

# REPORT

WITH RECOMMENDATIONS

OF

**The Task Force to Study the  
History and Legacy of Slavery in Maryland**

TO THE

**Governor and General Assembly  
of Maryland**

**December 31, 1999**

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**Stefan Goodwin, Ph.D., Task Force Chair**

**Task Force to Study the History and Legacy  
of Slavery in Maryland**

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**Article 41 - Governor - Executive and Administrative  
Departments**

Section 18-307 of the Annotated Code of Maryland

(A) THERE IS A TASK FORCE TO STUDY THE HISTORY AND LEGACY OF SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

(B) THE TASK FORCE CONSISTS OF THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS:

(1) TWO MEMBERS OF THE SENATE OF MARYLAND APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE;

(2) TWO MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES APPOINTED BY THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE;

(3) THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR THE DESIGNEE OF THE SECRETARY;

(4) TWO HISTORIANS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR;

(5) TWO REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR FROM AFRICAN AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS.

(C) THE GOVERNOR SHALL DESIGNATE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TASK FORCE.

(D) MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE SHALL SERVE WITHOUT COMPENSATION.

(E) THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE SHALL PROVIDE STAFF SUPPORT FOR THE TASK FORCE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE WITHIN EXISTING BUDGETED RESOURCES.

(F) THE TASK FORCE SHALL:

(1) STUDY THE HISTORY AND EFFECTS OF SLAVERY IN MARYLAND RELATING TO SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND EDUCATIONAL IMPACT; AND

(2) IDENTIFY THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY AFRICAN AMERICANS THROUGH THE FORCED INSTITUTIONS OF SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

(G) THE TASK FORCE SHALL ISSUE A FINAL REPORT OF ITS FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNOR AND, SUBJECT TO § 2-1246 OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT ARTICLE, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY DECEMBER 31, 1999.

(H) THIS SECTION SHALL BE VOID AND OF NO EFFECT AFTER DECEMBER 31, 1999 WITH NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

APPROVED BY THE GOVERNOR: MAY 21, 1998

December 31, 1999

Honorable Parris N Glendening,  
Governor of Maryland,  
Annapolis.

Honorable and Dear Sir:

Pursuant to Article 41, Section 18-307, which was approved by you on May 21, 1998, the Task Force to Study the History and Legacy of Slavery in Maryland was duly organized for the purpose set forth in this legislation adopted by the General Assembly of Maryland authorizing the appointment of the Task Force.

When you appointed me to chair this Task Force only seven months ago, I realized that the mission was broad and challenge formidable, but I was determined to that the Task Force would do the job, and do it on time. At our first meeting, we agreed to adopt a perspective inclusive of: (1) a focus on slavery as history, (2) a focus on slavery as legacy, and (3) a focus on the relationships of all Marylanders to slavery. While slavery thrived in Maryland for two and a quarter centuries, it was officially abolished here a mere 135 years ago.

As Senator Clarence Blount of the Task Force has pointed out, even Marylanders whose ancestors arrived on American soil since the ending of slavery have been impacted by the history and legacy of this inhumane institution in that some of them continue to profit from advantages associated with its legacy while others continue to be disadvantaged by it. Who we are now can never be completely separated from this collective past, however painful it may sometimes be to revisit. A challenge for all Marylanders in the twenty-first century will lie in learning appropriate lessons from this part of our legacy even as we redouble our commitment to equal opportunity and civil rights for all whose plight is still oppression.

The recommendations accompanying this Report are made in full faith and confidence that the Governor of the State and the General Assembly, both representing all the people, will unite in seriously considering how best these recommendations may be responded to, by which the prosperity of the whole State will be greatly advanced.

. Yours truly,

Stefan Goodwin, Ph.D., Chair

## Acknowledgements

In order for this Report to emerge, the contributions of many people were essential apart from members of the Task Force. Special acknowledgement is due Professor Dean R. Wagner, Historical Preservationist, Dr. W. J. Megginson, Historian, and Dr. Delores G. Kelley, Senator and Specialist in American Studies, who were constantly available as consultants and facilitators to the Chair of the Task Force.

Most important of all were the numerous persons in many fields of specialty who testified before the Task Force or who submitted written documentation of various kinds. Although all such testimony and submissions were subject to editing for clarification and completeness as well as to some rearrangement in order to maintain the continuity of the Report, every effort was made to retain the full intent and substance of what they said and submitted.

Finally, the Task Force acknowledges the services of Ms. Dawn Flythe, Director of Intergovernmental and Community Relations in the Office of the Secretary of State who was instrumental in providing the Task Force with important staff support.

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## Introduction and Executive Summary of Task Force Recommendations

As slavery is part of a collective legacy of all the people of Maryland; it belongs to no particular racial or ethnic group and it belongs uniquely to no one or two regions. Both slavery and indentured servitude existed from the Delmarva Peninsula east of the Chesapeake to the most western of Maryland counties and from St. Mary's County in the south through central Maryland all the way to the Mason-Dixon Line on the north.

As time moves us over the threshold into the twenty-first century and into a new millennium, it is vital that we Marylanders assess how slavery and its legacy continue to impact our lives. As long as the effects of slavery still impinge on our social interrelationships, these effects belong as much to our present and future as to our past. Additionally, slavery is a part of our heritage associated with many resources, sites, edifices, corridors, and artifacts that will be forever lost unless we invest methodically in their protection and preservation.

Though slavery formerly tore us apart, it is a part of our heritage with great potential to bring all Marylanders together if we approach its study and presentation intelligently, with adequate resources, with sensitivity and with a commitment to overcome its lingering injustices. Moreover, through tourism, slavery and its legacy can become a core part of economic development plans of the State and its local jurisdictions.

Ms. Addie L. Richburg, Executive Director, International Network to Freedom Association has observed:

Maryland and any other state should use this history, however horrific, to encourage racial reconciliation. The Underground Railroad was a movement which bridged racial divides. It provides an excellent model of what could happen when people concentrate themselves on overcoming major barriers.

Dr. Judith O'Brien, Education Director of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, and St. Mary's County, Maryland has noted:

Programs on the subject of slavery must address not only the inhumane aspects of

slavery, but the human ones as well... students come with a yearning to grasp the larger meaning of slavery—that somehow, in spite of the horrors slavery imposed, African Americans adapted, endured, and made significant contributions to the American culture. Slaves raised families, created communities, formed identities, found inspiration, established value systems, and, in the context of the human story, shared much in common with their masters.

As for what the Task Force [or its successor] could do, Ms. Laurie Coughlan, Superintendent of the Hampton National Site in Towson, has pointed out that references to knowledgeable organizations and individuals interested in interpreting slavery are needed. Resource lists or an information clearinghouse would be an excellent service as would also workshops on interpreting slavery, designed for front line staff.

Dr. Russell Adams, Chair of the Department of Afro-American Studies at Howard University has stated: "The State should be

persuaded that this legacy of Maryland requires substantial *comprehensive planning based on adequate financial support.*

Intergroup education upgrading cannot be obtained 'on the cheap.'"

In view of such findings as these which are detailed in the 475 pages of this Report which follow, the Task Force to Study the History and Legacy of Slavery in Maryland offers the following Executive Summary of its recommendations. All references in these recommendations to a commission refer to a single comprehensive commission. The Task Force views it as essential that this single non-regulatory commission be supplied with adequate staff and budget and recommends that it be known as "The Commission to Coordinate the Study, Commemoration, and Impact of Slavery's History and Legacy in Maryland."

## **1. Research**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission which will encourage research inclusive of the following areas: (a) presentation of slavery and indentured servitude, (b) presentation of Maryland's relationship to the Middle Passage, (c) identification and interpretation of historic Maryland sites associated with the era of slavery, and (d) historic African-American communities dispersed

throughout the State that developed as a result of slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim-Crow practices. The commission will endeavor to convene at least bi-annually a statewide meeting or conference on the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland so as to facilitate researcher interaction, encourage communication on the same with the public, and publicize and coordinate resource availability.

## **2. Education**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission that periodically will survey educational institutions and systems (K-16) about courses being taught and teaching materials being used relevant to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. In this connection, such commission will suggest areas where special state support should be targeted to most productively address educational deficits. In a strictly advisory capacity, such commission will consider developing principles and preferred guidelines to support the creation of instructional materials and implementation of a state-supported program of teacher training that is sensitive to issues relating to slavery and its legacy as well as multiculturalism.

### **3. Museums, Cultural Parks and Centers**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission that will actively network museums, cultural organizations, parks and centers as well as private collections to support the cataloguing, preservation, and presentation of cultural resources relative to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. Such commission, moreover, should continually monitor access of such stakeholders to state resources and support to ensure a reasonable standard of equity and fairness.

### **4. Youth Development Programming**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission to work with grass roots organizations, foundations, and government agencies to publicize and seek State and private support for youth development initiatives relative to the history and legacy of slavery. The Task Force recommends adequate funding of a publication to be used as a resource manual of pedagogical and curriculum development models whose periodical updating will be an oversight responsibility of the commission.

### **5. Adult Education Programming**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission which will work with grass roots organizations, foundations, and government agencies to publicize adult educational and cultural initiatives relative to the history and legacy of slavery that appear to have potential as models worthy of state support. This commission will encourage the convening of workshops at appropriate locations statewide to reach this audience.

#### **6. Library and Archival Resources**

The Task Force recommends that Maryland immediately target funding for the identification and maintenance of library and archival resources relevant to the history and legacy of slavery. The commission will seek support through pivotal foundations, libraries, archives, preservation organizations, and museums to produce guides and maintain on-line data bases of relevant holdings, especially of those not appropriately catalogued or documented.

#### **7. Historical Sites, Markings, and Preservations**

The Task Force recommends that a commission be established to lead an aggressive campaign to identify historical sites throughout the state as related to the history and legacy of slavery. The commission will promote a racially inclusive understanding of their



legacies through state support and in-depth research programs. The commission will monitor the state of preservation or development of historical sites in Maryland associated with the era of slavery. Such monitoring also will extend to historic African-American communities dispersed throughout the State that developed as a result of slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim-Crow practices.

#### **8. Trail and Corridor Preservation**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission which in an advisory capacity will keep Maryland abreast of how it may support programs and initiatives to commemorate the Underground Railroad as well as various historic corridors in Maryland associated with the history and legacy of slavery.

#### **9. Mass Media**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission that will work to encourage more accessible and accurate mass media coverage of topics relating to the history and legacy of slavery, including its continuing effects within the State of Maryland. The commission will work with all mass media to develop programming for classroom and home use.

## **10. Tourism**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission to work cooperatively with private and public tourist agencies and organizations in an effort to oversee and monitor a fair allocation of public resources to sites and undertakings having to do with the history and legacy of slavery. The commission will advocate for the fair and equitable allocation of resources to historic sites associated predominantly with black Marylanders and for African American businesses and institutions that promote tourism and monitor such allocation. Additionally, the Task Force recommends that the State commission the publication of a tourist guide on slavery and its legacy to be placed throughout the State at appropriate tourist and travel sites.

## **11. Lingering Psychological, Sociological and Economic Impacts**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission to research the psychological, social, and economic impact of slavery and its legacy.

## **12. Disparate Impacts of Crime and Crime**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission to research disparate impacts of crime and crime-control with linkages to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland and to make appropriate recommendations. The Task Force views this as a matter of justice and social urgency.

### **13. Permanent Monuments of Commemoration**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission to advise the Governor and General Assembly on the establishment of official State monuments associated with slavery and its legacy.

### **14. Implications for Further Study and Action**

The Task Force believes that "The Commission to Coordinate the Study, Commemoration, and Impact of Slavery's History and Legacy in Maryland" can best achieve its goals in working with a number of agencies and departments within State government, as well as others, but with its own budget and staff, and that it should have no duties in the running of any museum or similar institution that could be a distraction. The Task Force operated with an understanding that slavery and its legacy are issues affecting all Marylanders.

**FINDINGS**  
**with**  
**RECOMMENDATIONS**

## 1. Findings Relevant to Research

Contrary to many stereotypes and myths, the Task Force finds that the history and legacy of slavery have played a vital role in the heritage of all regions of the State of Maryland. Moreover, the legacy continues to touch the lives of all Marylanders in many ways of which they may not be aware. While researchers are at work in many parts of the state to investigate and interpret this history and legacy, some in academic settings and others working independently, there exists no network to facilitate communication among these scholars and there remain large gaps in our understanding. In order to understand our history, social legacy, and way of life here in Maryland, the Task Force finds that specialists from numerous disciplines must be involved as well as ordinary lay people who are just interested that the facts be preserved and presented correctly.

It is especially important that the State make available resources in regions such as Western Maryland and the Eastern Shore where fewer persons are engaged in this undertaking. However, there remain many mysteries to be explored not only in such areas of

central Maryland as Annapolis and Baltimore City, but also in Montgomery County, and even Prince George's County, where in the 1770s, between 40 and 50% of the entire population was of African descent.

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[Excerpt from Submission of Ms. Leontyne Peck, Member of the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture]

In the three westernmost counties of Maryland, Allegany, Garrett and Washington, I'm confident that there is a significant amount of African American history, but we have not had enough financial and human resources to explore the history here. The Task Force [or its successor] could assist our community by providing scholars to assist us in identifying and organizing our history. The African American population in Western Maryland is small, especially in Allegany and Garrett Counties, but we have enough interested citizens who want to be involved in this project. We are excited about the work of the Task Force and we hope that our region will be included in the Report.

A study of the Cumberland newspapers reveals frequent sheriff's notices of slaves for sale. One of the largest transactions occurred

in Westernport in 1834, when the heirs of John Morrison sold eighteen slaves, including children aged three, two, one, and eight months. A public advertisement in connection with a Sheriff's Sale to settle an estate appeared in the Cumberland *Alleganian* on May 29, 1847. It notified the public that "ONE NEGRO WOMAN Amanda, and TWO NEGRO BOYS, about seven and four years of age, taken as the property of said Issiah Frost" would be sold at the Public Square in the Town of Cumberland on 10<sup>th</sup> of June next at 12 o'clock "for cash, to the highest bidder" by the sheriff. We know that by August 1959, the price of "a colored man 21 years of age" had risen to \$1,175.

Though Allegany County contained fewer slaves than any other county in Maryland, it still had 792 in 1850, close to eight per cent of its total population. However, there was in addition, a small free black population. Although Allegany was pro-Unionist, it was not pro-Negro rights. Antislavery advocates frequently passed through the area and fights often broke out among stage and train passengers over the issue of slavery. In general, visiting abolitionists were not made to feel welcome in Allegany County despite its proximity to the so-called "free states" and the fact that both of Cumberland's leading newspapers were pro-Unionist.

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[Excerpt from Testimony of Dr. Clara L. Small, Department of  
History, Salisbury State University]

I teach African American History, American History, Racism and Discrimination, Civil Rights, and Oral History at Salisbury State University. Since 1977 I have been visiting schools, churches, senior citizen centers and holding meetings with civic organizations to discuss African American History. I also conduct oral history seminars in order to teach people how to record their history because most of it is not written. African American history has been neglected in many respects.

For example, as a project this summer, I identified 320 slaves who were free in Worcester County who were able to serve in the civil war; who their owners were; what dates they were freed; and what infantry and units they served in. This is just one of the projects I've worked on. This is research and work that I do on my own with no funding. Even when we compete for funding most people believe that African Americans on the Eastern Shore have no history worthy of being preserved. That is a sentiment. It is also a sentiment that



the Eastern Shore is 40 years behind the time. The Eastern Shore has very little history.

Yes you've heard about Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and a few others, but most people tend to believe that blacks have done absolutely nothing and have accomplished nothing. That was the sentiment of one of my students after about two months of class. I was highly offended, so I went home that Friday afternoon and began to type. I produced a political article entitled "Reality Check." [See Appendix J.]

The next day I took it to campus to xerox and disseminate it. While I was xeroxing, our former president, Dr. Murry asked what I was doing. I told him that I was making copies for something that I did over the weekend. He took a look at it and said, "this should be at all schools on the Eastern Shore. Dr. Murry paid for it to be published and sent to each of the 57 schools in the three counties on the Eastern Shore.

I also go into the schools and talk to them. There is no funding for that either because, again, there is the perception that there is no African American History worthy of being preserved. I encourage

my students to do research because otherwise it would not be done. I write about slavery and spend most of my time looking through microfilm because most of the records are not in print. They're not written. There are few artifacts such as ----- at Colonial Williamsburg or at Somerset Place in Crescent North Carolina. The information just is not there.

For example, on the Eastern Shore, there is nothing that we have of Fredrick Douglass other than a huge sign. There is nothing but an informational sign of Harriet Tubman. We don't have artifacts. We are forced to go through the courts for records and search through thousands upon thousands of reels of microfilm. That is the only way it can be done aside from recording the history of individuals who have memories of what their parents and grandparents told them. That is another reason I insist on interviewing everyone that I can. The problem is you need money in order to have them transcribed. You can't transcribe, interview, and record all at the same time. It is an impossible task. Just to look at one segment of history on the Eastern Shore, the Civil War. I have been looking at the history of slavery just prior to the Civil War.

I also wrote an article entitled "Abolitionists Free Blacks and Runaway Slaves Surviving Slavery on Maryland's Eastern Shore." This article was written as a result of someone asking me about slavery. I presented the article in Philadelphia at a meeting to the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. There were so many people at the meeting. They wanted to know had I run across any family names related to them. The idea was that they were searching for some information about their own families. Other than that, it's not there, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, that was it. Well the perception, as I stated before is that the Eastern Shore is basically "an outhouse." Nothing has happened on the Eastern Shore.

Look at the history of Maryland. Maryland has always been divided and the Eastern Shore has simply been ignored. The Eastern Shore is neither as slave and black as Southern Maryland, nor as free and white as Northern Maryland. Just prior to the Civil War, 20% of the people were slaves and just fewer than 40% were black. However slavery still depended on several factors. It depended upon how many slaves were in the area; the religious factors of the individuals involved the political issues; and temperament of the overseers of slaves as well as their owners. The Eastern Shore was totally

different from the rest of the state and that's reflected in the ways that slaves were perceived.

The harshness of slavery changed with time. It depended upon the places and people involved, nevertheless, it was still a harsh institution. The best way to look at slavery is to look at three factors. First, the Quakers, who hated slavery, but from 1820 - 1850, you will find that many Quakers gave up their idea of not holding slaves because of the Methodists. In other words, many Quakers began to marry Methodists who owned slaves.

The second factor was free blacks. Free blacks were always in danger of being sold back into slavery. There was an individual on the Eastern Shore who was trying to make sure that free blacks became slaves again. Her name was Patty Camron. She was the head of a biracial group primarily concerned with trying to recapture free blacks and sell them back into slavery. We are talking about people who were free but in danger of being slaves again. Free slaves had to always make sure that they were always around other people so that they would not be captured and sold down south.

The third factor was slaves themselves. Some clear examples of problems that existed just prior to the Civil War include individuals such as a Daniel Hubbard. He was a free black man who owned property that others wanted because they thought it was valuable. He was told that if he stayed in the area he would die. He was forced to flee to Philadelphia.

There was another instance of a Quaker who was trying to help slaves escape. His name was Jacob Leverton. He was told that if he helped a woman, her husband and four children escape he would be in danger of losing his life also. They escaped anyway and someone pointed a finger at him. Leverton was told that if he did not leave Dorchester County he was going to be killed.

This information all comes from court records. That's the only way to find about the nature of slavery because it was not told from the bottom up, not from the perspective of slaves, but from the owners and observers. If we think that slavery was so mild in Maryland, why is that the two most famous fugitives of slavery came from the Eastern Shore? If slavery was that mild, why was slavery so harsh when we see it through court records and if that's the case in Maryland, maybe slavery was a little harsher in other states as well.

When we look at slavery, especially on the Eastern Shore, we see the harshness of conditions you would never imagine. Many people in hearing Frederick Douglass' stories about slavery think that he was simply embellishing the situation. Frederick Douglass wrote that there is no other place where there is not ray of hope that can't be compared to the Eastern Shore. Harriet Tubman talked about how harsh slavery was on the Eastern Shore as well.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms Pamela F. Charshee,  
Executive Director, The Carroll Park Foundation, CPF]

In May of 1990, a group of private citizens, recognizing the enormous historical and recreational potential of Carroll Park, organized a non-profit foundation to coordinate a long-range planning and fund-raising effort with the purpose of developing a regional "Williamsburg-like" living history park to be known as Carroll's Hundred.

Since then, the Carroll Park Foundation(CPF) has acquired a license from Baltimore City to restore the historic area within the park, which is protected under an easement agreement with the Maryland Historical Trust. In 1998, CPF produced a Capital Development Plan

with funding from the Abell Foundation. The plan builds on a 1988 Masterplan for Carroll Park developed by the National Park Service, which compared Carroll's Hundred's potential to that of Monticello and Mount Vernon. Over the years, the Foundation has expanded its Board of Directors to become a broad-based group with strong community support, and includes the Junior League of Baltimore as one of its institutional partners. From the beginning, CPF also has worked hard to develop partnerships with Baltimore City, the Department of Recreation and Parks, and the Maryland Historical Trust to bring private resources to enhance a public cultural attraction.

The focus of our research into slavery has been primarily in the central area of Maryland, specifically the area of Middlesex County, just to the west what in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was called Baltimore Towne. Just minutes west of the Inner Harbor, Carroll Park is a beautiful green oasis close to the historic neighborhoods of Washington Village, Pigtown, Union Square, Hollins Hill, Morrell Park, and Barre Circle. Carroll's Hundred refers to the 26-acre area of the park held under historic easement by the Maryland Historical Trust.

Slavery is generally viewed as a vast monolithic system, which in

many ways it was. Still, because of our experience at Carroll's Hundred, we would like to see much more research done into the complexity and eccentricity of this institution, which varied widely from colony to colony and from plantation to plantation. Slavery was the most extreme of the many conditions of servitude which existed in early America. It needs to be understood both individually and in relationship to a complicated hierarchy, which also included indentured service and even convict labor. At Carroll's Hundred, our research has pointed to an early "melting pot" of individuals from indentured Europeans, to African slaves, to Native Americans.

We are aware of Maryland's unique status among the colonies of having the highest number of free blacks of them all. Recent scholarship seems to suggest that Maryland's unique economic conditions might have encouraged a higher incidence of manumission than in other colonies. Even at Carroll's Hundred, we find evidence of a somewhat unusual condition at the Baltimore Company Iron Works as documented in a doctoral thesis. This thesis documents that at the Baltimore Company, slaves were given credit for work performed, which could be redeemed at the "company store." This is very interesting when seen as part of the



larger picture in Maryland, in which some slaves began to be able to buy their freedom. It so happens that the particular labor conditions for slaves at the Baltimore Company is one area of special focus for our planned research at Carroll's Hundred.

To truly understand the American experience, we have to understand it from its origins during this period in which our unique identity and national values were being formed. The road to the Civil War, and the eradication of slavery, starts here during the Revolutionary period, in which the dialogue about freedom and democracy took shape. Research into the individual beliefs of these early Americans and what they felt their connection was to the possibilities of personal liberty at this time will be very important to our understanding of who we are as Americans today, and how our national identities have come about.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Charles M. Christian,  
University of Maryland College Park]

In 1995, my book, Black Saga: The African American Experience, was published by Houghton Mifflin. Henry Louis Gates, the W.E.B. DuBois Professor of Humanities and Chair of the Afro-American

Studies Department at Harvard University said this about Black Saga: "I read the pages of Black Saga with enormous pleasure. Never have I encountered a richer or more informative presentation of the demographic context of the history of African Americans in this country." Black Saga is more than 500 years of African American history brought to life through thousands of stories, photographs, and maps. I spent seven years gathering information to complete my book.

In the context of slavery, I am keenly aware of the limited published material available to study slavery in Maryland. In Black Saga, I used a number of sources to capture some aspects of slavery in the State. I used the University of Maryland's Rare Documents Room, the Library of Congress, and National Archives, as well as other libraries throughout the country to search out the limited material I found on slavery in Maryland. I also combed the history of Maryland's early legislation--a very worthwhile source for understanding slavery in the state.

My view of special characteristics of slavery in Maryland is based more on what I would like to have seen in my searching for data and information rather than what I actually saw. In this context, I think

the special characteristics of slavery in Maryland are directly related to the cultural and economic landscape of the state. For example, Maryland is known to have had relatively large tobacco plantations, but many slaves also worked in small towns as well as in Baltimore City performing a number of urban and artisan tasks. As a geographer, I am concerned with the spatial variation of phenomena. Because of the cultural and economic differences among the central, southern, western, and Eastern Shore communities, there were considerable variations in the number and distribution of enslaved Africans and their behavior, as well as their interactions with slave holders. However, relatively little is known about the spatial variation of these relationships.

One should not overlook the temporal dimension of slavery in Maryland's geographic regions and the degree to which the colony's social order evolved. How does this social order relate to the developing enslaved labor system? How harsh was slavery in Maryland? Did it become harsher when profitability from tobacco crops were threatened by exhausted lands? There is much research to be done to show the relationship between declining yields of tobacco and declining profitability and the treatment of enslaved Africans. In many cases, planters adopted more intensive farming

techniques, including getting the most from enslaved Africans. We know much about the demography of planters and other whites in the region regarding their age at marriage which some say related more to the availability of land rather than the ratio of men to women.

Marriage also related to the profitability of land. We need a more rigorous evaluation of the demographic changes within the enslaved African population. What were the relationships among males, females, and children on plantations of various sizes and in different regions of the state?

No matter how evaluated, slavery was one of the most inhuman treatments of mankind. How did enslaved Africans react to this treatment? We suspect there was a wide range of protests. We certainly need more research on the magnitude of runaways in the regions; the punishment of runaways; the involvement of Maryland sheriffs to arrest runaways. We need to better document legislation affecting runaways. In addition we need to better understand slave revolts in Maryland. The literature seems to characterize South Carolina as the hotbed of slave revolts. Because there is little research on slave revolts in Maryland, it feeds the notion that

enslaved Africans in Maryland may have been treated less harshly or more humanely than enslaved Africans in South Carolina or Virginia. Is this the case? We need to know.

While poor research may foster myths, many of the myths surrounding slavery are being created from the lack of any substantial research at all, thus leading many to draw conclusions from the absence of research. Thus, the coping and family behavior of enslaved Africans continue to be misunderstood as "accepting" slavery. As a result, researchers must provide ample evidence to evaluate the nature of slavery.

We also have little evidence of the way of life on the plantation over the long period rather than a snapshot of a finite period of time. Further, what kind of slave codes existed on plantations in the four geographic regions of Maryland is something we need to know more about.

To what extent did these slave codes change (becoming even harsher) with declining profitability from tobacco? How rigorous were slave codes enforced and by whom?

While there is solid evidence that Virginia promoted "breeding places" in Alexandria and several other places in Richmond, there is little evidence of these places in Maryland. Only recently were we made aware of a "breeding pen" in Baltimore. More information is needed concerning this inhuman treatment of enslaved Africans. More specifically, we need to know more about the number and distribution of breeding pens in the state and the destination of enslaved Africans slaves.

Clearly, one of the most important ways that slavery continues to impact society is economic. Without doubt, the institution of slavery prohibited enslaved Africans from owning any property or to be compensated for their inventions. As a result, their denial of property rendered their offspring without property. Enslaved Africans were never compensated for their many decades of contributions to the economies of individual plantations nor for the growth and development of the state. Without enslaved Africans, many regions of the state and the nation would have remained economically depressed for decades.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Laurie Coughlan,  
Superintendent of Hampton National Site - Towson, Baltimore  
County]

Our key researcher, Dr. Kent Lancaster, is former chair of the Goucher College Department of History and he has been working on African American history at Hampton for ten years. He has reviewed extensive archival materials and worked with interns and volunteers to make the African American story known, with many being students at Goucher College. We plan on continuing the research, and expanding our involvement with outside researchers and projects as our new General Management Plan (GMP) is implemented and we have the space and staff to do so. Hampton's facilities, as well as our location in a suburban neighborhood, do not at this point allow us to accommodate large special events. We are also limited by a lack of space and staff to supervise outside researchers.

Dr. Lancaster's research has been incorporated in park publications, exhibits, and programs, and he publishes results in historical publications when possible. His most recent article was published in Maryland Historical Magazine 94(3), Fall 1999. The research by Dr. Lancaster and the attainment of funding to develop the overseer's

house and slave quarters for educational programs are significant accomplishments at Hampton National Site. Eventually getting the volunteers (who present 65% of the interpretation) to feel capable of introducing the topic of slavery on every tour will be a greater accomplishment. However, in order to deal with the topic effectively, you must have accurate information rather than conjectures and Dr. Lancaster's work has helped us make great strides in this direction.

We believe there are links between the Hampton National Site and the predominantly black community of East Towson and we are attempting to research them. The park has an ongoing oral history project with which we are attempting to locate and interview descendants of slaves. In addition, we use an exhibit at the Towson African American Heritage Festival to collect names and addresses of those who may have family stories to tell about Hampton and former slaves.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Agnes Kane Callum,  
Independent Genealogist and Historian]

Mainly, I am interested in slavery as it relates to the genealogy of a people and the history and geography of an area. I am particularly



interested in the Black history of Maryland in general and St. Mary's County in particular. I have researched and documented my family history back to the time when the Proprietorship was in its infancy. My maternal lineage of slaves can be traced to 1793 soon after the first Census of the United States. I have tracked the migratory route of my slave ancestor in St. Mary's as they were given as gifts, being sold as the provisions of Wills or to satisfy debts. My "roots" are unfathomable in the State of and I feel that Maryland is indeed my Maryland. I never cease to tire of research of the deeds and struggles of Black folks. I feel that I owe it to those who had so little and who gave so much.

My paternal ancestors were sold at a public auction from the courthouse door in Leonardtown, St. Mary's County. My great grandmother and her four children were purchased by Dr. Walter Hanson Briscoe of the Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, St. Mary's County. My great grandfather was procured by Chapman Billingley, the Judge of the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County. My maternal heritage dates to 1681 in the same county and they were free people. I disseminated the material of which I researched in a book entitled Kane Butler Genealogy, History of a Black Family.

I am interested in the genealogy and history of Civil War soldiers of Maryland. Maryland had the dubious honor of having six Black regiments. Most of the men in these regiments were slaves before enlistment. They participated in minor skirmishes as well as in major campaigns. They are seldom mentioned and rarely noted in history books. Two of the most notable places for gathering information on Black Civil War soldiers of Maryland are the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland.

I have researched and published three books concerning the Black soldiers of Maryland during the Civil War. Colored Volunteers of Maryland, Civil War, 7th Regiment United States Colored Troops, 1863 -1866; Colored Volunteers of Maryland, Bounty Records of the 9th. Regiment United States Colored Troops 1863-1866 and 9th. Regiment United States Colored Troops, Volunteers of Maryland, Civil War 1863-1866. My work now in progress is on the history of the 19th Regiment of United States Colored Troops.

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[Excerpt from Submission of Dr. Judith Smith, Supervisor  
Office of Humanities, Baltimore City Public School System]

Some areas requiring additional research are the following:

- A. African Americans' arrival in Maryland
  - 1. West Indian connection in the 1690's
  - 2. Presence of African descendents in Anne Arundel County in the 1770's (40 -50 % of the population)
- B. Definition of Slave by Maryland Law
  - 1. Rights/ or lack of rights as personal property
  - 2. Issues associated with enslaved females
  - 3. Urban and plantation slavery
- C. Free Africans and their descendents in Maryland
  - 1. Skilled labor force
  - 2. Location and livelihood of the 25,000 free Africans in 1860
- D. Enslaved Europeans in Maryland
  - 1. Differing statue
  - 2. Indentured servants' length of service
- E. Founding of churches by African Americans
  - 1. Perceptions and actions of land-holding slave owners
  - 2. Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, and Episcopal Churches: Varying viewpoints and perspectives
- F. Maryland and the Civil War

1. Status and practice as a border state
  2. Involvement of enslaved Africans in the War effort
- G. Population growth in Maryland
1. Anti-African-American sentiments following the Emancipation Proclamation
  2. Employment opportunities in Baltimore
  3. Search for kin by African Americans
- H. The Maryland and Liberian Connection
1. Return in 1857 of 1451 Africans to land purchased in Liberia
  2. Legacy of Liberians and Marylanders: Living History Project

### **Recommendations**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission which will encourage research inclusive of the following areas: (a) presentation of slavery and indentured servitude, (b) presentation of Maryland's relationship to the Middle Passage, (c) identification and interpretation of historic Maryland sites associated with the era of slavery, and (d) historic African-American communities dispersed throughout the State that developed as a result of slavery,

Reconstruction, and Jim-Crow practices. The commission will endeavor to convene at least bi-annually a statewide meeting or conference on the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland so as to facilitate researcher interaction, encourage communication on the same with the public, and publicize and coordinate resource availability.

## 2. Findings Relevant to Education

The Task Force to Study the History and Legacy of Slavery in Maryland finds that from the primary level of formal education continuing through education at the level of the college and university, there needs to be new and creative thinking about how the part of Maryland life that it was mandated to study is being presented. This should not merely be seen as an option for education but rather as an obligation that is owed to all Marylanders of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. As reflected in the testimony and written submissions which follow, the Task Force is able to report that some exciting initiatives along this line are underway, however, such initiatives do not presently blanket the State nor do they uniformly receive the kind of support at the State level that they deserve.

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[Testimony from Dr. Judith Smith, Supervisor  
Office of Humanities, Baltimore City Public School System]

The premise of this report to the Task Force is grounded in two statements made by W.E.B. DuBois:

One ever feels the twoness - an American, a Negro;  
 two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled  
 strivings; two warring ideas in one dark body...

*The Souls of Black Folk*

The problem of the twentieth century is the  
 problem of the color line.

*Black Folk Then and Now*

The turbulence that was experienced during the 1960's (and in academia during the early 1990's) was in part according to the late Dr. Samuel L. Banks, an effort to make "elementary-secondary school and institutions of higher education address the rich and variegated history of Black and non-white Americans." According to Dr. Banks, in the majority of the 16,000 school districts that comprise our nation's public school system, there has been an exclusion of programs that define the African experience as a factual account of Black Americans' accomplishments, travails, and culture in a coherent manner. "Afrocentric Perspectives: Fact and Mythology, 1991."

According to Dr. Molefi Keye Asante, the education of European-American children reinforces their history and heritage "as a matter of course." African-American children should also be taught in such

a way that they are not alienated from the subject matter. Curricula should be written from a holistic perspective and should celebrate the cultural diversity of the American population. To exclude the historical legacy of the African American or to limit the discussion to the "enslavement" is to present a false notion of "white superiority and black inferiority." "The Afrocentric Idea," Evening Sun, July 3, 1009[sic], C(3).

This current Task Force to Study the History and Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, by its very name, expands the research beyond an interest of Africans during the enslavement. The history of slavery in Maryland and the legacy of slavery in Maryland meet at a point along a continuum - at the end of the Civil War. At this point persons of African descent in the eyes of the government could legally take hold of their own destinies. Enslaved Africans made many decisions about their lives on a daily basis - to run, to stay, to marry, to die, or to present themselves in a unique manner. These choices were made out of the need for survival and in most cases were in reaction to the posture their owners.

With the emancipation, freedmen throughout the South, including in Maryland which was deemed a "border state," began to search for



their wives, husbands, or children. Some were successful; some were not. According to John Hope Franklin, "nothing was more poignant than the sight of separated families attempting to reestablish their relationships." Not until the emancipation was it truly recognized that the family was (and still is) the most important tradition in the African American community. The institution of slavery had not destroyed the black family (Black Families, Harriette Pipes McAdoo, ed. "Historical Note on Black Families").

The invitation that I received in August to appear today referred to my "pivotal role in curriculum and instruction." I want to thank you for that reference. After thirty years as an educator, I welcome the opportunity to address what I believe to be the heart of education - what we teach students (curriculum) and how we present it (instruction). As the content under discussion today affects the psyche of children, I take this responsibility very seriously. Harriette Pipes McAdoo posed the following questions that African-American children must resolve to become functioning adults in this society:

1. How does the average Black child feel about him or herself?  
Is he/she happy or sad; does he/she really feel he/she is a person of worth?

2. What does he/she feel about being Black (anger, hatred, wishful, thinking, indifference, or pride) ?
3. How are his/her feelings of self-worth affected by what he/she feels about his/her racial group?

In August 1991, the Baltimore City School System published the *African/African-American Curriculum Task Force Report: A Framework for the Infusion of African/AfricanAmerican Content into the Curriculum of the Baltimore City Public Schools*. There are seven themes from that report that I feel are germane today. They are as follows:

1. Misinformation about Africa has provided a distorted view of the history, culture, and contributions of African/African-American people.\*
2. Early civilizations evolved in Africa; Africa is the cradle of civilization.

3. People from African countries once held positions as world teachers.
4. Even under enslavement, colonization, and segregation, African/African American people have made significant cultural contributions in the arts, sciences, humanities, politics, and other aspects of human experiences.\*
5. There is an African Diaspora all over the world today.
6. African people in the Diaspora maintain significant aspects of African cultural and linguistic patterns.
7. The everyday lives of African American students and communities are a part of continuing legacy which may be used to promote academic achievement.\*

I placed an asterisks beside three of the statements above for their particular focus on the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. These statements relate to some of the most important ways that slavery continues to impact society and how are these impacts psychological, cultural, social, educational, or economic for

different populations, as one of the suggested areas of focus for Task Force presenters. They also address the questions posed by Dr. McAdoo concerning the development of the Black child. I hope that this current task force will state pointed recommendations that address both the affective and cognitive aspects of the teaching-learning situation:

Educators must be taught the content and strategies for instruction that are aligned with the framework for instruction for the state of Maryland, *The Dimensions of Learning*.

Educators must receive training that will address the sensitivity of the issues (e.g., with reference to age appropriateness for exposure to certain content, cultural sensitivity, respect for diversity, peace management and/or conflict resolution).

The history and legacy of slavery in Maryland must be addressed as a part of the whole: the significance, history, and legacy of African people both on and off the continent. To isolate "the enslavement" out of context would be a divisive and destructive maneuver.

The content of the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland (within the above context) must be included in the MSDE documents (Outcomes / Indicators, Standards, Core Learning Goals / Indicators) that drive the state's assessment initiative. To be adequately addressed, the content must be spiraled throughout several years of instruction. Without this accountability from the State, the content will not be a focus area within and among the local districts.

By infusing this content into the curriculum and providing training for teachers and administrators, our students, regardless of their heritage, will appreciate the rich history and legacy of Africa and its impact on Maryland, America, and the rest of the world.

Also, we need to undertake additional research to clarify certain educational curriculum connections such as the following:

1. Commitment to the importance of access to information by Maryland educators and students
2. Inclusion in Bylaw "Education That Is Multicultural"  
COMAR 13A.04.05.01-.04 [See Appendix B.]
3. Financial Commitment for Professional Development to fully Implement Bylaw "Education That Is Multicultural"

4. Inclusion of Bylaw into the Assessment Program for the State of Maryland (Content included in MSDE Content Standards, Outcomes/ Indicators, Core Learning Goals
5. Commitment to Implement Recommendations from the *Minority Achievement in Maryland: State of the State*.  
[See Appendix A.]

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Addie L. Richburg,  
Executive Director, International Network to Freedom Association,  
INTFA]

As a viable summer program, International Network to Freedom Association (INTFA) requests the Task Force's recommendations and ultimate endorsement of the "Network to Freedom Interpretive Studies" as an official state project/program for secondary school students to be offered as an elective or supplement to public school education. Already, the program has been endorsed by the National Council for the Social Studies.

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[Written Submission from Dr. Judith O'Brien, Education Director of  
Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, and St. Mary's County, MD]

[A] project that I am pleased to bring to your attention is a teacher institute entitled Early Slaves Cultures in the Tidewater/Chesapeake and Carolina Lowcountry. Learning and Teaching at Historic Sites. This collaborative effort between the National Park Service, The National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Prince George's County Community College will bring thirty teachers together for five weeks to 1) broaden their knowledge and understanding of the complex and diverse nature of slave cultures in early Anglo-America; 2) demonstrate the techniques and resources for the study of material culture from which new knowledge and understanding has been derived; and 3) learn techniques to improve the presentation of slavery to their students and the general public. One week of this five-week program to run from June 25 to July 29, 2000 will be held at Sotterley Plantation.

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[Excerpt from Oral Testimony of Dr. Russell L. Adams, Chair,  
Afro-American Studies Department, Howard University]

An inventory should be made of the various Black History infusion public school in-service teacher training course and course materials. I have developed at least three such course modules: two for Calvert County and one for Montgomery County (HR-18 "Black Experience and Culture"), copies of which should be in the Baltimore

Office of the State Board of Education. [See Appendix D for an outline of this in-service course.]

Teacher in-service training in a must and cannot be left to chance. Such training works best when it is "authorized from above." This reduces local pressure on the principals and supervising teachers.

The "infusion approach" appears to work best, for it permits change with continuity, and as such, reduces implicit messages of teacher incompetence or bias.

The implementation of Black history/legacy of slavery instruction should be systemic, that is, state-wide and not a local option driven by the pressure and presence of African Americans, an approach which does not foster the idea that only Blacks should be aware of the legacy. It took two racial groups to create this particular history in Maryland and other ex-slave holding states of the nation.

Historically Black institutions of higher education, particularly those in Maryland, should be deeply involved, along with other institutions, in the preparation of teacher training materials.



This Task Force [or its successor] might consider developing principles and preferred guidelines to support the creation of instructional materials and the implementation of a state-supported program of teacher training.

Examples:

- A. A balance should exist between the negative and positive aspects of this joint history and teacher training should emphasize this balance.
- B. The "Contributionist" model should avoid perpetuating messages of grateful servitude or delighted productivity by enslaved Africans.
- C. Both the brutalities of master dominance and the bravery of slave endurance should be treated with candid sensitivity.
- D. In the classroom, wherever most effective, instruction should be materials/media centered and not teacher focused.
- E. This program of education enhancement has to be considered as a multi-stage endeavor requiring several years of activity by those involved. The existence of this Task Force might be seen as Stage One.

The State should be persuaded that this legacy of Maryland requires substantial *comprehensive planning based on adequate financial support*. Intergroup education upgrading cannot be obtained "on the cheap."

Ignoring and denying the defining full experiences of the basic groups which have shaped Maryland and Marylanders only complicates contemporary intergroup relations. The development of an accurate, balanced social history of Maryland is one of the responsibilities of the formal education institutions of the state: the public schools and college supported by the taxes of all who benefit from the legacies of all of our predecessors.

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[Excerpt from Testimony of Dr. Clara L. Small, Department of History, Salisbury State University]

Slavery continued to be harsh even after the Civil War, primarily because Maryland was not covered by the Emancipation Proclamation. But in 1865, owners began to free their slaves. Why? Because there was legislation that stated if they did not they would be taxed. As late as 1865 and even until 1866, I have records to

show that almost 300 slaves were freed in Worcester County alone. There is no record of it in any history book. Even on the college level, it isn't there. Our students don't know, and even some of our teachers don't know. I am not talking about on the elementary level. Our teachers don't understand the implications of slavery. They don't understand the legacy of slavery. I happen to be the only African American woman in my department. Since 1977 I have been the only African American woman in my History Department. I need help to teach all of these classes. What I am saying is that they do not understand. There is a legacy of racism and that legacy continues on a daily basis.

[Senator Roy Dyson's observed that the history books definitely needed to be rewritten and noted that Dr. Judith Smith earlier suggested that African American history needed to be part of the entire curriculum rather than separated out the way it was when he took a course on the subject at Montgomery Junior College. He asked Dr. Small her view on this. Also, he asked her what she would do to rewrite the history books and to inform the Task Force what could be done to enhance the popularity of history as a discipline.]

First and foremost, we have to understand that history is not just dates although that is the impression that most people have. I was a teacher of old civilizations. I tried to get people to understand that you have to understand the people around you and their culture as well as how the cultures interact. One day I asked my class, “suppose you happen to be lucky enough to get a fortune 500 job and it is your responsibility to set up an event? What foods would you include? What foods would you exclude and how would you make the decision?”

First of all you have to know who the people are, their cultures and their backgrounds. The purpose is to get you to understand how to survive in to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. How to work with people so not to offend them so you do not loose your job. I put it to them on an economic basis first. Then I talk about religion, the social factors and how cultures come together. They call me motor mouth because I keep them busy. I get them to understand and to like history. I don't emphasize dates. I give them dates but I don't kill them with dates. Columbus sailed the ocean blue in 1492. That's all people remember. But, what were the implications of it? What impact did that voyage have?

Things need to be rearranged. First of all, I would teach the teachers, because most of the teachers have no concept about "black history." I need to clone myself at least five times. In Maryland, I am from one school to another. It has gotten so bad in the last five years that I had to have a schedule of teaching on Mondays Wednesdays and Fridays, or Tuesday and Thursday so that I could go teach at other schools and teach the kids about black history. Not just teach them about Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass but about black history, about slavery and about the Civil Rights Movement and other movements.

I do the same things with schools on Maryland's border like Delaware. My schedule is just that bad. I can give you a schedule and show you within a two-month period when I was making at least 60 presentations sometimes even more, because I was the only black historian on the Eastern Shore. That is sad. You have to teach the teachers and you have to teach the administrators because they don't know the history either. It should not be taught in just February, it should be interspersed throughout the entire curriculum. You can't just stop teaching everything you're doing and say "ok now its time for Black History Month." Black history

should be integrated because African Americans lived and died in more than just February.

History is all around us. We've got to preserve the memories around us. There was a man interviewed on the Eastern Shore. He's 103 years old. His history is not written. It's not recognized. His memories are about things in the past that most people have forgotten. As long as you believe history is old and dead you will get nowhere.

[Senator Roy Dyson asked Dr. Clara L. Small if we need to get to the "Teacher Schools" to change what is happening there.]

Yes, because they are in charge of teaching education. If they know nothing about it, how can they emphasize it and be able to teach it to their students. I even taught a class at night just to work with some students who were teachers, and I found that even teachers did not know. There was a teacher that gave a presentation she thought was fantastic on the Brown decision. I asked her why was it important for Linda Brown or her father to start the case. She replied "Who is Linda Brown?" Then I asked her the significance of

May 17, 1954, she did not know that was the date of the decision.

We have a lot to do.

The Task Force finds that in areas ranging from curriculum and textbook materials to teaching methodology, it will only be possible to ascertain the extent of the real needs through the analysis of in-depth surveys and other data-gathering designs that are specifically focused on such areas. Moreover, while there exist within the State numerous college and university courses and programs intended to educate tomorrow's scholars about the history and legacy of slavery as a part of Maryland life, there does not exist any broad data base to inform us about the extent of the offerings, the depth of the offerings, nor about their adequacy overall. In addition to those offerings which are available through the study of Civil War and African American history, it is important that opportunities exist across disciplines, including especially the social sciences like anthropology, sociology, economics, and psychology as well as political science, for understanding this part of Maryland's past and present as dimensions that make us who we are today.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission that periodically will survey educational institutions and systems (K-16) about courses being taught and teaching materials being used relevant to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. In this connection, such commission will suggest areas where special state support should be targeted to most productively address educational deficits. In a strictly advisory capacity, such commission will consider developing principles and preferred guidelines to support the creation of instructional materials and implementation of a state-supported program of teacher training that is sensitive to issues relating to slavery and its legacy as well as multiculturalism.



### 3. Findings Relevant to Museums, Cultural Parks, and Centers

Both inside and outside of Maryland, there are thought to exist a number of private archives with holdings relevant to the history and legacy of slavery in this state and such holdings seem not to be catalogued mostly in any one place. The Task Forces notes that an important directory entitled Maryland's Museums and Preservations Organizations was published in 1999 with a "Forward" by First Lady of the State Frances Hughes Glendening. It remains a task to be undertaken, however, for a survey inclusive of each of those institutions and organizations as well as new ones that are coming on line to be undertaken to ascertain what, if any, archival and/or material holdings they possess with relevance to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. It also remains for a determination to be made as to the State's official interest in where such information should be lodged and how often it should be updated. Also, there seems not to exist any publicly available index of the holdings that recently passed from the City Life Museums of Baltimore City to the Maryland Historical Society.

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[Testimony of Dr. Nancy Davis, the Maryland Historical Society]

The Maryland Historical Society (MHS) has few objects that tell the story of slavery. Those few however, convey powerful messages. As both a *Library* and a *Museum*, the MHS is often able to connect the written word with visual images to provide a more complete view of the period. The following examples identify this relationship between the collections on this topic.

1. The MHS Library contains the Baltimore County chattel records of 1773-84 which record George Johnson's request in 1782 to manumit his son, Joshua, when he reached his majority.

The MHS museum owns four paintings by this son - Joshua Johnson - the first professional African American painter. This accomplishment would have been unachievable without his *freedom*.

2. A 1809 Westminster, Maryland runaway slave advertisement notes "for Peter about 30 years of age . . . speaks German nearly as well as English - can do a little at blacksmithing, shoemaking, and carpenter's work, and has some knowledge of making gun barrels."

Visualize Peter as the African American in a small vessel off Welch Point, Maryland with a rifle over the bow of the boat as depicted in B. H. Latrobe's pencil and watercolor sketch of 1806.

3. Within the MHS Library is the journal of Daniel Coker, "A Descendant of Africa," written by Coker and published in Baltimore by Edward J. Coale in 1820.

In 1836, John H.B. Latrobe, Benjamin's son, painted "Maryland In Liberia" - a view of Africa that Coker, one of the founders of the AME Church, never saw.

A small box with beaded neck rope and amulet, an African long tooth wood comb, and brown beads on a cord were objects collected in Liberia in 1836.

4. In the Library are numerous broadsides advertising runaway slaves:

"The retrieval of the Runaway Slaves, Richard and Ned in Baltimore, May 25, 1819" "Retrieval of Runaway Slave, Harry, Ann Arundel

County, April 9, 1804 "Retrieval of Runaway Slave, George, Harford  
County, November 21, 1801

"Retrieval of Runaway Slaves, Hanson Marshall and Peter Snowden,  
Baltimore, October 11, 1828

"Retrieval of Runaway Slave, Philip Adams, Talbot County, Maryland,  
May 4, 1861

Juxtapose this with the visual images of enslaved Africans working  
in the field;

Francis Guy's 1805 view of "Perry Hall Slave Quarters with Fields  
Hands At Work" Benjamin Latrobe's 1789 view " An Overseer Doing  
His Duty, Sketched from Life" Charles Willson Peale's 1791 [or 1800]  
painting of "Colonel Gittings and His Family at Long Green" with  
slaves harvesting wheat in the background

5. The MHS Library contains several bills of sale for slaves from  
the 18th to the mid 19th centuries

This juxtaposed with the visual images of enslaved African Americans set within the portraits of their white families:

"The Alexander Contee Hanson Family" by Robert Edge Pine, ca. 1787 with their unnamed African American female slave

The painting of "Henry Darnall III" by Justus Englehardt Kuhn of 1710 which portrays an unnamed slave boy next to Henry - perhaps the earliest representation of an African American in America.

Few objects used or made by slaves in Maryland are identifiable.

Those few include:

1. A woven basket made by enslaved Africans on the Woodlawn Plantation, in Prince George County, in 1860.
2. A water jug made by Melinda - an enslaved African on the Cockey Plantation
3. A rocking chair made by an enslaved African in the family of Dr. George Bishop, 1825

4. A Blanket of cream color with a brown stripe, in two pieces, made by slaves on the "Woodlawn Farm" before 1818, possibly owned by Silas Griffith and Frances Risteau who were married in 1818

A press release in September, 1999 announced that Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum had earned a two-year grant of \$173,441 from the Institute of Museum and Library Services. The grant will fund an innovative partnership of cultural institutions in Calvert County, Anne Arundel County, and Charles County to research and present African American perspectives on segregated public school education from 1865 to 1965 (i.e., from the end of the Civil War to the height of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement). The core exhibit will open in April 2000 and will travel to four sites in Maryland over a two-year period with each site adding its own perspective using local interpretive materials.

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[Excerpts from Testimony and Written Submission of Ms Pamela F. Charshee, Executive Director, The Carroll Park Foundation, CPF]

The Carroll's Hundred historical site in Baltimore City represents some of the most significant 18th-century political and social

history in Maryland; a portion of the property, Mount Clare Mansion, has already been designated a National Landmark by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The National Trust's highest category. Designating the remainder of the historic easement area as a National Landmark is a high priority for the Foundation.

Because of its historical importance and its direct access to major transportation corridors leading into Baltimore City, a plan has been designed which calls for Carroll's Hundred to be developed as a regional tourist destination.

Virtually unknown to most Marylanders is that Carroll Park and the Mount Clare Mansion were home to one of our state's most important Revolutionary War leaders, Charles Carroll, the barrister. A cousin of the signer of the Constitution (Charles Carroll of Carrollton), the Barrister was a prominent member of Maryland's Revolutionary Council of Safety, and later framed our state's constitution. Additionally, Maryland's industrial origins can be traced to Carroll's iron-making operation at the Baltimore Company Iron Works, which was the largest in the mid-Atlantic colonies. The political and industrial history of the site places it among the ten most important historical sites in Maryland.

Today, the only visible clue to the 18th-century world that once existed in Carroll Park is the Mount Clare Mansion, which is operated as a museum by a local chapter of the National Society of Colonial Dames.

The core mission of the historical site will be to study and to interpret the community of individuals who formed the very sizeable labor force on the Carroll's iron plantation and nearby iron furnace, The Baltimore Company Iron Works. Through historical research, archaeology, and the study of the site's material culture, Carroll's Hundred will attempt to understand the conditions of slavery and servitude which existed here from 1730 to 1850.

The community which made up the Carroll's labor force was very complex, and consisted of slaves, convict laborers, indentured servants, artisans, and crafts people. The Baltimore Company Iron Works alone was worked by a diverse hierarchy of slaves, some of which were known as "mine burners," "flatters," "carters," "breakers," "cleaners," miners, colliers, and woodcutters. Other members of this community included farm hands, cooks, blacksmiths, a wheelright, sawyers, carpenters, a basketmaker, tailor, and a waiting "boy."



Understanding this rich and complex community of largely slave labor is a historical, anthropological, and ethnographic undertaking of enormous magnitude. The Carroll Park Foundation is in the process of devising a plan, which we hope will do justice to this fascinating, but neglected area of American history. The basic components of our research plan are:

1. To develop an archive that contains specific information regarding the institution of slavery and servitude at Carroll's Hundred
2. To identify key research questions, and actively pursue them
3. To develop a database as we proceed with the research
4. In cooperation with local colleges and universities, to develop internship programs in which students will be given research topics that will further our understanding of this unique 18th-century community, especially as they deepen our knowledge of the site's heretofore unexplored ethnography.

Future projects include the restoration of slave quarters and a spectacular terraced garden. Through these efforts and our interpretive living history programs, tourists, local visitors, and

school children will begin to see a picture emerge of a fascinating world - a microcosm of early Maryland.

Another essential part of the plan will be to use the technique of "first-person living history." Modeled after the very successful first-person role-playing used at Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts, Carroll's Hundred will introduce visitors to a 1760s world through living voices that re-create that world. This technique has proven immensely successful, and will require extensive research such as previously described which will be used to document the individual worldviews of members of the plantation community.

Understanding their clothing, foodways, occupations, and dialects will enable us to begin to experience this strange and distant world through all of our five senses. This produces a direct interaction with the past between role-player and visitor that is compelling and unforgettable, both tangible and intensely personal.

Recent studies into how most Americans experience the past show that it is through one's own personal experience with historical events that the past takes on special meaning and importance. Living history takes otherwise distant people and events, and makes them personal through one-on-one dialogue. Extensive research into the

worldviews of individual characters will be the cornerstone of our living history program, and will produce in-depth understanding, for the first time, of the lives and contributions of the slave community at Carroll's Hundred.

For the past two-and-a-half years, the Foundation has been conducting an archaeological excavation centered on a 1760s greenhouse at Carroll's Hundred. The excavation is part of a larger effort to recreate the landscape as a context for interpreting daily life on a mid-Atlantic iron plantation. To date, the entire foundation of the greenhouse has been excavated, and is being studied with thousands of objects having been unearthed which we are in the process of adding to a database.

The greenhouse was adjoined on the western side by other buildings. Documentary evidence suggests that one of these buildings was a "pinery" for growing pineapples, and another may have been a slave quarter. Correspondence between George Washington at Mount Vernon and Mrs. Carroll is the source of our information which supports this idea. Washington received detailed plans for the design of his greenhouse at Mt. Vernon from Mrs. Carroll through her cousin, Tench Tilghman. The greenhouse at Carroll's Hundred

then is the prototype for the one at Mount Vernon. The Mount Vernon greenhouse also has an attached structure, which served as a slave quarter. Because of this related precedent, it is a high priority for our archaeological investigation to proceed with an excavation of the buildings to the west of our greenhouse, given the high probability of finding evidence of a slave quarter and associated cultural artifacts.

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[Submission from Dr. Joanne Martin, Co-Founder and Director of  
the Great Blacks In Wax Museum, Baltimore]

The Great Blacks In Wax Museum is among the United States' most dynamic cultural and educational institutions with special relevance to the history and legacy of slavery. As a wax museum committed solely to the study and preservation of African American history, it is also unique. Primarily, the presentation of life-like wax figures highlighting historical and contemporary personalities of African ancestry defines its uniqueness.

Each wax figure, clad in its appropriate historical attire, is part of a scenic display depicting the struggles, achievements, and contributions of African peoples worldwide. Each display is

presented chronologically, highlighting ancient Africa, the Middle Passage, the Antebellum and Postbellum periods, Reconstruction, the Harlem Renaissance, the Civil Rights era, and the present. The personalities from each period are those whose lives exemplify the African American traditions of help, uplift, and protest. They are those of humble beginnings who have risen through great sacrifice and against tremendous odds to achieve distinguished recognition or make outstanding contributions to American and world civilization. They are also those who pioneered or excelled in particular fields of endeavor. But above all, they are those whose talents and genius reflect the talent and genius of the African American masses. Within its collection is a 19<sup>th</sup> century slave ship recreation and a special permanent exhibition on the role of Black youth in the making and shaping of history. Based on the numbers of visitors which it attracts, this museum is one of the largest tourist attractions in the State of Maryland.

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[Excerpt from Testimony of Mr. Lewis Fields, Executive Director, The Maryland African American Tourism Council]

People like Drs. Elmer and Joanne Martin have applied for grants to help expand the Great Blacks In Wax Museum. The Great Black in Wax Museum would rank as one of Maryland's top four or five

attractions in the state. That's not just black attractions either. It would rank as four or five if you took out Oriole Park, Ocean City and the Inner Harbor. After those, The Great Blacks in Wax would be fourth largest attraction receiving over 200,000 visitors annually for tours.

In particular, when Canadians come into our country they want to come and visit the African American experience. I had a group from Toronto and that just heard briefly about the Great Blacks In Wax Museum and when I brought them there they just could not get enough of it. I take African American, Asian and European tour groups to visit the Great Blacks in Wax Museum, and I am ashamed to see people waiting on the stoop because there is no waiting area for people to sit in. There is only so much bathroom space. This needs to be addressed. I appreciate all of the organizations like the Maryland Historical Society. I did a lot of my research there. But when we look at entities controlled by African Americans, it is an uphill battle to get funding so that we can tell our story. That is what I see combined with the educational component as missing in terms of whether we are going from here to there.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Judith O'Brien, Education Director of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, and St. Mary's County, MD]

The story of slavery in the United States is clearly a racial one, and the long-term impact of this period in our history is pervasive racism and white privilege. As an educator, I believe that K-12 educational programming about slavery can have a significant impact on the attitudes and beliefs of our youth. But I would add a caution. Programs on the subject of slavery must address not only the inhumane aspects of slavery, but the human ones as well. When students arrive at Sotterley they want to know about the horrors of slavery, for example, whether the master beat his slaves, why the slaves didn't kill the master and his family and run away to freedom, the inadequate food supply and shelter, and the impossible working conditions that slaves endured.

But the story of slavery is also a human one, and as previous studies have shown, students come with a yearning to grasp the larger meaning of slavery—that somehow, in spite of the horrors slavery imposed, African Americans adapted, endured, and made significant contributions to the American culture. Slaves raised families, created communities, formed identities, found inspiration,

established value systems, and, in the context of the human story, shared much in common with their masters.

At Sotterley Plantation, we introduce visitors to the Kane family, a 19th century-enslaved family whose lives have been well documented by the oral histories taken by one of their descendants Agnes Kane Callum. The Kanes adapted to the constant disruption in slave family life by creating an extended family. They discovered unusual technologies for improving their living and working conditions in the fields and in the quarter. They carved out interesting and important identities as plasterers, musicians, craftsmen and women, quilters, fathers, brothers, Catholics, and "doctors", to name just a few. In short the Kane family story is a human one. It is a story that includes a strong connection to the land, a need for family and cultural identity, and a basic pursuit of the human experience. The Kane family was bound to their white master by the shackles of slavery, yes, but they were also bound by what they shared in the human experience.

The human story of slavery is an important one from a child development perspective. When children learn how they are like others, when they understand the similarities among people in the



human struggle, they are less likely to fear, distrust and stereotype others. The content area of programs in the social studies ought to inform children of history's whole story. In so doing, content can unite us as a human family, while at the same time, help us celebrate our identities as individuals and who share a diversity of cultures. Noted educator John Dewey said "the emphasis must be placed upon whatever binds people together in cooperative human pursuits." And binding people together in the human experience is our ultimate educational aim at Sotterley.

