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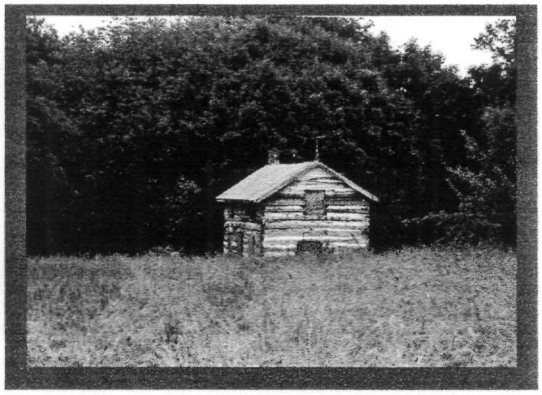

MAPPING A PARADOX:

The African-American Cultural Landscape in Antebellum Baltimore County Maryland

Kimberly R. Abe

Landmarks Preservation Commission
Baltimore County Office of Planning
Towson, Maryland

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Preservation Planner

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Baltimore County

James T. Smith, Jr., County Executive

PREFACE

This report is the first in a series of Occasional Papers to be published by the Landmarks Preservation Commission. Our purpose is to make available more conveniently – both in hard copy and on the County's website – works of scholarship on the more than three centuries of Baltimore County's rich history.

The Commission is particularly pleased to present this document, completed just before the 140th anniversary of the emancipation of all slaves in Maryland, on November 1, 1864. The study's author, Ms. Kimberly R. Abe, currently serves the Commission as a Preservation Planner, focusing primarily on research and especially on the history and preservation of the County's forty-some African-American communities.

This report is adapted from Ms. Abe's thesis approved in 2004 by Goucher College as part of the graduate program through which she received an additional Master of Arts degree, with honors, in Historic Preservation. As readers will discover, the study is not only a work of keen, insightful scholarship but is also grounded in exemplary ethical sensibilities. Moreover, it is not simply an academic exercise; as a work on this subject should do, the study inspires and challenges readers to become more involved and more effective in protecting the scarce physical resources – archeological sites as well as standing structures – surviving from this tragic period of American history. The Commission invites readers to learn from Ms. Abe's research, and to join in this endeavor.

Landmarks Preservation Commission

James E. Matthews, Chairman

Landmarks Preservation Commission

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Baltimore County

James T. Smith, Jr., County Executive

RESOLUTION

FOR RECOGNITION AND PROTECTION OF SITES RELATED TO SLAVERY

WHEREAS, during the first two centuries of Baltimore County's existence, until November 1, 1864, it was a legal and routinely accepted part of the culture in Maryland for some persons to hold other human beings in absolute involuntary servitude; and

WHEREAS this absolute deprivation of liberty, and sometimes even of life, had manifold horrendous consequences – often destroying the sanctity of family relationships, with children and spouses heartlessly sold forever away from one another; and

WHEREAS slaves were also ruthlessly deprived of the fruits of their own brutally hard labor, without which Baltimore County's economic prosperity could scarcely have been achieved; and

WHEREAS slaves were regarded as mere chattels, perhaps to be treated with some modicum of decency, perhaps to be shockingly abused and defiled – solely depending upon their owners' degree of humanity, and with no recourse to appeal for justice; and

WHEREAS untold thousands of slaves were held captive on properties throughout Baltimore County, some lucky few in the attics or cellars of a master's home or outbuilding, but mostly in crude, wretched shelters, virtually all of which have disappeared during the last century and a half; and

WHEREAS, as the amazing archeological discoveries at Fort Garrison have proven, slavery sites are likely still to hold the potential for yielding remarkable information about the survival of African culture among the inhabitants of slave "quarters" from which the County's culture was so immeasurably enriched through subsequent generations; and

WHEREAS heartrending accounts by and about the slaves with the inspiring courage to risk the perils of fleeing from their bondage have been linked to specific properties still existing in Baltimore County; and

WHEREAS a deep sense of common humanity compels this generation of Baltimore Countians to honor the memories of these tens of thousands of slaves for their lifetimes not only of quiet desperation, enduring scarcely-imaginable suffering, but also of

courageous resistance to their oppression, striving continually to assert their humanity; and

WHEREAS no memorial to these victims could be more fitting or more compelling than the few remaining buildings and places associated with their personal tragedies and triumphs;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Baltimore County Landmarks Preservation Commission that, for the purpose of recognizing and protecting the buildings, structures and potential archeological sites which are so intrinsically associated with these events of transcending historical importance and which constitute the mute, physical legacy of slavery in Baltimore County:

1. The Commission will, as rapidly as research is completed, move to achieve Landmark listing or other suitable measures for the permanent protection of the buildings, structures, and sites that are reasonably believed to have been associated with this tragic era of our County's history; and

2. The Commission requests its staff to treat slavery-related properties among its highest proprieties for research, Landmark nomination or other protective measures.

DULY ADOPTED by vote of the Commission this 10th day of March, 2005.

James E. Matthews /VB
James E. Matthews, Chairman

Vicki Nevy
Vicki Nevy, Administrator/Secretary

Mapping a Paradox:
The African-American Cultural Landscape
in
Antebellum Baltimore County, Maryland

by

Kimberly R. Abe
Preservation Planner

Landmarks Preservation Commission
Baltimore County Office of Planning
Towson, Maryland

ABSTRACT

Slavery sites and other cultural resources associated with antebellum African-American life in Baltimore County, Maryland, and nationally, have historically been under-researched. Thus, many of these buildings and sites are unrecognized as historically significant and are needlessly demolished or neglected. The losses are particularly tragic because these resources are some of the only remaining records of lives that were largely undocumented in writing. Consequently, the failure to document America's slavery sites is indirectly resulting in the destruction of history itself.

This thesis presents historical geography as an innovative research approach for identifying and protecting Baltimore County's slave past through the partial construction of an atlas to portray the county's antebellum African-American experience. This research approach extends recognition of resources beyond the slave cabin to the larger cultural landscape that included the farmstead, towns, and other types of physical environments. This Baltimore County cultural landscape is one of the country's most complex and intriguing. By 1860 this county had the largest free black population in the country living within in a slave society, and bordering on the free state of Pennsylvania.

An antebellum African-American atlas illustrating the paradoxical nature of slavery in Baltimore County provides a comprehensive geographic perspective for efficient study and presentation of the locations of, and relationships between, sites of slavery, runaway slaves' sites of origin, free black communities, and other resources. Foremost, this prototype map strengthens the case for protection of these sites as both records and as monuments to convey the country's largely untold story of slavery.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge several sets of support teams that assisted in producing this study. Dr. George McDaniel, Dr. T. Stephen Whitman, and Dr. Dale Gyure, my three advisory committee members, provided valuable expertise. My two colleagues, Tim Dugan and John W. McGrain, not only shouldered a great deal of my workload during the last several months, they also provided excellent editorial assistance, research assistance, and emotional support. Additionally, Jean White and Jen Meachum, computer and Geographic Information Systems experts, provided flawless technical support.

Kimberly R. Abe
Towson, Maryland
June 2004

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

> *The geographer cannot study houses and towns, fields and factories, as to their where and why without asking himself about their origins.... He cannot treat the localization of activities without knowing the functioning of the culture, the process of living together of the group, and he cannot do this except by historical reconstruction.*[1]
>
> Carl O. Sauer

Joshua Johnson was an early nineteenth century Baltimore portraitist, famous for his bold colors and his emphasis on the fine details of his clients' clothing. Joshua Johnson was born a slave, and his white father purchased Joshua's freedom when he became an adult. Ellin Moale, a Baltimore city resident, was one of Johnson's clients.[2] Ellin Moale also owned eleven slaves at her Greenspring estate in Baltimore County, Maryland.[3]

Jack Cox was a body servant for both John and Richard McGaw. Richard McGaw granted freedom to Jack in 1845 and gave him a small farm and an annuity of ninety dollars a year.[4] Jack Cox's house is still used as a residence.

In the middle of a summer night in 1861, three female slaves belonging to M. Worthington and one to a man named Hugh Horner, attempted to escape with the Ninth New York Regiment of the Union army as the soldiers returned home. Two of the

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[1] Carl O. Sauer, "Forward to Historical Geography," Transcribed,"Geographers on the Web," Fall 1997, http://www.colorado.edu/geography/giw/sauer-co/sauer-co.html. First published in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 31 (1941): 1-24.

[2] J. Hall Pleasants, "Joshua Johnson, The First American Negro Portrait Painter." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 37 (June 1942): 141.

[3] Maryland State Papers, "Federal Direct Tax of 1798" (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, Microfilm M 3469). Hereinafter, this source is identified as "1798 Federal Tax List."

[4] *Maryland Journal* (Towson, MD), December 5, 1868.

women were captured in Bosley's Swamp, but one of Mrs. Worthington's slaves escaped.[5]

In the middle of another night in May 1844, James Watkins, using the North Star as a guide, headed north in his second attempt to escape from Luke Ensor's estate called "Young Jacob's Choice." James Watkins' narrative about his dehumanizing experiences on that farm, and his harrowing escape, reads like a modern suspense novel. The slave "quarters" that had barely housed him were "a kind of shed, where male and female slaves were huddled in together for the night without any bed but a sloping platform inclining to the fire."[6] The slave quarters no longer exist at Young Jacob's Choice, but the main house, a spring-house, and a barn still stand as unmarked monuments to James Watkins' phenomenal, scarcely-known life.

Young Jacob's Choice is listed on the county's historic sites inventory,[7] but not because of its association with James Watkins. To date, if the history of slavery in Baltimore County is studied at all, it is only researched as an ancillary aspect of the history of a site or other resource, rarely as the focus. Baltimore County is not alone in this practice. A recent article in the National Trust's magazine posed the challenge that "when it comes to this country's deepest trauma, the American landscape is still largely silent."[8]

The silence in the contemporary landscape is all the more paradoxical in light of the increasing accessibility of information about slavery. The spectacular growth in recent years, however, in the number of internet sites and literature about slavery only partly addresses the challenge. Images and words about the long-gone participants in the national trauma can be conveyed eloquently by books, articles, and web pages. Meanwhile, as travelers pass unknowingly by, the buildings and sites associated with this past are steadily disappearing.

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[5] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), August 17, 1861.

[6] James Watkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins, Formerly a "Chattel" in Maryland, U.S.; Containing an Account of His Escape from Slavery, Together with an Appeal on Behalf of Three Million Such "Pieces of Property," Still Held Under the Standard of the Eagle,* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries, "Documenting the American South," transcribed, 2001, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/ watkins52/watkin52.html.

[7] The Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), in cooperation with the Baltimore County Office of Planning, is conducting an on-going survey to inventory historic properties. In this thesis, the files on the districts and individual sites are identified (in parentheses) by the "BA" reference numbers. The "Young Jacob's Choice" property is (BA 00373).

[8] Adam Goodheart, "Facing the Slave Past: Historic Sites Grapple with America's Greatest Shame," *Preservation,* 53, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2001): 36.

The irony is that the buildings and farms where the slaves lived and toiled, suffered and perished, are some of the few records of slavery that remain. Slavery was largely undocumented in written records, so the structures and landscapes associated with slavery remain as significant, largely-unrecognized records. The stone walls and the soils at slave sites may still hold beads, tools, cooking utensils, and other artifacts. Study of these artifacts by professional archaeologists may say as much as the written records, but it could certainly say different things about the people who inhabited the land and buildings. What are the possibilities, for instance, that the Young Jacob's Choice site may hold artifacts that can help in writing other chapters of James Watkins' story? Slave sites and landscapes should be preserved for this reason alone, and this thesis proposes a means by which the preservation needs and opportunities can more readily be pursued.

Buildings and landscapes associated with slavery in Baltimore County should also be recognized for protection because they reflect the county's unique history of slavery within this northernmost slaveholding state. Baltimore County was a border county, within the border state that in 1860 had the largest free black population in the United States.[9] Maryland state historians describe slavery in Baltimore County and in the city of Baltimore as paradoxical, since both areas were hubs for free blacks and yet also bastions of slaveholding.[10] These conditions created a unique African-American society in this region, whereas in most of the deep South, African-American slaves probably never encountered a free African-American person in their entire life.

This distinctive slave culture is partially a result of the county's geographic location in the Mid-Atlantic region, as well as the county's unique geography within the Chesapeake Bay Tidewater region. Logically, maps from that era should reveal clues about how the geographic conditions may have affected and created the county's paradoxical African-American society, as well as how slavery and freedom, in turn, shaped the development of the land and communities.

This thesis proposes a new approach to documenting and protecting the county's slave past by beginning to reconstruct a cultural landscape map of the county's antebellum African-American population. Historical geography, an under-used resource in preservation, will direct the work towards a comprehensive analysis of the entire panorama of the antebellum experience. This reconstructed atlas of the county's African-American history will allow researchers to study a wide array of issues, including the various spatial relationships among slave sites and free black communities, and how both kinds of sites are patterned across the county's landscape.

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[9] University of Virginia, "United States Historical Census Data Browser." Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, 1998, http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/ collections/stats/ histcensus/. Unless otherwise cited, all population the data in this thesis attributed to the decennial U.S. Censuses were obtained from this source and are cited as "Historical Census Data Browser."

[10] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground: The Flight to Freedom, and Communities in Antebellum Maryland; Baltimore County Study" http://mdslavery.net.

This new atlas of the county's African-American cultural landscape will include seventy-four farmsteads and homesteads still existing that were inhabited by slaves in the early- or mid-nineteenth century. The slavery data will be extracted from tax lists, wills, inventories, and the 1850 U.S. Census. For ten of these slavery sites, the history of slavery is documented in the years 1798,[11] 1823,[12] and 1850.[13] The atlas will also include eighteen farms that were points of departure for fugitive slaves; the county's pre-Civil War free black neighborhoods; antebellum African-American churches; and Quaker-owned farms and buildings representing white, non-slave-owning residents who may have been involved in the Underground Railroad.

This atlas includes extant sites and structures since this thesis seeks to demonstrate how historical geography can be employed for preservation. An atlas of African-American cultural resources produces great new research insights, while at the same time the atlas strengthens the argument to protect the resources constituting the places on the map.

Chapter I begins the development of this atlas with a broad overview of slavery in Baltimore County, tracing its evolution through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and emphasizing geographical factors that influenced its development.[14] Chapter II begins with an examination of slave housing within the Chesapeake region over the course of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. The discussion of slave housing sets the stage for an analysis of fifteen extant slave quarters in Baltimore County. When presented in the context of each property's history, the significance of these slave quarters to the complexities and extensions of the cultural landscape of slavery in Baltimore County should become apparent.

Chapters III and IV together comprise the centerpiece of the thesis. Chapter III focuses on slavery sites within the landscape, whereas Chapter IV introduces the sites of free African-Americans. Chapter III presents the slavery study sites within the context of the African-American Cultural Atlas, considers the analytical use of fugitive slave advertisements and slave narratives, and describes the methodology used to compile the

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[11] 1798 Federal Tax List. (See footnote 3.)

[12] Baltimore County Commissioners of the Tax, "Assessment Record" (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, Microfilm CM1203); herein cited as "1823 County Tax List."

[13] U.S. Census of Population, 1850 (Washington: National Archives, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 432, Roll 484, Maryland, Baltimore County, Schedule 2; accessed on CD-ROM disk published by Heritage Quest, 2001); herein cited as "1850 Census Slave Schedule."

[14] The City of Baltimore was incorporated in 1796, but remained partially under the jurisdiction of Baltimore County until 1851. This thesis focuses on the area that currently constitutes Baltimore County, but, to the extent that city data are not separately available, some pre-1851 countywide data reported in this thesis may include the city.

data and develop the atlas. Chapter III also explores the relationships between soil conditions and slavery in the agriculturally significant Worthington Valley. Chapter IV investigates fugitive slave advertisements as records of slave resistance, and provides summaries of the county's pre-Civil War free black neighborhoods, antebellum African-American churches, and Quaker-owned farms and buildings, as well as a brief study of German-American settlement patterns.

These chapters work collectively as a thesis that explores largely un-chartered research territories. The journey begins in the first chapter with a summary of the parallel development of both a free and an enslaved African-American society in Baltimore County.

Chapter 1

SLAVERY IN BALTIMORE COUNTY THROUGH THREE CENTURIES

I apprehend you will embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail with respect to us.[15]

Benjamin Banneker to Thomas Jefferson, 1791

Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806) is often called America's first African-American scientist. Benjamin Banneker was a free black who lived on his family's one-hundred acre farm in Oella, several miles upstream from the town of Baltimore in the Maryland colony. Benjamin Banneker was a self-taught mathematician and astronomer who calculated and published his own series of almanacs, and also worked with Pierre-Charles L'Enfant on surveying Washington, D.C.

Banneker's grandmother, Molly Walsh, an indentured servant from England who finished her seven years of bondage, bought a farm in Oella as well as two African-American slaves to help her grow tobacco. Walsh freed both slaves and married the one called Bannaky. One of their children, Mary, also bought and married a slave, Robert, and together they raised their son Benjamin Banneker.[16]

Benjamin grew to manhood at the farm known as "Bannaky Springs." It was a fine piece of land, fed by springs that provided irrigation during dry spells for both tobacco as a cash crop and corn and other vegetables for food. The family probably bundled the tobacco leaves into wooden "hogshead" barrels and carefully rolled them to the nearby port of Elkridge for shipment overseas.

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[15] Benjamin Banneker, Letter to Thomas Jefferson, August 19, 1791, WGBH Interactive for PBS Online, "Africans in America," 1998, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/ 2h71t.html.

[16] Silvio A. Bedini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker: The First African-American Man of Science* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972), 156-164.

Benjamin Banneker was born and died as a free black who triumphed over almost insurmountable odds to live an intellectual's life in a white-dominated society. When he died in 1806, there were more slaves in Baltimore County than at any time in its history, before *or* after. The following history presents a broad outline of slavery from the county's formation in the seventeenth century until slavery's end in November 1864.

Slavery in the Seventeenth Century

The territory now known as Maryland was occupied solely by American Indians at the opening of the seventeenth century, but by the close of the century the arrival of the European settlers had begun vast changes in the Chesapeake Bay Tidewater region. Starting in the 1630s, a growing stream of immigrants steadily pushed the European frontier further into the Virginia and Maryland piedmont, strengthening Europe's hold over the region's culture and economy.

The first settlers learned about the bay's attractions from Captain John Smith's journals and maps recording his explorations in 1608. Smith was the leader of the Jamestown colony in Virginia, and he took several sojourns up the Chesapeake Bay to explore and document its navigable tributaries, including the Patapsco, Gunpowder, and Bush Rivers in present-day Baltimore County. Smith encountered the Massawomeks and the Susquehannock Indian tribes in this upper region of the bay.

In 1629, William Claiborne established the earliest known European settlement in the upper Chesapeake Bay, a trading post on what is now Kent Island, Maryland. The following year, Cecil (Caecilius) Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received a Charter from King Charles I allowing him to become the proprietor of the land lying north of the Potomac River, adjacent to the Virginia colony. Calvert named his colony (which then included present-day Delaware) Maryland, in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. Two ships arrived in 1634 to establish the colony's first permanent settlement, at what became St. Mary's City.

No surviving record is known by which the date of Baltimore County's designation can be defined, but it occurred sometime before 1659. Figure 1 (page 10) shows the county in its setting at the northern limit of the Tidewater region. Until 1674, the county included all the land in the northern part of the colony, stretching both east of the bay opposite Annapolis to the Delaware Bay, and far west into the Piedmont and Appalachian wilderness. Nominally, it even extended to 40° North latitude in the area of the overlapping royal grants to the Calvert and Penn families. Baltimore County's land area was steadily reduced, however, as new counties were formed. Table 1 (page 9) provides a historical perspective on the county's land area by which the relative population densities at various times can be gauged.

The treaty negotiated with the usually hostile Susquehannocks in 1652 permitted white settlers to move into the Indians' traditional hunting grounds north of the Patapsco River, Baltimore County's southern boundary. The earliest settlers, however, resided at

Table 1: Baltimore County, Maryland, Land Area, 1674-1837

Years	Approx. No. Sq. Mi.	Cause of Change in Land Area
Before 1674	>5000	(Original area)
1674-1748	4200	Establishment of Cecil County
1748-1773	1300	Establishment of Frederick County
1773-1837	825	Establishment of Harford County
After 1837	598	Establishment of Carroll County

Source: Baltimore County Office of Planning

the head of the bay, in the areas of present-day Harford and Cecil counties.[17] By 1667, there were still only about nine hundred people living in the colony's vast, unexplored northern territories.[18] Even by 1700, there were only an estimated 1,700 total residents in this huge territory.[19] Baltimore County remained a primitive backwater in the Tidewater region until the end of the eighteenth century. The delayed development, and the county's minimal role in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Tidewater tobacco culture and economy, produced a county with fewer slaves than usual amidst the stratified slave culture that took hold elsewhere in the Tidewater.

Like many English colonies, Maryland was established with specific civic goals in mind, particularly relating to religious practices. Maryland and Pennsylvania provided some of the most open conditions for settlers to practice their own religion, but this did not necessarily mean that most settlers were seeking relief from religious persecution. Rather, between seventy and eight-five percent of the settlers in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake region were immigrants who sought economic opportunity as indentured servants from England.[20] Indentured servants were able to pursue economic opportunities

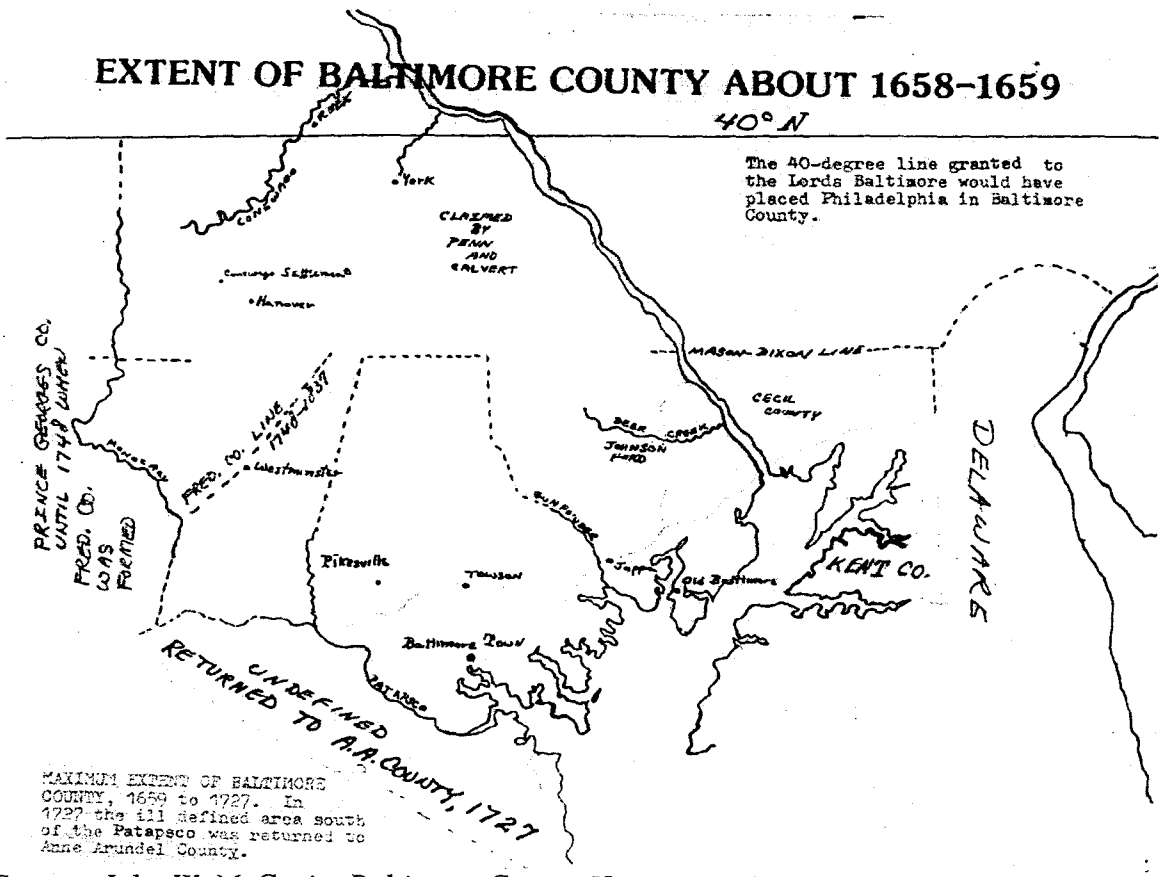
[17] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men* (Philadelphia, PA: Louis H. Everts, 1881. Reprinted by Higginson Book Company, Salem, MA, 1997), 39-42.

[18] Charles G. Steffen, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County 1660-1776* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 12.

[19] Arthur Karinen, "Maryland Population 1631-1730." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 54 (1959): 390, quoted in Charles G. Steffen, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen,* 12.

[20] Lois Green Carr, "Maryland's Seventeenth Century," Maryland Humanities Council, 2001, http://mdhc.org/bibliotest/essays.php?essay=29.

Figure 1: Extent of Baltimore County About 1658-1659



Source: John W. McGrain, Baltimore County Historian, 1985

unavailable in overcrowded England by contracting to work for another person for a definite period of time, usually in exchange for the cost of passage.

Beginnings of Slavery in Maryland

Mathias de Sousa, a black man of African and Portuguese descent who was brought to Maryland by Jesuit missionaries in 1634, was one of the most notable indentured servants in Maryland's history. De Sousa's life exemplifies the socio-economic mobility offered to a person of color in early Maryland before these chances were erased by institutionalized slavery in the colony. After his indenture was finished in 1638, Mathias became a mariner and trader who commanded a trading voyage north to the Susquehannock Indians and sailed as the master of a ketch owned by the Provincial Secretary, John Lewger. Mathias de Sousa also voted as a member of the Lower House

of the Assembly, marking the first time a man of color voted in a legislature in the New World.[21]

These fluid social conditions for black-skinned West Indian and African individuals, as well as for white indentured servants, were short-lived. Whereas some of the first Africans brought to Jamestown (and St. Mary's City) were indentured servants, not slaves, by the mid-century the colonies began to codify a slave system that was fully established by 1680. Africans brought to the colonies thereafter were imported specifically as "chattels," defined as articles of property that could be bought, sold, willed to another person, or even beaten viciously. Since chattels, or slaves, had absolutely no legal rights, their offspring also belonged to their owner.[22] By the end of the seventeenth century, African slaves had become the basic labor force in the Tidewater region, framed within a larger social structure described by Alan Kulikoff as follows:

> The seventeenth century Chesapeake was full of opportunities. Thousands of English men (and fewer women) arrived in the region as indentured servants. Many of these immigrants fell ill and died before completing their term of service.... Those who survived, however, would serve their term, work a few years for other planters, and then procure their own land and servants. Since the price of tobacco remained high, freedmen often became prosperous.... In the decades after 1680, intertwined series of demographic, economic and social changes transformed this social world and promoted increasingly hierarchical relations between men and women, masters and slaves, and gentlemen and yeomen. Rapidly falling tobacco prices discouraged white immigration.... Planters turned to African slaves to replace white servants, thereby eliminating the status of poor whites. At the same time, political dynasties appeared, composed of descendants of officeholding families.[23]

The social changes described above are evidenced by the growth in the total number of slaves in the colonies. In 1660, approximately 1,700 blacks lived in Maryland and Virginia, and by 1680 their numbers had increased to about 4,000. The trend accelerated; during the last five years of the century, planters enslaved another 3,000 Africans.[24]

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[21] David S. Bogen, "Mathias De Sousa: Maryland's First Colonist of African Descent," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 96, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 73-74.

[22] Theresa Ann Murphy. "Scholarship on Southern Farms and Plantations." American Studies Department, George Washington University, 1996, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history//resedu/slavescholarship.htm.

[23] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 4.

[24] Russell R. Menard, "Servants to Slaves," *Social Studies*, 16 (1977): 363-375, quoted in Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 40.

At the close of the century, however, blacks still remained a small portion of the total population in the region. Blacks accounted for about three percent of the Chesapeake population in 1650 and fifteen percent in 1690, with most of these people enslaved on small plantations where there were fewer than eleven other black slaves.[25]

Slavery in Baltimore County was beginning to take on a slightly different pattern than elsewhere in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia. In his work, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen; The Gentry of Baltimore County, Maryland 1660-1776*, Charles G. Steffen argues that Baltimore County was a more socially mobile and egalitarian county than others in the Tidewater. As such, the county was relatively slow in transitioning to slavery, with Baltimore area planters continuing to rely on white laborers well into the eighteenth century, long after the large planters in southern Maryland had already shifted to a predominantly slave work force by 1696.[26] Steffen also notes that Baltimore County continued to retain lower levels of slavery than its Tidewater counterparts as a result of several interrelated factors. The county's topography was more hilly than other areas of the Tidewater, and the fall line that cuts across the county several miles or less inland from the bay minimized the amount of the flat, sandy coastal lands preferred by the tobacco planters. Additionally, the county was slow to develop because of the lingering threat of warlike Indians from the North, and by the time it was finally settled, a Tidewater gentry like that described by Kulikoff did not arise to dominate the economy and the social structure.

Steffen reached his conclusions by analyzing the assets and holdings of the county's wealthiest property owners, as reflected in the Inventories taken at their death, and he compared these data to the wealthy property owners in other Tidewater counties. His research provides a beginning for understanding how Baltimore County diverged from the pattern in the rest of the Tidewater in having lower levels of slavery and a more socially mobile society.

Steffen's research provides a generalized, comparative view of slavery in seventeenth century Baltimore County. Fortunately, in addition to Steffen's broad-based analysis, the work of a local historian, William B. Marye, provides additional insight on this murky part of the county's history. Marye spent his childhood in the Upper Falls neighborhood of Baltimore County, in the territories first settled by the Europeans, and he also researched the locations and the chains of title of the county's earliest land patents. In 1922, Marye wrote:

> In 1667 there were probably no white settlers whatever north of a line drawn from the [current] Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge over the Big Gunpowder Falls to the site of the City of Baltimore.... Much of the land was taken up and patented at earlier dates in large tracts of holding bearing

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[25] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 319.

[26] Charles G. Steffen, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen*, 15.

> various names, and was largely held by men of means who could afford not to settle them, and hold them perfectly vacant for numbers of years. The cause why the settlement of the backwoods was so long delayed about forty years after white men first settled on the tidal rivers of the Chesapeake Bay in Baltimore and Harford counties, was the fear of the Indians and the ability of wealthy owners to pay taxes without receiving any income. "Gunpowder Manor" a tract of over 7,000 acres ... was patented to Lord Baltimore in 1683, and was not open to settlers until 1720, and must have been until that time, a perfect wilderness.[27]

In 1699 there were approximately ninety-six slaves in Baltimore County, comprising a minute portion of the 13,000 total slaves in Maryland and Virginia.[28] The following descriptions of several seventeenth century sites associated with slavery will serve as a starting point for the process of identifying some of the locations where these slaves worked for and alongside Baltimore County's earliest settlers. Ideally, some rare find of a slave testimony from this period, or even a minimal amount of archaeological research, would provide the type of information needed for a better understanding of this period in county history. However, even without those resources, we can begin to put a physical and geographic face on slavery because of the painstaking efforts of several twentieth-century historians (William B. Marye, John McGrain, Carlton Seitz, and George Horvath) to map the boundaries of many of the county's early land grants. When primary source data from wills, inventories, and the tax lists from 1692, 1694, and 1695, is attached to these maps, much further detail on the historical geography of slavery can be presented.

