining Negroes to destroy all such posters.<sup>55</sup>

Beside weekends, holidays were a favorite time for escaping. Fugitives noted similarities between holiday periods and the weekends. The Christmas season, in particular, saw an increase in desertions. In late December, laxity in respect to slaves, often extended to a fortnight.<sup>56</sup> Only the frigid weather, characteristic of the season, deterred escape. The number of abscondings also increased during the Easter season and the Fourth of July. The holiday atmosphere which prevailed during religious revivals and camp meetings occasionally presented bondsmen with the opportunity to escape. This was especially true on the Eastern Shore where slaves boarded docked steamers from Baltimore and later sailed across the Chesapeake, with returning worshippers, to eventual freedom.<sup>57</sup>

After actually leaving his owner, the fugitive slave often experienced additional difficulties before he crossed the Mason-Dixon Line. Apprehensive and virtually friendless, the fleeing bondsman rapidly became confused as he left familiar landmarks behind. Frederick Douglass vividly portrayed the psychological implications of this confusion:

“The real distance [between Maryland and Pennsylvania] was great enough, but the imagined distance was to our ignorance, much greater. Slaveholders sought to impress their slaves with a belief in the boundlessness of slave territory, and with their own limitless power. Our notion of geography of the country were vague and indistinct . . . the nearer the line of a slave state to the borders of a free state—the greater the trouble.”<sup>58</sup>

Thus bewildered, an occasional fugitive mistakenly equated freedom with successfully crossing a river in northeastern Maryland. The inability to correctly identify this stream, the Susquehanna, cost a few individuals their newly acquired liberty. In

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>56</sup> Sarah Bradford, *Harriet Tubman, Moses and Her People* (New York, 1961), p. 64; Chase Wyman, “Harriet Tubman,” *New England Magazine*, Vol. 14 (March, 1896), p. 115; Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, p. 275.

<sup>57</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle*, November 8, 1828; Brackett, *Negro in Maryland*, p. 208.

<sup>58</sup> Douglass, *Life and Times*, p. 199.

1856, two escaped bondsmen, after crossing the Gunpowder River in Baltimore County, thought that they were in Pennsylvania and asked a neighboring farmer for employment. After admitting that they were fugitives, the prospective employer seized the two Negroes and held them in custody for their owner.<sup>59</sup> Other bondsmen crossed the Susquehanna but failed to realize that the Pennsylvania border was miles away. Sometimes these ex-slaves were victimized by one Cecil County farmer who supplemented his meager income by acting as an impromptu slave catcher.<sup>60</sup>

Although the Chesapeake Bay presented the slaves of the Delmarva region with alternate methods of escape, the majority of Maryland's bondsmen chose to leave the state on foot.<sup>61</sup> Walking to Pennsylvania was time consuming, with a typical journey lasting between one week and ten days. The average fugitive seemed to prefer the pedestrian's mobility in contrast to the horseman's rapidity. They realized that any mounted Negro was quite conspicuous and in all likelihood, more susceptible to challenge than a bondsman on foot. Also, the sharp eye of the farmer would remember a horse's description much longer than he would recall the appearance of an itinerant Negro. Moreover, the habitual identification of a mounted Negro with horsethief discouraged slaves from escaping by horseback.<sup>62</sup>

While escaping, the fear of detection caused fugitives to consider practically everyone as a potential slave catcher. One ex-bondsman suggested, "at every gate through which we had to pass, we saw a watchman, at every ferry, a guard, in every bridge, a sentinel, and every woods a patrol or slave hunter."<sup>63</sup> Understandably, these fears were overdrawn, and there is little evidence of professional slave catchers existing in Maryland. However, there were individuals who complemented their in-

<sup>59</sup> Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, p. 89.

<sup>60</sup> Drew, *The Refugee*, p. 115; Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, pp. 37, 48.

<sup>61</sup> *People's Monitor*, April 8, 1815; Douglass, *Life and Times*, pp. 202-09; Smith, *Autobiography*, pp. 42-43. The General Assembly of Maryland adopted legislation which forbid any Negro, free or slave from owning vessels on certain Maryland waterways, Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, p. 208.

<sup>62</sup> *The Torch*, May 28, 1856; *Maryland Gazette*, February 3, 1830; Thompson, *Life of James Thompson*, pp. 84-85; Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, p. 29.

<sup>63</sup> Douglass, *Life and Times*, p. 199.

comes by capturing and returning fugitives found in the immediate area.<sup>64</sup> When five servants fled the influential Goldsbourough family, four residents of nearby Easton promised to recapture the escapees for a reward.<sup>65</sup> One year later, a group of workmen, employed by the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, turned a deaf ear to the pleas of several runaways who were apprehended five miles from Pennsylvania and returned the bondsmen to their rightful owner. The grateful master, a Howard County judge, gave the railroad employees a \$300 reward.<sup>66</sup> Negroes who tried to cross the Mason-Dixon Line by stagecoach reported that one driver on the Baltimore-to-York route was prone to report any passenger whom he believed to be a fugitive.<sup>67</sup>

The motivation for these *ad hoc* slave-catchers was usually furnished by the rewards offered for the successful return of an escaped bondsman. Many variables regulated the reward price for a fugitive slave. In the late eighteenth century, the runaway bondsman's value was about par with that of an indentured servant or good horse. An advertisement published in the *Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Advertiser* offered a reward of \$6.00 for a missing slave. In the same issue, another farmer was willing to pay eight dollars for the recovery of his "little sorrel mare."<sup>68</sup> Later in the same year, 1792, a third Frederick County citizen thought that the return of his indentured servant, "The Irish, Hatty Montgomery," was worth six dollars.<sup>69</sup> By comparison, a deserter from a passing army unit was worth sixteen dollars "alive" to his infantry captain.<sup>70</sup> Runaway apprentices were worth much less than an escaped slave. One Vienna resident promised fifty cents for the return of his apprentice farmhand. In nearby Cambridge, a second farmer valued the recapture of his apprentice at one dollar.<sup>71</sup> Both offers were made when a typical reward for an escaped slave was fifty dollars.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Helen T. Caterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning Slavery and the Negro* (5 vols.: Washington, 1936), IV, p. 310.

<sup>65</sup> *Sun*, December 3, 1849.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1850.

<sup>67</sup> Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, p. 29.

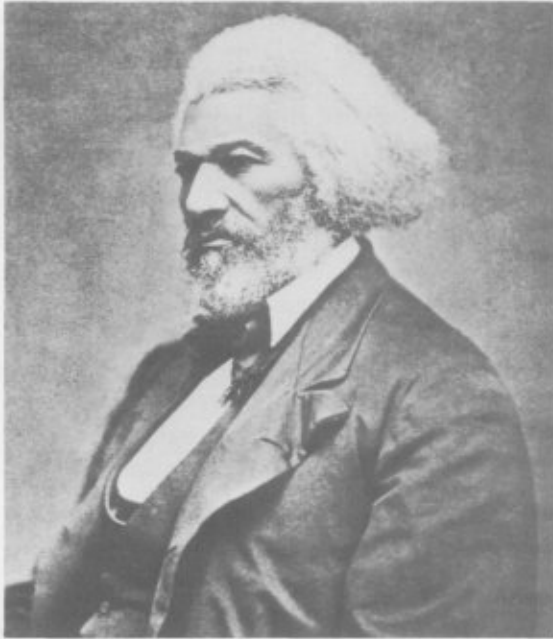
<sup>68</sup> *Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Advertiser*, August 7, 1792.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, August 14, 1792.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, August 28, 1792.

<sup>71</sup> *Easton Gazette*, June 17, 1820.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, August 5, 1820.



Frederick Douglass from *A Memorial of Frederick Douglass from the City of Boston* (Boston, 1896). *Maryland Historical Society*

Between 1800 and 1850, reward offers presented an interesting index to the economic health and prosperity of Maryland's farmers. On the eve of the nineteenth century, the apprehension of a fugitive slave was usually accomplished by a reward of ten dollars.<sup>73</sup> By 1820, the average payment had risen to fifty dollars. However, during the next twenty-five years, reward values failed to increase significantly. This was, correspondingly, a dark epoch for Maryland agriculture.<sup>74</sup> With renaissance in farming in the 1840's, slave owners raised their prices for the return of escaped bondsmen. By 1850, the average reward was approaching two hundred dollars, and if one were willing to return a fugitive from Pennsylvania, he might collect a payment of five hundred dollars.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligencer* (Easton), May 31, 1791; *Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Advertiser*, August 7, 1792.

<sup>74</sup> Craven, *Soil Exhaustion*, pp. 122-61.

<sup>75</sup> *Sun*, August 1, 1840, July 1, 1845, April 19, 1848, July 1, 1850; *Easton Gazette*, October 25, 1847.



Despite these rewards, rarely did an escaping bondsman need worry about slave patrols in Maryland. These patrols, common to the lower South, were apparently nonexistent. Documentation can only be provided to substantiate the existence of one such group. In Kent County, a neighborhood patrol was sponsored by a "Mutual Protection Society." The society intended to arrest all runaway slaves, sell those not claimed, and use the profits to reimburse any member who had a bondsman escape. After initial interest waned, the project was abandoned due to lack of participation.<sup>76</sup> Evidence indicates that slave owners made only one other concentrated attempt to organize an effort to prevent bondsmen from defecting. After the slave escape of July, 1845, slaveholders met in Port Tobacco and adopted a six-point program for reducing the possibilities of losing servants. First, the farmers called for an increase in the size of local police agencies. Next, they proposed to make all free Negroes leave Prince George's County by December 1, 1846. The property of these Negroes was to be purchased at "fair prices." Thirdly, the assembly asked all county residents to stop authorizing religious services at night for "blacks." A fourth resolution called for the removal of all free Negroes from "waterfront" employment and would have restricted non-whites from laboring as fishermen. The fifth motion requested the cancellation of inter-farm visitation passes for slaves. Finally, the slaveholders sought state assistance in preventing and capturing escaped slaves.<sup>77</sup> This group, unable to gain public support for their projected goals, withered and died just like those of the Kent County.

Equally elusive as the traditional existence of the professional slave-catchers and the numerous slave patrols were the legendary bands of fanatical Quakers and abolitionists who eagerly extended extensive assistance to the fugitive slave. Supporting the conclusions reached in research for other slave states, nineteenth century newspapers and court records produced little evidence of any organized "underground railroad" movement in Maryland.<sup>78</sup> Apparently, just four white Marylanders were convicted

<sup>76</sup> Brackett, *Negro in Maryland*, p. 91.

<sup>77</sup> *Port Tobacco Times*, quoted in *Sun*, July 14, 1845.

<sup>78</sup> Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization* (New York, 1961), p. 73. Both Eaton and Gara question the validity of Quaker participation in this legendary movement.

of assisting fugitive slaves between 1800 and 1860.<sup>79</sup> The archives of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee and the chronicles of the militant Quakers residing in central Pennsylvania contained many narratives of assistance given to slaves *after* they crossed the Mason-Dixon Line, but they credited the majority of bondsmen with travelling through Maryland without the benefit of any help.<sup>80</sup>

Sometimes, however, a fugitive could gain assistance from freed Negroes whether it be a hasty meal, temporary lodging, the drawing of a crude map, or receiving travel instructions.<sup>81</sup> Freed Negroes occasionally used force in helping a bondsman to escape Maryland. In 1838, a group of Negroes forcibly entered a Baltimore house, removed a female slave, and placed her aboard a vessel docked in port.<sup>82</sup> Another armed band vainly attacked the Hagerstown jail in 1847 and attempted to free imprisoned fugitives who were awaiting the arrival of their claimant owners.<sup>83</sup> In 1820, two Ohio blacks were accused in Anne Arundel County of aiding the escape of several local slaves.<sup>84</sup> Near Cambridge, six Negroes were arrested on a similar charge in 1849.<sup>85</sup> Finally, a colored Baltimorean was banished from the state in 1857 on charges that he helped prospective escapees.<sup>86</sup> But these individuals were apparently exceptional and the majority of bondsmen reached the Mason-Dixon Line independently.

In the final analysis, only a few select slaves were able to utilize the proximity of the Mason-Dixon Line to escape their servitude and start a new life. This selectivity was often based on age and health, with areas of residence, occupational pursuits, and family relations maintaining a questionable influence on the individuals who fled. Most often, escaping alone and

<sup>79</sup> *Sun*, December 3, 7, 1849; Caterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning Slavery*, IV, pp. 78-79, 187.

<sup>80</sup> Smedley, *The Underground Railroad in Chester County*, and Still, *The Underground Railroad*, *passim*.

<sup>81</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, February 3, 1820; *Centerville Times*, quoted in *Sun*, October 30, 1849; Wyman, "Harriet Tubman," pp. 114-15; Brackett, *Negro in Maryland*; Eaton, *Southern Civilization*, p. 73; Smedley, *Underground Railroad in Chester County*, p. 69.

<sup>82</sup> Brackett, *Negro in Maryland*, p. 90.

<sup>83</sup> *The News* (Hagerstown), March 27, 1847.

<sup>84</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, February 3, 1820.

<sup>85</sup> *Cambridge Democrat*, April 29, 1857, quoted in Still, *Underground Railroad*, p. 249.

<sup>86</sup> Brackett, *Negro in Maryland*, p. 90.

without assistance, the bondsman started his journey on carefully chosen days which increased his odds of success. Bewildered by geography and weakened by hunger, it is understandable why only a few slaves persevered to experience the elation accompanying freedom. A jubilant Harriet Tubman remembered that after crossing the Mason-Dixon Line, "I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything, . . . and I felt I was in heaven."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Conrad, *Harriet Tubman*, p. 38.

## SIDELIGHTS

### SOME NOTES ON FREDERICK COUNTY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MARYLAND COLONIZATION SCHEME

BY PENELOPE CAMPBELL

MARYLAND, in 1830, was a state in the anomalous position between the free North and slave South. Its total population was less than 450,000, of which more than 150,000 were Negro, and, of these, better than 50,000 were free blacks.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the state, then, a third of the population was Negro. Frederick County, with its rich farmlands and mountain orchards, listed only a fifth of its 45,000 citizens as black, but, as with Maryland at large, about one-third was free and two-thirds slave. The lower percentage of blacks in the county did not, however, lessen concern with their position in society.

Many Maryland citizens, including Frederick Countians, considered Negro slavery to be legally and morally just. They customarily argued that the institution was a constitutional right, that slaves were merely a form of property to be handled as the owner wished.<sup>2</sup> Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, who rose to prominence through a Frederick law practice, was believed to epitomize their feelings in the 1850 Dred Scott decision. Others, ignoring the morality of slavery, but opposed for economic reasons, contended that it was the factor explaining the state's slow rate of population growth and property appreciation. Comparing Maryland with Pennsylvania and, even more markedly, Virginia with Pennsylvania, they pointed out that Pennsylvania, an entirely free state, had in the preceding forty years such a strikingly greater increase in population and property value that only the presence of slavery in Maryland and Virginia could have prevented the same progress.<sup>3</sup>

Many white Maryland citizens believed that free whites and

<sup>1</sup> Henry Brawner, "Report of the Committee on Grievances and Courts of Justice, of the House of Delegates, relative to the Colored Population of Maryland," *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1832.