Funding from state and private sources is an educational imperative if developers of programs in slavery are to reach a broader audience. I believe that the programs such as mentioned in the testimony included in this report can serve as models for statewide programming in this important field.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Laurie Coughlan,  
Superintendent of Hampton National Site -Towson, Baltimore  
County]

Hampton's original order of designation as a national historical site cited "architecture" as the single category in which it was qualified for that status. As a result, architecture and design have been the

traditional topics for interpretation. We found that, particularly among our long-standing staff and volunteers, traditional approaches and avoidance of controversy were impeding progress toward revealing untold stories, and that the contributions of the majority of people who lived and worked at Hampton (i.e., black slaves) were not being acknowledged.

Congressional testimony when the site was expanded, as well as public comment, led us to propose a new statement of purpose and significance for the park during the process of completing a new General Management Plan (GMP) process. The new GMP identifies the need to tell the story of all the people of Hampton. In fact, the draft statement, now under public review, expands interpretive emphasis to include not only the end results, but the people, processes, and interactions that made them possible. Although public comment has not been unanimously in favor of the change, there is strong support for it.

The irony of building a great economic empire with enslaved labor in a nation newly founded on principles of freedom is a part of the park's significance. The park is in the process of rehabilitating the farm property, including overseer and slave quarters, for

interpretation and education programs. Previously, the unstable and unsafe conditions of the buildings made it impossible to use them for public programs. The project is being accomplished through donation, state bond, and Dept. of Interior Save America's Treasures grant. Completion of the project will allow us to expand our interpretation of slavery and the activities of the home farm. We have participated in the Towson African-American Heritage Festival (booth, speakers, and tours of Hampton), and are planning to provide tours in conjunction with the Juneteenth Festival in 2000.

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The Task Force notes that many institutions in this category actively pursue grants in order to develop their programming and other commitments relevant to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland and to break new ground in helping Marylanders to understand their multi-cultural heritage. Still, the Task Force finds that additional support from national, state, and foundation sources is called for. The Task Force finds, moreover, that there needs to be greater oversight and greater sensitivity to ensure that sites associated with the history and legacy of slavery, sites focussing on African Americans, and museums, parks, and businesses run by

African Americans are fairly dealt with, especially where public funds are being dispersed.

The Task Force notes that the Maryland Historical Trust was formed as a State agency in 1961 to preserve, protect, and enhance districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in the prehistory, history, upland and underwater archaeology, architecture, engineering, and culture of the State. CAAAMM, the Consortium of African and African American Museums in Maryland, was founded more recently outside of government (1) to share resources whenever possible, (2) to work together to publicize the presence and special missions of participating members, and (3) to serve as co-advocates in supporting the programs and projects of individual members.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission that will actively network museums, cultural organizations, parks and centers as well as private collections to support the cataloguing, preservation, and presentation of cultural resources relative to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. Such commission,

moreover, should continually monitor access of such stakeholders to state resources and support to ensure a reasonable standard of equity and fairness.

#### 4. Findings Relevant to Youth Development Programming

The Task Force finds that there exists a number of youth development programs in various parts of the Maryland that build on the history and legacy of slavery in a positive way to education youth, to help them get a sense of their potentials, and to help them relate in a healthy way to their society. Almost without exception, these programs are needful of State recognition and support. A few examples are described below.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Charles M. Christian,  
University of Maryland College Park]

I am Charles Christian, an associate professor of social, urban, and population geography at the University of Maryland College Park. In addition to my study of ethnic and minority group dynamics in today's urban areas, I have done a considerably amount of research on the African American experience in both a historical and contemporary context.

The special project that I would like to share with you is my "Black Saga Competition" which is named after the book that I authored entitled Black Saga: The African American Experience. I am the founder and host of the "Black Saga Competition," a competition that teaches elementary and middle school students about the African American experience and later tests them on their knowledge of this important aspect of American history. A lot of this information is about the African American experience in Maryland. Last year, we implemented the Competition in elementary and middle schools in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Howard, Montgomery, and Prince George's Counties. Students are given a packet of 700 questions to study. The participating schools then have within-school "Black Saga Competitions" where as many as five to eighteen teams of 4th, 5th, and 6th graders in elementary schools and 6th, 7th, and 8th graders in middle schools compete in February to determine who will represent their school in the Maryland State "Black Saga Competition" at the University of Maryland College Park in March.

We might want to consider how we can bring to our young people a more comprehensive knowledge of the African American experience in Maryland and elsewhere. My "Black Saga Competition" is

breaking down barriers to this process. It is diversifying American history, and it is giving many of our young children a good glimpse of the accomplishments that African Americans have made to American society. It, too, is giving many young African Americans a sense of pride when they see their history being learned by others - not because of equal time but because the African American experience is a crucial part of American history.

It is truly amazing the knowledge these young people have about this vital part of American history. "The Black Saga Competition" offers elementary and middle school students an opportunity to compete for awards while learning about the experience of African Americans as integral to America's heritage. Among the benefits of "The Black Saga Competition" are the following.

- It helps students, many for the first time, recognize the great richness of America's past through the lenses of history, geography, and economics.
- It sharpens students' study habits and learning skills.
- It teaches students how to work successfully together in teams.
- It fosters parents' involvement in their children's education.
- It involves the entire family in the learning process.
- It is a multicultural learning activity.



While I know it is difficult to quickly implement new programs to redress past discrimination, we might review many of the programs that are implemented, but are not adequately funded. For more than seven years, the "Black Saga Competition" has been funded from the sale of Black Saga. In this year, our eighth year, "Black Saga" will have the University of Maryland as a sponsor, and in March, more than 150 students of all races, their parents, and school principals and teachers will come to the University where cash prizes, trophies, certificates, and other awards will be given to winners. The Competition is now open to students in grades 4-8 in four Maryland counties and requires additional staffing and funding to expand into additional jurisdictions of the state.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Addie L. Richburg,  
Executive Director, International Network to Freedom Association,  
INTFA]

Because of the locations of its pilots and strong partnerships to date, International Network to Freedom Association has concerned itself Prince George's County, Montgomery County, Baltimore and Annapolis. International Network to Freedom Association (INTFA) proudly supports and endorses two exclusively Maryland based

programs: Muncaster Challenge Program (Montgomery County Public Schools alternative program) and Kiamsha Youth Organization, Inc. It also supports one multi-state (VA, DC, MD) program: The Network to Freedom Saturday Academy Program.

The Muncaster Challenge Program has worked in cooperation with Choice Middle Schools and has very actively used the Underground Railroad as a basis for study in Math, Science, History, English and conducted living history programs. In addition to other notable accomplishments, students of Muncaster Challenge have been featured on public television and several local area television channels through special features and in interviews and were the cover story for the February-1998, edition of "*Cable In The Classroom.*" In May, 1999, they were the first in Metropolitan DC history to reenact a portion of the Pearl Affair on the Potomac. Each of these programs has received national attention and has been flagship programs for other schools and organizations.

The youth of Kiamsha have produced the master for a musical CD (though they were stifled by lack of funding to go further) which captures elements of the history of slavery and the flight to freedom with a modern day message of encouragement and motivation for

youth to fight crime and violence. Among the consultants for this project were Dr. Charles Blockson, Temple University; Ms. Gloria Tuggle (Still), member of the family of abolitionist, William Still. INTFA has as one of its members, Elisa Carbone, author of Stealing Freedom. This novel is based upon the dramatic, often poignant, life story of Ann Maria Weems, an enslaved woman of Maryland, who, disguised as a boy, escaped to Canada at the age of 13. Most importantly, as a teaching tool with the novel, Ms. Carbone (who is a Ph.D. candidate in Education, Curriculum Theory, and Instruction at the University of Maryland) and her publisher offer a Teaching and Activity Guide for grades five and above.

INTFA has recently entered into a partnership with NASA, with the "NASA Classroom of the Future®" program, which has enabled the completion of a video that tells the history of the Underground Railroad through Math, Science and Technology. Members of Maryland based, Kiamsha, Inc. are among those featured in the video as well as Maryland historian and lecturer, Anthony Cohen.

INTFA has pledged to support and promote the "2000 Kunta Kinte Festival "(September, Annapolis) as an extension of its millennium activities. We met in Annapolis with Mr. Leonard Blackshear and

have entered into discussion about the specifics of the festival and to encourage a bicycle journey through the State of Maryland which would retrace routes of slavery and the Underground Railroad as a partnership effort. It is anticipated that the proposed educational journey will originate from Annapolis, the state capital and site of the arrival of Kunte Kinte into the United States. Primary participants and attention will focus upon youth of Muncaster Challenge Program who will travel throughout Maryland to study this history encourage other public school systems to get involved.

This, it is hoped, will be one of several major events of the millennium preceding the Kunta Kinte Festival. Pursuant to proposed plans outlined by Mr. Blackshear, a major telecommunications link and sponsor would be established between Maryland and Ghana to provide an educational and electronic classroom between students of each country as part of the program series. [Mr. Leonard Blackshear (Kunte Kinte Foundation), Mr. Steven Durand (Muncaster Challenge Program Director) and Mr. Reginald Smith (Muncaster Challenge/Montgomery County Department of Recreation) are recommended as additional points of contact for educational and historically based programs in Maryland which connect with the history of slavery and which have received

overwhelming support and attention.]

Because of its work with the Underground Railroad, human rights and youth, INTFA is networking with Deborah Bedwell and Ms. Janet Bell of Baltimore Clay Works to discuss its involvement with "Maryland's Artists and Communities: American Creates for the Millennium," a millennium project of the National Endowment for the Arts and Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation. This connection was fostered through the Governor's Office on Crime Prevention and Control as a potential element of support and promotion for "Stop Racism Youth Challenge: The Modern Day Underground Railroad 2000 Educational Campaign."

This does not reflect the full extent of involvement in this subject; however, it reflects a sampling and provides an understanding of the level of involvement of INTFA with this history. For example, the "Follow The Freedom Trail National Education Series" was presented in Baltimore in February, 1999 and INTFA hopes to see this series continue in middle and high schools across Maryland throughout the 1999-2000 school year. INTFA asks the assistance of the Task Force in leveraging State attention and resources to provide additional opportunities such as those described and especially to

attract potential sources of sponsorship to bring more sessions of "The Follow The Freedom Trail National Education Series" to Maryland schools and educators.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Judith O'Brien, Education Director of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, and St. Mary's County, MD]

In 1998, Sotterley Plantation in partnership with the St. Mary's County Public Schools developed the "Slavery to Freedom Program," a grade level program for 8th grade students to study slavery in the United States, Maryland, and particularly St. Mary's County, through the lives of the actual slaves who lived and worked on Sotterley Plantation in the 19th century. The ten-day slavery unit integrates social studies, mathematics, and language arts, as students study slavery, learn about the principles of archaeological excavation, analyze slave statistics, and write fictional accounts of events during the Civil War. Primary sources from Sotterley Plantation, including oral histories, inventories, and artifacts provide background information for students prior to a field study visit to Sotterley. While at Sotterley, students participate in a practice archaeology dig, spend time in Sotterley's 1830s slave cabin, and view the Manor

House as slaves might have viewed it. More than 1000 students from St. Mary's County participate in the program each year, and efforts are underway to expand the program throughout the Maryland region. This program has won the 1999 Maryland Historical Trust's "Excellence in Education Award," as well as the 1999 Maryland Council for the Social Studies "Programs of Excellence Award."

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms Pamela F. Charshee,  
Executive Director, The Carroll Park Foundation, CPF]

Carroll's Hundred(CH), together with Charles Carroll Barrister and George Washington Elementary Schools, have formed a partnership to develop an after-school and weekend program for fourth- and fifth-grade students. CCB School #34 was awarded a \$1 million federal grant through the 21st-Century Schools Project. The funding will be used jointly by the two schools over three years for a variety of extended-day enrichment activities. As a partner, CH will receive grant support for staffing and materials.

CH's unique archaeology and living history programs will introduce fourth- and fifth-graders to nearly 1,000 years of unbroken human activity in the park. Dr. Robert Besse, the local Director of the 21st-

Century Project, is passionate about what this program can give children through hands-on, experiential activities. Archaeology and history will become exciting, real-world adventures, and an opportunity for CH to share its educational resources with the community. CH archaeologist, Damian Gessner, will direct the program to begin in September, 1999.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission to work with grass roots organizations, foundations, and government agencies to publicize and seek State and private support for youth development initiatives relative to the history and legacy of slavery. The Task Force recommends adequate funding of a publication to be used as a resource manual of pedagogical and curriculum development models whose periodical updating will be an oversight responsibility of the commission.



## 5. Adult Education Programming

Outside of formal settings of educational institutions and a few cultural centers, it would appear that only minimal adult education about the history and legacy of slavery is now taking place in Maryland. Considering that adults often impose their views of the world on young people, this appears to be an area where more focus is needed. While deficits in this area are suspected across all racial and ethnic communities, only future surveying will be able to ascertain what is occurring, where the greatest deficits lie, and how they may best be addressed. Although adults are a good source of transmitting traditions, they are also a good source of recycling stereotypes, overgeneralizations, myths, and prejudices. No less than youth, adults need to be involved in educational programming relevant to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland. Moreover, unlike youth, they are voters and tax payers whose support is needed if the situation in the State is to improve before more time and resources are lost.

### Recommendation

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission which will work with grass roots organizations, foundations, and government agencies to publicize adult educational and cultural initiatives relative to the history and legacy of slavery that appear to have potential as models worthy of state support. This commission will encourage the convening of workshops at appropriate locations statewide to reach this audience.

## 6. Findings Relevant to Library and Archival Resources

The Task Force finds that in some significant ways, Maryland is not sufficiently protective of its heritage. For example, to date, Maryland Historical Magazine published by the Maryland Historical Society, which is the premier scholarly journal record of its cultural history, has not yet been placed on-line. In fact, even as we prepare to move into the twenty-first century, only two indexes of this publication exist, both on cards, one at the Maryland Historical Society and the other at the central Enott Pratt Library.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Laurie Coughlan,  
Superintendent of Hampton National Site -Towson, Baltimore  
County]

Our archival materials are without finding aid or catalogue. They are not at this point accessible to outside researchers. However, large parts of the Ridgely collection (Hampton) are available at the Maryland Historic Society (MHS). Other parts are at the State Archives. The long-term goal is for Hampton NHS, MHS, and the State Archives to provide copies of the materials within their

possession to each other. Hampton NHS hopes to place certain materials on the internet once copyright issues are cleared up. What is significant at Hampton is the presence of so many archival references--supply lists, lists of enslaved people detailed enough to trace family relationships, lists of toys given slave children at Christmas times, etc.

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The Task Force finds that although the Baltimore City Archives moved to new quarters January 1, 1998 to a new location at 2165 Druid Park Drive which is larger, brighter and more conducive to efficient use than was the previous location on Pleasant Street, the Task Force notes with concern that many of these irreplaceable documents which relate to slavery and its legacy are still not adequately catalogued and safe.

In contrast, in November 1998, the New York State Education Department announced that it was "accepting applications for projects that contribute to the preservation of significant research materials in libraries, archives, historic societies and other agencies in New York state, whether by conducting surveys, improving collection storage environments, reformatting or treating

collections or other preservation activities" (See Grants Action News, November 1998, 12(11), p.1. Of note, \$500,000 had been set aside for that purpose with grants ranging from \$1,500 to \$25,000. Only three months later, the New York State Education Department, Archives and Records Administration announced that it was "accepting applications for projects that identify, survey and plan for the systematic collection of records relating to underdocumented subjects, institutions or activities, and projects to arrange and describe historical records already in repositories" (See Grants Action News, February 1999, 13(2) p.1. The funding set aside this time was \$100,000 with grants ranging from \$1,000 to \$25,000.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends that Maryland immediately target funding for the identification and maintenance of library and archival resources relevant to the history and legacy of slavery. The commission will seek support through pivotal foundations, libraries, archives, preservations organizations, and museums to produce guides and maintain on-line data bases of relevant holdings, especially of those not appropriately catalogued or documented.

## 7. Findings Relevant to Historic Sites, Markings, and Preservation

The Task Force finds that public sensitivity and resources are often lacking to guarantee that historic site and building marking and preservation take place in keeping with a real appreciation of social legacy in Maryland. While this situation is not uniquely associated with the history and legacy of slavery, this is a major area of impact. The fact that different jurisdictions within the state have different laws and regulations means that the situation can differ tremendously from one county, city, or town to another. Even residents of some neighborhoods seem more aware that historic sites and buildings be marked and preserved than others.

According to Joe A Swisher in The Complete Guide to Maryland Historic Markers, p. 11, the first statewide effort to erect roadside historic markers in Maryland was begun in 1932 and two years later the State Roads Commission erected 90 markers across state. The Maryland Historical Society assumed management of the program in the 1970s and in 1985 legislation provided for state sponsorship with the responsibility passing the Maryland Historical Trust on June 1, 1988.

According to Swisher over 700 markers were erected between the program's beginning in 1932 until the time he was writing in 1996 although he estimated that only around 600 were still standing at that time. Of this total number, The Task Force finds that only five or six include within their text the names of African Americans or of religious congregations that were predominantly black. In contrast, many celebrate Confederate heroes. Also, many refer to plantations, iron furnaces, tobacco ports, and colonial mansions without making any references to the vital importance of black people in their construction or operations.

In The Sun of December 12, 1999, June Arney wrote: "Although just a simple marker in a field in Dorchester County commemorates [Harriet] Tubman's birth, busloads of people visit the site every year -- some literally to kiss the ground, said Winifred J. Roche, director of tourism for the country." In 1998, The Sun ran a series of articles indicating that Baltimore City-owned building most recently known as the Peale Museum was in danger of being converted into office space.

Such news is of concern to the Task Force because in the case of this building, one is not only talking about the first building in the United States to be constructed expressly as a museum and one of the first in Baltimore to be illuminated by gas, one is also talking about the first public school for African Americans in the City of Baltimore. Around the same time, The Sun ran an article indicating that at 1838 Druid Hill Avenue in Baltimore, there was nothing left of the home where Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall was reared but a recently bulldozed hole in the ground. The Task Force finds that similar problems exist statewide.

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[Excerpt from Testimony of Mr. Lewis Fields, Executive Director, The Maryland African American Tourism Council]

One of the first things that happened after slavery was the establishment of churches; and out of the churches, schools were established, and for the schools came the first colored teachers. It was to the church that African Americans went to meet. Built in 1787, the church on Sharpes Street in Baltimore does not have a marker indicating the site. People drive right past historical sites, in the Eastern Shore. On the way to the Harriet Tubman center you pass by the home of Frederick Douglass in Calvert County. We went



to the Anne Taylor house in Denton and ended up passing Frederick Douglass' house. At the Anne Taylor house, there was only a plaque saying that she was black without saying who she actually was. For whatever reason, the people at the table to promote the African American historical sites are not doing so. There exist state tourism discretionary grants that are given out, but they are not given to mark African American historical sites.

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[Excerpt form "In Context: A Newsletter of the Maryland Historical Trust, November 1999, 7(4):3.]

Roadside historic markers through the years have fallen victim to weathering, accidents, and vandalism. The Maryland Historical Trust and the State Highway Administration are working together to find, repair, replace markers. In 1998, SHA conducted a statewide field survey to determine locations and assess conditions of existing markers. SHA then launched a program to refurbish damaged or deteriorated markers and has so far restored 73. SHA is also funding the replacement of missing markers, after review of the wording by MHT. Approximately 110 of the inventory of approximately 690 markers are listed as missing; forty-one have been recast and replaced so far.

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While the Task Force commends the Maryland Historic Trust and the Highway Administration on this restoration project, it notes with concern the deterioration of road markers was allowed to proceed so far. It also notes that merely recasting the old signs does not address the almost total lack of markers that refer to black Marylanders nor the fact that many reflect the thinking of private sponsors in a segregationist era and recycle misinformation.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends that a commission be established to lead an aggressive campaign to identify historical sites throughout the state as related to the history and legacy of slavery. The commission will promote a racially inclusive understanding of their legacies through state support and in-depth research programs. The commission will monitor the state of preservation or development of historical sites in Maryland associated with the era of slavery. Such monitoring also will extend to historic African-American communities dispersed throughout the State that developed as a result of slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim-Crow practices.

## 8. Findings Relevant to Trail and Corridor Preservation

The Task Force finds that nestled between the nation's capital and the Mason-Dixon Line, and open to the long arm of the Chesapeake, that Maryland is unique for its trails and corridors of significance to the history and legacy of slavery. Maryland has also been extremely important in terms of its relationship with the Potomac, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad which led westward. Most importantly, however, along all of these corridors moved slaves, indentured servants, slave and servant owners as well as their descendants to create the life that we Marylanders now take for granted. That these trails and corridors should be appropriately studied, interpreted, marked, preserved, and honored should never be in question as we hold them all in sacred trust. Maryland was also pivotal with respect to Route U.S. 40, the first federally funded highway, which played an instrumental role in opening up the West.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Addie L. Richburg,  
Executive Director, International Network to Freedom Association,  
INTFA]

Since, 1998, the International Network to Freedom Association (INTFA) has been engaged in creating valuable partnerships and educational programs which provide interpretation, research and insight into the period of slavery, and particularly into the history of the Underground Railroad. INTFA was secured by the National Park Service as a consultant to gather data for the Guide's Guide to the Underground Railroad in the United States and Canada. In June, 1998, when members of Parks Canada, Multiculturalism Canada, the National Tour Association and the National Park Service met to put together plans for this guide, Ms. Richburg, Executive Director of INTFA was successful in convincing the delegation that the route of Harriet Tubman should be included as one of three areas on which to base this publication. Consequently, Maryland was recognized as the first of a progression of states where research would begin for the Guide. The publication will be available in 2000 and is intended to be distributed worldwide, first and foremost to tour operators to promote greater tourism. In 1999, Maryland formed its first State Underground Railroad Association.

Maryland and any other state should use this history, however horrific, to encourage racial reconciliation. The Underground Railroad was a movement which bridged racial divides. It provides

an excellent model of what could happen when people concentrate themselves on overcoming major barriers.

Maryland should consider establishing a Maryland Freedom Trail Commission and dollars to support ongoing efforts, including preservation, education, tourism, interpretation, and the arts. Also, since Maryland is the home of Harriet Tubman, the Task Force [or its successor] might consider supporting efforts underway by the City of Auburn, New York, and the AMEZ Church in advocating for federal legislation to develop a Harriet Tubman Historic District in Auburn and ultimately, an Araminta Ross Tubman Freedom Trail to connect states along the Eastern seaboard for education, arts and cultural history programming, historic sites and increased tourism. Also, Maryland should become a major component of the "American Heritage River Initiative." Several Maryland counties border the watershed of the Potomac River among which are Allegany, Carroll, Charles, Frederick, Garrett, Montgomery, Prince George's, Saint Mary's and Washington. Rivers, waterways and creeks were very important parts of the flight to freedom by enslaved persons.

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The Task Force notes that the National Park Service(NPS) has some funding available for interpretation of the Underground Railroad and some regional organizations interested in developing programs, exhibits, and publications about the Underground Railroad were funded in 1999 by the NPS. Enhancement of Maryland's involvement in the celebration of the Underground Railroad, including especially its participation in the NPS's Underground Railroad Program as well as documentation of the unique role that Maryland played as the northernmost territory south of the Mason-Dixon Line that was throughout most of slavery home to a large population of activist "free" Blacks as well as slaves.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission which in an advisory capacity will keep Maryland abreast of how it may support programs and initiatives to commemorate the Underground Railroad as well as various historic corridors in Maryland associated with the history and legacy of slavery.

## 9. Findings Relevant to the Mass Media

In 1977, when more than 130 million people watched the 12-hour TV adaptation of Alex Haley's Roots, it was proved beyond a doubt that mass media can greatly impact the way the general public understands the history and legacy of slavery, and the way it uses that information to interpret itself individually and socially.

Another milestone was reached in October, 1998 when PBS presented the four-part documentary, "Africans in America: America's Journey through Slavery."

Still, the Task Force perceives that overall mass media in Maryland are not sufficiently proactive in helping the general public to understand the history and legacy of slavery in the State. Many overgeneralizations and stereotypes continue to exist. For example, it is not well understood that at no time in Maryland's past were all its citizens of African heritage enslaved and that at almost no time during the long period that slavery and indenture service overlapped were all citizens of European heritage free. Although works such as To Maryland from Overseas (1986) and "Almost Chattel: The Lives of Indentured Servants at Hampton-Northampton, Baltimore County" (1999) make it clear that freedom was never

completely color-coded in Maryland, the mass media tend to perpetuate simplistic messages. Historical capsules, some only a few seconds long, concentrated mostly in the month of February are hardly sufficient to challenge many of the stereotypes and overgeneralizations that exist about slavery and its legacy in Maryland.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Judith O'Brien, Education Director of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, and St. Mary's County, MD]

There are several wild myths, misconceptions, and erroneous ideas that students and teachers alike bring with them when they visit Sotterley. I will articulate some of them here:

- The Emancipation Proclamation freed the Maryland slaves.
- Slavery was "invented" in America by the Founding Fathers.
- All male slaves were beaten and all female slaves were raped, as opposed to often living under fear or threat of such abuses.
- Only whites owned slaves.
- All slaves worked in the (cotton) fields.
- Slave cultures were the same, regardless of geographic, economic, and social milieu.



- There is a direct relationship between slavery and the current status of the African American family that permits us to ignore almost a century and a half of developments since the era of slavery ended.

It is obvious to those of us disseminating information about this particular chapter in American history that there is a great deal of interest in the subject matter. In a study commissioned in 1996 by the Public Broadcasting System and conducted by Mee Productions Inc., young people expressed a strong desire to know more about slavery, but were equally interested in learning about the accomplishments of those enslaved, and in particular, how slaves endured the institution of slavery.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Laurie Coughlan,  
Superintendent of Hampton National Site -Towson, Baltimore  
County]

Enslaved black people at Hampton were involved in iron working, agricultural activities, and domestic work. However, slavery at Hampton changed character over time, as neither the enslaved people nor the owners remained the same. One master of Hampton manumitted the slaves upon his death. His son then purchased new

slaves, unrelated to those freed, to operate the estate. In one generation the archives show chain and neck collar purchased "for a negro boy", and ads to recover runaways. In another a former slave is buried in the Ridgely cemetery, and a Ridgely daughter served as a missionary in Liberia for eighteen years in an effort to atone for her family's slave-owning history. The enslaved people of Hampton were involved at the iron works (a major source of the Ridgely fortune) as well as the agricultural labor involved in maintaining the home farm, domestic work, and specialized activities such as thoroughbred raising and racing.

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The Task Force finds it to some extent a measure of failure by society that the mass media which have largely been called upon to answer questions of young people about who they are in view of the history and legacy of slavery have been media associated with popular musicians largely vested in rhyme, poetic license, commercialism, and even sensationalism. As young people dance into the next century to popular musical interpretations about slavery and its legacy, the messages that they receive are often self-deprecating, horrific, and confused. Mass media which offer more than entertainment have a responsibility to help the public to

understand that slavery was not first invented in America, it did not only victimize people of African descent, nor did it end in the entire world with the emancipation of slaves here in the United States. To the extent that the media over-communicate the association of African peoples with those who were enslaved and under-communicate the association of other people with oppressor, servant, and enslaved status, they contribute to confusion and untruths. For example, few European Americans proclaim the indentured servant status of their ancestors and few Native Americans proclaim their status as slaves and sometimes as indentured servants and such denial is often incorporated into a type of "virtual reality" that is spun out by the media.

While it is easy and economical for mass media to tailor "group" messages with commercial appeal, it is important for such messages not to blur the complexity of facts that it may be more expensive, more time-consuming, and more difficult to disseminate. For example, mass media could be very effective in explaining that groups are not necessarily global and that not all members of any single ethnic or racial group should be portrayed as identical with respect to the relationships of its members to the history and legacy of slavery.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission that will work to encourage more accessible and accurate mass media coverage of topics relating to the history and legacy of slavery, including its continuing effects within the State of Maryland. The commission will work with all mass media to develop programming for classroom and home use.

## 10. Findings Relevant to Tourism

History is well served in educating the public through tourism and economic growth is also well served through tourism, including especially responsible cultural tourism. There appears also to be universal agreement that tourism is a major growth industry and that Maryland is very optimally situated geographically and historically to profit economically from the growth of this industry. There also appears to be universal agreement that Maryland allocates very meager funds to the development of its tourist industry as compared to neighboring states and the District of Columbia. This policy seems counter productive in view of major recent State investments in transportation, stadiums, the Baltimore Convention Center, state parks, and museums.

The Sun of December 12, 1999 reported gleefully that Richard B Hughes, Chief of the Office of Archaeology at the Maryland Historical Trust, had narrowed his search for the cabin where the famed abolitionist Frederick Douglass was born in Talbot County to about 200 acres. June Arney who wrote the article also reported that "Hughes shares a vision with state tourism officials for the creation of a driving tour that would weave the stories of two

famous black Americans who hail from 30 miles apart on the Eastern Shore -- Douglass and Harriet Tubman. . . ." Arney further reported that in 1983 Hughes worked on a survey of the Oella family farm of Benjamin Banneker - considered the first African American man of science. After the Maryland Historical Trust became involved following the finding of some artifacts, Baltimore County purchased 40 acres to preserve the site and today a \$1.5 million museum has been built on that location to commemorate it.

Mixed with such promising news about the growth potential of cultural tourism in Maryland, the Task Force finds some evidence to suggest that there is possibly an "equal opportunity problem." The problem seems associated with the following areas: (a) the appointment of African Americans to top administrative positions in public bureaus of tourism, (b) the devotion of adequate resources to sites primarily identified with African Americans, (c) the awarding of grants and/or contracts to businesses and institutions headed by African Americans, and (d) inadequate funding of new projects associated with slavery that need to compete with "established recipients" of state tourism funds.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Addie L. Richburg,  
Executive Director, International Network to Freedom Association,  
INTFA]

Pursuant to tourism, Maryland will be the site of International Network to Freedom Association's Millennium Conference, March 8-11, 2000. The dates of the conference were deliberately set to call attention to the legacy of one of Maryland's most famous citizens, Harriet Tubman. The conference, it is hoped, will attract persons from all across the country and from other countries. Governors of each state will be invited to attend and First Lady Hillary R. Clinton has been invited to serve as Honorary Chairperson. The Honorable Albert Wynn, Maryland House of Delegates, has consented to serve as Honorary Co-Chair. We are pleased and honored to have the Highway Administration of the Maryland Department of Transportation, the Maryland Department of Business and Economic Development and the Maryland Department of Education who have demonstrated their willingness to sponsor and/or lend generous support to this event.

INTFA is pleased to work with two businesses which are very engaged in heritage tourism: Baltimore Black Heritage Tours and African American Renaissance Tours, the latter of which presents

living history programs as well as tours. INTFA is also in discussion with Mary K. Ricks of DC Tours and with Anthony Cohen to develop programs which supplement general knowledge of this period for educators. The specific focus will be on providing general knowledge, support materials and experiential learning opportunities not only of history in general, but of the history of slavery in Maryland in particular.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms Pamela F. Charshee,  
Executive Director, The Carroll Park Foundation, CPF]

Archaeology has helped to show that Mount Clare Mansion and the grounds of Carroll Park are only a remnant of what was once a 2,500-acre, iron-making plantation. With one of the largest iron furnaces in the colonies, today it represents the origin of some of Baltimore's earliest large industry. Because of its historical importance and its location so convenient to I-95, Harborplace, and the downtown stadiums, a fully restored Carroll's Hundred has the potential to become a major, regional tourist destination. The recreation of an authentic, 1770 iron-making community, modeled after living history parks such as Old Sturbridge Village, Williamsburg, or Plymouth Colony, will be the cornerstone of such



an effort.

By the year 2000, tourism will have become the world's largest industry. Now, the second largest industry in Maryland, it is a multi-billion-dollar-a-year growth industry. Maryland's Department of Housing and Economic Development advises that "States and communities that protect and develop their historic resources will be leaders in the development of tourism in the next two decades." Carroll's Hundred will position itself to take advantage of the burgeoning tourism industry and in the increasing interest in historical attractions, which rank among the top five visitor preferences in nation-wide surveys. Our recent Capital Development Plan predicts that by the year 2005, this economic impact from tourism on the local economy will be \$3.6 million from direct and indirect spending. At the center of the southwest Baltimore Empowerment Zone, it will have a major impact on neighborhood revitalization and community development.

One way that the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland can be promoted and better understood is through a greater commitment to promoting tourism in general in our state. In general, tourism is woefully under-funded in Maryland. This is one of the areas which

was identified our Capital Development Plan as being critical to the success of our own tourism objectives at Carroll's Hundred. The Task Force [or its successor] could be of immense help in taking the message of the need to more adequately promote Maryland tourism to the Governor and to the General Assembly. Every historical venue in Maryland is suffering at present because of a lack of commitment to the state's tourism industry. The history and legacy of slavery is particularly hard hit because many historical sites are just now coming to terms with the need to study and educate the public about this essential part of our American past.

When there is so little tourism funding available, it is very hard for new programs and new initiatives to compete with those sites which have traditionally received allocations over the years. Awareness is critical because of the need to find funding support for the extensive research which will be required as we investigate the conditions of slavery that existed here. We hope that the Task Force [or its successor] can help us to find the linkages we need within the state which can help us to bring badly needed funding resources to the Carroll's Hundred site.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Laurie Coughlan,  
Superintendent of Hampton National Site -Towson, Baltimore  
County]

We find that private tour operators create stories of atrocities that are sometimes without factual foundation. For example, the ice house was closed with an iron gate in the 1940's when Hampton was opened to the public. Subsequently, one local tour operator pointed out those 1948 gates as evidence that the ice house was actually used as a slave dungeon in the 1850's.

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[Excerpt from Testimony of Mr. Lewis Fields, Executive Director, The  
Maryland African American Tourism Council]

My work has involved tourism as it relates to African American participation in the tourism industry. There is also an education component but it is mostly economic. I would like to read the mission statement of our organization:

The Maryland African American Tourism Council,  
we have members in almost every county. We are  
a non-profit organization that was formed in 1996.  
Our mission is: to assist in the development and  
growth of multicultural and African American

tourism in Maryland and support the preservation of African American historical sites and culture throughout Maryland. We conduct tours around Maryland to show its rich African American heritage.

In 1983, I began to study African American history in Maryland. My work in tourism requires that I research many aspects of African American history. Recently Professor Paul Kramer of John Hopkins requested me to conduct a tour of Pennsylvania Avenue in Baltimore with a focus on the civil rights period 1954-1970. The response was overwhelming from out of the state.

Preparing for the tour, I began studying the period from 1870 to 1950. The civil rights era began in Baltimore in the 1930s when Dr. Lilly May Carroll, Carl Murphy and Clarence Mitchell Jr. began to advocate for equal rights. Blacks in 1930s lived in inferior housing with inferior schools and could not live above Fulton Avenue in Baltimore. Sharecropping became the new form of slavery and it still continues today. Free blacks moved north looking for economic freedom but they did not find it.

Even today, African Americans are not earning their full share of tourism wealth in states like Maryland. When you look at the tourism industry, few businesses that are African American-owned benefit from the billions of dollars Maryland contributes to the industry.

In 1995, I attended the White House Conference of Travel Tourism. I discovered that one of the fastest growing tourist sectors had to do with minorities, especially African Americans. That niche has prompted many to market toward that particular sector. Cities like Atlanta, Detroit, Memphis, and Birmingham began to feature the history of blacks in their advertisements and African American tourism grew.

Many of the historical sites are off the beaten path so extra effort must be made to market African American historical sites. Tourism officials have said that there is not sufficient money budgeted to feature these sites, but we, the professionals are saying otherwise. If you go to New York, the names of Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass are icons. We should make the effort to invest in advertising these sites in Maryland. If you look at the lingering effects of slavery—how do you tell the story so it can have a

financial impact to create new jobs and tell our story at the same time?

State tourism agencies are saying they do not have enough money to target a particular niche. We have suggested that since African Americans make up 26% of the population of Maryland they should allot 26% of what they are already spending on tourism to support black tourism sites.

The Task Force [or its successor] should investigate where the money is going and what is being given back to the African American community. In Maryland there are twenty-four jurisdictions, including the counties and Baltimore City, but no jurisdiction has had an African American to head the tourism department, except for Baltimore City. The State Office of Tourism is even worse; there are few African Americans in positions of authority in the various departments. State Tourism asked me to make a list of African Americans to talk about African American tourism. Out of the group we formed, a statewide partnership for tourism initiatives was formed about a year ago. Since then, we have had many conversations with officials; yet, the new budget going to the Governor does not include a fair percentage targeted

towards our interests. I don't know if this is racism or merely certain lingering effects of slavery.

I don't know what is holding Maryland back from doing what other states are doing. Other states are promoting their African American heritage through tourism. Our state has a wealth of history. I published this Baltimore African-American Resource and Tourist Guide. It was the first time anyone had published a comprehensive list of African American sites in Baltimore. It was difficult to do because of the research and funding involved. I can only publish this guide once every two years. I am trying to publish the new one for 2000 because the African American conference will be here, the Under Ground Railroad conference in March 2000, the Southern Region African American Alliance, the National Association of Black Elected Officials next month. The State seems to lack the infrastructure to educate these individuals about the sites beyond the Inner Harbor. We have African American museums throughout the state that are under funded and under appreciated. This publication showed me how much history we have here.

In 1996, the City of Baltimore gave us a one-time-only grant and the next time we will need to go to the State. The Department of

Tourism is offering me five to seven thousand dollars for the project. I feel bad for, and sensitive about, such a small offer. What about some of the billions of dollars that the State of Maryland has, not just in budget surplus, but also in sunny day budgets and rainy day budgets?

There exist several reports that I would like to make the Task Force aware of. In October 1998, there was a paper that I presented to the Maryland Children Governance Board. It was a twenty-page paper with two pages of recommendations. Years have passed and nothing has come of the recommendations. This report was the fifth one that I have completed since 1992. Lawanda Jenkins and Dr. Ron Shatner reported in 1995 at the White House Conference on Travel and Tourism. The State did its own report, and then I did one in 1998. Also, a thesis paper entitled "Black Historic Preservation Increases Awareness and Involvement among African Americans in Baltimore" by Starr Burton I would like to tell the Task Force about. On page 89, Ms. Burton states the purpose of this thesis was to illustrate that there was a lack of African American cultural preservation and representation in the City of Baltimore.



Through my findings, I've concluded that it is from slavery that the "black cultural deficiency" has developed and flourished. The buying selling of human cargo impressed into the minds of blacks that they had no home or any foundation on which to build a spiritual or physical existence. Because of this, the black community suffered greatly. Slavery has vanished but the spiritual impact lingers on. Because your pride has been trampled it leads to a lack of historical knowledge and a feeling of shame and low self-esteem. Black cultural preservation has suffered in the past and, at present, is underrepresented. In my opinion, this is a direct result of slavery--attitudes of white supremacy, on the one hand, and self-degradation of blacks on the other.

[Dr. Stefan Goodwin: What is the situation with regard to information that is presently available along the highways in Maryland and for people coming in for conventions? Is there anything out there that is available focusing on the African American experience in Maryland?]

Mr. Fields: Unfortunately not, one center can receive 30,000 visitors in a day. In order to have a brochure that can be available in the welcome centers you would have to have at least 100,000 brochures

printed. Very few African American non-profit organizations can afford the printing cost or the distribution cost of that process, but that is exactly what we need to do. It is very difficult. I worked with the Urban League, the Great Blacks In Wax Museum, the Eubie Blake Center, the Howard County African American Art Museum; it is very hard for those entities to say here is my \$3,000 for brochures. You might get a budget of \$20,000 to do something like this, which is insufficient.

[Senator Roy Dyson: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I sit on the Governor's Task Force on State Parks. The Governor is trying to come up with new policies for state parks. What we hear frequently is people like Mr. Fields. We have been looking at tourism development. Clearly two of the things people traveling look for are, one, shopping and, two, historical and cultural museums. I have noticed a lot of our museums in the country. Now Maryland does the least as far as its promotion of its historical and cultural museums. I would think what would happen next is that the Governor would establish a task force like this Task Force to Study the History and Legacy of Slavery to look at the efforts the State puts into the promotion of our cultural sites. You really hit the nail on the head, Mr. Chairman, when you asked about the literature

available in the welcome centers. I am chairman of a small museum in St. Mary's County and we know how expensive brochures are. I hope what you would do is talk to the people in the budget office of the Governor cause they really need to look at the entire thing if they want to promote awareness. The capitol of the United States is the most visited site in America. It's a shame we don't get some of that business. I mean we get some of it, but Virginia and Pennsylvania get more of it because Maryland has not done a good job a promoting itself.]

Mr. Fields: I think the budget process plays a big part and I think Maryland does have a small annual budget in terms of marketing, but regardless of what amount it is, there should be economic parity for everyone, so that everybody can have some piece of the pie. Then we can strengthen our African American museums and our black entrepreneurs in tourism will strengthen then also. Then, we shall be able to afford the five hundred dollar membership to join the African American Tourism Council which would help them generate more funds to do their work. They want more African American membership so they too can begin to tell about African American history. As you can see, this is all very difficult.

[Dr Iris Ford: When I attend conferences and I know that some of my family members do this also, we go to the web site and try to map out our itinerary. I am assuming there is a Baltimore City or Maryland web site that contain some of the African American heritage stops included on this web site. Could this be a viable option for promoting African American sites.]

Mr. Fields: Yes, that is an excellent way. The Maryland Office of Tourism does have a web site. I also have a web site and I have asked to be linked to their web site so that if someone is interested in African American sites, you can just click on to it and it will link to the tourism page and you can plan your itinerary. I don't know if they have someone monitoring it daily, however the last time I pulled it up, they had two references to ethnic, African American festivals and they were held in 1996. That was about two years ago. Someone definitely needs to be monitoring that. However they probably do not have enough dollars in their budget to pay someone who can update the site. Yet, your point is very important because that is the way travelers are planning their visits, through the Internet.

[Delegate Burns: Thank you for that very informative presentation. Our African American representation is so small as it relates to tourism. I would like to see how we can increase the budget probably as one of our recommendations. You did mention that you asked for a percentage or a representative portion of funds for tourism with an African American focus and that their response was "no," but what did they say in particular?]

Well they tried to document about 12.5% allocated in this direction. However, I documented about 7% and I reviewed their annual allocations for the last four years. I can only count 7% of what they spent. Now what they are saying is that they have to ask the Maryland General Assembly for more money. So I think that is what is going to happen in January of 2000. They are going to ask for funding for the tourism piece.

[Senator Blount: My colleagues here know that the budget involves a difficult process. The Governor makes the budget; we react to the budget. The first step is to get to the Governor and say that you want money for tourism and give all of the good reasons why. First the economic good reasons.]

[Delegate Burns: You get absolutely no money from the Maryland Tourism Council?]

Mr. Fields: No.

[Senator Clarence Blount: You said that you do not receive any state funding, not even grants?]

Mr. Fields: After my presentation in Rocky Gap during the Maryland Tourism Boards Annual Conference they called me downtown to the State Office of Tourism to meet with George Williams and four members of his staff. They gave me the application to apply for the discretionary tourism grant and I applied for it and they denied it.

[Delegate Burns, referring back to the fact that Senator Dyson sits on a State Parks Task Force which apparently is concerned about inadequate funding for tourism but which affects all populations in the State similarly: I view this very differently from the state parks issue. We are talking here about the history of a particular race.]

[Senator Dyson: The key, however, is that we need to look at the entire issue of inadequate funding by the State for tourism.]

Mr. Fields: In the year 2000 the NAACP will hold its national conference here. The point is that we need to get ready.

[Senator Blount: You need to move quickly on this if your request is going to be a part of this budget. If you do not get it this year, Mr. Chairman, you may not get it for the next decade. Maryland has plenty of money now. If we can't increase this department's budget, then there is something wrong.]

[Dr. Iris Ford: I am wondering about the link between history that is taught in a formal educational situation and giving tourism promotion some money. I believe that if we are going to be really successful with history it needs to transcend the wall of the local schools. If we do not give tourist people like Mr. Fields money, I do not see history as broadening and becoming a part of American life.]

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission to work cooperatively with private and public tourist agencies and

organizations in an effort to oversee and monitor a fair allocation of public resources to sites and undertakings having to do with the history and legacy of slavery. The commission will advocate for the fair and equitable allocation of resources to historic sites associated predominantly with black Marylanders and for African American businesses and institutions that promote tourism and monitor such allocation. Additionally, the Task Force recommends that the State commission the publication of a tourist guide on slavery and its legacy to be placed throughout the State at appropriate tourist and travel sites.



## 11. Findings Relevant to Lingering Psychological, Sociological and Economic Impacts

The Task Force finds that the future health of our state across numerous sectors will probably depend in large measure on our ability to understand and address some the lingering psychological, sociological, and economic impacts of slavery and its legacy. The following findings are meant to only be suggestive of how much there remains for us to discover and attempt to address in this regard.

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[Excerpt from Submission of Ms. Leontyne Peck, Member of the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture]

Although Cumberland's two newspapers were pro-Unionist, most residents of Allegany County following the Civil War were opposed to both harsh Federal treatment of the defeated Confederacy and to federal guarantees of equal rights for blacks. Although the county lost some of its black population following the war, according to the 1870 census, blacks still numbered 690 in Cumberland's total

population of 10,640. In other words, they still accounted for 6.5% of the total.

It was five years later in 1875 that blacks laid the cornerstone for their Ebenezer Baptist Church on the west side of Will's Creek, on Cumberland Street. Churches, like other institutions were segregated at that time, and by 1877, Frostburg's black population also had two places of worship for themselves. This was a time when outside of these two cities in Allegany County, the only other town in the county that had a black congregation was Westernport. It was also in 1877 that Thomas J. McKaig sold to the black Laboring Sons of Cumberland for \$400 the land which by 1892 would become the Sumner Cemetery where a cross-section of the city's black population would thereafter be buried. It is noteworthy that of Cumberland's seventeen churches in 1878, three were for black congregations and were served by regular pastors. That life was not always easy for Allegany County's black population it indicated, however, by the fact that in October of 1907, a lynching of an out-of-town Negro named William Burns took place before a mob of 1,000 for which not even the ringleaders were ever prosecuted. In fact, this unpunished lynching was allowed to stand as a lesson in "race control."

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[Excerpt from Testimony of Mr. Lewis Fields, Executive Director, The  
Maryland African American Tourism Council]

I was glad to see Dr. Charles Christian here today and I am going to read you something from his book entitled Black Saga which I think really targets and answers the questions about the legacy that slavery has left in Maryland. This is taken from page 377 of his book, "The Worse Cities of Negroes Listed." This list was compiled in 1948, so we were called Negroes then. In March 1948 Negro Digest published the Americas 10 worse cities for Negroes based on the following criteria: number of lynchings; kidnappings; access to libraries, hospitals, schools, parks, and churches; level of juvenile delinquency levels; the number Negroes in public service jobs such as firefighter and policeman; and non-discriminatory access to public transportation. Of the ten cities listed as the worst nationwide; it is noteworthy that Annapolis, Maryland was listed as the 6<sup>th</sup>. This was in 1948. That begins to tell you some of the effects of slavery in Maryland.

With regard to the legacy of slavery, Ms. Addie Richburg, Executive Director of the International Network to Freedom Association, talks

about the new type of slavery, the guns, the drugs, the prisons. We can't create economic parity in cities, particularly Baltimore City, without providing opportunity to the youth of our cities. I would love to hire 10 or 15 young African- Americans and send them to the libraries to do research or hire them as tour guides to give them alternatives to what is happening in their communities. Not everyone is involved in negative activities, but there are too many that are out on the corners. I have to go back to the Great Blacks in Wax. They do a great job with getting the youth involved. We need to look at how we can empower these black institutions to turn the legacy and the effects of slavery into a positive one.

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[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms. Addie L. Richburg,  
Executive Director, International Network to Freedom Association,  
INTFA]

In 1999, a six-weeks course was conducted for young adults of Kiamsha at Prince George's Community College. During the class, we entered into discussion which raised questions similar to this: *"Within your personal lives and the prior school year, how many African American youth have you known to commit suicide?"* The class, comprised on that evening of 100% African American

participants predominantly from various Prince George's County Schools, knew of no one within their ethnic group but knew of others within their school who were of different racial descent. The question was then asked and answered, "*Do you feel that the perils and brutality of chattel slavery created higher resilience to pain and suffering for African Americans than others who might elect suicide as a method to escape pain?*" In many cases, youth reasoned that in as much as African ancestors were better "equipped" to withstand certain climatic and living conditions and thus were better suited for a particular labor than certain other races, the same is true of endurance.

The class reasoned together, and then entered into theoretical discussion that because of the long-term effects and tolerance levels of their forefathers, no African American youth has become so frustrated, consumed with rage or felt so isolated that he or she felt compelled to enter his or her classroom and begin to shoot everyone and then take his or her own life. They further reasoned that because African Americans have faced so many insurmountable odds, one more would be no different than what is routinely anticipated. Youth remarked that rage within African Americans has

been transferred into other areas which they felt were directly related to psychological slavery, economic and judicial bondage.

This was one of many cognitive discussions within the six weeks in which participants were able to form opinions and [establish] fact[s] from statistics connecting the history of slavery to the present. This was the intent of the course study.

In early 1998, INTFA introduced the concept, "The Modern Day Underground Railroad Initiative." This initiative deals with many modern-day social problems issues, including drugs and crime, to name just two) inflicted on society by new (i.e., modern-day) slave-masters. The concept involves a very detailed comparison between history and the present, and it involves innovative methods of teaching to encourage participants to serve as modern-day abolitionists in attempting to challenge and eradicate these types of social problems.

=====

[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Judith O'Brien, Education Director of Sotterley Plantation, Hollywood, and St. Mary's County, MD]

Calling All Colors. A Race Unity Conference is an innovative program developed by the Center for Education and Community at Coastal

Carolina University in Conway, South Carolina. The conference serves a unique audience, children, and provides them with opportunities to develop into culturally sensitive members of a diverse society. The conference goals include a) becoming aware of stereotyping and its effects and b) discussing experiences and feelings about race and race relations. Clearly, the most pronounced legacy of slavery is the pervasive racism that permeates all aspects of modern culture. I have not seen a more effective program than this one for involving children in the important dialogue about race and racism.

=====

[Excerpt from Written Submission of Dr. Charles M. Christian,  
University of Maryland College Park]

African Americans continue to suffer from the legacies of slavery and racial discrimination. This suffering includes the lack of education which stems from state legislation which prohibited enslaved Africans and even free Blacks from gaining education. This legacy continues as African Americans find doors blocked to educational institutions. Affirmative action programs that once sought to redress past discrimination have been dismantled and

barriers to educational opportunities are being erected and equal opportunity doors are being closed.

Without doubt, I would strongly urge this Task Force to critically review the "Black Saga Competition." I am sure that you will come up with the same findings that schools in Howard, Montgomery, Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and Baltimore Counties have found--the "Black Saga Competition" does more than teach African American history; it teaches character; it builds long-term and fruitful learning bridges across races; it helps students connect with the past; and it builds family and community.

=====

[Excerpt from Written Submission of Ms Pamela F. Charshee,  
Executive Director, The Carroll Park Foundation, CPF]

In the 1820s, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote one of the great books of modern times, Democracy in America. He wrote about the incompatibility of the institution of slavery within a nation which had just had a revolution over issues of individual liberty and freedom. Presciently, de Tocqueville wrote that inequalities because of race would be the cause of unending strife, and could ultimately cause the demise of this new experiment in freedom. De



Tocqueville understood then that the condition of slavery would have lasting detrimental effects on the relationship of the races in America. He offered no solution then. As neither a social historian nor a psychologist, I cannot offer an opinion on how slavery has literally affected us as Americans. What I can do is to use the Carroll Park Foundation' research on Carroll's Hundred as a lens through which the public will be able to see the past more clearly. It is only in knowing where we came from that we can ever hope to know where we are going, and to avoid the future which de Tocqueville predicted.

=====

[Excerpt from Testimony of Mr. Lewis Fields, Executive Director, The Maryland African American Tourism Council]

With regard to what in my view were some of the most important special characteristics of slavery in Maryland, Frederick Douglas said it best:

A city slave is a sweet is a sweet citizen. He enjoys privileges unknown to the whipped driven slave on the plantation. Life in Baltimore even when most oppressive was a paradise compared to plantation

existence. Being sold down south to New Orleans was the worse fear slaves had.

That tells you, from one of Maryland's own, some of the differences of being in Baltimore as compared to the more rural parts of the state like the Eastern Shore or Western Maryland. It not only separated families, but it also prohibited men and women from marrying. It caused a lot of hardship to slaves. We the descendants subconsciously bare those scars although we try not to focus on them on a daily basis. Until we are treated as equals in Maryland we are going continue to have the problems we are having in our communities.

=====

[Excerpts from Written Submission of Ms. Laurie Coughlan,  
Superintendent of Hampton National Site - Towson, Baltimore  
County]

What Dr. James Loewen's chapter largely about the Hampton National Site in his book Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong indicates to me is that he and I share significant areas of concern, primarily regarding the need to expand the park's interpretive story. Had Dr. Loewen interviewed the park staff, he

would have found many of the same concerns, and learned about efforts being made to eliminate them. Some of the problems he cited in the chapter were major factors in the park's decision to revise the General Management Plan (GMP). We want to convey accurate information to the public in a way that provokes greater thought and understanding of the people, activities and conditions at Hampton as a microcosm of a significant sector of American history.

It is a challenge to get both volunteer interpreters and visitors to address the issue of slavery. It makes people feel uncomfortable, angry, guilty, frustrated, indignant--you name the emotion. It is our goal to provoke thought and discussion, regardless of the discomfort. We sometimes find that our volunteers "forget" to use the word "slave" for fear of offending people. Our training, direct instruction, and reminders are not as effective as we would like.

Although slavery is not here and now, its long-term effects are, as are the emotions they stir. We could use guidance on techniques to train staff and volunteers to direct the emotions and energy stirred in the public toward thoughtful consideration of the issues. What made people think it was acceptable to own another human being?

How is a state of mind created that makes it acceptable to treat a person like property? How do the echoes of slavery sound in our lifetime--attitudes and actions toward and between different racial groups. What can an individual do in his/her own life to improve things. As a federal entity, we cannot tell people what to think or do, but we hope we can encourage them to think about things they may have avoided due to that discomfort level. We need to be better at opening the discussion.

We have experimented for over ten years to expand the story with training, different techniques of interpretation (including living history contracted from Morgan State University drama department), publications, and continued research. The change in interpretation has been a significant one, and one that ran counter to what many of our volunteers (who present 65% of the interpretation) learned when they first signed on in the 70s.

We have started a change, and hope to see it accelerate with public support. We hope in a few years Dr. Loewen will be able to write of Hampton, as he did of Monticello, that he watched the tour become more and more honest. What Dr. Loewen mistook the failure of the

tour or tours he took to achieve the desired result did not reflect a lack of interest in trying.

As for what the Task Force [or its successor] could do--Hampton could use references to knowledgeable organizations and individuals interested in interpreting slavery. Resource lists or an information clearing house would be excellent. Workshops on interpreting slavery, designed for front line staff, would be most helpful, and might be presented in conjunction with the National Park Service. We would be pleased to work with any task force, committee, work group or commission which results from the Task Force's work.

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[Excerpt from Submission of Dr. Judith Smith, Supervisor  
Office of Humanities, Baltimore City Public School System]

Some areas concerning the legacy of enslavement requiring additional research are the following:

1. Psychological legacy
2. Economical legacy
3. Social legacy
4. Legacy of psychosis [sic]

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The Task Force notes that in works like Chains and Images of Psychological Slavery(1984) by N. Akbar, Black Rage(1968) by V. Grier and P. Cobbs, African/Black Psychology in the American Context: An African-Centered Approach(1998) by K. Kambon, and The African American Psychic Trauma(1994) by S. A. and N. Latif, as well as in a 1997 lecture which P. Newton delivered in Ghana entitled "Post Traumatic Slavery Disorders," psychologists have repeatedly pointed out that slavery and its legacy have had a devastating impact on black people. More specifically they have pointed out that in addition to being second class citizens educationally, politically and economically, black people have suffered deep psychological scars associated with their oppression.

Contemporary black psychologists generally agree that the brutal enslavement experience has had a deeply penetrating psychopathological effect upon African Americans through the generations, continuing from the era of slavery to the present time. They maintain, moreover, that immobilizing feelings of inferiority, low self-esteem, self-hatred, hopelessness, powerlessness, fear and rage are some of the symptoms of the psychical injury that black people have suffered throughout their sojourn in America.

While it is was beyond the purview, time allocation, and resources of this Task Force to research contemporary psychological effects of the enslavement, the Task Force does hope that through the establishment of a commission that research can be undertaken into the consequences of almost four centuries of psycho-historical damage from which black Marylanders of African descent have likely suffered. Unlike this Task Force which was without staff, budget or other resources, such a commission, it would be hoped, would have the resources to study the coping and achievement skills (both functional and dysfunctional) that many Marylanders have developed to endure and overcome their prolonged and intensive psycho-historical ordeal as the offsprings of slaves.

Additionally, such a commission, it is hoped, would be able to investigate the economic impact of the legacy of slavery, for example, with respect to sharecropping, appropriation of land, and ongoing practices of de facto residential segregation and investigate strategies to ameliorate their disparate impact.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends the establishment of a commission to research the psychological, social, and economic impact of slavery and its legacy.



## 12. Findings Relevant to Disparate Impacts of Crime and Crime-Control

In his volume entitled Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community, Dr. Harold A. McDougall pointed out that until 1817, blacks convicted of petty crimes could be sold as slaves outside the state, "sold South" as it were. He also pointed out that the criminal justice system and the penitentiary system continued as a means of repressing blacks, free or otherwise. In fact, following the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia, free blacks were perceived by many Maryland plantation owners as an especial threat and as abuses against them mounted, "white only" testimony laws prevented many of these Marylanders from seeking redress against their abusers in court. As from the 1840s until the Civil War, slave traders, encouraged by these developments sold many blacks "South" (including free blacks who had been imprisoned or simply abducted), it can hardly be doubted that African American distrust of the so-called "criminal justice" system increased.

Significantly, many of these African American waiting to be sold "South" were incarcerated in slave jails of which Baltimore had a number. In The Sun of June 20, 1999, Scott Shane wrote as follows:

The liberation of the slave jails marked the end of a brutal Baltimore institution whose story remains unknown except to a handful of local historians. For a half-century before the Civil War, more than a dozen slave traders operated from harborside storefronts along Pratt and adjacent streets. Some advertised regularly in The Sun and other papers, declaring '5,000 Negroes Wanted' or 'Negro! Negroes! Negroes!' In an 1845 city directory, 'Slave Dealers' are listed between 'Silversmiths' and 'Soap.'

In the mid-nineteenth century, conservative forces in the Maryland General Assembly pressed for the passage of Black Codes intended to herd blacks into semi-slavery through the enforcement of vague vagrancy and loitering laws. Even after slavery was banned in the United States, former slave owners reestablished a quasi-slave system in various parts of Maryland by manipulating the state's apprenticeship laws that was still continuing in various forms into next century. To this day, blacks emerging from their homes which are often rather small are more frequently arrested for loitering than are Marylanders of any other ethnic or racial group.

From the days of slavery in Maryland continuing until the present, a pattern has persisted whereby African-Americans have been disproportionately the victims of crimes and, at the same time, disproportionately represented among those being punished by means of society's various crime-control mechanisms. While to some degree this likely results from a greater concentration of poverty and interrupted public school attendance among African-Americans than among most other groups of Marylanders, it may also be associated with racism and discrimination which are part of the legacy of slavery.

Certain connections in these areas are historic. For example, in the 1927 "Report of the Maryland Inter-Racial Commission to the Governor and General Assembly of Maryland" (See Appendix E), a practice was documented whereby African-American boys at the House of Reformation at Cheltenham in Prince George's County could be "paroled to service" to private families and contractors until the age of majority without any provision being made for their education.

The Task Force can not ignore that a disproportionately large number of African American Marylanders deprived of freedom has a long history that goes back to the practice of slavery in the State. The disproportionate number of present-day African Americans ensnared in the criminal justice system means that many are not self-reliant or engaged in normative patterns of family and community social interaction with their employability, in some cases, permanently compromised. Moreover, as Maryland is one of a small minority of states, virtually all with large minority populations, where felony convictions can result in the permanent lost of voting rights, disproportionate numbers of African Americans, who are convicted felons, are prevented from political participation, a situation which possibly aggravates their sense of alienation.

Professor McDougall has also pointed out that blacks were virtually prohibited from voting in Maryland until 1870. Even in Baltimore which was more progressive than many other parts of the Maryland, law-abiding blacks could not serve on juries before 1880 and it was only in 1885 that the Supreme Court of Baltimore recognized the right of black lawyers to practice before it. Although the Maryland General Assembly passed legislation intended to disenfranchise

blacks in 1904, 1908, and 1911, these efforts were only turned back as a result of subsequent statewide referendums.

However, preventing felons from having full rights of citizens even after they have served their terms, including voting, has remained a part of Maryland history associated with Reconstruction racism and oppression. It is historically tied to poll tax legislation, literacy tests, other measures that were intended to have the effect of reducing the voting strength of the poor and of ethnic minorities associated with the period from around 1890 to 1910 when Democrats began to reassert control of southern legislatures and, in that process, to disenfranchise as many blacks as possible. In contrast to this throw-back to Reconstruction which still obtains in Maryland, the automatic restoration of citizenship rights to vote after a felon has completed his or her sentence, or within a short specified time thereafter, providing that no new felon conviction has occurred is what happens in forty-two other states and the District of Columbia.