In approximately 1664, Thomas Todd settled "Todd's Range" on the Patapsco River overlooking the Chesapeake Bay. Thomas Todd imported thirty-eight people with him from the Virginia colony and transformed 1,500 acres of waterfront land into one of the county's premier plantations, and the only Baltimore County plantation named on Augustine Hermann's 1673 map of the Chesapeake.[29] Todd shifted slaves back and forth between Baltimore County and his son's 1,200-acre plantation in Virginia.[30]

The first place called "Baltimore Towne," which was established in 1671 as the county seat on the Bush River in present-day Harford County, also appears on Hermann's map. James Phillips and William Osbourne were major landholders in the vicinity.

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[27] William B. Marye, "Perry Hall's Earliest Settlers." (N.p.: cover title on October 17, 1922 typewritten letter to "Miss Scharfetter." Copy filed at Baltimore County Office of Planning): 12.

[28] Neil A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson, MD: Friends of the Towson Library, 1979), 15.

[29] Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III, *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 13.

[30] Charles G. Steffen, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen*, 21.

James Phillips was one of the town's high-income residents, and William Osbourne operated the local Bush River ferry. The 1694 Baltimore County Tax List shows William Osbourne with six taxable persons and one slave, and James Phillips with nine taxable residents and five slaves.[31] (Taxables at that time included slaves and white males over the age of fifteen.) Phillips operated a tavern to serve those attending court in the small town. Excavations at the site in 1999 recovered over 17,000 artifacts, revealing a refined, European-influenced life in the Maryland frontier that contrasts with presumptions that these early settlers all lived an extremely primitive existence. Unfortunately, available reports do not indicate whether the analysts of the artifacts sought any information about the African-American slaves at "Baltimore Towne."[32]

Other seventeenth-century slave sites include Joseph Peake's Back River tracts called "Broughton's Forest," "No Name," and "Peake's Purchase." Peake was assessed for one slave called "Dolle" in the 1692 Baltimore County Tax List.[33] In contrast, Richard Guin, owner of parts of tracts call "Brandan," "Newtown," and "Gwinn's Farm," was assessed in the same year for four taxables in his households, none of whom were specified as slaves.[34]

Slavery in the Eighteenth Century

The pace of slavery and European settlement increased rapidly in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia in the first half of the eighteenth century. Planters continued to import African slaves. Between 1700 and 1739, slavers brought 54,000 black captives into Virginia and Maryland, with another 42,000 slaves imported in the following three decades.[35] By 1770, there were 250,000 slaves in the Chesapeake Bay region, up from 13,000 in 1700.[36]

After about 1700, the colonists began moving into the hilly backwoods of Baltimore County. Settlement extended to the present Pennsylvania border by 1730. In

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[31] Edward F. Wright, *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1692-1763* (Silver Spring, MD: Family Line Publications, 1987), 4-7.

[32] David G. Blick, "Aberdeen Proving Grounds Uncovers 17th Century Settlement of Old Baltimore," *Cultural Resource Management* 22, no. 5 (1999): 42-44.

[33] Edward F. Wright, *Inhabitants of Baltimore County*, 2.

[34] Ibid., 1.

[35] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 65.

[36] "The Civil War, Slavery and the Chesapeake Bay," Chesapeake Bay Program, "African-American History in the Bay," December 11, 2003, http://www.chesapeakebay.net/pubs/blackhistorybackgrounder2-01.pdf .

1737, the county contained approximately 9,100 total inhabitants and 1,067 slaves.[37] Until a more comprehensive analysis is conducted using inventories and wills, the picture of the physical dimensions of slavery in the county's landscape during this time remains a blurry, abstract image. No buildings from the first years of settlement are known to have survived, since the first houses and buildings were simple wood structures, either horizontal log construction laid on the bare earth or built in the "puncheon" style where the timber posts were inserted vertically into the earth. Both types of expedient, expendable structures were long ago consumed by termites or fire. However, when wills are linked to land patent maps, the landscapes where the early slaves labored can be located, and in some cases these sites may yield archaeological remains of the buildings that housed both the planters and their slaves.

In 1718, Anthony Johnson, owner of part of "Johnson's Interest" on the north side of the Patapsco River and part of "Howard's Prize" on the river's south side, bequeathed to his wife "one Mulatto Girl."[38] Nicholas Day's will dated March 31, 1738, identifies Day as a resident of Joppa, owner of the tract called "William the Conqueror," several lots in Joppa, and portions of a tract called "Dock," all of which was bequeathed to his sons, along with four "Negro" women named "Dina", "Jenny" "Judith" and "Jessy."[39] Nicholas Day also appears in the 1737 Baltimore County Tax List with five slaves.[40]

Daniel Scott, a major landowner and slaveholder in northern central Baltimore County, willed to his heirs in 1745 parts of the tracts called "Scott's Improvement Enlarged" "Scott's Clafe," "James Forrest," "Beals Camp," "Trust," and "Scott's Hopewell," along with twenty-two slaves.[41] Because of his extensive land holdings, Daniel Scott appears in Steffen's study of the county elite in the 1720s, with the elite being defined as the set of individuals who ranked in the top ten percent of inventoried decedents.[42] Not surprisingly, Daniel's sons, Aquilla Scott and James Scott, also appear in the list of the county's elite in the 1760s.[43]

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[37] Neil A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County*, 15.

[38] Maryland State Archives, Prerogative Court (Wills), Book 17: 81-82, Anthony Johnson March 30, 1718.

[39] Maryland Hall of Records, Baltimore County Wills, Box 6, folder 7, Nicholas Day, March 31, 1738 (proved May 25, 1739).

[40] Edward F. Wright, *Inhabitants of Baltimore County,* 18.

[41] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 2, folio 212, Daniel Scott (proved April 15, 1745).

[42] Charles G. Steffen, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen*, 171.

[43] Ibid.

Thomas Norris was one of the earliest settlers in the county's northern territory near the Pennsylvania line. In 1761, Norris bequeathed to his five sons various portions of the tracts called "Macedon," "Turkey Range," and "Hills and Dales," the latter of which Norris noted "as lying within His Lordship's Reserves." The so-called reserves were lands in the northern part of the county that Lord Baltimore had held unpatented well into the eighteenth century. Most of these reserved lands were sold as confiscated English property after the American Revolution. Thomas Norris' one slave, a "negro" girl called "Phillis," was willed to his son James along "with her increase unto him," meaning that all her children would also be his property.[44]

Thomas Norris might have had some of the first Germans in the county as neighbors. The first wave of German immigrants came into Maryland through Pennsylvania, moving south as early as the 1730s. Until then, the majority of county settlers were English, with limited amounts of the Scotch, Irish and Dutch. The Germans were experienced in raising grains and their arrival coincided with increasing demand for cereal grains in Britain, Europe and the West Indies.[45] As such, the Germans were instrumental in establishing and strengthening a non-slave-based agricultural system of wheat and other grain cultivation. The majority of the Germans moving into Maryland settled in Frederick and Washington counties, where the 1790 U.S. Census lists close to 10,000 residents with German surnames. Lord Baltimore attempted to lure some Germans to Baltimore County in 1737 with the development of a new road from the Susquehanna River crossing at Peach Bottom, Pennsylvania to Baltimore, but these efforts met with limited success.[46]

In 1768, the seat of Baltimore County government was moved from "Joppa" on the Gunpowder River, to a new "Baltimore Town," on the Patapsco River. The shallow Gunpowder River estuary had been steadily silting as a result of the deforestation of the surrounding hinterlands. In contrast, the Baltimore Town site was on one of the deepest rivers on the bay, forming a large, sheltered harbor. The relocation of the county seat marked the beginning of the rise of Baltimore County and the city of Baltimore as a major industrial center and port in the Industrial Revolution.

Some of the same geographic factors that had limited Baltimore County's participation in the seventeenth and eighteenth century tobacco economy and society gave the region a competitive lead with the onset of industrialization. The fall line that lies only a few miles inland from the Chesapeake Bay, and that indirectly limited the county's supply of flat coastal plains desired by tobacco planters, also provided water energy for the numerous mills that sprouted along the Patapsco River and its parallel

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[44] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 2, folio 357-358, Thomas Norris, December 26, 1757 (proved March 24, 1761).

[45] Neil A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County*, 30.

[46] Ibid.

stream, the Gwynn's Falls. The city boomed during the Revolutionary War as a provider to the armed services, and between 1790 and 1810 the city of Baltimore's population grew from 13,000 to 47,000 residents (Table 2).

Although the end of the eighteenth century was the beginning of a rapid increase in the free African population in Baltimore County and the city of Baltimore, the statewide slave population remained remarkably stable. Historians have been vigorously studying the variations in Maryland's slave population to find relationships among the rates of slavery, manumissions, the growth of the state's free colored population, and the changing economy, as well as intangible factors such as religion and the colonists' heightened consciousness of natural individual liberties awakened during the Revolutionary War. Although researchers acknowledge the danger in ascribing a motive for someone's actions, William Calderhead presents a convincing argument that the egalitarian principles of the Revolutionary War resulted in an increased number of manumissions in Maryland, particularly between 1783 and 1790. Forty of the 951 total manumissions in the state during this period were for slaves in Baltimore County.[47]

Table 2: Slave and Non-slave Population, Maryland and Baltimore County, 1790-1820

Year	Total pop.	No. slaves
1790		
Maryland	319,728	103,036
Baltimore County	25,434	5,877
1800		
Maryland	341,543	105,635
Baltimore County	32,516	6,830
1810		
Maryland	380,546	111,502
Baltimore County	29,255	6,697
1820		
Maryland	407,350	107,398
Baltimore County	33,463	6,720

Source: University of Virginia, Historical Census Data Browser

Quakers and Methodists probably accounted for some of this manumission activity. Both religious groups strengthened their positions against slavery during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. In 1788, Quakers in Maryland moved to eliminate slavery within their ranks. The Methodists also went on record as opposing slavery on humanitarian and religious grounds, and at their famous "Christmas Conference" at Lovely Lane Church in Baltimore city in 1784, the Methodist church leaders ruled that

[47] William Calderhead, "Slavery in the Age of the Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 98, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 319.

ministers could no longer hold slaves. As T. Stephen Whitman notes, the Methodists did urge ministers to cease holding slaves for life, as follows:

> "...but as early as 1800, they had made that stance a 'local option' issue. The Lovely Lane records show ongoing problems with keeping Baltimore Conference ministers from owning slaves, and of course lay Methodists acquired more and more slaves as the group became wealthier."[48]

Whereas the Quakers had been instrumental in beginning the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania in 1780, their efforts failed in Maryland where sixty of the sixty-five state legislators owned slaves in the 1780s.[49] Nonetheless, as a result of Quaker and other abolitionists' pressures, the Maryland legislature passed a law in 1783 prohibiting the international slave trade from operating in Maryland, and in 1790 restored the slaveowners' right to emancipate by the terms of a last will and testament.

By 1790, there were approximately 1,300 slaves in the city of Baltimore, and almost 6,000 slaves among the 25,000 total Baltimore County residents. Wills from that era give insight into the prevailing attitudes on the disposition of slaves within the county.

For example, George Ensor and Edward Stoxdale both owned slaves and executed similar wills that evenly divided the slaves among their heirs. In 1771, George Ensor left parts of the tracts called "Vinyard" and "Jamessay's Prospects," and seven slaves, to his eight heirs, one of whom would receive one of "Negro Hannah's" children when born.[50] Edward Stoxdale, owner of parts of "Edward's Adventure," "Stoxdale's Addition," "The Park," and "Fine Soil," also specified that his grandchildren would own the offspring of the five female slaves that he bequeathed to his eight children.[51]

Millicent Price's will in 1787 was even less humane than George Ensor's and Edward Stoxdale's because its terms required that his slaves "Zingo," "Dick," "Peter," "Paschence," and "Elizabeth" would be auctioned at his death to ensure that his estate would be evenly apportioned to his eight children.[52] Two or more of these slaves probably were family members who thereby suffered the horrible tragedy of being sold to a new owner, away from the family and community they had formed in this county.

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[48] E-mail message to author from T. Stephen Whitman, February 16, 2004.

[49] William Calderhead, "Slavery in the Age of the Revolution," 316.

[50] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 3, folio 195, George Ensor, May 22, 1771 (proved November 11, 1771).

[51] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 3, folio 376, Edward Stoxdale, August 16, 1779 (proved October 13, 1779).

[52] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 4, folio 243-244, Millicent Price, November 9, 1784 (proved May 26, 1787).

As quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Benjamin Banneker spoke in 1791 against the slavery that surrounded him. Benjamin Banneker died in 1806, after living through two more events that worsened prospects for the gradual abolition of slavery in America: the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1793, and the invention of the cotton gin. The Fugitive Slave Act allowed slaveowners to seize fugitive slaves in non-slave states and territories and made it illegal for anyone to help a slave escape or to provide refuge to a fugitive. This meant that slaves were not necessarily free once they crossed the Mason-Dixon Line into Pennsylvania. Nonetheless, the line remains famous as a geographic symbol between slavery and freedom in the United States.

Eli Whitney's cotton gin dramatically increased productivity. U.S. cotton production invigorated the South's appetite for slave labor, and was a boon for Northern and English cotton mills. The invention had a tragic effect on Maryland and Virginia slave families. The increased demand raised the price of slaves already within the country, since international slave trading had been prohibited by federal law in 1808. Although notable numbers of slaveholders in Maryland were manumitting their slaves, or allowing them to purchase their freedom, there were other profit-oriented slaveholders who sold their slaves to the planters in the cotton-growing states. In fact, by 1840, twelve percent of Maryland's slave population was auctioned per annum, many of them out of the state.[53] As a result, the port in the city of Baltimore became a major center of this new interstate slave trade.[54]

In 1790, the City of Baltimore contained 13,000 total residents and the county another 25,000; 1,300 of the city residents were slaves and another 6,000 county residents were slaves. A considerable portion of the county's population still lived in frontier-like conditions at the close of the eighteenth century. The 1798 Federal Direct Tax List identifies only 1,457 main dwellings, 292 secondary dwellings, and 2,500 outbuildings in all of Baltimore County.[55] Over sixty percent of the main dwellings were constructed of log and only eighteen percent were two stories.[56] The Federal Direct Tax List also provides the first and only comprehensive inventory of slave housing in some areas of the

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[53] Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 6.

[54] Ralph C. Clayton, *Cash for Blood: The Baltimore to New Orleans Domestic Slave Trade* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2002).

[55] Bayly Ellen Marks, "The Tax Assessor's Portrait of a County," *History Trails* (Baltimore County Historical Society) 30, no. 1 & 2, (Autumn-Winter 1995-96): 3.

[56] Ibid.

county where that particular assessor denoted slave housing as "negro quarters."[57]

The 1798 Federal Direct Tax List's inventory of the county's buildings and agricultural operations can fairly be seen as representative of the conditions that prevailed from the time the county was first settled. Some stone and brick buildings were evident, but log and frame structures were the norm. Subsequent industrialization and grain cultivation in the early nineteenth century, however, resulted in widespread prosperity in the region. Grand stone and brick houses, and massive German-style bank barns, stand today as testimony to the county's increased economic prosperity beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Slavery in the Nineteenth Century

As the region prospered, the free black population in Maryland was steadily increasing, even as slavery levels remained relatively stable. Historian Barbara Jeanne Fields studied the paradoxical nature of slavery in Maryland where a significantly large population of free African-Americans co-existed amidst African-American slaves. Fields described conditions in Maryland as follows:

> Like the United States as a whole, Maryland was a society divided against itself. There were, in effect, two Maryland's by 1850: one founded upon slavery and the other upon free labor. Northern Maryland, embracing Allegany, Baltimore, Carroll, Frederick, Harford, and Washington counties was an overwhelmingly white and free labor society, the only region of the state in which industrial activity had grown to significant proportions. Black people contributed only 16 percent of its population and slaves less than 5 percent. Southern Maryland (Anne Arundel, Charles, Prince George's, Montgomery, and St. Mary's counties) was a backward agricultural region devoted primarily to tobacco.... The population of the southern counties was 54 percent black and 44 percent slave. Occupying an intermediate position, much like that of Maryland within the Union, was the Eastern Shore, comprising Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, Talbot, and Worcester counties. Like the southern counties, the Eastern Shore devoted itself to agriculture to the virtual exclusion of industry. Like the northern counties,

[57] The assessment lists compiled throughout Baltimore County for compliance with the 1798 federal direct tax law obviously were prepared by more than one commissioner. Completeness of details varies notably among the county's eleven geographic "Hundreds." In some areas (e.g., Middle River Upper Hundred), the inventory clearly lists ten structures as "house for negro." Other Hundreds (e.g., Middle River Lower) give little or no detail on structures. Still another variation (e.g., Upper Gunpowder) is to identify some structures as "quarter house" but without specifying whether or not the structure is occupied by slaves. The properties selected for attention in this thesis are *only* ones with an explicitly identified "negro" house or quarters.

it produced mainly cereals. Just over 20 percent of its people were slaves and just under 40 percent were black in 1850.[58]

T. Stephen Whitman's, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland*, further informs about slavery in Baltimore County through focused research on manumissions and the components of urban slavery in the city of Baltimore. Whitman observes that the decline of the tobacco economy reduced the need for slave labor in the rural counties. The rapidly growing city offered job opportunities for those slaves sent by their owners to work, as well as for those who were fugitives or were legally free. In this rapidly growing free black community, slaves negotiated with their owners to work a term of years before they would be freed (called "term slavery"), thus making the city increasingly a center of freedom in a state legally wedded to slavery up through the Civil War.[59]

In 1820, there were approximately 2,200 free blacks in Baltimore County and approximately 10,300 free blacks in the city. By 1860, this population had grown to include 4,200 free blacks in the county and 27,000 free blacks in the city. The free blacks in the county generally lived in fifteen communities located throughout the county. These communities continued to grow after the Civil War as official and unofficial segregation policies shaped African-American settlement patterns.

Even as Maryland's free black population continued to grow, with most of the increase concentrated in the city of Baltimore, the number of slaves remained relatively constant. From 1790 to 1860, Maryland slaveholders owned between 90,000 and 107,000 slaves at any given time during that period, in an era when the state's total population soared. Slave ownership in Baltimore County and Baltimore city also remained relatively constant, with between 6,000 and 10,000 enslaved African-Americans in the county between 1790 and 1860.

Although much has been said that might imply a positive effect from the state's overall low levels of slave-owning, Fields notes that "much of the suffering incidental to slavery in Maryland resulted directly or indirectly from the small size of slaveholdings, a characteristic that had become steadily more marked over the years from the Revolution to the eve of the Civil War."[60] Small holdings cruelly divided slave family members among several owners and curtailed the formation of family units in the enslaved black community. Baltimore County and Baltimore city paralleled the statewide trend towards small holdings. Approximately one-quarter of the county's 3,100 slaves in 1860 lived in households with less than three slaves. Although a considerable number of slaves were

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[58] Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 6.

[59] T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[60] Ibid., 25.

held on large plantations, this was not the characteristic situation in Baltimore County or in the rest of the South. In the early colonies, between 1658 and 1710, approximately three out of four slaves lived on farms with twenty or fewer slaves, two out of four inhabited farms with ten or fewer slaves, and nearly a third lived on farms with five or fewer slaves.[61] In 1850, half of all slave owners in the United States owned five or fewer slaves.[62] In 1860, only 2,300 planters, or about five percent, owned one hundred or more slaves.[63] Charles Carnan Ridgely, owner of the vast "Hampton" estate, was the only Baltimore County resident ever to break into this rank of slaveholders, owning over 350 slaves at his death in 1829.

Several wills from the early nineteenth century provide insight into the lives of some Baltimore County slaves who were promised freedom, but at such a distant future and with such conditions, that the owners made a veritable mockery of the word freedom. In 1835, Joseph Pearce willed his "colored girl named Sophie to serve until she is thirty years old... and if she has any children, they are to be set free at the same age.... she nor her children shall be sold...."[64] Whereas Sophie had some certainty in her life, "Beck's" future was less certain. Henry Wilhelm, in his will in 1843, specified that if Beck turned forty while his wife was still alive she would be set free, but if his wife died before then, Beck would be sold by his executor and the proceeds divided among Henry's children.[65] Perhaps Beck would have had a better future if sold to another family than having to endure this type of uncertainty in the Wilhelm household.

One of the most puzzling bequests in the county's history was Charles Carnan Ridgely, who freed almost all of his 350 slaves at his death in 1829. After his death, however, his son, John Carnan Ridgely, purchased sixty more slaves and manumitted only one.[66]

By the 1830s, because of people like John Carnan Ridgely, because of Maryland's unwillingness to abolish slavery even gradually as had Pennsylvania, and because of the

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[61] George W. McDaniel, *Hearth & Home; Preserving a People's Cul*ture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 38.

[62] James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 39.

[63] Theresa Ann Murphy, "Scholarship on Southern Farms and Plantations."

[64] Baltimore County Wills, Liber 15, folio 246-247, Joseph Pearce, Sr., January 26, 1829 (proved January 28, 1835).

[65] Baltimore County Wills, Henry Wilhelm, June 1, 1843 (proved August 10, 1843).

[66] R. Kent Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County," Hampton National Historic Site, http://www.nps.gov.hamp/lancaster2.htm. First published in *Maryland Historical Magazine* 95, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 409-427.

South's increased use of slave labor for cotton-growing, many white abolitionists, free African-Americans, and other individuals intensified their engagement in the informal network for assisting fugitive slaves known as the Underground Railroad. Little is known about Underground Railroad operations in Baltimore County, but further study of the Quaker communities, the free black communities, African-American churches, and fugitive slave records, might unveil clues.

The increase in Underground Railroad activities in the 1830s occurred at the same time that much of the South was in a state of terror created by Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831. Nat Turner, a slave in Southampton County, Virginia, proclaimed that he was called by God to organize sixty other slaves in a rebellion that killed sixty whites and destroyed fifteen homesites. As a result, slaveholding states further restricted the liberties of both freed and enslaved African-Americans, going so far as to disallow blacks to preach.[67]

In 1850, Congress toughened the fugitive slave laws with the enactment of a new Fugitive Slave Act, which was part of a larger set of bills called "The Compromise of 1850." Overall, the compromise retained the fragile balance between the numbers of slave and non-slave states in the rapidly growing nation, but the Fugitive Slave Act incited great controversy and strengthened opposition to slavery by imposing the requirement that citizens must assist in the capture of runaways. The act required "all good citizens" to "aid and assist [federal marshalls and their deputies] in the prompt and efficient execution of this law."[68]

Some northern states reacted to this imposition by passing new personal-liberty laws that defied the legislation. Tensions increased nationwide. Locally, tensions culminated in the "Christiana Riots" in 1851. Christiana is a town at the eastern edge of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and about fifty miles northeast from central Baltimore County. In September, 1851, a Baltimore County farmer named Edward Gorsuch, along with his cousin Joshua, his son Dickinson, his nephew Dr. Thomas Pearce, and neighbors Nathan Nelson and Nicholas Hutchins, pursued four of Gorsuch's slaves (Noah Buley, Nelson Ford, George Hammond, and Joshua Hammond) who had escaped to Christiana. The slaves were rumored to be have been given refuge in the home of a free black named William Parker. Townspeople gathered, a fight ensued, and Edward Gorsuch was killed. Some of the participants in the fight left for Canada when charged with treason, but in the end no one was sentenced. The Christiana Riots stirred much debate and bitterness between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces around the nation.[69]

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[67] These types of restrictions imposed on the free African-American population are described in Ira Berlin's aptly-titled work, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: New Press, 1992).

[68] U.S. Congress, *Fugitive Slave Act*, September 18, 1850, Fordham University, Modern History Sourcebook, 2001, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1850fugitive.html.

[69] Neil A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County*, 231.

A little known fact is that, some months after the trial, Baltimore County witnessed a vigilante revenge killing of a man named Joseph Miller who was in the county pursuing legal actions to gain the release of a free black woman who had been kidnapped from his farm in Lancaster County.[70]

The Supreme Court's notorious "Dred Scott" decision in 1857 compounded the negative impacts of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The Court ruled that both enslaved and free African-Americans could never become U.S. citizens, and that a slave did not become free when taken into a free territory. The Dred Scott Decision was instrumental in Abraham Lincoln's nomination to the Republican party and his election as President in 1860. South Carolina seceded from the Union in December, 1860, followed by ten more states, marking the beginning of the Civil War.

Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri legally allowed slavery, but did not join the Confederacy. Thus, slaves in these states were not freed by the Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Lincoln on September 22, 1863. Not until November 1, 1864, did the Maryland General Assembly free all slaves in the state. On April 9, 1865, General Lee surrendered. Five days later, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated.

On April 21, 1865, the funeral train bearing the martyred President's remains left the Calvert Street Station in Baltimore at 3:00 p.m., bound for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The train headed north on the Northern Central Railroad, through a landscape that had been invisibly marred by almost two hundred years of slavery. A mere 152 days earlier, almost 3,000 African-Americans had still been enslaved in Baltimore County. Surely, the train's procession aroused a range of emotional responses among county residents, ranging from bitterness from the ex-slaveowners to sorrow from the newly freed African-Americans. These recently liberated slaves were now able to stay in Baltimore County and join the other 4,200 free African-Americans, or leave for new territories. Fugitive slaves who had been forced to start an entirely new life in Canada or another northern state could return to what family or friends they may have left behind. How bittersweet the freedom was for African-Americans who lived to see freedom knowing how many others had suffered and died under the brutal yoke of the South's "peculiar institution." Finding new ways to discover and present these untold stories is the central purpose of this thesis, beginning in the next chapter.

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[70] Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn*, 137.

Chapter 2

SLAVE QUARTERS: A FRACTION OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

So much of the architectural history of plantations is written from the point of view of the main house, the so-called Big House, and my objective was to move beyond the Big House out into the domain where slaves lived and worked and to give credit where credit is long overdue. Who made the plantation? What made the plantation work? Where did the wealth come from? What was life like for those people behind the Big House? The presence of African-Americans, who were the majority of the occupants of these sites, has almost been fully erased.[71]

John Michael Vlach

The foregoing statement by John Michael Vlach in 1996 was in response to criticisms of his Library of Congress exhibit on slavery. The exhibit elicited dissent from several African-American employees who found some of the depictions of slaves to be offensive. Ironically, John Michael Vlach is a leading exponent for increased recognition of African-Americans' contributions to our nation's history. He advocates that achieving the educational goal depends upon expanding the list of resources tangibly associated with African-American history. In short, the larger plantation landscapes and *all* of their buildings are the settings in and by which slaves carved out their own lives and their own ways of resisting the enslavement. The actual slave "quarter"[72] had its own cultural

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[71] John Michael Vlach, "Picturing Slavery," Interview by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, February 5, 1996, Online News Hour, 1999, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/ race _relations/ picturing_2-5.html.

[72] The term "quarter" is customarily used for identifying a place or structure in which slaves were housed. It is often written as a plural, even when referring to a single place rather than multiple structures or a group of accommodations. "Barracks" has similar usage. Except where the context requires otherwise, this thesis treats these terms as singular nouns, even at the cost of sometimes sounding grammatically incongruous.

landscape in the building's immediate surroundings but also went well beyond the building to include the woods and the fields and the slave's private, emotional landscape that "extended to other quarters and plantations by means of unofficial ties with friends, relatives, spouses, and lovers."[73] In the words of the slavery scholar Alan Kulikoff, "slaves formed neighborhoods, black landscapes that combined elements of the white landscape and of the quarters in a way that was peculiar to them and that existed outside the official articulated processional landscape of the great planter and his lesser neighbors."[74]

In antebellum Baltimore County, the African-American slave's experience was particularly unusual because the county had a sizable free black population and because freedom rested such a short distance away, across the county's northern border into Pennsylvania. Both of these elements enhanced opportunities for escape to freedom and created a distinctive African-American cultural landscape. The quarters, although highly significant as rare surviving resources, are only a fraction of this immeasurable larger and intricate antebellum African-American cultural landscape.

The first section of this chapter presents a chronological overview of the housing for slaves – slave quarters – in the Chesapeake Tidewater region. The second section provides capsule descriptions of the county's fifteen locations with extant quarters dating from the late-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. These quarters comprise a physical presence, representing the lives of slaves who worked in mills, at hazardous iron forges and lime kilns, as house servants, and in many other capacities that were crucial to the county's development and economic growth.

Chesapeake Slave Quarters

Slave quarters generally were not evident in the Chesapeake region until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Before then, settlers were primarily concerned about survival, so housing was a relatively low priority. Moreover, a fluid social and racial structure prevailed in the Chesapeake region in the early and mid seventeenth century. Slaves, indentured servants, and planters worked and lived hand-in-hand, in close proximity, before the region's more-stratified socio-economic system evolved in the late 1600s.

Seventeenth century Virginia slaves were either quartered in their owners' houses or slept in the lofts of nearby kitchens, sheds, and barns, rather than in buildings

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[73] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert St. George, 357-370 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998): 367.

[74] Allan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700-1790," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 35, no.2 (1978):24.

designated as slave residences."[75] Maryland slave housing displayed similar characteristics. In southern Maryland only a few slaves lived in separate slave quarters in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, largely because most slaves were dispersed on farms with only a few slaves each.[76] Likewise, in Queen Anne's County on the east side of the bay, detailed research indicates that slaves typically lived in barn lofts, in outbuildings, or in the attics, basements, and storage rooms of the main house. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, separate buildings were identified in tax lists as "Negro Quarters," or "Negro dwellings."[77]

Baltimore County slaves were probably housed in a similar fashion as other Tidewater slaves, but no firm conclusions can be made because little research has been conducted here. Charles G. Steffen's study of Baltimore County's wealthiest landowners between 1660 and 1776 is the only known research providing information on slave residences during that period. Steffen found that, in the 9 of the 181 estate inventories where the assessor specifically identified slave residences, sixty percent of the 169 total slaves inventoried lived at or near the plantation house, with the others housed at outlying quarters.[78] These statistics indicate that some of the county's wealthiest residents quartered "field" slaves close to the fields where they labored, a situation that would probably have necessitated an overseer.

Unfortunately, the remains of seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Chesapeake slave quarters are not easy to locate, as described below:

> It has been very difficult for archaeologists to determine where plantation slaves resided. Few buildings survive from slave quarters, particularly for the eighteenth century, and documentation is very sparse. Placement of quarters can sometimes be deduced from the location of the slaveholder's house and the type of labor in which slaves were employed. Some of the first quarters excavated in Virginia were discovered accidentally during the course of general archaeological surveys. Subsequent excavations on documented slave quarters in Virginia have revealed commonalties in

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[75] John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 154.

[76] George W. McDaniel, *Hearth & Home*, 43.

[77] Cheryl Hayes, "Cultural Space and Family Living Patterns in Domestic Architecture, Queen Anne's County, Maryland, 1750-1776" (M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, 1974). In George McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 43.