<sup>2</sup> Maryland, *Maryland Public Documents* (December Session, 1845), "Report of the Select Committee consisting of the Delegates of Charles Co. Relative to the Removal of the Free People of Color of Charles County," Jan. 28, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> Brawner, "Report of the Committee."

black slaves could not co-exist in America. Their views were well expressed when the *Niles' Register*, the famous Baltimore weekly, editorialized in October, 1831, that the continuation of slavery below the Susquehanna River would drive out the white laboring classes. It declared, "Free labor and slave labor cannot abide together. In preferring the latter . . . the former seeks a new location in which it is *protected* or HONORED; and hence the one becomes stronger and stronger as the other becomes weaker and weaker. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Regardless of their views on slavery, white citizens united in the opinion that free blacks were a nuisance. *Niles' Register*, professing hatred of Negro slavery per se, called free Negroes the pests of society in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and other northern cities. It declared that a large majority of slaves were better fed and clothed, more comfortable and virtuous than they.<sup>5</sup>

Slave owners and their supporters, however, hated free Negroes for their supposed seditious influence upon enslaved blacks and their competition with white laborers. Typically, the Committee on the Coloured Population in the House of Delegates called "the free black population," a curse to our slaves, whom they are constantly corrupting—an evil to the white population, between whom and them, the law of nature and of God has drawn lines of distinction, never, never to be effaced, . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Hostility toward free blacks was given impetus late in the summer of 1831 with servile outbreaks in Virginia and North Carolina. Known as the Southhampton Rebellion, the murder of some fifty-five whites, largely in Southhampton County, Virginia, created panic among Caucasians of neighboring states. Led by Nat Turner, a self-styled Negro Baptist preacher, a band of sixty-odd slaves roamed the countryside plundering and killing. In the crisis, Army and Navy units were hastened in to restore order.<sup>7</sup> Eventually the insurrectionists were captured and tried. Many of them, including Turner, were executed.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Niles' Register*, Oct. 15, 1831, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1831, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Maryland, *Report on the Order Directing an Enquiry as to the Expediency of repealing the law of 1831-32, relating to the Coloured Population* (1836).

<sup>7</sup> *Niles' Register*, Sept. 3, 1831, pp. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1831, p. 67; Nov. 19, 1831, p. 221.

In Maryland, the general effect of the Nat Turner episode was to foster a rapidly growing movement to regulate slavery more closely and to curtail liberties of the free blacks who were held responsible for the outrages below the Potomac. Public meetings of white citizens were called in numerous towns to prepare memorials for the approaching session of the state legislature. The various petitions proposed legislative action in four areas: (1) prohibiting the future emancipation of slaves unless provision were also made for their removal from the state, (2) the appropriation of funds for the removal of those already free, (3) the establishment of a police system to keep closer check upon the free blacks, and, from several parts of the state, (4) the complete abolition of slavery.<sup>9</sup>

Clearly, the chief desire was to protect slavery and to remove free blacks. On the other hand, since many Marylanders considered slavery to be dying a slow natural death, it was implicit in some petitions that over the years the entire Negro population should be transplanted beyond state boundaries. This task was the *raison d'être* of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

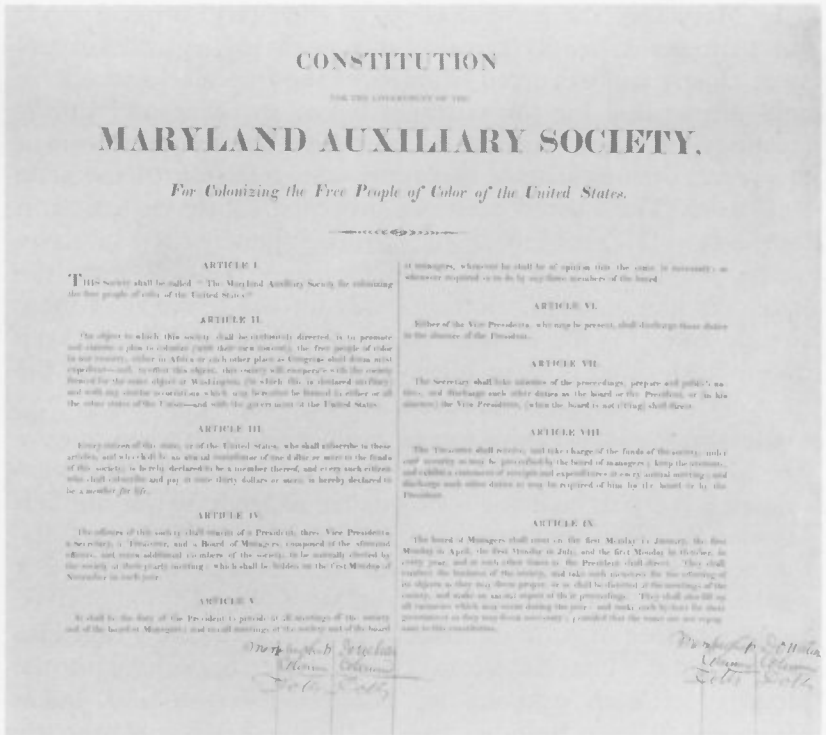
Colonization of America's blacks in Africa was not a new idea in Maryland. The American Colonization Society, with the blessings of such notables as Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe, had been founded late in 1816 and had subsequently established a small settlement known as Liberia on Africa's west coast.<sup>10</sup> A state auxiliary founded in 1817 and reorganized ten years later attempted to augment the national movement, but the colonization cause in Maryland languished.

Finally, in 1831, a group of Baltimore businessmen, convinced that colonization was a practical solution to Maryland's free Negro problem and that greater effort would accomplish their objective, founded the Maryland State Colonization Society.<sup>11</sup> The Society's official position toward slavery was neither to condemn it nor to uphold it. Claiming that it was a subject belonging exclusively to those states where the institution existed and that outside interference was unauthorized and

<sup>9</sup> Maryland, *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates* (December Session, 1831), *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> See Philip J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York, 1961).

<sup>11</sup> *Records of 1831*, Feb. 21, 1831, Maryland State Colonization Society Papers. Hereafter cited as MSCS.



Broadside, c. 1817 Maryland Historical Society

impolitic, the founders wholly repudiated abolitionists. They believed that while Maryland's happiness and prosperity would be advanced by the extinction of slavery within her borders emancipation must be linked with emigration for the benefit of all. They expected a groundswell of public support for colonization as slaveholders, realizing the basic ineconomy of servile labor, manumitted their bondsmen for passage to Africa, and as Negroes, realizing their unfavorable position in competition for jobs, applied to return to their ancestral home.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, the Society made plans to send an emigrant ship to Liberia that year and hired an agent to travel throughout Maryland in hopes of establishing auxiliary societies, diffus-

<sup>12</sup> "Rough Draft of a letter from the Board of Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society to the Managers of the State Fund," *Miscellaneous Letters and Minutes, Package of Reports of the Board of Managers for 1832* [n.d. (Dec., 1834)], MSCS.

ing information and collecting funds, as well as receiving applicants for the approaching voyage. The first agent, Doctor Eli Ayres, traversed most of the state in the next few months, but had little success.

His visit to Frederick County in May, 1831, was the most satisfying of his journeys. As became the custom, he arrived in Frederick when Court was in session and arranged for a public meeting one night at the Courthouse. With the Honorable John Nelson chairing, Doctor Ayres explained the Society's plans and objectives. An auxiliary was organized with Doctor W. Bradley Tyler, a Frederick physician, as president and John McPherson, owner of the Catocin Iron Works, as treasurer.<sup>13</sup> Doctor Ayres later reported to his employers, the Board of Managers, that

I find the subject better understood here than in any other part of the State I have visited. . . . The inhabitants of this county appear generally to have reflected upon the relative value of free & slave labour. Many Farmers have tried the experiment of manumitting their slaves, & hiring whites, to their entire satisfaction. The experiment has been so frequently tried that the result has become familiar through the county & has produced a general conviction of the superior economy of the latter over the former species of labor. The free blacks have, in consequence of the frequent manumissions, become a public burden, & some modification of the laws regulating the manumission of slaves is loudly called for. There appears to be nothing wanting, but an opportunity of placing the Slave in a situation where his condition would be ameliorated & one which the slave would be willing to accept—and a mutual separation of master & slave would soon take place thro' this county. Many masters have offered their slaves their freedom, on condition they will go to the Colony; . . . & if the State Society prosecutes its present intentions, with a vigour commensurate with the importance of the undertaking Frederick County will soon be relieved of a slave population. . . .<sup>14</sup>

In spite of his optimism, Doctor Ayres was able to enlist very few emigrants anywhere in Maryland. On the Eastern Shore he was accused time and again of being a Georgia slave dealer. Not infrequently, Negroes professed belief that those of their number who had previously emigrated under American

<sup>13</sup> T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (n. p., 1910), I, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> "Meeting of the Board of Managers," Aug. 5, 1831, *Records of 1831*, MSCS.



Colonization Society auspices were sold back into slavery in Georgia. In Cambridge, Ayres found black opposition rooted in an actual case of misfortune. From this town came some of the earliest inhabitants of Liberia and when they were killed or wounded by African attack upon the settlement, their friends abandoned the idea of joining them there.<sup>15</sup>

When time came for departure of the Society's first expedition aboard the *Orion* in October, 1831, only thirty-one applicants sailed. Frederick County sent none. The chief obstacle was the opposition from leading free blacks in Baltimore. As preparations for the voyage became known, prospective emigrants were repeatedly visited by agitators who made bold assertions and misrepresentations. The last effort of voyage opponents was to follow intending emigrants on board, begging them to return to shore rather than to sail on to certain death in Africa.<sup>16</sup>

This was the colonization situation in Maryland when the Southhampton Rebellion raised new interest in the slave and free black condition. The Society's funds were depleted and its applicants for passage to the colony few. As a result of the Maryland Legislature's investigation into the memorials presented it, "An Act Relating to the People of Color in this State" was approved by the General Assembly in March, 1832.<sup>17</sup> Dependent upon the Colonization Society for implementation, the bill stipulated, first, that the Governor and Council appoint a Board of Managers consisting of three members of the Maryland State Colonization Society, whose duty would be to remove from the state persons of color already free, and those thereafter freed, to Liberia or some other place outside Maryland bounds. The State Treasurer was instructed to pay the Board of Managers whatever sums it needed, not exceeding \$20,000 the first year nor more than \$200,000 over a twenty-year period. To raise monies for the accomplishment of this goal, the law specified the amount which each county was to supply from its assessment of taxable property. To determine the number of potential emigrants, sheriffs were directed to take a census of the free colored in their counties.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Charles Howard to Ralph Gurley, Nov. 15, 1831, *Letters Received* (1831), XXXV, American Colonization Society Papers.

<sup>17</sup> Maryland, *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, December Session, 1831, pp. 94, 114, 304, 543, 557.

<sup>18</sup> Maryland, *Laws of Maryland* (1831), Chp. 281.

Another means designed to alter the Negro situation was "An Act Relating to Free Negroes and Slaves," which severely restricted the colored population's liberty within Maryland and sought to prevent the settlement of any additional free blacks or slaves within the state.<sup>19</sup>

These several acts resulted from a combination of circumstances in Maryland bringing to a head public concern for the Negro population. An energetic colonization society was made the instrument of state policy. Assured of a steady income for two decades, the society, to hold a position of esteem in Maryland, needed only to prove itself capable of alleviating the tension growing between the two races and of altering the racial balance in favor of the whites.

In the years following this legislation, the Society regularly hired agents, usually retired or unemployed pastors, to canvass the state for emigrants and voluntary contributions. Agents, generally travelling by horse, recorded good times and bad and left vivid descriptions of conditions throughout the state. They found colonization generally popular among whites but anathema to blacks. One persistent belief to be overcome was that the legislation originated in sordid white motives of fear and interest. Everywhere agents encountered the conviction that the laws were designed to perpetuate and to strengthen slavery and, of course, the Society was stigmatized.<sup>20</sup>

Over the years, the Society used a variety of methods to overcome Negro reluctance to emigrate. A very persuasive technique was to offer emigrants liberal terms. They were promised passage, provisions for the voyage and for six months after their arrival in the colony. Each immigrant was to receive immediately a certificate for a town lot of five acres. In addition, each married man was to receive two acres for his wife and one acre for each child accompanying the parents. However, no family could receive more than ten acres in town. If, within two years after its arrival, the family had cleared and enclosed the lot, had built a substantial house, and had brought two acres of land under cultivation, it would be able to exchange the certificate for a deed in fee simple.<sup>21</sup> A Frederick County slave family thus

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Chp. 323.

<sup>20</sup> R. S. Finley to John H. B. Latrobe, Aug. 8, 1832, *Letters*, I, MSCS.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Howard to Frisby Henderson, Oct. 31, 1832, *State Managers Book*, MSCS.

induced was that of Jacob Gross, who had a wife and five children. All were freed by a Mr. Walker upon condition of their going to Liberia.<sup>22</sup> Often, it appears, prospective settlers were led to believe that a utopia awaited them. The consequent disappointment did great harm when disgruntled colonists wrote their eagerly awaiting friends and masters back home.

One of the most successful methods of securing emigrants was to bring home an early settler who thus disproved rumors of enslavement in Georgia, butchery and pickling in Africa, or starvation at the colony.<sup>23</sup> Jacob Gross was brought back in 1839 to tour Frederick and Carroll counties. Although highly respected in his home territory, Gross could not break down the strong prejudices of the blacks and persuaded only one family of ten to enlist for passage to the Maryland colony.<sup>24</sup> A more successful returnee was Joshua Cornish. He had gone to the colony in 1837 and, four years later, after several colonizationists, including his former master, had interceded, he was given permission to visit the United States at Society expense. His trip dispelled friends' beliefs that his letters had been forged and that his real destination had been Georgia, but he was so discouraged that they did not accept what he said about the colony that he wished never to visit his old home again. Nonetheless, colonizationists credited him with securing the thirty-two blacks who went back with him.<sup>25</sup>

Periodically the Society got requests from harried slave-owners to take recalcitrant bondsmen off their hands. According to the law, manumitted slaves were, if necessary, to be forcibly removed from the state. The Society, always courting public opinion, refused, however, to send out to the colony unwilling pioneers. A good example of their reluctance to use coercion was a case in Frederick. Doctor Albert Ritchie, an executor of his brother's estate in Tallahassee, was burdened for five years with the support of two young men who received the option of going to Liberia or being sold upon reaching their majority. Petitioning the Maryland legislature, Ritchie was able to bring

<sup>22</sup> William McKenney to Charles Howard, Oct. 23, 1833, *Letters*, I, MSCS.

<sup>23</sup> John Kennard to Ira Easter, March 14, 1837, *Letters*, VI, MSCS.

<sup>24</sup> Kennard to Easter, Nov. 4, 1839, *Letters*, X, MSCS.