Moreover, the fact that a disproportionate number of law-abiding Marylanders who are African Americans are victimized by crimes in some important ways probably also aggravates their sense of

alienation from the very social mechanisms which should protect them from crime. The racially and economically segregated communities in which they all too often are forced to live, adults and children alike, also force them to adapt to living in a world where crime is seen as more of a norm of everyday life than it is for people living in many others. Moreover, the fact that even when unarmed, they are more often the victims of police shootings than people in any other racial or ethnic group in Maryland engenders in them a certain fear even of their "protectors."

When David Rusk authored Baltimore Unbound: A Strategy for Regional Renewal in 1996, he pointed out that Maryland was characterized by pockets of economic and racial separation which he characterized as islands of "apartheid." However, since that time, the skewing has become more extreme, in fact, more extreme than at any time since the era of slavery. A persuasive body of research testifies to strong connections between the concentration of poverty and the concentration of certain patterns of crime. Also, the Task Force notes that research such as that found in The Color of Justice: Race, Ethnicity, and Crime in America by Samuel Walker *et al.* suggests that we can not overlook the possibility of connections between slavery's legacy of racial segregation and

discrimination, on the one hand, and the disproportionate impact of crime and crime-control on African American communities, on the other.

Time and resources did not permit the Task Force to receive expert testimony on possible relationships between patterns of poverty, educational deprivation, slavery, and its legacy of racism and psychological and social dysfunction, on the one hand, with the disproportionate impact of crime and crime-control on Marylanders of African American heritage, on the other.

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission to research disparate impacts of crime and crime-control with linkages to the history and legacy of slavery in Maryland and to make appropriate recommendations. The Task Force views this as a matter of justice and social urgency.

### 13. Findings Relevant to Permanent Monuments of Commemoration

In Maryland, there exist a number of public monuments to commemorate the genocidal Holocaust of the nineteen thirties and forties which victimized millions of mostly white people, including especially the Jews, on another continent. The Task Force finds that this is as it should be because it views that all human suffering and degradations which involve genocide, slavery, and forced labor visited on innocent people are monstrosities.

In Maryland, there exist a number of public monuments to commemorate the sacrifices of mostly white Civil War heroes who fought for the Union, and the Task Force finds that this is as it should be. In Maryland, there even exist a number of public monuments to commemorate the lives of mostly white soldiers who fought to keep black Americans enslaved and the Task Force is not opposed to this. It is, moreover, a matter of historic record that in 1939, Maryland adopted as its official state song words from a poem by James Ryder Randall with Confederate sympathies [See Maryland Manual, 1996-1997 edition, p. 18].



In sharp contrast, it stands also as a matter of historic record of discrimination that for the millions of black Africans who perished on the Middle Passage while being brutally transported from Africa to Maryland and other parts of the New World, there exist no public monuments in Maryland to commemorate their innocent victimization. Also, for the millions of blacks who in brutal bondage as slaves helped to build in Maryland and other parts of the New World a comfortable life that we now take for granted, there exist no public monuments in Maryland to commemorate their sacrifice.

Through such omission, it is quite apparent that the business of slavery and the oppression and discrimination associated with it is still not finished. Through such omission, Maryland sends a disturbing message not only to African American elders but to millions of black youth who are perplexed that the victimization and sacrifice of their ancestors in this very place still merits no monumental recognition in bronze, granite or marble as they look for meaning in their lives. It is perhaps in large measure because of such public discrimination, through omission if not through commission, that so few blacks may be seen as visitors at Civil War monuments. [See e.g., "The Demons of Gettysburg" by Allen B. Ballard in The Sun, May 30, 1999]. The Task Force find that this is a

time for reconciliation around human rights for all, but there remains unfinished business in Maryland associated with slavery that is still a part of our ongoing legacy.

President Lincoln was explicit that if he could have maintained the Union without ending slavery, he would have done so. We live in an America that remains reluctant to unequivocally view black slaves as victims of an evil transgression, perhaps in part because we are more concerned that white Americans should feel good about all the undertakings of all their ancestors. A related concern is that in soundly repudiating slavery as the evil that it was, we might fail to adequately glorify some Founding Fathers in the popular myths that we still embrace.

Maryland House of Delegate Joint Resolution 12 in 1989 focused on the need at the national level for a commemoration of African American Middle Passage and slavery with the following words. "[R]esolved by the General Assembly that the State of Maryland request the President and Congress of the United States to take the necessary actions to create a national commission to propose an appropriate commemorative monument in recognition of African American Middle Passage and Slavery and the contributions African

American slaves who survived made to the economic development of America...." [See Appendix F.]

While it is well that the House of Delegates in 1989 challenged the Federal Government to honor by an appropriate monument the Middle Passage and Slavery, as we move across the threshold of the twenty-first century, such challenge rings hollow in view of the lack of any such public monument in-state. Although the Task Force applauds the statue of Alex Haley, a descendant of Kunte Kinte which was placed on the Annapolis City Dock on December 9, 1999 as a result of the tireless work and selfless contributions of many, the Task Force notes that this is not a monument to the holocaust of the Middle Passage nor that of slavery.

How odd it is that we Americans who claim to be global guardians of human rights can so confidently condemn human atrocities on all sides, but suddenly can not find our voice or our way to speak the truth about the slaves and the Middle Passage, to commemorate these innocent victims publicly, or even with sincerity publicly apologize to their descendants. In the words of Dr. Russell Adams: "Ignoring and denying the defining full experiences of the basic

groups which have shaped Maryland and Marylanders only complicates contemporary intergroup relations."

### **Recommendation**

The Task Force recommends establishment of a commission to advise the Governor and General Assembly on the establishment of official State monuments associated with slavery and its legacy.

## 14. Implications for Further Study and Action

The Task Force applauds the honoring of those who fought to save the Union, white and black alike. The Task Force notes that we seem little concerned with recognizing that the services of multitudes of others who volunteered to save the Union were refused in the spirit that they were unworthy solely on the basis of race. In Maryland there presently exists a Maryland Veterans Commission which oversees a Civil War Cemetery, a Maryland Civil War Heritage Commission which is involved with the protection of battlefields, a Governor's Commission of Military Monuments, and a Maryland Historical Trust which is largely concerned with the preservation of historic districts, buildings and archaeological sites.

In addition, there exists a Corporation for the Maryland Museum of African American Culture and History in charge of directing the operations a new museum to be constructed in Baltimore near the Inner Harbor and the Maryland Commission on African American History and Culture which, to date, has been mostly involved in directing the operations of the Banneker-Douglass Museum in Annapolis and in sponsoring an annual Dr. Martin Luther King Concert in Baltimore each February. At present, there exists no

state commission or other body specifically mandated to coordinate the study, commemoration, and understanding of history and legacy of slavery in Maryland for the benefit of all populations and all regions of Maryland as a whole with a mandate to especially include the civilian casualties of slavery.

The present Task Force operated under very difficult circumstances in that it was not provided with any budget or staff to carry out any aspects of its study or investigation or study. In presenting its Report to the Governor, the General Assembly, and to the citizens of Maryland, The Task Force finds that across numerous areas ranging from research, education and tourism to working with libraries, museums, cultural parks and grassroots organizations, Maryland has a need for a commission to continue the work began in this Report.

For example, to the extent that our society has embraced incomplete and overgeneralized, mythical, and dishonest portrayals of slavery, we need to support and encourage efforts statewide which are directed to setting the record right. To the extent that racism and discrimination continue to be embraced as part of the legacy of slavery, we need to discuss what social justice perspective and reconciliation require. A commission needs to also keep our state

informed about resources, benefits, programs, and initiatives occurring outside of Maryland which might impact and enhance our efforts in-state. This commission needs the resources to establish and maintain an interactive web site that will contain a variety of information relevant to its mission, including information about tourism, curriculum development, and archival resources.

The Task Force finds that a commission needs to have networking, coordinating, and advisory authority to keep us informed with regard to how well we are protecting irreplaceable historical sites, archives, and artifacts relating to the history and legacy of slavery. The Task Force finds that a commission could be useful in periodically advising the Governor and General Assembly on initiatives that may help to redress social harms of slavery and/or its legacy in Maryland in conciliatory ways.

In the area of formal education, the Task Force finds that the commission could work in an advisory capacity with departments of education on the development of principles and preferred guidelines to support the creation of appropriate instructional materials and teacher training as related to principles of social justice, coupled

with multiculturalism and the history and legacy of slavery.

Maryland can ill afford the kind of travesty which occurred in Archdale, North Carolina as recently as 1998 when local members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a nationwide heritage group, for a time convinced the administration at Randolph Community College that a course should be taught which claimed that "most slaves were happy in captivity."

In the area of youth development, the Task Force finds that commission could assist the State in staying aware of models initiated in Maryland or elsewhere which deserve public support. Moreover, in the area of unequivocally repudiating slavery and commemorating the Middle Passage and those who in bondage made invaluable contributions to the building of Maryland, the Task Force finds that a commission is needed to advise the Governor and General Assembly on establishing one or more official state monuments for this purpose. Moreover, as one of its duties, such commission should maintain a registry of burial grounds in this state thought to primarily represent the resting places of slaves and to make recommendations for how they may be appropriately maintained.



## **Recommendation**

The Task Force believes that "The Commission to Coordinate the Study, Commemoration, and Impact of Slavery's History and Legacy in Maryland" can best achieve its goals in working with a number of agencies and departments within State government, as well as others, but with its own budget and staff, and that it should have no duties in the running of any museum or similar institution that could be a distraction. The Task Force operated with an understanding that slavery and its legacy is an issue affecting all Marylanders.

# APPENDICES

Appendix A: Minority Achievement in  
Maryland: The State of the State [Excerpt]

# Minority Achievement in Maryland: The State of the State

**Final Report**



**Maryland State Department of Education  
Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council**

**September 1998**

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**Minority Achievement in Maryland:  
The State of the State**

**Final Report**

**Maryland State Department of Education  
Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council**

**September 1998**

## **Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council**

The Council coordinates efforts at the local school district and state levels to implement education that is multicultural programs and policies related to curriculum, instruction, student achievement, staff development, and instructional resources. Council members represent each of Maryland's 24 school districts, the Maryland State Department of Education, higher education, and statewide multicultural organizations.

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Dr. Diane Johnson, Division of Instruction, MSDE

## **Minority Achievement in Maryland: The State of the State**

This report has been prepared by the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural (ETM) Advisory Council by authority of the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE). The report contains data and relevant research. Achievement data were compiled with the assistance of MSDE staff. Recommendations to increase minority achievement are provided by the Advisory Council and include contributions from experts in related fields.

The Advisory Council gratefully acknowledges the Chair, Barbara Dezmon, for completion of the following sections of the report: Introduction, Issues Related to Minority Achievement, The Achievement Gaps, Minority Students in Maryland, and Conclusion to State Data Presentation.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As the first annual report on minority achievement in Maryland, this was a huge undertaking. The Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council is grateful to the following individuals for their roles in preparing the report.

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Dr. Ricka Markowitz, MSDE, for her perseverance and expertise in compiling the state data.

MSDE Staff: Dr. Mark Moody, Dr. Skipp Sanders, Dr. Michael Malever, Ms. Kathy Donithan,

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Dr. Michael Keller and Ms. Monica Randall, Maryland Higher Education Commission.

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The Council expresses profound gratitude to the following individuals who shared their invaluable expertise in reviewing the draft report and providing additional recommendations that address minority achievement. Their editorial comments have influenced this report as well as future reports. Dr. Gary Gottfredson, President, Gottfredson and Associates, Incorporated; Dr. Freeman Hrabowski, President, University of Maryland Baltimore County; Dr. William Sanders, Professor and Director, Value-Added Research and Assessment Center, University of Tennessee; Dr. Margaret C. Wang, Executive Director, The Mid-Atlantic Regional Educational Laboratory at Temple University Center for Research in Human Development and Education; and Dr. Thomas Weible, Acting Dean, College of Education, University of Maryland College Park.

The Advisory Council expresses gratitude to Dr. Nancy S. Grasmick, State Superintendent, for her patience and unwavering support throughout this important endeavor, from the time the report was initiated and through its completion.

Most important, the children - all.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1997, the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural (ETM) Advisory Council was appointed by the State Superintendent with representatives from all local school districts, higher education, and MSDE. The report is an outgrowth of identified concerns at local and state levels about disparities in achievement in Maryland identified by analysis of disaggregated data on a range of student achievement indicators. The Council, chaired by Dr. Barbara Dezmon, prepared the minority student achievement report by authority of MSDE.

The *Minority Achievement in Maryland: the State of the State* report provides information on the status of minority student achievement in Maryland. Recommendations to address these issues are also included in the report for future consideration by the State Board of Education, the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE), and local school systems. The report has been reviewed by state and national experts on minority student achievement. In addition, a panel of respondents, including state and local leaders, commented on the draft report at the September 1998 State Board meeting. Incorporating input from the above sources, the final report was prepared.

The report discusses a range of achievement issues, including funding equity, school staffing, urban concerns, and poverty. It also includes background information about achievement gaps, specifically for African American and Hispanic students, the largest populations in Maryland for whom disaggregated data indicate significant disparities related to achievement. This report includes national, state, and local school system student achievement data disaggregated by race, ethnicity, and gender whenever possible. Among the indicators of student achievement included in the report are scores on the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program (MSPAP), the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS/5), Maryland Functional Tests, and the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT). Data on attendance, dropout rates, participation in higher education, and summaries of research findings related to minority achievement are also included.

## INTRODUCTION

The following pages provide data and commentary that attest to the disparate educational situation of many minority and White students in Maryland. These data should be reviewed objectively, but not from a removed perspective. Over the years, it appears that data have developed an anaesthetizing effect on readers, particularly when repeated again and again. Indeed, numbers have become almost narcotic. The danger in data is that by the time we have percentaged and correlated, students tend to become nothing more than figures, and their plight something that often can be neatly packaged and simply explained in a bell curve. In this era of obsession with statistical significance and rush to analyze factors, we must not lose sight of the most important factor – the human. These data represent children, collectively and, more subtle but most important, individually. Looking at the data for groups, we must think carefully about the fates of each member of those groups, fates that are in large part determined by their academic success or failure. For in each group there are children who will wake in adulthood with doubtful futures and lesser degrees of freedom.

A major threat to minority students is that, in some circles, their lack of success has gone beyond statistically probable and become tolerable. "Dropouts went down this year." "Reading scores advanced a couple of points." "The gaps have closed somewhat." These and other hope rendering quotes appear unquestioned in the popular media on occasions. While such statements are true at specific points in time, they do not compensate the fact that minority students throughout this nation and state have experienced failure in momentous disproportion, and the trend continues. Of course, there is that always present, if all else fails, idiom, "It's a national problem." That statement has been used so much, it's become a solution to some, to others a reason to accept the status quo. Such statements should be taken with caution, for they may often reflect no more than futile acquiescence or a "misery loves company" mentality.

Some educators view poverty and parental involvement as unalterable causes of failure, but there is a body of research that confirms how schools can and have become formidable variables that contribute to academic achievement and overcome social obstacles. There are numerous instances where the impact of school in education has outweighed adverse conditions of family and community. Background prior to and outside of school should not be casually accepted as the blanket explanation for failure in school. Schools should not rationalize failure by faulting factors beyond their control, but must concentrate on getting the most out of those factors that they can control. Essentially, the focus should be "school effects" on achievement. After all, truly effective schools are those in which all children are successful, regardless of background (Edmonds, 1979, 1986).

This report is not meant to disparage any group or overshadow the fact that there have been some gains by minority students. Rather, it is intended as a step toward rectifying a grievous situation that has persisted far too long. The statistics in this report call for immediate and viable responses to address the disparities – not just add-on strategies for the adversely affected minority groups, but genuine educational reform that explicitly addresses these students at the state and local levels. Furthermore, this is more than just a issue for educational institutions. For valid improvement to occur, widespread, demonstrated commitment of business, state and local

governments, and the public is essential. Until citizenry join to aggressively act upon the reality that this problem did not begin and does not end at the school house door, nothing will change.

As the *Millennium Breach* cautions, we are more and more dividing into two classes, haves and have nots. If this proves true, it will not be because of any action of the children, but due to the social inaction of those who were empowered do something, and didn't. Whether it is one child or one thousand adversely affected, this situation must improve. Regardless of race, ethnicity, family income, region, or any other background factor, they are all Maryland's children. The dire condition of education for some minority students has passed the point of critical mass. That it does not bode well for these children, if not altered immediately, is evident. That it will not bode well for this state, if not ceased now, is inevitable.

## ISSUES RELATED TO MINORITY ACHIEVEMENT

The following section focuses on broad issues related to minority achievement in Maryland. This discussion is not intended to be all inclusive. However, these matters are pervasive in their impact on minority students from a statewide perspective.

### **Issue: Funding Inequities and Accountability**

*Inequity in American education derives first and foremost from our failure to educate the children of the poor. Dr. Ronald Edmonds*

*Education Week's* yearly publication *Quality Counts* furnishes data for state to state comparisons on the status of various educational issues. These data are obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau, the National Center for Educational statistics, the U.S. Department of Education, and other agencies that track data related to student and school success. Based on these data, *Education Week* produces a report card on the performance of most states. The 1998 report card gave Maryland a C rating for funding adequacy, a C for equity, and C- (up from 1997's D-) for resources allocation. These ratings are due to such factors as only 61.5 percent of annual education expenditures being spent on instruction and 12.3 percent inequity in per pupil spending among districts throughout the state (Miller, 1998).

Funding disparities are most evident in districts that are urban or have large numbers of poor. That minorities and the poor disproportionately populate urban areas is a demographic fact. Findings show that Maryland's "urban students do worse in science and math than anywhere in this nation" (Miller, 1998). Funding inequities have led to conditions that require what is often referred to as "bailing out" of districts in some states. This practice, which is becoming more widespread across the country, offers needed assistance to troubled districts, assistance that has been often too delayed in coming as educational situations worsened. Bailing out school districts may provide a short term solution, but is not economically feasible for prolonged use. Most important, such practices do not resolve the long-term problem related to school financing that places school districts in "disparate straits." Means of attaining ongoing equitable funding for education should be an imperative issue for the public and government officials throughout the state. Equitable funding of schools is an essential element of a comprehensive strategy to enhance the success of all students.

Beyond sufficient funding, there remains the problem of accountability in spending by educational agencies and school districts throughout this nation. Additional federal, state, and local funding to promote equity often have been provided with little to no return on the dollar relative to academic achievement. These monies may be misplaced in superfluous administrative costs or misdirected to programs that are no more than reinventions of traditional, unsuccessful practices with new names. The public may mistakenly accept these programs or their elevated, well publicized goals as indications of progress in themselves. However, too frequently the funds do not adequately reach or impact the targeted populations of minority and poor students. In short, authentic accountability involves assurances and proof of effective and efficient use of finances, including demonstrable results such as increased achievement. Educational agencies must

constantly hold and be held to this standard. The ultimate costs, fiscal and social, are too high to settle for less.


### **Issue: Role of Academic Assessment in Achievement**

In its comparison of educational assessment protocols among states, *Education Week's Quality Counts* rated Maryland "A-" for "high standards for all children and assessments aligned with those standards" at the state level. *Minority Achievement in Maryland* frequently refers to the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program (MSPAP), a state test battery administered to students to assess school effectiveness and hold schools accountable. MSPAP provides indicators of student achievement in reading, writing, mathematics, language usage, science, and social studies at grade levels 3, 5, and 8. Thus, MSPAP provides a primary window for improvement of minority achievement by enabling educators to focus incisively on minority achievement from both local and statewide perspectives.

Despite the valuable information MSPAP has given regarding the nature of achievement, there has been some controversy regarding its use. There have been accusations of cultural bias. It is appropriate to point out here that this same statement has been directed at the CTBS, SAT, and other assessment instruments. True, there has been cultural bias in testing in this country. The early history of IQ testing is shamefully fraught with it. However, care must be taken in applying that term or accepting it as truth. Cultural bias has become an inflammatory term frequently used, to the detriment of students, to distract from or rationalize failure. But whose – the children's or the schools'?

Testing protocols such as MSPAP establish standards for all students, prefacing standards to which they will be held when they finish school. By setting benchmarks, MSPAP has become a factor in the achievement of minority students in this state. Research shows that when such benchmarks are removed, increased failure insidiously follows (Keisler, 1998). MSPAP does not predispose ethnic minorities or any students not to succeed; rather, it calls schools to account for the education of these and other students, particularly those who are not succeeding. Most important, the assessment does not test students on background, but what they have learned in schools.

The results and gaps related to achievement in this report were not created by CTBS, SAT, and MSPAP. To the contrary, they were revealed through these tests. This revelation provides educators and the public an opportunity to analyze and resolve the adverse situation of many of our students. Blaming testing protocols such as MSPAP does not answer the question of why some of our students, particularly minorities, are not successful. To get rid of the test would be tantamount to killing the messenger because we either do not like the message or do not want to change it. Whatever the motivation, eliminating this test battery will certainly not benefit minority students who, without it, would again be caught in a quagmire of "don't ask, don't tell," a dynamic that surely has contributed to the current disparities. Keisler (1998) offers an acute response to this "blame the test" reaction. In discussing the impact of the SAT on minority students, he states that the test is not the problem. He asserts, "The trouble is with teaching and



learning.... We shouldn't confuse the failure of the educational system with the assessment instrument" (p. 60).

### **Issue: School Staffing and the Diversity Factor**

Teacher expertise may be the most significant, measurable factor in increasing student achievement. Sanders (1998), based on extensive research, asserts, "Differences in effectiveness of individual classroom teachers is the single largest factor affecting academic growth of student populations. Teacher effects are cumulative and additive with very little evidence of compensatory effects."

At the national level, there is growing focus on how the quality of teaching and teacher qualifications affect students' education. Colleges and universities prepare teachers to teach certain subjects or in certain fields. Having majored or minored at the undergraduate or graduate level or being certified in a certain field is an indication of a teacher's qualifications to teach that subject. Using the subjects science and mathematics as gauges, NCES (1997) found that in 1993-1994 students in secondary schools that had high poverty (40 percent or more students eligible for free and reduced lunch) or high minority enrollment (20 percent or more minority students) were less likely to be taught by teachers who had majored, minored, or were certified in those subjects. The above and other facets of teacher preparation have profound implications related to academic achievement, particularly for minority students. For example, African American students are too frequently over represented in least effective teachers' classrooms and under represented in the most effective teachers' classrooms (Sanders, 1998). Although this report does not largely address the issues of teacher preparation and course assignments as related to Maryland, it is important to point out that these aspects affect the education not just of minorities and the poor, but all students.

School enrollment in Maryland is approximately 36 percent African American, 4 percent Asian, 4 percent Hispanic, and 55 percent White students. Teachers, on the other hand, approach 80 percent White, 20 percent African American, and 2 percent from other ethnic groups (see Table 1). The only staff category that resembles the racial/ethnic makeup of the student population is "Principals/Vice-Principals." Females tend to predominate in school-based positions while males outnumber females in administration, except female African American central office personnel, who outnumber their African American male counterparts by a two to one ratio (15.5% vs. 6.7%).

This report does not promote the premise that there is a relationship between staff ethnicity and student achievement. Based on extensive study, Sanders (1998) found no correlation between the ethnicity of students and the ethnicity of teachers. However, some educators believe that students are advantaged affectively when they have opportunities to relate to others similar to themselves. A benefit of having more representational staff to work with minority students is apparent in that ethnic matching may enhance empathy between students and staff. These individuals also may be more likely to become effective role models and mentors to their young charges. Hiring teachers who are more proportionally representative of the ethnicity of students may be one approach to



enhancing the educational environment for minority students. Another is providing cross-cultural training for staff, preparing teachers to teach minority and culturally diverse students.

Table 1. Statewide Staffing, 1996-1997

Staff	Total	African American		White		Other (American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic)	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Central Office	1,270	6.7	15.5	40.4	35.7	0.9	0.9
Principals/Vice	2,548	8.9	22.6	33.3	34.0	0.3	0.7
Teachers	48,725	4.1	15.7	19.1	59.0	0.4	1.6
Other	14,404	3.6	20.3	8.1	65.2	0.3	2.5
Total	66,947	4.2	17.0	17.7	59.0	0.4	1.8

NOTE: Percentages may not total 100.0 due to rounding

Cultural comprehension plays a part in setting teacher expectations and establishing positive learning environments. Teachers who have extended knowledge of their students, including their backgrounds and cultures, are equipped to better help these students make learning connections with the formal curriculum (Darling-Hammond, 1996). A survey of four year colleges and universities throughout Maryland, conducted by the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council, shows that very few of the teaching institutions require preservice training in diversity. In instances where coursework is required, it usually consists of one course. At best, this can only be considered a superficial approach.

It can not be assumed that teachers prepared in relative cultural isolation are optimally prepared to address the multiplicity of issues within diverse student populations. This conclusion supports the concept of enhanced pre- and post-service teacher training on working with students from diverse cultures. Hrabowski, Maton, & Grief (1998) elaborate on the issue.

Teachers, administrators, and school staff, through their words, actions, and body language, have an enormous impact on the behavior and achievement of students.... A student's academic performance is influenced by teachers' and administrators' perceptions of that student's ability and the expectations they convey.... Expectations and attitudes of teachers and administrators toward children, in general, seem to be based on a number of interdependent factors: race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, initial test performance, achievement, and even physical appearance. With regard to race or ethnicity, African Americans receive less attention in integrated classrooms. In addition, students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to be perceived more negatively than students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Such perceptions can contribute to negative performance by students (pp. 11-12).

G. Pritch Smith (1998) summarizes the problem, "Some of the studies tell us that a majority of our preservice teachers believe that the home background of minority public school students is so bad that it just can't be overcome" (p. 9). Smith continues that he, however, is far less worried

about the minority students' backgrounds than about the "backgrounds of cultural and racial illiteracy of teacher education students." as well as attitudes that resist change.

Although there are school systems in Maryland where the enrollment of minority students is largely disproportionate to the number of minority professional staff who educate these students, this report in no way equates gender or race with competency. Increased minority staff is one way of handling issues of school environment for minority students, but it can not replace professional competence. In a recent survey conducted by Public Agenda and Parent Education Network, out of a sample 800 African American parents from across the country, 77 percent responded that school districts should "hire the best teachers possible, regardless of race" (Time to Move On, 1998). Essential to the concept of "best possible," teachers and other staff must be prepared to appropriately address students' differences due to race and other diversity factors.

### **Issue: The Situation of Urban Districts**

Urban school districts face a plethora of problems related to student achievement. Major issues in urban school districts include "teacher qualification (the proportion of teachers without permanent certification); class size; instructional materials and learning tools (computers, textbooks, library books, science labs, etc.); parental involvement and community connections" (Wang, 1998). In specifying the problems that urban districts confront, Olson and Jerald (1998b, p. 9) point to "invasive politics, a rapid turnover in administrators, inadequate and ill-spent resources, a shortage of good principals and teachers, conflicts with teachers' unions, disengaged or angry parents, and apathy – if not outright antagonism – from state lawmakers." Maryland has experienced these obstacles and sought to overcome them.

Still, according to NAEP 1994 reading test and 1996 mathematics and science test data, this state remains one of those with the highest achievement gap between students in urban and nonurban districts in the nation. For example, on the 8<sup>th</sup> grade mathematics test, 9 percent of the students in Maryland's urban districts scored at the "basic or higher" levels compared to 63 percent of students from nonurban districts. Based on data from the 8<sup>th</sup> grade mathematics and science tests, Maryland also ranks as one of the states with the largest achievement gap between urban and nonurban high poverty schools (Olson and Jerald, 1998a).

There is a widespread misperception that minority students are all concentrated in urban districts. While it is true that minority students are often disproportionately represented in urban areas, the U.S. Department of Education 1994 Schools and Staffing survey shows that 57 percent of minority students are in nonurban districts nationally (Olson and Jerald, 1998c). In Maryland, when discussing urbanicity and the poor, many refer to Baltimore City exclusively. This mode of thought is dangerously misleading, for current and projected population trends indicate that the "demographics of the inner city and its associated problems" are moving to districts heretofore perceived as suburban. For example, Prince George's and Montgomery counties have experienced serious demographic shifts in the 1990s. During this period, the percentage of poor students in Prince George's County rose by 85 percent, and 55 percent in Montgomery County. Still, the ratios of poor students between the three districts differ drastically. While 38 percent of

Baltimore's students are poor, the rates are 10.2 percent in Prince George's County and 6.7 percent in Montgomery County (Miller, 1998).

Maryland ranks among states that have the largest urban achievement gaps nationally. It joins states like Michigan and New Jersey that have central cities that are isolated socially and economically (Olson & Craig, 1998). Across the nation, some states have had to pursue crucial steps to assist students in troubled districts. In states like New Jersey and Connecticut, assistance has taken the form of what some refer to as "state takeovers." Although some would criticize this intervention as interference, the fact remains that by the time the states get involved, the academic situation of the students has usually gone beyond drastic.

### **Issue: The Impact of Poverty on Achievement**

*We have constructed an educational system so full of inequities that it actually exacerbates the challenges of race and poverty rather than ameliorates them. Simply put, we take students who have less to begin with and give them less in school too.* Education Watch: The 1996 Education Trust State and National Data Book

Poverty undermines achievement. To illustrate the connection between poverty and low achievement, Olson and Jerald (1998c) cite findings of the Prospects report that was mandated by Congress. The report, based on a study of 27,000 Title I students, concludes that "school poverty depresses scores of all students in schools where at least half the children are eligible for subsidized lunch and seriously depresses the scores when more than 75 percent of students live in low income households." The study also revealed that poor students' academic performance increased when they attended middle class schools. Also, findings showed that there were schools in poor neighborhoods where students succeed well. Such findings suggest that the problem in achievement may not be due to the influence of poor students on schools, but to the influence of schools on poor students.

Poverty among children has risen beyond 20 percent nationally. As of 1996, the U.S. census Bureau reported that one in five children under age 18 in this country qualifies as poor. African American children live in poverty at four times the rate of White children. U.S. Census data indicates that African-American children are more likely to live in concentrated poverty, as that found in centralized cities, than children from other racial/ethnic groups. Hispanic children now make up the ethnic group most likely to live in poverty, surpassing African Americans. Although the percentage for African American children in poverty has declined somewhat recently, the proportional poverty rates for Hispanic and African American children exceeds that of White children three-fold. By the year 2010, projections indicate that half of African American and Hispanic children will be in poverty. NCES poses that the "poor school outcomes" of African American and Hispanic students is associated with the fact that they are more likely to be living in poverty than their White peers. Also, minorities are more likely to attend high poverty schools that generally lack the educational climates and resources of low poverty schools (Social Context, 1997).

The achievement difficulties that minority students experience due to ethnic and cultural differences are compounded when these students are from poor backgrounds. Research establishes a moderate correlation between students' socio-economics status (SES), parent's level of income, and academic performance. African American and Hispanic households have 60 percent the median family income of White households. Moreover, African American and Hispanic children are twice as likely as White students to come from homes at or below the poverty level, often placing them more at risk for poor school outcomes. These factors are important for schools to consider in addressing student needs.

Factors external to the school, such as poverty and parents' education attainment, can adversely affect these students educational progress. However, conditions in the school continue to play a pivotal part in these students' academic success. The charge to schools is obvious and unavoidable. Schools have to adequately meet the needs of these students and develop educational interventions to eradicate the insatiable culture of poverty that schools across this nation have incessantly fed for years, contributing to a relentless cycle of poverty in – poverty out.

Maryland ranks 15<sup>th</sup> among the states for child poverty. The percentage of children under age 18 living in poverty has risen from 10.9 percent in 1989 to 15.1 percent in 1995, an increase of approximately 50,000 children. Maryland is one of eight states in the nation where over 70 percent of the children in poverty live in a single city, Baltimore. However, achievement gaps for minorities in Maryland can not be attributed wholly to poverty. For there are districts in Maryland that, while the poverty rates among students are relatively low, still exhibit substantial achievement disparities.

### **Issue: Perspective on Disparities and Schools**

*The schools meet their commitment to train for the existing social order in a curious way: they simultaneously homogenize their students and differentiate among them. School socializes as it stratifies.* A. Wade Boykin

Achievement disparities experienced by poor and minority students are due to a number of factors, social, political, and educational. Throughout history, social, political, and educational institutions have not appropriately met the needs of these groups. Some researchers pessimistically propose that the situation has become so bad, any hope of substantive change must be viewed in an intergenerational context, meaning that it took generations to reach this dismal state of affairs, and it will take generations to escape it (Miller, 1995). Whether or not this theory is accepted, the reality is that changes are long overdue and must begin immediately.

The lack of academic success among many minority students, despite some gains, is a continuing problem in American education. As the minority student population in public schools has increased, the need to resolve this situation has intensified radically throughout this country. Trueba and Bartolome (1997) comment that Hispanic students are "worse off today than in previous decades." The authors also assert that, due to predominant and increasing numbers, in the Twenty-first Century, the nation's technological and economic future depends on the educational success of these students as well as African Americans and Asians. Essentially,

continuing low achievement among minority students will have negative repercussions for this country both nationally and internationally.

Contemporary educational practices fail to prepare African Americans and other minorities to compete with their White counterparts (Rumberger & Levin, 1989). Edmonds (1986) emphasizes how schools affect achievement. He attributes variability in achievement to variability in schools. The impact of school on education outweighs that of home, family, community, and parental involvement. Thus, achievement is a result of acquiring school skills, not family background. In light of these circumstances, it becomes mandatory that schools pursue reforms and strategies necessary to increase achievement among all groups of students who currently exhibit inordinate achievement deficits. Slavin (1998) defines the nature of the challenge.

There will always be achievement differences, on average, among groups of students. No one realistically expects that children of high school dropouts and those of college graduates will ever perform at exactly the same levels. Yet, these gaps are far greater than they need to be. In particular, differences among ethnic groups are unacceptably high and completely unnecessary. Some portion of these differences results from socioeconomic differences among different ethnic groups, over which schools have no control. Nevertheless, schools can have a powerful impact on the educational success of all children and can greatly increase achievement of disadvantaged and minority children. As educators, we cannot wait for U.S. society to solve its problems of racism and economic inequity. We can and must take action now to prepare all children to achieve their full potential (p. 8).

A primary aspect of the problem is that minority and poor students are often educated from a deficit approach. Because of their sociocultural backgrounds, these children are too often considered culturally deprived and suffering from social pathologies, learning deficiencies, poor motivation, and low self esteem. In the meantime, schools and teachers are viewed as "value-free" and politically neutral in educating these students. (Trueba & Bartolome, 1998). Such approaches at once absolve schools of responsibility and fault students and parents. That these students enter schools not deprived, but different, is often not considered. That perhaps the skills necessary to teach these students are not known or practiced in many school districts is widely overlooked. A growing number of leading researchers stress that schools' perceptions of minority students and inability or resistance to cross cultures thwart the academic success of minority students (Cummins, 1989; Ogbu, 1992).

Gay (1993) identifies another element of the problem as the persistent Eurocentric nature of schools and schooling in America. Essentially, these norms determine expectations of African-American and other minority students as well as how these students are taught and disciplined, and thus how these students achieve. Too often student success depends on how well minority students meet these standards, excluding their attitudes and perceptions. To address such factors requires that school districts revise systemic educational paradigms to address cultural contexts, including the following: teacher, administrator, and counselor preparation; curriculum revision; teacher recruitment; strategic planning imperatives; and staff development.

The central question that evolves from this discourse regards how the bleak situation has lasted so long. Gottfredson's (1997) contrast of "Educational Theories of Inaction" versus "Educational Theories of Action" as applied to minority students and their achievement problems provides insight into this phenomenon. Educational Theories of Inaction focus on rationalizations that make the situation of minority students appear unchangeable and, thus, deter actions to better it. These theories are often used to excuse rather than resolve the achievement problems. To the detriment of minority students, these erroneous theories have been either totally or partially adopted by many educators.

#### **Features of An Educational Theory of Inaction**

- Explains the outcomes in terms of causes over which educators or school officials have no control
- Makes reference to difficult or impossible to manipulate individual differences, e.g., native endowment
- Makes reference to difficult or impossible to manipulate social influences, e.g., poverty in America, racism in America
- Explains outcomes in terms of causes that can be influenced only by non-school influences

#### **Some Common Theories of Inaction**

- Poverty produces poor educational outcomes
- Parents don't value education
- Schools inherit the problems they see from the community
- Avoiding the appearance of doing well in school is adaptive (functional) for minority youths
- Group differences have persisted for a long time and are immutable
- Achievement tests are biased against minorities and do not validly reflect achievement
- Achievement tests and school assessments reflect an incorrect or limited performance criterion (Gottfredson, 1997)

Contrary to the preceding theories, Educational Theories of Action are based on explanations and attitudes that promote actions to correct the situation. These theories view minority students and their potentials from perspectives that suggest ways to improve the situation.

#### **Features of An Educational Theory of Action**

- Explains the outcomes in terms of causes over which educators or school officials have control
- Makes reference to manipulable individual differences, e.g., cognitive strategies for learning, effort, persistence
- Makes reference to manipulable social influences, e.g., parental checking of homework, rewards in the home for school effort, educational climate of the school
- Explains outcomes in terms of causes that can be influenced by the school, rather than depending on non-school resources or efforts

### **Some Potentially Valid Theories of Action**

- Increasing the pace of instruction will increase learning
- Instruction at the appropriate level will increase learning
- Increasing the amount of time actively engaged in learning will increase learning
- Providing incentives for effort or improvement will increase learning
- Students will learn more if they accept difficult learning goals and have been taught to reinforce themselves for effort and achievement
- Improving teacher quality will increase the use of effective instructional and classroom management methods (producing the above) (Gottfredson, 1997).

Educators and the public should contemplate which of these theories actually dominates the paradigms related to the education of minority students by which their schools operate.

Overall, the most important reason the achievement gaps persist nationally is that, though student populations have become more diverse, schools have remained homogenous. Too often, even in schools densely populated with minority students, these students are segregated into programs of remediation, removing them from the higher expectations and instructional challenges offered to the majority students. Too often these students become victims of an imposed prophecy that was in place years before they even approached the school doors (Latham, 1998). The 1989 Maryland Report of the Governor's Commission on School Performance noted, "Black and Hispanic students do substantially worse than Whites in school systems that report the results of achievement tests by ethnic groups.... Maryland has serious problems and inequities in providing high quality education to all its elementary and secondary students." Circumstances in 1998 provoke the logical question: Have things really changed? The answer regarding minority students regrettably is – not enough.

## THE ACHIEVEMENT GAPS

*There are always going to be learning differences. What is not acceptable, however, is the consistent pattern of continuing decline in achievement for selected groups of students. How can we develop an accountability system that is aligned with the extra support required to achieve high standards for every student should be at the core of discussion on achievement gaps. Dr. Margaret Wang*

### **African American and Hispanic Students: A Capsule View of the National Picture**

According to the NAEP data, minorities have made some progress in closing the achievement gap between themselves and White students. NAEP results show that large gaps between White and minority students have decreased slightly. African American scores in mathematics and science have increased relative to White students. This situation is partially attributable to African American and Hispanic students' scores rising in these areas while White students' scores stabilized. For example, data related to the trends in mathematics scale scores for 17 year-olds from 1973 to 1996 show African Americans' scores rose from 270 to 286. Hispanic scores rose from 277 to 292, while over this same period scores among White students only rose from 310 to 313. Although minorities have made progress in areas such as reading, writing, and science, achievement gaps, some minor and some large-scale, remain across various age group levels of testing (NAEP, 1997). Data indicate that patterns of achievement of American Indians are close to trends among Hispanics and African Americans, while trends for Asian/Pacific Islanders are more similar to White students (Miller, 1995).

The following section includes brief summaries of major findings on the progress of African American and Hispanic achievement in elementary and secondary education provided by the National Center for Education Statistics. Special focus is given to African American male students because in schools no group is at greater risk. The findings are important nationally and have implications for education in Maryland. The following information should dispel many myths about the two former groups of minority students and point out factors that schools should address. This information also furnishes a preface to the further discussion of minority achievement that follows.

### **African American Students**

In profiling the situation of African American students, NCES portrays a group whose members possess hopes similar to their White counterparts, but for whom the rewards of education have not been as forthcoming.

Black children are less likely to be enrolled in preprimary education and are more likely to be below modal grade for their age. Gaps in reading, mathematics, and science achievement appear as early as age 9, and do not narrow with age. Black students are more likely than Whites to drop out of school, although this gap has closed over time.



Black students are no less likely than Whites to have their parents involved in their schooling, although Black students are more likely to face a disorderly school environment than their White peers. Both Black and White high school graduates follow a more rigorous curriculum than they did a decade ago, but Blacks are still less likely than Whites to take advanced science and mathematics courses or to study a foreign language.

Even though they have similar educational aspirations and take a similar number of academic courses as Whites, Blacks are less likely to make the immediate transition from high school to college. Educational attainment is positively associated with employment and earnings for Blacks, although earnings and employment rates are lower for Blacks than for Whites with the same amount of education. Blacks have lower literacy levels than Whites, both in general and at similar levels of educational attainment (Educational Progress of Black Students, 1995, pp. 20-21).

### **African American Male Students**

Young African American males find themselves in especially desperate circumstances related to academic, vocational, and social success. Their condition has become so increasingly precarious that they have been referred to as an "endangered species." Reed (1988) provides a dismaying list of facts that describe the academic situation of African American male students.

- The overall mean achievement scores for Black male students are below those of other groups in basic subject areas.
- Black males are much more likely to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded and for students with learning disabilities than in gifted and talented classes.
- Black males are far more likely to be placed in general education and vocational high school curricular tracks than in an academic track.
- Black males are suspended from school more frequently and for longer periods than any other student groups.

The educational fates of African American males have become almost entwined in a self-fulfilling prophecy. Lee (1991) cites that this problem is exacerbated by these students being victims of negative attitudes and low expectations from school staff.

Frustration, underachievement or ultimate failure, therefore often comprise the contemporary educational reality of Black male youth. It is evident that Black males from kindergarten through high school tend to experience significant alienation from America's schools. The consequences of this are major limitations on socioeconomic mobility, ultimately leading to high rates of unemployment, crime, and incarceration for massive numbers of young Black men.

For many young African American males, schools, which should be oases of learning and self-esteem, become hostile environments where success perpetually eludes them. As other students, they attend school wanting more. Yet, for them, schools often serve only to perpetuate a legacy of less.

## Hispanic Students

The NCES summary related to Hispanic students shows that they face social and educational situations similar to African Americans. Important among the findings, just as with African American students, parental involvement for Hispanic students is no less likely than for White students.

Hispanic children are less likely to be enrolled in preprimary education. Gaps in reading, mathematics, and science achievement appear at age 9, and persist through age 17, although some of these gaps have narrowed over time. Hispanic students are no less likely than White students to have their parents involved in their schooling, although in some cases Hispanic students are more likely to face a disorderly school environment than their White peers. Both Hispanic and White high school graduates are following a more rigorous curriculum than they were a decade ago. Hispanic graduates are less likely, however, to have taken advanced science and mathematics courses in high school than their White counterparts, but are just as likely to have taken foreign languages. Even though they have lower educational aspirations than Whites, Hispanic students are about as likely as Whites to make the immediate transition from high school to college. However, educational attainment levels are lower among Hispanic than White young adults. For Hispanics, educational attainment is positively associated with employment and earnings, although earnings and employment rates are lower for Hispanics than for Whites with the same amount of education. Among adults, Hispanics have lower literacy levels than Whites, both in general and at similar levels of educational attainment (Educational Progress of Hispanic Students, 1995, p.22).

# RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENHANCE MINORITY ACHIEVEMENT THROUGHOUT MARYLAND

## INTRODUCTION

Specific recommendations for policies and programs for MSDE and local school systems to consider to address the issue of raising minority student achievement statewide are presented within this report. The recommendations, compiled by the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council, are based on effective practices, research, and advice of nationally recognized experts. The recommendations are not all inclusive; however, they may help form a sound foundation for future efforts. Further, these recommendations are offered from the perspective that MSDE and local systems collaborate to implement the most effective strategies to assure that achievement for *ALL* students becomes a reality in Maryland.

## RECOMMENDATIONS RELATED TO LANGUAGE IN THE EDUCATION THAT IS MULTICULTURAL REGULATIONS

These recommendations for revisions in the Education That Is Multicultural Regulations (COMAR 13A.04.05) were developed by the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council and are addressed to the Maryland State Department of Education. The revisions are intended to ensure meaningful implementation of the Regulations.

Therefore, COMAR(13A.04.05) - *Maryland Education That Is Multicultural Regulations* should be amended to include the following language revisions and additions:

### **Recommendation 1: Related to Planning Component of the Regulation**

"Local school system needs assessments conducted as part of their five-year cycles of Education That Is Multicultural planning and assessment shall include findings based on an analysis of disaggregated data related to student achievement."

"Local school system five-year Education That Is Multicultural plans shall include strategies related to student achievement within each of the plan's required components (curriculum, instruction, instructional materials, staff development, and climate)."

### **Rationale**

The current Regulations contain no specific planning requirements related to student achievement. Maryland supports strong linkages between including Education That Is Multicultural perspectives and programs in school improvement initiatives and enhancing achievement for ALL students. Maryland's Education That Is Multicultural Regulations should reflect these linkages.

### **Recommendation 2: Related to Assessment Component of the Regulation**

"Local school systems shall submit their five-year Education That Is Multicultural plans to MSDE for review and evaluation by June 30 of each designated cycle, beginning in 1999."

"The Maryland State Department of Education shall review and evaluate five-year cycle plans submitted by local school systems beginning in June, 1999, and shall provide appropriate feedback to local school system Superintendents within 60 days of submission in the years in which plans are submitted."

### **Rationale**

Currently the Regulations require submission to MSDE by local school systems of *Annual Progress Reports* for review, but no requirements are listed for submission and review or evaluation of *Five-Year Plans*. Although the Regulations mandate that MSDE provide appropriate assistance to local school systems, there is no vehicle within the Regulations for MSDE to assure that local plans are comprehensive and meet established criteria.

### **Recommendation 3: Related to Rights of All Students to Have a Safe School Environment**

"All students in Maryland, regardless of but not limited to race, ethnicity, region, religion, gender, sexual orientation, language, socioeconomic status, age, and disability, should be assured educational environments that are safe, optimal for academic achievement, and free from harassment."

#### **Rationale**

The above statement is a reaffirmation of a basic right of students. Students perform best in educational environments that are safe and conducive to their learning. This recommendation is a call for respect of human dignity in all students and recognition of the duty of schools to protect all children or youth in their charge from harm and harassment, regardless of any physical, psychological, or diversity characteristic.

progress includes similar gains for all subpopulations. Therefore any consideration of awards to schools for academic achievement should be based on disaggregated data and include the performance results of minority and other subpopulations as well as the overall population. In addition, evidence of progress should reflect the closing of gaps in achievement levels for all groups of students.

### **Rationale**

The Maryland School Performance Program is based on the premise that "all children can learn." and that "all children have the right to attend schools in which they progress and learn." Yet, statewide and local disaggregated data indicate that there are important disparities in achievement for minority students. Maryland currently offers schools recognition and financial rewards for academic excellence. To be recognized for making exemplary achievement gains, these gains must reflect progress for ALL students.

Further, in providing financial incentives and rewards to schools based on performance, MSDE should consider relative funding needs of schools. Granting additional funds through awards to schools that excel in achievement is an admirable practice. However, this practice becomes a luxury when considering that these rewards are often granted to schools that are already economically and academically advantaged. A major study has concluded that increased funding for minority and poor students results in higher achievement scores, while more funding aimed at advantaged students has negligible outcomes (NAEP, 1997).

### **Recommendation 3: Discretionary Resources**

Discretionary resources available to school systems through MSDE should be allocated to support the development of local school system based improvement plans that include strategies to close achievement gaps. Distribution of these funds should be bound to strict accountability procedures and structured qualifications that assure effective selection and implementation of programs.

### **Rationale**

*Maryland's Education Reform Report* stresses the need for fundamental systemic change to assure that all students achieve. MSDE should assure that school improvement resources are allocated to support those local plans that are systemic and comprehensive, and that demonstrate accountability in addressing achievement gaps identified by the use of disaggregated data. Proposed initiatives within plans should be detailed and include time lines and explicit benchmarks for evaluation of progress toward eliminating achievement disparities.

### **Recommendation 4: Achievement Initiatives for Minority Students**

MSDE should establish a statewide Achievement Initiatives for Minority Students (AIMS) program to identify and distribute information about exemplary programs and strategies for raising minority achievement. In addition, MSDE's evaluation of existing and new programs should include an analysis of student progress using disaggregated data to determine closing of disparities in the achievement of different groups.

## **Rationale**

There are numerous practices that have effectively addressed minority achievement and reduced disparities. All school systems will benefit from information about such proven practices. In turn, these programs reflect measures of strategic systemic reform to address achievement disparities. [Note: Under the sponsorship of MSDE, the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council is already scheduled to release a report on promising and effective educational practices for minority students during 1998-1999.]

## **Recommendation 5: Data Related to Achievement**

Along with race, MSDE should intensively investigate the inferential aspects of the relationship between poverty and achievement in local school systems throughout Maryland. MSDE should provide statistics related to the condition of schools serving various and predominant student populations. In addition to funding inequities, information such as the professional education and teaching experience of the staff, spending allocations for instruction, school organization and personnel deployment, use of federal and state categorical funds, use of technology, etc. is important in developing policies to maximize school effects on achievement.

## **Rationale**

Research shows a high correlation between poor school outcomes and the achievement of students from poor family situations. The data, though not available for the current report, should be analyzed in future reports to provide insights on how poverty affects student learning. There is research that indicates that when poverty and race, along with attendance and other student data, are included in analysis of correlates of achievement, race does not appear as a salient factor; however, poverty has consistently been found to be significantly related to student achievement. The relative influence of these factors in Maryland schools should be analyzed in-depth. In addition, there is a lack of information on what makes some schools with a high concentration of students from minority and/or poverty backgrounds successful – a critical database for making informed school improvement decisions.

## **Recommendation 6: Data on School Effects**

MSDE should identify schools with high concentrations of students from poverty and/or minority backgrounds who are academically successful, and identify ways to help other schools focus on positive school effects.

## **Rationale**

Widespread application of effective school practices is feasible and can lead to significant positive learning outcomes for all students, including and especially those who are at risk for failure. Nurturing academic talents among students from minority and/or poverty backgrounds is an area that needs to be emphasized when addressing educational equity issues.

## RECOMMENDATIONS TO LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS

The following recommendations for local school systems were developed by the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council and are intended to assist local systems in their efforts to reduce achievement disparities and provide equity in education for all students.

### **Recommendation 1: Practices, Programs, and Initiatives**

Each local school system (LSS) should demonstrate commitment to student achievement by implementing effective practices, programs, and initiatives that specifically address achievement disparities. Such approaches should include full and rigorous compliance with all components of the Education That Is Multicultural (ETM) Regulation, including curriculum infusion, instruction, staff development, climate, and instructional resources.

#### **Rationale**

As the ETM Regulations point out, ETM is not a separate entity, but an educational component that has a significant impact on student performance. It is important that ETM, with accountability, is incorporated in all educational realms, including, but not limited to, curriculum, instruction, staff development, and instructional resources. Such an infusion will contribute to student growth and success and promote student achievement by fostering a positive school and classroom climate that addresses issues of diversity and promotes high teacher expectations for all students.

### **Recommendation 2: Parent Involvement**

All LSS plans should include programs and strategies to promote and sustain involvement of parents and family members of diverse backgrounds, particularly targeting under represented groups.

#### **Rationale**

Just as there are levels of parental involvement, there are varying definitions of appropriate parental involvement among groups. Recognizing that fact, parents of all students must be actively involved in an ongoing partnership with schools to address issues of student achievement. Through these partnerships, maximum opportunities can be provided to students to prepare them to succeed in life. To that end, it is essential to identify and use best practices for involving parents who are not normally engaged with the schools.

### **Recommendation 3: Equity Concerns**

Each LSS should formalize policies and procedures to establish a coordinated systemic effort to monitor and address staff, student, and parent equity concerns. These concerns include the issues of student achievement, distribution of resources, and equitable treatment.



## **Rationale**

Effective school reform must include input from those involved in the educational process and be responsive to issues of direct concern to all stakeholders.

### **Recommendation 4: Achievement Gaps**

Each LSS should routinely collect and analyze data disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and special populations, and develop and implement strategies to close achievement gaps and provide remedies for disparities reflected in the data.

## **Rationale**

The measure of effectiveness of any educational effort is whether all students, irrespective of their race, ethnicity, economic status, or other diversity factor, are achieving at high levels of performance. Action planning and program implementation amount to little if student achievement is not improved. Hence, staff development, school improvement planning, parent-teacher interaction processes, and other mechanisms must be results driven and tied to data.

### **Recommendation 5: Diverse Programs**

Local school systems should provide comprehensive programs that address their diverse student populations. These programs should seek to develop leadership, promote life skills, and link those skills with academic learning. These programs and services should be appropriate to the developmental stages of students and should also recognize and address the needs of students from diverse backgrounds.

## **Rationale**

The success of Maryland's students depends not only on the academic curricula that is provided by schools. The achievement of students also depends on schools recognizing and responding to students' unique abilities, strengths, and weaknesses, as well as developing and providing appropriate support programs to assist students in reaching their fullest potential. Thus, schools at all levels need to provide programs, including appropriate health, counseling, and other support services.

### **Recommendation 6: Staff Diversity**

Each local school system should develop a concerted plan of action to recruit, support, and retain a diverse teaching and administrative staff with representation throughout the system.

## **Rationale**

A diverse teaching and administrative staff provides students with appropriate role models and contributes to the inclusion of diverse perspectives in education programs. In addition to expanding recruitment efforts, emphasis should be placed on making professional development programs that focus on developing teacher expertise and subject matter competence a priority.

## **Recommendation 7: Staff Development**

Local school systems should provide staff development on working with diverse populations for administrators, teachers, and other educational staff.

## **Rationale**

So much in students' academic success is associated with teacher-student interaction, student perception of school environment, teacher expectations, and appropriate instructional methodologies. Although there are many similarities among learners, there are certain characteristics, such as learning styles and cultural attitudes, that differ. Therefore, it is necessary that teachers receive appropriate training to effectively work with students from various cultural backgrounds.

## **Recommendation 8: Teachers**

Schools should carefully assign students to teachers.

## **Rationale**

Teacher effectiveness is a dominant causative factor affecting student academic growth. Further, teacher effects are so cumulative that if a student receives two rather ineffective teachers in succession the loss in growth is usually not recoverable.

## **Recommendation 9: Academic Growth**

Local school systems should have in place a workable process to assist teachers, administrators, and support staff in learning to use available data in positive, diagnostic ways.

## **Recommendation 10: Academic Growth**

Local school systems, in conjunction with MSDE, should provide for longitudinal measures of students' academic progress, rather than just relying on mean aggregate measures.

### **Recommendation 11: Academic Growth**

Local school systems should set the goal, with necessary accountability mechanisms, that all students should make at least a year's worth of academic growth each year regardless of the starting point.

### **Recommendation 12: Academic Growth**

Local school systems should ensure adequate communication between feeder and receiving schools to avoid excessive reteaching, since that is one of the biggest impediments to sustained academic growth as students change buildings.

### **Rationale**

When there is a downward relation in students' academic gain compared to their prior academic achievement, a phenomenon termed "shed pattern" is often occurring. When this detrimental pattern is observed, instruction is being paced and directed to the needs of the previously lowest achievers in the classroom, resulting in retarded academic growth for the average and previously above average students. Often in the early grades, schools serving high percentages of disadvantaged students at the lower end of their distributions get exceptionally high gains. But as shed patterns persist, the gap in achievement means becomes pronounced in the middle school grades, thus the lag. The lag in average scores is not necessarily attributable to the failure of schools to provide adequate growth opportunities for the early lowest achieving students, rather it is the failure to provide sustained academic growth opportunities for the early above average students within those schools. If students are unfortunate enough to be in classrooms with this pattern for two or three years in a row, then those early average and above average students begin to score at levels considerably below those levels that would have been predicted from their earlier academic performance.

Shed patterns can be observed within suburban, rural and urban schools, but they are observed disproportionately within urban schools serving disadvantaged populations of students. This phenomenon is not an ethnic issue *per se*. Schools that have a preponderance of these patterns will have achievement levels that lag, regardless of the location of the building. However, schools serving a high percentage of minority students are more likely to demonstrate these patterns.

Local school systems should articulate and hold schools and teachers accountable for sustained academic growth rates at reasonable and attainable levels, thus ensuring appropriate levels of progress that all students should obtain. All students should be given the opportunity to make academic progress each year from their starting points, regardless of the school or the classroom to which they are assigned. This involves development and implementation of methods to ascertain that every student's academic achievement is progressive and commensurate with prior achievement from elementary through secondary school.

Regardless of ethnicity or SES factors, all students must be guaranteed the opportunity to make academic growth each year. Furthermore, evidence of students' progress should reflect academic growth regardless of prior achievement levels. Like compound interest rates on wealth accumulation, sustained academic growth rates will inevitably lead to higher levels of academic achievement, without asking educators to do the relatively impossible – make up gaps that exist between sub-groups in one or two academic years. If a child is reading at a grade-level two years behind, then it is not reasonable for this student to eliminate this deficit in one year. But, if this student has a reading gain of 110-120%, which is attainable and sustainable, and if this rate is continued over grades, then higher levels of achievement will result over time. The most obvious distinction between the very effective and the least-effective schools is the pronounced difference in the percent of cumulative gain over time (Sanders, 1998).

Appendix B: Education That Is Multicultural  
[Excerpt]

# **A Summary of The Education That Is Multicultural Regulations**

## **Title 13A State Board of Education Subtitle 04 Specific Subjects Chapter 05 Education That Is Multicultural**

According to state law, the actual Education That Is Multicultural (ETM) Regulations can not be published on this website. However, the Regulations are available at public libraries. Local school systems also have the Regulations. Since presentation here is forbidden, a brief summary of cogent points of the Regulations is provided below.

### **History of the Regulations**

The administrative history of these Regulations dates back to 1970. Since then, the Regulations have been revised periodically. The Regulations were last amended in 1994.

Currently the Maryland State Board of Education is considering additional revisions to the language in the Regulations. These amendments are based on recommendations from the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council. The recommended changes are listed in the report *Minority Achievement in Maryland: the State of the State*. Moreover, these revisions will serve to close the semantic gap and clarify the relationship between ETM and minority achievement.

### **Scope of the Regulations**

The Regulations are intended to guarantee success for Maryland's students by pursuing equity and quality in education. The Regulations provide guidelines for education that is multicultural. These guidelines establish goals for that impact curriculum, instruction, professional development, and educational resources.

The Regulations refer to education that is multicultural as a "continuous, integrated, multiethnic, multidisciplinary process for educating all students about diversity and commonality." Diversity factors mentioned in the Regulations include race, ethnicity, gender, religion, language, socioeconomic status, region, disabilities, and age. By infusing curriculum and instruction with tenets and strategies related to education that is multicultural, the goal is to prepare students to lead successful lives and better participate in a globally oriented society.

### **Definitions in the Regulations**

The ETM Regulations also include definitions of terms associated with education that is multicultural in Maryland. These definitions explain words and phrases used in the Regulations. The terms defined are:

- bias,
- commonality,
- cultural groups,
- cultural linguistic patterns,

- discrimination,
- diversity,
- ethnicity,
- Maryland School Performance and Assessment Program,
- Maryland School Performance Program,
- pluralistic society,
- prejudice,
- racism,
- sexism,
- stereotype.

### **Guidelines and Goals of the Regulations**

The Regulations direct schools throughout the state to implement programs and staff development that will enhance instruction pertinent to the above. In turn students should become involved not just by acquiring knowledge about diversity, but by participating in processes that require students to exhibit understanding and appreciation of other cultures as well as an ability to participate in processes such as decision making related to social relations and interactions among diverse groups.

The Regulations further provide goals and guidelines to aid local school systems in devising, planning, implementing, and assessing their systemic efforts related to education that is multicultural. Areas addressed in the guidelines include curriculum, instruction, and staff development. The guidelines and goals explicitly state topics, strategies, and activities that should be addressed in incorporating ETM in students' education. In addition, the Regulation provides criteria for the selection and use of instructional materials and resources to appropriately reflect ETM.

### **ETM Planning and Evaluation**

The Regulation asserts that local school systems should implement ETM based on five year planning cycles. Under this section of the Regulation, school systems are directed to develop and conduct needs assessments to obtain information on the status of aspects related to diversity and ETM from parents, business, community, students, and educational staff. School systems also have to prepare and submit annual progress reports on the implementation of ETM. The Maryland State Department of Education is responsible for evaluating progress of implementation of ETM in each school system. Additionally, MSDE has to provide appropriate technical assistance related to development and implementation of ETM to local school systems.

## **INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATION THAT IS MULTICULTURAL IN MARYLAND**

The current Maryland Education That Is Multicultural (ETM) Regulations (COMAR13A.04.05) were adopted by the State Board of Education in 1994. The Regulations were adopted to replace the Ethnic and Cultural Minorities Regulations originally adopted by the State Board in 1970 and revised in 1979, 1989, and 1993. Statewide implementation of the current Regulations began in 1995.

Education That Is Multicultural is a process that promotes the valuing and appreciation of diversity, including factors such as region, race, ethnicity, national origin, socioeconomic status, gender, and disability. Maryland reflects great ethnic and cultural diversity, as Marylanders of African, Asian, European, Latino, Native American and many heritages and faiths contribute to the rich fabric of our state. It is projected by the year 2010 that Maryland will be one of six states in the nation with no one racial or ethnic group comprising a majority of the state's population.