[78] George G. Steffen, *Gentlemen to Townsmen*, 52.

spatial, architectural, and artifact data, allowing archaeologists to conclude that structures excavated earlier had once served as slave quarters.[79]

Archaeological research, however, is expensive and labor-intensive, and therefore remains an underused research tool. Additionally, archaeological research on slavery suffers from a delayed start. Archaeologists began to research post-European contact sites in the young American nation in the 1930s.[80] However, the first excavation of an African-American slave quarters site in the United States did not occur until 1968.[81] In the 1970s, the philosophy of studying plantation architecture shifted away from a focus on the planters to a broad range of issues ranging from slavery in the context of everyday plantation life, the sociology of plantation culture, and the cultural by-products of the interactions between the African-Americans and the European Americans.[82] By the 1980s, archaeologists were excavating slave quarters at the homesites of leading Americans, as described below:

> During the early 1980s, attention turned to documented slave quarters, beginning at Monticello and Mount Vernon. The amplitude of the documentary record for these plantations enabled buildings positively identified with African-American housing to be pinpointed and tightly dated. Other excavated sites believed to contain slave components cluster primarily in the tidewater. These sites, which defy easy characterization, yield evidence of slave living spaces inside kitchen dependencies or rural plantations, and groups of quarters.[83]

Quarters from the late eighteenth century and later have been more extensively documented, and several quarters from this period are still standing. Dell Upton's studies on late eighteenth century quarters found that:

> Slave quarters were parts of two intersecting landscapes. They fit into a white landscape centered on the main house in one way and into a black landscape centered on the quarters in another.... Quarters for slave houses were often close to the main house on large plantations, and they were carefully ordered in rows or "streets.". If they were visible from the

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[79] Patricia Samford, "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53, no. 1, (January 1996): 89.

[80] Ibid., 87.

[81] Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968," *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, 1972, 7 (1974), 62-93.

[82] Charles E. Orser, Jr., "Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, eds. Mark P. Leon and Parker B. Potter, Jr., 313-343 (Washington, D.C.: Eliot Werner Publications, Percheron Press, 1988)

[83] Patricia Samford, "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery," 91-92.

house, they were arranged on the site and treated on their exteriors with an eye to the visual effect from the main house. Other planters hid them from eye, and in those cases they were usually sited and arranged.[84]

Studies also indicate that slave housing for field hands was different from domestic slave housing. These outlying quarters for field hands are significant resources that may yield evidence of how the lives of the field slaves compared with the lives of the skilled artisans and domestics who typically lived closer to the main house.[85]

The physical nature of slave housing in the Chesapeake region changed over time, and the period when a quarter was constructed was an important factor in whether there might have been West African influences in the building's design and detailing. The design of the building was also affected by its geographic place within the slaveholding South, as described by George McDaniel:

> The patterns of slave importation and colonial settlement, the type of colonial economy, and the resultant composition of the colonial population strongly affected the character of African cultural survivals. This can be demonstrated by comparing the situation of Africans arriving in Maryland with that of Africans arriving further south.... African customs in these low-country areas were replenished from one generation to another, unlike in Maryland, where slave importation was halted by law in the 1780s.[86]

George McDaniel's research indicates the unlikelihood that Africans were able to replicate their traditional house types in southern Maryland for several other reasons. Maryland-born slaves comprised the majority of slaves as early as 1730, slaves in Maryland were more thinly distributed across smaller estates, and slaves in Maryland confronted colder winters than in the deep South. However, George McDaniel noted that more archaeological excavations are needed before conclusive determinations can be made on this issue.[87]

Chesapeake area slave quarters generally had the same appearance and dimensions as the housing for poorer whites. In 1835 Frederick Law Olmsted wrote that in Virginia, "A good many old plantations are to be seen; generally standing in a grove of white oaks upon some hill-top. Most of them are constructed of wood, of two stories,

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[84] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 361.

[85] Patricia Samford, "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery," 92.

[86] George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 34.

[87] Russell R. Menard, "Maryland Slave Population, 1658-1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 32, no. 1 (January 1975): 29-54. In George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 38-39.

painted white, and have perhaps a dozen rude-looking little log cabins scattered around them, for the slaves."[88] George McDaniel's surveys in southern Maryland indicate that:

> In general, the overall design, floor plan, and size of slave houses were rather similar to those of the houses of the rural poor, even of small landowners. These dwellings were also one story in height, with a gable roof, a chimney exterior to one gable end, a central doorway, and a floor plan of one or two rooms (two rooms for a single family being larger than that provided for most slaves).[89]

In southern Maryland the homes of the wealthy residents often had complex floor plans and were built of brick or frame. The homes of landowning middle class were predominantly frame but smaller than those of the wealthy and more uniform in size. In contrast, the majority of houses of the free whites and black tenants were log and typically 16' by 16,' or 16' by 14'.[90]

A quick survey of the "Negro" quarters or houses identified as such in Baltimore County's 1798 Federal Direct Tax List indicates the range of sizes. James Gittings' had a 25' by 20' log "Negro House." John Foster's had two 14' by 20' log houses for "Negros," and a third measuring 12' by 12.' George Harryman's log house for "Negroes" was 14' by 16.' Mary Nicholson's log house for "Negroes" measured 15' by 18,' and John Orrick's log house for Negros was 20' by 24.'

The conditions of the quarters varied as much as the size. Frederick Douglas remembered his grandparents' quarters on the Eastern Shore of Maryland as a "log cabin that resembled the cabins in the western states built by the first settlers, except that it was smaller, less commodious, and less substantial. It was built of wood, clay and straw."[91] James Watkins, a fugitive slave who fled from a Baltimore County estate in 1844, recalled that once he became a young adult:

> I was now employed in the general work of the farm, lodged with the other slaves, clothed in rags, sleeping sometimes under a tree, and sometimes in lodging provided for use – a kind of shed, where male and

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[88] Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveler's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States,* ed. Arthur Schlesinger (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 31.

[89] George W. McDaniel, *From Hearth and Home,* 61.

[90] Ibid., 52.

[91] Frederick Douglas, *My Bondage My Freedom* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 37, quoted in George W. McDaniel, *From Hearth and Home,* 51.

female slaves were huddled in together for the night, without any bed but a sloping kind of platform inclining to the fire.[92]

In this respect, the surviving examples of slave quarters drastically misrepresent the housing conditions for most Tidewater slaves, a condition described as follows:

> Again, the surviving structures are misleading. The houses at Tuckhoes were upgraded in the nineteenth century and are now well finished framed buildings with glazed windows, plastered interiors, and painted interiors. Other eighteenth century slave houses were built of brick. Most, though, were less well constructed. From the third quarter of the eighteenth century, log was the dominant material for the houses of a large proportion of Virginia's slaves.[93]

Since so much of the slave housing stock was so crudely constructed, most has disappeared from above ground. Archaeologists have used the presence of root cellars to identify and research slave quarter sites. Root cellars have also been used to identify larger slave houses which served as barracks.[94] McDaniel's research indicated that nineteenth-century southern Maryland slave quarters were rarely barracks or dormitories.[95] Baltimore County retains some above-ground remains of one alleged slave "barracks." This structure and the county's other extant slave quarters are described in the next section of this chapter to illustrate of some of the many untold stories attached to these sites.

Baltimore County Slave Quarters

♦ The prominent **Hayfields** farm, with its impressive farmstead complex (BA 00094, Figures 2, 11), perhaps more than any other Baltimore County site embodies the pro-slavery Southern sentiments that flourished in the county until the Civil War, and arguably after the Civil War as well. The Hayfields estate, needless to say, has never been documented primarily as a slave site, yet the surviving slave quarters stand as some of the most distinctive slavery structures in the state.

Colonel Nicholas Merryman Bosley started this farm and livestock ranch on 560 acres in central Baltimore County where bluegrass thrives naturally on the area's Hagerstown and Manor loam soils. Nicholas was the son of Elijah Bosley, who

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[92] James Watkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins*.

[93] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 359.

[94] William M. Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619-1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia* (San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1984), cited in Patricia Samford, "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery," 95.

[95] George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home*, 7.

according to the 1798 Federal Direct Tax List, owned twenty three slaves, and rented land to four tenant farmers who owned another thirteen slaves. The 1823 County Tax List shows Nicholas with fourteen slaves. These slaves would have probably tended the cattle, and aided in the cultivation of wheat and other crops such as timothy hay.[96]

Nicholas bequeathed his farm to a close relative named John Merryman, who remained at Hayfields until his death in 1881. John Merryman was openly a Confederate sympathizer during the Civil War, and his name rose to national attention – and a place in American constitutional history – from actions he took as the commander of a local militia cavalry unit. Merryman was arrested for burning railroad bridges in the county, although his actions were in part motivated by personal as well as philosophical opposition to the return of the Northern troops: "G-d-m them, we'll stop them from coming down here and stealing our slaves."[97] Seized from Hayfields, without a warrant, by Federal soldiers at 2:00 a.m. on May 25, 1861, Merryman promptly sought, and was denied, release from his incarceration at Fort McHenry. In an immediately, and still, famous opinion – *Ex patre Merryman* (17 F. Cas. 144) – Chief Justice, and fellow Marylander, Roger Brooke Taney challenged President Lincoln's purported suspension of the Constitutionally-guaranteed right to a writ of *habeus corpus*. Lincoln essentially ignored Taney's argument, although Merryman was released after posting bail in July, and the belatedly-filed charges against him ultimately were dropped without prosecution. Merryman's appointment as the state treasurer and his service in the General Assembly after the war attest to the strong lingering Southern sentiments within the county's electorate and political system.[98]

Two sets of buildings were constructed on the farm, and both sets reportedly were built with slave labor. The cottage, smoke house, ice house, and servant quarters all are primarily constructed in local fieldstone. The main dwelling house, slave house, wagon shed, granary, sheep fold, lower horse barn and wagon shed, small stable and coach shed, and a spring house are built with Cockeysville white marble, quarried on the farm.[99]

This strikingly well-built masonry farmstead complex drew the attention of architects compiling the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) in the 1930s as a classic example representative of a mid-Atlantic farmstead with the outbuildings

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[96] Nicholas Bosley Merryman, "Hayfields History," *History Trails* (Baltimore County Historical Society) 19, no. 2 (Winter 1984-1985): 5-7.

[97] Ibid.

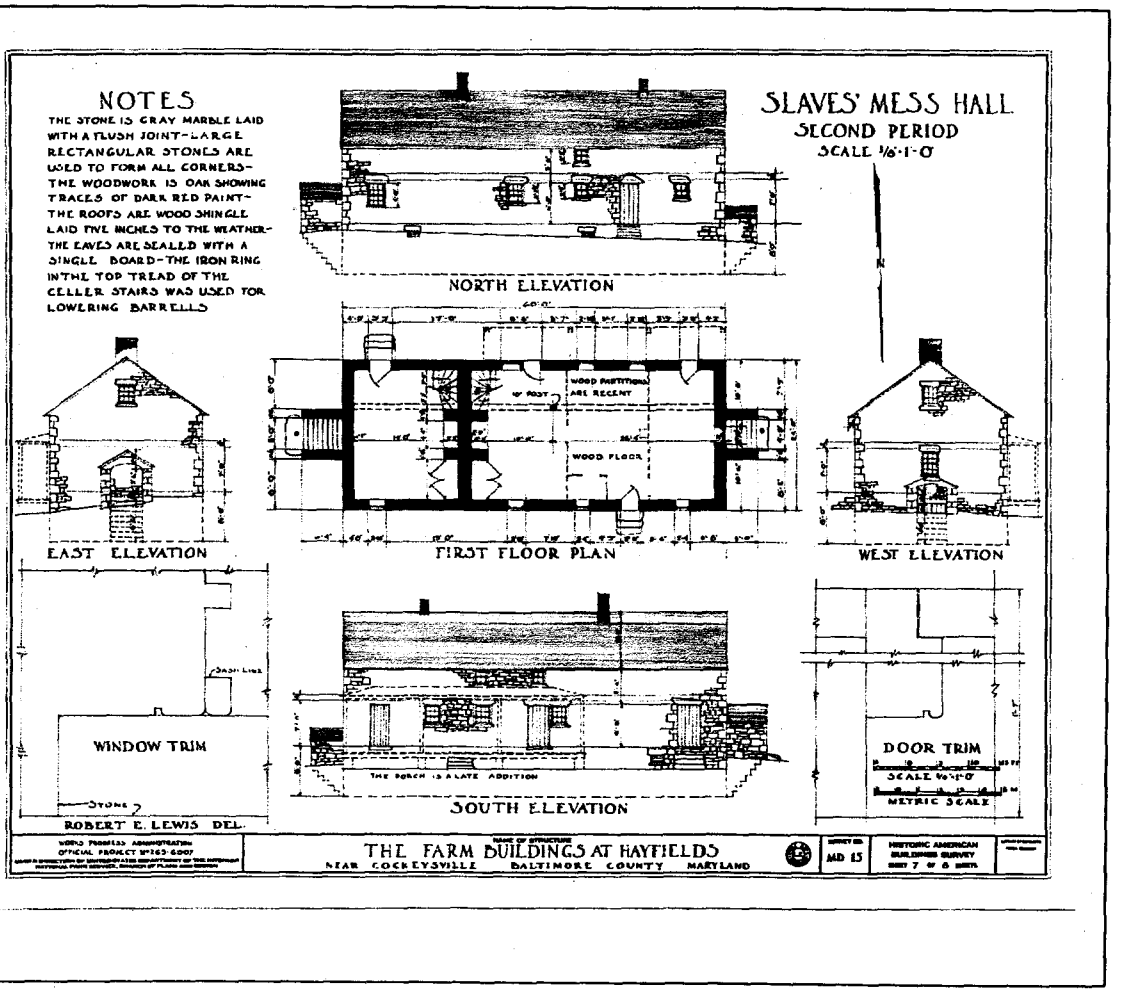
[98] Neil A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County*, 240-241.

[99] Nicholas Bosley Merryman, "Hayfields History," 5.

bracketed between the house and barn.[100] Of particular interest for this study is the slave house (Figure 2), which Vlach describes as follows:

> This so-called slaves' mess hall was probably built in the 1830s, when Nicholas Bosley employed as many as fifteen slaves to help him run his stock and grazing farm. This building, like many of Bosley's other outbuildings, was a substantial stone masonry structure measuring twenty-four by sixty feet. The room and loft at the west end of the building, probably used as a slave residence, was completely separated from the adjacent dining room. This long room, well lighted by seven windows, was equipped with a fireplace in which the meals were cooked. Because there was a full cellar with eight feet headroom beneath the mess hall and sizable loft above, the structure also functioned as the plantation's storehouse.[101]

Figure 2: "Slaves' Mess Hall, Hayfields Estate



[101] Ibid., 143-144.

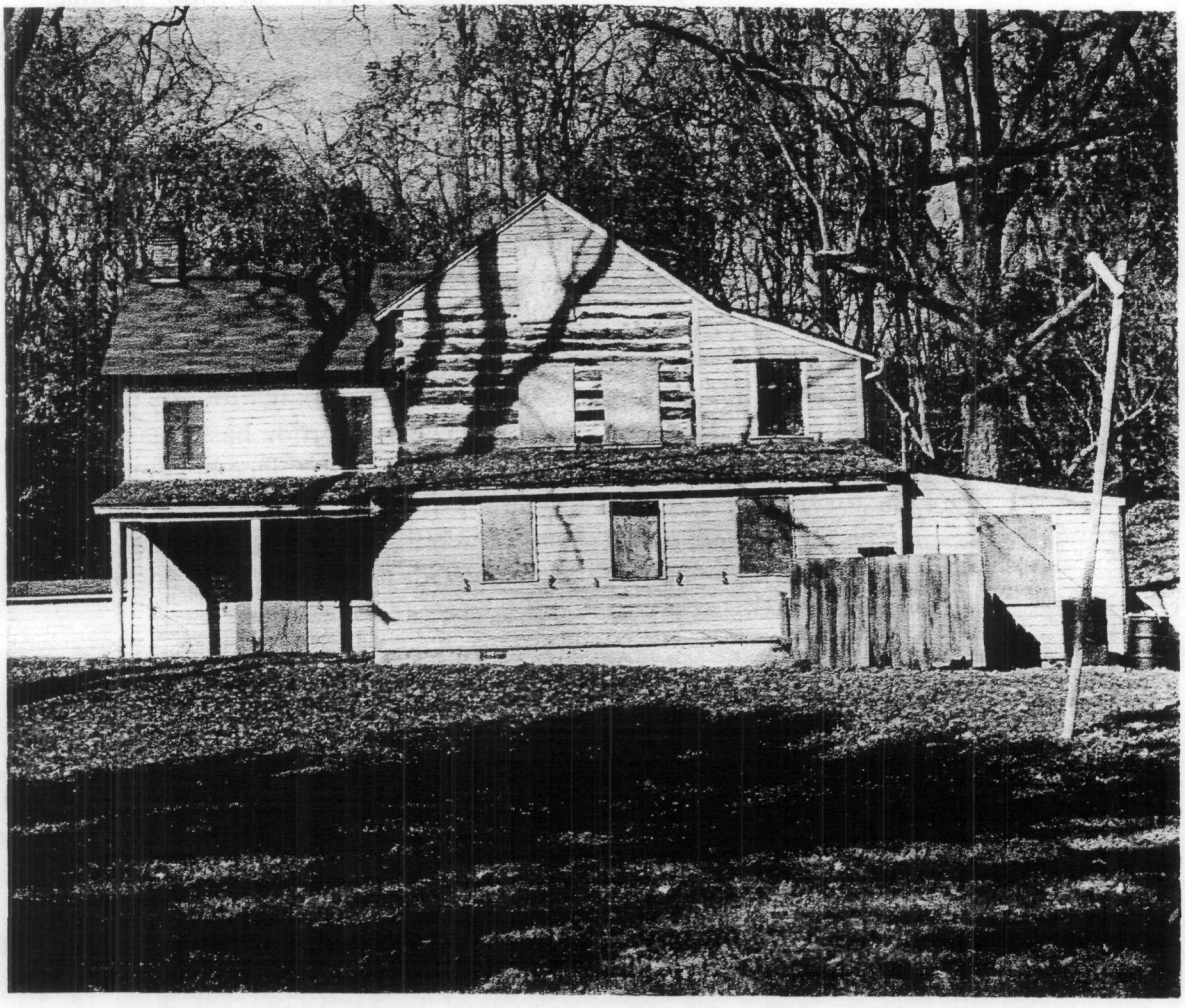
This impressive building stands as the only known example of its type in Baltimore County, and possibly in Maryland. Ignoring this remarkable heritage of the building's mute testimony to slavery, a private developer in the early 1990s turned the Hayfields farm into a golf course and the slave mess hall/quarter is now a golf pro-shop.

Figure 3: Risteau-Shanklin Limekilns

Source: John W. McGrain, 2003

♦ The **Merrick Log House** (BA 02771, Figure 4) stands at the end of a row of three large stone lime kilns which are bunkered into the side of a hill in the center of a valley once known as "Limekiln Bottom." The lime kilns are shown in Figure 3 and the house is shown in Figure 4. The log and frame house possibly was used by workers who tended these kilns twenty-four hours a day, stoking the fires, loading the limestone into the top of the kiln, and bagging the lime to be hauled across the valley to Baltimore and Delta Railroad for shipping to farms and businesses. Demand for lime increased dramatically in the early 1800s after it was widely recognized as a soil restorative. Slave labor had been used in iron production since the early settlement period, but it remains

Figure 4: Merrick Log House



Source: E.H.T. Traceries, 2002

unknown how much slave labor and free black labor may have been used for lime production. The jobs were treacherous and back-breaking. The fumes at the top of the kilns were lethal. On February 26, 1856, the *Baltimore County Advocate* newspaper reported that one" Negro, Henry Butler," was killed when he fell into a kiln several miles away from this site at the large lime kilns in the village of Texas.[102]

[102] *Baltimore County Advocate*, February 26, 1856.

The Risteau family owned the Merrick log house and the kilns through the mid-nineteenth century. The Risteau family had been slaveowners from the time they arrived in the county until the end of slavery in Maryland in 1864.[103] In 1860, Thomas Risteau owned the kilns, surrounding farmlands, and twenty slaves.[104] This statistic placed Risteau among the top thirteen largest slaveholders in the county in 1860.[105]

Amazingly, some ledgers from the 1860s kiln operations survive in the family's possession. Unfortunately, these ledgers have not yet been studied closely in conjunction with other records to determine how much the slaves may have been involved with the kiln operations. Archaeological excavations at the site may yield more clues about this house that is described as follows (and is shown in Figure 4):

> The Merrick Log House is a substantial squared-log structure of two stories with a frame and clapboard wing and a small one-story room.... No two-story log houses were shown in the 1798 tax list for any of the owners of Lime Kiln Bottom property. The log portion has a massive stone chimney, suggesting a house dependent on fireplace heating, while the two-story frame wing has a slender brick inside-end chimney suggesting the mid-century method of heating by stoves. There are no tax records specific enough to suggest a date for this house. Log houses were built into the 1860s as a county newspaper advertisement demonstrated....[106]

◆ The **Prospect Hill Slave Quarters** building (BA 00138, Figures 5, 12) is unique in this list as part of what appears to be a failed farming operation in Long Green Valley in the late eighteenth century. Thomas Ringold was a wealthy man born into a prosperous merchant family from across Chesapeake Bay in Chesterstown. In 1796, Thomas moved to a 258-acre site in Baltimore County, built a Federal-style brick house, and took up farming as an occupation.[107] It is unclear whether Thomas focused on wheat cultivation or whether he foolishly remained loyal to tobacco. Thomas brought with him some of the family's slaves. One of the slaves, Mary Hamer, was later manumitted at the

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[103] Harry Wright Newman, "The Risteau Family of Baltimore County." Typescript genealogy, compiled for Mrs. Elizabeth Mitchel Schmick, December 1979. Copy filed in Jenifer Collection at Baltimore County Office of Planning.

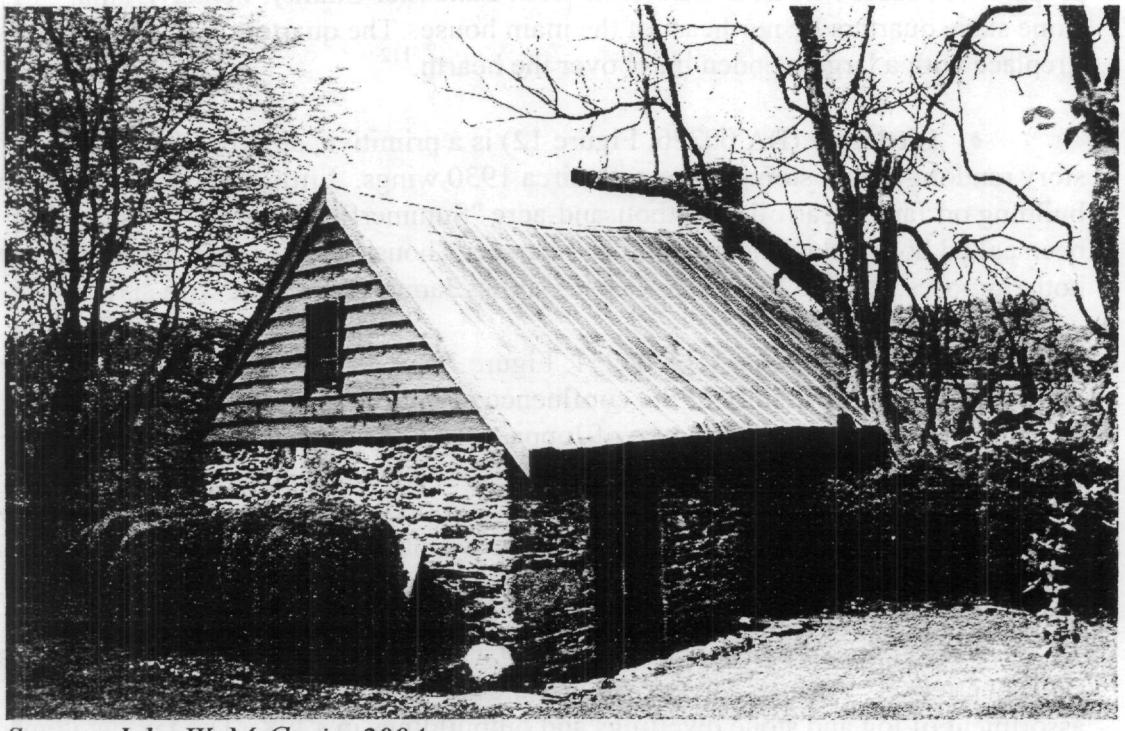
[104] U.S. Census Maryland, 1860. Washington: National Archives, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 653, Roll 484, Maryland, Baltimore County, Schedule 2 (accessed on CD-ROM disk published by Heritage Quest, 2001).

[105] Neil A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County*, 236.

[106] John W. McGrain, "Merrick Log House "(Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 02771, January, 1982).

[107] John W. McGrain, "Prospect Hill" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00138, May 1979).

Figure 5: Prospect Hill Slave Quarters



Source: John W. McGrain, 2004

age of thirty, either by the Ringolds or a subsequent owner.[108] Mary may have resided in the "1 Negro house or Kitchen, old and out of repair, 32' by 20,' frame," itemized in the 1798 Tax List.

The quarters were not the only part of the farm in disrepair and disarray. According to an English traveler passing through the county at the end of the eighteenth century, Prospect Hill's "land was very poor, and everything in an unfinished state."[109] Mary Hamer may or may not have remained a part of this estate when all Thomas's holdings were sold at auction in 1812 to pay his debts after his family members declared him legally insane.[110]

John Hunter purchased the estate in 1812 and also farmed using slave labor. John Hunter is listed as the owner of fifteen slaves in Election District 2 of the 1823 County Tax List. His son, Thomas Hunter, inherited the farm and is listed as the owner of five

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[108] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), June 28, 1875

[109] Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800* (London, 1805),1: 70.

[110] John W. McGrain, "Prospect Hill."

slaves in the 1850 U.S. Census Slave Schedule. Later that year, Thomas Hunter sold the property to Moses Miller, a Mennonite from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[111] The stone slave quarters lie northeast of the main house. The quarters feature an immense fireplace with a large wooden lintel over the hearth.[112]

♦ **Littlecote** (BA 00286, Figure 12) is a primitive, circa 1800, one-and-a-half story random-rubble stone house with circa 1930 wings. Littlecote was an accessory building on James Carroll, Jr.'s thousand-acre "Summerfield" estate. This building has been called both a slave quarter and an overseer's house, and it could have been used for both purposes.[113] The 1850 U.S. Census shows James Carroll, Jr. with sixteen slaves.

♦ **Chilham House** (BA 00251, Figure 12) is a late eighteenth-century stone house located in the vicinity of the confluence of the Big and Little Gunpowder Falls streams near the colonial port town of Joppa. The Chilham house may stand as the only remaining slave quarter in the county's earliest settled region, and the only slave quarter on the east side of the county. This part of Baltimore County was dominated by iron production in the eighteenth century, and fugitive slave advertisements from the nearby iron furnaces abound.[114]

Several sets of owners of the house claim that Ananias Divers used the house as a slave quarters.[115] Ananias Divers owned nine slaves, 349 acres of land, and an assortment of log and stone dwellings and outbuildings in 1798. The tax list itemized a one-story, 16' by 18' stone kitchen and a log quarter house measuring 15' by 20,' but did not itemize any specific "Negro" quarters for the nine slaves. It is quite possible that the stone kitchen was long ago incorporated into the current stone dwelling and that some slaves slept in the kitchen loft.

Benjamin Buck owned this property in 1816 after he married into the Divers family.[116] According to the 1823 County Tax List for Election District 4, he owned tracts called "Swanson Plumers Choice", "Divers Island," "Onions Inheritance," and

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] A. McDonald and A. Didden, "Littlecote" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00286, May 24, 2001).

[114] Lathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves: A Documentary History form the 1730s to 1790*, 4 Vols. (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983).

[115] L.V. Trieschmann, J.J.Bunting, and A.L. McDonald, "Chilham House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00251, May 5, 2003).

[116] Ibid.

"Confiscated Land," as well as eight slaves. By 1850, Robert Taylor owned the Chilham house and surrounding property to which he added a large Italianate house on the crest of the hill that overlooked the Gunpowder River and, after 1885, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The slave schedule for the U.S. Census in 1850 indicates that Robert Taylor owned two slaves. Ironically, his son, B.F. Taylor, served in the Union Army as a colonel in the Second Maryland Regiment.[117]

◆ **Mt. Welcome Retreat Slave Quarters** (BA 00009, Figures 6,13) is the only known surviving slave quarters associated with a stone quarry operation. In February, 1778, Samuel Wright Walters purchased property in the Patapsco Valley region from Nicholas Peddicoart at the substantial price of 1,539 pounds. Alexander Walters inherited the property in 1787 and built a house, suitable for the owner of the Waltersville Quarry, which comprised the first three bays of the current stone house called Mt. Welcome Retreat.[118] By 1823, Alexander had amassed additional wealth as the owner of ten slaves. By 1850, the property was in the hands of Lemuel Offutt who owned seventeen slaves. These slaves probably were housed in the slave quarters described as follows:

> The circa 1800 slave quarters are located to the southeast side of the house.... Only the two gable end walls and a portion of the façade (northwest elevation) are intact.... The two-bay wide, single-pile structure is one and one-half stories in height. The building features a random rubble granite foundation and structural system with ashlar granite quoins.... One door opening with a paneled door and one window opening with missing sash pierce the northwest elevation. Both openings have wood surrounds and granite lug lintel.... The east and west elevations are both marked by two window openings with wood surrounds flanking the interior end chimneys.... Due to the condition of the structure, interior wall placement could not be determined, although it appeared to have consisted of two rooms.... Both hearths feature large granite lintels and the east hearth retains an historic forged iron crane.[119]

In 2001, the owner was contemplating rebuilding the quarters into an office or studio. The current status of the ruin is unknown.

◆ It is possible that the **Beachmont Farm** slave quarters (BA 00530, Figure 12) could be the county's oldest quarters, dating to James Gittings' settlement of the seventeenth-century tract called "Hills Forest." Little documentation has been completed on the quarters or the history of the property. The 1773 County Tax List indicates that

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[117] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 922.

[118] L. V. Trieschmann, A.L. McDonald, and R.J. Weidlich, "Mt. Welcome Retreat" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00009, October 16, 2000)

[119] Ibid.

James Gittings, Esq. lived in the Gunpowder Upper Hundred with nine taxable adult males in his household or on his property, an overseer named Laurence Kraft, thirteen

Figure 6: "Mt. Welcome Retreat" Slave Quarters

Source: E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., 2000

male slaves, and six female slaves.[120] The 1798 Tax List shows three men named James Gittings. James Gittings, Sr., Esq., was the owner of approximately 2,000 acres, 50 slaves, and a 25' by 20' log "Negro" house. His son James Gittings, Jr. is listed with five slaves. Another James (of Thomas) Gittings had seven slaves. The 1823 County Tax List shows a James Gittings with thirty-one slaves. The 1850 Census Slave Schedule shows a James Gittings with seven slaves, and James Gittings' heirs with twenty-three slaves. This site is in northeastern Baltimore County, close to the Gunpowder River and the old port of Joppa. It is likely that the many slaves inhabiting this farm in the eighteenth century were used to cultivate tobacco that would have been shipped from Joppa.

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[120] Henry C. Peden, *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1793-1774* (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1989), 63.