<sup>25</sup> William Newtow to James Hall, Nov. 25, 1841, and George Winthrop to Hall, July 23, 1842, *Letters*, XII; A. C. Thompson to Hall, May 16, 1844, *Letters*, XV, MSCS.

them into the state during the interval. Both men refused to choose either alternative at the end of that time and were hired out temporarily. Their unsatisfactory work and unruly ways exasperated the physician until he sought immediate relief from his responsibility by placing them in jail and requesting the Colonization Society to transport them to Africa.<sup>26</sup> Ritchie's men were at length persuaded to depart, but the Society's official position became never to let it be said that emigrants were taken straight from prison to the boat.<sup>27</sup>

Still, with all the various means used to gather emigrants and efforts to publicize Society goals, at the end of twenty years, emigrants sent to Liberia totalled 1049, of whom 939 came from Maryland, 35 from Virginia and 80 from Georgia. Only sixty-six came from Frederick County. Expenditures amounted to more than \$300,000, two-thirds of which was supplied through the state appropriation and other colonization taxes.<sup>28</sup> Although the Maryland Society continued to function independently throughout most of the 1850's, its activity gradually contracted until only a skeleton operation remained. Remnants were absorbed into the national movement, but the whole theory was invalidated by the War Between the States and subsequent efforts to establish equality in America.

<sup>26</sup> Dr. Albert Ritchie to Easter, Oct. 23 and Nov. 2, 1837, *Letters*, VII, MSCS.

<sup>27</sup> Latrobe to Easter, Oct. 20, 1837, *Latrobe Letter Books*, II, MSCS.

<sup>28</sup> "Report of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society," *Maryland Colonization Journal* (Feb., 1852), n.s. VI, no. 9, pp. 132-33, 142.

## THE FIRST NEGRO MEETING IN MARYLAND

BY PHILIP S. FONER

ON March 1, 1864 the *Baltimore Sun* carried the following item on its front page as the third entry under "LOCAL MATTERS:"

*Meeting of Colored Men to Encourage Enlistments.*

A large meeting of colored men took place last evening at the Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal Church, for the purpose of forming an organization to encourage volunteering. A number of public men of the city were invited to attend and address the meeting. Among those present were Judge Bond, R. Stockett Mathews, Esq. and Col. Bowman, who is receiving the colored volunteers into the United States service. Judge Bond was elected president of the meeting. He first addressed the assembly, informing them that the real objects of the meeting was, &c. Rev. Joseph P. Bowser (colored,) R. Stockett Mathews, Esq., Col. Bowman, and several others, also delivered addresses. The meeting was very enthusiastic, and it was stated, that several hundred of them present had sent up their names as volunteers. About 10 o'clock the meeting adjourned until again called together by the committee of arrangements.

The *Sun* failed to mention that this was the first meeting of Negroes ever held in the city of Baltimore or in the state of Maryland. Among the "other persons" who addressed the meeting was Reverend J. P. Campbell of Trenton, New Jersey, a high official of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Fortunately, Reverend Campbell sent the text of his speech as well as other details of the meeting to *The Christian Recorder*, the official organ of the AME Church, published in Philadelphia. His dispatch appeared in the issue of March 19, 1864 and is reprinted below for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

As is well known, the first Union soldiers to die in the Civil War were killed in Baltimore during the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861, by a secessionist mob.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A brief extract from Reverend Campbell's speech was published in James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (New York, 1965), p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> George W. Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th of April, 1861* (Baltimore, 1867). Four Union soldiers were killed and twenty wounded.

Yet by July, 1863, Colonel William Birney, son of the abolitionist, James C. Birney, was in Maryland recruiting free Negroes into the Union army. To the dismay of the Maryland slaveowners, Union army recruiters also accepted slaves until President Lincoln on October 1, 1863, yielding to the Governor's pleas, suspended the recruitment of colored troops in the state. But on that same day, to meet the critical need for troops, with the President's consent, the chief of the Bureau of Colored Troops was authorized to establish recruiting offices in Maryland where free Negroes and slaves, with their masters' consent, could be enlisted. However, if county quotas were not filled in thirty days, slaves would be enlisted without their masters' consent.<sup>3</sup>

Actual recruiting under this arrangement began on October 26, 1863 when nineteen recruiting stations for colored troops were set up in Maryland by the Bureau of Colored Troops. Recruiting officers encouraged public meetings to attract Negro recruits, and free Negroes were paid bounties of \$300 each for enlisting under a law passed by the Maryland legislature on February 6, 1864. Slaves were to receive fifty dollars each when they enlisted and fifty when they were mustered out.<sup>4</sup>

Recruiting of Negroes, free as well as slaves, was hampered by the fact that black soldiers did not enjoy equal rights with white soldiers and faced discrimination in such matters as pay, opportunities to become officers, and provisions and equipment. (Negroes were paid ten dollars a month, three dollars of which were deducted for clothing, while white privates received thirteen dollars per month plus a clothing allowance of \$3.50.) Hence it is not surprising that Reverend Campbell used the opportunity offered by the meeting of colored men in Baltimore to mobilize pressure upon Congress to achieve passage of a bill equalizing the pay of colored soldiers. On July 15, 1864, Congress did enact legislation granting equal pay to Negro soldiers, but it distinguished between free Negroes and former slaves by making it retroactive to January 1, 1864, for all colored soldiers and retroactive to the time of enlistment for

<sup>3</sup> John W. Blasingame, "The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 58 (March, 1963), pp. 21-24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 24-28. To each slaveowner who agreed to enlist his slave, one hundred dollars would be paid. This was in addition to the \$300 he was to receive from the federal government under an earlier arrangement.

those Negroes who had been free on April 19, 1861. Further protests led to the passage of a law on March 3, 1865 granting full retroactive pay to all Negro regiments that had been promised equal pay when they were enrolled.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, a Maryland convention had drawn up a new constitution providing for the emancipation of slaves by November 1, 1864, and on October 29, Governor Augustus W. Bradford announced that the voters by a narrow 263 majority had adopted the new Constitution. Thus Maryland, the first state in which Union soldiers were killed, became by November 1, 1864, the first border state to free all of its slaves.<sup>6</sup>

### BALTIMORE CORRESPONDENCE

Speech of the Rev. J. P. Campbell, Delivered at a Meeting of Colored Men to Encourage Enlistments.

An overwhelmingly large meeting of colored men took place last evening, (Monday, February 29th, 1864) at the M. E. Sharp Street Church, for the purpose of hearing addresses to encourage colored volunteering. This was the first meeting of the kind ever held in the city of Baltimore, or in the State of Maryland. A number of the public men of the city were specially invited to attend and address the meeting, among whom were the Hon. Judge Bond,<sup>7</sup> R. S. Mathews, Esq.,<sup>8</sup> Colonel Bowman,<sup>9</sup> Rev. Joseph P. Bowser, and the Rev. J. P. Campbell.

Judge Bond was elected Chairman of the meeting. The Judge first addressed the meeting in a learned and able manner, and informed them what were the real objects of the meeting.

He was followed by the Rev. J. P. Bowser, in an able and eloquent address, in which he carefully reviewed the past history of the war, by which God, in His providence, is now most severely scourging this nation for its past sins, iniquities and transgressions towards the colored man.

After him, R. S. Mathews, Esq., late of the State Legislature of

<sup>5</sup> *U.S. Statute at Large*, XIII, pp. 129-31, 488.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 221-68.

<sup>7</sup> Radical Republican Judge Hugh C. Bond of the Baltimore Circuit had been appointed by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton as a member of the Maryland Board to award compensation to loyal owners for their slaves who enlisted.

<sup>8</sup> R. Stockett Mathews was a leader of the Unconditional Union State Central Committee of Maryland.

<sup>9</sup> Colonel S. M. Bowman, 84th Pennsylvania Volunteers, was a commissioner for recruitment of colored troops and headed the recruitment of colored soldiers in Maryland after Feb. 12, 1864.

Maryland, took the stand, and held the audience spellbound for more than one hour with his burning eloquence and high-toned anti-slavery sentiments. In all our life-time, we have heard few orators who have excelled him in the art of oratory.

All of these were followed by the Rev. J. P. Campbell, who, being introduced to the meeting, arose and said:

Mr. Chairman, I arise before you to speak under very great embarrassment, after listening to the almost superhuman eloquence of the gentlemen who have preceded me upon this occasion. Nevertheless, I think that I have a word to say, upon this important occasion, on the momentous question before us. Sir, I have a few thoughts to offer, not only to the colored citizens of Baltimore, but to colored men throughout the country, and to this whole nation. Colored men have recently been called upon to prove their right to the enjoyment of the privileges of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in common with other men. They have also insultingly been called upon to demonstrate the truth that they will fight as well as white men, with the same opportunities. Learned men, civil, religious and military, seemingly forget that it has never been proved, in the history of this world, that there was a period of time in that history, when black men would not fight, from the days of Cambyses, King of Persia, unto this day. That king, seeking an occasion for making war upon the Ethiopians, once sent ambassadors with presents to the King of the Ethiopians. The King of Ethiopia took them for what they really were—spies and enemies, in disguise. However, the King of Ethiopia was willing, after his manner, to make a present to the King of Persia; and, taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarcely lift it, he drew it in the presence of the ambassadors, and told them:

“This is the present and the counsel the King of Ethiopia gives the King of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this size and strength with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let him come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops with him than Cambyses is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their dominions beyond their own country.”

These Ethiopians at that time were enjoying a high degree of civilization, while white men in the Grecian Isles were mere savages, running wild over the plains, mountains and hills of that far-famed cradle of arts, science and literature. At a subsequent period in the history of Greece, black men were highly civilized and cultivated in all ancient arts, science and literature, when white men were real savages, living upon the unprepared productions of the



earth, the bark and roots of trees, living in dens and caves of the earth, and clad in the skins of wild beasts, or else going naked, without any clothing.

The long and desolating wars carried on for many years between Carthage and Rome for universal empire, until the black general, Hannibal, with fifty thousand of his veteran black troops, stood before the gates of the Roman capital, while all Rome and her vast empire trembled with fear for their safety, is proof positive that black men will fight.

Passing from ancient to modern times, we learn that black men fought in the American Revolution, and in the War of 1812, side by side with white men, as well as upon other innumerable occasions, noted in authentic history. Look at the histories of the French wars, of St. Domingo, of the South American States, of Mexico, and of the Crimean War, and you will find sufficient illustrations of the truth that black men will fight, and that they have distinguished themselves for courage, bravery, and the highest degree of military discipline and government.

In the present war, Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend,<sup>10</sup> and the noble deeds and daring exploits of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Regiment, under the command of the immortal Colonel Shaw, before Fort Wagner, silences forever the miserable lying assertion that black men will not fight.<sup>11</sup>

Let us pass from the consideration of this to that of another question, viz: Are black men loyal to the Constitution and the Union? Our reply is made without any other qualification than this: If there is a class of men to be found upon the American soil, who are unqualified friends of the Constitution and the union of these States in which we live, black men constitute, without an exception, a part and parcel of that class. We have nothing to prove. The burden of proof is with our opponents, to show that we are not loyal, and will not fight for the Union.

We go for the Union, and the Whole Union, under the Constitution and the Government at Washington. Our motto is: "The Federal Union forever; with free soil, free speech, and free men!" We go for an unceasing, neverending and vigorous prosecution of the war, until the last vestige of slavery and the rebellion is blotted

<sup>10</sup> In the battle of Port Hudson, Louisiana, May 27, 1863, the Negro soldiers of the First Louisiana and the Third Louisiana distinguished themselves for bravery in action. On June 7, 1863, Negro soldiers also displayed great courage in driving the rebels back at Milliken's Bend, Mississippi.

<sup>11</sup> The battle of Fort Wagner, a Confederate stronghold at Charleston harbor, took place on July 18, 1863. Although the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth, the black regiment led by Robert G. Shaw, was beaten back during the assault on Fort Wagner, the bravery of the black soldiers gained the admiration of the North. Colonel Shaw was killed during the assault as were many of the black soldiers he commanded.

out from under heaven. We go for the friends of the Union carrying on this war to the bitter end, without distinction on account of color. We go for equal pay, equal bounty, equal pensions, equal rights, equal privileges, and equal suffrage to all citizens of the soil who are true friends, supporters and defenders of our glorious Constitution and Union. We go for a reconstruction of the governments of the seceded States, with the abolition of slavery forever. We go for granting to the reconstructed States a republican form of government, with the exclusion of slavery forever by their new Constitutions.

If we are asked the question, why is it that black men have not more readily enlisted in the volunteer service of the United States Government since the door has been opened to them? we answer, The door has not been fairly and sufficiently widely opened. It has been opened only in part, not the whole of the way. That it is not sufficiently and fairly opened, will appear from the action of the present Congress upon the subject of the pay of colored soldiers. It shows a strong disposition not to equalize the pay of soldiers, without distinction on account of color.

When the news of the first gun fired upon the flag of the Union at old Sumter reached the North, the friends of the Union were called upon to defend that flag. The heart of the black man at that hour responded to the call. He came forward at once, and offered his services to the Government, and failed to act immediately, because he was denied the opportunity of so doing. He was met with the cold, stern and chilling rebuke, that this was not the negro's war—not a war upon slavery, and that in it the services of the negro were not wanted; that slavery had nothing to do with the war, nor the war with slavery; that it was purely a war for the safety of the Union and preservation, without reference to the slavery question.

But the time came, when it was thought, that under very great restrictions, as by giving him unequal pay, and restraining him from being an officer in the army, the negro might be allowed to bear arms. Afterwards, the black man, saying nothing about office-holding for the time being, asked the Government to acknowledge the justice of his claim to equal pay with the white soldier, and to recommend the same to the then ensuing Congress, to be made law. The Government pledged itself to this recommendation, and many colored men enlisted upon the faith which they had in the Government, and the future good legislation of Congress upon the subject of giving to black soldiers equal pay and equal bounties with white soldiers, and that all other necessary and needed provisions would be to both the same. Congress met, and the good

President Lincoln, with the excellent Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, proved faithful to their promise. They laid the matter before Congress in their Annual Message and Report. But, alas! that honorable body hesitates to act, and that, too, while the country and its liberties are in danger and calamity by armed rebellion against the Government.

Now, we say of our honorable Senators and Representatives in Congress, Gentlemen, don't be afraid to do the black man justice. He will not abuse your confidence in his fidelity to the Constitution and the Union. He will never prove himself a traitor by his acts. He will never prove himself to be unworthy of receiving at your hands the rights and privileges which justice and equity demand.

Give to the black man those simple demands set forth in this bill of particulars, and he will rush to the defence of his country by thousands. His heart within him pants for the opportunity to show himself a man, capable of discharging all the duties of a common manhood, in whatever sphere that manhood may be called to act. Here we are, by thousands and ten thousands, standing ready to move at the nod of your august and mighty fiat. The State of Maryland wants to fill up her last quota of men demanded by the call of the President. This, with a little more time allowed, may be done, if she will do justice to the black citizens of her own soil. They are strong men, and true to the country which gave them birth. They will be ready, at the first sound of the bugle, to fill up the balance of Maryland's apportionment.

The law requires that black men shall pay as much commutation-money as white men pay. We ask, then, that the same pay, bounty, pensions, rights and privileges be given to black men that are given to white men, and they will go to the war, without paying the commutation-money.

We want an equal chance to show our equal manhood and love for the Constitution and the Union. Under the above-named circumstances, we are standing ready to respond to the call of the Government, and go to defend our common country against the encroachments of an armed rebellion.