Reflective of Maryland's growing diversity, Maryland schools are currently educating students from more than 100 nations. Marylanders from across the state share a common commitment to assuring that every student is afforded appropriate and equitable opportunities to achieve academic and personal success in today's global community. The Education That Is Multicultural policies, procedures, and programs address issues impacting on success for all of Maryland's students.

### **IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGULATION**

#### **MARYLAND STATE EDUCATION THAT IS MULTICULTURAL ADVISORY COUNCIL**

For leadership in implementation of the ETM Regulations, the State Superintendent, Dr. Nancy S. Grasmick, established the Maryland State Education That Is Multicultural Advisory Council. The ETM Council coordinated efforts at the state level and assisted local school systems to implement education that is multicultural programs and policies related to curriculum, instruction, student achievement, staff development and instructional resources. Council members included representatives from Maryland's 24 school systems, MSDE, higher education, and the Maryland Chapter of the National Association of Multicultural Education. A major focus for this council was the connection between education that is multicultural and enhanced academic achievement. To reinforce this relationship, the Council proposed revisions to the language of the current Regulations.

The Council concluded its work in May 1999. Future efforts related to education that is multicultural and minority achievement will be the focus of two new groups appointed by the State Superintendent, the Achievement Initiative for Maryland's Minority Students (AIMMS) Council and the ETM Network.



## **MARYLAND STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION RESPONSIBILITIES**

Responsibilities of the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE) outlined in the Regulations include providing assistance to local school systems in ETM planning and subsequent implementation, and assuring a multicultural focus in all state activities, including assessments, publications, and curricular frameworks. In addition, the Regulations require MSDE to provide materials for local school systems, such as an annotated ETM resource guide and criteria for evaluating and selecting appropriate instructional materials. MSDE also provides feedback to local school systems on their Annual ETM Progress Reports.

To coordinate efforts from within MSDE, Dr. Grasmick instituted the MSDE Cross-Divisional Task Force on Education That Is Multicultural in 1997. The task force consists of MSDE staff members.

## **LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEM RESPONSIBILITIES**

The ETM Regulations require local school systems to develop and implement five-year ETM plans that address curriculum, instruction, staff development, instructional resources, and school climate. The first five-year planning cycle will end in 1999, with new plans being prepared for implementation that will begin in the year 2000. As of June 30, 1998, each local school system began submitting an Annual ETM Progress Report to MSDE.

Appendix C: BCPSS Grade 4 Curriculum -  
Maryland: Its Culture and Environment/ Unit  
2 on History and Contributions of Diverse  
Groups

## GRADE 4

### MARYLAND: ITS CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

#### UNIT 2: HISTORY AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF DIVERSE GROUPS

##### UNIT DESCRIPTION:

In this unit students investigate the historical development of Maryland and the contributions of the ethnic groups that immigrated to America. The role of the African American in the development of Maryland is emphasized in this unit.

Students will examine the factors that account for the diversity of backgrounds and cultures that are found in Maryland. Each group has unique characteristics. However, all groups share many things in common. Students will compare differences and similarities among ethnic groups in Maryland. Students will analyze the different ways in which Maryland's growth was influenced by Native Americans, African Americans, Germans, Irish, French, Polish, Italians, Scots, and Mexicans. Students will investigate the impact of the contributions that ethnic groups made to the growth of Maryland and the United States.

This unit promotes critical thinking by providing opportunities for students to compare, contrast, analyze, synthesize, generalize, and apply information. The incorporation of reading, mathematics, writing, art, and music fosters an interdisciplinary approach to learning.

##### CAREER EDUCATION INFUSION

The career education (CA) performance objectives, learning objectives and suggested activities are placed following the subject area performance objective and should be taught in conjunction with the discipline objectives. The competencies to which the performance objectives relate can be located in the career education scope and sequence document.

##### LIBRARY/MEDIA INFUSION

Library/media (LM) performance objectives are infused in two ways:

1. When the library/media (LM) performance objectives are given in parentheses with a competency, they are a resource that can be used for the accomplishment of the competency. Refer to the library/media curriculum.
2. When there is a direct correlation of library/media (LM) performance objectives with the performance objectives of a discipline, the library/media (LM) performance objectives indicated with an asterisk (\*) should be taught in conjunction with the discipline's performance objective that is also marked with an asterisk (\*).

The library/media performance objective codes are listed to alert the teacher to the fact that there are library/media activities which may support instruction in this unit. The teacher and the library/media specialist should cooperatively plan for the delivery of these activities.

## **BACKGROUND:**

### **Native Americans in Maryland**

Native Americans were the original settlers in Maryland. They were the descendants of Asian people who crossed the Bering Strait into North America about fifteen thousand years ago. Many of them traveled south and settled around the Chesapeake Bay region.

Three main groups of Native Americans lived in Maryland. The first group, composed of the Pocomoke, Wicomico, and Choptank were small groups that lived on the Eastern Shore. The Piscataway, Yaocomaco, Mattawoman, and Patuxent belonged to a large family of Algonquia-speaking tribes that were located throughout the Western Shore of Maryland. The third group, the Susquehannock, lived north of the Chesapeake Bay area along the Susquehanna River. The Susquehannock tribes were the most powerful, and they dominated the tribes of the Chesapeake Bay region. The Susquehannock were members of the Iroquois nation. The most powerful of all the groups were the Piscataway, the Nanticoke, and the Susquehannocks.

The waterways and a network of foot trails mostly running north and south, connected hunting lands and villages and served as trade routes. The Native American groups developed an extensive trade business that extended as far as the Ohio Valley.

Many Native American groups lived near rivers. The list below names the group and the river or place where the group lived.

Anacostians	Anacostia River
Choptanks	Choptank River
Assateagnes	Assateague Island
Wicomicoes	Wicomico River
Nanticokes	Nanticoke River
Patuxents	Patuxent River
Potomacs	Potomac River
Yaocomicoes	St. Mary's River
Mattawomans	Mattawoman River

Native Americans used the water for food, drinking, washing, and traveling. Canoes were made by carving out large logs. Four or five people could travel in a canoe. The Chesapeake Bay provided the Native American with crabs, shrimp, eels, clams, oysters, and fish. Shells of clams and oysters were used for jewelry and eating utensils such as bowls and spoons. Fish were caught with spears, bows and arrows, nets and traps.

Other sources of food were hunting and farming. Deer and small animals were hunted by the men and boys. The families ate the meat and used the fur for blankets and clothing. The women and young children planted corn, beans, squash, peas, and pumpkin. Meat and fish were dried or smoked in the summer for winter consumption. Corn and beans were also dried for consumption.

Native American homes were called wigwams. To make wigwams, poles were pushed into the ground, bent over, and tied at the top. The frames were covered with bark or mats. A hole was left at the top of the wigwam and it could be covered when it rained.

### **Exploration and Trade**

European exploration and trade with Native Americans is believed to have begun in the early 1500's.

In 1608 Captain John Smith sailed into the Chesapeake Bay. The Native Americans that came to visit the new arrivals brought furs, weapons, and tobacco pipes. The colonists at Kent Island bartered with the Native Americans for furs. In 1631, a Virginian named William Claiborne and a group of settlers went to Kent Island off Maryland's Eastern Shore. By 1634 a trading post was established.

### **Early Settlers in Maryland**

In November of 1633, a group of people led by Leonard Calvert, set sail from England in two ships, the Ark and the Dove included among the passengers were two . The two ships sailed north, from the West Indies where they had stopped for supplies, to the mouth of the Potomac River. On March 25, 1634., the Ark and the Dove anchored off St. Clements Island. Many of the colonists or settlers had come to the New World for a better life and religious freedom. Some of the settlers left St. Clements Island and went up the Potomac River to Piscataway Creek where they met Native Americans who were very friendly. They later went back to St. Clements Island and settled near St. Mary's River which was on the land of the Yaocomicoes. Lord Calvert bargained with the Yaocomico Native Americans and exchanged axes, hoes, blankets, and other goods for a 30 mile (48 kilometer) strip of land. The Yaocomicoes gave the settlers huts to live in and fields already planted with corn. The Native American women taught English women how to make cornbread. The settlers changed the name from Yaocomico to St. Mary's City. March 25th is called Maryland Day. It honors the first settlers who came to Maryland in 1634.

Over a ten year span, the colonists had added ten houses, a storehouse, a mill, a chapel, and a blacksmith's shop to their community. Water lands were developed by the colonists before they began moving into the interior of the area.

The colonists built log fences, houses, and churches within the boundaries of the fences. Many Native American groups were suspicious and unfriendly with the Europeans. Other groups such as those on the Western Shore looked on the Europeans as potential allies against the Susquehannocks.

By 1642, there was about 390 people in the colony. These people were the descendants of the 500 or more that had immigrated since 1634. European ships that traded with Maryland brought new settlers and news from Europe. These ships also brought tools, cloth, salt and other essentials for the colonists. On return trips to Europe the ships carried tobacco.

George Calvert lived in England in the 1600's. He and the King of England were friends. The king gave George the title of Lord Baltimore and some land in America. The land was called Maryland in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. George Calvert wanted to start a settlement in Maryland but died before he was able to do so.

After George Calvert's death, his oldest son, Cecil, became the Second Lord Baltimore and owner of Maryland. Cecil wanted to stay in England; therefore, he sent his brothers, Leonard and George, to Maryland.

Leonard and George led the voyage of the Ark and the Dove to Maryland from England. Leonard became the governor of St. Mary's City. At Cecil Calvert's death, his son Charles became the Third Lord Baltimore. The new rulers in England took away Charles' power in Maryland. When Charles Calvert died his son, Benedict, became the Fourth Lord Baltimore. Benedict was a friend of the King of England and Maryland was given back to the Calverts. Charles Calvert II, became the Fifth Lord Baltimore when Benedict died. Charles's son, Frederick, was the Sixth and last Lord Baltimore.

The last leader of Maryland before it became a state was Henry Harford. He was Frederick's son, but he was not a Calvert. Harford was not given the title of Lord Baltimore and as a result he was called a proprietor.

## **African Americans Arrive in Maryland**

Many African Americans came to the New World as indentured servants, however, most came involuntarily. When the servants' terms were completed, they received their freedom. Some of them became landowners. In 1642, John Price and Mathias Sousa were among the thirteen Africans who arrived on the Ark and Dove at St. Mary's City. In 1663 the Assembly in Maryland ruled that all African Americans brought into Maryland would be enslaved for life. The law specified that the children of enslaved persons should also be enslaved for life. The largest group of African Americans were brought to Maryland in the late 1690's. Most of these persons came from the west coast of Africa and some had lived in the West Indies. Almost all of the other immigrants were Europeans, most of them from the British Isles. A few Dutch, French, German, and Italian settlers arrived during the seventeenth century. The Scotch-Irish began to settle on the Eastern Shore in the 1680's.

The growth in population, the spreading of settlement, the continued clearing of the land, and the introduction of livestock had severe effects on the environment. Plowing of the land caused harsh land erosion. Tobacco crops used up important soil nutrients. As settlers cleared more and more of the land, they made it harder for Native Americans to practice hunting and farming for their livelihood. Many fur-bearing animals were slaughtered by the settlers. The Native Americans became increasingly dependent on Europeans for food, utensils, clothing, and other goods.

Introduced by Europeans, alcohol and smallpox proved fatal for Native Americans. During the seventeenth century many Native Americans were given land in Dorchester County to use as reservations. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dissent grew between the "haves" and the "have nots," between political and religious groups, and between the colonies and England. People belonged to several different groups made up of male and female; young and old; black and white; free and unfree; immigrant and native-born; rich, middling, and poor. Only 15 percent of the population, who were free white males, enjoyed full legal rights. A smaller group of property holders had the right to vote.

By 1775 African Americans made up 28% of the population and mulattoes made up 2 percent. In the prime tobacco production areas such as Anne Arundel and, the lower Western Shore, 40 to 50 percent of the population was African American.

### **Definition of Slave by Maryland Law**

Most of the states defined slaves as chattel, and the laws of Maryland (1791) declared that "in case the personal property of a ward shall consist of specific articles such as slaves, working beasts, animals of any kind, stock furniture, plate, books, and so forth, the court...may at any time pass an order for its' sale. "The issue of female slaves in Maryland was considered part of the use, like that of other female animals.

Enslaved persons had few legal rights. They could marry, but they could not sue to prevent the break-up of a family. They wed legally but were unable to own property. They could raise poultry and tend a patch of ground. They could sell chickens, eggs, and raise crops. Any money that they earned could be used as they wished. In theory this was very practical but in reality it was seldom realized. Enslaved persons worked long days, usually 13 to 14 hours per day.

All African Americans were not enslaved; about 1 percent and 40 percent of mulattoes were free. Free African Americans worked as field hands or servants in the homes of wealthy Europeans. Other African Americans worked as craftsmen. A few were farmers. Slavery provided a free source of labor for the growing colony. Enslaved persons were used to farm the land, cut timber, build roadways, construct bridges and a variety of buildings. In 1840, free African-Americans include 18 blacksmiths, 45 barbers, 35 caulkers, 13 drayers (cart drivers) and 7 grocers. By 1860, the free African-American population was about 25,000.

### White Slaves in Maryland and Differing Status

In 1662, Maryland restricted a servant's travel without a pass to two miles beyond his master's house. In 1671, Maryland lengthened the time servants who arrived without indentured from four to five years. The improvement of white servants status was doubtful. Therefore a differing status between white and African-American slaves was evident after 1660.

### Maryland Historical Magazine

Table II

#### LEADING NEGRO OCCUPATIONS\* IN BALTIMORE IN 1850 AND 1860\*

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

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

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



## **Enslaved Persons in Maryland**

In 1755, African Americans comprised 28 percent of Maryland's population while mulattoes made up 2 percent. The proportion of African Americans to whites varied from region to region. In prime tobacco producing areas like Anne Arundel and the lower Western Shore counties, 40 to 50 percent of the population was African American. In northern and western wheat producing counties such as Frederick and Cecil, African Americans made up just 13 or 14 percent of the population.

It was common for free African Americans to work as field hands or servants in the homes of wealthy whites. Other free African Americans worked as craftsmen, and a few became independent farmers, owning land and raising crops in the same manner as white farmers did.

As the enslaved boys in Maryland grew up, some took care of the plantation or barn buildings and the livestock, others worked in fields tending the food and tobacco crops. A few of the youngsters were brought to the great house of the master to learn to be butlers, valets, waiters, and to learn skills of the artisans.

Some of the enslaved girls were trained to do household work. They were taught to be neat and polite and to be experts in cooking, cleaning and in polishing silver and glassware. They might come to serve at the table or act as maids to the ladies of the household. They might help to keep the clothing and linens cleaned and pressed; or they might make clothing for members of the family of the master, or for the servants and farm workers.

Many African American women were sent to work in the fields. Some worked in the kitchens where food for workers was prepared. Women were also adept in the processing of the tobacco.

In towns African Americans learned other skills and were more apt to be put to work in a home or a shop. There was a sort of class system among the slaves themselves. House servants felt a bit above the artisan, but the artisan felt, in turn, a cut above the herdsman and coachman and the field worker ranked lowest of all. Their clothing reflected this rank with the house servant clad in quite nice clothing and the poor field worker wearing very rough, plain clothing.

Much depended on the man who owned the enslaved and his family. He might be very kind, or he might be very cruel.

The African American experience in Baltimore was unusual. Unlike southern cities, where enslavement flourished and enslaved were the skilled artisans, enslavement did not prosper in the city. Some enslaved persons did work in the city, however, Baltimore did not have many enslaved.

Baltimore acted as a magnet for free African Americans throughout the state. By 1850, more than one third of the free African American population in Maryland resided in the city. Some former enslaved African Americans found sanctuary among Baltimore's free African American population of 29,000, the largest free African American community in the United States.

**Table 4.2. Maryland Population by Condition and Color, 1860**

County	White	Free Black	Slave	Total County Population
Allegany	27,215	467	666	28,348
Anne Arundel	11,704	4,864	7,332	23,900
Baltimore*	231,242	29,911	5,400	266,553
Calvert	3,997	1,841	4,609	10,447
Caroline	7,604	2,786	739	11,129
Carroll	22,525	1,225	783	24,533
Cecil	19,994	2,918	950	23,862
Charles	5,796	1,068	9,653	16,517
Dorchester	11,654	4,684	4,123	20,461
Frederick	38,391	4,957	3,243	46,591
Harford	17,971	3,644	1,800	23,415
Howard	9,081	1,395	2,862	13,338
Kent	7,347	3,411	2,509	13,267
Montgomery	11,349	1,552	5,421	18,322
Prince George's	9,650	1,198	12,479	23,327
Queen Anne's	8,415	3,372	4,174	15,961
St. Mary's	6,798	1,866	6,549	15,213
Somerset	15,332	4,571	5,089	24,992
Talbot	8,106	2,964	3,725	14,795
Washington	28,305	1,677	1,435	31,417
Worcester	13,442	3,571	3,468	20,481
<b>Total</b>	<b>515,918</b>	<b>83,942</b>	<b>87,009</b>	<b>686,869</b>

SOURCE: Eighth U.S. Census, 1860.

\*Includes city.

## **Religious Diversity**

There was much religious diversity in Maryland. Between 1634 and 1639 most of the settlers belonged to Anglican and Roman Catholic faiths. Puritans came by way of Virginia in 1649. The Scotch-Irish were predominantly Presbyterians. Members of the Society of Friends or Quakers found asylum in the Baltimore colony.

Maryland provided religious freedom for many religious groups. The Calverts originally founded Maryland to give Catholics a safe place to settle. George Calvert was a Catholic but was not able to worship as a Catholic in England. Many other groups came to Maryland for religious freedom including Puritans, Quakers, and Protestant groups. Presbyterians, Methodists, and Quakers settled on the Eastern Shore, Catholics lived in southern Maryland and Puritans and Baptists settled around Annapolis. Lutherans who came from Germany settled in Frederick county. Few Jewish people lived in Maryland during the early years and those who did lived near Baltimore.

The Act of Toleration, passed in 1649, gave all Christians freedom to worship. In the 1700's, some of the religious freedoms of Catholics were taken away. They could not have public church services. They also had to pay double taxes and could not vote. A state law was passed that said religious leaders could not hold public office.

### **Founding of Churches by African Americans**

The principal organized moral force in Maryland was the established Anglican Church. Its membership was confined to no particular social class but was controlled by land-holding slave owners. From one parish it was reported that the masters were "so brutish" that they would not allow their African-Americans to be catechized or baptized. On the other hand, some masters gave personal attention to the spiritual concerns of their slaves. They were willing to allow the clergy to teach the slaves, although they often regarded it as a fruitless task.

Methodism arrived in Maryland about 1784, but African American and white worshippers were segregated. The free African Americans chose to worship in their homes, and 1797 invited Rev. Daniel Coker to be the first pastor of what later became Bethel A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal) Church. (Bethel has since become the mother A.M.E. church of Maryland and plays an important role in denominational affairs.)

In an attempt to halt the inclination of African American Methodist to join the A.M.E. organization, the Methodist church of Maryland inaugurated the Sharp Street Methodist Church as a mission project for African-Americans.

Sharp Street was organized in 1802 and was headed by white ministers for many years. (The church grew in power and influence and is regarded today as one of the strongest Methodist congregations in Maryland.)

Establishing an African-American Baptist church in Maryland was a little more difficult because each Baptist congregation is independent of a managing organization and Maryland law once required a white man to be present at all meetings.

Catholics, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians could assign one of the white leaders of the denomination, but that was not the case with the Baptist church.

The Rev. Moses Clayton established a small Baptist church in 1836 known as First Baptist Church. The church was poor and slow. Clayton's salary was underwritten by the white Baptists of Maryland.

In 1742, Maryland's first African American church was built in a walnut grove on Chestnut Ridge in Howard County and was named Sater's Baptist Church.

In 1872, the Rev. Harvey Johnson initiated a progressive African American movement in Baltimore, and later established the Negro Baptist Church.

Union Baptist Church on Druid Hill Avenue was the first African American Baptist Church organized by African Americans, although it was the third Baptist church attended by African Americans in the state.

African American Episcopalians established the St. James Episcopal Church in 1826 on a second floor of a west Baltimore building. Under the leadership of the later Dr. George F. Bragg who served for 50 years, the church was incorporated in 1828. The first African American deacon was ordained in Cecil County in 1834.

In 1848, the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church was organized by white Presbyterians as a mission for Blacks. White leadership of the congregation continued for the next 100 years until the Rev. W. W. Walker made it an independent church.

Baltimore remains in the forefront of African American history in the Catholic church. The first African American Catholic priest in this country was Father Charles Randolph Uncles of Baltimore, who was ordained in December, 1891 at St. Francis Xavier Church. In 1984 the Archdiocese of Baltimore installed Bishop John Record as the first African American Bishop of Baltimore.

#### **Summary of Founding Dates of Churches by African Americans in Baltimore**

- 1797 Bethel A.M.E. Church was organized and Rev. Daniel Coker became its first pastor.
- 1834 William Douglass became the first Episcopal priest ordained in Maryland.
- 1829 The first Sisterhood among Blacks was founded in Baltimore on July 2, the Oblate Sisters of Providence. This same year, they founded the St. Francis Academy.
- 1891 Charles Randolph Uncles was ordained as the first black Catholic priest in the state.
- 1802 Sharp Street United Methodist Church organized.

## **Maryland and the Civil War**

In April of 1861, fighting between the north and the south began. The Civil War had started. A key issue in the war was slavery. The north or Union states were anti-slavery. Ten southern states seceded and formed their own government and they were pro-slavery. States such as Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri were border States. The Civil War ended in 1865. There were bad feelings between people in the North and South. Many lives had been lost and many homes and farms had been destroyed.

President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Enslaved persons in the Confederacy were freed as a result. Maryland's 90,000 enslaved persons were freed in 1864. Anti-African American feelings were present after the emancipation. In the late 1860's African Americans were forced out of public facilities. The Freedom's Bureau provided food, shelter, medical care, and protection from whites for former enslaved persons.

The lives of Maryland's African Americans following the Emancipation Proclamation were very different from those in the states further South. (The first census taken in Maryland in 1790 revealed 103,036 African Americans enslaved and 8,043 living free.)

Many enslaved persons had migrated to Baltimore City because of employment opportunities. This was a period where African Americans faced many hardships. Race relations during the post emancipation era were strained. African Americans were completely unprepared for freedom. They were freed without jobs, homes, or plans for the future. They needed many things very quickly - such as education, jobs, and housing. However, each year African Americans made gains, learned and progressed despite obstacles.

## **Population Growth in Maryland**

As industries grew, people poured into Baltimore. Maryland's total population in the 1870's was 780,894 people. About 25 percent of the population was African American. People from all over the country and immigrants swamped Maryland. Working class people of all ethnic backgrounds earned low wages, lived in overcrowded dwellings, and suffered unhealthy conditions. Many women took jobs to help make ends meet.

## **The Maryland and Liberian Connection**

The establishment of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa was the logical outcome of humane whites with respect to the abolition of slavery. The concept began after the first introduction of slavery into the Colony of Maryland. Abolitionists had the state to pledge the colonization as the state policy and appropriate a certain sum of those who volunteered to go to Africa. Many manumissions were given with the condition that in a reasonable time the person set free should leave Maryland for Africa. In 1843, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church of Charles County, brought a number of enslaved persons owned by him to Baltimore, and presented them for confirmation in St. James' First African Church to the late Bishop Whittingham. The Bishop administered the rite, immediately gave them their freedom on condition that they at once leave the county for Africa, which was done.

Almost from the first inception of slavery, there were friends of African descendents who did what they could for their liberation. One of the plans was to the colonize the free Africans and let them go to colonies outside of the United States. Land was purchased in Africa, Liberia, for their return. Seventeen Blacks made up the first group to leave Maryland. By 1857, a total of 1,451 had returned to the new colony.

European immigrants were assisted by ethnic communities that were already well established in Maryland. Charitable organizations and labor unions grew. Few public organizations were founded to help African Americans. The greatest influence and assistance for African Americans were the African-American churches.

### **Cultural Diversity**

Many famous people contributed to the development of Maryland. Some famous persons were artists, writers, scientists, athletics, explorers, architects, mathematicians, and inventors.

<u>Name</u>	<u>City/County</u>	<u>Contribution</u>
Christian A. Fleetwood Benjamin Banneker	Baltimore Ellicott Mills	Medal of Honor - Civil War Author, inventor, mathematician
Harriett Tubman	Dorchester County	Abolitionist
Frederick Douglass	Talbot County	Abolitionist
Matthew A. Henson	Charles County	Explorer
Donald Murray		
Thurgood Marshall	Baltimore City	Civil Rights Activist Chief Justice of Supreme Court
Lillie Mae Carroll Jackson	Baltimore City	Civil Rights Activist
Clarence Mitchell, Jr.	Baltimore City	NAACP - President, Lawyer, Lobbyist
Parren J. Mitchell	Baltimore City	1st African American member to U. S. House of Delegates
Anna Ella Carroll	Maryland	Advocate of Black Suffrage
Johns Hopkins	Anne Arundel	Philanthropist
Harry Sythe Cummings		1st African American elected to public office
Roger B. Taney	Frederick County	Pro-slavery Supreme Court Justice
John Brown	Washington	Worked to free enslaved persons
Morris A. Iles	Baltimore City	Community Economic Developer/Enterprise Zone Model

## **Definition of Terms**

Dr. Wade W. Nobles, historian, indicates that culture is the vast structure of behaviors, ideas, attitudes, values, habits, beliefs, customs, language, rituals, ceremonies, and practices peculiar to a particular group of people which provide them with a general design for living.

The cultural background of a group of people is the totality of the learned attitudes and activities that the people in the group share. Each culture has its own system of values as well as a system of behavior patterns.

### **Customs/Traditions**

A custom is the practice of preserving ideals and actions from one generation to another. Customs can vary from place to place and from group to group. Customs may also vary throughout the history of a group of people. The customs that are considered to be of great importance are called mores. Customs that are less important are called folkways.

Traditions are customs and usages transmitted from one generation to another and viewed as a coherent body of precedents influencing the present. Most of the time members of a cultural group accept the traditions passed down to them from their parents and do not attempt to change or violate the tradition or practice.

## **Definition of Terms**

**Ethnic:** Membership in a religious, racial, national or cultural group.

**Race:** A group of people classified together on the basis of common history of nationality, or geographic distribution.

### **Source:**

Soukhanoo, Anne H., Editor. Houghton Mifflin College Dictionary, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

## MARYLAND/BALTIMORE TIMELINE

### IMPORTANT AFRICAN AMERICAN PEOPLE AND EVENTS

- 1634 John Price and Matthias Sousa made the voyage from England on the Ark and Dove to St. Mary's County, Maryland.
- Many Africans were brought into Maryland for the purpose of enslavement.
- 1640-1699 Punitive slave laws applying to both indentured servants and slaves were enacted in Maryland.
- 1663 Maryland settlers passed a law stipulating that all Africans brought into Maryland were to be given the status of slaves.
- 1698-1707 Seventeen ships owned by the London companies brought 2,290 Africans into Maryland.
- 1731 Benjamin Banneker, mathematician, naturalist, astronomer, inventor, poet, writer, surveyor, and social critic was born in Maryland. Helped to plan our nation's capitol, Washington, D. C.
- 1767 Kunta Kinte, an African descendant of Alex Haley, author of Roots, was brought to the dock in Annapolis for the purpose of enslavement.
- 1783 The Maryland General Assembly prohibited the importation of Africans for the purpose of enslavement.
- 1789 Josiah Henson, escaped from enslavement and became a well known preacher and author. He was said to be the model for Uncle Tom in Uncle Tom's Cabin.
- 1805 Free African Americans had to have a license to sell wheat, corn, and tobacco.
- 1807 Ira Aldridge, carpenter and Shakespearean actor was born in Bel Air, Maryland.
- 1812 Daniel Coker directed an African school in Baltimore. He started with 17 students and had 150 students by 1820.
- 1817 Frederick Douglass was born in Tuckahoe, Maryland.
- 1820 Harriet Tubman was born in Buckstown, Maryland.
- 1820 William Lively, was director of the Sharp Street School in Baltimore which he later renamed Union Seminary. He introduced a liberal arts curriculum including English, French, and Latin.



- 1824 William Levington founded St. James Church in Baltimore.
- 1825 Frances Watkins Harper, one of the best known antislavery poets during the antebellum period, was born in Baltimore.
- 1830 Hezekiah Grice organized the Equal Rights League in Baltimore.
- 1834 Henry Blair, invented the corn planter.
- 1835 Isaac Myers, businessman, shipbuilder, and founder of the Chesapeake Bay Marine Drydock Company.
- 1864 Enslavement ended in Maryland.
- 1866 Matthew Henson, arctic explorer, was born in Charles County.
- 1867 Morgan State University was founded. Originally called Centenary Biblical Institute, later named Morgan State College.
- 1883 Eubie Blake, entertainer, was born in Baltimore. Along with Noble Sissle he created musical comedies, such as Shuffle Along, which dominated the Broadway scene.
- 1890 Harry S. Cummings was elected to the Baltimore City Council as the first African American elected official in the state of Maryland.
- 1892 Highland Beach, an African American resort, was founded by Charles Douglass, son of Frederick Douglass.
- 1892 Baltimore Afro American Newspaper was founded by John H. Murphy.
- 1894 Dr. John Marcus Cargill and Dr. William T. Carr established Provident Hospital on Orchard Street in Baltimore.
- 1896 Herbert Frisby, an arctic and polar explorer, was born
- 1900 Coppin State College was established. It was formerly called Coppin Normal School and was operated by Baltimore City, in order to train African American teachers for its school system.
- 1896 Dr. John Marcus Cargill, physician and member of the City Council, introduced an ordinance calling for the gradual replacement of white teachers by African Americans in all African American schools.

- 1903 Countee Cullen, poet, was born in Baltimore, Maryland. He wrote several volumes of poetry including *Color* (1925) *Copper Sun* (1927) and *the Ballad of the Brown Girl* (1927). He received the Witter Bynner Poetry Award in 1925.
- 1908 Thurgood Marshall was born in Baltimore, Maryland; became first African American appointed to United States Supreme Court.
- 1913 Juanita Jackson Mitchell, was born in Maryland; became the first African American woman to receive a law degree from University of Maryland School of Law.
- 1915 Billie Holliday, blues singer, was born in Baltimore, Maryland. During the 1930's, she appeared as a vocalist with such bands as Artie Shaw, Count Basie, and Paul Whiteman. She became known as "Lady Day" a name given to her by Lester Young a saxophonist with Count Basie. Several of her records have become classics in the field of blues including "God Bless the Child."
- 1920 T. Wallis Lansey founded the Ideal Building and Loan Association, encouraging African American home ownership.
- 1937 Violet Hill Whyte became the first African American police officer on the Baltimore Police Force.
- 1951 Henry Parks founded the Parks Sausage Company in Baltimore.
- 1954 Harry A. Cole, Emory E. Cole, and Truely Hatchett became the first African Americans elected to the General Assembly.
- 1961 Clifton Wharton, Sr., from Maryland, became the first African American ambassador for the United States. He was Ambassador of Norway.
- 1962 Senator Verda F. Welcome became the first African American woman to serve in a state senate in the United States. She was first elected to the Maryland House of Delegates in 1958, and in 1962 was elected to the senate. She served 20 years.
- 1966 George Russell became the first African American appointed to the Supreme Bench of Baltimore.
- 1966 Dr. Samuel Massie was appointed as the first African American professor at the U. S. Naval Academy.
- 1967 Thurgood Marshall was appointed to the Supreme Court.
- 1967 Victorine Q. Adams became the first African American woman elected to the Baltimore City Council.

- 1970 Milton B. Allen was elected the first African American States Attorney for Baltimore.
- 1970 Parren J. Mitchell was elected the first African American to serve in Congress from Maryland.
- 1970 Charles T. Burns opened his first Super Pride Food Store.
- 1970 Louis Harper became the first African American captain of the Baltimore City Fire Department.
- 1972 Roland Patterson became the first African American superintendent of Baltimore City Public Schools.
- 1979 Dorothy Brunson became the first African American woman in the United States to own a radio broadcasting station.
- 1979 Lucille Clifton became the first African American woman to be named as Poet Laureate of Maryland.
- 1979 Joseph C. Howard became the first African American judge for the state of Maryland.
- 1981 Mabel Houze Hubbard became the first African American woman judge for the District Court of Maryland in Baltimore City.
- 1984 Bishop Robinson appointed first African American Commissioner of Baltimore City Police Department.
- 1986 Clarence "Du" Burns became the first African American Mayor of Baltimore.
- 1987 Kurt L. Schmoke was elected the first African American Mayor of Baltimore.
- 1987 Dr. Benjamin Carson, neurosurgeon, led the team of specialists in successfully separating the Binder siamese twins. The operation lasted more than 20 hours and gained worldwide recognition.
- 1988 Frank Robinson, became the first African American manager of Baltimore Orioles Baseball Organization.
- 1989 Edward Wood appointed commissioner of Baltimore City Police Department.
- 1991 Kurt L. Schmoke re-elected Mayor of Baltimore City.
- 1992 Vera P. Hall was elected first African American woman to serve as chairperson of the Maryland Democratic Committee.

1992 Dr. Sidney O. Burnett, Jr. became the first African American president of the Maryland State Dental Association. This 110 years old organization refused Dr. Burnett membership until the late 1950's, after he applied for admission several times. He was also the first African American to serve on the State Board of Dental Examiners.

1992 Kweisi Mfume, African American Congressman from Maryland to become chairman of the Black Caucus in United States Congress.

Adapted from: Three Hundred and Fifty Years: A Chronology of the Afro American In Maryland. by Roland C. McConnell. Updated by curriculum writers.

**Appendix D: Outline of In-Service Course**

[Written Submission from Dr. Russell L. Adams, Chair,  
Afro-American Studies Department, Howard University]

## **Black Experience and Culture: History, Sociology and Psychology**

This course is designed to help teachers and other professional personnel gain knowledge and skill in intergroup, interpersonal and classroom relations and behavior. The course consists of three major subdivisions: 1) historical (five sessions); 2) sociological (four sessions); and 3) psychological (six sessions).

### **A. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Session #1: Course Overview: Objectives, Methods and  
Materials

Session #2: Black History: Perspectives, Principles and  
Problems

Session #3: Using History to Understand the Present

Session #4: Black and White Educational History in  
America

Session #5: Identifying Black Contributions: Perspectives  
and Examples

### **B. SOCIOLOGY AND RACE RELATIONS**

Session #6: Racism: History, Mythology and Science

Session #7: Analytical Approaches to the Study of Race

Session #8: Racism and the Foundations of American  
Democracy

Session #9: Race Relations: Group Dynamics and  
Behaviors

C. SOCIALIZATION AND HUMAN INTERACTION: THE RACIAL  
DIMENSION

Session #10: Black Family Development: A Comparative  
Perspective

Session #11: Race Awareness in Children: Dynamics and  
Behaviors

Session #12: Guidance and Counseling in Integrated  
Settings

Session #13 Teachers and the Integrated Classroom:  
Experience, Examples

Session #14 Integrating Cognitive Content and Classroom  
Experience

Session # 15: Course Review and Assessment

Appendix E: Report with Recommendations to  
the Governor and General Assembly (1927),  
Maryland Interracial Commission



RECORDS  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

2-4-8-42

**REPORT**  
**WITH RECOMMENDATIONS**  
**OF**  
**The Maryland Inter-Racial**  
**Commission**  
**TO THE**  
**Governor and General Assembly**  
**of Maryland**

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1927

**JOINT RESOLUTION**  
**GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1924**

No. 8

Authorizing and directing the Governor of Maryland to appoint a commission of twenty-one persons to consider legislation concerning the welfare of colored people residing in the State of Maryland, and requiring said commission to report to the Governor and General Assembly in 1927.

WHEREAS, A petition signed by numerous colored citizens of Maryland has been filed with the Governor and members of the General Assembly requesting that a committee of white and colored citizens be appointed to consider questions of housing, improvement of farm life, educational betterment, the administration of the Cheltenham institution, general health, representation on police force, transportation regulations and other matters relative to colored citizens of Maryland, and to make such recommendations as such commission may feel justified for the good of all, therefore be it,

RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, That the Governor of Maryland be and he is hereby authorized to appoint a commission of twenty-one citizens, with representatives of both the white and colored race on said commission, and the said commission shall consider legislation concerning the welfare of colored people residing in the State of Maryland and report with recommendations concerning such legislation to the Governor and to the General Assembly in 1927.

Honorable Albert C. Ritchie,  
Governor of Maryland,  
Annapolis.

Honorable and Dear Sir:

The Inter-Racial Commission appointed by your Excellency has been duly organized for the purpose set forth in Joint Resolution No. 8 adopted by the Legislature of Maryland authorizing the appointment of the Commission.

The Commission organized by creating five divisions for the study of inter-racial conditions. These divisions are used as a basis in our report, and are as follows:

1. Education, Public and Private.
2. Health, Housing and Sanitation.
3. Public Service and Legal Status.
4. Industry and Economic Life.
5. Public Welfare, Charitable and Penal Institutions.

The Negro population is approximately 1/7 or 14% of the total population of the State. The welfare of these Negro citizens is so interwoven with the general problems of the State that it is not an easy task to recommend specific remedies. The Negro farmer, laborer, family servant, as well as the teacher, preacher, doctor and tradesman, ask only the same chance as his white neighbor,—an opportunity to make a living and to enjoy his home and the fruits of his labor in peace and quiet. The Negro's worst enemy, as with others, is ignorance and its train of evils, among which are vice and crime. Just in proportion as these people can be educated into self-respect and higher ideals will the excessive crime and death ratio decline and the State's cost of courts and jails be proportionately reduced. Repressive measures only aggravate. Penitentiaries do not cure. Knowledge of the laws of health, of the rewards of good morals, of the fruits of right living make for better citizenship in the Negro as with others. While the Negro race must be left to evolve from within, it

must not be forgotten that the transition from a state of slavery to responsible citizenship has been a wonderful achievement such as no other race has ever made in so short a time. We believe that the Legislature can make no mistake in taking a generous attitude toward the colored people.

This conclusion is borne out by the fact that a number of our sister States, particularly North Carolina, have obtained good results in inter-racial relations through state boards of charity and public welfare.

The Secretary of this Commission has devoted some months to organizing the work and to a limited amount of travel and observation. It was necessary to solicit funds to meet expenses and the names of patrons and amounts contributed are listed.

If an inter-racial organization is authorized to serve in community work all over the State, we believe the investment will be a highly profitable one.

The recommendations accompanying this report are made in full faith and confidence that the Governor of the State and the Legislature, both representing all the people, will unite in securing justice and fair play by which the prosperity of the whole State will be greatly advanced.

Respectfully,

MARYLAND INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION,

JOHN O. SPENCER, Chairman,  
THOMAS J. CALLOWAY, Secretary,  
CHARLES W. HEUISLER, Treasurer,

GEORGE F. BRAGG,  
RICHARD F. CARY,  
CHARLES M. COHN,  
MRS. ALICE B. VAN DOREN,  
WILLIAM L. FITZGERALD,  
RALPH P. GILMORE,  
TRULY HATCHETT,  
MRS. GEO. VAN HOLLEN,  
MRS. ANNA L. MCMECHEN,

ALBERT J. MITCHELL,  
CARL MURPHY,  
HARRY E. PARKHURST,  
GEORGE C. PEVERLEY,  
H. M. ST. CLAIR,  
BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ,  
MORRIS A. SOPER,  
JOHN J. STUMP,  
ALBERT G. TOWERS.

I.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The growth of Negro public schools in recent years has been remarkable. We congratulate the Department of Education on this fact and hope that any inequalities and discriminations throughout the State may be rapidly and thoroughly corrected.

A revised schedule of salaries for Negro teachers should be adopted. The following is quoted from the School Bulletin of the Department of Education:

Minimum Salary Schedule

WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Grade of Certificate	Years of Experience			
	1-3	4-5	6-8	9+
Third .....	\$ 600	\$ 650		
Second .....	750	800	\$ 850	
First .....	950	1,050	1,100	\$1,150
First in charge of one or two-room school .....	1,050	1,150	1,200	1,250
Principal with two assistants.....	1,150	1,250	1,300	1,350
Principal with five assistants and 200 in average attendance.....	1,350	1,450	1,500	1,550
Principal with nine assistants and \$60 in average attendance.....	1,550	1,650	1,700	1,750

Provisional (emergency) teachers and principals receive \$100 to \$200 less than the foregoing schedule. Increments with service are compulsory for first class teachers only.

WHITE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

Position	Years of Experience				
	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8+
Regular assistant .....	\$1,150	\$1,200	\$1,250	\$1,300	\$1,350
Principal, third group school...	1,250	1,300	1,350	1,400	1,450
Principal, second group school.	1,350	1,400	1,450	1,500	1,550
Principal, first group school....	1,550	1,650	1,750	1,850	1,950
Principal, first group school, five assistants and 100 in attendance .....	1,750	1,850	1,950	2,050	2,150

Principal, first group school, nine assistants and 200 in attendance . . . . .	1,950	2,050	2,150	2,250	2,350
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Provisional (emergency) principals and teachers receive \$200 less than the foregoing schedule. Increments with service are compulsory for first class teachers only.

COLORED TEACHERS, PER MONTH, MINIMUM OF 8 MONTHS.

Position	Years of Experience			
	1-3	4-5	6-8	9+
Elementary school teacher holding certificate of third grade . . . . .	\$40	\$45		
Second grade . . . . .	50	55	\$60	
First grade . . . . .	65	70	75	\$85
High school assistant . . . . .	80	90	95	
Principal . . . . .	95	110	120	
Principal with five assistants and 100 in attendance . . . . .	105	120	130	

Provisional elementary school teachers receive \$5 less per month, and high school teachers \$10 less than regularly qualified teachers. Increments with service are compulsory for first class teachers only.

The Commission recommends the principle of equal pay, grade by grade, as shown by the standards of school classification and teachers certificates toward attaining this standard without regard to color. The State of Maryland should proceed promptly and vigorously in this matter. Well trained, efficient teachers with experience can hardly be secured or retained in any other way. It costs the colored teacher as much as one of any other group to secure an education and to live while teaching school. We request that the Board of Education, the Governor and the Legislature take this matter into immediate consideration.

There are now 18 high schools of various grades for Negroes in the State. Less than 10 years ago there was but one and that in the City of Baltimore. With the increase in school facilities has also come an increase in attendance and an advance in the grade of certificates held by teachers.

The State Normal School at Bowie has been established

under the State Department of Education for training the county teachers of Negro youth. The enrollment of the normal department has increased since 1923 from 10 to 77 students. In the same period the value of the plant has increased from \$77,000 to \$179,000. School equipment has greatly improved through the construction of an administration building and boys' dormitory recently completed. In order to maintain the progress of this school it is necessary to have other facilities and efficient teachers. The Legislature will make a wise use of public funds if it gradually grants more money to this worthy institution.

In some parts of the counties the colored pupils are very widely scattered and their homes are very far from school buildings, which necessitates that some provision be made for the transportation of such pupils in order that they may secure the advantages of the public schools.

There should be an assistant supervisor, colored, for the Negro schools of the State. The high schools and the special courses require additional supervision. This is no reflection whatever on the able services of Prof. J. Walter Huffington, the present supervisor of colored schools. Indeed, we are informed, Professor Huffington would welcome the appointment of an assistant.

#### RECOMMENDATION No. 1

*That the school code be amended to provide that the minimum salaries of colored teachers and supervisors be the same as the minimum salaries of other teachers in the public schools of the State.*

## PRIVATE SCHOOLS

There are few private schools for the Negroes of Maryland. In scholastic and industrial lines there is Princess Anne Academy in Somerset County, affiliated with the University of Maryland and doing good work. The Cardinal Gibbons Institute, recently established at Ridge, St. Mary's County, is doing excellent work of an industrial, agricultural and high-school character. Both of these schools exert inestimable influence on the people of their respective sections.

The School Code of Maryland requires<sup>2</sup> that the school authorities employ teachers with college training for the high schools of the State. The 18 high schools already established, and others to be established, must be conducted according to this wise and helpful law. How are the candidates for these high school positions, and other positions requiring thorough advanced training, to be provided?

It has been, and still is, the educational policy of the State to aid private schools and colleges because the service of the graduates of these schools is valuable to the public, especially to the public schools. The colored population of the State is nearly 250,000, about 1/7 or 14% of the total population. The State-aided schools, omitting charitable and penal institutions, receive: 12 white schools, \$251,000 per year; 1 colored school (Morgan College), \$7,000 per year. Princess Anne Academy is a branch of the University of Maryland. One-seventh of the population receives one-thirty-seventh of the State Aid Fund. We do not ask even a proportionate share of the State Fund, based on population, but we do ask that the manifest needs of the colored people be met on a basis of these needs and of equity.

Private philanthropy has largely maintained Morgan College for the higher education of the Negroes of Maryland. The public-spirited citizens who have contributed from year to year to the support of this college have a right to feel that



the State should assume a larger share of the cost than the \$7,000 now given. Graduates of Morgan College are serving as teachers, farmers and in other vocations in the State. Without these teachers it would be fairly impossible to maintain a staff for public school instruction. Negroes need science and that standard of character resulting from systematic study. Morgan College is doing this work, and if a fair share of the cost is met by the State, private philanthropy will be encouraged to give further support.

#### RECOMMENDATION No. 2

*That appropriations to aid Morgan College, the only school in Maryland preparing colored teachers for the secondary schools of the State, be as liberal as possible.*

## II.

**HEALTH, HOUSING AND SANITATION**

These subjects are very closely allied and are of universal interest and of common importance to all regardless of race.

The Negroes of the State show an alarmingly high death rate in certain localities. There are several causes for this: heavy and hazardous employment; unsanitary houses and surroundings; over-crowding, caused by high rent; inadequate hospital accommodations and the high cost of hospital treatment and nursing. Sometimes the patient has an unreasonable fear of hospitals, causing refusal of hospital treatment until it is too late. This Commission recommends the increase of hospital facilities both in the City of Baltimore and other parts of the State. The loss of the State in labor alone through preventive disease is altogether too great.

There is no preventorium for colored children who may be exposed to a tubercular environment. Much can be done to save the children and families where tuberculosis exists if there were a proper preventorium to segregate the children for a time. There are at present practically no maternity wards for colored women. Efforts now being made toward securing hospital facilities for the City and State should have every encouragement.

Adequate sanitary housing is so closely tied up with industrial opportunity and wages as to be practically determined by these factors. As a general rule people will live in as good homes as they can afford to buy or rent. Where the demand for a very large number of very cheap houses exists, the tendency is to poorer and poorer accommodations and relatively larger and larger profits to the owner. The largest possible use should be made of Negro physicians and nurses and racial co-operation through them with health and sanitary boards by actual membership where possible on such boards, and at all events the creation of advisory bodies of interested colored workers.

**RECOMMENDATION No. 3**

*That plans proposed for providing increased hospital accommodations for the colored people of the State be favorably considered.*

## III.

## PUBLIC SERVICE

In 1904 the Legislature enacted a law to require railways to provide separate passenger cars for white and colored passengers upon all lines of traffic in the State. However, the Court of Appeals subsequently held that the law could not be enforced as to *interstate* passengers, (who constitute probably 90% of the passenger traffic of the State), leaving the terms of the Act to apply only to those passengers traveling from and to points within the State.

The effect of the construction of the law by the Court of Appeals has been to release those railroads having the longer haul passengers from the necessity of providing the extra equipment for separate accommodations, and to impose the burden and extra cost of rolling stock and employees upon those railroads wholly within the State, some of which have only a few miles of trackage with very irregular traffic.

If John Jones, a Negro from Virginia, or from the South, travels to Baltimore or to other points within or north of Maryland, he travels without segregation. On the other hand, if William Smith, a progressive, productive Negro citizen of Maryland, wishes to travel to Baltimore or to other points within the State, where he pays taxes and produces some part of the wealth of the State, he is forced under the Act of 1904 to suffer whatever inconvenience that Act imposes. If any restrictions were necessary they should not be limited to our own citizens who till our farm lands, perform the industrial and domestic labor, and respond to every need of the commonwealth to the full extent of their ability.

The Act of 1904 prescribed *equal* but separate accommodations for the two races. It is well known that it has been impossible for the railroads to carry out this provision as to equal accommodation. Railroad equipment must depend upon the amount of traffic and no railroad could operate its lines by doubling equipment absolutely necessary. We have all seen railways hauling two passenger coaches with not enough passengers in both of them to properly fill one coach.

Under the separate coach law city travel is not affected. Managers of city railway lines have been able to convince the Legislature that such restrictions as provided under the Act of 1904 would be intolerable, greatly increasing costs and causing annoyance to white and colored passengers. Citizens of the counties can well afford to profit by the experience of the city. In these days of the rapid abandonment of farm lands, with the resultant loss in their products, common sense would seem to justify the removal of causes of friction and misunderstanding. The cities have found it pays to be democratic. Under all natural laws it would seem that the open country should be even *more democratic* than city life.

Notwithstanding the race alarmists who have appeared from time to time, the history of Maryland shows no period when the Negroes have been a menace to the peace and welfare of the State. They have shown gratitude for benefits received without revenge for wrongs suffered. If the Legislature of 1904 was moved to enact a Separate Coach law for reasons that seemed to justify the Act, it is clear that our public schools, the effect of good roads, and the general progress of the colored people have removed any causes that could be advanced as excuses for retaining this law.

#### RECOMMENDATION No. 4

*That the Act of 1904, and any other Acts relative thereto prescribing regulations for the separation of white and colored passengers on public carriers be repealed and the authority to regulate such travel be placed with the Public Service Commission.*

## IV.

## INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

In this, even less than in the matter of legal status can we expect direct legislative action. Yet it must be emphatically said that lack of industrial and economic opportunities are at the root of many racial and inter-racial difficulties. So long as any group is engaged in those occupations paying the least wages, it inevitably follows that housing, health and liberal education must be neglected. The increasing cost of these facilities can only be met by opening industrial opportunities to all.

Many men and women, otherwise competent, are shut out from the more skilled industries by lack of training for which they are not responsible. They must accept such wages as they may secure in the least skilled industries. There are numerous branches of skilled industries which should be opened to colored youth. We recommend that instruction be given in applied science and the mechanical arts for the particular purpose of training men and women in the sciences as related to industry.

## RECOMMENDATION No. 5

*That provision be made for facilities for Negro youth to fit themselves by scientific study for increased usefulness in mechanic arts and in scientific industries generally.*

## V.

**PUBLIC WELFARE, CHARITABLE AND PENAL  
INSTITUTIONS**

The House of Reformation at Cheltenham, Prince George's County, has 1,200 acres of fine farmland, more than one-half of which is in timber, and about 500 acres under cultivation. A splendid group of buildings has been erected and approximately 300 boys are committed to the institution. To maintain the institution, \$47,000 is received from the State and Baltimore City.

One hundred and fifty dollars per capita, per year, seems to be insufficient to provide for the housing and feeding of these boys and their education and training. This financial problem has forced the management to resort to measures that have not been in the best interests of the boys. These measures are:

What is known as "paroled to service" is the apprenticing of boys from this institution in private homes until they are twenty-one years of age, with no definite requirements for any education whatever. If the private family is willing to keep him, the boy is held to the service until his majority. This has probably furnished splendid home-training in some cases, but the danger is that boys who could best afford to leave the institution will be retained until they are grown because of their satisfactory service. It appears that when once apprenticed, the boy cannot shorten his term of service.

The worst feature of this institution is that of hiring boys to contractors, a practice that has grown up, we are told, since the world war. Under this practice, contractors pay the institution 60 cents a day for the boys, who leave the institution on Monday morning, in most cases, and do not return until Saturday night. They are thus removed entirely from

the supervision of the officers. Discipline is out of the question. From this source the institution derives about \$10,000 per year.

The House of Refuge, for white boys, has been converted into the Maryland Training School for Boys. It would appear that the experience of that institution would be a sufficient guide for the problem at Cheltenham.

#### RECOMMENDATION No. 6

*That the House of Reformation at Cheltenham be converted into a State Training School for Colored Boys and that the educational features be placed under the State Department of Education. If the Board of Control of this institution will not consent to the proposed change of Charter, all grants from the State of Maryland and from the City of Baltimore be withdrawn and a State institution be organized.*

**SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM**

It will be observed from this report that the Commission finds comparatively little to recommend in general legislation. The equalization of teachers' salaries and the transfer of separate coach regulation to the Public Service Commission are highly important and deserve definite action. The other recommendations will also receive, we are sure, such consideration as they deserve.

But the strongest need of the colored people is an administrative agency that can co-operate with the communities in providing community programs. Scattered in towns, villages and farm settlements in practically all sections of Maryland, separated from most of the community activities of their white neighbors, Negroes suffer from an isolation that is serious. It has been found in some sister States, particularly in North Carolina and Kentucky, that a permanent inter-racial commission, co-operating with local community leagues, parent-teacher associations, etc., has revolutionized the life of whole communities by providing a sane leadership in directions that are useful.

**RECOMMENDATION No. 7**

*That a permanent Inter-Racial Commission, composed of white and colored men and women should be created. This Commission should have a modest appropriation to be used as follows:*

1. *To employ a thoroughly trained executive to give his whole time to the study of these problems and to co-operate with Boards and other organizations of the State now in existence for improvement of racial and inter-racial matters.*
2. *For the employment of at least one office assistant.*
3. *For traveling expenses.*
4. *For publicity for the enterprises undertaken, and for other expenses of the Commission.*



**REPORT OF THE SECRETARY**

The Maryland Inter-Racial Commission met for organization in the office of the Governor of Maryland, February 25, 1925, in response to the following call:

Executive Department,  
Annapolis, Maryland,  
February 15, 1925.

"I am asking the members of the Inter-Racial Commission to hold their first meeting in my Baltimore office, 603 Union Trust Building, Wednesday afternoon at 3.30 o'clock. I hope that you will be able to come at that time."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) ALBERT C. RITCHIE, Governor.

Governor Ritchie made a short address in which he suggested to the Commission to select a chairman and secretary, that the Commission subdivide its work into sections as to which special committees be assigned, and that the Commission arrange for its place of future meetings.

The Commission was organized by electing Dr. John O. Spencer, Chairman; Judge Charles W. Heuisler, Treasurer, and Thomas J. Calloway, Secretary. Dr. Spencer, Mr. Parkhurst and Mr. Calloway were elected a finance committee following a statement from Governor Ritchie that there were no public funds available for expenses of the Commission.

Subsequent meetings and conferences were held from time to time. Committees were assigned by Dr. Spencer, Chairman, as follows:

*Education: Public and Private*—Judge Morris A. Soper, Chairman; Rev. Albert J. Mitchell, Secretary; Mrs. George H. Van Hollen, Mr. Truly Hatchett, Mr. Ralph P. Gilmore.

*Health, Housing and Sanitation*—Mr. Harry E. Parkhurst, Chairman; Mrs. Anna L. McMechen, Secretary; Mr. Albert G. Towers, Mr. H. M. St. Clair, Rev. A. J. Mitchell.

*Public Service and Legal Status*—Judge Charles W. Heuissler, Chairman; Mr. Carl Murphy, Secretary; Mr. John J. Stump, Mr. H. M. St. Clair, Mr. William L. Fitzgerald.

*Charitable and Penal Institutions*—Mr. Benjamin Schwartz, Chairman; Rev. George F. Bragg, Secretary; Mr. George C. Peverley, Mr. Charles M. Cohn, Mrs. Anna L. McMechen.

*Industrial and Economic Life*—Mr. Richard L. Cary, Chairman; Mr. William L. Fitzgerald, Secretary; Mrs. Theodore Van Doren, Mr. Carl Murphy, Mr. Truly Hatchett.

The Chairman of the Commission and the Secretary were designated as ex-officio members of all the committees.

On February 18th, the Secretary was authorized to open an office, to employ a stenographer, and to devote his entire time to the work of the Commission. An office was opened at 14 E. Pleasant Street with Mrs. Waltye Murphy as stenographer. From February 18th to May 18th, and from September 15th, the work of the Commission was carried on vigorously. Among other things, a very successful public meeting was held in the Douglas High School, Baltimore, at which a notable address was made by Dr. Royal S. Copeland, United States Senator from New York.

A limited amount of travel has been done, including Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. The following institutions have been visited and their reports studied:

The Maryland State Penitentiary, Baltimore.  
House of Correction, Jessups.  
House of Reformation, Cheltenham.  
Tuberculosis Hospital, Henryton.  
Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Melvale.

Maryland Home for Friendless Colored Children, Catonsville.

Maryland Training School for White Boys, Loch Raven.

House of Good Shepherd, Baltimore.

Princess Anne Academy, Princess Anne.

State Normal School, Bowie.

Cardinal Gibbons Institute, Ridge.

Morgan College, Baltimore.

Maryland School for Blind, Overlea.

The Commission has been able to function because of the fine spirit of the citizens who have contributed as follows:

Judge Morris A. Soper.....	\$100.00	Henry S. Wilcox.....	10.00
Senator O. E. Weller.....	100.00	William T. Carter.....	10.00
Md. State Colored Teachers		Edward O. Wilson.....	10.00
Ass'n. ....	40.00	Rev. Albert J. Mitchell.....	10.00
Governor A. C. Ritchie.....	25.00	Richard L. Cary.....	10.00
Dr. J. O. Spencer.....	25.00	Senator Lawrence B. Towers.	6.00
Mrs. St. George Barber.....	25.00	Rev. George F. Bragg.....	5.00
Judge John C. Rose.....	25.00	Hon. F. E. Mattingly.....	5.00
Charles O. Scull.....	25.00	Henry G. Hilken.....	5.00
William H. Matthal.....	25.00	Leon E. Greenbaum.....	5.00
Waldo Newcomer.....	25.00	Leonard L. Greif.....	5.00
Charles McH. Howard.....	25.00	Senator Daniel B. Chambers.	5.00
Senator Wm. C. Bruce.....	25.00	Senator Harry O. Levin....	5.00
A. E. Duncan.....	25.00	James H. Carter.....	5.00
Hochschild, Kohn & Co.....	25.00	Mrs. M. Louise Smith.....	5.00
Edgar G. Miller, Jr.....	25.00	Rev. Arthur J. Payne.....	5.00
George G. Buck.....	25.00	Mrs. J. J. Kahler.....	5.00
Thomas J. Calloway.....	25.00	Webster Bell.....	5.00
Harry E. Parkhurst.....	25.00	Charles T. Bagby.....	5.00
Thomas R. Smith.....	25.00	Howard Baetjer.....	5.00
Afro-American (Carl Mur-		Mrs. Florence Carter.....	5.00
phy) .....	25.00	Marse Callaway.....	5.00
William L. Fitzgerald.....	10.00	Elmer M. Beard.....	5.00
Mrs. Anna L. McMechen.....	10.00	Randolph Barton.....	5.00
George Weems Williams....	10.00	Geo. W. F. McMechen.....	2.00
Truly Hatchett.....	10.00	Mrs. Octavia Washington....	2.00
Eugene Levering.....	10.00	Hon. W. Scott Corbett.....	2.00
Hon. T. Allen Goldsborough.	10.00	Robert W. Coleman.....	1.00
Solomon DeCoursey.....	10.00	Senator L. G. Sasser.....	1.00
Senator Walter J. Mitchell..	10.00	Dr. J. G. McRae.....	1.00

Dr. J. B. Consey.....	1.00	Lee M. Cordell.....	1.00
Dr. and Mrs. J. B. Mason....	1.00	Mrs. Amelia Muller.....	1.00
James D. Short .....	1.00	Hawthorne Smith.....	1.00
Rev. Julius S. Carroll.....	1.00	C. L. Davis.....	1.00
W. Wallace.....	1.00	Mrs. Carrie M. Smith.....	1.00
Professor T. I. Brown.....	1.00	Mrs. Edna Rideout.....	1.00
R. J. Cross.....	1.00	William Johnson.....	1.00
George B. Murphy.....	1.00	Roy S. Bond.....	1.00
M. T. Webb.....	1.00	R. Adkins.....	1.00
H. Grafton Browne.....	1.00	Mr. and Mrs. George Lottier	1.00
Charles Tolson.....	1.00	Roland Hill.....	1.00
William T. Griggs.....	1.00	Guy W. Smith.....	1.00
Mrs. William T. Griggs.....	1.00	Carl E. Watts.....	1.00
Joseph H. Briscoe.....	1.00	Miscellaneous Petty Contribu-	
W. Emmett Coleman.....	1.00	tions .....	20.82
Mrs. Florence Ray.....	1.00		
Miss Frances Murphy.....	1.00	Total contributions, 12-20-26	\$950.82

## EXPENSES

Rent .....	\$ 90.00	
Printing .....	110.00	
Stationery .....	26.80	
Typewriter .....	66.25	
Sign .....	3.50	
Stamps .....	54.08	
Secretary .....	275.00	
Telephone .....	24.72	
Stenographer's Salary .....	150.00	
Mimeographing.....	3.20	
Janitor .....	6.00	
Travel .....	91.75	
		901.30
Total Contributions .....		\$ 950.82
Total Expense .....		901.30
Balance in Bank 12-17-26.....		\$ 49.52

**MEMBERS OF  
THE MARYLAND INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION****WHITE.**

- RICHARD L. CARY**, Editorial Staff of The Baltimore Sun.
- CHARLES M. COHN**, Vice-President Consolidated Gas and Electric Company, Baltimore.
- MRS. ALICE B. VAN DOREN**, Resident of Hyattsville, Prince George's County.
- RALPH P. GILMORE**, of Jones-Gilmore Lumber Company, Baltimore.
- CHARLES W. HEUISLER**, Retired Judge of Supreme Bench of Baltimore.
- MRS. GEORGE H. VAN HOLLEN**, Resident of Baltimore City.
- HARRY E. PARKHURST**, Lawyer, Baltimore.
- GEORGE C. PEVERLEY**, Delegate from St. Mary's County to General Assembly.
- BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ**, Editor Jewish Times, Baltimore.
- MORRIS A. SOPER**, Judge United States District Court, Baltimore.
- JOHN O. SPENCER**, President Morgan College, Baltimore.
- JOHN J. STUMP**, Insurance Manager, Cumberland.
- ALBERT G. TOWERS**, President Title Guarantee & Trust Co., Baltimore.