♦ The former **Worthington** slave "barracks" (BA 03042, Figure 13) is currently a pile of decaying, hand-hewn timbers lying between two massive stone chimneys. Among county historians, the Worthington name is almost synonymous with slavery. Two sets of Worthingtons settled Baltimore County, and both sets, collectively, owned hundreds of slaves. The descendants of Samuel Worthington settled the area now included in the Worthington Valley National Register Historic District, which lies in the northwest central region of the county, east of Glyndon. The descendants of Thomas Worthington settled close to the Patapsco River in the southwestern region of the county, near the village of Granite.

Thomas Worthington was one of the county's top landowners and slaveholders, rivaled only by Charles Ridgely of Hampton. The 1798 Federal Tax List shows Thomas as the owner of approximately 5,100 acres and fifty-two slaves. The 1798 list also indicates that Thomas Worthington's lands were used for tobacco farming since his tenants are assessed with three tobacco houses or barns. Little is known, however, about how and where the fifty-two slaves lived and worked. The assessor in 1798 did not distinguish "Negro" quarters from other quarters among the forty-two total buildings itemized between Thomas and six tenants on his vast property.

Thomas Worthington's sons, Rezin Hammond, and Noah, and another relative named John Worthington, all inherited or purchased portions of Thomas's estate at his death.[121] Rezin gained ownership of the lands that contain the barracks, and Rezin (also spelled Reason in some records), is shown with "Sewell's Hope" and thirty-three slaves in the 1823 CountyTax List. The same tax list shows Noah Worthington as owner of part of Thomas Worthington's estate and twenty-three slaves, and John Worthington, Sr., with thirty-five slaves and "Griffith's Adventure" (BA 00011). John Worthington, Sr., was not Thomas' son, but he evidently was close to the family since he and his descendants are buried in the family cemetery on Old Court Road.[122] According to the 1823 County Tax List, the only other resident in the same election district with more slaves than these Worthingtons was a man named William Patterson who owned fifty slaves.

The 1850 Census Slave Schedule shows Rezin Worthington owning thirty-one slaves, Noah owning thirty-seven slaves, and John owning thirteen slaves. Rezin's obituary in the *Maryland Journal,* June 28, 1884, stated that his estate included between two and three thousand acres of land and that he "was a great advocate of just and equitable government for people, and though a decided Democrat was never a partisan bigot."[123]

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[121] K. Baynard and J. Riggle, "Worthington Estate" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03042, September 20, 2002)

[122] Ibid.

[123] *Maryland Journal,* June 28, 1884.

Today, in the center of Rezin Worthington's nineteenth-century landholdings is a complex of buildings, including a deteriorated Queen Anne dwelling, a slave cemetery, one of the two known Worthington cemeteries, a log outbuilding, and the ruinous remains of what is called the "slave barracks." The barracks was constructed in log with massive stone chimneys at each end, and measured approximately 35' by 20'.

♦ **Pot Spring** slave quarters (BA 00070, Figure 12) rests at the base of the hill below the stately Pot Spring Mansion. The latter sits high on the hill facing south towards the nearby Hampton Mansion in Towson. The hill retains stone walls and steps that apparently are remnants of the stepped garden which once graced the front lawn of this elegant Federal-style mansion. Ironically, the stone slave house that remains at the bottom of this hill was once a series of buildings called "stone row" that were combined, in 1935 during the Colonial Revival movement, into one long narrow house.[124]

According to the 1798 Federal Direct Tax List, David McMackin (or McMechen) owned a two-story stone house, which evidently forms the rear portion of the current stone mansion, and 778 acres of land, but no slaves. David's brother, William McMechen is listed in the 1823 County Tax List as the owner of the house and thirteen slaves. The April 28, 1835 *Baltimore American* advertises the estate for sale, including the "'rough cast' house built on an elevation which commands a view of the whole farm along with "the stock consisting of Slaves, Horses, Cows, Oxen, the farming utensils...."[125] By 1850 the house was owned by Alexander Tyson, who does not appear as a slave-owner in the 1850 U.S. Census slave schedule. Because the slaves at the Pot Spring estate were only three miles from the Hampton Mansion they would probably have formed family and friends from among the 350 slaves owned by the Ridgely family.

♦ The **Martin Fugate Slave Quarters** (BA 00617, Figures 7, 12) is currently a pile of stone and rubble, but since the structure had been so little altered and the site apparently remains undisturbed, this site may be one of the county's more significant potential archaeological resources. The house was once a one-story stone building with a high basement. It measured 18' by 24,' the exact dimensions of Martin and Elizabeth Fugate's house in 1798. Although tiny by today's standards, as a stone house it would have been a respectable estate dwelling at the end of the eighteenth century when the majority of the county's residents were living in primitively-constructed one-story log buildings. The documentation for the My Lady's Manor National Register Historic District states that the house was sold to the Sparks family in 1810.[126]

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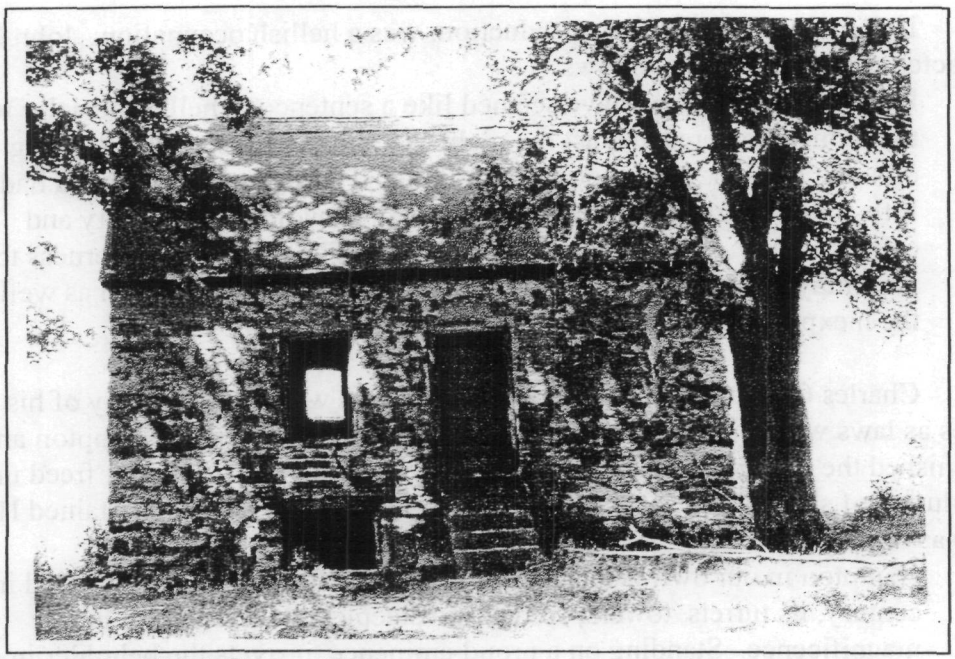
[124] John W. McGrain, "Pot Spring" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00070, May, 2003).

[125] *Baltimore American*, April 28, 1835.

[126] Dr. Robert M. N. Crosby, "My Lady's Manor" (National Register Historic District Nomination Form, January, 1975).

Figure 7: Martin Fugate Slave Quarters



Source: John W. McGrain, 1995

♦ **Hampton Mansion** (BA 00103, Figures 8,12) has surviving above-ground slave quarters (Figure 8), and is also likely to have the remains or sites of early quarters on the lands surrounding the main house. Hampton was built between 1783 and 1790 by Captain Charles Ridgely. The Baltimore County Historian, John McGrain, wrote that, "Although Hampton resembled a tidewater tobacco planter's dreamhouse, it was actually built with the proceeds of a fortune founded on iron making...."[127] Charles Carnan Ridgely, the builder's nephew, obtained title to the house and the more than 1,500 acres of Ridgely lands when his uncle died in 1790, six months after completing the mansion. The 1798 Federal Tax List shows Charles Carnan Ridgely of Hampton at this site with ninety-two slaves and one 22' by 32' Negro house, as well as eight other Negro houses, some of frame and log and others of stone.

These Ridgelys used many of their slaves in iron production. Iron furnaces were similar in design and appearance to the lime kilns shown in Figure 3. Most furnaces were used for melting raw iron ore to produce bars of pig iron that could be shaped or molded in other forges. Pig iron was made by burning charcoal, oyster shells, and ore, the latter being a soft brown bog ore or limonite. The county abound with scattered ore deposits,

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[127] John W. McGrain, "Hampton" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00103, April, 1977).

mounds of oyster shells from centuries of Indian habitation along the bay, and forests that, once cut, would not only provide charcoal, but also additional open farmland.[128]

Iron production, like lime production, was a hellish occupation. John McGrain characterized conditions as follows:

> Life at a furnace must have seemed like a sentence to hell, especially when the flames flickered against the night sky and the fires needed tending around the clock, a year or more running. The slaves and convicts had little to look forward to except a regimen of involuntary sobriety and celibacy, marooned in a frontier society.... The trackless wilderness to the west may have offered room for escape but probable starvation as well for the inexperienced European or African. [129]

Charles Carnan Ridgely died in 1829 and his will freed as many of his 339-350 slaves as laws would allow. Charles' son, John Ridgely, inherited Hampton and in time replenished the slaveholdings with seventy-seven slaves who were not freed until the dissolution of slavery by Maryland law in 1864.[130] These slaves maintained Hampton in 1856 as described below:

> Hampton in our own vicinage, is a model for architects. Constructed in the last century, its turrets, towers, spires, and steeples, flout the skies in gay magnificence. Standing on a proud eminence, it rivets the beholder in speechless admiration ere he enters its wide domain, with cultivated fields, sloping gardens, acres of wild flowers, hot houses, filled with all that horticulture can charm into blossom, lemon and orange groves, grafted fruits, clusters of luscious grapes- it seems indeed, fairyland..."[131]

There are three slave quarters within the remaining estate, now administered as the Hampton National Historic Site. The two stone quarters were constructed between 1845 and 1860 (see Figure 8), and the log slave quarters described below was built between 1835 and 1860:

> This log slave quarters ... consists of five rooms including cellar with dirt floor; the second floor is a loft with a ladder to climb up. There is a stone fireplace in the cellar with a wrought iron crane and iron brackets for cooking.... There is a

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[128] John W. McGrain, *From Pig Iron to Cotton Duck: A History of Manufacturing Villages in Baltimore County, Vol. 1* (Towson, MD: Baltimore County Public Library, 1985), 8-15.

[129] Ibid., 14-15.

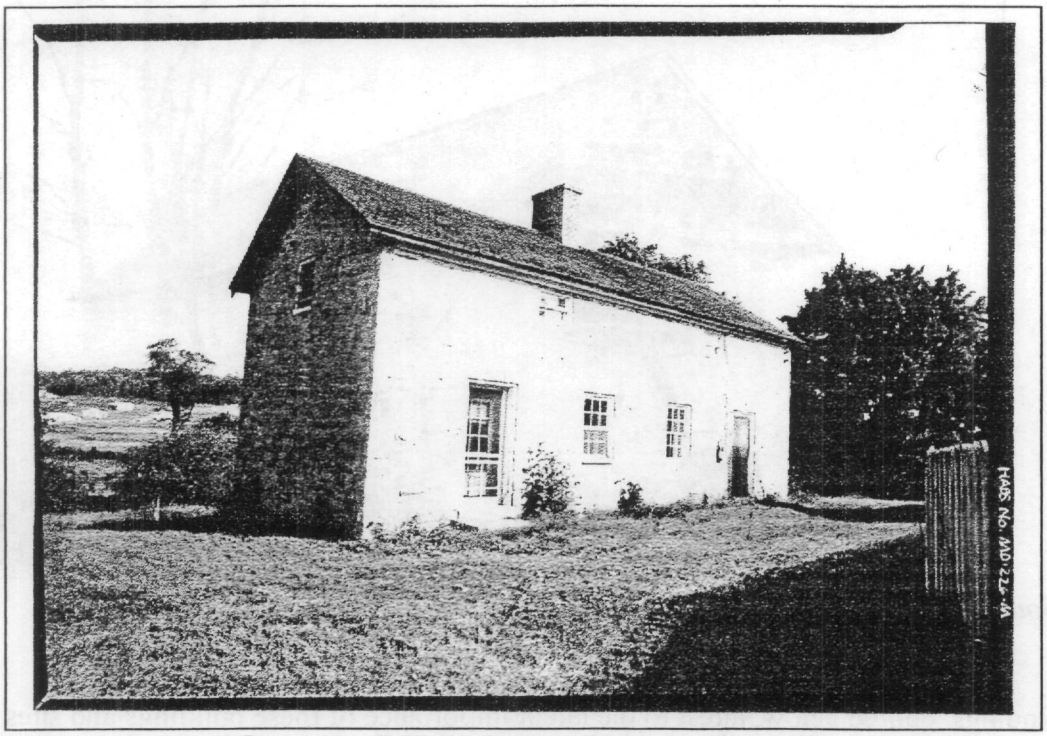
[130] R. Kent Lancaster, "Chattel Slavery at Hampton/Northampton, Baltimore County."

[131] *Baltimore County Advocate,* November 8, 1856.

crawl space under one room. Interior log walls, daubing, underside of upper flooring, stair stringers, and plastered fireplace walls were always whitewashed....[132]

♦ **Fort Garrison** (BA 00033, Figures 9,13) is a small stone building that is reputedly the fort authorized by the governor of Maryland in 1693 for defense against Indians. It is a little known fact, however, that this building is equally significant, if not moreso, as a slave quarters that yielded archaeological evidence of "Africanisms," i.e.,

Figure 8: Hampton Slave Quarters



Source: Library of Congress, E.H. Pickering, Photographer, 1930s

elements of a West African culture that survived within American slavery. The 1798 Federal Tax List shows Robert North Carnan as the owner of this "stone Negro Quarter, one story 48' by 18,' " as well as the tract "Risteau's Garrison," the nearby Fort Garrison farmhouse (BA 00034), and twenty-two slaves. The 1823 County Tax List shows Robert Carnan as the owner of twenty-four slaves.

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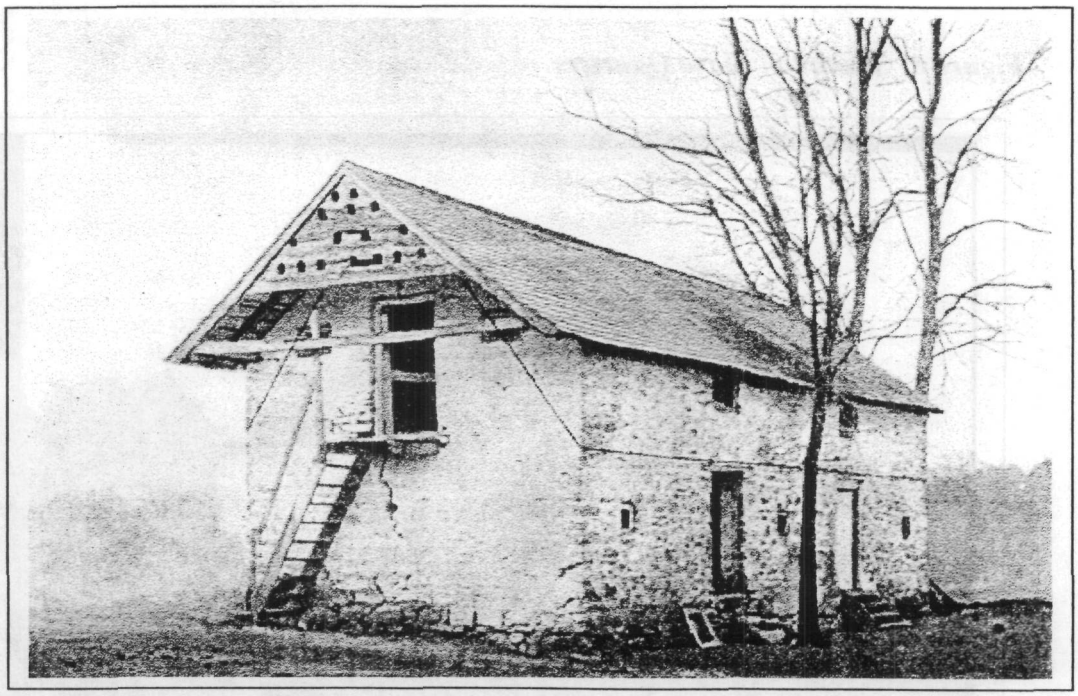
[132] Jenny Masur and Kent Lancaster, "Interpreting Slavery at Hampton NHS," *Cultural Resource Management* 20, no. 2 (1997): 10.

The site was excavated in 1964 in hopes that that the ground might yield artifacts related to the building's use as a fort. It wasn't until 1985, however, that the apparently inconclusive results from the work two decades earlier were re-examined and produced the most startling conclusion in Baltimore County slavery history. Johns Hopkins University's Eric Klingelhofer examined the artifacts from the 1964 excavations. His

Figure 9: Fort Garrison



Source: Baltimore County Public Library, no date

findings, quoted below, attest to the latent importance of these buildings and sites as historical records of a largely-unwritten part of the nation's past:

> At the Garrison Plantation, slave archaeology revealed three distinctive elements of material culture that are absent in the European and colonial traditions. Moreover, the three elements appear on other Tidewater slave sites.... There was a ready access to a skill generally long abandoned in European-lithic industry [,] by which items of European manufacture were refashioned to serve different functions for Black needs. There appeared, too, traces of an artistic mode that is not part of the White world....[133]

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[133] Eric Klingelhofer, "Aspects of Early Afro-American Material Culture: Artifacts from the Slave Quarters at Garrison Plantation, Maryland," *Historical Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (1987): 112-119.

♦ **Kenilworth** (BA 00184, Figure 11) slave quarters may be the only remaining quarters associated with the county's late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century mills. The elegant Kenilworth house is an eight-bay, two-story brick home with some Federal-style details. It was built by a self-made man named Charles Jessop. Behind the brick house stands the two-story stone building known as the slave quarters. Charles Jessop's life epitomized the social mobility that was sometime afforded to county residents who were able to find a niche in the booming grain market as the region became the wheat-belt of the world for almost a century. Charles Jessop, born in 1759, was a massive figure of a man who began his career at age sixteen as an apprentice to a millwright. Jessop later became an ironmaster under General Charles Ridgely (owner of the Hampton estate), a miller, a road supervisor, a millwright, a Revolutionary War soldier, and an early Methodist convert who was involved in the construction of the first Jessop Methodist Episcopal Church in 1811.[134]

Charles Jessop's socio-economic rise was partly the result of his exploitation of African-American slave labor. The 1798 Federal Tax List identifies Charles Jessop as the owner of 121 acres of land in the Patapsco Lower Hundred, with one free "Mulatto" man named Aquila as a tenant, as well as four slaves. Charles Jessop appears as the "Occupant" of General Charles Ridgely's former lands in the Middle River Lower Hundred in the same tax list. He later established his residence in the central region of the county at "Vauxhall," (a site now beneath the waters of the Loch Raven Reservoir) when he became owner of both Shipley Mill and Beaver Dam Mill.[135]

Charles bequeathed Kenilworth to his son George at his death in 1828, and his son appears as the owner on the J.C. Sidney 1850 Map. George Jessop's ledgers survive, disclosing that he wrote, in June, 1823, "Mr. Green was carding his wool, with one bundle slated for the Negros' cloth."[136] The 1850 Census Slave Schedule shows George Jessop as the owner of seven slaves.

♦ **Belmont** (BA 00169, Figure 11) is a brick and stone house built by Charles Worthington in the first quarter of the nineteenth century on the tract called "Welsh's Cradle." Charles' father, Samuel Worthington, was patriarch of the Worthingtons who settled the area now known as Worthington Valley. Many of Samuel's children also settled in this fertile valley that is described in greater detail in Chapter III. At some unknown time, the north wing of the main house was extended to the east with a hyphen to attach to the slave quarters, which is a one-and-one-half story brick structure on a high

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[134] John W. McGrain, "Kenilworth," (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00184, November, 1996).

[135] Ibid.

[136] Robert Barnes and John McGrain, "Prose from a Farm Ledger," *History Trails* (Baltimore County Historical Society) 11, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 1.

stone foundation.[137] The quarters would probably have been occupied by some of the nineteen slaves owned by Charles Worthington in 1823, some of whom may have survived through Edward Worthington's reign at the estate up at least until 1850. This site, like Young Jacob's Choice, is particularly intriguing as the departure point of a brave man, Jim Bell, who successfully escaped slave bondage by the Worthington family.[138]

- As noted in the Introduction, the **Greenspring Slave Quarters** (BA 00045, Figure 10) form part of the Greenspring estate owned by the Moale family in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The main estate house grew from a primitive, circa 1760s one-story core into the current two-story, vernacular style farmhouse. There is little architectural documentation on the surviving slave quarters featured in Figure 10. The Moale family remained slaveholders well after the decline of the tobacco economy in Baltimore County, forming part of the county's society of the "persistent practitioners" of slavery, a phenomenon explored in the next chapter.

Figure 10: "Greenspring" Slave Quarters

Source: John W. McGrain, 1980

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[137] Catherine Black and James T. Wollon, Jr. AIA, "Belmont" (in Worthington Valley National Register Historic District Nomination, January 1, 1976).

[138] William Still, *Underground Railroad: A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letter, etc* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coales, Publishers, 1872.), 438.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND SLAVERY

We can expect to accurately understand southern plantation landscapes only if the contributions of slaves are acknowledged and included. To study these places without including the slaves' perspectives would not only be inadequate, it would be futile.[139]

John Michael Vlach

The 1850 J.C. Sidney and P.J. Browne *Map of Baltimore City and County, Maryland*, indicates names and locations of county residents, roads, taverns, mills, meeting houses, waterways, and other miscellaneous geographic features. This map, however, like most maps from that period, fails to present any information about the slaves who worked at these houses, farms, inns, iron forges, and mills. The few indications on this particular map of both the free and the enslaved African-American population include the two "Colored Meeting Houses," (Mt. Gilboa Chapel, and Piney Grove United Methodist Church), the St. John's Church in Ruxton, and the homes of several free blacks.[140]

This thesis demonstrates methods for constructing a more complete map of that time period (Figures 11-14) to depict at least a portion of the missing African-American population. This new map accomplishes several goals. It allows the spatial relationships between slave and free African-American sites to be studied, showing how both slavery and freedom were patterned across the county's landscape. This map also enables researchers to evaluate possible routes that fugitive slaves may have taken through the county, and to consider whether these routes may have been through free black settlements, or perhaps even through Quaker settlements.

These last two chapters present the information regarding the study sites integrated into the composite map of the African-American cultural landscape in

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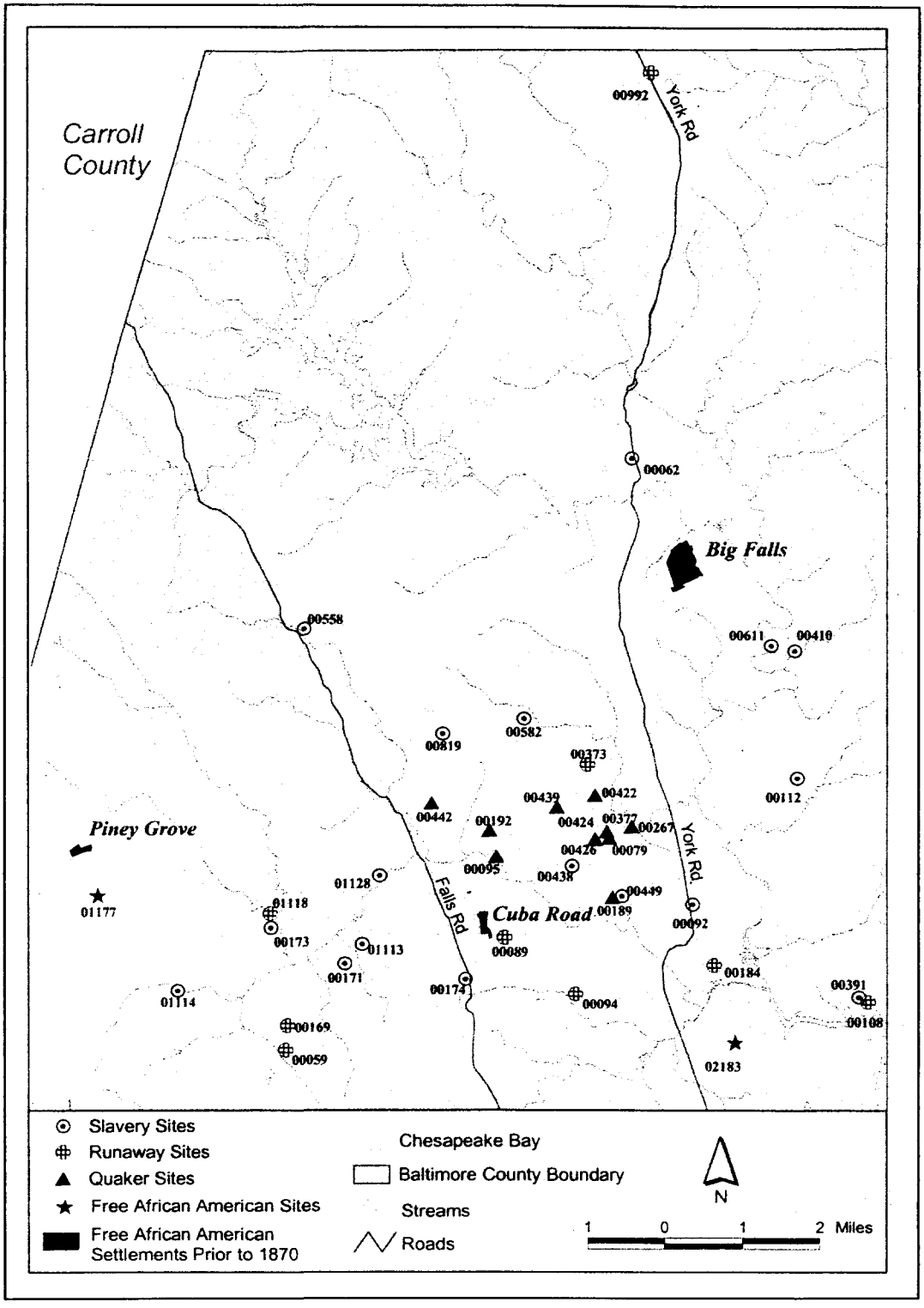
[139] John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 1.

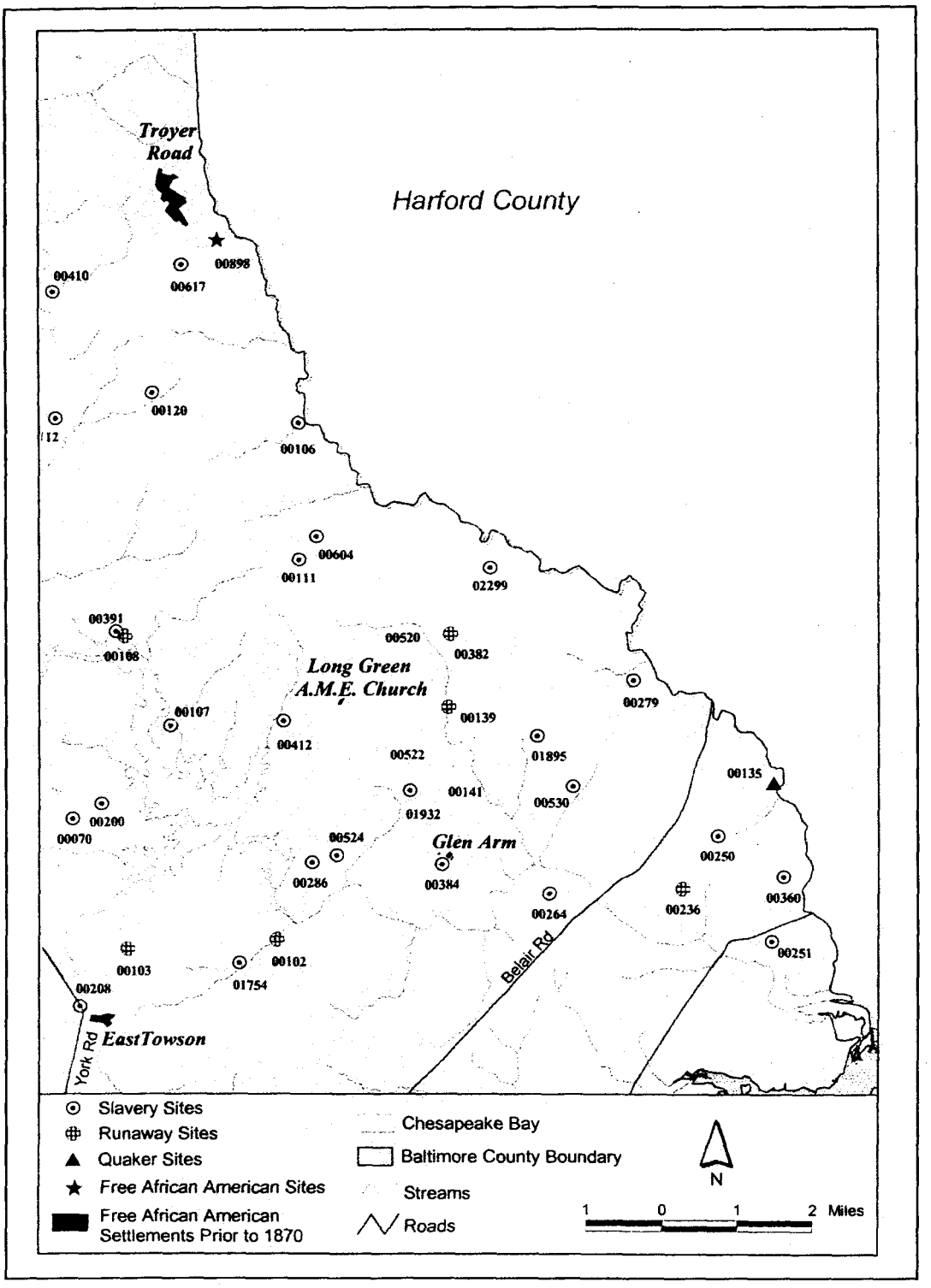
[140] J.C. Sidney and P.J. Browne, *Map of the City and County of Baltimore, Maryland, from Original Surveys* (Baltimore, MD: James M. Stephens, 1850).