In conclusion, we ask the question, Will you have us? Will you accept of us upon equal terms with white men in the service of our country? We await, with deep solicitude and anxiety, the action of a Government and people whom, with all their faults, we love, and whom we are willing to defend with our lives, liberty and sacred honor in common with white men. Will you have us so to do? That is the question. We ask for equal pay and bounty, not because we set a greater value upon money than we do upon human liberty, compared with which, money is mere trash; but we contend for

equal pay and bounty upon the principle, that if we receive equal pay and bounty when we go into the war, we hope to receive equal rights and privileges when we come out of the war. If we go in equal in pay, we hope to come out equal in enfranchisement.

Is that an unreasonable hope, or an unjust claim? It takes as much to clothe and feed the black man's wife as it does the white man's wife. It takes as much money to go to market for the black man's little boys and girls as it does for the white man's little boys and girls. We have yet to learn why it is that the black soldier should not receive the same compensation for labor in the service of his country that the white soldier receives. There is no financial embarrassment, as in the case of Mr. Jefferson Davis' Government at Richmond. Our great and good financier, Mr. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, has money enough to carry on the war, and some millions of gold and silver to sell. Give us equal pay, and we will go to the war—not pay on mercenary principles, but pay upon the principles of justice and equity.

Mr. Matthews arose and stated to the assembly that Mr. Campbell erred in saying that black soldiers did not receive from the Government the same pay and bounty that white soldiers receive; that the principles which Mr. Campbell advocated were just and right; and that he would not ask colored men to enlist under any other principle, being, as he knew himself to be, the black man's friend.

But Mr. Matthews subsequently learned, after having a private interview with Mr. Campbell and other gentlemen, that he himself was in error, and not Mr. Campbell, on the points in question. Whereupon, at a subsequent meeting, Mr. Matthews had the manliness to acknowledge, in a public speech, his own error, and justified the statement made by Mr. Campbell.

So much for a man of honor, who has been a member of the State Legislature, and is now asked to serve in the coming Convention, as a delegate, to alter the Maryland State Constitution so as to do away with slavery. He has been nominated for the Convention on account of his radical anti-slavery views and principles.

From appearances in these primary meetings, Maryland is likely to send more freemen of color into the army than any other State in the Union. The glorious work of enlisting appears to be going on rapidly. The Government must have men, and we must have rights and privileges. The Government and black men must mutually help each other, that the good work of freedom, justice and equality, to be crowned with the highest degree of human liberty, may go on to perfection.

## STENDHAL AND VIOLENCE ON THE BALTIMORE STAGE

BY DOUGLAS ALEXANDER, II

DUE TO AN ANECDOTE which appears in a treatise on dramatic theory by the French author Stendhal (Henri Beyle), the Baltimore theatre enjoyed a perhaps undeserved reputation for violence among Europeans in the nineteenth century. The anecdote is found in a passage where Stendhal is attempting to prove that dramatists need not be concerned with the three unities of Time, Place and Action which were for so long the ironclad basis of French classical tragedy because, as he says, the theatre audience is quite frequently caught up in the action to the point where it no longer judges what it sees from an objective point of view. Stendhal calls these moments "perfect illusions"—periods when the spectator loses his awareness of himself as viewer of simulated life in a theatre. To prove the existence of this *illusion parfaite*, he writes that

Last year (August 1822), the soldier who was on guard inside the Baltimore theatre, seeing Othello who, in the fifth act of the tragedy of the same name, was going to kill Desdemona, shouted, "It will never be said that an accursed negro killed a white woman in my presence." At the same time, the soldier shot and broke the arm of the actor who was playing Othello. Very few years go by when the newspapers do not report similar incidents.<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly enough, P. Martino, the editor of Stendhal's work, suggests that the source for this incident was quite different from the version cited by Stendhal. In the Martino version, whose source this author has been unable to verify since it is not in the volume cited by Martino, the production of

<sup>1</sup> "L'année dernière (août, 1822), le soldat qui était en faction dans l'intérieur du théâtre de Baltimore, voyant Othello qui, au cinquième acte de la tragédie de ce nom, allait tuer Desdemona, s'écria: "Il ne sera jamais dit qu'en ma présence un maudit nègre aura tué une femme blanche." Au même moment, le soldat tire son coup de fusil, et casse un bras à l'acteur qui faisait Othello. Il ne se passe pas d'années sans que les journaux ne rapportent des faits semblables." Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*, ed. P. Martino (Paris: Champion, 1925), pp. 15-16.

*Othello* was not necessarily in Baltimore and took place in a barn. The form of the theatre explains the need for a guard: to keep out curious non-paying spectators. In the Martino version, the guard shot and killed the actor playing *Othello*.<sup>2</sup>

It would be interesting to document the reaction to such an event of the Baltimore theatre audiences—audiences which seemed to have been reasonably sophisticated. Unfortunately, we are unable to do so since, after having read all available Baltimore newspapers for the period 1820-1822, we can say that if there was such a shooting, it was not reported in the newspapers of the time. *Othello*, on the other hand, was played in Baltimore on October 20, 1820, April 25, May 14, and November 3, 1821, and October 28, 1822. There was no mention of a shooting associated with these performances of the play. One must assume therefore that such an incident did not take place in the "theatre" in Baltimore. It must also be pointed out that the performance of a play during August would have been highly unlikely since, during the summer months, all those who could afford to do so left town to avoid the "fever" which was rampant at that time. Those who left town, it must be assumed, probably constituted the bulk of the potential theatre audience.

It might be possible to attempt justification of Stendhal's remarks by saying that the Martino version was true and that, since the incident did not necessarily take place in Baltimore, the papers did not take notice of the affair. This, however, is not too likely. The newspapers of the time treated the inhabitants of Baltimore to a steady stream of reports originating in all quarters of the globe. There were stories concerning theatrical performances in American towns as far separated as those of the Arkansas frontier, Cincinnati, and Albany, New York. In the April 30, 1822 issue of the *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, for example, we find mention of an extremely well attended performance of *Othello* by Cooper in Louisville, Kentucky. The paper reports that tickets were in such demand that they were auctioned, some for as much as \$35.00.

We would also like to point out that while there may exist a remote possibility that the event was "hushed up" by the local papers, it seems unlikely. The Baltimore papers of the period

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

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## BALTIMORE THEATRE.

*The Last Week but One of the Season.*

MR. BOOTH'S FIFTH NIGHT.

On Monday Evening, October 28, 1822,

Will be presented Shakspeare's celebrated TRAGEDY, called

# OTHELLO,

## MOOR OF VENICE.

OTHELLO,			MR. BOOTH.
Duke of Venice,	Mr. HATHWELL.	Lodovico,	Mr. JOHNSTON.
Brabantio,	Mr. WHEATLY.	Antonio,	Mr. BIGNALL.
Cassio,	Mr. WILSON,	Julio,	Mr. MURRAY.
<i>From the Charleston Theatre, 1st appearance here.</i>		Giovanni.	Mr. PARKER.
Roderigo,	Mr. JEFFERSON.	Luca,	Mr. ANDES.
Iago,	Mr. WOOD.		
Montano,	Mr. GREENE.	Desdemona,	Mrs. WOOD.
Grafiano,	Mr. SCRIVENER.	Æmilia,	Mrs. LEFOLLE.

Playbill *Maryland Historical Society*

show a great interest in reporting lurid details of crimes of passion, slave revolts, and acts of piracy.<sup>3</sup>

Still, the Stendhal anecdote seems to contain several elements which seem believable. The reaction to the violent contact between black man (Othello would be played blackface) and white woman seems to conform to the usual psychological attitude of the times. Spectators appeared to have had mixed emotions concerning Othello's color. As an example of this emotional ambiguity which seems, moreover, to document the *illusion parfaite* of Stendhal, Mrs. John Quincy Adams was reported to have said, after having witnessed a performance of

<sup>3</sup> For examples of such reporting, see the *Baltimore Morning Chronicle* for May 8, 1821; see also the *Baltimore Federal Gazette* for April 8, April 29, June 13, July 31, August 9, and November 6, 1822.

*Othello* in which her very close friend Mrs. Simmons was playing, that she (Mrs. Adams) was “. . . filled with disgust and horror . . . every time I saw him (Othello) touch the gentle Desdemona.”<sup>4</sup>

One more fact must be recounted to finish the discussion of Stendhal, Shakespeare and violence in the Baltimore theatre. It would seem, from newspaper accounts, that theatrical performances were not always quiet, sedate affairs. There was apparently a negro theatre in Baltimore during the 1820's whose performances could become quite violent, as may be seen from the following account in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* for October 28, 1822:

Saturday night a gang of fifteen or twenty ruffians, among whom was recognized one or more of the Circus riders, made an attack upon the *Africa theatre* in Mercer Street, with full intent, as is understood, to break it up root and branch—and the vigor of their operations is reported to have corresponded fully with their purpose. First entering the house by regular tickets they proceeded, at quick time, to extinguish all the lights in the house, and then to demolish and destroy everything in the shape of furniture, scenery, etc., etc., it contained. The actors and actresses, it is said, were fairly stripped like so many squirrels, and their glittering apparel torn in pieces over their heads: the intruders thus completely putting an end to the play for the night. Eight or nine of the band were secured on the spot, and sent to the warehouse, and held to answer, in proper sureties, by the police next morning.

Clearly, whatever the reasons which caused Stendhal to choose Baltimore as the site for the purported shooting of an actor due to the perfect illusion, Baltimore was a town where violence of some sort in the theatre was not unknown.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Esther Cloudman Dunn, *Shakespeare in America* (New York, 1939), p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> The writer would be extremely grateful to any who might be able to communicate information regarding these incidents.



# NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

BY NANCY G. BOLES, CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS

## BLACK HISTORY COLLECTIONS

WITH the long overdue recognition of the importance of black studies has come a phenomenal growth in this area of historical scholarship. Ever increasing numbers of scholars are now doing research in black history at the Maryland Historical Society. Few of our collections pertain exclusively to black studies, but we have a great many which deal in varying degrees with some aspect of the black experience in America. Below is a topical list—arranged alphabetically within each area—of as many of these holdings as we have space to include. [An asterisk after the MS. number designates collections received since the printed catalogue was published.<sup>1</sup>]

### PLANTATION ACCOUNTS

Baltimore Town Account Book (MS. 1133). The latter portion of the volume contains Baltimore County plantation accounts; 1 vol., 1742-74. Called by this name in Guide. Now known to be day-book of Priest Neale's Mass House (Paradice Plantation) Harford County.

The Robert Franklin Account Book (MS. 282) records such facts as the number of slaves owned and the family statistics of this Anne Arundel County planter; 1 vol., 1702-1901.

Richard and David S. Gittings Papers (MS. 1667\*) include a record of the births of Dr. David S. Gittings' slaves, 1822-59; 31 items and 2 vols., 1815-96.

Henry Hollyday Account Book (MS. 454) lists accounts of Henry Hollyday of "Ratcliffe Manor," Talbot County, with merchants in London, and merchants and planters in Chestertown and the surrounding country; 1 vol., 1745-90.

Hollyday Account Book (MS. 454.1). The ledger of Colonel James Hollyday of Queen Anne's County concerns, among other things, the purchase of slaves; 1 vol., 1746-84.

<sup>1</sup> Avril J. M. Pedley, *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1968). Available from the Society for \$15.00.

Cornelius Howard Papers (MS.469.5) include Baltimore County farm daybooks, 1803-44 (3 vols.), with daily accounts for slaves, livestock, food; 5 boxes, 1699-1848.

Jones Record Books (MS. 517), kept by Judge Thomas Jones of Anne Arundel and Baltimore Counties, list full inventories of servants, slaves, stock, grain, and tools; 2 boxes, 1779-1812.

The extensive Lloyd Papers (MS. 2001) contain over 140 volumes of plantation account books and ledgers. There are also three boxes of lists and inventories of slaves, livestock, and crops. Eighteen folders deal with a time in the 1790's when Edward Lloyd IV was accused of beating his slaves; 77 boxes, c.1650-1910.

The William Patterson Account Books (MS. 904) contain items relating to his plantation affairs as well as his mercantile interests; 1 box, c.1770-1838.

Ridgely Account Books (MS. 691) document the widespread business interests of five generations of this prominent family in the accounts of store, iron furnace, and plantation; 37 boxes, 1732-1884.

Viridin Papers (MS. 866) include a notebook of uncertain date which provides a farm inventory and slave record; 1 box, 1838-1938.

Watkins Record Book (MS. 880), a mixture of different accounts, includes a list of slave births, 1749-86, presumably belonging to the Watkins family; 1 vol., 1703-c.1815.

### SLAVES AND SLAVERY

Dr. John H. Bayne Papers (MS. 1200) contain two transcripts of letters by Bayne to Abraham Lincoln discussing the disappearance of slaves and the economic hardships thereby resulting to Maryland farmers in 1862; 8 items, 1862-69.

Paul Bentalou Journal (MS. 125), photostats. A Baltimore merchant and pamphleteer, Bentalou makes occasional mention of the slave trade; 216 pages, 1784-1813.

Bond-McCulloch Family Papers (MS. 1159) contain letters dealing with slavery and Reconstruction as well as family matters; 1 box, c.1850-70.

Boyd-Hoopman Papers (MS. 1208) include a broadside of E. Cain of Harford County advertising for a runaway slave, November 21, 1801; 500 items, 1709, 1801, 1836-49, c.1914.

Bradford Papers (MS. 1215) comprise the correspondence of Augustus W. Bradford, Maryland Governor, 1862-66, as he discusses slavery, the Civil War, etc.; 10 boxes, 1860-79.

James A. Buchanan Papers (MS. 1220) include a deed of emancipation from James' son William to his slave, Thomas Man [*sic*] Page, 1857; 20 items, 1781-1857.

The Carter Papers (MS.1228) consist of the business correspon-

dence of Robert Carter of "Nomini Hall," Virginia, 1775-1804, concerning the Baltimore Iron Works, in which Carter owned stock. Some letters discuss using Negroes in the Iron Works; 3 boxes, 1775-1804, 1827. Available on microfilm.

Cockey Family Papers (MS. 1782\*) include wills and papers relating to the sale of slaves; 1 box, 1725-1908.

Grundy-Gibson Papers (MS. 1294) contain letters from M. Didier discussing New Orleans and that city's attitude toward slaves in 1822; 208 items, 1783-1840.

A number of the John Hanson Letters (MS. 1785\*) comment on plantation affairs, runaways, and the treatment of slaves; 54 letters, 1780-83.

Hoffman Family Papers (MS. 1743\*) include bills for purchase of slaves; 87 items, 1770-1869.

Hollyday Papers (MS. 1317) contain lists of duties levied on the Eastern Shore for importing Negroes, Irish servants, and liquor, and exporting tobacco, tar, and pork, 1727-45; 12 boxes, 1677-1905.

Baker Johnson Letters (MS. 1656\*) include a letter from William Lux in 1773 discussing the sale of a "boy" and the going price of slaves; 13 items, 1773-1809.

Johnston and Donaldson Papers (MS. 1564) contain the 1855 will of Caleb Goodwin with an inventory of his slaves; 25 items, 1767-1891.

In the Law Papers (MS. 1345) is a letter from Thomas Law to John C. Calhoun, August 10, 1821, on "the Negro problem"; 1 box, 1792-1834.

The Long Family Collection (MS. 1643) discusses slaves in a letter from Hester Redden to David Long in 1830; 62 items, 1782-1855.