**COLORED.**

- REV. GEORGE F. BRAGG**, Rector St. James Episcopal Church, Baltimore.
- THOMAS J. CALLOWAY**, Land Development, Lincoln, Glendale, Prince George's County.
- WILLIAM L. FITZGERALD**, Lawyer, Baltimore; formerly Member of City Council.
- TRULY HATCHETT**, Real Estate Agent, Baltimore.
- MRS. ANNA L. McMECHEN**, Social Worker, Baltimore.
- REV. ALBERT J. MITCHELL**, Field Representative Methodist Episcopal Church.
- CARL MURPHY**, Editor Afro-American, Baltimore.
- H. M. ST. CLAIR**, Merchant, Cambridge, Dorchester County.

Appendix F: Joint Resolution of the House of  
Delegates (June 12, 1989): Commemoration  
of African American Middle Passage and  
Slavery

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 12

9lr2561

P6

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By: Delegates Rawlings, Anderson, Boston, Cummings, Currie, Davis, Dixon, Douglass, Exum, Fulton, Harrison, Howard, Hughes, Jefferies, Jones, Kirk, Lawlah, Miller, Montague, M. Murphy, and Woods

Introduced and read first time: February 3, 1989

Assigned to: Constitutional and Administrative Law

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Committee Report: Favorable

House action: Adopted

Read second time: March 21, 1989

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RESOLUTION NO. \_\_\_\_\_

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION

1 A House Joint Resolution concerning

2 **Commemoration of African American Middle Passage and Slavery**

3 **FOR** the purpose of requesting that the President and the Congress of the United States  
4 establish a national commission to propose an appropriate commemorative  
5 monument in recognition of African American Middle Passage and Slavery and the  
6 contributions of those who survived American slavery.

7 **WHEREAS**, Millions of Africans were forcibly removed from Africa between the  
8 15th and 19th centuries, under unparalleled suffering and death, as a means of economic  
9 enhancement and amelioration of the lives of Europeans and Americans; and

10 **WHEREAS**, The middle passage represented an underappreciated chapter in  
11 America's history whereby African slaves were transported by European and American  
12 slave traders into the Americas; and

13 **WHEREAS**, 20% of the Africans enslaved perished either as a result of the trek from  
14 the place of captivity to the slave ships, or as a result of the hardships sustained during the  
15 middle passage across the Atlantic Ocean, or as a result of sufferings endured as slaves;  
16 and

17 **WHEREAS**, Slave labor enabled and provided the foundation for the commercial  
18 and industrial revolutions in Western societies, including the United States; and

19 **WHEREAS**, The devastating impact of the loss of life and destruction of family  
20 bonds and cultural heritage due to the slave trade pales in comparison to the many  
21 contributions that slaves and their descendants made to the economic development of the  
22 British colonies and subsequently to the United States of America; and

23 **WHEREAS**, African-Americans, the descendants of slaves, in spite of segregation

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**EXPLANATION: CAPITALS INDICATE MATTER ADDED TO EXISTING LAW.**

Underlining indicates amendments to bill.

~~Strike-out~~ indicates matter stricken by amendment.

## HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 12

1 and discrimination since the complete abolition of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment  
2 in 1865, have made substantial contributions to the nation; and

3 WHEREAS, All Americans of every race, color, creed, and ethnic or national origin,  
4 from whatever period of immigration to these shores, who share a common vision of the  
5 hopes and dreams of this nation, can relate to the trauma and hardship endured by the  
6 slaves; and

7 WHEREAS, The United States Congress and the President of the United States have  
8 the necessary powers to establish commissions to propose appropriate commemorative  
9 monuments; and

10 WHEREAS, No monument or memorial exists in our nation to honor and  
11 commemorate the unusual and towering example of the forebears of African-Americans  
12 who endured, despite the staggering loss of life; now, therefore, be it

13 RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, That the State of  
14 Maryland request the President and the Congress of the United States to take the  
15 necessary actions to create a national commission to propose an appropriate  
16 commemorative monument in recognition of African American Middle Passage and Slavery  
17 and of the contributions African American slaves who survived made to the economic  
18 development of America; and be it further

19 RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be forwarded by the Department of  
20 Legislative Reference to the Honorable George Bush, President of the United States, 1600  
21 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.; the Honorable J. Danforth Quayle, Vice  
22 President of the United States, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.; and the  
23 Honorable Jim Wright, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives,  
24 Washington, D.C.; and be it further

25 RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be forwarded by the Department of  
26 Legislative Reference to the Maryland Congressional Delegation: Senators Paul S.  
27 Sarbanes and Barbara A. Mikulski, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510; and  
28 Representatives Royden P. Dyson, Helen Delich Bentley, Benjamin L. Cardin, C. Thomas  
29 McMillen, Steny H. Hoyer, Beverly B. Byron, Kweisi Mfume, and Constance A. Morella,  
30 House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.



Appendix G: Annotated Bibliography  
Compiled Under the Auspices of the Task  
Force

## 1. Slavery and Abolition in Maryland

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One of the first major studies of slavery in Maryland.

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Provides rich, insights into the condition of slaves in colonial Maryland and Virginia.

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

A thorough account of slavery and freedom in 19th Century Maryland.

Foner, Philip S. Spring, 1971. "The First Negro Meeting in Maryland." Maryland Historical Magazine 66, 60-67.

Shows concern of Maryland's blacks over the issue of slavery and the citizenship rights of free blacks.

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Follows the abolitionist movement and its struggles in the State of Maryland.

Kilthy, William, Ed. 1799-1800. The Laws of Maryland. Annapolis, MD, Frederick Green, Printer for the State.

Presents laws in early Maryland that govern and regulate the lives of slaves and free people of color.

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Examines Maryland's role in the Atlantic slave trade, particularly in the building of slave trips.

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Discusses the struggle between abolitionists and slave holders in 18th century Maryland.

Lewis, Ronald C. 1979. *Coal, Iron and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865*. Westport; Greenwood Press.

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An account of the successful effort to recruit Maryland blacks  
into the Union Army.

Callcott, Margaret Law. 1969. The Negro in Maryland Politics 1870-  
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Wennerstein, John R. Winter, 1988. "A Cycle of Race Relations on Maryland's Eastern Shore: Somerset County, 1850-1917." Maryland Historical Magazine 80, 377-382.

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Jarrett, Deureux. 1806. The Life of the Reverend Dr. Jarratt,  
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Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Picken's autobiography citing his rise from the heir of slaves to a prominent Black civil rights leader and educator.

## **6. Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations**

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Discusses Maryland's turbulent struggle from slavery to freedom.

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Appendix H: "Introduction" of Imperfect  
Equality © by Dr. Richard P. Fuke

[Written Submission of Dr. Richard Paul Fuke, History Department,  
Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada]

On November 1, 1864, Governor Augustus W. Bradford proclaimed Maryland's new constitution which freed more than 87,000 slaves. This momentous event heralded months of confrontation and adjustment between blacks and whites and redefined race relations in the state for decades to come. As elsewhere in the south, this process presented both opportunities and obstacles. On the one hand, freed slaves and already-free blacks exercised new-found freedom, while on the other, the whites with whom they lived and worked did much to obstruct them. Some wished to see blacks win greater economic, civil and political rights; most others did not. Even the avowed friends of black progress debated how far they should challenge the assumptions behind Maryland's pre-emancipation race relations.<sup>1</sup>

For their part, black Marylanders sought to make the most of their freedom. Although those affected directly by the proclamation constituted only half of Maryland's black population, slavery had defined the lives of every black person in the state. After November 1, 1864, freed and already free people everywhere moved quickly to

escape its restrictions, asserting whatever autonomy they could over their working and personal lives. Thousands left their homes to reunite with families or to contract with employers of their choice. Others challenged apprenticeship laws which bound the labor of their children to white employers. Some rented land and a few acquired acres of their own. Many moved to Baltimore or Washington.

White opposition to black aspirations was equally forthright. The refusal of conservative Unionists and pro-southern Democrats to countenance anything for freed slaves beyond a strict reading of the 13th Amendment was immediate, vociferous, and hardly surprising.<sup>2</sup> Less predictable but equally important were "radical" Unionists and Republicans whose pro-northern reconstruction policies contained inner limitations which ultimately undermined the very people they were intended to help. As exponents of what Eric Foner has called the ideology of "free soil, free labor, and free men," Maryland radicals supported civil and political rights for black citizens and strove to provide them with the basic essentials--including education--of free and self-reliant labor. But few escaped the economic and racial assumptions of the time which limited the

assistance of even the most ardent supporters of expanded civil rights.<sup>3</sup>

Essentially, in an era wedded to the efficacy of self-help and laissez-faire, white radicals collaborated with conservatives--often unintentionally--to fashion a postwar society which left blacks very much to their own devices. For example, although determined to win them fair working conditions for remunerative wages, radicals nonetheless stopped well-short of the "forty acres and a mule" so ardently sought by a virtually landless black population. As much as they might applaud land ownership in principle, most radicals agreed that ex-slaves should begin their tutelage as free laborers under contract to fair employers. Only with such training and the accumulation of modest capital could they expect to acquire land and the responsibilities that went with it.<sup>4</sup>

Whether they liked it or not, the success of black Marylanders depended on this combination of white attitudes. When they could compel conservatives to recognize their priorities or when radicals lent their support, they found room to maneuver. When the former rejected their efforts and the latter refused to support them wholeheartedly, they did not. In the end, the newfound mobility of the

work force notwithstanding, rural employers dictated wages and the terms of sharecropping agreements. The United States Army and Freedmen's Bureau helped freed people find work at steady wages and to build schools. Radical politicians challenged Maryland's apprenticeship laws, fought for the repeal of discriminatory legislation, and supported universal manhood suffrage. But at the same time, both promoted contract labor, accepted wage levels defined by planters, rejected any notion of racial equality, and adhered generally to a mid-nineteenth century laissez-faire philosophy.

Combined, their own assertiveness, white conservatism, and radical constraint constituted the environment in which rural blacks sought to build a better world. At times, a reform dynamic emerged as their vision, in cooperation with that of white radicals, accomplished significant changes in state law and custom; at others, frustration and failure undermined their best efforts as conservative opposition and radicals' caution undercut the prospect of greater change. In either case, with or without help, black Marylanders found it necessary to rely increasingly on their own efforts to resist outright opposition and to make the most of whatever support they could find.

The same combination of factors shaped race relations in Baltimore. At the time of emancipation, only 2,000 of the city's more than 20,000 black residents were slaves. The remainder constituted the United States' largest urban free black population at the time.<sup>5</sup> For decades, this tight-knit community had occupied a special status free from many of the restraints confronting free blacks in the tidewater counties. Black men provided Baltimore with most of its waiters and much of its unskilled day labor; women its domestic service. In some trades--ship caulking and brick making especially--black labor predominated. In areas of the city occupied entirely by black residents, a small professional class provided barbers, ministers, doctors, undertakers, teachers, and musicians.<sup>6</sup>

Emancipation opened prospects for urban change. Several thousand rural black men, women, and children migrated immediately to Baltimore in search of employment. Others, forced off farms and plantations by masters no longer willing to care for them, joined the trek cityward hoping to find relief from municipal, state, or federal authorities. Baltimore's postwar economy proved sufficiently resilient to absorb most of these people into the work force, and in

the process facilitated a significant shift in the demographics of black labor in the state.

As in the tidewater counties, black Baltimoreans--both new and old--confronted the prejudices of the white community. Like their rural counterparts, urban conservative Unionists and Democrats opposed black progress of any sort, and radical Unionists and Republicans--although far more numerous in Baltimore than elsewhere in the state--remained steadfastly attached to a philosophy of black self-help with minimal assistance from whites. Furthermore, even the staunchest supporters of urban black residents' economic, civil, and educational rights refused to countenance integration in churches, meeting halls, and public transportation facilities. Nor did they advocate anything approaching what was called--in the parlance of the day--"social equality."

Certainly, the work of the army, the Freedmen's Bureau, and radical politicians assisted rural and urban freed and already free blacks in making real and lasting accomplishments. In the end, however, these proved insufficient in number and strength to challenge the power of deep seated racial attitudes. The ultimate effect of conservative strength and radical restraint was to undermine both



black aspirations and the efforts of radicals to cultivate even modest reform. Equally clearly, it compelled black Marylanders to pursue their own course. By 1870, they had, for better or worse, constructed their own society in alliance with their white supporters whenever possible. To make matters worse, by the time the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the United States Constitution was approved, radical influence in Maryland had all but disappeared and the effects of its handiwork remained confined to that which it had accomplished between 1864 and 1867. These changes proved insufficient for black people and their remaining white friends to mount a frontal assault on the bastion of white supremacy. As conservative Governor Thomas Swann was fond of putting it, "This is a white man's country."<sup>7</sup>

The several chapters in this book examine the interaction among black Marylanders' effort to expand their freedom, conservative whites' determination to resist it, and radicals' carefully crafted reform agenda. This work complements many recent books and articles--primarily economic or econometric which examine the choices available to freed slaves in the post-emancipation south and the forces which ultimately defined them. Some point to new opportunities in wage labor, sharecropping, the purchase of land,

and migration to different neighborhoods, counties, or cities. Others argue that despite such newfound mobility and autonomy, blacks failed to change their historically subservient relationship to whites; that even the acquisition of land did little more than supplement their basic, subsistence oriented economy.<sup>8</sup>

Did freed and already free laborers enter an open market where they could pursue improved working conditions and higher wages, or did sharecropping and other mechanisms of labor management relations--even those advocated by their supporters--force them into a subordinate economic relationship with their ex-masters and employers? Judging from the Maryland evidence, it is clear that both forces were at work; that black farm laborers sought whatever autonomy they could amidst the opposing forces of a free market and coerced labor. This conclusion supports the findings of others. Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch interpret freedmen's partial withdrawal from plantations as a response to limited post-emancipation "incentives," and Eric Foner defines a black autonomy which was neither totally free nor totally regulated. According to Gavin Wright, ex-slaves adopted a family oriented strategy which constituted a part of the "balance" between the competing claims of

labor and management, and Barbara Fields sees their focus on family autonomy as that of "a subsistence-oriented peasantry."<sup>9</sup>

But in other ways, Maryland differed from most southern states. For one thing, it had never left the union. Despite attack by Confederate forces on several occasions, its pro-northern government remained in place. Second, between 1861 and 1867, white radicals enjoyed access to political power. Finally, by November 1, 1864, half of Maryland's black population had already been free for some time. Unlike most slaveholding states, Maryland had for years possessed a large free black population in both its rural and urban midst.

Such experience offered a unique perspective on post emancipation race relations, one which revealed the crucial importance of pre-emancipation white attitudes toward free blacks. For among the many difficulties black Marylanders confronted was whites' long-accustomed familiarity with and professed contempt for a large and subservient free black population which, in effect, emancipation simply doubled in size. Indeed, for decades, the more than 83,000 free blacks in Maryland before November 1, 1864, had toiled as wage laborers, sharecroppers, and small landowners under agreements similar to those which came to shape post-emancipation

labor-management relations.<sup>10</sup> Truly, whites had, in the words of Ira Berlin:

created the institutions, standards of personal relations, and patterns of thought which helped them control free Negroes, extort their labor, and maintain social distance between the races. Faced with a greatly enlarged free black population after the Civil War, whites almost instinctively applied the lessons of the past.... [W]ith almost a century of experience to draw on, whites had little need to grope.<sup>11</sup> Such attitudes were important throughout the

reconstruction south in helping shape white treatment of freed blacks, but they had a devastating impact in Maryland where the pre-emancipation black population had reached such large proportions. Significantly, none of the historical forces which had led to the manumission of so many black Marylanders prior to 1864--the influence of the American Revolution, proximity to the antislavery north, and the shift away from labor-intensive staple crop production--resulted in a corresponding emancipation of white Marylanders' minds. For in the final analysis, the aspirations of black Marylanders failed to find a sufficiently sympathetic audience among whites to assure their realization. The intransigent opposition of conservatives and the ideological constraints of radicals combined to present black people with only limited

opportunities to live on an equal basis with their white neighbors and compelled them to develop their own separate, semiautonomous, and perforce second class society. It was, to repeat, essentially a question of white racial attitudes. Black Marylanders could assert much, but their prospect of translating such assertion into meaningful change remained defined by the extent of whites' support for that change.

White Marylanders in the 1860s were simply not prepared to contemplate--to say nothing of approve--legislation or social programs designed to force the issue of racial equality.

Conservatives opposed anything more than a rudimentary acceptance of emancipation. Radicals obviously sought more but they too stopped well short of what black people fervently hoped for. That rural planters should prove recalcitrant is hardly surprising. Their opinions were well known and consistently articulated. As for radicals, they did not regard black people as equal to whites, at least not yet, and believed firmly that any effort to legislate such equality was mistaken. "We do not encourage any benevolence toward them," wrote Baltimore Criminal Court Judge and prominent radical Hugh Lennox Bond in April 1865, "which does not tend to make the colored man feel his duty and capacity to

support himself. Whatever can educate his mind and equip his body for self-care is in the right direction. Everything else tends to lager houses, idleness, vice."<sup>12</sup> A year later, he added "If he can get a living let him get it; if he cannot, let him go without, only throw no obstacles in his way."<sup>13</sup> And in 1867, he told a black audience "Upon you is the ... responsibility of demonstrating ... your fitness .... "<sup>14</sup>

#### Endnotes

1. Among the available literature on Maryland during Reconstruction, the most important to date is Barbara Jeanne Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century (New Haven and London, 1985). Impressive in both its historical and analytical sweep, Fields' book provides a broad account of the suppression of black labor in Maryland in the nineteenth century. As such it offers both more and less than this study. It provides a discussion of the periods both before and after emancipation which are not addressed here, but limits to one chapter its coverage of the period immediately following emancipation. The importance of Fields' emphasis on the class origins of black coercion is should also be noted. In Slavery and Freedom and elsewhere (especially her chapter in J. Morgan Kousser

and James M. McPherson (eds.), Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward (New York, 1982)), Fields argues that class distinctions outweighed racial prejudice in accounting for blacks' relegation to a separate and inferior status in Maryland. This study does not seek to challenge that assertion. Clearly, issues pertaining to class permeated relations between white planters and their ex-slaves and may well indeed have dictated the content of white racism in the state. The point here is rather that racial antagonism, whatever its origins, fueled the opposition of white conservatives to any advancement sought by blacks and undermined the reform philosophy of sympathetic white radicals. The manner in which such prejudice shaped the eventual outcome of post-emancipation race relations in Maryland is the topic of this book, not the nature of its origins.

Charles L. Wagandt's The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864 (Baltimore, 1964), provides excellent coverage and analysis of the issues leading to emancipation, and Margaret L. Callcott's The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912 (Baltimore, 1969) offers similar treatment of the generation after the passage of the 15th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Leroy Graham's Baltimore: Nineteenth Century Black

Capital (Washington, 1982) offers a detailed account of prominent black Baltimoreans and their political activities before and after emancipation. See also Ricard O. Curry (ed.), Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States During Reconstruction (Baltimore, 1969). William G. Paul's, and Joseph Garonzik's doctoral dissertations "The Shadow of Equality: The Negro in Baltimore, 1864-1911," and "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870 (University of Wisconsin, 1972, and State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974) contain much which is helpful, but like Fields, Paul deals with a broad sweep of time and devotes relatively little attention to immediate post-emancipation issues. His study is also confined to the city of Baltimore. Garonzik offers a detailed, quantified study of urban neighborhoods, similarly confined to Baltimore, which supports some of the demographic material found in this study. Jean H. Baker's The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870 (Baltimore, 1974), provides important political background to the development of post-emancipation race relations, but touches upon the latter themselves only briefly. To find a study (other than that of Fields') which confronts directly questions relating to freed slaves and their progress one must return to Jeffrey R. Brackett's Progress of the Colored People of Maryland since the War (Baltimore, 1890), an



informative but dated rendition of events in the Reconstruction period and after. For other secondary literature related to this study, see the bibliography.

Two recent published collections of primary documents enhance greatly our access to the events surrounding emancipation in the state. Both are volumes in the series, Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Selected from the Holdings of the National Archives of the United States. The first is edited by Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thaviola Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, and is entitled Series I: Volume I: The Destruction of Slavery (New York, 1985). The second, edited by Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie Rowland, is entitled Series II: The Black Military Experience (New York, 1984). Both volumes contain documents related directly to Maryland many of which are taken from the records of the United States Army and the Freedmen's Bureau, collections used extensively in this book.

2. Since the 1950s, hundreds of books and articles have addressed southern white opposition to the aspirations of freed slaves. Some of the best of these appeared in the late 1950s and early to mid 1960s as part of what since has been called the "neo-

abolitionist" response to an earlier, conservative historiography. Important studies in this response are: John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War (Chicago, 1961), Kenneth Stampp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1867 (New York, 1965); and Eric McKittrick, Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction (Chicago, 1960).

3. Eric Foner Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party (New York, 1970). For a discussion of northern racial attitudes during Reconstruction see: C. Vann Woodward, "Seeds of Failure in Radical Race Policy," in Harold M. Hyman, ed , New Frontiers in American Reconstruction (Chicago, 1966), 125-147; William S. McFeely, Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen (New Haven, 1968), 84-106; George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York, 1971); Louis Gerteis, From Contraband to Freedmen: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865 (Westport, Conn., 1973); Herman Belz, "The New Orthodoxy in Reconstruction Historiography," Reviews in American History, I (March, 1973), 106-113; Richard Paul Fuke, "A Reform Mentality: Federal Attitudes Toward Black Marylanders, 1864-1868,"

Civil War History (September, 1976) 214-235; Eric Foner, Politics and Ideology in the Age of Civil War (New York, 1980), 97-127.

4. See Foner, Politics and Ideology, 97-127; Paul Gates, "Federal Land Policy in the South, 1866-1888," Journal of Southern History, 6 (1940), 303-330; Martin Abbott, "Free Land, Free Labor, and the Freedmen's Bureau," Agricultural History (1956); LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 45 (December, 1958), 413-440; Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (New York, 1964); Robert F. Horowitz, "Land to the Freedmen: A Vision of Reconstruction," Ohio History, 86 (Summer, 1977); Edward Magdol, A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community (Westport, Conn., 1977); Claude F. Oubre, Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Landownership (Baton Rouge, 1978); Richard Paul Fuke, "A School for Freed Labor: The Maryland 'Government Farms,' 1864-1866," Maryland Historian (Spring/Summer, 1985), 11-34.B

5. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population of the United States in 1870, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (Washington, D. C., 1872), 163 [#V-48].

6. James M. Wright, The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860 (New York, 1921), 149-174; Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York, 1974), 217-250; Richard Paul Fuke, "Black Marylanders, 1864-1868" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1973) Chapter 6.

7. Baltimore Sun, June 21, 1866 [#1296]. See also Baltimore American, April 6, 1864 [#4a]; Message of Governor Swann to the General Assembly of Maryland (Annapolis, 1866), which appears as Document A in Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, Extra Session, 1866 (Annapolis, 1866) [#988]; Message of Governor Swann to the General Assembly of Maryland (Annapolis, 1867), which appears as Document A in Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, January Session 1867 (Annapolis, 1867) [#1675]. Thomas Swann was born in Alexandria, D. C., in 1806. He attended Columbia College in Washington, D. C., and the University of Virginia. He moved to Baltimore in 1834, where he became the president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in 1848. In 1856 he was elected mayor of Baltimore on the American, or "Know-Nothing" Party ticket. In 1864 he was elected governor of Maryland as a unionist but did not take office until January 1, 1866, upon the

completion of Thomas Hicks' term. Although personally opposed to slavery, his politics were conservative and he quickly asserted his opposition to unionists with radical views toward race relations.

(Dictionary of American Biography (24 vols. and index, New York, 1928-1974), vol. 18, 237-238; Who Was Who in America, Historical Volume, 1607-1896 (Chicago, 1963), 516).

8. The literature on blacks' economic response to emancipation is voluminous and cannot possibly be discussed adequately in a single footnote. Useful review articles include: Harold D. Woodman, "Sequel to Slavery: The New History Views the Postbellum South," Journal of Southern History, 44 (November, 1977), 523-554; and Gavin Wright, "The Strange Career of the New Southern Economic History," Reviews in American History, 10 (December, 1982), 164-180. Prominent studies stressing the response of blacks to relatively open market conditions include: Robert Higgs, Competition and Coercion: Blacks in the American Economy, 1865-1914 (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); Stephen DeCanio, Agriculture in the Postbellum South: The Economics of Production and Supply (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Joseph D. Reid, "Sharecropping as an Understandable Market Response - the Postbellum South," Journal of Economic History, 33 (March, 1973), 106-130; and Ralph Shlomowitz, "'Bound' or 'Free'?"

Black Labor in Cotton and Sugarcane Farming, 1865-1880," Journal of Southern History, 50 (November, 1984), 570-596. For emphasis on the restricted or coercive nature of the southern labor system see: Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (Cambridge, Eng., 1977); Jonathan Wiener, Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885 (Baton Rouge, 1978); Jay R. Mandle, The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War (Durham, 1978); William Cohen, "Negro Involuntary Servitude in the South, 1865-1940: A Preliminary Analysis," Journal of Southern History, 42 (February, 1976), 33-60; and Pete Daniel, "The Metamorphosis of Slavery, 1865-1900," Journal of American History, 66 (June, 1979), 88-99.

For a more general discussion of black aspirations see, Edward Magdol, A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community (Westport, Conn., 1977), 35-90; William E. Messner, Freedmen and the Ideology of Free Labor: Louisiana, 1862-1865 (Lafayette, La., 1978), 184-188; Leon F. LiLwack, Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery (New York, 1979), 221ff; Elizabeth R. Bethel, Promiseland: A Century of Life in a Negro Community (Philadelphia,

1981), 5-9; Eric Foner, Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and its Legacy (Baton Rouge, 1983), 74-110.

9. Ransom and Sutch maintain that freedmen "possessed the power, not only to shape their own destinies within the society in which they found themselves, but also to change that society, at least in a limited way" (Ransom and Sutch, One Kind of Freedom, 6, 1). According to Foner, "Autonomy was the lens through which ... workers viewed labor conditions during Reconstruction. Those who could rent or purchase land did so; those who could not sought modes of labor that secured the highest degree of personal independence" (Foner, Nothing But Freedom, 86). Wright stresses the importance of the family as an organizing unit of black labor and sees blacks' desire to escape the regulation of plantation life as a family-oriented market response (Gavin Wright, Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War (New York, 1986), 85-86, 90). Fields analyzes the behavior of freedmen who sought to dispose of their labor as they saw fit by "cultivating their own gardens, working for wages just long enough to earn a family subsistence, and refusing to establish themselves on a permanent basis with a single employer" (Fields, Slavery and Freedom, 165).

10. Wright, The Free Negro in Maryland, 149-174.
11. Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, 381-382.
12. American Missionary, 2nd Ser., IX (April 1, 1865), 80.
13. Baltimore American, November 24, 1866.
14. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1867. [Italics added.] Hugh Lennox Bond was born in 1828 in Baltimore. He graduated from the University of the City of New York in 1848. He returned to Baltimore and was admitted to the bar in 1851. In 1860 he was appointed judge of the Baltimore Criminal Court. A member of the American or "Know Nothing" Party in the 1850s, he became a strong Unionist after the April 19, 1861 Baltimore attack upon the 6th Massachusetts Regiment. (Dictionary of American Biography vol. 2, 431-432; Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896, 63. See also, Richard Paul Fuke, "Hugh Lennox Bond and Radical Republican Ideology," Journal of Southern History, 45 (November 1979, 569-586).



Appendix I: "Slavery on the Eastern Shore" ©  
by Dr. Clara L. Small

[Written Submission of Dr. Clara L. Small, Department of History,  
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Some historians contend that "the peculiar institution known as slavery varied according to time and place, and that its intensity was dependent upon regionalism, political, religious, and social factors as well as the temperment of the overseers, the slaves, and the owners, those "gentlemen of property and standing." Slavery waxed and waned due to the aforementioned factors, but slavery was not consistent nationally, regionally, or locally, or even on a statewide basis. Maryland, a border state, known as "the middle temperament,"<sup>1</sup> "the middle ground,"<sup>2</sup> and "set on the border of free soil,"<sup>3</sup> was no exception to the rule." More specifically, Maryland's Eastern Shore in the 1840's and 1850's, just prior to the Civil War, is the classic example of inconsistencies in policies, regarding slaves and the institution of slavery.

Maryland's Eastern Shore, recently referred to by former governor Schaefer, as "an outhouse", has consistently been at odds with the remainder of the state, since its inception. Historically, there have been numerous proposals for the Eastern Shore to succeed from the remainder of the state. But it was not until the 1850's that the differences between the sections of the state became apparent. The reality was that "there were, in effect, two Marylands

by 1850: one founded upon slavery and the other upon free labor."4 Maryland's Eastern Shore, comprised Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, Talbot, and Worcester Counties, and as a unit occupied an intermediate position, of slave and free, much like that of Maryland within the Union.5 (Wicomico County was carved out of Somerset and Worcester after the Civil War.) But the Eastern Shore was "neither as slave and black as southern Maryland nor as free and white as northern Maryland. Just over 20 percent of its people were slaves and just under 40 percent were black.6 There were also as many anti-slavery residents as there were pro-slavery supporters. Quakerism was quite evident in the area, and Quakers were visibly [active as well as passive] in the anti-slavery movement. Historically, Quakers were considered to be the leaders in the abolition of slavery.

Even though Quakers and Quakerism were evident on the Eastern Shore of Maryland prior to the 1840's, the influence of the Quakers or Society of Friends rapidly waned from 1840 to the 1860's. This loss of influence was due to: (1) "the emigration of members to the city and the west; (2) slavery; (3) the rigid code of behavior demanded of Friends; and (4) the widespread appeal of Methodism to the people of the Eastern Shore."7 On the surface, these factors appear to have been isolated incidents, but the reality

is that they are interrelated. When Maryland Quakers emigrated to the city or moved west out of their communities, they abandoned many of their former beliefs and ideas, including that of the prohibition against slaveholding and their abhorrence of the institution of slavery. Quakers or members of the Society of Friends had been in the forefront in their condemnation of slavery. The precedent for this had been established as the "Maryland Friends in 1777 had declared that it was unlawful for their members to own slaves."<sup>8</sup> However, this declaration further reduced the number of possible Quakers as the mere act of joining their number "demanded (the) manumission of those held in bondage,"<sup>9</sup> but the records show that "even some people who were brought up within the Society of Friends slipped into the practice"<sup>10</sup> of holding slaves in bondage. As a result of this slippage, some Friends were "disowned" or stripped of membership. For some Friends the ever present existence of slavery around them was the impetus for them to move out of their communities and into Ohio, Indiana, and even further westward. Some others were disowned for various practices, such as for marrying non-Quakers, for swearing, disorderly company, gambling, neglect of meeting, drinking, and for selling whiskey; but a disproportionate number "had their membership taken away for slaveholding."<sup>11</sup> Many other Friends

voluntarily asked to have their membership dropped as they accepted "Methodism when it swept through the Delmarva Peninsula."12

While some Friends lost sight of their beliefs, for one reason or the other, there was still a sizeable number of others who continued to abhor the institution of slavery, openly professed their belief in the abolition of slavery, and actively worked to achieve that end despite danger to themselves, their families, and their property. A substantial body of evidence supports the belief that "long after the Society of Friends had cleared itself of slaveholding, Eastern Shore Quakers were greatly interested in the questions of Negroes and slavery. That same evidence indicates that some of them were active either in the Underground Railroad or in the antislavery movements that arose before the Civil War."13

There are hundreds of substantiated instances in which a Quaker assisted in the escape of a slave. One particular instance involved "Arthur Leverton, the son of the late Jacob Leverton, and a suspected abolitionist, from Dorchester County,...who was well known for his assistance in helping slaves to escape."14 As reported in the Friends Intelligencer for 1858, Leverton presumably assisted....

...a slave woman of Cambridge, Maryland (who) was to have been free from her term of servitude; she had four children in the family, slaves for life, and her husband was also a slave...The night before New Year's she escaped with her husband and children; but about a week later, they were betrayed...and taken back to Cambridge, where a reward of a thousand dollars had been offered for their apprehension. She was to go to the penitentiary, the husband is sold South, and the children are returned to their mistress.....15

Some members of the community, due to disclosures made to them, believed that . . .

Jacob Leverton, had assisted in their escape, and a warning was given him to leave the State, or lynching would be his portion. He took the hint, and when the mob assembled, he was out of their reach . . .His property was sold, and his wife and a family of some eight or ten children were to follow him.16

Other whites, especially Quakers, who wanted to abolish slavery feared for their lives and loss of property. Free blacks also feared for their lives and lived with constant fear of being re-

enslaved or separated from their families if they were suspected of having rendered assistance to fugitives. The classic example of these events is the life of Daniel Hubbard, who was a victim of mob violence following the Leverton incident. A free black, Hubbard was described as . . .

. . . . an industrious and peaceable resident of (Dorchester) the county, who for thirty-two years, has paid annually for his wife, and also for his children as they grew old enough to work, they being slaves for life. He (Hubbard) received a message that they (the members of the city and also the mob) had authority from the Governor, to do what they pleased with any concerned in the escape or harboring of runaways, and there was a party of fifty, which could be increased to five hundred, who were ready to carry him to Cambridge, and hang him merely on suspicion. 17

Daniel Hubbard was forced to escape to Philadelphia in order to save his own life, but he always stated that he knew nothing of the fugitives . . .

. . . and never desired to, as it has been his aim, through life, to avoid interfering in such cases, which may be inferred from

his never having tried to effect the escape of any of his own family. . . He was nicely fixed on a farm in Dorchester County and had a family, besides being a carpenter and millwright.

He valued his property at about \$1,300, but it would all be insufficient to pay for his poor wife, three grown children, and one grandson, seven years of age; if their owner will be willing to sell them . . .18

This was a clear instance of a man trying to keep his family intact, but who was forced to flee the county in order to save himself. There may have been other forces operating in his case which encouraged the mob to attack him, despite the fact that he had been a peaceful resident of Dorchester County all his life. Some of those factors may have included the jealousy and envy of a successful black man operating profitable businesses in the county, or even the desire to take his valuable land and/or assume control of the businesses.

If the plight of free blacks was as tenuous as that of Daniel Hubbard, then the fate of slaves was unimaginable. Due to the diligence of the Quakers and abolitionists, there is the perception that slavery was very mild in Maryland. But if slavery was mild in the "Middle Ground" as Maryland was known, and especially on the Eastern Shore, why was this area the location of some of the most



famous slave escapes and rescues in the annuals of American History? Two of those fugitives who stole themselves were Harriet Ross Tubman and Frederick Douglass, from Dorchester and Talbot counties respectively.

Harriet Ross Tubman (1821?-1913) was born in the area of Bucktown,<sup>19</sup> and at an early age experienced the forced separations of family members and the brutality and horrors of the peculiar institution. She was not a particularly capable house slave and as a child she was injured while trying to prevent the capture of another slave,<sup>20</sup> which caused her to suffer from narcolepsy for the remainder of her life.<sup>21</sup>

Around 1849, Harriet learned that she and other members of her family were to be sold and to be transported to the Deep South. Harriet was not the typical slave, as she had been fortunate enough to have known both of her parents, Ben Ross and Henrietta Green,<sup>22</sup> and to have been in their presence throughout most of her life. Therefore, when she heard of her impending sale to the Deep South, she decided to escape. It was that time with her parents that gave her knowledge of elements, of the swamps, and the knowledge of various treatments and cures for certain diseases.

Unfortunately, when she decided to escape, she wanted her brothers to accompany her, but they were so frightened of the

consequences of being caught that they turned back. Harriet also returned to her master; however, the return was only temporary until another opportunity to escape presented itself. When she decided to escape, even if it meant escaping by herself, she was fully aware that she might never see her parents, siblings, friends, and even her "free-black husband, John Tubman, whom she had lived with for five years."<sup>23</sup> Harriet worked in the fields and even in the lumber mill with her father. Even though she was small in stature, she was stronger than any man. <sup>24</sup> She had a tender heart and loved John Tubman, although he did not wait for her to return for very long, once she had escaped. Once she escaped, she utilized the knowledge and skills that she had acquired while working outside in the lumber mill, and planting and plowing the fields, and working in the woods, swamps and marshlands, and in the trapping of small animals for food and sustenance. She also had the benefit of the medicinal cures that had become second nature to her. <sup>25</sup>

Even though she had been successful in escaping to the North, purportedly above slavery, she was still not completely free as long as her relatives and others she held dear were still in bondage. Another reason she could not feel secure was the recent passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, <sup>26</sup> which gave her as well as all fugitives, and free blacks, more than just a degree of apprehension.

With this new law slave catchers operated openly, not just in the South, but boldly went into the northernmost communities and retrieved fugitive slaves and even free blacks they considered to be suspect, or fit a certain description, which was often fraudulent. Another cause for apprehension was that the Fugitive Slave Law strengthened a previous law by adding the following new provisions: ... that fugitive cases came under federal jurisdiction; special United States Commissioners could summon, possess, and receive \$10 for each arrest that sent a slave back to an owner; and fines were imposed for those who aided fugitives. 27

Even more importantly, "under this law, blacks were no longer safe anywhere in the United States, not even in the North, because they could be arrested as suspected runaways by the accusation of any white person."<sup>28</sup> Therefore the horrors of slavery, the recapture of fugitives, and the selling of family members South were very real concerns for Harriet. Harriet was also concerned as a Maryland statewide convention in mid summer of 1850, which had been initiated by Dorchester County slaveholders in November 1857, and which culminated a year and a half later in a huge Baltimore convention against abolition, the Underground Railroad, and calling for the re-enslavement of free Negroes. 29 These

practices were a clear indication that the slavery issue was not declining in the area.

Harriet, this courageous heroine, repeatedly risked capture and returned to the South to liberate over 300 slaves. She worked to relieve the suffering of others, and spoke out against the injustices of the peculiar institution. After 1857 she began addressing anti-slavery conventions and developed her association with John Brown.<sup>30</sup> She was privy to Brown's plans for Harpers Ferry,<sup>31</sup> as Brown hoped that Harriet would be chief guide to the North for the slaves he freed in the neighborhood of Harpers Ferry.<sup>32</sup> A bright spot in the year 1857 for Harriet was that she was finally able to free her elderly parents in June 1857. <sup>33</sup>

Harriet's father, "Benjamin Ross, a free Negro, name appeared in the federal census records in 1840, and his family was also described as "free" in the 1850 Census."<sup>34</sup> However, the family was not perceived as being free, nor treated as being free. But, Harriet's mother, Henrietta Ross, also called "Rittia", "Ritt," or "Ritty," aged fifty-five and a slave for life, was legally freed by Elizabeth Brodess (her owner) and was purchased by Benjamin Ross for \$20.00. <sup>35</sup> This small sum was simply to legalize "Old Ritt's freedom that had been contested in the Dorchester County Court of

October 1-8, 1853, by Elizabeth Pattison's son, Gourney Crow  
Pattison. 36 Gourney Pattison contested the ownership of "Old Ritt"  
. . . even though "Old Ritt" had been bequeathed to Gourney  
Pattison's sister Mary who married Joseph Brodess, and whose son  
was Edward Brodess, who was listed as the owner of "Old Ritt."  
Edward Brodess married Elizabeth Keene, but when he died in 1849,  
his wife inherited his property, namely "Old Ritt." But when  
Elizabeth died, Gourney Pattison believed that as the brother of Mary  
Pattison he had legal claim to "Old Ritt," even though his  
grandfather, at how Pattison's will had stated that "Ritta" and her  
increase (would remain slaves) until she and they arrive to forty-five  
years of age." 37

Despite the legal conflicts, "Old Ritt" was still considered to be  
a slave, even after Ben Ross had paid for her freedom. Even as free  
blacks their lives and safety were in danger, and they were also  
carefully watched after Harriet or Minty escaped out of bondage in  
1849. Therefore, Harriet had no recourse but to secure their  
freedom in June of 1857. 38 But legally, Harriet was still a slave  
because "Old Ritt" was not yet 45 years of age when Harriet was  
born. The irony is that if "Old Ritt" had been freed as agreed upon  
in the Athow Pattison will, it would have made Harriet a free black  
the same as her father, and her husband John Tubman, and it is

possible that she may not have become the "Moses of her People." Her legacy to history is that she would not waver in her determination to help others to "live free or die."

To carry out her goal, Harriet risked her life and limb. Throughout the course of the Civil War she served as a Union spy, a nurse, a cook, and the liberator of over 756 slaves on a military campaign in Cumbohee, South Carolina without losing a man. 40 Even after the conclusion of the war she continued her crusade to improve the lives of others and to fight against injustice, as she understood that the real battle for freedom had not been won.

Another Eastern Shore slave of significance was Frederick Augustus Bailey Douglass. Born in Tuckahoe, Maryland, in Dorchester County, he experienced forced separation from family members and the horrors of slavery at an early age, as he "witnessed "Old Master" whipping Aunt Hester."41 The horrors of slavery and separation were always present because "as many as 80 (slave) traders, full or part-time, operated on the Eastern Shore during the last years of the (slave) market." 42 Local "newspaper editors (even) assured their readers editorially that no stigma would be attached to out of state sales." 43 Despite the cruelties of slavery, Frederick Douglass was "not mistreated by Aaron Anthony," 44 his first master, but experienced the harshness of slavery from the

hands of overseers and others who worked for Anthony and Frederick's other masters, or slave breakers, such as Edward Covey.

In describing the peculiar institution in his autobiography, My Bondage and My Freedom, Frederick Douglass stated that "it is generally supposed that slavery, in the state of Maryland; exists in its mildest form, and that it is totally divested of those harsh and terrible peculiarities, which mark and characterize the slave system, in the southern and south-western states." 45 He takes into account the manner in which public opinion has tempered . . . .

...."the cruelty and barbarity of master, overseers, and slave-drivers, whenever it can reach them; but there are certain secluded and out-of-the way places ...seldom visited by a single ray of healthy public sentiment, -where slavery, wrapt in its own congenial, midnight darkness, can, and does develop all its malign and shocking characteristics, where it can be indecent without shame, cruel without shuddering, and murderous without apprehension or fear of exposure."46

One of those "secluded, dark, out-of-the way places, is the "home plantation" of Colonel Edward Lloyd, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. 47 The Lloyd Plantation was the site upon which Douglass witnessed the most inhuman examples of slavery; including the

cruelties inflicted upon himself, despite the fact that slaveholders claimed in the local newspaper that...

..."there was no portion of the entire South where slaves met with more humane treatment than upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and there existed between master and slave that feeling of mutual confidence which is always to be found in those communities where the evil influence of abolition or its emissaries does not make itself felt."<sup>48</sup>

Unlike Harriet Tubman, Douglass was without the benefit of a family structure to encourage him and sustain his spirit. Douglass was however fortunate by having been selected to accompany his second master's child to Baltimore as a playmate and servant,<sup>49</sup> which opened up an entirely different world to him. The first time that Frederick had slept in a bed, ate at a table, and had a proper supper, was at Fells Point (Baltimore). Frederick also had the opportunity to achieve the unthinkable for a slave - to learn to read and write, which was prohibited by law. Nevertheless, the mere rudiments were all that Frederick needed, as he took those opportunities to learn. He understood that knowledge was power and he used that knowledge to help himself and others. He experienced the hardships of being appraised upon the death of his master, in the same manner, and was of lesser value and with even



lesser regard than the livestock and cattle. Unlike Harriet, Frederick also had the benefit of being literate, so that he could much more easily survive in unfamiliar surroundings.

Frederick was also fortunate to have the benefit of a trade, as a caulker, which gave him a source of income in the city of Baltimore as opposed to the Eastern Shore. As a caulker, Frederick could hire himself out, but the proceeds went to his owner. Therefore, it was not surprising that his master (Auld) wished Frederick to learn a trade and emphasized that if Frederick behaved himself, "he would be emancipated at the age of 25." 50 But it provided an opportunity for Frederick to meet free blacks and other slaves in similar circumstances, and convinced Frederick that he could and should be his own man. It was that strong resolve that helped to sustain him, when he chose to escape from his owners. The desire for freedom was not new to Frederick as he was acutely aware of other slaves who had stolen themselves from the plantation--such as "his Aunt Jenny and Uncle Noah, his mother's sister and Aunt Katy's brother, who had run away and reached freedom in the North." 51

Once Frederick gained his freedom, he could not remain free and not think of the plight of others. Fortunately, his gift of oration was recognized and he became a lecturer for an abolitionist society,

and diligently worked to make the world aware of the horrors of slavery. While denouncing the horrors of slavery, he was not believed by many audiences, so he was forced to reveal his true identity and the location of his enslavement, which was a potential danger to his continued "freedom". Strangely enough, "his owner", Thomas Auld, made no effort to recapture him,"<sup>52</sup> but the threat was always there. While touring Europe on the antislavery circuit, "on December 12, 1846, Frederick Douglass, officially ceased to be a chattel and became a free human being in the eyes of the law for \$711.66, the dollar equivalent of 150 sterling." <sup>53</sup>

Upon his return to the United States, he again wrote about his life, and the horrors of the institution of slavery. He became an advisor to Presidents; was a friend to Harriet Tubman, John Brown and many prominent others; "the major recruiter for the famed 54th Massachusetts: <sup>54</sup>; a newspaper publisher; the Register of Deeds for the District of Columbia; "President of the Freedmens Bank" <sup>55</sup>, and was minister to Haiti. But of all of his triumphs, the memories of his enslavement on the Eastern Shore of Maryland had the most devastating and indelible impressions on his life. Douglass was so influenced by slavery that he spent the remainder of his life trying to eradicate it and any other form of injustice, including sexism.

Another Eastern Shore slave who proved to be much more radical than Frederick Douglass was the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, an American Presbyterian minister, abolitionist, and ex-slave. Garnet was "born a slave at (East) New Market, Maryland, (in Dorchester County) and escaped to the North in 1824".<sup>56</sup> Very little is known about his early years, other than the fact that he was the grandson of a Mandigo chieftain.<sup>57</sup> When he was ten, Garnet was reportedly taken from slavery by his father under the pretense of "driving his covered wagon to a funeral and succeeded in carrying his family and a few friends to Wilmington, Delaware and freedom",<sup>58</sup> and the family eventually settled in New York.

Garnet "entered a New York African Free School--one of the first public schools for blacks in the United States".<sup>59</sup> He received the early sting of racism at the "age of nineteen, (when) he journeyed to Canaan, New Hampshire, to study at a summer session of the Canaan Academy."<sup>60</sup> He had been invited by the principal to attend the school, but "his studies were cut short by the violent reaction of the Canaan townspeople,"<sup>61</sup> who "destroyed the school."<sup>62</sup> "Garnet was also educated at Oneida Institute"<sup>63</sup> where he established a reputation as a good debater,"<sup>64</sup> and was known as an eloquent , but fiery orator. This transplant from the Eastern Shore of Maryland became a school teacher, and taught at the first public

school for blacks in Troy, New York, while he simultaneously served as "the minister of a white Presbyterian congregation in Troy." 65

As a minister of the gospel and as a private citizen, Garnet openly protested the institution of slavery, and injustices associated with it. In 1837, Garnet, other abolitionists, and a massive meeting of Negro young men, met in New York and protested against a stipulation passed by a state constitutional convention which "decreed that before a Negro could vote he had to own \$250.00 worth of landed property. "66 In 1840, he "attended a statewide convention in Albany, where he served as one of the secretaries of the Convention (which) drew up an address to the colored people at the commonwealth calling upon them to press for the ballot. "67 By 1840 he had become a militant, "and took his militant posture seriously enough to wear a pistol, "68 and this was at the same time that he had become "one of the foremost ministers in New York City. "69 While only "25 years old in 1840, "70 this young "fire brand" (along with William G. Allen) "edited the abolitionist newspaper the National Watchman, "71 he gained prominence for a hard-hitting anti-slavery address he delivered before the American Anti-Slavery Convention. "72

His speech attacked slavery to such an extent that he attracted the attention of all other abolitionist societies. He became one of

the prominent Negroes in the abolitionist movement and an agent or speaker for several of the societies. By 1840, Garnet was one of eight Negro clergymen "numbered among the founders of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. "73 Occasionally, Garnet, Frederick Douglass, James W.C. Pennington, Martin R. Delaney, and other "black abolitionists (all fugitive slaves from Maryland), journeyed to England, Scotland, France and Germany. "74 . . . "where they were instrumental in linking up the humanitarian movement in Europe with movements in America. "75

Garnet also delved into the political arena, with the hope of improving the lot of the slave and free black, but by 1843 Garnet denounced anyone, black or white, who did not share his antislavery sentiments. In August 1843, "at a national convention for black men in Buffalo, Garnet delivered the most forthright call for a slave uprising ever heard in antebellum America. "76 In his speech "An Address to the Slaves of the United States," he stated . . .

. . .that there was little hope of obtaining freedom without some shedding of blood...Brethren, arise, arise. Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this and the days of slavery are numbered. Rather die free men than live to be slaves.

Remember that you are four million. Let "our" motto be resistance! Resistance! RESISTANCE! 77

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Garnet, and many other fugitive blacks and abolitionists, felt that it was unsafe to remain in America, so "in 1850 he (along with many of his compatriots in similar circumstances), returned to England and attended the World Peace Conference. "78 By 1858 Garnet had become such a prominent figure in the abolitionist movement that "with the demise of the National Emigration Convention, he became the founder and president of the African Colonization Society." 79 In that same year, he had embraced emigration as a possible solution to the problem of race in America. His rationale was that he saw no future for blacks in the United States, so he came to believe that he. . ."would rather see a man free in Liberia than a slave in the United States,....and favored colonization to any country that promised freedom and enfranchisement to the Negro."

80

Another example of the injustices associated with the institution of slavery includes the life, trial, and imprisonment of the Reverend Samuel Green. Even though Green was less of a national figure than Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, or Henry Highland Garnet, the circumstances surrounding Green's life is an indication

of the manner in which the nation and slaveholders dealt with the "peculiar institution" and anyone who threatened the future of slavery.

Samuel Green lived in Dorchester County, "the center of Maryland's Eastern Shore," 81 and "wore the badge of slavery for thirty years." 82 He was a religious man even while enslaved, but he was manumitted five years after his master's death in 1831. 83 Similar to Frederick Douglass, Green "managed to learn to read and write, (while still enslaved), despite the law and usage to the contrary." 84 By trade he was "a blacksmith" which enabled him to purchase his wife Kitty, and manumitted her immediately after he purchased her." 85 Even though he could not free his children, 86 "he passed on to them his love of freedom." 87

Rev. Green's son, Samuel Jr., also a blacksmith, was influenced by none other than Harriet Tubman to escape to Canada on August 28, 1854. 88 Rev. Green's daughter was sold to a slaveholder in Missouri and was never heard of again, even though she was married and was the mother of two children. 89 Rev. Green was a Methodist preacher, but in the winter of 1856-57, he visited his son in Canada and was suspected of having helped his son and other slaves to escape. The suspicions that surrounded Rev. Green were not new, as Sam Jr.'s escape had originally "brought his father under suspicion

and hate". 90 As a result of the heightened tensions in the state over the issue of slavery, Rev. Green "was arrested and taken from his home 4 April 1857." 91 He was charged with. . . . .

"possessing a volume of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a map of Canada, several schedules of routes to the North, a railroad schedule, and a letter from his son in Canada, detailing the pleasant trip he had, the number of friends he met with on the way, . . .and concludes with a request to his father, that he shall tell certain other slaves, naming them, to come on, which slaves, it is well known, did leave shortly afterwards, and have reached Canada." 92

The mere possession of these items put Reverend Green in violation of the Act of 1841, Chapter 272 of the laws of Maryland, which states that, . . .

. . ."if any free Negroes or mulatto knowingly have in his or her possession any abolition handbill, pamphlet, newspaper, pictorial representation or other paper of an inflammatory character, having a tendency to create discontent amongst or stir up to insurrection the people of color in this state, he or she shall be deemed guilty of felony, and upon conviction shall be sentenced to undergo a confinement in the Penitentiary of



this State for a period of not less than ten nor more than twenty years."93

After two weeks, Rev. Green was found guilty of the charges against him and was confined to ten years in the Maryland State Penitentiary, located in Baltimore, commencing 14, May 1857. 94 Due to the character of Rev. Green, some whites wrote to the Governor of Maryland in "an effort to secure a pardon," 95 or executive clemency. However, many slaveholders who resided in Green's community also wrote to the Governor that "slaves were leaving us in numbers from 2 to 15 or 18 from the time of (Green's) arrest, and that now there was scarcely any Negroes ran away at all" 96 But after the letter was written, "but before it was (mailed and) delivered (to the Governor), a large number of slaves escaped from the Cambridge area of Dorchester County. On 24 October 1857 "30 or more made their escape . . . (which made it a total of) forty-four who had left that place within two weeks." 97 Apparently, the fear of reprisals against them as a result of the Green case did not deter many slaves from escaping; and in the face of more restraints, the slaves escaped at a much faster rate whenever the opportunity presented itself.

When slaves escaped the local slaveholders suspected Samuel Green (even while he was imprisoned), and especially when it was believed "that all the fugitives had passed in their flight immediately by (Green's) house, which stands near the road leading from Cambridge to the State of Delaware." 98 Apparently, "the planters of Dorchester County were fearful of this intelligent, articulate, free black and sought his ousting from the community as a scapegoat for the absconding of their slaves." 99 The slaveholders needed this scapegoat because they still viewed themselves as benevolent owners whose slaves would be foolish to flee; as "they could not accept the notion that their slaves so disliked their situation as to seek freedom without some instigation by an outside agency." 100 But in the final analysis the slaveholders and slave sympathizers had no case against Green but merely used the abolition literature charge to make the case against him stick so that they could effectively remove Green from the area, since they deemed him a threat to their livelihood and way of life. In effect, "they imprisoned a man for a decade for having in his possession a book that most people in the nation had read with sympathy--something no one (really) considered an offense." 101

Green was "released from prison on 21 April 1862, and was pardoned on condition that he leave the State within sixty days."

102 Green's prison term and circumstances were known nationwide and it encouraged other slaves to escape and influenced whites to help slaves to "steal themselves" from their masters. Whites who helped slaves also felt the wrath of slaveholders and slave sympathizers. One of many recorded incidents occurred in June, 1858, . . . .

...when a Kent County white man named James Bowers, was tarred and feathered for his anti-slavery feelings and for circumstantial allegations of helping slaves escape, along with a free black woman also accused of encouraging escapes with even less evidence. A subsequent riot over the incident and public outcry in support of the victim, James Bowers, brought the issue too close to home for the slaveholders, who closed ranks against anti-slavery sentiment and called for action against those who publicly spoke out against slavery."<sup>103</sup>

Despite the fervent work of the Quakers and other abolitionists (black and white), within and without the state, the increasing number of free blacks who worked to abolish the system, and the large number of slaves "who stole themselves", slavery in Maryland just prior to the Civil War, showed little or no signs of decline. Slaveholders and their supporters continued to exert a

great deal of money and effort to punish those who interfered with their property, no matter how slight the purported infraction may have been. Even into the year 1865, two years after Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation, many Eastern Shore slaveholders still retained their slaves, and took extra precautions to prevent their escape. Maryland was not covered by the Proclamation, since it was not a state in rebellion, and slaveholders had no compulsion to manumit their slaves, nor were they required to do so. For example, in late 1865, in Worcester County, the easternmost county in the state, 265 slaves were finally manumitted by their owners, which substantiates the fact that slaveowners were still adamant about the retention of their slaves and the preservation of the institution of slavery on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the "Middle Ground". If the descriptions presented above are characteristics of slavery that is temperate, or mild, then just how cruel and inhuman was slavery in the other states?

[September 15, 1995]

Endnotes

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Dorchester County Land Records

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Maryland State Papers (Executive Papers)

Maryland State Penitentiary Prison Records

Somerset County Court Records

Talbot County Court Records

Worcester County Court Records

United States Census, 1850

Appendix J: A Reality Check: Brief  
Biographies of African-Americans on  
Delmarva © by Dr. Clara L. Small

AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHRONICLES

# Brief Biographies of African-Americans on Delmarva



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**A Reality Check:  
Brief Biographies  
of African-Americans  
on Delmarva**



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Salisbury State University**

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The history of African-Americans in the United States and especially on the lower Shore of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia (Delmarva) is scanty due to the absence of adequate written documentation. Inadequate documentation renders the history of African-Americans almost non-existent, or invisible, according to most historical standards, which makes it quite difficult to observe the behavior or social organization of blacks or any group of people in society. As a consequence, the few documents which do exist must be painstakingly examined in an attempt to reconstruct the past. And an examination of those few documents reveals that they were written not *by* the slave, by free blacks, freedmen, or African-Americans, but *about* him or her. Therefore, a majority of what African-Americans felt, believed, did, or were concerned with was not recorded.

It is with that view in mind that this introductory book is dedicated. A wise person once stated that you cannot know where you are going if you don't know from whence you have come. This book is designed to help fill the void of African-American history on the Shore. It will hopefully spark an interest in the accomplishments of some famous, not-so-famous, and even some infamous African-Americans who left an impact upon the lower Eastern Shore, the United States of America, and the world.

This is by no means an exhaustive study, it is merely designed to make people aware that the Shore produced more than just slaves; that it was supposedly known for being mild on slaves and slavery, but it also produced some of the most famous abolitionists and conductors on the Underground Railroad; produced one of the first African-American inventors; produced the first black nationalist; the first African-American female to serve in a state legislature; the first recorded instance of an African-American who owned a vast amount of land in Colonial America, as well as owned a slave; and numerous other firsts. In short, this area has a rich, virtually untapped history, and this book is merely an attempt to proclaim, or begin to dialogue about, its rich heritage. A philosopher once said that he who does not know his past is destined to repeat it. At this critical juncture in American history, and race relations as they are, we can ill afford to lose another generation to ignorance about their heritage.

Many residents of the lower Shore believe that they have no history or anything to be proud of, or simply that African-Americans never accomplished anything of consequence, other than to have existed as slaves. With recent research and a better understanding of the history and culture of the area, hopefully, many myths will be dispelled, and maybe replaced with a sense of pride, self-respect, and self-esteem, especially among teenagers and the young adult generation.

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Associate Professor of History  
Salisbury State University  
January 1998

# INTRODUCTION

## Samuel Burris

### Underground Railroad Station Master

Burris ran a station on the Underground Railroad in Delaware during the 1840s. When the pro-slavery supporters learned of his deeds, Burris was captured and as a punishment auctioned off as a slave. Little did they know that the highest bidder at the auction was sent there by Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, to buy Burris and to return him to freedom.

**Source**

Katz, William Loren. *Eyewitness: A Living Documentary of the African-American Contribution to American History*. New York: Touchstone Books, Simon and Schuster, 1995. 166-67.

## Frederick Douglass

(c. 1817-1895)

### Abolitionist, Editor, Ambassador

Ex-slave, abolitionist, orator, journalist, public servant, editor, lay preacher, ambassador to Haiti, marshal and recorder of deeds of Washington, D.C., Frederick Augustus Bailey Washington Douglass was born in February 1817/1818 on the Holme Hill Farm, on Tuckahoe Creek in Talbot County, Maryland. He did not have day-to-day contact or affection from his mother, seeing her only four or five times during his life because she was hired out as a slave on another plantation, and she died when he was only seven or eight years old.

Douglass knew first-hand the horrors and atrocities associated with slavery, as he saw other relatives and slaves savagely whipped. The brutality of slavery made him hunger for freedom, even though he was not treated very harshly by his owner, when his treatment is compared to that of other slaves. He did, however, suffer from hunger, cold, beatings, severe frostbite, and was forced to be degraded by having to eat from a trough like a pig, and to compete for table scraps with the dogs. Luckily, he was chosen to go to Baltimore to live with his master's relatives and to be a houseboy and companion to their young son, where he obtained the rudiments of an education. The rudiments were all that he needed, as Douglass was able to carry on alone.

In 1832, he was passed to another master and forced to return to Tuckahoe, where he found that his sister, Sarah, and over fourteen other relatives had been sold South to a harsher form of slavery. After enduring harsh, brutal treatment, Douglass and some other slaves attempted to escape, an effort foiled by slave informants. As a result, Douglass was assigned to a slave breaker, who treated him cruelly until Douglass fought back. He was eventually returned to Baltimore, where he obtained work as a caulker on ships. He was beaten up several times, due to the fear of economic competition.

In Baltimore Douglass met his future wife, Anna Murray, a free black woman, also from the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1832 she gave Douglass money to help him escape. Dressed in a sailor's uniform and with someone else's freedom papers, he escaped to New York. Upon hearing that Douglass had arrived safely, Anna Murray hurried to New York, where they were married by Rev. James C. W. Pennington, a fellow fugitive from the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The couple changed their surnames to Douglass and

moved further north to New Bedford, Massachusetts.