Figure 11: African-American Cultural Atlas (Northwest Baltimore County)



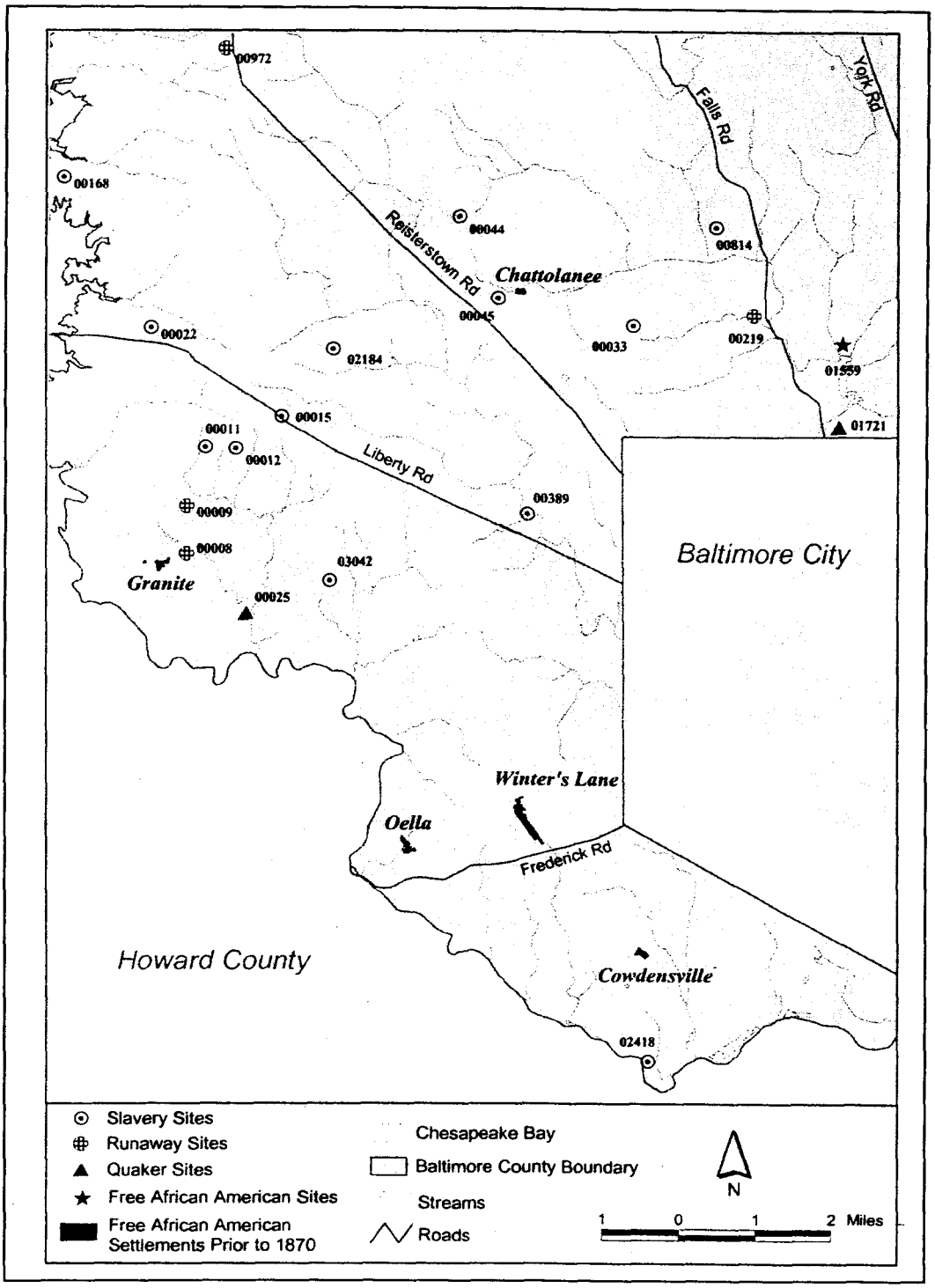
Source: Office of Planning, Baltimore County, Maryland, 2004

Figure 12: African-American Cultural Atlas (Northeast Baltimore County)



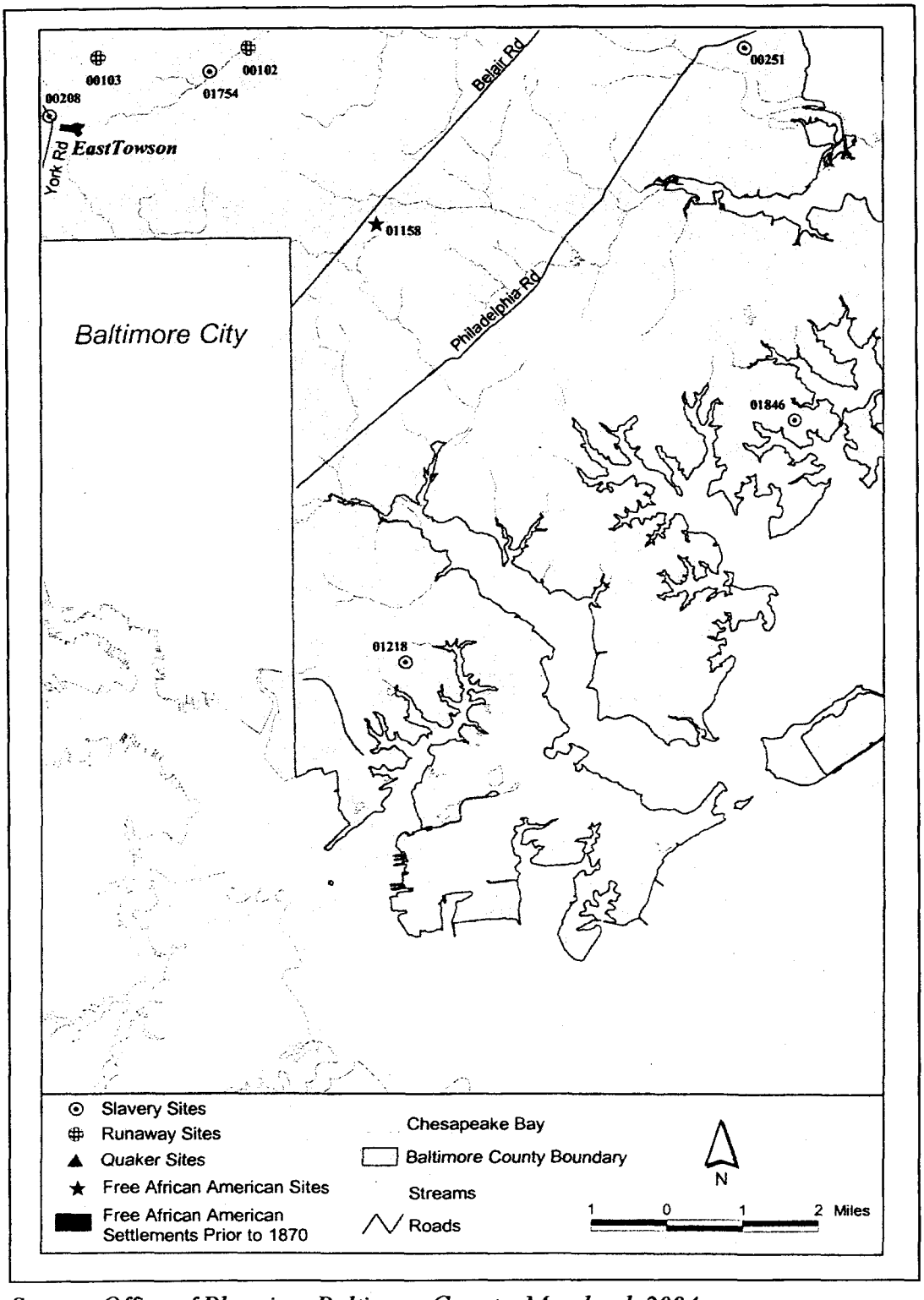
Source: Office of Planning, Baltimore County, Maryland, 2004

Figure 13: African-American Cultural Atlas (Southwest Baltimore County)



Source: Office of Planning, Baltimore County, Maryland, 2004)

Figure 14: African-American Cultural Atlas (Southeast Baltimore County)



Source: Office of Planning, Baltimore County, Maryland, 2004

antebellum Baltimore County (Figures 11-14). Chapter III focuses on the elements of slavery in the county's landscape; Chapter IV deals with the free African-Americans. Chapter III begins with a brief analysis of Baltimore County runaway slave advertisements and slave narratives. This leads to a discussion of the slavery study sites and an analysis of geographical issues related to their location within the county. Chapter IV focuses on the fugitive slave advertisements as records of slave resistance, as well as other elements of the free African-American landscape.

Slaveholding Patterns in the Regions

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the number of slaves as a percentage of the state's and the county's total population declined as the state steadily moved towards an economy based on wheat and industry, and away from a slave-based tobacco economy. Oddly enough, however, as shown by the examination of Census data (see footnote 9), the county's and the state's overall slave populations each remained relatively constant between 1790 and 1860. Each county in Maryland seemed to have its own set of slaveholders who did not completely divest themselves of slaves until all the slaves were freed by the Maryland Constitution of 1864. No published information has been found on whether the same individuals and same families continued in this set, or whether others moved in and out of this slaveholding set, but this issue certainly warrants additional study.

The Baltimore County Historian, John McGrain, coined the term the "convinced practitioners" to describe this slaveholding population. This persistent set of Baltimore County practitioners held between 6,000 and 7,000 African-Americans in bondage from about 1790 through 1850. By 1860 that total only dropped to 3,182. Researchers at the Maryland Archives confirm this finding, noting that "Baltimore County was a cross-roads of Maryland with large numbers of both free and enslaved blacks. The proportion of enslaved blacks in Baltimore County did not shrink as quickly as in other central Maryland counties."[141] Even as slavery declined in the central counties, however, it must have increased slightly in other counties, since the statewide figures from the same time period indicate that between 90,000 and 110,000 African-Americans were held in bondage, and this total also dropped only slightly, to 87,189 in 1860.

Interestingly enough, both the county and city slave-owners displayed some consistent slaveholding patterns during this period. This regional slaveholding pattern may partially explain why slavery remained at relatively constant levels even though the region had already moved away from the slave-based production of tobacco. In short, it appears that some households regarded a slave as an investment, like a long-term bond that would not have been affected by the decline in local demand for slaves for tobacco production.

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[141] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground."

A notable portion of both Baltimore City and Baltimore County slaveholders held only one slave. In 1790, approximately thirty percent of the county's 1,029 slave-holding families had only one slave. In the city, approximately forty percent of the 388 slave-holding families held one slave. Seventy years later, in 1860, approximately one-third of the county's slaveholders, and almost seventy percent of the city's slaveholders, had only one slave.

In 1850, approximately 80 of the 306 slaves in the one-slave county households were between the ages of six and fourteen. Without additional research, it is unclear how widespread this phenomenon was in the state or elsewhere in the South. T. Stephen Whitman, author of *The Price of Freedom,* states that the narrative of a Washington County slave called "Fugitive Blacksmith" provides a possible explanation for this child slavery.[142] Washington County, Maryland, is generally similar to rural Baltimore County in terms of its local economy and demography. The fugitive blacksmith, named J.W.C. Pennington, noted that both he and his brother "lived in a family where there was no other negro." He explained this situation as follows:

> The slaveholders...often hire the children of their slaves out to non-slaveholders, not only because they save themselves the expense of taking care of them, but in this way they get among their slaves useful trades.... I remained with the stonemason until I was eleven years of age: at this time I was taken home. This was another serious period in my childhood; I was separated from my older brother, to whom I was much attached.... My master owned an excellent blacksmith, who had obtained his trade in the way I have mentioned above.[143]

This type of slavery may have characterized a sizable fraction of the slavery in the state of Maryland. Further South, no less a perceptive observer that Frederick Law Olmsted reported that "It appears to me evident ... that the cash value of a slave for sale, above the cost of raising it from infancy to the age at which it commands the highest price, is generally considered among the surest elements of a planter's wealth ...."[144]

Additional research is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn firmly, but this pattern of slavery can partially explain why the total number of slaves remained relatively constant in Baltimore County, well after the local decline in tobacco production.

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[142] T. Stephen Whitman, email to author, March 11, 2004.

[143] James W.C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States,* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries, "Documenting the American South, 2001, http://docsouth.unc.edu/ neh/penning49/menu.html.

[144] Frederick Law Olmsted, quoted in Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower; A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964, Revised Edition* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1966), 83.

Fugitive Slave Advertisements as Slave Narratives

In 1926 the local Baltimore County *Jeffersonian* newspaper published an editorial entitled "Old time Negro of Slave Days Now Only a Memory, But Pleasant One: They Were A Loyal Lot, Full of Sympathy, Having No Cares Or Responsibilities, For Their Master Supplied Them With Necessities of Life."[145] Among its naïve assertion was the following:

> Harriet Beecher Stowe and her "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had much to do with creating a sentiment against slavery and finally its abolition. The characters in the book were much overdrawn..."Uncle Tom" was a loveable character, and it was inconceivable that he could have been treated with the brutality described in the book.[146]

Sixty-two years after Emancipation in Maryland, the editor's myopic hindsight that the slaves were always well taken care of by their owners, contrasts with the often-brutal nature of slavery as revealed in the county's fugitive slave advertisements and slave narratives.

Arguably, the advertisements were actually the first "slave narratives since they were the first published stories about slaves and their seizure of freedom."[147] Both types of documents comprise some of the few written records of this largely undocumented past. Carl O. Sauer notes that "The first step in reconstruction of the past stages of a cultural area is mastery of its written documents."[148] These records give meaning to the sites on the reconstructed map of the African-American existence.

The advertisements inform us about the attitudes of the slave-owners who offered financial rewards to try to reclaim their property, or as they noted, so that "I get him back again," or "so that I get him again," or "so that I can get her."[149] The owners described the slaves' physical characteristics, as well as their attire, in great detail. Clothing was scarce in early America, so a person, particularly a slave, was easily recognized because

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[145] *The Jeffersonian* (Towson, MD), August 7, 1926.

[146] Ibid.

[147] David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth Century Mid Atlantic," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 56, no. 2 (April 1999): 247.

[148] Carl O. Sauer, "Forward to Historical Geography."

[149] A notable number of the runaway advertisements compiled by Julie DeMattias of the Catonsville Library, as well as those in Latham A. Windley's book, *Runaway Slaves: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790, 4 Vols.* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983) contain similar phrases.

what the runaway slave wore probably constituted what little clothing the slave possessed.

These advertisements and the narratives reveal the harsh nature of slavery at the site from which the fugitive originated. The physical descriptions abound with images of the slaves' distinctive scars and disabilities, possibly inflicted by their owners or by the hazardous working conditions. In 1742, a thirty-year-old slave named Charles, who had lost part of his toes from frost-bite, ran away from the Fork neighborhood in the Gunpowder District. The owner was uncertain about Charles' apparel but supposed he was almost naked.[150] Stephen Brown, a slave who fled from Daniel B. Banks in 1857 was noted for his stoop.[151] Negro Dan had a scar on his left temple when he fled from William M. Risteau in the Cromwell Valley area in 1850.[152] Jack, a fugitive from Samuel Worthington's estate, Bloomfield, had a scar under his throat where he was burnt, as well as a scar over his right eye-brow.[153] Solomon, one of three runaway slaves advertised by Thomas Cockey in July, 1782, had some marks on one of his cheeks and had lost part of the side of one of his thumbs.[154]

The written first-person accounts of slavery in Baltimore County, called slave narratives, also attest to the physical and emotional harshness of slavery. In 1859, William Johnson decided to run away from John Bosley near the Gunpowder Neck after what he called a "terrible cowhiding."[155] George made up his mind to escape from Eijah J. Johnson after being beaten by his young mistress' husband, Dr. Franklin Rodgers, for taking some corn from the cornfield.[156] Elijah Shaw left Dr. Ephraim Bell's house in New Market (now Maryland Line) at the Pennsylvania border because Dr. Bell's wife frequently beat the heads of slaves with a broomstick.[157] Alfred Hollon, at the age 28, did not recount beatings, simply the sad remembrance of his mother being sold away from the farm when he was three, and the continued denial of the fruits of his own labor by his owner, Elijah J. Johnson.[158]

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[150] Latham A.Windley, *Runaway Slaves,* 215.

[151] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), November 14, 1857.

[152] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), June 30, 1850.

[153] Latham A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves,* 274.

[154] Ibid., 234.

[155] William Still, *Underground Rail Road,* 523.

[156] Ibid., 445-6.

[157] Ibid., 471.

[158] Ibid., 445.

Not all fugitive slaves were successful. The odds were strongly against them. The financial rewards offered by the owners made slave-catchers out of thousands of otherwise neutral citizens. Of course, it was also true that some individuals specialized in this business. For instance, James Watkins writes that on the third day of his first attempt to escape, he was hiding in the woods at Deer Creek when he was overtaken by John Nelson and Bill Foster, two "Negro-catchers, who resided a few miles from Mr. Ensor."[159]

Fugitives worked against almost insurmountable forces. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Acts in 1793 and 1850 made it increasingly risky for citizens to provide assistance to runaways. Pennsylvania was just as hostile as the land south of the Mason-Dixon Line. The 1780 Pennsylvania law that began the abolition of slavery there specified that its terms did not apply to runaway slaves.[160] The Archives and Records Department of Chester County, Pennsylvania (bordering the slave state of Delaware) retains a list of captured fugitive slaves from 1820 through 1839. This list includes at least six Baltimore County slaves: Elijah owned by William Anderson; Isaac Chace and Elijah Collins, both owned by Joshua Bosley; Isaac Johnson, owned by Rebecca Gorshuch; and Sam, owned by William Spears.[161] The capture of a runaway frequently made the news. The *Baltimore County Advocate,* on July 6, 1850, reported that slaves who had run away from R. M. Dorsey Esq., and Dr. S. Rogers of neighboring Howard County, were captured along the Northern Central Railroad at Parkton in central Baltimore County.[162]

The runaway advertisements are also a record of the networks and communities formed by slaves across the landscape. The advertisements frequently noted that the individual might visit a family member, sometimes far off in another county. William C. Gent noted in his runaway advertisement for Edward Buller that his mother lived on a farm in Anne Arundel County.[163] An advertisement in June 18, 1781, noted that two runaways were brothers, that both had on iron collars since they had ran away several times before, and that "they might be about Mr. Thomas Worthington's since their father and mother live there."[164]

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[159] James Watkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins.*

[160] Pennsylvania General Assembly, "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, 1780," Yale Law School," Project Avalon at Yale Law School," 1996, http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/statutes/pennst01.htm.

[161] Chester County [PA] Archives and Records, "Chester County Archives: Fugitive Slave Records: 1820-1839," http://www.chesco.org/archives/fugitive_slave_listall.asp

[162] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), July 6, 1850.

[163] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), August 31, 1840.

[164] Latham A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves,* 248.

One advertisement in Baltimore County is particularly revealing about the slaves' extended bonds and friendships that transcended property ownership lines. In 1849, an advertisement identified Charles Gassaway, Henry Gassaway the elder, Henry Gassaway, Ben Bordley, Harry Bordley, and Caleb Rollins as escapees from John Baldwin, Thomas Gorsuch, J. Hillen Jenkins, and James Gittings, all farmers in Long Green Valley.[165]

These communities and families that African-Americans were able to form despite the rigid controls of slavery were under constant threat of destruction. Harriet Beecher Stowe's work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in book form in 1852, brought the harsh reality of slavery, particularly the separation of family members, compellingly to the attention of the American public. The sale of a loved one out of the region was an oft-repeated, tragic event. Many slaves in Maryland and Virginia were sold to slaveholders in the Deep South after the invention of the cotton gin increased the demand for slave labor in that region. The boom in the cotton industry coincided with reduced demand for slave labor in Maryland and Virginia as the region moved away from tobacco towards wheat farming, requiring fewer field hands. Sadly, it is likely that the decline in demand for slaves in Maryland and Virginia translated into a higher likelihood that families were separated even more frequently and across greater distances.

The name "Woolfolk" probably inspired terror in many slave households in Baltimore County. Woolfolk was a slave dealer in the City of Baltimore. One of his advertisements read, "100 negroes wanted. Cash and liberal prices will be given for NEGROES of good character by applying at A. WOOLFOLK's dwelling, PRATT street, near the Upper Depot."[166] Woolfolk's name was also known among the county's slaveholding set. For instance, in 1832, Mrs. Stephen Marsh, a member of the Marsh family that had vast land holdings in the central region of the county, testified that her husband had been speculating in corn and had even sold his wife's personal maid to Woolfolk.[167]

A number of slaves may have been compelled to flee because of their fear of being sold to another owner in the deep South. Benjamin Piney, age twenty, ran away from Mary Hawkins who lived along Old Harford Road for fear of being sold to Georgia, and he successfully made his way to Canada in about 1856.[168]

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[165] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), August 18, 1849.

[166] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), January 1, 1839.

[167] John W. McGrain, "Connemara," (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00640, July, 1985).

[168] William Still, *Underground Railroad*, 540-541.

The Geography of Slavery

The Runaway Slave Sites Map (Figure 15) produced by the Baltimore County Office of Planning in 2000 shows points of origins of runaway slaves. This map is the first broad-scale map of slavery in the county, showing approximately 110 slaveholder sites linked to the ownership names on the J.C. Sidney 1850 Map.[169] The County Historian, John McGrain, notes:

> The farms of slave holders all cluster in the center of the county, many in the area north of Towson, very few in the north end of the county and fairly few out Hanover Pike. The pattern almost confirms what historians suspected by instinct: that areas settled by Germans in the north had very few slaves, as was also the case of areas of very hilly ground broken up by streams that were more suitable for mills and industries.[170]

This thesis study confirms the findings of the earlier study in terms of the geographic pattern of slavery within the county. The thesis' study sites (Appendix I), cluster in the central region of the county, as portrayed in Figures 11-14. The study sites associated with slavery were selected from the county's inventory of approximately 5,000 historic properties. The sites, mostly all farmsteads, were all developed before 1850, still exist today, and have some record of slavery. This list includes a disproportionate number of stone and brick buildings rather than frame and log buildings if only because high-style masonry buildings have been more extensively researched to date. Reliance on the research, specifically the property ownership record, is necessary for this study because slaves were identified as property and listed as such under their owners' names. This study referenced slave data from the "1798 Tax List," the "1823 Tax List," or the 1850 Census Slave Schedule. Slave ownership information for all three of these years is available for ten of the locations, providing insight into slavery, over time, at these particular farms. Appendix III provides a more in-depth explanation of the methodology used to create the cultural atlas.

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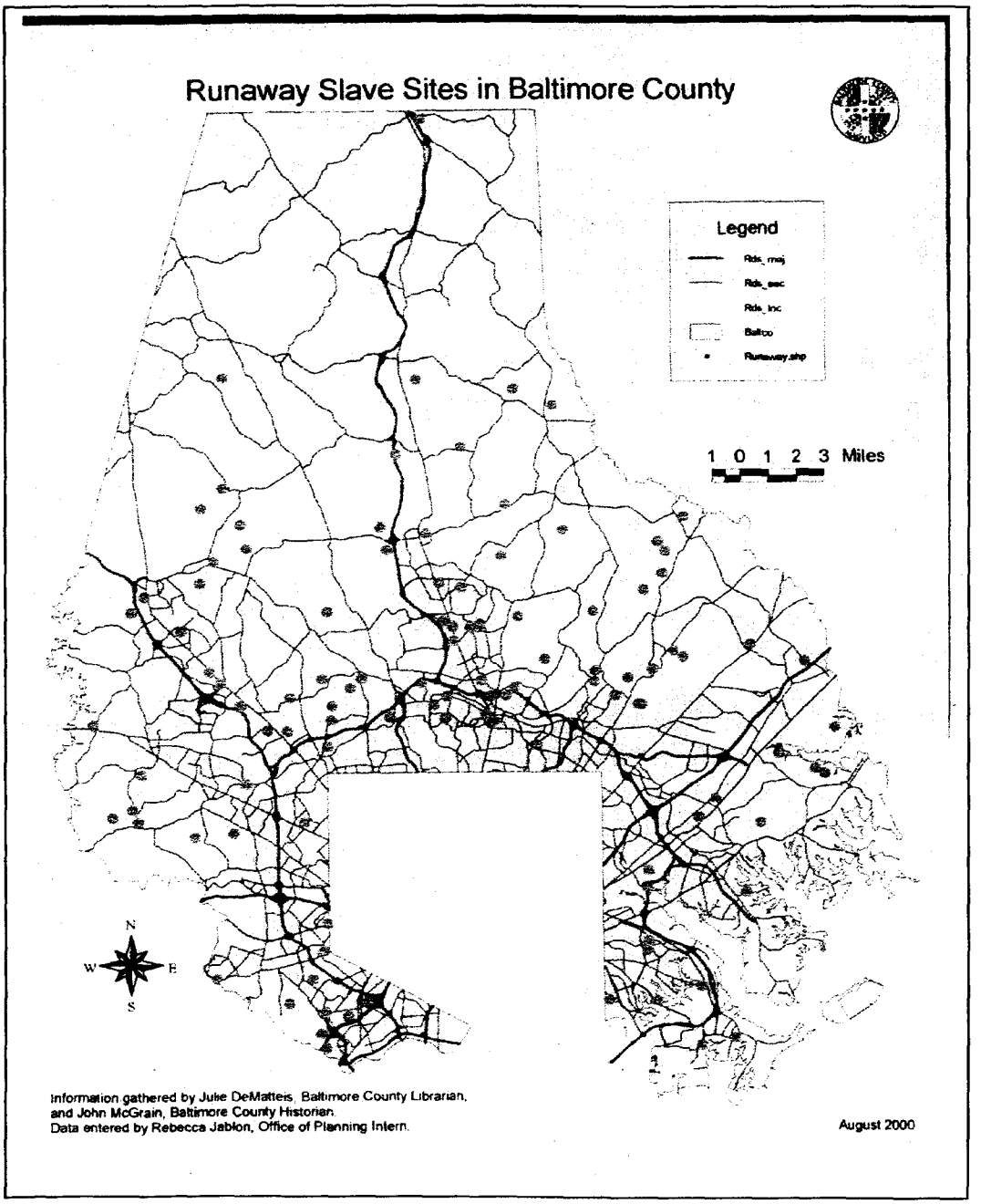
[169] The data for Figure 15, the Runaway Slave Sites Map in Baltimore County, was compiled by Julie DiMatteis of the Catonsville Branch, Baltimore County Public Libraries, from the classified advertising columns of the Baltimore *Sun*. Many of the advertisements gave addresses of the slave holders that were specific enough to match landowners' names on the one-mile-scale county map published in 1850 by J.C. Sidney and P.J. Browne. Approximately 110 farms were identified for transfer of the site location into the county's geographic information system (electronic mapping) database. The transfer was performed by Rebecca Jablon with oversight from John McGrain the County Historian.

[170] John W. McGrain, "Underground Railroad Research Data," Vertical File, Baltimore County Office of Planning.

Figure 15: Runaway Slave Sites Map



Source: Office of Planning, 2000

Besides strengthening existing theories about the distribution of slavery within Baltimore County, this study also finds an interesting correlation between slavery and

prime soil areas in the county. The Worthington Valley region has one of the county's largest concentrations of prime and productive agricultural soils as documented by Baltimore County's Prime and Productive Soils Map.[171] Significantly, the Worthingtons were some of the county's largest slaveholding families as well as some of the largest landowners. Samuel Worthington, and his brother William, were descendants of Captain John Worthington of Anne Arundel County. These brothers bought the patent for "Welshes Cradle," in the area now known as Worthington Valley, as early as 1740. Samuel had twenty-two children, and many of them also settled in the same area.[172] In 1798 Samuel Worthington owned a brick house called Bloomfield (BA 00059) with its multitude of associated outbuildings, 2,200 acres, and thirty-one slaves.[173] Bloomfield, and several other Worthington estates are illustrated in the context of the prime agricultural soil areas in Worthington Valley in Figure 16.

The Worthington Valley soils have an underlying layer of limestone. Lime, which weathers naturally from the bedrock, improves soil structure because it neutralizes the acid from the decomposed plants in the soil. The lime also adds calcium and magnesium to the soil, restoring nutrients needed for bountiful crops. It was not until about 1800, however, that agricultural lime was recognized in the county for its restorative powers. This means that the Worthington Valley farmers had the advantages of lime as an inherent fertilizer well before other farmers. These were "far-sighted men, many from southern Maryland, who appreciated the possibilities for cultivation of grain as opposed to tobacco, and the convenience of ample water power for mills with a nearby port for shipment."[174]

These Worthingtons were also some of Maryland's "persistent practitioners" of slavery. Samuel's son, Charles, owned four slaves in 1798 and nineteen slaves by 1823. Charles' son, Richard Johns Worthington, owned twenty slaves in 1850. Samuel Worthington placed at least two advertisements for fugitive slaves during the Revolutionary War, a period that had inspired other slaveholders to manumit their slaves as a result of the colonists' heightened awareness of natural individual rights. Samuel Worthington obviously understood the opportunities that fugitive slaves might have to escape to the welcoming arms of the British. Samuel Worthington's advertisement for Saucy, a thirty-six year old man, noted that "All masters of vessels and others are

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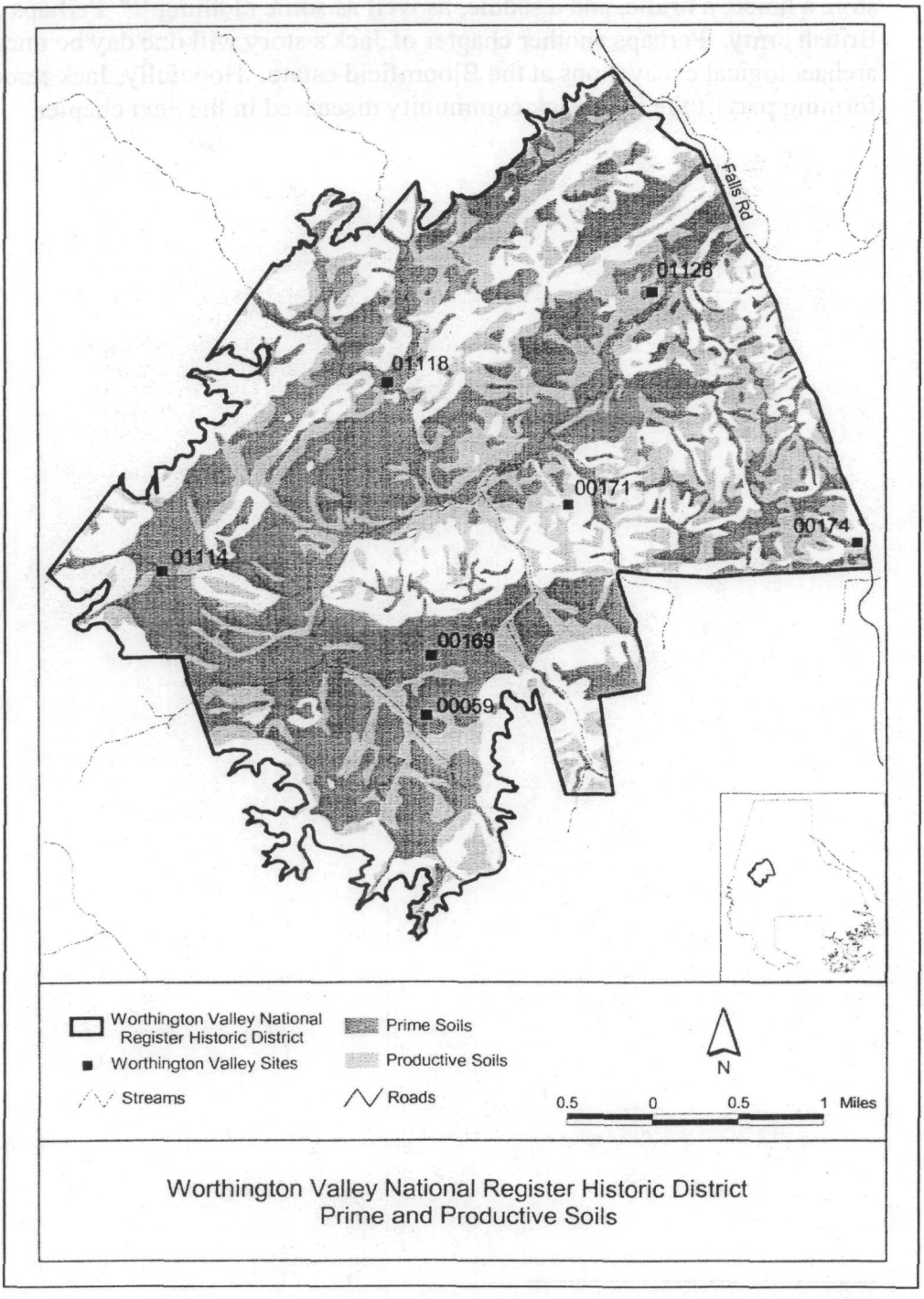
[171] Baltimore County's Prime and Productive Soils Map was produced by Baltimore County Department of Environmental Protection and Resource Management and derived from William U. Reynold, III and Earle D. Matthews, *Soil Survey of Baltimore County, Maryland* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, 1976).