McIntosh Papers (MS. 1032) concern the experiences of Duncan McIntosh, a merchant in Santo Domingo, during a slave uprising against the white population; c.15 items, 1808-1827.

McPherson-Johnson Papers (MS. 1714\*) have a 1785 letter to George Washington from Governor Thomas Johnson on the use of slave labor on canals; 13 items, 1729-1842.

Maryland Tax Lists (MS. 807) give the general and particular assessments of dwellings, land, slaves, and taxes in most counties for 1798-99; 23 boxes and oversize, 1798-1805. Restricted to microfilm.

Michael Papers (MS. 1368) are a miscellaneous collection of letters concerning runaway slaves, family affairs, and Harford County politics; 118 items, 1659-1908.

The Oden Papers (MS. 178) include correspondence of Benjamin Oden of Upper Marlborough on the tobacco trade and the sale of slaves; 2 boxes, 1755-1836. Available on microfilm.

William P. Preston Papers (MS. 978.2) contain a scrapbook on the

Know-Nothing Party, slavery, and other contemporary issues; 1 box, 1835-75.

Volume two of the Mark Pringle Letterbook (MS. 680) gives this Baltimore entrepreneur's comments on slave labor, etc.; 2 vols., 1796-98 and 1811-18.

Richardson Papers (MS. 1405) include letters from James L. Dorsey on slaves and also on the Baltimore riot of April 19, 1861; 41 items, 1831-61.

Ridgely Papers (MS. 692) comprise the private and business correspondence of several Ridgely generations and include items on the purchase of slaves; 27 boxes, 1740-1880.

Thomas Rutland Letterbook (MS. 1726\*) deals with the cargoes of this Annapolis merchant—corn, iron, tobacco, and slaves—as shipped between Annapolis and the West Indies; 1 vol., 1784-87.

Andrew Schad Papers (MS. 1566) include a receipt for the purchase of a slave, Mary, for \$225 in 1855; 9 items, 1850-55.

Seymour Papers (MS. 737) are letters from Governor John Seymour on affairs in Maryland and include lists of slaves imported; 38 items, 1707-1709.

Susanna Warfield Diaries (MS. 760) provide this Marylander's comments on slavery and the Civil War; 1 box, 1845-85.

Robert M. Wier Collection (MS. 1093) includes a receipt for Wier's purchase of a young Negro man; c.100 items, c.1850-1912.

The extensive and valuable Otho Holland Williams Papers (MS. 908) occasionally mention slaves; 11 boxes, 1781-1839.

William Wirt Papers (MS. 1011) include a list of Florida Negroes, 1833, and a letter from Thomas Randall to Wirt on slave purchases; 26 boxes, 1784-1864.

Wright Papers (MS. 1467) contains letters from Henry A. Wise, later governor of Virginia, to William H. De Courcy Wright, 1845-46, on the African slave trade; 50 items, 1829-46.

### *AFRICA AND COLONIZATION*

Several Latrobe collections (Latrobe Collection, MS. 523-Restricted; Latrobe Papers, MS. 526; Mrs. Gamble Latrobe Collection, MS. 1638-Restricted; John H. B. Latrobe Diaries, MS. 1677\*; and the Latrobe-Sheppard Papers, MS. 1492) include printed pamphlets, speeches, circulars, and letters by John H. B. Latrobe, guiding force behind the colonization effort in Maryland. The latter collection contains three letters by Moses Sheppard to John H. B. Latrobe, December, 1834—March, 1853 about the American Colonization Society, and a printed circular written in 1849 by Latrobe to the Maryland clergy from the Maryland State Colonization Society.

The extensive and vitally important Maryland State Colonization

Society Papers (MS. 571) constitute the only large collection in our holdings pertaining wholly to black history. They contain comprehensive and remarkably complete records of the organization from 1827 to 1871, including all correspondence to and from the Society's officers (much from Africa), financial records, and manumission books. There is material relating to the work of three of the key figures in the venture, John H. B. Latrobe, Dr. James Hall, and John Russwurm. The collection contains over 100 volumes and comprises printed material also, including many contemporary pamphlets, newspapers, and the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1835-61; c.75 boxes, 1827-71. The papers in their entirety will soon be available on microfilm from Rhistoric Publications, Inc., 302 North 13th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., 19107.

The Ridgely Family Papers (MS. 1127) include letters of Miss Margaretta S. Ridgely (1869-1949) and papers dealing with her *mission in Liberia*; 7 boxes, 1759-c.1950.

E. A. Williams Papers (MS. 899) contain the manuscript diary of William Chancellor of Philadelphia, kept while serving as a ship's doctor on a slaving trip to Africa, 1749-51. Material of this kind is exceedingly rare; 5 boxes, 1749-1960.

#### ABOLITIONISTS

Bond Accounts (MS. 61.1) include letters from various abolitionists, 1836-41, to Dr. Thomas E. Bond, editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York); 1 box, 1758-1841.

Brown Letter Book (MS. 155-Restricted to photostats) contains three chapters of a narrative entitled "Sambo's Mistakes" in a book owned by John Brown. It was taken from his rented farm the evening he was captured at Harper's Ferry, October 18, 1859; 1 vol., 1859.

#### FREE AND PROFESSIONAL BLACKS

Benjamin Banneker letters (Vertical File) written by this famous Negro astronomer and almanac maker to George Ellicott in 1789 on the problems of predicting eclipses and his hopes for calculating an almanac; to Thomas Jefferson in 1791 (a facsimile, original destroyed) presenting the then Secretary of State with a pre-publication manuscript copy of his first almanac and making an impassioned plea to the author of the Declaration of Independence for help in abolishing slavery. The facsimile also includes Jefferson's warm reply. And there is a touching note from Banneker to Mrs. Susanna Mason in 1797 showing another side of this gifted man; 4 letters, 1789-97.

Free Negro Papers (MS. 1281) are a small collection dealing exclusively with free blacks in Cecil County; 7 items, 1824-49.

Alfred J. O'Ferrall Sr. Collection (MS. 1575) includes letters relating to Joshua Johnson (or Johnston), d. 1824?, a black portrait painter, probably owned at one time by John Moale and later freed; 50 items, 1762-1868.

#### CIVIL WAR COLLECTIONS

Our holdings, relating in some degree to this major epoch of our history, are so numerous it is impossible to list them fully. A check of our printed catalogue under "Civil War" will give a complete listing. Below are the titles of collections received since publication of the catalogue which refer in some way to the Civil War, and hence often to black history: William Henry Daneker Papers (MS. 1705\*), Reverdy Johnson Papers (MS. 1840\*), Keating Family Letters (MS. 1718\*), Rev. Fletcher E. Marine Papers (MS. 1016.3\*), Thomas Meredith Papers (MS. 1795\*), Powell-Waring Letters (MS. 1700\*), Preston Papers (MS. 711\*), Turnbull Collection (MS. 1719\*), and the Charles Sidney Winder Collection (MS. 1773\*).

#### POST CIVIL WAR BLACKS

The Baltimore Normal School was founded in 1867 to train Negro teachers. Thus the college's Account Book (MS. 94) and Minute Books (MS. 95) recording receipts and expenditures and the proceedings of the Board of Trustees are helpful in the study of Negro education; 5 vols., 1867-1908.

Bond Papers (MS. 1206) are comprised of lively letters from Judge Hugh Lennox Bond to his wife while he was trying the Ku Klux Klan cases in North Carolina. Also included are the printed trial *Proceedings* and *Official Report*; 37 items, 1870-73.

Robert C. Buchanan Papers (MS. 159) include letters about the Civil War and General Buchanan's service in Louisiana, 1868-70, relating to Klan affairs; 4 boxes, 1811-90.

Elizabeth King Ellicott Fund, Inc., Papers (MS. 1177) concern the fund established for the "intellectual advancement and material welfare of the colored people of Maryland." Prominent gifts were for an addition to a black YMCA in 1946 and a large donation to black Provident Hospital in 1950; 1 vol., 1914-56.

Ellinger Scrapbook (MS. 329) contains newspaper clippings on "the Negro problem" in 1918; 1 vol., 1915-18.

Ingle Papers (MS. 1325) include letters to Edward Ingle of the *Manufacturers' Record* discussing the condition of the South, 1898-1907, Negro labor, 1905-1907, etc.; 102 items, 1833-1917, 1936.

Warfield Scrapbooks (MS. 1009), collected by Governor Edwin Warfield, contain material on the "Negro problem," 1907; 49 vols. and 10 boxes, 1888-1915.

A listing of the Society's holding relating to black history would not be complete without mentioning the Maryland Diocesan Archives, housed in the Society's library. Mr. Garner Ranney, archivist, has carefully arranged and indexed this fine collection of Anglican and Episcopal Church history. A check of his remarkably complete card file will yield numerous pamphlets, sermons, and letters from clergy and laity alike, which discuss slavery, the abolition movement, treatment of slaves, numbers owned, runaways, slave religion, and the pro- and anti-slavery arguments.

## GENEALOGICAL NOTES

BY MARY K. MEYER

IN recent years we have witnessed a phenomenal growth of interest in local history and genealogy. Historical and genealogical libraries have been strained to keep abreast of the demand for additional source material and advice on procedure. With all this activity in the field, it is not surprising to find that no little part of it is due to the quickening interest of blacks in their history as a race and as individuals.

Black genealogy has heretofore been ignored as though there was a conspiracy to deny its existence. There are many reasons for this state of affairs, one of which may be the lack of interest and demand of the blacks themselves.

The search for black genealogy begins in the same place as white genealogy—in the home. One begins by asking questions of the older relatives. It begins with a search for a family Bible in which births, deaths, and marriages were recorded, for family papers and letters, and the location of family burial places. There are a number of books for the beginner in genealogy and the novice, black and white, would do well to study them. When all information has been elicited from these sources, the search then becomes more difficult, but not impossible. The federal decennial censuses counted blacks as well as whites. Free Negroes were listed by name, although the census enumerators were not always too careful in recording the facts about blacks. Yet, the 1790 census did list free blacks by name and gave the total number of persons in their household.

Deed, will, and administration of estate research is *dé rigueur* in genealogy—black and white. Many free blacks owned property in Maryland as well as other states prior to the Civil War. This land passed to descendants or was sold to meet the debts of the deceased. Often blacks gave property to established schools or churches.

Since the founding of the United States, blacks have participated in its defense in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. In instances where it was warranted, they received pensions on this service. Records of pensions for service prior to World War I can be found at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.



When we have traced the black ancestor back to the Civil War period, we are confronted with the great obstacle, slavery. The difficult step is to determine the former owner of the ancestor. And it is of the utmost importance that the present generation determine this point while there is still a grandmother alive who knows something of the family situation under slavery. It is now more than 100 years since emancipation, and there cannot be more than a dozen or so persons alive today who were born in slavery.

While the great majority of slaves were known only as Ned, or Sally, many had taken surnames. Harriet Tubman, for instance, was born Araminta Ross. Although a few slaves assumed the names of their former owner, many more chose to call themselves Washington, Douglas or Jefferson; Black, Green or White; Jones, Smith or Williams.

In 1850 and 1860 there was a separate federal census of slaves taken in the slave states. These schedules show the slaveowners' names, the number of slaves owned, their ages, sex, description (black or mullato), whether or not the slave was a fugitive from the state, whether he was manumitted,<sup>1</sup> or if he was deaf, dumb, idiotic, insane, etc. By using these schedules in conjunction with the owner's will, inventory of estate, deeds of sale, and manumission records, one can match descriptions and form a fairly accurate record.

Wills and inventories of estates of slave owners are of great importance. They frequently list slaves by name and age, often giving the actual date of birth and parentage. The inventory of Captain Aaron Anthony of Talbot County in 1823 listed twenty-nine slaves by name with their ages and value. One of those listed was Frederic, aged nine, later known world-wide as Frederick Douglass.

Many slaves were manumitted by the owner's will. However, that in itself was not enough to protect the freedom of the ex-slave, and executors were required to file manumission papers in the recorder's office of the County Court. With manumission very often there was a gift of real estate. These latter records can help establish the name of a former owner. The births of slaves, particularly to house servants, were often recorded in the

<sup>1</sup> Freed from slavery.

owners family Bible. There has been an effort in recent years in the Society library to catalog such records. Sometimes, house servants were buried in the master's family burying ground. Many plantation owners kept detailed records of slaves, their births, deaths, marriages, parents, behaviour, manumissions and/or sales.

The majority of slave owners did not give up their slaves until forced to do so as a result of the Civil War. At this time thousands of blacks were literally adrift. They roamed the country without food and shelter, not knowing where to turn until the Bureau of Refugees, Freedman, and Abandoned Lands became operative. Records of the Bureau are preserved in the National Archives and are available for research. These records show rations issued, marriages, labor contracts, and indentures, as well as other items of genealogical and social importance.

Equally vital are the Registers of Signatures of Depositors in Branches of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, 1865-1874. These records, also housed at the National Archives, contain such items as name, place of birth, place raised, age, name of employer, occupation, name of one or more relatives, and sometimes the name of the slave's former master. Further information can be obtained about these records by writing to the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Black genealogy is not an easy subject for research, but it is not an impossible task and should prove to be most rewarding. Alex Haley, biographer of Malcom X, launched a search for his own ancestors several years ago. He traced his family from his own boyhood home in Tennessee back across the mountains to North Carolina, then north through Virginia to the port of Annapolis, where his first American ancestor, "Kinte" or Toby was imported on the ship, *Lord Ligonier*, which arrived September 29, 1767. Mr. Haley believes that black Americans should follow his lead and discover, if not their ancestry, at least their heritage.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*The Best-Dressed Miners: Life and Labor in the Maryland Coal Region, 1835-1910.* By Katherine A. Harvey. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969. Pp. x, 488. Illustrations, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, and index. \$14.50.)

The miners of Allegheny County, Maryland, were a singular group of men compared with their counterparts in Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia throughout most of the nineteenth century. They were better paid, worked under conditions of greater safety, and generally lived at a higher standard with access to schools, churches and fraternal organizations. They were from older immigrant stock, either British or German, and suffered less prejudice. They were less harassed by company stores, company housing and the competition of child labor. Conditions, however, were not ideal. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, employers increasingly tried to reduce earnings in line with those in the less prosperous coal fields to the north and west. They fought unionism, provoked strikes and blacklisted strikers. Still the picture drawn by Mrs. Harvey as the result of her detailed research into the subject is one of relatively enlightened management and relatively prosperous workers. Inevitably the reader wonders why, and here is perhaps the greatest shortcoming of an otherwise thorough and illuminating study. She offers no answers.

Perhaps the relative prosperity of Allegheny County's coal miners was due to easier access to the veins of coal; perhaps it was due to the cultural advantages of the miners who were relatively well educated and organized. Markets were nearby and transportation to the markets via canal and railroad was quick and inexpensive. The mining companies prospered and perhaps management could afford to be more generous. Probably all of these reasons have some bearing on the miners' relatively high standard of living, but one wishes for more analysis from the author who knows the subject best.

Mrs. Harvey's greatest strength is in presenting a full picture of how the mines got started, the nature of the work, and the life style of the miners in their communities. The harassments of the Civil War and post-bellum depressions on the coal industry are well described as are the origins and settlements of the post-war conflicts between miners and management over wages, hours, working conditions and union representation. The author shows clearly the limited successes of the Knights of Labor and the reluctance of the

miners later to join the United Mine Workers. The comparisons with conditions in Pennsylvania and West Virginia are also perceptive.