By 1839, at the age of twenty-two, Frederick Douglass was licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in New Bedford, and was listed as a lay preacher. He began to question religion and its relationship to the institution of slavery. He attended abolitionist lectures and heard the lectures of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and other abolitionists. By 1841, Douglass spoke at an anti-slavery meeting and by 1842 had been hired as an anti-slavery lecturer. As he toured the country and spoke at anti-slavery meetings he was subjected to racism and attacked by mobs in numerous cities. In 1845, he wrote and published the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave*, in order to dispel rumors that he was not a fugitive slave. The publication of his book proved who he was, named his master, and told of the horrors of slavery; but it also endangered his life and freedom. Douglass's friends sent him to England for safety. During his two years in Great Britain, some white abolitionist women purchased his freedom, but he remained vulnerable to the slave catchers when he returned to the United States.

Upon his return to the United States, Douglass began to publish his newspaper, the *North Star*, in which he abhorred slavery and denounced discrimination in all forms; proposed reforms in the area of women's rights, temperance, and world peace; opposed capital punishments, lynchings, and the convict leased system; and advocated education for blacks, self-help, capital accumulation, and strict morality. He also urged blacks to volunteer for the armed forces, despite the existence of racial discrimination and segregation, as it would demonstrate the loyalty of Negroes to the Union, and accelerate their achievement for civic equality.

Once slavery ended, Douglass continued to speak out against racism and discrimination, and advocated full civil rights for blacks. From 1871 to 1891, he served in four government positions including the ambassadorship to Haiti and marshal and recorder of deeds of Washington, D.C. Active to the end, Douglass had a stroke and died on 20 February 1895. His motto was "Agitate, Agitate, Agitate." "Power concedes nothing without a demand."

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# Henry Highland Garnet

(1815-1888)

## First Black Nationalist

Garnet was born a slave at East New Market, Maryland, which is located in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore. Little is known of his early years, other than the fact that he was reportedly taken to freedom by his father under the pretense of driving his covered wagon to a funeral, and the family eventually settled in New York. He became an American Presbyterian minister, and was called the Thomas Paine of the abolitionist movement, as he provided logical, analytical approaches to solutions and he proved to be the abolitionists' conscience.

In New York, Garnet entered a New York African Free School, one of the first public schools for Blacks in the United States. At the age of nineteen, he was invited by the principal of the Canaan Academy to attend a summer session at the school, so he traveled to Canaan, New Hampshire, but his studies were cut short by the violent reaction of the townspeople who destroyed the school. He was also educated at Oneida Institute, where he established a reputation of being an eloquent, fiery orator. Garnet became a school teacher, and taught at the first public school for blacks in Troy, New York, while he simultaneously served as the minister of a white Presbyterian congregation in Troy. By 1840 Garnet had become a militant, and took his militant posture seriously enough to wear a pistol, at the same time that he was one of the foremost ministers in New York City.

Garnet protested against slavery, organized New Yorkers into political active groups, and endorsed and organized antislavery political effort in 1840. At an American Anti-Slavery convention, Garnet asserted the right of all Negroes, slave and free, to full citizenship rights, and urged them to press for the ballot. He advanced the claim of full citizenship for free Negroes on the basis of historical, religious, and economic considerations, and favored nonviolent tactics. He did, however, propose resistance to oppression, even though it most likely would mean the shedding of blood, for which he received opposition from Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists who were opposed to Garnet's radicalism. In fact, in the 1840s Garnet provided the ideas which even his rivals accepted by 1860, almost twenty years after he had originally proposed them.

Garnet actively participated in politics, with the hope of improving the lot of the slave and free black. In 1842, at the convention of the Massachusetts branch of the Liberty Party, Garnet delivered one of the major addresses, and actively campaigned for the Liberty Party in 1844; but when the Party declined, he supported the Free Soil Party, another reform party, always with the desire to end slavery and to achieve some degree of justice and equality. By 1843 Garnet denounced anyone, black or white, who did not share his antislavery sentiment. In 1843 he delivered a speech titled "An Address to the Slaves of the United States," in which he stated:

There was little hope of obtaining freedom without some shedding of blood. . . . Brethren, arise, arise. Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this and the days of slavery are numbered. Rather die free men than live to be slaves. Remember that you are four million. Let "our" motto be resistance! resistance! RESISTANCE!

While Garnet's personal influence may have declined as that of Douglass increased, Garnet's impact on both Negroes and white radicals continued to be felt. Even though Garnet was a radical, he remained a loyal citizen until the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, which forced him to flee to Europe because he felt that he was not safe anywhere in the United States. By 1858 Garnet had become such a

prominent figure in the abolitionist movements and speaker for several of the societies that, with the demise of the National Emigration Convention, he became the founder and president of the African Colonization Society. By 1858 he had embraced emigration as a possible solution to the problem of race in America. His rationale was, "I would rather see a man free in Liberia than a slave in the United States," and he favored colonization to any country that promised freedom and enfranchisement to the Negro. He saw no future for Blacks in the United States, so his chief interest in late 1858 and the next five years, was the African Civilization Society, an emigrationist association that he and Martin Delany established to develop an industrial colony in Africa. The purpose of the society was to eliminate the slave trade in Africa, at its source, and to create a cotton industry to compete with American fibers. Because of Garnet's beliefs and willingness to die for those beliefs, it is self-explanatory why another radical of the caliber of John Brown was interested in recruiting Negro leaders, such as Garnet, for his raid on Harpers Ferry.

During the Civil War Garnet actively worked for the recruitment of Black soldiers, helped to raise money and clothing for contra bands. He worked to build a library for the Young Men's Literary Association of New York City. He also used his skill as an editor of three newspapers—*The Clarion*, *The National Watchman*, and the southern section of *The Anglo-American*—to influence Blacks to become politically astute. Garnet the journalist, the minister, the missionary, the abolitionist, and civil rights activist was, above all, the first black nationalist.

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## Eliza Johnson

### Liberian Hero

Born into slavery in Snow Hill, in Worcester County, Maryland, Johnson became known as the Liberian hero. He escaped from slavery and managed to get on a boat full of free Negroes bound for Liberia. Once in Africa, there were conflicts with the indigenous population and the American-born emigrants had to ward off constant attacks. Johnson successfully led the first settlers in Liberia in fighting off the native Liberians. He also spread Christianity and built up a republican form of government. The new freedom won in Liberia provided political and social privileges that were denied to him in America.

#### Source

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# Harriet Ross Tubman

(1820-1913)

## Conductor of the Underground Railroad, Spy, and Nurse

Harriet Ross was born a slave on the Edward Broadus plantation in Bucktown, in Cambridge, in Dorchester County, Maryland. She was one of eleven children of Harriet Green and Ben Ross, who could not protect her from the cruelty of her master.

At the age of six, Harriet was hired out to learn a skill, but Harriet was not a very good slave, so she was hired out numerous other times, for various reasons. She was hired out as a child nurse, but she did not always awaken during the night to tend to the needs of the child and was whipped as a result. Harriet was finally hired out as a field worker, which she seemed to have preferred over any other type of work. At the age of 13 or 15 she observed an overseer following a field hand who appeared to have been running away, so Harriet attempted to warn the slave, and in the process positioned herself between the slave and overseer. The overseer threw a weight to stop the slave; instead the weight hit Harriet in the head and left a huge indenture. As a result, Harriet suffered from narcolepsy, or sleeping sickness, for the remainder of her life.

Harriet married John Tubman, a free-black man, in 1844, and was determined to be free. A year later, Harriet paid a lawyer to search the records and he found that her mother, "Ole Rit," had been emancipated by will, but had never been informed of her freedom. Even though her mother was to have been freed at the age of 45, it would not have freed Harriet because she had been born prior to her mother's forty-fifth birthday. Between 1845 and 1849, the death of the heir to the Broadus estate prompted the executor of the estate to plan to sell some of the slaves, including Harriet's family; two of her sisters were sent off with the chain gang. Harriet had every reason to fear for her safety, so she began to plan her escape. She told her husband of her plan and he informed her that he would notify her master and stop her escape. She was successful in stealing herself. She went first to Philadelphia, and later moved to Cape May, New Jersey.

Between 1850 and 1857, Harriet went to Baltimore to free a sister who had been taken there for auction. She returned to Dorchester County several times and freed members of her family and numerous others. In 1857, her father, Ben Ross, was arrested as an aide on the Underground Railroad, and she had to rescue her parents. This aroused the Eastern Shore slaveholders to organize against the Underground Railroad. The Dorchester County slaveholders held a convention in Baltimore against abolition and the Underground Railroad. They called for the re-enslavement of free Negroes, and offered a bounty of \$40,000 for the capture of the "Moses of her people" (Harriet). The bounty on her head did not deter her from helping to lead other slaves to freedom.

For her efforts, Harriet became a friend and confidante of John Brown, Gerritt Smith, Frederick Douglass, and other abolitionists. When she was in the Boston area, she resided at the homes of the Emersons, the Alcotts, the Whitneys, Mrs. Horace Mann, Frank Sanborn, and other well-known persons. But when the slave catchers came north to New York and points beyond, as a result of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and its enforcement, Harriet's friends forced her to go to Canada, and there she remained until the spring of 1861.

Upon the start of the Civil War in 1861, Harriet headed south to help the Union effort. She went to Beaufort, South Carolina, as a liaison between the military men and the Negro, at the suggestion of Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. She also went to Florida, where she served as a nurse and cured many of the soldiers of smallpox and fevers. She additionally became a scout and spy within the Department of



the South.

In June of 1863, six months after President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, she led a successful Combahee, South Carolina, raid with 150 Negro troops. They "destroyed millions of dollars worth of commissary stores, cotton, and lordly dwellings, and striking terror into the heart of rebeldom, brought off near 800 slaves and thousands of dollars worth of property, without losing a man or receiving a scratch" (Bennett 207). After the 54th Massachusetts assault on Fort Wagner, Harriet went to the site of the battle and aided in burying the black soldiers and their white officers. After the war, she settled in Auburn, New York, to care for her aged parents, for the unfortunate, and to heal her own wounds, from being roughed up on a train on her way home to New York. She also raised funds for the maintenance of schools for freedmen in the South.

For her services rendered during the Civil War, she applied for a military pension, which she did not receive, and, as a consequence, lived in poverty for thirty years before it was granted by the United States government. In 1890, when a pension act was passed by Congress granting relief to widows of Civil War veterans, Harriet applied for the pension and received \$8 a month. However, after Congressional debate in 1897, she received \$20 a month, as the widow of her second husband, Nelson Davis, a private who had served in the 8th U.S. Colored Infantry Volunteer Unit. Harriet used the pension to establish the Harriet Tubman Home for Indigent Aged Negroes (also called the John Brown Home). Harriet Ross Tubman Davis lived to be 93 years old. She died 10 March 1913 in Auburn, New York, and was buried with full military honors.

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## Samuel Ringgold Ward

(1817-1866)

### Abolitionist, Educator, and Minister

Minister, public speaker, journalist, and educator Samuel Ringgold Ward was born into slavery on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, of African parents, William and Anne Ward. When he was three his family escaped to New Jersey, and then to New York.

Ward attended the African Free School and studied at the Oneida Theological Institute. In 1839, he received a license to preach from the New York Congregationalist Association and became a professional antislavery agent. He was one of the first blacks to join the Liberty Party (Bennett 162). In the same year, he met Gerritt Smith, a white abolitionist and one of the major financial supporters of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Smith also became a supporter of Ward and from 1841 to 1851 Rev. Ward was a pastor of two white churches; one church was in South Butler, New York. Ward was such an eloquent speaker that he was advertised as "The Black Daniel Webster" (Bennett 162). Ward made speeches for both the American and Canadian Antislavery societies. Ward also published two newspapers in Syracuse, New York: *The Imperial Citizen* and *The Northern Star and Colored Farmer*.

In 1851, Rev. Ward aided a slave named Jerry, and became afraid that he might be arrested or re-enslaved for giving aid to a slave. Out of fear, Rev. Ward fled to Canada. While residing in Canada, he supported efforts to assist Black fugitives, helped to establish refugee settlements, and spoke out against injustices.

Seeking funds for the Antislavery Society of Canada, Ward traveled to Europe; while there, his autobiography, *Autobiography of the Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England* (1855), was published. Because of Ward's efforts to free slaves and to abolish slavery, an English Quaker, John Chandler, gave Ward fifty acres of land in Jamaica, and the Earl of Shaftesbury became his patron (Blockson 87-90; Quarles 138). Ward moved to Kingston, Jamaica, and became the pastor of a small Baptist congregation. Rev. Ward participated in many projects he thought would improve the lot of blacks but, unfortunately, some of his projects were unsuccessful, and in 1866 Rev. Samuel Ward died in poverty in Jamaica.

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## Bishop Richard Allen

(1760-1831)

### AME Founding Bishop

Richard Allen was born a slave in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, but was sold to a new master and grew up in Dover, Delaware. His master permitted him to gain an education, but he was basically self-taught. Allen was allowed to work as a day laborer, brick maker, and wagon driver, which provided him the opportunity to earn enough money to purchase his freedom.

During the Revolutionary War, Richard Allen worked at odd jobs, but was primarily a wagon driver and itinerant preacher. After the war, in 1786, he returned to Philadelphia as a Methodist minister, and worked to bring blacks into St. George's Methodist Church where he preached. As more blacks attended the church, conflicts developed with the white members. Allen proposed a separate church, but black and white parishioners objected to the splitting of the church. In 1787, Allen along with Absalom Jones, another former slave who had moved from Delaware to Philadelphia with his grocer-owner, formed the Free African Society, the first organization of black Americans.

In November of 1787, the black parishioners had been relegated to the gallery at St. George's Church, and whites tried to remove some of the black worshippers when they knelt too far forward to pray. They were not even allowed to finish their prayers. Allen and Jones led the black worshippers out of the church and formed their own churches. Allen formed the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church and Jones formed the St. Thomas Free African Church within the Protestant denomination. However, the battle was not over, as Allen had to win a court suit in 1816 against the elders of St. George's Church because they still controlled the new congregation.

Allen was ordained as a bishop in 1799, and in 1816 he was first consecrated AME bishop. As a civic leader, he was also active in organizing blacks in Philadelphia to care for victims of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. In 1817 he took an active role in the anti-colonization movement in Philadelphia, and wrote anti-slavery articles against the American colonization movement. He also encouraged free blacks to educate black children. These efforts he continued to pursue until his death.

#### Source

Toppin, Edgar A. *A Biographical History of Blacks in America Since 1528*. New York: McKay Company, Inc., 1971. 247-48.

## Benjamin Oliver Bird

### Educator and Administrator

Benjamin Bird was the first principal of Princess Anne Academy, which later became the University of Maryland Eastern Shore. After his death, his wife, Portia E. (Lovett) Bird, held his position until her death. The couple's youngest of nine children was Crystal Bird Fauset, who became the first black woman state legislator.

#### Source

Hines, Darlene Clark. *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. Vol. I, A-L. New York: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1993. 410-11.

EDUCATORS & LEADERS

## Oscar James Chapman

### Educator and Administrator

O. J. Chapman was born at Stockton, Maryland, where his father served for many years as a trustee of the public school. After attending the community schools for seven years he enrolled at Hampton Institute and completed his secondary education. In 1932, he received a B.A. in English from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and began teaching in the high school at Denton. In 1936 he received his M.A. in education and psychology from the University of Michigan, and in 1940 received the Ph.D. from Ohio State University. In 1940 he was named professor and chairman of the Department of Education at Arkansas AT&N College at Pine Bluff, subsequently serving in the same capacity at North Carolina State Teachers College, Elizabeth City (North Carolina) College, Langston University in Oklahoma, and Tennessee A&T State University at Nashville, and as professor of education at Morgan State College in Baltimore, Maryland.

In 1950 Chapman was named president of Delaware State College at Dover, Delaware, until the Korean War prompted his recall to active duty as a reserve officer in the U.S. Air Force. Upon completing the Field Officers' Training Course at Maxwell Air Force Base, he was assigned to and responsible for the psychological research program at three different bases located in New York, Illinois, and Colorado. After five years as an officer in the Air Force, Chapman was released from active duty at the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1957. From 1957-73, he served as academic dean and chairman of the Graduate Council at Lincoln University, Missouri, and from 1973-1988 he was faculty member of the Department of Education at Salisbury State University, where he retired as professor emeritus in 1988.

As a civic leader, Chapman was on the board of directors of Deer's Head Medical Center in Salisbury, and a member of the Board of Medical Examiners of Maryland. He served on many other boards and committees until his death in January 1994.

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"Obituary" Section. *The Daily Times* 6 January 1994: 10.

## Dr. Charles H. Chipman

### (1888-1987)

### Educator and Civic Leader

Dr. Charles H. Chipman was born in Cold Springs, New Jersey, near Cape May in 1888. He received his B.S. from Howard University; studied languages in Heidelberg, Germany, under a fellowship from Howard; received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania; and attended Chicago University. He was also awarded an honorary doctorate by Salisbury State University.

Chipman turned down a teaching position at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama to come to Salisbury, Maryland, in 1915 to serve as supervising principal of the Salisbury Industrial School. The school was rented and in desperate need of repair. Chipman recognized the need for a new building and organized the community to raise funds to match the Wicomico County Board of Education pledged contribution. The

new school had between twenty-five and thirty rooms and an auditorium. More funds had to be raised in order to complete the front of the building, since the original amount was insufficient. The Salisbury First Grade Center is named in his honor.

Chipman did not limit his educational endeavors to Salisbury. He was appointed professor of extension education for nine counties on the Eastern Shore in 1918. The Maryland State Department granted him a scholarship to attend Cornell University to take a course titled Family Life and Child Development, and then HEW asked him to give talks and lectures on the course throughout the state and region. He served as an interpreter for the judicial system of Wicomico County because he spoke a foreign language, and for his services the Board of Education allowed him to leave school for an hour and a half daily to serve in that capacity. He served on the advisory board for Salisbury City Council, researched the housing needs of the poor in the county, and was named chairman of the Delmarva Association. He represented the state of Maryland on the Freedom Day Committee in Philadelphia. Other memberships included the Maryland Education Association, of which he was a former president; the Retired Teachers Associations of Maryland and Wicomico County; the Wicomico Nursing Home, which he directed; the Wicomico County Welfare Board; the American Red Cross; the National American Negro Teachers Association; the NAACP; the Chipman Foundation; and the AARP.

Chipman served as district superintendent for the Salisbury John Wesley Church (now Wesley Temple), and was primarily responsible for the erection of the first and second edifice. He loved his church and served as black historian for the Peninsula Conference. The church he purchased, saving for history, is now known as the Chipman Cultural Arts Center. Chipman and his wife, Jeannette, purchased this monument to the history and accomplishments of black community members, to "ensure that the contributions of blacks on the Eastern Shore would not be forgotten." In 1985 the Chipman Foundation was established to revive his dream.

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*The Daily Times* (25 November 1987): 1.

## Samuel Green

### Persecuted Minister

Samuel Green lived in Dorchester County, "the center of Maryland's Eastern Shore," and wore the badge of slavery for thirty years. He was a religious man even while he was enslaved, but he was manumitted five years after his master's death in 1831. Similar to Frederick Douglass, Green managed to learn to read and write (while still enslaved), despite the law. By trade he was a blacksmith, which enabled him to purchase his wife, Kitty, and even though he could not free his children, he passed on to them his love of freedom.

Green's son, Samuel Jr., also a blacksmith, was influenced by none other than Harriet Tubman to escape to Canada in 1854. Green's daughter was sold to a slaveholder in Missouri and was never heard of again, even though she married and was the mother of two children. Rev. Green was a Methodist preacher and in the winter of 1856-57, he visited his son in Canada and was suspected of having helped his son and other slaves to escape. Due to the heightened tensions in the state over the issue of slavery, Rev. Green was arrested and charged with possessing a volume of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a map of Canada, several schedules of routes to the North, a railroad schedule, and a letter from his son in Canada, detailing the pleasant trip he

had, the number of friends he met on the way . . . and including a request that his father tell certain other slaves, naming them, to come on to Canada. Those slaves did leave shortly afterward and reached Canada.

The mere possession of those items put Rev. Green in violation of Maryland's Act of 1841, which states that anyone possessing abolitionist materials, which may have a tendency to create discontent among Negroes, will be found guilty of felony, and sentenced to the state penitentiary for ten-to-twenty years. Due to Rev. Green's character, whites and blacks asked the governor to pardon Rev. Green, but to no avail. As a result slaves left the Cambridge area at a much faster rate whenever the opportunity presented itself. Apparently, the planters of Dorchester County were fearful of this intelligent, articulate, free black and sought his ousting from the community as a scapegoat for the loss of their slaves. There really was no case against Rev. Green, but the possession of abolitionist literature was merely a ruse, so that the slave sympathizers and slaveholders could remove Green from the area, since they deemed him a threat to their livelihood and way of life. Green was imprisoned for ten years for having in his possession a book that most people in the nation had read with sympathy. Rev. Green was finally released from prison on 21 April 1862, and was pardoned on condition that he leave the state of Maryland within sixty days. His plight was known nationwide and it encouraged slaves to escape and influenced some whites to help slaves steal themselves.

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## William Edward Henry

### Educator

William Henry was born in 1900 in Snow Hill, the son of Mary Q. Henry and Rev. Edward J. Henry, the pastor of Mount Zion Baptist Church and principal of the Black School. He received his primary training in the local elementary school and Wayland Academy in Richmond, Virginia. He received a B.A. from Virginia Union University in 1923, and a master's degree and a Doctor of Education from the University of Pennsylvania in 1929 and 1945, respectively. Morgan State College also conferred upon him the LL.D. in 1965.

William Henry taught in an elementary school in Winston Salem, North Carolina, from 1924-1925. He was an instructor at Roger Williams College, Nashville; 1925-1927, he was an instructor at Maryland Normal School, Bowie; 1928-1932, he was professor of education at A&T College, Greensboro, North Carolina; and director of extension at A&T during 1929-1932. He was attracted back to Worcester County for a decade when he was appointed supervisor of county schools, during which period he was instructor of the Summer School of Morgan State College. He served as dean of instruction at Maryland State College (later the University of Maryland Eastern Shore) until he was called to be the president of Bowie State College in 1942. There he remained until he retired in 1967, but following retirement he served for two years at the University of Baltimore, as professor of education.

By gubernatorial appointment, Dr. Henry served on many commissions and boards in Maryland, including Board of Managers, Cheltenham (president, 1947-1974), Commission to Study Hospital Costs in Maryland, Southern Regional Educational Board, Maryland Commission of Aging, Maryland Commission for Children and Youth, J. Millard Tawes Library Foundation, and many others. His dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania was "Education to Meet the Needs of the Negro in Maryland." Under his administration marked improvements were made at Bowie State College, and success was achieved in integration in reverse in all areas: faculty, staff, and student body.

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Truitt, Reginald V., and Millard G. Les Callette. *Worcester County Maryland's Arcadia, Bicentennial Edition*. Snow Hill, Maryland: Worcester County Historical Society, 1977. 542-43.

## Stephen H. Long

(1865-1921)

### Defender of Education

Although he was born in Pocomoke in 1865 and orphaned, he was raised by an uncle in Boston and educated as a lawyer. He chose instead to return to Pocomoke to use his education and talents to help young people. Long began his teaching career in Somerset County, Maryland. He became the principal of the Pocomoke Grammar School. In 1914, he became the first African-American school supervisor in Worcester County.

He began several model programs for African-American youth and extended education for older children who were no longer required to attend school. Because of his efforts to ensure that orphan boys used as farm labor received the education to which they were entitled, Long was murdered on 13 September 1921. As a result of his work, a service organization, the Stephen H. Long Guild, was formed in his honor in 1980 to provide financial assistance for the education of African-American youngsters.

**Source**

"Worcester County, Maryland African-American Heritage" Tourist Brochure. Worcester County Tourism Office.

# Rev. James W. C. Pennington

## (1807-1870)

### Minister, Historian, and Teacher

Theologian, teacher, historian, and fugitive slave James W.C. Pennington was born James Pembroke in January 1807 on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. At about four years of age, James was given with his mother and an older brother to one of his master's sons, who was about to settle as a wheat planter in Washington County, around Hagerstown, Maryland. By 1830 the Pembroke family accounted for thirteen of the (Rockland) farm's thirty-three slaves. From eleven to twenty years or until he was twenty-one, Pennington was a first-rate blacksmith. In 1845, he was sold to a Methodist man for \$700, but the man did not have enough work for him, so Pennington's former master purchased him again and he worked as a carpenter for six months (Pennington 1-2).

Even though he had a skill, he was not free from abuse, as cruelty, punishment, and oppression were never far removed from the Pembrokes' daily lives. Ordinarily, his occupation as a first-rate blacksmith would have given him some relief from the evils of slavery, since he often had the freedom to do some things that the unskilled slaves could not do. Regardless Pennington was still a slave. Because of the treatment he received as a slave and the unjustified flogging of his father, James Pennington decided to escape, and left for Hagerstown on his route to freedom on 28 October 1827 (Blackett 1).

On his route to freedom, Quakers gave Pennington food, clothing, work, sanctity, and for six months began to teach him to read and write, and told him about blacks who had distinguished themselves. The Quakers' acts of kindness bred frustration, and hope for a better life. Once he gained his freedom, he went to New York and began to study for the ministry. As he studied he came to see slavery as an evil under the moral government of God—as a sin not only against man, but also against God.

During the 1830s Pennington prepared himself to teach white and black students, as well as to enter the ranks of the ordained ministers by being privately tutored in logic, rhetoric and the Great Testament. He moved from New York to New Haven in 1837 not only to secure employment, but to further his formal education at Yale Divinity School. He was denied admission to the school, but was granted the privilege to roam the halls of the seminary, so he stood outside Yale Divinity School's open classroom doors, listening to his brothers of the cloth lecture on their classic Calvinist Conservative Christ and cultures.

Pennington returned to New York to minister to his flock on Long Island from 1838-1840, and there he met Gerrit Smith, a fellow minister as well as a millionaire, philanthropist, and abolitionist. Association with Smith afforded Pennington the opportunity to meet fellow Maryland fugitives Henry Highland Garnet and Frederick Douglass. In fact, one of Pennington's first duties as an ordained minister was to officiate at the wedding of Anna Murray and Frederick Douglass, the ex-slave and abolitionist who had just escaped from slavery in Maryland. While in New York, Pennington also played an active role in the city's Underground Railroad, and became a member of the New York Vigilante Committee soon after his arrival.

Pennington later returned to Hartford, Connecticut, to pastor and to teach at the private academy. He also produced *A Text Book or the Origins and History of the Colored People* (1841), the first history of African-Americans published by an African-American. Due to his ministry, his activities as an abolitionist, the publication of the textbook, and the fact that he was quite visible to slave catchers, Pennington retained a lawyer to negotiate his legal title to himself. Another reason for alarm was that his brother and his brother's family were still enslaved in Maryland, and Pennington did not want them to be unduly harmed because of him. Pennington was also quite vulnerable because his home in Hartford was one of the most active stations in Connecticut, receiving as many as twenty-five slaves in one day (Washington).



While in the process of attempting to secure his freedom, Pennington was selected by the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society as their delegate to the 1843 London-convened World Anti-Slavery Society Convention, where he also represented the Connecticut Auxiliary of the American Peace Society. In 1850, he also journeyed to Paris, as a delegate to the second World Peace Congress. While on a visit to Frankfurt in August of 1850, Pennington was recognized by the University of Heidelberg, with the Doctor of Divinity, and became the first African-American to graduate from a European university (Blackett 59). In addition to his work with the Underground Railroad and his activities with the convention meetings, he was one of the leading figures in the battle against segregated public transportation in New York City (Blackett 53).

Due to the racial climate in the United States, Rev. Pennington came to believe that blacks should be the leaders in their own struggle for equality. He did not deny the importance and contributions of white abolitionists, but he firmly believed that blacks should be in the forefront of their cause. Maybe his most revolutionary views focused on the struggle for equality and the desire for the equality of education. He suggested that blacks should establish their own schools, seminaries, manual labor and normal schools, until those same schools were provided for blacks with equal educational opportunities. He even stated "that black children learned more in segregated schools" (qtd. in Blackett 12), which shocked his supporters, both black and white, because such a stance was unheard of. But, he never recanted on his commitment to fight against slavery, discrimination, and injustice. Later in life he contributed articles to the *Weekly Anglo African*, a literary journal. Until his death, Pennington always found time to work for the education of black youth.

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## Rev. Charles Albert Tindley

(1855-1933)

### Composer

Charles Albert Tindley was born about 1855 in Worcester County, Maryland, the son of a free woman and a former slave. His parents died when he was quite young, so he did not have the benefit of any formal training; however, a local teacher taught him to read and write, though most of his learning was self-taught. Tindley worked during the day and studied correspondence lessons and the Bible at night. He was granted a license to preach and spent twelve years as an itinerant preacher in Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland.

In 1899 Tindley joined the Bainbridge Street Church in Philadelphia, where he had formerly served as a janitor. In 1902, he was offered but refused assignment to the Salisbury District and opted to be assigned at Bainbridge Street Methodist Episcopal Church. He received the assignment at Bainbridge, and his congregation grew rapidly, so rapidly that a new sanctuary was needed to accommodate his flock.

Tindley secured the help of Presbyterian church members and a rabbi in order to purchase the building, because realtors would not sell land on Broad Street, nor would they sell such prime real estate to blacks. His ministry included a congregation of over 5,000, primarily from the Delmarva Peninsula. The reason his church and ministry grew so large and so rapidly is that he started a street ministry, in which he served free lunches to all in need of food, made clothing available for the needy, and found jobs for the unemployed. A new church was built and its name was changed to the Tindley Temple Methodist Church, over his humble objections.

Between 1901 and 1906, Rev. Tindley published a book of hymns called *Songs of Praise*, including "We'll Understand It Better By and By," "Leave It There," "Lord, I've Tried," "What Are They Doing in Heaven?," "I'm Going to Die With the Staff In My Hand," "Let Jesus Fix It For You," "I Know the Lord Will Make A Way, Oh Yes He Will," and "We Shall Overcome," which became the anthem for the Civil Rights Movement, and many others. As a noted songwriter and composer of hymns, Tindley is recognized as one of the founding fathers of American gospel music. At least five of his hymns are used in the Methodist hymnal which is used worldwide. One song, "Stand By Me," became a national hit when Ben E. King and the Drifters sang their version during the 1960s. When his work was done at the age of 74, Rev. Charles Albert Tindley died on 20 July 1933.

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*Worcester County, Maryland African-American Heritage* Tourism Brochure. Worcester County Tourism Office.

## Dr. H. DeWayne Whittington

(b. 1931)

### First African-American School Superintendent on the Eastern Shore

H. DeWayne Whittington was born and raised in segregated Crisfield, in Somerset County, Maryland. Due to the death of his mother nine days after his birth, he was raised by his grandparents, who taught him to revere education and the Protestant work ethic. The isolation of rural, segregated Crisfield did not prevent Whittington from excelling. Even as a child he stoked the furnace and worked as a janitor at the colored school for \$30 per month and delivered clothes for the local dry cleaners. The janitorial position required Whittington to rise at five in the morning and walk or jog 1 1/2 miles to school to start the fire in the furnace, return home for breakfast, and then go back to school for instruction.

Upon the completion of high school, Whittington attended Morgan State (now Morgan State University) and majored in physical education. While at Morgan he also worked as a janitor and joined the ROTC for the monthly stipend of \$27.19. Upon graduation, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the United States Army and spent two years at Fort Ord, California, training troops for the Korean Conflict. Whittington returned to Crisfield in 1954 and taught physical education and coached male sports for \$2,400 per year. The year 1954 was the year of the famous Brown decision, but Crisfield had no desire to desegregate or leave behind a way of life akin to slavery.

In 1962 Whittington became the principal of his former high school. During the 1968/69 school year, when the public schools of Somerset County desegregated, Whittington became a school administrator and wrote federal grants to try to improve the schools and to upgrade the audio and visual equipment already in existence. In 1981, he became assistant superintendent of Somerset County Schools, and in 1988 was named the first black superintendent of schools. This honor was bestowed on Whittington 34 years after he had served as gym teacher and janitor for the school.

Superintendent Whittington developed an alliance of the schools with businesses, brought in computer technology, attempted to improve test scores, and instituted an open-door policy with the community. This working relationship lasted until January 1992 when the all-white Board of Education voted 2 to 3 not to renew his contract, with no explanation. This was the first time that a Board of Education had not renewed a superintendent's contract in approximately forty years. Protests by parents and community groups were to no avail as the Board of Education refused to offer an explanation for Whittington's firing. Whittington even offered to return to his former position as gym teacher, but the Board of Education refused to grant his wish, and instead hired a long-time substitute. In the interim, the University of Maryland Eastern Shore (UMES) offered him a position.

Gradually rumors began to spread and to damage his good name, so Whittington appealed to a lawyer for a redress of his grievances. On behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, the trial began on 17 June 1996. When the verdict was rendered the Somerset County Board of Education was found guilty of discrimination. The award was "\$835,000.00 and the jury stated that monetary compensation was insufficient for an act of racism" of this type. The jury further recommended that a school in Somerset County be named in Whittington's honor as a living memorial to his lifetime achievements in education.

Dr. Whittington has served on over 28 different boards at the same time. He presently serves on an advisory board to help children who do not learn well in traditional classrooms. His emphasis on education is a testament to his life work, his desire to help his county, and his commitment to the time-worn values he was taught as a child.

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## Crystal Bird Fauset

(1894-1965)

Politician

Crystal Dreda Bird Fauset was the first African-American woman to be elected to a state house of representatives. She was born in 1894 in Princess Anne, Maryland, but upon the deaths of her parents was raised by her maternal aunt and educated in the public schools of Boston.

She graduated from Teachers College, Columbia University in 1931 with a B.S. and worked as a social worker and administrator of Negro affairs for the Young Women's Christian Association in New York City and Philadelphia. In 1933 she helped establish and was named executive secretary for the Institute of Race Relations at Swarthmore College. In 1935 she became director of Negro women's activities for the Democratic National Committee, and in 1936 was appointed an assistant personnel director in the Philadelphia Office of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). In 1938 she was asked by Philadelphia's local Democratic Party to run for a seat in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. She was elected and became the first African-American woman to hold such a position. She won in a district where two-thirds of the voters were white. While in office, her attention was focused on slum clearance, low-cost housing projects, and fair employment legislation which would ban discrimination against minorities. She remained in the position for one year because she accepted an appointment in 1939 to the Pennsylvania WPA as assistant director in charge of education and recreational programs. In 1941, with the assistance of her close friend Eleanor Roosevelt, she was appointed as the special consultant on Negro affairs in the Office of Civilian Affairs in Washington, D.C.

By 1944, Fauset had become disappointed with the Democratic Party as a result of its mishandling of black Americans during the war effort. She became an advisor to the Republican National Committee's division on Negro affairs. She also served as the chair of the Philadelphia Negro Women's Democratic League and on the board of trustees of Cheyney State Teachers College. In 1945 she founded the United Nations Council of Philadelphia, which later became the World Affairs Council, and she traveled extensively in India, the Middle East, and Africa. She remained active in politics helping to initiate social and economic change until she had a heart attack and died in Philadelphia on 27 March 1965.

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## Louis Redding

(b.1911)

Lawyer

In 1929 Louis Redding, the son of a well-respected Wilmington family, was the first black man accepted into the Delaware Bar. Redding studied at Brown University and then at Harvard Law School with the benefit of a scholarship, returning to Delaware determined to serve the black community of his state. He

represented blacks in many discrimination cases for pittance wages. One of those cases was Parker v. the University of Delaware, which was decided in 1950, in which black undergraduates won the unrestricted right to attend the University of Delaware, making it the first institution of higher education in the nation to be ordered by the court to end segregation.

Redding also authored the article "Desegregation in Higher Education in Delaware," in the *Journal of Negro Education*.

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## Gloria Richardson Civil Rights Activist

A product of the 1960s and a resident of Cambridge, Maryland, on the Eastern Shore, Gloria Richardson was a political activist during the Cambridge demonstrations of 1963. When the demonstrations began that spring, Richardson was a recent graduate of Howard University. She became a leader of the demonstrations and emphasized militancy and black pride. Militancy led to anger and opposition from the Cambridge town police and white citizens. Violence erupted, store windows were smashed, and shooting began, which led to martial law being declared in the town.

State officials purportedly tried to speak to Gloria Richardson, but she refused, probably due to decades of mistrust, deceit, racism, and discrimination. U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy entered into negotiations in an effort to end the demonstrations. Kennedy promised open accommodations, the creation of a biracial commission to deal with unemployment, a new public housing program, and school integration at every grade level.

Cambridge was under martial law the entire time and troops remained in town until May of 1965. On 24 July 1967, H. Rapp Brown came to town and urged local blacks to take control. Shooting began and fires broke out in the black district, which left two blocks burned to the ground, including approximately 40 black owned and operated businesses, which were never rebuilt.

Gloria Richardson eventually left Cambridge and moved to New York City.

#### Source

Lowery, Charles D., and John F. Marszalek. *Encyclopedia of African American Civil Rights: From Emancipation to the Present*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992. 87.

## Isaiah Fassett

(1844-1946)

Civil War Hero

Isaiah Fassett was born into slavery in 1844 and was released from bondage by his owner, Sarah A. Bruff, on 11 November 1863, eleven months after President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. (Since Maryland was a border state, the Proclamation did not pertain to it, so Bruff was not required to adhere to it.) The day of his manumission, Fassett enlisted in the 9th Infantry Regiment, the United States Colored Infantry, Company D. He fought at Wilderness, John's Island, South Carolina; Deep Bottom, Virginia; Fussell's Mills, Petersburg, and Richmond. After Richmond fell, he was promoted to the rank of corporal, and was discharged on 26 November 1866.

Known as "Uncle Zear," Fassett was one of Maryland's "Boys of 61" to attend the 75th Battle Reunion at Gettysburg in July 1938. He was the next-to-last Civil War soldier in Maryland when he died on 24 June 1946.

**Source**

*Worcester County, Maryland African-American Heritage Tourist Brochure. Worcester County Tourism Office.*

## Howard E. Leonard

S/Sgt. Army Air Corps

## Wilmore Brown Leonard

Lt. Army Air Corps

Howard and Wilmore Leonard grew up in Salisbury, Maryland. Howard had been a teacher in the high school for African-Americans in Salisbury before joining the Air Force. He was assigned to the 34th Aviation Squadron and was attached to Mitchell Field.

Wilmore entered the Air Force in the fall of 1942. He was a graduate of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, and was a teacher at Accomack High School, Accomack, Virginia. In the Air Force he earned his wings as a pilot at Tuskegee Institute, the first Eastern Shore African-American to do so. In Europe he became part of the famous 332nd Fighter Group, the "Red Tails," and flew bomber escort missions for the 15th Air Force, strafed enemy positions in support of the ground forces, and engaged in air combat as far north as Berlin. Leonard was awarded seven Battle Stars. After the war, Leonard stayed in the Reserves and eventually reached the rank of major. He returned to Howard University, earned the Doctor of Dental Surgery, and taught at Howard University for 27 years. He died in 1978.

**Source**

Bradley, Sylvia. *We Live Among Heroes: A Commemorative of Wicomico County's World War Two Veterans*. Wicomico County: Westside Historical Society, 1996. 111-12.

# Thomas Elzey Polk, Sr.

(1860-1940)

## Buffalo Soldier

Thomas Polk, from Allen, Maryland, was born on 11 June 1860 and joined Troop C, 9th U.S. Cavalry, in March 1882. When he signed his name for enlistment it was with an X, but when he re-enlisted in 1887 he was able to write his name. The ability to read and write was one of the benefits of the military, especially for the Buffalo Soldiers. Polk served for ten years on remote assignments in the West to keep peace between the American Indians and white settlers. Polk was originally assigned to Fort Riley, Kansas.

Thomas Elzey Polk, Sr., Buffalo Soldier, died 24 June 1940, and is buried in Allen.

### Source

*The (Salisbury) Daily Times* 8 September 1996: B1, B3.

## Mary Ann Shadd Cary

(1823-1893)

### Newspaper Woman

Mary Ann Shadd was the oldest of thirteen children born in Wilmington, Delaware, to Abraham and Harriet Shadd. Her parents' home was a refuge for runaway slaves, so at an early age she understood the horrors of slavery. When she was ten, Cary's parents took her to a Quaker school in Pennsylvania so that she could obtain an education (it was against the law to educate blacks in Delaware). At the age of sixteen, she returned to Wilmington and opened a private school for blacks.

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Cary and one of her brothers went to Windsor, Canada, to escape the wrath of slave catchers and those who supported slavery. Her parents moved the entire family to Canada, but due to the large number of fugitive slaves who fled to Windsor, a campaign was begun to dissuade fugitives from making Windsor their new home. Cary countered by writing a forty-four-page pamphlet which listed the opportunities available for blacks in Windsor. As a result of the positive response to the pamphlet she began to publish a weekly newspaper called *The Provincial Freeman*, making Cary the first black newspaperwoman in North America.

She openly spoke out for what she believed in, and was known for her wit. Friends as well as foes often referred to her as "The Rebel" for the fiery manner in which she denounced slavery and other injustices. She married Thomas Cary, of Toronto, in 1856, and years later opened a school with no distinctions due to race, color, or creed. When the American Civil War began and President Lincoln asked for volunteers, Mary Ann Shadd Cary returned to the United States and in 1863 was appointed Army recruiting officer to encourage black men to enlist in Indiana. She helped to organize a regiment of black soldiers and, through contact with Martin Delaney, developed an interest in black nationalism. At the end of the war, she moved to Washington, D.C., and opened a school for black children. She also enrolled in Howard University's Law Department, and upon graduation became the first black woman in the United States to earn a law degree (1870).

Upon graduation, Cary opened a law office and challenged the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee for the right to vote. She won the law suit and became one of the few women to vote in federal elections during Reconstruction. She organized the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association in 1880, and campaigned for women's rights. Until her death in 1893 she lived by the motto of her paper, "Self-reliance Is the Fine Road to Independence."

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# Dr. Maulana Karenga

## Creator of Kwanzaa and Writer

Born Ronald Everett and raised in Parsonsburg, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Karenga attended the former Salisbury High School. He earned several college degrees and received many honorary degrees from some of the most prestigious colleges and universities in the world.

Dr. Karenga has taught black and ethnic studies at the University of California, Riverside, and has taught black studies at California State University at Los Angeles, Dominguez Hills, and San Diego. He has served as visiting professor of black politics, Stanford University, and distinguished visiting scholar in black studies at University of Nebraska, Omaha. An activist-scholar of national and international recognition, he has lectured on most of the major campuses of the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, Cuba, and Trinidad on black life and struggle. He presently serves as professor and chairperson of the Black Studies Department at California State University at Long Beach and is the executive director of the Institute of Pan African Studies. His other books include *Introduction to Black Studies; Kawaiida Theory: An Introductory Outline; Selections From the Husia: Sacred Wisdom of Ancient Egypt; Essays on Struggle: Position and Analysis; Kwanzaa: Origins, Concepts, Practice; The Foundations of Kawaiida Theory: An Essay in Communitarian African Philosophy; The African American Holiday of Kwanzaa: A Celebration of Family, Community and Culture; and The Book of Coming Forth By Day: The Ethics of the Declarations of Innocence.*

In 1966 Dr. Karenga created Kwanzaa, an Afrikan celebration which is held from December 26 to January 1. A non-religious cultural holiday, Kwanzaa is the reinstitution of traditional Afrikan agricultural celebration that emphasizes the importance of cooperation, as well as the recognition and honor of those members of the Afrikan community for being able to successfully work together.

Kwanzaa follows the seven principles called Nguzo Saba:

- |                 |                                    |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. UMOJA        | Unity                              |
| 2. KUJICHAGULIA | Self Determination                 |
| 3. UJIMA        | Collective Work and Responsibility |
| 4. UJAMAA       | Cooperative Economics              |
| 5. NIA          | Purpose                            |
| 6. KUUMBA       | Creativity                         |
| 7. IMANI        | Faith                              |

The colors are black, red, and green: black for the people, red for our continuing struggle, and green for the future we shall build out of struggle (Karenga 75).

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# Jay Saunders Redding

(b. 1906)

Writer

Redding was born in Wilmington, Delaware, and was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Brown University, where he earned his B.A. and M.A. He studied Elizabethan drama at Columbia University and taught at Morehouse College, Hampton Institute, and Cornell University. Redding received a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship and Guggenheim Fellowship, and has produced fiction, historical stories, and a volume of literary criticism. Some of his works include *To Make A Poet Black* (1939), *No Day of Triumph* (1942), *Stranger and Alone* (1950), *They Came In Chains: Americans from Africa* (1958), *On Being Negro in America*, and *The Negro* (1967).

**Source**

Baker, Houston A. Jr. *Black Literature in America*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971. 439.

## Henry Blair Inventor

The first invention recorded as the work of a Negro was patented in 1834 and 1836, when corn harvesters were patented by Henry Blair of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He apparently was a slave at the time of the inventions because, in 1858, the attorney general ruled that since a slave was not a citizen, the government could not enter into an agreement with him by granting him a patent, nor could Blair assign the invention to his owner.

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## John Casor First Known Slave on the Eastern Shore

John Casor (also spelled Cassa or Cassaugh) was the first slave known to have lived on the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland. Casor was the property of Anthony Johnson, Somerset County's first free black inhabitant. By mid-century, though, slaves made up twenty-five percent of the region's population, according to *Gentleman's Magazine*. Casor sued for his freedom and failed while the Johnson family resided in Virginia. When the family moved to Maryland, Casor was still listed as a slave and not as an indentured servant as he claimed in the suit. When the Johnson family moved to Sussex County, Delaware, Casor was included in the census, still as a slave with the Johnson family, even though Casor did have the right to own property.

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OTHER NOTABLE  
AMERICAN AMERICANS

# Anna Murray Douglass

(1813-1882)

## Homemaker

Anna Murray was probably born in 1813, near Denton, in Caroline County, on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Her parents, Mary and Bambarra Murray, were manumitted a month before she was born, so she was born free, the eighth of twelve children. At seventeen, she left the Eastern Shore and went to Baltimore in search of employment. She worked as a domestic servant for at least two white families.

In the 1830s she met Frederick Augustus Bailey, who was still a slave, but who had already attempted to escape slavery at least once. With her money, Anna Murray purchased a train ticket and helped Frederick to escape beyond the bonds of slavery, dressed in sailor's clothing she had made for him. She followed him to New York, where they were married by Rev. James W. C. Pennington, another fugitive from the Eastern Shore. Under the assumed name of Johnson, the couple traveled to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where they adopted the name of Douglass.

Frederick Douglass became employed as an anti-slavery lecturer and was away for months while Anna Murray Douglass maintained the home, cared for the children, and manufactured shoes at home to supplement the family's income. She never matched or approached the intellectualism of her husband, so she concentrated her efforts on the maintenance of a well-run household. Her health began to deteriorate in her late forties and, following a stroke, Anna Murray Douglass died on 4 August 1882.

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# Sampson Harmon

## Folk Hero

Sampson Harmon, or "Sampson Hat" as he was known in *The Entailed Hat*, a novel by George Albert Townsend, was not a fictitious character but a folk hero of the Eastern Shore. (*The Entailed Hat* was about the notorious Patty Cannon and Joe Johnson.)

Sampson Harmon was supposed to have been the strongest and fastest man on the Shore. He was reputed to have been able to run down a deer and capture it. Sampson Harmon worked for Judge Thomas Spence, the owner of the Iron Furnace at Furnace Town. Upon his death at the age of 106, Harmon was buried as he wished at Furnace Town, where his ghost is said to haunt.

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# Anthony and Mary Johnson

(Seventeenth Century)

## Colonial Planters

No one knows for certain when the first African-Americans came to America. We do know that the record of African-Americans in America began with a passage in John Rolfe's letter in 1619 which stated that 20 odd Negroes were brought into Virginia by a Dutch man of war. What is certain is that in the muster roll of 1624, twenty-three African servants were listed and among them was a Negro man named Anthony<sup>1</sup> and a Negro woman named Mary (Hotten 241), who were serving under different masters. They possessed both family and given names, which helped to identify them in Accomack and Northampton County court records and documents in the seventeenth century. These records showed that they owned property, had families, and had legal transactions with the white community.<sup>2</sup>

Anthony probably came to Virginia in the ship the *James* in 1621, according to a variety of sources, and Mary came in the *Margaret and John* in 1622.<sup>3</sup> The census of 1624 listed them as not yet married to each other, but by 1651 their status had changed from that of servants to that of landholders. Between 1625 and 1652 very little is known of their status in society. Numerous sources confirm that by 1654 Anthony and Mary had been inhabitants of the county for about thirty years.<sup>4</sup> In July of 1651, Anthony Johnson received 250 acres of land,<sup>5</sup> which made the Johnsons perhaps the wealthiest Negroes in Virginia (Brewer 576), since by the late 1650s the Johnsons owned at least 800 acres of land (Breen and Innes 14-16).

Often referred to as "the Black Patriarch of Pungoteague Creek,"<sup>6</sup> Anthony Johnson and Mary continued to accumulate land, which translated into power. For all intensive purposes, the Johnsons could have been "Black Englishmen." Economic security acquired through the possession of land meant that the Johnsons had a degree of power and standing in the community. They traded with other Negroes as well as whites, and sued and were sued by whites as well. The Johnsons appeared to have been treated with the same judicial deference as white English freemen. Maybe the most famous law suit which involved the Johnsons was over the ownership of John Casor (Cassaugh), the Negro servant of Anthony Johnson. Casor claimed that he was an indentured servant when he entered Virginia, but Anthony Johnson had kept him a slave. The case is important because it may have been the first recorded instance of a free black owning another black as a slave, servant, or indentured servant, in Virginia or America. The case concluded with Casor being reenslaved with Anthony Johnson,<sup>7</sup> and when the Johnsons migrated to Maryland, Casor accompanied them as their servant.

The Johnsons moved to Maryland's lower Eastern Shore (which formerly belonged to Virginia) when it was opened for settlement, in order to reap the benefits of the new frontier. Their move was a result of boundary disputes between the colonial governments of Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware. The Johnsons, their son, John, and his wife, Susanna, were the first free blacks known to have lived on the lower Shore of Maryland. They settled in an area called Manokin and appeared in a Maryland land patent dated 1665.

The patent does not specify the arrival date for the Johnsons (accompanied by John Casor); it merely showed that they were in Somerset by 1665. By 1666, according to Somerset County court records, Anthony Johnson had purchased land in Somerset, known as Tony's Vineyard, and was referred to as a planter; he also began to accumulate cattle and hogs.<sup>8</sup>

Anthony Johnson died between September 1666 and 1671,<sup>9</sup> and his son, John Johnson, served as the head of the family. John Johnson purchased land in his own right, and named it Angola, according to *Maryland Provincial Patents* (Liber 20, 224-25), with common boundaries with land owned by his mother and late father. From court records it was determined that the Johnsons did not accumulate outstanding

debts, nor were they a nuisance to the community. However, in 1681, John Johnson decided to move to the underdeveloped frontier region of southern Delaware, known as Horekill River (Deal 272), in Sussex County, but Mary Johnson and some of the other Johnsons remained in Somerset County, in the Wicomico Hundred section that later became a part of Wicomico County. Somerset County land records show that Mary Johnson was still alive in 1688 (Liber L2, 636), but by 1701 she no longer appeared in court records, so the presumption is that she was deceased.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hotten 244; Russell 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ames 102; Wise 285.

<sup>3</sup> Ames 102; Hotten 182, 241.

<sup>4</sup> Whitelaw 671; Nugent 374; Russell 24; Ames 102; *M.S. Court Records of Northampton County, 1651-1654*: 161.

<sup>5</sup> Brewer 576; Ames 103.

<sup>6</sup> Breen and Innes 7; Brewer 578.

<sup>7</sup> Russell 32; Ames 104; Breen and Innes 13-15; Whitelaw 671; *Northampton County Deed and Will* F. 226.

<sup>8</sup> See *Somerset County Court Records* (Liber O-2, 20-21, Md. HR; Liber O-1, 32-33, Md. HR; and Liber B O-1, 28, Md. HR, 640-41) and the *Archives of Maryland LJV* 749.

<sup>9</sup> *Archives of Maryland LJV* 675; *Somerset County Court Records* Liber O-2, 20-21, Md. HR.

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## Joe (Joseph) Johnson

### Inn Keeper and Slave Kidnapper

Joe Johnson was the notorious son-in-law of Patty Cannon, the Lucretia Borgia of the Peninsula, who had been active in kidnaping, murder, and other crimes in Delaware and Maryland. Joe Johnson operated a tavern in Dorchester County, Maryland,<sup>1</sup> just a few yards from the Delaware line. It was reputed that he taught Patty Cannon the tricks of the kidnaping trade. In 1816 he was sentenced to be publicly whipped on the back and to stand in the pillory to have his ears nailed to the wood. Together, Cannon and Johnson went after free Negroes. Johnson sailed a schooner from Cannon's Ferry to Baltimore and stole all the Negro men he could hire. He induced them to go as stevedores in the hold of the ship and, when he got them there, would enslave them and take them to the Deep South.<sup>2</sup> In most instances Cannon and Johnson stole free blacks because they were not someone's property, nor would anyone be searching for them as opposed to slaves, who were valuable property.

Upon the capture of Patty Cannon, her imprisonment, and death, Johnson went to New Orleans and points beyond. Under an assumed name he became a respectable probate judge in Arkansas (Giles 85).

#### Notes

1 Giles 17; Townsend; Clark.

2 Giles 24; *Delaware Gazette*; *Niles Weekly Register*; Shannahan.

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## William Julius "Judy" Johnson

(1899-1989)

### Baseball Hall-of-Famer

William "Judy" Johnson was born in Snow Hill, Maryland, on 26 October 1899. He began his Negro League baseball career in 1918 and ended it twenty-one years later in 1939. He played in more than 3,000 professional games and was known as the best all-time third baseman. He later served as a teacher of baseball and worked as a scout for the Philadelphia Athletics, and in 1975 was inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

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Burris, Samuel .....	4
Cary, Mary Ann Shadd .....	24
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**BRIEF BIOS OF  
AFRICAN/AMERICANS  
ON DELMARVA**

DR. SMALL  
Spring Term 1998



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Appendix K: "My Escape from Slavery" by  
Frederick Douglass

Douglass, Frederick. "My Escape from Slavery."  
The Century Illustrated Magazine 23, n.s. 1 (Nov. 1881): 125-131.

#### MY ESCAPE FROM SLAVERY

In the first narrative of my experience in slavery, written nearly forty years ago, and in various writings since, I have given the public what I considered very good reasons for withholding the manner of my escape. In substance these reasons were, first, that such publication at any time during the existence of slavery might be used by the master against the slave, and prevent the future escape of any who might adopt the same means that I did. The second reason was, if possible, still more binding to silence: the publication of details would certainly have put in peril the persons and property of those who assisted. Murder itself was not more sternly and certainly punished in the State of Maryland than that of aiding and abetting the escape of a slave. Many colored men, for no other crime than that of giving aid to a fugitive slave, have, like Charles T. Torrey, perished in prison. The abolition of slavery in my native State and throughout the country, and the lapse of time, render the caution hitherto observed no longer necessary. But even since the abolition of slavery, I have sometimes thought it well enough to baffle curiosity by saying that while slavery existed there were good reasons for not telling the manner of my escape, and since slavery had ceased to exist, there was no reason for telling it. I shall now, however, cease to avail myself of this formula, and, as far as I can, endeavor to satisfy this very natural curiosity. I should, perhaps, have yielded to that feeling sooner, had there been anything very heroic or thrilling in the incidents connected with my escape, for I am sorry to say I have nothing of that sort to tell; and yet the courage that could risk betrayal and the bravery which was ready to encounter death, if need be, in pursuit of freedom, were essential features in the undertaking. My success was due to address rather than courage, to good luck rather than bravery. My means of escape were provided for me by the very men who were making laws to hold and bind me more securely in slavery.

It was the custom in the State of Maryland to require the free colored people to have what were called free papers. These instruments they were required to renew very often, and by charging a fee for this writing, considerable sums from

time to time were collected by the State. In these papers the name, age, color, height, and form of the freeman were described, together with any scars or other marks upon his person which could assist in his identification. This device in some measure defeated itself--since more than one man could be found to answer the same general description. Hence many slaves could escape by personating the owner of one set of papers; and this was often done as follows: A slave, nearly or sufficiently answering the description set forth in the papers, would borrow or hire them till by means of them he could escape to a free State, and then, by mail or otherwise, would return them to the owner. The operation was a hazardous one for the lender as well as for the borrower. A failure on the part of the fugitive to send back the papers would imperil his benefactor, and the discovery of the papers in possession of the wrong man would imperil both the fugitive and his friend. It was, therefore, an act of supreme trust on the part of a freeman of color thus to put in jeopardy his own liberty that another might be free. It was, however, not unfrequently bravely done, and was seldom discovered. I was not so fortunate as to resemble any of my free acquaintances sufficiently to answer the description of their papers.

But I had a friend--a sailor--who owned a sailor's protection, which answered somewhat the purpose of free papers--describing his person, and certifying to the fact that he was a free American sailor. The instrument had at its head the American eagle, which gave it the appearance at once of an authorized document. This protection, when in my hands, did not describe its bearer very accurately. Indeed, it called for a man much darker than myself, and close examination of it would have caused my arrest at the start.

In order to avoid this fatal scrutiny on the part of railroad officials, I arranged with Isaac Rolls, a Baltimore hackman, to bring my baggage to the Philadelphia train just on the moment of starting, and jumped upon the car myself when the train was in motion. Had I gone into the station and offered to purchase a ticket, I should have been instantly and carefully examined, and undoubtedly arrested. In choosing this plan I considered the jostle of the train, and the natural haste of the conductor, in a train crowded with passengers, and relied upon my skill and address in playing the sailor, as described in my protection, to do the rest. One element in my favor was the kind feeling which prevailed in Baltimore and other sea-ports at the time, toward "those who go down to the sea in ships." "Free trade and sailors' rights" just then expressed the sentiment of the country. In my clothing I was rigged out in sailor style. I had on a red shirt and a tarpaulin hat, and a black cravat tied in sailor fashion carelessly and loosely about my neck. My knowledge of ships and sailor's talk came much to my assistance, for I knew a ship

from stem to stern, and from keelson to cross-trees, and could talk sailor like an "old salt." I was well on the way to Havre de Grace before the conductor came into the negro car to collect tickets and examine the papers of his black passengers. This was a critical moment in the drama. My whole future depended upon the decision of this conductor. Agitated though I was while this ceremony was proceeding, still, externally, at least, I was apparently calm and self-possessed. He went on with his duty--examining several colored passengers before reaching me. He was somewhat harsh in tone and peremptory in manner until he reached me, when, strange enough, and to my surprise and relief, his whole manner changed. Seeing that I did not readily produce my free papers, as the other colored persons in the car had done, he said to me, in friendly contrast with his bearing toward the others:

"I suppose you have your free papers?"

To which I answered:

"No sir; I never carry my free papers to sea with me."

"But you have something to show that you are a freeman, haven't you?"

"Yes, sir," I answered; "I have a paper with the American Eagle on it, and that will carry me around the world."

With this I drew from my deep sailor's pocket my seaman's protection, as before described. The merest glance at the paper satisfied him, and he took my fare and went on about his business. This moment of time was one of the most anxious I ever experienced.

Had the conductor looked closely at the paper, he could not have failed to discover that it called for a very different-looking person from myself, and in that case it would have been his duty to arrest me on the instant, and send me back to Baltimore from the first station. When he left me with the assurance that I was all right, though much relieved, I realized that I was still in great danger: I was still in Maryland, and subject to arrest at any moment. I saw on the train several persons who would have known me in any other clothes, and I feared they might recognize me, even in my sailor "rig," and report me to the conductor, who would then subject me to a closer examination, which I knew well would be fatal to me.

Though I was not a murderer fleeing from justice, I felt perhaps quite as miserable as such a criminal. The train was moving at a very high rate of speed for that epoch of railroad travel, but to my anxious mind it was moving far too slowly. Minutes were hours,

and hours were days during this part of my flight. After Maryland, I was to pass through Delaware--another slave State, where slave-catchers generally awaited their prey, for it was not in the interior of the State, but on its borders, that these human hounds were most vigilant and active. The border lines between slavery and freedom were the dangerous ones for the fugitives. The heart of no fox or deer, with hungry hounds on his trail in full chase, could have beaten more anxiously or noisily than did mine from the time I left Baltimore till I reached Philadelphia. The passage of the Susquehanna River at Havre de Grace was at that time made by ferry-boat, on board of which I met a young colored man by the name of Nichols, who came very near betraying me. He was a "hand" on the boat, but, instead of minding his business, he insisted upon knowing me, and asking me dangerous questions as to where I was going, when I was coming back, etc. I got away from my old and inconvenient acquaintance as soon as I could decently do so, and went to another part of the boat. Once across the river, I encountered a new danger. Only a few days before, I had been at work on a revenue cutter, in Mr. Price's ship-yard in Baltimore, under the care of Captain McGowan. On the meeting at this point of the two trains, the one going south stopped on the track just opposite to the one going north, and it so happened that this Captain McGowan sat at a window where he could see me very distinctly, and would certainly have recognized me had he looked at me but for a second. Fortunately, in the hurry of the moment, he did not see me; and the trains soon passed each other on their respective ways. But this was not my only hair-breadth escape. A German blacksmith whom I knew well was on the train with me, and looked at me very intently, as if he thought he had seen me somewhere before in his travels. I really believe he knew me, but had no heart to betray me. At any rate, he saw me escaping and held his peace.