[172] Catharine Black and Jim Wollon, Jr., AIA, "Worthington Valley National Register Historic District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, January, 1976).

[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid.

Figure 16: Worthington Valley National Register Historic District Prime and Productive Soils



Source: Office of Planning, Baltimore County, Maryland, 2004

forbid carrying off, or harbouring, said Negro, at their peril."[175] In another fugitive slave advertisement, Samuel Worthington noted that the fugitive, Jack, was a "remarkable smart boy" who had "knowledge of most parts of the State of Maryland," and that he stole a horse, a bridle, and a saddle, as well as some clothing.[176] Perhaps Jack joined the British army. Perhaps another chapter of Jack's story will one day be uncovered through archaeological excavations at the Bloomfield estate. Hopefully, Jack remained free, forming part of the free black community discussed in the next chapter.

[175] Latham A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves*, 250-251.

[176] Ibid., 274.

Chapter 4

THE LANDSCAPE OF FREEDOM

Rose Johnson was a slave at Clynmalira. She came merrily down the stairs calling out, " I am free. I am free," when emancipation was announced.[177]

Rose Johnson was one of the county's 3,182 slaves who was not emancipated until November, 1864. It is widely unknown, however, that before Rose Johnson was freed, there were already 4,231 free black Baltimore County residents and another 25,680 free blacks living in the City of Baltimore. This sizable free black population created a unique African-American cultural environment and experience in the county. The large free black population allowed a fugitive to pretend to be a free black as a means of escape out of the county, or sometimes even to hide permanently amongst the free blacks in the city.

This chapter works in tandem with Chapter III for developing a map that will begin a more complete representation of the African-American experience in Baltimore County in the first half of the nineteenth century (Figures 11-14). Chapter IV continues the discussion of fugitive slavery initiated in the last chapter, but in a more celebratory fashion that recognizes the enduring inspiration of the fugitive slaves in the legacy of slave resistance. This chapter also presents information on the other elements within the county's African-American cultural landscape, including antebellum period free black communities, free black landholdings, the Quakers, and the Germans.

Fugitive Slave Sites as Artifacts of Slave Resistance

Ran away, from the subscriber, on Sunday morning, the 20th instant, a Negro Woman named Bet, middle-aged; took with her a Negro CHILD, about a year old. The child has a remarkable scar on its cheeks and chin, occasioned by a burn; the first joint of the first finger, on the left hand is off. Whoever takes up and secures the said Negro Woman and Child, so that the owner may get them again, shall receive if taken up ten miles from*

[177] Harriet Winchester Jones, "A Childhood at Clynmalira," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 51 (June 1956): 108-109. Clynmalira is Maryland Historical Trust Inventory # BA 00112.

home, Three Dollars, and in proportion for any further distance, and if out the County, Eight Dollars. WILLIAM COALE near Towson's Tavern.[178]

Bet (or Betty) was not successful in her escape. William Coale, Jr.'s inventory at his death in 1809 listed a sixty-two-year old female slave named Betty, one male slave who was nineteen and could have been the baby listed in the advertisement, and three other adult male slaves.[179] Unfortunately, William Coale's farmstead has not survived to the present day as a site that might yield archaeological information about Betty's life. Fortunately, the county retains at least eighteen farmsteads that are documented points of departure for fugitive slaves. These buildings represent the harsh legacy of slavery, but can also symbolize the individuals' ennobling pursuit of freedom from bondage.

♦ **Young Jacob's Choice** (BA 00373, Figure 11) is the county's most significant fugitive slave site because it was the point of departure for James Watkins who later wrote a narrative about his experiences. His first-person account of slavery is the county's most extensive slave narrative. His narrative vividly describes how the Ensor slaves were fed corn-bread with some whisky for breakfast, how he was removed from his mother when he was one year old, how he was beaten with a perforated paddle in a city jail, and how, several years after his escape, he returned to see his mother, on foot through the same swamps he traveled in his escape.[180] James Watkins' narrative illustrates individual perseverance, but it also proves there were individuals who assisted with his passage North. Although Watkins' narrative does not record that he received any assistance until he was in Pennsylvania, this chapter identifies documented accomplices within Baltimore County. The researchers at the Maryland State Archives refer to this informal assistance network in the states below the Mason-Dixon line as the "Southern Underground Railroad," described as follows:

> [T]he Northern Underground Railroad – entailed the concerted, organized, integrated system of communication, transportation, and finance aimed at assisting fugitives slaves, upon their arrival in free states, to avoid recapture and return to slave states. The second network, though by no means secondary network – the Southern Underground Railroad – carried forth a more basic penchant of resistance to slavery as exhibited by the enslaved themselves (and others) on the plantations in the slave states. This involved running, or in a wide range of ways helping others to run, or keep running. These two networks can be seen as cooperative.[181]

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[178] Latham A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves,* 289.

[179] Joseph M. Coale III, *The Middling Planters of Ruxton, 1694-1850* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1996), 46.

[180] James Watkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins.*

[181] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground."

The fugitive's individual choice to flee was obviously the starting point in the process. However, the timing of that flight during the year was important in the fugitive's overall strategy, as described below:

> Many fugitives benefited from the kindness and courage of free people, both black and white. Others, however, took matters into their own hands and created opportunities to flee by playing on the habits, routines, even vices of their owners. Enslaved blacks viewed the holiday season as particularly opportune, when owners often traveled away from their plantations, relaxed supervision, and indulged in distracting vices such as alcohol. For example, although winter weather prevailed, each Christmas brought new episodes of flight. Such was the case for Tom Hughson who, in 1847, fled Rezin Worthington's estate in Elysille, Baltimore County, during the Christmas Season. In this case, the twenty-three year old Hughson was believed by his pursuers to have traveled along the Baltimore and Ohio [Rail] Road, perhaps to Cumberland, Maryland, and beyond. Likewise, Joshua Anderson and Basil White fled Leonard Quinlin's Kingsville farm, near Belair Road, during Christmas 1852. Quinlin went to the U.S. District Court for Maryland, in Baltimore City, the very day of Basil and Joshua's escape and filed a petition to recover them under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.[182]

Some county fugitives may have benefited from the county's location along the Chesapeake Bay and the access that the bay provided to international waters and foreign havens. In 1781, a twenty-five-year old male slave who reportedly was familiar with traveling in bay watercraft ran away from the Hampton estate in Towson.[183] In 1855, a slave in Baltimore named Nettles or Anderson, a hired-out cook on the brig *Young America*, gained his freedom by jumping ship onto British soil at Jamaica.[184]

Other county slaves escaped during wartime. In 1765, Thomas Cockey's advertisement for a fugitive slave noted that "Shadwell" had previously attempted to pass himself off as free, that he had on an iron collar and fetters when he fled, and that he had once tried to run off to join the French and Indians west of Frederick County.[185] According to the National Park Service's Underground Railroad researchers, the American Revolution was a significant liberator for enslaved blacks who either actively supported the war as soldiers or somehow found a way to work or leave with the

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[182] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground."

[183] Latham A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves,* 254.

[184] *Republican & Argus* (Baltimore, MD), June 19, 1855.

[185] *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), September 26, 1765. At that time, Frederick County extended 200 miles westward from Baltimore County into the wilderness at the colony's farthest limit.

British.[186] For example, Abraham Risteau's fugitive slave advertisement in 1779 noted that a slave named Jack might once again attempt to connect with the British Army.[187]

The Civil War opened similar opportunities for slaves to escape in the same fashion as in previous wars. Additionally, the federal and Maryland governments each established "Negro" recruiting centers that granted bounties of approximately three hundred to four hundred dollars per slave to slaveholders presumed to be loyal to the Union. In turn, the slaves were granted their freedom and given fifty dollars upon entering the army and another fifty dollars after they were officially discharged.[188]

Fugitive slavery started with an individual's choice to run, but accomplices sometimes were instrumental in their success. Accomplices took great risks with their own safety and livelihoods. To date, researchers have found documented accounts of at least fourteen individuals in Baltimore County who were accomplices to fugitive slaves. On July 20, 1843, the *Sun* reported that Mr. Ridgley, of Hays, Zell, and Ridgely, had returned the prior evening from Harrisburg, having in custody Archibald Smith, a free black who was charged with enticing away the slaves of Richard Emery, Esq., of Baltimore County.[189] The same Mr. Ridgely had been absolved of the murder of a fugitive slave named William Smith in Columbia, Pennsylvania in 1852.[190]

The punishments for abetting a runaway were harsh. Isaac Burley was sentenced to be sold out of the state for six years for enticing a slave to run away sometime before March, 1829.[191] Peter Hood was arrested for concealing a slave girl from her master and for assisting in her escape from the city.[192] Henry Connelly was arrested in October, 1847 on the charge of aiding and abetting in the escape of a slave owned by James Howard.[193] Thomas Wallace, a free black in Baltimore County, was arrested for enticing slaves to run away in 1859.[194]

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[186] National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, "Underground Railroad Resources of the United States, Theme Study, 1998," http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/thhome.htm .

[187] Latham A. Windley, *Runaway Slaves*, 230.

[188] Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 146.

[189] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), July 20, 1843.

[190] *Republican & Argus* (Baltimore, MD), May 3, 1852.

[191] *Jeffersonian* (Towson, MD), March 2, 1829.

[192] *Republican & Argus* (Baltimore, MD), August 12, 1845.

[194] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), September 17, 1859.

Mary Ann Coates, John Robinson, John Jones, James Wilson, and Joseph Stinnett are several other documented accomplices. In 1862, Mary Ann Coates, a middle-aged free black woman, was sentenced to six years in the Maryland Penitentiary for assisting a Baltimore County fugitive slave by letting the girl ride with her to Pennsylvania. James Wilson of Baltimore City served a three-year sentence for transporting a slave on the run. Joseph Sinnett was convicted of enticing and persuading a slave to flee, and subsequently spent six years in prison until he was pardoned in 1859. John Robinson, a free black native of Norfolk, Virginia who worked in Baltimore city as a stonecutter, was sentenced in 1841 for aiding a fugitive slave.[195]

Nicholas Smith, a Woodlawn resident with a cooper shop at 1940 Featherbed Lane, supposedly hid slaves in barrels to transport them to freedom, but no records have been found that document his efforts, and both his cooper shop and residence have been demolished.[196] Interestingly, in 1849, the newspaper report on the "Arrest of William and Susanna Adams, colored, for trying to send slaves of Thos. E. Talbott, Esq. on the underground railroad," reflects a public awareness of the existence of the underground railroad in Baltimore County by that time.[197]

- Many slaves successfully made the frightening journey to freedom. Once Charles Hall was safely in the north, he disclosed that his owner Atwood A. Blunt, owner of the **Blunt House** (BA 00008, Figure 13), spent much of his time "card-playing, rum-drinking, and fox-hunting."[198] William Pierce fled a farm in Long Green owned by John Hickol and later recounted how "ill-grained" Hickol and his wife, "a big devil," regularly beat all fifteen of their slaves.[199]

The map of the county's documented runaway sites (Figure 15) indicates that the pattern of fugitive slavery was relatively random throughout the county. The reconstructed atlas of African-American experience (Figures 11-14) correspondingly shows the random distribution of runaway slave sites.

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[195] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground."

[196] Woodlawn Historic Committee, *Woodlawn, Franklintown, and Hebbville, Three Communities- Two Centuries* (Woodlawn, MD: Woodlawn Recreation and Parks Council, 1977), 48.

[197] *Republican & Argus* (Baltimore, MD), November 27, 1849.

[198] William Still, *The Underground Railway*, 397-398.

[199] William Still, *Underground Railway*, 557-58.

Free Neighbors in the Slave Landscape

Slavery was at its peak in the State of Maryland and in Baltimore city and County in 1810. In that year 845 African-Americans lived in freedom in Baltimore County, forty-three percent of whom were concentrated in the Patapsco Upper and Lower Hundreds as indicated in Table 3.[200] The boundaries of the Hundreds are illustrated in Figure 17.

In 1860, the distribution of the free black population in the county was fairly similar to what it had been in 1810. According to the Maryland State Archives, forty-nine percent of the total enslaved and free African-Americans resided in the districts contiguous to the city in 1860, and few African-American, either enslaved or free, inhabited the northern areas of the county near Pennsylvania. Election Districts 6 and 7 contained a total of 117 enslaved, and 83 free African-Americans, who comprised only four percent of the county's total African-American population in 1860.[201]

Table 3: Distribution of the Free African-American Population, 1810

Divisions of Land (Hundreds) Baltimore County, Maryland	Total Free Black Population
Middle River Lower Hundred	27
Back River Lower Hundred	65
Back River Upper Hundred	124
Gunpowder Hundred	24
Middlesex Hundred	97
Soldiers Delight	54
Pipe Creek & North Hundred	60
Delaware Lower Hundred	32
Mine Run Hundred	0
Patapsco Lower Hundred	247
Patapsco Upper Hundred	115
Countywide Total	845

Source: See footnote 197

[200] Paul Heinegg, "Free African Americans of Maryland and Delaware," http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/. This website provides an abbreviated version of Heinegg's *Free African Americans of Maryland and Delaware,* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000. The "Hundreds" are geographic areas delineated in colonial times and used by the early U.S. Censuses for reporting sub-county data.

[201] Maryland Archives, "Beneath the Underground." By 1860, the Census used the Election Districts for sub-county reporting instead of the superceded Hundreds.

In 1810, seventeen households in Baltimore County headed by free blacks owned a total of forty slaves.[202] Additional research may reveal the degree to which this form of this slavery was similar to that between a white slaveowner and an African-American slave, and how much of this slavery may have reflected a number of different relationships particular to the African-American community. Again, until now, there has been little documentation on either free or enslaved blacks, so it is difficult to draw conclusions from the limited data.

There is some documentation, however, of the free black population's property holdings in the county land records, where free blacks were typically identified as "colored" landowners. Benjamin Banneker, the earliest recognized African-American man of science, was also one of the county's earliest free black property owners.[203] Ismael Merry was not only freed by Thomas Cockey Deye's will filed in 1809, but also was bequeathed the house in which he lived as well as ten acres of property.[204] Job Madden, recorded as "colored" in the 1834 tax assessment, owned seven acres worth $115.[205] Abraham Williams, "colored man," was listed with twenty-three acres in the Patapsco Neck area in the 1823 Tax List of District 4.[206] In 1852, Dolly Harris was listed with eleven acres in District 7.[207] Benjamin Talbot, who was born in 1787 on James Wolf's farm, was granted his freedom, bought seventy-seven acres from Dr. Lennox Birckhead, and then sold that property to John M. Shanklin.[208] The 1846 Transfer Book noted that Isaac Rould, identified as "colored," purchased or built upon his land on Trappe Road "Wind Grist Mill" worth $250.[209] Jack Cox, the body servant of Richard and John McGaw, was set free in 1845 and provided "a little farm" and an annuity of ninety dollars a year.[210]

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[202] Paul Heinegg, "Free African-Americans of Maryland and Delaware."

[203] John W. McGrain, "Mt. Gilboa Chapel" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 000637, April 1977).

[204] Dawn F. Thomas, *The Greenspring Valley: Its History and Heritage*, Vol. 1 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1978), 89.

[205] Baltimore County 1834-40 Transfer Book, Maryland Hall of Records No. 8358, Old District No. 7 in 1834 listed in folio 6.

[206] Baltimore County 1823 Tax List, District 4, Maryland State Archives, Md. HR No. CR 39, 605-5.

[207] Baltimore County Tax List, 1852, District 7, Maryland State Archives.

[208] *Baltimore County Union*, September 1, 1886.

[209] Baltimore County Board of Commissioners, 1846 Transfer Book , Maryland State Archives, No. 8360, MSA No. C432-5.

[210] *Maryland Journal* (Towson, MD), December 5, 1868.

It is likely that some of these property holdings were the core sites within what eventually became the county's free black communities. These communities, however, remain under-documented, so that little is known about the origins of each. Until 2002, Baltimore County had completed little in comprehensive architectural documentation or historic research on these communities, but a recent preliminary architectural survey has approximately delineated community boundaries and has identified remaining buildings that contribute to the communities' architectural heritage.[211]

In the rural areas the church typically functioned as the community center for the dispersed residents. Thus, not all of these neighborhoods had definable geographic boundaries. Additionally, because the preliminary architectural survey did not include an attempt to confirm community origination dates, it is possible that there are additional antebellum communities (within the county's approximately forty African-American neighborhoods) that could have been included in the following discussion and mapped in Figures 11-14.

Nevertheless, it is known that at least fourteen free black communities existed before Emancipation. These communities hold many untold stories within surviving buildings' walls, within their unplumbed archeological potentials, within documents not yet tapped for information, and within family stories not yet shared. These neighborhoods each have a unique beginning and a distinctive history. Some of these free black communities were organized around a church, whereas others originated with a free black's landholding. They are relatively dispersed around the county.
The antebellum free black neighborhoods are briefly described below, starting with the North County communities then moving from east to west across the county. It is important to remember when reading about these communities that most of the county's free black population lived in the City of Baltimore. This larger community is described in Christopher Phillip's work, *Freedom's Port: The African-American Community of Baltimore*.[212] The existence of pre-Civil War free black communities throughout the county reflects well on the ability of these people to stand their own ground, and perhaps even to own their own ground, amidst a society that casually regarded most American blacks as a marketable commodity. These communities are all certainly worthy of much additional research and documentation.

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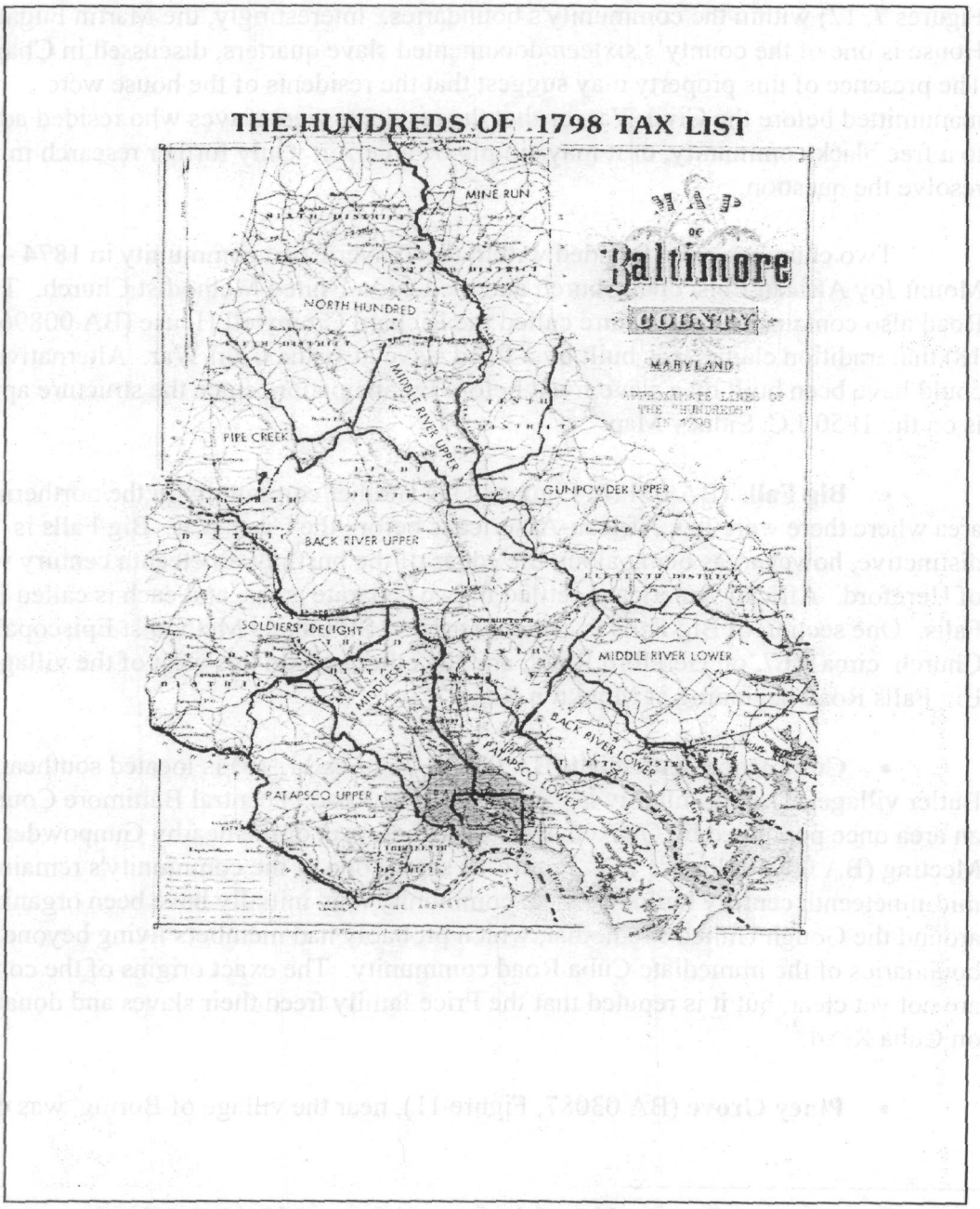
[211] The survey of the county's historic African-American neighborhoods, prepared in 2001 by E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., is a preliminary study that will be presented to local historians within each community for review and comment.

[212] Christopher Phillip, *Freedom's Port: The African-American Community of Baltimore* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

Figure 17: The Hundreds of the 1798 Tax List



Source: John W. McGrain, 1990

- **Troyer Road** (BA 03117, Figure 12) is particularly fascinating as a community that may have had both free and enslaved residents. The community is located along Troyer Road in the far reaches of northern Baltimore County within

Election District 7, an area that contained few free or enslaved blacks in the mid-nineteenth century. Troyer Road is documented as one of the oldest free black settlements, circa 1798, based on inclusion of the Martin Fugate House (BA 00617, Figures 7, 12) within the community's boundaries. Interestingly, the Martin Fugate House is one of the county's sixteen documented slave quarters, discussed in Chapter II. The presence of this property may suggest that the residents of the house were manumitted before the Civil War, or that the residents were slaves who resided adjacent to a free black community, or it may simply be an error. Only further research might resolve the question.

Two churches were founded within the Troyer Road community in 1874 – the Mount Joy African Episcopal Church and the Union United Methodist Church. Troyer Road also contains a log structure called the Richard Cromwell House (BA 00896, Figure 18) that tradition claims was built by a freed slave after the Civil War. Alternatively, it could have been built by a slave freed before Emancipation, since the structure apparently is on the 1850 J.C. Sidney Map.[213]

- **Big Falls** (BA 03118, Figure 11) is another community in the northern county area where there were few African-Americans before the Civil War. Big Falls is distinctive, however, as being along the edges of the bustling nineteenth century village of Hereford. African-Americans settled in two separate areas, and each is called Big Falls. One section of Big Falls is centered around St. Luke's Methodist Episcopal Church, circa1867, on Hereford Road, and the other section lies west of the village along Big Falls Road beginning at Monkton Road.[214]

- **Cuba Road** settlement (BA 03088, Figures 11, 19) is located southeast of Butler village. The community is parallel to Falls Road in central Baltimore County, in an area once populated by Quakers who were members of the nearby Gunpowder Meeting (BA 00080, Figure 11). Figure 19 shows one of the community's remaining mid-nineteenth century buildings. The community may initially have been organized around the Gough United Methodist, which probably had members living beyond the boundaries of the immediate Cuba Road community. The exact origins of the community are not yet clear, but it is reputed that the Price family freed their slaves and donated land on Cuba Road.[215]

- **Piney Grove** (BA 03087, Figure 11), near the village of Boring, was one of

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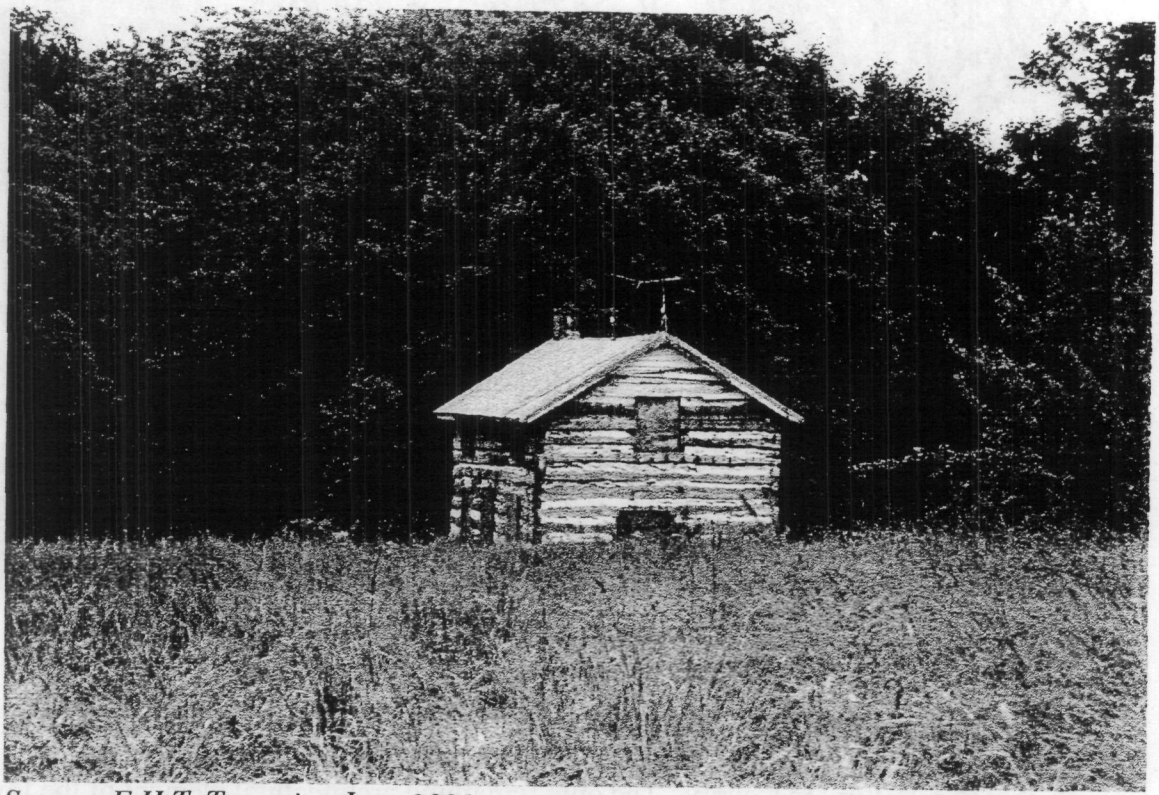
[213] J.C. Sidney and P.J. Browne, *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1850.

[214] Kristie Baynard, "Big Falls African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03118, May, 2003).

[215] Kristie Baynard, "Cuba Road African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA. 03088, February, 2003).

the African-American communities that formed around a church. The only architectural remnants of Piney Grove are the Piney Grove United Methodist Church (BA 01177, Figure 11) and the schoolhouse.

Figure 18: Richard Cromwell House (BA 00896)



Source: E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., 2001

The congregation formed in 1841 and acquired land for a church in 1850. On July 8, 1848, Henry Bushey and his wife Ruth Bushey executed a deed to three free blacks named Stephen Brooks, Joshua Derricks, and John B. Diggs, specifying that they "shall erect" a place of worship for "use of the Coulered [*sic*] people in the neighborhood or vicinity" and that it would be "used for their benefit and advancement in moral and religious improvements and not otherwise."[216] The Piney Grove church that stands today appears on the 1850 J.C. Sidney Map as a "Colored Meeting House."[217]

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[216] Baltimore County Land Records, AWB 408:292, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[217] J.C. Sidney and P. J. Browne, *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1850.

Figure 19: Cuba Road Community

Source; E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., 2001

- **Long Green** (BA 00928, Figure 12) and **Glen Arm** (BA 03094, Figure 12) are two relatively close, free black settlements in the Long Green Valley area of northeasternBaltimore County. The only remaining architectural element of the Long Green community is the Mount Zion African-American Episcopal Church that dates to the mid-nineteenth century. Notable families of the original church include Bowley, Cole, Quickley, Boulden, Johnson, Hawkins, and Bell.[218] The Glen Arm free black community is also centered around a church, called Waugh United Methodist Church (BA 00540). The current church was erected in 1900 and replaced an earlier, circa 1846 chapel. Before 1846, church meetings were conducted in private homes and at the Friendship School House. Names on the grave markers include Todd, Burton, Geddis, Barbour, Door, Dorr, Shearman, Frank, Clark, and Leight.[219]

- The central area of the county included four free black communities: the

[218] Kristie Baynard, "Long Green African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00928, February, 2003).

[219] Kristie Baynard, "Glen Arm African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historic Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03094. March, 2003).

community that formed around the **Bazil African Methodist Episcopal Church; Chattolanee; East Towson**; and the **St. John's Ruxton** community. Bazil African Methodist Episcopal Church (BA 02183, Figure 11), circa 1876, was erected on property donated by Bazil Foote, a black resident of the area east of Cockeysville. Foote was a free inhabitant of Baltimore County as early as 1840 and held church meetings in his home before the church was constructed.[220] The Chattolanee community (BA 03049, Figure 13) apparently originated after the Civil War. The 1850 J.C. Sidney Map does not show any development in the Chattolanee area.[221] East Towson (BA 02564, Figure 12) dates to Daniel Harris's purchase of a one-and-a-quarter acre parcel of land in the eastern portion of the Towson community in 1853. Daniel Harris was one of several hundred slaves freed in November, 1829 by Charles C. Ridgeley's will.[222] Other manumitted slaves from Hampton also formed part of East Towson's early population. The current St. John's Ruxton Church (BA 01559, Figure 13) is a replacement church on the site of the log structure erected near the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad in 1833. The first pastor of St. John's was Rev. Aquilla Scott, a free blacksmith who owned two acres of land along Falls Road at Bare Hills in 1839.[223]

As noted by the Maryland State Archives research staff, the majority of the free black population in Baltimore County lived in the area surrounding the perimeter of Baltimore City. This perimeter area includes the four central-area communities noted above, as well as Granite, Cowdensville, Oella, and Winters Lane on the west side of the county, and Dowden's Chapel on the east side.