By the 1890's, the miners had political representation in the Maryland General Assembly, but again one wonders how David J. Lewis, that extraordinary miner turned politician, achieved passage in 1902 of the short-lived Workmen's Compensation Law and other progressive measures in the Gorman-dominated state legislature.

Finally, the author describes the decline of the mining industry after World War I due to competition, depression and the shift to strip mining after World War II. By 1966, the Maryland coal industry employed only 350 men in Garrett and Allegheny counties, down from the peak years when close to 5000 men worked in Allegheny County alone.

The Maryland coal mining industry is approaching its end. The "best dressed miners" lived in the nineteenth century as an exception to the generally depressed conditions of other American and European coal miners. Mrs. Harvey's book with some limitations is a perceptive study of these miners based on an extensive use of a variety of impressive primary sources.

*Hollins College*

JAMES B. CROOKS

*Quakerism on the Eastern Shore.* By Kenneth L. Carroll (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1970. Pp. xi, 328. \$12.50.)

Twenty years ago the first article on Maryland Quakers by Kenneth L. Carroll appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Since that date other articles have followed in the same or other historical magazines. Now this material, an additional research by Dr. Carroll in American and British archives, has been combined to give a complete history of the settlement, growth, and decline of the Friends on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay from 1655 through the next three hundred years.

By 1655 Quakerism had reached the West Indies with its roots in the Barbadoes which became the springboard for the expansion of the Society into the American Colonies. Did Quakerism first reach the English settlements in Massachusetts with the coming of Mary Fisher and Ann Austin in July of 1656, or in the Maryland-Virginia area when Elizabeth Harris entered the Chesapeake Bay in 1655/56? Dr. Carroll leans heavily toward the latter view and presents new evidence to make his point.

By 1658 there were sufficient members of the Religious Society

of Friends around Kent and Queen Annes counties "to alarm" the inhabitants to such a degree that laws were passed discouraging their settlements. These laws were primarily political, not religious, based on the mistaken idea that Friends were opposed to the government, an idea fostered by their refusal to swear the oath of fidelity, to respect the magistrates by removal of their hats in court, and their unwillingness to serve in the militia. A few members were whipped but the punishment enacted was usually the distraint of goods.

Beginning in Kent, Queen Annes and Talbot counties, the Quakers slowly spread north and south. Some increase in the south of Maryland was due to Friends arriving from Virginia where persecution against all Puritans was more intense. New settlements were created and old ones strengthened by the coming of three powerful traveling ministers in the 1670's, John Burnyeat, William Edmondson, and George Fox. Half Yearly and General Meetings were to be held alternately on the Eastern and Western Shores. John Burnyeat issued the call of the first Maryland General Meeting in 1672, the forerunner of the present Baltimore Yearly Meeting. George Fox was present and perfected the organization.

Within forty years the Quakers had passed the head of the Bay and settled in what is now Cecil County in Maryland and on the "Nottingham Lots" which were given to Friends by William Penn, although the land belonged to the Calverts. Southward, Meetings were established at Monie and Annemeses.

Dr. Carroll describes the pattern of living which developed among Eastern Shore Friends. Meeting Houses were built with nearby burying grounds, and careful records were kept of births, marriages, and deaths of members. In addition to their testimony against bearing arms. Friends refused to pay tithes to the Established Church, and developed their own marriage customs. Members were advised against drunkenness and gambling, tale bearing and backbiting, and were urged to be honest and just in all business dealings, to care for their poor, and, when disputes arose, to settle them by arbitration. Schools were established for the education of children of Friends. In the beginning Friends did not consider the holding of Negro slaves as inconsistent with their principles. This was understandable due to the fact that many Friends held large tracts of land, sometimes running into thousands of acres. Friends became more sensitive to the evils of slavery and before the end of the 1600's began to manumit their slaves. By 1759 the Yearly Meeting advised against importing or purchasing slaves, and by 1778 the holding of bondservants by members was forbidden.

The decline of the Quaker Meetings on the Eastern Shore, re-

duced to two Monthly Meetings by 1940, is well outlined by Kenneth Carroll. When the Eastern Shore Meetings were detached from the Maryland Yearly Meeting and added to Philadelphia one in 1790, the strong Quaker groups in the Nottingham area remained with Baltimore. The custom of visiting Quaker ministers gradually declined after 1800; many Friends left the farming communities for the cities or to join the western immigration. Of 195 removals from Northfork Meeting between 1801 and 1850, nine went to Baltimore or Philadelphia, and seventy-seven to Ohio and Indiana. Disownments for violation of the Discipline weakened many Meetings, and the rapid growth of evangelistic Methodism swept many Quakers into that denomination.

The last 130 pages of Dr. Carroll's book are a paradise for genealogists for they contain the records of the births, marriages and deaths of members of Third Haven Monthly Meeting and its fourteen preparative meetings; Northwest Fork Monthly Meeting with some eight minor bodies; and Cecil Monthly Meeting which incorporated four Preparative Meetings.

Pictures of nine Quaker Meeting houses add interest to the book, especially as they include the Third Haven Meeting House, begun in 1682 and said to be the oldest frame church in America still in use.

*Friends School, Baltimore*

BLISS FORBUSH

*"First with the Most" Forrest.* By Robert Selph Henry. (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1969. Pp. 580, \$8.00.)

"Booty" Henry's biography of Nathan Bedford Forrest first appeared in 1944, and the passage of a quarter-century has but enhanced the book's reputation. Indeed, that no new life-study of the famous "Wizard of the Saddle" has come forth in the past twenty-five years is a testimonial to the thoroughness of Mr Henry's scholarship. Now, owing to the scarcity of the original edition of the Forrest biography, McCowat-Mercer Press has brought out a new printing. Revisions and appendices to the latest edition make it in many respects an even better volume than its forerunner.

Mr. Henry first won his place among Civil War scholars with *The Story of the Confederacy* and *The Story of Reconstruction*. Both works reflected the author's proud Tennessee heritage. Yet it was with Forrest that Henry found his perfect subject. Forrest was a rough-hewn, profane, untutored, "old" man of forty when the Civil War began. In four short years, and with no prior military

training, Forrest rose to become one of the few military geniuses of the nineteenth century. Certainly he was the Confederacy's most brilliant cavalry commander.

Such an unorthodox but sterling figure was made to order for the skillful pen of Henry. Possessed of a deep respect for scholarship, clairvoyant perception, a keen sense of humor, and a writing style that can only be classified as absorbing, Henry produced one of the most solid and popular biographies in the field of Civil War history. It remains the primary source on Forrest and the cavalry of the Army of Tennessee.

This new edition is a welcome addition to Civil War literature. If nothing else, it will afford more readers the opportunity to digest exciting history—and biography at its best.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute*

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

*Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War.* By Warren Ripley.  
(New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1970, Pp. 384.  
Illustrations, tables, notes, and index. \$22.50.)

The voluminous book under review is a compilation of data on the cannon and projectiles of the American Civil War. With 660 illustrations and over 150,000 words, this heavy manual will undoubtedly be the "bible," as the dust jacket asserts, of the thousands of collectors, hobbyists, and historians who are interested and entertained by ordnance and ballistical detail.

The author, obviously, has done massive research, and his subject involves a period of transition in the design and manufacture of cannon. Much experimentation was done during the period, giving rise to innumerable variations and models—variations which might prove confusing to collectors. Where controversy exists about a given piece, "both sides" are given. In other instances, the author tells us, he has selected a preferred version and takes full responsibility for so doing. Mr. Ripley's book, mirroring massive research, will most likely clear up quite a few puzzles.

Civil War small arms are covered in a number of good works; but until the present book appeared, one had to dig around in old texts and periodicals for desired data. This reviewer recalls his own labored stint of research on heavy ordnance characteristics, for example, when writing a monograph some years ago on the *Confederate Engineers*.

Effort is made by the author to trace the origins of each piece. Illustrations are consistently labeled with complete data about the

history of the gun, howitzer, etc., and its present location. Carriages and implements are covered along with horses, harness, and fortification principles incident to the placement of the pieces.

Two chapters treat fully in descriptive fashion the varieties of both smooth-bore and rifled projectiles along with some material on rockets. The author uses the term "Civil War cannon" throughout the book in "relatively loose fashion," he says, so as to include all weapons "served or available for service" during the conflict.

Cannon were manufactured in an array of shapes and sizes and may be categorized by one or more of the following: (1) size of bore; (2) type of bore; (3) type of weapon; (4) material; (5) model; (6) use; (7) inventor; (8) loading method; (9) Army or Navy; (10) Union or Confederate.

Annotated tables listing inspectors and manufacturers, both North and South, along with charts of ordnance "marks" and tables of ballistics, neatly organized, add utility to the manual.

All this should make our visits to national parks far more interesting; that is, if we first study Mr. Ripley's book very carefully as a prerequisite to our journey.

*Stephen F. Austin State University*

JAMES L. NICHOLS

*The New South Creed.* By Paul M. Gaston. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. Pp. vii, 298. Notes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

To American historians myths and myth-making have always held a special fascination. Paul M. Gaston has chronicled the making of the New South Creed during the latter part of the nineteenth century and its subsequent transformation in the twentieth century into a powerful social and economic myth which he feels has beclouded the South's perception of its real poverty, its colonial economy, and its backward racial system.

The New South movement began in the years that followed the Civil War, but was inhibited by pressures of disorder and distrust during Radical Reconstruction. As the years of Reconstruction continued, Gaston feels that the New South movement gained in strength and came to its fruition just at the time when the North was searching for a suitable rationale to justify the ending of Reconstruction in 1877. However, by 1872 the nation had all but abandoned the program of Radical Reconstruction, as little was done after that year to impede the persecution and intimidation of the Negro in the South. To this reviewer it seems that the New



South movement coincided more with the arrival of railroad money in the South than the departure of Reconstruction.

Leading proponents of the movement—Henry W. Grady, Richard H. Edmonds, Henry Watterson, Daniel A. Tompkins, Walter Hines Page—united in the decade of the 1880's to create a blueprint for a new South. Their keystone, industrialization, was to be achieved through a union of northern capital and labor with the "boundless" natural resources of the South. With the enthusiasm of crusaders these men added other planks to their program—new urban centers to serve as Southern markets, a diversified agricultural economy, a new spirit of national reconciliation, and a new code of race relations for the reconstituted southern society.

In this area of race relations the creators of the New South Creed had trouble aligning their stated position that the Negro was a necessary ingredient to future southern progress, with their underlying white supremacy convictions. Gaston explains that while their position was the moderate one in the South at that time, it led them to reconcile incompatible allegiances with ingenious rationalizations. Thus, these editors would advocate unhindered suffrage for the Negro, but insist that he vote for "men of superior wealth, character, and intelligence." By the end of the decade Grady and most of the others, except Page, had all but dropped this facade and turned to a "separate but equal" concept of race relations which would lead to the legal strait jacket of institutionalized segregation of this century.

At this same time a metamorphosis took place within the New South movement. The New South Creed had been put forth with enthusiastic predictions of success, yet by the late 1880's it had produced only facts of failure. Gaston found that this discovery did not deter the New South editors as they went on to create a myth of success. In Atlanta, Grady went from a program of action in 1881, to a pronouncement of achievement in 1888. This change from a mood of optimism to one of triumph is what Gaston labels the New South Myth.

In a biting critique of the New South movement Gaston castigates both the proponents of the Creed and their twentieth century followers. By failing to understand the nature of the Industrial Revolution that they were championing, they failed to see that development of the South's natural resources, transportation systems, and agriculture by northern capital would not create a modern self-sufficient industrial economy but a semi-colonial one. By calling it a triumph, they created a myth which has colored subsequent generations perception of reality throughout this century.

This book should be read in conjunction with the historiographical

essay, "The New South" by the same author in *Writing Southern History*. It is only then that the merits of this fine book can be realized. By looking at the New South movement as a whole rather than repudiating its parts as false claims, Gaston has illuminated a neglected field of southern history.

*University of Richmond*

PATRICK HARAHAN

*Crisis at the Crossroads: The First Day at Gettysburg.* By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1970. Pp. viii, 214. \$8.75.)

Professor Hassler's detailed reconstruction of the July 1 fighting at Gettysburg will both please and disappoint the Civil War "buffs" for whom this book was intended. As a lucid explanation of the importance and the character of the stand by the First and Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac, the book makes a minor contribution to the Gettysburg literature, now almost as numerous as the battle's casualties. Furthermore, Professor Hassler reminds military historians that contingency is the essence of warfare and that commanding generals surrender much of their control to subordinates when the shooting starts. There was nothing foreordained about the July 1 combat, except perhaps that Confederate numbers would finally tell. Professor Hassler shows that how the corps, division, and brigade commanders moved their men during that long day had great impact on the flow of the battle. On the balance, he believes the Union troops were more skillfully handled than the Confederates. Meade and Lee are distant figures, and even the corps commanders seem to have let subordinates make many crucial tactical decisions.

*Crisis at the Crossroads* will also please those readers who are looking for descriptions of regimental positions, casualties, and battlefield placenames. The book is careful about such things. More usefully, Professor Hassler takes time to describe the terrain and its influence upon the battle. Unfortunately, the University of Alabama Press was niggardly in providing adequate maps and photos.

Few will question Professor Hassler's basic point: that the hard-pressed Union troops created Meade's ultimate victory by preserving the Cemetery Ridge position and buying time for the concentration of the Army of the Potomac. Facing superior numbers of equally veteran troops, the First and Eleventh Corps (the latter unfairly maligned as Hassler shows) did as good a day's fighting as any troops in the Civil War.

The disappointing thing about *Crisis at the Crossroads* is that Professor Hassler's tributes to the common fighting men at Gettysburg are so singularly passionless and artlessly phrased. From the firsthand accounts and regimental histories one gets the distinct impression that the fighting of July 1 was shaped by what J. Glenn Gray calls "the enduring appeals of battle." The soldiers at Gettysburg were exhilarated beyond their fear of death by the glories of group achievement and personal endurance. Gettysburg was fought by *homo furens*, a fact captured by Bruce Catton and crucial to understanding why the Union forces held so long. Hassler, however, though he plugs his narrative with occasional anecdotes, cannot get his prose down into the dust, terror, joy, surprise, humor, exhaustion and nihilism of infantry combat. His language is that of a General Staff historical analyst, and his book reads like the monographs done by American officers in the late nineteenth century.

As a tactical study, *Crisis at the Crossroads* is an intelligent, painstaking, and useful book. As a description of what it was like to fight at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863, it is as frozen as the statues that now stud the actual battlefield.

*The Ohio State University*

ALLAN R. MILLETT

*A Social History of the Greater Boston Clubs.* By Alexander W. Williams (Barre: Barre Publishers, 1970, Pp. viii, 176. \$12.50).