The last point of imminent danger, and the one I dreaded most, was Wilmington. Here we left the train and took the steam-boat for Philadelphia. In making the change here I again apprehended arrest, but no one disturbed me, and I was soon on the broad and beautiful Delaware, speeding away to the Quaker City. On reaching Philadelphia in the afternoon I inquired of a colored man how I could get on to New York. He directed me to the William-street depot, and thither I went, taking the train that night I reached New York Tuesday morning, having completed the journey in less than twenty-four hours.

My free life began on the third of September, 1838. On the morning of the fourth of that month, after an anxious and most perilous but safe journey, I found myself in the big city of New York, a FREE MAN--one more added to the mighty throng which, like the confused waves of the troubled sea, surged to and fro between the lofty walls of Broadway.

Though dazzled with the wonders which met me on every hand, my thoughts could not be much withdrawn from my strange situation. For the moment, the dreams of my youth and the hopes of my manhood were completely fulfilled. The bonds that had held me to "old master" were broken. No man now had a right to call me his slave or assert mastery over me. I was in the rough and tumble of an outdoor world, to take my chance with the rest of its busy number. I have often been asked how I felt when first I found myself on free soil. There is scarcely anything in my experience about which I could not give a more satisfactory answer. A new world had opened upon me. If life is more than breath and the "quick round of blood," I lived more in that one day than in a year of my slave life. It was a time of joyous excitement which words can but tamely describe. In a letter written to a friend soon after reaching New York, I said: "I felt as one might feel upon escape from a den of hungry lions." Anguish and grief, like darkness and rain, may be depicted; but gladness and joy, like the rainbow, defy the skill of pen or pencil. During ten or fifteen years I had been, as it were, dragging a heavy chain which no strength of mine could break; I was not only a slave, but a slave for life. I might become a husband, a father, an aged man, but through all, from birth to death, from the cradle to the grave, I had felt myself doomed. All efforts I had previously made to secure my freedom had not only failed, but had seemed only to rivet my fetters the more firmly, and to render my escape more difficult. Baffled, entangled, and discouraged, I had at times asked myself the question, May not my condition after all be God's work, and ordered for a wise purpose, and if so, Is not submission my duty? A contest had in fact been going on in my mind for a long time, between the clear consciousness of right and the plausible make-shifts of theology and superstition. The one held me an abject slave--a prisoner for life, punished for some transgression in which I had no lot nor part; and the other counseled me to manly endeavor to secure my freedom. This contest was now ended; my chains were broken, and the victory brought me unspeakable joy.

But my gladness was short-lived, for I was not yet out of the reach and power of the slave-holders. I soon found that New York was not quite so free or so safe a refuge as I had supposed, and a sense of loneliness and insecurity again oppressed me most sadly. I chanced to meet on the street a few hours after my landing, a fugitive slave whom I had once known well in slavery. The information received from him alarmed me. The fugitive in question was known in Baltimore as "Allender's Jake," but in New York he wore the more respectable name of "William Dixon." Jake, in law, was the property of Doctor Allender, and Tolly Allender, the son of the doctor, had once made an effort to recapture MR. DIXON, but had failed for want of evidence to support his claim. Jake told me the circumstances of this attempt, and how narrowly

he escaped being sent back to slavery and torture. He told me that New York was then full of Southerners returning from the Northern watering-places; that the colored people of New York were not to be trusted; that there were hired men of my own color who would betray me for a few dollars; that there were hired men ever on the lookout for fugitives; that I must trust no man with my secret; that I must not think of going either upon the wharves or into any colored boarding-house, for all such places were closely watched; that he was himself unable to help me; and, in fact, he seemed while speaking to me to fear lest I myself might be a spy and a betrayer. Under this apprehension, as I suppose, he showed signs of wishing to be rid of me, and with whitewash brush in hand, in search of work, he soon disappeared.

This picture, given by poor "Jake," of New York, was a damper to my enthusiasm. My little store of money would soon be exhausted, and since it would be unsafe for me to go on the wharves for work, and I had no introductions elsewhere, the prospect for me was far from cheerful. I saw the wisdom of keeping away from the ship-yards, for, if pursued, as I felt certain I should be, Mr. Auld, my "master," would naturally seek me there among the calkers. Every door seemed closed against me. I was in the midst of an ocean of my fellow-men, and yet a perfect stranger to every one. I was without home, without acquaintance, without money, without credit, without work, and without any definite knowledge as to what course to take, or where to look for succor. In such an extremity, a man had something besides his new-born freedom to think of. While wandering about the streets of New York, and lodging at least one night among the barrels on one of the wharves, I was indeed free--from slavery, but free from food and shelter as well. I kept my secret to myself as long as I could, but I was compelled at last to seek some one who would befriend me without taking advantage of my destitution to betray me. Such a person I found in a sailor named Stuart, a warm-hearted and generous fellow, who, from his humble home on Centre street, saw me standing on the opposite sidewalk, near the Tombs prison. As he approached me, I ventured a remark to him which at once enlisted his interest in me. He took me to his home to spend the night, and in the morning went with me to Mr. David Ruggles, the secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee, a co-worker with Isaac T. Hopper, Lewis and Arthur Tappan, Theodore S. Wright, Samuel Cornish, Thomas Downing, Philip A. Bell, and other true men of their time. All these (save Mr. Bell, who still lives, and is editor and publisher of a paper called the "Elevator," in San Francisco) have finished their work on earth. Once in the hands of these brave and wise men, I felt comparatively safe. With Mr. Ruggles, on the corner of Lispenard and Church streets, I was hidden several days, during which time my intended wife came on from Baltimore at my call, to share the burdens of life with me. She was a free woman, and came at once on getting the good news of my safety



We were married by Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, then a well-known and respected Presbyterian minister. I had no money with which to pay the marriage fee, but he seemed well pleased with our thanks.

Mr. Ruggles was the first officer on the "Underground Railroad" whom I met after coming North, and was, indeed, the only one with whom I had anything to do till I became such an officer myself. Learning that my trade was that of a calker, he promptly decided that the best place for me was in New Bedford, Mass. He told me that many ships for whaling voyages were fitted out there, and that I might there find work at my trade and make a good living. So, on the day of the marriage ceremony, we took our little luggage to the steamer John W. Richmond, which, at that time, was one of the line running between New York and Newport, R. I. Forty-three years ago colored travelers were not permitted in the cabin, nor allowed abaft the paddle-wheels of a steam vessel. They were compelled, whatever the weather might be,--whether cold or hot, wet or dry,--to spend the night on deck. Unjust as this regulation was, it did not trouble us much; we had fared much harder before. We arrived at Newport the next morning, and soon after an old fashioned stage-coach, with "New Bedford" in large yellow letters on its sides, came down to the wharf. I had not money enough to pay our fare and stood hesitating what to do. Fortunately for us, there were two Quaker gentlemen who were about to take passage on the stage,--Friends William C. Taber and Joseph Ricketson,--who at once discerned our true situation, and, in a peculiarly quiet way, addressing me, Mr. Taber said: "Thee get in." I never obeyed an order with more alacrity, and we were soon on our way to our new home. When we reached "Stone Bridge" the passengers alighted for breakfast, and paid their fares to the driver. We took no breakfast, and, when asked for our fares, I told the driver I would make it right with him when we reached New Bedford. I expected some objection to this on his part, but he made none. When, however, we reached New Bedford, he took our baggage, including three music-books,--two of them collections by Dyer, and one by Shaw,--and held them until I was able to redeem them by paying to him the amount due for our rides. This was soon done, for Mr. Nathan Johnson not only received me kindly and hospitably, but, on being informed about our baggage, at once loaned me the two dollars with which to square accounts with the stage-driver. Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Johnson reached a good old age, and now rest from their labors. I am under many grateful obligations to them. They not only "took me in when a stranger" and "fed me when hungry," but taught me how to make an honest living. Thus, in a fortnight after my flight from Maryland, I was safe in New Bedford, a citizen of the grand old commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Once initiated into my new life of freedom and assured by Mr. Johnson that I need not fear recapture in that city, a comparatively unimportant question arose as to the name by which I should be known thereafter in my new relation as a free man. The name given me by my dear mother was no less pretentious and long than Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. I had, however, while living in Maryland, dispensed with the Augustus Washington, and retained only Frederick Bailey. Between Baltimore and New Bedford, the better to conceal myself from the slave-hunters, I had parted with Bailey and called myself Johnson; but in New Bedford I found that the Johnson family was already so numerous as to cause some confusion in distinguishing them, hence a change in this name seemed desirable. Nathan Johnson, mine host, placed great emphasis upon this necessity, and wished me to allow him to select a name for me. I consented, and he called me by my present name--the one by which I have been known for three and forty years--Frederick Douglass. Mr. Johnson had just been reading the "Lady of the Lake," and so pleased was he with its great character that he wished me to bear his name. Since reading that charming poem myself, I have often thought that, considering the noble hospitality and manly character of Nathan Johnson--black man though he was--he, far more than I, illustrated the virtues of the Douglas of Scotland. Sure am I that, if any slave-catcher had entered his domicile with a view to my recapture, Johnson would have shown himself like him of the "stalwart hand."

The reader may be surprised at the impressions I had in some way conceived of the social and material condition of the people at the North. I had no proper idea of the wealth, refinement, enterprise, and high civilization of this section of the country. My "Columbian Orator," almost my only book, had done nothing to enlighten me concerning Northern society. I had been taught that slavery was the bottom fact of all wealth. With this foundation idea, I came naturally to the conclusion that poverty must be the general condition of the people of the free States. In the country from which I came a white man holding no slaves was usually an ignorant and poverty-stricken man and men of this class were contemptuously called "poor white trash." Hence I supposed that, since the non-slave-holders at the South were ignorant poor, and degraded as a class, the non-slave-holders at the North must be in a similar condition. I could have landed in no part of the United States where I should have found a more striking and gratifying contrast, not only to life generally in the South, but in the condition of the colored people there, than in New Bedford. I was amazed when Mr. Johnson told me that there was nothing in the laws or constitution of Massachusetts that would prevent a colored man from being governor of the State, if the people should see fit to elect him. There, too, the black man's children attended the public schools with the white man's children,

and apparently without objection from any quarter. To impress me with my security from recapture and return to slavery, Mr. Johnson assured me that no slave-holder could take a slave out of New Bedford; that there were men there who would lay down their lives to save me from such a fate.

The fifth day after my arrival, I put on the clothes of a common laborer, and went upon the wharves in search of work. On my way down Union street I saw a large pile of coal in front of the house of Rev. Ephraim Peabody, the Unitarian minister. I went to the kitchen door and asked the privilege of bringing in and putting away this coal. "What will you charge?" said the lady. "I will leave that to you, madam." "You may put it away," she said. I was not long in accomplishing the job, when the dear lady put into my hand TWO SILVER HALF-DOLLARS. To understand the emotion which swelled my heart as I clasped this money, realizing that I had no master who could take it from me,--THAT IT WAS MINE--THAT MY HANDS WERE MY OWN and could earn more of the precious coin,--one must have been in some sense himself a slave. My next job was stowing a sloop at Uncle Gid. Howland's wharf with a cargo of oil for New York. I was not only a freeman, but a free working-man, and no "master" stood ready at the end of the week to seize my hard earnings.

The season was growing late and work was plenty. Ships were being fitted out for whaling, and much wood was used in storing them. The sawing this wood was considered a good job. With the help of old Friend Johnson (blessings on his memory) I got a saw and "buck," and went at it. When I went into a store to buy a cord with which to brace up my saw in the frame, I asked for a "fip's" worth of cord. The man behind the counter looked rather sharply at me, and said with equal sharpness, "You don't belong about here." I was alarmed, and thought I had betrayed myself. A fip in Maryland was six and a quarter cents, called fourpence in Massachusetts. But no harm came from the "fi'penny-bit" blunder, and I confidently and cheerfully went to work with my saw and buck. It was new business to me but I never did better work, or more of it, in the same space of time on the plantation for Covey, the negro-breaker, than I did for myself in these earliest years of my freedom.

Notwithstanding the just and humane sentiment of New Bedford three and forty years ago, the place was not entirely free from race and color prejudice. The good influence of the Roaches, Rodmans, Arnolds, Grinnells, and Robesons did not pervade all classes of its people. The test of the real civilization of the community came when I applied for work at my trade, and then my repulse was emphatic and decisive. It so happened that Mr. Rodney French, a wealthy and enterprising citizen, distinguished as an

anti-slavery man, was fitting out a vessel for a whaling voyage, upon which there was a heavy job of calking and coppering to be done. I had some skill in both branches, and applied to Mr. French for work. He, generous man that he was, told me he would employ me, and I might go at once to the vessel. I obeyed him, but upon reaching the float-stage, where others [sic] calkers were at work, I was told that every white man would leave the ship, in her unfinished condition, if I struck a blow at my trade upon her. This uncivil, inhuman, and selfish treatment was not so shocking and scandalous in my eyes at the time as it now appears to me. Slavery had inured me to hardships that made ordinary trouble sit lightly upon me. Could I have worked at my trade I could have earned two dollars a day, but as a common laborer I received but one dollar. The difference was of great importance to me, but if I could not get two dollars, I was glad to get one; and so I went to work for Mr. French as a common laborer. The consciousness that I was free--no longer a slave--kept me cheerful under this, and many similar proscriptions, which I was destined to meet in New Bedford and elsewhere on the free soil of Massachusetts. For instance, though colored children attended the schools, and were treated kindly by their teachers, the New Bedford Lyceum refused, till several years after my residence in that city, to allow any colored person to attend the lectures delivered in its hall. Not until such men as Charles Sumner, Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Horace Mann refused to lecture in their course while there was such a restriction, was it abandoned.

Becoming satisfied that I could not rely on my trade in New Bedford to give me a living, I prepared myself to do any kind of work that came to hand. I sawed wood, shoveled coal, dug cellars, moved rubbish from back yards, worked on the wharves, loaded and unloaded vessels, and scoured their cabins.

I afterward got steady work at the brass-foundry owned by Mr. Richmond. My duty here was to blow the bellows, swing the crane, and empty the flasks in which castings were made; and at times this was hot and heavy work. The articles produced here were mostly for ship work, and in the busy season the foundry was in operation night and day. I have often worked two nights and every working day of the week. My foreman, Mr. Cobb, was a good man, and more than once protected me from abuse that one or more of the hands was disposed to throw upon me. While in this situation I had little time for mental improvement. Hard work, night and day, over a furnace hot enough to keep the metal running like water, was more favorable to action than thought; yet here I often nailed a newspaper to the post near my bellows, and read while I was performing the up and down motion of the heavy beam by which the bellows was inflated and discharged.

It was the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, and I look back to it no after so many years, with some complacency and a little wonder that I could have been so earnest and persevering in any pursuit other than for my daily bread. I certainly saw nothing in the conduct of those around to inspire me with such interest: they were all devoted exclusively to what their hands found to do. I am glad to be able to say that, during my engagement in this foundry, no complaint was ever made against me that I did not do my work, and do it well. The bellows which I worked by main strength was, after I left, moved by a steam-engine.

Douglass, Frederick. "Reconstruction."  
Atlantic Monthly 18 (1866): 761-765.

## RECONSTRUCTION

The assembling of the Second Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress may very properly be made the occasion of a few earnest words on the already much-worn topic of reconstruction.

Seldom has any legislative body been the subject of a solicitude more intense, or of aspirations more sincere and ardent. There are the best of reasons for this profound interest. Questions of vast moment, left undecided by the last session of Congress, must be manfully grappled with by this. No political skirmishing will avail. The occasion demands statesmanship.

Whether the tremendous war so heroically fought and so victoriously ended shall pass into history a miserable failure, barren of permanent results,-- a scandalous and shocking waste of blood and treasure,--a strife for empire, as Earl Russell characterized it, of no value to liberty or civilization, --an attempt to re-establish a Union by force, which must be the merest mockery of a Union,--an effort to bring under Federal authority States into which no loyal man from the North may safely enter, and to bring men into the national councils who deliberate with daggers and vote with revolvers, and who do not even conceal their deadly hate of the country that conquered them; or whether, on the other hand, we shall, as the rightful reward of victory over treason, have a solid nation entirely delivered from all contradictions and social antagonisms, based upon loyalty, liberty, and equality, must be determined one way or the other by the present session of Congress. The last session

really did nothing which can be considered final as to these questions. The Civil Rights Bill and the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the proposed constitutional amendments, with the amendment already adopted and recognized as the law of the land, do not reach the difficulty, and cannot, unless the whole structure of the government is changed from a government by States to something like a despotic central government, with power to control even the municipal regulations of States, and to make them conform to its own despotic will. While there remains such an idea as the right of each State to control its own local affairs,--an idea, by the way, more deeply rooted in the minds of men of all sections of the country than perhaps any one other political idea,--no general assert of human rights can be of any practical value. To change the character of the government at this point is neither possible nor desirable. All that is necessary to be done is to make the government consistent with itself, and render the rights of the States compatible with the sacred rights of human nature.

The arm of the Federal government is long, but it is far too short to protect the rights of individuals in the interior of distant States. They must have the power to protect themselves, or they will go unprotected, spite of all the laws the Federal government can put upon the national statute-book.

Slavery, like all other great systems of wrong, founded in the depths of human selfishness, and existing for ages, has not neglected its own conservation. It has steadily exerted an influence upon all around it favorable to its own continuance. And to-day it is so strong that it could exist, not only without law, but even against law. Custom, manners, morals, religion, are all on its side everywhere in the South; and when you add the ignorance and servility of the ex-slave to the intelligence and accustomed authority of the master, you have the conditions, not out of which slavery will again grow, but under which it is impossible for the Federal government to wholly destroy it, unless the Federal government be armed with despotic power, to blot out State authority, and to station a Federal officer at every cross-road. This, of course, cannot be done, and ought not even if it could. The true way and the easiest way is to make our government entirely consistent with itself, and give to every loyal citizen the elective franchise--a right and power which will be ever present, and will form a wall of fire for his protection.

One of the invaluable compensations of the late Rebellion is the highly instructive disclosure it made of the true source of danger to republican government. Whatever may be tolerated in monarchical and despotic governments, no republic is safe

that tolerates a privileged class, or denies to any of its citizens equal rights and equal means to maintain them. What was theory before the war has been made fact by the war.

There is cause to be thankful even for rebellion. It is an impressive teach though a stern and terrible one. In both characters it has come to us, and it was perhaps needed in both. It is an instructor never a day before its time, for it comes only when all other means of progress and enlightenment have failed. Whether the oppressed and despairing bondman, no longer able to repress his deep yearnings for manhood, or the tyrant, in his pride and impatience, takes the initiative and strikes the blow for a firmer hold and a longer lease of oppression, the result is the same,--society is instructed, or may be.

Such are the limitations of the common mind, and so thoroughly engrossing are the cares of common life, that only the few among men can discern through the glitter and dazzle of present prosperity the dark outlines of approaching disasters, even though they may have come up to our very gates, and are already within striking distance. The yawning seam and corroded bolt conceal their defects from the mariner until the storm calls all hands to the pumps. Prophets, indeed, were abundant before the war; but who cares for prophets while their predictions remain unfulfilled, and the calamities of which they tell are masked behind a blinding blaze of national prosperity?

It is asked, said Henry Clay, on a memorable occasion, Will slavery never come to an end? That question, said he, was asked fifty years ago, and it has been answered by fifty years of unprecedented prosperity. Spite of the eloquence of the earnest Abolitionists,--poured out against slavery during thirty years,--even they must confess, that, in all the probabilities of the case, that system of barbarism would have continued its horrors far beyond the limits of the nineteenth century but for the Rebellion, and perhaps only have disappeared at last in a fiery conflict, even more fierce and bloody than that which has now been suppressed.

It is no disparagement to truth, that it can only prevail where reason prevails. War begins where reason ends. The thing worse than rebellion is the thing that causes rebellion. What that thing is, we have been taught to our cost. It remains now to be seen whether we have the needed courage to have that cause entirely removed from the Republic. At any rate, to this grand work of national regeneration and entire purification Congress must now address Itself, with full purpose that the work shall this time be thoroughly done. The deadly upas, root and branch, leaf and fibre, body and sap, must be utterly destroyed. The country is evidently

not in a condition to listen patiently to pleas for postponement, however plausible, nor will it permit the responsibility to be shifted to other shoulders. Authority and power are here commensurate with the duty imposed. There are no cloud-flung shadows to obscure the way. Truth shines with brighter light and intenser heat at every moment, and a country torn and rent and bleeding implores relief from its distress and agony.

If time was at first needed, Congress has now had time. All the requisite materials from which to form an intelligent judgment are now before it. Whether its members look at the origin, the progress, the termination of the war, or at the mockery of a peace now existing, they will find only one unbroken chain of argument in favor of a radical policy of reconstruction. For the omissions of the last session, some excuses may be allowed. A treacherous President stood in the way; and it can be easily seen how reluctant good men might be to admit an apostasy which involved so much of baseness and ingratitude. It was natural that they should seek to save him by bending to him even when he leaned to the side of error. But all is changed now. Congress knows now that it must go on without his aid, and even against his machinations. The advantage of the present session over the last is immense. Where that investigated, this has the facts. Where that walked by faith, this may walk by sight. Where that halted, this must go forward, and where that failed, this must succeed, giving the country whole measures where that gave us half-measures, merely as a means of saving the elections in a few doubtful districts. That Congress saw what was right, but distrusted the enlightenment of the loyal masses; but what was forborne in distrust of the people must now be done with a full knowledge that the people expect and require it. The members go to Washington fresh from the inspiring presence of the people. In every considerable public meeting, and in almost every conceivable way, whether at court-house, school-house, or cross-roads, in doors and out, the subject has been discussed, and the people have emphatically pronounced in favor of a radical policy. Listening to the doctrines of expediency and compromise with pity, impatience, and disgust, they have everywhere broken into demonstrations of the wildest enthusiasm when a brave word has been spoken in favor of equal rights and impartial suffrage. Radicalism, so far from being odious, is not the popular passport to power. The men most bitterly charged with it go to Congress with the largest majorities, while the timid and doubtful are sent by lean majorities or else left at home. The strange controversy between the President and the Congress, at one time so threatening, is disposed of by the people. The high reconstructive powers which he so confidently, ostentatiously, and haughtily claimed, have been disallowed, denounced, and utterly repudiated while those claimed by Congress have been confirmed.



Of the spirit and magnitude of the canvass nothing need be said. The appeal was to the people, and the verdict was worthy of the tribunal. Upon an occasion of his own selection, with the advice and approval of his astute Secretary, soon after the members of the Congress had returned to their constituents, the President quitted the executive mansion, sandwiched himself between two recognized heroes,--men whom the whole country delighted to honor,--and, with all the advantage which such company could give him, stumped the country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, advocating everywhere his policy as against that of Congress. It was a strange sight, and perhaps the most disgraceful exhibition ever made by any President; but, as no evil is entirely unmixed, good has come of this, as from many others. Ambitious, unscrupulous, energetic, indefatigable, voluble, and plausible,--a political gladiator, ready for a "set-to" in any crowd,--he is beaten in his own chosen field, and stands to-day before the country as a convicted usurper, a political criminal, guilty of a bold and persistent attempt to possess himself of the legislative powers solemnly secured to Congress by the Constitution. No vindication could be more complete, no condemnation could be more absolute and humiliating. Unless reopened by the sword, as recklessly threatened in some circles, this question is now closed for all time.

Without attempting to settle here the metaphysical and somewhat theological question (about which so much has already been said and written) whether once in the Union means always in the Union,--agreeably to the formula Once in grace always in grace,-- it is obvious to common sense that the rebellious States stand to-day, in point of law, precisely where they stood when, exhausted, beaten, conquered, they fell powerless at the feet of Federal authority. Their State governments were overthrown, and the lives and property of the leaders of the Rebellion were forfeited. In reconstructing the institutions of these shattered and overthrown States, Congress should begin with a clean slate, and make clean work of it. Let there be no hesitation. It would be a cowardly deference to a defeated and treacherous President, if any account were made of the illegitimate, one-sided, sham governments hurried into existence for a malign purpose in the absence of Congress. These pretended governments which were never submitted to the people, and from participation in which four millions of the loyal people were excluded by Presidential order, should now be treated according to their true character, as shams and impositions, and supplanted by true and legitimate governments, in the formation of which loyal men, black and white, shall participate.

It is not, however, within the scope of this paper to point out the precise steps to be taken, and the means to be employed. The people are less concerned about these than the grand end to be attained. They demand such a reconstruction as shall put an end to the present anarchi-

state of things in the late rebellious States,--where frightful murders and wholesale massacres are perpetrated in the very presence of Federal soldiers. This horrible business they require shall cease. They want a reconstruction such as will protect loyal men, black and white, in their persons and property such a one as will cause Northern industry, Northern capital, and Northern civilization to flow into the South, and make a man from New England as much at home in Carolina as elsewhere in the Republic. No Chinese wall can now be tolerated. The South must be opened to the light of law and liberty, and this session of Congress is relied upon to accomplish this important work.

The plain, common-sense way of doing this work, as intimated at the beginning, is simply to establish in the South one law, one government, one administration of justice, one condition to the exercise of the elective franchise, for men of all races and colors alike. This great measure is sought as earnestly by loyal white men as by loyal blacks, and is needed alike by both. Let sound political prescience but take the place of an unreasoning prejudice, and this will be done.

Men denounce the negro for his prominence in this discussion; but it is no fault of his that in peace as in war, that in conquering Rebel armies as in reconstructing the rebellious States, the right of the negro is the true solution of our national troubles. The stern logic of events, which goes directly to the point, disdaining all concern for the color or features of men, has determined the interests of the country as identical with and inseparable from those of the negro.

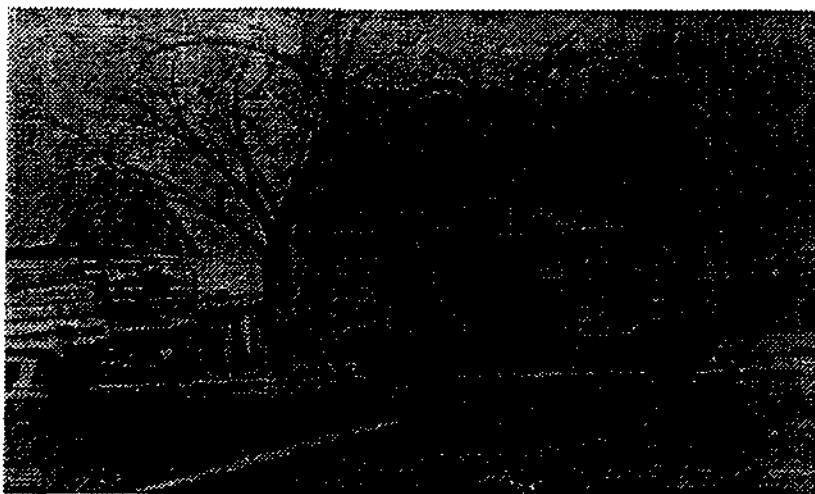
The policy that emancipated and armed the negro--now seen to have been wise and proper by the dullest--was not certainly more sternly demanded than is now the policy of enfranchisement. If with the negro was success in war, and without him failure, so in peace it will be found that the nation must fall or flourish with the negro.

Fortunately, the Constitution of the United States knows no distinction between citizens on account of color. Neither does it know any difference between a citizen of a State and a citizen of the United States. Citizenship evidently includes all the rights of citizens, whether State or national. If the Constitution knows none, it is clearly no part of the duty of a Republican Congress now to institute one. The mistake of the last session was the attempt to do this very thing, by a renunciation of its power to secure political rights to any class of citizens, with the obvious purpose to allow the rebellious States to disfranchise,

if they should see fit, their colored citizens. This unfortunate blunder must now be retrieved, and the emasculated citizenship given to the negro supplanted by that contemplated in the Constitution of the United States, which declares that the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens of the several States,--so that a legal voter in any State shall be a legal voter in all the States.

End of the Project Gutenberg Etext of Collected Frederick Douglass Articles

Appendix L: Suggested African American  
Resources at the Maryland State Archives for  
The Task Force to Study the History and  
Legacy of Slavery



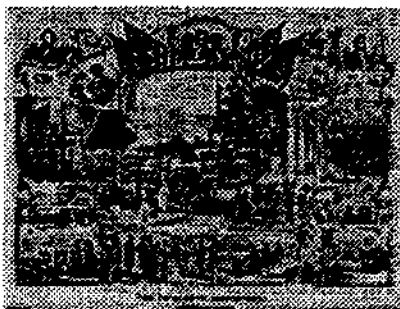
**Suggested African American Resources  
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**Maryland  
State  
Archives**



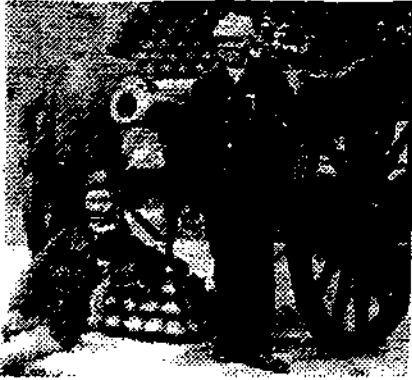
**Images  
from our  
Collections**



**The Fifteenth Amendment in Baltimore**



**U.S.C.T. Baltimore Census 1890**



**In the Aftermath of 'Glory'**  
African American Soldiers & Sailors  
from Annapolis Maryland 1863-1918



**Is Baltimore Burning?**  
The Cambridge and Baltimore riots of 1967-68;  
selections from Governor Agnew's papers relating  
to both events including the Cambridge speech  
and subsequent trial of H. Rap Brown

## **Related Sites**



**From Segregation to Integration:**  
The Donald Gaines Murray Case, 1935-37

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# Maryland State Archives

## African American Resources

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### Government Records

Among the holdings of the Maryland State Archives are colonial and State executive, legislative, and judicial records; county probate, land, and court records; and State publications and reports. In addition, the Archives maintains vital records for the 23 counties and Baltimore City. For a general description of these records, see: *A Guide to Government Records at the Maryland State Archives: A Comprehensive List by Agency and Records Series*. See also the following publications available at the Archives:

- **Suggested Resources for African American History**
- *Researching Black Families at the Maryland Hall of Records* by Phebe Jacobsen
- "From Frederick to Thurgood" - An African American History of Baltimore - an on-line research project

### Special Collections

The department of Special Collections at the Maryland State Archives supervises the care, preservation, accessioning and description of non-government records. These records are usually acquired by the Archives through gifts or deposits by private donors and generally consist of personal letters, diaries, photographs, maps, and manuscript documents.

- **African American Newspapers**

Newspapers provide a contemporary record of daily life in Maryland. Unfortunately, the deterioration of these valuable historical documents has become a serious conservation issue. Since 1979, the Maryland State Archives has cooperated with concerned individuals, historical agencies, libraries, and newspaper publishers in the Maryland Newspaper Project, the only comprehensive program of its kind for Maryland. Although targeted for preservation, few issues of African American newspapers were located for microfilming. Single issues of the *Afro-American Ledger* (Baltimore) and the *Negro Appeal* (Baltimore; Annapolis) exist in the Archives' collections as well as scattered issues of the *Lancet* (Baltimore) on microfilm for the years 1902-1903.

Additional African American newspapers -- *Afro-American* (Baltimore: 1892-1900?), *Afro-American* (Capital edition) (Baltimore: 1932?-1937?), *Afro-American* (National edition) (Baltimore: 1915-), *American Citizen* (Baltimore: 1879-?), *Commonwealth* (Baltimore: 1915-1915?), *Ledger* (Baltimore: 1898-1899), *Lyceum Observer* (Baltimore: 1863-?), and *Race Standard* (Baltimore: 1894?-1898?) -- are available at other Maryland institutions. See: Nancy M. Bramucci and Elizabeth Ellis, eds., *Guide to Maryland Newspapers* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, draft 1995) for title history and source information.

- **Bank Records**



The records of the Savings Bank of Baltimore are an extraordinarily rich collection relating to the lives of hardworking, independent, wage-earning citizens of the city dating back to the first depositors of 1818. Founded as a mutual savings bank in 1818 to promote thrift and financial security among the working class, the Savings Bank of Baltimore has long held a prominent place in Baltimore's history. Of particular interest are the returning Civil War veterans, many of whom were immigrants and African American soldiers who deposited their pay with the Bank. The collection also includes the records of the Metropolitan Savings Bank, founded in 1867. In 1957, the bank merged with the Savings Bank of Baltimore.

- **Church Records**

Since the establishment of the Hall of Records in 1935, the Maryland State Archives has been aware of the importance of church and synagogue records as a significant primary source for historians and genealogists. Since systematic recording of vital records was not established until 1875 for Baltimore City and 1898 for Maryland counties, religious records are often the only source for birth and death information.

The Archives' collections include the records of several African American congregations which have been preserved through the Archives' Preservation Microfilming Program. Churches interested in participating in this program should contact the Maryland State Archives for further information.

- **Documents for the Classroom**

*In the Aftermath of 'Glory': Black Soldiers & Sailors from Annapolis Maryland, 1863-1918*, MSA SC 2221-8 Examines what happens to Black soldiers who survive the Civil War by tracing their careers through public and private records. Includes maps, contemporary accounts, census records, probate records, court depositions, and Federal pension files. It relates the soldiers to the efforts to expand and then restrict the suffrage ending with the voting rights cases of 1915 which involved a Civil War soldier from Annapolis. Ask for MSA Publication # 1727 - \$5.00

*Celebrating Rights and Responsibilities: Baltimore & the Fifteenth Amendment, May 19, 1870*, MSA SC 2221-18 Includes documents and images relating to the ratification and celebration of the 15th Amendment in Baltimore, including a speech given by Frederick Douglass. Ask for MSA Publication # 5381 - large format, \$7.00

*From Segregation to Integration: The Donald Murray Case, 1935-1937*, MSA SC 2221-1 Concentrates on efforts to integrate higher education in Maryland from 1934 to 1937 with emphasis on Thurgood Marshall, Lillie May Jackson, William I. Gosnell, Charles Houston, and Donald Murray's successful attempt to integrate the University of Maryland Law School. Ask for MSA Publication # 1844 - \$5.00

*Is Baltimore Burning?*, MSA SC 2221-12 Includes newspaper and other accounts of the Cambridge riot of 1967, the Baltimore riot of 1968, selections from Governor Agnew's papers relating to both events including the Cambridge speech and subsequent trial of H. Rap Brown, and the Goldseker Foundation report *Baltimore 2000*. Ask for MSA Publication # 2395 - \$5.00

Additional document packets, transparencies and poster-sized materials are also available. For copies and further information about *Documents for the Classroom* write the Maryland State Archives, 350 Rowe Boulevard, Annapolis, MD 21401, or call MD toll free (800) 235-4045 or (410) 260-6400.

- **Federal Manuscript Census - Slave Schedules**

The Maryland State Archives has microfilm of the Federal Manuscript Censuses beginning in 1790. The Federal Censuses of 1790, 1800, and 1810 indicate the number of slaves within a household. Beginning in 1820, the Federal Census lists the number of male and female slaves and free persons of color in broad age groups. The 1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses also contain separate Slave Schedules. While these schedules do not list individual slave names, they do indicate the slave owner's name and for each slave shows ages, color, sex, whether deaf, blind, insane, or idiotic, and whether a fugitive from the state. Census indices prior to 1860 are in book form. The 1850 Census index does not list free African-Americans.

### **Published Resources Relating to African American History**

- **Reference Resources in the Maryland State Archives' Library**
- **Sources available for purchase from the Maryland State Archives' Bookshop**

The Maryland State Archives offers a range of materials for sale. Books include titles on Maryland and family history, the American Revolution and Civil War, general history, and reference works. Original source material is available through the *Archives of Maryland* series, *Documents for the Classroom*, and the *Microform Guides* to county records at the Maryland State Archives. Credit card orders may be placed over the telephone. Pre-paid mail orders are also welcomed. Please identify the quantity, title and inventory number desired.

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◀ **Back to Finding Aids & Indexes page**

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Frederick Douglass and Thurgood Marshall

*A Maryland State Archives, Maryland Historical Trust, Baltimore Heritage Research Collaborative*



Frederick Douglass (1817 - 1895), and Thurgood Marshall (1908 - 1993), two of America's towering historical figures, serve as examples of black Baltimore personified. Douglass, a migrant slave in the city, received his life's education on the streets and from the people of black Baltimore during the 1820s and 1830s. His Baltimore experience shaped his life. His life shaped nineteenth century American History. Likewise, a full century later, the young native Baltimorean, Marshall, was shaped by the experience of being a part of the black Baltimore community. Both men were *products* of this community, though their Baltimore realities were separated by nearly a century. What continuity is documentable in Baltimore which could produce a Thurgood Marshall nearly a century after it had produced a Frederick Douglass? What changes occurred in this elapse of time as well? These are the questions and ideas at the foundation of *The Road From Frederick To Thurgood*.

Any discussion of Baltimore's historic black communities must begin with East Baltimore. From early on, black Baltimoreans, slave and free, worked in the many industries which made the city a vital center of American commercial activity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Much of this activity, particularly that which involved shipping and ship building, occurred in the eastern part of the city, around the harbor. By the late-nineteenth century, as occupational diversity, population increase, and industrial development occurred, blacks began an intra-city migration to West Baltimore. There they continued to nourish the institutions and organizations which had served them well in the past.

Visitors to Baltimore today are not likely to see many remnants of the city's rich black heritage. Due to natural disaster, urban renewal programs, and our general ignorance of the past, a relative handful of African American historical sites exist. However, using the World Wide Web, the Maryland State Archives, the Maryland Historical Trust, and Baltimore Heritage seek to uncover, salvage, and introduce a significant segment of the city's black history to the citizens of Baltimore and the world. College interns conducted the majority of the research with the assistance of high school students from public and private schools. However, we would like to acknowledge the contributions of the many historians and genealogists who have contributed to our understanding of this subject, including Leroy Graham Agnes Callum, and David Terry. Mr. Terry, a graduate student at Howard University and an instructor at Morgan State University has been particularly helpful in shaping this on-going study.

<b>Civil Rights &amp; Politics</b>	<b>Business &amp; Industry</b>
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<b>Art &amp; Culture</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Medicine</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Historic Sites</b>	<b>Through the Eyes of the Afro-American</b>	<b>Everyday People</b>
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### IMPORTANT NOTICES

This web presentation is best viewed with software supplemental to your web-browser. The documents in Portable Document Format require a free Adobe software package available from adobe.com. Documents shown as individual GIFs linked to the text can be studied in more detail using a helper application graphics program.

This website is part of an on-going research project at the Maryland State Archives, supported by the Maryland Historical Trust, Baltimore Heritage, and other sponsors. If you have any recommendations or additional information you would like to share regarding African-American historical sites in Baltimore, or about the biographical sketches found here, we encourage suggestions. This study can only be successful if archivists work with scholars, private citizens, collectors, genealogists and the public to share our understanding of the past.



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## Resources for African American History at the Maryland State Archives

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The following list was taken from *The Guide to Government Records at the Maryland State Archives*. The list provides the names of the recommended record series (in parentheses), the agencies that created the records (in capital letters), the dates covered, and the Maryland State Archives (MSA) series number.

The series title link takes you to a description of the general record series. The MSA link takes you to the finding aid for that record series and provides the information needed to view the particular record at the Archives.

### (Assessment Record, Slaves)

- KENT COUNTY COURT 1835 [MSA C1029]
- FREDERICK COUNTY BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS 1852 [MSA C2138]
- MONTGOMERY COUNTY BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS 1853-1864 [MSA C1112, MSA CM686]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF THE TAX 1804-1821 [MSA C1544]
- ST. MARY'S LEVY COURT 1831 [MSA C1545]
- TALBOT COUNTY BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS 1832-1852 [MSA C1836]
- TALBOT COUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF THE TAX 1813-1826 [MSA C1835]

### (Bounty Rolls)

- COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY 1864-1880 [MSA S629, MSA SM183]

### (Bounty Papers)

- COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY 1864-1880 [MSA S627]

### (Census of Negroes)

- HARFORD COUNTY COURT 1832 [MSA C930]
- SOMERSET COUNTY COURT 1832 [MSA C1723]  
*Somerset census found in: (Land Records) GH 6 1831-1833*
- TALBOT COUNTY COURT 1832 [MSA C1841]

### (Census Record, MD)

- U. S. CENSUS BUREAU 1790-1920 [MSA SM61]

### (Census Record, MD, Index)

- U. S. CENSUS BUREAU 1880-1900, 1920 [MSA SM62]

### (Certificates of Freedom)

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C47, MSA CM794]
- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT 1806-1851 [MSA C46, MSA CM789]

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1805-1864 [MSA C45, MSA CM798]
- BALTIMORE CITY REGISTER OF WILLS 1829-1864 [MSA T629]
- BALTIMORE CITY SUPERIOR COURT 1852-1865 [MSA C165, MSA CM822]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT 1806-1851 [MSA C290, MSA CM821]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1805-1830 [MSA C289, MSA CM820]
- CAROLINE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1852-1864 [MSA C479, MSA CM951]
- CAROLINE COUNTY COURT 1806-1851 [MSA C477, MSA CM866]
- CAROLINE COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1807-1863 [MSA C478, MSA CM855]
- CECIL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1815-1826 [MSA C597, MSA CM965]
- CHARLES COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1826-1860 [MSA C655, MSA CM972]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C690, MSA CM425]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY COURT 1806-1851 [MSA C689, MSA CM1283]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1852-1863 [MSA C722]
- FREDERICK COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1855-1864 [MSA C763, MSA CM1026]
- FREDERICK COUNTY COURT 1806-1827 [MSA C761, MSA CM1198]
- FREDERICK COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1815-1863 [MSA C762, MSA CM1014]
- HARFORD COUNTY COURT 1806-1842 [MSA C931, MSA CM1033]
- HOWARD COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1852-1863 [MSA C960, MSA CM1269]
- HOWARD DISTRICT COURT 1840-1851 [MSA C959, MSA CM1270]
- KENT COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1852-1864 [MSA C1034, MSA CM1165]
- KENT COUNTY COURT 1849-1851 [MSA C1033, MSA CM1164]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURT 1806-1829 [MSA C1171, MSA CM1182]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1820-1852 [MSA C1172, MSA CM1186]
- QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C1449]
- QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY COURT 1828-1851 [MSA C1448]
- QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1807-1863 [MSA C1366, MSA CM856]
- SOMERSET COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C1745, MSA CM1191]
- SOMERSET COUNTY COURT 1821-1851 [MSA C1744, MSA CM1190]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C1542]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1852-1864 [MSA CM1188]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY COURT 1806-1851 [MSA C1540, MSA CM1187]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1806-1852 [MSA C1541, MSA CM1189]
- TALBOT COUNTY COURT 1807-1828 [MSA C1843, MSA CM1193]
- TALBOT COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1806-1860 [MSA C1842, MSA CM1195]
- WASHINGTON COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1862 [MSA CM1281]
- WASHINGTON COUNTY COURT 1834-1851 [MSA CM1280]
- WASHINGTON COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1827-1863 [MSA C1937, MSA CM1196]

**(Certificates of Freedom, Original)**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS, 1807-1820 [MSA C48, MSA CM806]
- FREDERICK COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1808-1842 [MSA C764, MSA CM1027]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1831-1863 [MSA C1173, MSA CM1185]
- SOMERSET COUNTY COURT 1832-1849 [MSA C4, MSA CM1192]

**(Chattel Records) *prior to the Civil War***

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C50]
- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT 1829-1851 [MSA C49]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA T681]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA CM137]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT 1750-1814 [MSA C298]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT 1750-1773 [MSA CM133]
- CAROLINE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1864-1864 [MSA C483]
- CECIL COUNTY COURT 1737-1751 [MSA C601]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1860 [MSA C692]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1860-1864 [MSA T1936]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1964 [MSA CM427]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY COURT 1827-1851 [MSA C691, MSA CM428]
- HARFORD COUNTY COURT 1774-1784 [MSA C932, MSA CM1245]
- HOWARD COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C962]
- HOWARD DISTRICT COURT 1840-1851 [MSA C961]
- KENT COUNTY COURT 1750-1851 [MSA C1035]
- KENT COUNTY COURT 1750-1809 [MSA MSA CM1256]
- TALBOT COUNTY COURT 1689-1771 [MSA C1844]

**(Chattel Records, Index) prior to the Civil War**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C52]
- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT 1829-1851 [MSA C51]
- HOWARD COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1864 [MSA C964]
- HOWARD DISTRICT COURT 1840-1851 [MSA C963]
- KENT COUNTY COURT 1750-1845 [MSA C1036, MSA CM1255]

**(Court Papers, Blacks)**

- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1856-1865 [MSA C1188]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURT 1799-1851 [MSA C1187]

**(Distribution of Slaves)**

- KENT COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1860-1864 [MSA C1051]
- SOMERSET COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1827-1862 [MSA C1762]

**(Freedom Affidavits)**

- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1852-1862 [MSA C1151, MSA CM1184]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURT 1810-1850 [MSA C1150, MSA CM1183]

**(Indentures)**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1822-1919 [MSA C82]
- BALTIMORE CITY REGISTER OF WILLS 1851-1916 [MSA C192]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1913 [MSA C337]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1823 [MSA CM1160]
- CAROLINE COUNTY COURT 1774-1777 [MSA C513]

- CAROLINE COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1853 [MSA C514, MSA CM243]
- CECIL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1869 [MSA C619]
- CECIL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1814 [MSA CM960]
- FREDERICK COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1931 [MSA C799, MSA CM478]
- KENT COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1778-1829 [MSA C1058, MSA CM1249]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1777-1881 [MSA C1224]
- QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1815-1914 [MSA C1406]
- SOMERSET COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1797-1909 [MSA C1771]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1908 [MSA C1606, MSA CM916]
- TALBOT COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1920 [MSA C1870]
- WASHINGTON COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1917 [MSA C1953]
- WORCESTER COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1851 [MSA C2016, MSA CM46]

**(Indentures, Original)**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1795-1820 [MSA C83]
- BALTIMORE CITY REGISTER OF WILLS 1810-1890 [MSA T622]
- CAROLINE COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1865 [MSA C515]
- FREDERICK COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1811-1897 [MSA C800]
- QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1796-1925 [MSA C1407]
- TALBOT COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1880-1914 [MSA C1871]
- WASHINGTON COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1794-1917 [MSA T455]

**(Manumission Record)**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1851-1866 [MSA C110]
- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT 1797-1851 [MSA C109]
- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT 1797-1807 [MSA CM48]

**(Manumissions)**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT 1865 [MSA C112]
- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURT 1785-1842 [MSA C111]
- HARFORD COUNTY COURT 1774-1784 [MSA C940, MSA CM1247]

**(Muster Rolls)**

- ADJUTANT GENERAL 1860-1867 [MSA S936]  
*(Includes United States Colored Troops)*

**(Muster Roll Record)**

- ADJUTANT GENERAL 1861-1867 [MSA S343]  
*(Includes United States Colored Troops)*

**(Negro Docket)**

- TALBOT COUNTY REGISTER OF WILLS 1855-1867 [MSA C1893]

**(Prisoners Record)**



- MARYLAND HOUSE OF CORRECTION 1879-1912 [MSA S253]
- MARYLAND PENITENTIARY 1811-1893 [MSA S275]

**(Prisoner's Record, Index)**

- MARYLAND HOUSE OF CORRECTION 1879-1905 [MSA S254]
- MARYLAND PENITENTIARY 1840-1906 [MSA S277]

**(Runaway Docket)**

- BALTIMORE CITY JAIL 1854-1864 [MSA C2065]
- BALTIMORE CITY AND COUNTY JAIL 1832-1853 [MSA C2064]
- BALTIMORE COUNTY JAIL 1831-1832 [MSA C2063]

**(Slave Statistics)**

- ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1867 [MSA C142]
- DORCHESTER COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1867-1868 [MSA C738, MSA CM459]
- FREDERICK COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1868 [MSA C879]
- HOWARD COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1868 [MSA C957]
- KENT COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1867-1868 [MSA C1096, CM1346]
- MONTGOMERY COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1867-1868 [MSA C1140, MSA CM750]
- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1867-1869 [MSA C1307]
- ST. MARY'S COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS 1867-1869 [MSA C1698]

**(Slave Statistics, Original)**

- PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COMMISSIONER OF SLAVE STATISTICS, 1867-1869 [MSA C1308]

**(U.S. Adjutant General Maryland Slave Claims Commission)**

- SPECIAL COLLECTIONS 1863-1867 [MSA SC4678, M5775]

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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE  
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ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY  
PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Education and Outreach  
MARYLAND STATE ARCHIVES

## TEACHING IN THE AGE OF THE INTERNET:

A Collaborative Program Promoting Computer Technology in Social Studies Education,  
Summers 1997-1998

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### *Civil Rights in Maryland*

*a guide to archival resources  
developed for study in the Summer of 1998*



dedicated to the memory of  
**Comptroller Louis L. Goldstein (1913-1998),**  
**member, 1959-1996, chairman, 1996-1998, Maryland Hall of Records Commission**  
**who was committed to teaching history from original sources**

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### **Introduction:**

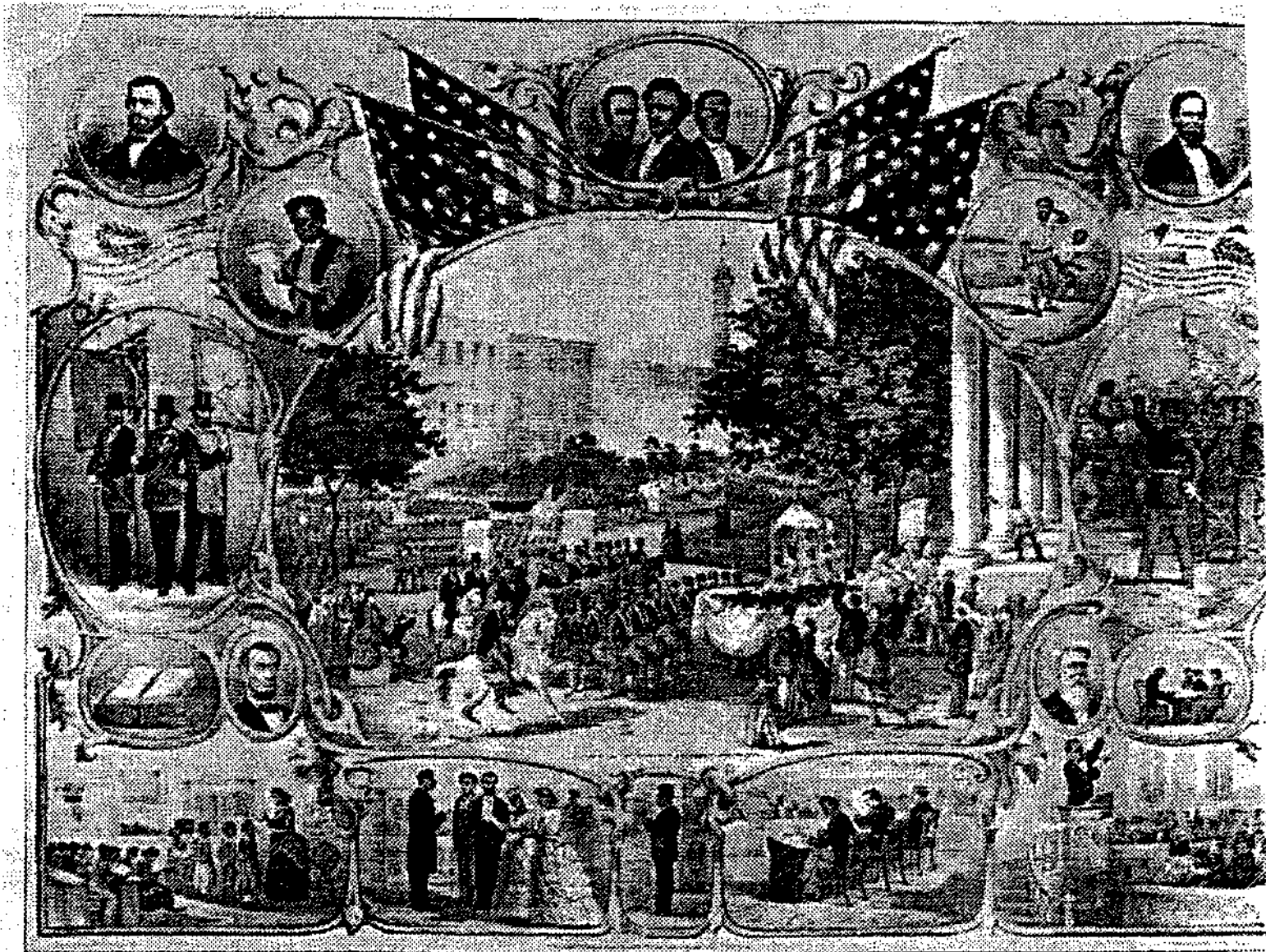
*Philosophies of change and resistance:*



Abraham Lincoln & Martin Luther King

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## **Constitutional Change at the Federal Level:**



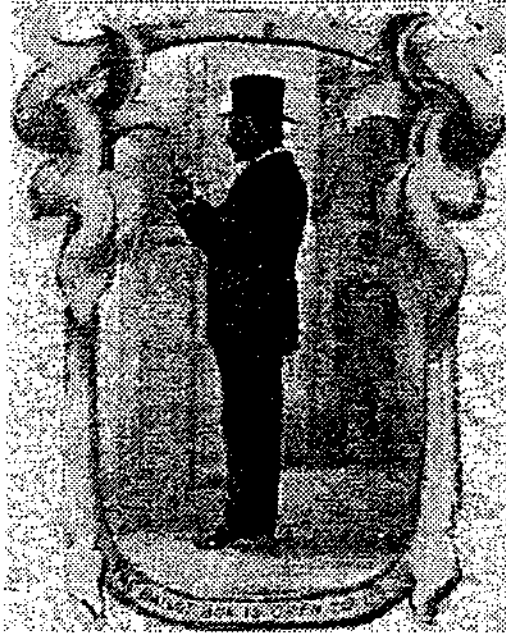
THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

CELEBRATED MAY 20, 1870.

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments  
*Celebrating Rights and Responsibilities*

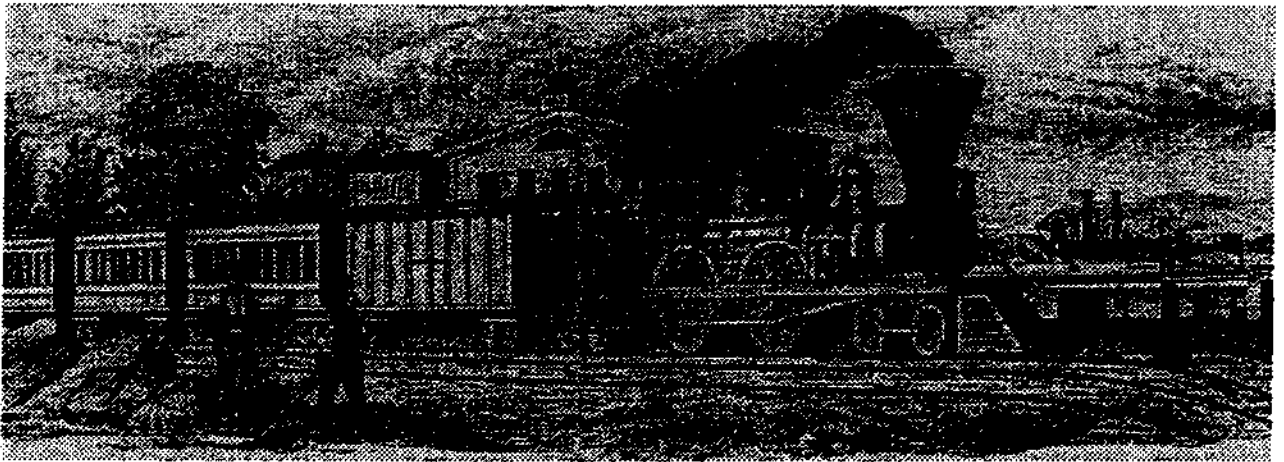
a prize-winning website based upon  
*Celebrating Rights and Responsibilities*: <http://www.toad.net/~dave/project/>

**Defending the right to Vote:**



*In the Aftermath of "Glory"*

## **Losing the Right to Integration:**



*De Facto and De Jure Segregation: the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (1865) & Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)*

## **Working Within the Law:**

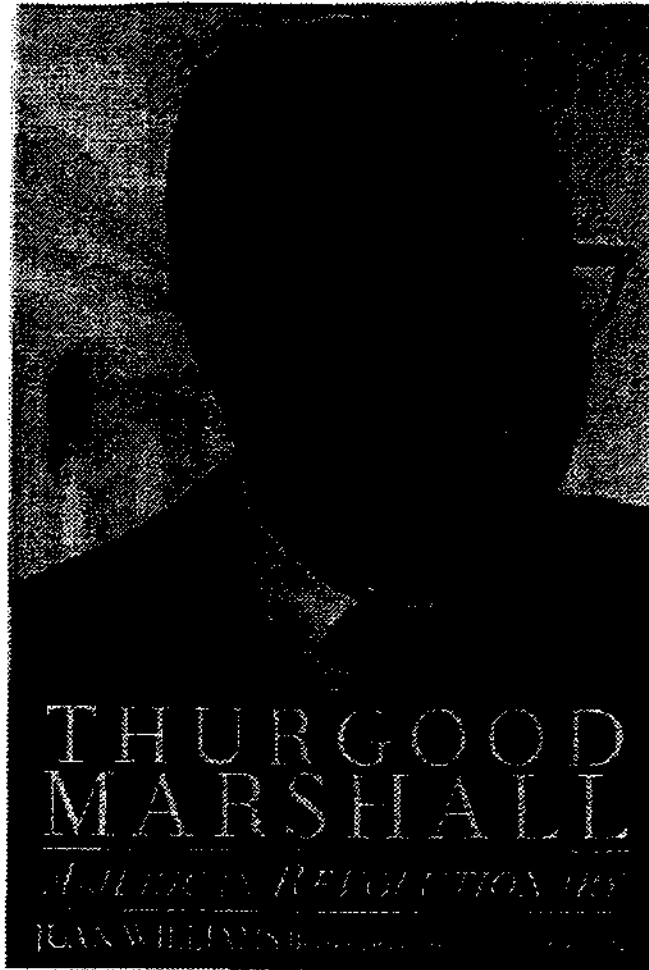
*Seeking The Right to an Education -*



*Thurgood Marshall and Thurgood Murray circa 1933-1934. Marshall was chosen to come for admission to the University of Maryland School of Law in 1933. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Thurgood Marshall Papers, Box 10, Folder 1)*

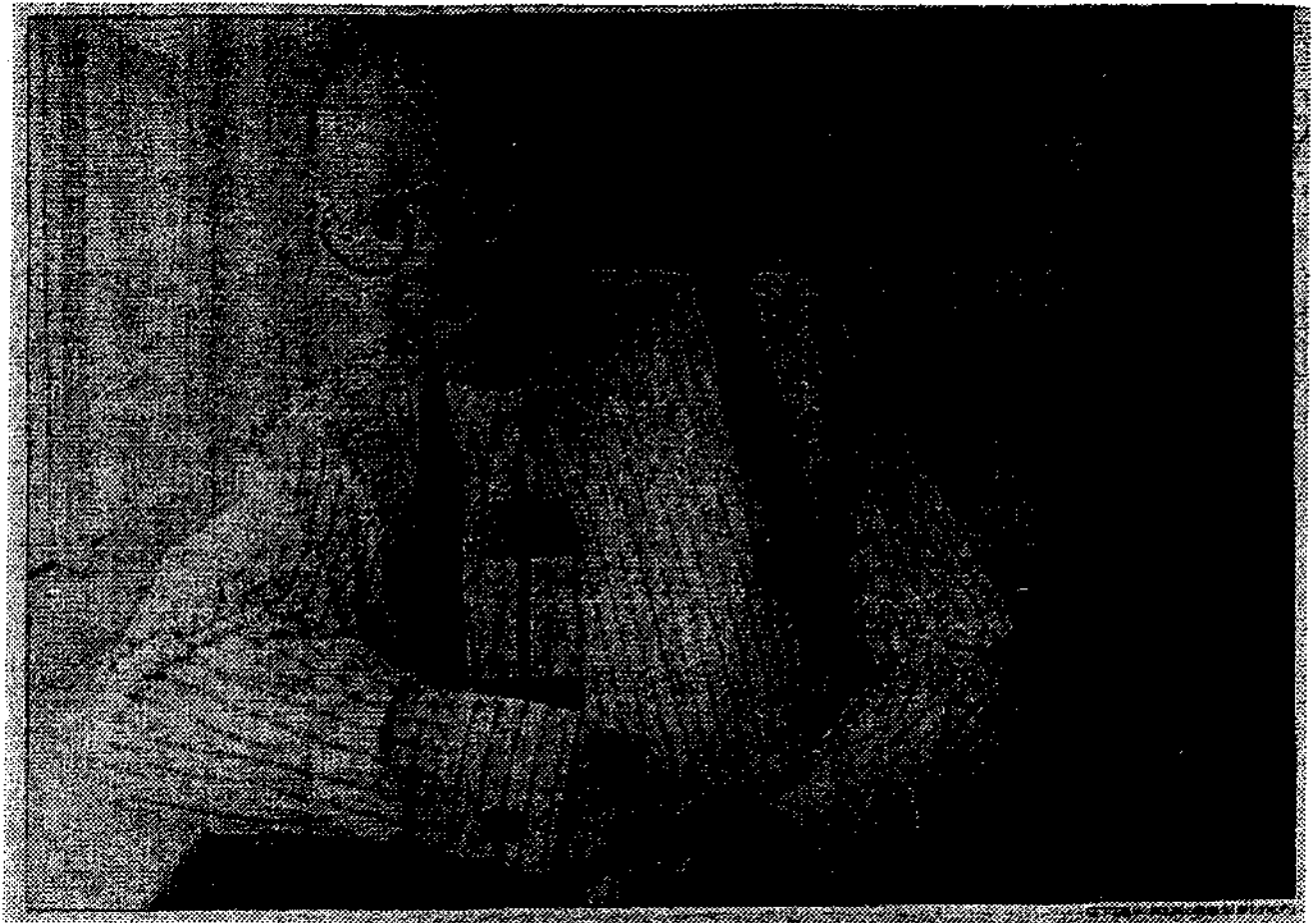
***From Segregation to Integration***

*Thurgood Marshall: Reference Materials prepared for the  
 Consideration of the Commission on the  
 Thurgood Marshall Memorial Statue in Annapolis*



*Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary, by Juan Williams of the Washington Post.*

*Seeking a Place at the lunch counter and behind the bench-*



*The Career of Chief Judge Robert Mack Bell from **Is Baltimore Burning?***

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## **Working Without the Law:**



H. Rap Brown, the Limits of Free Speech, and the Advocacy of Violence from ***Is Baltimore Burning?***

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Teacher Lesson Plans (covering two summers of Institutes including *Civil Rights in Maryland*).