- **Granite** (BA 03095, Figures 13, 20) is comprised of two sections, Bunker Hill and Melrose Avenue. Granite is in the Patapsco River valley and was built around the quarrying industry that was in operation from the middle of the eighteenth century through the 1930s. Some of Granite's free black population was probably related to the large number of slaves in the area in the early nineteenth century. Residents in the early twentieth century, who may have been descendants of the earlier inhabitants, include the names Wilson, Hodges, Griggs, Butler, Buchanan, Lees, Lawrence, Bennett, Walker, and Porter.[224]

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[220] John McGrain, "Bazil A.M.E. Church" (National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, No. BA 02183, January, 1990).

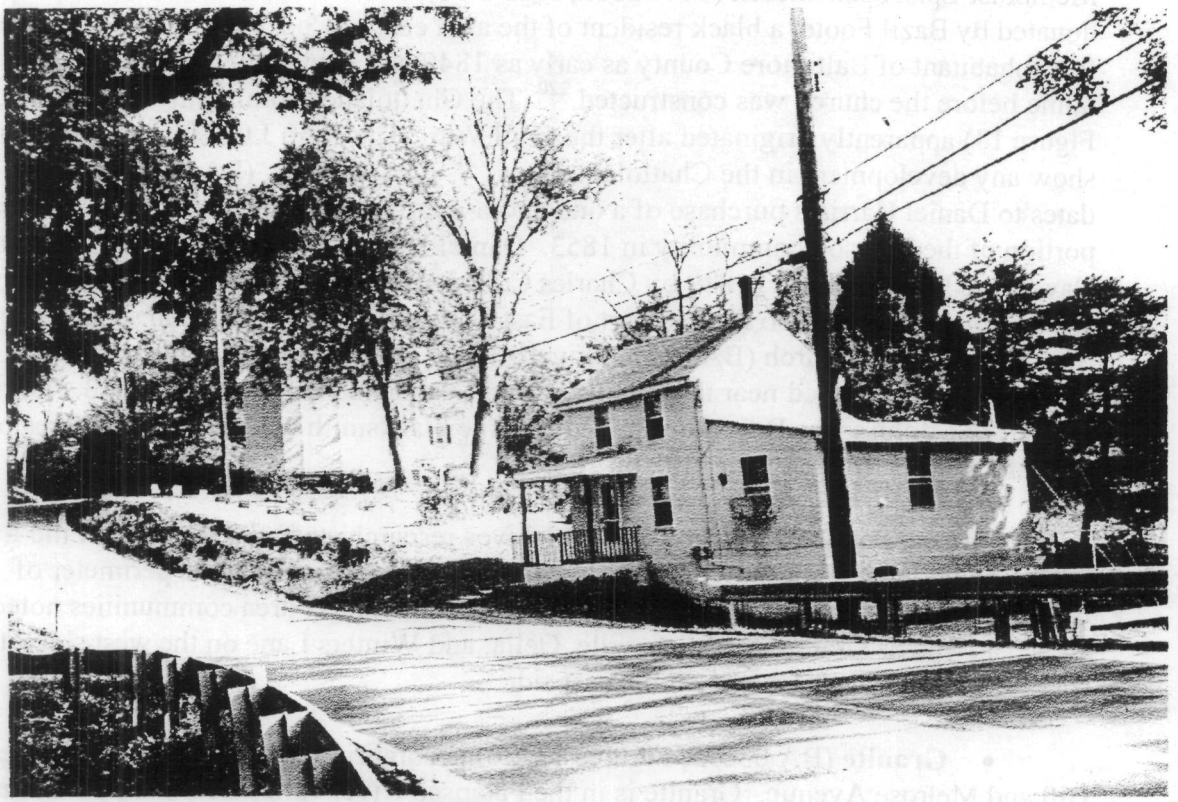
[221] J.C. Sidney and P. J. Browne, *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1850.

[222] Kristie Baynard, "East Towson African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historic Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 02564, October, 2002).

[223] Kristie Baynard, "Bare Hills African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historic Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03050, November, 2002).

[224] Louis S. Diggs, *Surviving in America: Histories of 7 Black Communities in Baltimore County, Maryland* (Towson: Louis Diggs, 2002), 69.

Figure 20: Granite Community



Source: E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., 2001

- **Cowdensville** (BA 03051, Figure 13) stands as the only community identified, to date, as a possible destination for a fugitive slave. Cowdensville, near the villages of Avalon and Arbutus in Southwest Baltimore County, existed by at least by 1847, as suggested by the runaway slave advertisement placed by William Linthicum in the *Baltimore Sun* on May 1, 1847, referencing the name "Crowden Town" as the possible location of a fugitive slave.[225] In 1840 several free black residents were farm laborers, and in 1850 the majority of the fourteen heads of households were agricultural workers, except for William Hawkins, who was a waiter for a white inn-keeper, and John Scott who was a wagon driver. The Pine, Hawkins, and Byas families moved into the area between 1840 and 1850.[226]

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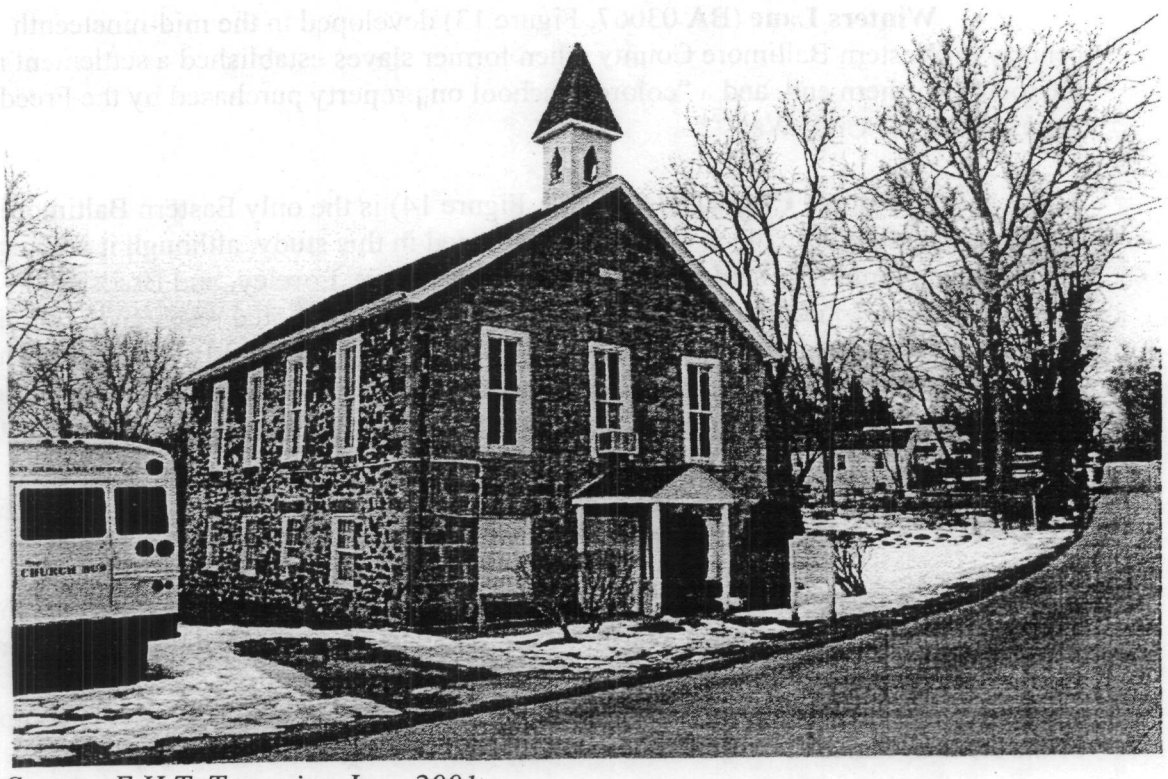
[225] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), May 1, 1847.

[226] Kristie Baynard, "Cowdensville African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03051, October, 2002).

Figure 21: Mt. Golboa Chapel in Oella



Source: E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., 2001

- **Oella (**BA 03093, Figures 13, 21), another free community that formed in the Patapsco Valley, organized around Mt. Gilboa Chapel (BA 00637, Figures 13, 21), which appears on the 1850 J.C. Sidney Map as the "Coloured Meeting House."[227] The first chapel was replaced with a stone chapel in 1861 that still stands. The community is located primarily on Westchester Avenue and Oella Avenue. Oella is famous as the birthplace of Benjamin Banneker, the first recognized African-American man of science, who lived nearby on his one-hundred acre farm. The free black section of Oella first appeared in land records as the "The Negroes lott " in a resurvey of land completed by the Ellicott brothers of Ellicott City in 1803.[228] Mary Williams, a Quaker, freed her slaves and in 1786 bequeathed to them ten acres of the land tract called "Stout," which is an area generally west of Oella Avenue.[229] Some of the African-American residents in

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[227] J.C. Sidney and P.J. Browne, *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1850.

[228] John W. McGrain, "Mt. Gilboa Chapel."

[229] Ibid.

1877 included J. Hall, J. Lee, J.H. Hines, D. Van Order, William J. Kelly, and the Brown family that descended from Mary Williams.[230]

- **Winters Lane** (BA 03067, Figure 13) developed in the mid-nineteenth century in Western Baltimore County when former slaves established a settlement along the road's northern end, and a "colored" school on property purchased by the Freedman Bureau after the Civil War.[231]

- **Dowden's Chapel** (BA 00158, Figure 14) is the only Eastern Baltimore County antebellum free black community included in this study, although it is likely that other African-American settlements such as Forge Road, Loreley, and Bradshaw-Philadelphia can be documented as pre-Civil War once additional research is conducted. Dowden's Chapel is east of the intersection of Putty Hill Road and Belair Road. The land for the chapel was donated in 1849 by Nicholas Gatch. It is likely that this log building served as the church for both free and enslaved blacks in the surrounding area, but there is not currently a community called Dowden's Chapel.[232]

Extended Communities in Extended Landscapes

This study has already substantially documented the existence of an African-American cultural landscape in Baltimore County that extends beyond the slave quarters on farms, to free black communities, and sometimes to the fugitive slave's path to freedom. However, several other components worthy of mention attest to the complexity of the African-American experience in Baltimore County before Emancipation.

Among the more fascinating documented events in the African-American community were the "bush meetings" recorded in the local newspapers. These gatherings reflect how communities transcended the boundaries of slavery, and the size of the gatherings indicates the existence of strong communication networks in the local black population.

The July 2, 1853 edition of the *Baltimore County Advocate*, reported that there were two thousand "Negroes" at a meeting held on the land of W.T. Galloway in Timonium and that "good order prevailed."[233] On August 20, 1853, however, the same

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[230] Kristie Baynard, "Oella African-American Survey District" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 03093, March, 2003).

[231] Laura Trieschmann, "Winters Lane National Register Nomination" (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, No. BA 03067, April, 2003).

[232] John W. McGrain, "Dowden's Chapel" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00158, May, 1995).

[233] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), July 2, 1853.

paper reported that County authorities intended to stop "Negro bush meetings."[234] It is unclear from available records whether or not such meetings were actually banned for a time, but seven years later, on October 6, 1860, the *Baltimore County Advocate,* reported "another Bush Meeting was held at the brick yard near [Towson] on Sunday last and although the day was cold and unpleasant, there was a large turn out of the colored population."[235]

Without additional research, it is also unclear whether a bush meeting was different from a religious or "camp meeting" such as those popularized by the Methodists. The *Baltimore County Advocate* reported on July 20, 1850 that "seven cars of colored people took the train to Rider's Woods [near Towson] for a Camp Meeting."[236] On July 2, 1853, the *Maryland Journal* reported that there was a "Colored Camp Meeting" on the Stevenson property about a mile south of Towson.[237] Interestingly, on August 17, 1859, the *Baltimore County Advocate* noted that, "On Sunday last, the people of color held a religious meeting in Mr. Austen's woods, near Glencoe station, on the Northern Central Railroad. A large crowd assembled there, both white and colored."[238]

The network of contacts was not limited to the immediate Baltimore County environment. Extended family and friends were sometimes as far away as Liberia as a result of the Maryland Colonization Society's programs to send free blacks to Africa. The departure of a vessel to Monrovia was reported as follows:

> Learning that this vessel would leave Mason's Wharf during the morning for Monrovia, the Capitol of Liberia, with a large number of colored emigrants, we visited the scene of departure between 9 and 10 A.M. and found the wharf crowded with a vast concourse of the colored population in a state of excitement rarely witnessed. With few exceptions they were bitterly declaiming against the colonization scheme, and declared the emigrants were downright insane to leave the Heaven blessed States for the barbarous wilds and life-destroying climate of Africa.[239]

One ex-Baltimore County slave named Daniel B. Warner, who was born on Hookstown Road, met with notable success once he left the region by eventually being inaugurated the President of Liberia in 1864.[240]

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[234] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), August 20, 1853.

[235] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), October 6, 1860.

[236] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), July 20, 1850.

[237] *Maryland Journal* (Towson, MD), July 2, 1853.

[238] *Baltimore County Advocate* (Towson, MD), August 17, 1859.

[239] *Republican and Argus* (Baltimore, MD), July 19, 1851.

Baltimore County Quakers

> *On the 28th day of the 9th month of 1763, Jacob Comly, Thomas Hooker (of Samuel) and William Parrish (son of William, Jr.) were both disowned from the Quakers for "accompanying divers peopled which mostly took guns, they also bore arms themselves, and in the time of engagement with the said Negroes one was killed and two wounded."* [241]

In 1763, Jacob Comly, Thomas Hooker, and William Parrish, were disowned by their church because the Quakers were opposed to violence and war. The Quakers had initiated the religious debate over slavery in the mid-eighteenth century when the Society of Friends, both in England and America,began to view slavery as an evil.[242] Quakers were instrumental in eliminating slavery in Pennsylvania, beginning in 1780, and they remained an anti-slavery force in the nation through the Civil War.

Quakers had established a presence in Maryland and in Baltimore County by the mid-eighteenth century. The 1860 U. S. Census indicates that four of the state's twenty Friends' Meeting Houses were in Baltimore County. There were Quakers among the early settlers in the county, who clustered around the county's waterfront until the 1730s. These Quakers, along with their slaves, formed part of the initial northwest migration into the county's hinterlands, described as follows:

> Mordecai Price, a member of the Society of Friends, took up land grants west of the York Road near Sparks in the early 1700s and settled there about 1726. The sturdy homes built by the Price, Matthews, and Scott Families who settled with him, gave the name of Quaker Valley to the lands around Piney Run and Western Run. Bosley's and Coles were early builders here [,] and there are fifteen or twenty homes standing today that were built around 1800; perhaps some may be even earlier. The heart of the Quaker Valley is the meeting house on Quaker Bottom Road. From its porch can be seen Oakland, the Matthews family home, which is the only house built in the immediate area built of brick rather than stone. The Quaker homes line both sides of the York Road in the Sparks area and can also be seen on Western Run, Western Run Road, and Belfast Road....[243]

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[240] *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), March 4, 1864.

[241] Henry C. Peden, *Quaker Records of Northern Maryland: Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Abstracts from the Minutes, 1716-1800* (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2001), 42.

[242] National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, "Underground Railroad Resources of the United States, Theme Study."

[243] Shirley Clemens and C.E. Clemens, *From Marble Hill to Maryland Line: An Informal History of Northern Baltimore County,* Revised Edition (n.p.: C. E. Clemens and S.B. Clemens, 1983), 6.

Abraham Scott was an English Quaker from Woodhall, Cumberland, who settled in the county around 1765, established a grist-mill, and resided at his farm in his house called Regulation (BA 00095, Figure 11). James Mason married Abraham Scott's daughter and in 1802 built a house called Belle Haven, or Pear Hill (BA 00439, Figure 11). Oakland, mentioned above, was the homestead for Samuel Price and then for his son, Mordecai, both Quakers. Echo Farm (BA 00267, Figure 11) was built in 1812 and sometimes used for Quaker Meetings. One of the oldest houses in this cluster is the circa 1761 Kenneth Fisher House (BA 00422, Figure 11) built by Daniel Price, a descendant of the Prices who were staunch Quakers and who came into Baltimore County from the West River, Anne Arundel County.[244]

Amos Ogden, who built Strawberry Hill (BA 00189, Figure 11) in 1811, was a member of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1805 as well as a slave owner, but by 1823 the farm was in the hands of two Quakers, Thomas and Beall Price. Both Prices were members of the Gunpowder Friends' Meeting. Thistle Down Farm (BA 00426, Figure 11) was also called the Haines farm and the Haines' were also members of the Gunpowder Quaker Meeting.[245]

The Quakers in this valley were not all farmers even though much of the land in this valley is prime agricultural soil, the same type that brought the Worthington Valley farmers great prosperity. There were also Quaker tanners and millwrights surrounding the Gunpowder Friends' meeting house. Jesse Scott built Tanyard Farm (BA 00192, Figure 11) in 1824, and this facility appears as "Griffith and Scott Tanyard" on the 1850 J.C. Sidney Map. Stoddard Manor (BA 00377, Figure 11) is one of the Quaker homes that line both sides of the York Road area in Sparks.[246]

There were also Quakers in the Patapsco Valley area of Baltimore City, as well as along the two Gunpowder Rivers. The John Humphrey House (BA 00025, Figure 13), on Wright's Mill Road in the Patapsco Valley, was inherited through the Quaker-oriented Hartley family from 1743 through 1867.[247] Another Quaker site along the Gwynns Falls is the stone house known as Buckingham (BA 01721, Figure 13) that was built by Elisha Tyson, Sr., and was home to his son Jesse Tyson until sold to Charles Adams Buchanan in 1835.[248]

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[244] Jim Wollon, AIA, and Catharine F. Black, "Western Run – Belfast Historic District" (National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1978).

[245] Ibid.

[246] Laura Trieschman, "Stoddard Manor" (Maryland Historic Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00377, November, 2001).

[247] J. Bunting, A. McDonald, and A. Didden, "John Humprhey House"(Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 00025, February, 2001).

[248] William C. Warren, "Maryland's Buckingham," *Maryland Magazine* (Summer, 1993): 15-20.

The Gunpowder Meeting records provide some insight into the Quaker existence and their anti-slavery activities, giving meaning to the houses labeled Quaker sites on Figures 11-14. The records reveal a steady pace of manumissions between 1776 and 1778. Philip Hopkins, William Parrish, and Mary Bowen each freed one slave, Benjamin Howard freed thirteen slaves, William Amos, Jr., freed seven slaves, Samuel Price manumitted seven slaves, and Mordecai Price (son of Mordecai Price) freed eight slaves. Another twenty-three slaves (owners not in the record) were also freed during this time period.[249]

Several Gunpowder Meeting Friends chose slavery over membership in the church. William Morris was first warned that he had neglected the meetings and that he had purchased a slave, but clung to his opinion that he could continue to hold another human in bondage beyond the age of twenty-one. William Morris was given the chance to condemn his own action, but chose instead to be disowned from the Quakers.[250]

James Benson made a similar choice between slavery and Quaker membership. In 1808 Benson was charged with purchasing a black boy who was scheduled to be freed at thirty years old, and Benson choose to hold him in bondage until that time. Benson was given more than adequate warning. He was not immediately disowned. There was a nine-month period from the time he was charged with holding the slave until he was disowned.[251]

The Quakers were also rigid about the hiring of slave labor and other actions that would encourage slavery. In 1809 William Amos, Jr., and John Harlin were charged with employing two slaves. These two men chose to condemn their own behavior in written testimony and remained in the church.[252] In 1809, Thomas West confessed that his falsehood told to a runaway slave resulted in the man being returned to slavery.[253]

The Friends were much more lenient with one of their elder members, Israel Morris, who was charged in 1810 with detaining Aquila and Milcha in service after they were entitled to freedom. Several months later, the Friends records note that Israel Morris was charged with "manifesting an irritable disposition which caused him to make use of unbecoming language and conduct towards Friends, but with respect to his age and

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[249] Henry C. Peden, *Quaker Records of Northern Maryland: Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Abstracts from the Minutes, 1716-1800* (Westminster, Willow Bend Books, 2001), 69-72.

[250] Ibid., 26-27.

[251] Henry C. Peden, *Quaker Records of Baltimore and Harford Counties, Maryland, 1801-1825; Births, Deaths, Marriages, Removals, and Abstracts from the Monthly Minutes* (Westminster, Maryland, Willow Bend Books, 2000), 30-31.

[252] Ibid., 33.

[253] Ibid.

great infirmity, no further action will be taken in his case."[254] The available records do not provide information regarding how much longer Aquila and Milch were kept in slavery.

The available records are also unclear whether the Elisha Tyson who owned the Buckingham house was the same Elisha Tyson who in 1773 moved from Pennsylvania to the house called Jericho (BA 00153, Figure 12) along the Gunpowder River. Nonetheless, although Quakers were pacifists, Elisha Tyson prospered during the Revolutionary War by offering to operate a powder mill at Jericho. In 1781, Tyson moved to the booming town of Baltimore where he started the first abolition society in Maryland in 1789. He lobbied heavily to the Maryland General Assembly and was instrumental in obtaining the repeal of the 1753 law that had restricted slaveholders' ability to free their slaves. Tyson's many accomplishments also included the formation of The Protection Society that provide legal help for slaves or free blacks who were threatened by kidnappers called "Georgia Men."[255]

Germans and Slavery in Baltimore County

This study initially sought to explore whether the Germans, as a settlement group, may have affected slavery in Baltimore County, since as an ethnic group the Germans held lower numbers of slaves than the Scotch and English. The initial goal, therefore, was to include ten German-American farms in the study. Identifying ten German antebellum period farmsteads proved to be difficult, largely because there was not a substantial amount of German settlement in Baltimore County prior to 1850. Thus, the following is an overview of several of the known German settlers and their families.

Although it appears that the first- and second-generation members of these families did not own slaves, by 1850 some descendants of German settlers did hold one or two slaves. Given the limited size of the sample, few if any broad conclusions can be drawn from such limited data. Nonetheless, the findings are important to the overall study since they begin to unravel the mysteries of German settlement in the county. Specifically, they show that most of the settlement happened during the second wave of German migration into this country in the middle of the nineteenth century, only twenty or so years prior to Emancipation.

The European settlers who were primarily of Scotch and English ancestry began migrating into the Baltimore County's backlands in the 1730s after depleting the soils in the waterfront areas through intensive tobacco cultivation. At the same time these settlers were moving inland, Lord Baltimore built roads and lowered taxes in parts of Maryland

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[254] Ibid., 37

[255] Leroy Graham, *Baltimore, the Nineteenth Century Black Capital* (Washington D.C.: University of America Press, 1982).

hoping to attract Germans to settle in his colony's hinterlands as they migrated south from Pennsylvania towards Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.

Lord Baltimore's efforts were successful in Frederick, Washington, and Allegany Counties, which by 1790 held eighty-six percent of all Maryland Germans, comprising forty-four percent of the total population of those counties. In contrast, in 1790, only 627 of Baltimore County's 25,434 residents had German surnames. Baltimore City recorded another 444 Germans amidst a total population of 13,503 people.

Several biographies and local histories prove the German origins of the few Germans who settled in the county before 1790. Henry Wilhelm came to America from Germany during the American Revolution and settled in the sixth district of Baltimore County along the Pennsylvania line.[256] The 1798 Federal Tax List identifies Henry and John Wilhelm with one-story log houses, small farms less than two hundred acres in size, and no slaves. Descendants of these two Wilhelms, Daniel and Peter B. Wilhelm, appear in the 1850 Census with one slave each.

Two Hoffman families settled in Baltimore County. The descendants of George F. Hoffman, a native of Hanover, Germany, arrive first in Frederick County. Some of the family then settled in Baltimore County.[257] The other Hoffmans were descendants of Aaron and John Hoffman, German immigrants who had settled in Pennsylvania.[258] The 1850 Census shows Elizabeth Hoffman with one slave and Henry B. Hoffman with three slaves, both owners in the county's northern area.

John Reister, Sr., is one of the county's best-known German immigrants. He was born in 1715 of German parents. In the 1760s he purchased land along a major roadway leading northwest out of the City of Baltimore. He constructed an inn which became the nucleus for the village of Reisterstown and a center of German immigrant life. Other settlers in the town included Benedict Swope, a German reformed minister, and Barnet Holtsinger, a German blacksmith.[259] Philip Reister [Sr.] lived at the Philip Reister House, which was demolished in the 1980s, and his son Philip Reister, Jr. is listed there as the owner of two slaves in the 1850 Census Slave Schedule. John Lanius's grandfather, Jacob Lanius, was a Pennsylvania pioneer who married Catharine, the oldest

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[256] Sallie A. Mallick , ed., *Sketches of Citizens of Baltimore City and Baltimore County* (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1989), 36.

[257] Ibid., 49.

[258] Ibid., 118.

[259] Lilian Bayly Marks, *Reisters Desire* (Baltimore: Garamond/ Pridemark Press, Inc., 1975), 6.

daughter of John Reister II, and lived at the Lanius House (BA 0894).[260] The 1798 Tax List identifies John Lanius as John Lonas with a two-story brick dwelling in Reisterstown and no slaves.

Several of the first wave of German immigrants settled in the eastern portion of the county where a sizable number of Germans from the second wave of immigration also settled. For instance, Fairview (BA 00864) was the home of Jacob Hiss who came from Germany in 1786.[261] The 1850 Census Slave Schedule lists William Hiss as the owner of one slave in the same vicinity as the Hiss house. In contrast, the Fringers who settled in the Pipe Creek Hundred by 1798 and later built the Henry Fringer House (BA 01855) do not appear as slaveowners in 1798, 1823, or 1850.[262]

The second wave of German settlement into Maryland and the United States arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century. The 1877 Hopkins *Atlas of Baltimore City and County* shows many names of German origin throughout the county. The Gartling Farm (BA 00270) was built by an immigrant from Baden Baden in 1849.[263] Adam Klohr constructed the Klohr House (BA 02901) in the Owings Mills neighborhood, at the corner of Church lane and McDonough Road, in 1844 shortly after his arrival from Germany.[264] Neither the Klohrs nor the Gartlings owned slaves.

The information for analysis of German settlers and their slaveholding patterns in Baltimore County that could be obtained during the timeframe of this study is too small and limited in scope to permit any conclusions. Therefore, as noted above German farmsteads are not included on the African-American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14). More research is certainly warranted regarding the extent to which German immigration may have influenced and enhanced the county's and the state's slow retreat from a slave-based economy. The following thesis conclusion explains how historical geography is the best method for tackling these types of difficult research questions surrounding American slavery.

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[260] Ibid., 138. As explained at the conclusion of this section, the homes of the German-American settlers identified in the remainder of this Chapter do not appear on the Cultural Atlas maps (Figures 11-14).

[261] The Maryland Historical Trust and Baltimore County joint Inventory (explained in footnote 7) is comprised of documentation forms and other information, a portion of which is available on the county's website, http://www.co.ba.md.us/Agencies/ planning/historic_preservation/index.html.

[262] John W. McGrain, "Henry Fringer House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 01855, May, 2003).

[263] Baltimore County Historic Inventory. See footnote 258.

[264] L.V. Trieschmann, A.L. McDonald, and J.J. Bunting, "Klohr House" (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory Form, No. BA 02901, June 29, 2000).

CONCLUSION

The places I was searching for were the ones that spoke of the early, enduring trauma of slavery that shaped America, shattered America, and in a sense created America, too: the trauma of slavery. I wanted to see how people today live with the memories of that difficult past in places still haunted by it, to hear the stories they tell -- and to listen for the stories told, often in the merest whisper, by the places themselves.[265]

This thesis successfully presents a historical geography that celebrates and resurrects voices latent in Baltimore County's landscape for more than 140 years. As noted in the foregoing quote, the county's pre-Civil War farm buildings and landscapes, mills, forges, and other sites are places latent with these stories, awaiting transmission to today's visitors. Buildings and sites often speak volumes. For example, the museum staff at George Washington Parke Custis's Virginia homesite – Arlington House – relies on what the buildings say silently to schoolchildren as they are taken from the elegant main house to the dark and dank slave quarters. This simple process, along with hands-on activities that replicate the many unpleasant tasks the slaves were forced to perform, improves the childrens' understanding of how the slaves' daily work was indispensable to supporting the plantation operations, and how different were the lives of the slaves from the lives of their owners.[266]

This thesis presents many dramatic stories of escape, since those stories are more readily accessible, yet people's everyday lives, struggles, and contributions are equally worthy of study and honor. After all, it was a brave feat merely to survive slavery, let alone to carve out a meaningful life at a time when farms were auctioned along with unthinkingly inhumane reference to "the stock consisting of Slaves, Horses, Cows, Oxen, the farming utensils...."[267]

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[265] Adam Goodheart, "Facing the Slave Past: Historic Sites Grapple with America's Greatest Shame," *Preservation* 53, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 2001): 37.

[266] Karen Byrne, "The Power of Place: Using Historic Structures to Teach Children About Slavery," *Cultural Resource Management* No. 3 (2000), 9-10.

[267] *Baltimore American*, April 28, 1835.

The thesis touches on only a minute fragment of the sometimes exciting but forever tragic story of slavery in Baltimore County. It links these stories to known buildings and sites through the partial development of a map that was never before drawn, a map of the county's antebellum African-American cultural landscape. By examining geographic, demographic, and cultural patterns, the historical geography approach prompts recognition that the slave landscape and community extended beyond the slave cabin – to the main house, to other farms, to free black communities, to the city, and sometimes to freedom in Canada or elsewhere. Other similar studies and programs are underway that demonstrate the benefits of historical geography for unveiling information about America's slave past. The University of Virginia's internet site, "The Geography of Slavery" allows historians to generate maps portraying various dimensions of runaway slave activity in the region.[268] Additionally, the Maryland State Archives' recently launched Underground Railroad internet site organizes much of its research data around mid-nineteenth century maps.[269]

These types of historic and newly-created maps aid Maryland state and county historians in studying the paradoxical situation of slavery and freedom in Baltimore County, where, as explained in Chapter I, geography played a significant role in the county's development within the Tidewater region. The county's hilly terrain above the fall line made the county unattractive to the colonial gentry who preferred to locate their slave-based tobacco farms on the flat, sandy coastal plains that predominated in the Tidewater landscape. The county remained a relatively unsettled backwater through the tobacco boom years, only to rush ahead in the early nineteenth century as a center of industry and wheat production. Whereas industry provided employment opportunities for the city of Baltimore's growing free black population, various forms of slavery persisted in both the city and the county. County farmers were unwilling to relinquish slaves even though the cultivation of wheat was less labor-intensive than tobacco. Many persisted in holding small numbers of slaves. Likewise, a notable number of both county and city residents continued to hold at least one slave, possibly as an investment, or more likely as a status symbol.

Chapter II recognizes that extant slave quarters and other slavery sites in Baltimore County are historically significant as physical evidence of early- to mid-nineteenth century slave quarters, but also notes that they represent only a small fraction of the types of housing that existed during the slavery era. Most of the log, frame, and other types of housing in this warm and humid Southern climate disappeared over time through rot or disuse and will need to be researched through archaeological methods. Chapter II also presents an archaeological story of tremendous importance in county history with the belated realization that elements of West African culture survived within

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[268] Thomas Costa, "The Geography of Slavery," University of Virginia's College at Wise, 2003, http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/index.html .

[269] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground Railroad: The Flight to Freedom, and Communities in Antebellum Maryland, " http://mdslavery.net.