Mr. Williams' book is not social history in any academic sense. It is a loosely organized, anecdotal treatment of elitist social clubs formed in and around Boston largely within the past century. The author self-consciously adopts the role of the "flippant, loud-voiced member" (p. 127) in recounting episodes from the records of numerous social organizations, including the Sommerset, Union, St. Botolph, Odd Volumes, Tennis & Racquet and Country clubs. To make up for the lack of analysis in his perusal of the clubs, Mr. Williams supplements his own text with an essay entitled "The Social Reorganization of Boston" written by his friend Nathan C. Shiverick, an amateur historian. Shiverick argues that wealthy Bostonians created numerous social clubs at the turn of the nineteenth century to preserve values threatened by the heterogeneity of the new industrial society. The last chapter of the book is "A Miniature Cookbook of Club Food." Mr. Williams' anecdotes may hold some interest for those acquainted with or pretending to the Boston social club set. For those outside of this circle, the recipes are likely to be the most attractive feature of the book.

*University of California, Berkeley*

DAVID CONNELL

*Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C. 1966-1968.* Edited with an introduction by F. C. Rosenberger. (Washington, D.C., 1969. Pp. xviii, 467. \$15.00.)

This beautifully printed and illustrated book constitutes the Society's *Records*, vol. 66-68, the 46th separately bound book, and the 75th anniversary volume. As in previous volumes, the articles cater to the tastes of the members, and are restricted to Washington, D.C. There are twenty-six pieces, all of considerable value to Washingtonians (and to Marylanders and Virginians), and it is difficult to single out the most interesting. Georgetown and the Tobacco Trade, 1751-1783, Home Rule in Georgetown, 1789-1871, The National Intelligencer, Excerpts from the History of Music in D.C., and the Friday Morning Club of Washington were the items of most interest to the reviewer, but of course, others will be useful in the chronicling of Maryland.

Seventy pages are devoted to the members—a proper attention since as in most societies it is the members who support the publications of the Society. Mr. Rosenberger's study of the Society's Presidents, 1894-1968, is most welcome. Milton Rubincam's biographical study of Major General U.S. Grant, 3rd, 1881-1968 is masterly, and the volume concludes with a list of members for 1968. This is exactly what a Society wants, and the whole volume is heartily recommended. No member of the Columbia Historical Society could let it rest unread; and it is bound to interest most historians.

*Maryland Historical Society*

P. W. FILBY

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### INFORMATION WANTED:

Under the editorship of Dr. Walter Ferree, the Pennsylvania State Society, with the endorsement of the National Historical Publications Commission, has undertaken a project to publish the papers of President Martin Van Buren in a letterpress edition. The editor will appreciate help in locating any Van Buren letters or other materials in the hands of institutions or individuals.

### OLD JOHNS HOPKINS PHOTOGRAPHS WANTED:

For possible reproduction in its forthcoming Centennial Album, Johns Hopkins officials will be grateful for the opportunity of examining early photographs of buildings, faculty personnel, student activities, or any phase of life at the University, the Hospital or the Medical School. Pictures will be returned undamaged. Call or write: Harold R. Manakee, Director, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

### Information wanted:

Mr. Summer Wood, Sr. is currently writing the story of the Horseshore of the Potomac prior to 1777 and would like to secure information on the Manor of Conegocheague, Calverton Manor and the Seneca Indian Trail prior to 1754. Please write to:

Summer Wood, Sr.  
The 1785 House  
Poolesville, Maryland 20837

### Information wanted:

Dr. Robert E. Ward is doing research for the first encyclopedia of German writers in the United States since 1675, and is interested in German writers, regardless of nationality, who write imaginative literature in the German language while residing in the continental United States. Please send all information and inquiries to:

Dr. Robert E. Ward  
Department of Foreign Languages  
Youngstown State University  
Youngstown, Ohio 44503

## Information wanted:

Mrs. Edmund Bartlett would like any information on John Shaw, Annapolis cabinetmaker—letters, accounts, diaries, etc., or any pieces of furniture labeled or attributed to him to be used for Master's Thesis.

## Please contact:

Mrs. Edmund Bartlett III  
Winterthur Museum  
Winterthur, Delaware  
(Winterthur Fellow)

## Information needed:

For a master's thesis on the Baltimore painter, Hugh Bolton Jones (1848-1927). I would be interested in information on his life, works, letters, or documents concerning him. Any assistance will be appreciated.

Mrs. Joan Hanson Zeizel  
1435 Fourth Street, Southwest  
Apt. B 814  
Washington, D.C. 20024

The Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware, will sponsor its fourth annual spring conference May 7, 1971, devoted to an analysis of urban transportation innovation and the relationship to urban economic development. Speakers will be Stephen Salisbury of the University of Delaware, Harold Cox of Wilkes College and Peter G. Goheen of the University of Chicago. George Rogers Taylor, Professor Emeritus, Amherst College and former Scholar in Residence at the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation will act as discussant. For further information or to be placed on the conference mailing list write Regional Conference, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware 19807.

## THE PAPERS OF DAVID BAILIE WARDEN

Title No. 706

SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL  
PUBLICATIONS COMMISSION

The Maryland Historical Society announces the microfilm publication of the David Bailie Warden Papers, MS. 871 in 8 reels. David Bailie Warden, (1772-1845), diplomat, scientist, author, holds a significant place in the intellectual history of the early nineteenth century.

His papers (the portion at the Library of Congress remain unpublished) reflect his many talents and his friendships with leaders in science, medicine, literature and diplomacy. The documents in this collection date from 1795 to 1851 and include correspondence, letter registers, letter books, manuscript articles by Warden, and notes and drafts for many of his numerous publications including his 10 volume history of North and South America which was published between 1826 and 1841 under the title *L'Art de verifier les dates*. Subjects of his correspondence include American, French and British politics, the French Spoliation Claims, medicine, chemistry, American, French and British literature and bibliography, American political natural history, American Indian languages, geography, anthropology and astronomy. Diplomatic correspondence comes from General John Armstrong, Joel Bralow, Joel R. Poinsett, John Graham, Albert Gallatin, as well as many consular officials in Europe. A physician himself, Warden was in communication with many of the leaders of the medical field in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond and Charleston. Included amongst his more frequent correspondents were Drs. William James MacNeven, J. R. Fenwick, Charles W. Jackson, Richard Harlan, David Hosack, Casper W. Pennock, Robert M. Patterson, Isaiah Townsend, and John W. Francis. He was in contact with most of the leaders in chemistry and geography of his day, and a frequent confidant of Baron Alexandre von Humbolt, Joseph Priestly, Joseph Pinkerton, Joseph Gay-Lussac, to name a very few. His correspondent list reads like a European and American "Who's Who": political and literary figures such as Thomas Jefferson, William Curran, Helena Maria Williams, Sir Charles and Lady Sidney Morgan, Lafayette, Jean Baptiste Say, Benjamin Constant, Eliza Parke Custus, Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte and educators including Joseph Cabell and Thomas Clemson. Most Americans traveling in Europe sought out Warden, especially in Paris, to enlist his aid in furthering their education. Friendships begun abroad continued and added to an ever widening circle. The student of the history of science, medicine, education, politics, literature and historiography of the early nineteenth century will find this collection a valuable primary-source data bank.

A pamphlet guide to the microfilm edition, written by Bayly Ellen Marks, Instructor in History at the Catonsville Community College and former Curator of Manuscripts at the Maryland Historical Society, is included in the price of the publication.

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*The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck* by Dr. George McCullough Anderson of Baltimore was published in December 1970. It is essentially a picture book presenting 100 full-page illustrations not only of his Civil War etchings and caricatures, post Civil War drawings and paintings, but also of his later original works in silver, copper, and bronze.

Adalbert Volck was born in Bavaria and came to the United States in 1848. After living in various parts of the country he finally settled in Baltimore where he became a student of dentistry at the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. At the outbreak of the Civil War, his sympathies went with the Confederacy and his sketches and etchings signed under the pseudonym V. Blada depicted with ridicule and satire the policies of the North.

Dr. Anderson, himself a dentist, has shown in his book many reproductions of etchings from the book *Sketches from the Civil War* a publication by Volck possibly issued in 1863 in Baltimore but carrying a spurious London imprint. Some of the etchings illustrated are only partially finished. Also included are illustrations and musical *soirées* of the Wednesday Club of which Volck was one of the founders. And there are illustrations from the books *Bombastes Furioso Buncome* written by Volck in 1862 and *American Cyclops* written by James F. McLaughlin in 1868, two vitriolic commentaries on Benjamin F. Butler. Each plate is described interestingly and concisely on the page facing it.

The author has written a delightful and entertaining book. It was beautifully designed and published by Schneidereith & Sons, Inc. Baltimore and privately printed by Dr. Anderson, who very generously has donated 150 copies to the Maryland Historical Society. Copies may be purchased from the Society for \$10 plus 35 cents postage and handling. Maryland residents please add 40 cents sales tax.

#### *Correction:*

In the winter issue of the Magazine, in Genealogical Notes, it was stated that Francis Key Brooke was a Methodist Clergyman. This statement was an error. Rev. Brooke was a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church and was elected Missionary Bishop of Oklahoma and Indian Territories at the Episcopal Convention held in Baltimore in 1892.



Cover: *Four Porch People*, by A. B. Jackson. Professor Jackson is currently a member of the Art Department of the Old Dominion University in Norfolk and has just been appointed Artist-in-Residence at Dartmouth College for the spring academic quarter. His work has appeared and won prizes in numerous shows in New York, Washington, and the Southeast. Recently, he was among the top artists in a national all-black show in Cincinnati. His work is also found in numerous public and private collections, such as the Union Carbide Collection and those of Dean Rusk and Lyndon B. Johnson.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (*Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code*). 1. Date of Filing: Oct. 1, 1970. 2. Title of Publication: Maryland Historical Magazine. 3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor. Publisher: Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201; Editor: Dr. Richard R. Duncan, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007; Managing Editor: Harold R. Manakee, 201 West Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 7. Owner: Maryland Historical Society. No stock—non-profit organization. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities: None. 9. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. 10. A. Total No. Copies Printed (Quarterly): 4,500. B. Paid Circulation (1.) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: None; (2.) Mail Subscriptions (Memberships): 3,622. C. Total Paid Circulation: 3,622. D. Free Distribution (Schools and Libraries): 778. E. Total Distribution: 4,375. F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing: 100. G. Total: 4,500.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
Harold R. Manakee, Director

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# REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT FOR 1970

**D**ESERVEDLY 1970 may be called a successful year for the Society, as the entire staff continued its good services to members and to the community at large. For the third successive year all activities and functions of the Society showed a decided increase in 1970.

Largely due to the quiet but persistent campaign carried on by the Committee on Membership under the chairmanship of Mr. Charles P. Crane the Society, as of the end of the year, had 3,843 members, the largest number in its history. Patrons of the Society numbered 30,137, including 9,354 school children given guided tours conducted by Miss Selma Grether with generous and dependable help from Junior League volunteers. Volume 71 of the *Archives of Maryland* was published under the scholarly editorship of Professor Aubrey C. Land. Another substantial publication, *Quakers on the Eastern Shore* by Kenneth Carroll, also appeared, as did a booklet titled *Masters Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History*, a joint compilation of Dr. Richard Duncan and Dr. Dorothy M. Brown. Under the guidance of the Committee on Publications, Miss Rhoda Dorsey, chairman, a long desired project, the publication of *The Papers of Benjamin H. Latrobe*, was begun, with Professor Edward C. Carter II as editor in chief and Dr. Angeline Polites as his assistant. An article from the *Maryland Historical Magazine* by the late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants entitled "Joshua Johnston, the First American Negro Portrait Painter" was reprinted in booklet form and is available at the sales desk.

Mr. Francis H. Jencks resigned as Chairman of the Gallery Committee at the end of 1969, to be succeeded by Mr. Leonard C. Crewe, Jr. Meeting frequently the Committee reviewed its responsibilities and scope, and determined policy in matters pertinent to its attention.

During the year a total of 673 items were presented to the gallery and museum, and 101 items were placed on short-term loans to such institutions as the Metropolitan Museum, the Carroll Reece Museum, Johnson City, Tenn., the Talbot, Anne Arundel and Dorchester county historical societies, the Maryland Penitentiary Hospital, Mount Clare Mansion and to several public schools. Many small items were lent to the newly

established Calvert County Maritime Museum. Long-term loans were made to the Baltimore Museum of Art and the Turner Auditorium of the Johns Hopkins University.

Three major exhibits were staged during the year, one of Far Eastern Imports to Baltimore, and also the customary doll and toy Christmas exhibit. However, the outstanding exhibition, running through the entire summer, was a display of women's costumes entitled "Parade of Maryland Fashion." In connection with this, a 40-page catalog bearing the same title was prepared by Mrs. Swepson Earle with illustrations by Mrs. Kenneth A. Bourne, both of the Women's Committee. The catalog is available at the Society's sales desk. A set of color slides of the exhibit was given to the Society, and Mrs. Virginia Swarm, Registrar, used these for a number of talks on the exhibition which was largely her work with assistance from Mrs. James Williams.

Two new exhibition rooms were opened on the third floor of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building, the first devoted to Maryland's contributions to the military history of the nation and the second presenting vignettes of life in Maryland in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries.

Several valuable pieces of furniture were repaired or reupholstered and three paintings were restored: Nicholas Rogers, by James Wesley Jarvis, through the generosity of the Women's Committee; "Washington and His Generals at Yorktown," by Charles Willson Peale, through the generous interest of Mrs. John Nicholas Brown; and The McCormick Family, by Joshua Johnston.

Generous publicity was received from the press for all exhibitions and membership meetings and an illustrated article by Miss Eugenia Holland, Assistant Curator, appeared in the August 1970 issue of *Antiques Magazine*. The Director conducted a half-hour tour of the Society for educational television on Channel 67 and gave talks to numerous groups. An article on the Society appeared in the December 1970 issue of *Baltimore Magazine*, and through the interest and generosity of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company a color reproduction of the Society's buildings appeared on the front cover of the *Baltimore City Yellow Pages* directory.

Donors have been listed in *Maryland History Notes*. Stewart

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

and Co. and Hutzler's, department stores, presented a number of mannequins, used for the costume exhibition.

The library under the capable and efficient direction of Mr. P. W. Filby, Assistant Director, was no exception to the substantial growth of the activities of the Society which has also increased the work load of its staff and of its Secretary, Mrs. Marian F. Schori. Readers totaled 4,250, a growth of 12 percent over 1969. Mail and telephone inquiries showed a substantial increase. Without the dedicated help of such volunteers as Mrs. H. A. Hobelmann, Mrs. Clyde Loose, Miss Mary C. Hiss, Miss Eliza C. Funk, Miss Florence R. Kelly, Miss Jessie M. Slee, the Misses Pechin and Margaret Ingle, Miss Lillian DiDomenico, Mrs. Ernest Waterfall, and Messrs. Wilton C. Hardin and Chadwick Aiau, the Society would be much less effective. Miss Selma Grether continued her excellent work on the subject file which also is seeing heavier use.

Work on the *Maryland Historical Magazine* cumulative index continued under the guidance of Miss Betty Adler. The actual indexing of the first 50 volumes has been finished and Mr. Robert W. Barnes is assisting Miss Adler in checking doubtful entries. Interfiling of the thousands of cards will require at least another year. A new Curator of Manuscripts, Mrs. Nancy Boles, has assumed capable direction of her department, assisted by Mrs. Evelyn Paxton. A major undertaking is the sorting of the 10,000 separate items in the vertical file into a catalog subject file. Mr. Anthony Gonzales assists in this work.