*prepared by Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse for the Maryland State Archives, July 21, 1998, with the assistance of Laura Lisy, Mathew Brown, and Leigh Bond*

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# In the Aftermath of 'Glory': African American Soldiers & Sailors from Annapolis Maryland, 1863-1918

Maryland State Archives: *Documents for the Classroom*  
350 Rowe Boulevard  
Annapolis, MD 21401

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Internet: <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us>

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**Purpose:** To examine what happens to African American soldiers & sailors who survive the Civil War by tracing their careers through public and private records. The packet includes maps, contemporary accounts, census records, court records, and Federal Pension files. The packet relates the soldiers to the efforts to expand and then restrict the suffrage (the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and subsequent attempts to incorporate grandfather clauses into state law), and ends with the voting rights cases of 1915 before the U.S. Supreme Court, one of which involved a Civil War sailor from

Annapolis who died in 1918.

## SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (Black Civil War Soldiers Collection)

Thought to be a photograph of William F. Murphy (on right),  
founder and publisher of the *Baltimore Afro-American*. MSA SC 2432-1-1.

- Guide to Documents
- Suggested Viewing & Reading List
- Museums & Historic Sites

*The Documents for the Classroom series of the Maryland State Archives was designed and developed by Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse and Dr. M. Mercer Neale and was prepared with the assistance of R. J. Rockefeller, Lynne MacAdam, Leigh Bond, Matt Brown, Laura Lisy, and other members of the Archives staff. MSA SC 2221-08. Publication no. 1727.*

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# In the Aftermath of 'Glory': African American Soldiers & Sailors from Annapolis Maryland, 1863-1918

Maryland State Archives: *Documents for the Classroom*  
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## Guide to Documents

- 1) 1878. Map of the City of Annapolis by G. M. Hopkins. From Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III. *The Hammond-Harwood House Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608-1908*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982, p. 94. Annotated excerpt shows location of White's Row, tenement housing built just after the Civil War where a number of Civil War veterans lived, [MSA L21304]. MSA SC 2221-8-1.
- 2) Elihu S. Riley. *The Ancient City: A History of Annapolis, in Maryland*. Annapolis: Record Printing Office, 1887, pp. 311-313, [MSA L21013]. MSA SC 2221-8-2.
- 3) *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, February 24, 1864, MSA SC 2419-1. MSA SC 2221-8-3.
- 4) U. S. CENSUS BUREAU (Census Record, MD) 1890 Union Veterans and Widows, Anne Arundel County, MSA SC 3096 M28. MSA SC 2221-8-4.
- 5) Muster roll of the 30th Regiment USCT, Company 'D' from L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, and Geo. W. F. Vernon. *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861-5*. Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., 1899, pp. 233, 242-244, with a short history of the 30th USCT from Frederick H. Dyer. *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*. New York: T. Yoseloff, 1959 [1912], p. 1728. MSA SC 2221-8-5.
- 6) ADJUTANT GENERAL (Civil War Muster Rolls and Service Records) 1865. 30th Regiment, Company 'D', MSA S 936-55. MSA SC 2221-8-6. Note: some annotations do not appear on this copy because they were written in purple ink which does not scan well.
- 7) COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY (Bounty Rolls). 1864-1880, Volunteers, MSA S 629-2-240b. MSA SC 2221-8-7.
- 8) Frederick H. Dyer. *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, New York: T. Yoseloff, 1959 [1912], p. 11. Ira Berlin, ed. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867, Series II: The Black Military Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 12

[MSA L25297]; pp. 582-83. Surgeon A.T. Augusta to Major General L. Wallace, January 20, 1865, A-63 1865, Letters Received, ser. 2343, Middle Dept. & 8th Army Corps, National Archives & Records Administration RG 393 Pt. 1 [C-4147]. Courtesy of the University of Maryland Freedmen & Southern Society Project, Dr. Leslie Rowland, editor. MSA SC 2221-8-8.

9) GOVERNOR (Miscellaneous Papers) 1869-1870, Transmittal and text of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, MSA S 1274-123-17-1;4;3. MSA SC 2221-8-9.

10) ANNAPOLIS ELECTION JUDGES (Poll Book), 1871, Ward 1, MSA M 32-50-3;4. ANNAPOLIS ELECTION JUDGES (Poll Book), 1885, Ward 3, MSA M 32-8-11;18. MSA SC 2221-8-10.

11) U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (Census Record, MD) 1880, Population, AA, MSA S 1184-16. MSA SC 2221-8-11.

12) SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (Mrs. Horace Leitch Collection) ca. 1870 tintypes (2) of possible black soldiers and a notice of non-payment of G.A.R. dues found together behind a mantle in a house in Annapolis, Maryland, MSA SC 2197-1-2;3;1. MSA SC 2221-8-12.

13) 1885 *Sanborn Insurance Map* of a portion of Annapolis, Maryland, MSA SC 2097 M 2598-2a. MSA SC 2221-8-13.

14) 1890-1917. Pension records relating to George C. Miller, Edward, alias George H. Tasker, Horace Lucas, and John B. Anderson. Pension Files and RG 24, National Archives and Records Administration. MSA SC 2221-8-14.

15) ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Marriage Licenses) 1864, MSA C 114-1-52 and 1877, MSA C 114-2-27. MSA SC 2221-8-15.

16) ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Equity Papers) 1890-1891, John B. Anderson v. Annie Anderson. No. 1401, MSA T 71-24. MSA SC 2221-8-16.

17) *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Encampment of the Department of Maryland, Grand Army of the Republic*, Baltimore: Shane Printing Co., 1901. MSA SC 2221-8-17.

18) 1908 *Sanborn Insurance Map* of Annapolis encompassing White's Row (unidentified) on St. John's Street, MSA SC 1427-448. MSA SC 2221-8-18.

19) Marion E. Warren and Mame Warren. *Annapolis Portrait, 1859-1910: The Train's Done Been and Gone*, Annapolis: M.E. Warren, 1976, pp. 78-79, [MSA L11096]. MSA SC 2221-8-19.

20) ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Equity Papers) 1870, MSA C 70-134-2-1;2;3. MSA SC 2221-8-20.

21) Abstract and a portion of the opinion in *Anderson v. Myers*, 1910, from the Federal Reporter, St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1911, pp. 223-225. MSA SC 2221-8-21.

22) *Evening Capital* (Annapolis), June 22, 1915. MSA SC 3547 M 119. MSA SC 2221-8-22.

23) DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS. (Death Record) 1918, MSA S 1179-2187-5895. MSA SC 2221-8-23.

24) U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (Census Record, MD), 1850, AA, MSA SM 61 M 7202. MSA SC 2221-8-24.

25) *Washington Post*, Sunday, 18 February, 1990. MSA SC 2221-8-25.

26) Photographs from SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (Agnes Kane Callum Collection) MSA SC 3010, (Merrick Collection) MSA SC 1477, and (Black Maryland Civil War Soldiers Collection) MSA SC 2432. MSA SC 2221-8-26.

*The Documents for the Classroom series of the Maryland State Archives was designed and developed by Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse and Dr. M. Mercer Neale and was prepared with the assistance of R. J. Rockefeller, Lynne MacAdam, Leigh Bond, Matt Brown, Laura Lisy, and other members of the Archives staff. MSA SC 2221-08. Publication no. 1727. ©1993 Maryland State Archives.*

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Appendix M: Free African Americans of  
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina,  
Maryland, and Delaware

AFRICAN AMERICA  
OF  
VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA  
SOUTH CAROLINA  
MARYLAND AND DELAWARE

Paul Heinegg

Welcome! You are visitor number **27494** since March 4, 1999

Send questions and comments to [p.heinegg@worldnet.att.net](mailto:p.heinegg@worldnet.att.net)  
Introduction, List of Families

Adams-Butler

Caldwell-Elbert

Farmer-Guy

Hall-Johnson

Knight-Okey

Palmer-Rustin

Salmons-Turner

Valentine-Younger

Sources



FREE AFRICAN AMERICANS  
OF  
VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA  
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MARYLAND AND DELAWARE

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*ADAMS FAMILY*

The Adams family of Maryland probably originated in St. Mary's County. Members of the family counted as "other free" in Maryland were

- i. Sarah, born say 1733, presented by the Charles County Court in November 1753 for having a "Mollatto" child [Court Record 1753-4, 166]
- ii. Jacob, head of a Washington County household of 10 "other free" in 1790.
- iii. Ann<sup>1</sup>, "Mulatto" head of a Charles County household of 7 "other free" in 1790.
- iv. Ann<sup>2</sup>, "Mulatto" head of a Charles County household of 6 "other free" in 1790.
- v. James<sup>1</sup>, head of a St. Mary's County household of 4 "other free" in 1790 and 6 in 1800 [MD:412].
- vi. James<sup>2</sup>, head of a St. Mary's County household of 2 "other free" in 1790 and 6 in 1800 [MD:402].
- vii. Joseph, head of a St. Mary's County household of 8 "other free" in 1790.
- viii. Phoeby, head of a St. Mary's County household of 2 "other free" in 1790 and 5 in

household of 3 "other free" in 1790 and 5 in 1800 [MD:406].

ix. Jenny<sup>1</sup>, head of a St. Mary's County household of 3 "other free" in 1790, perhaps the Jenny Adams who was head of a Charles County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:561].

x. Jane<sup>2</sup>, head of a Charles County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:541].

xi. John, "free Mulatto" head of a Charles County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:523].

1 xii. John, born say 1760.

xiii. Jacob, head of a Dorchester County household of 4 "other free" and a slave in 1800 [MD:649].

2 xivi. Hannah, born say 1760.

3 xv. Samuel, born say 1762.

1. John Adams, born say 1760, was a "free Negro" head of a Prince George's County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:268]. He may have been the father of

i. Maria B., born about 1788, married Nathan D. Hale/ Hall. She registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 26 February 1813: *Maria B. Hall, formerly Maria B. Adams, is a bright mulatto woman, about 25 years old, and 4 feet 10 inches tall. She was raised in the town of Piscataway in Prince George's County until she married Nathan D. Hale, her present husband. She was born free.*

ii. George Clinton, born about 1796, registered on 15 October 1827: *a dark mulatto man, about 31 years old, and 5 feet 9-1/2 inches tall ... born free in Prince George's County [Provine, Registrations of Free Negroes, 14, 71].*

2. Hannah Adams, born say 1760, was head of a Baltimore City household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:125]. She may have been the mother of

i. James, married Agnes **Butler**, "both Negroes," by banns 21 December 1800 [*Piet. Catholic Church Records in Baltimore*, 126].

3. Samuel Adams, born say 1762, was head of a Talbot County household of 5 "other free" in 1790 and 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:522]. He may have been the father of

i. Deborah, born about 1791, obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 27 May 1819: *a dark mulatto woman ... about 28 years of age, 5 feet high ... born free and raised in the County* [Certificates of Freedom 1815-28, 121].

#### ALLEN FAMILY

1. Hannah<sup>1</sup> Allen, born say 1700, was a white woman who had a daughter named Hannah by a "Negro" according to testimony in her great grandson's petition for freedom in Anne Arundel County Court in September 1794. Hannah was the mother of

2 i. Hannah<sup>2</sup>, born say 1725.

2. Hannah<sup>2</sup> Allen, born say 1725, had a daughter named Jane Allen by a slave. She was the mother of

3 i. Jane, born say 1750.

3. Jane Allen, born say 1750, was living in Prince George's County in August 1772 when the court ordered her to serve an additional seven years of her indenture for having an illegitimate child "by a negro" and bound her son Nathaniel to serve Richard Higgins for 31 years. Her son was

i. Nathaniel, born about March 1772, petitioned for his freedom in Anne Arundel County Court in September 1794 [*Cases in the General Court and Court of Appeals of Maryland*, 504].

Likely relatives of Nathaniel Allen in Prince George's County were

i. Ignatious, head of a Prince George's County household of 7 "other free" in 1790 and 5 in 1800 [MD:304].

4 ii. Mima<sup>1</sup>, born say 1750.

iii. John, "free negro" head of a Prince George's County, Maryland household of 9 "other free" in 1800 [MD:299].

iv. James, "free negro" head of a Prince George's County, Maryland household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:302].

v. Frank, "free negro" head of a Prince George's County, Maryland household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:304].

4. Mima<sup>1</sup> Allen, born say 1750, "a free mulatto woman" of Prince George's County, was the mother of

5 i. Henny, born about 1774.

ii. Mima<sup>2</sup>, born about 1789, registered in Prince George's County on 2 December 1812: *a dark mulatto, nearly black woman, about 23 years old, and 5 feet tall. She has thick lips, a fleshy face, a flat nose, and short woolly hair. She was raised in Prince George's County in the family of Daniel Clarke near Queen Anne and is a free woman, being the daughter of Mima Allen. Her son Charles Allen registered on 23 June 1818: a Negro boy, tolerably black, who is about 8 years old ... son of Mima Allen.*

5. Henny Allen, born about 1774, registered as a "free Negro" in Prince George's County, Maryland on 4 April 1812: *a mulatto woman, about 38 years old, and 4 feet 11 inches tall ... rather flat nose, and thick lips. She was raised in Prince George's County in the family of Daniel Clarke near Queen Anne. She is the daughter of Mima Allen, a free mulatto woman.* Henny was the mother of

i. Hannah, born about 1795, registered in

Prince George's County on 4 April 1812: *a dark mulatto woman, about 17 years old, and 5 feet 10 inches tall ... flat nose, thick lips and a broad face ... born in Prince George's County in the family of Daniel Clarke near Queen Anne ... daughter of Henny Allen a free mulatto woman who was born free.*

ii. Nelly, born about 1797, registered in Prince George's County on 2 October 1812: *about 15 years old, 4 feet 6-1/2 inches tall, and has a yellowish complexion ... has woolly hair, a flat nose, full eyes, and good teeth ... daughter of Henny Allen, a free woman [Provine, Registrations of Free Negroes, 10, 13, 25].*

### ANDERSON FAMILY

1. Christian Anderson, born say 1738, was the indentured servant of Robert Horner on 6 January 1756 when she delivered a "Molatto" male child which was born "by a Negroe." She denied the charge but was convicted in Charles County Court in March 1757. Her son Hensey Anderson was bound out until the age of 31 years [Court 1760-2, 465]. She may have been the ancestor of some members of the Anderson family counted as "other free" in Maryland and Delaware:

i. James, head of a Cecil County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:575].

2 ii. Thomas, head of a Talbot County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:522].

iii. Joseph, head of a Kent County, Maryland household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:157].

iv. Stephen, head of a Cecil County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:247].

v. Mary, head of a Kent County household of 2 "other free" in 1800 [MD:157].

vi. Nathan, head of a St. Jones Hundred, Kent County, Delaware household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [DE:48].

vii. Nathan, head of a St. Jones Hundred, Kent County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [DE:46].

viii. Risdon, head of a New Castle County household of 11 "other free" in 1810 [DE:68].

ix. Edward, head of a New Castle County

ix. Edward, head of a New Castle County household of 5 "other free" in 1810 [DE:68].

3 x. Ned, born say 1770.

xi. John, head of a "Coloured" New Castle County household of 9 "free colored" in 1810 [DE:242].

xii. John, head of a "Coloured" New Castle County household of 4 "other free" in 1810 [DE:242].

2. Thomas Anderson, born say 1760, was head of a Talbot County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:522]. He may have been the father of

i. Rachel, born about 1783, obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 26 August 1817: *a black woman ... about 34 years of age, 5 feet 4 Inches high ... born free & raised in the County* [Certificates of Freedom 1814-28, 68].

3. Ned Anderson, born say 1770, and his wife, Lady, were the parents of a "mulatto" girl named "Sale," born in Bohemia, who was baptized by a priest from the Jesuit Mission, Old Bohemia, Warwick, Cecil County, Maryland on 14 September 1796. They were the parents of

i. Sally, born about March 1795, a 16 month old "mulatto" child baptized 14 September 1796 [Wright, *Vital Records of the Jesuit Missions, 1760-1800*, 43].

#### ANTHONY FAMILY

Members of the Anthony family in Maryland were

i. John, head of a Baltimore City household of 14 "other free" in 1800 [MD:125].

ii. Samuel, head of a Baltimore City household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:126].

iii. James, married Magdalen Pindare, "French free Negroes from St. Domingo," 8 February 1796 at St. Peter's Church in

Baltimore. Their daughter one month old daughter Mary Joseph was baptized there on 15 December 1799 [Piet, *Catholic Church Records in Baltimore*, 4, 126].

### ARMWOOD FAMILY

1. Jemima Armwood, born say 1740, was taxable in John Tull's Pocomoke Hundred, Somerset County household in 1757 [List of Taxables]. She was prosecuted in Somerset County, Maryland Court in 1759 for having an illegitimate child by a "negro slave" [Judicial Records 1757-61, 236]. She (or perhaps a daughter by the same name) was a "Negro" head of a Worcester County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:733]. She was probably the mother of

i. James, head of a Worcester County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:762].

ii. Daniel, head of a Worcester County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:796].

### ATLOW FAMILY

1. Priscilla Atlow, born say 1750, was head of a Frederick County household of 7 "other free" in 1790. She was probably the mother of

i. George, born about 1770, obtained a certificate in Frederick County on 6 February 1822: *aged about fifty two years five feet eight and a half inches high ... dark Mullatto ... free born as appears by the affidavit of Jacob Hoff* [Certificates of Freedom 1806-27, 126].

### BANKS FAMILY

Members of the Banks family in Maryland were

i. Matthew, head of a Baltimore City household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:144]

ii. Ann, head of a Dorchester County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:701].

iii. Elisha, head of a Dorchester County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:726].

1 iv. Henry, born say 1770.

1. Henry Banks, born say 1770, and his wife Rachel, "people of color," baptized their daughter Peggy in St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore. Their daughter was

i. Peggy, born about 1793, nine years old when she was baptized on 9 May 1802 [Reamy, *Records of St. Paul's Parish*, II:13].

### BANTUM FAMILY

Members of the Bantum family of Maryland were

i. Gabriel, head of a Caroline County household of 8 "other free" in 1790.

ii. George, head of a Talbot County household of 3 "other free" in 1790.

1 iii. James, born about 1757.

iv. Sally, head of a Talbot County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:531].

v. Joe, head of a Talbot County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:527].

vi. Nancy Bantum, "Negro" head of a Kent County household of 1 "other free" in 1790.

1. James Bantum, born about 1757, was head of a Talbot County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:534]. He obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 24 May 1815: *a Black man ... about 58 years of age, 5 feet 10 3/4 inches high, has the top of his head bald ... was manumitted & set free by him the said Wm Thomas*. He may have been the father of

i. Levin, born about 1783, obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 27 May 1807: *a Mullatto Man about twenty four years of age, five feet seven and a half inches high ... free born of a white woman and bound to Christopher Bruff until he was twenty one years of age*.



ii. Edward, born about 1790, obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 23 July 1810: *a black man ... about 20 years of age, 5 feet 7 1/2 inches high ... dark coplection ... free born ... raised in this County.*

iii. Harry, born about 1793, obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 20 March 1810: *a black man ... about 22 years of age, 5 feet 9 inches & an half high, complection dark Coffee* [Certificates of Freedom 1807-15, 30, 43, 46, 174].

### BARDLEY FAMILY

Members of the Bardley family in Maryland were

i. Samuel, born say 1770, head of a Kent County household of 3 "other free" and a slave in 1800 [MD:145].

ii. Mary, born say 1772, mother of a "mulatto" child who was buried in St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore on 15 September 1792 [Reamy, *Records of St. Paul's Parish*, I:68].

### BARTON FAMILY

1. Rosamond Bently, born say 1750, recovered her freedom by a suit against Anthony Addison in Prince George's County Court. She was the ancestor of

2 i. Nancy Barton, born about 1768.

ii. Eleanor Cooper, born about 1771, registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 2 April 1813: *a bright mulatto woman, about 42 years old, and 5 feet 5 inches tall. She is free, being the descendant of a certain Rosamond Bently who recovered her freedom in the Prince George's County Court in a suit against Anthony Addison.*

iii. ?Kizy Barton, head of an Anne Arundel County household of 5 "other free" in 1790.

iv. ?Susanah Barton, head of a Baltimore City household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:232].

v. ?William Barton, "free Negro" head of a

Prince George's County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:285].

vi. ?John Barton, "free Mulatto" head of a Prince George's County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:269].

vii. ?Thomas<sup>1</sup> Barton, "free negro" head of a Prince George's County household of 3 "other free" and a slave in 1800 [MD:286].

viii. ?James Barton, a "free Negro" taxable in Elkridge Hundred, Anne Arundel County in 1783 [MSA 1161-1-3, p.4].

2. Nancy Barton, born about 1768, registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 22 April 1813: *a bright mulatto woman, about 45 years old, and 5 feet 6 inches tall ... descendant of a certain Rosamond Bently who recovered her freedom in the Prince George's County Court in a suit against Anthony Addison.* She was the mother of

i. Thomas<sup>2</sup>, born about 1791, registered on 1 September 1818: *a bright mulatto man, about 27 years old, and 5 feet 7 inches tall ... descendant of Nancy Barton, a free woman of color.*

ii. Elizabeth, born about 1793, registered on 3 November 1813: *a bright mulatto girl, 20 years old, and 5 feet 11 inches tall ... daughter of Nancy Barton.*

iii. William<sup>2</sup>, born about 1794, registered on 1 September 1818: *a bright mulatto man, about 24 years old, and 5 feet tall ... descendant of Nancy Barton, a free woman of color*

iv. James Richard, born about 1797, registered on 1 September 1818: *a bright mulatto man, about 21 years old, and 5 feet 9 inches tall ... descendant of Nancy Barton.*

v. Charlotte, born about 1800, registered on 3 November 1819: *a bright mulatto girl, about 19 years old, and 5 feet 4 inches tall ... a descendant of Nancy Barton.*

vi. Ann Maria, born about 1803, registered on 3 November 1819: *a bright mulatto girl, about 16 years old, and 5 feet 2 inches tall ... descendant of Nancy Barton* [Provine, *Registrations of Free Negroes*, 15, 16, 26, 32.

**BATES FAMILY**

1. Benjamin Bates, born say 1731, was a "Mullatto Bastard Child" who the Charles County, Maryland Court sold to Peter Harrant on 9 November 1731 [Court Record 1731-4, 41]. He may have been the ancestor of the members of the Bates family who were living in nearby Virginia counties in 1810:

i. John, head of a Prince William County household of 9 "other free" in 1810 [VA:508].

ii. Cyrus, head of a Prince William County household of 5 "other free" in 1810 [VA:508].

iii. Fanny, head of a Prince George County, Virginia household of 7 "other free" in 1810 [VA:545].

iv. Hetty, head of a Prince George County, Virginia household of 7 "other free" in 1810 [VA:545].

v. Archibald, head of a Prince George County, Virginia household of 1 "other free" in 1810 [VA:545].

**BECKETT FAMILY**

The Beckett family originated in Northampton County, Virginia. They descend from Peter Beckett, a "Negro slave," and a white servant woman named Sarah Dawson. Members of the family in Delaware were

i. Peter, born say 1767, married Betty Drigas (Driggers) on 27 November 1788 in Sussex County, Delaware [Records of the United Presbyterian Churches of Lewes, Indian River and Cool Spring, Delaware 1756-1855, 302]. He was a taxable in Nanticoke Hundred, Sussex County in 1791 and 1795 and taxable in Little Creek Hundred, Sussex County on a horse, cow & calf, and a shoat in 1796. He was a "Negro" head of a Delaware household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [DE:342] and 2 in 1810 [DE:161 & 364].

ii. Isaac, head of a Dover County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [DE:41].

iii. Charles, "Negro" head of a Dover County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [DE:97].

### ***BEDDO FAMILY***

1. Martha Badoe, born say 1693, was the servant of Thomas Coleman of Benedict Hundred on 12 June 1711 when she was presented by the Charles County Court for having a "Mallato" child. She admitted her guilt in court two months later on 14 August when the court ordered that she serve an additional seven years and bound her child to Coleman for 31 years. She was presented for the same offense on 9 June 1713 and on 9 August 1713 she bound her four month old son James to Coleman. On 9 March 1735/6 the court ordered Coleman to bring her "Mullatto Daughter" Eleanor before the court to have her bound out [Court Record 1711-5, 196-7; 1734-9, 143]. She was the mother of

i. James<sup>1</sup>, born about April 1713, bound apprentice to Thomas Coleman of Benedict Hundred, Charles County on 9 August 1713.

2 ii. Eleanor, born say 1715.

2. Eleanor Bedoe, born say 1715, was the "Mullatto Daughter" of Martha Bedoe. On 12 June 1744 the Charles County Court convicted her of having an illegitimate child and ordered that she receive twelve lashes. The court also ordered her son James bound out to Edward Goodrich until the age of twenty one years [Court Record 1744-5, 25]. She was the mother of

i. James<sup>2</sup> Beddo, head of a Charles County household of 9 "other free" in 1800 [MD:522].

### ***BENTLY FAMILY***

1. Isaac Bentley, born say 1730, was described as a "mulatto fellow ... alias Protus" on 14 August 1760 when Richard Tilghman Earle of Queen Anne's County advertised in the Maryland Gazette that he had run away with an English convict servant man named Benjamin Williams [Green, *The Maryland Gazette, 1727-61*, 251]. He may have been the father of

2 i. Rosamond, born say 1750.

ii. Debora, married Solomon Haycock, 14 December 1782 banns by the Jesuit Mission in Cordova, Maryland (no race indicated), Peter and Protase witnesses [Wright, *Vital Records of the Jesuit Mission*, 19].

2. Rosamond Bently, born say 1750, recovered her freedom by a suit against Anthony Addison in Prince George's County Court. She was the ancestor of

i. Nancy Barton, born about 1768, registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 22 April 1813: *a bright mulatto woman, about 45 years old, and 5 feet 6 inches tall ... descendant of a certain Rosamond Bently who recovered her freedom in the Prince George's County Court in a suit against Anthony Addison.*

ii. Eleanor/ Nelly Cooper, born about 1771, registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 2 April 1813: *Eleanor Cooper, a bright mulatto woman, about 42 years old, and 5 feet 5 inches tall. She is free, being the descendant of a certain Rosamond Bently who recovered her freedom in the Prince George's County Court in a suit against Anthony Addison* [Provine, *Registrations of Free Negroes*, 15, 16].

iii. Polly, born say 1773, living in Frederick Town, Frederick County, Maryland on 22 April 1811 when her son William Bentley by Edward Younger obtained a certificate of freedom. She may have married Edward Younger, the Polly who was named as his wife when his son obtained a certificate [Certificates of Freedom 1806-27, 28, 71].

### BLAKE FAMILY

Members of the Blake family of Maryland were

i. George, taxable in Mattopony Hundred Worcester County in 1783, "Capt. John Selby surety" [MdHR MSA S1161-11-8, p.2]. He was head of a Worcester County household of 4 "other free" in 1790 and 4 in 1800 [MD:732].

ii. William, head of a Baltimore Town

household of 2 "other free" in 1790, perhaps the William Blake who was a "Negro" head of a Worcester County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:732].

iii. Henry, "Negro" head of a Worcester County household of 9 "other free" in 1800 [MD:731].

iv. Harman, "Negro" head of a Worcester County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:736], probably named for the free African American Harman family of Worcester County.

v. James<sup>3</sup>, head of a Dorchester County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:729].

vi. James<sup>2</sup>, Senior, "Negro" head of a Kent County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:169].

vii. James<sup>6</sup>, Junior, head of a Kent County household of 4 "other free" and a slave in 1800 [MD:169].

viii. James<sup>4</sup>, head of a Worcester County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:740].

ix. James<sup>5</sup>, taxable in Matto pony Hundred, Worcester County in 1783, John Redding his surety [MSA S1161-11-8, p.1]. He was head of a Worcester County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:731].

x. David, head of a Baltimore City household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:152].

xi. Richard, head of a Talbot County household of 4 "other free" and a slave in 1800 [MD:522].

xii. Samuel, head of a Talbot County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:507].

xiii. Standley, head of a Dorchester County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:728].

xiv. Hannah, head of a Worcester County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:744].

xv. Rachel, "Negro" head of a Worcester County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:731].

xvi. Levin, head of a Worcester County

household of 2 "other free" and a slave in 1800 [MD:790].

xvii. Charles, head of a Worcester County household of 2 "other free" in 1800 [MD:767].

xviii. Mary, "Negro" head of a Worcester County household of 2 "other free" in 1800 [MD:724].

xix. Archibald, head of a Kent County household of 1 "other free" in 1800 [MD:169].

#### Members of the Blake family in Delaware were

i. James<sup>1</sup> "& Son," head of a New Castle County household of 10 "other free" in 1800 [DE:271].

ii. Abram, perhaps the unnamed son counted in James Blake's New Castle County household in 1800, head of a New Castle County household of 6 "other free" in 1810 [DE:231] and 6 "free colored" in Mill Creek Hundred, New Castle County in 1820 [DE:127].

iii. Edward, born 1776-1794, head of a New Castle County, Delaware household of 7 "other free" in 1810 [DE:301] and 8 "free colored" in Appoquinimink Hundred in 1820 [MD:149].

iv. John, head of a Little Creek Hundred, Kent County, Delaware household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [DE:35] and 5 "free colored" in Wilmington Borough, New Castle County in 1820 [DE:185].

v. Rosanna, born before 1776, head of a Wilmington, New Castle County household of 4 "free colored" in 1820 [DE:202].

#### *BOON FAMILY*

1. Susanna Middleton, born say 1770, was a white woman who had mixed-race children named Boon in Frederick County. She was the mother of

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, born about 1794, obtained a

certificate in Frederick County on 4 June 1816: *a dark Mulatto Man about Twenty two years, about five feet eight and three quarter Inches high ... free born and a Child of Susanna Middleton a white woman as appears by the affidavit of Barbara Ney.*

ii. Susanna, born about 1795, obtained a certificate of freedom in Frederick County on 4 June 1816: *a bright Mulatto, aged about twenty one years, five feet four Inches and three quarters of an Inch high ... child of Susanna Middleton.*

iii. John, born about 1796, obtained a certificate in Frederick County on 4 June 1816: *a Dark Mulatto aged about twenty years, five feet three inches high ... free Born child of Susanna Middleton a white woman as appears by the affidavit of Barbara Ney.*

iv. Nancy, born about 1801, obtained a certificate of freedom in Frederick County 4 June 1816: *a Dark Mulatto aged about 15 years, five feet two inches and an half high ... free born child of Susanna Middleton [Certificates of Freedom 1806-27, 59-60].*

### BOSTON FAMILY

1. Catherine Boston, born say 1740, was described as a yellow woman, being a Portuguese, in a suit brought by her son, Anthony Boston, a slave who was granted his freedom in Anne Arundel County about 1793. The court ruled that the family descended from a Spanish woman named Maria, to her daughter Linah, to Linah's daughter Violet. Linah was described as being of yellow complexion with long black hair [Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning Slavery*, IV:51 (Rawlings v. Boston, 3 Har. and McH. 139, May 1793)]. Catherine was the mother of

i. Anthony, won his freedom about 1793, head of a Prince George's County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:301].

ii. ?William, head of a Talbot County household of 4 "other free" in 1790 and 5 in 1800 [MD:518].

iii. ?Phil, head of an Anne Arundel County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:109].

iv. ?Charles, head of an Anne Arundel County household of 2 "other free" in 1800 [MD:101].



v. ?John, head of a Dorchester County household of 1 "other free" in 1800 [MD:669].

2 vi. ?Sarah, born say 1785.

2. Sarah Boston, born say 1785, a "free woman of colour," was living in Prince George's County when her children registered as "free Negroes." She was the mother of

i. Charles Boston Dulaney, born about 1804, registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 13 August 1825: *bright complexion, is 5 feet 11-1/2 inches tall, and about 21 years old ... son of Sarah Boston, a free woman of colour.*

ii. Peter, born about 1806, registered on 13 September 1826: *a mulatto boy, about 20 years of age, and 5 feet 6-1/4 inches tall ... son of Sarah Boston.*

iii. Betsy, born about 1810, registered on 13 September 1826: *a mulatto woman, about 16 years old, and 5 feet 4-1/2 inches tall ... daughter of Sarah Boston.*

iv. Mary, born about 1812, registered on 13 September 1826: *a mulatto girl, about 14 years old, and 5 feet 1 inch tall ... daughter of Sarah Boston [Provine, Registrations of Free Negroes, 53, 59, 60].*

### BOSWELL FAMILY

Members of the Boswell family were

i. Terry, head of a Charles County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:557].

1 ii. Treacy, born say 1775.

1. Treacy Boswell, born say 1775, was a "free woman of colour" and the mother of

i. Maria, born about 1795, registered in Prince George's County on 12 January 1818: *a black*

*George's County, on 12 January 1800: a woman about 23 years old, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches tall, and has a brown complexion ... a descendant of Treacy Boswell, a free woman.*

ii. Letty, born about 1799, registered on 12 January 1818: *a black woman about 19 years old, 5 feet 7 inches tall, and has a brown complexion ... the descendant of Treacy Boswell.*

iii. Henry, born about 1802, registered on 9 January 1823: *about 21 years old and 6 feet 1-1/2 inches tall ... son of Treacy Boswell.*

iv. Elizabeth, born about 1805, registered on 9 January 1823: *light complexion, is about 18 years old, and 5 feet 4-1/2 inches tall ... daughter of Treacy Boswell, a free woman of colour [Provine, Registrations of Free Negroes, 24, 44].*

#### **BOTELER FAMILY**

Members of the Boteler family in Maryland were

i. Black Charles, head of a Prince George's County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:257].

ii. Mary, "free Negro" head of a Prince George's County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:257].

iii. Letty, "free Negro" head of a Prince George's County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:279].

iv. Betty, head of a Washington County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:555].

v. Catherine, born about 1801, registered as a free Negro in Prince George's County on 13 August 1822: *a mulatto woman, about 21 years old, and 5 feet 1 inch tall ... born free in Prince George's County.*

vi. John, born about 1807, registered on 8 July 1828: *a bright mulatto man, about 21 years old, and 5 feet 8 1/2 inches tall ... son of Negro Betsey, a free woman of color [Provine, Registrations of Free Negroes, 42, 74].*

**BOWSER/ BOWZER FAMILY**

1. Richard Bowser, born say 1720, was a "free Negroe," who was buried near the ferry to Kent Island on 24 July 1769. His wife was probably Rachel Bowser who was buried there two years later on 29 July 1771 [Wright, *Vital Records of the Jesuit Mission, Cordova*, 8, 11]. They were probably related to the Bowser family of Virginia and North Carolina. Their descendants may have been

i. Ruth, head of a Queen Anne's County household of 6 "other free" in 1790.

ii. Percy, head of a Dorchester County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:691].

iii. Simon, head of a Kent County household of 2 "other free" in 1800 [MD:145].

iv. Nancy, married Joseph Wilson, "free blacks," 8 September 1810 in St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore [Reamy, *Records of St. Paul's Parish*, I:67].

**BROWN FAMILY**

1. Elizabeth Browne, born say 1690, was the servant of John Carville of Kent County, Maryland on 24 March 1707/8 when she admitted in court that she had a child by William Jenkins, one of her master's slaves. The court ordered that she receive twenty lashes, serve her master an additional six months, that her child serve her master according to law, and that he deliver her to the court at the expiration of her term of service as the law in such cases provided [Proceedings 1707-9, fol. 49]. She may have been the ancestor of some of the following members of the Brown family:

i. Margarite, "Negro" head of a Kent County, Maryland household of 6 "other free" in 1790.

ii. Darky, "Negro" head of a Kent County household of 3 "other free" in 1790.

iii. Harry, head of a Kent County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:145].

iv. John, head of a Kent County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:145].

v. Thomas, head of a Kent County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:145].

vi. Dark, head of a Talbot County household of 7 "other free" in 1790.

vii. Nicholas, head of a Queen Anne's County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:325].

viii. Anthony, head of a Queen Anne's County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:323].

ix. Thomas, head of a Talbot County household of 4 "other free" in 1790 and 5 in 1800 [MD:533].

x. Perry, born about 1790, obtained a certificate of freedom in Talbot County on 19 August 1815: *a Bright Mulatto man ... about 25 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high ... born free & raised in the County* [Certificates of Freedom 1807-15, 12].

xi. James, head of a North Millford, Cecil County household of 1 "other free" in 1790.

xii. John, head of a Cecil County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:236].

xiii. Daniel, head of a Cecil County household of 2 "other free" in 1800 [MD:223].

### **BRYANT FAMILY**

1. Alice Bryan, born say 1681, confessed in Kent County, Delaware Court in September 1699 that she had a "bastard Molattoe Child" by "William Trippits Negro man, Called Jack" and admitted that it was due to "her owne wicked inclinations." She received 39 lashes and was ordered to serve her master, Daniel Rutty, an additional two years. The court bound her "molattoe" son, Peter, to Rutty for 31 years. Later that year in December she came into court and bound her four year old, illegitimate daughter Elizabeth (no race indicated) to Rutty, for 18 years [Court Records 1699-1703, 4b, 10b]. Her Children were

i. Elizabeth, born April 1696.

ii. Peter, born in 1699.

iii. ?Sarah, born say 1701, "a mulatto woman begotten on a white woman, convicted by the Westmoreland County, Virginia Court of "haveing a Mulatto bastard Child by a white man" while serving her indenture to a Mr. Westcomb [Orders 1705-21, 108a].

Their descendants in Maryland may have been:

- i. Hannah, head of an Octararo, Cecil County household of 11 "other free" in 1790.
- ii. Abigail, head of a St. Mary's County, Maryland household of 3 "other free" in 1790.
- iii. William, "Mulatto" head of a Charles County household of 1 "other free" in 1790.
- iv. John, head of a North Sassafras, Cecil County household of 1 "other free" in 1790.

#### ***BULEY FAMILY***

1. Eve Buley, born say 1746, was prosecuted in Somerset County, Maryland in 1764 for having a child by a "negro slave" [Judicial Records 1763-65, 117]. She was probably the mother of

- i. Stephen, head of a Dorchester County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:682].
- ii. Henry, head of a Dorchester County household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:663].
- iii. Jesse, head of a Dorchester County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:691].

#### ***BURKE FAMILY***

1. Ann Burk, born say 1785, admitted in Kent County, Delaware Court in May 1707 that she had a "Mollatoo Bastard Female Child" by a "Certain Negroe Man" on John Walker's plantation. She was given 29 lashes, made to stand 2 hours in the pillory and ordered to serve her master another six and one half years. Her daughter was bound to Walker until the age of 31 years. A year later in May 1708 her "Mulatto" child, Archibald, born in Walker's house on 1 February 1704 was bound until the age of 21 years to Walker's children and executors, John and Daniel Walker [Court Records 1703-17, 56b, 72b]. Her children were

- i. Archibald, born 1 February 1704.

ii. a daughter, born about 1707.

Another unrelated Burke family in Maryland was

i. John, born about 1686, a "Mollatto" servant of Mrs. Elizabeth Hawkins who was 21 years old on 10 June 1707 when the Charles County Court ordered that he be set free. Mary Elliott, wife of William Elliott, testified that he had been sold to Henry Hawkins by her former husband Henry Brawner [Court Record 1704-10, 326].

Their descendants may have been

i. Henry, head of a Queen Anne's County, Maryland household of 1 "other free" in 1790 [MD:102].

ii. Charles, head of a Baltimore City household of 4 "other free" in 1800 [MD:148].

### **BURTON FAMILY**

1. Luke Burton, born say 1745, and his wife, Patience, registered the 10 May 1769 birth of their "mulatto" son, James, at St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, Indian River Hundred, Sussex County, Delaware [Wright, *Vital Records of Kent and Sussex Counties*, 98]. They were the parents of

i. James, born 10 May 1769.

ii. ?Joseph, head of a New Castle County, Delaware household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [DE:161].

iii. ?Peter, head of a Lewis and Rehoboth Hundred, Sussex County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [DE:414].

iv. ?William, "Coloured" head of a New Castle County household of 7 "other free" in 1810 [DE:231].

*BUTCHER FAMILY*

1. Robert<sup>1</sup> Butcher, born say 1670, was called "Robert Buchery negroe" on 2 September 1690 when the Dorchester County, Maryland Court ordered him to support the illegitimate child he had by Elizabeth Cobham, an indentured servant of Andrew Gray. Gray was his security [Court Proceedings in Land Records 4-1/2, pp. 176, 157, 156]. He recorded his earmark in adjoining Kent County, Delaware in 1693. He was sued in Kent County by Hugh Durborow on 11 August 1713. In August 1714 he testified that James Dean had counselled him to kill Timothy Hanson and burn his house. In November 1718 he confessed to the charge of battery and was ordered to be flayed and pay a fifteen shilling fine. He was sued by Griffin Jones about 1723 and by John Bland in August 1723 [General Court Records 1712-6, n.p.; 1718-22, 20; 1722-3, n.p.; 1722-5, 35]. (1) He was taxable in Duck Creek Hundred, Kent County in 1726. He called himself a "yeoman" in his 26 July 1722 Kent County will which was proved 14 February 1731. He left his son Robert a shilling, left Phillis Asco (no relationship stated) a cow, calf, pewter plates, furniture and one of his three gold rings, and divided the remainder of his estate between his wife Susannah and son-in-law Richard Pulling [DB H-1, fol. 23-24]. His children were

- 2 i. Robert<sup>2</sup>, born say 1695.
- ii. the unnamed wife of Richard Pulling.

2. Robert<sup>2</sup> Butcher, born say 1695, was called Robert Butcher Junr. in Kent County, Delaware Court on 11 August 1713 when he and Thomas Gonsoaly (Consellor) were fined 15 shillings for being "Deficients on the Highways." He was called "Robert Butcher ye younger" on 15 May 1716 when the Kent County Court of Quarter Sessions convicted him of having an illegitimate child by Susanna Stephens [General Court Records 1712-6, n.p.]. He was called Robert Bucher Junr. when he was taxable in Little Creek Hundred, Kent County in 1729. His 14 November 1733 Kent County will, proved 6 December 1733, named his wife Sarah (daughter of Thomas Conselah), and left 190 acres of land to his sons, Moses, Benjamin, Robert, Conselah, and Thomas [WB H-1:77]. Sarah was head of a taxable household in Little Creek Hundred, Kent County from 1740 to 1754. His children were

- i. Moses<sup>1</sup>, born say 1715, taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1740 to 1748, died before 12 September 1749 when his brother Robert was appointed administrator of his Kent County estate [WB K-1:2-3].
- ii. Benjamin, born say 1718.

iii. Robert, born say 1720, taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1745 to 1748. He was appointed administrator of the estate of his brother Moses on 12 September 1749.

3 iv. Conselah, born say 1722.

v. Thomas<sup>1</sup>, born say 1723, sued James Maxwell for debt in Kent County Court in May 1744 [Docket Volume 1736-85, 43]. He was taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1754 to 1756.

3. Conselah Butcher, born say 1720, called "Selah" Butcher, was taxable in Little Creek Hundred, Kent County from 1752 to 1778. Administration on his Kent County estate was granted to Thomas Butcher, his "next of kin," in 1795 with Jesse Dean surety [WB N-1:117]. He may have been the father of

i. Thomas<sup>2</sup>, born say 1756, taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1773 to 1776, in Duck Creek Hundred in 1777 and 1778, a "Negro" taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1782 to 1784, a "Mulatto" taxable in 1797, taxable on one acre and a log house in 1798, head of a Little Creek Hundred, Kent County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [DE:33], 3 in 1810 [DE:32] and 6 "free colored" in 1820 [DE:20]. He witnessed the 11 May 1776 Little Creek Hundred, Kent County will of Samuel Whitman [de Valinger, *Kent County Probate Records*, 347].

Other members of the family were

i. John, born say 1720, taxable in the upper part of Duck Creek Hundred from 1741 to 1743. His inventory dated 19 February 1762 named his wife Sarah.

ii. Caesar, born say 1740, taxable in Little Creek Hundred in 1761.

iii. Robert<sup>3</sup>, say 1750, taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1772 to 1781, in Duck Creek Hundred in 1785, and a delinquent Murderkill taxable in 1787, perhaps the Robert Bucher who was head of a Queen Anne's County, Maryland household of 4 "other free" in 1790



and a Kent County, Maryland household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:157].

iv. Jacob, born say 1755, taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1776 to 1780, died before 23 March 1792 when George Frazer was granted administration on his Kent County estate [WB N-1, fol. 15].

v. Moses<sup>2</sup>, born say 1758, taxable in Little Creek Hundred from 1779 to 1784 and a "free Negro" taxable there in 1785 and 1787, head of a Montgomery County, Pennsylvania household of 5 "other free" in 1790.

vi. Moses<sup>3</sup>, born before 1776, head of a Dover, Kent County, household of 4 "free colored" in 1820 [DE:37].

vii. William, Sr., born say 1760, a "Mulattoe taxable on 2 horses in Kent County in 1797.

viii. Peter, head of a Little Creek Hundred, Kent County household of 10 "other free" in 1800 [DE:10].

ix. James, born 1776-1794, head of a Duck Creek Hundred household of 5 "free colored" with one woman over 45 years old in 1820 [DE:48].

x. Henry, head of a New Castle County household of 2 "free colored" in 1820 [DE:199].

xi. John, head of a New Castle County household of 6 "free colored" in 1820 [DE:108].

xii. Whittington, head of a New Castle County household of 2 "free colored" in 1820 [DE:199].

xiii. Eli, head of a Little Creek Hundred, Kent County household of one "free colored" in 1820 [DE:28].

#### End notes:

1. Hannah Butcher was another member of the Butcher family mentioned in early Kent County Court records. She was convicted of felony by the Kent County Court of Quarter Sessions on 10 August 1714. Since the goods were worth only

ten shillings she was publicly whipped, made to wear a Roman T, and ordered to pay the owner, Timothy Hanson, fourfold the value [Dockets 1680-1725, General Court Records 1712-16, n.p.]. The same court also convicted Thomas Kersey "late of Murderkill Hundred" of felony and ordered that he receive similar punishment, but it did not state that they were related incidents.

### BUTLER FAMILY

1. Eleanor<sup>1</sup> Butler, born say 1660, commonly called "Irish Nell," was a white woman imported to Maryland by Lord Baltimore. She was the servant of Major William Boarman of St. Mary's County in August 1681 when she married "Negro Charles," one of Boarman's slaves. The ceremony was conducted by a Catholic priest on the Boarman plantation. Nearly one hundred years later, descendants of local whites who attended the wedding reported that Lord Baltimore warned Nell on the morning of the wedding that the marriage would make her and her descendants slaves for life. Nell replied that she would rather marry Charles than Lord Baltimore himself. The law then in existence enslaved white women who married slaves for the lifetime of their husbands and made slaves of their children. About a month after the wedding Lord Baltimore was apparently influential in passing a law which released such white women and their children from slavery if their marriage was permitted or encouraged by their master. Since the law was passed after Charles and Nell's marriage, the children of Charles and Nell were kept as slaves by Boarman and his descendants. William Boarman's 16 May 1708 St. Mary's County will was proved on 17 June 1709. His inventory included an "Elderly Negroe man named Charles," an "old Irish woman," and six "malatto" slaves. In the will he gave his wife "Slaves Robert, Charles & Elliner," his son John Baptiste slave Catherine, his son Francis Ignatius slaves Ann and Margaret, his daughter Mary slaves Sarah and Henry, and his daughter Clare slaves Jane and Susannah [Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 33; Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, III:140].

In 1762 two of their grandchildren, William and Mary Butler, sued Richard Boarman for their freedom, and the Provincial Court decided the case in their favor in September 1770, but the decision was reversed by the court of appeals in May 1771. However, in October 1787 William and Mary Butler's daughter, Mary Butler, sued in the General Court of the Western Shore and won her case. Charles and Eleanor's descendants can be traced from the testimony in the case held in the Provincial Court in which sixteen of their neighbors testified in the 1760s about what they knew about the family from first hand knowledge as well as what they had heard from deceased friends and relatives. On 27 May 1767, Ann Whitehorn, a 76 year old woman, testified that Eleanor had three or four children and was about 40 years old when she died. One of her children was at Leonard Brooke's (which became Richard Boarman's) and another at Richard Brooke's in St. Mary's County [*Cases in the Provincial Court 1771-72 In The Heritage Within Us: The Butler*

*PROVINCIAL COURT, 311-1]. IN THE BEWIDGE WITHIN US, THE BUTLER Family of Pamunkey Neck a Butler descendant, James Frank Williams, traces a great many Butler descendants through the more than twenty court cases brought by members of the Butler family in the 1780s as well as estate accounts and wills of the slave owners of the Butler family. Charles and Eleanor's children were*

- 2 i. Catherine<sup>1</sup>/ Kate, born say 1685.
- 3 ii. Sarah<sup>1</sup>, born say 1687.
- 4 iii. Jane<sup>1</sup>, born say 1689
- 5 iv. Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>, born say 1691.
- 6 v. Eleanor<sup>2</sup>, born say 1693.
- 7 vi. Ann<sup>1</sup>, born say 1695.

2. Catherine<sup>1</sup>/ Kate Butler, born say 1685, was bequeathed by William Boarman to his son John Baptiste Boarman in 1709. She was the mother of

- i. Edward<sup>1</sup>, a slave who belonged to Francis Hamersley on 13 June 1738 when he was convicted by the Charles County Court of stealing a large quantity of cloth valued at 2,080 pounds of tobacco from the storehouse of Richard Gildart. The court ordered that he sit in the pillory for one hour and receive 39 lashes. (Since this was a capital offense, he could have received the death penalty). In August 1749 he petitioned the Charles County Court for his freedom from William Neale. The court ordered that Richard Edelen, Mary Ruthorn, Mary Jameson, and Thomas Osborn make depositions for the next session of the court in November 1749, but the outcome of the case was not recorded [Court Record 1734-9, 474; 1748-50, 414].
- 8 ii. Margaret<sup>1</sup>, born say 1720.
  - iii. John<sup>1</sup>.
  - iv. Lenny<sup>1</sup>.

3. Sarah<sup>1</sup> Butler, born say 1687, had by "Negro Harry" six children who were owned by Widow Slye. They were freed by Gerald Slye. They were

- i. Charles<sup>1</sup>.
- ii. John<sup>2</sup>/ Stephen<sup>1</sup>.
- 9 iii. Eleanor<sup>3</sup>, born say 1718.
- iv. Sarah, owned by Gerald Slye.
- v. Susannah, owned by Gerald Slye.
- vi. Monica/ Monnehey, owned by Gerald Slye, perhaps the Menehy Butler who was head of a Washington, D.C. household of 6 "other free" in 1800.

4. Jane<sup>1</sup>/ Jenny Butler, born say 1689, was owned by Mrs. Sherrin. Her children were

- i. Jane.
- ii. Rebecca, freed by Mary Sherrin in 1794.
- iii. Anne, born about 1710.
- iv. Monica, mother of Abraham Butler who was freed by Thomas Clagett, perhaps the Abraham Butler who was head of a Baltimore City household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:137].
- v. Eleanor.

5. Elizabeth<sup>1</sup> Butler, born say 1691, "commonly called Abigail," was not named among the slaves in Major Boarman's 1709 will, but she was identified as Eleanor's daughter in the 27 May 1767 deposition of Ann Whitehorn in the Provincial Court. Ann also deposed that Elizabeth was somewhat younger than her, that Elizabeth had been dead about 30 years, and that Elizabeth's son William was about 44 years old at the time. Elizabeth was the mother of

- 10 i. Phillis, born say 1720.

ii. John, born say 1722.

iii. William, born about 1723, brought suit for his freedom in St. Mary's County in 1764. He married his cousin Mary Butler, granddaughter of Catherine Butler.

6. Eleanor<sup>1</sup> Butler, born say 1693, died in 1760. She was the mother of

11 i. Ann<sup>2</sup>, born say 1720.

ii. Eleanor, born say 1722, had a grandson named John who was freed by Henry Garner in 1792. He may have been the John Butler who married Elizabeth Proctor at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in 1793. The couple required a dispensation because the Proctor and Butler families were related. Both families descend from white women who were servants of William Boarman. John was head of a Charles County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:512].

iii. Elizabeth.

7. Ann<sup>1</sup> Butler, born say 1695, was the mother of

i. Eleanor.

ii. Jane, mother of Henry Butler. He may have been the Henry<sup>1</sup> Butler who was head of a Charles County household of 8 "other free" and 4 slaves in 1800 [MD:530].

iii. Henrietta, born about 1726.

8. Margaret<sup>1</sup>/ Peg Butler, born say 1720, was bequeathed to James Boarman. Her children were

i. Mary, bequeathed to Henry Bradford. She married William Butler. They sued for their freedom in 1762.

ii. Ignatius, born in 1760.

iii. Margaret/ Peg, born in 1767.

9. Eleanor<sup>3</sup> Butler, born say 1718, died in 1760. She was the mother of

i. Monica, mother of Robert Butler who was freed by Edward Plowman, perhaps the Robert Butler who was head of a Washington, D.C. household of 3 "other free" in 1800.

ii. Hopewell<sup>1</sup>/ Hopey, freed by Richard Bond of St. Mary's County. He was head of a St. Mary's County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:427].

iii. Sarah, freed by Henry Southern of St. Mary's County in 1792.

iv. Charles<sup>3</sup>, born say 1745, freed by William Bond of St. Mary's County and was head of a St. Mary's County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:421].

v. Anthony, freed by Clement Gardiner. He was head of a St. Mary's County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:402].

vi. Samuel, freed by Richard Bond of St. Mary's County.

vii. Ignatius, born in 1760, freed by Richard Bond, perhaps the Ignatius Butler who was head of a St. Mary's County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:421].

viii. Lenn, freed by Jerome Jordon. He was head of a St. Mary's County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:421].

ix. Abigail, freed with her seven children by Henrietta Plowman of St. Mary's County in 1792. Abigail was head of a St. Mary's County household of 3 "other free" in 1800 [MD:407]. She was the mother of Hopey Butler, perhaps the Hopewell<sup>2</sup> Butler who was head of a St. Mary's County household of 1 "other free" in 1800 [MD:417].

10. ~~ELIZABETH BUTLER~~, born say 1720, was head of a Charles County household of 6 "other free" in 1800 [MD:518]. She was the mother of

12 i. Elizabeth, born say 1737.

11. Ann<sup>2</sup> Butler, born say 1720, was the mother of

13 i. Elizabeth, born say 1738.

ii. Henny, born say 1740.

12. Elizabeth Butler, born say 1737, was freed by Henry Hill. Her children were

14 i. Chloe, born say 1753, freed by Nicholas Sewell in 1791.

ii. Clara, who was freed with her two children by Patty Shade in 1791.

iii. Gustavus<sup>1</sup>.

iv. Lilly Butler.

v. Ignatius.

15 vi. Joanna, born say 1775.

vii. Lydia, freed by Nicholas Single in 1792.

13. Elizabeth Butler, born say 1738, was the mother of

i. Rachel, freed by Charles Chilton in 1792.

ii. Thomas, born about 1760, freed by Jezreel Penn in 1793.

iii. Clement, freed by Henry Pyke in 1792, perhaps the Clem Butler who was head of a St. Mary's County household of 8 "other free" in 1800 [MD:419].

iv. Jacob, freed by Elizabeth Taney. He was a "Mulatto" head of a Charles County household of 1 "other free" in 1790 perhaps the Jacob

Butler who was head of a St. Mary's County household of 5 "other free" in 1800 [MD:433].

v. Giles, freed by John Somerville. He was head of a St. Mary's County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:420].

vi. Henrietta, freed by Edward Smoot.

16 vii. Sarah, born say 1750.

viii. Charity, born about 1752, freed by Joseph Thompson.

ix. Anne.

14. Chloe Butler, born say 1753, was freed by Nicholas Sewell in 1791. She was the mother of

i. Bridget, freed by Richard B. Mitchell in 1792.

ii. Fanny, freed by Reynaldo Johnson.

iii. Mary.

17 iv. Henny, born say 1774.

15. Joanna Butler, born say 1775, a "free Mulatto" who had children by Henry, a slave of Robert Walsh. She was the mother of

i. George, born about February 1795, a 19 month old child who died 5 September 1796 and was buried the next day at St. Peter's Church in Baltimore.

ii. William born 6 August 1797, baptized 15 August 1797 [Piet, *Catholic Church Records in Baltimore*, 19, 164].

16. Sarah Butler, born say 1750, was freed by Jezreel Penn in 1792, perhaps the Sarah Butler who was head of Charles County household of 7 "other free" in 1800 [MD:561]. She was the mother of

i. William, freed by John Landler in 1792.



of Records, Dover Delaware microfilm. Latter Day Saints microfilm no. 0006688.

#### Delaware Church Records:

Records of the United Presbyterian Churches of Lewes, Indian River and Cool Spring, Delaware 1756-1855.  
Micro-reproduction of original records at the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. Latter Day Saints microfilm number 0441441.

#### Printed Sources:

Corle, Craig W. 1991. *Records of the Courts of Sussex County, Delaware, 1677-1710*. 2 volumes. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Green, Karen Mauer. 1990. *The Maryland Gazette 1727-1761*. Frontier Press. Galveston, Texas.

Mason, Elaine Hastings & F. Edward Wright. *Land Records of Sussex County, Delaware, 1782-89, Deed Book N, No. 13*.

de Valinger, Leon, Jr. 1944. *Calendar of Kent County, Delaware Probate Records 1680-1800*. Dover.

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### MARYLAND

#### Manuscript and Microfilmed Manuscript Documents:

Census Records, 1800 Census: microfilm M32-9, 10, 11, 12.

Charles County Proceedings: 1692-4, Liber S, no.1 (CR 35,693-2); 1696-7, Liber V, no.1; 1698-9, Liber X, no.1 (CR 35,698-2); 1702-4, Liber A, no. 2 (CR 34,653); 1704-10, Liber B, no. 2 (CR 34,654-1); 1710-1, Liber D, no. 2 (MdHR 8494-1); 1711-5, Liber E, no. 2 (CR 34,654-2); Liber I, no.2 (CR 34,655-2); 1720-2, Liber K, no. 2 (MdHR 8140); 1720-2, Liber vol. 39, Liber P, no. 2 (CR 34,657); 1731-4, Liber R, no.

2; 1735-9, Liber T-2 (MdHR 8145); Liber vol. 39 (CR 34,658); Liber vol. 42 (CR 34,660-2); 1755-6, Liber F, no.3 (CR 34,662-1); 1760-2, Liber K, no.3 (CR 34,663-2).

Dorchester County Judgments, 1690-2, MdHR microfilm CR49,048-4.

Dorchester County Judgments 1728-9, MdHR 8907-2.

Dorchester County Judgments, 1740-44, MdHR 8911.

Dorchester County Judgments, 1754-5, MdHR microfilm CR49,052

Prince George's County Judgments 1742-3, Liber AA, MdHR 5761

Somerset County Judicial Records 1689-90 (CR 45,672); 1692-3; 1698-1701; 1701-2; 1702-5, in Deeds Liber GI (microfilm CR 34,365); 1705-6, Liber AB (MdHR 8033-2); 1707-11 (MdHR 9169), 1711-3 (MdHR 9170), 1713-5 in Deed Book AC (MdHR 8034-1), 1715-7 (CR 6396); 1718, Liber EF; 1722-4; 1728-31, Liber SH; 1730-3, 1733-5, 1740-2, 1742-4, 1747-9, 1757-60, 1757-60 (CR 50,295); 1760-3, microfilms CR 50,282-7, 50,295-6

Somerset County Tax Lists 1723-57, MdHR 20,397

Talbot County Judgments 1698, Liber AB, no. 8, part 2 (MdHR 9596-2)

Worcester County Land Records Liber Q, R, and S.

#### Internet Sources:

Maryland State Archives Web Site, Assesment of 1783, MS1161, downloaded 8/22/99:

<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/msa/stagser/s1400/s1437/html/ssi1437e.html>

#### Printed Sources:

Bureau of the Census. 1965 [1908]. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland*. Baltimore.

Davidson, Thomas E. *Free Blacks on the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland: the colonial period - 1662 to 1775*. Maryland Historical Trust. Crownsville, Maryland.

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Wright, F. Edward. 1993. *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1692-1763*. Baltimore.

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Wright, J. M. 1921. *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860*. Columbia University, New York.

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