Baltimore County slave life at Fort Garrison when it was used a slave quarter. Future county research efforts and policy decisions should focus on how to institute archaeological programs and protective regulations that can build on the potentials learned from the excavations at Fort Garrison. Future action should also focus specifically on improving the documentation and protection of the county's fifteen extant slave quarters.

Chapters III and IV present the major elements of the African-American antebellum cultural landscape beyond the slave cabin, illustrating the many complexities of a society where free blacks and slaves lived, worked, and worshiped side-by-side. The distribution of the sites discussed in the text is mapped in the African American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14) and is detailed in Appendix I.

Obviously, this thesis can only be the beginnings of a project to create these missing maps and to use this type of research grid for extending recognition and protection to important county resources that have gone too long unrecognized. Many other layers of information such as personal data, transportation routes, or dietary information, can be added to this type of atlas to give new insights about multiple relationships among slavery sites, free black communities, or possible escape routes. Then, beyond just better understandings – the better to tell the stories – the new insights might be applied to bolster the county's ability and justification for requiring preservation of these endangered sites.

The African-American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14) not only produces new research data, but also serves as an effective way to organize and present the data related to the extant sites. More importantly it illustrates their significance as components of this rapidly disappearing cultural landscape. This landscape needs to be understood as one in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The parts are dispersed, sometimes comprised of layers of information in the soils at slave sites, and sometimes comprised of both ordinary and extraordinary buildings, as well as building fragments. The creation of the atlas presents these elements as parts of an untold history that is both beautiful and horrific, a history that unknowingly survives to date, and a history that will not survive into the future unless the elements of this landscape are identified, documented, and protected. This atlas clearly demonstrates the many benefits of historical geography.

However, critics of historical geography have noted that "most historical geography is strictly antiquarian in its purpose," and that "historical geographers seldom even attempt to present the past in such a way that we gain powerful insights on our own culture and values through comparison with a 'distant mirror.' "[270] Indeed, the matter of what these known stories and latent stories might say about contemporary culture remains a subject for another thesis. At a minimum, however, the bits and pieces from life in

[270] Jeanne Kay and J. Hornsby, "On Articles by Meinig, Jordan, and Hornsby: The Future of Historical Geography in the United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80, No. 4 (Dec. 1990): 618.

antebellum Baltimore County included in this thesis, stories both horrific and beautiful, can instill an acute awareness that today's stories of exploitation, repression, and genocide throughout the world are all too similar to a past that we thought was safely behind us. We each face the choice to be part of the silent population that does not take action against these crimes, or to be like those unheralded accomplices of runaway slaves.

Appendix I. ATLAS STUDY SITES TABLE

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00008	Blunt Farm	Slavery; Frame; circa 1798; 1798 Eleanor Walters, 8 slaves: 1823 Captain Alexander Walters, 10 slaves (E. D. # 6); Quarrying; Runaway, *Sun*, 8/16/1860," Dinah"
00009	Mt. Welcome Retreat	Slavery; Stone; circa 1780s; 1850 Lemuel Offutt, 17 slaves (p. 469-471); Slavequarters stone ruin; Quarrying; Runaway, *Sun* 10/13/1857," Ross and John Beall;" slave quarters
00011	Griffith's Adventure	Slavery; Frame/stone; circa 1750s; 1823 John Worthington, Sr. 35 slaves (E.D. # 6); 1850 John Worthington Jr., 13 slaves (p. 469); Quarrying
00012	Noah Worthington House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1830; 1823 Noah Worthington with part of Thomas Worthington estate, 23 slaves (E.D. # 6); 1850 Noah Worthington, 21 slaves (p. 471)
00015	Choate House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1809; 1850 Richard Choate, 5 slaves (p.461)

Sources: Unless otherwise noted, sources for slave data are the "1798 Federal Tax List," the "1823 County Tax List" (including the site's Election District number), and the "1850 Census Slave Schedule" (including the page number of the slaveowner as listed in the CD-ROM and the original copy at the National Archives). (See footnotes 3, 12, and 13, respectively.) For property title data see footnote 258.

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00022	Chapman House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1782; 1798 Thomas Dickson owner rented to Thomas Sykes with 0 slaves; 1823 William Chapman, 1 slave (E.D.# 6) ; 1850 William Chapman, 3 slaves (p.467-469)
00025	John Humphrey House	Quaker; Stone; circa 1743; owned by Hartley family 1743-1867; MHT Form notes "Quaker-oriented Hartley family"
00033	Fort Garrison	Slavery; Stone; circa 1693; 1798 Robert North Carnan, 22 slaves; 1823 Robert Carnan, 24 slaves (E.D.# 2); Building used as slave quarters
00044	Atamasco	Slavery; Frame; circa 1754; 1798 Charles North Carnan, 28 slaves
00045	Greenspring	Slavery; Circa 1760s; Stone/frame; 1798 Ellin Moale, "log negroe house, one story 20' X 12" John & Robert Moale, 11 slaves total; 1850 Robert North Moale, 13 slaves (p.457); slave quarters

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00059	Bloomfield	Slavery; Brick; circa late 1700s; 1798 Samuel Worthington, 31 slaves, "a log house for negroes, 16' X 24'"; 1823 Charles Worthington owner, 19 slaves; 1850 Richard Johns Worthington, 20 slaves (p. 453); Runaway p. 250 L. Windley "Saucy" and "Jack" p. 274
00062	Weisburg Inn	Slavery; Brick/log; circa 1810; 1798 Byrum (Bryam), 0 slaves at log portion which is pre-1810; 1850 Pleasant Hunter, 2 slaves (p. 487)
00070	Pot Spring	Slavery; Stone; circa 1803; 1823 William McMackin, 13 slaves (E.D.# 2); 1850 Alexander Tyson, 0 slaves; stone slave quarters
00079	Oakland	Quaker; Stone; circa 1823; 1823 and 1850 owner Mordecai Price listed as a Quaker in National Register District Nomination
00080	Gunpowder Friends Meeting House	Quaker; circa 1866 (replaced after fire);

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00089	Stone Hall	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; 1798 Thomas Gist, 6 slaves; 1823 Thomas H. Gist, 25 slaves (E.D.# 2); 1850 W. C. Gent, 13 slaves (p.483); Runaway 8/31/1840 *Sun*, "Ed Buller"
00092	Loveton	Slavery; Brick w/stucco; circa 1840; 1850 Thomas Love, 15 slaves (p. 505); Stone slave quarters demolished
00094	Hayfields	Slavery; Stone/brick; circa 1810; 1823 Nicholas Bosley, 14 slaves; 1850 John Merryman 7 slaves (p. 487); Runaway, *Sun* 4/17/1840, "James" and "Alice"; Stone slave quarters
00095	Regulation	Quaker; Stone; circa 1798; Abraham Scott II, English Quaker settled here in 1765; 1798 Abraham Scott assessed for mill, barn and two stone houses, 0 slaves; 1823 and 1850 Thomas Scott, 0 slaves; milling
00102 /02771	Long Island / Merrick Log House	Slavery: Stone/log; circa 1783; 1850 Thomas Risteau , 15 slaves (p. 523); Runaway, *Sun* 2/2/1863, "R. Gray;" slave quarters

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00103	Hampton	Slavery; circa 1770s; 1829 Charles Carnan Ridgeley approximately 350 slaves manumitted by his will that year; 1850 John Carnan Ridgely, 77 slaves; Runaway, 6/26/1778 p. 205 L. Windley; iron production; slave quarters
00106	Manor Glen	Slavery; Stone; circa 1780s; 1783 Elijah Bosley, 20 slaves; 1798 Ezekiel Bosley, 5 slaves
00107	Eagle's Nest	Slavery; Late 1700s; 1798 Thomas Marsh, 18 slaves; 1823 Joshua Marsh, 18 slaves (E.D.# 2); 1850 Captain Joshua Marsh, 20 slaves (p.527)
00108	Cambria	Slavery; Stone; circa 1775; 1798 Richard Britton, 24 slaves; MHT Form in Office of Planning notes a slave quarters at base of hill near public road; Runaway, *Sun* 9/22/1840, "Lewis"
00111	Sweet Air (Quinn)	Slavery; Brick; circa 1750; 1798 Henry Hill Carroll, 19 slaves; 1850 Eliza A. Morrison, 3 slaves (p. 519)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00112	Clynmalira	Slavery; Brick; circa 1824; 1850 Henry Carroll, 30 slaves (p. 521)
00120	Oakland	Slavery; Frame; circa 1798-1810; 1850 T. (sic) Pearce House, 1 slave (p. 509)
00135	Jericho Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa 1770s; Quaker Elisha Tyson; milling
00138	Prospect Hill	Slavery: Brick; circa 1796; 1798 Thomas Ringold, 12 slaves; 1823 John Hunter, 15 slaves; 1850 Moses Miller, Mennonite, 0 slaves; slave quarters
00139	Gittings Choice	Slavery; Stone; circa 1800-1825; 1798 James Gittings, 50 slaves, "negro house;" Runaway, *Sun* 8/18/1849, joint advertisement (See Appendix II.)
00168	Folly Quarter	Slavery; Frame/stone; circa 1770s; 1798 William Baisemen, 9 slaves; 1823 William and Thomas Basemen, 9 slaves (E.D. # 6); 1850 Silvester Basemen, 3 slaves (p. 449);slave quarters formed part of main house, altered

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00169	Belmont	Slavery; Brick; circa 1800-1825; 1823 Charles Worthington, 19 slaves (E.D. #7); 1850 Edward Worthington, 13 slaves (p. 453); Slave Quarters; Runaway, *Sun* 1/6/1858 , "Jim Bell " who made it to freedom as recorded in Still's book p. 438
00171	Stamford	Slavery: Brick; circa 1798; 1783 land owned by Brian Philpot slaveowner; 1823 Brian, Edward, and/or Elizabeth Philpot with 45 total slaves
00173	Locust Hill	Slavery; Stone; circa 1785; 1823 Hickman Johnson, 12 slaves (E.D. # 7); 1850 Elijah Johnson, 11 slaves (p. 455)
00174	Shawan House	Slavery; Brick; circa 1820s; 1850 Samuel Worthington, 14 slaves (p. 487)
00184	Kenilworth	Slavery; Brick; circa 1824-1834; 1850 George Jessop, 7 slaves (p. 505); Runaway, *Sun* 9/27/1861, "Massa" a "Mulatto girl"

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00189	Strawberry Hill	Quakers; Stone; circa 1811 by Amos Ogden (Maryland House of Delegates in 1805); 1823 owner Quakers Thomas and Beal Price
00192	Tanyard Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa 1824; Jesse Scott, 1850 Griffith and Scott Tanyard or Jesse Scott, Jr.
00200	Stella Maris Farmhouse	Slavery; Stone; circa 1757; 1850 William Bosley of John, 4 slaves (p. 489)
00208	Schmuck House	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1841 John Green with one slave (MHT Inv. Form)
00219	Rockland	Slavery; Stone; circa Early 1800s; Col. William Fell Johnson hired slave from John T. Worthington; Runaway, *Sun* 9/13/1855, "Mary," Mulatto

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00236	Edward Day House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1820s; 1823 Joseph R. Ford, 14 slaves; 1850 William Y. Day owner, 4 slaves (p. 535); Runaway, *Sun* 10/18/1854, "John Gibson"
00250	Roslyn	Slavery; Stone; circa Early 1800s; 1850 David Sterett Gittings, 8 slaves (p.535); quarters photograph at Maryland Historical Society
00251	Chilham House	Slavery; circa late 1700s; 1798 Ananias Divers, 9 slaves; 1823 Benjamin Buck, 8 slaves (E.D. # 2); 1850 Robert Taylor, 2 slaves (p. 497)
00264	Perry Hall Mansion	Slavery; Brick; circa 1770s; extensive fire damage H.D.G. Carroll 42 slaves (E.D. # 2)
00267	Echo Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa 1812; at times used for Quaker meetings

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00279	Pork Forest	Slavery; Stone; circa 1818; earliest log house replaced; 1798 owner Matthew Johnson, 1 slave; 1823 Charity Johnson, 1 slave (E.D.# 4) 1850 James Johnson, 2 slaves (p. 511)
00286	Littlecote	Slavery; Stone; circa 1800; Slave Quarter for the Summerfield Estate (BA 00137).
00360	Onion-Rawl House	Slavery; Stone/frame; circa late 1700s; 1798 William Onion, 5 slaves; 1823 Elizabeth Onion, 7 slaves; 1850 John W. Onion, 2 slaves (p. 533)
00373	Young Jacob's Choice	Slavery; Stone; circa 1801; 1850 Luke B. Ensor, 1 slave (p. 485); Runaway, "James Watkins", 1844 (See published narrative)
00377	Stoddard Manor	Quakers; Stone; circa 1830; William Henry Price, Quaker (MHT form)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00382	Winnaford Farm	Slavery; Brick; circa early 1800s; 1850 Thomas Gorsuch, 8 slaves (p. 525); Runaway, *Sun* 8/28/1849, 6 slaves from other nearby farms
00384	Affinity	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1823 Charles W. Risteau and John Risteau, heirs, 8 slaves (E.D. # 2); 1850 James Burton, 6 slaves (p. 535)
00389	Milford Meadows	Slavery; Brick/Stone; circa 1795; 1850 Eugene Post, 1 slave (p. 465)
00391	T. Piersol House	Slavery; Stone; circa mid 1800s; 1850 John Piersol, 1 slave (p. 511)
00410	Fruitful Valley	Slavery; Brick; circa 1803; 1850 John Johnson Merryman, 1 slave (p. 515)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00412	Springfield	Slavery; Frame/stone; circa early 1800s;1798 Edward Pierce, 532 acres, 9 slaves; 1823 William F. Pearce, 13 slaves (E.D. #2); 1850 W.F. Pearce, 5 slaves (p. 509)
00422	Price-Fisher House	Quakers; Stone; circa 1798; Daniel Price to son, Joel, to son Isaac, Quakers (MHT form)
00426	Thistledown Farm	Quakers; Stone; circa Early 1800s; Members of Gunpowder Meeting (MHT form)
00438	Ensor's Spring Garden Farm	Slavery; Stone; circa 1805-1820; 1850 Daniel Bosley, 7 slaves (p. 485)
00439	Pear Hill	Quakers; Stone; circa 1802 when James Mason married daughter of Abraham Scott of Regulation

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00442	Jonathan J. Scott House	Quakers; Stone; circa 1823; Johnathon J. Scott owner in 1823
00449	Smallwood	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1798 Edward Hall, 7 slaves
00524	Land of Promise	Slavery; Stone; Circa 1830-1849; 1850 Joshua Bosley, 5 slaves (p. 531)
00530	Beachmont Farm	Slavery; Stone; Circa late 1700s; 1798 James Gittings, Sr., Esq. 50 slaves
00558	L.L. Louis House	Slavery; Stone; Circa 1830; 1850 Rachel Bossom, 8 slaves (p. 541)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00582	Orebanks	Slavery; Stone/Log; circa 1818; 1850 Abraham Ensor, 2 slaves (p. 485)
00604	Frank B. Russon House	Slavery; Frame: circa 1845; 1850 Davis Powell, 7 slaves (p. 521)
00611	Gwynn-Bacon-Durkee	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; 1798 William Gwynn, 1 slave
00617	Martin Fugate House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; Slave quarters for the Sparks family after left Fugate ownership (MHT Form)
00814	Oakdene	Slavery; Stone; circa 1790s; 1798 Captain John Cockey, 6 slaves, negro house 16 x 20 ft., frame;" 1823 Joseph C. Cockey, 5 slaves; 1850 Frederick Harrison, Jr. 3 slaves (p. 481)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
00819	Linfield Log House	Slavery; Log; circa 1790s; 1850, John Ensor, son of George, 3 slaves (p. 483)
00898	Guild House	Free African American; circa 1845; Jack Cox owned this as a freed slave; *Md. Journal* 12/5/1868
00972	Chatsworth	Slavery; Stone; circa 1830; D.B. Banks owner; Runaway, *Sun* 11/14/1857, "Stephen Brown."
00992	Maryland Line Hotel	Slavery; Brick; circa 1805; 1850 E.Bell, 5 slaves (p. 515); Runaway, "Elijah Shaw," 1858 p.471 W. Still
01113	Bellevue	Slavery: Brick; circa mid-1800s;1850 John T. Johns, 24 slaves (p. 455)

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
01114	Bloomsbury	Slavery; Brick; circa 1798; 1798 Ann Cradock, 2 slaves; 1823 John Tolley Worthington, 53 slaves (E.D. # 7); 1850 owned by the Geists, a Mennonite family, 0 slaves.
01118	Dover House	Slavery; Stone; circa 1824; 1850 Richard Johns, 21 slaves (p. 453); Runaway, Sun 3/5/1863, Maria.
01128	Western Run Farm	Slavery; Stone; circa 1831-1850; 1850 Benjamin Wheeler, 1 slave (p. 505)
01158	Douton's or Dowden's Chapel	Free African American Site
01177	Piney Grove Church	Free African American Site

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
01218	Lynch House	Slavery; Frame: circa 1823; 1850 Patrick Lynch, 7 slaves (p. 501) or William Lynch, 2 slaves (p. 501)
01559	St. John's Church	Free African American Site
01721	Buckingham	Quakers; Stone; circa 1820s; Quaker Elisha Tyson built and bequeathed to son Jesse Tyson
01754	Gays Good Fellowship	Slavery; Stone; circa early 1800s; 1810 U.S. Census Isaac and Catharine Amos, 12 slaves; 1820 U.S.Census, 9 slaves; 1823 Catharine Amos, 3 slaves
01846	Scott-Andrew House	Slavery; Frame; mid-1700s; 1737 Daniell Scott with "Scott's Improvement," quarter, 2 slaves; 1798 Dr. John Simpson, eight tenants, 0 slaves; 1823 Lewis H. Giese, 0 slaves; 1850 Mrs. Elizabeth Tolly Kinghorn, 0 slaves

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
01895	Haystack Farm	Slavery; Stone; circa 1798; 1798 Aquila Hall, 39 slaves; 1850 John Mast, a Mennonite, 0 slaves
01932	Serendipity	Slavery; Stone: circa 1800-1810; 1783 Benjamin Wilson, 8 slaves; 1798 Benjamin Wilson, 11 slaves; 1823 Benjamin Wilson, 9 slaves (E.D. # 2)
02183	Bazil Methodist Church.	Free African American Site.
02184	Plinlimmon	Slavery; Frame; circa 1800; 1798 John Pindell owned land, log dwelling, 9 slaves; 1850 Richard H. Owen, 11 slaves (p. 461)
02299	John's Rest	Slavery; Stone/frame: Circa 1810-25; 1860 John Baldwin, 9 slaves noted in B.C Inventories, JLR 5:291; Runaway, *Sun* 8/18/1849, "Gassaway, Charles and Henry"

MHT No.	Property Name	Comments
02418	Chilly Hollow	Slavery; Stone; circa 1800-38; 1818 Dennis A. Smith, 2 slaves (E.D. # 1)
03042	Worthington Barracks	Slavery; Ruins; Archaeological Site (See Chapter II.)

Appendix II. RUNAWAY SLAVE ADVERTISEMENT TABLE

BA 00008 Blunt Farm
Baltimore Sun, 16 August, 1860

$50 REWARD - Ran away from the subscriber, living in Baltimore County, Md., on the night of the 10th instant, a MULATTO WOMAN, named DINAH, about 28 years old, 5 feet 1 or 2 inches in height, sway backed, and advanced in pregnancy. The above reward of $50 will be paid for her delivery to me, or secured in jail so that I get her. Address A. BLUNT, Woodstock, B & O R.R.

BA 00009 Mt. Welcome Retreat
Baltimore Sun, October 13, 1857

$500 REWARD-RUN AWAYS AND HORSE THIEVES.- Ran away from the subscriber, living in Baltimore county, Md., Brothers, ROSS and JOHN BEALL; the former left on the night of the 11th instant, taking with him on Chestnut Sorrel MARE, the property of his master. Ross has a dark complexion, nearly black, about 23 years of age, about five feet six or seven inches in height, and has a down look when spoken to. John left on the 10th instant, and also took a Horse belonging to a neighbor. He is 18 years old, about five feet ten inches in height, black complexion, smiles when spoken to, showing very white teeth. I will give the above reward of $500 for the apprehension of both, or $250 for either one of them, to be secured in jail so that I get them again. Communications addressed to

LEMUEL OFFUTT,
Woodstock Post office
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

BA-00089 Stone Hall
Baltimore Sun, 31 August, 1840

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD-Ran away on the night of the 23d inst. a DARK MULATTO BOY, about 19 years of age, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, large bone, gangling made, has a monkey look, has a small scar over the right eye, he calls himself EDWARD BULLER, had on a straw hat, linen-pantaloons, gray domestic roundabout, with the sleeves well worn, and cotton shirt; his mother lives on the farm of John P. Snoden, Anne Arundel Co., she goes by the name of May Bull. Any person apprehending said boy and lodge him in jail, shall receive the above reward and all reasonable expenses paid.

WILLIAM C. GENT
Baltimore Co. near the Spring

BA 00094 Hayfields
Baltimore Sun, April 17, 1840

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD - Ranaway from the subscriber, living in Baltimore county, on Saturday night, the 4th inst. a negro man, named JAMES, about 25 years of age, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, very stout and very black, is lively in conversation, and of mirthful and cheerful disposition. Also, went off with James, a yellow woman, named ALICE or ELSY, far advanced in pregnancy, about 22 or 23 years of age is a bright yellow woman has a blear in one of her eyes, has with her a child about three years old who is very smart and when called by his names (Joe) appears to know it. A reward of $200 will be given for the apprehension and security of said slaves so that I get them again or a proportional reward for either of them.

NICHOLAS M. BOSLEY

BA 00102 Long Island
Baltimore Sun, February 2, 1862

$50 REWARD.-Ran away from the subscriber, on the 3d of January, 1863, my Negro Boy, REDDEN GRAY, 16 years of age, five feet ten inches high; a dark mulatto of slender make, and tall for his age; large eyes, and the whites of them very white; speech coarse, thick and rather quick; had on when he left grey mixed jacket, and pantaloons of home-made cloth, and a black slouch hat. He was traced to Washington, D.C. The above reward will be paid for his commitment to the Baltimore jail.. Apply to or address

THOMAS C. RISTEAU,
Cub Hill Postoffice, Baltimore county, Maryland

BA 00108 , Cambria,
Baltimore Sun, September 22, 1840

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD-Ran away from the subscriber on the 14th instant, a mulatto boy names LEWIS, about 18 years of age, five feet six or seven inches high, slender made, with long bushy hair- his features are small; had on a blue roundabout jacket, an old pair of Pittsburgh cord pantaloons and old black hat--without shoes. I will give $10 if taken in Baltimore County , or the above reward if taken any where else so that I can get him again. Any information may be directed to St. James' post office, Baltimore co, MD. JOHN S. CURTIS, on the old York Road near Slade's Tavern.

BA-139, BA-382, BA-2229
Baltimore Sun, August 18, 1849

TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD,-Ran away from the subscribers, living on Long Green, Baltimore county, on the night of the 11th of August, SIX NEGROES: Henry Gassaway, mulatto, aged 46 years, 5 feet 7 inches high: Charles Gassaway, light brown, 23 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches: Henry Gassaway, boy, 12 years of age, a light brown: Ben Bordley, 26 years of age, black, 5 feet 10 inches: Harry Boardly, 28 years of age, black, 5 feet 10 inches: Caleb Rollins mulatto, 26 years of age, 5 feet 10 inches. The above reward will be given to any person or persons who will apprehend and secure them in jail so that the owners may get them again. Two Hundred Dollars will be given for any one of the above runaways.

JOHN BALDWIN
THOMAS GORSUCH
J. HILLEN JENKINS
JAMES GITTINGS

BA-00169 Belmont
Baltimore Sun, January 6, 1858

ARRIVAL FROM PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD.
"Jim Belle"

$100 REWARD. - Ran away from the subscriber on Saturday night, Negro Man JIM BELLE. Jim is about five feet ten inches high, black color, about 26 years of age, has a down look; speaks slow when spoken to; he has large thick lips, and a mustache. He was formerly owned by Edward Stansbury, late of Baltimore county, and purchased by Edward Worthington, near Reisterstown, in Baltimore county, at the late Stansbury's sale, who sold him to B.M. and W.L. Campbell, of Baltimore city, of whom I purchased Jim on the 13th of June last. His wife lives with her mother, Ann Robertson, in Corn Alley, between Lee and Hill streets, Baltimore city, where he has other relations, and where he is making his way. I will give the above reward, no matter where taken, so he is brought home or secured in jail so I get him again.

ZACHARIAH BERRY of W.
near Upper Marlboro Prince George's county, Md.

BA-00184 Kenilworth
Baltimore Sun, September 27, 1861

$50 REWARD -Ran away from the subscriber, on Monday night, 16th instant, a handsome MULATTO GIRL, MASSA, 21 years of age, medium height, rather slender and neat, with a variety of clothing. It is thought she has been conveyed or made her way to this city. It is probable she will endeavor to hire as a nurse of waiter. The above reward will be given if so secured that I get her again.

GEORGE JESSOP,
Cockeysville, P.O. Baltimore County

BA 00219 Rockland
Baltimore Sun, September 13, 1855

$500 REWARD - Ran away, on September 9th from the residence of Co. Wm. F. Johnson, near Brooklandville Post office, Baltimore county, where she was hired, my mulatto Girl called MARY. Said girl is supposed to be about 22 years of age, five feet five inches in height, slender made, and rather sad features. She took a variety of clothing. She is the daughter of a mulatto preacher by the name of Singelton Hughes and left in company, it is supposed, and three servants of Mr. Robert Denison. The undersigned will pay the above reward, provided sail mulatto slave is captured and secured so that she may be delivered to me, anywhere in the State of Maryland.

JOHN T. WORTHINGTON
Post office at Reisterstown, Balto. Co., Md.

BA 00236 Edward Day House
Baltimore Sun, October 18, 1854

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.- Ran away from the subscriber, on Sunday, 15th day of October, a very bright mulatto BOY, called JOHN GIBSON; aged about 22 years, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, well proportioned, black hair, wears it sometimes plaited, but usually has it combed out when it hangs down on the cape of his coat, and looks like a wig. He has very small, thin whiskers, and a few straggling hairs on his chin; he does not shave. Had on a fine black frock coat, life-wise a brown tweed coat, black pants, patent leather gaiter shoes, Kossuth hat. The above reward will be given if taken out of the State, and $100 if taken in the State and secured so that I get him again. It is very possible he may be in company with a woman called Ellen Scott; she is black, about 35 years of age, short, knotty wool, very high cheek bones, and has a mulatto child with her about 9 months old. any information will be thankfully received.

WM. Y. DAY
Little Gunpowder,
Baltimore co., Md.

BA 00927 Chatsworth
Baltimore Sun, November 14, 1857

$200 REWARD-Ran away from my Farm, at Reisterstown, Baltimore county, on Saturday, the 24th of October, my colored boy STEPHEN BROWN, supposed with a slave of Mr. Stocksdale; about 20 years old, not very dark, thick lips, stout for his age, stoops or rather leans forward in walking, has a drawling manner of speaking, and I think but am not sure has his name written on his arm with India ink. The above reward will be given if brought back or lodged in jail so that I get him again.

D.B. BANKS.

BA 01118, Dover,
Baltimore Sun, March 5, 1863

$25 REWARD-Ran away last night, from the residence of William Holland, Esq., No. 72 South Howard street, my NEGRO GIRL, MARIA. She is about seventeen years of age, very black, round face, and about five feet high. I will give the above reward for her arrest, and placing her in the city jail. RICHARD JOHNS, Reisterstown, P.O., Baltimore county.

Appendix III. METHODOLOGY

The Baltimore County African-American Cultural Atlas (Figures 11-14) produced for this thesis currently displays only a minute amount of the information that could be placed on this type of map of the African-American experience in antebellum Baltimore County. Nonetheless, the atlas in its current form is significant as an example of how historical geography provides a basis for the recognition and protection of cultural resources. Since few private or public dollars are allocated to historic research to meet documentation needs in most American cities and counties, efficiency and cost-effectiveness are important goals.

Therefore, the cultural atlas was designed to incorporate only extant resources since the documentation of sites associated with the county's antebellum African-American history can aid in their protection. Documentation is the first step in historic preservation. Sites with non-extant structures or archaeological potential that might yield important historical information can be researched and added later to ensure that the reconstructed atlas accurately represents early to mid-nineteenth century.

The resources selected for this first edition of the atlas include a sample of the county's antebellum farmsteads and homesites. Care was taken to create a study site list (Appendix I) that includes all areas of the county. Since the list includes only known historic structures, it is somewhat skewed with sites that were documented in prior historic site surveys, such as those in the county's twenty-one National Register Districts. Farmsteads were also selected outside these districts in other geographic regions of the county.

The list includes ninety-three sites. Seventy-four of these are sites have some documented record of slavery from 1798, 1823, or 1850. As explained in footnotes 11, 12, and 13, countywide tax lists or censuses conducted in these particular years give slave ownership information on each property owner. The properties' ownership histories had already been completed through various documentation efforts in the last thirty years.

The study site list and the atlas both include fourteen Quaker-owned farmsteads and five sites associated with the county's free black population. Additionally, the atlas includes fourteen individually labeled free black communities, each of which is discussed in Chapter IV.

Ideally, the information depicted in Figures 11-14 could form an overlay (possibly electronic) on the county's J.C. Sidney 1850 Map which is now available to the public on the internet.[271] An overlay on this electronic map would allow the research compiled for this thesis, as well as future research data, to be understood in the context of the physical environment that cartographers depicted in the 1850 Map. Unfortunately, it was not technologically feasible to use the J.C. Sidney 1850 Map as the base map for this study, given thesis format requirements, so the Office of Planning Geographic Information System staff provided a base map that allowed for the presentation of the county and the

[271] Maryland State Archives, "Beneath the Underground: The Flight to Freedom, and Communities in Antebellum Maryland," http://www.mdslavery.net.

study sites on four pages. Future researchers should consider transferring both the thesis map data, as well as the data presented in Figure 15 (The Runaway Slave Site Map) as an overlay on the J.C. Sidney 1850 Map.

Future researchers and preservation advocates should also sustain the emphasis on the use of this research for the preservation of remaining sites associated with this past through high-priority attention to research on extant structures and undisturbed landscapes and sites. As noted throughout this thesis, the sites and structures themselves are some of the few existing records of this underdocumented past.

The atlas is worthy of expanding into an internet-based research site that can become a major forum for presenting and exchanging additional data among researchers and citizens with knowledge of local history. More importantly, the internet site can be utilized to garner recognition and support for these cultural resources as important historical elements that should be retained for future Americans to study and incorporate into their communities. Other regions can also benefit from this comprehensive mapping approach that involves adding the missing layer of African-American history onto antebellum-era maps.

Additionally, the atlas has symbolical significance as a map that reflects the African-American population and its contributions to antebellum Baltimore County's culture and economy. Other counties within the South can also advance their understanding of the geographic distribution of slavery within their county through the replication of this same basic mapping technique.

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INDEX OF SLAVERY SITES [a]

[a] Index of properties and communities identified as slavery-related sites in Chapters 2 and 4 and Appendices I and II.