The National Historical Publications Commission awarded funds to process and microfilm the papers of David Bailie Warden and of Robert Goodloe Harper. A newly purchased microfilm camera expedited such work, with the part-time employment of Miss Cheryl Florie. Booklets accompanying the films were prepared by Miss Bayley Ellen Marks. Efforts to secure funds to restore the Maryland Colonization Papers failed, but the Rhistoric Publications Company of Pennsylvania offered to market a microfilm edition, with the Society receiving a royalty. Mr. Randolph Best prepared the accompanying booklet which will be available early in 1971.

Under the capable direction of Mr. F. Garner Ranney, 1,011 manuscripts and documents in the Maryland Diocesan Archives were processed. These consisted chiefly of letters to the Right



Reverend William Rollinson Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland, 1840-1879. During the year 7,450 new cards were typed and placed in the catalog which is now estimated to contain approximately 96,200 cards.

Miss Hester Rich, Assistant Librarian, cataloged 1,239 volumes of 826 titles, a substantial increase over 1969. Because of the limited staff, Miss Rich can give only about half time to cataloging, although approximately 6,000 pamphlets urgently need her attention. Mr. Lester S. Levy, Consultant on Sheet Music, continued his rationalizing of the music collection and, except for recent accessions, its processing has been completed. Mrs. Sidney Painter maintained the periodicals and binding, and completed a survey of unbound material.

All items in the graphics division, under the direction of Mrs. Lois B. McCauley, are now grouped in the library's lower vault, with the exception of maps and plats which remain on the main floor. She has continued placing items in the collection in containers approved for proper preservation. During the year she received 202 requests for copies of photographs from which \$699 was received. Reproduction fees for many of the photographs amounted to \$570.

Mrs. Mary Meyer, Genealogical Librarian, although assisted by the purchase of recent reference books, has found her work load particularly demanding. As always, she has striven to answer all mail inquiries but many such inquiries had to be returned unanswered accompanied by a list of professional genealogists believed to be capable.

Work on the Norris Harris Church Records File was continued by members of the Maryland Genealogical Society who worked 776 hours in lieu of rental for space occupied by that group at the Society. Although approximately 40,300 cards had been made by the end of 1970, only about one-sixth of the file has been completed. Fees received from professional genealogists and from extensive mail inquiries amounted to \$1,471. As in previous years, the genealogical collection was enriched by monetary gifts from Mrs. Norris Harris and Mr. A. Russell Slagle, and by gifts of books from the Genealogical Publishing Company.

In the spring of 1970, Mr. Jacques Schlenger and Mr. Arthur Gutman of the Library Committee inaugurated an oral history

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

project. Through donations from Messrs. Schlenger, Gutman, and Filby, and the Milton M. Frank Foundation the project got under way, and the Jacob and Annita France Foundation then made possible the part-time employment of Mrs. Francis Scott Key, a specialist in oral history.

Because only two entries were received in 1969 for the Sumner and Dudrea Parker Genealogy Contest, judging was held over for another year. In 1970, an additional 11 entries were received and adjudication is under way.

Mr. Edward G. Howard, Consultant on Rare Books, continued his valuable work on out-of-scope books, attending the Society almost every Saturday and for much of his vacation to assist in the compilation of a catalog of items in the Society's Star-Spangled Banner collection.

Donors have been listed in *Maryland History Notes*, as have donors of funds for special projects. Without their generous interest, much less could have been achieved.

The Director, the Librarian and the Library Committee, Dr. Huntington Williams, Chairman, are particularly concerned about the small amount of space remaining in both the book and the manuscript divisions. So rapid has been the growth of the collections that no shelf space will remain by the end of 1971 if accessions continue at the present rate. Much of the growth has been due to the generosity of the Genealogical Publishing Company which in the last four years has given the library a copy of everything it has published, and of the Librarian, a reviewer of books on Maryland genealogy and heraldry for the *Library Journal* and other periodicals, who has presented many review copies of books since 1967. In addition, Mr. A. Russell Slagle has made it possible to purchase several expensive works annually, and Mr. Curtis Carroll Davis and others have also presented many volumes.

Members of the staff have contributed reviews to numerous journals and have spoken to many meetings. Throughout the year Mr. Filby has been a member of the Maryland Commission of Negro History and Culture. He has spoken before the Grolier Club, the New-York Historical Society, and The Friends of Brown University Libraries. Mrs. McCauley, Curator of Graphics, completed a course on the conservation of photographs at the Smithsonian Institution; Mrs. Mary Meyer

compiled *Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland by Act of Legislature, 1634-1854*; and Mr. Filby compiled *American and British Genealogy and Heraldry: a Selective List*. Mr. Filby is program chairman for the history section of the American Library Association for its 1971 conference in Dallas, Texas. He attended numerous meetings of professional groups ranging from local historical societies to the British Museum in London and the Mexican Archives in Mexico City.

The Women's Committee, Mrs. Bryden Hyde, Chairman, met periodically during the year. Its members frequently served refreshments at Society meetings and often acted as registrars at important conferences. Members also assisted with the costume exhibit and undertook the traditional decorating of the halls and rooms in the Society with Christmas greens. They also hosted the usual New Members Tea and cooperated with the Junior League volunteer guides in the presentation of in-school slide-illustrated talks. As a memorial to the late Mrs. Rosamund Randall Beirne, the Committee presented the library with a collection of books on the architecture of Maryland, suitably inscribed. An illustrated talk on George Calvert and the founding of Maryland was given in many schools and was warmly received by school officials. The Committee also maintained the Society's scrapbook and gave practical help in mounting and dismounting a quilt exhibit. During the year the function of the Women's Committee was stated to be "to promote good will for the Maryland Historical Society." Mrs. William Boucher III was added to the Committee, and Mrs. J. Rieman McIntosh resigned. With profound regret the Committee reported the death of Mrs. J. Creighton Riepe, a most enthusiastic and helpful member.

A valuable assistant to the smooth running of the Society is Mrs. Davie Harrell, Membership Secretary and in charge of sales and of all mailings. Mr. Abbott L. Penniman, Jr., Chairman of the Trustees of the Athenaeum, continued his generous and able supervision of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building and of the Society's real estate holdings. He is well assisted by the maintenance force, Messrs. Harvey Groner and Albert Harris. Mrs. James Williams, Mrs. James Waddy, and Messrs. Marshall Greenway and William Williamson are responsible for the many compliments the Society receives as to

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

its cleanliness and good order. The security force, Messrs. Ernest Waterfall, John Englar, Richard Arnold and Paul Hammond kept unobtrusive but watchful eyes on the Society's possessions. Switchboard operation is smoothly handled by Mrs. Evelyn McComb and Mrs. Sarah McKim. Last, but far from least, Miss Alice Kriete, Secretary to the Director, and Mrs. Lucile Bulin, Bookkeeper, and her assistant, Mrs. Mary Lewin, provided indispensable help to the Director.

The occupancy of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building with its superb facilities has resulted in a sharp rise in individuals seeking assistance as well as a substantial increase in the numbers of gifts made to the library and museum. As a consequence, there has been a rise in the work load in all departments, which has reached the point at which the staff is compelled to spread itself too thinly. While we are delighted with this growth, we must make the unhappy decision to slow it down or to obtain additional funds to provide needed personnel. The various collections of the Society are of a quality that deserves the best of care and of servicing by a capable and numerically adequate staff.

The accompanying auditor's report shows a deficit for the year ending September 30, 1970, a part of which is due to inflation, to the cost in excess of original estimates of operating the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building, and to the loss of rental income while the Society is seeking to upgrade its Howard Street properties. On the other hand, over the last 10 years the Society's deficit has averaged 1.5 percent of its endowment. From this highly condensed summary of the year's activities, it is clearly evident that the Society must obtain more personnel and more space. In sum, additional funds must be obtained. For this challenging undertaking the Council of the Society unanimously supports the proposal that a campaign be undertaken to raise endowment funds which will provide increased income. The Society also is seeking additional sources of current income including government support.

On behalf of the Council and the Society's members it is with warm appreciation that I express our sincere gratitude to every member of the staff for their effort, loyalty and zeal beyond the call of duty.

SAMUEL HOPKINS  
President



Samuel Hopkins, President  
1970-

JOSSELYN, SEWELL AND FORD  
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

CARROLL C. JOSSELYN, C.P.A.  
CHARLES B. SEWELL, C.P.A.  
ROBERT E. FORD, C.P.A.

1717 YORK ROAD  
LUTHERVILLE, MARYLAND 21093

WILLIAM A. KISSNER, C.P.A.

252-1270

January 13, 1971

To The Members of The Council  
Maryland Historical Society  
201 West Monument Street  
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have examined the accompanying statement of assets, liabilities and fund balances of the Maryland Historical Society as of September 30, 1970, and the related statements of revenues and expenditures and changes in fund balances for the year then ended, all prepared on the cash basis. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying financial statements present fairly the assets, liabilities and fund balances of the Maryland Historical Society at September 30, 1970, the revenues and expenditures and the change in fund balances for the year then ended, on a cash basis, consistent with that of the preceding year.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1970

## STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES September 30, 1970

ASSETS	Total All Funds	General Fund	Special Funds	Restricted Funds	Endowment Fund
<b>Cash:</b>					
Cash on hand	\$ 150.00	\$ 150.00	\$ —	\$ —	\$ —
Operating cash accounts	2,388.78	2,388.78	—	—	—
Restricted cash accounts	144,125.05	14,109.88	128,715.65	91.34	1,208.18
	<u>\$ 146,663.83</u>	<u>\$ 16,648.66</u>	<u>\$ 128,715.65</u>	<u>\$ 91.34</u>	<u>\$ 1,208.18</u>
<b>Accounts receivable:</b>					
Escrow accounts for 227 W. Monument Street	\$ 4,867.00	\$ —	\$ —		\$ 4,867.00
Miscellaneous	6,961.14	6,148.38	812.76		—
	<u>\$ 11,828.14</u>	<u>\$ 6,148.38</u>	<u>\$ 812.76</u>		<u>\$ 4,867.00</u>
<b>Investments:</b>					
Stocks	\$ 1,482,192.44				\$1,482,192.44
Bonds	893,617.33				893,617.33
Mortgages	58,497.13				58,497.13
Ground rents	31,197.66				31,197.66

Real estate:					
Florida property	8,000.00			8,000.00	
614-16 Park Avenue	205,827.05			205,827.05	
227 W. Monument Street	102,230.35			102,230.35	
Less: Accumulated depreciation on buildings	(9,439.00)			(9,439.00)	
	<u>\$ 2,772,122.96</u>			<u>\$2,772,122.96</u>	
Property, plant and equipment:					
Land and buildings	\$ 2,150,969.03	\$ 192,247.58		\$1,958,721.45	
Furniture and equipment	56,217.62	20,706.93		35,510.69	
Books	1.00	1.00		—	
Manuscripts	1.00	1.00		—	
Paintings and statuary	1.00	1.00		—	
	<u>\$ 2,207,189.65</u>	<u>\$ 212,957.51</u>		<u>\$1,994,232.14</u>	
Inter-fund balances	\$ —	\$ (170,794.97)	\$ 1,345.50	\$ 24,023.00	\$ 145,426.47
Total assets	<u>\$ 5,137,804.58</u>	<u>\$ 64,959.58</u>	<u>\$ 130,873.91</u>	<u>\$ 24,114.34</u>	<u>\$4,917,856.75</u>
LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES					
Accounts payable	\$ 1,954.84	\$ 1,954.84	\$ —	\$ —	\$ —
Payroll taxes withheld	444.63	444.63	—	—	—
Mortgage note payable, 6½%, due \$3,000.00 annually	39,500.00	—	—	—	39,500.00
Unexpended advances—State Programs (Net)	21,188.71	21,188.71	—	—	—
Fund balances	5,074,716.40	41,371.40	130,873.91	24,114.34	4,878,356.75
Total liabilities and fund balances	<u>\$ 5,137,804.58</u>	<u>\$ 64,959.58</u>	<u>\$ 130,873.91</u>	<u>\$ 24,114.34</u>	<u>\$4,917,856.75</u>



**CURRENT FUND REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES**  
for the Year ended September 30, 1970

Revenues:			
Dues			\$ 33,093.00
Contributions			2,198.50
Legacies and trusts			4,529.97
Use of building charged to programs			1,450.00
Investment income:			
Dividends	\$	37,615.44	
Interest		26,047.76	
Ground rents		135.00	
Real estate		12,595.73	
			76,393.93
Miscellaneous income			1,071.04
Sales and service fees:			
Sales of magazines and history notes	\$	2,696.76	
Publication advertising		309.60	
Counter sales		5,462.54	
Library service fees		2,276.24	
Reproduction fees		871.50	
Xerox fees		3,233.32	
			\$ 14,849.96
Less: Publicity materials	\$	133.75	
Cost of merchandise bought		5,843.46	
			5,977.21
State of Maryland Appropriations			
Earned:			
Educational services	\$	11,220.89	
Road markers		4,499.78	
Archives		4,875.00	
Magazine indexing		3,912.01	
Important papers indexing		5,855.86	
History project		3,013.85	
			33,377.39
Transfers from Special Funds—See Comments			12,132.74
Operating funds from Thomas and Hugg Fund			67,415.24
Darnall Museum funds from Darnall Fund			13,592.56
Earned portion of General Services Administration Grant			2,574.74
			\$256,701.86
Total income—See opposite			\$256,701.86

## EXPENDITURES

### General Fund Expenditures— Schedule 1

Museum	\$ 12,357.98
Library	48,171.64
Manuscript Division	11,379.96
Darnall Museum	10,511.06
Magazine	17,872.70
History Notes	1,093.35
Building Operations	77,654.52
Administrative And General	65,179.29

\$244,220.50

### State Program Expenditures— Schedule 2

Educational	\$ 11,220.89
Road Markers	4,499.78
Archives	4,875.00
Magazine Indexing	3,912.01
Important Papers Indexing	5,855.86
History Project	3,013.85

\$ 33,377.39

### General Services Administration Pro- gram Expenditures—Schedule 2

2,574.74

### Total expenditures

\$280,172.63

### Income for year—See opposite

256,701.86

### Excess of expenditures over income for year

\$(23,470.77)

### General Fund Surplus—October 1, 1969

\$ 58,839.66

### Add: Reimbursement of prior year expense from Darnall Fund

7,336.00

\$ 66,175.66

### Less: Passano, Semmes, Steiner Fund income of prior years re- stored to Special Funds

1,333.49

### Corrected October 1, 1969, balance

64,842.17

### Balance—September 30, 1970— to Exhibit A

\$ 41,371.40

# VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR  
MILLARD E. TYDINGS

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL  
THOMAS H. ROBINSON

FOR GOVERNOR  
ALBERT C. RITCHIE

FOR COMPTROLLER  
WILLIAM S. GORDY, JR.

FOR CLERK OF THE COURT OF APPEALS  
JAMES A. YOUNG

THE BEST PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE  
IS THE RECORD OF PLEDGES  
REDEEMED IN THE PAST.

*Election Tuesday November 2<sup>nd</sup>*

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF J. ENOS RAY - TREAS

Campaign pamphlet for gubernatorial election of 1926